

Politics, Corporation and Commonwealth: The Early
Reformation in Canterbury, c.1450 – 1559



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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Kent at Canterbury

January 2016

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the process of religious change within Canterbury and the role played by civic governors in this change. At the start of the sixteenth century Canterbury stood as a city at the heart of England's late medieval religious culture, and popular religion in the city, for the most part, reflected this. Yet by the start of Queen Elizabeth's reign many of these associations had fallen by the wayside and the city had become home to evangelical preachers, printing presses, and a predominantly Protestant community.

The effective political Reformation enacted by the Henrician authorities during the 1530s facilitated this shift. While the effective guidance of Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, and select local gentry entrenched the Royal Supremacy within the city and provided the magisterial community with a comfortable grey area in which to conduct civic government without recourse to confessional infighting. The more radical reforms of King Edward's reign were implemented across the city without resistance, and the city again remained sanguine during the reign of Queen Mary in spite of the persecutions that engulfed much of Kent. Between these doctrinal fluctuations, the political, cultural, and economic lives of the citizens continued to adapt and evolve as Protestantism quietly ingratiated itself into the business of governance through a series of 'collaborations' and 'negotiations' between communities and state authorities.

While the effective implementation of government policy played a large part in these apparently efficient Reformations, the local context remains vital to properly understanding how Canterbury became Protestant. Corporate government was at the heart of this convoluted process, and the continued efficacy of civic government helped shield the city from the tumults witnessed elsewhere in Kent. During the turbulence of the later fifteenth century, the magisterial classes secured their place at the head of city society and carved out a role as economic and moral arbiters of their communities, allowing them to take a leading role in the process of Reformation. Yet this was not readily seized. Spells of disorder within the city parishes during the 1540s warned against the destabilising influence of confessional dispute and fostered an ongoing Erastian approach to matters of doctrine within the confines of the guildhall, where the maintenance of the commonwealth trumped all other concerns.

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Acknowledgments

No thesis is written in isolation, nor does its writer work alone. First, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr David Grummitt for his patience, advice and kind encouragement throughout this project. Similarly, to my examiners Prof Steven Gunn and Dr Andrew Foster, whose insightful comments and keen criticisms have improved this thesis immeasurably, I owe a great debt of gratitude. I am also grateful to other scholars who have helped me in the course of this project, in particular: Dr Sheila Sweetinburgh, Prof Kenneth Fincham and Prof David Ormrod.

Alongside them, I would also like to thank the convenors of the IHR's 'British History 1500-1800' seminar series for inviting me to speak, an experience which proved both fruitful and formative. In the four years that I have been attending the seminar series it has proved to be an equally convivial and stimulating environment, and in particular I would like to mention Dr David Crankshaw, George Gross, and the late Dr Brett Usher, for welcoming me into the fold all those years ago.

For their financial support, I must thank the University of Kent for funding the first three years of my studies and for the various extra funds they have provided for various research and conference expenses over the years. Also I am indebted (figuratively speaking) to the Canterbury Archaeological and Historical Trust for granting me a generous and much needed scholarship to help me through the final stages of this project.

Thanks must also be extended to the staff of the various repositories who allowed me access to their collections during the course of this project. The staff at Canterbury Cathedral Library and Archives have been a constant help, despite their

often chaotic surroundings. I am also grateful to the staff at the following institutions for their assistance: The National Archives, Lambeth Palace Archives, Corpus Christi College Library (Oxford), the Bodleian Library, Norfolk Record Office, Kent Archive and Record Centre, East Sussex Record Office, Suffolk Record Office, and the British Library. Special thanks should also go to the Corpus Christi Library (Cambridge), who, in their wisdom, have digitised their manuscript collection, a decision that has saved me both time and train fares while also allowing me to delve deeper into their collections than might otherwise have been possible.

Throughout my postgraduate studies I have been lucky enough to encounter colleagues whose friendship and enthusiasm has inspired me to persevere with what has, at times, seemed a Sisyphean task. First and foremost, thanks must go to Dr Tom Lawrence and Rebecca Warren, whose constant friendship has proven invaluable. Alongside them, a raft of other close friends have provided endless intrigue and intellectual stimulation, amongst them: Dr Valentina Caldari, Dr Jan Vanderburie, Aske Brock, Rachel Basch, Dr Liam Haydon, Tim Mongiat, Seb Browne, Peter Keeling, John Walsh, Dr Ciaran Arthur, Markus Wahl, Dr Nicky Tsougarakis, Liam O'Rourke, Rob Newman, Pip Gregory, and Drs Steve and Sheryl McDonald Werronan. Special thanks go to Ann MacDonald, for the love, support and silliness that kept me sane in the final months.

Final thanks must be reserved for my parents, Mark and Mardie, and my brother, Robert, who have all been unwavering in their love and provision through this often uncertain and arduous time. Only through their support – intellectually, emotionally and financially – has this project to come close to fruition. Without them I would certainly not be where I am today, which is, I think, a positive thing. Whatever this is, I dedicate it to them with all my love.

List of Abbreviations

<i>aCAD</i>	A Cambridge Alumni Database < http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/enter.html >
<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series</i> , ed. by J. R. Dasent, 32 vols (London, 1890-1907)
<i>Arch. Cant.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i>
BL	British Library, London
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Library and Archives
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
<i>CCEd</i>	Clergy of the Church of England Database < http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/ >
<i>CCRHenVI</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls for Henry VI's Reign</i> , 6 vols (London, 1933-39)
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1272-1509</i> , 22 vols (London, 1911-62)
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records</i> , 15 vols (London, 1891-1939)
<i>EconHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EEBO</i>	<i>Early English Books Online</i> < http://eebo.chadwyck.com >
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Clark, <i>Society</i>	Peter Clark, <i>English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution</i> (Hassocks, 1977)
Cowper, <i>Freemen</i>	<i>The Roll of the Freemen of the City of Canterbury, 1392-1800</i> , ed. by J. M. Cowper (Canterbury, 1903)
Cowper, <i>Intrantes</i>	<i>A List of the Persons Admitted to Live and Trade within the City of Canterbury on Payment of an Annual Fine, from 1392 to 1592</i> , ed. by J. M. Cowper (Canterbury, 1904)
<i>Commons Journal</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1, 1547-1629</i> (London, 1802)
<i>CSP Spanish</i>	<i>Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere</i> , ed. by Pascaul Gayangos, 13 vols (London: HMSO, 1867-1954)
Foxe, <i>A&M</i>	J. Foxe, <i>Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perilous Dayes</i> , (London, 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583). Each edition available in full at johnfoxe.org N.B. all page numbers are Foxe's original paginations
<i>HR</i>	<i>Historical Research</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>The Historical Journal</i>
<i>HMC Fifth</i>	<i>Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts</i> , pt. 1 (London, 1876)
<i>HMC Sixth</i>	<i>Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts</i> , pt. 1 (London, 1877)
<i>HMC Ninth</i>	<i>Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts</i> , pt. 1 (London, 1883)
<i>HPO</i>	<i>History of Parliament Online</i> < http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org >
Hasted, <i>Survey</i>	Edward Hasted, <i>The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent</i> , 2 nd edition, 12 vols (Canterbury, 1797-98)

<i>JEH</i>	<i>The Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>LPL</i>	Lambeth Palace Library, Southwark
<i>L&P</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> ed. by J. Brewer, J. Gardiner, & R. H. Brodie, 22 vols in 37 pts (London, 1864-1932)
<i>Lords Journal</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 1, 1509-1577</i> (London, 1846)
<i>Lit. Cant.</i>	<i>Litterae Cantuarienses: The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury</i> ed. by J. B. Sheppard, 3 vols, Rolls Series, 85, (London, 1887-89)
<i>Misc. Writings</i>	<i>Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556</i> , ed. by J. E. Cox, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1846)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. by H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, online edition (2007) < http://www.oxforddnb.com >
<i>PROME</i>	<i>The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504</i> , ed. by C. Given-Wilson, P. Brand, A. Curry, R. Horrox, G. Martin, M. Ormrod & S. Phillips, online edition (2005) < http://www.sd-editions.com/PROME/home.html >
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>Remains of Cranmer</i>	<i>The Remains of Thomas Cranmer</i> , ed. by H. Jenkyns, 4 vols (Oxford, 1833)
<i>Somner, Antiquities</i>	William Somner, <i>The Antiquities of Canterbury or a Survey of that Ancient City with the Suburbs and Cathedral</i> (London, 1640)
<i>SPO</i>	State Papers Online < http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx >
<i>SR</i>	<i>Statutes of the Realm</i> , 10 vols (London, 1810-28)
<i>STC</i>	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad: 1475-1640</i> , second edition, revised & enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer (London, 1986)
<i>TRP</i>	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i> , ed. by P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, 3 vols (New Haven, 1964-1969)
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives, Kew
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History: Kent</i> , ed. by W. Page, 3 vols (London, 1908-1932)
<i>Zell, Fines: Hen VIII</i>	M. Zell, <i>Kent Feet of Fines: Henry VIII</i> , Kent Records New Series, ii, (Maidstone, 1998)
<i>Zell, Fines: Ph. & Ma.</i>	M. Zell, <i>Kent Feet of Fines: Philip & Mary I</i> , Kent Records New Series, iv, (Maidstone, 2010)

Money

£	= pounds
s	= shilling
d	= pence
ob	= halfpence

£1 sterling	= 20 shillings (s) or 240 pence (d)
1 shilling	= 12 pence (d)
1 mark	= 160 pence (d) or 13s 4d, or two-thirds of £1
1 noble	= 80 pence (d) or 6s 8d, or one-third of £1

Author's Note

Original spelling and sentence structure has been preserved in the majority of quotes from both printed and manuscript sources. Any instances where spelling has been altered (i.e. when expanding abbreviated words) have been done using square brackets to highlight the changes. In some cases, deleted words from manuscript sources have been left out and punctuation silently added to aid comprehension.

The civic year in Canterbury lasted from Michaelmas (29 September) to Michaelmas. Mayoral years are given from the date of their commencement, so, for example, William Atwode, who was mayor between Michaelmas 1500 and Michaelmas 1501, is listed as mayor for the year 1500. All city officers are dated in this same fashion. All other dates have been modernised so that the year is taken to begin on 1 January.

Like most historians of the English Reformation, I have been contemplating the issue of proper terminology throughout the entirety of this project. In most cases, I will use 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' in their broadest senses to describe an individual's religio-political outlook. In this sense 'Catholic' will refer to those who continued to observe facets of late medieval devotion but who accepted the royal supremacy. 'Protestant' will be used as an umbrella term for those who accepted the supremacy alongside other facets of reformed theology, but who cannot be comfortably deemed solidian 'evangelicals'. When used, 'evangelical' will be used in a more confessionally pointed fashion. Likewise, 'Roman Catholic' will be employed only for those who actively maintained papal jurisdiction following the supremacy.

Introduction

This thesis will consider the course and consequence of the early decades of the English Reformation on Canterbury's urban community. A cursory look at the Elizabethan city would suggest that the transition from late medieval Roman Catholicism to reformed Protestantism had been smooth and relatively swift. When Queen Elizabeth spent a fortnight there in September 1570, she found a city firmly aligned with Elizabethan Protestantism.¹ In the preceding decade, the city's civic corporation had passed ordinances mandating that council meetings commenced with psalm singing and prayers for divine protection 'agaynst [the] antecryste and all hys complayces'.² Likewise, civic officers were habitually appointed to watch for haunters of taverns, and Sabbatarian ordinances saw public and private dancing prohibited at all times and citizens prosecuted for baiting bulls during 'Devine Servis'.³ The city's governors, then, had readily incorporated the moderate Calvinism of the Elizabethan settlement into the city's legal and ceremonial foundations. However, despite this apparently definitive picture, Canterbury's Reformation had been neither inevitable nor hotly anticipated by the city community. Likewise, its civic corporation showed no signs of outward confessionalisation until after Elizabeth had ascended the throne.

This thesis will explore the conflict between an outward institutional conformity and the indiscernible inner turmoil of a provincial populace during a national transition to reformed religion. Concurrently, it will consider the political

¹ For details of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Canterbury see: *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of Early Modern Sources*, ed. by E. Goldring, F. Eales, E. Clarke and J. E. Archer, 5 vols (Oxford, 2014), ii, pp. 55-61.

² CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 150r.

³ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 112v, 198r; J/Q/366, fol. 1r; J/Q/370, fol. 3r; J/Q/374i; J/Q/388, fol. 1r.

structures, socio-economic circumstances, and community institutions that affected this transition. At the forefront of this were the city's magistrates, who, acting as a corporate body, were the principal political force within the city. As urban magistrates, these individuals had the ability to monitor and enforce civil order within their jurisdictions; while as a collective political edifice, the corporation served as an effective conduit for state mandated reform. Outside of the guildhall, members of the corporation were leading citizens within their parishes, and moved within distinct networks of kinship and commonality that shielded them from many disruptive aspects of early religious reform. Canterbury's governing classes held the potential to be powerful reformatory agents, and their almost total acquiescence with state policy helped transform what might otherwise have been a series of doctrinal abstractions into a socio-political reality.

Late medieval urban governance was founded upon the idea that it should foster good order and social calm; in the half century preceding England's break with Rome the expansion and formalisation of corporate rule in Canterbury had enshrined these principles in custom and institution. During the early decades of reform, a confessionally diverse corporation overlooked individual conscience to pursue collective well-being and social quiet. The growth of Lutheranism in the city during the later-1530s, the iconoclasm of the 1540s, the Marian persecutions, or the socio-economic crises of the mid-Tudor period did little to undermine corporate solidarity that triumphed over petty factionalism. There were no purges of the corporate membership, no balkanisation on the city benches, and an outwardly proto-Erastian attitude to doctrinal matters helped eschew controversy in place of humdrum conformity. This situation resulted from a combination of factors in some ways peculiar to the social, political, and economic contexts of urban Canterbury,

but in other ways, distinctly familiar to the broader picture of state-led reform in England.

During the 1530s, the deployment of subtly didactic instruments of medieval statecraft such as proclamations, royal pronouncements and oaths, produced a grey area within which political activity could operate regardless of individual conscience. The royal supremacy's combination of political action with the rhetoric of Divine Law and scriptural righteousness invoked the king's subjects to accept and police a new spiritual order, and marked out sedition as the chief enemy of the commonwealth.⁴ The initial efficiency of the Henrician authorities in coupling reform of church and state with a highly politicised rhetoric of royal obedience provided a social adhesive that blunted the destabilising effects of religious change. The informal familial and formal business networks of urban society endured any early moves towards confessionalisation, and the corporate aspect of city government was at no stage undermined by religious division. During the reigns of Edward and Mary, doctrinal change at the national level intensified, but the political classes in Canterbury, still divided in terms of individual beliefs, continued to follow state mandates while working to ensure the good order of their own little commonwealth.

The Reformation was not simply the rejection of particular doctrines and practices and the adoption of others, there was a broader institutional and cultural transformation that accompanied religious change. In the microcosmic confines of a provincial city, the process of reform speaks to a broader climate of urban

⁴ D. Loades, 'The Royal Supremacy: A Note in Discussion', in *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland*, ed. by W. J. Mommsen, P. Alter, and R. W. Scribner (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 128-129 (p. 128); R. Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), 863-894.

development, and is visible in the social, political, and economic contexts of the time. In this process, civic officials played a central role in facilitating or hindering reform. By fostering unity under the king, rather than division under conscience, Canterbury's corporate leaders helped preserve the integrity of their institutional power, and by doing so tacitly ensured the success of the Protestant Reformation. As such, the political actions of the Canterbury Corporation, both collectively and individually, adopt a religious significance, and the process of reformation in the city becomes less a story of faction, opposition, and zeal, but one of cooperation and compromise.

2 *Historiography: the Reformation and Urban History*

2.1 *The Reformation in the Round*

This thesis will feed into a number of streams of historical study. To address the first and most overcrowded of these, that of the English Reformation, it is necessary to discuss the still-standing totems of the opposing whiggish and revisionist schools. On the side of the former, the work of A. G. Dickens and G. R. Elton present England's transition to Protestantism as a quick and inevitable process. To both men, this inevitability originated in the laity's pervasive appetite for reform coupled with the political expediency of Protestant reform in the context of mid-century England.⁵ While Dickens and Elton made some concessions in their later work, suggesting that at times Protestant reform might have been a contested or obfuscated process, their

⁵ A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964); G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge, 1953).

original conceit that Protestantism equalled progress and was therefore inexorable, remained.⁶

From the start, Dickens approached the English Reformation with a desire to reveal the social and religious reality of a rapid ‘bottom up’ Reformation, accusing his predecessors of suffering a state-centric ‘political myopia’.⁷ Instead, he emphasised parochial dissatisfaction with traditional religion and focused on the supposed benefits offered to the laity by Protestant innovations (such as a reformed liturgy and vernacular scriptures) that meant that widespread devotion to Roman Catholicism was relinquished soon after 1534. While he did not entirely reject the political dimension, Dickens downplayed political impetus as a factor in its success; high politics and the Cromwellian bureaucracy served only to facilitate the reforms being pushed forward from below. He asserted that even before talk of doctrinal reform entered the political arena alongside the king’s great matter, sufficient ‘Protestant convictions’ existed to ensure a popular reformation would occur, regardless of political participation.⁸

In contrast to this approach, Geoffrey Elton’s *Tudor Revolution in Government*, forcefully expresses the political case for reform under Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell. Looking to cement Cromwell as the architect of a ‘modern’ English State, Elton’s Reformation demonstrated how the king’s chief minister had

⁶ The best example of either man making concessions in this regard would be: G. R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972).

⁷ From the preface to the second edition where the author counters many of his critics, see: A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, second edn (London, 1989), p. 11. The quote of ‘act of state’ is taken from Maurice Powicke, one of the constitutional historians singled out by Dickens, see: F. M. Powicke, *The Reformation in England* (Oxford, 1941), p. 1.

⁸ Ibid. On the themes of Lollardy and anticlericalism, two central features of Dickens’ Reformation, see: A. G. Dickens, ‘The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 78 (1987), 187-222; idem, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-58* (London, 1959); idem, ‘The Shape of Anti-Clericalism and the Reformation’, in *Politics and society in Reformation Europe : Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by T. Scott and E. I. Kouri (Basingstoke, 1986), pp. 379-410.

seized upon reformed ideas that suited contemporary political demands, and effectively implemented reform as part of a major overhaul of the architecture of the English state. Using Cromwell's governmental archive and the full range of the State Papers, Elton fastidiously recreated the institutional and constitutional edifices that conceived, propagated, and secured England's 'top-down' Reformation.⁹ Where Dickens pointed to long roots of proto-Protestantism in England, Elton highlighted the efficiency of state institutions as the key to England's rapid transition to Protestantism, suggesting that by Edward VI's death England had transitioned to a predominantly Protestant nation.¹⁰

The work of Elton and Dickens epitomises professional history, obsessively researched and sensitively expressed, yet both remain open to criticism due to their binary concepts of religious identity and characterisation of deficient Roman Catholicism against progressive Protestantism. As with the majority of whiggish narratives, Henry's break with Rome is characterised as the freeing of English communities and political institutions from the confines of a church that was constrictively 'medieval'. Such a concept has been deeply rooted in the English historical consciousness ever since the passing of the act in restraint of appeals (24 Henry VIII C.12).¹¹ The corruption of the medieval church, the incompetence of its clergy, the vice of monasticism, and the crushing weight of the popish yoke on

⁹ G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (Cambridge, 1960); idem, *Policy and Police*.

¹⁰ G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (London, 1977), p. 31.

¹¹ There is a wide literature on this which will be explored in subsequent chapters, but for an introduction see: S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992); G. Nicholson, 'The Act of Appeals and the English Reformation', in *Law and Government under the Tudors: Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton on the Occasion of his Retirement*, ed. by C. Cross, D. Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 19-30; P. Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. by R. Cust and A. Hughes (London, 1989), pp. 72-106 (esp. pp. 74-83); G. Walker, *Persuasive Fictions: Faction, Faith and Political Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 72-98; J. P. D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the West Country* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 213-37; K. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2009), pp. 81-128.

popular piety were all tropes established and propagated by the Henrician state and seared into the national consciousness by John Foxe and generations of Protestant historiography. In this sense, the true value of Elton's and Dickens' works are as highly sophisticated examples of a narrative first laid out under Henry VIII and firmly established during the reign of Elizabeth I in order to legitimate and secure an uncertain doctrinal future.

In opposition to this progressivist narrative stand the works of revisionist scholars like J. J. Scarisbrick, Christopher Haigh, and Eamon Duffy that stress the nascent popularity and vibrancy of traditional religion on the eve of the Reformation, and the uncertainty of reform thereafter.¹² As with Dickens and Elton, revisionists have approached English reform from a range of perspectives while sharing a common conceit, in this case that the Reformation was neither popular nor inexorable. The revisionist position is perhaps best characterised by Scarisbrick's oft-quoted polemic that 'on the whole, English men and women did not want the Reformation, and most of them were slow to accept it when it came'.¹³ Just as Dickens before them, Scarisbrick and Duffy focused principally on parochial responses to doctrinal innovations, but concluded that lingering popular enthusiasm for traditional ceremonies meant that the impetus for change must have come 'from above'.¹⁴ Revisionist history thus transformed England's transition to Protestantism

¹² J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1985); C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975); Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*. Just as Elton and Dickens drew from a long-standing Protestant historiographical tradition, so too did this revisionist picture draw on a more restrained Roman Catholic tradition, see: J. Lingard, *History of England, From the First Invasion by the Romans to the accession of William and Mary in 1688*, 10 vols (London, 1819-30); F. A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1900); idem, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (London, 1899).

¹³ Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p. 1.

¹⁴ Some good examples of this parochial focus can be found at: J. J. Scarisbrick, 'Religion and Politics in Northamptonshire in the reign of Henry VIII', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 5 (1974), 85-90; E. Duffy, 'The Disenchantment of Space: Salle Church and the Reformation', in *Religion and the Early Modern State*, ed. by J. D. Tracy and M. Ragnow (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 324-76; idem, 'The Parish, Piety, and Patronage in Late Medieval East Anglia: The Evidence of Rood

from a popular ‘grassroots’ event, to the exploit of a megalomaniacal regime acting on a political whim backed only by a small cadre of reformers.

Much of the early revisionist work pursued a similar experience-led understanding of the Reformation as Dickens had championed, and, in a similar vein, showed little regard for the wider narrative of state-led reform. Christopher Haigh’s picture of Tudor Lancashire explored various strategies of parish resistance that emerged following Henry’s break with Rome, and demonstrated that in Lancashire the official reformation was a stymied affair. By the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Lancashire laity had settled into a pattern of outward conformity and clandestine conservative worship. Haigh’s decision to focus attention on one of Tudor England’s ‘dark corners’ spawned a host of diocesan and county studies that have provided vital geographical depth to our understanding of the English Reformation and its many vicissitudes.¹⁵ Through a targeted, often parish-by-parish, focus, revisionist scholars revealed some of the complexities of the English Reformation, highlighting that the experience of reform was by no means uniform; progress was often slow, and the triumph of Protestantism was never inevitable.

Besides denting the veneer of irrevocability that surrounded Protestantism’s success, revisionism also dismantled the Foxian ‘grand narrative’ of the English

Screens’, in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, ed. by K. L. French, G. G. Gibbs and B. A. Kumin (Manchester, 1997), pp. 133-62; idem, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, 2001).

¹⁵ Chief amongst these is Robert Whiting’s survey of the south-west that postulates that in this region the Reformation marked a shift from passionate Catholicism to Protestant passivity, see: R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989); Whiting’s ideas were further elaborated in: idem, *Local Responses to the English Reformation* (Basingstoke, 1998); idem, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 2010). For studies in the same vein see: M. Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation: The Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-1547* (Cambridge, 1981); D. MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religions in an English County 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986); P. Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1994); B. A. Kumin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c.1400-1560* (Aldershot, 1996).

Reformation by undermining the sense of political purpose that Elton and his forebears had created. Haigh's *English Reformations* demonstrated the oft-overlooked or unconsidered inconsistencies in royal policy, both at home and abroad, and suggested that to speak of a singular Reformation was to misrepresent the nature of reform.¹⁶ Even within the reign of a single monarch, numerous reformatory movements could begin and end at the behest of a combination of socio-economic or geo-political concerns. Diarmaid MacCulloch extrapolated this picture of disparity and contradiction to a continental scale. His grand exploration of European reform movements highlighted the lingering absence of real political or theological coherence in most European regions.¹⁷ As a result of this bifurcation of reform movements, study of the English Reformation is less prone to cast reform as a chronologically exponential process, set in motion by Henry VIII and enshrined by his Protestant offspring.¹⁸

Yet, despite these achievements, once the revisionist tide began to ebb, some interpretive detritus remained. Despite the parochial or diocesan focus of much revisionist history, the social dynamics between those communities that embraced reform and those that rejected it remained unelucidated.¹⁹ Likewise, the problem of why, given the parochial resistance to the liturgical and theological change, Protestantism persevered and eventually succeeded, remained unanswered. In order

¹⁶ Haigh, *English Reformations*. Haigh's narrative has been furthered in recent years by Norman Jones, whose post-revisionist study has removed the plural from the title but goes a long way to differentiate between the reformations imposed by successive monarchs, see: N. L. Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford, 2002).

¹⁷ D. MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided c.1490-1700* (London, 2004)

¹⁸ This is perhaps best seen in the reinvigoration of studies of the Marian reformation, which until recently was seen largely as the violent thrashings of a repressive religious regime in its death throes, see in particular: E. Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, 2010); W. Wizeman SJ, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); *Mary Tudor: Old and new Perspectives*, ed. by S. Doran and T. S. Freeman (Basingstoke, 2011).

¹⁹ The great exception to this would be: S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989).

to explain these problems historians have started examining popular responses to a more broadly defined process of reformation encompassing political, social, economic and cultural factors, while taking into account some of the more mundane aspects of the English Reformation. Whereas at certain times and in certain places reform could be visceral and noisy, for many English men and women it was more understated and indiscernible. In an attempt to draw attention to these less conspicuous experiences, so-called post-revisionists have looked to establish a synthesis between the expediency and effectiveness described by Dickens and Elton, and the resistance and entrenchment proposed by revisionists.²⁰ Ethan Shagan has been at the forefront of this movement, and has looked beyond the divisive aspects of doctrinal reform to refocus attention on the enduring popular appeal of Protestant religion. While recognising numerous points of friction in the early English Reformation, Shagan stresses that a combination of Tudor political nous and societal compromise circumvented these.²¹

In order to explain England's Protestantisation, Shagan envisioned a process of conversion that was 'more piecemeal' and within which 'politics and spiritual change were irrevocably intertwined.'²² Rather than focussing on the divisive, Shagan's work identifies points of 'collaboration' and 'compromise' between crown authorities and provincial communities that facilitated a process of 'cultural

²⁰ That being said most post-revisionist scholars tend to favour the conclusions of Haigh and Duffy, rather than Dickens.

²¹ E. H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003); idem, 'Confronting Compromise: The Schism and its Legacy in mid-Tudor England', in *Catholics and the "Protestant" Nation: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. by E. H. Shagan (Manchester, 2005), pp. 49-68.

²² Shagan, *Popular Politics*, p. 7. In his discussions of a collaborative reformation, Shagan was building upon the work of Christopher Marsh who spoke of a 'compliance conundrum' when discussing the disjuncture between revisionism's picture of a healthy late medieval piety, and the relatively rapid progress of reform through large sections of the English populace, see: C. Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England: Holding Their Peace* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 197.

accommodation'.²³ Shagan's discussion of a collaborative reformation has granted the English laity a degree of agency in the process of reform that transcended the binaries of passive acceptance or obstinate resistance, highlighting instead the resourcefulness of communities in making the best of an uncertain situation. In doing so, Shagan demonstrates that popular interactions with the Reformation were more complex and more dynamic than whiggish or revisionist 'top-down' models had previously suggested.

Alongside Shagan, other post-revisionists such as Peter Marshall, Richard Rex, Susan Wabuda, Alec Ryrie, and Christopher Marsh, to name but a few, have deepened our understanding of English reform by emphasising the role of religious reform as an 'agent of social and cultural change'.²⁴ Broadly speaking, the majority of post-revisionist work has suggested that Protestantism won out in large part thanks to the convenience of conformity.²⁵ Behind this clumsy oversimplification, though, post-revisionism has highlighted numerous contributing factors ranging from: fear, effective royal enforcement, societal pressure, financial incentive, or the result of decades of indistinct or unfocused state directions on reform.²⁶ Whatever the case, between passive consent and tub-thumping zeal, post-revisionism has exposed an array of positions which moved England towards its conversion.

²³ Ibid, p. 7.

²⁴ P. Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642*, second edn (London, 2012), p. xii.

²⁵ P. Marshall, 'Evangelical Conversion in the Reign of Henry VIII', in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. by P. Marshall and A. Ryrie (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 14-37; R. Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (Basingstoke, 2006); S. Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002). See also: A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005); K. V. Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2009).

²⁶ P. Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 564-586 (pp. 584-86).

Over the course of the last half a century, then, historians of the English Reformation have changed the nature of the questions being asked of doctrinal change. It had been customary to consider whether the English Reformation came from above or below, whether it was fast or slow, or whether it was necessary or frivolous. More recently the impact of doctrinal change on popular and political culture has been brought into sharper historical focus and there have been important discussions of how historians might hope to quantify such indistinct entities as ‘a reformation’, or what it meant to be ‘Protestant’ or ‘Catholic’ in post-supremacy England.²⁷ In short, post-revisionist history has helped further elucidate why English society, for the most part, came to terms with the idea of a Protestant Reformation.

2. 2 *Perspectives on the English Urban Reformation*

In addition to this general picture of the English Reformation, this thesis will approach religious change from an urban perspective. In a lecture delivered at the University of Kent in 1986, Patrick Collinson bemoaned the peripheral role that the Reformation had played in the history of English towns and cities.²⁸ Prior to this urban history existed as a branch of social history which had emerged out of the social history ‘revolution’ of the 1960s and 70s. Paul Slack and Peter Clark set the

²⁷ T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991); R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994); P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists, and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven, 2002); A. Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013); A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Memory, and Identity in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011). On the issue of nomenclature see in particular: P. Marshall, ‘Is the Pope Catholic? Henry VIII and the Semantics of Schism’, in *Catholics and the “Protestant” Nation*, ed. Shagan, pp. 22-48 (p. 25); A. Ryrie, ‘Counting Sheep, Counting Shepherds: The Problem of Allegiance in the English Reformation’, in *Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. by Marshall and Ryrie, pp. 84-110 (pp. 103-05).

²⁸ The lecture was printed in: P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), pp. 28-59. This is not to say that the role of towns in the process of reformation had been unstudied, there had been a number of surveys completed prior to Collinson’s call, most notably: W. J. Sheils, ‘Religion in Provincial Towns: Innovation and Tradition’, in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, ed. by F. Heal and R. O’Day (Basingstoke, 1977), pp. 156-176.

agenda of this wave of urban history, basing their approach upon continental methodologies and focussing urban experience through a lens of economic, demographic and social development.²⁹ In their wake, a flurry of urban biographies and the occasional thematic study followed which for the most part argued that sixteenth century was a period of acute crisis for urban areas; populations contracted, economies faltered, vagrancy swelled, oligarchs became entrenched, and the erosion of late medieval culture unsettled communities.³⁰ Through such a lens, the process of the Reformation represented a primarily destructive force.

Previous generations of scholars described the period immediately following the 1530s as barren times for England's urban classes, where the benefits of being freed from restrictive ceremonial and religious obligations were outweighed by the denigration of the ritual aspects of civic government that weakened magisterial authority and entrenched oligarchic rule. In such a view, Collinson asserted, the post-Reformation years served as the 'narrow neck' of a 'metaphorical hour-glass', linking the 'rich, tumultuous, irrepressible animal' of late medieval society, and the 'civilisation, high society and social class' of late-seventeenth century urbanity.³¹ In order to counter this he urged others to seek out the true impact that religious change

²⁹ The foundation stone of this approach was the collection of essays edited by Clark and Slack in 1972: *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700: Essays in Urban History*, ed. by P. Clark and P. Slack (London, 1972). This was followed by a co-authored monograph: P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1976).

³⁰ A succinct example of this would be: B. Dobson, 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 27 (1977), 1-22. Alongside Clark and Slack, Alan Dyer and Charles Phythian-Adams has been the most influential in this regard, see for example: A. Dyer, 'Growth and Decay in English Towns', *Urban History Yearbook*, (1979), 60-72; C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1979); idem, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', in *Towns in Society: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, ed. by P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 159-185; idem, 'Dr Dyer's Urban Undulations', *Urban History Yearbook*, (1979), 73-76. For urban biographies, see: J. F. Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* (Chichester, 1988); J. T. Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion and Government, 1620-1690* (Oxford, 1979); D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979); J. H. Bettey, *Church and Community in Bristol during the Sixteenth Century*, (Bristol, 1983); W. G. Hoskins, *Two Thousand Years in Exeter* (Chichester, 1960).

³¹ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, pp. 58-59.

had upon the social, political, economic, and cultural worlds of the post-Reformation town.

Almost immediately following his calls for a new approach to urban religious history, Collinson, alongside John Craig, co-edited a formative collection of essays titled simply *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*.³² In their introduction, Collinson and Craig restate the charge that urban history had been ‘essentially infrastructural, a matter of demography, distributive economics and consequential societal arrangements and readjustments’.³³ The collection’s thirteen chapters (including eight case studies of different towns) go some way to addressing these concerns.

Claire Cross describes a smooth, relatively untroubled transition to Protestantism in Doncaster, where heresy or recusancy was relatively unseen and where local elites hindered discord.³⁴ Similar situations are described in Worcester, Reading, and Halifax.³⁵ In stark contrast, at Beverley David Lamburn finds a small town riven by corrupt magistrates and a divided laity, a situation similar to that described at Shrewsbury by Patrick Collinson.³⁶ Perhaps the most interesting examples in this collection come from Mark Byford and Caroline Litzenberger, who describe two towns with utterly contrasting experiences. Byford’s Colchester was

³² *The Reformation in English Towns c.1500-1640*, ed. by P. Collinson and J. Craig (Basingstoke, 1998).

³³ P. Collinson and J. Craig, ‘Introduction’, in *The Reformation in English Towns c.1500-1640*, ed. by P. Collinson and J. Craig (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 1-23 (p. 3).

³⁴ C. M. Cross, ‘Religion in Doncaster from the Reformation to the Civil War’, in *Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 48-62.

³⁵ D. MacCulloch, ‘Worcester: A Cathedral City in the Reformation’, in *Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 94-112; J. Martin, ‘Leadership and Priorities in Reading During the Reformation’, in *Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 113-29; W. Sheils and S. Sheils, ‘Textiles and Reform: Halifax and its Hinterland’, in *Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 130-43.

³⁶ D. Lamburn, ‘Politics and Religion in Early Modern Beverley’, in *Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 64-78; P. Collinson, ‘The Shearman’s Tree and the Preacher: The Strange Death of Merry England in Shrewsbury and Beyond’, in *Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 205-20.

controlled by an abrasive set of governors whose forthright Protestantism stimulated clashes with a less enthusiastic populace, resulting in a bloody and divisive reformation where Protestant and Catholic drank in different pubs!³⁷ In Tewkesbury, on the other hand, Litzenberger describes an apathetic and often begrudging adoption of Protestantism, which did not really take hold until well into the 1570s.³⁸ Overall, the small collection of local studies proffered here highlights the untapped riches offered by studies of the urban Reformation, validating and reemphasising Collinson's earlier appeals.³⁹

Two works published around the same time attempted to trace the rise of Protestantism (doctrinally, intellectually, and materially) in two of England's principle cities.⁴⁰ Martha Skeeters' examination of Bristol found that reform movements had an inauspicious beginning in the city. While Skeeters only rarely directs focus away from the city's clerical community, her description of growing lay control over spiritual matters, the evolving role of the parochial clergy in the city community, the decline of the clerical situation following the dissolution, and the wide-ranging impacts of new cathedral foundations demonstrated some of the previously overlooked complexities of urban reformation. In her brief discussions of Bristol's civic authorities, Skeeters suggests that the corporation often found itself at

³⁷ M. Byford, 'The Birth of a Protestant Town: The Process of Reformation in Tudor Colchester, 1530-1580', in *Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 23-47; cf. L. M. Higgs, *Godliness & Governance in Tudor Colchester* (Ann Arbor, 1998), pp. 121-46.

³⁸ C. J. Litzenberger, 'The Coming of Protestantism to Elizabethan Tewkesbury', in *Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 79-93. This description of Tewkesbury's slow Reformation is in line with Litzenberger's description of the county of Gloucestershire, where a conservative laity acted as a major impediment to the efforts of reformers, see: C. J. Litzenberger, *The English Laity and the Reformation: Gloucestershire 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997).

³⁹ This was underscored further in Craig's monograph on four East Anglian market towns (Thetford, Bury St Edmund's, Mildenhall, and Hadleigh), each displaying different characteristics and experiences of religious changes, see: J. Craig, *Reformation, Politics, and Polemics, the Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500-1610* (Aldershot, 2001).

⁴⁰ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*; M. C. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation, c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1992).

odds with a lingering Catholic clergy, a situation that on occasion invited the involvement of state authorities. Skeeters also highlights the importance of effective sermonising as a tool of reformatory change in the cramped confines of the urban parish, but made clear that sermons fulfilled as much of a political role as a doctrinal one, often utilised to mediate debates between opposed lay and clerical communities.

Alongside Skeeters' work, Susan Brigden's magisterial *London and the Reformation* provides a sensitive and engaging discussion of reform in England's capital, where popular and official reformations regularly clashed. Utilising the eye-watering richness of the sources available for London, Brigden transcended pre-revisionist binaries to demonstrate the fluidity of religious identity during the confused atmosphere of mid-century England. While London was home to substantial Protestant and Catholic communities, before and after the 1530s, Brigden concludes that by the mid-century 'many – perhaps even most – Londoners still lingered in a religious half-world'.⁴¹ This stymied confessional picture, coupled with the fluctuating religious policy of mid-Tudor England, made London's reformation especially vituperative, full of recriminations and communal back-biting. The heresy hunts of Wolsey and More in the later 1520s, the fallout of the Six Articles, and Edwardian iconoclasm were all felt with particular intensity in London, and provided factions within the civic authorities numerous opportunities to pursue political and spiritual vendettas. While the fluidity of religious identity described by Brigden is familiar, the wider picture of communal strife differs wildly from that seen in Canterbury, and underscores the exceptionalism of London in this period.

⁴¹ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 456.

Both Skeeters and Brigden envision reform as a precursor to communal breakdown and social division, and in this sense their conclusions were in line with the revisionist *milieu* in which they were written. In recent years, though, with the rise of post-revisionism, studies of the urban Reformation have tacked towards a broader interpretation of reform. This has been characterised by a greater emphasis on the social, political and economic lives of communities, on the endurance of corporate and guild institutions, and on the evolution of civic ritual as a response to religious change. By looking beyond division towards the broader activities of economic and political institutions, it has become clear that communities were not necessarily riven by competition between Protestant and Catholic. The work of Robert Tittler has been at the forefront of this move.⁴² Tittler has offered an authoritative revisionist argument, deconstructing the long-accepted conclusion that the Reformation was a negative process for provincial urban centres, yet his focus is rarely on doctrinal change. Rather, his principal focus has been the cultural and political implications of the ‘Age of Reformation in English Urban History’.⁴³

Tittler’s lack of detailed discussion of the religious dimension of urban reform has led to accusations of narrowness, but such criticisms are unfounded. By highlighting the symbiotic relationship of the reformation of theology and faith with the broader sweep of urban culture and politics, Tittler has shown how broad and far-reaching the ‘Age of Reformation’ was in the urban context.⁴⁴ Prefiguring a previous

⁴² For example: R. Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540–1640* (Oxford, 1998); idem, *Townspeople and Nation, English Urban Experience, 1540-1640* (Stanford, 2001).

⁴³ Tittler, *Reformation and the Towns*, p. 341. This theme has been expanded upon in Tittler’s other work: R. Tittler, *Architecture and Power, The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1991); idem, *The Face of the City, Civic Portraits and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007); idem, ‘Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory in English Provincial Towns’, *Urban History*, 24 (1997), 283-300.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of some of the long-term continuities of post-Reformation England see: L. Bates, ‘The Limits of Possibility in England’s Long Reformation’, *HJ*, 53 (2010), 1049-1070.

generation of scholars who spoke of the ‘Renaissance’ of English towns during the Restoration era, Tittler’s work has demonstrated that the ruling classes of sixteenth century towns experienced a cultural and political awakening following the 1530s, and made clear some of the opportunities presented to magisterial classes by attendant processes like the dissolutions of monasteries and chantries.⁴⁵ The freeing up of urban land markets and the reinvigoration of urban financial systems witnessed following the dissolutions gave rise to broader cultural changes within urban corporations, and gave many reason to transition to reformed religion.

Phil Withington has extended Tittler’s discussions of post-Reformation ‘urbanity’ in recent years by exploring the evolving role of urban citizens in post-Reformation English towns.⁴⁶ The period after 1540 is marked in England and Wales by a proliferation of newly incorporated urban boroughs. The first fifty-five years of Tudor rule contain just thirteen incorporations, between 1540 and 1558 another forty-five towns were made corporate, and under Queen Elizabeth there were fifty-three further incorporations (plus seventeen re-incorporations).⁴⁷ In order to assess the impact of this formalisation of urban governance, Withington has examined how the citizens and freemen of these multifarious ‘city commonwealths’ adapted to their

⁴⁵ C. J. Kitching, ‘The Disposal of Monastic and Chantry Lands’, in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, ed. by F. Heal and R. O’Day (Basingstoke, 1977), pp. 119-136; R. Tittler, ‘Reformation, Resources and Authority in English Towns: An Overview’, in *The Reformation in English Towns*, pp. 190-201. On the urban ‘Renaissance’ of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see: P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989); J. Barry, ‘Provincial Town Culture 1640-1780; Urbane or Civic?’, in *Interpretation and Cultural History*, ed. by A. Wear and J. H. Pittock-Wesson (London, 1991), pp. 198-233.

⁴⁶ P. Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000); idem, ‘Two Renaissances: Urban Political Culture in Post-Reformation England Reconsidered’, *HJ*, 44 (2001), 239-267; idem, ‘Citizens, Community and Political Culture’ in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. by A. Shepard and P. Withington (Manchester, 2000), pp. 134-156. See also: J. Bishop, ‘Utopia and Civic Politics in Mid-Sixteenth Century London’, *HJ*, 54 (2011), 933-953.

⁴⁷ Tittler, *Reformation*, pp. 90, 161-62. Only a small proportion of these were county-cities as Canterbury was, the majority remained subject to the jurisdiction of the county sheriff and justices.

newfound access to the ‘experience’ of government.⁴⁸ Withington, like Tittler, is not overly concerned with doctrinal change or religious affiliation, however, his discussions of the institutional and intellectual foundations of early modern urban politics fit into a distinctly post-Reformation conception of the English political nation. By focussing his attention on Elizabethan England and beyond, Withington sidesteps many of the ‘uncertainties’ and ‘compromises’ of Reformation urban politics; instead incorporating the development of an assured English Protestantism as an agent of social and political development. Just as Collinson’s discussion of England’s numerous ‘New Jerusalems’ was predicated on a successfully Protestantised political nation, so is Withington’s notion of a discursive proto-Habermasian political society flourishing in the guildhalls of late-sixteenth and early seventeenth century England.⁴⁹

In a contrasting vein, Muriel McClendon’s study of the Reformation and the magistracy of Norwich focuses explicitly on the role the Reformation played in the ‘changing position of religion’, politically and socially, in England’s second city.⁵⁰ What she found was a Reformation that was ‘unusually quiet’.⁵¹ Given East Anglia’s long association with Lollardy and Norwich’s reputation as a Dickensian heartland of Elizabethan puritanism, a smooth Reformation might not seem overly surprising. However, as McClendon demonstrates, beneath the surface there was significant strife in the city and Norwich’s status as one of reformed religion’s earliest success-stories remains thanks to the proactive response of urban magistrates to societal

⁴⁸ Withington, *Politics of Commonwealth*, p. 38.

⁴⁹ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA., 1991); P. Withington, ‘Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship and State-Formation in Early Modern England’, *American Historical Review*, 112 (2007), 1016-1038.

⁵⁰ M. McClendon, *The Quiet Reformation: Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich* (Stanford, 1999), p. 1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

controversy. McClendon suggests that to preserve their civic independence city magistrates maintained a veneer of societal calm by adopting a lenient attitude towards religious controversy. Importantly, despite often holding strong personal religious convictions, Norwich magistrates were able to ‘compartmentalize religion’ in to the grander scheme of urban political affairs.⁵² In this sense, McClendon makes the mundane aspects of urban political life concomitant with the wider narrative of English religious change.

The most persuasive aspect of McClendon’s study surrounds her discussion of Norwich’s re-inventions of civic ritual. As was the case in many English towns and cities, Norwich’s ritual calendar had served as an important social adhesive that the civic authorities were unwilling to sacrifice. But, equally reluctant to appear disobedient to government commands, these rituals were shorn of many of their ‘popish’ attributes; most notably with the re-founding of the Guild of St George as the Company of St George.⁵³ While subsequent research has undermined some of her conclusions, McClendon’s emphasis on the role of the urban magistrate and the importance of political concerns and corporate solidarity in the process of reform remains persuasive and informative.⁵⁴

A similar approach has been employed more recently by Richard Holder, in his doctoral thesis ‘The Early Reformation in Ipswich, 1520-1560’. Here Holder

⁵² McClendon, *Quiet Reformation*, pp. 28, 253.

⁵³ M. McClendon, “‘Against God’s Word’: Government, Religion and the Crisis of Authority in Early Reformation Norwich”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25 (1994), 353-369.

⁵⁴ M. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c. 1560-1643* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 32-35; T. S. Freeman, ‘The Quiet Reformation. Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich, by Muriel C. McClendon’, *JEH*, 51 (2000), 419-421. McClendon’s work should be supplemented by: B. McRee, ‘An Urban Fraternity in the Age of Reform: Norwich’s Gild of St. George, 1516-1548’ in *Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften in Europäischen Städten: Funktionen, Formen, Akteure*, ed. by M. Escher-Apsner (Frankfurt, 2009), pp. 47-66.

provides a detailed analysis of the role played by Ipswich's corporate governors (the portmen) in the early stages of their town's transition to Protestantism, describing a divided yet predominantly serene town community.⁵⁵ Using a deft touch, Holder pieces together Ipswich's sparse parochial and civic archives to demonstrate that parish communities, civic governors, and local gentry implemented reform very much at their own pace. Yet, it should be noted, Holder's portmen approached reform in a markedly different way to McClendon's magistrates. Rather than treading a cautious middle-way and pursuing proto-toleration, the Ipswich portmen actively encouraged evangelical reform across town parishes soon after the supremacy, and allowed individual conscience to drive their business. Holder makes clear that while political acceptability checked the actions of the portmen, this did not prevent them from pursuing reform privately and in their parishes.

The approaches of Tittler and McClendon have achieved something of a post-revisionist synthesis in recent years in Ben Lowe's work on the urban and county elites of the lower Severn valley.⁵⁶ Lowe's examination also sets in its prevailing interest in the role of civic and county politics in the process of religious change, and follows Tittler in the sense that his interest lies not purely in the reformation of faith but in the reformation of political and social activity that accompanied it. Lowe's description of Gloucester contrasts Caroline Litzenberger's earlier study, in that, to Lowe, the Protestant Reformation was all but over by the mid-1560s. Following a more overtly revisionist line of argument, Litzenberger

⁵⁵ R. J. Holder, 'The Early Reformation in Ipswich, 1520-1560' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2011).

⁵⁶ B. Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation: Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Gloucester Vale, 1483-1560* (Farnham, 2010).

contended that the early Reformation in Gloucester was a matter of conformity, as opposed to the ‘logical’ process of conversion presented by Lowe.⁵⁷

Lowe’s explanation for the relatively rapid transition draws heavily on Ethan Shagan’s discussions of ‘collaborations’ and ‘negotiations’.⁵⁸ Yet, where Shagan’s work implies that the Reformation’s enduring success was due in large part to the triumph of cynical self-interest over religious conviction, Lowe’s corresponding position is one of unbridled optimism. Lowe describes a situation where ‘a combination of prophetic message, socio-economic circumstance and political viability’ created an environment where tacit acceptance of reform became the natural choice.⁵⁹ As such, Lowe’s work demonstrates just how far conversations on the urban Reformation have come since Collinson’s clarion call three decades ago. From the picture of gloom and decay presented during the 1970s, scholars are now referring to the early decades of the English Reformation as ‘an age resplendent with hope and possibility’.⁶⁰

2.3 *The Kentish Reformation*

While Dickens did not think it fit to include Kent in his ‘great crescent’ of Reformation heartlands, the county’s social, geographical, and institutional setting have characterised it as site of a quick Dickensian Reformation.⁶¹ While in areas such as the north and south west of England, at the boundaries of state influence, the Reformation might have been expected to encounter greater obstinacy, pre-

⁵⁷ This argument was most clearly articulated here: C. J. Litzenberger, ‘St Michael’s, Gloucester, 1540-80: The Cost of Conformity in Sixteenth-Century England’, in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, ed. by K. L. French, G. G. Gibbs and B. A. Kümin (Manchester, 1997), pp. 230-49.

⁵⁸ Lowe, *Commonwealth*, pp. 3, 107, 204.

⁵⁹ Lowe, *Commonwealth*, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Lowe, *Commonwealth*, p. 188.

⁶¹ Dickens, ‘Early Expansion of Protestantism’, pp. 187-89.

revisionist logic would have it that reform was more easily enforced in regions proximate to the metropolis.⁶² What is more, counties on the east coast tended to be well connected to European centres of early evangelical reform, in particular the East Anglian towns like Colchester, Norwich, and Ipswich.⁶³ In Kent, ports along the Thames estuary bristled with continental ships, and the road from London to the continent running along the spine of the county directly through Canterbury acted as an important conduit between evangelical communities and the continent, especially during times of crisis, as in the mid-1520s or 1550s.⁶⁴

Alongside this, many eastern counties held long associations with heterodoxy. Following a decline in evidence of Lollardy during the mid-fifteenth century, there was an escalation in official efforts to detect and eradicate heresy between 1490 and 1522, when there were fifteen major heresy inquisitions.⁶⁵ During 1511-1512 there were campaigns enacted against heresy in numerous dioceses across the nation, including Canterbury.⁶⁶ Between April 1511 and June 1512 Archbishop William Warham's diocesan visitation uncovered fifty-three individuals suspected of various heresies.⁶⁷ Warham's investigations focused attention primarily on divergent

⁶² Perhaps best summed up in Peter Clark's description of a rapid, countywide, reformation, see: Clark, *Society*, pp. 34-68. On the problems of reform in more distant areas, see in particular: C. Haigh, *Resistance and Reformation in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975); E. Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, 2003).

⁶³ D. MacCulloch, 'A Reformation in the Balance: Power Struggles in the Diocese of Norwich, 1533-1553', in *Counties and Communities: Essays on East Anglian History Presented to Hassell Smith*, ed. by C. Rawcliffe R. Virgoe and R. Wilson (Norwich, 1996), pp. 97-114; D. MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudor: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1987), pp.345-47.

⁶⁴ Patrick Collinson, 'The Persecution in Kent', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by D. M. Loades and E. Duffy (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 309-33 (p. 312).

⁶⁵ On fifteenth century heresy, see: A. Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 163-65; J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414-1520* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 231-34. For the post 1490 investigations see: Thomson, *Later Lollards*, pp. 237-38.

⁶⁶ J. Fines, 'Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1511-1512', *JEH*, 14 (1963), 160-174; S. McSheffrey and N. P. Tanner, *Lollards of Coventry, 1486-1522* (London, 2003), pp. 48-49.

⁶⁷ *Kentish Heresy Proceedings 1511-12*, ed. by N. P. Tanner, Kent Records, xxvi (Maidstone, 1997).

beliefs concerning the Eucharist and denials of the Real Presence, but also looked into perceived widespread anticlericalism that existed around the county.⁶⁸ By the end of 1512 fifty-three people had been accused, five of whom were burned; of the remaining forty-eight, forty-five were ordered to do penance.⁶⁹ In Canterbury, a small sacramentarian cabal was identified, who, alongside their more serious crimes, railed against idolatry, hassled pilgrims, and spoke against the Virgin Mary, all heterodoxies that were to re-emerge in Canterbury parishes during the 1530s and 1540s.

Alongside these early signs of nonconformity, the region's proximity to continental Europe, the prominent position of the archbishop as a spiritual leader and leading county magnate, and the strong links between county gentry and royal court, in theory facilitated a rapid shift to majority Protestantism.⁷⁰ Even revisionists and post-revisionists have toed this line. Christopher Haigh commented that Kent 'was a far from typical area' in English terms, suggesting that it was one of the few areas where a bottom-up model of reform can be convincingly recognised.⁷¹ While more recently, Ethan Shagan has commented that Kent was the site of a more 'European' reformation than elsewhere in England.⁷²

The combination of an entrenched late-medieval Lollardy across the region, and the rapid development of a Puritan and nonconformist tradition in the second half of the sixteenth century and beyond, lends itself to such teleological or

⁶⁸ *Kentish Heresy Proceedings*, pp. xii-xv, xxv.

⁶⁹ *Kentish Heresy Proceedings*, pp. xi, xv-xv-xviii, xxv.

⁷⁰ Elton, *Policy and Police*, pp. 85-89. See also: C. M. Cross, *Church and People 1450-1660: The Triumph of the Laity in the English Church* (London, 1976), pp. 39-41.

⁷¹ C. Haigh, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', *HJ*, 25 (1982), 995-1007 (p. 997).

⁷² Shagan, *Popular Politics*, p. 229.

deterministic readings of reform in the region.⁷³ While this thesis will not serve to challenge the idea that the situation of Kent and its idiosyncratic socio-religious features were vital to the experience of reform within its largest city, nor that Protestantism enjoyed relatively rapid success in some corners, it does aim to recalibrate the picture of how this change came about.

The chief account of Kent's Reformation remains Peter Clark's *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution*, which describes a doctrinal and political reformation rising out of the chaos of late medieval society; an effective reformation from above that gave way to an assured reformation from below.⁷⁴ While Clark's study examines the county over the course of 150 years, the Henrician Reformation serves as the foundation of the 'county community' that was his study's endpoint. Clark characterises Tudor religious policy as a highly divisive process that splintered Kent's political community along doctrinal lines. To Clark, Protestantism's success stemmed from effective state implementation aided by the cooperation of 'a few chosen men' referred to as 'county governors', though the significance of this title is never adequately explored. In this sense, the majority of the Kentish community remains passive throughout Clark's argument, and religious reform serves as a preliminary step towards a county-politics that emerged during the 1590s and reached its culmination during the crisis of the 1640s.⁷⁵ The thorny issue of

⁷³ Canterbury, Ashford, and Cranbrook were some of the earliest towns to provide Parliamentary volunteers before the Civil War broke out, something Conrad Russell linked explicitly to the well-established Puritanism in these towns, see: C. R. Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil Wars* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 21-22. A congregational church was convened in Canterbury after 1645, see: R. J. Acheson, 'The Development of Religious Separatism in the Diocese of Canterbury 1590-1660' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1983), pp. 143-44.

⁷⁴ P. Clark, *Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500-1640* (Hassocks, 1977), pp. 35-68, 128.

⁷⁵ In this respect Clark's work dovetails nicely with Alan Everitt's county study of the mid-seventeenth century, see: A. M. Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966).

Kentish Lollardy is demoted to a way-marker for Kentish Nonconformity, while anti-clericalism serves as an unexplained catalyst for an inherent ‘theological radicalism’ and ‘doctrinal unorthodoxy’ within Kentish society.⁷⁶ Such a teleological discussion of the Reformation demotes the reforms of the mid-sixteenth century to a mere step on the path to civil war and societal progress.

Within this grand narrative, pre-Elizabethan Canterbury is presented as a site of continued controversy between parties of radical and conservative townsmen.⁷⁷ Clark asserts that during the 1530s and 1540s Canterbury was controlled by a ‘coherent and effective radical party’, which led to a ‘marked polarization of communal relations’.⁷⁸ Clark suggests that as early as the middle of the 1530s ‘the radicals’ activity in religious and political affairs had a sub-structure in private life’.⁷⁹ These ‘sub-structures’ were the basis of ‘parties’ that shared political aims and were ideologically bound. During the mid-Tudor period, though, the city had apparently fallen back into the hands of ‘conservative’ townsmen, referred to as the ‘Twyne group’, itself a problematic title given the idiosyncrasy of John Twyne’s own religious standing throughout his lifetime.⁸⁰

There are, though, issues with Clark’s assumption of ideological coherency at town or county levels during this period. Pre-Reformation Kent maintained strong connections to late medieval religion. The rise to national prominence of Elizabeth Barton, the prophetess dubbed the Holy Maid of Kent, was founded upon her significant regional *célébrité*, both in the parishes and amongst the county gentry.

⁷⁶ Clark, *Society*, pp. 29-31.

⁷⁷ Clark, *Society*, pp. 39-42.

⁷⁸ Clark, *Society*, pp. 41-42.

⁷⁹ Clark, *Society*, p. 41.

⁸⁰ Clark, *Society*, p. 98.

Similarly, monasticism in Kent was in decent health during the sixteenth century, relatively speaking at least. Despite lingering financial concerns, the majority of institutions across the county continued to evolve and could count on a ready supply of secular patrons to maintain them.⁸¹ As such, the Catholic community in Kent did not simply capitulate to pressure from an ascendant Protestant faction, nor did they attempt to obfuscate reform at every given opportunity, instead, Catholic and Protestant communities, at the county and city level, were compelled to coalesce with one another.

Likewise, Clark's picture of Canterbury appears based on a one-dimensional reading of urban politics, which is surprising given Clark's significant expertise in this field. Disputes between city governors receive a gloss of religious controversy and are presented as clashes between entrenched conservatives and assured radicals vying for control of the city benches. It is undeniable that there were disputes between city governors during the 1530s. But there is very little to suggest that the nature of these disputes were different than they had been a decade earlier, and nothing to suggest that they were symptomatic of a balkanisation of the city community along doctrinal lines. The presence of Protestants within the guildhall from the middle of the 1530s onwards is clear, as is the lingering of several Catholics amongst the aldermen and common councilors, yet there is no clear evidence of a factional battle between these groups emerging within the guildhall or a breakdown of broader familial or associative networks which bound these groups together.

Disputes between individuals need not be taken first and foremost as signs of religious disorder. When on the feast of Epiphany 1541 the alderman Robert Naylor,

⁸¹ B. Dobson and E. Edwards, 'The Religious Houses of Kent, 1220-1540', in *Later Medieval Kent, 1220-1540*, ed. by S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 79-110.

a Catholic, started an argument with the mayor Robert Lewes in the aisles of St Andrew's church, he did so through long standing personal enmity, rather than religious divergences.⁸² Naylor was an antagonistic and litigious man who had bounced between disputes with various members of the citizenry, including his cousin Christopher Levyns, and was known for his uncivil conduct at council meetings.⁸³ This was Naylor once again challenging the harmony and unity that civic politics were supposed to embody.⁸⁴ Following his outburst in 1541 he was briefly dismissed from the council, but was soon readmitted and was subsequently a regular, compliant attendee of council meetings. However, the timing of this dispute, coming as it did in the hectic months following the fall of Thomas Cromwell, an important figure in the city, and when cracks between Catholics and Protestant at the newly re-founded cathedral were emerging, make it tempting to read Naylor's actions as the herald of a Catholic reaction in the city.⁸⁵ Yet there is little to bear this out, and while there was strife in some parts of the city in the early 1540s, in corporate circles the period was one of dynamism and confidence.

Clark's factional view of urban politics was the result of a desire to extrapolate the dynamics of court politics into a town setting in service of his grander thesis concerning an embryonic 'county community'. However, as with Dickens and Elton, Clark's reading is constrained by the inflexibility of his nomenclature concerning doctrinal affiliation. To Clark, all those who expressed doubts over traditional religion, or who held even the loosest of ties to Archbishop Cranmer,

⁸² TNA, STAC 2/8/100.

⁸³ TNA, C1/550/51.

⁸⁴ Collinson and Craig, 'Introduction', pp. 19-20.

⁸⁵ Clark, *Society*, p. 64.

were ‘radicals’.⁸⁶ Not only is it highly dubious to label Cranmer a ‘radical’, but to suggest that his political patronage depended upon doctrinal affiliation vastly overestimates the strength of reform in the county and does the archbishop’s political instincts a disservice. There simply was not a ready supply of wealthy and effective ‘radicals’ available to police reform, instead compromise and cooperation were the true keys to the politics of the later Henrician era, both at county and city level. Likewise, there was no sign of an organized or coherent Catholic resistance at work in the city, particularly following the downfall of Elizabeth Barton’s party in early 1534. While numerous Catholic clergymen and gentry remained in the region, the networks in which they moved or acted were not confessionally defined, and ardent Catholics like Sir Christopher Hales or Edward Thwaites found ready service within the affinities of Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer. Therefore, one of the major deficiencies of Clark’s work is the denial of the highly porous nature of religious affiliation during the early years of the English Reformation.

Clark is also guilty of exaggerating the ‘chaos’ of the late medieval church in the region.⁸⁷ While the church may not have been thriving in Canterbury on the eve of the 1530s, its opponents existed only in a very small minority and maintained few links to local gentry or urban governors. Likewise, there was little to suggest that reform was on the minds of the Canterbury community, indeed, in many respects Canterbury and its corporation maintained an organic relationship with traditional religion in both cultural and institutional terms. Civic ceremonials aped the cult of St Thomas, in life aldermen and common councillors were leading citizens in their respective parishes, in death they routinely bequeathed gifts to local hospitals or

⁸⁶ Cf. A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 223-38.

⁸⁷ Clark, *Society*, pp. 23-27.

religious houses, and made provision for burials within the walls of Christ Church or St Augustine's Abbeys. It is therefore unwise to assume that the pockets of Kentish Lollardy of the early sixteenth century simply transmogrified into mid-century evangelicals or those 'hotter' Protestants of the early seventeenth century.⁸⁸

Despite the flaws in his picture of Reformation Canterbury, Clark's work has remained the standard narrative for close to forty years and has influenced the way that the city has been represented in most subsequent historiography. In recent years though there have been some marked revisions of Clark's divisive Reformation, most notably in the work of Robert Lutton and Michael Zell, although their focus has lain away from Canterbury itself. As one of the foremost scholars of early modern Kent, Zell's work has covered the gamut of Kentish society, from the rise of provincial commissions of the peace, to the complexion of the Henrician clergy.⁸⁹ His recent discussion of the process of reform in Kent fits neatly into the post-revisionist trend of scaling back revisionist claims concerning the speed of religious change in the provinces. Zell points out that surviving parochial evidence for Kent suggests that after 1538, Protestant reforms made steady progress in the county.⁹⁰ As a result, most in Kent 'blew with' the winds of reform, and by the end of King Edward's reign 'the structure and ideas of the new church were in place' and

⁸⁸ Margaret Aston's work on the Kentish Weald has suggested, one must be very cautious when drawing links between historical Lollardy and the region's later embracing of Puritanism, Arminianism, and Anglicanism more broadly, see: M. Aston, 'Lollardy and the Reformation: Survival and Revival', *History*, 49 (1964), 149-70; idem, 'John Wycliffe's Reformation Reputation', *P&P*, 30 (1965), 23-51. For an answer to Aston, see: J. Davis, 'Joan of Kent, Lollardy and the English Reformation', *JEH*, 33 (1982), 225-33.

⁸⁹ M. L. Zell, 'The Personnel of the Clergy of Kent in the Reformation Period', *EHR*, 89 (1974), 513-533; idem, 'Kent's Elizabethan JPs at Work', *Arch. Cant.*, 119 (1999), 1-43. Much of his work is built upon the research undertaken for his excellent doctoral thesis, see: idem, 'Church and Gentry in Reformation Kent, 1533-1553' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, 1974).

⁹⁰ M. L. Zell, 'The Coming of Religious Reform', in *Early Modern Kent 1540-1640*, ed. by M. L. Zell (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 177-206 (p. 178); idem, 'The Establishment of a Protestant Church', in *Early Modern Kent*, pp. 207-244.

were backed by a ‘significant minority’ of the clerical and lay populations.⁹¹ Zell’s synthesis of Eltonian institutional detail and post-revisionist concepts of change, produces a picture of a smooth but practical Reformation that is both informative and largely persuasive.

Key factors in Zell’s Reformation were the traditions of anti-clericalism and Lollardy within Kentish society, both aspects of popular piety that have been elucidated in recent years by the work of Rob Lutton. Unlike Zell and Clark, Lutton roots his study in the late medieval, as opposed to early modern, piety of Kentish men and women, with particular reference to Lollard heartlands of the High Wealden region.⁹² Through his resourceful use of probate materials, Lutton distinguishes a wide array of late medieval religious practice occurring within a single rural parish, arguing against the homogenous picture of piety represented in, say, Duffy’s description of the Devon parish of Morebath. Lutton describes how certain aspects of late medieval devotion, in particular the Christocentrism of the Jesus Mass, served to link late fifteenth century dissenters and the reform movements of the mid-sixteenth century. Where some revisionist accounts of the early Reformation have downplayed the link between Lollardy and reformed Protestantism, Lutton looked to reassert the ‘broader influence of Lollard heresy’ upon post-Reformation piety.⁹³ By demonstrating the effectiveness of adopting a micro-view of the issue, Lutton has emphasized the contradictions which arise from the generalizations over mid-Kent’s

⁹¹ Zell, ‘Establishment of a Protestant Church’, p. 217.

⁹² R. G. A. Lutton, ‘Heterodox and Orthodox Piety in Tenterden, c.1420-c.1540’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1997). This was adapted and later published as: idem, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge, 2006).

⁹³ Lutton, *Lollardy*, p. 205. On revisionist discussions of Lollardy, see: R. Rex, *The Lollards* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 82; Kumin, *Shaping of a Community*, pp. 196-98, 257.

reputation as either a stronghold of pre-Reformation Catholicism, or, alternatively, as a nest of Lollards who clamored for reform.⁹⁴

3 *Canterbury and its Situation*

3.1 *Economy and Demography*

Located approximately fifty-five miles southeast of London, Canterbury was a provincial centre with a population hovering around 4000 at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁹⁵ On the continent such a figure would not have put Canterbury amongst the top 200 cities in western and central Europe, yet it remained an important centre in English terms.⁹⁶ It was the largest settlement in the south east outside of the metropolis, ranking in the second tier of England's urban hierarchy; lagging behind great medieval centres like Bristol, Norwich, and Exeter, but

⁹⁴ Most notably in: R. G. A. Lutton, 'Geographies and Materialities of Piety: Reconciling Competing Narratives of Religious Change in Pre-Reformation and Reformation England', in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c.1400-1640*, ed. by R. Lutton and E. Salter (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 11-40.

⁹⁵ Estimates of the city population during the mid-1520s have ranged from between 3,000 to 5,000; whereas estimates for the mid-1560s range between 3,000 and 4,000, suggesting that the population either remained stable or experienced a slight decline. Projections of the mid-1520s population are dependent upon the multiplier applied to the data from the subsidy of 1524-1525. Peter Clark arrived at the figure of 3000 without specifying his multiplier but Alan Dyer gives the figure of 5096 using the number 6.5, see: Clark, *Society*, pp. 8-9; A. Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns, 1400-1600* (Basingstoke, 1991), p. 73. More recently Dyer has tweaked his projections and reached an estimated population of 4700 for Canterbury, see: A. Dyer, "'Urban Decline" in England, 1377-1525' in *Towns in Decline AD 100-1600*, ed. by T. R. Slater (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 266-88 (p. 275). Another recent projection settled on 5000, see: D. H. Sacks, M. Lynch, 'Ports 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Great Britain, Volume II 1540-1840*, ed. by P. Clark, (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 374-424 (p. 384). On the population of the 1560s Jenifer and Peter Clark projected between 3500-3600 whereas William Urry suggested between 3000-4000, see: J. Clark, P. Clark, 'The Social Economy of the Canterbury Suburbs: the Evidence of the Census of 1563' in *Studies in Modern Kentish History* ed. by A. Detsicas and N. Yates (Maidstone, 1983), pp. 65-86 (p. 66); W. Urry, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury* ed. by A. F. Butcher (London, 1988), p. 2; J. Bower, 'Kent Towns 1540-1640', in *Early Modern Kent 1540-1640* ed. by Michael Zell (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 141-76 (p. 145). On the subject of subsidy data and multipliers more broadly, see: S. H. Rigby, 'Urban Population in Late Medieval England: the Evidence of the Lay Subsidies', *EconHR*, 63 (2010), 393-417.

⁹⁵ Clark, Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, p. 115.

⁹⁶ Across Europe by 1500 there were around 150 cities with populations over 10,000, only London with a population of between 50,000 and 60,000 ranked in this cohort, with Norwich falling short by around 1,000, see: J. de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (London, 1984), pp. 30, 67; A. Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns 1400-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 65.

matching Salisbury, Coventry, York, and Lincoln.⁹⁷ In Kent, Canterbury remained the primary market town and centre of civic and ecclesiastical justice throughout the sixteenth century.

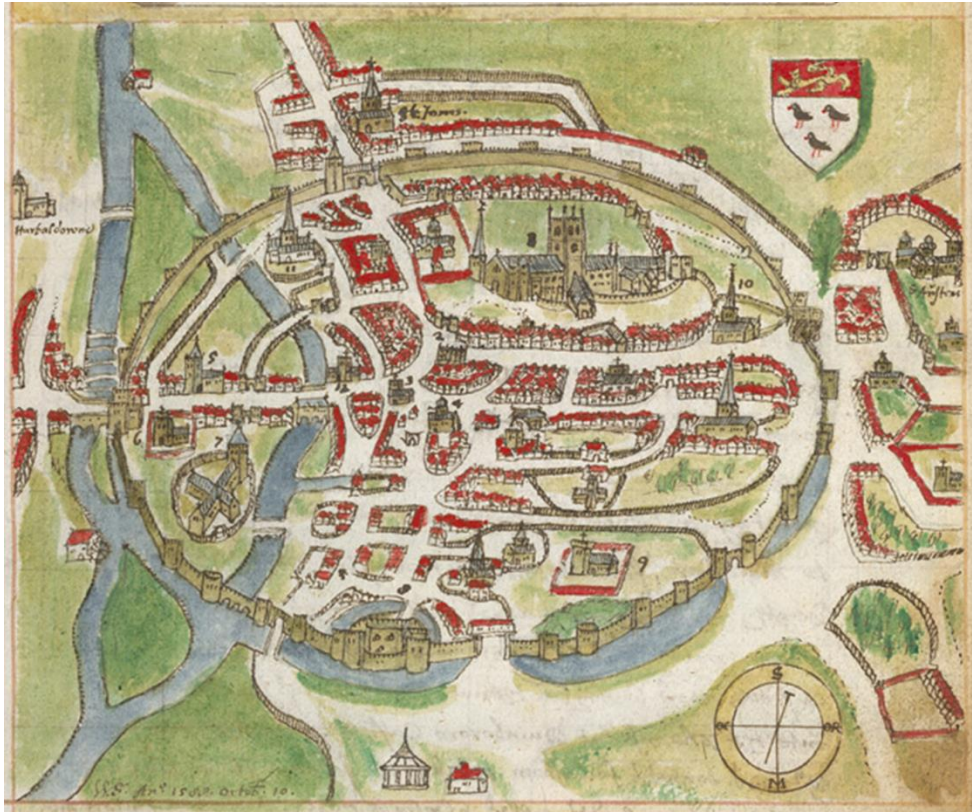


Figure 0.1 Map view of Canterbury looking from Wincheap, from William Smith's *Particular Description of England* (1588)⁹⁸

In terms of its taxable wealth, Canterbury ranked comfortably within the top ten of those towns assessed in 1524-25, with 766 inhabitants being assessed a total of £269.⁹⁹ These numbers confirm what was true in the majority of English towns, that a relatively small cohort of individuals controlled the large proportion of the city's

⁹⁷ In Kent only Maidstone could come close to matching Canterbury in terms of population and taxable wealth, other urban centres such as Rochester, Ashford, and Sandwich remained far smaller throughout this period, see: D. Keene, 'The South-East of England', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.2 1540-1840*, ed. by P. Clark (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 545-82 (p. 579).

⁹⁸ BL, Sloane MS 2596, fol. 15r.

⁹⁹ The assessment required that all inhabitants pay a tax on a new assessment based upon wages (both annual and day wages), moveable goods, profits, and income from lands, see: TNA, E/179/124/188. P. Slack, 'Great and good towns 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.2 1540-1840*, ed. by P. Clark (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 347-76 (p. 352); Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, pp. 63, 65.

lands and wealth. However, the subsidy data does suggest that individually its citizens were not as wealthy as some of their provincial counterparts, with the assessments of those 766 taxpayers being at a lower average rate than in similar sized towns.¹⁰⁰ The absence of any major concentrations of individual or familial wealth within the city was likely a factor in this, and it is notable that no single figure paid a large proportion of the city's subsidy as was the case elsewhere in 1524-25.¹⁰¹ A cursory summation of the subsidy data points to a relatively level economic playing field amongst those 766 assessed citizens, with around a half assessed at lowest rate, and under ten per cent paying the top rate of tax. While this might suggest an economic fragility in the city, it also facilitated a greater commensality between members of the corporate community.

By examining the financial politics of the corporation throughout this period, it becomes clear that socio-economic circumstance provided the corporate class with another valuable social adhesive and possible incentive for accepting religious reform. While it was the predominant focus on economic concerns in traditional urban historiography that drew Patrick Collinson's ire, the redressing of the 'historiographical balance' that he called for need not mean that economic concerns are shunned entirely. To do so would be to discount a key facet of urban governance and risk a myopic interpretation of the reformation's impact upon politics and society within Canterbury.¹⁰² After all, urban political culture tended to treat the

¹⁰⁰ While the city had the sixth highest number of individuals returned, it was eighth in terms of total return, see: Slack, 'Great and Good Towns', p. 352.

¹⁰¹ In Norwich the grocer Robert Jannys was assessed on £1100 of goods and paid £55, equivalent to a fifth of Canterbury's entire return, see: J. F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich 1525-1575', *P&P*, 34 (1966), 50-69 (p. 51). There were similar situations in Coventry and Exeter, see: P. Clark, *The Early Modern Town: A Reader* (London, 1976), pp. 93-94, 104.

¹⁰² Important discussions of the role of economics in early modern urban politics can be found at: D. Harris-Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (Berkeley, 1992); idem, 'Freedom To, Freedom From, Freedom Of: Political Life and Political Participation in Early Modern England', *Citizenship Studies*, 11 (2007), 135-150.

maintenance of the citizenry's shared business interests and the wider concerns of the commonwealth synonymously. Scholars such as Ian Archer and Steve Rappaport have demonstrated how contemporary economic circumstance preserved and developed post-reformation urban communal and political institutions.¹⁰³

At the start of the sixteenth century, Canterbury's economy was confronting the effects of waning weaving and metalworking industries, both of which had been filtering away to the central Wealden areas of Kent for over a century.¹⁰⁴ Despite an ongoing contraction in the weaving industry, though, much of the city's wealth remained founded on the cloth trade. The textile and clothing trades accounted for twenty-eight per cent of the 504 individuals admitted to the franchise between 1440 and 1499; in Norwich, one of England's principal wool-towns, the proportion was only marginally higher.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the wool industry was in a steady decline throughout the first half of the century, and it is noteworthy that the corporation embarked upon a number of initiatives designed to reinvigorate the industry utilising dissolved monastic lands. Such initiatives point to the various innovations and advancements in urban governance of the post-dissolution city, which reacted proactively to the challenges presented by ongoing reform and socio-economic concerns.

¹⁰³ S. L. Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989); I. W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991).

¹⁰⁴ On the shifts in economic activity away from urban centres, see: M. L. Zell, *Industry in the Countryside: Wealden Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1-9; P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640* (Hassocks, 1977), p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ At Norwich 31 per cent of admissions during the same period were to the clothing and textiles industries, see: J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300-1520* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 60-61.

The consequences of reform also posed a significant threat to the city's second largest industry, victualling.¹⁰⁶ The value of victualling was a by-product of the city's position on the main thoroughfare to the continent and its place as a nexus of international pilgrimage. Many city aldermen and mayors were involved in some way in the victualling trades, and the corporation itself had interests in a number of inns from which it drew vital annual funds. As such, the city made efforts to stimulate or safeguard the diminishing pilgrim traffic drawn by Becket's Shrine.¹⁰⁷ During the jubilee year of 1520, the corporation took steps alongside Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Warham to encourage pilgrims into the city.¹⁰⁸ The eventual loss of the pilgrim trade removed a long-standing source of income and forced a reshaping of financial policy to prevent the corporation falling into arrears. Once again, though, during the 1540s we see a concerted attempt on behalf of the corporation to react proactively to the challenges of the time. The corporation invested large amounts of revenue into the city-owned inns throughout the period, and governors would go on to barter with Edward VI's parliament for an extended licensing deal, allowing the city to keep four taverns as opposed to the customary two (7 Edward VI C.5).¹⁰⁹

Elsewhere, the wealthiest inhabitants of the city tended to be from the distributive trades (merciers, grocers, and drapers), metalworking (Silversmiths and

¹⁰⁶ Another twenty-eight per cent of the freemen admitted between 1440 and 1499 were involved in victualling, see: *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ C. E. Woodruff, 'The Financial Aspect of the Cult of St Thomas of Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.*, 44 (1932), 13-32 (pp. 24-25).

¹⁰⁸ They paid 2d to post signs outside the guildhall to hang 'the letters expressing the ordryng of vettell & lodgyng for pylgryms in this yere of grace', and in the same year a rogue innholder was committed to ward because he would 'disseasyth honest pilgrymys repayryng to the cetie this yer of grace for their saule helth', see: CCA, CC, F/A/11, fol. 44v; A/C/1/73. On preparations for the jubilee more broadly, see: P. J. Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1992), pp. 292-93.

¹⁰⁹ *SR*, iv, pp. 168-70.

goldsmiths), or legal professionals; members of these trades were all prominent in the city corporation throughout this period. The impact of economic change upon the urban society might not explain the course of religious reform, but it can provide compelling evidence on its wider socio-political impacts. At times, particularly the early 1540s, the process of reformation entangled itself with economic matters as governors become increasingly preoccupied with altruistic endeavours and so-called 'commonwealth' causes. The challenging economic situation of the first half of the sixteenth century added to the atmosphere of instability accompanying religious change. During the difficult middle decades of the century, the wider crisis in the political nation exacerbated economic dislocation and, as the century went on, the nationwide issue of vagrancy and the itinerant poor became particularly acute in Kent.¹¹⁰

Lastly, as with many towns in the region, Canterbury maintained a significant alien population. Of the 766 who paid the 1524-25 subsidy, seventy-eight are listed as aliens, with the ratio remaining largely the same in 1543 when fifty-seven of the 529 returned being listed as foreign born.¹¹¹ Of these, the majority are listed as 'Doucheman' a loose definition suggesting an affiliation with the Low Countries presumably attracted to the city's wool trade. None of the city wards appears to have housed any large clusters of immigrants who were instead spread amongst the city parishes. Likewise, many are listed as servants of resident freemen or can on occasion be found amongst the lists of newly admitted freemen, suggesting that there was at least some level of integration between communities. For a small provincial

¹¹⁰ J. C. K. Cornwall, *Wealth and Society in Early Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1988), p. 216.

¹¹¹ TNA, E 179/124/188; E 179/124/257. Kent more generally had a long history of accommodating alien populations, Sylvia Thrupp found that in the mid-fifteenth century Kent was amongst the four counties with highest alien populations in the country, see: S. L. Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440', *Speculum*, 2 (1957), 262-273 (p. 266).

town Canterbury managed to maintain a relatively cosmopolitan community, and thanks to the patronage of men like Archbishop Cranmer, it was home to figures synonymous with continental reform. Having a large number of immigrants from the Low Countries in the city during the early sixteenth century adds an extra dimension to Canterbury's reformation experience.¹¹²

3.2 *Institutions*

Whereas in some areas of northern Europe magistrates were required to make the 'momentous choice' over whether to pursue Protestantism at an institutional level, their English equivalents had this decision made on their behalf.¹¹³ Magistrates in Imperial Cities like Nuremberg gained control of appointing and dismissing the city's clergy, managing ecclesiastical finances, and were even able overrule canon law with civic ordinances.¹¹⁴ Such powers were well beyond the authority of English urban corporations, and it might be claimed that urban magistrates were passive mediators in England's Reformation; but between official pronouncements there was space for manoeuvre for enthusiastic enforcers and for hesitant forestallers. Over the years, reform was gradually assimilated into the everyday business of urban government. New statutes introduced legal obligations to the city law courts, most obviously following the passing of the Act of Six Articles (31 Henry VIII C.14), which, owing to the limited bureaucratic reach of the Tudor state, were enforced largely at the discretion of city magistrates.

¹¹² F. Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 235-36; Ryrie, *Gospels*, pp. 93-94.

¹¹³ Quote from: B. J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 103.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 103-04; C. Scott-Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528-1603* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 7-14.

By the start of the sixteenth century, Canterbury was one of a handful of provincial communities permitted to govern itself. The city was granted county-status in 1461, meaning that civic officers were able to operate outside of the jurisdiction of county sheriffs and JPs.¹¹⁵ This marked an important step in the institutional development of the city, and the beginning of an important phase of the corporate city's development. While the crown retained the unlimited jurisdiction to administer justice in its realms, corporate status provided urban governors with an important political and economic freedom.¹¹⁶ While it is often overlooked in studies of the urban reformation, the cultural context and development of an enigmatic institutional expression in the decades preceding the reformation had a significant impact on the passage of religious change in Canterbury's urban community.

Despite its relatively recent grant of civic independence, Canterbury was by no means a 'new' city at the start of the sixteenth century; indeed, there had been a long tradition of civic governance dating back to at least the mid-twelfth century.¹¹⁷ Since then a cultured and politically active body of citizens had developed. The principal political body, the burghmote, incorporated the benches of aldermen and common councillors, along with a number of other associated office-holders, who maintained secular legal proceedings, preserved the city liberties and finances, and operated a multifaceted communication and patronage network throughout the

¹¹⁵ The twelve other cities that held this status in 1500 were: Chester, London, Lincoln, Coventry, Nottingham, Southampton, Kingston-Upon-Hull, Bristol, York, Gloucester, Newcastle, and Norwich. The towns that collectively formed the Cinque Ports also have a claim in this regard, but given the peculiarities of their jurisdiction they have not been included here. The charter of 1461 is at: CCA, CC, A/A/34; translated and transcribed in: C. R. Bunce, *A Translation of Several Charters &c* (Canterbury, 1791), pp. 7-70.

¹¹⁶ A. B. White, *Self-Government at the King's Command: a study in the beginnings of English democracy* (Minneapolis, 1933).

¹¹⁷ W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1967), pp. 80-83.

region.¹¹⁸ Common councillors and aldermen typically held office for life after election which ensured a low turnover in membership and a high overlap between generations throughout this period. Likewise, at no point between the start of the sixteenth century and the accession of Queen Elizabeth was there a mass purging or exodus from the civic benches. Such continuities helped foster a shared culture of customs, rituals, and rhythms that provided a stable basis of government for the city, buttressed by ritualised displays of authority and a rigid civic hierarchy.

Another principal obligation of the burghmote was the maintenance of order within the city via the secular courts where the mayor and aldermen served as sitting JPs, while juries were typically comprised of members of the franchise. This is significant because, as Ralph Houlbrooke has observed, the English Reformation was not merely a case of local officials transmitting ‘the latest official directive’, rather, it ‘entailed sustained pressure and supervision’.¹¹⁹ The legal jurisdiction of the corporation extended as far as the city’s liberties, most of which lay within the city walls but also incorporated the extramural parishes of St Martin’s, and St Paul’s, while the parish of St Dunstan’s remained part of the county of Kent and an important buffer between city and county.

The city’s intramural space had been divided into six wards since at least 1166, with each ward being named after their proximity to city gates: Worgate, Burgate, Westgate, Northgate, Newingate (sometimes known as St George’s Gate), and Ridingate. It was alongside this plan that the corporate system developed, with aldermen acting as the primary secular governors within individual wards. Each

¹¹⁸ S. Sweetinburgh, ‘Kentish Towns: Urban Culture and the Church in the Later Middle Ages’, in *Later Medieval Kent, 1220-1540*, ed. by S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 137-66.

¹¹⁹ R. Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation 1520-1570* (Oxford, 1979), p. 257.

alderman was duty bound to oversee aldermanic courts, where they could execute a sentence or alternatively present the case to a citywide view of frankpledge. The creation of city quarter sessions by charter in 1461 diminished the corrective business of the aldermanic courts, which started to function as conduits through which cases came before the quarter sessions, but did not diminish the role of the alderman in the overall provision of justice in the city.¹²⁰

Alongside the aldermanic and quarter session courts was the court of burghmote that formed the judicial arm of the corporation, enforcing city ordinances and hearing cases of debt, slander, petty theft, and assault. The court's jurisdiction extended as far as the city liberties, and operated like other provincial town courts, convening in the guildhall before the mayor and aldermen with residues of monetary penalties entering the city coffers.¹²¹ Via these courts, the keeping of the peace became an integral part of civic life, and in the early decades of the sixteenth century city courts took on the role of moral arbiters in the city, enforcing codes of behaviour that, if seen a half century later, might be mistaken for a Calvinist 'reformation of manners'.¹²² Records of the city courts from the first decades of the century provide evidence of secular magistrates pursuing laymen accused of slander, fellow members of the corporation for failing in their civic duties, and even challenging the sexual

¹²⁰ Urry, *Angevin Kings*, pp. 92-104.

¹²¹ The other minor court was the Pie-Powder (a portmanteau of the French 'pied' and 'poudrés') court, an informal customary court held before the mayor and sheriff on market days. It was a lowly court but held unlimited jurisdiction within city markets and dealt primarily with acts of theft, violence, or disputes between merchants, see: C. Gross, 'The Court of Piepowder', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 20 (1906), 231-49; CCA, CC, J/P; Hasted, *Survey*, xii, p. 621.

¹²² D. Underdown, *Fire From Heaven: Life in an English Town* (New Haven, 1992). Underdown's work built on the ideas of Keith Wrightson best expressed in: K. Wrightson, 'Two Concepts of Order: Justices, Constables and Jurymen in Seventeenth-Century England', in *An Ungovernable People? The English and their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by J. Brewer and J. Styles (London, 1980), pp. 21-46.

mores of the city clergy.¹²³ During the reformation years, this provided a potentially powerful tool for any over-zealous urban officials looking to enforce spiritual uniformity. But such a situation was never forthcoming. Following the act of supremacy, the business of the secular courts in Canterbury did not alter substantially, and on only rare occasions were dissenting religious opinions brought before the court.

One reason for this apparent inertia might have been a collective desire to avoid further societal disorders than were already threatened in the climate of the times. During the middle decades of the sixteenth century, all England faced a protracted economic crisis caused by a combination of rapid inflation and protracted wars with Scotland and France. In the south east, the billeting and mustering of troops added to the financial burdens placed upon an already depressed city economy, and the responsibility for mustering and victualling for troops fell to urban governors.¹²⁴ Alongside this, in an attempt to maintain the integrity of the social hierarchy, urban magistrates responded by increasing provision for the deserving poor, and increasing the frequency and visibility of punishments of the undeserving.

Amidst this atmosphere, a wider societal crisis was fermenting, and on two occasions within five years, the city was threatened by rebel invasion. During the summer of 1549, a large band of rebels camped outside the city walls, causing some consternation amongst the populace. The camp was eventually disbanded, but unrest continued to simmer beneath Kentish society and in early 1554 a cadre of local

¹²³ For a thorough discussion of the enforcement of sexual morality by urban authorities in Canterbury and other Kentish towns, see: K. M. Jones, 'Gender, Crime and the Local Courts in Kent, 1460-1560' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Greenwich, 2001), pp. 151-211.

¹²⁴ S. Gunn, D. Grummitt, and H. Cools, *War, State, and Society in the Netherlands, 1477-1559* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 207-12, 240-44.

gentlemen mustered a rebel force and marched on London to, in theory, voice their protest at Queen Mary's marriage to Prince Philip of Spain. On this occasion, the corporation rebuffed rebel appeals for support during the early stages of the uprising, instead coming out emphatically on the side of royal government, barring the city gates, priming munitions, and the sending the mayor to Dover to raise a force against the rebels. On both occasions, despite the threat of disorder overrunning the county, the city remained a functioning political entity with no sign that inhabitants were participating in the disorder or expressing sympathy for the rebels' complaints; whether it be the socio-economic concerns of 1549, or the strange blend of xenophobia and anti-Catholicism of 1554.

Alongside these external threats to civic equanimity, there were numerous instances of controversy in the city itself. While civic ordinances attempted to guard against interpersonal disputes, these were apparently futile, and litigation against and between governors was common. The most serious threats, though, arose through the jurisdictional squabbles between the corporation and its ecclesiastical neighbours, which were numerous. Prior to the dissolutions there were upwards of thirty different institutions in Canterbury ministering the sacrament on a daily basis. This included sixteen parish churches, an Austin Friars, a Dominican friary, a Franciscan friary, an Augustinian priory (St Gregory's), a Benedictine nunnery (St Sepulchre's), five hospitals (St John's, St Lawrence's, St James', St Nicholas', St Thomas'), and two great Benedictine houses (Christ Church Cathedral Priory and St. Augustine's Abbey). As with many late-medieval urban authorities, the Canterbury Corporation found itself almost perpetually at odds with any number of these competing jurisdictions for a variety of reasons.

A by-product of the antagonism between corporation and their ecclesiastical neighbours was the growing obsession amongst city governors with the maintenance of their chartered rights and liberties. Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the city's litigious appetites meant it became increasingly legally astute and facilitated stronger links to the county's legal gentry and minor noblemen who routinely acted as mediators in cases. A shared memorialisation of city history coupled with an obsession over legal legitimacy meant corporate affairs conducted themselves with reference to the recent, distant, and 'time-out-of-mind' precedents. Even when only based on recent experience, the primacy of custom and the rhetoric of historical authority were vital to the self-fashioning of the corporation. When, in 1478, the city collectively petitioned Edward IV's parliament for extra taxation privileges, it did so as 'oone of the eldest citees of this reame' and 'the principall see of the spirituall estate of the same'.¹²⁵ Likewise, when seeking the aid of Archbishop Warham in a dispute over the city's fee-farm, the corporation, citing Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, appealed to precedents dating back to the reign of King Æthelberht (c560-616).¹²⁶

The presence of the archbishopric in the city and the relationship that existed between successive archbishops and the city magistrates is central to Canterbury's experience of the reformation. During the episcopacies of John Morton (1486-1500) and William Warham (1503-1532) in particular, the office of the archbishop came to represent an important source of patronage and temporal authority that the corporation could call upon during periods of disorder. In the 1490s, Archbishop Morton was a leading figure in the arbitration of disputes between the corporation

¹²⁵ *PROME*, January 1478, vi-177-21.

¹²⁶ BL, ADD MS, 32311, fol. 79r.

and its monastic neighbours, a role that Warham would also take on in later decades. Warham was also an advocate for the city in his role as chancellor at parliament, and worked alongside one of the city's MPs Thomas Atwode, a lawyer, alderman, and Warham's keeper-of-the-rolls, in passing a bill for improving the river running through the city (6 Henry VIII C.17).¹²⁷

Archbishop Cranmer (1533-55) followed in their stead, maintaining a positive relationship with the majority of city magistrates and doing much to ingratiate himself with the civic community. Most notably, during the early 1540s when he aided the corporation in its purchase of a large and lucrative slice of city property recently dissolved from the estates of St Augustine's Abbey, and later aiding the city in renewing its charter (34&35 Henry VIII C.16).¹²⁸ Through his deputies in the region, men like Archdeacon Edmund Cranmer (Thomas' brother), and his commissary Christopher Nevinson, the archbishop was able to maintain archiepiscopal authority in the city even during the long stretches of time when Cranmer himself was elsewhere. During the early years following the supremacy Cranmer was unwilling or unable to force reform at the level of the city parish, aiming instead to promote stability and secure tentative Protestant gains alongside the king's supremacy. Towards the end of the 1530s, though, Cranmer seems to have been more overt in his encouraging of Lutheran reform within the city. While Cranmer, and in particular commissary Nevinson, were accused of stirring-up evangelical fervour following Cromwell's downfall, city magistrates never targeted the archbishop himself. It is therefore unsurprising that when the archbishop's

¹²⁷ *SR*, iii, pp. 134-35.

¹²⁸ *SR*, iii, pp. 917-18.

enemies in the county and re-founded cathedral initiated a plot against him in 1543 it found little support in the city outside of the cathedral precincts.

3.3 *Religious Provision*

Despite the often Janus-faced relationship between the large sections of the citizenry and the city's regular clergy, traditional religion remained an integral part of city life in the decades preceding reform. To some, the rhetoric of dispute and division, coupled with the quasi-secularised version of the St Thomas martyrdom presented in the customary civic processions, appear to suggest a premeditated separation of civic governance from spiritual affairs and a waning importance of late-medieval piety in the city. However, this was not the case. As well as being leaders in the civic realm of the city, aldermen, common councillors, and freemen served as leading citizens within their parish communities. The city's parishes served as liminal spaces for citizens where the spiritual and civic lives of magistrates could be played out in a non-corporate arena. Active participation in parish affairs not only allowed members of the corporation to assert their authority in another sphere of society, it provided an opportunity to broaden political and social horizons.¹²⁹ Alongside these temporal concerns, the deep-seated sense of obligation and reciprocity that underpinned civic governance compelled citizens to assume an active role in their individual parishes.

Canterbury's relationship with late medieval piety seems to have been in rude health at the beginning of the century. While heterodoxy was present in some Wealden regions of Kent during the late medieval period, there is nothing to suggest that by the beginning of the sixteenth century orthodoxy was under threat in

¹²⁹ G. Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Social Relation in Late Medieval England', *JBS*, 33 (1994), 430-446; idem, *The Art of Solidarity: Guilds in England 1250-1550* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 48-49; D. J. F. Crouch, 'Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire 1389-1547' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1995), pp. 1-3.

Canterbury. Archbishop Warham's *magna abjurata* proceedings of June-September 1511 identified a core of 'orthodox' Lollard or Sacramentarianism enduring within the diocese.¹³⁰ Of the fifty-three suspects identified, only four: Agnes Ive; Elizabeth White; Robert Harryson and Agnes Chytenden, were Canterbury residents.¹³¹ The charges against these four, alongside one William Olberd of Godmersham and John Ive, the by-then deceased husband of Agnes, centred on frequent meetings held in the houses of Ive or Harryson where sacramentarian opinions were openly discussed and taught to others.¹³² The descriptions of these meetings, provided in the depositions against Robert Harryson, suggest a small, clandestine community closely linked to Wealden nonconformist groups that existed uncomfortably within Canterbury.¹³³ At one of the meetings held at Robert Harryson's home in St Mary Northgate, a 'broder of the hospital of seynt Johns' disturbed the group causing them to scatter, and men like Harryson seem to have been happy to voice their heterodoxy when away from the city.¹³⁴ It should be noted, however, that many of the more minor accusations against Harryson centred on him railing against pilgrimages and questioning the efficacy of devotion to images, both of which were visible again in Canterbury during the 1530s.

¹³⁰ J. F. Davis, *Heresy and Reformation in the South East of England 1520-1559* (London, 1983), pp. 4-5. The proceedings were printed in part by Foxe, but appear in a full edited version at: Tanner, *Heresy*. Alongside these fifty-three, an additional five individuals were presented as suspected heretics to the parochial visitations of 1511-12, see: *Kentish Visitations of Archbishop William Warham and his Deputies*, ed. by K. L. Wood-Legh, (Maidstone, 1984). For Foxe's account, see: *A&M* (1570), pp. 1492-494.

¹³¹ Tanner, *Heresy*, p. 12.

¹³² Tanner, *Heresy*, pp. 5-6.

¹³³ Rob Lutton's research on 1511 has shown how the community in the Wealden region was the heart of the nonconformist community, with small groups like the one in Canterbury being traceable back to families harking from the Weald, in fact he points out that Agnes Ive was the sister of Robert Hilles of Tenterden who also appeared before commissioners in 1511, see: Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion*, pp. 154-55, 193; Tanner, *Heresy*, pp. 41-42.

¹³⁴ Tanner, *Heresy*, p. 7. One of the witnesses, William Ryche of Benenden, heard Harryson proclaim the sacrament was 'oonly materyall brede' while at a fair in Tenterden; while another witness travelling between Great Chart and Bethersden (both near Ashford), heard Harryson speaking against various church practices, see: Tanner, *Heresy*, pp. 4-5.

The 1511 heresy investigations do not suggest that widespread nonconformity was a major issue in the city, and, as was to be expected, the landscape of the city featured heavily in the penances imposed on those who abjured, who were made to process barefoot around the cathedral precincts and city market place.¹³⁵ Likewise, the city was chosen as the site for the spectacle of Harryson's execution, with the county sheriff petitioning the mayor for licence to build the fire at the Dane John mound in the south of the city.¹³⁶ Following the trials there was some minor fallout concerning the burial of John Ive, husband of Agnes, when John Hale was presented at the later archiepiscopal visitation for burying Ive, now considered a heretic, within the churchyard of St George's.¹³⁷ It would seem that Hale buried Ive following his natural death in 1510 and it was only after the heresy trials of summer 1511 that suspicions against the deceased man were voiced. Following the visitation, Hale and the matter of the burial were referred to the archbishop.¹³⁸ Warham instructed the body to be disinterred but gave no further advice and shortly afterwards Hale and his accomplice John Gatherer were presented at the city sessions for placing 'an heretyke' in a shallow grave in the vicinity of the Dane John (still within the parish of St George's).¹³⁹ What fate befell the corpse after this is unclear, but the fiasco highlights the high sensitivity to heresy in the city at the time.

More broadly, Warham's visitation paints a varied picture of religion in the city. The city's larger monastic institutions appear in reasonable health, and

¹³⁵ Tanner, *Heresy*, pp. 40, 71, 93, 94.

¹³⁶ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 21v.

¹³⁷ Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, p. 72. Ive's will is dated early 1511 but does not carry a probate, he is listed as living at St Martin's, see: CCA, PRC/32/11/12.

¹³⁸ Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, pp. 72-73.

¹³⁹ CCA, CC, J/Q/310/xxix.

elsewhere only the hospital of St James appeared to be in a state of terminal decline.¹⁴⁰ At the parochial level, it is worth noting that none of the city's secular clergy were presented for failures in their sacramental duties, though absenteeism was an issue in some of the city's poorer parishes. Parishioners at St Mary Bredin reported unglazed windows and complained that 'many tymes in a yere they have no masse'.¹⁴¹ Across the city at Holy Cross, parishioners pointed out that they had not had a 'seculare preest' to 'servethe the cure' for upwards of three years, instead they were served by a canon of St Gregory's who 'goethe to the priory every nyghte and whan we shuld have hym...we cannot'.¹⁴² The only other parish to report an absent minister was St Margaret's, where no new appointment had been made since the resignation of the previous incumbent.¹⁴³ Aside from these three instances, the city laity appears to have been well served.¹⁴⁴

On the eve of the reformation, there were fifteen active parish churches in the city, which provided the main forum for religious life in the city.¹⁴⁵ Unsurprisingly the city's ecclesiastical foundations controlled the advowsons to all city livings, an arrangement that had stood for a number of centuries by this point. Christ Church and St Augustine's controlled the majority of these, three and five respectively, and

¹⁴⁰ There were only four sisters and the prioress left there, two sisters were over 80, and the prioress was reported for addressing her sisters as 'harlots', see: Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, pp. 11-13. For the visitations of Christ Church, St Gregory's, and St Sepulchre's, see: Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, pp. 1-11.

¹⁴¹ Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, p. 67.

¹⁴² Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁴³ The church was also missing a ceiling, see: Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, p. 74.

¹⁴⁴ The picture was similar during Warham's 1521 visitation, see: M. L. Zell, 'The Personnel of the Clergy in Kent, in the Reformation Period', *HER*, 89 (1974), 513-533 (p. 517).

¹⁴⁵ This number had fallen from a pre-Black Death peak of twenty-two and would fall to fourteen by the end of the century, see: Urry, *Angevin Kings*, p. 208. The active parishes were: All Saints, St Alphege's, St Andrew's, St Dunstan's, St George's, Holy Cross, St Margaret's, St Mary Bredin, St Mary Bredman, St Mary Magdalen's, St Mary Northgate, St Martin's, St Mildred's, St Paul's, St Peter's. The more recently defunct parishes were: St Mary-de-Castro (demolished c.1486), St Michael's Burgate (defunct mid-fifteenth century); St John the Poor (defunct late fourteenth century, demolished 1520), St Mary Queningate (defunct late fourteenth century), St Helen's (defunct mid-twelfth century), St Edmond's Ridigate (defunct by mid-tenth century).

the remainder were shared between the archbishop, St Gregory's and St Sepulchre's.¹⁴⁶ As such, there is little to suggest that civic politics or the corporate will had any bearing on the composition city's beneficed clergy prior to the dissolution.¹⁴⁷ In a less formal sense, though, the civic classes served a leading role within their parishes, most visibly by serving as churchwardens and taking a leading role in parish affairs.

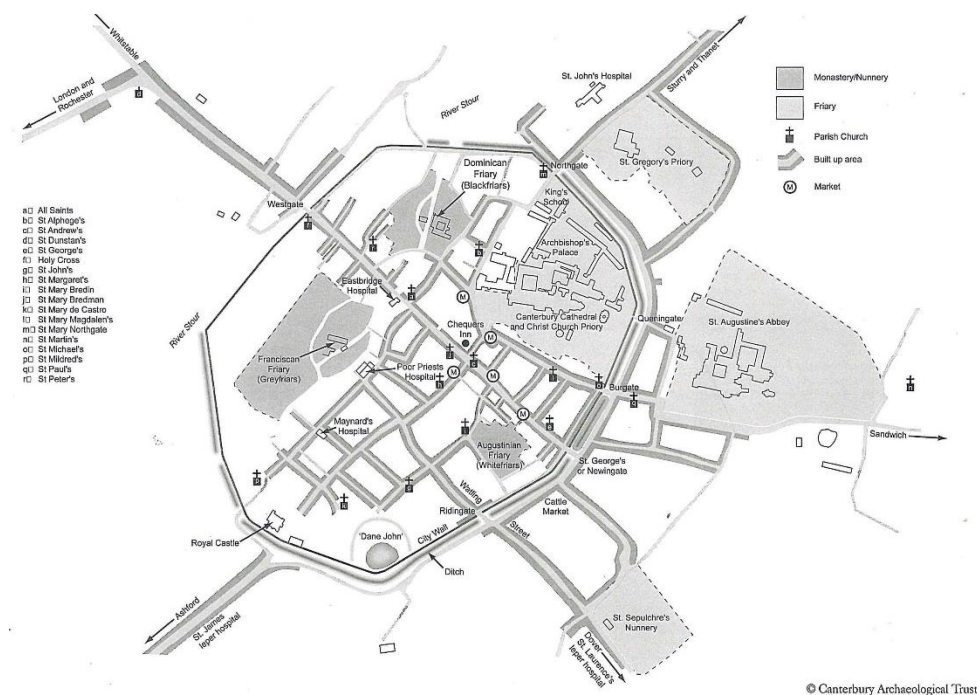


Figure 0.1 Plan of Canterbury, c.1500¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Christ Church: St Peter's, St George's, St Mary Bredman. St Augustine's: St Mildred's, All Saint's, St Andrew's, St Margaret's, St Paul's, St Mary Magdalen. Archbishop: St Martin's, St Alphege's. St Gregory's: St Dunstan's, Holy Cross, St Mary Northgate. St Sepulchre's: St Mary Bredin. On this, see: Somner, *Antiquities*, pp. 413-15, 461-66; Hasted, *Survey*, xi, p. 273; T. Tatton-Brown, 'Medieval Parishes and the Parish Churches in Medieval Canterbury', in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. by T. R. Slater and G. Rosser (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 236-71 (p. 238).

¹⁴⁷ This situation did not change much following the dissolutions when the majority of released advowsons were consolidated into the hands of the archbishopric or to the re-founded dean and chapter, see: F. R. H. DuBoulay, 'Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury Temporalities', *EHR*, 67 (1952), 19-36; idem, *The Lordship of Canterbury: Essays on Medieval Society* (London, 1966), pp. 317-29. On civic attempts to control advowsons elsewhere, see: Sheils, 'Religion in Provincial Towns', pp. 159-66.

¹⁴⁸ T. Lawson, and D. Killingray, *An Historical Atlas of Kent* (Chichester, 2004), p. 69.

Canterbury is fortunate that it possesses two relatively complete and calendared sets of churchwardens' accounts covering the majority of this period. Records survive for the extramural parish of St Dunstan's, and the small but wealthy city centre parish of St Andrew's.¹⁴⁹ Between them they provide a useful picture of popular religion in the decades leading up to the Reformation. Both sets of accounts list healthy returns for traditional festivals and collections such as Hocktide between 1485 and the end of Mary's reign, and at least St Andrew's appears to have maintained a parish Hocktide supper at least until 1547.¹⁵⁰ Likewise, both parishes maintained processions on Corpus Christi, Ascension Thursday and various other pertinent occasions.¹⁵¹ St Dunstan's church supported fraternities of St Anne (sometimes referred to as the Holy Trinity) and to St John, and the enigmatically named Shaft of the Cross, a parish fraternity dedicated to a physical cross that was the centre of an annual procession and feast.¹⁵² Elsewhere in the city there were numerous other parish fraternities and chantry chapels that were still able to maintain priests.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ St Dunstan's: CCA, U3-141/5/A; calendared at: J. M. Cowper, 'Accounts of the Churchwardens of St Dunstan's Canterbury, A.D. 1484-1580', *Arch. Cant.*, 18 (1886), 289-321; idem, 'Accounts of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.*, 17 (1887), 77-149. St Andrew's: CCA, U3-5/5/A/1; calendared at: C. Cotton, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St Andrew, Canterbury, from AD 1485 to AD 1625. Part I, 1485-1509', *Arch. Cant.*, 32 (1917), 181-246; idem, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St Andrew, Canterbury, from AD 1485 to AD 1625. Part II, 1509-1523', *Arch. Cant.*, 33 (1918), 1-62; idem, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St Andrew, Canterbury, from AD 1485 to AD 1625. Part III, 1524-1557', *Arch. Cant.*, 34 (1920), 1-46.

¹⁵⁰ In 1547 the account lists expenses for a 'suppr in the Corne markt', see: Cotton, 'St Andrew's, Part iii', p. 34.

¹⁵¹ Cowper, 'St Dunstan's Canterbury' (1886), pp. 294-96; idem, 'St Dunstan's Canterbury' (1887), pp. 79-80, 85, 88, 95, 101, 105, 107, 109.

¹⁵² Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, p. 56. The Shaft even has its own subsection within the annual accounts with two 'Wardens of the Shaft' who would make their account on the Tuesday of Whitsun week, accounting for the expenses of the torches, scutcheons, feasts, lights, and general repairs to the shaft, as well as the annual collections, see: Cowper, 'St Dunstan's Canterbury', passim. The final entry for the shaft moneys comes in 1538-39, see: Cowper, 'St Dunstan's Canterbury' (1887), pp. 101-02. In 1545 there is an account made by two 'Wardens of the Crosse lyght', but this is the only instance

¹⁵³ Hasted, *Survey*, xi, pp. 221, 254-55, 275.

There was a brotherhood of St Thomas sited in a chapel at St Gregory's Priory and maintained by a guild of citizens, a fraternity of Corpus Christi housed in the chantry chapel at the St Thomas Hospital that was maintained by the city clerks, and a fraternity of St John the Baptist housed in the parish of St Mary Bredman.¹⁵⁴ The church of the Austin Friars was apparently the site of a 'brotherhood of St Erasmus', with money being left for tapers there in 1524.¹⁵⁵ The church was also the site of the religious observances of the city's guild of shoemakers and carriers. In their ordinances of 1518 it was stated that masses were to be said there for deceased brethren, and that every member must attend mass there on the feasts of Assumption, St Cyprian, and St Crispin, paying 1d each.¹⁵⁶ All of these appear to have been active well into the reformation.

An interesting trend to note is the predominance of corporate office holders acting as churchwardens in the parish of St Andrew (see appendix B). The churchwardens of St Andrew, were almost exclusively drawn from men who were part of, or on their way to entering, the top tiers of the civic community – pointing to the pervasive interconnection between parish and civic life. However, this is not to say that they were at the head of parish affairs. Rather, the parish accounts suggest that the churchwarden was more a supervisor within a broader parish administration that encompassed a wider section of parish elites. In his study of the London parish of St Mary at Hill, Clive Burgess argued that the role of the churchwarden was denigrated to the level of 'managers', as opposed to 'directors', of parish affairs in

¹⁵⁴ M. Hicks and A. Hicks, *St Gregory's Priory, Northgate, Canterbury Excavations 1988-1991* (Ashford, 2001), p. 39; S. Sweetinburgh, 'The Hospitals of Medieval Kent', in *Later Medieval Kent, 1220-1540*, ed. by S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 111-36 (p. 120); Wood-Legh, *Visitations*, pp. 71-72.

¹⁵⁵ *VCH*, ii, p. 199.

¹⁵⁶ *VCH*, ii, p. 200.

place of organised bodies of parish leaders.¹⁵⁷ In the St Andrew's accounts there are signs that alongside the churchwardens was another group of wealthy parishioners who took a lead in parish administration and fund raising.

All of these external and internal influences helped to shape Canterbury's experience; however, it was equally moulded by a more intangible ethos of commonality and corporation that pervaded the city's civic institutions. The culture of deference to royal authority and tradition of public mindedness that typified the activities of the burghmote in the decades preceding the 1530s allowed the royal supremacy to take hold and proliferate early Protestant ideals surrounding moral obligation and social responsibility. Over the course of the 1540s and 1550s, there was a marked move towards a new form of politics within the guildhall more overtly centred on the evolving ideal of the city common-weal.

4 Archives and Structure

This thesis will provide an additional aspect to our understanding of how provincial communities encountered and responded to the early English Reformation. As such, it will not venture far beyond the Elizabethan settlement. This was a decision based in argumentative necessity and level-headed pragmatism, but equally the decision to focus on the early decades of reform was taken so as not to ignore the role of the late medieval civic tradition in these early stages. Traditional schemas of English Reformation studies have paid little attention to late medieval society and politics, happily remaining on the early modern side of the great period divide that keeps the

¹⁵⁷ C. Burgess, 'Shaping the Parish: St Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays on Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. by J. Blair and B. Goldring (Oxford, 1996), pp. 246-86 (p. 262).

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries so neatly separated.¹⁵⁸ As has already been alluded to, the transition to majority Protestantism within Canterbury was all but complete by the second decade of Queen Elizabeth's reign. This is not to say that the Reformation was 'over', if such a process can ever truly be deemed such, but its early phase was complete and Roman Catholicism was a spent force in the city's civic institutions.¹⁵⁹ In order to explain this, it is important to ensure that the discussion of doctrinal change is not divorced from the social and institutional contexts in which they occurred.

As with any work of Urban History, this thesis is a piece of 'total history'. While it does not attempt geographical totality, in the diversity of the archives consulted and the interdisciplinary perspectives used to examine the multidimensionality of change within a chosen microcosm, it remains in some senses Braudelian. Alongside its relatively constrained timeline, this thesis will also look to exploit a narrow geographical remit, a city and its immediate hinterlands, so that the effects of doctrinal reform on the social, cultural and political landscapes might be seen in sharper focus.

The benefit of such an approach has been questioned in recent years, with Alec Ryrie postulating that local studies of the English Reformation are 'unlikely to reveal new trends with which we are not already familiar'.¹⁶⁰ Yet by adopting modified methodologies and novel approaches to old source materials, locally

¹⁵⁸ P. Lake, 'Periodization, Politics, and "The Social"', *JBS*, 37 (1998), 279-290.

¹⁵⁹ It is worth noting that Elizabethan Canterbury never gained a reputation for harbouring recusant communities like some areas in Kent and neighbouring Sussex, see: L. E. Whatmore, *Recusancy in Kent: Studies and Documents* (Private Press, 1973), passim; C. Buckingham, 'Some Notes on the Early Catholic Missions in Canterbury', *Kent Recusant History*, 6 (1982), 16-25; idem, 'The Troubles of Sir Alexander Culpeper of Goudhurst', *Kent Recusant History*, 1 (1979), 20-24.

¹⁶⁰ A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 7.

focused studies have managed to offer significant new insights on the English Reformation. The most obvious examples of these potential benefits would be those recent explorations of urban reformations already discussed above, but smaller scale rurally-focused studies such as Eamon Duffy's examination of Sir Christopher Trychay and his cures in the Devonshire village of Morebath are equally noteworthy.¹⁶¹ Likewise, the various studies devoted to 'New British History' have provided much needed insights into the variations of reform in more of the 'dark corners' of Britain and Ireland, often taking a distinctly regionalised focus to do so.¹⁶² In the last two decades works such as these have demonstrated that the evidence of the micro still has much to contribute to our understanding of the macro.

The spine of research for this thesis has centred on the extensive civic archives of the City of Canterbury. On their own, the minute books, order books, petitions, charters, chamberlains' account books, and the records of the various secular courts offer a detailed picture of civic society in the city immediately before and after the break with Rome, and could furnish a thesis on their own.¹⁶³ The great strengths of this archive lies in the amount of information available concerning both the legal and non-legal business of the urban corporation, particularly after the second decade of

¹⁶¹ Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*.

¹⁶² On England, see: Cooper, *Propaganda*; J. D'Arcy, 'Late Medieval Catholicism and the Impact of the Reformation in the Deanery of Derby, c.1520-1570' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 1997). On Ireland, see: J. Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534-1590* (Cambridge, 2009); B. Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and Identity Formation in Ireland and Wales', in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain 1533-1707*, ed. by B. Bradshaw and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 43-111. On Wales, see: K. K. Olson, 'Religion, Politics, and the Parish in Tudor England and Wales: A View from the Marches of Wales, 1534-1553', *Recusant History*, 30 (2011), 527-536; M. Gray, 'Death, Commemoration and the Reformation in Monmouthshire', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 27 (2011), 43-56. More generally see: *Christianities and the Early Modern Celtic World*, ed. by T. O'Hannracháin and R. Armstrong (Basingstoke, 2014).

¹⁶³ Indeed, they have done: G. A. Durkin, 'The Government and Economy of Elizabethan Canterbury' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2001).

the sixteenth century when the records become more conglomerated. This is linked to the process of bureaucratisation discussed in chapter one, but is evident in the development of the city archive when the city minute books and chamberlains' accounts become increasingly formulaic and ordered. Thanks to this, the burghmote minute books run unbroken between 1537 and the end of this thesis' period of study, containing increasingly detailed information as time progresses, much of which was partially indexed by Cyprian Bunce two centuries ago. Similarly, the chamberlains' accounts run almost unbroken between 1505 and 1560 (missing only the years: 1510-12, 1520, 1536, 1546, 1555-56, 1559-60) providing information on all monies entering both the city chamber and, after 1517, the mayors' chamber. Together, these records provide the names, professions, activities and allegiances of a relatively large number of city inhabitants, as well as giving a partial account of the rhythms and procedures of civic business during the early stages of reform. Charters, proclamations, and other supplementary records held in the National Archive's Exchequer collections will also be used to bolster these discussions.

Alongside these records, the archives of the Dean and Chapter authorities will also be used to create a more rounded picture of city affairs. This will be particularly evident in the early chapters of the thesis, when a focus on the centuries before the Reformation mean that the city archive is somewhat deficient for a full-scale investigation. One of the key collections used is the *Chartae Antiquae*, held in the Dean and Chapter records. This contains a large number of charters, title deeds and associated documentation relating to the expansion and maintenance of the liberties of the late medieval cathedral priory, much of which concerns lands also claimed by the civic corporation. The associated priory registers series and Christ

Church Letters series, both in the dean and chapter collections, have also be mined for information on these topics.

As such, they give a vital picture of the development of the jurisdictional map of Canterbury which is not forthcoming in civic archive. The late medieval monastic and civic authorities maintained a symbiotic relationship, inhabiting and competing over the same urban space, something which is clearly evident in this archive. As the city records develop during the later fifteenth century, taking a lead from the legal development of the priory itself, the use of the Dean and Chapter records becomes less important. Something that is reflected in the diminished relationship between city and cathedral in the post-Reformation landscape.

In a similar fashion, the surviving records of the city parishes will be utilised to reproduce a picture of popular religion before and after the break with Rome. As mentioned above, of the city centre parishes, only the records of St Andrew's parish survive, as do the records of the extra-mural parish of St Dunstan's. Both provide information on the patterns of piety and nature of religious change therein, but also provide names of minor office holders and leading citizens in the parish, information that will help contextualise the discussions of civic duty and office holding contained in chapter two.

Given that much of the thesis will be built around a single institution and its membership, the approach to the archive has been in some senses prosopographical. The body of archival materials that survives for Canterbury's civic institutions allow a detailed picture of the key officers of the city to be pieced together and some form

of collective biography to be fashioned.¹⁶⁴ The great biographical compendiums, the *History of Parliament* and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, have helped this project deal with various prosopographical headaches, as have the biographical indexes recently completed by Thomas F. Mayer and John H. Baker respectively.¹⁶⁵ Alongside these, the *Clergy of the Church of England Database* has provided valuable information on the movements of various city clergymen after 1540. The actions, attitudes, and associations of the freemen who populate this thesis will contribute a wider picture of the activities of grander figures that orbited the city community, such as the archbishops, court justices, chancellors, leading noblemen, and even the monarchs themselves.

While it aims to be as multi-focal as the archive permits, there is no getting around the fact that we know very little of the vast majority of Canterbury's freemen, and it is only the wealthiest or especially litigious who will figure prominently. The majority remain merely in name and profession via the registers of new freemen, and as such serve only a quantitative purpose. Others though, have left wills allowing us to speculate on their doctrinal proclivities and their immediate networks of communicants. The probate archives of the archdeaconry & consistory courts represent one of the great strengths of the archives for this study, especially now that they have been accurately indexed online by Canterbury Cathedral Archives. Through a targeted use of these materials, some of the more enigmatic changes brought on by the Reformation might be gauged. In Canterbury, the shift from traditional preamble formulas towards more Lutheran or proto-Calvinist provisions

¹⁶⁴ L. Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), 46-79; T. F. Carney, 'Prosopography: Payoffs and Pitfalls', *Phoenix*, 27 (1973), 156-179.

¹⁶⁵ T. F. Mayer, *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole*, 4 vols (Aldershot, 2002-2008); J. H. Baker, *The Men of Court, 1440 to 1550: A Prosopography of the Inns of Court and Chancery and the Courts of Law*, 2 vols (London, 2012).

for the soul occurs relatively quickly. Such a trend is compelling but only tells half the story by ignoring important metadata included in probate materials concerning the familial and associative networks of the testator.

The records of the various city courts also form an important part of this study. Canterbury is fortunate in that it is well served by legal archives that give an insight into the utilisation of the city's corrective mechanisms during the turbulent years of the reformation.¹⁶⁶ The city quarters sessions papers contained in the archive run from 1461, but is largely incomplete prior to 1510 so has therefore not been extensively consulted before this date. After then, the records survive in bundles, particularly well for the vital years of the 1530s and early 1540s, with the only major gaps existing in the later 1540s where the bundles seem to have been lost or miscatalogued. The session bundles contain a variety of records, including copies of oaths, jury lists, writs of *venire facias*, presentments from the ward juries, indictments, bonds and recognisances, and depositions. As such they can give a full, if bewildering, picture of the city's primary legal mechanism.

Alongside the records of the city courts, the diocesan archive, including the records of the archdeaconry and consistory courts, will add an extra layer to the picture of discourse in the city. Court records, though, do present certain interpretational pitfalls. It is unwise to assume that absence of records means absence of events. An important aspect of this thesis' argument rests somewhat awkwardly on the relative lack of religious controversy in the city and diocesan courts during this period, but this is not to say that such events did not occur. Yet, by combining other complementary records, this picture changes so that it would appear the city

¹⁶⁶ M. K. McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour in England, 1370-1600*, (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 23-53.

was witness to spells of religious controversy during the period, with city magistrates simply unwilling to pursue them using the institutional tools at their disposal.

Alongside provincial archives, the thesis will not shun the evidence offered by large state-centric source collections such as the State Papers. Institutionally focused histories have tended to rely upon a certain set of materials related primarily with the operations of central government and the maintenance of order. Such records formed the basis of many pre-revisionist studies of reform and remain relevant today; after all, the effective operation of state-power is central to the English Reformation. Early on in the research for this thesis, when its aims were somewhat different, a large part of the research focused on a survey of the records of central courts (held at the National Archives) during the first half of the sixteenth century. The courts of Chancery, Star Chamber, Requests, and King's Bench were all consulted during this phase, but turned up little in terms of useful conclusions. However, since the direction of the thesis has changed, this research has come to serve a useful, if more anecdotal, purpose. Alongside the state papers, these records of national criminal and equity courts provide vital details of the legal and financial affairs of the corporation, its members, and their wider networks.

The British Library has provided numerous useful materials for this study. Most notable are two large volumes compiled by the corporation that provide details of civic rituals, legal procedures, give narratives of disputes with ecclesiastical institutions, and various other pertinent matters. Similar materials held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, have helped flesh-out discussion of ritual change in the city. Also held at the British Library, the Harleian collection contains various manuscripts collected by John Foxe that provide contextual information of contemporary and historic events in Canterbury. A manuscript in the Harleian

collection containing a translation of a sermon by Philip Melancthon completed by John Twyne, Canterbury's humanist-in-chief, has provided clues to the intellectual background of the city during the later-1530s. Other literary and contextual sources relating to Twyne, now held at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, alongside various manuscripts relating to Christ Church Cathedral or to Archbishop Cranmer, now held in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, have also been consulted.

The five chapters of this thesis will look to utilise this mass of archival material into a coherent picture of Canterbury's Reformation. The first two chapters will set the scene for reform. The first chapter will discuss the development of corporate Canterbury during the century preceding the Henrician Reformation. During this time, the city's magisterial classes developed a sustainable and effective system of urban governance based upon political participation and deference to crown authorities, two things that would serve them well in the post-supremacy political climate. Likewise, the chapter will discuss how the institutional development in the city drove discord between monastic and corporate entities, and created an unpleasant backdrop of ongoing antagonism between lay officials and their monastic neighbours. Chapter two will consider the landscape of late medieval Canterbury and the place of the corporation within this. Long standing ideological concepts surrounding the common good or 'wele' of the city represent an important strand of continuity through the late medieval into the early modern city, and underpinned the ethos of urban governance in Canterbury before and after the break with Rome. The process of reformation, at least in a political and cultural sense, did not commence in 1534, and as such the chapter will examine how a culture of active

citizenship developed in the city and how this was expressed in the institutions and rituals of the corporation.

The third chapter will enter the realms of the English Reformation and the atmosphere of political flux and state coercion which characterised the first decade following the supremacy. The start of the decade saw the city become the centre of a national movement against King Henry's marriage plans at the hands of Elizabeth Barton and her clerical and lay supporters. Almost immediately after the public destruction of this party, the city's political classes were made to swear an oath of obedience to their monarch and pledge tacit allegiance to a burgeoning religio-political order. The proximity of the two events confirmed the necessity for ongoing deference to the royal will, but also served to politicize the process of reform in England and deter moves towards confessionalised behavior in political settings. As the decade progressed, the activities of Archbishop Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell in the county only served to confirm this narrative. The two men, while both eager reformers personally, at no point openly encouraged evangelical progress beyond the terms of Henrician diktats during the 1530s. While they might have turned a blind eye to reformist activities in some circumstances, their political networks incorporated both Catholic and Protestant, and sought stability over all else. Within Canterbury, this offer of political patronage, coupled with the material and social benefits offered by the dissolutions, provided magistrates with a powerful combination of motives to accept ongoing reform.

The fourth chapter will focus more overtly on the effects of doctrinal change on the complexion of the corporate city. During the second half of the 1530s and throughout the 1540s a distinctly Protestant group emerges in the guildhall and wider city community that was to persevere throughout the decades that followed. An

active print industry and clandestine links to continental Protestants allowed Lutheran literature to become a commonplace in the city, with members of the political classes like John Twyne serving to bring such ideas into the guildhall. Helping to facilitate this was the archbishop and his immediate underlings in his diocesan administration, who encouraged reformist activities within city parishes following the death of Thomas Cromwell when the county consensus began to disintegrate. At a parish level the city began to become increasingly polarized after 1540, with communal harmony being threatened by increasingly brazen attempts by some, including Cranmer's deputies, to force the issue of evangelical reform. However, such an atmosphere did not split the civic benches, rather it prefigured a spell of reconfiguration and development that sought to protect corporate solidarity amidst this chaotic backdrop. During this period no sustained challenge was made to urban government and the relative homogeneity of the city elite meant that divisive issues remained stifled.

The final chapter will continue to chart this development into the troubled decades of mid-Tudor England. Under the reigns of Henry's eldest offspring, Canterbury was witness to prolonged periods of economic and social distress that forced city magistrates to take an increasingly visible role in city life. In many respects, this 'commonwealth' aspect of corporate governance was in line with the development of Protestantism within the city community, and yet the corporation continued not to act in a confessional manner, at no stage looking to overtly enforce doctrinal conformity. Likewise, when Queen Mary came to the throne, the city officiously enacted the Catholic Reformation in the parishes, yet while much of Kent was witness to intense spells of persecution, Canterbury was the site rather than the subject of numerous public burnings. By pursuing outward conformity and

eschewing doctrinal zeal, the corporation managed to appear loyal to their queen while ensuring relative calm in their community.

Recently Peter Marshall has suggested that ‘any convincing attempt to redefine the English Reformation...needs to start and end with the story of how English Christians managed to redefine themselves’.¹⁶⁷ This thesis began as a study of the provincial characteristics of the early Tudor state formation, aiming to examine how the peculiarities of late medieval urban governance interacted with one of the most notable characteristics of the Tudor period. Over its duration, though, the project has assumed a different direction. It soon became clear that the relationship between provincial urban societies and the burgeoning Tudor state had a significant impact on the course of reform in these areas, and how the transition from one religion to another occurred within a context that was not always obviously doctrinal.

¹⁶⁷ P. Marshall, ‘(Re)defining’, p. 586.

Chapter One: Civic Governance in Late Medieval Canterbury

Introduction

The picture of urban Canterbury in 1560 was wildly different in institutional, cultural, social and political terms than it had been in 1530. While it is tempting to suggest that the principal catalyst for this change was the Reformation, such an attitude would be foolhardy. The traditional idea of the Urban Reformation as a process begun in the 1530s bringing to an end a period of stable late medieval urban governance ignores the broader developments occurring before 1530. From the perspective of the urban historian looking beyond a doctrinal understanding of reform, it is important not to neglect the longer term processes that prefigured the legislative and doctrinal onslaughts of the 1530s and beyond, processes that had an important bearing on the reactions to reform in urban communities.

In Canterbury, the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were formative times. Through a combination of shrewd political manoeuvring and well-timed displays of loyalty, the corporation extended its liberties, fostered profitable relationships with local gentry and developed bonds with crown authorities. Between 1448 and 1498, a series of charters codified and remodelled the city's governing structures, creating a sustainable and effective framework of civic governance in the city. This ability of city magistrates to foster working relationships with the crown and its creatures provides an important context for the early stages of the Henrician reform, which were, after all, expressed and propagated by the regime as acts of political necessity.

Urban corporations had good memories; and a collective awareness of the recent and distant past served as a lens through which the actions and conventions of contemporary civic life were focused.¹ The fostering of a collective memory and the expression of this through ceremonial and political means was relevant to the concerns of the civic community, but had a bearing on wider, longer-running debates, in particular those surrounding the legitimacy of secular urban authority and limits of urban government. As such, the memorialisation of occasions pertinent to civic life in the recent and distant past bore an influence on the development of late medieval civic ritual and cultural expression, but also the duties of the corporate membership.²

Once a corporation had established their liberties, it became paramount to protect or to extend them.³ In the late medieval context this entailed little more than the ability to fulfil financial obligations to the exchequer and demonstrate that the king's peace was being maintained. Still, the maintenance of effective government was not always a straightforward task, and like many contemporary towns, Canterbury suffered numerous tribulations in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, most notably when the city was stripped of its liberties in 1471 following the Bastard of Fauconberg's doomed uprising against Yorkist rule. In the aftermath, the victorious

¹ I. W. Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialisation in Early Modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City, 1598-1720*, ed. by J. F. Merritt (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 89-113; R. Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory in English Provincial Towns', *Urban History*, 24 (1997), 283-300.

² L. Attreed, 'Urban Identity in Medieval English Towns', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2002), 571-592; H. Kleineke, 'Civic Ritual, Space and Conflict in Fifteenth-Century Exeter', in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages*, ed. by F. Andrews (Donington, 2011), pp. 165-78; H. Carrel, 'Disputing Legal Privilege: Civic Relations with the Church in Late Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009), 279-296.

³ S. H. Rigby and E. Ewan, 'Government, Power and Authority, 1300-1540', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol. 1: 600-1540*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 291-312 (pp. 292-93, 298-99).

Edward IV revoked the city's charter and installed a puppet governor, while a judicial inquest assessed Lancastrian sympathies in the civic community. In response, the remaining citizenry moved to ostracise those who might have been implicated.⁴ Later, during the 1490s, an outbreak of factionalism led to disputes over electoral procedure and mayoral authority, threatening to undermine effective governance. In response, rather than attempt to mask the issue, the corporation appealed to outside mediators for counsel, and eventually garnered a new charter that reshaped civic institutions, ironed-out vagaries in procedures, and brought Canterbury into line with the emergent Tudor state. What followed was a successful process of institutional formalisation designed to ensure ongoing civic solidarity and effective governance.

Alongside institutional dispute and development, the early Tudor years were marked by an intensification of clashes between the city's civic and monastic communities. The uncomfortable relationship between unwritten custom and documented liberties meant that there were significant jurisdictional grey areas across the city's landscape, to such an extent that the corporation found itself engaged in almost perpetual lawsuits over its liberties during this period.⁵ At the beginning of the 1490s, the corporation lost a long-running legal dispute with Christ Church Cathedral Priory over taxation rights, and throughout the remainder of the decade the city was involved in a separate jurisdictional dispute with St Gregory's Priory that would rumble on until the middle of the 1530s. Alongside these, there were numerous minor jurisdictional quarrels with St Augustine's Abbey, St Sepulchre's Nunnery, and other minor houses, all played out on the jurisdictional

⁴ C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp. 181-83.

⁵ CCA, CC, SuppMs/6, fol. Cv; CC, F/A/5, fol. 158r; *HMC Ninth*, p. 141.

map of Canterbury's intra and extramural space. Such prolonged antagonism between civic and monastic communities established a lingering antipathy to institutional religion that served as an important motivator towards reform in the later 1530s. Extensive ecclesiastical privileges based upon vague customs and historical precedents helped stoke a collective ire within the city's lay populace that encouraged the corporate body, itself starting to accrue formidable chartered privileges and legal acumen, to test the bounds of its ecclesiastical neighbours.

Decades later, when Henry VIII tasked his chief minister to address the issue of monastic religion in his realm, he was not motivated by mere avarice. Rather, Henry believed that the realm's monasteries and regular clergy had become a boil upon the English body politic that needed to be lanced to safeguard his break with Rome. Like Henry, sections of the lay populace, particularly in southern or urban regions, imagined monks as obstructive and lethargic, and monasteries as a passive or even deleterious presence in English society. Such sentiments lie behind the rhetoric of dispute in Canterbury, where legal cases against monastic institutions and monks were built upon proving membership of the city's political body. Long running legal battles equally gave recourse to creating new compendiums and precedent manuals that could protect against future disputes and serve as caveats against internal strife. Over generations, these helped reinforce ideals of citizenship, and provided the opposition between monk and magistrate a legal permanence, undermining links between lay and ecclesiastical communities prior to the dissolutions.

1.1 *Charters: Town & Crown before the Reformation*

Urban government is distinguishable by the corporate structures that came to dominate it. As Frederick Maitland put it: ‘The borough community is corporate; the village community is not. This is a real and important difference.’⁶ Long before the sixteenth century, members of an urban citizenry had taken to forming into corporate bodies in order to attain legal or economic advantage and to govern effectively. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this process was increasingly formalised through the granting of royal charters of incorporation, which provided these bodies a collective legal identity and allowed them to become increasingly formalised and, to some extent, bureaucratised.⁷ These charters, that often bestowed royal or county status upon a civic body, also helped to bring provincial governors into closer alignment with crown authorities.⁸ While the use of charters generally as a tool of royal government was diminishing, charters of incorporation remained an important feature of provincial power management, particularly during the turbulence of the fifteenth century, and remained so under the Tudors.⁹

The core tenants of incorporation granted by these charters are:
incorporation; a unique institutional title; perpetual succession of the membership;
the power to sue and be sued as a collective; the right to hold lands collectively; the

⁶ F. M. Maitland, *Township and Borough*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1997), p. 10.

⁷ Coventry and Hedon were the first towns to receive charters of incorporation in 1345 and 1348 respectively, while the first to receive county status was Bristol in 1345, see: *British Borough Charters 1307-1660*, ed. by M. Weinbaum (Cambridge, 1943), pp. xxiii-xxvi.

⁸ There have been numerous legal discussions of the characteristics of the corporate body, perhaps the most famous is Sir Edward Coke’s report of the case of Sutton’s Hospital in the early seventeenth century where it was suggested that ‘a Corporation aggregate of many is invisible, immortal, & resteth only in intendment and consideration of the law’, see: E. Coke, *Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke* ed. by S. Sheppard, 3 vols (Indianapolis, 2003), i, pp. 1080-81.

⁹ R. Horrox, ‘Urban Patronage 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. There were eighty-nine charters of incorporation granted in England and Wales the sixteenth century, thirty-nine of these during the turbulent period between 1541 and 1558, see: *Borough Charters 1307-1660*, pp. xxx-iv; Tittler, *Reformation and the Towns*, pp. 345-47.

authority to issue local ordinances and by-laws to advance corporate business; and, the right to hold a common seal.¹⁰ Alongside this, urban corporations were typically provided with extensive legal powers, and magistrates were oftentimes allowed to operate as independent Justices of the Peace within their bounds.¹¹ As such, incorporation and a grant of county status offered significant administrative freedoms to urban magistrates, bestowing upon them a form of devolved self-government while keeping them explicitly accountable to the crown. Magistrates in county boroughs were thus required to operate in a hinterland between financial and legal autonomy, and utter subservience to the royal writ. Such a dichotomy meant incorporated cities did not exist independently within the late medieval English state; chartered privileges were not inalienable rights, rather, they were contractual benefits tying urban governors into a peculiar commensal relationship with royal authority.¹² The charters granted to Canterbury during the second half of the fifteenth century provide insights how Canterbury's corporate body evolved into one of these autonomously dependent boroughs.

Yet there are those who remain unconvinced of the importance of this aspect of urban development. Professor Bridbury has suggested that, rather than serving any legal or institutional purpose, charters were the product of 'lawyer's nonsense', and

¹⁰ M. Weinbaum, *The Incorporation of the Boroughs* (Manchester, 1937), p. xxiii. See also: C. T. Carr, *The General Principles of the Law of Corporations* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 128-30. It is worth bearing in mind that there were numerous towns that exercised these rights with corporate status, particularly small towns like Beverley (North Yorkshire) or Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) which were not incorporated until 1573 and 1606 respectively, for a useful analytical index of incorporations see: Weinbaum, *Boroughs*, pp. xxviii-lxvii.

¹¹ E. G. Kimball, 'Commissions of the Peace for Urban Jurisdictions in England, 1327-1485', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 121 (1977), 448-474.

¹² David Loades has succinctly argued that 'in spite of their autonomy, towns were not franchises, because all writs ran in the monarch's name and because their charters were revocable at the will of the crown, without either judicial or legislative process', see: D. M. Loades, *Tudor Government: Structures of Authority in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1997), p. 142.

represent nothing but ‘sheer unalloyed conspicuous consumption’.¹³ That the cost of charters could be exorbitant is undeniable, Canterbury spent £16 on commissioning and receiving their 1498 charter, but to suggest that these documents bore no practical benefit is to overlook the impact they had on civic governance.¹⁴ Even if charters of incorporation did tend to ‘appeal to the trumpery of the burgess class’, these trumperies were usually hard earned and worn with pride.¹⁵ Canterbury certainly coveted its charters. Rosemary Horrox has commented that Canterbury is amongst a minority of cities that took the trouble, not to mention the expense, of presenting their charters for renewal at the beginning of successive monarch’s reigns.¹⁶ But there was more to this than mere vanity. Charters provided definition to the relationship between town and crown during uncertain times, and gave a foundation on which city magistrates could construct a cultural identity.

1.1.1 Mid-Fifteenth Century Successes

The city received its first major new charter for over a century in 1448, granted by Henry VI.¹⁷ This charter is fairly standard in its bequests, granting the right to hold court days within the city, the right to independently elect parliamentary burgesses, and, most importantly, the right to annually elect an individual from within the burghmote as mayor.¹⁸ The mayoral office served to replace the previous system of two bailiffs, and this single mayor would hold the right to execute and return all writs and warrants in the city and suburbs. Such a development was the first step on

¹³ A. R. Bridbury, ‘Late medieval Urban Prosperity: A Rejoinder’, *EconHR*, 37 (1984), 555-556 (555).

¹⁴ CCA, CC, A/A/44.

¹⁵ Bridbury, ‘Rejoinder’, p. 555.

¹⁶ Horrox, ‘Urban Patronage’, p. 146.

¹⁷ B. P. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1983), pp. 361-71 *passim*.

¹⁸ The city’s own copy of the charter is at: CCA, CC, A/A/32. It is calendared at: *CPR Hen. VI*, v, pp. 181-83.

the road to a well-developed city government, but this progress was threatened shortly afterwards, when, two years later, a rebellion broke in south-east Kent headed by Thomas Cheyne, a Southwark fuller operating under the guise of a hermit named 'Blewbeard'.¹⁹ Mid-century Kent had suffered from its proximity to the French coast, not to mention those economic pressures that had blighted the rest of the nation, leading to widespread popular discontent in the region.²⁰ In response, on 26 January 1450, around two hundred rebels banded together outside Sandwich and marched westward toward London.

By the time they reached Canterbury the rebel band had swollen and upon arrival outside the city walls the mayor William Benet barred them from entering the city, stalling their advance. Shortly afterwards, on 31 January, Cheyne was captured outside Canterbury's walls.²¹ Within a week a royal commission had been sent into Kent, the ringleaders had been tried, and Cheyne had been sent to Tyburn for execution, his head then being returned to Canterbury to crown the Westgate.²² This short-lived uprising has been all but forgotten by subsequent historiography, but in the short term it reaffirmed the corporation's loyalty to Henry VI at a time when Lancastrian unanimity in Kent, and the authority of royal government more generally, was flagging. In the longer term, it established that the city's executive officers were willing and able to maintain order in the city and locale, and uphold

¹⁹ I. M. W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 64-66.

²⁰ M. E. Mate, 'The Economy of Kent, 1200-1500: The Aftermath of the Black Death', in *Later Medieval Kent 1220-1540*, ed. by S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 11-24 (p. 20); Harvey, *Cade's Rebellion*, pp. 36-43.

²¹ Harvey, *Cade's Rebellion*, p. 65.

²² The eventual resting place of Cheyne's head is unclear. Harvey says it was kept in London and placed on London Bridge, as is typical with traitors, citing a contemporary chronicle for this assumption. However, the Canterbury chamberlain states that: '*et ibidem erat ad tractandum suspendendum et decapitandum et capud ejus positum erat super portam de Westgate*', see: *HMC Ninth*, p. 140.

royal authority during spells of communal disorder, a precedent that would be called upon numerous times in the ensuing century.

Just months afterwards, another rebel army, this time led by Jack Cade, massed outside of the western suburbs of the city and petitioned for entry, only to be rebuffed on 7 June 1450.²³ The enigmatic Cade had seized upon the same simmering popular discontent that had galvanised Cheyne's rebels months earlier alongside further anger over the recent loss of Normandy.²⁴ Canterbury once again sealed its gates, and helped temporarily hinder the forward progress of a rebel army. In the series of recriminations that followed Cade's eventual defeat, traditionally known as the 'harvest of heads', Canterbury was one of the three urban centres where upwards of thirty Kentishmen were brought to be executed. A few months later, in November, ten Canterbury men were issued £10 from the exchequer for their troubles in conveying Cade into the king's presence.²⁵ Over the course of a few months the city and its ruling class had proven itself worthy of its recently established chartered privileges and reaped some tentative reward for this.²⁶

As a whole, the civic community in Canterbury were to receive more than just accolades and monetary compensation for their troubles. Taking advantage of their growing favour with a king in need of allies, the civic authorities began to petition for another extension of their liberties. In early 1452, the mayor, Roger Rydle, alongside Richard Pargate, a wealthy city merchant, rode to London and to

²³ *Chronicle of John Stone, Monk of Christ Church, 1415-71*, ed. W. G. Searle (Cambridge, 1902), p. 49; Harvey, *Cade's Rebellion*, pp. 103-04; *HMC Ninth*, p. 140.

²⁴ D. Grummitt, 'Kent and National Politics, 1399-1461', in *Later Medieval Kent 1220-1540*, ed. by S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 234-50 (pp. 242-47).

²⁵ Harvey, *Cade's Rebellion*, pp. 152-53.

²⁶ Harvey, *Cade's Rebellion*, p. 104.

Rochester to petition authorities on the city's behalf.²⁷ Pargate had previously taken an active role in negotiations for the 1448 charter, and by 1451 he succeeded in gaining an extended charter that recognised the city's efforts against that 'heremyte Bleweberd', and in resisting Cade, the 'Captain of Kent'.²⁸ As a further nod to their recent services, the charter provided the mayor the ability to muster the citizenry, alongside which the corporation could now elect a bailiff who was to return all writs and had responsibility at the exchequer for the city accounts. Along this new position, the legal privileges of the citizenry were extended with the mayor, recorder, and several aldermen now being granted the powers of a Justice of the Peace (JPs) within the city, with county JPs being expressly excluded from city affairs. The city was also granted a lucrative annual fair, to be held from 4-6 August, that would go on to become an important annual event in the city's summer calendar. All in all, Canterbury had successfully navigated the turbulent early 1450s and been granted a number of important extensions to its liberties in the process.

This model of royal service was tested in the late-1450s when the city found itself caught amidst the struggles between the Yorkist lords and the ailing Lancastrian regime. On account of the Earl of Warwick's growing affinity in the region following the French raid on Sandwich in 1457, Kentish society appears to have started to favour the Yorkist cause.²⁹ The anti-Lancastrian ballad pinned to the Westgate in 1460, addressed to the 'ryghte Worshypfulle Cyte of Caunterbury', provides some hints to how attempts were being made to influence political will

²⁷ Pargate had been active in the city for some years before this, on his role as a merchant, see: CCA, CC, R/SM/27; PRC 17/1/20.

²⁸ CCA, CC, A/A/33.

²⁹ A. J. Pollard, 'Neville, Richard, sixteenth earl of Warwick and sixth earl of Salisbury [called the Kingmaker] (1428–1471)', *ODNB*. C. Ross, 'Rumour, Propaganda and Popular Opinion during the Wars of the Roses' in *Patronage the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England* ed. by R. A. Griffiths (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 15-32 (pp. 17-18).

within the city at the time.³⁰ Yet there is little to suggest that the position of the ruling classes had altered from their broadly pragmatic approach to national politics.

After the escape of the Yorkist lords to Calais in October 1459, the city signalled that it was preparing for another stoic defence of their king, purchasing gunpowder, transporting the city guns from store in Whitstable, and welcoming Robert Moleyns, lord Hungerford, to inspect the city's defensive capabilities.³¹ However, there is no evidence to suggest that members of the city were involved in the subsequent fighting that saw Edward IV crowned king; instead, in early 1461, the corporation simply sent one of the city's MPs, Nicholas Faunt, to London to enquire into the state of things.³² When it became clear that there was a new king, the corporation set about seeking confirmation of its liberties, sending members of the corporation to petition the king and spending an exorbitant sum of £35 19s 2d.³³ The resultant new charter, granted in August 1461, went far beyond simply confirming the city's rights, instead raising it to a county jurisdiction.³⁴ The charter and its later extensions provided the city governors with the ability to regulate all aspects of civic life and established a closer (if in only ceremonial terms) relationship with the crown and the country gentry, with whom they now shared comparable positions and prestige. What is more, the rewards reaped for the corporation's *volte-face* in

³⁰ My thanks to Dr. Tom Lawrence for steering me towards this reference, see: J. L. Watts, 'Polemics and Politics in the 1450s', in *The Politics of Fifteenth Century England: John Vale's Book* ed. by M. L. Kekewich, C. Richmond, A. F. Sutton, L. Visser-Fuchs, J. L. Watts (Stroud, 1996), pp. 3-42 (pp. 26-31). The poem is reprinted in: *An English Chronicle, 1371-1466*, ed. by J. S. Davies (London, 1856), pp. 91-94.

³¹ *HMC Ninth*, p. 140; D. Grummitt, *A Short History of the Wars of the Roses* (London, 2013), p. 150.

³² *HMC Ninth*, p. 140. Faunt sat in the parliament of 1460, see: *CCRHenVI*, vi, pp. 376-378.

³³ *HMC Ninth*, p. 140.

³⁴ CCA, CC, A/A/34. Printed in: A. Citizen [C. R. Bunce], *A Translation of the Several Charters Granted by Edward IV Henry VII James I and Charles II to the Citizens of Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1791), pp. 7-70.

backing the new Yorkist king, demonstrated yet again the often straightforward cause-and-effect of town/crown relations.

This was emphasised a decade later. The greatest threat to a chartered city was the revocation of its liberties; this was not only a great symbolic shame upon the magistracy, but also carried significant economic peril. Typically, chartered cities were stripped of their liberties for failing to maintain good order, but in Canterbury's case it was a punishment for a profound political miscalculation. Around the time that the Yorkist and Lancastrian armies met at the Battle of Tewkesbury in early May 1471, a large force of men from Canterbury and Sandwich joined with Thomas Neville, bastard of Fauconberg, for an unsuccessful rising in support of Henry VI and Queen Margaret.³⁵ It was an uncharacteristically rash move by a typically prudent political community, and once Edward IV had put down Margaret's rebellions in the north, it backfired. The king was back in London by 21 May and swiftly moved against the Kentish rebels. Large sections of the Kentish gentry were implicated in some way in the rebellion, but Canterbury came under particular scrutiny thanks to the leading role played by the mayor, Nicholas Faunt.³⁶ The king was in Canterbury by 26 May, Faunt was hanged, drawn and quartered at the Bulstake on 29 May, and the city's liberties were revoked on 2 June.³⁷ For the rest of the year the city and suburbs were under the control of the sheriff of Kent, John

³⁵ C. F. Richmond, 'Fauconberg's Kentish Rising of May 1471', *EHR*, 85 (1970), 673-692. In a letter to the governors of London, Fauconberg styled himself 'Thomas Fauconberg, Captain and leader of our liege lord King Henry's people in Kent', see: J. R. Scott, 'Letters Respecting Fauconberg's Kentish Rising in 1472', *Arch. Cant.*, 11 (1877), 359-364 (p. 359).

³⁶ Richmond, 'Kentish Rising', p. 677.

³⁷ CCA, CC, F/A/5, fol. 158r-158v; *CPR 1467-77*, pp. 283-84; *HMC Ninth*, p. 141; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 181-83; Grummitt, 'Kent and National Politics', pp. 257-58.

Brumston; while a royal commission consisting of leading local gentry was set up on 15 July to execute justice in the rest of the county.³⁸

The reaction of the civic community was predictable but noteworthy. Towards the end of May, in an attempt to demarcate those who were possible traitors, a list of individuals suspected of complicity with Fauconberg was compiled by city authorities.³⁹ In total it lists 210 names, separated into categories of descending complicity, with thirty-five said to have committed ‘gret offenses of high treson’.⁴⁰ The list includes members of the civic hierarchy, and wealthy local gentry men, who were all pointedly referred to as being ‘late of this city’, when named, despite the majority of them still being resident. As such, they were being explicitly removed from the remaining corporate body in preparation for the royal commission’s investigation. Overall, Edward’s reaction had been swift and the city had acted with predictable penitence, but normality was soon returned to the region. In November, a general pardon was issued to the citizenry, and in the following January, Brumston relinquished control of the city which was summarily returned to its liberties.⁴¹

The 210 long list of suspects represents an overzealous reaction to an uncomfortable political situation, and while the repercussions for some were severe, others seem to have easily exonerated themselves. Hamon Bele, Thomas Atwode, and William Sellow all appear on the list of suspects, but all were acting as aldermen

³⁸ Brumstone is listed as ‘vic[ecomitibus]’ at: TNA, CP40/837, atts. (no rot. number). See also: *CPR*, 1467-77, p. 296; Hasted, *Survey*, vi, 538. The royal commission was headed by Lord Dinham and the earl of Arundel, alongside whom sat Thomas Bouchier, John Ferres, John Fogge, John Digges, Roger Brent, and John Scott, see: *CPR 1466-77*, pp. 287-88.

³⁹ The record of the investigation, a lengthy parchment roll, sits at: CCA, CC, Woodruff/56. Richmond notes that a number of individuals are listed as in ward with Faunt, thus suggesting the list was compiled prior to his execution, see: Richmond, ‘Fauconberg’s Kentish Rising’, p. 685.

⁴⁰ CCA, CC, Woodruff/56.

⁴¹ CCA, CC, A/A/35; *CPR 1467-77*, pp. 296, 299-303, 310.

soon afterwards.⁴² Two members of the city who had been identified as ring-leaders alongside Faunt, Walter Hopton and Thomas Morice, also quickly found redemption. Just three years later Hopton is listed as a common councillor, and Morice remained in his freedom as an innholder.⁴³ Hopton, who was said to have used ‘thretys and convulsions’ to press others into Fauconberg’s service, was no doubt aided by the homogeneity of the corporate community at the time. He had gained his freedom after marrying the daughter of the wealthy city brewer John Lynde, Canterbury’s first mayor, and within three years held the position of sheriff.⁴⁴ He also maintained ties to John Bygge, mayor in 1473 and 1474, appearing alongside him in debt litigation relating to the estate of John Bartlet.⁴⁵

This is not to say that the punishments had not been felt in the region. The city’s magistrates had humiliated themselves, jeopardised its relationship with the incumbent king, and had had to relinquish control of their corporation to an outside authority. The fact that they resorted to spending increasing amounts on lavish entertainments for royal visitors in the aftermath suggests its desire to reconstruct its previously hospitable relationship.⁴⁶ The city magistrates had also put themselves in economic danger. There were manifold threats associated with the loss of liberties, a city that lost its liberties typically lost control of its financial affairs, and some of the properties held either by the city or by local officials could be distrained until fines

⁴² *HMC Ninth*, p. 170.

⁴³ *HMC Ninth*, p. 170. Morice seems to have been attached to the priory’s Cheker inn well into the 1480s, see: CCA, DCc, DE/59.

⁴⁴ Cowper, *Freemen*, p. 129.

⁴⁵ TNA, CP40/814, rot. 354d.

⁴⁶ When the lord chamberlain, William, lord Hastings, and king’s brother, George, duke of Clarence, visited the city during summer 1473, the corporation put on a feast, a breakfast and presented the two with numerous gifts ranging from four swans, a buck, six capons, fifty-six gallons and a pottle of red wine, see: CCA, CC, F/A/5, fol. 158r.

had been paid.⁴⁷ To compound matters, the crown was also prone to levying fines on entire corporations as well as certain traitorous individuals, meaning that some might end up paying multiple fines for the same indiscretion. Relating to the time immediately after 1471, the *Great Chronicle of London* notes:

Such as were rych were hangid by the purs, and the othir that
were nedý were hangid by the nekkis, by meane whereof that
cuntre was gretly enpoverysshid⁴⁸

Such an outcome is evidenced by the £1,700 ‘gifted’ to the exchequer by unnamed Kentish men during Michaelmas 1471; these were probably, as Colin Richmond asserts, the fines of those who appeared before the royal commissioners in the city and wider county.⁴⁹

Despite these short term threats, though, the civic community had benefitted from the experiences of the mid-fifteenth century. Successful petitioning by members of the corporation had demonstrated that good service and outward obedience could be bartered for material and institutional gains, and given the town/crown relationship with a straightforward cause-and-effect. A decade later this was underscored by the near-disastrous decision of the city’s mayor to rebel against the king, but the contrite reaction of the civic body seems to have persuaded royal

⁴⁷ The best example of this comes from London, when in 1392 Richard II seized the city’s liberties and placed the entirety of the corporation’s income under crown control, forcing the sheriffs to account for it at the exchequer, on this see: C. M. Barron, ‘The Quarrel of Richard II with London, 1392-7’, in *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKissack*, ed. by F. R. H. DuBoulay and C. M. Barron (London, 1971), pp. 173-201 (p. 189). A less severe case comes from Norwich, where after a series of riots in 1442 the city lost power of its finances and a decade later had to petition the king for exemption from its fee farm commitments while it was without its liberties, see: *Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. by W. Hudson, and J. C. Tingey, 2 vols (London, 1906), i, pp. 342-43; N. P. Tanner, ‘The Cathedral and the City’, in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996*, ed. by I. Atherton, E. Fernie, C. Harper-Bill, A. H. Smith (London, 1996), pp. 255-80 (pp. 259-69).

⁴⁸ *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. by A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London, 1938), p. 221.

⁴⁹ Richmond, ‘Fauconberg’s Kentish Rising’, p. 686.

officials the city was still worthy of its status. In the longer term, the incorporation charter of 1461 served as a foundation stone on which an effective urban government and ritual civic identity could be constructed.

1.1.2 *The Nova Ordinatio*

A defining characteristic of Canterbury's civic community is that internal or external turbulence did not lead to corporate insularity.⁵⁰ The city economy could not sustain such an approach, nor could its *petite noblesse* maintain order without recourse to external authorities. Canterbury's magistrates, far from insulating themselves against incursions from the outside world, remained exposed to the rigors of national political events. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, when a spell of internal discord threatened civic unity, the city openly appealed to outside authorities for advice and help in resolving ongoing issues surrounding the shape of the civic body.

In 1498, a new charter, styled the *Nova Ordinatio*, reshaped the city bench.⁵¹ The primary mediator in the case was Cardinal Morton, who set up the commission to investigate after a petition of various members of the city bench. As archbishop, Morton was an important source of political authority in the region.⁵² But unlike many of his predecessors, he was relatively active in the administration of his diocese, maintaining an affable relationship with both the civic and monastic parties in Canterbury.⁵³ At the civic level, Morton was linked with various members of the

⁵⁰ Muriel McClendon has described such an insularity, or a desire to eschew outside involvement in city affairs, being at the heart of politics in Norwich, see: McClendon, *Quiet Reformation*, pp. 36-60.

⁵¹ The city's copy is as: CCA, CC, A/A/44. It is printed in: A. Citizen [C. R. Bunce], *A Translation of the Several Charters Granted by Edward IV Henry VII James I and Charles II to the citizens of Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1791), pp. 71-80.

⁵² P. Fleming, 'The Character and Private Concerns of the Gentry of Kent 1422-1509' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Swansea, 1985), pp. 90-94; F. R. H. DuBoulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury: An Essay on Medieval Society* (London, 1966), pp. 2-3, 218-46.

⁵³ Other corporations in the region were equally keen to court favour from Morton, New Romney were particularly generous in their gifts of capons and venison, see: *HMC Fifth*, pp. 548-49. For a broader discussion of Morton's diocesan administration, see: C. Harper-Bill, 'The *Familia*,

corporation, most notably with Edward Bolney, one of the chief protagonists in events surrounding 1498, who served as bailiff of the college at Wingham after 1488.⁵⁴

Bolney was a wealthy and litigious man who had moved to Canterbury in the 1480s from his native Sussex, where he was a middle child of Bartholomew Bolney, lord of the manor of Bolney.⁵⁵ There is no record of his admission to the citizenry, but he was active as a brewer in the city during the 1490s and was later involved in the cloth trade.⁵⁶ By 1490 he had been elected alderman, and served consecutive terms as mayor between 1493 and 1495. This double term as mayor seems to have exacerbated a lingering dispute between Bolney and a group of brewers and innholders concerning his behaviour as alderman and suspicions over the method of his election.⁵⁷ In 1495, late in Bolney's second term, a city brewer named Richard Pote addressed Bolney using ill-befitting language and was brought before the burghmote to explain himself.⁵⁸ Following this appearance, Pote was dismissed from the citizenry and then, apparently coincidentally, elections of a new alderman and chamberlain were postponed indefinitely.⁵⁹ At the same time, Bolney was involved in a suit in chancery, charged with unlawfully arresting two men over the

Administrators and Patronage of Archbishop John Morton', *Journal of Religious History*, 10 (1979), 236-252; C. Jenkins, 'Cardinal Morton's Register', in *Tudor Studies Presented to Albert Frederick Pollard*, ed. by R. W. Seton-Watson (London, 1924), pp. 26-74.

⁵⁴ C. Harper-Bill, 'An Edition of the Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486-1500' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College London, 1977), p. 131. On Wingham, see: *VCH*, ii, pp. 233-35.

⁵⁵ TNA, C1/36/43; *The Victoria County History of England and Wales, Sussex: Volume 7*, ed. L. F. Salzman (London, 1940), pp. 136-39. Despite living in Canterbury, Edward maintained an interest in Bolney Manor alongside his elder brother Richard and a mansion house in West Fittleham; following Edward's death without issue in 1528 his widow Agnes quitclaimed portions of his lands in Sussex to Richard's only living heir, John Bolney, see: East Sussex Record Office, SAS/G12/2; SAS/G4/36.

⁵⁶ *HMC Ninth*, pp. 174-75.

⁵⁷ Bolney was involved in two contemporary disputes with brewers in the city during the 1490s, see: TNA, C1/193/20; C1/333/37.

⁵⁸ CCA, CC, A/C/1/15.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Pote is listed as having paid an intransit fee for Newingate ward in 1497, see: Cowper, *Intransites*, p. 153.

administration of an estate which he himself had a vested interest.⁶⁰ In an attempt to prevent further controversies and reassert authority, the mayor and his brethren passed an ordinance against slanderers, imposing fines and threatening gaol to any who did ‘repreve’ or ‘revyle’ those who ‘beryth offyce’ in the city, but these had little effect.⁶¹

Elsewhere in the city, the common councillor William Rose was involved in a case of slander with Stephen Taye, a Flemish apothecary who had recently moved to the city.⁶² What exactly Taye said is unclear, but after he failed to appear before the burghmote he was fined 40s and threatened with a lengthy sojourn in the city gaol. In protest, Taye pursued the case at chancery, seeking a *subpoena* against William Rose for abusing his role as common councillor.⁶³ More worryingly for the corporation, Taye claimed the new slander ordinances were ‘cont[ra]ry to good reason’, and suggested the ‘maire and brethern have no power to make eny suche acte or lawe’, seeking a writ of *certiorari* to overturn the city court’s ruling. The outcome of the case is unclear, but there is no record of Taye paying his original fine in the chamberlain’s accounts that year. At this point, with mayoral authority under threat and the morality of officers under scrutiny in national courts, members of the corporation looked to outside advice.

William Rose, alongside the alderman Thomas Atwode, both legally astute men, were sent to London to petition Cardinal Morton and Sir John Fyneux.⁶⁴

Fyneux was a key part of Kent’s legal establishment, and during his life he worked

⁶⁰ TNA, C 1/193/20.

⁶¹ CCA, CC, A/B/1, fol. 1v. The passing of the ordinance is referenced in a near-contemporary chancery case against another member of the corporation, see: TNA, C 1/227/29.

⁶² Records of the dispute at: CCA, CC, A/C1/15, A/C1/17. On Taye, see: TNA, E 179/124/154, m. 2.

⁶³ TNA, C 1/227/29.

⁶⁴ Baker, *Men of Court*, ii p.1326; CCA, CC, A/C1/32; *HMC Ninth*, p. 146.

on behalf of Canterbury's monastic and civic establishments.⁶⁵ By petitioning these two men, the mayor and his brethren hoped to establish precedent in their defence by ascertaining the 'ancient' method of election. However, it was soon discovered that the terms of election had not been well-defined by any previous charter. The 1448 charter simply set out that the corporation was obliged to elect their own mayors from within the commonalty, and the 1461 ordinance merely repeated this.⁶⁶ As a result, Fyneux, alongside Sir Edward Poyning, spent three days in the city trying to determine the root of the disagreements in the city, and while there were lavishly entertained by the corporation.⁶⁷ Shortly after their visit, in June 1498, the city received its new ordinances.⁶⁸

The new charter set out to address the 'divers controversies, strifes, contentions and differences' concerning 'the election of the mayor and other offices of the same city' which had erupted, doing so by reorganising the corporate structure.⁶⁹ Henry VII's government had already proven itself an enthusiastic reformer of urban administrations, clearly recognising the benefits of well-governed and well-defined urban corporations for the maintenance of provincial order.⁷⁰ As such, the extent of reorganisation laid out in 1498 is less surprising, yet it still had a profound impact on Canterbury. First off, the aldermanic bench doubled in size from six to twelve members, with two aldermen now serving each ward in an attempt to

⁶⁵ B. Dobson, 'The Monks of Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages, 1220-1540' in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. by P. Collinson, M. Sparks, & N. Ramsay (Oxford, 2002), pp. 69-193 (p. 96). At one stage he even acted as an arbitrator between the priory and corporation during the tempestuous period between 1501-1503, see: CCA, DCc-ChAnt/C/1232/21; DCc-ChAnt/C/1239B.

⁶⁶ CCA, CC, A/A/32, A/A/34. The record of two elections from the 1460s survive in the minute books, but give little clue to the form of election and would have held no legal weight, see: CCA, CC, A/C/1/11, A/C/1/17.

⁶⁷ *HMC Ninth*, p. 146.

⁶⁸ *CPR 1494-1509*, pp. 136-37.

⁶⁹ [Bunce], *Several Charters*, pp. 71-72.

⁷⁰ M. R. Horowitz, 'Contrary to the Liberties of this City': Henry VII, English Towns and the Economics of Law and Order', *HR*, 85 (2012), 32-56; J. Lee, 'Urban Policy and Urban Culture: Henry VII and his Towns', *HR*, 82 (2009), 493-510.

ensure greater equanimity in the provision and execution of justice within wards.⁷¹ The thirty-six-man common council was disbanded and replaced by a new twenty-four-man council, who, on the first instance, were to be elected by the standing aldermen and mayor, providing an ideal opportunity for magistrates to remove rebellious sections from the corporate body. In future, the common councillors themselves would nominate and elect new members from the freemen.⁷² Likewise, aldermanic elections were dependent on the will of the other aldermen and mayor.⁷³ Minor offices were to be elected by the mayor, aldermen, and common councillors together, but the candidates for office could be selected from the entire citizenry.⁷⁴

Mayoral elections, the most contentious issue at the time, were reconfigured into a two-stage process, with the mayor and aldermen first selecting two candidates from the aldermanic bench to stand, and the massed common council and citizenry then electing one of those two.⁷⁵ The separation of selection and election would, in theory, prevent vested interests in either chamber from gaining a stranglehold on elections. A contemporary oath for the returning officer, recorded in the precedent book of the city sheriff, confirms this intent. The officer swore to first to take the ‘voyce of mstr mayer and aldermen’ to ascertain the ‘2 p[er]sonys having the most voyces’, before going to the ‘comonys of thys cite assembled in the geld halle’ to have them vote, all of which was to be done ‘dyscreetly and secretely’.⁷⁶ Once elected, the mayor would receive a set £20 salary ‘for the sustentation of his office’,

⁷¹ [Bunce], *Several Charters*, p. 73.

⁷² [Bunce], *Several Charters*, pp. 74, 76-77.

⁷³ [Bunce], *Several Charters*, p. 75.

⁷⁴ [Bunce], *Several Charters*, pp. 78-79.

⁷⁵ [Bunce], *Several Charters*, pp. 74-75.

⁷⁶ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 20v.

and would maintain unobstructed rights to collect all fines and amercements without account to the king.⁷⁷

The *Nova Ordinatio* defined the shape of the civic body for centuries to come, helping establish a more functional and stable corporate body. By reducing the size of the common council and doubling the number of aldermen, the city narrowed the pool of eligible mayoral candidates significantly, but paradoxically this does not seem to have limited access to the top civic office. In the two decades preceding 1498, eleven individuals served their first terms as mayors; in the two decades following 1498 there were twelve first time mayors.⁷⁸ This may have been a result of the codification of mayoral salaries providing an assured financial bonus for service, a consequence of the greater number of aldermen increasing the pool of candidates, or of the new bipartite electoral process weakening factional dominance. Whatever the case, far from consolidating political agency to the hands of a ‘narrow aldermanic clique’, the *Nova Ordinatio* gave greater recourse to participatory government and civic advancement, and helped foster functional cooperative government.⁷⁹

1.2 *Monastic Dispute & Civic Identity*

Like many late medieval towns and cities in England, Canterbury experienced protracted periods of dispute between civic and clerical officials in the city. The proliferation of competing monastic and civil authorities within the city limits meant that daily life operated upon a chequerboard of jurisdictional boundaries and

⁷⁷ [Bunce], *Several Charters*, pp. 76-77, 79.

⁷⁸ See appendix A.

⁷⁹ P. Clark, ‘Reformation and Radicalism in Kentish Towns, c.1500-1553’, in *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation*, ed. by W. J. Mommsen, P. Alter and R. W. Scribner (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 107-27 (p. 110).

hinterlands, the contravening of which often led to tensions and outbreaks of violence.⁸⁰ This situation was not helped by vague nature of many of the jurisdictional rights and economic privileges claimed by civic and ecclesiastical liberties. Individual disputes had the potential to run for years at a time, and helped create a backdrop of almost perpetual antagonism between the civic and monastic establishments in the city. This situation was not unique to Canterbury. In 1389, the citizens of Hereford violently broke a wall recently erected by the prior to enclose the cathedral grounds; whereas at Bristol an indistinct foundation charter led to over a century of dispute between civic authorities and St Augustine's Abbey.⁸¹ At Gloucester, the monastic establishment were regularly at odds with the city authorities, and predicated many of their jurisdictional claims upon obscure ecclesiastical custom and grants that often fell down when exposed to legal scrutiny.⁸²

In the centuries following the conquest, Canterbury's monastic establishment wielded significant influence within city and surrounding region. The two Benedictine houses, St Augustine's Abbey and Christ Church Cathedral Priory, were principal landowners within the city walls, and major political and economic forces on the regional and national stage. Both also fulfilled important spiritual and secular

⁸⁰ Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp. 45, 87-89; C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and the Trading Community, 1000-1600* (London, 1973), p. 205; B. McRee, 'Peacemaking and its Limits in Late Medieval Norwich', *EHR*, 109 (1994), 831-66; N. P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 141-54. R. Warren, 'Conflict, Compromise and Cooperation: The Civic Government's Relationship with the Church in Late Medieval Canterbury' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Kent, 2010); S. Sweetinburgh, 'The Austin Friars in Late Medieval Canterbury: Negotiating Spaces', in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by J. E. Burton, K. Stöber (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 197-210.

⁸¹ G. Rosser, 'Conflict and Political Community in the Medieval Town: Disputes between Clergy and Laity in Hereford', in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. by T. R. Slater and G. Rosser (Aldershot, 1986), pp. 20-42 (pp. 24-25); P. Fleming, 'Conflict and Urban Government in Later Medieval England: St Augustine's Abbey and Bristol', *Urban History*, 27 (2000), 325-343.

⁸² N. Baker, and R. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004), ch. 11.

functions in the city, providing employment to members of the city laity and supplementing the city economy with pilgrims attracted by the shrines of St Augustine and of St Thomas.⁸³ Importantly, they also controlled large sections of property in the city and maintained distinct jurisdictional enclaves.⁸⁴ By the latter fourteenth century, thirty-nine per cent of city rents were in ecclesiastical hands, with twenty-seven per cent belonging to Christ Church, whose jurisdiction covered almost the entire quarter of the city interior between Burgate and Northgate.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the priors of Christ Church and St Augustine's were keen to extend their own bounds, and would routinely purchase new parcels or tenements across the city in order to do so.

Such sprawling intramural liberties inevitably clashed with civic boundaries, and during the second half of the fifteenth century, the secular corporation became increasingly forthright in asserting its own jurisdictional bounds. While there had already been a long history of antagonism, the more comprehensive legal foundation provided by the 1461 charter allowed the city to mount an effective challenge to rival jurisdictions.⁸⁶ As such, there were a number of attempts to assert civic rights over

⁸³ Dobson, 'Monks of Canterbury', pp. 135-49; R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 29.

⁸⁴ For an idea of the properties controlled within the city walls by both St Augustine's and Christ Church, see: A. F. Butcher, 'Rent and the Urban Economy: Oxford and Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), 11-44.

⁸⁵ For a good illustration of this see the map in: D. M. Palliser, 'The Medieval Period', in *Urban Archaeology in Britain* ed. by J. Schofield and R. Leech (London, 1987), pp. 54-68 (pp. 60-61). See also: W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1967), pp. 204-07; Butcher, 'Rent and the Urban Economy', pp. 37-38. Religious institutions were major property holders in the majority of late medieval towns, 62% of Oxford's rents were paid to ecclesiastical landlords by 1312 and in Gloucester the number was around 59% by 1455, see: J. Kermode, 'The Greater Towns, 1300-1540', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol. 1: 600-1540* ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 441-66 (p. 458).

⁸⁶ They were familiar both in Canterbury and elsewhere. Peter Fleming has commented that over a century of dispute between the corporation of Bristol and St Augustine's Abbey was the result of the 'failure' of the founding charter of 1373, see: Fleming, 'Conflict and Urban Government', p. 325.

properties bordering the cathedral precincts, culminating eventually in a decisive attempt to reach a lasting resolution between the two parties.⁸⁷

1.2.1 *Jurisdictions and the Composition of 1492*

In the early 1490s the corporation came to the end of a lengthy dispute with Christ Church Priory concerning a poorly defined boundary in the area surrounding the priory precincts along Burgate and Palace Street (see figure 1.3). The dispute encompassed a long-standing disagreement over the rights of civic officers to maintain the law over this area of the city, and to extract taxation and levies from specific properties there, as well as access to a throughway around the outer edges of the priory precincts.⁸⁸ This area covered vital thoroughfares into the city and bisected the fishmarket, making the disputed tenements valuable rents for the prior, and placing their inhabitants in an awkward liminal zone between civic and monastic jurisdictions where retailers were selling goods from one jurisdiction into another. As such, the shopkeepers were not granted freemen status – strictly speaking they did not live or work within the bounds of the city – but instead a *status quo* had developed where they instead paid a quarterly fee to the city chamberlain for their ‘intrancye’.⁸⁹ However, as relations between the corporation and priory began to worsen, this arrangement became unsustainable.

⁸⁷ Settled by royal intervention, see: CCA, CC, A/A/40. A transcription of this document appears in the city’s precedent book, see: BL, Add MS 32311, fols. 301r-305v.

⁸⁸ Those that ran along Burgate on the edge of the cathedral precincts, and those that sat on Palace Street adjacent to the episcopal palace and the archbishop’s own separate jurisdiction, for some of the city’s claims see: BL, Add MS 32311, fol. 185r.

⁸⁹ BL, Add MS 32311, fol. 185r. The practice is first listed in the late fourteenth century and it would seem that by the end of the next century the status of ‘intrante’ was available to a wider array of traders who were not eligible for freemen status, most notably resident aliens. A calendar of all extant intrante lists available in the chamberlains’ accounts was made in the early 20th century, see: J. M. Cowper, *A List of Persons Admitted to Live and Trade within the City of Canterbury on Payment of an Annual Fine from 1392-1592* (Canterbury, 1904).

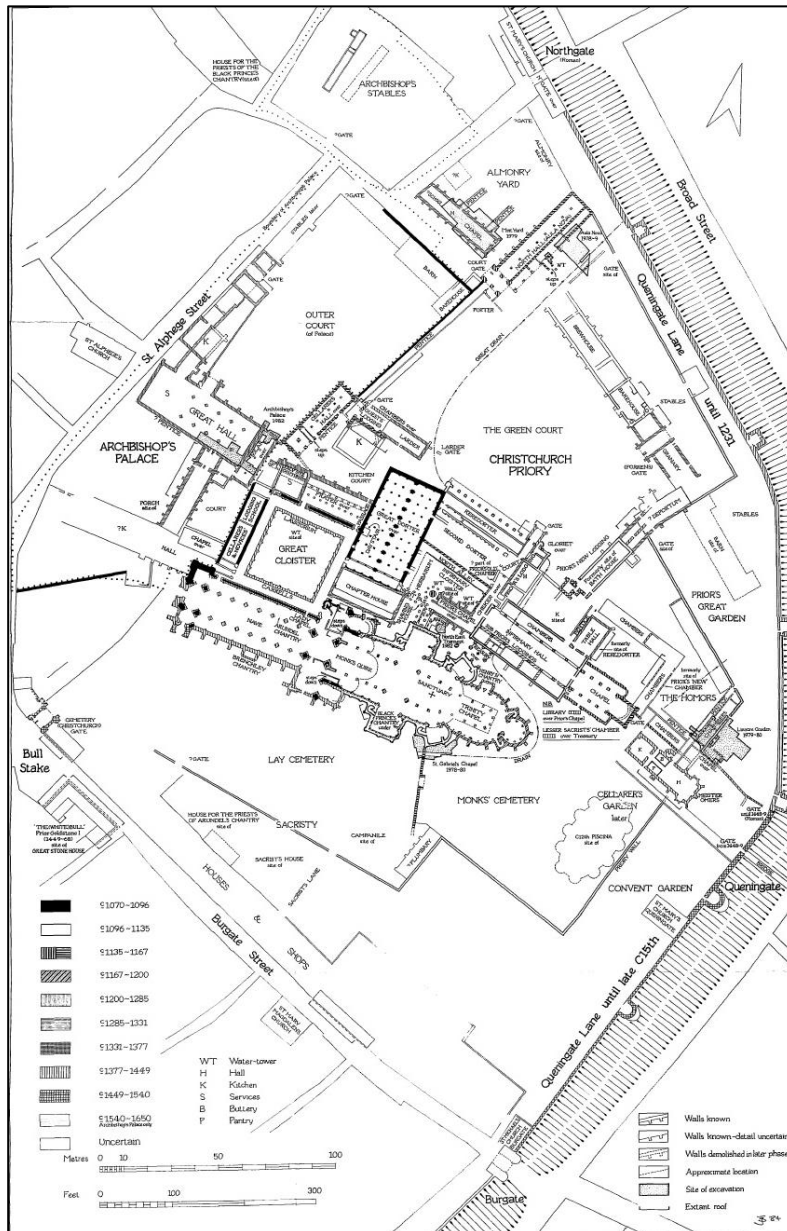


Figure 1.1: Phased Plan of Christ Church Priory and its Boundaries. The street marked 'St Alphege Street' on this plan was also known as Palace Street. The disputed lane around the interior of the precincts is marked.⁹⁰

In 1484, during his second mayoralty, William Sellowe ordered the aldermen of Westgate, Northgate, and Burgate to survey all innholders, bakers, brewers, and butchers within their respective wards.⁹¹ Thomas Atwode ordered a similar survey during his mayoralty two years later, and William Ingram did likewise during his

⁹⁰ T. Tatton-Brown, 'Three Great Benedictine Houses in Kent: Their Buildings and Topography', *Arch. Cant.*, 100 (1984), 171-188 (unpaginated).

⁹¹ CCA, CC, J/Q/284/ii. These have been miscataloged as belonging to 1486 but William Sellowe was mayor during the March of 1484.

tenure two years later, this time specifically targeting Burgate.⁹² The stated aims of these surveys were twofold: to compile a list of all those authorised to sell wares within these wards; and to discover any ‘regrators’ (those who might have been selling their wares at inflated prices) who threatened ‘grete hurte’ to the citizenry.⁹³ While no traders in priory rents were fined, the fact that the survey targeted the wards sitting at the confluence of the civic and monastic jurisdictions is noteworthy and belies the true objectives of the corporation at the time.

The corporation’s actions, though, were not without provocation. For generations the priory had been gradually annexing grounds and tenements surrounding the precincts, so that the area in the vicinity of the precincts had become an increasingly contested space. In the later 1470s, Christ Church had pursued a building program on lands to the south of Burgate, and in 1484 Richard III granted the priory the small tower at the Queningate in fee simple.⁹⁴ When, in the later-1480s, the parties agreed to a period of arbitration, the corporation asserted that those inhabiting the priory’s tenements on Palace Street and along Burgate were citizens who ‘out of the tyme of mynde’ had paid taxes, partaken in city lawdays, held offices, and had regularly paid their fees to the chamberlain.⁹⁵ However, thanks to the encroachment of the prior’s jurisdiction these citizens had been severed from the city and were released from civic responsibilities, to the detriment of the whole city.

Catherine Paterson’s work on conflict resolution and urban patronage in the early modern town has demonstrated how outside mediation, often at the hands of noble patrons, was essential to the restoration of civic order, and the same was true

⁹² CCA, CC, J/Q/286/ii; J/Q/287/ii. After 1488 there is a twelve year hole in the court records.

⁹³ CCA, CC, J/Q/284/ii.

⁹⁴ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/707/1, ChAnt/C/707/2, ChAnt/C/1232/5, ChAnt/C/1084; *HMC Ninth*, p. 145.

⁹⁵ BL, Add MS 32311, fols. 185r-186r.

of late medieval Canterbury.⁹⁶ The arbitration was headed by Archbishop Morton, who was said to be the ideal figure to adjudicate given the relevant location of the archbishop's palace in the heart of the disputed area.⁹⁷ The palace sat on the north side of the cathedral precincts but had been a separate jurisdiction since the thirteenth century, yet its principal land holdings, and the basis of its wealth, lay in estates elsewhere in the county.⁹⁸ As such, the archbishop was effectively a silent partner in the city land market, familiar with but divorced from the typical financial concerns of urban property holdings that drove the city and monasteries to controversy.⁹⁹

The outcome of the arbitration was a composition signed in May 1492 that contained a series of mutual concessions designed to restore harmony between parties.¹⁰⁰ Despite the composition's rhetoric of mutuality, though, the corporation was the obvious loser in the case. By 'assent & agrement', they renounced 'any lib[er]tie fraunchyse juriesdycon' to the disputed properties along Palace Street, and to a large section of the city wall between Burgate, Queningate, and Northgate.¹⁰¹ Alongside these concessions, the corporation ceded claims to a section of wall that enclosed the north-eastern boundaries of the priory precincts, along with the adjacent interior alleyway, that had been a contentious thoroughfare around the exposed

⁹⁶ C. F. Patterson, 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown: Local Dispute and Royal Interest in Early Stuart England', *History*, 85 (2000), 546-571.

⁹⁷ BL, Add MS 32311, fol. 301r.

⁹⁸ J. Rady, T. Tatton-Brown, and J. Bowen, 'The Archbishop's Palace, Canterbury: Excavations and Building Recording Works from 1981 to 1986', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 144 (1991), 1-60.

⁹⁹ It did still maintain two independent jurisdictions in the city: the manor of Westgate which stood outside of the city walls, and the small liberty of Staplegate, which sat adjacent to the palace, see: Hasted, *Survey*, xi, pp. 294-301.

¹⁰⁰ Copies of this composition exist in numerous places both in the city and monastic archives, see: CCA, ChAnt/C/1233; SuppMs/6, fols. 35r-39v; BL, Add MS 32311, fols. 301r-310r. Transcribed in: [Bunce], *Several Charters*, pp. 90-102.

¹⁰¹ For the clearest description of the lands forfeit by the city, see the corporation copy of the indenture at: BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 13r.

interior bounds of the priory.¹⁰² For their part the priory was to become permanently responsible for the maintenance of this section of walls, but relinquished all responsibility for the rest of the walls and were authorised to construct a postern and bridge over the city dyke through which traffic could pass directly in and out of the precincts without entering the city-proper.

On the face of it the 1492 composition was a disaster for the corporation. Any opportunistic attempts to extend its jurisdiction had been roundly rejected, while the priory's subtler attempt to gain lands had been proved effective in the long term. Historically, both the walls and the lane surrounding the priory had belonged to the city, but since the mid-twelfth century successive priors of Christ Church had attempted to lay claim to this through the acquisition of surrounding lands, starting with the purchase of a small parcel of lands between the priory's courtyard and the city wall by Prior Wibert.¹⁰³ In 1231, Henry III granted the priory control another large portion of land between Queningate and Northgate, which split the road beneath the walls, essentially meaning that traffic had to pass around the curtain wall.¹⁰⁴ The priory continued to acquire small plots of land lying in the vicinity of the walls, but these only served to buffer the priory lands rather than address the real issue.¹⁰⁵

An inquisition was called in 1332 to determine whether the priory's acquisitions in Queningate had violated Edward I's mortmain statutes and unduly

¹⁰² *Lit. Cant.*, iii, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

¹⁰³ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1111. The document is undated, but William Urry suggests that it is from 1160; Wibert was prior between 1152-1167, see: *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 2, Monastic Cathedrals (Northern and Southern Provinces)*, ed. by D. E. Greenway (London, 1971), p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1075.

¹⁰⁵ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1062, ChAnt/C/1074, ChAnt/C/1082. The Cathedral drew up a register of lands held in the vicinity of the walls during the mid-13th century, see: ChAnt/A/66b.

inconvenienced the city, but on each count the king's escheator ruled in the prior's favour.¹⁰⁶ Another inquest was held in 1378 looking into lands acquired by the priory without the king's licence but, again, nothing came of it.¹⁰⁷ Shortly afterwards, the priory unsuccessfully petitioned Edward III for outright control of the Queningate entrance to the city, but fared better a decade later when Richard II allowed them to acquire lands in the parishes surrounding Northgate, Burgate, and Queningate.¹⁰⁸ In 1412, with the corporation distracted by a fresh conflict with the monks of St Augustine's, Prior Woodnesborough started to acquire vacant lands surrounding the Queningate.¹⁰⁹ In the middle of the century a partial compromise was reached between the two parties, with the city leasing a parcel of land inside the walls and acquiring use of the new tower at Queningate for thirteen years at 6s 8d annually.¹¹⁰ The lease allowed the priory to build a dividing wall between its gardens and the curtain wall on the proviso that it be demolished at the end of the term – the dispute was becoming increasingly farcical and it was around this time that the parties agreed to arbitration. So, when in 1492 a compromise was reached it was a significant and symbolic victory for the priory over the corporation. Over the course of two centuries the priory's power and influence had allowed it to slowly erode the civic jurisdiction, and in 1492 there was seemingly little the corporation could do to stop it.

1.2.2 *The Rosier Riots*

¹⁰⁶ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1205a.

¹⁰⁷ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/Z/162.

¹⁰⁸ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/F/82.

¹⁰⁹ Hasted, *Survey*, xii, p. 616; *HMC Ninth*, p. 138.

¹¹⁰ They also assumed responsibility for the murage of this section, see: CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/875.

The composition of May 1492 did not hold for long and there are signs that relations between the two parties were becoming strained during the 1490s. In the middle of the decade, the citizenry embarked upon an exhaustive and thoroughly documented perambulation of its jurisdictional limits. The only previous documented perambulation dated back to the days of Edward III and was of little use by the 1490s. The new perambulation, which exists in numerous undated copies, was carried out sometime between 1495 and 1497 and made reference to numerous way-markers and reference points in order to build a definite picture of the civic jurisdiction, going so far as to calculate the intramural acreage of the city.¹¹¹ This perambulation would serve as the legal basis of numerous future cases involving disputed jurisdictions, and was not replaced until 1728, however, in the mid-1490s it marked another step in the growing assertiveness of the corporation in matters of jurisdiction.

On Christmas Day 1499, the mayor, aldermen, and common council failed to observe the 'laudable custom' of assembling at the 'tombe of archibysshopp Sudbury' to say 'orysons and prayours for the sowle of the same', instead, due to 'the greate malice and grugge' between the two they remained at the 'prisinuous called westgate' to say their prayers.¹¹² The prior also claimed that the civic authorities had refused to accompany the procession accompanying King Henry's offering to St Thomas' shrine.¹¹³ In response the city claimed that these actions were

¹¹¹ Copies of the perambulation and acreages can be found at: BL, Add MS 32311, fols. 319r-320v; CCA, CC, SuppMs/6, pp. 14-20; Hasted, *Survey*, xi, pp. 30-40.

¹¹² CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/8; *HMC Fifth*, p. 434. Special mention must go to Rebecca Warren for her assistance provided to me concerning the jurisdictional tribulations of the early sixteenth century and the series of records that preserve it, much of following discussion is based upon her earlier work on this topic, see: Warren, 'Conflict', passim.

¹¹³ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/8. Both of these occurrences appear in a list of grievance drawn up after the fact and as a result it is not clear when this occurred, whether it was during the same Christmas period that the mayor failed to appear at Sudbury's tomb on the feast of St Thomas, or

prefigured when John Burgeant, a sergeant of the mace, had had his mace confiscated by Thomas Bredgar, a priory monk, when attempting to enter the precincts.¹¹⁴ The city claimed that by confiscating the mace, an honour allowed to them by their ‘great charter’, Bredgar had caused a ‘grete dishonour of the seid citie’.¹¹⁵ It was also in 1499 that priory servants called John Plompton, the first mayor elected following the *Nova Ordinatio*, a ‘beggar’ and a ‘dogbolte’, causing ‘gret rebuke’ to the commonalty.¹¹⁶ While the situation at the beginning of the 1490s seemed to have centred more obviously on the financial impact of jurisdictional boundaries, this turbulent episode suggests a general deterioration in mutual respect between parties and that the boundaries between jurisdictions were taking on a symbolic significance.

The situation came to a head on 16 July 1500 when the corporation decided to test the limits of their jurisdiction with a show of force. According to reports, the mayor, William Atwode, and a band of his followers ‘arrayed in manner of war’ assaulted a group of monks who were working at the rosiers, a set of five gardens and hay meadows in St Dunstan’s parish across the river from the Westgate. The mayor and his men, supposedly numbering around two hundred, then began to destroy a watercourse that the priory’s servants had been in the process of erecting, before turning their attention to the monks themselves. Accounts vary, but both sides agree that this rather petty episode soon escalated into an all-out pitched battle

whether it was during the royal visit in April 1499, given the context I would lean towards the former. For the king’s visit see: *HMC Ninth*, p. 146.

¹¹⁴ BL, Add MS 32311, fol. 187r. See also: CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/15, ChAnt/C/1232/16.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ BL, Add MS 32311, fol. 187r. The pejorative ‘dogbolte’ seems to have carried connotations of a ‘low class of serving man’ who tended to be ‘as dependant as dogs, and as ready to be sent any errand as bolts’, see: D. Erasmus, *The Apophthegmes of Erasmus*, trans. by N. Udal, ed. by R. Roberts (Oxford, 1877), p. 424. The insult also appears to have alluded to a blunt arrow or crossbow bolt, see: *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by G. Taylor and J. Lavagnino (Oxford, 2010), p. 7 n.45. My thanks to Dr Liam Haydon for pointing me towards this reference.

between the parties. In the ensuing melee some of the monks and servants of the priory were ‘assaulted’ and ‘yll intreted’, a friar had his ‘spar-hawk’ stolen, and one Thomas Ikham, who had been ‘walking in the felde for his recreation’, was put in ‘grete juberdie of his lyf’.¹¹⁷ A number of the monks were then placed in the Westgate gaol where they were held for between two and four days, seemingly without cause, but presumably on charges of trespass.¹¹⁸

Prior to this event both sides had claimed jurisdiction over the meadows. The corporation claimed the gardens fell within the civic jurisdiction attached to the city walls and ditches, while the priory suggested that the area was clearly outside of the walls and therefore parcel of the County of Kent.¹¹⁹ In reality, both the city and Christ Church held sections of the rosier meadows, and the archbishop and St Augustine’s priory also held lands in their immediate vicinity.¹²⁰ The rosiers, then, were a troublesome hinterland sandwiched between competing jurisdictions, yet they hardly seem worthy of violence witnessed in July 1500. But this was not simply a case of the mayor seeking a violent altercation or speedy land grab; rather, it was a knee-jerk attempt to uphold the wellbeing of the commonalty in reaction to a series of provocations by the priory and its servants.

Immediately before the riot, the priory’s servants had been redirecting a watercourse that ran through the rosier meadows and into the city. This watercourse had been a recent source of friction, with the corporation claiming that by redirecting

¹¹⁷ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/8.

¹¹⁸ CCA, CC, A/P/K/1.

¹¹⁹ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/4.

¹²⁰ The city leased out a parcel of land across the river from Holy Cross church named ‘le rosier’ to the churchwardens of that church in 1454, see: *HMC Ninth*, p. 140. There are also suggestions that the city held property in the parish of Holy Cross outside of the Westgate in the vicinity of the King’s Highway as early as the 1460s, see: CCA, CC, A/C/1/8. The freemen of the city also claimed an ancient benefit whereby they might have their ‘huntings’ and ‘disporte’ in those extra-mural meadows, see: CCA, CC, SuppMs/6, p. 32.

it, the city's King's Mill was starved of water, and the priory claiming that without it, its own Barton Mill would grind to a halt.¹²¹ Therefore, when the mayor noticed the priory once more attempting to 'brake' the 'comen course of the comen ryver', they reacted in an appropriate manner to protect the wele of the city. The fact that the servants and monks who were in the rosiers were apparently already armed also suggests that they were well aware of the provocative nature of their actions that day.¹²² The following day, the mayor escalated matters by dismantling the city's fish market which had stood on priory land close to the priory gate, and moving it to St Margaret's Street in the parish of St Andrew's outside of the prior's jurisdiction.¹²³ In response the prior attempted to bring fish in from Whitstable, but this was confiscated at the gates by the city sergeants.

The whole series of events led to a rash of suits between parties being raised in various courts. Initially the trial went to the city quarter sessions, where an indictment for the rioters survives.¹²⁴ Soon afterwards the case made its way to the royal courts when Thomas Baker, one of the priory's servants imprisoned in the Westgate, pursued a writ of *certiorari* in chancery touching cases raised against him in the mayor's court.¹²⁵ Baker claimed that William Levyns and John Hammon, two of the freemen involved in the riot, had abused their connections to the 'mayer aldermen and comynaltie' in order to gain convictions 'utterly to undo him'. The outcome of this is not clear, but Baker also seems to have petitioned the king, and soon the case found its way before Star Chamber, who indicted the mayor to appear

¹²¹ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/8

¹²² CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/8; ChAnt/C/1232/2.

¹²³ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/8; ChAnt/C/1232/11.

¹²⁴ CCA, CC, J/Q/299.

¹²⁵ TNA, C1/187/75.

before them.¹²⁶ Another indictment, this time following the suit of Lawrence Taylor, was aimed at the corporation shortly afterwards.¹²⁷ Evidence of the case also survives in the 1501 Hillary term *coram rege* rolls, presumably through the involvement of John Fyneux, under whose signature they appear.¹²⁸ The corporation asked for voluntary subscriptions to be made ‘toward the defence and mayntenance of the sute’ between Christ Church and ‘us’, eventually raising £23 7s 6½d.¹²⁹ The mayor then spent a length of time in London overseeing the case and ‘makyng friends’, while common councillors were sent to London with gifts of ‘troughts’ and ‘capons’, and at least twelve members of the city were reimbursed for travel to give evidence.¹³⁰

The escalation forced Archbishop Deane (1501-1503) to step in and appoint mediators in October 1501.¹³¹ It is unlikely that the new archbishop would have been at all familiar with the two parties involved in the riots when he became involved, Morton had died in the January of 1501 and Deane was translated to the see at the end of May. Nevertheless, Deane selected familiar figures, Sir John Fyneux, Sir Edward Poynings, Sir Richard Guildford, and Sir Robert Rede, all four of whom were natives of the county and had good knowledge of the legal or political structures therein.¹³² Rede and Fyneux were both justices at the King’s Bench, whereas Poynings and Guildford were experienced royal administrators. Guildford and Rede’s affinities lay in the west of Kent and had had little to do with the city or

¹²⁶ A draft of Baker’s petition survives at: CCA, CC, A/P/K/1. The records of the Star Chamber case do not survive, but copies of the indictments of William Atwode and John Plumpton, as well as the corporation’s answers to the case survive, see: CCA, CC, ChAnt/C/1232/12; ChAnt/C/1232/19, ChAnt/C/1232/20.

¹²⁷ This has been miscataloged as July 1502 as opposed to 1500, see: CCA, DCc, MSSB/C/171.

¹²⁸ TNA, KB27/958 rots. 29, 30, 31, 55.

¹²⁹ *HMC Ninth*, p. 146.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1239B.

¹³² CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/22.

priory before this, but Fyneux had been involved with the city for decades.

Poynings' appointment as lieutenant of Dover Castle in 1495 had brought him into the fold of county government, and had been closely involved in the acquisition of Canterbury's new charter in 1498. Around the same time, he had been involved in a similar case, acting on behalf of the Fordwich town corporation in a suit with the abbot of St Augustine's.¹³³

The outcome of the entire affair was remarkably amicable and even-handed given the farcical level of violence involved. Overall neither side either gained or lost anything as a result of the period of arbitration.¹³⁴ The corporation was allowed to leave the fishmarket in its new location and given full control of it in the future, and the priory's servants, as well as the tenants of the 'ffyshe houses' in Burgate Street, were freed of all duties in the city law courts, duties of office, or city taxes. In a symbolic act the rosiers were 'evenly devyded in ii partes by the councell and assent of bothe the seide parties' and both parties agreed to halt 'all purpestures encrochementes and noysannces' into one anothers' liberties.¹³⁵

Despite this amicable outcome, though, the increasingly ubiquitous state of antagonism between the two parties became readily apparent. Over the course of the various court cases and arbitrations, both parties built up detailed accounts of the disputes and disagreements that they had had over the preceding decades which they thought relevant to the case.¹³⁶ A large proportion of those complaints levelled against the prior surrounded claims he had been stealing citizens away from the city

¹³³ CCA, U4/12/21.

¹³⁴ A draft of the agreement survives at: CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/22.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Duplicates of these collections were kept by both parties, and fragments of these can be found at: BL, Add MS 32311; CCA, DCc, ChaAnt/1232; Bodleian, Tanner MS 165; LPL, CM/XII/20.

through unfair expansion of his liberties via acts of ‘usurpacion’ and ‘acrochement’ all ‘in contempt of ovr lygelord the kyng and gret damage to the...citesines’.¹³⁷

Likewise, by encouraging city residents to absent themselves from the city law days and attend the prior’s Barton Court instead, he had caused the ‘des[er]tion of ower lord the kyng and...hys sayd citee’.¹³⁸ While many of the cases mentioned were of recent memory, there were others that dated back over half a century, most notably a case where the prior had, in theory, purposefully obstructed justice in the city. In 1425 the goldsmith Bernard Oswyck fled a charge of trespass, taking sanctuary in Christ Church beneath the uncompleted shrine of Henry Chichele. When the bailiffs William Bilyngstone and Richard Curteler arrived the prior refused them entry, and harboured Oswyck for ‘xl dayes’ before letting him loose ‘in contempt of the kyng & gret grevaunce un to the same Baylyffes & citisynes’.¹³⁹

While grievances such as these were common in many places, and only indicative of the negative relationship between city and monasteries that was developing by the beginning of the sixteenth century. As the sixteenth century progressed, cases such as these continued to rumble on with Christ Church, St Augustine’s, St Sepulchre’s, and St Gregory’s all being involved in some form of litigation with the corporation.¹⁴⁰ The civic archives are full of records of disputes similar to these which create a picture of an escalating enmity between lay and monastic parties in the city. While this is in some senses inevitable given the nature of how these archives were compiled, the increasing frequency of litigations in the decades before the dissolutions is undeniable, and the fact that the major cause of

¹³⁷ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/4.

¹³⁸ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/1232/4.

¹³⁹ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/1232/4; *HMC Ninth*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁰ Records of these various suits can be found at: BL, Add MS 32311, fols. 69r-77r, 91r, 109r, 189r-93r, 326r-46r, 351r-62r.

strife between parties concerned land holding creates an important context for the redistribution of monastic lands post-dissolution.

What is more, endemic legal disputes, precedents and narratives were further entrenched. With the dissolution silently approaching, the notion that the city's regular clergy were a toxic presence in the civic city, threatening good governance and operating in a sphere completely separate from their own, drove civic and monastic communities further apart. At the end of the 1520s, the corporation entered into a dispute with St Gregory's Priory over the construction of houses along the king's highway adjacent to Northgate, lands the city claimed fell within their jurisdiction. During the case, the corporation's lawyer, Sir James Hales, collected evidence against the canons of St Gregory's.¹⁴¹ Oddly, not all of the evidence collected related to the land holdings of the two parties, or the legality and extent of their respective jurisdictions, rather, some serves to question the morality of the canons themselves. Amongst the evidence is a series of depositions given by a city freeman who had taken to playing dice with some of servants of St Gregory's, and was subsequently taken hostage within St Gregory's and placed in their stocks by one 'm[aster] Braburn' for playing too successfully.¹⁴² Such a tale not only displayed the ill-morals of the canons of St Gregory's, it reinforces the sense that the members of the city and members of the monastic establishments increasingly were existing in separate spheres of the city.

1.2.3 Dispute and Legal Development

¹⁴¹ Some of which remains at: BL, Add MS 32311, fols. 69r, 70r, 74r, 76r, 77r, 180r, 189r-190v.

¹⁴² BL, Add MS 32311, fols. 189r-190r. It is possible that 'Braburn' was William Brabourne, Prior of St Gregory's after 1528.

The startlingly different outcomes between the 1492 case and the rosiers case are difficult to explain, but are likely related to a growing legalism apparent within the corporation. Ongoing periods of arbitration encouraged civic authorities to compile written records to protect existing jurisdictions, and in Canterbury there were a number of compilations made that preserve evidence of legal precedents or look to codify structures and customs of civic governance.¹⁴³ Alongside these written records came a new reliance on salaried advisors, specifically employed to advise the mayor and aldermen on legal matters and generally maintain the liberties of the city. The corporation continued to routinely return lawyers to parliament, admit lawmen to the common council and aldermanry, and would retain lawyers at the Westminster courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Chancery throughout the sixteenth century. But alongside this, the corporation began to retain legal counsel *within* the city itself, creating a separate stipendiary office that stood outside of the regular corporate structure. As such, references to attendant '*legis peritus*' (one learned in the law) at quarter sessions, burghmote council meetings, and taking of the annual accounts were commonplace.

The presence of legally astute individuals in city affairs was by no means an innovation of the early sixteenth century; Canterbury had relied on the services of legally experienced individuals to represent them at Westminster courts as well as at parliament since at least the early decades of the fifteenth century. The early chamberlains' account books record payments made to various lawmen, including

¹⁴³ The largest and oldest of these is now in the British Library at: BL, Add MS 32311; a truncated version of which is collected at the end of a chamberlains' account book at: CCA, CC, F/A/1, fols. 308r-09v. A sixteenth century composition which contains some duplicates of the materials contained above alongside significant other additions relating to the proper execution of various civic offices, is at: BL, Stowe MS 850. An eighteenth century collection of materials, again with many duplicates, sits at: CCA, CC, SuppMs/6.

one William Osbourne who was retained at Westminster between 1437 and 1449.¹⁴⁴ For the most part, the early holders of this role seem to have ranged from professional attorneys such as Osbourne, to those who had simply attended one of the Inns of Court or Chancery and operated as provincial legal experts.¹⁴⁵ Local city lawyers like Thomas Atwode, Henry Gosebourne, William Rose, and John Huet who would routinely represented the city at parliament and act on the city's behalf in legal matters, are indicative of such figures.¹⁴⁶

The city's recourse to the law was likely a consequence of the development of sophistic legal frameworks at the city's monasteries in the preceding century. Since the thirteenth century Christ Church had retained various senior legal figures to form what has been referred to as an 'inner council of legal experts' whose primary duty was to maintain the priory's ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹⁴⁷ Likewise, the Prior of St Gregory's had become closely linked to the execution of ecclesiastical law around the same time.¹⁴⁸ During the fifteenth century, alongside the rise of common law jurisdictions, both Christ Church and St Augustine's began retaining local lay counsellors learned in the law to protect their interests at the Westminster courts.¹⁴⁹ In particular this was due to the increasing need for the priory to negotiate legally enforceable leases with tenants on their numerous estates and preserve their liberties in Canterbury and elsewhere. Such aims were clearly at odds with the city's,

¹⁴⁴ My thanks to David Grummitt for drawing my attention to the activities of these men.

¹⁴⁵ For a discussion of the growing importance of provincial legal officials between 1450 and 1550, see: E. W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers in Pre-Reformation England, Thomas Kebell: A Case Study* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 1-10.

¹⁴⁶ Atwode, Rose and Gosebourne all attended an inn of court or of chancery, see: Baker, *Men of Court*, pp. 769, 1326, 1692.

¹⁴⁷ Dobson, 'Monks of Canterbury', p. 104.

¹⁴⁸ Hicks and Hicks, *St Gregory's*, p. 374.

¹⁴⁹ R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory: A Study in Monastic Administration* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 3, 68-82, 85.

and it is little wonder that figures like William Osbourne start to be retained by the city at Westminster during the mid-fifteenth century.

The corporation's jurisdictional neighbours were also prone to seek writs of *certiorari* in order to undermine city courts. In two instances from the second half of the fifteenth century servants of St Augustine's Abbey appealed to outside authorities in challenge to the mayor's ruling. One, dating from the middle of the 1470s, concerned John Lyncoll, a bailiff of the abbey, who had seized certain 'godes and money' from a runaway servant of John Shepper, resident of Whitstable, when the servant had entered the abbey's jurisdiction of Swalecliffe.¹⁵⁰ Lyncoll had seized the goods as 'waised' [waived], as was the 'right of the said monast[er]ie'. In response Shepper had 'conceyved an accion of trespas' in the mayor's court at Canterbury, asserting that Lyncoll had seized the goods in Canterbury's jurisdiction, and the bailiff was swiftly 'arested and gretely vexed'. In typical fashion the plaintiff claimed that he would not receive fair trial 'by colour of the said foreyn accion' and that his jurisdictional 'justificacion' for the seizure of goods was unlikely to be recognised by the mayor. No residue of this case survives elsewhere and it is likely that the appeal to chancery was frivolous and the case came to nil. Around the same time another servant of the abbey, Richard Lamkyn, was brought before the mayor's court for trespass in the 'close and howse' of Thomas Lovelas.¹⁵¹ Lamkyn claimed that the house was within the 'see of saint Austyns' and thus the case was out of the mayor's hands.

¹⁵⁰ TNA, C 1/46/391. Swalecliffe is a small settlement beside Whitstable, it had been a possession of the abbey since the twelfth century and after the dissolution was granted to the influential local lawyer Christopher Hales, see: Hasted, *Survey*, viii, pp. 518-20.

¹⁵¹ TNA, C 1/64/346.

Most interesting about this case is that the plaintiff makes explicit reference to the wider legal context of the case, hinting, perhaps, at an ulterior motive. When discussing the location of the house in which he allegedly trespassed, he says: ‘of late the soyle of the said close & howse hath be claymed by the said mair & citezeins to be within the jurisdiccion liberte & fraunchise of the said of the said cite’, going on to assert that the landholders in the disputed area were compelled to enter suits into the city courts to find ‘p[re]ferment & favor to thenlargym[ent] of their said jurisdiccion’. It was during the later 1470s, when both of these cases were being heard, the corporation was in the midst of a jurisdictional dispute with St Augustine’s over the rights to lands in the manor of Longport in the city suburbs. Whether or not these appeals were an attempt by the abbey to gain residual legitimacy for their ongoing dispute with the city is uncertain, but the issuing of a writ undermining the mayor’s claim to exact justice over this area would have certainly dented the corporation’s case significantly.

These challenges stimulated advance within the corporation. After 1520, the chamberlains’ yearly accounts list those receiving the annual stipend for their counsel, which is typically referred to as the payment for the ‘counsell gevyn to M[aste]r Maier & Comaltie for the wele & p[ro]fyt of the citie this yere’.¹⁵² Up to this point there had been between one and three individuals retained as legal counsel, with at least one of these three being a resident of the city and a member of the franchise. Those who were appointed advisors were, as a matter of good faith, admitted into the body of freemen and were likely to serve as a common councillor, alderman, mayor, or member of parliament.

¹⁵² See for example: CCA, CC, F/A/12, fol. 27r.

This was especially the case in the earlier sixteenth century with men like Rose, and in particular Atwode, who in 1512-13 served as mayor and as legal counsel to the mayor simultaneously.¹⁵³ Rose and Atwode were more typical of the men employed in the previous century; they were legally astute, took an active role in city politics, and tended to be particularly insular in their thinking. Yet, after 1510 the complexion of the city's legal counsellors started to change as the office became better defined and professionalised. After this legal counsels acted alongside, rather than as a part of, the corporation. While those who were retained remained typically local men, they were now less likely to serve as an alderman or mayor, although they were still frequently returned to parliament. Like their fifteenth century predecessors, they usually received work from either or both of Christ Church or St Augustine's, often serving as stewards or bailiffs to their respective liberties, but they were also increasingly connected with the Westminster courts.

The career of John Hales encapsulates the type of individual who enjoyed extended service to the city as legal counsel. Originally of Tenterden, Hales moved to Canterbury before 1509, after having attended Gray's Inn during the 1490s.¹⁵⁴ Before he moved to the city he was counsel to the corporation of Rye, had been appointed as steward to the liberty of Christ Church in 1501, and was JP for Kent.¹⁵⁵ His civic career in Canterbury began soon after his move to the city, and it is noted that the February 1510 quarter sessions met '*et coram Johanne Hales legis perito*', replacing Thomas Atwode who had been present at sessions prior to this.¹⁵⁶ From this point on he would act as the recorder of the city up to his death in 1539, and

¹⁵³ CCA, CC, F/A/10, fol. 38r.

¹⁵⁴ Canterbury is listed as his home in the pardon roll of May 1509: L&P, 1, 438 (2); H. Miller, 'HALES, John I (by 1480-1540), of Canterbury, Kent', *HPO*.

¹⁵⁵ Baker, *The Men of Court*, ii, pp. 802-03.

¹⁵⁶ CCA, CC, J/Q/309/x.

after 1514 he starts to receive a yearly stipend of 20s for his counsel which also continued up to 1539, at which point his son James, an advisor to Archbishop Cranmer, took his place.¹⁵⁷

Like many lawmen before him, John was returned to parliament for the city, being elected in 1512, replacing Thomas Atwode, and again 1515. As burgess he acted on the city's behalf in the Commons on a number of occasions. At the first session in March 1512, a bill '*concernens Majorem et Aldermanum Civitatis Cant.*' appeared before the House of Lords; then, before the third session in January 1514 the city paid Hales 13s 4d 'for his counsell and to remember to speke in the parliament that Mr. Mayer myght have gaole delyvery by the chartour without comysson'.¹⁵⁸ Shortly after which the city sent him 'two troughts and xii capons for the grete favour that he hath shewed to the citie'.¹⁵⁹ It was at the 1515 parliament, when the city returned two lawyers (Thomas Wode and Hales), that the Act Concerning the River in Canterbury (6 Henry VIII C.17) was passed.¹⁶⁰ The purpose of the act was to 'enlarge' 'clense' and 'scoure' the river between Canterbury and Sandwich so as to make it navigable to larger barges.¹⁶¹ In theory this would solve the 'grete ruyne & decaye' that had befallen the city, but more importantly would have broken the reliance on the port at nearby Fordwich, and as a consequence put a dent in the coffers of St Augustine's Abbey, who collected customs dues from commodities unloaded there.¹⁶² Getting the act passed was likely a triumph of

¹⁵⁷ CCA, CC, J/Q/340/ii.

¹⁵⁸ *Journals of the House of Lords*, i, p. 13; *HMC Ninth*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁹ *HMC Ninth*, p. 174.

¹⁶⁰ *SR*, iii, pp. 134-35.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-35.

¹⁶² On St. Augustine's relationship with Fordwich see: *HMC Fifth*, (London, 1876), p. 442; C. E. Woodruff, *A History of the Town and Port of Fordwich* (Canterbury, 1895), pp. 25-26, 29, 32-35.

teamwork between the two burgesses and Archbishop Warham, who first introduced the petition to the Lords on the twenty-third day of the parliament.¹⁶³

After 1515 the city typically returned one lawyer and one member of the aldermanry to parliament, the exceptions coming in 1539 when the city returned two aldermen, and then in 1542 when it was two lawyers.¹⁶⁴ Hales' service to the city as burgess guaranteed him a lasting association with the city's civic establishment. But after 1522, when he was appointed as one of the Barons of the Exchequer (second), his career in the city became an incidental part of his wider legal career, and he did not represent the city at parliament again after 1515, being replaced by his cousin Christopher at the 1523 sitting. This did not stop Hales from acting on the city's behalf though, and they were frequently bequeathing him with gifts and payments for services rendered on their behalf. The position of the legal counsel in the city was only to increase as the Reformation broke, and members of the Hales family continued to play a vital role in the city administration as time progressed. Likewise, as the state administration grew following the Act of Supremacy, men like Sir Christopher Hales became closely linked to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, and served as a useful mediator for corporate interests with such individuals.

Conclusion

Over the course of the later-fifteenth century Canterbury's corporate community had evolved into a well-structured, functional governing institution. The accumulation of chartered privileges and liberties had provided a solid basis of

¹⁶³ *Journals of the House of Lords*, i, p. 29.

¹⁶⁴ The burgesses were: John Starkey and Robert Lewis in 1539, and Robert Darknall and Walter Hendley in 1542; for more on this see: N. M. Fuidge, 'Canterbury, 1509-1558', *HPO*.

administrative government, and provided both an incentive for the magisterial classes to aim for and some useful validation for instances of good behaviour. The city was to continue in this vein throughout the Reformation, and would barter for and receive important renewals and extensions to its liberties twice under Henry VIII, once under Edward VI, and again under Elizabeth I.¹⁶⁵

During the tumults of the fifteenth centuries, the city had learnt the value of appealing to outside mediation during spells of disorder in the city. The role of county magnates, most notably the archbishop, became innately linked to the process of mediating dispute in the city, and gave rise to an increasingly close relationship between the corporation and the archbishop in temporal matters. Likewise, the corporation placed a greater onus upon the legal structures necessary to protect its chartered liberties, and the formalisation of legal counsel is one of the most distinctive features of the pre-Reformation corporation.

Much of this stemmed from declining relations between the city magistrates and the larger monastic foundations meant that by the start of the sixteenth century, dealings between the magisterial community and those at St Augustine's, Christ Church, and, to a lesser, extent, St Gregory's were increasingly fraught. While wealthier members of the corporation remained in the habit of bequeathing gifts or requesting burial within one of the Benedictine houses, this does not alter the increasingly alien presence that monastic communities represented outside of their liberties within the corporate city.

¹⁶⁵ CCA, A/A/48, 49, 50, 51.

Chapter Two: Office-Holding and Commonweal/th on the eve of Reform

Ye oughte to vnderstande and knowe, that what so euer the
gouernours of the comon welth do they intended it all to
gether for the profite of the common...they preferre the
common welthe before theyr owne¹

Social order is not simply an objective reality; it is also a
collectively understood set of social roles²

Introduction

This chapter will establish the ideological context of late medieval urban governance in Canterbury so as to define the ideological and practical limits of magisterial authority and better understand how the reforms of the 1530s were received in a corporate context. Urban centres have long been associated with the Reformation, and it is in England's towns, rather than its rural parishes, that Protestantism found its most marked early success. Historians have pointed to the relatively fluid social structures of towns, the ideological permeability of urban communities, and the ideological coalescence between reformed religion and urban socio-political concerns in order to explain the dynamism of urban reform.³ Despite this, though,

¹ [William of Ockham or Pierre Dubois], *A Dialogue Betwene a Knyght and a Clerke Concernynge the Power Spiritual and Temporall*, trans. by J. Trevisa, ed. by T. Berthelet (London, 1533), fol. 23v.

² M. Braddick and J. Walter, 'Grids of power: order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society', in *Negotiation Power in Early Modern Society: Order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by M. Braddick and J. Walter (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 1-42 (p. 11).

³ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, pp. 36-41; Dickens, 'Early Expansion of Protestantism', pp. 197-99; Haigh, *Reformations*, pp. 197-98; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 479. On the idea of the exceptionality of urban areas in terms of the free movement of ideas it is best to consult the sociologically grounded works of the last century, see in particular: F. Braudel, 'Pre-Modern Towns', in *The Early Modern Town: A Reader*, ed. by P. Clark, (London, 1976), pp. 53-90; S. E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the*

there has been an unwillingness to examine those institutions at the heart of urban society and the principles that underpinned them; in particular, the role of secular urban authorities have, until recently, been overlooked.⁴

It seems axiomatic to say that the Henrician Reformation was a distinctly unsettling experience for English towns. The uncertain early stages of the English Reformation threatened urban governors with economic ruin, communal disputes, or the loss of civic autonomy, but also provided an opportunity to ingratiate themselves into a grander picture of religious change and state formation. When the Royal Supremacy over the Church finally did emerge in the early 1530s, there was a sufficiently resilient basis of participatory government in the city that could, theoretically, promulgate and police reform in the city, and would actively assimilate with new models of obedience and uniformity espoused in post-supremacy England.⁵ While it is arguable that in achieving the former aim Canterbury's civic authorities failed, in the latter they were remarkably adept, and within the guildhall the Henrician Reformation proved to be a unifying force that helped better define the remit of civic government and facilitate a shift towards a less federated and more state-centric model of provincial governance.

As seen in the previous chapter, the Canterbury's civic authorities were becoming well accustomed to measuring their actions in reference to royal authority, and the early Reformation further accentuated this trait. The citizenry of Canterbury

Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth Century Germany and Switzerland (New Haven, 1975), pp. 5-14; M. Reed, 'The Cultural Role of Small Towns in England 1600-1800', in *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by P. Clark (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 121-47; B. Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation*, trans. by H. Midelfort and M. Edwards (Philadelphia, 1972), pp. 41-42.

⁴ I. W. Archer, 'Popular Politics in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by P. Griffiths and M. S. R. Jenner (Manchester, 2000), pp. 26-46 (pp. 26-28).

⁵ Ryrie, *Gospel*; R. Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (New York, 1993); G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven, 2005).

was a broad and multifaceted body of individuals often divided by personal differences, but was at the same time bound by a mutual ethos of communal service. Ideas surrounding proper government, the duties of magistrates, and the purpose of civic governance bound disparate individuals within the community and provided a link to a national political consensus.

Royal authorities were well aware that the political and religious reforms that they were pursuing were not necessarily at odds with late medieval ideas on the commonweal/th; indeed, the utilisation of commonwealth rhetoric is one of the most characteristic aspects of early English reform.⁶ State authorities and associated reformist writers seized upon a vocabulary that had, since the middle of the fifteenth century, become shorthand for proper governance, divine order, righteous political action, and a tool for polemicists and petitioners alike.⁷ By breaking ties to Rome, the English Crown was reclaiming the sword of spiritual authority from the papacy, and, in conjunction with this, numerous discourses, dialogues and diatribes on the righteous rule of secular governors were printed. While these focused principally on legitimising the king's new authority over matters spiritual and promoting social unity under the supremacy, the rhetoric had a contemporary relevance in the wider political nation. The quote at the beginning of this chapter is taken from a modified version of an early-fourteenth century anti-papal tract printed by the king's printer Thomas Berthelet in 1531 as part of the English Crown's intellectual assault on papal authority.⁸ It is a straightforward example of the justification of secular

⁶ As Diarmaid MacCulloch has noted, the circle of politicians, churchmen, and intellectuals that congregated around Thomas Cromwell became pioneers of the language of commonwealth, see: D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, 1996), p. 432.

⁷ R. H. Britnell, *The Closing of the Middle Ages? England 1471-1529* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 201-03.

⁸ J. Clark, *Clarke's Bibliotheca legum: or, Complete Catalogue of the Common and Statute Law-Books of the United Kingdom*, new edition (London, 1819), p. 205. On the propaganda campaign constructed around the divorce case, see: V. Murphy, 'The Literature and Propaganda of Henry VIII's

authority propagated after 1528 that helped connect political and doctrinal reforms to urban audiences. The vocabulary of commonwealth had characterised urban political discourse prior to the Henrician Reformation, and provided a potent social adhesive following the break with Rome. It is therefore vital to ascertain how such an ethos was expressed within the corporation prior to 1534.

2.1 *Order and the Late Medieval Urban Commonwealth*

The image of the city as a divinely ordained model of existence pervaded in the medieval mind-set. Augustine's description of the *Civitas Dei*, for example, reflects a well-established trope in biblical and patristic texts that served as authoritative models to civic governors.⁹ However, there is a tension inherent between the divine order of the Augustinian *Civitas Dei* and the disorder of the *Civitas terrena*. While peace is inherent in the former, Augustine suggests that 'earthly peace' can only be achieved through 'an ordered concord of civic obedience and rule'.¹⁰ In late medieval England, such heavenly exemplars served to shape and legitimise the authority of urban governors whose duty it was to uphold order and serve the common good of the city community. Such principles found practical relevance in contemporary networks of mutuality and communal obligation that bound together disparate elements of late medieval society, offering order and structure to individual and collective lives, whether within family units, rural parishes, or urban

First Divorce', in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. by D. MacCulloch (New York, 1995), pp. 135-58.

⁹ The discussion of the heavenly city of New Jerusalem appears in St John's apocalyptic visions detailed in the penultimate chapter of the Book of Revelations, see: Revelations 21:10-25. On Augustine's conception of the two cities see: Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998), pp. xviii-xxi.

¹⁰ Augustine, *City of God*, p. 945. For a more detailed discussion on this see: P. Weithman, 'Augustine's Political Philosophy', in *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, ed. by E. Stump and N. Kretzmann (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 234-252.

corporations.¹¹ The pursuit of earthly peace was at the heart of late medieval urban political discourse and later served as a motivator in the Protestant ‘New Jerusalem’ of Elizabethan and Stuart England.¹²

Discussions of social order and good governance had been couched in a language of ‘commonalty’ for many generations preceding the 1530s. In temporal terms, the link between the rebellious ‘commons’ of the late fourteenth, the urban ‘commonweals’ of the later-fifteenth century, and the unmanageable ‘commonwealth’ of mid-Tudor England serves as a valuable conceptual bridge between polities apparently disparate in time.¹³ The use of ‘common weal’ as a by-word for the common-good gained political traction during the 1450s when the most vocal critics of Henry VI’s government employed it as a rallying cry against failed Lancastrian rule; and later started to find official usage in the statutes of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII.¹⁴ The turbulent political and social context of the second half of the fifteenth century provided abstract intellectual ideals concerning societal

¹¹ Michael Clanchy has claimed that: ‘the most fundamental of all bonds in medieval society was that of mutual obligation’, see: M. Clanchy, ‘Law and Love in the Middle Ages’, in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* ed. by J. Bossy (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 47-67 (p. 64). This idea was explored and expanded within an early modern context by Keith Wrightson, see in particular: K. Wrightson, ‘Mutualities and Obligations: Changing Social Relationships in Early Modern England’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 136 (2006), 157-194. Susan Brigden has perhaps done most to put these ideas into the early modern urban setting, exploring the strict codes of behaviour that bound London’s civic community, see: S. Brigden, ‘Religion and Social Obligation in Sixteenth-Century London’, *P&P*, 103 (1984), 67-112. Charles Phythian-Adams has also provided a sensitive and insightful exploration of social fabric of a late medieval town, see: Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*, pt. III ‘Anatomy of a City’.

¹² S. Reynolds, ‘Medieval Urban History and the History of Political Thought’, *Urban History Yearbook*, (1982), 14-23 (pp. 22-23); idem, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 184-85; idem, *Before Eminent Domain: Toward a History of Expropriation of Land for the Common Good* (Chapel Hill, 2010), pp. 112-23; J. Watts, ‘Public or Plebs: The Changing Meaning of “the Commons”, 1381-1549’, in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. by H. Pryce and J. Watts (Oxford, 2007), pp. 242-260 (pp. 244-50).

¹³ For a discussion of the temporal resilience of the concept, see: D. Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People: Popular Politics and England’s Long Social Revolution, 1066-1649* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 1-12, 33-36.

¹⁴ J. Watts, ‘The Pressure of the Public on Later Medieval Politics’, in *Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by L. Clark and C. Carpenter (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 159-180; W. R. D. Jones, *The Tree of Commonwealth, 1450-1793* (Madison, 2000), p. 25; D. Starkey, ‘Which Age of Reform?’, in *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration*, ed. by C. Coleman and D. Starkey (Oxford, 1986), pp. 13-27.

harmony a contemporary political relevance, just as they would have a century later during the mid-Tudor years. Yet, the development of vernacular invocations of the common good at a national level was the by-product of an already established ubiquity in the localities, and their widespread usage in urban discourse.

John Watts has done much to highlight the pervasive use of the language of *communitas* in urban settings, pointing to a growing concern for communal well-being and common profit lying at the heart of invocations of the ‘common wele’ before the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Likewise, Phil Withington has recently observed, ‘the term ‘commonweal’ was initially forged in the crucible of local...politics’.¹⁶ As such, there are countless examples of mundane aspects of urban policy being communicated via the language of ‘common wele’ during the fifteenth century. For example, when, in 1446, the city of Norwich petitioned the Marquis of Suffolk to help them regain their civic liberties, they implored him to do so ‘for the wele and profite of the seid Citee’. Likewise, after Henry VII had imposed new ordinances on the town of Leicester in 1489, the town clerk noted that it had been done ‘for the comen wele of the toun’.¹⁷ At Southampton, the mayor justified a new series of ordinances for civic government passed in 1491, by insisting that the new measures were ‘the remedies prouided and ordeyned...for thonoure and common wele of the same toune’.¹⁸ Just as the idea of ‘common wele’ could relate to specific community, they also had a national resonance. After the City of London banned its freemen from trading outside of the city, many urban markets were starved of trade leading to

¹⁵ Watts, ‘Changing Meaning of “the Commons”’, pp. 245-46, 248-49.

¹⁶ P. Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 139.

¹⁷ *The Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. by W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, 2 vols (London, 1906), i, p. 118; *Records of the Borough of Leicester 1103-1603*, ed. by M. Bateson, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1905) ii, p. 325.

¹⁸ *The Oak Book of Southampton of c. A.D. 1300*, ed. P. Struder, 2 vols (Southampton, 1910-11), i, p. 151; see also p. 161.

a petition being raised in the parliament of 1487 to reverse the measure and prevent ‘greate hurte and prejudice to the comen wele of this your realme’.¹⁹ In these instances, the ideal was interconnected to the collective ‘wele’ or health of an embodied community, whether national or local, which was expressly tied to the actions of urban magistrates who were acting on its behalf.

Residues of this rhetoric is evident throughout corporate activities in Canterbury. When the city’s new mayor swore his oath, he pledged to uphold the customs and ordinance that had been ‘app[ro]ved for the co[m]en wele’ and behave ‘accordyng to right and good conscience for to the comen wele of the seid citie’.²⁰ Forms of the oath from the first half of the fifteenth century made no reference to such a concept, instead bailiffs were asked to be ‘trew to our lord the kyng and to the comynalte of thys cetye’, keep ‘roule & gov[er]nauce’, and maintain city markets.²¹ Once the term had made its way into the vernacular of city government, though, it soon became commensurate with civic business. When accounting for a breakfast meeting between the mayor, aldermen and city attorneys held during 1522, the chamberlain recorded the gathering surrounded ‘dyvers thynges concernyng the comen wele of the citie’.²² Two decades later when a dispute arose between magistrates, the ‘mayer and the aldermen of the seyd cyty assembled them selves togeder for the comon welthe and good rule of the same cyty’.²³ Such invocations

¹⁹ Salisbury, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, Ely, Coventry were all explicitly referenced in the petition, see: *PROME*, November 1487, vi-402-25.

²⁰ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 120v. The dating of this form of the mayor’s oath is tricky, but it seems to have been the form used from the late fifteenth century. Copies of various officers’ oaths are recorded in the precedent book compiled by the town clerk Christopher Levyns. The book appears to have been compiled over the course of the 1530s and 1540s but some of the oaths are written on folios dated to the early years of Henry VIII; the common councillors’ oath references 24 members, so they must have been copied after the charter of 1498, see: BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 121r.

²¹ CCA, CC, A/B/1, fol. 20r.

²² CCA, CC, F/A/11, fol. 119r.

²³ TNA, STAC 2/8/100.

called upon the widely held notion that governance was conducted in reference to an organic, or divine, state of social order.²⁴

The numerous different metaphorical renderings of the term by scholars and politicians of the age attest to the pervasiveness of the ideal during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Erasmus conceived of it as ship; Thomas Elyot described a garden of commonwealth tended by attentive landscapers; and Edmund Dudley mused on the *Tree of Commonwealth* while awaiting execution in 1510.²⁵ In corporeal form, the commonwealth adopted the guise of a united 'body politic'.²⁶ Writing during the 1530s, Richard Morison commented that 'A commune welthe is lyke a body, and soo lyke, that it can be resembled to nothing so convenient, as unto that'.²⁷ This corporeal commonwealth was well suited to the ideals of corporate urban governance. The citizenry in corporate towns was typically discussed as an aggregate body, so new ordinances were passed by the 'mayor and commonalty', or the head and body, of the city; whereas quarter session juries could be empanelled for individual wards, but also for the whole 'body of the city'.²⁸ These

²⁴ For a thorough exploration of the organic elements of 'common weal' and 'body politic', see: J. Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 48-77.

²⁵ D. Erasmus, *Parabolae Sive Similia* (1534), in *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, ed. by C. R. Thompson, 89 vols (Toronto, 1978), xxiii, p. 104. Erasmus' allusion echoes a passage in More's *Utopia* where Hythloday implored that no one should 'desert the commonwealth' in the same way that one 'must not abandon the ship in a storm', see: More, *Utopia*, p. 35. See also: Jones, *Tree of Commonwealth*, pp. 26-29. Elyot suggests that the 'gouernours of realmes and cities' need to exercise their office like a 'wyse and counnyng gardener [...] purposynge to haue in his gardeine a fyne and precieuse herbe', see: T. Elyot, *The Booke Named the Governour* (1531), ed. by S. E. Lehmburg (London, 1962), p. 15. Dudley's text was most like an advice manual envisioned for Henry VIII in which the polity, in the shape of a great tree, is nourished by roots of justice, godliness, concord, peace, and truth, see: E. Dudley, *The Tree of Commonwealth: A Treatise Written by Edmund Dudley* (1510), ed. by D. M. Brodie (Cambridge, 1948), passim.

²⁶ An important example of the corporeal analogy from the early sixteenth century was the edition of a relatively obscure work of fifteenth century political theory by the Franco-Venetian writer Christine de Pizan, see: C. de Pizan, *Here begynneth the booke whiche is called the body of polycye* (London, 1521). See also: Q. Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 185-87, 190-98.

²⁷ R. Morison, *A Remedy for Sedition* (London, 1536), quote from: A. Fletcher and D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 5th edn (Harlow, 2005), p. 150.

²⁸ See for example: CCA, CC, J/Q/302/xix; J/Q/309/xvii; J/Q/327/v; J/Q/325/v.

anthropomorphic renderings were well-established in the political writings of the fifteenth century, but found new relevance in the political climate of post-supremacy England.²⁹

By the end of the fifteenth century, then, the vocabulary of commonwealth could equally refer to the collective wellbeing of a community, and to those institutions that operated within these communities. As the sixteenth century progressed though, the term evolved to incorporate ideas of ‘polity’ and body politic as well.³⁰ Therefore, when the cloth-maker Thomas Bathurst moved to Canterbury and received his freedom in 1542, it was granted as a gift in light of ‘certen kyndnesses & benyvolence...shewed toward the Comen Welthe’.³¹ In the same year the city received a gift of a new minute book for burghmote council meetings, which opens with a dedicatory passage stating that it was ‘gebyn of Robert Browne Sheriff of the Citie of Cantorbury’, so that it might ‘contayneith almaner of actes provisions and ordinances made by the courte of burmouth for the commune wealthe’.³² Browne, a moderately wealthy grocer, served as a common councillor during the later 1530s until his death in November 1544, but, aside from one stint as sheriff in 1541, never held an executive position within the city.³³ His gift and the spirit in which it was given provide an insight into the ideology that guided the city’s civic

²⁹ The best example of fifteenth century discussion on the body politic is Sir John Fortescue’s legalistic exposition on the English polity, see: J. Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, ed. by S. Lockwood (Cambridge, 1997).

³⁰ For an engaging discussion of the development of ‘commonwealth’ ideas over time, see: Early Modern Research Group, ‘Commonwealth: The Social, Cultural, and Conceptual Contexts of an Early Modern Keyword’, *HJ*, 54 (2011), 659-687 (p. 683); S. Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 55.

³¹ CCA, CC, F/A/13, fol. 133.

³² CCA, CC, A/C/2, unpaginated.

³³ The opening page of the burghmote minute book has notes that Browne died on 8 November 1544, see: *Ibid.* Browne’s name begins appearing in the common council registers after 1538, see: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 94, 99 passim. He is listed as attending meetings in the month before his death, still as common councillor, see: CC, A/C/2, fol. 10v.

governors at a time when the city commonwealth was becoming a tangible, physical, entity.

2.2 *Office-Holding and Participatory Government in the Pre-Reformation City*

2.2.1 *The Duty of Office*

Given that social life is surrounded by such darkness, will the wise man take his seat on the judge's bench, or will he not venture to do so? Clearly, he will take his seat; for the claims of human society, which he thinks it is wicked to abandon, constrain him and draw him to this duty.³⁴

Augustine's characterisation of civic magistracy as a moral necessity of the wise man chimes with late medieval and early modern expectations of office holders. When cataloguing the ills of the 'polytyke body', Thomas Starkey characterised idleness, characterised as dropsy, as the 'gretyst destructyon of the commyn wele', suggesting:

For lyke as in a dropcy the body ys unweldy, unlusty & slow...so ys a commynalty replenyschyd wyth neclygent & idul pepul as unlusty & unweldy, no thyng quyke in the exercyse of artys & craftys, wherby hyr welth schold be mayntenyd & supportyd, but solve wyth such yl humorys,

³⁴ Augustine, *City of God*, p. 927.

boyllyth out wyth al vyce, myschefe & mysery, the wych
out of idulnes as out of a fountayn yssuth & spryngyth³⁵

Again, such an idea had a long heritage in late medieval urban politics and the officiousness of office-bearers was a frequent concern of corporations, who made provisions to enforce dutiful conduct amongst members. During the early 1520s, the Canterbury burghmote passed a new ordinance that sought to punish those who refused to take office or who left their posts ‘without licence’.³⁶ The act states that ‘dyverse aldermen & comeners of thesyd cetie of late have dep[ar]tyd out of thesyd cetie...to the utter undoyng of the same cetie’.³⁷ The ordinance made clear that those who failed in their duties to the city were to be treated in a similar fashion to slanderers, facing a heavy fine and time in the city gaol.

During the early 1530s, Thomas Fyll, a common councillor and constable of Burgate, departed the city without appointing a deputy. In doing so, it was said that Fyll had ‘dismembered’ the corporation and invited chaos in his ward.³⁸ Such disregard for civic duty drew the ire of the council who claimed that Fyll’s ‘necligence & light demen[er]’ had endangered ‘the kynges peas & good rule in the seid citie’ and exposed them all ‘to fall in a contempt to our soverayne lord the kyng to the grete dayng[er] of the same’. Acting while Fyll was still absent, the council decreed that he would be fined £30, be expelled from his office as constable and from the common council, and threatened with expulsion from the franchise altogether. The council’s anger was, though, short-lived. Soon afterwards, Lord Edmund Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, wrote to the council informing

³⁵ Starkey, *Dialogue*, p. 54.

³⁶ CCA, CC, A/C/1/74.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ CCA, CC, A/C/1/85.

them that he had retained Fyll as his physician when passing through the city towards Calais.³⁹ Howard requested Fyll be forgiven his transgressions, and, in light of Howard's friendship with the city, the burghmote decided to 'restorith' Fyll 'unto the same degree & condicon' in the city. Only once Fyll's transgressions against the commonwealth of the city had been rebalanced by the intervention of a powerful friend of the city, could he be forgiven.

Other prominent members of the civic community found themselves in front of the secular authorities for failing to maintain their offices. In 1508, the city chamberlain, William Rutland, was presented because he had failed to provide new railings along the town dyke between Burgate and Newingate. That same year the mayor was presented on two occasions, once because 'he ordeyneth not a lawfull gage & mesour for coupers', and on two occasions because he failed to exact justice on cases presented to him at court.⁴⁰ The following year John Edmund and John Guston, the searchers of the fleshmarket, were presented 'for lak of serchyn' in the markets.⁴¹ This practice persisted during the early stages of the reformation. In 1537, John Starky, the chamberlain, was presented for failing to 'clean the markett house', and the following year the alderman of Burgate John Alcock snr was presented for failing to maintain a set of 'stokkes' so that 'p[er]sonnes can not be punysshed accordyng to the kynges actes and commandmentes'.⁴² The holding of civic offices was based upon active participation, and while there were certain financial incentives, in many cases office holding or even membership of the citizenry could be more of a burden than a blessing. What preserved participation, then, was a heady

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ CCA, CC, J/Q/302/x; J/Q/307/xiii; J/Q/308/xi.

⁴¹ CCA, CC, J/Q/308/xv.

⁴² CCA, CC, J/Q/337/I; J/Q/337/iv.

combination of self-interest, social climbing, and a less tangible culture of mutual obligation and pervasive desire to maintain the right way of things.

Broadly speaking, the urban body politic in which these office-holders served incorporated all those who lived within the civic jurisdiction, and within this the burghmote and its members were the magistrates and governors. In this sense, Canterbury's commonwealth was not a straightforward model of descending political authority; instead, it depended on a more complex model of communal consensus and obligation.⁴³ This is not to say that those who held office in Canterbury carried a mandate to rule from the citizens, or that their authority was sacrosanct (given the manifold means of getting around the remit of civic officials this was far from the case), rather, that a language of commonwealth both encouraged and legitimised public service within the city.⁴⁴ This meant that prior to the reforms of the 1530s there was a long tradition of office-holding within Canterbury acting as the bedrock of a political society in which citizens were measured by their contributions to communal peace and prosperity.

Discussions of participatory governance can be traced to Aristotelian principles of the citizen as office-holder, via Cicero, the Pauline epistles, Augustine, the scholastics and early humanists.⁴⁵ Augustine's contrasting of the divine order of heaven with the chaos of the temporal world mentioned above, mirrored the pervading pessimism of urban political thought that imagined society as existing on

⁴³ W. Ullmann, *A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages*, (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp.12-13.

⁴⁴ Phil Withington has shown, albeit in a post-reformation context, that such a language could facilitate a monopolisation of power and a situation where the 'private will' became synonymous with the 'public good', see: Withington, *Politics of Commonwealth*, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁵ 1 Corinthians 12:12-30; Romans 12:4-8; M. S. Kempshall, *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 26-75, 204-34; M. M. Keys, *Aquinas, Aristotle, and the Promise of the Common Good* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 89-98, 116-23; D. G. Hale, *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance England* (The Hague, 1971), pp. 28-29.

the precipice of anarchy. Even Jerusalem had been prone to periods of chaotic misrule and Divine destruction.⁴⁶ In response to this chaotic impulse, the good citizen was to provide wealth and foster societal calm by holding civic office, eschewing his own advancement and prioritising that of the collective; while his antithesis, the reprobator, the vagrant, the nightwalker, or the lewd talker, lurked beneath the surface of decent society threatening the equanimity of city life. To preserve order there needed to be an active political community within the city, with a populace willing to accept the burdens of office and the duties of civic governance. Magistrates therefore tasked themselves with preserving the subtle balance of good order, not only for themselves and their *communitas*, but also for the wider political nation of which they were part.

Augustinian discussions of corporate rule drew on a Ciceronian ideal of ‘an assembly united in fellowship by common agreement as to what is right and by a community of interest’.⁴⁷ Such ideas were clear to see in the political discourse of the later Middle Ages. Scholastic debates over the relationship between the *bonum commune* and the *communitas utilitas*, as understood from classical and patristic texts, are testament to this.⁴⁸ Erasmian and humanistic works reflected these virtues, most notably on Thomas More’s imagined island of *Utopia*, which gained its status as the *optimus reipublicae* thanks to its inhabitants’ championing of *virtus*.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ For a really insightful exploration of the intellectual and cultural impact of biblical descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem in the early modern texts, see: B. Groves, *The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1-11, 86-120.

⁴⁷ Augustine, *City of God*, p. 78. Cicero’s ideal was emphatically echoed in the middle of the sixteenth century when Sir Thomas Smith famously described a commonwealth as ‘a multitude of free men collected together and united by a common accord and covenantes among themselves’, see: T. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (1583), ed. by L. Alston (Cambridge, 1906), p. 20.

⁴⁸ The understanding of *bonum communitas* in the minds of thirteenth and fourteenth century scholastic authors is explored in: Kempshall, *Common Good*, esp. pp. 351-62. See also: A. Black, ‘The Individual and Society’, in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 588-606 (p. 596).

⁴⁹ More uses *civitas* to describe the cities, *civitas* being the equivalent of the Greek *polis*, suggesting that they bore some similarities to the Greek city-states which operated as autonomous political units

Government of the fictive island and its fifty-four identical cities was sustained by a community spurred on to devote every ‘energy and intelligence to public affairs’.⁵⁰ Such notions were pervasive throughout the sixteenth century to the point that when trying to define a ‘participant’ in the commonwealth, Thomas Smith suggested it was a definition between ‘them that beare office’ and ‘them that beare none’.⁵¹ This more intangible element of civic society helps to explain why city corporations like Canterbury’s were able to maintain healthy civic bodies despite the often limited economic benefits of minor offices. Likewise, it meant that during periods of communal instability or division the office-holding population were encouraged to prioritise the ‘wele’ of the collective, or, to paraphrase Arthur Fergusson, to make the interests of the individual subordinate to those of the commonwealth.⁵²

Thomas More described *Utopia*’s cities being governed by a collection of officials elected on pseudo-democratic principles. These officials, known as phylarchs (*phylarchus*), were styled on ancient Greek models, yet much of what it described chimed with contemporary models of English corporate government.⁵³ In the *Utopian* cities, groups of thirty households elected a phylarch, and every ten of these phylarchs chose a head phylarch (*protophylarchus*).⁵⁴ This group was then responsible for electing a governor, which would be done through a blind ballot to produce four candidates from whom the whole body of phylarchs would select a

within a grander federation: More, *Utopia*, p. 43, 43 n 6. For the discussion of the primacy given to *virtus* in Utopian society, see: Q. Skinner ‘Political Philosophy’, in *The Cambridge History of the Renaissance Philosophy* ed. by Q. Skinner and C. B. Schmidt, (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 387-452 (p. 448).

⁵⁰ T. More, *Utopia*, trans. by R. M. Adams, ed. by G. M. Logan and R. M. Adams (Cambridge, 2002), p. 13.

⁵¹ Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 30.

⁵² A. B. Fergusson, ‘The Tudor Commonweal and the Sense of Change’, *JBS*, 3 (1963), 11-35 (p. 12).

⁵³ More, *Utopia*, pp. xxv, 47-48. For a discussion of More’s experience as a citizen of London in the early sixteenth century, see: C. M. Barron, ‘The Making of a London Citizen’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More*, ed. by G. M. Logan (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 1-21.

⁵⁴ There were 6000 families in each city, see: More, *Utopia*, p. 54.

governor.⁵⁵ Individual phylarchs were elected annually but were ‘not changed for light or casual reasons’, while other offices were elected year by year.⁵⁶ Any matters arising from the bi-weekly meetings of these officials were then put before the entire assembly to prevent the governor and heads overpowering the citizenry. As such, political agency in the cities was encouraged, but access was constrained so that only those seen fit might hold office. While in terms of their scale the *Utopian* councils dwarfed any English exemplars, their bi-cameral structure, methods of election, and terms of office were distinctly familiar. In many respects, their organisation mimicked structures of urban corporations across Tudor England, and would have been familiar to More when writing *Utopia* after his time as under-sheriff of London.⁵⁷

More’s model of the politically active citizen was concurrent with the humanist distaste for the *vita contemplativa*.⁵⁸ Instead, humanist logic ran that a man’s life should be measured by deeds and civic service, a sentiment echoed by Aristotle, Cicero, Augustine, through to John Colet, Thomas Elyot, and Thomas Starkey.⁵⁹ Politics in Canterbury could not hope to mirror such ideals, nor were they comparable to the politics of the great Italian city-states which inspired so much of the discourse over the *vir civilis*, yet there were elements of life in corporate Canterbury that facilitated a *vita activa*.

⁵⁵ More, *Utopia*, p. 48.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ The similarities in forms of urban government in England, Scotland, and Wales have been noted in: S. H. Rigby and E. Ewan, ‘Government, Power and Authority 1300-1540’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume One, 600-1540*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 291-312.

⁵⁸ H. Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Humanist Republic of Letters* (Lanham, 2010), pp. 78-79; J. Phillips, *English Fictions of Communal Identity, 1485–1603* (Farnham, 2010), p. 53.

⁵⁹ B. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 270-306; T. F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonwealth: Humanist Politics and Religion in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 149.

2.2.2 Access to Civic Office

The relative accessibility of political agency in corporate cities is well established in sixteenth century thought. In his well-known description of the English commonwealth's four sorts of men, Sir Thomas Smith reported that cities were governed by a class of 'citizens and burgesses' who 'not onely be free and receive offices within the cities, but also be of some substance'.⁶⁰ Such an arrangement deferred responsibility for rule locally amongst those, in theory, wise enough and wealthy enough to manage it, even if their agency was only of consequence 'where they dwell'.⁶¹ However, Smith goes on to report, somewhat begrudgingly, that 'in cities and corporate townes' the 'fourth sort' of men were also commonly afforded a role in governance. Smith asserts that these *proletarii* should ordinarily 'have no voice nor authoritie in our common wealth', but, due to the 'default of yeoman' in urban centres, they were commonly empanelled in juries, and were allowed to serve as churchwardens, alecunners (tasters), and even constables.⁶² Smith's account suggests that the commonwealth of the corporate town was reliant upon the service of a wide section of the urban community.

Recent work by David Rollison has pursued Smith's disingenuous characterisation of a politically active 'fourth sort' within the urban ruling communities during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶³ Building on the work of Andy Wood, Rollison describes a well-defined 'middling-sort' of urban *cives* and yeomen characterised not necessarily for their property ownership or local

⁶⁰ Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, pp. 41-42.

⁶¹ Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 42.

⁶² Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 46. The allusion to the yeoman, a class of man typically associated with the rural medieval world, in the context of urban governance is intriguing; for an exploration of this shift see: D. Rollison, 'The Specter of the Commonalty: Class Struggle and the Commonweal in England before the Atlantic World', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 63 (2006), 221-252 (pp. 227-31); see also: Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics*, pp. 29-31.

⁶³ Rollison, 'Specter of the Commonalty', pp. 221-252.

wealth, but by their political agency and position of trust within their local community.⁶⁴ As such, it is possible that Smith was correct when he asserted that the fourth sort, or those ‘labourers, poore husbandmen, yea merchants or retailers which have no free lande’ possessed some agency in urban areas.⁶⁵ Rollison’s account is in line with Andy Wood’s post-Marxian model of community leadership, which, although largely the concern of the middling sorts, was not dependent upon localised wealth and property ownership; rather, the leaders of the commonalty tended to be ‘adult, male, settled, skilled and independent’.⁶⁶ This stands in stark contrast to the typical descriptions of urban governance cented around the efforts of a narrowly defined ‘oligarchy’ of wealthy citizens and gentry. Within any urban area small groups such as these might be found, however, by focusing exclusively on such groups the true depth of political participation is ignored.

The structure of Canterbury’s civic government enabled political participation by all those who had been made free in the city.⁶⁷ In this sense governance in Canterbury before the Reformation was carried out not just for the commonwealth, it was theoretically open to a healthy proportion of this commonwealth. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a body of freemen separate from the ordinary inhabitants of the city had been a part of Canterbury’s society for more than two centuries.⁶⁸ All those admitted to the franchise were

⁶⁴ Rollison, ‘Specter of the Commonalty’, pp. 229-30.

⁶⁵ Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 46.

⁶⁶ A. Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak County, 1520-1770* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 260.

⁶⁷ There are some exceptions to this, there are a number of offices that were frequently filled by non-freemen, most notably the city’s legal counsel or *legis peritus* was typically admitted after the fact or not at all.

⁶⁸ The earliest roll of admissions for freemen is dated to 1297, see: A. F. Butcher, ‘Canterbury’s earliest Rolls of Freemen’s Admissions, 1297-1363: A Re-examination’, in *A Kentish Miscellany* ed. by F. Hull (Chichester, 1979), pp. 1-26. There had been a merchants’ guild and elements of self-government in the city since the beginning of the twelfth century, see: Urry, *Angevin Kings*, pp. 80-82, 125-26.

classed as freemen, a term that carried with it economic, political, and, conceptual weight. The adjective form of ‘freeman’ first appears in reference to members of the Canterbury franchise in the records of Christ Church Cathedral Priory near the end of the thirteenth century, seemingly used to differentiate the more commonly used ‘citizen’ or ‘*civis*’, that had been the basis of the city’s 1155 charter, and as an extension of ‘*intrinsecus*’, or insider.⁶⁹ This early incantation relied on setting the freemen, an otherwise amorphous body of individuals, apart from the wider city community for the sake of contemporary legal clarity, but the differentiation would form the basis of political society in the city for many centuries afterwards.⁷⁰

As time progressed, ‘freeman’ became synonymous with ‘citizen’.

Citizenship was therefore made dependent of membership of the corporation, and distinguished between those who could participate in the city’s economic, political, and legal affairs, and those who could not; and membership of this ‘commonalty’ carried a number of benefits and protections. During the early fifteenth century a document was compiled that gathered together the various ‘p[ro]p[er]tes and benefetes’ of ‘fre men of Caunt[er]bury’.⁷¹ A majority of the twenty-three benefits listed are economically focused: the right to ‘hold a craft and opyn wyndowes without leve’; or legal: that no freeman might be condemned or convicted by any outside authority. However, the chief benefit, appearing at the top of both versions of

⁶⁹ Butcher, ‘First Roll’, p. 7. The first surviving charter was granted by in the mid-twelfth century by Henry II, see: CCA, CC, A/A/1. The term *intrinsecus* appears in a settlement between the prior of Christ Church and the authorities in Sandwich in 1286, see: CCA, DCc, ChAnt/S/267. And the verb form of the term *intrancium*, to enter, accompanies the first list of freemen, made in 1298, see: CCA, CC, R/F/1.

⁷⁰ P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-177* (Oxford, 1976), p. 115.

⁷¹ The list referred to is a contemporary copy that appears in a series of papers drawn up in 1428 by Christ Church Cathedral priory during a dispute between them and the corporation, they now lie in the register of the then prior William Molassh, see: Bodlein, Tanner MS 165, fol.11r. A later copy of this document, seemingly from the early years of the sixteenth century, is contained in the precedent book of the freeman and town clerk Christopher Levyns, see: BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 19r. This later version is slightly amended and contains only 19 benefits as opposed to the 23 of the earlier version.

the list, was the right to ‘come to the councell of the same cite and there speke and beherd’. Again, the document was careful to differentiate freemen from ordinary townsmen who would be ‘put owte’ of the guildhall if they came to council meetings, and who must instead ‘com to terms’ with the chamber if they wanted to trade in the city.⁷² The late medieval freeman in Canterbury thus possessed both the rights to trade and to politick in the city, but as an extension to this, to regulate the behaviour of the wider city community. The development of a political body in this sense, made the un-free dependent upon the goodwill of the city governors and bolstered the hegemony of the corporation as sole arbiter of affairs in the city.

Canterbury’s corporate body was divided into four parts: the lowest and largest was the freemen (or citizenry); above them was the common council (or commonalty), the lowest tier of burghmote court; above them sat the aldermen; and at the top sat the mayor. Generally, the top three levels of this hierarchy comprised the burghmote, as these were the men who were permitted to attend the sessions in the guildhall.⁷³ Within the burghmote there was a fairly straightforward hierarchy of officeholders, starting with the mayor himself. After the city became a self-governing county in 1461 the mayor was bestowed with ultimate responsibility over the city. Not only was he the chief magistrate, charged with maintaining the king’s peace, he was also the clerk of the city markets and as such responsible for the economic prosperity of the community. The mayor was elected annually and could deputise a common councillor to act as alderman in his ward while he was serving

⁷² Those that were not freemen could still sell goods in the city as an ‘intrante’ if they paid an annual or *pro rata* fine to the chamberlain, see below.

⁷³ Some of the extraordinary sessions, such as the annual meeting where the chamberlain would take account of the city’s financial dealings, were also attended by a group of non-office holding citizens referred to as ‘*de cives*’, who represented the wider body of freemen. Their names were listed on the attendance sheets, see for example: CCA, CC, F/A/10, fols. 50r, 110r, 159r; F/A/11, fols. 201r, 259r, 311r, 364r.

his mayoral term, meaning that as many as thirteen men might be considered aldermen in one year (see appendix A).

Beneath the mayoral chair there were the aldermanic and common council benches. The city's charter of 1461 granted the aldermen and mayor the status of justices of the peace, giving them certain statutory, judicial, and administrative powers within the bounds of the city and setting them apart from the common council and freemen in terms of 'real' or executive power. It was, though, customary for one of the common councillors to hold the office of sheriff, and an ordinance passed during the mayoralty of Thomas Bele (1529) it was agreed that the sheriff would be chosen annually by the mayor from the common councillors.⁷⁴ While the common councillors held only limited executive authority Canterbury's government remained bicameral, and through access to elections, the holding of city offices, and participation in legal proceedings, the common councillors and freemen were able to hold some political agency.

Positions on either of the city benches was dependant on the accord of those immediately above in the hierarchy; so a freeman needed a majority of common councillors to elect him to that bench, and a likewise a common councillor required the assent of the aldermen to progress further. Once gained, positions were typically held for life. Upon the death (or the rare resignation or dismissal) of an alderman the mayor and remaining aldermen would elect a replacement from the common councillors, and likewise new common councillors were chosen from the massed ranks of freemen by the remaining common council. Such a structure facilitated stable urban government, and thanks to the necessity of majority assent in elections,

⁷⁴ CCA, CC, A/B/1, fol. 14v.

helped to protect against factionalism within the corporate community, a vital factor during the tumults of the 1530s and 1540s.

The office of burgess to parliament (MP) provided the corporation with an important recourse to a national assembly, a source of civic pride and a valuable channel for patronage.⁷⁵ Being appointed as city MP was both prestigious and potentially lucrative, and here again the corporation maintained some semblance of autonomy in elections up to the middle of the sixteenth century. The process of electing burgesses was set after the city's incorporation in 1461 and, in theory at least, encompassed the full range of the citizenry, with the indentures stating the returns were made 'in the gildhall with the assent of all the citizens'.⁷⁶ After a writ of election was received the sheriff and the mayor were charged to assemble all those willing or able to attend the election at the guildhall. May McKisack has demonstrated that, after 1461, indentures from Canterbury commonly carried between fifteen and sixteen names, suggesting that the franchise was 'more narrowly limited' than the rhetoric of common assent suggests.⁷⁷ However, by the sixteenth century the process seems to have incorporated a larger slice of the city, with reports of the 1536 election stating that ninety-seven persons were involved in the election, and indentures carrying sixty or more names alongside the seals of the mayor and sheriff.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ P. Cavill, *The English Parliaments of Henry VII 1485-1504* (Oxford, 2009), p. 135; 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. 145-66 (158-60).

⁷⁶ Wedgewood, *History of Parliament*, p. 651.

⁷⁷ M. McKisack, *The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs During the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1932), p. 54.

⁷⁸ Fuidge, 'Canterbury'. The 1536 election (which will be discussed in chapter four) is infamous for the involvement of Thomas Cromwell in forcing a re-election after King Henry's request for the return of the previous session's incumbents be returned, see: L&P, 10, 929.

Those who served as burgesses for the city represent a relatively broad church in terms wealth and occupation but were almost exclusively drawn from the resident freeman community. During the period 1439-1509 all of the twenty-eight different men returned for the city were from Kent and twenty-four of them were residents of the city; while of the twenty-one returned during 1509-1560, eighteen were from the city or its immediate hinterland.⁷⁹ While holding civic office does not seem to have been a proviso for election, most were holding office at the time of their appointment, with only the sessions of 1542, 1547, 1555, and 1558 not returning at least one city office holder.⁸⁰

The data provided by the lay subsidy of 1524-25 suggests that there was a fairly narrow and well-defined economic class at the top of Canterbury's society maintaining these offices.⁸¹ While there are problems inherent in using taxation data to assess the relative wealth of a community, the subsidy of 1524 provides ample data to at least give an indication of how individuals ranked within their own communities in terms of wealth.⁸² That year, 766 individuals were assessed in Canterbury, amounting to £269 6s 1d; of those, forty-four (5.7%) were assessed at the top rate of £40 or more per annum, while 500 (65%) paid the lowest rates between £1 and £2.⁸³ This is in contrast to other urban settlements, such as at Norwich where only forty per cent were assessed at under £2, with forty-five per

⁷⁹ Figures from: J. C. W. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and Members of both Houses 1439-1509* (London, 1936), p. 651; Fuidge, 'Canterbury, 1509-1558'.

⁸⁰ This is assuming that paid legal counsel to the corporation was an appointment rather than an elected office.

⁸¹ The assessment required that all inhabitants pay a tax on a new assessment based upon wages (both annual and day wages), moveable goods, profits, and income from lands, see: TNA, E/179/124/188.

⁸² R. W. Hoyle, *Tudor Taxation Records: A Guide for Users* (London, 1994), p. 15.

⁸³ TNA, E179/124/188. These percentages differ slightly from Clark's who only counts 29 individuals at £40 or above, see: Clark, *Society*, p. 8.

cent doing likewise at Worcester.⁸⁴ Exeter and Cambridge, with forty-eight and fifty-five per cent assessed below £2 respectively, were closer in these terms to Canterbury.⁸⁵

The numbers from the subsidy give some insight into the financial situations of the individuals in the corporate body, and suggest that the major executive offices in the city were typically held by those wealthiest citizens considered 'meet' to hold them, while the lesser offices were occupied by lesser freemen. Of those forty-four individuals assessed at over £40, thirty-two were freemen; and of the eleven men known to be serving as aldermen in 1524, ten were assessed and all were placed at £40 or above (see table 2.1), with individual wealth ranging from the alderman of Worgate William Rutland who was assessed at £120 in goods; to William Nutte of Redingate, assessed at £40.⁸⁶ Alongside them we can find other key members of the corporation. The mayor in the year of the subsidy, John Brigges, was assessed at a handsome £80 in goods; while the chamberlain that year, Anthony Knyght, was assessed at more meagre £47 in goods.⁸⁷ The least wealthy alderman assessed was the lawyer James Whithales, who scraped into the top assessment, holding £40 goods. The common council was a far more diverse body (see table 2.2), with wealth ranging from John Fowle's £100 in goods, to Richard Master's lowly 24s, and with only five of the fourteen councillors assessed paying the top rate. The wealthiest

⁸⁴ Pound, 'Social and Trade Structure of Norwich', p. 51; A. D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester, 1973), p. 175.

⁸⁵ W. T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English County Town* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 248; N. Goose, 'Economic and Social Aspects of Provincial Towns: A Comparative Study of Cambridge, Colchester, and Reading c. 1500-1700' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1984), p. 73.

⁸⁶ The other aldermen were: Robert Lewes at £100 in goods; John Brigges at £80 in goods; Thomas Bele at £60 in goods; Roger Clerke at £60 in goods; John Broker at £50 in goods; Anthony Knyght at £47 in goods; Thomas Wode at £41 in lands and fees; Thomas Fokys snr. at £40 in goods; Sir Matthew Brown of Westgate was not resident in the city and thus was not assessed.

⁸⁷ Knyght was also acting as sheriff that year, holding both offices in the same year was relatively rare occurrence and speaks to Knyght's competence.

inhabitants of the city were John Hales, baron of the exchequer, and the goldsmith John Alcock snr, both assessed at £200; and the elderly Edward Bolney assessed at £120 in goods. All three were freemen, both Bolney and Alcock had served terms as mayor. Hales meanwhile was a pivotal figure in the city's legal affairs, serving as legal advisor to the city from the early sixteenth century up until his death in 1540.⁸⁸

Alongside the richest inhabitants, the citizenry could also accommodate a broader swathe of personal wealth. Of the fifteen new members of the citizenry admitted in 1524, a number were also assessed. The grocer John Ambrose snr was assessed at a lowly £4 in goods; while the mercer Thomas Frenche, a future alderman and mayor, was assessed at £30 in goods.⁸⁹ The wealthy butcher John Hobbys, soon to be a common councillor and a churchwarden in St Andrew's parish, was assessed at £40; and the future chamberlain, alderman, and city Burgess John Starky was assessed with £10 in goods to his name.⁹⁰ Of those men admitted in 1524 assessed at £10 or above most seem to have gone on to embark on successful careers in the corporation. Of the others admitted that year was Edward Kacherall, a city tallow-chandler listed as a servant of the common councillor Thomas Calowe, was assessed 20s in wages; and the tailor John Davy who was assessed at a peculiarly specific £4 6s 8d, neither man appear to have risen above the level of freemen but both maintained connections with other officeholders. There were, of course, a large proportion of people assessed that would unlikely to have been admitted to the

⁸⁸ Bolney was a son and heir of Sir Bartholomew Bolney of the manor of Bolney in Sussex, after Edward's death in 1528 his wife Agnes was involved in various suits and quitclaims concerning the mansion house there, many of which involved John Hales' cousin Sir Christopher Hales, see: CCA, PRC/32/15/90; SAS, G12/2, G4/36; *VCH Sussex*, vii, pp. 136-40.

⁸⁹ Ambrose was listed as a grocer but admitted as an apprentice to Hugh Bradbury.

⁹⁰ CCA, CC, A/C/1/76; Cotton, *Churchwardens of St Andrew's*, iii, p. 18.

corporate body, most obviously the seventy-eight aliens and sixteen widows assessed.⁹¹

Table 2.1 Aldermen Assessed in 1524 Subsidy⁹²

Name	Profession	assessment
John Brygges	Brewer	£80
Thomas Wode	Lawyer	£41
William Rutland	Apothecary	£120
John Broker	Brewer	£50
Roger Clarke	Vintner	£60
Thomas Bele	Yeoman	£60
Thomas Fokys	Haberdasher	£40
William Nutte	Baker	£40
Robert Lewes	Grocer	£100
James Whithales	Lawyer	£40
John Alcock snr	Goldsmith	£200
Matthew Brown	Gentleman	<i>out of ward</i>
John Nayler	Goldsmith	<i>out of ward</i>

Table 2.2 Common Councillors Assessed in 1524 Subsidy⁹³

Name	Profession	Assessment
Walter Evynden	Mercer	£3
William Furner	Innholder	£50
William Miles	Clerk	24s
John Tent	Armourer	£10
John Austyn	Hackneyman	£40 (his widow)

⁹¹ Of these aliens 24 were servants, but there were several tradesmen, including a glazier, a currier, a fletcher and numerous shoemakers, amongst them. The majority of these men were assessed between £1-£5, but two aliens were of wealthier stock; Jan Crouch and Jan van Zele, who were assessed with goods of £50 and £60 respectively. Two widows, Katherine Church and the widow of Edward marten, were assessed at over £100.

⁹² TNA, E 179/124/188.

⁹³ TNA, E 179/124/188.

William Crispe	Brewer	<i>NA</i>
Stephen Wode	Tailor	£40
George Sutton	Glazier	£20
John Gotley	Brewer	<i>NA</i>
Richard Ham	Saddler	£30
John Courtman	Smith	£10
John Fowle	Merchant	£100
John Fyshe	Grocer	£16
John Coppyn	Yeoman	£16
Richard Master	?	24s
Anthony Knyght	Lawyer	£47

While these numbers would suggest a narrowly defined ‘oligarchic’ clique maintaining political authority at the top of the city, there were a wide array of offices open to members of the corporation. Each year a city chamberlain would be elected from the body of aldermen, who was then responsible for ‘common money’ of the city and accounting for all incomes and expenditures during the ensuing mayoral year.⁹⁴ Due to his financial responsibilities the chamberlain’s office was one of the most important, but there were two other offices linked with the chamberlain and the city accounts, the common clerk and the common serjeant, which were chosen from the common council and freemen respectively, meaning that all levels of the corporate body were present at the annual accounts.⁹⁵ The city’s sheriff was

⁹⁴ Although there were annual elections for this post the complexity of the role seems to have necessitated that chamberlains serve successive terms, often resulting in lengthy tenures. As the sixteenth century went on tenures became more protracted, between 1500-09 six different men served terms; between 1510-19 four men; 1520-29 four men; 1530-39 three men; 1540-49 two men; 1550-59 three men. The longest serving chamberlain during this period was Anthony Knyght who served between 1542 and 1552.

⁹⁵ As with the chamberlains’ office these minor offices were open to long tenures. The lawyer and future ‘radical’ John Toftes served as common clerk between 1513 and the middle of the 1540s; while Humfrey Wales would serve as common serjeant from 1513 up to his death in 1540. The annual

annually elected from the common councillors and was charged with receiving and returning royal writs and customarily acted as the city coroner.⁹⁶

Alongside the sheriff, the four serjeants-of-the-mace performed important legal and ceremonial duties. They carried the ceremonial mace before the mayor and aldermen in processions and pageants, but were also responsible for collecting estreats issued at quarter sessions, aldermanic courts and assizes of ale in their respective wards. Just as with the office of common serjeant, this position was reserved for freemen, some of whom were recently admitted; John Burgeant was admitted in 1495 and was serving as a serjeant by 1501, while each of the four men carrying the maces in 1538 had been admitted within the decade.⁹⁷ Alongside these there was a panoply of other minor offices available to freemen, ranging from the serjeants of the chamber, to the keeper of the Westgate gaol, to the more humble administrative offices of the tallengers of the markets, beadles and rent collectors, and the scavengers, searchers, scrutators and sealers of goods. All of these offices were elected via the acclamation of the burghmote and provided an opportunity for the city's political elite to exercise some level of patronage on a yearly basis.

2.2.3 *Displaying the Body Politic*

The bonds of mutuality and obligation that tied together this body politic were reinforced by ceremonial and ritual displays. The swearing ceremonies of various

accounts, customarily rendered upon St Andrews day, was also attended by various other members of the corporation as witnesses whose names often appear on the opening folio of the accounts.

⁹⁶ It seems likely that this office was elected on the recommendation of that year's mayor, but it was still necessary to secure the consent of the aldermen and common council. In the city quarter sessions records the sheriff is routinely listed as both sheriff and coroner.

⁹⁷ While serving as serjeant, John Burgeant was involved in an altercation with the monks of Christ Church Priory that was presented as evidence in a case in 1501, see below. The 1538 serjeants were John Redshaw (admitted 1529); John a Wode (admitted 1530); John Hylles (admitted 1530); and Nicholas Bannok (admitted 1528). All of the serjeants were to appear before the chamberlain at his annual session to render account for all fines collected.

new officers are perhaps the best evidence of this.⁹⁸ The oaths sworn at these were not simply pledges of fealty to the monarch, or to the city at large, they also affirmed allegiance to others within the corporate body. Aldermen swore to ‘true obeydaunce to mstr maire’, and promised him ‘true counsel...in all thynges that may conc[er]ne the co[m]en wele’; while common councillors pledged ‘true attendance...to mstr maier...& his deputies’.⁹⁹ Such language not only helped to reinforce corporate solidarity, it also engendered norms of behaviour that officers were expected to fulfil. The oath of the chamberlain goes into minute detail over the expectations of their office, ranging from the ‘rep[ar]acons of the kynges mylles’ to ensuring all new men admitted ‘to the lib[er]tes & franchyses of the cetie be truely sworne over a booke accordyng to the oath that is written’.¹⁰⁰ In Canterbury, as in many contemporary towns and cities, oaths were sworn in the symbolic heart of the corporate city, the courtroom or ‘Holydome’, in the guildhall, in a ceremony assembled before the assembled council to reinforce the communal nature of the pledges being made.¹⁰¹

This ethos of urban government in Canterbury was not expressed just in the oaths or in the written records of government, but also in the built environment of the city which encapsulated the mundane and the magnificent facets of corporate life. Prior to the onset of the Reformation, the fabric of the city’s interior was littered with civic buildings and spaces that accommodated day-to-day communal administration, embodied magisterial authority, and synchronised the lives of the

⁹⁸ Tittler, *Reformation and the Towns*, p. 202.

⁹⁹ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 122v.

¹⁰⁰ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 122r.

¹⁰¹ ‘Holydome’ or ‘Holidome’ are how it is most often referred to in the oaths, but is rare in other documents. Its roots appear to draw on the legalistic nature of the space, ‘dome’ or ‘dom’ referring to the space as a place where judgement is administered, see: BL Stowe MS 850, fol.120v, 121r, 122r-122v. For a description of oath swearing ceremonies elsewhere, see: R. Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, ed. by L. Toulmin-Smith, Camden Society, new series, v (London, 1872), p. 73.

corporate body. As Robert Harbison has so neatly observed, ‘cities have always violated the bounds of individual conceptions in the effects they make’.¹⁰² Whereas some areas of the city’s interior remained as green and pastoral as the extramural spaces, the majority of intramural real estate was a tangle of buildings, boundaries, byways, and thoroughfares, in which successive generations lived and worked.¹⁰³ Within this muddle, individual buildings could act as waymarkers denoting jurisdictional enclaves: as with the royal castle on the south-western flank of the city; or form part of the daily discourse of existence in the urban space: as with the rows of gabled shops and houses that lined Palace Street and Burgate demarcating the line between civic and monastic liberties.

Many of the buildings that made up the interior fabric of the city were of little permanence, and the poor construction of many of the smaller tenements meant that the interior of a city could change markedly over the course of a single generation.¹⁰⁴ In such an environment the more grandiose buildings formed points of permanence upon an ever-shifting landscape. In 1438, Canterbury’s guildhall, originally known as the ‘spech-house’ and referred to commonly as the ‘Court Hall’, was rebuilt on the site of the old merchants’ guild in the parish of St Mary Bredman.¹⁰⁵ For over two and half centuries it was to serve as seat of civic government and justice in the city, and its site on the ‘principall street of the City’

¹⁰² R. Harbison, *Eccentric Spaces* (New York, 1977), p. 54.

¹⁰³ J. Schofield and G. Stell, ‘The Built Environment 1300-1540’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume 1 600-1540*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 371-93. For a description of the development of the built environment of the nearby port of Sandwich during the late medieval period see: H. Clarke, S. Sweetinburgh, B. A. Jones, *Sandwich: The “Completest Medieval Town in England”: A Study of the Town and its Port from its Origins to 1600* (Oxford, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ Schofield and Stell, ‘The Built Environment’, pp. 385-87.

¹⁰⁵ One of the earliest references to the building as the ‘guildhall’ was in the charter of 1448 where it was ordered that the mayor’s court should hear pleas ‘*in le guildhall Civitatis praedict[us]*’, see: Somner, *Antiquities*, p.126; A. Oakley, *Canterbury City Guildhall* (Canterbury, 1980).

placed at the heart of the city.¹⁰⁶ Like any late medieval English guildhall, Canterbury's 1438 building acted as focal points for civic activity and an important physical marker of magisterial authority within the urban landscape, and its internal layout allowed it to encompass many of the judicial and ceremonial activities required of the body politic.

The original contract for Canterbury's 1438 'Ildhall' described the new building as a three-storey well-timbered hall measuring 41' 10", and, thanks to archaeological work carried out in the middle of the last century, we are able to build a relatively complete picture of the interior layout of this building.¹⁰⁷ The centrepiece of the building was a large oak-lined court hall which served as the primary locus of the city's political and legal procedures. The interior of this room was well adorned with oak beams decorated in green, red, and gold, and when Edward Hasted visited in the mid-eighteenth century he reported 'old weapons' hanging from the walls and a portrait of Queen Anne above the mayor's seat.¹⁰⁸ In the centre of the room a 'barre' was set up to partition defendants during court trials, while along the sidewalls of the courtroom were oak benches for the aldermen and at the north end there was raised dais for the mayor and other justices to sit upon on court days or

¹⁰⁶ William Somner described it as 'the fittest, and most convenient place' for a seat of government, see: Somner, *Antiquities*, p. 126.

¹⁰⁷ The contract, made out in English, was between five citizens and six carpenters of Woodchurch and stated that the timber frame was to be completed by August 1439 for a cost of £43 6s 8d, see: CCA, CC, Woodruffs/56a/7. For details of the archaeological work see: S. E. Rigold, 'Two Types of Court Hall', *Arch. Cant.*, 83 (1968), 1-22.

¹⁰⁸ Hasted describes 'match-hooks' and 'brown bills' hanging from the walls, many of which can be seen in the surviving photographs of the courtroom taken before its demolition in the 1950s, see: Hasted, *History*, p.109. It is unlikely that there was any portraiture on display at this early date, but we know that various aldermen and mayors would commission portraits during the mid- late-sixteenth century, and that some of these remained on display in Hasted's day, see: R. Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540-1640* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 58, 70, 161-3; idem, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007), p. 14. There are numerous allusions in the chamberlains' accounts to painters of some sort working professionally in the local area: CCA, CC, F/A/9-20, *passim*.

elections.¹⁰⁹ When the office of the mayor was first introduced by the 1448 charter, the city commissioned a carpenter to build a mayoral chair to be placed in the court hall, presumably on this dais.¹¹⁰

Aside from this court hall there were a number of small anterooms, including one at the north end which would have likely served as a mayoral parlour, and two at the south end which could have been used for the sequestration of juries on court days, or waiting rooms for oath swearing ceremonies.¹¹¹ Every Monday, legal cases, both criminal and civil, were heard there; and every second Tuesday in the same chamber the mayor, aldermen, and common council gathered ‘for meeting and treaty about the affaires and good government of the City’.¹¹² In this sense, it was where the city’s political classes could best pursue the ideal of the *vir civilis* that exemplified the good citizen.

The court hall, with its segregated rows of benches and raised dais was therefore a space where any member of the city’s franchise might come to offer counsel to the mayor, and where those elected to sit on either of the city benches was obliged to do so for the health of the city. Such obligations were reflected in civic ordinances that stressed the duties of aldermen and common councillors to speak freely and provide counsel to their ruler.¹¹³ The first of the ‘Benefits of Freemen’

¹⁰⁹ Rigbold, ‘Two Types’, p. 4. The bar was removed to make way for decorations and a banquet in 1502 before being replaced at the cost of 12d, see: CCA, CC, F/A/2, fol. 361r.

¹¹⁰ CCA, CC, A/A/32.

¹¹¹ Rigbold, ‘Two Types’, pp. 3, 6-7. R. Tittler, ‘The Sequestration of Juries in Early Modern England’, *HR*, 61 (1988), 301-305. Robert Ricart’s description of an oath swearing ceremony in the Bristol guildhall details the use of numerous different anterooms, see: Ricart, *Maire of Bristow*, pp. 69-72, 79.

¹¹² Somner, *Antiquities*, p.126.

¹¹³ As John Guy has pointed out, during the early Tudor period ‘the role of the active citizen’ was ‘as a “counsellor” of the ruler’, see: J. Guy, ‘The Rhetoric of Counsel in Early Modern England’, in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. by D. Hoak (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 292-310 (p. 294). On the developing courtly and humanistic notions of counsel see also: F. W. Conrad, ‘The Problem of Counsel’, in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep Structure, Discourse and Disguise*, ed. by P. A. Fideler and T. F. Mayer (London, 1992), pp. 75-107.

was that he might ‘come to the councell of the same citie and there speke and beherd’, and when a new freeman was admitted to the franchise he swore to ‘geve good and holsome counsell’.¹¹⁴ Newly elected common councillors pledged to keep ‘the counsell of theseid Bourghmote’, while new aldermen were asked to give ‘true counsell’ during city law days and on matters of the ‘coen wele’, whereas a new recorder of the city courts was sworn to ‘give lawfull advyce’ and ‘truly to counsel the maire’.¹¹⁵

The built environment of the city encompassed much of the corporate life of the citizens of Canterbury, who claimed jurisdiction over these areas of the city and also constructed their own individual and collective identities there. Just as the exterior of the guildhall projected civic ascendancy over the environment around it, the internal features of the building with its raised dais, oak-lined benches, mayoral chamber, and exterior anterooms for elections and sequestering juries helped engender social hierarchies and magisterial authority.

The guildhall and court room was also the site of the majority of the city’s ceremonial activity, with elections, admissions and oath swearing ceremonies, and the annual accounts all being ensconced within the walls of the court room. On Twelfth Night 1502, the city paid out 74s 4d to local artists and carpenters to transform the court hall into a dinner-theatre for a banquet alongside a performance of the *Three Kings of Cologne*.¹¹⁶ Grand events like this helped to cement corporate solidarity, as the mayor, aldermen and common councillors came together to break

¹¹⁴ BL, Stowe MS 850, fols. 19r, 120v.

¹¹⁵ BL, Stowe MS 850, fols. 121r, 122v.

¹¹⁶ The set for the play was very grand, taking over a week to construct, and included a ‘towre’ a ‘castell’, ‘iij bestes’, a cast of kings, monks, and ‘hensshemen’, and a gilt ‘Starre’, see: CCA, CC, F/A/2, fols. 360v-361r. For a copy of the translation of the story of *Three Kings*, see: John of Hildesheim, *The Three Kings of Cologne*, ed. by C. Horstmann (London, 1886).

bread. Alongside this they provided an opportunity for the corporation to reach out to other city dignitaries, most notably on this occasion the priors of Christ Church and St Augustine's Abbeys. The guildhall was, then, a versatile space where the corporation routinely conducted its ceremonial and judicial business. It is therefore unsurprising that the corporation continued to spend common funds on its maintenance and improvement throughout the sixteenth century.

In the 1490s, while the monks of Christ Church were completing the cathedral's Bell Harry tower, the corporation pursued a more low-key rebuilding programme on the guildhall, and in the decades that followed a similar series of minor endowments and beautifications.¹¹⁷ In preparation for the visit of Henry VIII in 1512 the walls and beams of the interior court hall were painted, and the exterior was lime-washed.¹¹⁸ In 1537 the chamberlain paid for the exterior of the building to be cleaned on two occasions, once 'at the birth of the prynce', and again shortly afterwards at 'the kynges comyng to Canterbury', while following the city's purchase of a large parcel of dissolved monastic lands in 1543, more than 30s was spent on repairs and re-edifications of the building.¹¹⁹ The guildhall was designed and maintained for the benefit of the citizens of the city and was integral to the discourse between city, county, and royal power brokers.

The guildhall, sitting on the northeast side of the High Street, might have been the main focal point of corporate activity and authority in the city, but it was not the full extent of it. Adjacent to guildhall was the Red Lion Inn, which along

¹¹⁷ On the various building programmes enacted at the cathedral during the later fifteenth century, see: Dobson, 'Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages', pp. 97-98. On the guildhall in the 1490s, see: *HMC Ninth*, p. 146.

¹¹⁸ CCA, CC, F/A/10, fols. 28v, 29r.

¹¹⁹ CCA, CC, F/A/12, fols. 373r, 375r; F/A/13, 64r.

with the parish church of St Mary Bredman on the opposite side of the street, represented a triumvirate of buildings which housed the majority of civic rituals throughout this period. In this small section of the city's interior the corporation stamped its mark on a landscape so frequently monopolised by the grand monastic buildings that littered the northeast corner of the city. However, there were more ephemeral means by which the corporation could imprint itself onto the city landscape. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the corporation began staging an annual marching watch and attached pageant that not only displayed aspects of the city's heritage and devotional identity, but was also designed to reinforce civic magnificence and the ethos of office.

Urban pageants and processions were common across late medieval England, and were typically associated with midsummer (24 June), or with Corpus Christi (typically held between May and mid-June).¹²⁰ When taking steps to initiate a new marching watch, Canterbury officials chose to hold the festivities on the eve of the Translation of St Thomas Becket (6 July), a night of obvious symbolic importance for the city. Much of the city's wealth was predicated upon its association with Becket, and the city had incorporated his name and memory into its petitionary rhetoric. In the late-1470s when the city petitioned for further powers to tax residents, it emphasised its place as 'the principall see of the spituell estate of the[...]reame', where 'the glorious Seints...lye schryned'.¹²¹ Such language was

¹²⁰ Phythian-Adams, *Desolation*, pp. 111, 141, 284; MacCaffrey, *Exeter*, p. 87; Kleineke, 'Civic Ritual', pp.165-78; S. Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and Oligarchy: the London Midsummer Watch', in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* ed. by B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Reyerson (Minneapolis, 1994), pp.171-88; Archer, "'Civic culture'", 370-379; R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, (Oxford, 2001), pp.40, 74-83, 121-2, 158, 202; S. 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 (Leuven, 2006), pp.165-88 (pp. 179-84).

¹²¹ *PROME*, October 1478, vi, 179-21.

mirrored in royal grants and charters. In the act concerning the Stour, passed in 1514, Canterbury is praised as ‘one of the auntyent Cytyes of this Realme’ where ‘the bodies of the Holy Confessour & Bysshopp Seynt Austyn thappostolyk of Inghond and also the blyssed Marter Seynt Thomas & of many other holy Sayntes bene honorably humate & shyned’.¹²² While this could be dismissed as mere rhetorical bluster, St Thomas and his legacy were at the heart of the city’s religious and secular identity, and it is telling that he appeared prominently on the corporation’s seal up until 1538.

The first recorded instance of the midsummer watch comes around 1505, when the city chamberlain first lists expenses for the torches, tinsel and tapers involved in its display, and expenses are listed in all subsequent years until 1522 when there is a hiatus of seven years, before a renewal in 1530.¹²³ While the various entries into successive chamberlains’ account books give some ideas of the dancers, minstrels, processing officers, and the dramatic enactment of the martyrdom of St Thomas by child actors, the fullest description of the spectacle comes from 1532 after its renewal by civic ordinances two years before.¹²⁴ The description of the 1532 pageant provides a detailed account of the order of the watch. The watch incorporated martial and ritual imagery to display the efficacy and vibrancy of corporate rule, and of the civic city more broadly. The march incorporated over 300 armed militia men carrying pikes, bows, swords, and handguns, all marching alongside the constables of their respective city ward. In between them, were the five

¹²² *SR*, iii, p. 134.

¹²³ *CCA*, CC, F/A/5, fol. 45v; F/A/11, fol. 237r; F/A/12, fol. 122r.

¹²⁴ Two undated ordinances survive for the renewal of the Corpus Christi and St Thomas Pageants that had apparently become ‘decaied and rustid for lack of yerly wacche’. They likely date from 1530 when the watches began again as an annual tradition, see: *CCA*, CC, A/B/1, fols. 5r-6v. The description of the watch is at: *CCA*, LitMs/C/13, fol. 10r.

pageants, representing the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Assumption, St George, and St Thomas. The first four of these were likely financed by various city craft guilds, but no records for these survive, while the corporation itself financed the Becket pageant, and they followed his cart wearing their scarlet and crimson during the procession.¹²⁵ The marching watch provided the corporation the opportunity to display to the wider city the ideology which ensured its continued efficacy as a governing body. The continued use of the pageant throughout most of the first half of the sixteenth century demonstrates both the continued importance of quasi-religious ceremony in civic governance, but also the vitality of corporate governance more broadly.

Conclusion

The ideology of the *vita activa* was at the heart of civic politics in Canterbury during the early sixteenth century, and stimulated a wide participation in civic affairs that was reflected in the relatively wide access to political agency on offer in the city. This was in itself closely linked to the development of the chartered rights and privileges of the city described in the previous chapter which provided legal and ritual heft to these more abstract aspects of civic governance. During the latter fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the corporate body in Canterbury was bound together by an increasingly coherent and extensive culture of governance which was expressed through the political and physical landscapes of the city.

The growing physical presence of the corporation on the streets of Canterbury in the latter fifteenth century were reflected in their increasingly forthright attitudes to their monastic neighbours, while the increasingly bureaucratic

¹²⁵ Payments for the yearly expenses associated with decorating and maintaining the Becket cart occur most years in the chamberlains' account books.

office-holders were provided with space to pursue the civic good within the guildhall. Throughout the period, oath swearing ceremonies emphasised duties of office, while the corporate authorities themselves served as arbiters of good governance by enforcing civic ordinances via city courts. Yet citizens did not operate solely in the sphere of political action, the rhetoric of good order and obedience were expressed in ritualised displays of civic magnificence that enforced corporate hierarchies and governance.

The ideology of commonwealth impacted itself upon the city landscape in material and ceremonial ways, whether through the structures which housed civic government, or the pageants which displayed its order and its magnificence. But these elements of the late medieval civic life were not threatened by the impending Reformation, far from it. As the 1530s progressed, spending on the St Thomas Pageant increased, only to be ended by the injunctions of 1538 and the king's campaign against the saint that year; yet the loss of Becket's memory was of little consequence for the city in the long term. The development of solid corporate governance and an ethos of commonalty in the prelude to the Henrician Reformation would turn out to have a far greater impact upon the corporation and the city's journey towards Protestantism.

Chapter Three: A Political Reformation? The Age of Supremacy in Canterbury, c.1529-1540

Introduction

In the three decades following the passing of the Act of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII C.1) Canterbury witnessed a genuine Reformation, in both a spiritual and an administrative sense. The relationship between the corporation and Christ Church Priory, so central to life in the late medieval city, was one of major sites of change as the old foundations were dissolved and much of their urban rent rolls redistributed, some of it into city hands. What is more, the relationship between the corporation and the archbishopric became increasingly close as the 1530s went on, with Archbishop Cranmer (working alongside Thomas Cromwell), or members of his administration, maintaining working links with certain corporation members. Both of these factors helped to instill a sense of real change in the city that was not exclusively spiritual.

From the perspective of the city in 1530, though, this would not have been in any sense inevitable. Since Luther opened the great schism in 1517, Canterbury had not shown any obvious symptoms of succumbing to his heresies. In fact, the events of the early 1530s served only to mark the city as a bulwark against continental innovations, as opposed to a future Protestant heartland. Aside from some minor reports of vandalism carried out against the shrines at St Augustine's Abbey during the 1520s, the records of the city's secular and church courts present little in terms of heretical activity in Canterbury and east Kent prior to 1534. While it seems highly probable that divergent and heretical opinions continued to exist within the city community, there seemed to be little impetus in the corporation, or, indeed, the

diocesan administration, to weed it out prior to the commencement of the official Reformation.¹

This is despite various geographic and demographic factors that made it an obvious site for early ‘popular’ innovations to spring up.² During the 1520s there are numerous examples of Kent’s Lollard tradition being spliced with emergent Lutheran opinions on pilgrimages, saints, and images. At Rochester in the mid-1520s the prior of a city hospital was hauled before the church courts to admit preaching against the nearby Rood of Grace; in later sermons he reported to his listeners that men on the continent were able to take communion in both kinds and that they should be able to do likewise. Shortly afterwards, an official at Rochester Cathedral warned a colleague: ‘we have heretics at Rochester’; and, as if to confirm this, in 1528 a Rochester monk was charged with possession of copies of the vernacular Epistles and Gospels.³ Similar cases were reported in other Kentish towns, in particular at Maidstone during the early 1520s, where the priest Adam Bradshawe was reprimanded for hindering the crown’s campaign against Luther; and later, in 1530, the shoemaker Thomas Hitton was burned on Warham’s orders for trafficking heretical books from the continent into the county.⁴ No activity of this kind is evident in Canterbury or its immediate hinterlands.

The lack of evidence for heretical activity is unlikely to mean that it was not present, just that authorities were unconcerned or felt unable to pursue it. At the

¹ Archbishop Warham’s early parochially focused approach to heresy was replaced by a more comprehensive national focus in the latter 1520s, see: C.W. D’Alton, ‘William Warham and the English Heresy Policy after the Fall of Wolsey’, *HR*, 77 (2004), 337-357 (p. 339).

² Brigden, *London*, pp. 151-52; Haigh, *Reformations*, pp. 60-65.

³ S. Thompson, ‘The Bishop in his Diocese’, in *Humanism, Reform and Reformation: The Career of Bishop John Fisher*, ed. by B. Bradshaw and E. Duffy (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 67-80 (p. 74); Zell, ‘Coming of Reform’, p. 181.

⁴ Haigh, *Reformations*, p. 57; Zell, ‘Coming of Reform’, p. 181; Foxe, *A&M* (1583), pp. 2136-37.

beginning of the 1520s the English Crown had visibly asserted its dedication both to religious orthodoxy and to Rome itself, with King Henry at the head of the vanguard.⁵ In the years that followed the publication of the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* the Tudor state had made its allegiance to the papacy clear to all. Throughout the 1520s Henry, his ministers, his bishops, and his universities were made to pursue a campaign against Lutheran preachers, publishers, and scholars, and staged a series of set pieces affirming official commitment to Rome.⁶ Yet this campaign was focused principally in the university towns, areas of East Anglia, and in London, with little impetus being given to other provincial officials to engage in this process.

The role of the Tudor state in the process of reform was formative in the early stages, but not necessarily in any Eltonian sense. Rather, in the sense that the campaign to break from the Roman See initiated a process of de-Catholicisation, as opposed to one of Protestantisation, that instigated change through cultural and political amalgamation in place of doctrinal exegesis and enforcement alone. While the ideological and rhetorical messages emanating from official sources during the prelude to and aftermath of the break presented a largely unified message of English sovereignty, divine order, and righteous obedience, the toing-and-froing on ‘correct’ forms of state religion facilitated doctrinal debate outside of official forums, but not necessarily in a purely confrontational sense. Rather than turning Catholics and Protestants against one another, the supremacy bound communities through loyalty to their king and in some respects depoliticised aspects of doctrinal affiliation within

⁵ Henry’s *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* was published in 1521 and has been characterised as ‘one of the most successful pieces of Catholic polemics produced by the first generation of anti-Protestant writers’, see: J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, new edn (New Haven, 1997), p. 113.

⁶ This campaign reached its zenith with Cardinal Wolsey’s grand book-bonfire in early 1526. For a more detailed account of this campaign, see: Haigh, *Reformations*, pp. 56-71.

political communities such as urban corporations. In doing so, the Tudor state effectively exploited the cultures of office-holding and commonwealth, discussed above, which typified late medieval urban governance.

How these reforms were transmitted to the political nation, the administrative measures by which they were enforced, and the material and spiritual benefits offered by them, all had a bearing on the impact of reform in Canterbury and the eventual success of Protestantism there. Such change was not dependent on a single collective decision at court or in provincial parishes and guildhalls, rather, the shift was often a conglomeration of numerous concessions and abstractions that slowly eroded commitment to the old faith. In many cases there was not an active ‘choice’ to accept Protestantism, rather, many of those who adhered to the diktats of official doctrine preserved attachments to festivals, ceremonies, or prayers for their dead forebears. Similarly, many who outwardly conformed to Henrician reforms may have yearned for more vigorous reform. In the stifling atmosphere of the 1530s though, such views were rarely expressed openly without significant self-endangerment.

3.1 Barton, the Oath, and the Rhetoric of Obedience

During autumn 1528 Canterbury’s corporation was preparing for the arrival of Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, who was passing through on his way to London to serve a joint commission concerning King Henry’s divorce.⁷ In preparation, the city chamberlain spent 60s on labour and materials to repair Newingate and repave the roads between the gate and the cathedral, ‘agenst the coming of the legatt’.⁸ This was

⁷ TNA, SP 1/50, fol. 135r [L&P, 4, 4803].

⁸ CCA, F/A/12, fols. 23r, 25v.

not the first time that the city had welcomed Campeggio, he had passed through in summer 1518, but his second visit afforded a graver political and diplomatic context.⁹ As his party approached the city the assembled magistrates, dressed in their scarlet and crimson, rode out to meet them with the mayor offering them ‘a[n oration]’ before they all processed to the high altar of Christ Church.¹⁰ In most places across the realm, discussions of the king’s divorce had become synonymous with debates over Lutheranism in Northern Europe and the long term efficacy of papal authority in England.¹¹ Thus, Campeggio’s journey through Kent that autumn was an ominous sign for supporters of Queen Katherine, who maintained a strong following in Kent despite the rise of the Boleyns, in the west of the county. For this reason, in another quarter of the city, Campeggio’s arrival stirred others to action.

On 1 October, the day that the legate’s party arrived at Canterbury, Archbishop Warham wrote to Cardinal Wolsey informing him that ‘a religiose woman p[ro]fessid in saint sepulcras in cant[er]bry...is very deserouse to speke with your grace p[er]sonally’.¹² The woman in question was Elizabeth Barton, a young servant girl recently professed at St Sepulchre’s on the south side of the city, whose miraculous trances had earned her regional acclaim.¹³ Wolsey accepted the audience and in the subsequent six years Barton rose to national prominence, becoming ‘the living antithesis of the royal supremacy’.¹⁴ Her chief supporters and publicists were

⁹ L&P, 2, 4333.

¹⁰ BL, Cotton Vitellius B/XII, fol. 2r [L&P, 4, 4805]; BL, Harley MS 419, fol. 110v; L&P, 4, 4789. Sir Edward Guildford was in charge of coordinating the progress through Kent on behalf of Cardinal Wolsey and was in frequent contact with Wolsey throughout September, see: L&P, 4, 4782, 4788.

¹¹ Bernard, *King’s Reformation*, pp. 30-33; R. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 100.

¹² TNA, SP, 1/50, fol. 137 [L&P, 4:2, 4806].

¹³ D. Watt, *Secretaries of God: Women Prophets in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 51-80.

¹⁴ Shagan, *Popular Politics*, p. 79.

drawn from Canterbury's religious fraternity and members of the Kentish gentry, who helped Barton accrue a nationwide network of conservative supporters.¹⁵

The rise and fall of Elizabeth Barton has featured in almost all histories of the English Reformation; being characterised as either the 'innocent country maid' swept along by popular credulity and brutalised by the uncaring Henrician regime; or, as a juvenile charlatan who exploited lay piety in collaboration with a corrupted faith in its death throes.¹⁶ In either case, Barton's ability to polarise various figures in the Henrician government has allowed this Kentish affair to segue to a national context.¹⁷ In recent years, however, Barton's meteoric rise and spectacular downfall has aligned with post-revisionist portrayals of the English Reformation as a process legislated by a truculent regime unwilling to tolerate disobedience.¹⁸ In the context of corporate Canterbury, Barton's rise and fall set the context for Henrician reform. Her destruction signalled the growing assertiveness of state authorities, and the dangers posed to even prominent figures by sustained dissimulation. Shortly after her execution in April 1534, the nationwide promulgation of oaths championing obedience and political attentiveness drew provincial governors into the process of national religio-political reform.

Alec Ryrie's recent discussions of the Henrician state's utilisation of 'soft, ideological' power alongside 'hard' coercive power to secure compliance during the early phases of reform serves a useful purpose here.¹⁹ Alongside the well-known

¹⁵ E. Shagan, 'Print, Orality and Communications in the Maid of Kent Affair', *JEH*, 52 (2001), 21-33.

¹⁶ The most critical account of the last century comes from Elton, who dismisses Barton as an 'hysterical girl', see: Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p. 180. For a more hagiographical accounts, see: A. Neame, *The Holy Maid of Kent, The Life of Elizabeth Barton 1506-1534* (London, 1971). See also: D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, iii (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 181-92.

¹⁷ Zell, 'The Reformation in Kent', p. 323-40; BL, Cotton Cleo E/IV, fol. 101r.

¹⁸ R. Rex, 'The Execution of the Holy Maid of Kent', *HR*, 64 (1991), 216-220; Shagan, *Popular Politics*, pp. 61-88; Bernard, *King's Reformation*, pp. 87-101.

¹⁹ Ryrie, *Age of Reformation*, pp. 122-23.

burnings of heretics and executions of treasonous papists, the Henrician state effectively employed tools of government to bind English men and women to reform via obedience to their king. Bolstering calls to obedience was a distinctive anti-papal rhetoric that provided an overtly reformed edge to a movement that, for the most part, trod an idiosyncratic doctrinal ‘middle way’.²⁰ While the precise theology underpinning Henry’s reforms remains elusive, the effectiveness of the supremacy as a unifying ordinance around which the English political nation could cluster is clear to see. The simplicity of its message of utter obedience to monarch and state, coupled with its ‘middle way’ doctrine, made early Henrician reforms particularly amenable to a politically-minded audience.

While there were marked regional variations in governance across England, the strength of local government in and around Kent provided a useful dampener to the communal discord that religious reforms inevitably provoked.²¹ When looking to enforce the constitutional and doctrinal reforms of the 1530s, the Henrician State did so via regional mediators who were concomitant with local power structures. This was not necessarily because the state recognised the effectiveness of provincial authority, but because it was the most expedient method of propagating and securing reform across a relatively short period. Inside Canterbury, the resilience of civic culture and the ready availability of competent and experienced governors allowed

²⁰ G. W. Bernard, ‘The Making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way’, *HJ*, 41 (1998), 321-349; D. MacCulloch, ‘Henry VIII and the Reform of the Church’, in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. by D. MacCulloch (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 159-80.

²¹ The situation was undoubtedly different in the many ‘dark corners’ of the realm, see for example: Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*; M. Clark, ‘Northern Light? Parochial Life in a ‘Dark Corner’ of Tudor England’, in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, ed. by G. G. Gibbs and B. Kumin (Manchester, 1997), pp. 56-73; J. Murray, *Enforcing the Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534-1590* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 82-124; T. Thornton, *Cheshire and the Tudor State, 1480-1560* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 187-241; P. J. Cox, ‘Reformation Responses in Tudor Cheshire c.1500-1577’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Warwick University, 2013), pp. 16-34.

the city to navigate the turbulence of the early reformation while the wider city community splintered around it. It also provided a fertile seedbed in which official reform, couched in the rhetoric of obedience and commonality, might take root and grow. In a similar fashion to town/crown relationships of the mid-fifteenth century, the state and its provincial governors found themselves in a situation where cooperation offered parties mutual gains. As such, the shift to fuzzy post-Supremacy doctrine was easier to envision at a corporate level than at the parish or individual level thanks to the commensality between an existing ethos of urban government and the official rhetoric of reform in the 1530s.

Elizabeth Barton's rise to prominence began in 1525 while she was a maidservant in the household of Thomas Cobbe of Aldington, where she fell into an undiagnosed malady before witnessing prophetic visions and being miraculously cured.²² Stories of these events soon circulated and caught the attention of the Kentish laity, propelling Barton to regional prominence.²³ By the end of the decade she had been sent to St Sepulchre's outside Canterbury, where Edward Bocking, a monk of Christ Church, was appointed her confessor by Archbishop Warham.²⁴ Alongside Bocking, her immediate circle contained: Henry Gold, fellow of St John's Cambridge and

²² Cobbe had held the archepiscopal manor there since 1523 and was assessed for £50 per annum in goods the following year, see: TNA, E 179/124/190, m.4.

²³ D. Watt, 'Barton, Elizabeth (c.1506–1534)', *ODNB*; R. Rex, *Henry VIII & the English Reformation* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 67-68. On the popular appeal of holy men and women see: D. Watt, *Secretaries of God: Women Prophets in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 51-80; S. L. Jansen, *Dangerous Talk and Strange Behavior: Women and Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 41-76; MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, pp. 143-46.

²⁴ *Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries*, ed. by T. Wright (London, 1843), p. 21. In the sermon preached at Canterbury and St Paul's it was insinuated that she used to 'go out of her cell secretly...and it is supposed that then she went not about the say of her *Pater Noster*', see: L. E. Whatmore, 'The sermon against the Holy Maid of Kent and her adherents', *EHR*, 58 (1943), 463-75, (pp. 470).

chaplain to Warham; Richard Risby, warden of the Canterbury Greyfriars; Hugh Rich, another Canterbury Observant; Edward Thwaites, a local gentleman; and John Dering, a Christ Church monk.²⁵ With them were other minor followers: John Hawley, a monk of St Augustine's; Thomas Lawrence, registrar to the archdeacon; Thomas Gold, the brother of Henry with links to Archdeacon Warham; and two Canterbury anchorites, Robert Colens and Christopher Warener. Between 1529 and 1533, this small core of people successfully directed a major communications network stretching from Canterbury to numerous noble houses and even to Rome.²⁶

During her rise to fame, Barton's anti-Lutheran pronouncements had suited the religio-political climate of the time, however, as the split with Rome became a possibility, Barton's ability to stimulate public discourse over matters of state became problematic. After 1530, Barton's visions openly questioned royal policy, and after 1532 began foretelling King Henry's death if he continued to pursue his marriage policy. By 1533, Eustace Chapuys reported to Charles V that Barton's premonitions had found considerable traction in the political nation, where, as a result, 'similar prophesies, all to the King's disadvantage...now circulate widely'.²⁷ Chapuys was likely exaggerating, but in mid-July one source commented that Barton had 'raised a fire in some hearts that you would think like the operation of the Holy Spirit'.²⁸ Yet the strength of her following and ability to hide behind a façade of holiness prevented any decisive action being taken before the end of 1532. Her supporters ranged from Bishop Fisher to the Marchioness of Exeter, and such

²⁵ L&P, 3, 376, 418, 2052, 2390, 2864; 4, 1140, 2577.

²⁶ SR, iii, p. 449; Whatmore, 'Sermon', pp. 467-68.

²⁷ CSP Spanish, 4:2, no.1154.

²⁸ TNA, SP, 1/77, fol. 209 [L&P, 6, 835].

powerful allies, combined with fuzziness of English treason laws, allowed Barton's divinely subversive declarations to continue.²⁹

The situation began to change following Warham's death in August 1532. While it is unlikely that the archbishop was closely involved in Barton's activities, with him dead many of his servants who made up Barton's local patronage network became vulnerable. More significantly, his death cleared the way for Thomas Cranmer to be installed as archbishop, who could then commence disciplinary proceedings against Barton as the Ordinary of her diocese. The investigation into the maid's activities was carried out on two fronts between August and September 1533. Archbishop Cranmer met with Barton personally on a number of occasions in the hopes of garnering a confession, while Thomas Cromwell and two of his contacts in the region, the attorney-general Sir Christopher Hales and the wealthy Canterbury merchant John Johnson (a.k.a. John Antony), who was serving as city sheriff in 1532, looked to gather evidence of Barton's corruption.³⁰ Johnson and Hales concentrated their efforts on Canterbury and its immediate hinterlands, with letters from them to Cromwell suggesting they spent time interviewing members of the city in an attempt to gauge how far Barton's seditious messages had permeated city society.³¹ By early November, Chapuys reported that Henry had met with his 'ordinary Council, the principal judges of the kingdom, a good many prelates, and a large number of the nobility...for three days running, from morning till evening' to summate the crimes of the 'nun and her adherents'.³²

²⁹ J. Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (London, 2013), pp. 28-31.

³⁰ Cromwell's use of local lay gentry to investigate a matter such as this was not without precedent, the fraudulent Maid of Leominster was exposed after an investigation headed by Edward and George Neville, see: *Misc. Writings*, p. 64.

³¹ TNA, SP 1/79, fols. 61r, 62r, 80r; BL, Cotton Cleo E/IV, fols. 87r-90r, 91r.

³² *CSP Spanish*, 4:2, no.1153.

Most of Barton's party were arrested and committed to the tower by September 1533, and in January 1534 an act of parliamentary attainder (25 Henry VIII C.12) was passed declaring them guilty without trial.³³ The attainder was forthright and centred on the charge that the defendants had put the king in 'perell of hys lyff' and 'in joperdie to be depryved from hys Crowne and Dignytie royall'.³⁴ This was standard bluster for treason charges, but it belies the fact that the threat to the king was not direct, rather it relied on indirect dangers to the royal person. Even though the defendants had never attempted to rouse a rebellion, through their rejection of the king's divorce they had sown 'dyvysyon and rebellyng...amonges the Kynge's subjectis'.³⁵ Equally, through spreading news of Barton's miracles, Edward Bocking had 'intend[ed] in hys mynde...falselye and traytrouslye' to unsettle the commonwealth and raise a rebellion.³⁶ But, most importantly, all the defendants had 'in their hertes and wylles...trayterously withdrewe from his Highnes their naturall dueties of obedience'.³⁷

Such language was deeply resonant to an audience so familiar with the language of obedience and commonwealth. Similarly, the aggressiveness of the rhetoric used against the monastic authorities chimed with the corporation's characterisation of their jurisdictional neighbours as forces that served only to undermine good governance. As such, the Barton affair, and the state response to it, facilitated a shift that was characteristic of Canterbury's experience of the early stages of reform, bringing the corporate authorities more actively into the fold of

³³ *SP*, iii, pp. 446-51; *CSP Spanish*, 4:2, no.1154; Bernard, *King's Reformation*, p. 98.

³⁴ *SR*, iii, p. 449.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *SR*, iii, p. 447.

³⁷ *SR*, iii, p. 449.

state government and once more making expressly clear the dangers of affiliation with subversive groups.

Alongside securing the conviction, state authorities sought to sever the association between Barton's message and her divinity. Her reputation was publically attacked in a sermon preached first at Paul's Cross on 23 November 1533, and then repeated at Canterbury on 7 December. The Canterbury occasion was held in the cathedral precincts, the figurative nexus of Barton's support network. Later, the act of attainder was sent under the Great Seal to all towns and cities in the realm, and circulated widely in edited forms so that the 'offences of the offenders may be knowen and the people therby to take an example of drede to offende in lyke cases here after'.³⁸ As Stanford Lehmborg has pointed out, the attainder was the first Tudor bill to be cast in petitionary form and included a lengthy preamble that echoed the sermons preached against Barton at Paul's Cross and Canterbury.³⁹ Both the attainder and the sermon asserted that Barton's miracles and visions had been falsely staged, making her deceits synonymous with Canterbury and its corrupted monastic establishment.⁴⁰ To demonstrate this, during the December sermon, Barton and her party were made to stand 'over the high seate' to be 'grevosly rebuked' by the preacher, and were then made to do public penance through Canterbury's streets so as to broadcast their crimes to as great a number of city inhabitants as possible.⁴¹

The Barton affair had an observable impact on the devotional landscape of the city. Two of those convicted alongside Barton, Hugh Rich and Richard Risby,

³⁸ *SR*, iii, pp. 446-51 (quote at p. 451). See also: Shagan, *Popular Politics*, p. 81.

³⁹ S. Lehmborg, 'Parliament Attainder in the Reign of Henry VIII', *HJ*, 18 (1975), 675-702 (682); for the attainder itself see: *SR*, iii, pp. 446-51.

⁴⁰ Whatmore, 'Sermon', pp. 464, 471, 474; P. Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 125-28.

⁴¹ BL, Harley MS 419, fol. 112r; Whatmore, 'Sermon', p. 463; Shagan, *Popular Politics*, p. 79.

were Observants from the city's Grey Friars, whose 'false opinion and wicked quarrel' condemned their house to an impoverished final few years.⁴² Shortly after these two were executed, two more of their order refused to swear the oath of succession, after which many of the remaining Canterbury Observants absconded, while those who remained were kept under house arrest until 1538.⁴³ The demise of the Observants was likely keenly felt in the city given that, like many Franciscan foundations, the monks had maintained an active role in the community and were regularly mentioned in city wills.⁴⁴

Barton's affiliation with the city created an uncomfortable situation for the corporate authorities, whose duty to the king's peace had been undermined by her prominence in the city. Barton's Canterbury connection was strong. In the midst of the investigation, the anchorite Christopher Warener reported to Cromwell that he had only taken note of Barton because of the scores 'of the common vulgar that went upon her' in the city.⁴⁵ During the campaign to discredit Barton, pronouncements paid special attention to the city. In the sermon delivered at Canterbury to the town's 'Lords and Masters', the speaker made sure to site Barton's crimes 'here in thys towne'.⁴⁶ Likewise, there had been rumblings of anti-Henrician feeling in the city shortly before this which were likely encouraged in some respects by her presence there. On two occasions in December 1530, defamatory libels were attached to the doors of the cathedral, first attacking the archbishop and his chancellor, and the second the king and his Privy Council.⁴⁷

⁴² L&P, 7, 70, 72, 522; C. Cotton, *The Grey Friars of Canterbury 1224-1538* (Manchester, 1924), pp. 52-56; *VCH Kent*, ii, pp. 192-94.

⁴³ Cotton, *Grey Friars*, p. 57.

⁴⁴ Somner, *Antiquities*, pp. 104-05; Cotton, *Grey Friars*, pp. 84-106.

⁴⁵ TNA, SP 1/80, fol. 21r [L&P, 6, 1336].

⁴⁶ TNA, SP 1/82 fol. 73r [L&P, 6, 1534 (3)]; Whatmore, 'Sermon', p. 464 n.1.

⁴⁷ *CSP Spanish*, 4:1, nos. 539, 547.

Despite this, though, the 1534 investigation found only fleeting signs that the city's non-monastic establishment had followed Barton's message, and the lengthy list of supporters compiled by investigators names few non-regular clergy or lay residents.⁴⁸ There was John Clerk, the vicar of St Paul's; and then two laymen, the merchant Robert Huet, and the unidentified 'Mstr Collyn official of Cant[er]bury'.⁴⁹ John Clerke remained the vicar of St Paul's until his death in 1556, and during the early 1540s became an obstacle to reform.⁵⁰ Likewise, Robert Huet, a mercer and brother of the Canterbury freeman John Huet, was closely linked to Christ Church and was involved in various litigations with other members of the corporation throughout the 1530s.⁵¹ Neither Huet men were involved in corporate affairs, and given their links to city's monastic communities their connection to Barton is unsurprising.

In the years that followed, we see an increasingly large gulf appearing between the major monastic authorities in the city and their jurisdictional neighbours – the corporation and the archbishop. This is evident as early as 1534, when the prior of Christ Church, Thomas Goldwell, wrote a series of grovelling letters to Thomas Cromwell expressing his consternation over the activities of the disgraced Edward Bocking.⁵² Yet his efforts were in vein, and, with the increasingly overt involvement of state arbitrators linked to Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer, the balance

⁴⁸ The list, in various draft forms, is at: L&P, 6, 1468.

⁴⁹ TNA, SP, 1/80, fols. 120v, 131r. John Clerk was installed at St Paul's sometime before 1520 as he is not listed in the archdeacon's *Libri Cleri* (CCA, DCb, J/Z/3.4) covering 1520-23 but is appearing as witness to wills as 'vicar' at this time, see for example the will of Giles Talbot, parson of St Martin's beside Canterbury at: CCA, PRC, 32/14/10.

⁵⁰ During the early 1540s Clerk was apparently still enforcing traditional observances, advising his parishioners to avoid white meats and sex during lent, see: CCCC, MS 128, p. 16. See also: CCA, PRC, 17/30/142b; *CCEd* Record ID: 89632.

⁵¹ Both Huet's were sons of John Huet snr of St Alphage who died in 1511, see: CCA, PRC, 32/11/37. For cases involving Thomas' brother, see: TNA, C 1/535/27; C 1/126/30; C 3/90/3.

⁵² BL, Cotton Cleo E/IV, fols. 91r-92v, 93r-93v.

of temporal power in the city was starting finally to move in the corporation's favour.

3.1.2 *The Oath and Corporate Solidarity*

Barton and her party were executed at Tyburn on 20 April 1534. In the months prior to this the regime had accelerated towards its goal of securing the repudiation of papal authority across the kingdom and the general extension of state powers of enforcement.⁵³ In tandem with this, as the pace of reform quickened, a comprehensive campaign to ensure the success of these reforms outside of Westminster was launched. In the years that followed, the regime utilised tools of coercion and persuasion to maintain order and spread awareness of reforms. Two principal instruments utilised in this regard were the oath of succession, sworn by males over the age of twelve between spring and summer 1534, and oath of supremacy, sworn by all clergy and office holders between 1534 and 1535. On a national scale, the oaths of spring and summer 1534 continued to demonstrate the surprising capabilities of a limited Tudor administration; while locally, they allowed the corporate classes in Canterbury to affirm their loyalty to the crown and reassert corporate solidarity after a trying period.

The overriding impetus behind the state's actions in 1533/4, aside from splitting from the papacy, was to ensure obedience within its own borders; and the primary purpose of the oath of succession was to bind swearers into covenant with the royal will. Even before the realities of the royal supremacy were apparent, the state wanted to make clear that, as Richard Rex has observed, 'obedience was the

⁵³ SR, iii, pp. 454-55; 460-61, 462-63; Bernard, *King's Reformation*, p. 69.

paramount virtue'.⁵⁴ Still, obedience needed to be properly defined and parameters needed to be established before such a demand could be enforced, and mass public professions of loyalty were effective methods of achieving this.

The text of any oath served a didactic purpose, while the communal nature of professions made oaths powerful tools of self-fashioning, allowing an individual or institution to publically confirm fidelity to one another, to an abstract ideal or duty, or to a higher authority. The swearing of an oath created a moral obligation to uphold certain tenets or agreed parameters; whereas vain oaths, false-swearing or committing to a blasphemous oath risked divine retribution. Work by John Spurr and Susan Brigden surrounding the issue of false-swearing and perjury has highlighted that such things carried a 'special shame' in Tudor society.⁵⁵

Jonathan Gray has recently demonstrated the close link between oaths and the ongoing process of post-supremacy reform.⁵⁶ Throughout his study, Gray emphasises the efficacy of oaths within a society familiar with the language and practice of swearing. Members of urban corporations across the nation were well accustomed to swearing oaths, as even the most minor civic office was accompanied by an oath which granted municipal offices a moral or supernatural sanction.⁵⁷ As

⁵⁴ R. Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Words and Henry's Reformation', *HJ*, 39, (1996), 863-94 (894).

⁵⁵ S. Brigden, 'Religion and Social Obligation', p. 88; J. Spurr, 'Perjury, Profanity and Politics', *Seventeenth Century*, 8 (1993), 29-50 (30-31).

⁵⁶ Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 230; J. M. Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 42-44, 115.

⁵⁷ Tittler, *Reformation & the Towns*, pp. 141-42, 202-04; J. Lee, "'Ye Shall Disturbe Noe Mans Right': Oath Taking and Oath-Breaking in Late Medieval and Early Modern Bristol", *Urban History*, 34 (2007), 27-38; Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 234; idem, 'Civic Mentality and the Environment in Tudor York', *Northern History*, 18 (1982), 78-115 (84); Carrel, 'Rituals of Town-Crown Relations', pp. 152-54; Phythian-Adams, *Desolation*, pp. 137-39, 180. For some continental examples see: L. Behrisch, 'Social Control and Urban Government: The Case of Goerlitz', *Urban History*, 34 (2007), 39-50; J. C. Wolfart, *Religion, Government, and Culture in Early Modern Germany, Lindau 1520-1628* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 2, 18, 56-57, 73-76, 86-87; S. A. Finley-Croswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society 1589-1610* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 38-39, 62, 84 n. 94.

such, oaths were inherent to corporate ritual and swearing was a rite of passage in civic life.⁵⁸ In this regard, the oath of succession was a powerful device both from the perspective of the state and on behalf of the jurors who swore it. By swearing to uphold the king's marriage and succession, the juror bound himself to the body of the king and the longevity of the dynasty. Vitally, it also provided a loose recourse for individuals at a provincial level to monitor and enforce loyalty to the crown and indicated that secular authorities had become the principal arbiter of individual conscience.⁵⁹

For the office holding population the arrival of the commissioners with copies of the act and the oath of succession was a timely reminder of England's path towards reform and incorporated them into this in a tangible way. While oaths were fundamentally internal contracts that relied on the conscience of the swearer, in communal or urban contexts they could serve an important ritualistic purpose. Oath swearing provided social adhesive to otherwise indistinct bodies of individuals under a single purpose, ideology, or figurehead, or might unite a group against a common enemy.⁶⁰ In the oath of succession and its associated proclamations, the Tudor authorities marked sedition and dissimulation as the foremost enemies of the English commonwealth.

The form of the succession oath sworn in the provinces followed that which was sworn in parliament, and is emblematic of the Erastian sentiments that characterized Henry's early reforms.⁶¹ The text of the act itself, which was circulated

⁵⁸ Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen', pp. 59-62.

⁵⁹ D. Cressy, 'The Protestation Protested, 1641 and 1642', *HJ*, 45 (2002), 251-279.

⁶⁰ Reynolds, *Kingdoms & Communities*, p. 182.

⁶¹ The text of the oath can be found at: *Lords Journal*, i, p. 82. For a comparison of the four surviving forms of the 1534 oath of succession see: Gray, *Oaths*, pp. 227-31.

and proclaimed alongside the oath, implored that all ‘shall truly firmly and constantly without fraud or gyle observe fulfyll maynteyne defende and kepe to theyre cunning wytte and uttermost of their powers the hole effects and contentes of this present acte...and all other Acts and Statutes made since the beginning of this present Parliament’, thus tying jurors to the wider outcomes of the Reformation Parliament.⁶² The oath made clear that none were exempt from this obligation, but likewise it empowered ‘all Manner of Persons’ to actively resist ‘any Thing or Things’ that endangered the new political settlement.⁶³ Such invocations were repeated *ad nauseum* in other official documents as the 1530s progressed, and were echoed in the writings of men like Richard Morison and Stephen Gardiner.

After the act of succession was passed in April 1534, commissions under the Great Seal were circulated from Westminster demanding an oath of allegiance be sworn by ‘all and singular other our lieges and subjects of whatsoever degree or condition they might be’ to confirm the new nature of the succession.⁶⁴ The opening lines of the oath repeated the rejection of papal authority that had been presented in the act of appeals, stating:

Ye shall swear to bear your Faith, Truth, and Obedience alongely to
the King’s Majesty, and to the Heirs of his Body, according to the
Limitation and Rehearsal within this Statute of Succession⁶⁵

This new order was already on show, and on 19 April 1534, Archbishop Cranmer flaunted his extra-papal authority by consecrating three new bishops at his palace at

⁶² *SR*, iii, p. 474.

⁶³ *Lords Journal*, i, p. 82.

⁶⁴ The translation from the Latin is my own. The original Latin is as follows: ‘*ac omnium et singulorum aliorum Legiorum et Subditorum Nostrorum, quorumcunque, cujuscunque Gradus seu Conditionis fuerunt*’. See: *Lords Journal*, p. 82.

⁶⁵ *Lords Journal*, i, p. 82.

Croydon, while Elizabeth Barton's cabal were butchered at Tyburn the following day.⁶⁶ It was at this point when the commissions for the swearing of the oath of succession were circulated to officials across the kingdom.⁶⁷

Commissioners were provided with copies of the act of succession, of the commission, and of the oath itself to be distributed simultaneously.⁶⁸ Seizing upon the opportunity to effectively transmit reforms to a captive audience, the commissioners were provided with 'sundrie proclamacions to bee execut[ed] and proclaimed' in their locales.⁶⁹ The printing and proclaiming of statutes was becoming a common practice during this period. In December 1533, the king's printer Robert Berthelet was ordered to print the act in restraint of appeals in the form of a proclamation that was to be disseminated across the kingdom.⁷⁰ Around the same time, Canterbury's chamberlain, John Starky, paid 20d for setting up a new message-post to display 'dyv[er]se actes' delivered unto the city.⁷¹

Printing and posting of proclamations and petitions was just one step in the state's efforts to propagate reform and discourage dissent. In 1531, Chancellor More

⁶⁶ As if to underscore the point the three men being elevated, John Salcot, Rowland Lee and Thomas Goodrich were, according to MacCulloch, 'a symbol of Boleyn triumph', see: MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 125.

⁶⁷ Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 814; *Lords Journal*, i, p. 82; L&P, 7, 392.

⁶⁸ TNA, SP, 1/84, fol. 19r [L&P, 7, 656].

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ L&P, 6, 1487(1). See also: G. R. Elton, 'The Sessional Printing of Statutes, 1484-1547', in *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Government*, III, (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 92-109 (101). On the development of this practice, see: K. F. Pantzer, 'Printing the English Statutes, 1484-1640: Some Historical Implications', in *Books and Society in History* ed. by K. E. Carpenter (New York, 1983), pp. 69-114.

⁷¹ The payment is listed some time between Epiphany and Easter 1534, see: CCA, CC, F/A/12, fol. 252v. See also: 'Thomas Berthelet's Bill, as King's Printer, for Books Sold and Bound, and for Statutes and Proclamations furnished to the Government', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 8 (1843), 44-52; J. A. Doig, 'Political Propaganda and Royal Proclamations in Late Medieval England', *HR*, 71 (1998), 253-280; Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, p. 188. An interesting survival amongst the city records bears witness to this practice, the records for the sessions held 17 December 1533 are bound in a sheet of vellum on which is printed an Henrician act of parliament, see: CCA, CC, J/Q/333/i.

endorsed a more direct solution to the problem of effective propaganda, urging the members of the commons to:

‘reporte in your countreys what you have seen & heard and then all men shall openly percyeve that the kyng hath not attempted this matter of wyll or pleasure as some straungers reporte’⁷²

Alongside this, in March 1532, King Henry implored the clergy to preach in favour of his reforms and the divorce, and just over a year later required that all preachers were to first gain licence from Bishop Stokesley.⁷³ Around the same time, in March 1533, parliament passed the act in restraint of appeals, the preamble of which bound ‘all sortes and degrees of people’ to ‘bere nexte to God a naturall and humble obedience’ to their king.⁷⁴

The issue of dissension was discussed at a meeting of the king’s council on 2 December 1533. Two draft schedules for this meeting survive, the second bearing numerous amendments in Cromwell’s hand outlining various methods of furthering this cause.⁷⁵ The issue of ensuring that the correct messages were being spread via the pulpit was a primary concern as this is where the most resistance was expected, but aside from the pulpit there was concern over how best to reach urban elites.⁷⁶ One point states that commandment was to be given to the mayor and common council of London to ‘lyberally speke at their bourdes and also teche their s[er]vantes to declare that he that calleth himself pope is but the bisshop of Rome’,

⁷² *Hall’s Chronicle*, p. 780.

⁷³ L&P, 6, 541; *CSP Spanish*, 4:2, 922.

⁷⁴ *SR*, iii, p. 427.

⁷⁵ Of the 22 topics of discussion in the draft schedule, six were concerned with preaching, see: Elton, *Policy & Police*, p. 211. For a fuller discussion of the draft schedules, see: Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, pp. 361-63.

⁷⁶ The outcome of the meeting was that the matter was to be left to the discretion of the bishops to enforce, see: Elton, *Policy & Police*, pp. 211-12.

something that was to be imitated by the ‘heddes governors and rulers of every good towne within this realme to sett for the sayd oppynyons’.⁷⁷ The move to include the governors of towns in this matter is understandable, logic followed that if they were accurately informed of these matters then the message would gradually percolate through urban society. Towns also offered an easily accessible forum of popular opinion. A month prior to this Eustace Chapuys had suggested that the only way to stamp out Elizabeth Barton’s message was to send a preacher on a roadshow of ‘principal towns’ to ‘blot out from people’s minds the impression they have that the Nun is a saint and a prophet’.⁷⁸

On 13 April the clergy of London took the oath at Lambeth, soon after it was the turn of the wider city.⁷⁹ Twenty-three commissioners were appointed to take the oath of all those in their respective guilds on 18 April, with the London Corporation being sworn by their mayor and recorder two days later.⁸⁰ The commissioners for Sussex received their orders to go and receive the oaths from their county that same day, while Gardiner received his commission at Winchester on 29 April.⁸¹ In general, arrangements for the swearing of the oath seem to have been made along county lines with towns often serving as rally points for commissioners. At the county level the commissions were granted to local magnates and office-holders who were charged with making their own arrangements for rounding up subscriptions.⁸² Jurisdictional pitfalls were avoided by granting commissions to executive officers

⁷⁷ TNA, SP, 6/3, fol. 86r [LP, 6, 1487(2)]. There is another copy of the memorandum in neater form with many of Cromwell’s notations incorporated into the articles at: TNA, SP, 1/80, fols. 154r-157r.

⁷⁸ *CSP Spanish*, 4:2, no.1154.

⁷⁹ Strype also lists Cromwell and William Benson, Abbott of Westminster, as some early appointees, see: Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, I, 36-37.

⁸⁰ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 223.

⁸¹ L&P, 7, 518; L&P, 7, 610.

⁸² L&P, 7, app23, app24, app25, app28.

(sheriffs or mayors) in exempt jurisdictions, meaning that most urban corporations were in charge of their own swearing.⁸³

Once the commissions were received the scale of the task facing those outside of the confines of the capital was realized, on 5 May Bishop Gardiner reported that the process in Hampshire would ‘require a long tracte of ty[me]...considering specially that every mannes name mus[t] be wryten’.⁸⁴ In some areas the task seems to have been completed before the end of May.⁸⁵ George, lord Cobham, reporting to Cromwell from west Kent on 31 May, suggested the oath had been ‘very well past and accepted in my quarto[r]’ and he had finished ‘as ferre as my comission dothe extende’.⁸⁶ It would seem likely that the oath reached Canterbury during mid-May when the chamberlain records expenses for Robert Gylmyn to ride ‘to London for the comyssion conc[er]nyng the othe to be sworne to our sov[er]eign lord the kyng’.⁸⁷

No detailed version of events surrounding the swearing at Canterbury remain extant, but there are clues available from other areas. The fullest description of how the oath was tendered in an urban environment comes from Calais. In a letter from Lord Audley to Lord Lisle dated 9 June, Lisle was ordered to gather his commissioners, swear himself in their presence before receiving their declarations; he was then to divide them into small groups, provide them copies of the oath, ‘books of the acts’, and a roll of parchment for names to be subscribed upon.⁸⁸ In this way the oath filtered down through Calais’ community, as those who had sworn the

⁸³ Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 30.

⁸⁴ L&P, 7, 610, 611.

⁸⁵ The three commissioners do seem to have cut some corners and not all those who took the oath seem to have subscribed to the document, see: L&P, 7, 689.

⁸⁶ TNA, SP 1/88, fol. 140r [L&P, 7, app21].

⁸⁷ CCA, F/A/12, fol. 253r.

⁸⁸ L&P, Add 941.

oath were then made responsible for swearing sections of the city community. In Calais, as in London, one of the key commissioners was the mayor, who was responsible for swearing the corporation and citizenry. Audley provided the mayor with instructions of how to overcome the tedious task of swearing the entire town, telling him to make ‘a little schedule mentioning that the whole inhabitants of the town be sworn, and put their common seal to that schedule’ which would be a ‘sufficient declaration for the Town’.⁸⁹

At Norwich the process seems to have been split between city and county commissions, with the clergy in the city being sworn by Sir George Townsend and Sir William Paston, two county benchers, while the remainder of the city were left for the civic authorities.⁹⁰ Whether or not this formula was followed in Canterbury is unclear, but it is apparent that corners were cut nationwide. In Hampshire, Bishop Gardiner assumed (or hoped) that only men ‘[above] the age of xiiij’ would need to take the oath; while at Norwich the arduous task of individually subscribing jurors was avoided by having 100 or 200 individuals ‘kiss the book’ instead; and in Kent, Archbishop Cranmer had one of his secretaries subscribe those ‘that cannot subscribe by writing’ himself.⁹¹ In Canterbury it therefore seems likely that the corporation, either as a whole or just the mayor, aldermanic bench and executive officers, were sworn separately from the rest of the city so that they might then swear the remainder of the citizenry, while the county commissioners were likely responsible for swearing the city’s clerical populace.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ L&P, 5, 1694; L&P, 7, app29. See also: *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, p. 56.

⁹¹ BL, Cotton Otho C/X, fol. 171; TNA, SP, 1/88, fol. 148 [L&P, 7, app29]; *Remains of Cranmer*, i, pp. 111-13 [L&P, 7, 703].

Two letters written to Cromwell around this time confirm that the oath was doing the rounds by early June. The first was written by Sir Christopher Hales on the eve of Corpus Christi (4 June) from his Canterbury residence, reporting that ‘This countrey is verey well contented with the oathe which the people is put unto without any man[ner] of meanyng toward the contrary’.⁹² Hales, as a county JP and close ally of Cromwell, would likely have been one of the county commissioners, and as a regular legal advisor to the city corporation he would have been keenly aware of feelings in the city as well. Three days after Hales wrote his letter another of Cromwell’s contacts, John Johnson, wrote from Rochester that:

the moest part or all Kent have taken ther oth a cordyng to the kyngs comyssyon savyng that whe have ij obs[er]vants \fryers/ with us at Canterbury that wold not swere nor take the sayd oyth⁹³

Saving these obstinate clergymen, the picture painted by Hales and Johnson is a rosy one.

Commissioners across the nation reported that the oath was received with almost blanket good will.⁹⁴ It has been said that the general compliance to the oath was down to the fact that most did not grasp the spiritual ramifications of what they were swearing.⁹⁵ However, given the impressive legal understanding represented on most city benches at the time it seems unlikely that the phrase in the preamble accusing the pope of interfering with the jurisdiction ‘given by God immediately to emperors, kings and princes’ did not suggest the reality inherent in the oath. That is,

⁹² TNA, SP, 1/84, fol. 139 [L&P, 7, 788].

⁹³ TNA, SP, 1/88, fol. 146r [L&P, 7 app27].

⁹⁴ TNA, SP, 1/88, fol. 148r [L&P, 7, app29]; J. Crouse, *The History of the City and County of Norwich* (Norwich, 1768), p. 359.

⁹⁵ Elton, *Policy & Police*, p. 227.

that through the tacit acceptance of the Boleyn marriage the juror was consenting to the religious schism that accompanied the new political order.⁹⁶ Most would have also been aware that to deny the oath was to risk a charge of misprision of treason, and in a city that had witnessed so recently the very public destruction of five members of the city community by the Henrician authorities, this risk would have seemed unacceptable to most.

Richard Rex has pointed out how the Henrician authorities choreographed the execution of the Holy Maid with the swearing of the laymen of London, suggesting that Henry wanted the executions to intimidate Londoners into adhering to the new political order contained in the oath.⁹⁷ The use of such a gruesome spectacle for political means does fit with the king's character.⁹⁸ The connection between the two events would undoubtedly have been made, but to suggest that a juror at Canterbury would have felt directly threatened with a treason charge if he refused his oath is to overstate the symbolic power of executions in pre-modern England. Instead, the oath of succession was accompanied by a subtler form of coercive state power, an implicit audacity and grandeur that had not been witnessed previous to this.

The act of succession states plainly that 'it is the naturall inclination of every man' to provide 'suertie of bothe hys title and succession'.⁹⁹ By reasserting loyalty to the crown and marking out the enemies of commonwealth, the oath of succession only served to reemphasise this. One of the most characteristic elements of English society during the years immediately following the supremacy was the willingness of citizens to report seditious or treasonous speech to those above them. Rather than

⁹⁶ Elton, *Policy & Police*, p. 223.

⁹⁷ Rex, 'Execution of the Holy Maid', pp. 218-20. See also: L&P, 8, 690.

⁹⁸ This changed after 1536 when it became treasonous to refuse the oath of succession.

⁹⁹ *SR*, iii, p. 471.

being attributable to the administrative dominance of the Cromwellian state, this was the result of a pervasive political culture based around deference and royal authority. It was this that allowed a state so lacking in bureaucratic machinery to maintain an effective system of repression and observance. Andy Wood has done much to elucidate the successes of the Tudor state in creating the level of societal fear necessary to ensure provincial governors remained vigilant of their neighbours.¹⁰⁰ Wood points out that it was the Tudor state's hegemonic powers, rather than its repressive power, that maintained its authority during periods of social unrest.

This was characteristic of the way that post-supremacy officials in Canterbury approached matters of reform, even those that were overtly doctrinal rather than overtly political. Those who swore the oath remained prominent in the city for many years to come. Of the nine men who swore the oath as aldermen, two, Anthony Knight and Robert Lewes, would serve out the rest of Henry's reign on the bench, with the majority of the others serving until the start of the 1540s. Of the twelve other men who would serve as aldermen between 1534 and 1547 only three, John Maske, Thomas Bathehurst and George Toftes were not serving as common councilors when the oath was sworn. This relatively small group of men most likely swore the oath at the same time and in the same place, and the importance of this collective act in reinforcing corporate solidarity and obedience within city government during the Henrician reformation should not be underestimated. Shortly afterwards, another oath of loyalty to the supremacy was demanded of all clergy and office-holders, and after 1536 this was additional oath was required of all office-holders, lay and clerical.

¹⁰⁰ A. Wood, "'A lyttull worde ys tresson': Loyalty, Denunciation, and Popular Politics in Tudor England", *JBS*, 48 (2009), 837-847 (p. 840).

Throughout 1534 the political climate in Canterbury was subject to numerous external influences and pressures. More than in any year in living memory, the state had forcefully imposed its authority upon the city community and made clear the nature of Henrician Reformation, proving that alongside printed propaganda it was willing and able to use violence and coercion to communicate its will. However, there are signs that the oath had a lasting effect in the corporation. In order for such audacious projects to succeed without any formal provincial bureaucracy, central government collaborated with local governors and office holders to actively assist in reforms, collecting evidence against the Holy Maid, posting proclamations around the city, even administering and swearing the oath of succession. In doing so, citizens were carrying on a long tradition of loyal deference to their king evident since the middle of the previous century. It is notable that the presence of conservatives in Canterbury did not disappear in 1534, rather, they swiftly acquiesced to the political reformation thrust upon them.¹⁰¹

3.2 *Politics and Religion after 1534*

3.2.1 *The Corporation & Heterodoxy in the Post-Supremacy City*

While the events of 1534 would serve to prevent religious discourse from splitting the corporate body in the longer term, in the context of the mid-1530s religious discourse in the city remained understated. The early English Reformation is often characterised as a period of sudden jurisdictional change followed by perfunctory, incoherent, and often contradictory doctrinal reform. While it is undeniable that many Henrician reforms were not recognisably ‘Protestant’, the acts of the Reformation Parliament represented a brazen attack on a long-standing socio-

¹⁰¹ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, pp. 201-04.

religious order; and the comprehensive campaign to erode purgatory, images, and the invocation of saints maintained an atmosphere of doctrinal flux throughout the king's reign. Yet, while some of the changes were momentous and the sense of change over time unrelenting, the direction of that change was often incoherent. Within such an atmosphere, individual religious identities were allowed to take shape organically against the backdrop of wider doctrinally focused discourse.¹⁰²

Elizabeth Barton's fame had demonstrated the vitality of some aspects of late medieval piety in Kentish parishes and the strength of monastic institutions in Canterbury itself. Likewise, the presence of Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fisher in Kent, and their actions against heresy on the national stage, helped mark the county as a bulwark against continental heresy.¹⁰³ Likewise, before 1534, incidences of overtly heretical or mildly heterodox opinions in the city are notable by their absence. Between the opening of religious schism in 1517 and England's split with Rome in 1534, there are no obvious signs of religious nonconformity in the city archives. The earliest indication of reformed ideals circulating in Canterbury comes from 1534, when a monk of St Augustine's noted that in the city 'ther were many hertiques which did blaspheme the saints and the worshipping of them, barking agaynst tithes, which neyther would have fastinges nor pilgrimagies'.¹⁰⁴ Such charges bear striking resemblance to those detected in the city by Warham's visitation two decades previously, yet appear never to have risen above parochial murmurings.

¹⁰² Shagan, *Popular Politics*, pp. 197-99; Marshall, '(re)defining', pp. 584-86; A. Pettegree, 'Confessionalization in North Western Europe', in *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. by J. Bahlcke and A. Strohmeyer (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 105-120 (pp. 105-06, 114-15).

¹⁰³ C.W. D'Alton, 'The Suppression of Lutheran Heretics in England, 1526-1529', *JEH*, 54 (2003), 228-253.

¹⁰⁴ BL, Harley MS 419, fol. 112v.

The re-emergence of these opinions in the mid-1530s is less surprising given that they had by then become staples of early reformist literature propagated by authors like William Tyndale, John Frith, and Robert Barnes. Knowledge of such works is hard to measure across the city population, but it seems likely that there was an awareness of them amongst sections of the city's clerical and educated lay populations. In particular, the scholarly community which had formed around John Foche, the abbot of St Augustine's (1522-1538), maintained a particularly Erasmian outlook and incorporated members of the city's monastic and lay communities.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, the corporation's growing links to professional legal classes and the Inns of Court would have brought an awareness of contemporary writings by prominent anti-papal common lawyers such as Christopher St Germain. The burning of an unnamed heretic sometime in 1535 points to a general rise in heretical activity in the city following the tumults of the previous year.¹⁰⁶

The maintenance of law and moral order remained paramount in the decade before the split with Rome, and there is no sign that the city courts were shying from their duty to the king's peace. However, when it came down to personal religious identities, corporate authorities appeared disinterested in pursuing uniformity. Instead, following the supremacy, obedience to the king's new settlement became a precursor to a number of disputes between members of the city, including between lay and clerical communities. Most notable was a case that arose in November 1535 when the common clerk Christopher Levyns wrote to Thomas Cromwell suggesting that the king was within his rights to seize 'the hole moveable goodes of the howse

¹⁰⁵ *VCH*, ii, p. 130; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, p. 95. The discursive atmosphere within this circle has recently been compared to that of a Parisian 'salon', see: J. G. Clark, 'Humanism and Reform in Reformation English Monasteries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 19 (2009), 57-93 (p. 88).

¹⁰⁶ CCA, CC, F/A/12, fol. 287v

[of Christ Church]’ as the prior had broken ‘his othe’ to uphold the supremacy.¹⁰⁷

The intentions of the accusation is unclear, but as we will see below, Levyns was a frequent agitator at this time.

Alongside Levyns’ pursuit of the prior, there remains just one instance of city authorities involving themselves in matters of religious controversy, and even here, their actions were tentative. At the city quarter sessions on 6 June 1536, towards the end of the second mayoralty of John Alcock snr, twelve individuals were presented for a range of doctrinal charges. At the next sessions, convened 17 June, two more men were presented on suspicion of religious offences, meaning that fourteen Canterbury residents were presented over eleven days.¹⁰⁸ The charges levelled were numerous but familiar, most commonly including speaking against the worshipping of saints, deriding the Virgin Mary, or general acts of anticlericalism. For example, Walter Hooker, an apothecary of St Andrew’s, asserted that the images in the church were but ‘mammettes and puppettes’, questioning the divinity of the Virgin, and being ‘obstynate to kys the prest’ on the day of his marriage.¹⁰⁹ He was also accused of disregarding some unnamed ceremonies of the church. Alongside Hooker, three members of the corporation were presented. The city chamberlain, John Starky, who had recently been appointed alderman for Redingate, was presented with the longtime common councillor and clerk-of-the-court John Toftes, and his wife Margaret, for asserting that there never ‘were any marters and that by name seynt

¹⁰⁷ BL, Cotton Cleo/IV, fol. 149r [L&P, 9, 881].

¹⁰⁸ CCA, CC, J/Q/335/ii. A fuller version of the presentments and indenture are copied in Christopher Levyns’ precedent book, see: BL, Stowe MS 850, fols. 45r-46r.

¹⁰⁹ BL, Stowe MS 850, fols. 45r-45v.

thomas of cant[er]bury is no martyr in the fayth of cryst', and that 'our lady' was 'nether any seynt' and offered no 'help any man'.¹¹⁰

Other leading citizens were also presented. Christopher Levyns appeared alongside John Twyne, master of St Augustine's grammar school, Twyne's associate James Mychell, a printer linked to St Augustine's, and John Fourde.¹¹¹ All four were reported to have spoken against saints and other 'lawdable usages & constytucyons decreed and used by the holy churche'.¹¹² While these groups of leading citizens being presented might point to a persistent heterodoxy within the city, the thirteen presentments do not come from any specific ward or parish and are vague in terms of details and dates provided.

This is true of those presented from the wider city community. The wife of Arnold Coryour told her fellow parishioners that it would be as meritorious to offer oblations to her as to the Virgin Mary, while William Bowman, a shoemaker of Westgate, said of the Virgin that 'her arse is worme eten and he had as leve kys hys shoo as our ladyes feett or any other relyke in cristes churche or elles where'.¹¹³ Others were presented simply for rejecting traditional observances, as with Richard Bellyngham and his wife who were said to have consumed various white meats during Lent, to the 'evyll example of every cristen man'.¹¹⁴ On the whole, the presentments as a whole represent the sort of anecdotal and circumstantial accusations that characterized parochial doctrinal disputes in many villages and towns, rather than an organized crusade against emergent Protestantism in the city.

¹¹⁰ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 45v.

¹¹¹ Of these four only John Fourde was not at the time, or would go on to be, an officeholder in the city. Fourde did though go on to become keeper of the archbishop's palace at Canterbury, see: MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 160.

¹¹² BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 45v.

¹¹³ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 46r.

¹¹⁴ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 46r.

The question remains, then, why did the city magistrates deign to hear the presentments on this one occasion?

Typically, the 1536 sessions have been represented as indicative of the combative and fractured nature of politics in post-supremacy Canterbury, marking the start of a protracted struggle between conservative and radical factions on the city benches that was to continue until Henry's death.¹¹⁵ Yet the compositions of the benches at the sessions does not lend itself to such an interpretation. The mayor, the elderly goldsmith John Alcock snr, leaves little trace of religious affiliation behind; similarly, the legal counsel present at the first sessions, Baron John Hales, remains enigmatic.¹¹⁶ Thomas Bele, the alderman of Worgate present that day, provides some indication of his doctrinal proclivity. During his lifetime he served as the steward of the St Thomas's Hospital, and was instrumental in the reinvigoration of the city's St Thomas pageant after 1529.¹¹⁷ When he made his will in early 1541, he made a list of provisions befitting a man still attached to traditional observances, leaving a hefty provision for his post-mortem soul including a total of 110 masses to be said within a year of his burial, and twenty pounds of new wax for the cross light at his home parish of All Saints.¹¹⁸ Yet such provisions do not necessarily suggest a burning desire to combat heresy, and there is little suggestion that the other aldermen present at the sessions alongside him in 1536 were intent on anything similar. One of the

¹¹⁵ Clark, *Society*, pp. 40-41; Zell, 'Coming of Reform', p. 184; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 160; McClendon, *Quiet Reformation*, p. 62.

¹¹⁶ No will survives for Alcock snr, and the preamble to the Baron Hales' will is entirely noncommittal, see: CCA, PRC/16/407.

¹¹⁷ *Valor*, i, p. 31; Baker, *Men of Court*, i, p. 296. The ordinances re-establishing the pageant and enforcing its annual observance were passed during his first term in office (1529), see: CCA, CC, A/B/1, fols. 5r-5v. It was during his second term in 1532 that the order of the watch was recorded, see: CCA, CC, LitMs/C/13, fol. 10r. Sometime during the 1530s Bele paid the parson of All Saints for an 'orgon player' to play during the pageant, see: BL, Add MS 32638, fol. 68v.

¹¹⁸ CCA, PRC/17/23/5. He also leaves a bequest to George Swete, chaplain at the city parish of St Andrew's, see: *CCEd*, person ID: 89622.

aldermen present, the elderly Roger Clarke, left a decidedly evangelical preamble in his will composed in 1542 and in the same will named his ‘friend’ John Toftes as an overseer to his affairs.¹¹⁹

These sessions left little lasting impact on the corporate body, and did not preclude men on either side of the benches that day from serving the corporation in the future. John Twyne, presented for speaking against saints and maintaining a heretical printing press, was admitted to the freemen the following year and elected as a common councillor the year after that. Twyne went on to have an illustrious civic career which came to an ignominious end following two decades later amidst suspicions he was maintaining popery in the city. Twyne’s idiosyncratic confessional identity typifies the fluidity of individual belief during this period, and his success within the corporation is indicative of the cooperative and tolerant attitude which bound the pre-Elizabethan corporate community.¹²⁰

Some of those with more straightforward confessional outlooks went on to serve successful civic careers, or at the very least maintain mutually beneficial relationships with corporate members. Forthright reformers like Christopher Levyns, John Starky, and John Toftes all went on to serve the corporation in some regards, either as officeholders or administrators. Likewise, the families of those involved remained closely linked to the corporation; most obviously in the case of the Alcocks. The elder John was excused from the aldermanic bench in 1540 due to his old age, but his son John jnr was already an established common councillor and his

¹¹⁹ CCA, PRC/17/23/116. For more on Clarke’s will see chapter 4.

¹²⁰ For more on Twyne, see chapters four and six.

son, Robert, would go on to become a cornerstone of the Elizabethan corporation's legal affairs.¹²¹

What is more, if these sessions were the product of a battle between religious factions in the city they should logically fit into a wider pattern of doctrinal enforcement in the city courts. This is definitively not the case, with the two June sessions actually representing the apogee of overtly doctrinal matters within the city courts. While the rhetoric of urban government, not to mention of post-supremacy England generally, was typified by a rhetoric of social control, this did not manifest itself in any spiritual campaigns on the part of Canterbury's magistrates, at least within the guildhall environment. After 1536 only a small number of individuals would be presented before the city magistrates for religious offences, and at no other point did the city officials appear to consider enforcing Henrician religious uniformity through the courts.

Even following the passing of Act of Six Articles in 1539, a piece of legislation designed to grant provincial powers greater recourse and a stronger mandate to police heterodoxy in their locales, magistrates remained unwilling to pursue such matters.¹²² Rather, the principal instinct of governors there remained the maintenance of societal calm and the city commonwealth. As such, the mayoral courts remained vigilant to matters of moral order, but without contravening the long standing tradition of neighbourliness that bound the corporate community to the wider city populace. The 1536 sessions did not stem from magisterial faction but from a concerted desire amongst city leaders to pacify growing tensions in the city

¹²¹ On Robert Alcock, see: Baker, *Men of Court*, i, p. 204.

¹²² On the Six Articles in Canterbury, see chapter four.

parishes over matters of reform and the peculiar religio-political circumstances of summer 1536.

In early summer 1536, the national religio-political atmosphere was tense; the ‘compromised compromise’ represented by the Ten Articles which would appear at the end of the summer did little to settle parochial debates over contentious issues.¹²³ In this atmosphere, King Henry himself had made it his mission during the summer of 1536 to coax his church into some semblance of unity and concord.¹²⁴ Such a confused picture is reflected in the nature of the charges made at the Canterbury sessions that summer. Few of the presentments were serious in nature, and many represent minor behavioural infractions that might previously have been indicative of lazy Christians, but that have become conflated with reformist or heretical behaviour. The Bellynghams’ consumption of eggs and butter during Lent might very well have represented a knowing rejection of established church practice informed by Lutheran criticisms of non-Scriptural observances, but equally might have been an innocent lapse in practice.

The promulgation of the Ten Articles later that summer sought to end conflicts over practices such as fasting, stating that old ‘laudable customs, rites and ceremonies be not to be contemned and cast away’ but did not hold ‘power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God’.¹²⁵ Despite this, in early summer when it was just as likely that the efficacy of fasting would be challenged by the upcoming articles, the Bellynghams’ behaviour, while frustrating to some, gave the

¹²³ Haigh, *Reformations*, p. 128.

¹²⁴ Bernard, *King's Reformation*, p. 281.

¹²⁵ Bernard, *King's Reformation*, p. 289.

mayor and aldermen no reason to proceed against them.¹²⁶ This is true of all of the misdemeanours presented at the sessions, none of which were wildly outside the bounds of Henrician religion as it stood at the time. Speaking against saintly intervention and the efficacy of pilgrimages had been commonplace for generations, and by 1536 had been brought in to the mainstream through Protestant publications and preaching. None of those presented overtly questioned the intercessory powers of priests or waded into the debates on the nature of the Mass or the Sacrament, both of which were more likely to draw the attention of magistrates. As it was, the mayor and aldermen let the presentments stagnate without issuing any indictments. It was not until three months later on 12 September, when the accusations against Hooker, Fourde, Twyne, Levyns, Starky, John and Margaret Toftes, and Richard Bellyngham were deferred to Archbishop Cranmer, that any decisive action was taken.

The common thread linking the defendants was open criticism of established ceremony or practice, and the nationwide promulgation of the Ten Articles with its defence of established ceremonies during late summer may have influenced the magistrates' decision in referring the case to Cranmer, a move necessitated by the terms of the 1534 Heresy Act (25 Henry VIII C.14), which is explicitly referenced in the indenture.¹²⁷ While the act upheld a secular justice's authority to enquire into matters of heresy, it required matters to be presented before a bishop before trial.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ The Lenten fast was not abrogated officially until Cromwell's 1538 Injunctions, and other fastings were done way with in 1541, but the practice maintained a peculiarly controversial and contested status as time went on, see: Duffy, *Stripping*, pp. 405, 430; A. Ryrie, 'The Fall and Rise of Fasting in the British Reformations', in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by N. Mears and A. Ryrie (Farnham, 2013), pp. 89-108.

¹²⁷ It is recorded that certain cases were 'accordyng to the statute made in p[ar]lyament holden at westminster in the 25th yere of the reigne of our seid sovereign lord the kyng that nowe is were by theseid mayer caused to be taken and brought before the most reverend father in god Thomas lord archebyssshop of cant[er]bury', see: BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 46r.

¹²⁸ SR, iii, p. 455.

Likewise, the upcoming mayoral elections on 14 September likely encouraged Thomas Alcock to draw a line under the matter before his term ended.

Much has been made of Cranmer's subsequent decision to shelve these presentments, but in actuality they were part of a concerted effort on his part and Cromwell's to safeguard the supremacy through measured policing of reform in the region. Cranmer's predecessor, William Warham, had maintained healthy relationships with both the city and the monasteries, and wielded his authority on behalf of the city whenever possible. However, during the 1530s and 1540s the role of the archbishop in fostering reform and popular adherence to the English church's new practices and doctrines was of growing importance, as such we see a more persistent link between certain members of the corporation and the archiepiscopal administration in the region. What is more, it is around this time that links between the city and state agents, most prominently Thomas Cromwell, who began to actively employ members of the corporate community in his network of provincial communicants during the turbulence of the 1530s. This strengthened the corporation's sense of purpose in regards to reform, bridged gaps between city and state administrations, and brought the possibility of financial gains as the dissolutions loomed.

3.2.2 Cranmer & Cromwell's Networks in the Region

Around 1534, a monk of St Augustine's declared that Archbishop Cranmer was fostering 'new learning' in the area and had commanded John Twyne to travel to Sandwich to 'read a lecture of heresy'.¹²⁹ In the wake of the supremacy, and at the behest of Bishop Latimer, Cranmer started to preach more actively in his diocese,

¹²⁹ L&P, 7, 1608.

spending the latter part of 1535 traveling east Kent to preach the supremacy.¹³⁰ In a letter to King Henry, written the summer after his preaching, he stated that he had looked to ‘persuade your people of the bishop of Rome his authority, that it is but a false and unjust usurpation’ and that Henry was ‘next immediately unto God’.¹³¹ His decision to preach at Canterbury Cathedral in particular came because he had ‘been informed that that town... was least persuaded in all my diocese’.¹³² He therefore preached twice at the cathedral during winter 1535, and reporting that his sermon was well received by all apart from the prior of the Black Friars, who responded by preaching against Cranmer’s sermons.¹³³ The prior was duly investigated by the church authorities and promptly vanished, presumably to the continent.¹³⁴

What exactly Cranmer meant when he referred to the city as being ‘least persuaded’ in terms of the royal supremacy is hard to speculate upon. On the whole it appears that the supremacy was accepted in the city with little resistance, and there is little to suggest sustained criticism in the city at this point. In light of the reaction of the Black Friars, it is likely that Cranmer was referring to the monastic establishments, who, even after Barton, maintained influence in the parishes and were increasingly alarmed at the direction of reform. Earlier in 1535 another Canterbury monk, Friar Arthur of the Grey Friars, was denounced to Cromwell after an inflammatory Easter sermon delivered at nearby Herne. Arthur had attacked innovators, and defended fasting, prayer and pilgrimage, as well as the sanctity of Thomas Becket.¹³⁵ He was investigated, but escaped with a caution and was on the

¹³⁰ *Misc. Writings*, pp. 325-28.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

¹³⁴ M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown, *The Blackfriars in Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1984), p. 17.

¹³⁵ L&P, 8, 480; Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 16.

continent by November.¹³⁶ Around the same time that Cromwell's agents had started their visitations for the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and another of the vicegerent's clients in the area, John Whalley, informed him in October 1535 that 'the monks of Canterbury are afraid' at their coming.¹³⁷

After his sermon at the cathedral, the city became the centre of Cranmer's wider preaching mission employing a growing group of evangelicals that included his own chaplain, John Ponet; Cromwell's future chaplain, Francis Mallet; the future Bishop of Rochester, Nicolas Ridley; and several future Six Preachers such as John Scory and Lancelot Ridley. Most of these men remained active in the area throughout the 1530s and were around to witness the conservative backlash in the early 1540s. They formed part of the persistent evangelical network in and around the city that included key corporation members, members of the lower laity, and several of the city's clergy. By the end of the 1530s only a small number of the livings in the city were held by outwardly evangelical preachers, such as Humphrey Jordan at St Alphege's, or Thomas Smyth, vicar of St Mary Magdalene.¹³⁸ Livings in some of the surrounding villages livings were being controlled by evangelicals by the middle of the decade, none more so than at Chartham, where Cranmer's Secretary Ralph Morice, the farmer of the rectory there, appointed Richard Turner as curate.¹³⁹

In his diocese Cranmer was careful to tread the line between conserving societal harmony and enforcing new religious orthodoxy, something that required a

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³⁷ L&P, 9, 543.

¹³⁸ B. Hogben, 'Preaching and the Reformation in Henrician Kent', *Arch. Cant.*, 101 (1984), 164-85 (p. 181).

¹³⁹ Foxe relates an incident where both Morice and Cranmer were forced to defend Turner against charges of heresy, see: MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 304.

deft touch and the compliance of local governors. With this in mind it is unsurprising that Cranmer would nurture the pre-existing relationship between the corporation and the archbishopric to help achieve his aims. In the wake of the Elizabeth Barton affair Cranmer had purged much of Archbishop Warham's lingering clientage in and around the city. One of the most significant early achievements was the removal of the younger William Warham, nephew of the deceased archbishop, as Archdeacon of Canterbury in the months following the act of succession.¹⁴⁰ The junior William had been an important part of his uncle's diocesan administration, having taken up archdeaconry in March 1504 shortly after the archbishop's enthronement. During his lengthy service he went on to become provost of the wealthy Wingham College (between Canterbury and Sandwich) and rector of the archiepiscopal parish of Hayes near Croydon.¹⁴¹

The diocese of Canterbury only maintained one archdeacon, meaning that the position was of particular importance in administrative terms, often completing many of the acts set in motion by their superior and maintaining general order in the diocese while they were abroad. The position also brought material benefits, such as the castle at Lympne and the rectory in Hackington, just outside Canterbury.¹⁴² Within the city, the archdeacon was the patron of the Poor Priests' Hospital, and was responsible for presenting to the mastership of the hospital and the attached curacy

¹⁴⁰ For a long time it has been suggested that William junior was the deceased archbishop's illegitimate son, but there is little evidence to support this assertion, see: R. Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (Basingstoke, 1993), p. 179 n.5; J. J. Scarisbrick, 'Warham, William (1450?-1532)', *ODNB*.

¹⁴¹ His predecessor, Hugh Peyn্থwyn, died in July 1504, see: D. J. Shaw, 'Books Belonging to William Warham, Archdeacon of Canterbury, c.1504-1532' in *Bookbindings & Other Bibliophily. Essays in Honour of Anthony Hobson*, ed. by D.E. Rhodes and E. Valdonega (Verona, 1994), pp. 277-86. See also: *HMC Ninth*, p. 120.

¹⁴² The Archdeacons' office had been endowed with the rectories of Hackington and Teynham during the episcopate of Archbishop Langton, see: *HMC Fifth*, p. 430; *HMC Sixth*, p. 498. Archbishop Warham extensively renovated the Hackington rectory, see: CCA, U3/39/28/6, fols. 17-20, 318.

of the city parish of St Margaret's.¹⁴³ Perhaps the most important of the archdeacon's powers was his jurisdiction at the archidiaconal court which even by the 1530s maintained an integral, if diminishing, role in preserving spiritual and moral order.¹⁴⁴ The archdeacon also played a vital role in the maintenance of orthodoxy, bearing responsibility for biannual inquiries into heresy and non-conformity within the diocese, with any suspects to be reported to the diocesan.¹⁴⁵ These powers had been granted by Archbishop Chicheley in the early fifteenth century to counter the perceived Lollard threat and while they may not have been frequently employed, they became relevant once again in the context of the 1530s and 1540s.¹⁴⁶ As well as this the archdeacon held certain rights concerning presentation and institution to livings, custody of vacant churches, and the right of induction to certain benefices within the diocese.¹⁴⁷ The administrative importance of the archdeacon was widely acknowledged, and having the office held by a trusted ally was an important

¹⁴³ Warham only had to do this twice during his lengthy tenure, in 1511 when the position went to Philip Tylour, and in 1531 when it was given to Nicholas Langton, see: *Ninth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, xxxvi, appendix (London, 1843), pp. 117-18.

¹⁴⁴ The role of the archdeacons' courts at the parish level is hard to overstate, it was not only more accessible than many common law courts, it also met more frequently, with the archdeacons' court of Canterbury sitting on 102 occasions during 1524, see: D. Crawford, 'The rule of law? The laity, English archdeacons' courts and the Reformation to 1558', *Parergon*, 4 (1986), 155-73 (155). More generally, see: Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the Reformation*; J. Sharpe, 'Crime and Delinquency in an Essex Parish, 1600-1640', in *Crime in England, 1550-1800*, ed. by J.S. Cockburn (London, 1977), pp. 90-109 (pp. 91-95).

¹⁴⁵ C. Burgess, 'A Hotbed of Heresy? Fifteenth-Century Bristol and Lollardy Reconsidered', in *Authority and Subversion*, ed. by L. Clark, (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 43-62 (51).

¹⁴⁶ Indeed, they were strengthened in 1540 when a statute (32 Henry VIII c. 15) was passed that allowed Archdeacons' Courts could be used to investigate charges of heresy where appropriate, see: Crawford, 'The Rule of Law?', p. 167.

¹⁴⁷ I. J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishopric of Canterbury*, i, (London, 1933), pp. 45, 276, 560; MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p.108. The Black Book of the Archdeacon was held as a register of the rights and duties of successive archdeacons and is preserved in the cathedral archives, see: CCA, U39/1. For a brief description of its contents, see: *HMC Sixth*, pp. 498-99. A contemporary register concerning the rights of the archdeacons which summarises much of the material in the Black Book but primarily focusing on the period of Hugh Peynthwyn (1495-1504) and William Warham is also preserved in the cathedral archives, see: CCA, U39/3/7.

consideration if an archbishop wished to effectively exercise his authority within his diocese.

Cranmer's brother Edmund was thus the perfect candidate. Little is known of Edmund's early life, other than he spent most of it close to his elder brother, attending Cambridge alongside him and moving in the same humanistic circles while there.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps as a result of this the brothers shared many of the same opinions on certain issues of reform, with Edmund also taking a wife, and fathering his first son before 1535.¹⁴⁹ Securing his promotion would thus be a significant step in helping safeguard the diocesan administration, but in early 1534 the younger Warham was still safe in his seat and there was little suggestion that he would step aside. After all, there was no strong precedent for archdeacons to resign their office at the death of an incumbent archbishop, with only one of previous seven archdeacons having done so.¹⁵⁰

In the months following his appointment as archbishop, business within the diocese continued unaltered and Warham's position was seemingly not under threat, with Cranmer writing to him in 1533 seeking preferment for his servant John Creke for the farm of the parsonage of Hayes.¹⁵¹ However, the opportunity to oust Warham came when two of his close associates, his registrar Thomas Laurence, and Henry Gold, the vicar of Hayes, were implicated alongside Elizabeth Barton.¹⁵² While there

¹⁴⁸ A. F. Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation* (London, 1905), p. 8.

¹⁴⁹ MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 109.

¹⁵⁰ The only other archdeacon to resign in office was Prospero Colonna, the cardinal-nephew of Martin V, all of the others died in office, see: B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, iv, (Oxford, 1963), p. 9.

¹⁵¹ Warham was the rector of the parsonage there and in 1520 he endowed the vicarage with an annual £20 stipend to maintain a vicar there. The rector also held the presentment rights for the vicarage there (although the archbishop held the advowson), see: *VCH: Middlesex*, iv, pp. 34-35; D. Lysons and S. Lysons, *The Environs of London*, ii, (London, 1810), pp.390-91; *Remains of Cranmer*, i, p. 71.

¹⁵² Only Gold ended up being executed alongside Barton, see: Rex, 'Execution', pp. 216-17. Laurence escaped execution, being adjudged to have 'erred more by oversight than of malice', see: L&P, 7, 72.

was little reason to suspect the archdeacon of seditious intention, the inferences of his close associates being implicated in such a high profile case made his place in Cranmer's episcopacy untenable. Warham therefore resigned sometime between February and March 1534, around the same time that Barton's possessions were being removed from St Sepulchre's by the Canterbury sheriff John Johnson.¹⁵³ Despite this uncomfortable exit, Warham's departure was not acrimonious, and he was granted a hefty pension totalling £80 annually and remained rector of Hayes until his death in 1557.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, by the middle of 1534 Cranmer had removed a potential impediment to reform and taken a major step forward in securing the efficacy of his episcopacy.

Thanks to the evidence collected around the time of the Prebendaries' Plot we also know that, like Nevinson, Edmund also took it upon himself to remove images from churches in the city to comply with the 1538 injunctions.¹⁵⁵ Edmund also seems to have used his position to insert evangelical clergy into parishes when the opportunity arose. In 1541 he presented the evangelical preacher Thomas Swynnerton to the vicarage of St. Clement's, Sandwich.¹⁵⁶ Swynnerton, previously based in Ipswich, had links to both John Bale and Thomas Cranmer's chaplain William Wakefield, and was almost certainly linked to the circle around him well before this appointment.¹⁵⁷ Likewise, in Canterbury, Edmund Cranmer presented

¹⁵³ Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, iv, p. 9; L&P, 7, 192. Johnson was also known as John Antony, for other examples of his activities in the area that year, see: L&P, 7, 763, 1125, 1509. In future I will refer to him only as John Johnson.

¹⁵⁴ The pension totalled £60 out of the archdeaconry, and £20 out of the provostship of Wingham, see: Hasted, *Survey*, xii, pp. 585-86. The size of the pension has led some to suspect that his resignation was bought, see: M. Dowling, 'Cranmer as Humanist Reformer', in *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar* ed. by Paul Ayriss and David Selwyn (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 89-114 (p. 105).

¹⁵⁵ CCCC, MS 128, p. 30.

¹⁵⁶ R. Rex, 'Swynnerton, Thomas (d. 1554)', *ODNB*.

¹⁵⁷ T. Swynnerton, *A Reformation Rhetoric: Thomas Swynnerton's 'Tropes and Figures of Scripture'* ed. by R. Rex, (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 6-7, 11-12.

William Lotte, previously of St. Peter's in Sandwich, to the parish of St. Stephen's (Hackington).¹⁵⁸ Little is known of Lotte other than that he was married, being deprived of the living in 1555 by the then archdeacon, Nicolas Harpsfield.¹⁵⁹

Edmund's appointment as archdeacon was not the extent of the archbishop's family patronage. In June 1534, his sister, Alice, was granted a dispensation to leave the Cistercian Priory of Stixwold, Lincolnshire.¹⁶⁰ Shortly afterwards, in November 1534, she was chosen by the archbishop to be the new prioress of the Benedictine Priory of St Sexburga on Sheppey.¹⁶¹ The priory was a wealthy and well-ordered establishment, having been found in good health during Warham's 1511 visitations.¹⁶² In 1535 it held a number of valuable manors in and around Medway, and in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* its possessions were valued at net £129 7s 10d ob, while an inventory of the priory's moveable goods taken in March 1536 suggests that Alice and her seven remaining nuns worshipped in comfortable surroundings.¹⁶³ Shortly after her appointment the archbishop sent his secretary to Sheppey to secure her favour in granting the vacant parsonage of Gillingham to Cranmer's servant Thomas Abberford.¹⁶⁴ In 1535 he even went so far as to send the widow of one of his deceased servants, John Creke (whom he had attempted to secure the farm at Hayes in 1533), to Sheppey where Alice was to 'entreat and entertain her' and provide her an 'honest living'.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸ *CCed*, Person ID: 46216.

¹⁵⁹ J. I. Daeley, 'The Episcopal Administration of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1559-1575' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 1967), p. 164 n.2.

¹⁶⁰ D. Knowles, D. M. Smith and C. N. L. Brooke, *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales*, iii, (Cambridge, 2008), p. 671.

¹⁶¹ L&P, 12:2, 1311 (16); G. A. Baskerville, 'A Sister of Archbishop Cranmer', *EHR*, 51 (1936), 287-89.

¹⁶² Wood-Legh, *Kentish Visitations*, pp. xi, 43-45.

¹⁶³ L&P, 10, 562; *VCH*, ii, p. 150.

¹⁶⁴ *Remains of Thomas Cranmer*, i, pp. 100-01.

¹⁶⁵ *Remains of Thomas Cranmer*, i, p. 132 [L&P, 8, 393].

Cranmer's activity was more measured than that of Cromwell's in the early days. But, as with Cranmer, the primary concern of Thomas Cromwell was the widespread acquiescence of the English people to Henry's supremacy. Throughout the 1530s Cromwell maintained a network of influence in the region that he had partly inherited from Cardinal Wolsey and in part cultivated himself, and which incorporated both conservative and evangelical figures. One of his closest contacts in the area was the moderate Sir Christopher Hales of Hackington, just outside of Canterbury. Hales' legal career had by this point blossomed, and he had become an accomplished statesman.¹⁶⁶ In 1533 he was actively engaged in investigating the case of Elizabeth Barton, and as Master of the Rolls he would take part in the treason trials of 1538 and 1539.¹⁶⁷ Inside the city he served as steward of the lands of both Christ Church and St Augustine's, and worked alongside Cranmer and Lord-Chancellor Rich during the cathedral's re-establishment in 1540. At a city level he had been a freeman since he was returned to parliament for Canterbury in 1523, and throughout the 1530s acted as one of the three lawyers retained by the city corporation, alongside his cousin Baron John Hales and Thomas Wode.

By all accounts Christopher Hales was never committed or convinced by doctrinal reform, yet he worked closely alongside Cromwell and Cranmer throughout the 1530s and assiduously upheld the statutes of the Reformation Parliament.¹⁶⁸ In this sense he is representative of the large numbers of minor office holders, lawyers, bureaucrats, town magistrates, and others who were swept along in the early stages of Henry's political reformation, when obedience and loyalty to the

¹⁶⁶ He had been made attorney general in June 1529 and been active in prosecuting those who refused the supremacy, see: J. H. Baker, 'Hales, Sir Christopher (d. 1541)', *ODNB*.

¹⁶⁷ Elton, *Policy and Police*, pp. 295, 311, 404.

¹⁶⁸ Hales' enduring reputation as a religious conservative seems to be based principally on John Foxe's characterisation of him as 'a mighty Papiste', see: Foxe, *A&M* (1576), p. 1168.

crown became the principal standard of office-holding.¹⁶⁹ During the later 1530s, Christopher used his connection to the vicegerent to steer affairs within the city. In early September 1538, he wrote to Cromwell asking him to ‘write a few words to the mayor of Canterbury, Baron Hales, and me, to set at liberty kacherell, who has lain long in prison for suspicion of words of treason, but is not guilty, as Sir Wm. Hawte, my said cousin Hales, myself and others have examined him’.¹⁷⁰ Kacherell, a tallowchandler of St Andrew’s, was duly freed and returned to his business.¹⁷¹ Hales also assisted Cromwell in acquiring his share in the rectory of Hackington, to accompany the vicegerent’s already significant holdings in Kent.¹⁷²

Christopher’s cousin, James Hales, also fostered a working connection with Cromwell after 1534, when he contacted Cromwell wishing him ‘to take him into his service’.¹⁷³ After this, Hales was frequently in contact with Cromwell, discussing matters of state and the progress of administrative reform; James would also frequently raise the business of the corporation. In August 1537, he was asked by the mayor, Roger Clarke, to contact Cromwell to seek advice on what to do with a contingent of Dutchmen who had been riding about the county ‘armed, contrary to statutes’.¹⁷⁴ Initially, Hales had sought advice from his cousin, by then Master of the Rolls, but upon learning he was at Ford hunting with the archbishop, James went directly to Cromwell.¹⁷⁵ In general, James was more visible at a city level than his

¹⁶⁹ Ethan Shagan has perhaps given this ‘popular’ aspect of the early reformation its most thorough airing, see: Shagan, *Popular Politics*, pp. 7-11.

¹⁷⁰ L&P, 13:2, 326; printed in: G. H. Cook, *Letters to Cromwell on the Suppression of the Monasteries* (London, 1965), p. 70.

¹⁷¹ His work as a tallowchandler after this point is apparent in: Cotton, ‘St Andrew, 1524-1557’, pp. 29, 32. He was also regularly involved in the legal process in Canterbury, being named on a number of jury panels during the 1530s and 1540s, see: CCA, J/Q/335/iii; J/Q/342/i.

¹⁷² After 1535 he would purchase Bekesbourne House and the rectory of Eastry, both of which were in the vicinity of Canterbury, see: L&P, 13:2, 577; Clark, *Society*, p. 51.

¹⁷³ L&P, 7, 1210.

¹⁷⁴ L&P, 12:2, 488.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

cousin Christopher, acting as city recorder, as a retained legal advisor, and as a judge in the city courts from early in the century up until his death in 1540. In his later life James developed close ties to Cranmer, and by 1537 he was one of archbishop's closest legal advisors at a point when the estates of the Archbishopric were in a period of flux.¹⁷⁶ No doubt the two crossed paths numerous times before this through Cranmer's long acquaintance with Christopher Hales, at whose Canterbury house Cranmer started his barefoot procession to the Cathedral on the day of his enthronement.¹⁷⁷

Alongside Christopher and James Hales, John Johnson formed the backbone of the Cromwellian affinity in the area, remaining closely allied to central government all the way up to the fall of his patron in 1540. However, establishing a firm identity of this individual is particularly problematic for a number of reasons. First off, 'Johnson' is an extremely common name in the south east and references to a 'John Johnson' in this time period are frequent. Within Canterbury alone there were numerous resident Johnson families during the first half of the century; at the 1524-5 subsidy thirteen men were assessed with the surname 'Johnson' and four of these men were named John.¹⁷⁸ Secondly, Cromwell's John Johnson used an alias, John Antony, using both names interchangeably throughout the 1530s.¹⁷⁹ It is also unfortunate that there were numerous Antony families in the vicinity of Canterbury. At Christ Church there was a John Antony professed who was listed as Bartoner in the early sixteenth century but had deceased at least a decade before the dissolution,

¹⁷⁶ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 202.

¹⁷⁷ For the occasion the corporation paid for sand to be laid between Hales' house and the precincts, see: *HMC*, Ninth Report, Appendix, p. 152.

¹⁷⁸ Two of these were servants described as 'Doucheman' [Dutch], and the other two were assessed for £20 in goods and 40s in goods respectively; there is no way to determine which of these is the Johnson who would become associated with Cromwell, see: TNA, E179/124/188.

¹⁷⁹ As late as 1540 Johnson was still being referred to as 'John Johnson alias Antony' in correspondence from Cromwell and Cranmer, see for example: L&P, 15, 1029(viii).

so can be discounted here.¹⁸⁰ Alongside the Christ Church John Antony there was a Robert Antony, who survived all the way up to the dissolution and was listed as a servant of Archbishop Cranmer during the latter 1530s and is likely have been one of the men who carried letters to Cromwell during the 30s.¹⁸¹ During the 1530s there was another John Antony professed in the city, at St Augustine's, and when William Wynchelsey was charged with slandering Archbishop Cranmer in 1534 it was this John Antony who was listed as witness to the seditious words and subsequently examined by Prior Goldstone.¹⁸² This John Antony, however, was not granted a pension when the monastery was dissolved in 1538 and likely deceased before this date.¹⁸³ None of these figures were the individual linked to Cromwell's Kentish administration.

There also appears to have been two John Johnsons employed at the Royal Household in the 1530s, but neither of these were the man who entered Cromwell's circle. One was employed as a messenger, the other was the master of the king's barge.¹⁸⁴ The latter was clearly not the same man, and the former appears to have been a different man. In a letter between John Johnson alias Antony and Allen Froggnall of 1533 the author refers to a 'Johnsonne of the palys' who had recently delivered letters to Froggnall in London, presumably referring to this messenger.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ CCA, DCc, DE/170; J. Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories* (Oxford, 1997), p. 75. On the role of the bartoners, see: R. A. Lendon Smith, 'The Barton and the Barton of Christ Church, Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.*, 55 (1942), 16-25.

¹⁸¹ Occasionally letters were delivered by 'your man Antony', see: L&P, 13:2, 24, 97; Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, pp. 75-76.

¹⁸² TNA, SP, 1/88, fols. 19r-19v [L&P, 7, 1608].

¹⁸³ L&P, 14:1, 1355(iii).

¹⁸⁴ Both appear in the account of Brian Tuke, Treasurer of the Chamber, in 1528/9, see: L&P, 5, 685.

¹⁸⁵ TNA, SP, 1/74, fol. 91r [L&P, 6, 88]. Froggnall was a servant of Prior Goldstone at Christ Church up to the dissolution, see: L&P, 9, 880.

Cromwell's Johnson addressed a number of letters from a private residence in the city, confirming that this Johnson was a Canterbury resident during the early 1530s and that he did not reside within either of the Benedictine houses.¹⁸⁶ Equally, from a number of references in his letters, it would seem that Johnson was linked with the corporation. In 1518 a John Johnson had been admitted as freeman by redemption as a mercer, and was the only man of that name involved in civic affairs at the time.¹⁸⁷ The only other John Johnson who appears in the records is a capper who paid his final *intrante* fee in 1521, three years after the mercer Johnson had been admitted.¹⁸⁸ Johnson seems to have been a man of some substantial means with links to a family of London fishmongers, yet never seems to have resided in the capital.¹⁸⁹ In Canterbury, Johnson soon became involved in city government, and by the time that attendances to council meetings were being regularly recorded in the late-1520s Johnson had been elected as a common councillor and was regularly attending sessions.¹⁹⁰ During 1532/3 he was acting sheriff, a stint that coincided with the early stages of the investigation into Barton and her affinity in the city.

During the middle of the decade he worked alongside other of Cromwell's commissioners in the county to gather details of religious houses and monitor the progress of reforms more generally.¹⁹¹ In June 1534 he was made receiver-general to

¹⁸⁶ See for example: TNA, SP, 1/99, fol. 42r [L&P, 9, 828].

¹⁸⁷ Cowper, *Freemen*, p. 279. The Canterbury Johnsons do not seem to have been linked to the Calais Johnson family, despite their shared business in the wool trade, on the Calais Johnsons see: B. Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait* (London, 1955). The Johnson letters have been transcribed in: idem, 'The Johnson Letters, 1542-1552' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1953).

¹⁸⁸ Cowper, *Intrantes*, p. 179. It would follow logic that this capper was the John Johnson assessed at 40s in 1525.

¹⁸⁹ In his will of 1532 John Johnson, a member of the fishmongers company, left his wife Elizabeth the share in three ships, one of which, the *Mary Grace*, was involved in a case at chancery in the mid-1530s concerning a shipment of wheat seized *en route* to Lisbon by John Johnson, mercer of Canterbury, see: TNA, PROB 11/24/78; C 1/831/47.

¹⁹⁰ Between 1529 and 1533 he was a very regular attendant at council sessions but after 1534 his attendance becomes more sporadic, see: CCA, A/C/1/75-91.

¹⁹¹ In particular, he worked alongside Thomas Bedyll and Henry Polsted, see: L&P, 9, 828. In early 1537 William Cavendish provisionally appointed Johnson the bailiff of the dissolved lands of the

the bishop of Rochester's lands, and later became involved with the rebuilding of Dover harbour.¹⁹² In May 1535 Johnson assisted Cromwell in the purchase of Hackington rectory appearing alongside the vicegerent and John Palmer on the grant. The three were to be seised in fee of the rectory, messuages and appurtenances as well as twenty acres of nearby land. The grant was confirmed by Cranmer and Prior Goldwell, and set the tone for much of the land redistribution that was to follow during the dissolution; a year later Cromwell requested that Johnson receive the grant of a farm from Prior Goldwell.¹⁹³

In the city, the last reference of him attending the burghmote was in 1538 when he seems to have moved out of the city, making the Isle of Thanet his primary residence.¹⁹⁴ Yet even after this he appears to have maintained links to the civic community. In a bond of 1538, Johnson (listed with his alias 'Antony') is named alongside the common councilman John Freeman as bonders to Thomas Goldwell, prior of Christ Church.¹⁹⁵ In this bond Johnson is described as 'of the isle of Thanet', and in the same year a '*Johannes Johnson de civitate cantuar mercer*' was bound to pay 56s 8d in first fruits for the rectory of Stonar on the Isle of Thanet, suggesting that the two men were one of the same.¹⁹⁶ A decade or so after Johnson relocated

monasteries of Dover, Langdon, St. Radegund's, and St. Sepulchre's, Canterbury, with Johnson demanding Cavendish authorise the appointment with Cromwell before he accept it, see: L&P, 12:1, 573.

¹⁹² L&P, 7, app. 29. The memorandum mentioned above concerning the first fruits for the rectory of Stonar appears on the fly-leaf of an account for workmen at Dover and he sent or was mentioned in a number of letters concerning the works there between 1536-1540, see: TNA, SP, 1/104, fol. 170r [L&P, 10, 1145]; SP 1/104, fol. 209r [L&P, 10, 1214].

¹⁹³ CCA, DCc, Register/T/2; L&P, 10, 1053.

¹⁹⁴ He seems to have had a residence in Thanet prior to 1536, addressing a letter to Lord and Lady Lisle from Thanet in May 1534, see: TNA, SP, 3/6, fol. 7r [L&P, 7, 739]. In later correspondence with Cromwell and the Privy Council he was also referred to as 'of Thanet, see for example: L&P, 16, 229; 20:1, 816; *APC, 1542-1547*, p. 179.

¹⁹⁵ CCA, DCc, Bond/128.

¹⁹⁶ TNA, SP, 1/117, fol. 177r. The manor of Stonar was an ancient possession of St Augustine's that reverted to the Crown at the dissolution, see: Hasted, *Survey*, x, pp. 420-21. Around this time there are records of numerous land purchases in the Thanet area by Johnson, see: Zell, *Fines: Hen VIII*, 1535, 1753, 2572, 2579. He was also involved in numerous cases at Common Pleas over debts in Thanet

once again to Fordwich, a few miles east of Canterbury, and in 1554 Queen Mary granted the Fordwich rectory to John Johnson alias Antony.¹⁹⁷

Initially Johnson seems to have benefitted from his association with Archbishop Warham's secretary Thomas Bedyll, who himself entered Cromwell's service after Warham's death in August 1532. Bedyll's association with Warham would have put During the mid-1530s Bedyll and Johnson worked closely together surveying Kentish monastic properties and after Bedyll's death in 1537 Johnson became an associate of Anthony Aucher, another of Cromwell's principle servants in Kent. Johnson was also linked to Thomas Hardres, another of Cromwell's servants in the area who had served Christ Church in the 1520s and 30s. Hardres was part of a minor gentry family based in Little Hardres, four miles south of Canterbury, and was himself related to Anthony Aucher.¹⁹⁸ Cromwell's network was obviously extensive, but there were some principal agents in the county who disseminated proclamations, delivered writs to appropriate parties, performed Cromwell's business, and in general kept Cromwell abreast of affairs in the region. These were men such as Christopher Hales, his cousin James, Thomas Bedyll, and the slippery John Johnson, all of whom were closely linked with the corporate community at Canterbury.

3.2.3 The 1536 Election Debacle

On certain occasions Cromwell and Cranmer's light-touch was replaced by a more direct (perhaps a more recognisably Eltonian) approach, in particular two instances

during these years where he is described as a mercer of Canterbury, see: TNA, CP40/1092, rot. 267d; CP40/1096, rots. 88d, 89d. It is unclear whether the John Johnson who appears as godson in the will of Sir Henry Crispe, burgess to parliament for Canterbury in 1558 and once described by John Twyne in *De Rebus Albionis* as 'the little king of the Isle of Thanet', was a direct relation of John Johnson, quite possibly son, see: TNA, PROB 11/57/494; P. Hyde, 'CRISPE (CRIPSE), Henry (by 1505-75), of Birchington, Isle of Thanet, Kent.', *HoP*.

¹⁹⁷ Hasted, *Survey*, ix, p. 58; CCA, DCc, ChAnt/F/48.

¹⁹⁸ *Visitation Kent 1530 & 1574*, pp. 59-60.

coming in the months leading up to the issuing of the Ten Articles in late June. The first came in May with Cromwell's well-known intervention into Canterbury's parliamentary election which saw the two burgesses initially elected by the citizenry, John Starky and Christopher Levyns, hastily ousted and replaced by the previous incumbents Robert Darknall and John Brigges, ostensibly on the king's request but via Cromwell's insistence.¹⁹⁹ Geoffrey Elton characterised this as a case in point of Cromwell's ability to steer the course of provincial politics in post-Supremacy England, whereas Peter Clark suggests it represents the 'radical organisation' in Canterbury's attempt to cement their political pre-eminence, but in doing so drawing a reproach from Cromwell for their 'electoral hanky-panky'.²⁰⁰ Of these two readings Elton's seems the more sensible.

Characterising the event as a planned move by an organised 'party' is problematic not least for the apparent innocuousness of the whole affair, which appears more as a cavalcade of misunderstandings than a radical ploy. The city sheriff John Hobbes wrote to Cromwell on 12 May informing him that elections had been held the previous day and by the unanimous vote of more than eighty freemen Christopher Levyns, the common clerk, and John Starky, a recently elected alderman and city chamberlain, had been returned.²⁰¹ It was only after this, Hobbes claimed, that Cromwell's letter concerning the re-election of previous members was made public by the mayor John Alcock. In his letter, Hobbes makes his regrets over the misunderstanding, but does not mention whether he would rectify the matter.²⁰² Cromwell's fiery riposte came on 18 May when he suggested the city, 'litle or

¹⁹⁹ J. E. Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (London, 1949), p. 284.

²⁰⁰ G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 284, 289-91; Clark, *Society*, p. 38-41.

²⁰¹ TNA, SP 1/103, fol. 274r [L&P, 10, 852].

²⁰² *Ibid.*

nothyng regardyng' his commandment, had 'chosen othyr at yor owne wylls and myndes co[n]trarie to the kynges plesure and comaundemet... wherat the kynges highnes doth not a lytell marvell'.²⁰³ He went on to suggest the city rapidly rectify their misjudgement so as not to annoy the king further, and report to him anyone that 'wyll obstynatly gaynsay' over the matter. The original letters from Cromwell and Lord Chancellor Audley were sent to provincial officials making the king's wishes known concerning the election around 7 May, four days before the initial election, and it is easy to understand the frustration at the 'misunderstanding'.²⁰⁴

Unsurprisingly the city moved quickly to absolve themselves, and two days later Alcock informed Cromwell that Brigges and Darknall had been re-elected.²⁰⁵

The significance of Cromwell's erstwhile intervention into a provincial parliamentary election has, unsurprisingly, garnered extensive historical interest. Stanford Lehmborg described the incident as the 'Secretary's most notorious attempt at politicking'; while Geoffrey Elton saw it as a demonstration of Cromwell's 'systematic concern' over parliamentary membership and at times 'dictatorial' approach to administrating the provinces.²⁰⁶ But the case needs to be set in its proper context if hyperbolic conclusions are to be avoided. There is nothing to suggest anything sinister behind the king's insistence on Brigges' and Darknall's re-election; the former had been returned for the city to the previous two sessions, and the latter had replaced Thomas Atwode at the last session after Atwode's death in 1532.²⁰⁷

While Cromwell's rebuke is intimidating in its rhetoric, this belies the more

²⁰³ The letter was copied by one of the aldermen at the time, Thomas Bele, and is preserved in his farming account logs, see: BL, Add MS 32638, fol. 83r.

²⁰⁴ L&P, 10, 815.

²⁰⁵ TNA, SP 1/104 fol. 38 [L&P, 10, 929(i)].

²⁰⁶ S. E. Lehmborg, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII 1536-1547* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 5; G. R. Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, Volume Two Parliament/Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 75.

²⁰⁷ Fuidge, 'Canterbury, 1509-1558', *HPO*.

mundane concerns of central government at the time over ensuring royal policy was being enacted efficiently. By 1536 Brigges had been an alderman for two decades, had served three terms as mayor, and was closely linked to the powerful Hales affinity; in other words he was not an interloper or fringe candidate being forced upon the city, quite the opposite in fact.²⁰⁸ A payment from the chamberlains' accounts suggests that John Hales might have been a mediator in the matter: 'paid to mstr baron hales clerk for wrytyng of iiij warrantes concernyng the eleccon of the burgesses of the parliament – xij d'.²⁰⁹

For the corporation, it was merely confirmation of their own subservience to the royal will and the need to remain vigilant to the demands of this. There is no reason to doubt John Hobbes' protestation that he had not received the king's order before the May 11 election, and his efforts to stress that the two men had initially been elected by the proper procedures laid out in their charters was likely an attempt to dispel suspicions that city government might be malfunctioning or gripped by faction. Such a sentiment is reiterated in Alcock's hastily written apology to Cromwell that frames the re-election as a triumph of the common will and mayoral efficiency:

[I] caused the comynaltye of theseid citie to assemble in the court hall ther wher appered the nombre of ffower score and xvij p[er]sones citizens and inhabytanntes of theseid citie and accordyng to the kynges pleasure and comaundement frely with one voyce and

²⁰⁸ He was married to Agnes Hales, the sister of Baron John Hales, and he was also involved in property transactions with Christopher during the 1530s.

²⁰⁹ CCA, CC, F/A/13, fol. 28r.

w[ith]out any contradiccon have elected and chosen the foresaid

Robert Darkenell and John Bryges²¹⁰

In truth, however, Cromwell's use of blunt force or, as J. E. Neale put it, his 'pitiless, heavy-handed authority', briefly destabilised the corporation.²¹¹ While it was decisive, the intervention introduced an element of doubt into corporate politics and caused a minor panic on the bench that was exacerbated by the reckless behaviour of Christopher Levyns.

On 8 June, just over two weeks after he was ousted as burgess, Levyns lost his seat on the common council, his position as common clerk, and was indicted to appear before the city quarter sessions on suspicion of nonconformity (discussed above), after which he was sent into the political wilderness.²¹² Why, then, did Levyns' career in the city take such a nosedive after the fiasco of May 1536? The answer lies in the Levyns' abrasive character. In early 1537, Robert Lewes, then mayor, explained to Cromwell that Levyns had been dismissed from his duties as common councillor because he 'presumyd and imagyned to be burges for the sayed cyte' even after his election had been overridden, behaviour which was 'contrary to the good order of the cyte'.²¹³ This might seem to be a flimsy cover for a hidden conservative agenda, however, the events Lewes was referring to were true.

On 29 May 1536, Levyns had been appointed as a clerk by John Thompson, the master of the Dover Maison Dieu, a close affiliate of Cromwell's and the overseer of the king's works at Dover.²¹⁴ Levyns' appointment displeased the

²¹⁰ CCA, CC, F/A/13, fol. 28r.

²¹¹ Neale, *Elizabethan Commons*, pp. 284-85.

²¹² CCA, CC, J/Q/335/ii.

²¹³ TNA, SP 1/127 fol. 150r [L&P, 12:2, 1324].

²¹⁴ TNA, SP 1/104 fol. 65r. A collection of muniments, charters and precedents from the Maison Dieu is bound in Levyns' precedent book, see: BL, Stowe MS 850, fols. 130r-131v.

paymaster of Dover, John Whalley, who reported to Cromwell that Levyns was ‘a sedycious and a very crafty ffellow’ and should not be allowed near the king’s account books.²¹⁵ Importantly, when initially told of the appointment, Whalley was led to believe that Levyns was ‘one of the Burgesys of the p[ar]lament for Cant[er]bury’, despite the fact that he had been ousted some two weeks previous. Whether or not this piece of misinformation was the catalyst for Levyns’ dismissal at Canterbury is not clear, but there are hints that Cromwell may have been in contact with the corporation around the time to discuss the matter as, in his letter of early 1537, Lewes reminds Cromwell that ‘yower lordschyp had knowledge of yt’.²¹⁶ Whatever the case, Levyns was dismissed from the city benches shortly afterwards, a new clerk was appointed, and all was apparently well in the city. However, sometime during 1537 Cromwell was once again in contact with the city, this time recommending that Levyns be readmitted as common clerk – a request that flew in the face of Canterbury’s civic traditions.²¹⁷ In his response, Lewes pointed out that according to the charter of 1498 an elected officer could not be ejected from office ‘w[ith]owt cause resonabyll’.²¹⁸ Rather than being a by-product of skirmishes between radical and conservative parties, the fiasco of 1536 was rooted in Cromwell’s response to a minor oversight of local governors. Both Levyns’ ejection and his re-admittance was the result of clumsy outside interventions.²¹⁹

Cromwell’s insistence that Levyns be re-admitted is puzzling given that Levyns had had few friends in the city, or even the county, at the time. It seems

²¹⁵ TNA, SP 1/104 fol. 65r. Levyns’ claim would not even have been true retrospectively as he had not sat in parliament prior to this.

²¹⁶ TNA, SP 1/127 fol. 150r.

²¹⁷ No record of this letter survives, just the mayor’s aghast response.

²¹⁸ TNA, SP 1/127 fol. 150r.

²¹⁹ No response from Cromwell survives, but in 1538 he was given four yards of cloth for his livery as clerk, see: CCA, CC, F/A/13, fol. 38r.

likely that given the proximity of Levyns' reappointment to the city and the end of the Pilgrimage of Grace that Cromwell was in the process of placing reliable informants with a known antipathy to monasticism into provincial locales as informants. Nevertheless, it was a move that flew in the face of the local political customs and risked destabilizing a typically well-ordered and loyal corporation. Levyns' case can not have been helped by the enmity of John Whalley, who had successfully blocked his appointment as clerk for the king's works at Dover in May 1536.²²⁰ It is quite possible that Whalley knew of Levyns through a mutual acquaintance, Jasper Fillol, before Levyns' arrival at Dover. Whalley had stayed with Fillol at the London Charterhouse while on a fact-finding mission for Cromwell in late-1535, the same time that Levyns had presented Fillol with his complaints against the Prior of Christ Church.²²¹ However, it could also be that on arriving at Dover in May 1536, Levyns stumbled into an ongoing dispute and allied himself with the master of the Dover Maison Dieu John Thompson, another particularly divisive figure.²²²

Before Thompson's appointment as master in 1533, Christopher Hales, typically a sanguine individual in his letters, reported to Cromwell that Thompson was 'the worst priest I ever knew' who had gotten ahead only by 'his tongue and his audacity'.²²³ Hales' disfavour was not enough to prevent Thompson's appointment though, and as master of the Maison Dieu Thompson became affiliated with the Dover corporation and was diligent in communicating civic concerns up the chain of

²²⁰ TNA, SP 1/104 fols. 64r-64v.

²²¹ L&P, 9, 283, 284, 523; D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England: Volume 3 The Tudor Age* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 233-35.

²²² On his appointment to the Maison Dieu see: *VCH*, ii, pp. 218-19.

²²³ L&P, 6, 1148.

command.²²⁴ By mid-1536, Thompson was at odds with Whalley and two other officials attached to the king's works, Richard Davy, a paymaster's clerk, and Thomas Wingfield, the comptroller of the works.²²⁵ At this point there seems to have been a general break down in cooperation between parties to the extent that Cromwell had to step in, ordering comptroller Wingfield to 'work with the advyse and consent of the Maister of the Mayson Dieu'.²²⁶

The 1536 election and Cromwell's later clumsy attempts to steer local affairs unsettled the corporation. To Peter Clark the whole messy affair was symptomatic of the ongoing dispute between 'radical' and 'conservative' parties in the city, with Levyns serving as the city's archetypal radical magistrate.²²⁷ However, much of the reasoning behind this characterisation seems circumstantial, and to class Levyns as a radical is dubious. Clark rightly draws attention to Levyns' litigious nature, he was indeed involved in numerous suits in local courts and at chancery, but is too quick to characterise this as evidence of underlying anticlericalism. While it is abundantly clear that Levyns maintained an antagonistic personal relationship with Christ Church, this most likely arose from a dispute between the two parties in the mid-1520s over the estate of Levyns' uncle, John Barret.²²⁸ The Prior of Christ Church claimed that Levyns had been granted over £60 in goods and £20 in lands from his uncle who had died intestate, but had refused to pay ten marks owed to the prior on

²²⁴ Typically, this involved badgering the king's paymaster for extra funds to keep the workmen fed and calm, see: L&P, 6, 1472; L&P, 10, 146, 596; L&P, 11, 745.

²²⁵ L&P, 11, 287, 1145, 1254; L&P, 12:2, 982, 1108.

²²⁶ *Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, ii, pp. 37-39.

²²⁷ Clark, *Society*, pp. 38-42.

²²⁸ Barret died in 1524 so the chancery case must have been brought in the years after this but before 1529, see: TNA, C 1/491/8.

land sales *pre-mortem*. This dispute was purely financial, and the estate of John Barret was the cause of more than one suit at chancery.²²⁹

The persistence of Levyns on a city and county stage is telling. Thanks to his rabid mistrust of monastic authority and his connections to certain influential individuals he managed to maintain a career despite numerous controversies. His relationship and litigations with the prior of Christ Church hint to a more fundamental change occurring within the city. While in the past, as discussed in chapter one, the corporation and its members clashed with monastic jurisdictions with little hope of finding official support, now the joint forces of Thomas Cromwell and the archbishop were, in theory if not always in practice, on their side. The activities of Cranmer, Cromwell, and his creatures in the city is testament to this on-going transformation and will be further discussed in what follows in chapter four.

3.3 *The Dissolutions 1536-1539*

In dissolving the monasteries, priories, friaries, and convents, the Henrician state attacked the lingering foundations of Roman Catholicism in the realm and gained a material incentive for securing the acquiescence of the leaders of provincial England. The disbanding of English monasticism and the concurrent attacks on the shrines and images that characterised many of them, made the dissolutions a profoundly cultural experience. Their immense material and cultural legacies mean that they have become one of the most idiosyncratic elements of the English Reformation, and one of the most contentious.

²²⁹ TNA, C 1/538/40; C 1/550/51.

Traditional historiography has cast it as an avaricious process of spoliation detached from the theological issues of the Reformation, but more recent discussions have focused on the importance of the dissolution in the transitional stages of the early Reformation. Ethan Shagan argued for the inevitability of reform as individuals and communities, despite not being convinced Protestants, became implicit in reform as they started to profit from the desacralization of holy objects, from the dissolution of monastic lands, and from the reforms of parish religion.²³⁰ Shagan drifted back towards the idea of a pre-revisionist popular reformation, but only in the sense that reform was brought about by community pragmatism that in-turn altered the spiritual landscape, regardless of individual intent. Post-revisionist discussions such as these form the basis of what follows, where the dissolution is characterised as a process that was as much a cultural process as it was a financial one.

3.3.1 *The Smaller Houses 1536-1539*

During the second half of the decade the Henrician establishment mounted its first effective attack on the institutional foundations of late medieval belief and practice. In summer 1535 the establishment of the Court of Augmentations by parliamentary statute (27 Henry VIII C.27) provided the institutional means for the surveying and redistributing of monastic revenues and lands.²³¹ That same summer, Richard Layton and a small cohort of Cromwell's clients toured Kent taking assessments of the county's religious institutions. By the end of the survey, the houses at Davington, Folkestone, Dover, and West Langdon were earmarked for closure, either through decay or for moral laxity.²³² Shortly afterwards, in spring 1536, the passing of the

²³⁰ Shagan, *Popular Politics*, pp. 168-72

²³¹ *SR*, iii, pp. 569-74.

²³² Davington was left extinct after its prioress died in March 1535, see: *VCH*, ii, pp. 144-45. Folkestone was visited in October 1535 and surrendered to Thomas Bedyll on 15 November 1535, see: *L&P*, 9, 668, 669, 816, 829; *TNA*, E 322/87. Dover was visited in September and surrendered on

Act for the Suppression of the Lesser Monasteries (27 Henry VIII C.28) confirmed the process of dissolution of monastic establishments with an annual income below £200.²³³ Six Kentish houses were affected by the bill: St Radegund's Abbey, near Dover; Combwell Priory, in south west Kent; St Sexburga's nunnery, on Sheppey; Bilsington Priory, near Ashford; Horton Priory, also near Ashford; and St Gregory's Priory and St Sepulchre's nunnery, both in Canterbury.²³⁴ The total annual income of these six was estimated to £505 12s 8d, with St Gregory's alone valued at £104 14s 7d, and St Sepulchre's a more meagre £30 10s 3d ob; all had been surrendered by the end of 1536.²³⁵

In total, the dissolutions of 1535-6 had released lands worth around £900 per annum into crown hands, much of which was promptly funnelled into the hands of lay clients (see appendix D). During the early stages the majority of the lands were granted to members of the county gentry who had fostered links with Cromwell or Cranmer, or that had proven their loyalties to the crown through other means. The possessions of Folkestone Priory were granted to Edward, lord Clinton, the head of a minor noble family seated in Folkestone but resident in Lincolnshire.²³⁶ In October 1536, Clinton was one of the few local gentlemen to muster his tenants and actively resist rebels in Lincolnshire, and would prove to be a key figure in returning Lincolnshire and Yorkshire to peace following the subsequent Pilgrimage of Grace.²³⁷ In recompense, Clinton was granted the lease to Folkestone Priory in 1538,

16 November, see: L&P, 9, 669, 717, 756, 816, 829; TNA, E 322/78. West Langdon was visited in October 1535 and surrendered to Thomas Bedyll on 13 November see: L&P, 9, 668, 669, 829; TNA, E 322/120.

²³³ SR, iii, pp. 575-78; S. M. Jack, 'The Last Days of the Smaller Monasteries in England', *JEH*, 21 (1970), 97-124; C. R. Cuncer, 'The Dissolution of the Kentish Monasteries', *Arch. Cant.*, 47 (1935), 126-143.

²³⁴ BL, Cotton Cleo E IV, fol. 356r [L&P, 10, 1238].

²³⁵ Ibid. See also: TNA, SC 6/HenryVIII/1753, 1754, 1761.

²³⁶ Hasted, *Survey*, viii, pp. 158-59.

²³⁷ L&P, 11, 587, 590, 625, 656, 969; 12:1, 734, 1087, 1199.

which was then granted in fee simple the following year.²³⁸ Another crown servant with close links to Cromwell who benefitted from these early dissolutions was Sir Anthony St Leger. St Leger had served as a retainer of Christopher Hales for some years, and resultantly had been in contact with Cromwell since 1532.²³⁹ It was at Cromwell's behest that he was granted a fifty year lease to the house and site of Bilsington Priory, valued at £70, in July 1538.²⁴⁰ In May 1536, St Leger had served on the grand jury that indicted Anne Boleyn and, like Clinton, he mustered troops to resist the northern rebels in October that year.²⁴¹ St Leger was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in July 1537, but continued to accrue dissolved lands in Kent, including the manor of Kingsnorth, previously a possession of the abbey of Faversham.²⁴²

In a similar vein, the site of St Radegund's was granted to Richard Keyes, also of Folkestone, one of the king's serjeants at arms and future captain of Sandgate Castle.²⁴³ Upon Keyes' death in 1546 the lease passed to his eldest son Thomas, the future husband of Lady Mary Grey.²⁴⁴ Men like Keyes, Clinton, and St Leger, were the primary beneficiaries of the early stages of the dissolution in the region, mainly due to their usefulness to the crown and their alacrity in bartering Cromwell and others for preferment. While this did not have a direct impact upon Canterbury, it did

²³⁸ L&P, 14:1, 191(10). On Clinton's other acquisitions, see: L&P, 13:2, 1020.

²³⁹ TNA, SP, 1/84, fol. 159r [L&P, 7, 788]; L&P, 5, 1598(9); L&P, 6, 604; L&P, 7, 862.

²⁴⁰ L&P, 13:1, 1519(68); Hasted, *Survey*, viii, pp. 350-51. Shortly before the lease was granted Cromwell noted in his remembrances to assign the warrant to the ferme of Bilsington to St Leger, see: BL, Cotton Titus, B/I, fol. 448r [L&P, 12:1, 1079]. St Leger's brother had been prior of Bilsington in the 1520s and the familial connection might have been influential in this regard, see: L&P, 4, 4557; TNA, SP 1/98, fol. 98r [L&P, 9, 713].

²⁴¹ TNA, KB 8/8, m.13. St Leger was one of eight Kentish gentlemen charged with supplying men to resist the rebels, see: SP 1/107, fol. 38v [L&P, 11, 580].

²⁴² Hasted, *Survey*, v, p. 387.

²⁴³ L&P, 13:1, 1520.

²⁴⁴ CCA, PRC, 17/26/25; H. Miller, 'Keys, Thomas (by 1524-71), of St. Radigund's, near Dover, Kent', *HPO*.

help to set in motion a reinvigoration of the Kentish land market, and a major redistribution of landed wealth in the region.²⁴⁵

The situation was similar when St Gregory's and St Sepulchre's were dissolved, with little impact upon corporate affairs or the individual wealth of its members in the short term. The lands of both initially reverted into the hands of the archbishop, with St Gregory's lying empty until the site was leased to Richard Neville during Edward VI's reign.²⁴⁶ The site of St Sepulchre's, outside the southern walls of the city, was in 1537 granted to Robert Darknall, a local lawyer who had been a resident freeman since 1522. Darknall never held office in the corporation, but served as MP on six occasions.²⁴⁷ Darknall is archetypical of the middling provincial gentry who are seen as the principal beneficiaries of the dissolutions. While he himself seems to have played no role in the process of dissolution worthy of reward, he had become member of the king's household in 1537. Following the dissolution of St Sepulchre's, he was granted a lease of the house and site, as well as various fields in Thanington, the rectories of St Sepulchre's and the attached St Mary Bredin, and all associated possessions. At the same time, he was granted a separate lease to a water-mill at Charlton, previously held by Dover Priory.²⁴⁸ In the years that followed Darknall would accrue other dissolved lands in Richmond, Essex, and London.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ M. L. Zell, 'Landholding and the Land Market in Early Modern Kent', in *Early Modern Kent 1540-1640*, ed. by M. L. Zell (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 39-74 (p. 53).

²⁴⁶ Hasted, *Survey*, xii, p. 141.

²⁴⁷ He was returned to the 1529, 1536, 1542, 1547, March 1553, and October 1553 sessions, see: H. Miller, 'DARKNALL (DARTNOLL), Robert (by 1501-53/56), of Canterbury, Kent and London', *HPO*; Baker, *Men of Court*, i, p. 574.

²⁴⁸ L&P, 13:1, 1519, 1520.

²⁴⁹ L&P, 16, 1500; 18:1, 982; 19:1, 1036.

It was not until the dissolution of the friaries that the corporation and its membership began to exert an influence on the course of dissolutions and could hope to benefit from the culture of reciprocity that had developed between the crown and its subjects. The dissolution of the friaries was initiated on 5 February 1538 when Richard Ingworth, suffragan bishop of Dover, was granted a commission to visit all four orders; by the end of his visitation most had been surrendered to the crown.²⁵⁰ In Canterbury, the city's three friaries were dissolved between 13 and 15 December 1538 when Ingworth visited the city and reported that all three were in a decayed state, with the Austin Friars particularly impoverished, holding £40 debts and goods worth only £6.²⁵¹

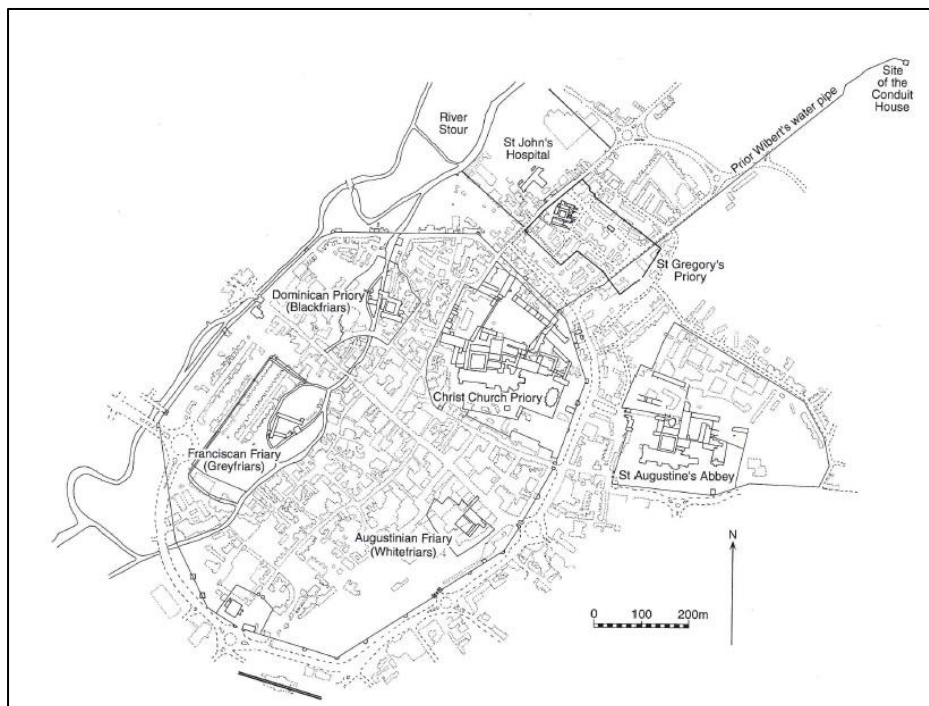


Figure 3.1 The Major Monastic Sites of the City of Canterbury at the Dissolution.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Ingworth was the former prior provincial of the Dominicans and had been nominated for the position of suffragan of Dover by Cranmer in December 1537, see: L&P, 12:2, 1156, 1311(13), 1190; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, pp. 828-29 [L&P, 12:1, 225].

²⁵¹ L&P, 13:2, 1058.

²⁵² Hicks and Hicks, *St Gregory's Priory*, p. 27.

The Grey Friars had been a site of inequity ever since its association with Elizabeth Barton and the refusal of two of the Observants to swear the oath of supremacy.²⁵³ On 5 October, two months before the surrender, Archbishop Cranmer made an attempt to secure the site of the Grey Friars for his servant Thomas Cobham, brother of lord Cobham, while Christopher Hales was keen for it to pass to the weaver Thomas Bathurst, but both were outmanoeuvred by Thomas Spilman.²⁵⁴ As a receiver of the augmentations, Spilman carried the support of Cromwell and having received the lease to the site in February 1539 went on to purchase the site and church for £100 the following July, before selling it on to Thomas Rolfe for £200 four years later.²⁵⁵

The site of the Black Friars was to be put to a more industrious purpose, with the weaver Thomas Bathurst securing part of the site in order to reinvigorate the city's weaving industry. Whether or not this was an endeavour with royal backing is unclear, but Bathurst, originally from the Weald, claimed the king was in favour of his efforts.²⁵⁶ Bathurst eventually secured the site in 1539, and continued operating there until around 1562, when the lease was sold to the William Hovenden, a cathedral prebend who also used the site for weaving.²⁵⁷ Bathurst's endeavours were a success, and around 1540 he was enthusiastically welcomed into the city as a freeman before being elevated almost immediately to a common councillor and serving as sheriff the following year.²⁵⁸ Similar attempts by local businessmen to utilise ex-monastic buildings for use as industrial spaces were evident in other areas

²⁵³ L&P, 7, app. 27; 11, 361.

²⁵⁴ *Misc. Writings*, p. 330; TNA, SP 1/144, fol. 13r.

²⁵⁵ L&P, 14:1, 423; Hasted, *Survey*, xi, p. 171.

²⁵⁶ In his letter to Cromwell concerning the Greyfriars, Christopher Hales commented he had heard 'the King wishes [Bathurst] to dwell in Canterbury', see: TNA, SP 1/144, fol. 13r.

²⁵⁷ L&P, 14:1, 423; *VCH*, ii, p. 179.

²⁵⁸ See appendix A.

too, with an almost exact replica scheme being set up at Gloucester during the same period.²⁵⁹

The site of the Austin Friars was granted to the Kentish justice George Harper in 1542, but prior to this the civic officials had been closely involved in the messy business of the house's surrender.²⁶⁰ When Ingworth had visited the house to receive their surrender in December 1538 one friar had spoken 'rudely and traitorously', maintaining that 'the king may not be head of the church of England'.²⁶¹ The man in question, Friar John Stone, was examined by Ingworth on two occasions, once before Thomas Spilman, and a second time alongside the mayor, John Starky. Stone, remaining obstinate, was sent up to Cromwell for further examination, and after a sojourn in the tower was returned to Canterbury for trial in October 1539. On 27 October the mayor Thomas Bele received a commission of oyer and terminer, and Stone stood trial for treason in the guildhall before Bele, Christopher Hales, and Baron Hales, being found guilty on 6 December. The symbolic significance of this case is underlined by the spectacle of his execution. Rather than being executed outside the city walls at the customary place of execution, the gallows for Stone were erected from 'half a tonne of tymber' atop the Dane John mound. Stone was attached to hurdle and paraded around the city, before being hanged, drawn and quartered; his quarters were then 'parboiled' and set above the city gates.²⁶²

Just as Barton's example had provided the state the opportunity to test the limits of its enforcement, so Stone's execution provided the city's magistrates an

²⁵⁹ Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church*, p. 319.

²⁶⁰ L&P, 19:1, 141.

²⁶¹ L&P, 13:2, 1058.

²⁶² CCA, F/A/13, fols. 69v-70r.

opportunity to exercise its judicial muscles and make an example of a resident that had undermined the city's reputation. Whereas at the beginning of the decade the corporation had appeared powerless against the treasonous words of Barton, by the end of the decade it was able to utilise new treason laws to enact justice in the king's name, and once again, the yardstick of political or judicial action had been obedience to the king, rather than individual faith. Overall, while they held minimal financial benefits for the citizenry in the immediate short term, the dissolution of the friaries proved a positive experience for the magistrates. Their removal from the city landscape and the repurposing of lands and buildings into corporate hands hinted at the possibility of a future extirpation of monastic jurisdictions from the city entirely. Such a prospect would have been enticing to a community who, as seen in chapter one, had for generations seen the competing monastic jurisdictions as a creeping threat to corporate efficacy and to communal stability more broadly.

3.3.2 *The Great Houses 1536-1540*

Following the removal of the friaries, the dissolution of Canterbury's two Benedictine establishments promised much more profound change to corporate life in the city. Prior Goldwell's grovelling letters of 1534, mentioned above, turned out to be symptomatic of the relationship between Goldwell and Cromwell.²⁶³ Historically the position of prior had been carried influence and it was thus not unusual for a prior to be in frequent contact with government officials. Yet, as the decade progressed, Prior Goldwell found himself and his monastery increasingly embattled in Canterbury and less able to exert itself on a regional stage. As we saw in chapter one, past relations between Christ Church and the corporation had been

²⁶³ BL, Cotton Cleo E/IV, fols. 91r-92v, 93r-93v.

tempestuous, while the relationship between Prior Goldwell and Archbishop Cranmer had been almost non-existent.²⁶⁴ Despite this, though, it was unlikely that the prior could have foreseen the demise of his establishment.

Although it remains a contentious issue, it is unlikely that the king had intended the full-scale dissolution of the monasteries before 1537.²⁶⁵ Even following the initial round of dissolutions, the narrative was one of reform of monastic practice rather than its utter extirpation, only after the Pilgrimage of Grace did a full-scale assault on monasticism become a reality. Following the rebellions, the regular clergy became cast as a potential fifth column who needed to be forced into submission.²⁶⁶

During early 1538, the direction of the ongoing dissolutions started to become more easily discernible. On 29 January, Boxley Priory in west Kent was surrendered to commissioners, and with it one of the most significant pilgrimage shrines in the nation, the Rood of Grace. In the wake of the surrender, the Henrician authorities mounted a sustained campaign to expose the frauds peddled by monks at Boxley following the discovery of mechanised ‘vices’ employed to deceive those who visited the abbey on pilgrimage.²⁶⁷ The fraudulent rood was paraded through Maidstone’s market place and taken up to court to be displayed, and on 24 February the Protestant bishop of Rochester, John Hilsey, gave a sermon at Paul’s Cross condemning the audacity of the cunning monks at Boxley and elsewhere.²⁶⁸ Such

²⁶⁴ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 264.

²⁶⁵ For two opposing readings of the intention behind the dissolutions, see: R. W. Hoyle, ‘The Origins of the Dissolution of the Monasteries’, *HJ*, 308 (1995), 275-305; Bernard, *King’s Reformation*, pp. 151-72, 433-47.

²⁶⁶ TNA, SP 1/108, fols. 176r-78r; SP 1/109, fols. 224r-24v.

²⁶⁷ P. Marhsall, ‘The Rood of Boxley, the Blood of Hailes and the Defence of the Henrician Church’, *JEH*, 46 (1995), 689-696 (p. 690).

²⁶⁸ Marshall, ‘Rood of Boxley’, pp. 690, 692.

events served to set the tone for the ideological attacks that characterised the second wave of dissolutions.

This was echoed in Canterbury on 8 September 1538, when Cromwell paid John Bale and a troupe of actors 40s to stage a performance of some unnamed play at the Hackington rectory. His accounts list payments of 10s to his ‘trumpettes’ for their playing ‘at Saint Stephyns’, and alongside them 40s to ‘balle and his ffelowes’ given to them ‘by my Lordes commaundement at saynt Stephens besydes Caunterbury \for playing before my Lorde/’.²⁶⁹ It was around the same time in early September that Cromwell’s servant Richard Pollard was removing twenty-six cartloads of booty out of the cathedral grounds, carrying with him part of the fabric of the city.²⁷⁰ It is likely that the play staged that day was the lost *On the Treasons of Becket*, a presumably straightforward hatchet-job of the legacy and memory of the city’s patron saint staged to coincide with the simultaneous material destruction going on within the cathedral precincts.²⁷¹

In official circles Becket’s star had been waning for some time. While there had been offerings made to the shrine in his name, King Henry had not visited the shrine in person for some years, despite his frequent presence in the city *en route* to the continent. This was in large part because through the rhetoric of the mid-1530s Henry had come to revile everything Becket represented.²⁷² To him, and indeed many other English reformers, Becket was a symbol of a papal triumph over a king’s

²⁶⁹ TNA, E 36/256, fol. 140.

²⁷⁰ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 228.

²⁷¹ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 227; G. Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 170, 172.

²⁷² The last time Henry had personally made offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas was decades earlier in September 1514, see: L&P, 2, p. 1465. Hugh Rich, the Observant Franciscan executed alongside Elizabeth Barton commented that when the king had been in the city in 1532 he did not visit the shrines at Christ Church or St. Augustine’s, see: SP, 1/80 fol. 129 [L&P, 6, 1486(5)]

authority, and in a post-supremacy church where cults of saints, the veneration of relics, penitent pilgrimages, and organised monasticism were anathemas, it was clear that the idea of Becket as martyr needed to be expunged from national consciousness.²⁷³ In late summer 1538, at Cranmer's bequest, Cromwell granted a commission to 'Doctor Lee and Doctour Barbor' to investigate the miraculous phials of Becket's 'water' and 'all other like things there' which Cranmer suspected to be nothing but red ochre.²⁷⁴ Becket's tomb was dismantled by the mid-September, and his bones were likely burned in the precincts in what would have been an extraordinarily poignant display of royal power.

The removal of Becket's sainted bones from their place in Christ Church was not just an act of state-sponsored spoliation, it was the most significant step in the de-Catholicisation of the city landscape. The campaign against Becket was not dissimilar to that pursued against Barton a few years previous, with the proclamations, articles, and sermons against his devious and traitorous behaviour being broadcast across the city. This was not just felt in a spiritual sense, but in a material and ceremonial sense too, with Becket still representing a powerful symbol in the city consciousness.²⁷⁵

The ending of the midsummer St Thomas pageant, seen by many as a symbolic rejection of the city's Roman Catholic heritage, had more to do with obedience to Cromwell's injunctions than with rejection of the saint. Indeed, after falling out of use during the 1520s, the St Thomas pageant was staged without fail

²⁷³ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 226; H. L. Parish, *Monks, Miracles and Magic: Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church* (London, 2005), pp. 96-96.

²⁷⁴ Cranmer wrote to Cromwell to request this commission on 28 August, see: SP, 1/579/377 [L&P, 13:2, 126]. On Becket's 'water' see: D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000), pp. 48-49, 51.

²⁷⁵ On the declining income from offerings see: Dobson, 'Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages', pp. 135-49.

between 1529 and its final outing on 6 July 1538. Such was its popularity during the 1530s, that successive mayors in the years immediately preceding 1538 authorised large amounts to be spent on beautifying the procession. Before its final outing in summer 1538, during the mayoralty of the iconoclast John Starky, the city spent 11s 6d on various paraphernalia related to the tableau.²⁷⁶ Becket's legacy had served a more emblematic than devotional purpose in the corporate imagination, but such a position was no longer viable. As such, the removal of the Benedictine foundations from the city, not to mention the corporation's saintly patron, forced magistrates to redefine their corporate identity to align more overtly with post-supremacy ideals of obedience and royal authority. Not only were the pageant elements stripped from the city's midsummer festivities to be replaced by giants, but the city's common seal was quickly amended to remove the depiction of Becket's martyrdom on the matrix to be replaced by the corporation's coat of arms (see figures 3.2 and 3.3).²⁷⁷



Figure 3.2 Canterbury's Common Seal pre-1538.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ CCA, CC, F/A/12, fol. 369v.

²⁷⁷ The city paid the bellfounder William Oldfield 4s 8d for 'the putting owte of Thomas Bekket' from the seal, and the 'grayng of the same', see: CCA, CC, F/A/13, fol. 138r.

²⁷⁸ CCA, DCc, ChAnt-Seal/41.



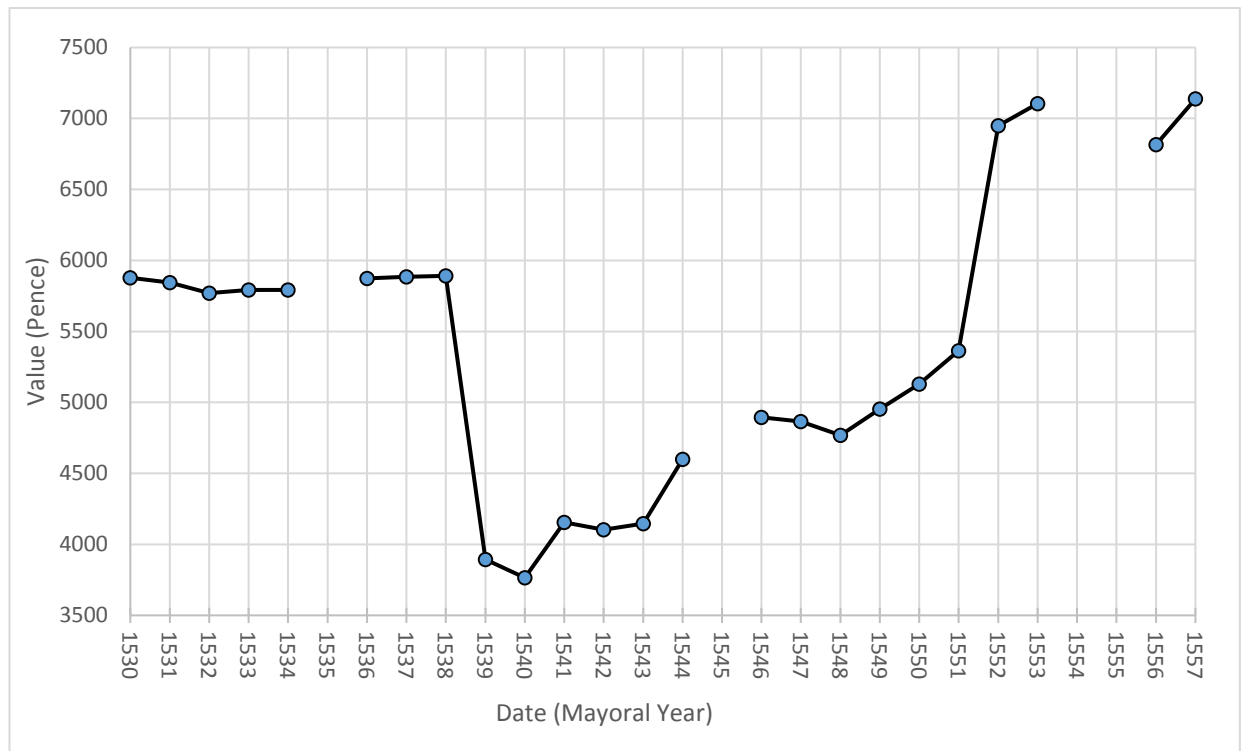
Figure 3.3 Canterbury's Common Seals post-1538.²⁷⁹

On a wider material level, the dissolution of the larger houses provided the city an opportunity to build a more secure financial basis for itself long-term. It goes without saying that pilgrimage traffic was responsible for a large amount of traffic to the city and was in many ways responsible for the prevalence of victuallers and innkeepers in the city and corporation. It has been claimed in the past that the shrine to St Thomas was in terminal decline by the time the dissolution came, with pilgrimage traffic having all but dried up. While it is true that the returns recorded by the Christ Church treasurer had reduced significantly from their fourteenth century peak, they remained broadly similar to the values recorded throughout the fifteenth century. For example, the *valor* lists the value of offerings to the shrine in 1536 at £36 2s 7d, which is not dissimilar to the £25 6s 8d recorded in 1444, or the £31 1s received in 1453.²⁸⁰ What is more, immediately following the dissolution of St Augustine's in August 1538, the city experienced a minor meltdown in its finances brought on by a largescale vacating of much of its rental roll (see Graph 3.1). This exact root of this crisis is unclear, but given how extreme the deviation in rental

²⁷⁹ CCA, DCc, ChAnt-Seal/39.

²⁸⁰ *Valor*, i, p. 8; Woodruff, 'Cult of St Thomas of Canterbury', p. 23.

incomes became immediately following the St Augustine's surrender the two events are certainly linked.



Graph 3.1 Returns from City Rents 1530-1557²⁸¹

Almost immediately the corporation enacted a campaign to raise new sources of revenue. On St Stephen's day 1538, the city's lawyer, John Hales, contacted Cromwell desiring his:

favour for the mayor and city of Canterbury, that they may have the grant of the watermill and all lands and rents within the city which belonged, of late, to the monastery of St. Austen's. A great part of their yearly charge used to be paid by victuallers and innholders, who made their gain out of the pilgrims which heretofore came to the said city, but do not now continue.²⁸²

²⁸¹ Data collected from: CCA, CC, F/A/12-15.

²⁸² L&P 13:2 1142

By exploiting Cromwell's concerns over the material impacts of the dissolution, the city was swiftly granted the mill, and within months had already started complaining that their new fishing rights were being encroached upon.²⁸³ Alongside this a sustained campaign to rebuild and renew existing city tenements was enacted, in many cases utilising the stones from the dissolved St Augustine's itself, and in 1542 the city acquired a large chunk of St Augustine's rent roll, incorporating tenements from across the city to the value of £26 annually.²⁸⁴ Initially this was set to cost the corporation the princely sum of £424, but thanks to the intervention of Archbishop Cranmer the cost was halved.²⁸⁵

Conclusion

The twelve years which had elapsed since Cardinal Campeggio's visit in autumn 1528 had brought with them profound political, social, and religious changes which to most would have been unthinkable. The primary catalyst for most of these changes had been the act of supremacy. During the early years of the decade Canterbury had become the centre of a national movement against the king's marriage policies, and while there was little the corporation could do to challenge Barton and her cohort, the fear of being implicated by association was profound. The swearing of the oath of succession strengthened the relationship between the corporation and royal authority, setting the tone for political discourse in the town for decades to come. More importantly, it made Canterbury's contemporary political classes complicit in the ongoing process of reform. This was to prove vital in the city's nascent transition to Protestantism

²⁸³ BL Add MS 32311 f. 186 (L&P 15 453)

²⁸⁴ CCA, CC, F/A/13, fols. 189v, 191r; TNA, E 318/27/1523.

²⁸⁵ *CPR 1548-9*, p. 311.

because, like so many of the events which preceded it, the oath and its memory was osmotically preserved in the ritual memory of the burghmote.

But custom alone was not enough to see the city and the region through the turbulence of the decade. During the middle of the decade, when religious reforms had started to filter into the city, there had been significant confusion over what exactly defined correct doctrine, though there was little doubt that change was afoot. Therefore, the principal concern of the corporation remained the maintenance of the king's supremacy, and it is in this regard that we can see the most assured action. On the other hand, attempts to enforce any sort of religious uniformity in the city were tentative and piecemeal. The sessions of 1536 stand as a peculiar aberration in the court records which for the most part seem to show little regard for the colour of citizens' souls, more concerned with outward conformity than inward uniformity.

Above this civic realm though, the wider process of reform proceeded at pace, and the presence of a reforming bishop in the diocese only helped in this regard. The downfall of Barton and death of Archbishop Warham marked the start of what was to be a trying decade for the county's Catholic gentry. The early years of Archbishop Cranmer's episcopacy were marked by a slow but assured move to place suitable clergy and allies into available positions, creating a foundation on which further reform might be built. In the meantime, Cranmer worked alongside Thomas Cromwell to ensure the efficacy of the supremacy in his diocese, whether through his preaching campaign in late 1536 or his cooperation with members of the conservative gentry like Christopher Hales or Richard Ingworth. At the same time Thomas Cromwell's effective management of local affairs, often a network of affiliates shared with Cranmer, provided an extra layer of authority in the region and demonstrated that town and crown still existed in a symbiotic relationship.

While it is true that many in the city and on the city benches remained steadfastly Catholic, such a position is to have been expected, traditional religious life had been catastrophically undermined. The government had pursued an effective campaign against the local cults and shrines, and the parading of the fraudulent Boxley Rood gave vocal Protestants across the county ammunition with which to mount further attacks on Catholic practices. More significantly, the extrication of Bishop Becket from the fabric of Canterbury's mythos stimulated a lasting change in the city that the corporation seemed all too happy to participate in. At the same time the dissolution drew many local gentry and city governors in to the process of ongoing reform, and the dispersal of monastic lands and goods provided a legitimate and not entirely self-interested rationale for supporting this process. Like the rest of the process, the passage of monastic property into lay hands had been efficient and largely without opposition.

Within the guildhall things seem to have carried on in much the same vein as before. The mayor and aldermen worked to preserve their liberties and maintain the king's peace amidst an ever changing religious and political climate. While there were periods of unrest on the city benches, it is hard to attribute these to divisions emerging from personal religious differences or the beginnings of factional politics amongst the corporation. Individual aldermen continued to act in provocative or litigious fashions, but there is little to suggest that these were anything different to the sorts of behaviours exhibited in preceding decades, or that there were any doctrinal motivations behind these. Inside their city there was division, yet there seems to have been a general unwillingness or inability for the typical methods of civic enforcement to act on matters of religious controversy. Instead instances of enforcement in matters relating to reforms were typically presented as crimes against the supremacy and king's

sovereign authority, once again proving the effectiveness of the official state rhetoric surrounding supremacy in the urban context. At the same time the city maintained an effective, if at times tempestuous, relationship with the two primary state arbiters in the region, Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer, who on the most part seem to have trusted the city governors to act in the best interest of the nation.

The reforms of the 1530s had been legitimated ideologically, politically, and materially over the course of the decade, and in early 1539 there was little suggestion that anything that could reverse the changes made since Henry's divorce. However, the passing of the Act of Six Articles in the summer of 1539, the fall of Thomas Cromwell the following year, and complications following the reconstitution of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral meant that the final years of King Henry's reign witnessed openly doctrinal disputes in the city community, testing the limits of corporate solidarity once more.

Chapter Four: Division, Reform & Renewal in the City, c. 1536-1547

Introduction

The 1540s was an odd decade. A perceived lack of ‘real’ change under Henry VIII’s regime following the act of six articles and the conservative malaise which hung over official policy until the king’s death provides the later-Henrician years a dour aspect, especially following on from the bombast of the 1530s. Such a view is encouraged by the rapid acceleration and then immediate reversal of evangelical reform during the reigns of Edward and Mary, reinforcing the piecemeal appearance of early English reform. Yet this atmosphere of hesitancy and uncertainty had a profound bearing on how urban governors responded to ongoing change.

The successful and predominantly peaceful dissolution of England’s monasteries by the end of the 1530s demonstrated the institutional strength of the Tudor state and its national commitment to reform. Locally, it had also shown the willingness of members of the ruling establishment to actively engage in reform and to jettison artefacts of late medieval religious culture deemed unacceptable by the crown. Alongside this, even amongst the conservative quarters of the corporate community, a proto-Erastian theology bound together the corporate community and continued to undermine ties to the old ways. In this sense the dissolution of the monasteries and the accompanying attack on doctrines of purgatory and the efficacy of saints created a decidedly state-centric view of change in places like Canterbury, where outward change occurred only once it had been initiated and authorised by figures like Cromwell or Cranmer.

The national jurisdictional and administrative changes of the 1530s had promised much for urban magistrates in terms of bringing them into closer alignment with state powers, and providing them with a greater moral and legislative recourse to govern within their bounds. The dissolutions, while in some senses traumatic, had provided a new platform for both individuals and corporations to invest in future prosperity. Alongside this, within Canterbury, the pace of religious change was starting to gather, both in the guildhall and within the city parishes. New members of the corporation, most notable amongst them John Twyne, brought with them an understanding of Lutheran ideals on civic governance which dovetailed neatly with pre-existing commonwealth ideology in the city. What is more, men like Twyne cultivated close links with Archbishop Cranmer who, as time progressed, began to pursue reform more aggressively in the city, particularly following the downfall of Cromwell on 3 April 1540.

Shortly before this, Archbishop Cranmer, Christopher Hales, and Anthony St Leger were in Canterbury to serve their commission and receive the surrender of Christ Church.¹ An unnamed chronicler also reported Lord Cobham in attendance, Cobham was not named on the royal commission so his presence suggests the event attracted a crowd.² Plans for the new foundation had been in the offing for some time before this, with debate surrounding what function that the new foundation would play in the city, diocese, and nation. Many contemporary and future reformers could see no function for secular cathedrals, the idea serving only as a reminder of the engorged corruption of the late medieval church.³ When Cromwell sent Cranmer the

¹ TNA, E 315/245, fols. 76-79 [L&P, 15, 378, 452]. A week later Christopher Hales was in Oxford receiving the surrender of Canterbury College, see: L&P, 15, 488.

² CCCC, MS 298, fol. 207v.

³ C. Cross, “‘Dens of Loitering Lubbers’: Protestant Protest Against Cathedral Foundations, 1540-1640”, in *Studies in Church History IX: Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. by D. Baker

drafts of the bill for the new cathedral foundations he famously decried the £40 budgeted for eight prebendal stipends, suggesting that the office of prebendary was good as ‘neither a learner, nor a teacher’, often spending their time ‘in much idleness’ and ‘superfluous belly cheer’.⁴ To Cranmer, eight men serving as prebendaries were eight minds lost to idleness, and he would have preferred the money spent on making Canterbury a centre of higher learning resembling an Oxbridge college.⁵ His ideas were overlooked though, and the re-founded cathedral would, in theory, serve as bastion of preaching and prayer, a powerful instrument for enforcing spiritual uniformity, and useful source of royal patronage.

When the cathedral was reconstituted by letters patent on 8 April 1541 many of the financial and administrative structures of the old foundation had been preserved, yet there were also important differences.⁶ The new chapter included a Dean, twelve prebendaries, six ‘Six Preachers’, twelve minor canons, and various choristers, lay clerks, and lesser functionaries. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this new foundation, and certainly the aspect which had the greatest impact upon the cathedral and the surrounding region in the short term, was the vastly increased preaching provision set out in the statutes. The dean and canons were required to provide four sermons a year within the cathedral, the twelve prebendaries were required to preach a minimum of ten times a year outside the cathedral, and the Six Preachers a must give twenty sermons a year in the city and surrounding parishes with sermons at the cathedral on sixteen appointed holy days.⁷ Such a mammoth

(Cambridge, 1972), pp. 231-46; P. Collinson, ‘The Protestant Cathedral, 1541-1660’, in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. by P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), pp. 154-203 (pp. 154-56).

⁴ L&P, 14:2, 430; BL, Cotton Cleo E/IV, fol. 302 [*Misc. Writings*, pp. 396-97].

⁵ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 264-65.

⁶ Various copies of the new statutes can be found at: BL, Add MS 32311, fols. 91r-108v, 109r-179v; CCC, MS 120, fols. 1-14, 15-54; CCA, LitMs/E/34; LitMs/E/37, pp. 1-35; L&P, 16, 700, 779(5).

⁷ Hogben, ‘Preaching’, p. 173.

provision of preaching would have undoubtedly been some comfort to Cranmer, and likewise would have caused a rapid dissemination of theological and doctrinal information into Kentish parishes.

However, the speed of change during the 1540s added an unstable element to English society, complicating inter-personal relationships, altering the nature of national and provincial politics, and redefining the role that religion played in society more generally. What is more, within contemporary Canterbury, the sinuous course of national reform was not as evident as it is to those with the benefit of historical hindsight. Even in the early 1540s, a period commonly considered a time of conservative stagnation, the campaign against images and ceremonies in the city parishes continued. The people of Henrician, Edwardian, or Marian Canterbury might not have been aware of the future triumph of Protestantism in their city, but they were well aware of the omnipresent atmosphere of change that surrounded their lives.

4.1 John Twyne and Emergent Protestantism

The Protestant cause was to suffer a number of setbacks during the second half of 1538, potentially destabilising the tentative progress made in the region. In June the much anticipated embassy from the Schmalkaldic League had arrived to much fanfare, but by September the initiative had petered out despite Cromwell and Cranmer's best efforts.⁸ The embassy's failure was largely the result of the absence of Philip Melanchthon, whom the king had hoped to debate the finer points of Lutheran theology with. Melanchthon was a pragmatic and intelligent reformer, and

⁸ For a fuller description of the embassy see: R. McEntegart, *Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden, and the English Reformation* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 94-107.

reformers at court believed he might assuage some of the king's lingering doubts through measured discussion, but, without Melanchthon's presence at the table, Henry soon lost interest in the embassy.⁹ Instead the king turned away from further reform.¹⁰

These reversals, however, should not disguise the ongoing changes occurring at a national and local level. The publication of Cromwell's second set of vicegerential injunctions on 5 September specified that all English parishes were to keep a copy of the vernacular Bible, and encouraged a harsher line be taken on saints, pilgrimages, relics, and images.¹¹ Meanwhile, just as the burning of John Lambert signalled Henry's loss of patience with sacramentarians, the unprecedented burning of the Roman Catholic John Forest in May demonstrated that there was still no place for prevarication when it came to the supremacy either.¹² Yet even as the tide of official reform ebbed and flowed, Cromwell's presence in Kent remained robust, as did his ability to foster a pragmatic adherence to reformed doctrine amongst the Canterbury community. Over the course of the 1530s he, and to a lesser extent Cranmer, had helped to secure the supremacy in the region and encourage a gradual drift towards Protestantism amongst many of the lesser gentry and urban elites.

That Cromwell was still attracting requests for patronage is testament to his continued efficacy in this regard. Sometime around 1538, Canterbury's humanist-in-

⁹ Bernard, *King's Reformation*, pp. 540-41.

¹⁰ L&P, 13:2, 849, 851, 852; C. Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, ed. by W. D. Hamilton, Camden Society, new series, 2 vols (London, 1875), I, pp. 78-81; *A&M* (1570), pp. 1294-329. For two very different readings of this event see: Haigh, *Reformations*, pp. 136-37; Bernard, *King's Reformation*, pp. 492-94.

¹¹ Anon., *Injunctions for the clerge. Exhibite die mensis Anno d[omi]ni MCCCCxxviii* (London, 1538).

¹² P. Marshall, 'Papist as Heretic, The Burning of John Forest, 1538', *HJ*, 41 (1998), 351-374.

chief and recently elected common councillor John Twyne attempted to ingratiate himself with the vicegerent by dedicating to him a translated extract of Philip Melanchthon's *Epitome philosophiae moralis* (1538).¹³ The original manuscript of Twyne's translation is undated, but given that the *Epitome* was first printed in Strasbourg in 1538, Twyne must have been translating in the short period between mid-1538 and Cromwell's downfall in July 1540.¹⁴ There is the slim likelihood that Twyne prepared the translation to present to Cromwell while he was staying outside the city in September 1538. Twyne's connections to Cranmer might have made this more of a possibility, and the fact that Twyne chose to translate such a short section of the *Epitome* does suggest the task was undertaken in haste, but this is impossible to substantiate.

Twyne's attempts to curry favour with Cromwell during this time are understandable. Since his arrival in Canterbury in the mid-1520s Twyne had been serving as the master of the grammar school at St Augustine's, but following the surrender of the abbey on 30 July 1538 this position was defunct and his future career unclear.¹⁵ As a result, Twyne seemingly entertained notions of entering Cromwell's service as counsellor. In the preface to his translation, Twyne deploys a number of unsubtle allusions lifted from Horace, Plutarch, and Virgil extolling the benefits of counsel, before praising Cromwell's role as the king's 'most trustie and honorable cownsellar' and proffering his own 'reddy prest and wylling mynd' for 'glory and welthe of thys realme'.¹⁶ His offer of service was likely linked to a desire

¹³ BL, Harley MS 7314, fols. 145r-155r.

¹⁴ The text was printed in Strasbourg by the printer Kraft Müller (a.k.a. Crato Mylius), see: P. Melanchthon, *Philosophiae moralis epitome phillippo Melanchthone autore, nunquam antea excusa* (Strasbourg, 1538).

¹⁵ TNA, E 322/39 [L&P, 13:1, 1503].

¹⁶ Twyne refers to the counsel given to Aeneas by 'hys trusty Achates', the relationship between Panatius and Scipio referenced in Plutarch's *Morals*, and Gaius Maecenas's counsel of Augustus as discussed by Horace, see: BL, Harley MS 7314, fols. 145r-145v.

to accrue ex-monastic lands; as Joyce Youings has pointed out ‘the initiative in deciding what particular items were to be disposed of came from the prospective grantee’.¹⁷ While he does not seem to have been successful in gaining any employ from Cromwell, his acquisition of some of St Augustine’s ex-possessions suggests at least some success.¹⁸ Yet Twyne’s focus did not lie solely on courtly patrons, and it is around 1538 that he started to move more readily within the city’s corporate community.

Originally of Hampshire, Twyne had relocated to Canterbury upon his marriage to Alice Peper, the daughter of William Peper, in 1525.¹⁹ During his first thirteen years in the city he showed little interest in civic matters, eschewing the admission to the freemen customarily bestowed when marrying a freeman’s daughter. Instead he attached himself to the circle of humanists and antiquarians centred at St Augustine’s Abbey at the time.²⁰ However, as the dissolution loomed, Twyne entered the citizenry and in 1538 was elected a common councillor, marking the start of a formative civic career that ran until his ejection from office in 1562.²¹ During Twyne’s twenty-four years in the guildhall he was omnipresent at council meetings, with his name rarely missing from burghmote manifests. His officious attitude translated into rapid civic advancement, and he would go on to occupy most of the major civic offices; serving as sheriff in 1544, alderman after 1553, mayor in

¹⁷ J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1971), p. 118.

¹⁸ L&P, 14:1, 906(9).

¹⁹ G. H. Martin, ‘Twyne, John (c.1505–1581)’, *ODNB*. William Peper, a mason, had himself been admitted through marriage in 1508, see: Cowper, *Freemen*, p. 145.

²⁰ A. B. Ferguson, ‘John Twyne: A Tudor Humanist and the Problem of a Legend’, *JBS*, 9 (1969), 24–44 (p. 26).

²¹ Twyne deferred his admittance to the citizenry until 1538, but was still admitted on account of his marriage to Peper’s daughter, see: Cowper, *Freemen*, p. 159. He first appears in the register taken on at the election of Thomas Bele at Michaelmas 1539 so must have been elected at some point between his admission in 1538 and this point, no other council registers survive during this interlude, see: CCA, CC, A/C/1/94.

1554, and MP in 1554 and 1555. After entering the civic hierarchy, Twyne acted as an important conduit for continental Protestant ideas. Just as Christopher Hales and John Johnson had helped inculcate the political reforms of the early 1530s and instil the ideology of the Supremacy into the fabric of corporate business, so Twyne would provide a coherent and persistent voice for Lutheran theology in the civic context.

Just as his motivations in seeking Cromwell's preferment seem clear, so too does his choice of author and text. Cromwell's personal attachment to Melanchthon was by this stage a long standing one, and he had worked openly to spread Melanchthon's works in England. Cromwell was patron for Richard Taverner's translation of the *Augsburg Confession* (1536), and as chancellor of the University of Cambridge had issued injunctions ensuring Melanchthon's works were part of the university curriculum.²² Since the early 1530s, moderate English reformers had cast Melanchthon as the acceptable face of continental Lutheranism, an effort helped by the German's reputation as an Erasmian humanist.²³ Alongside touchstone statements of Lutheran theology like the *Augsburg Confession* (1530), Melanchthon composed pedagogical works including Greek and Latin grammar books, texts on natural law and moral philosophy, and discussions of civil obedience.²⁴ He wrote at length on the scriptural justifications for human authority over matters of doctrine and civil morality, and the necessity for public obedience to temporal authority,

²² On the translation see: J. H. Pragman, 'The Augsburg Confession in the English Reformation: Richard Taverner's Contribution', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11 (1980), 75-85 (p. 77); McEntegart, *League of Schmalkalden*, p. 136. For Cromwell's reforms at Cambridge, see: L&P, 9, 964; S. Kusukawa, 'The Reception of Melanchthon in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge and Oxford', in *Melanchthon und Europe*, ed. by G. Frank, K. Meerhoff (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 233-54 (pp. 235-37); Ryrie, *Gospels*, pp. 170-83.

²³ Ryrie, *Gospels*, p. 254; C. L. Manschreck, *Melanchthon: The Quiet Reformer* (Nashville, 1958), p. 228; J. Schofield, 'The Lost Reformation: Why Lutheranism Failed in the Reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2003), pp. 105-07.

²⁴ P. Melanchthon, *Philip Melanchthon: Orations on Philosophy and Education*, ed. by S. Kusukawa, trans. by C. F. Salazar (Cambridge, 1999), pp. xi-xiii.

topics that were of national significance in contemporary England.²⁵ Twyne, then, would likely have recognised that Melanchthon's opinions were in commune with Cromwell's own surrounding the ideological justifications for the supremacy.²⁶

The *Epitome* itself, has been referred to as an 'authoritative ethics handbook', where Melanchthon explored the relationship between the law of nature and political authority.²⁷ Since the middle of the 1520s, spurred on by the horrors of the German Peasants' Rebellion (1525), Melanchthon championed civic law and jurisprudence as arbiters of public peace, common profit and religious learning.²⁸ In the *Epitome*, Melanchthon attempts to create a strategy for countering civil disobedience through a synthesis of Lutheran morality and Aristotelian natural law. The passage Twyne selected to translate was Melanchthon's curt examination of 'the prowde arrogant constitucion of Bonifacius the eyght', as they were articulated in the Papal bull *Unam sanctam* (1302).²⁹ Issued during a protracted dispute between Boniface and King Philip IV of France, the bull espoused that the pope was divinely ordained to wield the two swords of the Church (spiritual authority) and of earthly empire (temporal power).³⁰ Such a position obviously had little resonance with

²⁵ For a thorough exploration of Melanchthon's development of this position see: J. M. Estes, *Peace, Order, and the Glory of God: Secular Authority and the Church in the Thought of Luther and Melanchthon, 1518-1559* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 61-78, 119-34, 163-75.

²⁶ Swynnerton, *A Reformation Rhetoric*, pp. 50-53, 70. Equally, prior to his denunciation of the Six Articles, Melanchthon's name was held in high regard by King Henry himself, see: L&P, 13:1, 367; Bernard, *King's Reformation*, p. 539; Ryrie, *Gospels*, p. 21 n. 27; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 137.

²⁷ L. Baschera, 'Shaping Reformed Aristotelianism: Otto Werdmüller's Evaluation of the Nicomachean Ethics in *De dignitate, usu et methodo philosophiae moralis* (1545)', in *Following Zwingli: The Past in Reformation Zurich*, ed. by L. Baschera, B. Gordon and C. Moser (Aldershot, 2014), pp. 209-232 (p. 225).

²⁸ Estes, *Peace, Order*, pp. 69-70; S. Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philip Melanchthon* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 63, 67, 74.

²⁹ BL, Harley MS 7314, fol. 146v. The original untranslated section can be found at: Melanchthon, *Philosophiae moralis epitome*, pp. 109-22. Melanchthon had of course addressed this issue in previous writings, most notably in the *Tractatus de potestate et primatu Papae* (1537), which was to become an appendix to the *Augsburg Confession* and was more concerned with the assertion in *Unam sanctum* that salvation was dependent upon obedience to the pope; the *Tractatus* notably describes the magistrate as 'praecipuum membrum ecclesiae'.

³⁰ E. Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*, 3rd edn (New Haven, 2006), p. 162.

contemporary English audiences and Melanchthon's response outlines an ideology of civil law and the rights of governors familiar to those espoused in the 1535 edition of the *Loci Communes*.³¹

The passage's main focus is on demonstrating the role that governors could claim in matters of doctrine. First off, Melanchthon affirms that while they are separate spheres, the secular and the spiritual were both 'the gyfts and ordernawnces of god'.³² The maintenance of public peace and wellbeing is sited in a commensal relationship between rulers as maintainers of the law, and subjects as observers of this law and their ruler's divine authority. The authority of the secular governor in matters spiritual comes from an 'authoritie to comaunde honest behavyor and manners' and 'punysh syn and to defende and mantayne the comune peace'.³³ Melanchthon reinforces the essential criteria of obedience, making numerous references to Scriptural and Old Testament teachings on outward obedience to secular rulers, even on matters of Divine Law.³⁴ While governors might not make or enforce any laws contrary to divine laws, their duty to punish 'the owteward p[ro]fession of blasphemy' and to 'mantayne and defend the owteward discipline', meant that they were free to make laws that encouraged true religion and discourage 'wickyd doctrine'.³⁵ Such opinions were in commune with King Henry's contemporary use of his statutory powers to make pronouncements on religious matters.

³¹ E. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 78-79.

³² BL, Harley MS 7314, fol. 147r.

³³ BL, Harley MS 7314, fol. 148r-148v.

³⁴ BL, Harley MS 7314, fol. 147v, 148r, 151r, 152v.

³⁵ BL, Harley MS 7314, fol. 150v, 152r.

On the surface then Twyne's decision to translate a passage from Melancthon in order to catch Cromwell's attention was straightforward enough. The extract's tone was well suited to the time, coming as it did when Henry was on the brink of excommunication, while its northern European provenance suited the immediate diplomatic climate.³⁶ Yet, Twyne's translation hints at a more profound shift taking root in Canterbury during the later 1530s. Its very availability to Twyne suggests the circulation of reformist books in the city, and the discussions of civil power included in the extract have an extra resonance given Twyne's burgeoning civic career. While Melancthon's rhetoric was intended for princes and would have made interesting reading for King Henry, it would have also resonated with civil governors at much humbler levels. Much of the text is based upon familiar themes of urban government, such as the moral obligations of rulers to maintain order through justice, and the opposing obligation of citizens to obey the rule of magistrates.

Discussions of civic rule would have likely been familiar to Twyne, who studied for his bachelor in civil law at Oxford during the early 1520s, matriculating in 1524-5.³⁷ While there he attended lectures delivered by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives who held a lectureship at Corpus Christi between August 1523 and April 1524, and whose opinions made a firm impression upon Twyne. The final work published by Vives before his coming to England was a widely used critical edition of the *De civitate Dei* (1522), and throughout his career Vives wrote extensively on matters of civic governance.³⁸ Vives' lingering influence on Twyne is evident in Twyne's only published work, *De Rebus Albionis, Britannicis, atque Anglicis*

³⁶ Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 361-62.

³⁷ *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ed. by J. Foster (Oxford, 1891), p. 1524; C. G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague, 1970), p. 85.

³⁸ C. G. Noreña, 'Juan Luis Vives' *Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Reformation*, ed. by H. J. Hillerbrand (New York, 1996), iv, p. 244; idem, *Vives*, pp. 135-36.

commentariorum libri duo (1590 – posthumously), a dialogue account of Britain’s early history.³⁹ At one point, when discussing the notion that the Phoenicians were first to settle in Britain, Twyne quotes at length from Vives’ edition of *De Civitate*, and Augustine’s words are invoked on numerous occasions.⁴⁰ The start of *De Rebus*, recounts Vives’ journey from Louvain to Oxford in 1523 and his subsequent lectures, and elsewhere in the text Vives is referred to in the text as ‘*amicus noster*’.⁴¹

Twyne’s contact with Vives might have influenced his later interest in Melancthon in another way. The extract chosen from the *Epitome* was, as we have seen, insistent on the place of civic governors and, importantly, institutions in providing education to preserve godliness and order. Such instincts are easy to discern elsewhere in Vives’ work, where the duty of suppressing evil within the commonwealth is characterised as an institutional responsibility.⁴² In his *De subventionem pauperum* (1526), Vives offered the Senate of Bruges a detailed account of the moral and philosophical implications of social welfare along with advice on the practical administration of poor relief by civic institutions.⁴³ The secular institutional focus of Vives’ proposal echoes More’s *Utopia* and Erasmus’ *Enchiridion*, going so far as to call for the redistribution of private property and suggesting that ‘almost all the vices of the poor are our fault’.⁴⁴ Much like

³⁹ The work was published posthumously by Twyne’s son Thomas, see: J. Twyne, *De rebus Albionis, Britannicis atque Anglicis, commentariorum libri duo* (London, 1590).

⁴⁰ Twyne, *De Rebus*, pp. 41-43. Quoting from: Augustine of Hippo, *Opus absolutissimum, de civitate Dei emendatum*, ed. by J. Luis Vives and D. Erasmus (Basel, 1522), p. 392.

⁴¹ Twyne, *De Rebus*, pp. 6-7, 131.

⁴² Such an ideology was apparent in the work of many contemporary Christian Humanists and successive generations of English Protestants, see: M. Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 22-52.

⁴³ J. L. Vives, *De Subventionem Pauperum* (1526), in *The Origins of Modern Welfare: Juan Luis Vives, de Subventionem Pauperum, and City of Ypres, Forma Subventionis Pauperum*, ed. by P. Spickler (Oxford, 2010), pp. 3-100.

⁴⁴ Vives, *De Subventionem*, p. 34.

Melanchthon's *Epitome* made clear the authority of the civil governor to officiate in matters of natural law, so Vives discussed civic governors as the supervisors of urban society and bound to its better governance.

Aside from the themes of the text itself, Twyne's access to Melanchthon's *Epitome* gives some insight into the advancement of Protestantism in Canterbury. For most of the 1530s there had been a burgeoning book trade in Canterbury to which Twyne was closely linked, and from the middle of the decade this association was committed to printing and disseminating reformist literature. At the beginning of the decade the circle surrounding Elizabeth Barton had employed the printing press to publicise her miraculous visions, and, later, her dissenting political opinions.⁴⁵ The association between Protestant reform movements and the printing press almost predates Gutenberg. So inherent is this link in the history of European and English reform movements that over half a century ago Lucien Febvre and Henri Jean-Martin quipped that they had no desire to 'revive the ridiculous thesis' that printing was the handmaiden of Reformation.⁴⁶ Since then revisionist work on alternative methods of transmission have focused in particular on the more imperceptible networks of oral communication and the importance of the sermon for spreading new ideas to a population with restricted literacy.⁴⁷ However, the persistence of the book trade in Canterbury, one of the only English towns outside London to maintain a press for any length of time, is one of the most characteristic developments in the Reformation city and deserves proper elucidation.

⁴⁵ Shagan, 'Print, Orality and Communications', pp. 25-29.

⁴⁶ L. Febvre and H. Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800*, trans. by D. Gerard, ed. by D. Wotton (London, 1976), p. 288. For a very different view of this, see: A. G. Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 12-13, 37.

⁴⁷ See in particular: R. W. Scribner, 'Oral Culture and the Transmission of Reformation Ideas', in *The Transmission of Ideas in the Lutheran Reformation*, ed. by H. Robinson-Hammerstein (Dublin, 1988), pp. 83-104; A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 19-36.

There had been some history of subversive texts circulating in the region prior to 1538. Early in the 1530s books from the continent were commonly trafficked through Kent. During 1530 a Kentish layman named Thomas Hitton admitted to carrying copies of the vernacular New Testament and an English primer into the country; after a series of interrogations before Archbishop Warham he was summarily burned.⁴⁸ Three years later, one of Cromwell's contacts in Antwerp informed him that a resident of Canterbury was involved in transporting letters and printed books written against the King's marriage into England.⁴⁹ While these were most likely Catholic tracts, it is worth bearing in mind that many Lutheran princes and theologians were also critical of Henry's divorce.⁵⁰ Later in the decade, Christopher Nevinson built up a large library of works by continental reformers including Luther, Bullinger, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Calvin.⁵¹ Likewise, Sir Edward Wotton of Boughton Malherbe (brother of Nicholas Wotton) received books from the continent, including a gift directly from Heinrich Bullinger in 1538.⁵²

Towards the end of the decade there are further signs that the works of various Protestant writers were present in the city. In the early 1540s, a Canterbury resident noted that there were many 'corrupt bokys' circulating and causing much 'debate & stryffe...among the people'; while the clerk of Headcorn was said to own works by John Frith and William Tyndale.⁵³ During 1540, a number of city servants and traders, most unnamed, were brought before the quarter sessions for resorting to

⁴⁸ *A&M* (1583), pp. 2136-137; Clark, *Society*, pp. 34. Peter Clark refers to Hitton as a 'curate' but following his trial he is referred to as '*laicus*', and there is no suggestion in Foxe's account of the event that he was a curate in the town, see: TNA, C 85/25, m. 23.

⁴⁹ TNA, SP 1/77, fol. 94r [L&P, 6, 726].

⁵⁰ McEntegart, *League of Schmalkalden*, pp. 38-41.

⁵¹ D. Harrington, 'Nevinson, Christopher (d. 1551)'. *ODNB*.

⁵² MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 203.

⁵³ CCCC, MS 128, p. 297r.

two houses to consult ‘bokes by the lawe forbyden’.⁵⁴ The houses, both in Westgate ward, were said to belong to the shoemaker Richard Farrore, and the mysteriously named ‘Bonaventur’, neither of whom are traceable in the records. The same can be said about the only two others named, John Cokkes a city barber, and John Mylles, a servant. Nevertheless, despite the vagaries of the case, the implication of a group of servants having recourse to a pair of houses to read banned books, suggests a growing ubiquity of such texts in the city, as does city’s decision not to pursue the matter past the presentment stage.

During the 1530s Canterbury became a regional centre for the printing, buying and selling of books. By the middle of the decade a London bookseller Thomas Keles was renting a shop off the south gate of Christ Church for use during the city’s annual fairs.⁵⁵ In spite of the dissolution, the book trade apparently remained buoyant and a decade later Keles moved to the city, being admitted freemen in October 1547.⁵⁶ While Keles’ activity suggests a healthy market for printed materials in the city, there is no evidence of what he was selling. Thankfully, however, Canterbury was one of the few provincial towns in this period to maintain a permanent printing press. From the early 1530s John Mychell operated a press in the parish of St Paul’s close to St Augustine’s Abbey, which, from the mid-1530s, was producing editions of provocative Protestant materials for sale in the region.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ CCA, CC, J/Q/340/i.

⁵⁵ No early evidence of the lease itself survives but mention of Keles as holder of a shop in this location is made in other documents. In 1537 the lease of a neighbouring building mentions his shop, see: CCA, DCc, BB/62/9. A case was brought to chancery by a Southwark grocer against Keles no later than 1537 for Keles apparent encouragement of the grocer’s apprentice to gamble away £20 of goods while they were at the Canterbury St Thomas fair (held in December), see: TNA, C 1/834/7.

⁵⁶ CCA, CC, F/A/15, fol. 50v. Keles’ shop is mentioned in a separate lease of 1546: CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/215. A lease to Keles himself survives from early 1547, see: CCA, DCc, BB/62/15.

⁵⁷ M. L. Zell, ‘An Early Press in Canterbury’, *The Library*, 5th series, 32 (1977), 155-156; Peter M. Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company and the Printers of London 1501-1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2013), I, pp. 278-85, 433-37.

Mychell moved to Canterbury around 1533 after serving an apprenticeship in London, soon producing editions of Lydgate and other popular romance works, presumably thanks to their commercial appeal.⁵⁸ While the exact timing of his return to the city is unclear, his first appearance in the city archive comes in 1533-34 when a ‘John Mychell Bokebynder’ paid an 8d intrante’s fee.⁵⁹ Like Twyne, early in his career Mychell was closely linked to St Augustine’s, in particular to Dom Robert Saltwood. Before Mychell’s coming to Canterbury, Saltwood compiled John Twyne’s translation of *The History of Kyng Boccus and Sydracke* (1530) printed at the London press of Thomas Godfray where Mychell was serving his apprenticeship.⁶⁰ While this early connection suggests little about Mychell’s doctrinal leanings, his proximity to the abbey community soon exposed him to religious controversy.

When William Wynchelsey, a monk of St Augustine’s, was charged with speaking against Archbishop Cranmer in 1534, two of those brought before Cranmer to inform on Wynchelsey were Robert Saltwood and John Mychell.⁶¹ Around this

⁵⁸ Julia Boffey makes the point that editions of Lydgate’s work had been the springboard for William Caxton’s printing career, see: J. Boffey, ‘John Mychell and the Printing of Lydgate in the 1530s’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 251-260 (p. 253).

⁵⁹ J. I. Freeman, ‘Mitchell, John (d. 1556)’, *ODNB*; Boffey, ‘John Mychell’, p. 252; H. R. Plomer, ‘The Libraries and Bookshops of Canterbury’, *Book Auction Records*, 14 (1918), i-vii (iii). CCA, CC, F/A/12, fol. 226r. The list of entrants for 1532-33 is missing and Mychell’s name is not listed in the 1531-32 so it seems that 1533 is the earliest time when he might have started trading in the city. One of the issues surround Mychell is his not uncommon surname; in 1513-14 a carpenter of that name paid an entrant fee in Newingate ward; in 1519-20 a ‘Ioh[ann]I Mychell latham[i]’ was hired for forty weeks work at St Augustine’s; and in 1524 the will of William Chapman of St Paul’s was proved by a John Mychel, see: CCA, CC, F/A/10, fol. 52v; CCA, LitMS/B/2, fol. 58r; CCA, PRC 17/16/303b. It seems unlikely that any of these men were the bookseller given that he seems to have been a relatively young man in 1533; J. E. Hobbs has suggested that the ‘Joh[ann]e Mychell seniore’ who is listed as residing at Ivy Lane as a tenant of St Augustine’s was the printer’s father, which seems a fair assessment, see: J. E. Hobbs, ‘An Early Press in Canterbury’, *The Library*, 5th series, 33 (1978), 172.

⁶⁰ It is worth noting that John Twyne wrote the preface to this translation, see: Anon, *The history of kyng Boccus, [and] Sydracke*, trans. by H. Caumpeden and J. Twyne, (London, 1530). See also: *Sidrak and Bokkus, A Parallel-Text Edition from Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 559, and British Library, MS Lansdowne 793, I*, ed. by T. L. Burton (Oxford, 1999), p. xxvi.

⁶¹ In the depositions Mychell was referred to as ‘lay man’, see: TNA, SP 1/88, fol. 19r [L&P, 7:2, 1608].

time Mychell had published the anti-Lutheran *A lytell treatyse confoundyng the great eresyes t[hat] reygne now a dayes* (1533-34, STC 15192.5), a poem composed by Thomas Langdon, a monk of Christ Church also brought before Cranmer as witness against Wynchelsey.⁶² Soon afterwards, though, Mychell moved away from his monastic patrons to collaborate instead with Twyne in printing overtly Protestant works.⁶³

What stimulated Mychell's switch is unclear, but Twyne was a natural associate. As schoolmaster at St Augustine's and as Mychell's neighbour in St Paul's, the two were likely familiar, and a common interest in reformist literature seems to have cultivated a working relationship.⁶⁴ The link between them was highlighted at the city quarter sessions of July 1536, when they were both presented for:

that the prynter dwellyng in the parisshe of seynt paule doth prynt
and sell dyvers and sundry books to dyverse rude and unlearned
people which bookes ar demyd to be in many sentences clerely
agenst the fayth of a true Cristen man and is mayntened

⁶² T. Langdon, *A lytell treatyse confoundyng the great eresyes yt. reygne now a dayes and repynyng ageynst the order of the holy churche.: Animatyng good people to contynew in the constance of faythe* (Canterbury, 1533-1534?). The printed version of the work survives in fragments, one of which is held at the Bodleian. The manuscript version of the tract survives in Lambeth Palace in a collection of Christ Church documents, see: LPL, MS 159, fols. 268v-71v. In the Wynchelsey case Langdon is presented alongside Saltwood and Mychell, see: TNA, SP 1/88, fol. 19r. On Langdon's career see: Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, p. 218.

⁶³ James Clark has suggested that Mychell was employed as a professional printer by St Augustine's, with his press sited within the abbey, a suggestion which seems plausible given Mychell's apparent attachment to Saltwood and Langdon but given his career after 1534 any official monastic ties must have been very short lived, see: J. G. Clark, 'Introduction: The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. by J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 3-33 (p. 24).

⁶⁴ Twyne lived next to St Paul's church to the east of Mychell's house which was on the south end of Lower Bridge Street and Church Street, see: Hobbs, 'An Early Press', p. 172; TNA, E 318/7/236, fol. 3r; TNA, C 66/715, m. 42 [L&P, 17, 881(23)]; CCA, CC, B/C/S/1/1, fol. 2r.

p[ro]cured and abettyd therunto by Iohn twyne of theseid

p[ar]isshe⁶⁵

The context of these sessions has already been discussed, but it is worth noting that no action was taken against either Twyne or Mychell, and the press continued to function with apparent aplomb. Indeed, despite their nefarious printing activities, Mychell and Twyne were not barred from the civic community. Just over a year after he had been brought before the quarter sessions Mychell was welcomed into the body of freemen on 14 September 1537, being listed as a ‘Prynter’ and paying 10s for his admission by redemption.⁶⁶

In the run up to the 1536 sessions Mychell had indeed printed Protestant literature that to some would have appeared highly subversive. Indeed, a number of them had been printed in contravention of earlier proclamations banning the work of various reformist authors.⁶⁷ After 1534, his extant books include two of John Frith’s works, the *Disputacion of purgatorie* (?1535-36, STC 11387) and *An other boke against Rastel* (?1535-36, STC 11385), two controversial Lutheran attacks on the doctrine of purgatory, written by Frith in 1532 while he was in jail.⁶⁸ Around the same time he produced editions of Tyndale’s *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (?1536, STC 24455.5) and *Obedience of a Christian Man* (?1536, STC 24447.7), both works that were drenched in evangelical exhortations towards commonwealth and obedience.

⁶⁵ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 45v.

⁶⁶ CCA, CC, F/A/12, fol. 312v.

⁶⁷ TRP, i, pp. 181-86.

⁶⁸ Both books were part of the lengthy debate between Frith and various English conservatives over the efficacy of the doctrine of purgatory, on this debate see: MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 101-03.

The fact, then, that the authorities did not pursue the matter further points again to the lack of conviction within the corporation for addressing religious controversy in those early years after the break with Rome. By 1536, in conjunction with the quasi-Lutheran Ten Articles, the pervading atmosphere in the city had shifted towards tolerating Tyndale's Biblicism and Frith's solifidianism; what had once been heretical had become merely controversial.⁶⁹ While Mychell did not attach his colophon to many of his books, preserving his anonymity does not seem to have been a central concern. The only edition purposefully mislabelled by Mychell was his edition of Tyndale's *Parable*, which carried the colophon of its original 1528 edition: 'Prynted at Malborowe. In the lande of Hesse by Hans Luft. The .viii. day of maye. Anno. M.D. xxviii'. While the intended circulation of these texts is unclear, Mychell and Twyne did print some works clearly intended for wide circulation, most notably two editions of the vernacular *Pater Noster*, Creed and Ten Commandments (1537, STC 16820.5, 16821), both which claim to have been printed *cum privilegio regali*. Since Cromwell's first set of vicegerential injunctions, promulgated after September 1536, it had been required for all parish clergy to teach and learn vernacular versions of these prayers meaning they were in some level of demand.⁷⁰

In Mychell and Twyne's activities we can once again discern the faint footprints of Thomas Cromwell, or, at the very least, a tantalising link to a wider network of Protestant reform in the south east. During the later 1520s Mychell operated out of Thomas Godfray's London press, which was itself linked to the king's printer, Thomas Berthelet.⁷¹ Through Berthelet, Godfray's name has been

⁶⁹ Haigh, *English Reformation*, pp. 128-29.

⁷⁰ T. Cromwell, *Injunctions given by thauthorities of the kynges highness* (London, 1536).

⁷¹ E. G. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade: Short Notices of All Printers, Stationers, Book-Binders, and Others Connected with It from the Issue of the First Dated Book in 1457 to the Incorporation of the Company of Stationers in 1557* (London, 1905), p. 56. Godfray and Mychell

conjecturally linked to Cromwell and his network of printers who propagated Protestant propaganda following the Submission of the Clergy.⁷² While Elton dismissed this link, more recent studies of the London stationers have recognised a shadowy network of printers, sellers, and translators centred around Cromwell and court evangelicals, who, while perhaps not enjoying direct patronage, were allowed to operate on the limits of legal acceptability.⁷³ Sadly, there is no way of ascertaining whether Mychell was able to benefit from a residual association with the vicegerent, and certainly Twyne's attempt to curry favour with him in the later-1530s would suggest any link that might have existed was tangential at best. However, both men's associations with Thomas Godfray do set their activities into a wider picture of Protestant printing.

Before 1532, Godfray's output is characterised by editions of marketable editions of Middle English poetry such as his single-volume edition of the *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (1532, STC 5068). After this, though, his output shifts towards pro-Supremacy propaganda. Between 1533 and 1537 he printed works by Erasmus, Christopher St German, Clement Armstrong, and William Marshall; these included St German's *An answer to a letter* (1535, STC 21558.5) and numerous of Marshall's translations.⁷⁴ But Godfray also printed more overtly evangelical

seem to have remained in contact after Mychell returned to London, with Godfray apparently selling or exchanging some woodcut borders and types to Mychell during the 1530s, see: W. K. Sessions, *John Mychell: Canterbury's First Printer* (York, 1983), p. 6.

⁷² Elton categorically denied this link, suggesting that it bore 'no justification', see: Elton, *Policy & Police*, p. 174. For Elton's discussion of Cromwell's 'grip' of the press after 1533, see: idem, *Reform & Reformation: England 1509-1558* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 157-58.

⁷³ Ryrie, *Gospels*, p. 46; J. C. Warner, *Henry VIII's Divorce: Literature and the Politics of Printing* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 140-41; W. Underwood, 'Thomas Cromwell and William Marshall's Protestant Books', *HJ*, 47 (2004), 517-539; W. J. T. Kirby, 'Emerging Publics of Religious Reform in the 1530s: The Affair of the Placards and the Publication of Antoine de Marcourt's *Livres des marchans*', in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, ed. by B. Wilson and P. Yachnin (Abingdon, 2010), pp. 37-52 (pp. 40-41).

⁷⁴ Godfray printed Marshall's translation of Vives' *Forma subventionis pauperum* (1535, STC 26119), Savonarola's *Expositio in psalmos Miserere me Deus* (1535, STC 21789.4), Bucer's *Daß einigerlei Bild bei den Gottgläubigen an Orten, da sie verehrt, nit mögen geduldet werden* (1535,

literature in clear contravention of press prohibitions, most notably the Scottish Lutheran George Hamilton's *Dyuers frutefull gatherynges of scripture and declaryng of fayth & workes* (?1532, STC 12731.6), which amounted to the abbreviated theses of a known heretic. Alongside this, Godfray printed George Joye's first translation of the psalter (1534, STC 2371) and his combined translation of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (1534, STC 2752), both of which predated Coverdale's 1535 vernacular bible.⁷⁵ He would go on to publish Tyndale's New Testament (1536, STC 2831) and *Pathway to the holy scripture* (1536, STC 24432 & 24463). In terms of their career trajectories and the works which they printed during the mid-1530s Godfray and Mychell appear strikingly similar, and there is a distinct possibility that the two shared links to broader evangelical networks. The fact that Godfray had printed an edition of a text translated by Twyne (1530, STC 3186) only underscores the probable connection between this party.

When it comes to assessing the impact of Mychell on the advancement of Protestantism within Canterbury it is hard to move beyond conjecture, but the length of his career and the apparent wealth he accrued suggests that, at the very least, his books sold. He also appears to have been a conduit for Lutheran ideas during the mid-1530s and beyond. Perhaps the most important work to be printed at Canterbury during this period was an early translation of Melanchthon's *Augsburg Confession* (?1535, STC 909.5) compiled by Robert Singleton, an outspoken evangelical with ties to the evangelical circle at court and, notably, to Cromwell.⁷⁶ The edition does

STC 24239), and a translation of Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor Pacis* (STC 17817) the printing of which was subsidised by Cromwell, see: L&P, 7, 423. On Marshall's career see: A. Ryrie, 'Marshall, William (d. 1540?)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁵ Joye's first psalter was based on Martin Bucer's Latin translation, he would go on to compile a second psalter based on Zwingli's own edition.

⁷⁶ W. J. T. Kirby, 'Robert Singleton's Sermon at Paul's Cross in 1535: The 'True Church' and the Royal Supremacy', *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 10 (2008), 343-368 (346); Ryrie, *Gospel*, p. 265.

not carry a dedication, but a separate translation from the following year was dedicated to Cromwell, with the suggestion that Cromwell himself had requested it.⁷⁷ This translation, which has gone largely unnoticed, adds more weight to the idea of a coherent group of reformers and translators, beyond Twyne and Mychell, operating in the region at the time. Singleton had himself been in the service of Thomas Cromwell in the early 1530s, before becoming chaplain to Anne Boleyn around 1535.⁷⁸ Shortly after this he was made arch-priest of St Martin-le-Grand, Dover, where he resided while keeping in contact with Cromwell concerning the conduct of his provincial colleagues.⁷⁹ It was presumably after his arrival in Dover that Mychell printed his translation of the confession.

By the end of the decade Singleton's name was being explicitly linked with Twyne's, and during the early 1540s both men were accused of working to bring news and materials in from Germany, apparently at the behest of Archbishop Cranmer.⁸⁰ Twyne in particular was supposed of receiving many 'letters and wryttyngs' containing 'newes from germany', and even of harbouring 'aspys'.⁸¹ Twyne had, of course, been linked to Cranmer as early as 1534, when the archbishop supposedly employed him to go and read a 'lecture of heresie' in Sandwich.⁸² Cranmer himself was accused of having 'sent & resevyd letters monthely' from Germany, letters which, intriguingly, were passed through the hands of 'one Fuller at the floweredelice'.⁸³ This extra individual was John Fuller, a common councillor and future mayor who held the lease to the Fleur-du-Lis inn. By

⁷⁷ Pragman, 'Augsburg Confession', p. 77.

⁷⁸ A. Ryrie, 'Singleton, Robert (d. 1544)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ CCCC, MS 128, fol. 267r. MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 311 n. 55.

⁸¹ CCCC, MS 128, fol. 153r.

⁸² TNA, SP 1/88, fol. 18r [L&P, 7, 1608].

⁸³ CCCC, MS 128, fol. 153r.

the time these accusations were levelled both Fuller and Twyne were omnipresent in the corporation and would have undoubtedly been on familiar terms. These three references to a network of informants and importers centred in Canterbury with distinct links to the corporate community lend an interesting aspect to Singleton, Mychell, and Twyne's earlier activities, and suggest that even after Cromwell's fall such activity continued and Cranmer's influence over the progress of reform in the city increased. During the early 1540s, one obstinate parishioner went so far as to threaten the Six Preacher Edmund Shether that 'when my lord of Canterbury's Grace comethe down to Canterbury we trust to have a day against you'.⁸⁴

What is more, it links to a wider context of reformist discourse which was circulating in the city at the time, emanating from Cranmer's circle but also from the recently re-founded cathedral. In 1542, during a Lenten sermon, John Scory, one of the cathedral Six Preachers, claimed 'that only faieth justifieth and he that dothe deny that only faith dothe justifie would denye, if he durst be so bold, that Christ dothe justifie'.⁸⁵ Alongside such blatant public expressions of continentally inspired theology, Canterbury was increasingly home to various heterodoxies, some of which, like anticlericalism and disdain for images and pilgrimages, were distinctly familiar; while others, such as demands for vernacular prayers and scriptures, and unabashed criticism of church ceremonies, seem to have been increasingly familiar across the parishes.

Much of this was down to the increasingly hands-on approach of Archbishop Cranmer, his commissary Christopher Nevinson, and his Archdeacon Cranmer, to enforcing reform in parishes across the city and diocese. Edmund Cranmer had gone

⁸⁴ CCCC, MS 128, p. 53.

⁸⁵ CCCC, MS 128, fol. 42r.

into the parish of St Andrew's and violently broken the 'armes and legges' of their prized rood. Nevinson in particular was at the heart of much of the activity, apparently pursuing reform personally at the level of the parish. In 1541 he had contacted John Paris, curate of St George's, Canterbury, and the two churchwardens, the barber Bartholomew Peters and the alderman Gregory Rand, to ensure they had removed the image of the St George from the church. While in other parishes he insisted that images not just be removed, but 'hewed with axes' as well.⁸⁶ Nevinson's efforts, though, caused considerable friction in the parish, and he was vulnerable to the shifting patterns of what was deemed acceptable by royal decree. So, two years after he had commanded the parish of St George's to pull down their image of St George in 1541, he was confronted by Bartholomew Peters, who informed him that 'we have shewed the takynge downe yt of to the kynges cowncel & were byd set it up agayne'.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, the behaviour of Cranmer's immediate circle, and their apparent impunity to royal retribution following the failure of the so-called Prebendaries' Plot in 1543 provided city Protestants with significant encouragement. In particular, the Toftes affinity which incorporated numerous members of the corporation continued to agitate for further reform at the parish level. In December 1542, John Toftes, then a common councillor, pulled down and removed to his house the image of the Virgin and the tabernacle from his home parish of St Mary Northgate before destroying them violently.⁸⁸ These were not, though, acts of mindless vandalism, and alongside the protection offered by Cranmer and his circle, Protestants in the city applied a rhetoric of legality to their actions. In one of the few

⁸⁶ CCCC, MS 128, p. 7.

⁸⁷ CCCC, MS 128, p. 14.

⁸⁸ CCCC, MS 128, p. 31.

interactions between corporation members recorded in the Prebendaries' Plot dossier, the common councillor Andrew Kempe asked John Toftes what reason he had for pulling down so many images, to which he answered he had done 'nothing but his princes c[om]aund[ment]'.⁸⁹ Henry's fine example of iconoclasm in the city seems to have encouraged others to pursue similar campaigns to desacralize their parochial environments.

As such, Twyne's decision to translate this passage can be seen, then, in two distinct lights. On the one hand it was a straightforward, well judged, attempt by a local gentleman to catch the eye of the vicegerent in the hopes of gaining preferment. But, examined in more detail it provides clues to a more profound period of Canterbury's shift towards reformed religion. By the end of the 1530s there were sure signs that explicitly Protestant texts were circulating in the city, in many respects thanks to the lingering efforts of Cromwell and Cranmer to patiently encourage reform. Equally, there was little sign that the corporate community had any intention of acting against any of these potentially subversive activities occurring within their bounds.

4.2 Wielding the Whip? Division in Canterbury after the Six Articles 1539-47

The Act of Six Articles (31 Henry VIII C.14) reasserted a number of conservative doctrines: transubstantiation, celibacy, vows, private masses, communion in one kind, and clerical celibacy.⁹⁰ It also augmented the punishments on a number of doctrinal transgressions. Those who denied the value of auricular confession or votive Masses, who denied the worth of clerical celibacy or chastity to God, or who

⁸⁹ CCCC, MS 128, p. 73.

⁹⁰ Marshall, *Reformation England*, p. 49.

affirmed communion in both kinds, now faced a felony charge and hanging or life imprisonment; while anyone denying transubstantiation faced burning for heresy. However, as Alec Ryrie has pointed out, as a piece of penal legislation, the Six Articles 'was not a success', offering too narrow of a doctrinal scope to facilitate an effective drive against heresy, and doing little to dent the Protestant cause long term.⁹¹

What is more, in practice the act created some awkward jurisdictional overlaps between offenses that made the act awkward for provincial justices to utilise for matters of enforcement. For example, heresy, which was traditionally tried in the ecclesiastical courts, could now be treated as statutory heresy in secular courts, being treated as a regular felony case.⁹² In theory such a shift gave licence to local common law jurisdictions to try offences typically left to church authorities, but examples were rare prior to a further statute of 1543 which concentrated almost the entire judicial process of trying heresy into secular hands (34&35 Henry VIII C.1).⁹³ Even after 1543, though, the act seems to have made little effect on the execution of the law or the approach to doctrinal enforcement in Canterbury and its hinterlands, where magistrates stayed their previous course of pursuing outward conformity over inward uniformity.

Elsewhere, the enforcing of the articles varied and, unlike much of the successful legislation that had preceded it, was seemingly dependent principally on local initiative. In London the act allowed a keen mayor to pursue an exhaustive

⁹¹ Ryrie, *Gospel*, pp. 38, 237-38.

⁹² *SR*, iii, pp. 739-43. It's also worth mentioning the Witchcraft Act (33 Henry VIII c. 8) which deemed that any use of sorcery or 'fantasticall practises' should be 'adjudged Felonye', see: *SR*, iii, p. 837. See also: G. Redworth, 'A Study in the Formulation of Policy: The Genesis and Evolution of the Act of Six Articles', *JEH*, 37 (1986), 42-67.

⁹³ *SR*, iii, pp. 894-98.

investigation into suspected heretics amongst the city community which resulted in scores of imprisonments; whereas at Gloucester and Norwich the landscapes of local politics dictated a less zealous approach.⁹⁴ At Colchester, the primarily conservative group of aldermen in charge of the divided city appear to have wielded the act only when city radicals became too vocal or local clergy were suspected of contravening royal ordinances.⁹⁵ In Canterbury, an air of indecision arose in the corporate class who seem to have been unsure of how to proceed against non-conformity, seemingly opting to turn a blind eye to disputes in the city's parishes in the hopes of securing communal cohesion. Just as the king hoped in vain that reform would naturally give way to peaceful commonwealth, so the Nero-esque approach of the city governors in Canterbury gave way to widespread communal discord.

There are very few instances in which Canterbury officials looked to utilise any of the Henrician statutes to enforce religious uniformity at the corporate level. One of the few occasions came in 1539 when William Sandford, parson of St Peter's, was presented to a city jury for that, despite the express warning of Christopher Levyns not to, he 'toll'd the ave bell after the evyn song'.⁹⁶ The ringing of bells had been restricted by Cromwell's 1536 injunctions, but was still a contentious issue in the parishes.⁹⁷ The presentment, though, does not mention Cromwell's injunctions, focussing instead on Woodford's attempts to undermine the king's supremacy through the tolling of Ave Bell. The document goes into minute detail laying out various practices outlawed by the acts of treason and supremacy,

⁹⁴ Brigden, *London*, pp. 320-40; Lowe, *Commonwealth*, pp. 134-44; McClendon, *Quiet Reformation*, pp. 81-85. For other areas, see: MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, pp. 163-64; Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 165.

⁹⁵ Byford, 'Birth of a Protestant Town', pp. 25, 26.

⁹⁶ CCA, CC, Woodruffs/3/3.

⁹⁷ At Rye in 1537 the town authorities wrote to Cromwell to complain that their curate was ringing bells on various feast days in contravention of the king's ordinance, see: TNA, SP 1/124, fol. 21r.

before suggesting that by ringing the bell, Sandford acted ‘to the grete announcement maintenance and setting up ageyn of theseyd byshhop of Rome’.⁹⁸ The case against Sandford was clearly compiled by a learned individual, referencing as it does Sixtus IV’s indulgences surrounding the tolling of an Ave Bell, and suggesting that those parishioners who hear the bell will therefore ‘thynk they receyve grete pardon’. The case is noteworthy because of the detailed presentment provided for such a minor infraction, but it came to nil, and Sandford remained parson of St Peter’s until his death in 1546.⁹⁹

On the other rare occasions that the corporation looked to enforce doctrinal legislation their efforts were easily hamstrung. In the mid-1540s the city looked to punish William Clark, the vicar of St Mary Bredin, for trespass and clerical incontinence. Only fragments of the city court records survive for the years 1543-1552, but the case survives thanks to William Clark’s decision to pursue a writ of *certiorari*, taking the matter to King’s Bench in Hilary term 1545.¹⁰⁰ Evidently, Clark was indicted at the city quarter sessions in 1544 on charges that he and Elizabeth Basshe, the wife of Nicholas Basshe, did ‘kepe suspicyously’ together at Clark’s vicarage.¹⁰¹ While such a matter would traditionally have been a case for the bishop’s or archdeacon’s courts, the 1539 statute and subsequent act ‘for moderacion of Incontinence for Priste[s]’ had given greater recourse to lay courts matters of clerical behaviour.¹⁰² However, the corporation’s efforts were scuppered at King’s

⁹⁸ CCA, CC, Woodruffs/3/3.

⁹⁹ *CCEd*, person ID 38346.

¹⁰⁰ TNA, KB 29/177, rot. 30.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰² Essentially this was a strengthening of the fifth and twentieth articles of 31 Henry VIII, c. 14, see: *SR*, iii, pp. 741, 743, 754-55.

Bench, with no action being taken before the accession of Edward VI when the case was thrown out, presumably in response to the repeal of the Six Articles.¹⁰³

While this isolated survival may seem irrelevant, it highlights one aspect of the legal equivocation that pervaded in the last years of Henry's reign and reminds us that even where there was a desire to enforce order, powers had often been stripped away from local jurisdictions by the evolution of national legal procedures. Furthermore, by making incontinency a statutory offence, the Henrician authorities had removed the issue from the remit of church courts that could not impose sufficiently violent penalties. Therefore, the issue is almost immediately absent from the records of church courts after 1539, yet any pursuit of the matters in secular courts could easily be scuppered by the defendant.¹⁰⁴

It is therefore unsurprising that so much of the activity of the corporation during the 1540s appears tentative and directionless, even when they seemingly had sufficient recourse to act. In early 1542, parliament passed an act encouraging provincial authorities to proceed under implied commissions of oyer and terminer against any individual suspected of high treason, petty treason, or misprision (33 Henry VIII C.23), thus freeing local justices to move more freely against suspects who typically would have been sent before the Council before trial.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, there were a number of special commissions of oyer and terminer, as well as the regular commissions of gaol delivery, that were to enforce the new orthodoxies.¹⁰⁶

Between 14 March and 14 December 1542 several sessions were held in the

¹⁰³ TNA, KB 29/177, rot. 30.

¹⁰⁴ Houlbrooke, *Church Courts*, pp. 178-79. In her exhaustive survey of the Kentish legal records Karen Jones noted that proceedings against clergy for sexual crimes dropped away dramatically following the reformation, see: K. M. Jones, 'Gender, Crime, and the Local Courts in Kent, 1460-1560' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Greenwich, 2001), p. 159.

¹⁰⁵ SR, iii, pp. 863-64.

¹⁰⁶ CCA, CC, J/Q/339/v; J/Q/340/i; J/Q/341/i; J/Q/342/i.

Canterbury guildhall, and in those eight months only one suspect was identified: Clement Russell, a glazier of Newingate suspected of speaking treasonous words.¹⁰⁷ Unsurprisingly, the case was thrown out without Russell even receiving a formal indictment.

The next time an oyer and terminer commission met in the city, matters progressed a little further. On 15 March 1543 John Hopper, a miller of All Saint's parish, was presented 'by cause he dyd say a bowte a arascy [heresy] he hade as lowff to be sryvyn to a poste as to a preste'.¹⁰⁸ Such an outburst is strikingly similar to some of the outbursts presented to the sessions during the mid-1530s but hardly constituted anything more than petty heresy. It would seem likely that Hopper was presented on this occasion because it was thought that he had contravened the sixth article by questioning the value of auricular confession, however, given that jury could not elaborate to whom Hopper was speaking, or the day or month that he spoke, the commission decided to drop the matter. These two individuals mark the sum total of persons presented to the commissions sent to enforce the Six Articles, and it would seem that the judges and juries who made up the commissions were merely going through the motions. Why? Given their behaviour during the 1530s there is very little to suggest that those in charge of the city were in any way disposed to not enforcing the royal whim. Yet during the later years of Henry's reign, the corporation begins to employ a lackadaisical approach to the enforcement of religious policies, largely in response to the disorder crisis brewing within the city parishes.

¹⁰⁷ CCA, CC, J/Q/341/i.

¹⁰⁸ CCA, CC, J/Q/342/i.

In short, the inability to act decisively in response to the Six Articles stemmed from a lack of consensus over doctrinal matters that still pervaded on the city benches, and where there was agreement, mainly over the need to enforce the king's supremacy, various legal shortcomings meant that no effective action might be taken. There is also the distinct possibility that the Six Articles posed a threat to some of the members of the corporation themselves. During the later-1530s and early 1540s, certain members of the magisterial community were actively pursuing reform in other spheres of the city.

The evidence collected in the build-up to and aftermath of the so-called Prebendaries' Plot provides examples of members of the corporation and their immediate affinities both furthering and forestalling Protestant reforms at the parish level.¹⁰⁹ The most vociferous examples of contravening royal ordinances came in relation to the reading of the scriptures, which had been once more restricted by ordinances in 1543. The barber and freeman Thomas Makeblythe refused to go on procession or bear palms at Easter time in 1542 or 1543, but openly 'red the bible' instead.¹¹⁰ Likewise, Margaret Toftes is recorded as having said that she would 'speake to mr Comissarye to comande all the curates in Canterburye to reded the Bible as thei have of late don'.¹¹¹ As Ethan Shagan has shown in his study of the plot, the investigation turned up extensive evidence that this was a time of 'rampant and public theological division' in the parishes of Canterbury and east Kent.¹¹² The

¹⁰⁹ The mammoth dossier of evidence collected between summer and autumn 1543 now sits in the Parker Library, see: CCCC, MS 128. This has been calendared somewhat accurately at: L&P, 18:2, 546. On the plot, see: MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, ch. 8; M. L. Zell, 'The Prebendaries' Plot of 1543: A Reconsideration', *JEH*, 27 (1976), 241-253; B. M. Hogben, 'Preaching and the Reformation in Kent', *Arch. Cant.*, 101 (1985), 169-185; G. Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1990), ch. 8.

¹¹⁰ CCCC, MS 128, p. 51.

¹¹¹ CCCC, MS 128, p. 53.

¹¹² Shagan, *Popular Politics*, p. 197.

conception and execution of the plot was sited at the newly re-founded Christ Church Cathedral, which, like its predecessor, was exerting a strong influence on the religious and political landscapes of the city.

4.3 *Corporate Reform & Solidarity*

4.3.1 *Burghmote Reforms*

One of the great benefits of this period is that it coincides with the beginning of the first substantive civic minute book.¹¹³ The book, a gift to the corporation from its then sheriff, is a marker of the continuing development, both bureaucratic and ideological, of civic governance in Canterbury that was discussed in the opening chapters. The book provides vital information relevant to the government of the city and the ideology underpinning this, and brings together information previously scattered across the city order books and chamberlains' accounts. As such, it is around this time that we can start to glean a substantive picture of the more routine business of corporate governance.

When examining urban archives, though, it is important not to swallow the 'myth of civic harmony' so frequently propagated by the minutes of council meetings.¹¹⁴ The pages of Canterbury's burghmote minute book provide only veiled references to any acts of dissent within the ranks of aldermen and common councillors, while the political or confessional identities of individual members remain well-hidden amongst the drudgery of city business and the veneer of civic unity presented in the well-ordered court book.¹¹⁵ This picture is, to some extent,

¹¹³ CCA, CC, A/C/2.

¹¹⁴ Quote from: Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 40.

¹¹⁵ The title page to the minute book proclaims 'This boke gevyn of Robert Browne Sheriff of the Citie of Cantorbury in the xxxiiijth yere of the Reigne of oure sov[er]eigne lorde kyng Henry the viith

false. While the city was witness to a host of inter-personal disputes at a parish level, many involving individuals attached to the corporation who often readily pursued religious and economic agendas of their own, within the walls of the guildhall the aldermen and common council stepped up the campaign to formalise and codify the structures of city governance. The network of obligation and obedience discussed in chapter two that bound together the civic community continued to function throughout the turbulent 1540s. While there were instances of slander and disputes amongst the common councillors, these were rarely allowed to escalate beyond the burghmote. At the same time there appear to have been successive attempts during the 1540s to implement operational and financial reforms to safeguard corporate governance in the face of widespread parochial discord and instabilities in local and national economies.

There are hints that maintaining corporate solidarity had been a concern during the 1530s when only one first-time mayor was elected by the corporation to lead the city (see table 4.1). In many cases this might be considered to be an inevitability of any electoral system where the candidates are drawn from a cohort of a maximum of twelve men, but set in context this statistic remains peculiar. Between 1500 and 1560 a rookie was elected as mayor on 33 occasions, and during the 1530s there were at least eight new aldermen elected to the bench who were eligible for election, yet were passed over.

Year	Name	Term	Year	Name	Term
1530	Thomas Wode	3	1536	Robert Lewes	2

contayneith almaner of acts, provisions and ordinances made by the Courte of burmouth for the Commune wealth and also a Rememberance of all gyftes and benefites gevyn or bequethed by parsones or parsones to the co[mm]une chambre and use of the Citie of Canterbury et cetera', see: CCA, CC, A/C/2.

1531	John Alcock	2	1537	Roger Clark	4
1532	Thomas Bele	2	1538	John Starky	1
1533	William Nutte	2	1539	Thomas Bele	3
1534	John Briggs	2	1540	Robert Lewes	3
1535	John Alcock	2	1541	William Coppyn	1

Table 4.1 Mayoral Terms in Canterbury 1530-1541¹¹⁶

In a move to protect civic virtues, in 1544 the burghmote significantly strengthened the ordinances against slander. The old penalties for speaking ‘unfyttyng wordes’ which had ranged from a 20s fine to a spell in gaol, were replaced by a new ordinance. This stated any ‘manne or woman of the comen inhabitants’ would face 40s or gaol, and if any alderman spoke against a common councillor he would forfeit £3, and if he spoke against the mayor this would rise to £5.¹¹⁷ The specification of fines for aldermanic slander is suggestive, so too is the fact that all twelve aldermen were in the guildhall to witness and put their marks beside the ordinance.¹¹⁸

At the same time there was a surge in guild activity in the city. The mayor and aldermen ultimately arranged for the incorporation of new trades and guilds, and in 1543 two new guilds (the Drapers’ and Tailors’, and the Barbers’ and Surgeons’) were incorporated; while the year after the Carpenters’ and Joiners’, and the Waits’ and Minstrels’ were also incorporated.¹¹⁹ In the space of two years, the number of

¹¹⁶ Data from appendix A.

¹¹⁷ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 12v-13v.

¹¹⁸ It was passed on 30 December 1544 and was witnessed by John Alcock (mayor) and John Starky, Anthony Knyght, William Coppyn, John Freeman, John Gyles, Thomas Frenche, George Webb, Robert Nayler, Gregory Rand, Stephen Apsley, and Thomas Bathehurst, see: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 12v.

¹¹⁹ CCA, CC, Woodruff’s List/54/3, 10, 16, 20. In 1543, one of the few pre-existing guilds, the Cobblers’ and Shoemakers’, were issued new ordinances, see: CCA, CC, Woodruff’s List/54/8.

active guilds in the city was doubled.¹²⁰ Such a move was undoubtedly linked to the motivation in the city to foster unity amongst the corporate body and stimulate economic prosperity.

A concurrent ordinance passed in the burghmote underlines this desire. In June 1544 it was enacted that the masters of all craft guilds were required to attend each meeting session of the court to ‘make certyficat to the comen chamberlen’ of all money owed to the city.¹²¹ Overall, then, during the last years of Henry’s reign there seems to have been a push for more centralised control of economic matters by magistrates, many of whom were members of the craft and mercantile elite of the city.

In the first year of their incorporation the Drapers’ and Tailors’ held their first annual dinner, in what was to become an important tradition.¹²² The dinner included, amongst other things: three gallons of ale, a quart of malmsey, four pigs, four geese, prunes, raisins, mustard, cloves, pepper, saffron, five pounds of suet, sugar, and a troupe of minstrels to entertain the diners.¹²³ Numerous members of the corporation were in attendance, including the common councillors John Wydehope and Henry Gere (treasurer of the guild that year), the alderman John Freeman (acting as Master of the Guild); of the others in attendance that night, three would go on to sit in the guildhall.¹²⁴ Likewise, in the subsidy return of 1546 the alderman John

¹²⁰ The only other craft guilds operating in the city prior to this were the Cobblers’ and Shoemakers’ (incorporated 1517), the Smiths’ and Armorers’ (incorporated 1506), the Fellowship of Waits’ and Minstrels’ (incorporated in 1526 and reconstituted in 1534), and the Physicians’, Surgeons’ and Barbers’ (incorporated 1497, reconstituted in 1544 as just the Surgeons’ and Barbers’), see: CCA, CC, Woodruff’s List/54/2, 9, 20, 24.

¹²¹ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 8r.

¹²² Details of the majority of these annual dinners held between 1545 and 1565 remain in the accounts of the guild preserved at: CCA, U12/A/1, fols. 1r-21v.

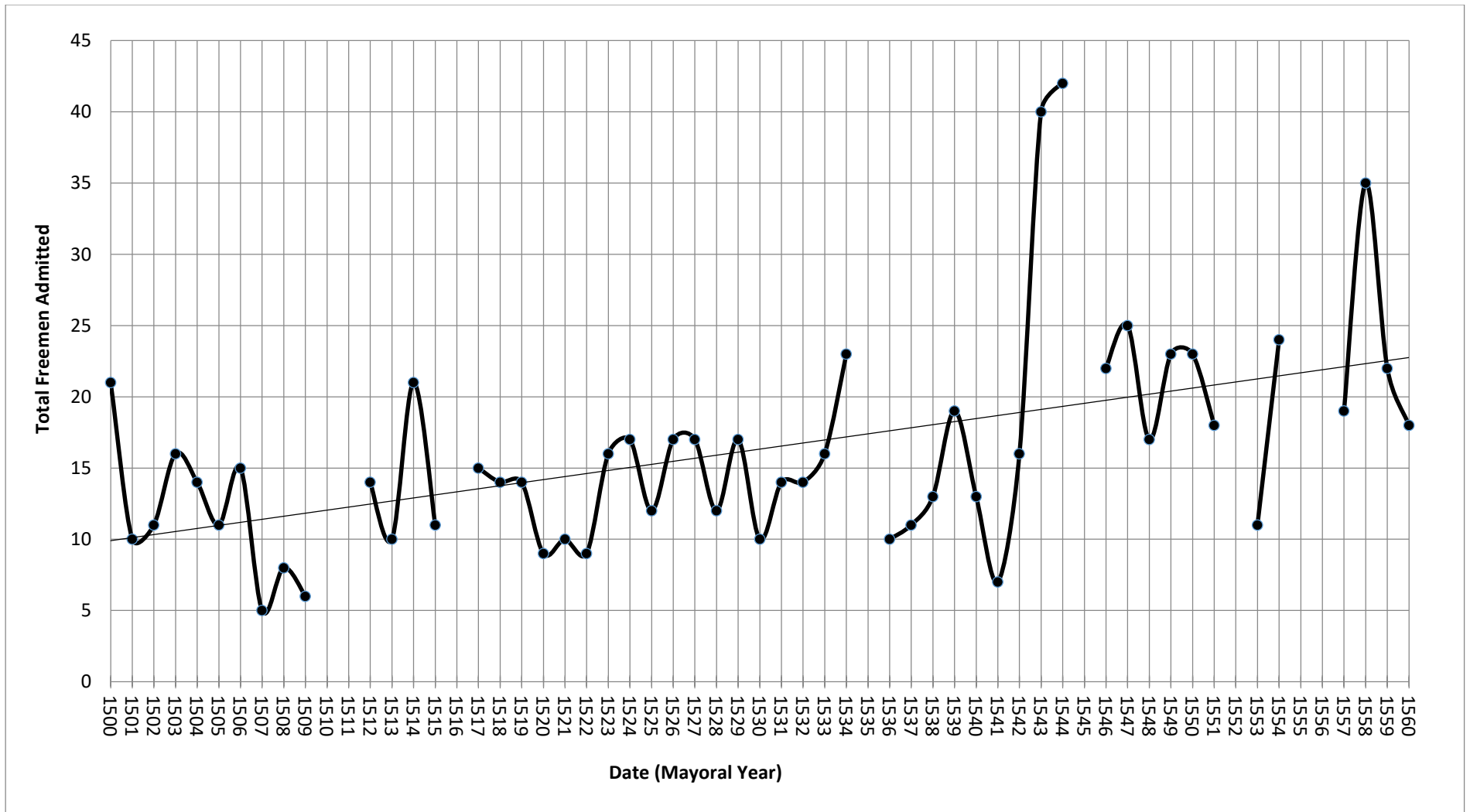
¹²³ CCA, U12/A/1, fols. 1v-2r.

¹²⁴ These others were Christopher Scott, Thomas Walker, and the future alderman and chamberlain Nicholas Fysh.

Maske was assessed for the stock of the guild (valued at £5 7s), which was in his hands.¹²⁵ The guild system in Canterbury was to become increasingly vibrant throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century, and become an integral part of the city's post-Reformation economic and cultural identity.

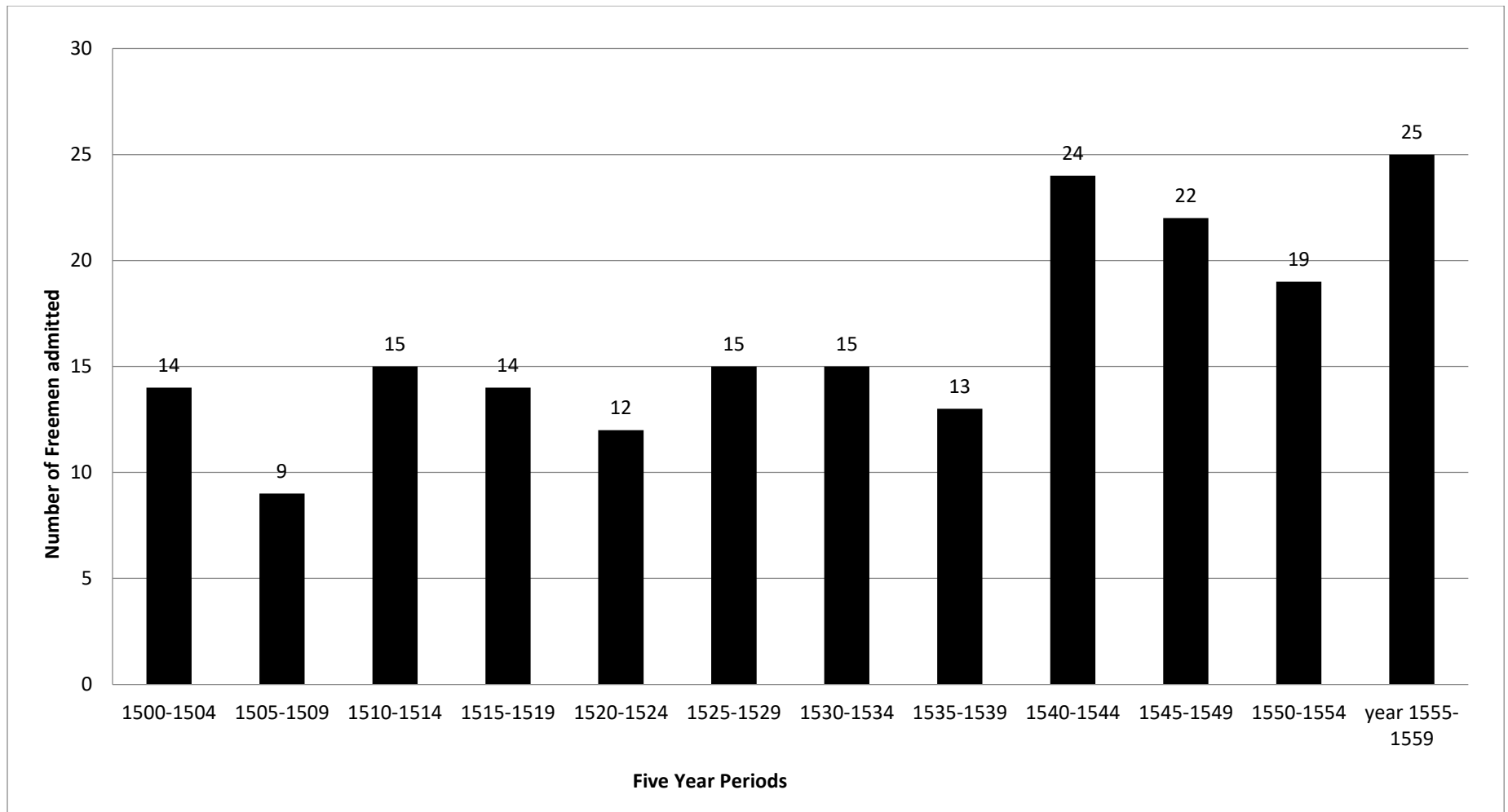
It is also apparent that during this period that there was a move to better control the administration of the corporate body, likely for financial reasons. During the middle of the 1540s there was a marked spike in the admissions of freemen (see Graph 4.1), with forty and forty-two new members being admitted in 1543 and 1544 respectively, which marked the two largest annual admissions by some margin during the first six decades of the sixteenth century. The average number of annual admissions between 1540 and 1544 stands at twenty-four, almost double that of the preceding five years which was thirteen new freemen a year. In the years following this, while numbers did not remain as high as in 1543-4, average admissions continued to rise (see Graph 4.2). This spike in admissions represents a concerted effort to raise revenue in the wake of the city's purchase of ex-monastic lands that was itself facilitated by the dissolutions and the removal of troublesome competing monastic jurisdictions. The majority of those admitted in 1543-4 were those that had previously been paying intrantes fees, however, following the purchase of large sections of the St Augustine's rent rolls many of those who had lived outside city jurisdictions were now able to be admitted. The potential benefits of incorporating the intrante community into the body of freemen were great in both financial and cultural terms.

¹²⁵ TNA, E 179/125/297.



Graph 4.1 Total Freeman Admitted by Year (1500-1560)¹

¹ Data for this chart drawn from: Durkin, 'Elizabethan Canterbury', p. 62.



Graph 4.2 *Quinquennial Averages of Annual Admissions to the Freemen (1500-1559)*¹

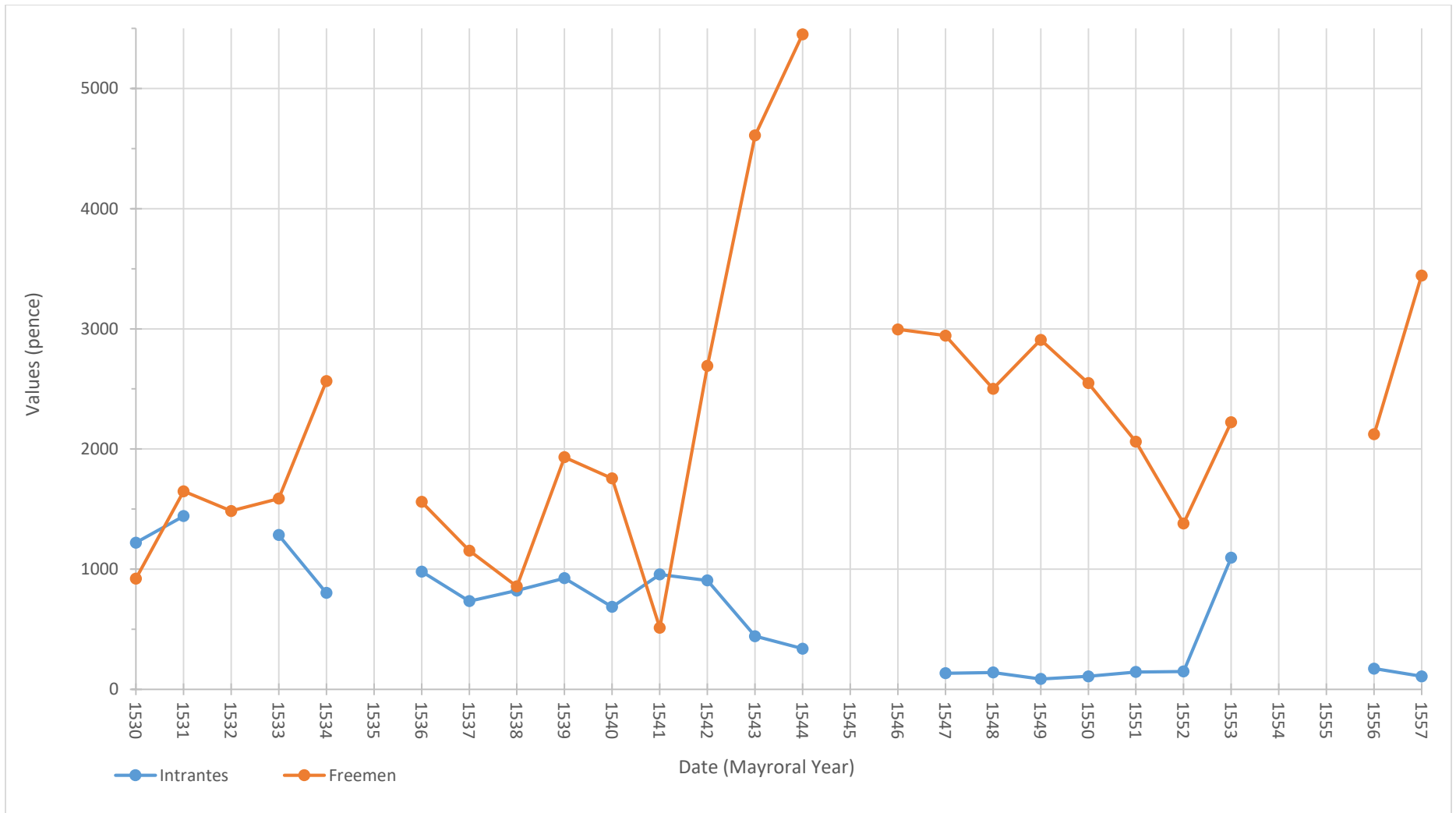
¹ v¹ Data for this chart drawn from: Durkin, ‘Elizabethan Canterbury’, p. 62.

In January 1543, shortly before the spike in admissions, an ordinance was passed that stated:

ther shalbe no ffreman made in theseid citye from hensforth
but that the seyd chamb[er]leyn...from boroughmote to
boroughmote shal p[re]sente bothe the names of them that
shalbe made free and also what fyne they paye for their
fredom¹²⁶

This tightening up of procedures did indeed bring in extra capital. In 1541 the chamberlain collected 42s 7d ob in admission fees, the following year that increased to £11 4s 3d, the year after £19 4s 1d ob, and in 1544 he collected £22 14s 2d (see Graph 4.3). Initiatives such as this were important short-term measures that helped offset the financial risks of the early 1540s, but also helped enlarge the civic body substantially over time, enlarge the economic basis of the corporation, and provide more potential governors for the city.

¹²⁶ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 5r.



Graph 4.3 Money Raised from Freeman Admissions vs Intranter Fees (1530-1557)¹

¹ Data collected from: CCA, CC, F/A/12-15.

Not all of these initiatives were long standing and many others would be pursued in the decades that followed.¹²⁷ However, as with any other of these instances, the move to reform practice or bolster the corporate body was a reaction to circumstances both internal and external to the guildhall. It might well be assumed that attempts such as these were born out of periods of crisis and creeping fears on communal instability. Yet during the 1540s, the city found itself in a relatively prosperous position, both in terms of its relationship with royal government and its own authority, and its financial position which, while tempestuous, had been cautiously strengthened by the dissolution of monastic lands and a successful drive to raise capital from admissions to the franchise.

4.3.2 The Evidence of Aldermanic Wills

By the early 1540s, the parishes of Canterbury and many of its hinterlands were home to a mosaic of non-conforming opinions on matters of doctrine and religion and any attempt to graft a label of doctrinal consensus upon the city would thus be treacherous. The testimonies collected during Cranmer's investigations also highlight the presence of unorthodox opinions within the corporate community, not necessarily being expressed within the guildhall, but being openly propounded in members' parishes. So, on the one hand it would appear that in the wake of the Six Articles the city community was becoming increasingly divided, not necessarily into neatly defined doctrinal categories (or 'parties' to borrow Peter Clark's phrase), but rather into broader camps of those who favoured the old and those that did not. On the other hand, though, there is the relative inertia of the corporation in matters of

¹²⁷ Similar cyclical trends in civic initiatives have been noted by Stephen Rigby in certain northern towns during the fifteenth century, see: S. H. Rigby, "Urban Oligarchy" in *Late Medieval England* in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century* ed. by J. A. F. Thompson (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 62-86 (pp. 72-73).

religion that becomes somewhat puzzling. Via the legislative powers of the burghmote and the legal force of the secular courts, there was sufficient recourse for city governors to enact some sort of pro-reform movement in the city, yet this was not forthcoming during the last years of King Henry's reign. A closer look at the complexion of the city benches in terms of their religious outlooks might then help to provide some answers to this conundrum.

Very few members of the corporation left written records despite being literate to the extent that they could sign their names, and those personal records that can be identified provide little insight into personal piety.¹²⁸ This means that the only readily available personal documents from which we may detect overt religious sentiments are wills, the evidence from which can be both a useful and problematic source for judging individual religious tendencies. In theory at least the formula of a will's preamble, where the testator makes arrangements for his or her immortal soul can provide an aspect on their doctrinal proclivities. In the past scholars of the Reformation have tended to select large sets of wills proved in chronological or geographical clusters in order to examine shifting patterns of devotion across communities, yet this approach is fraught with dangers and can give rise to what A. G. Dickens neatly termed a 'spirit of statistical pedantry' and risks overlooking some of the subtler nuances offered by probate material.¹²⁹

As legal documents wills were typically drawn up by a scrivener or clerk, or in rarer occurrences by a parish priest, and thus might tend to adhere to a composer's

¹²⁸ This is with the exception of John Twyne. Other aldermen left less enigmatic documents, such as John Bele's book of farm accounts (BL, Add MS 32638) or Christopher Levyn's precedent book (BL, Stowe MS 850).

¹²⁹ Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, pp. 172, 221. For a fuller expression of Dickens' doubts, see: Zell, 'The Reformation in Kent', pp. 376-82.

own formula, rather than that of the testator. A will's preamble then, the place where historians have typically looked for evidence of the testator's beliefs, could have been determined as much by the scribe's convictions as by the testator's. Alongside this, the will's role as a public document that had to be proved in an ecclesiastical court meant that there was an inherent risk in using it to express unorthodox beliefs, something which may create an artificially taciturn picture across large samples.¹³⁰ Finally, when looking at wills proved in the early decades of English reform it would be foolish to try and neatly divide wills into categories that were at the time so porous and ill-defined. Nevertheless, through a more targeted approach wills can still offer a great deal of information to the historian interested in the effects of reform upon local communities. By looking exclusively at the wills of the aldermen, a group who were both literate and opinionated, changes in the religious complexion of the bench, and the familial and patronage networks that sustained the corporate body might be identified. Given that many of these were drawn up by the city clerk with whom the testator had a pre-existing relationship it is less likely that preamble would have been skewed by the scribe's own proclivities.

Aside from the county gentry or clergy, perhaps nobody was more prone to personalise their will than wealthy townsmen. As Michael Zell has observed, there was a tendency amongst any wealthy or literate testators to stray away from the accepted trend of the time in their preambles, and this is certainly true of this Canterbury sample.¹³¹ In larger samples this can be problematic, as the proclivity of

¹³⁰ Cases of wills being rejected on grounds of unorthodoxy seem to have been an uncommon occurrence but were not recorded so this is hard to say with accuracy, for a choice surviving example see: C. Litzenger and J. Craig, 'Wills as Religious Propaganda: The Testament of William Tracy', *JEH*, 44 (1993), 415-431 (p. 423).

¹³¹ M. L. Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 50 (1977), 246-49 (247).

a disproportionate number of ‘men of property’ who felt no ‘obligation to reflect the established religious doctrine of the day’ would skew the balance of the results.¹³²

This will not be a major concern here as, of the twenty-eight men who served on the aldermanic bench between 1529 and 1547, twenty-one wills survive, four are unaccounted for and three survive as just acts (see Appendix C).

Equally, the relative wealth of aldermen means that their lists of bequests might provide useful detail not only on their religious outlook through payments for Masses and other traditional observances, but also their perspective on the corporation and city through charitable donations to ‘commonwealth’ causes. Indeed, it should be remembered that wills are composite documents, and together with the expressions of religious opinions comes the business of dividing estates and appointing those who would take charge of your possessions upon your death. This means that wills provide a glimpse of the networks in which testators moved in their later years, and as with other aspects of the reformation in Canterbury that we have seen above, the evidence of this first generation of post-reformation aldermen suggests a separation between the realities of creeping religious division, against the durability of corporate networks.

	Preamble				Total	Bequests			
	Traditional	Non-Traditional	Evangelical	Mixed		Priests / Masses	Prayers for Soul Only	Alms for the Poor	Gift to the Corporation
Totals	8 (38%)	5 (24%)	7 (33%)	1 (5%)	22	10 (45%)	4 (18%)	14 (64%)	8 (36%)

Table 4.2: Preambles & Bequests from Wills of Canterbury Alderman sitting 1529-1547¹³³

¹³² Ibid, p. 247.

¹³³ Willis drawn from: CCA, PRC/17; PRC/32; TNA, Prob 11.

The character of corporate piety was by no means uniform. A preliminary survey of the twenty-one wills, seen above in Table 4.2, confirms the assortment of beliefs represented on the city bench during the later years of Henry's reign (for more, see Appendix C). Of this sample the majority were written between 1532 and 1558, with just the will of Robert Lewes (written in 1559) being composed after Queen Mary's death. As should perhaps be expected around half rely upon a traditional formula – with the testator bequeathing their soul to Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Company of Heaven. Of the six wills composed before 1540, all but one was utterly traditional in its preamble, suggesting that the conservatism of the old guard within the city was unshaken by the early reforms.

Of the sample, around a quarter employed a non-traditional formula, dropping the 'Blessed Virgin' and 'Company of Heaven' altogether, relying instead on something along the lines of 'I commend my soul to almighty God', suggesting perhaps creeping misgivings over intercessory prayer, but certainly a more ambiguous religious position. These non-traditional wills tend to be more evenly spread throughout the period, not conforming to any particular pattern.¹³⁴ Of the remaining sample thirty-three per cent, a strikingly high number, employ an overtly *solifidian* or evangelical formula, speaking of trust in salvation through the merits of Christ's death and sometimes alluding to the inherent sinfulness of the testator.¹³⁵ The earliest of these was that of Roger Clarke, written in November 1542 and

¹³⁴ The earliest is that of Francis Rutland, written in February 1533, the latest that of George Webbe, composed in August 1556. The other three non-traditional wills are those of John Gibbes (composed May 1546), Anthony Knyght (composed May 1552) and John Starky (August 1554), see: CCA, PRC 32/16/66b; PRC 17/32/151; PRC 17/25/46; PRC 17/29/323a; PRC 17/29/82a.

¹³⁵ Zell's survey of the Kentish gentry between 1535-1547 found only 14% of testators employing similar preambles, while Muriel McClendon's survey of Henrician Norwich aldermen found only two out of seventeen wills bearing a noticeably protestant preamble, see: Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles', p. 247; McClendon, *Quiet Reformation*, p. 69-70.

invoking simply ‘Almyghtie God my creator redeemer and saveour’.¹³⁶ The majority of the wills proved after 1540 display evangelical preambles, even during Mary’s reign two of the five aldermanic wills proved evoke evangelical appetites.¹³⁷ Only a single alderman, John Alcock Jnr, employed a mixed preamble, invoking both traditional and evangelical elements.¹³⁸

These numbers suggest a high level of variance across the aldermanic bench that stands in contrast to figures elsewhere. Urban centres have tended to provide a more varied picture of popular religion, particularly when the samples used have been smaller and targeted towards guildsmen or minor gentry.¹³⁹ In York David Palliser’s examination of probate material pointed toward a more entrenched traditionalism, with the citizens moving ‘only slowly and reluctantly’ towards Protestantism. Thus between 1538 and 1546 not a single preamble from Palliser’s sample of 100 were overtly evangelical, and only four of these dropped their exhortations to the ‘Blessed Virgin’ and ‘Holy Company’.¹⁴⁰ In the Gloucestershire town of Tewkesbury, a town at the heart of Bishop Latimer’s reformist preaching ministry, Caroline Litzenberger identified a similar traditionalist-bent amongst the citizenry. During Edward’s reign the majority of wills employed a lukewarm non-traditional preamble with the overawing majority reverting back to a traditional Catholic formula under Mary, and continued to do so during the early decades of

¹³⁶ CCA, PRC 17/23/116.

¹³⁷ Those of William Batherst written in December 1554, and William Coppyn written in April 1558, see: CCA, PRC 23/26/43, 32/120/7,

¹³⁸ Alcock’s will was written in early January 1555 and the preamble runs as follows: ‘to almighty god my creator and heavenly father and to hys only son our saviour Jesu Christe by the meryttes of whose glouries death and passhyon I trust to be saved and to the blessed virgin Mary and to all the sayntes in heven’, see: CCA, PRC 17/30/237.

¹³⁹ Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, pp. 215-18; M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 320-44.

¹⁴⁰ Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp. 249, 250-51.

Elizabeth's reign.¹⁴¹ In Halifax, preambles shadowed official pronouncements, with forty-six per cent of the wills proved by Halifax citizens between Cromwell's 1538 injunctions and his execution in November 1540 either non-traditional or evangelical, yet in the years that followed evidence of Protestant belief in the community recedes and becomes only 'modest'.¹⁴²

In another Yorkshire town, Doncaster, Claire Cross found a more puzzling picture, with preambles quickly shifting to non-traditional formulas after 1534, yet the bequests made in the wills suggest a lingering attachment to late medieval Catholic ritual well into the 1560s.¹⁴³ More recently, Ben Lowe's research on the Vale of Gloucester has found that, in contrast to Litzenberger's picture of nearby Tewkesbury, there had been a marked 'erosion' of traditional beliefs by the mid-1540s.¹⁴⁴ Finally, Susan Brigden's examination of London probate material describes a gradual but notable decline in traditionalism throughout Henry's later years, regardless of the Six Articles or King's Book.¹⁴⁵ As with the majority of provincial England, the capital offers its own unique thread to the overall pattern of reform in England.

What is useful about studying a small selection of wills, taken from a predominantly literate urban elite is that it becomes easier to discern cases where a preamble has been overtly personalised. As with the will of Robert Naylor from September 1545 which reads:

¹⁴¹ Litzenberger, 'Coming of Protestantism', p. 82.

¹⁴² Sheils and Sheils, 'Textiles and Reform', pp. 137-39.

¹⁴³ Cross, 'Religion in Doncaster', pp. 55-57.

¹⁴⁴ Lowe, *Commonwealth and Reform*, pp. 248-48. It should be noted that Lowe's conception of what constituted 'Protestant' was far broader than Litzenberger's more minute categorisation.

¹⁴⁵ Between January 1530 and August 1539 85% used the traditional formula, then between late 1539 and January 1547 this figure dropped to 62%, see: Brigden, *London*, pp. 383-84.

to almightie god my creator and hevenly father and to his only
son our savior Jesus by the merites of whose gloriouse deathe
and passion I trust to be saved and to the blessed virgin Mary
and all the sayntes of heaven¹⁴⁶

A composition which epitomises the ‘mixed preamble’. The reasons behind using a mixed preamble such as this are puzzling, and worth considering here briefly. It is possible that Naylor held *solifidian* convictions that he wanted to express in his preamble, but given the religious atmosphere at the time felt compelled to add the qualifier to avoid reproach – after all, the Henrician *Primer*, a text intended to reinforce dedication to traditional devotions, had been issued only four months prior to this and was proving popular.¹⁴⁷ But given that we know that during the 1530s Naylor was a vocal supporter of Catholic doctrine, and had acted as an informer during the Prebendaries’ Plot, this seems unlikely. Rather it is probable that Naylor had started to entertain notions of *sola fide* towards the end of his life, but could not quite bring himself to commit as he approached his deathbed. His sovereign, after all, also remained thoughtful of the company of heaven, and it seems some on the Canterbury benches did the same.¹⁴⁸

Other compositions are more puzzling. When the yeoman John Freeman composed his will in summer 1546, he committed his soul to almighty God ‘my creator and redemer by whose most precyous bloud I truste surely to be saved’, indicating strong evangelical sympathies; yet he leaves hefty bequests to the parson of St Margaret’s, to St John’s Hospital and to St Nicholas’s at Harbledown,

¹⁴⁶ CCA, PRC 17/24/172.

¹⁴⁷ The *Primer* would run to sixteen editions in the two years after its first publication in May 1545, see: L&P, 20:1, 661; Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 162.

¹⁴⁸ L&P, 21:2, 634; P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), p. 91.

suggesting some concern for his soul.¹⁴⁹ Only at the end of the will, in a section added at the time of probate five years later, do we discover that when the will was originally composed Freeman was ‘sicke of the sickenes comonly called the swettyng sicknes’. While he may have held belief in his salvation at the hands of Christ’s passion, it seems that when faced with a quick and premature death, old habits and traditional practices were hard to abandon. In this way a will can be emblematic of the inner struggle of those who dictated them, but in the same way represent the obfuscated state of reform in the city and the nation more broadly.

Interiority seems to be inherent in most of these wills, and the reigns in which they were written does not seem to have determined the religious position expressed in the preamble, and unlike most surveys the patterns of traditional and non-traditional are spread fairly evenly between regnal epochs. Only two wills from Henrician Canterbury express strictly evangelical pretensions, the earliest of these, that of three-time mayor Roger Clerke, was composed at the time of the conservative resurgence yet appealed ‘to almightie God my only redemer and saviour’.¹⁵⁰ While the goldsmith John Alcock’s will, composed in early January 1554 shortly after the Marian authorities had reinstated the Heresy Laws, read: ‘to almightie god my Creator and heavenly father and to his only son our saviour Jesu Christe by the meryttes of whose glorios death and passhyon trust to be saved’, but was then tempered with the inclusion of the ‘blessed virgyn Mary’ and ‘all the sayntes in heaven’.¹⁵¹ The will of Robert Lewes, one of only two of this survey to have been proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury as opposed to the lesser Archdeaconry or Consistory Courts, was proved in late 1561 yet relies on the traditional preamble:

¹⁴⁹ CCA, PRC 17/29/180.

¹⁵⁰ CCA, PRC 17/23/116.

¹⁵¹ CCA, PRC 17/30/237.

‘I bequeathe my soule to allmightie god and to the blessed lady sainte mary and to all the holly company of heaven’.¹⁵² In general official religious conventions seem to have been, at most, an afterthought for the aldermen when they composed their wills and there was recourse to highly individualistic statements of belief.

Despite this variance in beliefs, and the apparent readiness to voice such beliefs, the probate records suggest that religious identities had not yet started to erode familial and corporate networks. In each of the aldermanic wills consulted in this sample at least one other alderman is mentioned in the list of bequests or is named as an executor, overseer or witness. When John Freeman prepared his will in 1544, with his overtly Protestant preamble, he named as his legatees John Toftes and John Hales, both of whom would have sympathised with the tone of the preamble, but alongside the reformers came another lawyer, Robert Darknell, a prominent Catholic who had been investigated by Cranmer’s commissioners for speaking against the archbishop in the early 1540s.¹⁵³ In a city of such meagre size networks could not quickly reshape to conform to confessional borders, and the presence of both Catholic and Protestant individuals in a single testament points to a more serene transition than has been previously suggested by Clark. The ethos of commonwealth and governance that bound the upper tiers of Canterbury’s civic community meant that city governors were not diametrically opposed and that the business of city politics in the 1530s and 40s continued in much the same vein as it had during the first half of Henry’s reign.

This ability to tolerate one another was not entirely ideologically founded, it was also pragmatic, and the after effects of this pragmatism can also be detected in

¹⁵² TNA, PROB/11/44/146.

¹⁵³ CCCC, MS 128, p. 39.

these wills. In the vast majority of them there are long lists of lands and properties, many of which would have been accrued in the years following the dissolution and the reinvigoration of the urban land market that this spawned.¹⁵⁴ The later 1530s and 1540s saw a rapid increase in the numbers of property transfers occurring within Canterbury, a phenomenon that had a direct bearing upon the economic development of the city during those years of national economic contraction. The ability to compartmentalise religious differences so as not to obstruct temporal economic concerns was vital to the long term efficacy of the corporate community, but also allowed the radical behaviour of some of the corporation members to continue unchecked.

The longstanding prominence of the Toftes family in the corporation and wider city is another interesting exemplar of this phenomenon. At the head of this family was John Toftes, a lawyer and long term member of the city's Common Council from 1521, he held the office of alderman for eighteen months before his death in February 1547. There can be little doubt over John's religious allegiances – in June 1536 he and his wife Margaret were charged with denying the efficacy of saints and the Virgin Mary, and slandering Thomas Becket.¹⁵⁵ As already discussed, Toftes was not shy about displaying his views and both his wife and daughter were as outspoken as he, with Margaret senior suggesting that creeping to the cross was 'abominable idolatry', and Margaret junior making the outlandish claim that 'her daughter could piss as good holy water as the priest could make any'.¹⁵⁶ During these years the Toftes household in the parish of All Saints played host to numerous figures like Richard Turner; the future Marian martyr John Bland; a married priest

¹⁵⁴ Zell, 'Land Market in Kent'.

¹⁵⁵ BL, Stowe MS 850, fol. 45v.

¹⁵⁶ L&P, 18:2, 546.

named Jonas; and an ex-regular of Dover who had started preaching idolatry around the city. In 1541 when Joan Boucher was on trial in the consistory court on suspicion of sacramentarianism, Toftes himself pleaded on her behalf.¹⁵⁷ It was around this time that he cemented his ties to the archbishop's commissary Christopher Nevinson, a relationship that would bring Toftes into the crosshairs of Edmund Shether and Robert Serles, who labelled him as a man of 'evil fame'.¹⁵⁸ There can be few men in the city that carried such an abrasive set of religious opinions and who were willing to actively advance reform at a parish level throughout the city.

Within the guildhall though he was a pillar of the corporation and far from becoming marginalized during the 1530s, Toftes' place in the city community remained much the same. Like many of the other lawyers associated with the corporation he never served as mayor, but was serving as the town clerk by 1521 a position he would inhabit up to his death in 1547, and by 1530 was also acting as clerk of the court and coroner.¹⁵⁹ Each of these appointments undoubtedly helped him stay at the heart of business in the city. When the elderly Margaret Fokys, a parishioner of St Andrew's, made her will in 1543 she relied on a formula that represented the stymied religious atmosphere in which it was composed. The preamble was addressed to 'almighty god my redeemer and saviour and all the company of heaven', leaving out both the Virgin Mary and any specific saints, yet she made bequests to two hospitals, St Nicholas's at Harbledown and St John's without Northgate, left money to the high altar of St Andrew's, and made the customary bequests for masses to be sung on her and her departed husband's behalf.

¹⁵⁷ L&P, 18:2, 546.

¹⁵⁸ L&P, 18:2, 546.

¹⁵⁹ CCA, PRC 3/11/103.

What is most interesting about Margaret's will are those who appear in it as executors and witnesses. One of the two executors to the will was Margaret's brother Anthony Knyght, an alderman and city chamberlain while the sole overseer was the inimitable Robert Naylor, who was also listed a witness and alongside him was John Toftes.¹⁶⁰ In terms of religious allegiances, and especially given the past history of these two men, conventional thinking would make this group improbable, if not utterly incompatible. But this was by no means an isolated event. As a principal lawyer in the city John Toftes is listed as a witness or overseer of multiple wills up until his own death in 1547. While this does not necessarily signify that these men were close personal friends, it does not suggest the kind of separation between evangelical and conservative parties that we have come to expect.

In the early years of the English Reformation, when uncertainty surrounded official policy and identities were far from crystallised the corporate network continued to cautiously operate above the disputes and squabbles of the parish. This is not to suggest that personal enmity between corporation members could not be a driver in disputes, or that early religious differences could not be a factor in this enmity. Rather that in some areas, especially those with long standing corporate identities, people did not necessarily understand the Henrician Reformation as a purely spiritual discussion and while it may have changed some of the terms of the discourse at a civic level it did not redefine it to the same extent as the historiography has suggested.

¹⁶⁰ PRC 17/22/146; for a transcription, see: P. A. Fox, 'Striving to Succeed in Late Medieval Canterbury – The Life of Thomas Fokys, Publican, Mayor, and Alderman c.1460-1535', *Arch. Cant.*, 129 (2014), 209-224 (pp. 219-20).

Chapter Five: The Mid-Tudor Crisis in Canterbury, c.1547-1560

Introduction

For much of the decade that followed the death of King Henry, England suffered through a period of socio-economic stagnation and decline, aggravated by intermittent harvest failures and epidemics.¹ Alongside this, it has been suggested that the accessions of a minor followed by two women brought about a crisis of authority in Tudor monarchy, with Henry's offspring unable to comfortably inhabit his model of monarchical magnificence. As such, crown and provincial administrations started to fragment, leading to a series of popular uprisings and rebellions that intermittently threatened to topple Tudor rule altogether.² This concept of a sustained period of nationwide crisis has traditionally fallen into line with the urban historical narratives of post-medieval urban decline in which a conglomeration of economic and environmental factors brought on marked declines in population. Such pressures were then exacerbated by societal upheavals brought on by the ever-shifting religious orthodoxies peddled by successive monarchs, all of which threatened effective urban governance.³

Residual signs of such a crisis are discernible in Canterbury and its hinterlands. Across the south-east of England mortality rates were high throughout the period. Recent analysis by John Moore utilising Archbishop Parker's 1563 ecclesiastical census and other visitation materials suggests that between 1548 and

¹ Harvests failed in 1545, 1549, 1550, 1551, with the most severe failures coming between 1555 and 1557; the worst periods of disease were the 'Great Sweat' of 1551 and the influenza epidemic of 1557-1558. For the standard account of the 'crisis' thesis, see: W. R. D. Jones, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis 1539-1563* (London, 1973).

² For examples of such narratives, see: Clark, *Society*, pp. 69-107; P. Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1985), pp. 111-43.

³ Phythian-Adams, *Desolation*, pp. 279-90; Palliser, 'A Crisis of English Towns? The Case of York, 1480-1640', *Northern History*, 14 (1978), 108-125.

1563 there was a marked fall in population across the Diocese of Canterbury (particularly after 1557).⁴ Such pressures depressed urban populations but also stimulated in-migration of rural families who had been set adrift by mounting pressures on rural areas.⁵ What is more, city finances that had been tempestuous during the 1540s, were further threatened through potential disruption of city markets and rental incomes.

City governors themselves were also exposed to the same dangers of disease as the rest of the citizens and contemporary fears of epidemics are apparent throughout the period. In 1551, the chamberlain paid ‘to the kyngs servaunts that brought word how many were dede in the swett’, whereas during Stephen Sare’s mayoralty (1558), the national influenza epidemic reached the city, bringing on the deaths of three aldermen and five common councillors in short shrift.⁶ To lose eight members of the council in a matter of weeks would have put a huge strain on the remaining councillors at a time when order in the city must have already been under threat. The previous December, the serjeant of the chamber Richard Asshenden and clerk of the chamber John Andrew both died in office, leaving no wills.⁷ Other city officers were also struck down at the same time, in late November a new city

⁴ J. S. Moore, ‘Canterbury Visitations and the Demography of Mid-Tudor Kent’, *Southern History*, 15 (1993), 36-85. There are also signs of an outbreak of the enigmatic sweating sickness in Canterbury during 1550-51, with the will of John Freeman mentioning that the testator left this world ‘sicke of the siknes comonly called the swettyng sickness’, see: CCA, PRC 17/29/180.

⁵ Slack, *Impact of Plague*, p. 128.

⁶ *HMC Ninth*, p. 154. The three aldermen (Thomas Frenche, William Coppyn, and Nicholas Fysh) each wrote their wills between October and November 1558 and were all described as being sick in body, each will was proved shortly after writing, with Frenche’s being proved the day after, see: CCA, PRC 17/31/184, 17/31/25, 32/27/120. Four of the five common councillors (Thomas Walker, Roger Fowler, William Watson, and Thomas Dale) died in similar circumstances, and one (Thomas Gylham) left no will, possibly indicating a sudden death from disease.

⁷ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 113v-114r.

tallenger and serjeant of the mace were needed to replace William Dogerell and Thomas Atwell, who had died in office.⁸

Alongside disease, wars with Scotland and France enacted during Henry's reign were continued under the stewardship of the Duke of Somerset, placing a colossal strain on crown finances and driving inflation, putting pressure on the purses of the political nation.⁹ To compound pressures caused by direct taxation, urban areas, particularly those in the south east, employed local levies in order to muster and outfit soldiers from within their jurisdictions, increasing the burdens on individual finances and civic administrators.¹⁰ In Canterbury, members of the corporation were at the heart of this operation, with the brewer William Coppyn taking a lead in the victualling and transportation of locally mustered troops during the later 1540s.¹¹

Given its geographical location the city was also susceptible to the residual disruptions of prolonged warfare. In 1551, returning English soldiers ran amok through the High Street, and at various times throughout the period French prisoners were being held at the expense of the corporation.¹² While there was a period of peace after the treaties of Boulogne (1550) and Norham (1551), the Anglo-French War of 1557-59 reignited matters at an inopportune time for the nation and brought about the loss of the Calais Garrison, England's last continental possession.¹³

⁸ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 120v.

⁹ C. E. Challis, 'The Debasement of the Coinage, 1542-1551', *EconHR*, 20 (1967), 441-466; Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, pp. 142-44, 160-62.

¹⁰ Gunn, Grummitt and Cools, *War, State, and Society*, pp. 51-55; I. W. Archer, 'The Burden of Taxation on Sixteenth-Century London', *HJ*, 44 (2001), 599-627 (pp. 623-24).

¹¹ CCA, CC, F/A/13, fol. 70v; F/A/14, fol. 27v. For various other examples of military-related expenses incurred during these years see: *HMC Ninth*, pp. 154-56.

¹² CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 66r; F/A/14, fols. 68r, 111r, 114r; *APC 1542-1547*, pp. 406, 448; *APC 1550-1552*, pp. 18, 312.

¹³ In early October 1558 the city admitted to the franchise John Haywarde, a shoemaker 'beyng an honest poore man' late of Calais, see: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 119v.

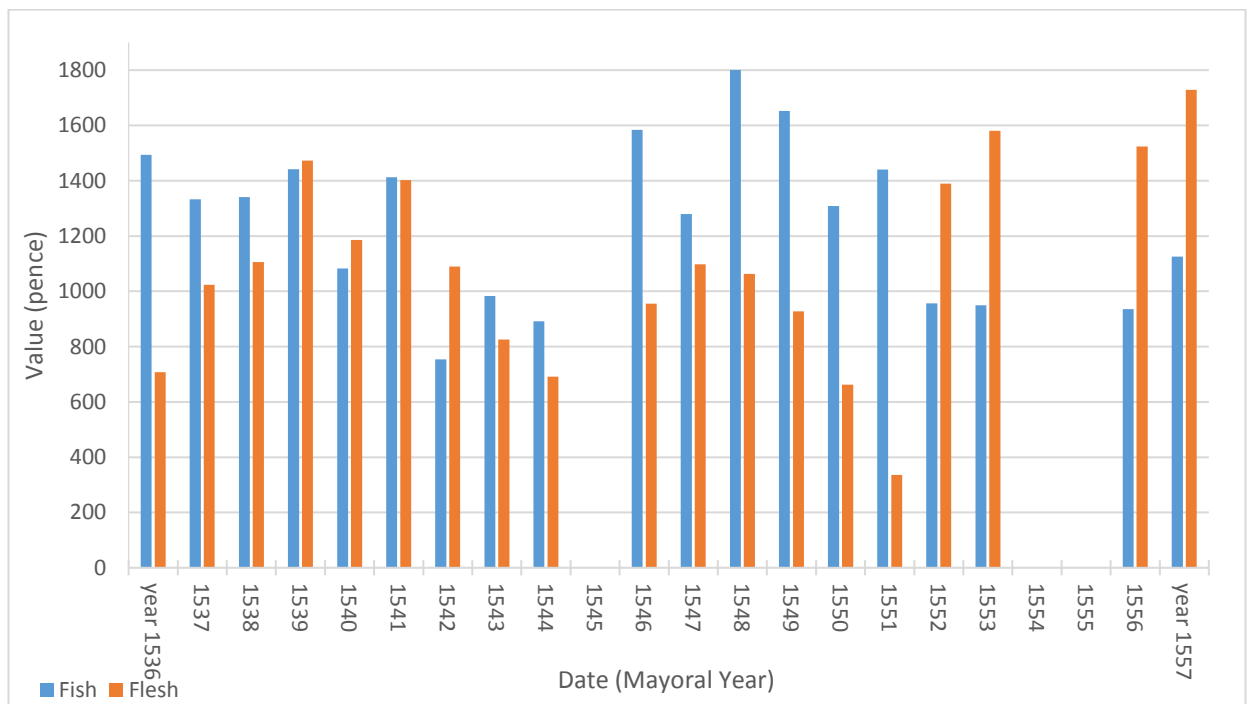
Although not all of these challenges were unique to this decade, their convergence in such a short period of time created an atmosphere reminiscent of the crisis decades of the mid-fifteenth century and threatened to undermine the order which the corporation had fostered within the post-supremacy city.

Things, then, appeared grim. However, in recent decades the idea of an all-encompassing crisis in mid-Tudor England has become unfashionable in lieu of a more nuanced understanding of the middle decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ For Canterbury the period was one of unrest, perhaps even of trauma, but it was also one of political innovation and social proactivity. Shifts in religion and the championing of the wilful obedience under Edward's regime encouraged a more overtly 'commonwealth' impulse in civic policy, which was to persist throughout the 1550s and beyond. That there was a national economic crisis during this period is undeniable, but, on the surface at least, Canterbury was not heavily affected. In many ways the corporate community was well placed to endure, or even exploit, the conditions of the time. Overall admissions to the franchise did not stagnate and new members continued to be drawn from a broad range of trades, with the majority still entering into the food and drink or textile and clothing industries, suggesting business remained buoyant. Between 1547 and 1558, around sixteen per cent of men admitted were involved in food and drink trade (brewers, vintners, butcher, bakers etc.), and around eleven per cent entered the city's mercantile community (mercers, grocers, or drapers).¹⁵ Most striking is the continued efficacy of the city's clothing

¹⁴ Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, pp. 29-36; D. Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis 1545-1565* (London, 1992); J. Loach, *A Mid-Tudor Crisis?* (London, 1992); *The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540-1560*, ed. by J. Loach and R. Tittler (London, 1980), *passim*.

¹⁵ Figures compiled from: CCA, CC, F/A/14; F/A/15. Due to the lack of complete admissions data for 1552-3 and lack of accounts entirely for 1555-6 and 1556-7 these are only rough figures but serve to show the overall trends in admissions. It is also worth noting that not all those admitted were listed with their profession and a good number were described alongside vague terms like 'gentlemen' and 'yeoman' which are open to interpretation.

and textile industries, with thirty per cent of those admitted in this period listed in professions from collar-makers to cobblers, but the majority (twenty-two of fifty-one) were listed as tailors, a trend that continued even after the collapse of the Antwerp market in 1551. This is reflected in the continued growth of the city's Drapers' and Tailors' guild. Since its incorporation in 1544, the guild had rapidly grown in stature, in large part thanks to its close connections to the corporate community, and now held properties in St George's and St Alphege's parish.¹⁶ After the dissolution of the chantries in 1548, the guild lost any vestiges of a religious function (though this was minimal in the first place) and focused itself on the political and socio-economic realms.¹⁷



Graph 5.1 Returns to Flesh and Fish Markets 1536-1557¹⁸

¹⁶ CCA, U12/A1, fol. 8r.

¹⁷ This is not to say that the guild became a secular environment, far from it (on occasion in the latter half of the century the Drapers' and Tailors' actually paid for preachers to attend their dinners), just that religious observance was no longer a *modus operandi* of the institution as it had been with late-medieval guilds.

¹⁸ Data collected from: CCA, CC, F/A/12-15.

Inside the city guildhall, too, only traces of a sustained financial crisis can be detected. Between 1550 and 1552, the returns from the city meat markets fell to their lowest levels since the start of the century, but returns from the fish market that same year remained healthy, suggesting only a localised issue (see Graph 5.1).¹⁹ Elsewhere the money collected from intrantes fees and from admissions to the franchise remained relatively low after 1550, but were by no means disastrous (see Graph 4.3).²⁰ In contrast, many other aspects of the city's finances were in rude health. The money received from rentals of corporation properties continued to rise after the nadir of 1540, and by the end of Mary's reign these had surpassed pre-1538 levels (see Graph 3.1). Similarly, the various extra ordinances and regulations enacted during the 1540s meant that by the end of the decade the amount raised in fines had grown significantly; so in 1547 the chamberlain collected £9 14s 9d in forfeits, and a decade later he collected £38 8s 4d. Even though the corporation was still vulnerable to fluctuations in any of these figures, it seems to have navigated through the latter 1540s and 1550s on a relatively sound financial footing. While this might not have much bearing on the wellbeing of the wider city community, the fact that the city was able to run at a surplus for those years seems to have given the city greater licence to pursue more aggressive commercial, or even altruistic civic, endeavours.

¹⁹ CCA, CC, F/A/14, *passim*.

²⁰ The depression in intrantes money was largely the result of the spike in admissions during the 1540s which brought many of those then paying an intrantes fee into the body of freemen, so the average intrantes fees dropped from around 60s in 1540, to around 12s annually in 1550. Income from admissions remained well-above their pre-1540 levels throughout this period.

5.1 *Rise of the Commonwealth in Edwardian Canterbury*

5.1.1 *Religious Change under Edward*

Following the death of Henry VIII there was a vacuum of effective royal authority in England. It was thought by some that until the young king reached his majority and could fill this void that there would be little real change in the nation. This was not the case, and the six years of Edward's reign were witness to radical change, particularly in terms of official religion. Edwardian reformers championed the efficacy of the supremacy as a tool that could be utilised to fashion a godlier nation, while at the same time evangelicals at court seized control of council and the supremacy itself in order to pursue change.²¹ Early on it was made clear that any and all doctrinal reforms would stem directly from the king's body and thus carried his divine authority, regardless of his minority status.²² Archbishop Cranmer was central in defining this message, championing the young king as a new Josiah set to sweep away the remnants of Popish worship.²³ Over the course of Edward's reign this narrative was set to continue and as a result Edwardian kingship became synonymous with the religious reforms that it so eagerly enacted.

During the short reign, official religion was extensively reformed, and from early on Edwardian religious policy helped steer civic policy and rhetoric inside Canterbury; something which remained true during the Mary's reign.²⁴ His first parliament promptly overturned the Six Articles, the heresy acts, and removed restrictions on access to vernacular bibles. Images were ordered to be removed from

²¹ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 365.

²² S. Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 65-99.

²³ Loach, *Edward VI*, pp. 36-38. See also: C. J. Bradshaw, 'David or Josiah? Old Testament Kings as Exemplars in Edwardian Religious Polemic', in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe, Volume 2: The Later Reformation*, ed. by B. Gordon (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 77-90; *Misc. Writings*, p. 127.

²⁴ Duffy, *Stripping*, ch. 13; Brigden, *London*, ch. 12; Loach, *Edward VI*, chs. 5 & 10.

churches, and any institution whose foundation lay in the doctrine of purgatory (chantries and confraternities) was dissolved and their lands, buildings and goods siphoned off. Many of the rituals that had survived Henrician reforms were abolished before 1548. The sprinkling of holy water was done away with, as was the use of palms and ashes during Easter observances, and candles were no longer to be borne at Candlemas.²⁵ The First and Second Books of Common Prayer were imposed by successive Acts of Uniformity (2&3 Edward VI C.1 and 5&6 Edward VI C.1) cementing Protestant worship at a parish level.²⁶ The former introduced a vernacular Mass to the liturgy while the latter did away with the Mass entirely, instituting in its place a Communion Service that removed the doctrine of transubstantiation by replacing the miraculous element of the Mass with a simple memorial of Christ's sacrifice on the cross.²⁷ Lastly, in the month before Edward's death, the Forty-Two Articles were issued by Royal Mandate, by-passing convocation.²⁸ The Articles were largely the work of Archbishop Cranmer and defined many of the unresolved vagaries in Edwardian doctrine, moving the English church firmly towards continental style Protestant worship.

The death of Henry and tenuous but continued triumph of the evangelicals at court allowed Archbishop Cranmer to be even more assertive in the administration of his diocese, particularly in terms of advancing reform. In 1548, he and the ever faithful Christopher Nevinson embarked on a second visitation of the diocese. The eighty-six articles that accompanied the visitation focused on ensuring new legislation was being adhered to, enquiring whether churches had been 'utterly

²⁵ Duffy, *Stripping*, pp. 459-66.

²⁶ *SR*, iv, pp. 37-39, 130-31.

²⁷ MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p. 101.

²⁸ MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, pp. 164-65.

extincted' of all images and 'monuments to feigned miracles' and whether curates did inform and encourage them to follow proper religious observances.²⁹ There were also a number of questions clearly designed to weed out seditious parishioners. So it was asked whether any person had defended papal authority, had not removed references to the pope or to Bishop Becket from their holy books, 'do contemn married priests', 'wilfully maintained and defended any heresies', keep 'undefaced' images in their homes or leave church while the homilies were being preached. While these articles do suggest some level of local resistance to Edwardian reform, or at least anxiety on Cranmer's behalf, very few of the clergy were brought before the archbishop for violations of these or subsequent visitations.³⁰ Elsewhere, Cranmer continued to bring reformers into his diocese, installing his chaplain Thomas Becon as one of the cathedral's Six Preachers in 1548; and he was likely involved in having the evangelical lawyer Thomas Hales, son of Baron John Hales, returned to Edward's first parliament for Canterbury.³¹

Within the city, the form of Edwardian religion seemed to take hold without much resistance. In the parish of St Andrew's reforms had a transformative effect on the fabric of the parish church. In 1547-8, it spent 14s on the 'largeist volume' of the vernacular bible, and a further 2s 4d on 'whyt lyminge of the churche'.³² In the 1549-50 accounts, 2d is paid to a 'pore man' for 'carryng owt of ye ymagys' from the church, 5s 6d for a copy of Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, 5s for a copy of the first Edwardian Prayer book, and 6d for the taking down of the church clock.³³ The

²⁹ *Misc. Writings*, pp. 154-59.

³⁰ Zell, 'Reformation in Kent', pp. 184-85

³¹ D. I. Hill, *The Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral, 1541-1982: Clerical Lives from Tudor Times to the Present Day* (Ramsgate, 1982), pp. 22-23; H. B. Thomas, 'Thomas Becon, Canon of Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.*, 69 (1955), 159-170 (162). H. Miller, 'Hales, Thomas (c.1515-85 or later), of Thanington, nr. Canterbury, Kent', *HPO*.

³² 'St Andrew's, vol. 3', p. 41.

³³ 'St Andrew's, vol. 3', pp. 42-43.

changes to the church interior were completed the following year when 6s 11d was spent on sewing and painting a large cloth to be placed ‘before the roidloft’ and a further 18d was spent on new unstained windows for the church.³⁴ The most expensive year came in 1551-2 when the churchwardens laid out 19s 8d on various necessary alterations and accoutrements including more liming of the church walls, four ‘songe books’, and four ‘salters’.³⁵ While these expenses do not seem great, it should be considered that the receipts recorded by the churchwarden that year amounted to only 19s, which, when compared to the £10 14s 1d recorded just half a decade earlier, points to just how much parochial finances could be impacted by the sudden loss of income from traditional means such as obits, funeral tapers, and rents from chantry lands.³⁶

Alongside all of the enforced payments, the parish was to receive some money in return. During 1550 a ‘prest from Londone’ paid 7s 8d for the ‘gwylt tabernakylsse that whare on the Roidloft’, and the grocer Peter London paid 47s for 180lbs of lead and 16li of ‘latyn’ [latten], presumably also taken from the rood.³⁷ Nevertheless, Edwardian reform put a major strain on parish purses across the nation. As had been typical at the start of the century, members of the corporate community remained at the heart of the parish administration throughout this period, with members of the corporation acting as both churchwardens and witnesses to the accounts (see appendix B).³⁸

In conservative circles there were fears that unbridled Protestant reform could not be contained and would facilitate a breakdown of the social order, potentially

³⁴ ‘St Andrew’s, vol. 3’, pp. 43-44.

³⁵ ‘St Andrew’s, vol. 3’, p. 44.

³⁶ ‘St Andrew’s, vol. 3’, p. 36.

³⁷ ‘St Andrew’s, vol. 3’, p. 43.

³⁸ ‘St Andrew’s, vol. 3’, pp. 42, 44, 46.

undermining all forms of civic government itself. After Edward Vaughn, the captain of Portsmouth, informed Bishop Gardiner of iconoclastic riots in the town during 1548, Gardiner suggested that England would soon encounter disorder on the scale witnessed in Northern Europe during the mid-1520s, stating that the riots ‘containeth an enterprise to subvert religion and the state of the world with it’.³⁹ Equally, during 1552 Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, and Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely, were accused of delaying the drafting of the ill-fated *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* due to their shared concerns over radical reform.⁴⁰ Within Kent, the declining social climate led some in government to fear that religious reform had allowed radicalism to spread throughout the county. In 1549, the Privy Council put Cranmer at the head of a royal commission charged with assessing sacramentarianism in the county; while in a letter sent to Heinrich Bullinger in June 1550, Bishop Hooper confided that he feared both Essex and Kent were overrun ‘with the frenzy of Anabaptists’.⁴¹

Partly in response to such fears, the Edwardian regime maintained the Tudor policy of strongly exhorting the necessity of dutiful obedience from its subjects.⁴² While invocations of obedience represent an important strand of continuity between Henrician and Edwardian rhetoric, under Edward the more focused program of evangelical reform made this rhetoric synonymous with wider government policy in a way that was not true under Henry’s more turbulent administration.⁴³ Edward’s

³⁹ *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. by Muller, p. 274; repeated in: Foxe, *A&M* (1563), pp. 784-86. On the events surrounding the riot see: Redworth, *In Defence*, pp. 255-57.

⁴⁰ *Tudor Church Reform: The Henrician Canons of 1535 and the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, ed. by G. Bray, Church of England Record Society, viii (Woodbridge, 2000), p. lii. Bray refers to a letter between Martin Micronius and Heinrich Bullinger dated 9 March 1552, I will cite it here as Bray provides an incorrect page reference: *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, ed. by H. Robinson, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1846-1847), ii, pp. 578-80.

⁴¹ Zell, ‘Establishment of a Protestant Church’, p. 215.

⁴² B. Lowe, ‘War and the Commonwealth in Mid-Tudor England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21 (1990), 171-191 (p. 173).

⁴³ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 365.

government utilised the parish church as a place to confront the political nation with Edwardian kingship, and as a result ‘Godly Reformation became inseparable from kingship’.⁴⁴ Printers’ collections of sermons preached at court, at Paul’s Cross, and across the nation, by reformers like Hugh Latimer, John Ponet, and John Hooper extolled the virtues of the young boy king as a new Josiah and urged all Christians to help build a Godly Commonwealth. The evangelical cause went, in the space of a matter of months at the end of 1547, from the clarion call of a persecuted minority, to official government policy.⁴⁵

The king’s printer Richard Grafton printed the first edition of *Certain Sermons of Homilies* in July 1547. The book contained twelve sermons designed to be read by all unlicensed preachers which espoused the fundamentals of English orthodoxy along with explanations of certain reformed doctrines in contrast to those espoused in the King’s Book. The homily on justification, for example, drew on the teachings of Melanchthon to extoll a modified Lutheran exposition on the role of faith in justifying sinners.⁴⁶ Injunctions circulated at the end of July 1547 stipulated that every parish church was to obtain a copy and all unlicensed preachers were required to read aloud a portion of a homily to his congregation each Sunday.⁴⁷ For a period between September 1548 and the issuing of the first Prayerbook in March the following year the homilies were the only form of sermonising allowed for all preachers in the hope of fostering ‘a most quiet, godly and uniform order’.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 33.

⁴⁵ C. Davies, “‘Poor Persecuted Little Flock’ or “‘Commonwealth of Christians’”: Edwardian Protestant Concepts of the Church’, in *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, ed. by P. Lake and M. Dowling (London, 1987), pp. 78-102.

⁴⁶ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 375.

⁴⁷ *TRP*, i, no. 287.

⁴⁸ *TRP*, i, pp. 432-33.

The homily laid out a familiar vision of hierarchy, divine will, and the necessity of obedience to temporal governors in all matters.⁴⁹ Using scriptural lessons, the homily seeks to convince parishioners of a divinely ordained hierarchy where ‘Every degree of people, in their vocation, calling and office, hath appointed to them their duty and order’, and when contravened, this order would descend into ‘abuse, carnal liberty, enormity, sin and babylonical confusion.’⁵⁰ Within this hierarchy, kings ‘are ordained of God’ and therefore are owed utter obedience, even if the ruler contravenes God’s laws, as it would be equally blasphemous to ‘make any insurrection, sedition, or tumults’, and instead subjects must ‘patiently suffer, all wrongs and injuries’.⁵¹ Many of these lessons are familiar from Tyndale’s discussions of obedience, from Melancthon’s conception of magisterial authority over the two spheres, and from Richard Morison’s grim warnings against dissimulation, yet, the homily’s form and potential reach into the English parochial consciousness make it noteworthy.

In line with the exhortations of the homily on obedience the governors of the city seem to have readily acquiesced to Edwardian religious policy, first and foremost when it came to the dissolution of the chantries in the city. The act dissolving the chantries (1 Edward VI c.14) passed through parliament in December 1547, finally putting an end to any semblance of an official endorsement for the doctrine of purgatory.⁵² There had been initial moves to survey the holdings of the chantries in the last years of Henry’s reign, but no progress beyond this.⁵³ By the end

⁴⁹ *Certain Sermons or Homilies*, pp. 166-67.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Hospitals were exempted from this act, see: *SR*, iv, pp. 24-33. A traditional understanding of purgatory had been rejected in 1543 by the *King’s Book* but intercessory prayers for the dead had still been allowed after this.

⁵³ 1546 survey is at: TNA, E 301/29. The 1548 survey is at: TNA, E 301/28. These are calendared at: *Kent Obit and Lamp Rents*, ed. by A. Hussey, Kent Records xiv (Maidstone, 1937); *Kent Chantries*,

of 1548, twenty-three chantries in the diocese of Canterbury had been suppressed, along with obit rents for testators in hundreds of parishes, and with that the final nail had been driven into the industry of communal prayers for the dead.⁵⁴ In Canterbury there is little to suggest faction or infighting within the corporation during these years; nor was there a similar desire to police orthodoxy as was being shown by the Privy Council.

Yet this was not because there was not diversity in religious opinions represented there. Of the six men who served as mayor during Edward's reign, three seem to have been committed Protestants, while two others were almost certain Catholics, with the others falling somewhere between.⁵⁵ Within the guildhall there was no doctrinally motivated in-fighting and there is nothing to suggest civic officials were agitating for or against Edward's reform at parish levels. On two occasions members of the burghmote were dismissed from the guildhall, but on neither occasion was religious division the cause. In November 1547 John Twyne was dismissed from the common council before being re-elected in August the following year with no explanation being given for this.⁵⁶ While this is an intriguing occurrence, it would seem likely to have been the outcome of a minor affray or infringement given the short length of absence and lack of any subsequent litigation.⁵⁷ It is possible that the dismissal and immediate readmitting of the recently elected sheriff John Ugden, which also occurred in November that year, was linked

ed. by A. Hussey, Kent Records xii (Maidstone, 1936); *The Canterbury Chantries and Hospitals*, ed. by C. Cotton, Kent Records xix (Canterbury, 1934).

⁵⁴ Zell, 'Establishment of a Protestant Church', p. 208.

⁵⁵ Gregory Rand, John Freeman, and William Coppyn were all at least favourable towards reform, while George Webbe and Robert Lewes were less open to the brand of Protestantism being implemented under Edward's rule.

⁵⁶ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 36r, 41r.

⁵⁷ It is likely that this revolved around a long-running dispute over the lands of the St Lawrence's Hospital in the hands of Christopher Courthop, see: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 87r; TNA, STAC 3/4/44; STAC 3/5/59.

to this, but there is nothing to support such an assertion. Similarly, the disappearance of Thomas Batherst from the aldermanic bench that same year, not to be seen again until September 1554, was more likely because he was no longer able to effectively split his time between the city and his other livings in Staplehurst, than because of a religious division.⁵⁸

5.1.2 *The Crisis of Commonwealth*

The relative financial buoyancy and unity of the corporation could not shield the city from wider crises in the political nation. Under the stewardship of Protector Somerset, the crown continued to pursue many of Henry VIII's calamitous fiscal and foreign policies giving rise to social ferment across the nation.⁵⁹ The majority of popular anger was focused towards the enclosing of common lands for livestock pasture, a practice supposedly favoured by avaricious landowners looking to exploit the booming Antwerp Staple. Common anger was puffed up by the writing and sermonising of the so-called 'commonwealth men' who characterised much of the popular and political discourse of late-Henrician and Edwardian England.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Zell, *Industry in the Countryside*, p. 190. In 1547 he paid a fine of £10 to the chamberlain for non-attendance that might have prefigured his exit, see: CCA, CC, F/A/14, fol. 18v. Bathurst had purchased lands and properties in Staplehurst between 1545 and 1551 and seems to have been residing there until returning to the city early in Mary's reign, see: Zell, *Fines: Hen VIII*, p. 165; idem, *Fines: Ed VI & Mary*, p. 76. In his will of December 1554 he is described as of St Alphege in Canterbury yet leaves £20 to the poor of Staplehurst and extensive lands there to his son-in-law Thomas Stranton, son of the wealthy weaver William Stranton of Staplehurst, see: CCA, PRC 32/26/43; TNA, PROB 11/23/21.

⁵⁹ W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King: The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London, 1968); M. L. Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (London, 1975); E. Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: New Sources and New Perspectives', *EHR*, 144 (1999), 34-63.

⁶⁰ A. F. Pollard's idea of a concerted 'commonwealth party' fell out of fashion after Geoffrey Elton methodically picked the idea to pieces in 1979, however the presence of a group of preachers, politicians, and writers who espoused similar social criticisms and evangelical leanings remains accepted, see: G. R. Elton, 'Reform and the "Commonwealth-Men" of Edward VI's Reign', in *The English Commonwealth*, ed. by P. Clark, A. Smith, and N. Tyacke (Leicester, 1979), pp. 23-38. For a more recent exploration of the group and a gentle but persuasive critique of Elton's outright dismissal of the 'commonwealth men' and their shared values see: C. Davies, *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 140-176; Jones, *Tree of Commonwealth*, pp. 33-84.

Echoing Thomas More's satirical description of ravenous English sheep that would 'swallow down the very men themselves', writers like Henry Brinklow, John Hales and Thomas Lever, amongst others, bemoaned the greed of landowners looking to make quick gains at the expense of the common good.⁶¹ Alongside greedy agrarian landowners, the old enemies of the urban corporation: regrators, engrossers, and forestallers of town markets, were blamed for driving up the prices of food, drink, and manufactured goods for personal gain. Individuals suspected of such activities were frequently presented at the city quarter sessions throughout the 1540s and civic ordinances emphasised the need for vigilance on the parts of city serjeants and market officials.⁶² In reality, few of the nation's problems could be attributed to any of these practices, but this did not stop Somerset's government from incorporating some of the naïve logic of the 'commonwealth men' into official policy and validating popular grievances.⁶³

By early 1549, official fears of widespread agrarian unrest were mounting, and Kent was at the heart of a growing national crisis.⁶⁴ On two occasions between late 1548 and early 1549 members of the corporation were dispatched to London concerning seditious writings found in or around the city, and an addendum to a contemporary list of Canterbury's mayors for the year of Gregory Rand's mayoralty,

⁶¹ More, *Utopia*, p. 18. John Hales was closely related to the Canterbury Hales. He was from the Halden branch of the family but was living in London and Coventry by the mid-1530s, but he had been raised in the household of his uncle Sir Christopher Hales, see: B. Lowe, 'Hales, John (1516?–1572)', *ODNB*.

⁶² See for example: CCA, CC, J/Q/342/ii; A/C/2, fols. 74v-75r; 107v.

⁶³ B. L. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England During the Reign of Edward VI*, 2nd edition (Kent, 2005), p. 35.

⁶⁴ B. L. Beer and R. J. Nash, 'Hugh Latimer and the Lusty Knave of Kent: The Commonwealth Movement of 1549', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 52 (1979), 175-178; J. D. Alsop, 'Latimer, the "Commonwealth of Kent" and the 1549 Rebellions', *HJ*, 28 (1985), 379-383; A. C. Jones, "'Commotion Time" The English Risings of 1549' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2003), pp. 167-76.

simply: ‘Commonwealth’.⁶⁵ An unnamed city serjeant was sent to London concerning ‘sedycyous letters which were cast abroad in the Citie’, and a few months afterwards the town the chamberlain, Anthony Knyght, was sent to court with ‘a scaunderous letter that was cast in the strete’.⁶⁶ In early summer 1549, a group of rioters gathered at Boxley, near Maidstone, to tear down enclosures on a parcel of ex-priory land belonging to the magnate and future traitor, Sir Thomas Wyatt.⁶⁷ By May, rebel activity was on the rise in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somerset, while in Kent two rebel leaders were executed, one in Ashford on 13 May, and another at Canterbury the following day.⁶⁸ Matters then started to deteriorate within the city itself. By the end of May there were bands of rebels encamped outside the city walls, something not seen for over a century. Camps had also been set up at Maidstone and Sittingbourne, and rebel activity had been reported across the whole of the county during the spring and summer months.

Somerset’s decision to reserve military resources for the ongoing Scottish and French wars and for deployment to the more violently disturbed regions in East Anglia and the West Country meant that most other regions had to make do on their own.⁶⁹ In Kent it was the upper gentry who were to ensure that the rebels were not able to arm themselves. Long standing pillars of the county gentry such as Sir Thomas Moyle, Sir Antony St Leger, Sir Edward Wotton, and Sir Thomas Cheyne,

⁶⁵ Both occurrences appear in the chamberlain’s account for 1548-9, suggesting both occurred after Michaelmas 1548; the second incident is listed after the payments for the Hilary term quarter sessions, suggesting it occurred early 1549. The list, similar to ones put together by the monks of St Augustine’s, is held in the records of the parish of Wye and is a list of Canterbury’s mayors from 1448-1559, see: KAO, U352/O3.

⁶⁶CCA, F/A/14, fols. 112v-113r. The previous summer similar seditious letters were found in the Bab’s Hill area on the road out of the city towards Sturry, and a number of county gentlemen (including Edward Thwaites) were thanked by the council for sending up two men for speaking ‘naughty wordes’; then in March 1549 a man of East Malling near Maidstone was committed to Marshalsea for speaking seditious words, see: *APC*, ii, pp. 404, 505.

⁶⁷ Jones, “Commotion Time”, pp. 167-68.

⁶⁸ A. Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 49.

⁶⁹ Bush, *Government Policy*, pp. 89-97.

lord warden of the Cinque Ports, took the lead but could not hope to muster any significant force with which to withstand a potential rebel attack. Instead, the rebellions were suffocated through a campaign of appeasement and enforcement that worked despite the lack of martial force.

The success of this campaign lay in its effective coordination and the willing participation of all sections of the Kentish gentry. John, lord Russell, was dispatched to the city for news of progress in disbanding the camps.⁷⁰ One Roger Hawes was employed to carry letters between the various commissioners and a surviving account of his journeys in early April and between 18 June and 25 August sheds light on the effectiveness of the gentry response to the potential crisis.⁷¹

Unsurprisingly the commissions were split, and based themselves in urban areas where camps had formed, namely Canterbury, Sittingbourne, and Maidstone. Letters were directed from Thomas Cheyne to Wotton and the commissioners while they were sitting at Canterbury on 17 July and 6 August.⁷² During these months the county gentry dealt effectively with an awkward predicament and prevented it from escalating into a full-blown crisis.

The primary role of the corporation was, as ever, to maintain order within its own dominions, and, as they had done in 1449, they closed off access to the city from the rebel bands. Unlike at contemporary Exeter and Norwich, there was never any hint that the civic authorities might aid the rebels, or even pitied their cause. During the course of the encampment there is no suggestion that members of wider populace offered the rebels any support, suggesting a significant disconnect between

⁷⁰ *APC*, ii, p. 303.

⁷¹ TNA, E101/76/35, fols. 6r-8r.

⁷² TNA, E101/76/35, fols. 6v, 7r.

the peculiarly agrarian complaints of the rebels and the citizens of Canterbury, who treated the rebels more like an invading army than their neighbours. Indeed, the city sent Richard Asshenden, the Serjeant of the Chamber, up to London to collect ‘artyllery’ from the Tower in order to ‘defend theseid citie agenst theseid rebelles’.⁷³

Many years later, in 1572, a number of elderly residents, including the ex-alderman Edward Carpenter (now of Great Chart), described how the citizens had been concerned that the rebels were intending to besiege the city, recalling that:

at the rebellyon tyme yt was noysed that the Rebelles wold come in at the breche in the town walles by nyght which beyng understood by the mayor and offycers of the cytty they caused a trenche to be caste and made as the same breche⁷⁴

At the same time the mayor, Gregory Rand, ordered extra watches be kept to ensure no rebels snuck into the city after dark.⁷⁵ However, there is little to suggest that business within the walls were adversely affected by the rebels’ camp, in fact returns from the city flesh and fish markets in 1549 were the highest for a decade, suggesting business inside the walls carried on regardless (see Graph 5.1). On 18 July, commissioners sitting in the city (Edward Wotton, James Hales, George Harper, and John Norton) contacted Somerset requesting that copies of the proclamation concerning ‘tale-bearers’ be sent to them to be distributed in the city.⁷⁶ Around the same time, perhaps in an effort to maintain calm inside the city walls,

⁷³ CCA, CC, F/A/14, fol. 114v.

⁷⁴ CCA, Woodruffs/12/3.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ *HMC Salisbury*, i, p. 54. The Proclamation referred to is presumably the one ‘against tale bearers and spreaders of seditious rumours’ proclaimed on 8 July, see: *TRP*, i, pp. 469-70.

copies of ‘The acte concernyng the rebells’ was distributed to parish churches and presumably proclaimed from the pulpits during services.⁷⁷

The commotions of the spring and summer of 1549 provide an interesting aspect on how the corporation conceived of its place in the Edwardian commonwealth. During the propaganda campaign against the rebels, state authorities pursued a sustained campaign equal to those seen in 1534 or following the Pilgrimage of Grace, which sought to reassert the values of obedience and godly order within society. This was expressed in official acts and proclamations like those mentioned above, through homilies and through sermons, all of which stressed the need for governors to reassert their moral authority in order to stabilise the commonwealth.⁷⁸ Writing in the years after the commotions, the then alderman John Twyne spoke of ‘the errors committed by fugitives and traitors calling themselves councillors of the commonwealth’.⁷⁹ Such opinions point towards the gulf that existed between how Twyne, a man at the heart of the corporation throughout the mid-Tudor period, conceived of the commonwealth, and the rebels’ own view of the same concept which they took as their banner. As Stephen Greenblatt has pointed out, the protests of pre-modern commons often ‘appealed not to perceptions utterly alien to those in official circles but rather drew unacceptable conclusions from those same perceptions’.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ In 1552 the church was still in possession of ‘one boke of the acte concernyng the rebells’, see: ‘Inventories of Parish Church Goods in Kent, ad.1552’, *Arch. Cant.*, 8 (1872), 74-163 (p. 121). See also: *SR*, iv, pp. 104-08; *APC*, ii, p. 199.

⁷⁸ *Misc. Writings*, p. 191; T. Kirby, “‘Synne and Seditiō’: Peter Martyr Vermigli’s “Sermon concernyng the tyme of rebellion” in the Parker Library’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39 (2008), 419-440.

⁷⁹ Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 256, fols. 154r-55v.

⁸⁰ Greenblatt, ‘Murdering Peasants’, p. 21.

5.1.3 *'every one have nede of other': Controlling the Commonwealth*⁸¹

The dissolution of the chantries marked a symbolic end to traditional urban life and forced a readjustment from civic leaders who now needed to adapt their roles to the new realities of post-monastic urban society. As Robert Tittler has shown, one of the most notable aspects of this adaptation was a centralisation of urban affairs into the hands of an ever-shrinking group of craft and merchant elites, or as Tittler has coined them the 'merchant heroes', who courted an image of benevolence and selflessness to counter their increasing prosperity and accusations of avaricious practices.⁸²

During Edward's short reign the complexion of the business recorded in the city's burghmote minute book begins to shift, taking on a more overtly 'commonwealth' aspect. To what extent this shift can be attributed to a growth in latent 'Protestantism' within the corporate community is uncertain. The deaths of stalwart members of the guildhall community certainly allowed a new wave of members onto the aldermanic and councillor benches, many of whom brought with them a reformed outlook on the world, but there seems to have been some hesitation in appointing new aldermen during the early years of Edward's reign. There were no new aldermen or common councillors elected between September 1547 and June 1551, despite the deaths of four aldermen in this period, and in terms of elections there seems to have been little impetus from reform-minded aldermen to make hay while the sun was shining. When elections did begin again, while certain committed Protestants like Henry Alday and Stephen Sare were elected to the bench, so were more temperate individuals like Nicholas Fysh, and outward Catholics like John

⁸¹ *Certain Sermons or Homilies (1547) and A Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (1570): A Critical Edition*, ed. by R. B. Bond (Toronto, 1987).

⁸² R. Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation, English Urban Experiences 1540-1640* (Stanford, 2001), pp. 29, 100-20.

Ugden remained omnipresent.⁸³ Rather than being a change driven by individuals or parties then, the shift towards ‘commonwealth’ policies marked broader shift in the outlook of urban governors. In the years covering both Edward and Mary’s reigns the mayor, aldermen, and common councillors followed the trend set in the early 1540s by passing increasing number of civic ordinances seemingly designed to ensure a stable community and a healthy basis for commerce in the city and attacking economic greed and corruption, the perceived roots of societal disorder. Alongside these ordinances there were a large number of acts aimed at maintaining order within the city community through more vigilant enforcing of behavioural norms.

Despite the relative prosperity of many of the city’s inhabitants, it remains the case that in 1547 the economic state of the nation was both confusing and unprecedented. The increasing incidence of municipal ordinances relating to the trade of butchers, fishmongers, and brewers demonstrates one aspect of the rise of a commonwealth agenda in the city. While the corporation had always been involved in the setting of prices for consumables sold in city markets this becomes more common in this period and coincides with a push to ensure such ordinances were being uniformly observed. Set prices of beer, bread, and tallow are routinely fixed and marked in the burghmote minute book that were then to be enforced by city officers.

Likewise, ordinances passed in decades passed were routinely re-entered into the minute books with more elaborate enforcement procedures and punishments tacked on.⁸⁴ Most notably offenders were now threatened with expulsion from their

⁸³ See appendix A.

⁸⁴ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 36v-37r, 40r, 74r, 74v-75r, 92v, 102v, 113v-114r; A/B/2, fols. 123v-125v.

freedom for even minor infringements, and during the food shortages of the mid-1550s the city exercised this threat against a particularly unscrupulous butcher named Augustine Coke.⁸⁵ During summer 1557, Coke was reported to burghmote by one of the searchers of the city flesh market for dressing and selling the meat of a bullock that had starved to death ‘to the grete infectcon of the kyng and quenys subjects’, a claim that was confirmed by the testimony of another city butcher.⁸⁶ Coke was then called to the guildhall where the aldermen and common council concluded after much ‘weying and pondering’ and for the ‘wele of theseid cetie’, that Coke should ‘shutt up hys wyndowes and be dysfranchysed of his libties’ until he pays a 20s fine.⁸⁷ Coke paid the fine the same day and was thus readmitted. Six weeks later Coke was once again called to answer a bill of complaint at the guildhall, but no record of his second appearance survives suggesting that no charges were brought on this occasion.⁸⁸

A growing awareness of the urban poor, and the added fear of the potential dangers of widespread economic dislocation, forced governors at all levels to take action to prevent the breakdown of social order. During the first five years of the reign, successive parliaments passed protectionist legislation aimed at stemming the tide of poverty in rural and urban England. Many of these acts looked to tackle the perceived roots of the problems from Westminster, and by the time Edward’s first Parliament was dissolved in April 1552 acts had been passed regulating ale houses, weaving, the wool trade, enclosure, and apprenticeships. Other acts placed the onus on regional governors themselves to arrange poor relief. In March 1548, an act was

⁸⁵ Coke was admitted to the franchise by redemption in 1543, see: Cowper, *Freemen*, p. 260.

⁸⁶ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 107v. Coke had paid fines to the city for butchering unbaited bulls in the past, see: CCA, CC, F/A/15, fol. 19v.

⁸⁷ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 109r.

⁸⁸ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 109r.

passed that released corporate towns and cities from their fee-farm obligations so that the money might be used for ‘thayde and relieff of the Poore’ (2&3 Edward VI C.5).⁸⁹ In theory, the money for the fee-farms was still to be levied by the urban authorities, but this money was to then be used ‘setting poore people on woorke, or other good deades’, but offered little else in terms of practical advice. A more expansive act of 1552 (5&6 Edward VI C.2) looked to implement a parish-by-parish system where registers of the ‘deserving’ poor were created and gave license for parish authorities to levy local taxes to provide for poorer inhabitants on a weekly basis.⁹⁰ The act was ineffective and not widely implemented but the impetus that lay behind it was shared in the city, with the churchwardens of St Andrew’s paying 2d for ‘a boke of the names of all poore people within our paryshe’ sometime in 1552.⁹¹

A few years prior to this, around 1549, the corporation began to organise collections for the poor of the city, operating above the level of the parish and taking the issue of poor relief as a civic duty. From 1550 onwards the burghmote book and chamberlains’ account record the receipt of sums paid to the city for the relief of the poor. In June 1550, a number of the common councillors paid over money they had collected that was to be used for the relief of poor maidens.⁹² In December 1551, the churchwardens of St George’s gave £10 to the city chamber that was to be ‘employed for the p[ro]vysyon of care for the poore peple of theseid citie’.⁹³ Relief was not only provided in monetary form. The city’s wheat surplus, stockpiled in a loft above the city storehouse, was utilised on several occasions to provide wheat to the poor

⁸⁹ *SR*, iv, pp. 43-44.

⁹⁰ *SR*, iv, pp. 131-32; P. Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1531-1782* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 10, 18-19.

⁹¹ ‘St Andrew’s, vol. 3’, p. 45.

⁹² CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 50r.

⁹³ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 66r.

during times of dearth.⁹⁴ While after 1551 the burghmote decreed that city money would be routinely used to provide ‘corne for the poore people of the seid citie’ during periods of dearth.⁹⁵

Such practical responses to the impending threat of dearth in the city suggest a subtle shift in the ethos of corporate government during these years, and while the desire to aid the poor might not have been entirely altruistic it nevertheless points towards the evolution of commonwealth ideals in line with Protestant theology concerning communal welfare. In the early decades of the century the principal desires of the corporation were the control of markets, moral behaviour, and the maintenance of their jurisdictional liberties, the two elements through which the commonwealth of the city as a whole could best be nurtured and their own interests protected. In November 1551 the burghmote agreed that it would make a supplication to the king for the ‘disp[ar]kyng of the kynges p[ar]ke’ so that the lands might be leased to the corporation and then ‘employed to the use of the poore inhabytantes of theseid citie’.⁹⁶ No evidence of this supplication survives but the corporation was never granted a lease to the lands, yet the fact that it was recorded in the council minute book suggests it was a serious suggestion. The idea was a novel one and was likely the brainchild of the recently elected mayor, William Coppyn. The King’s Park (also called the ‘New Park’) sat outside the eastern walls of the city where Coppyn had accrued numerous leases for lands and had valued the lands of the rectory of St Martin for the crown in July 1547.⁹⁷ What exactly the corporation

⁹⁴ CCA, A/C/2, fol. 58r.

⁹⁵ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 66v.

⁹⁶ CCA, A/C/2, fol. 65v.

⁹⁷ CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/965H; Miller, ‘Coppyn, William (by 1509-58), of Canterbury, Kent’, *HoP*. On the position of the King’s Park and the two other deer parks that lay on the eastern edge of the city see: T. Tatton-Brown, ‘Recent Fieldwork Around Canterbury’, *Arch. Cant.*, 99 (1983), 115-119.

intended to do with the land if it gained control of the lands is unclear but it would have been a shrewd piece of business had it come off.

The wills of many of the aldermen and leading citizens who died during this period show a subtle development in the way they allocated their charitable bequests. Anthony Knyght left 3s 4d to the poor of his parish, John Maske left money to the poor but stipulated it should only go to ‘the olde blynde and lame’ of the parish.⁹⁸ John Courthop of St Dunstan’s, a common councillor between 1539 and 1543, left 12d to the parish poor-box, 20s to be distributed at his burial, and then stipulated that each Friday five poor persons be given 2d ob each, alternating weekly between the parishes of St Dunstan’s and St Margaret’s for a whole year (a total bequest of £32 10s).⁹⁹ While many of the bequests made are very similar in their value and timing to pre-Reformation wills (payments being made at the funeral or shortly afterwards), the nature of the bequests shifted away from the testator’s soul and towards the well-being of the urban community. Therefore, the alderman Gregory Rand, who in 1552 left his soul ‘Unto my savier and redeemer Jehez Christi by whose mere mercye and blud shedinge I onely hope to be saved’, left 20s to the poor of the city with no hint that such an act carried any salvific significance.¹⁰⁰ This is not to say, however, that it was only Protestants who left charitable bequests. Along with payments to six priests and six clerks to sing Masses and diriges at his funeral, Thomas Alcock jnr also left money to the poor-box of St Mary Breadman and provided a store of wheat to be divided between the poor of the city.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ CCA, PRC, 17/29/323a;

⁹⁹ CCA, PRC, 17/29/258b.

¹⁰⁰ CCA, PRC, 17/130/185b.

¹⁰¹ CCA, PRC, 17/30/237.

In a greater sense, the corporation seems to have developed a leading role in the receiving and doling-out of charitable bequests on a city-wide scale. Whereas parishes still undoubtedly acted independently to aid the poor, wealthier citizens and benefactors started to view the city chamber as an appropriate place in which to deposit charitable bequests and the city governors were then morally astute enough to ensure these were dutifully distributed to the ‘needy’ poor of Canterbury. During the two decades since the act of supremacy the corporation’s role had grown beyond its traditional remit, and there was clearly a belief on the part of the membership that their duty transcended such things. As a result, the guildhall became a nexus for charitable donations and the concerns of the commonwealth at large.

5.2 *Obedience in Marian Canterbury*

When recording the date in the margin of the Burghmote minute book entry for 18 July 1553 the confused town clerk struck out the name of the deceased ‘Edwardi Sexti’ and wrote underneath, simply, ‘Jane’. Sometime afterwards Jane’s name was also struck through, and in a new ink ‘Mary’ was ascribed.¹⁰² Such was the provincial air of confusion surrounding events immediately following King Edward’s death and the abortive Protestant-led coup. Elsewhere, in Gloucester, twenty-four members of the corporation threw their support behind Mary’s claim to the throne, while in Norwich the mayor and aldermen were more cautious, waiting until they had received official confirmation of the young king’s death before proclaiming Mary queen on 13 July.¹⁰³ In Canterbury, the news was met with caution and none of the ‘bone-fyers’, ‘trompettes’ and *Te Deums* observed in

¹⁰² CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 79v.

¹⁰³ Litzenberger, *English Laity and the Reformation*, p. 83 n. 2; McClendon, *Quiet Reformation*, p. 156.

London and elsewhere.¹⁰⁴ Within the guildhall there was a guarded silence, with no money being spent on coronation celebrations as might have been expected. At the cathedral, Cranmer's associate Pierre Alexandre was completing a series of divinity lectures as part of Cranmer's campaign for better education in the city, signing his final lecture on 27 July '*post morte perpetue memorie pientissimi regis Edowerdi Sexti*'.¹⁰⁵ For Alexandre, as for Cranmer, the death of their young Josiah was a poignant moment which marked a halt to the nation's Protestant reformation; Alexandre departed Canterbury for Strasbourg, Cranmer, fatally, remained at Lambeth.¹⁰⁶

Mary's first moves were largely conciliatory. On 8 August a proclamation condemned recent 'insolence and ungodliness', and expressed the desire that the queen's subjects should follow her in their religious practice.¹⁰⁷ Despite the initial ambiguity, enthusiastic Catholic communities across the nation pressed ahead with a restoration of traditional services.¹⁰⁸ In Canterbury, the celebration of the Mass was reinstated at the cathedral during the summer, with money being paid for 'prykyng of iiii books for to set forth the old service' and on various other rudiments necessary for the traditional liturgy.¹⁰⁹ These expenses came shortly before the meeting of Mary's first Parliament in October 1553 where the queen's intentions concerning religious reform were expressed clearly for the first time. The First Repeal Act (1

¹⁰⁴ *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, ed. by J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, old series, liii (London, 1852), pp. 80-81.

¹⁰⁵ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 544-45; CCCC, MS 126, fol. 156v; CCCC, MS 115, 126; BL, Add MS 48040, fols. 213-74.

¹⁰⁶ R. Copsey, 'Alexandre, Pierre [Simon Alexius] (c.1498-1563)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁷ E. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1839), i, pp. 120-25.

¹⁰⁸ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 206; Brigden, *London*, 530-31; D. M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553-58* (London, 1991), pp. 98-102.

¹⁰⁹ C. E. Woodruff, 'Extracts from Original Documents illustrating the Progress of the Reformation in Kent', *Arch. Cant.*, 31 (1915), 92-120, (p. 112); Collinson, 'The Protestant Cathedral', pp. 163-64.

Mary C.2) reinstated Henrician worship and rescinded important Edwardian statutes, such as the one authorising clerical marriage, effectively expunging her brother's legacy and setting the scene for a reinstatement of Roman Catholic at an institutional level.¹¹⁰

Despite the obvious progress of Protestantism in the city during the preceding two decades, things in Canterbury appear to have transitioned to Marian Catholicism quite readily, at least in official terms. At St Andrew's the long suffering church wardens spent the five years of Mary's reign attempting to finance the restoration of Roman Catholic furniture and fixtures in their church. In 1554-5, using money raised from the sale of their prayerbooks, *paraphrases*, and vernacular plasters and bible, the churchwardens spent money on a new Holy Water stoop and 'lent crosse', frankincense for the Christmas service, cleaned up the parish candlesticks, mending the priest's cope, rebuilding the Easter Sepulchre, and restoring the rood to its former state.¹¹¹ In the years that followed the church would be repainted, statues of the Virgin and St John were purchased and painted, the rood had new iron work and gilding provided, and numerous altar clothes, copes and albs were bought for the parish priest.¹¹² The revival of traditional observances was mirrored across town in the corporation's decision to revive the pageant elements of the St Thomas Watch in July 1554.¹¹³

The steady restoration of Catholic worship in the city and the return of certain traditional ceremonies into the civic calendar is indicative of Canterbury's confused experience of the Marian years. On the one hand the city was witness to the

¹¹⁰ *SR*, iv, p. 202.

¹¹¹ 'St Andrew's, vol. 4', pp. 42-44.

¹¹² 'St Andrew's, vol. 4', pp. 44-50.

¹¹³ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 93v; F/A/15, fols. 31r-31v, 76v-77r, 77v.

most intense spell of persecution outside of London, with one in seven of the Marian martyrs, forty-one in total, being burned at Canterbury between 1555 and November 1558. Yet on the other hand, it remains the fact that the city remained largely insulated from these horrors in the sense that only one of the forty-one burned at Canterbury was a resident of the city, and none of the others held or professed strong links to the city. Such an imbalance is puzzling given the obvious presence of advanced Protestantism in the city before 1553. However, while city community was witness but not necessarily victim of the violence brought on by the heresy trials, this is not to say that the corporate authorities were not happy to align themselves with the Marian regime or to display their loyalty. Throughout her short reign, the corporation continued the precedent set in the 1530s and happily enforced most aspects of the royal will, maintaining Tudor obedience in the face of sedition and dissimulation regardless of doctrine.

One of the earliest challenges to the Marian regime came in late 1553 when a group of Protestant magnates, including the Kentish gentleman Sir Thomas Wyatt, attempted to raise a four-pronged rebellion purportedly to demonstrate popular anger at Mary's marriage to Prince Philip of Spain. The abortive coup never gathered momentum, but in January 1554 Wyatt mustered a large number of men, mainly from west Kent, and marched towards London via Rochester.¹¹⁴ The rebellion found enthusiastic support in Maidstone, a town where the recently incorporated city bench was populated by numerous Wyatt clients.¹¹⁵ By the late-1540s it is fair to say that the rulers of Maidstone were enthusiastic reformers; shortly after the act for the

¹¹⁴ D. M. Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 50-96; Clark, *Society*, pp. 87-98; Fletcher and MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp. 81-93.

¹¹⁵ Maidstone was granted its first charter in 1549, granting them a mayor and twelve jurats who were to hold office for life, see: Weinbaum, *Borough Charters 1307-1660*, p. 62.

dissolution of chantries had passed an *ad hoc* council of around eighty townsmen gathered to sell off the plate and vestments of All Saint's Church and the lands of the Corpus Christi Guild.¹¹⁶ Their verve in pursuing 'theadvancement of Godds Honour and things lawdable' drew recognition from Protector Somerset and quite probably helped put the town on course for incorporation.¹¹⁷ It is not clear whether it was their Protestant faith or their ties to Wyatt that stimulated Maidstone residents to rise up, but it is telling that the rebellion found almost no support in Canterbury or east Kent more generally. The Canterbury magistrates were actually forthright in their show of support for the queen, and rebuffed Wyatt's requests for aid. John Twyne, serving his first term as mayor, seized the opportunity to defend royal authority with gusto, and led a band of citizens to Dover to organise resistance against the rebels.¹¹⁸

But the corporate authorities were in no way swayed in their devotion to crown authority. An entry into the burghmote minute book for 13 July 1557 reads thus:

the viiith of July now last past the quenys maiestye queen mary dep[ar]ted from Caunt[er]bury towarde[s] the house of sir Thomas moyle and rode thorowe Wynchepe and before her grace rode master mayre of this Citie beryng the mace of the citie till he came to the lane ledyng to the medow late of s[ir] Jamys hales...at which place sir Thomas moyle beyng high sheryf of Kent requyred master mayre to ley downe hys mace which theseid mayre denied to doo but seyde that he wolde bere so ferr as the lib[er]tie of theseid citie

¹¹⁶ W. Newton, *The History and Antiquities of Maidstone: The County-town of Kent* (London, 1741), pp. 104-06.

¹¹⁷ I can find no trace of the original or contemporary copy of a letter from Somerset from which the quote is drawn, Newton's transcription is used here, see: Newton, *History of Maidstone*, pp. 105-06.

¹¹⁸ CCA, CC, F/A/15, fol. 30r.

went which was to the utter part of the stone wall of seynt Jacobbys
and so dyd all which way theseid sheryf of Kent gave place
andbore no rodd and at the utter part of theseid wall the seyd mayre
toke leve of the quenys maiestie and so dep[ar]tyd and her grace
gave hym most hartye thanks¹¹⁹

In this account of Queen Mary's much trumpeted visit to the city we can get an idea of the rude health that the corporate community found itself in at the end of this period. In this incident the mayor, John Fuller, the man who had trafficked foreign correspondence for Cranmer in the 1540s, not only boldly asserted the jurisdictional rights and dignity of the corporation, but he also received the esteem of his queen for having done so.

Such an attitude was still apparent in early 1558 when a drunken supper ended in scandal. On the evening of 23 January a number of citizens had gathered for supper at the house of the currier and alderman William Doggerell. Doggerell was joined that evening by his wife Elizabeth, the shoemaker John Piers, his apprentice Robert Cokerell, along with some unnamed others.¹²⁰ While at dinner, guests nervously discussed news of the fall of Guisnes and the subsequent rumours of an impending French invasion. Recent news of Lord Wentworth's surrender of Calais and the desperate attempts by Thomas Cheyne, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to raise troops to defend the Kentish coast, largely in vain, had cast a pall

¹¹⁹ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 110v.

¹²⁰ There is no record of Cockerell's apprenticeship with Piers in the admissions records, but a Robert Coker was admitted by redemption in 1549 as a shoemaker so the term might have been used to indicate the junior nature of the Cokerell, see: Cowper, *Freemen*, p. 260. Piers was certainly more advanced in years and both he and Dogerell died in the years shortly after this, Piers in 1561 and Dogerell in late 1558, see: CCA, PRC 17/32/50b, 17/32/241.

across the county.¹²¹ Descriptions of the night's events later given as evidence before the mayor and aldermen suggest that by eight o'clock that evening Cokerell was remarkably drunk and interrupted discussions over the possibility of invasion to claim that 'the Frenche kynge wolde shortly come to Ingland and wolde crye xvij d a day to every man that wold serve hym', to which Cokerell added 'yf [...] he be cum [I] wold serve the frenche kyng before [I] would serve the quenys maiestie'.¹²² Such loose words put Cokerell and those around him in some danger; both Piers, as Cokerell's master, and Doggerell as the owner of the premises, were open to charges of misprision of treason if they did not report Cokerell's words. Both men immediately reported the event to Robert Alcock, the corporation's retained legal counsel and chief magistrate, and then escorted the drunken apprentice to the Westgate to sleep it off.

The next morning Cokerell was brought to the guildhall to appear before the mayor, George Maye, and the company of aldermen where he pleaded that he 'could not tell what he sayd' the night before.¹²³ A number of witnesses, including the Doggerells and Piers, then provided testimonies which were of adequate detail for the mayor and aldermen to conclude that Cokerell had spoken treasonable and seditious words, however, they were not clear as to how to proceed. By this stage the Marian treason laws were sufficiently convoluted to mean that the procedures to be followed in the provinces were murky at best, and Cokerell's utterances were equally hard to characterise. Treason had been judged by the Edward III standard since the

¹²¹ Doggerell was also the city tallenger throughout this period, being granted the office in the first months of Mary's reign, see: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 79v, 120v. On the fall of Calais and Guisnes, see: D. Grummitt, *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England, 1436-1558* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 171-76.

¹²² The bonds, depositions, and examinations for this case are all preserved, see: CCA, CC, J/Q/357/i-iv.

¹²³ CCA, CC, J/Q/357/iv.

repeal of the 1534 act by her brother's government in 1547, but the 1554 'act against seditious words and rumours' (1 & 2 Philip and Mary C.3) looked to curb 'false, seditious, and slanderous' speech that, while not treasonous *per se*, now faced an array of punishments.¹²⁴ Two further acts, the 'act for the punishment of traitorous words against the queen's majesty' (1 & 2 Philip and Mary C.9) and the 'act whereby certain offences be made treasons' (1 & 2 Philip and Mary C.10), meant that by February 1555 first offenders faced forfeiture of goods and imprisonment, while repeat offenders receiving a traitor's death.¹²⁵ Anyone who 'by expres woordes or saieings' prayed for the death of their king or queen, or who spoke against their legitimacy, faced these penalties. While these were in many ways a return to the post-supremacy paranoia of Henry's later years, Mary's treason laws were, according to David Cressy, 'less stringent' than her father's.¹²⁶ Certainly the phrasing of the acts gave Cokerell some cause for optimism, as unless it could be shown that he spoke 'malitiously advisedlye and directlye' there was no recourse for a charge of high treason. Thus, if he were to be indicted by the mayor under the 1554 act and found guilty he faced no worse than forfeiture and life imprisonment.

There was, however, one complicating factor. Fears of the French invasion had raised tensions across the region, if not the nation, to such a level that martial law was fit to be exercised, and in this case Cokerell's prospects became far graver.¹²⁷ Knowing this, George Maye sent the matter up to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, Thomas Cheyne, along with news of Francis Borton, another man

¹²⁴ These ranged from the loss of ears and time in the pillory up to a fine of £300 and three months in prison, repeat offenders faced a life in prison; seditious writers were also faced with having their right hands chopped off and in all cases the crime was to be marked on the offender's body, see: *SR*, iv, pp. 240-41.

¹²⁵ *SR*, iv, pp. 254-57.

¹²⁶ D. Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford, 2010), p. 58.

¹²⁷ Bellamy, *Tudor Law of Treason*, pp. 228-35.

suspected of sedition, who promptly forwarded it to the Council for further advice.¹²⁸

On 26 January the response came demanding Borton ‘bee set in the pyllory openly some market daye in our saide city of Cantorbury with papers on his hedde wheruppon may be written \to this effect/ <this or the like wordes ffor seditious speaking against the counsell>’.¹²⁹ Cokerell too was to be made an example of, only to much more serious ends:

concernyng the saide Cockerell to thintent he maye bothe for his owne parte receave ponyshement according to his deserte and the same bee also a terror unto others to beware the lyje offense wee will yowe shall furthwith proceade against hym by order of the marshall lawe without any longer keaping of hym.

At this point matters were passed back into the hands of Canterbury officials who on 28 January assembled in the guildhall to try Cokerell under martial law. The outcome was clearly never in doubt, but after the truncated trial:

The court did award by virtue of the quenys majesties lettres and by the commaundment of Sir Thomas Cheyne knight of theoder Lord Lyeutenaunte of the countie of the cite of Canterbury that theseid Robert Cokrell should be from thens had to the place of execution and ther be hanged tyll he be dedd accordyng to the marciall lawe.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ This letter and the copies of the depositions sent by the mayor do not survive but they are explicitly referred to in the response that came from the Council to Cheyney, see: TNA, SP 11/12/32.

¹²⁹ TNA, SP 11/12/32.

¹³⁰ CCA, CC, J/Q/357/i. He was to be hanged as a felon, rather than hanged drawn and quartered as a traitor.

The sentence was officiously carried out in market place beside the Bulstake, and the chamberlain that year records a 4d charge for the 'lyenes' needed to hang Cokerell (along with 6d for the paper and paint needed for Borton's punishment).¹³¹ But still the story was not dead. William Oxenden, the deputy lieutenant, wrote to Cheyney on 29 January to report that 'at the place of execution certain of the aldermen required him to ask God's mercy and say his *Pater Noster*' to which the exasperated Cokerell refused and 'blaspheming' and 'swearing' he went 'leaping from the ladder'.¹³² While Cokerell's intriguing but ignominious end vexed Oxenden, the other party being punished in the market place that day, Francis Borton, was kind enough to explain to the crowd that 'his punishment be an example to them to be wary what they speak by the king and queen or any in authority'. This whole sad affair demonstrates just how well connected the Queen and Privy Council were to affairs in Kent, and the lingering strength of city, county, and national government even during the Marian regime's lowest ebb.¹³³

It would be easy to characterise the actions of Doggerell and the others of the corporation as those of a weary provincial government so scared of its queen that even the drunken mutterings of a young shoemaker escalated into a matter of national importance. The city was certainly war-weary and had been witness to a dizzying number of public executions during the preceding two years, and it would be easy to understand the once proudly independent corporation now being cowed into the role of an impotent provincial body. This would be, however, to misrepresent the impetuses which eventually led Cokerell from Doggerell's dining

¹³¹ CCA, CC, F/A/16, fol. 30v.

¹³² TNA, SP 11/12/46i [CSPD1547-1580, 721].

¹³³ Cheyney reported 'thende of Robert Cockrell and the punishment of Francys Borton' to Mary on 31 January, see: TNA, SP, 11/12/46.

room to the scaffold. Rather, the corporate authorities were upholding the royal authority which for them remained sacrosanct, and in doing so, were also shielding the city and its citizens from the religious persecution of the Marian regime.

5.2.2 *The Persecution in Canterbury*

Kent was not a safe place for Protestants during Mary's reign, but Canterbury was. The majority of Canterbury residents, including its evangelical population, remained silently in the city and very few members of the city went into exile in continental Protestant enclaves. C. H. Garrett's study identified some 472 of the c.800 Marian exiles, and while some of her identifications remain problematic, it provides a useful tool for estimating the scale of the exodus.¹³⁴ Garrett's study identified 31 exiles from Kent, the majority coming from the central Wealden or west of the county; of these none resided in Canterbury and only a few can be credibly linked to the city community.¹³⁵

Some, like John Joseph, were only tangentially linked to the city. Joseph had been serving as a cathedral prebendary since 1550 and was deprived through marriage in 1554, but he had spent the majority of his time in London where he was rector of St Mary-le-Bow and served as a chaplain in Cranmer's household.¹³⁶ Another exile was the son of Sir John Fyneux, William, who quickly left for Padua

¹³⁴ C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 67-350. Garrett's work is typically criticised for its ignorance of Dutch sources and the lack of attention given to women in exile, some of these gaps have been addressed in recent years by Andrew Pettegree's work, see: A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996), ch.1. See also: J. Higginbotham, 'The Exile of Rose Hickman Throckmorton', *Reformation*, 15 (2010), 99-114.

¹³⁵ Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, pp. 71, 74, 87-89, 97-99, 109, 110, 120, 144-45, 158, 159, 171-72, 172-74, 175, 195-96, 201, 232-34, 247, 253-58, 262, 266-67, 273, 312, 319, 324, 325, 331, 332, 333.

¹³⁶ Garrett lists Joseph as a Six Preacher but there is no record of this, he seems instead to have filled the twelfth prebendary stall, see: Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, p. 201; CCEd Person ID: 65720; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 369-70, 435.

but returned later in the reign, only to die in 1557.¹³⁷ Prior to his departure he made two hasty sales of around £240 of lands in Harbledown, some of which were purchased by the city's attorney Christopher Courthop.¹³⁸ Richard Crispe, another member of a Kentish legal dynasty, spent Mary's reign in Geneva alongside John Knox.¹³⁹ Crispe's uncle, Sir Henry Crispe, was MP for Canterbury in 1558, and maintained links to the Kempe and Bonnard families in Canterbury; although Richard seems to have remained principally on his family's lands on the Isle of Thanet following his return in 1559.¹⁴⁰ Finally, there was the elusive Richard Proude, described while in exile as being born in Canterbury and later living at Faversham, but who has left little trace in the area. Garrett speculates that he was an immediate relation of William Proude but given the superfluity of Proude families in the region this seems a risky assumption.¹⁴¹ It is likely that this is the same Richard Proude of Faversham mentioned by Foxe, but nevertheless the identity of his family remains a mystery.¹⁴² On Proude's return he was presented to livings at Bourton-on-Dunsmore, Warwickshire, from where he would write a famous letter to Lord Burghley warning of the potential consequences of Queen Elizabeth's spiritual deficiencies.¹⁴³ Despite their varied backgrounds, none of these men identified in Garrett's survey held any close connections to one another or to Canterbury.

Alongside Garrett's exiles we can add three of the cathedral's Six Preachers who were all deprived and subsequently fled to the continent. John Scory was

¹³⁷ Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, p. 159; Baker, *Men of Court*, i, p. 724; CCA, PRC 32/27/53.

¹³⁸ Zell, *Fines: Ph.&Ma.*, pp. 115, 119.

¹³⁹ Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, p. 120.

¹⁴⁰ Anon., 'Notes on Thanet', *Arch. Cant.*, 12 (1878), 329-419 (pp. 417-16). On Henry Crispe's links, see: TNA, PROB 11/57/494; Baker, *Men of Court*, i, p. 541; Mayer, *Pole's Correspondence*, pp. 134-35.

¹⁴¹ Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, p. 262.

¹⁴² Foxe, *A&M* (1563), p. 1679.

¹⁴³ CCEd Person ID: 28689; Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, I.ii, p. 148.

deprived of his position as Six Preacher in March 1554 and promptly left, eventually settling in Emden where he composed his *A Comfortable Epistle unto all the Faithful that be in Prison*.¹⁴⁴ The radical preacher Richard Turner, who had remained active and vocal in the region since the troubles of the early 1540s, also fled, spending much of Mary's reign at Basel.¹⁴⁵ Finally, Thomas Becon, who had by this point already outgrown his position at the cathedral, made his way to Strasbourg in mid-1554 after a spell in the Tower.¹⁴⁶ The majority of those that crossed the channel were then either wealthy laymen, or well-connected clergy. Middling Protestant laymen and women on the other hand seem to have been less inclined to make the trip abroad. The question remains then, why did a city with such an active and vocal Protestant community choose to remain in a city where the eye of the ecclesiastical authorities would be so keenly focused?

One of the most striking changes that occurred in and about the city was the removal of Thomas Cranmer from the scene after 1553. When Cardinal Pole was eventually instituted as archbishop in March 1556 he failed to match Cranmer in terms of his administration of his diocese, often being entirely distracted by national affairs or his duties at court. In the summer of 1558 the queen's confessor, Bartolomé Carranza, intimated to Pole that he had left his diocesan flock unattended in recent years. The accusation was energetically rebuffed by Pole, but rather than claim to have been officious in his duties to his diocese, he instead emphasised that

¹⁴⁴ *CCEd* Person ID: 90919; Hill, *Six Preachers*, pp. 17-18; A. Pettegree, 'Scory, John (d. 1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*.

¹⁴⁵ *CCEd* Person ID: 91117; Hill, *Six Preachers*, pp. 18-19; A. Ryrie, 'Turner, Richard (d. in or before 1565)', *ODNB*.

¹⁴⁶ Hill, *Six Preachers*, pp. 22-24; S. Baker-House, 'Becon, Thomas (1512/13–1567)', *ODNB*.

his extended stays at court were demanded by the queen and by matters of state – it seems that even he was not convinced of his record in this regard.¹⁴⁷

Yet administration did not falter in the county, and the majority of the county gentry followed a similar path to the corporation by enforcing Marian reforms judiciously. The prime exemplar of this was Sir John Baker, a preeminent county lawyer who developed such a zeal for heresy hunting that he supposedly maintained a gaol for suspected heretics above the porch of his home parish of St Dunstan's, Cranbrook.¹⁴⁸ He had enjoyed prominence under both of Mary's predecessors, even providing legal advice and a signature to Edward's 'Devise for the Succession', clearing the way for the succession of Jane Grey.¹⁴⁹ But like so many, under Mary's rule, Baker performed a neat *volte-face*, and became the county's leading heretic-hunter. Baker was instrumental in the imprisonment and examinations of John Bland in February 1555, and personally arrested Edmund and Katherine Allin who were burned at Maidstone in June 1557.¹⁵⁰ His support of Mary's church went beyond simply rooting out for dissenters. Following the dissolutions, Baker had purchased large tracts of ex-monastic land and as a result was patron of numerous clerical livings in Kent and Sussex to which, on the deprivation, death, or transferral of

¹⁴⁷ E. Duffy, 'Cardinal Pole Preaching: St Andrew's Day 1557', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by E. Duffy & D. M. Loades (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 176-200 (pp.179-81).

¹⁴⁸ J. D. Alsop, 'Baker, Sir John (c.1489–1558)', *ODNB*. On the gaol see: Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, p. 134.

¹⁴⁹ It is fair to say that in the cramped confines of the dying king's bedchamber with the Duke of Northumberland at his back Baker would have signed any document placed in front of him, but it is possible his zeal under Mary might have stemmed from feelings of guilt for this little betrayal. D. Loades, *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland 1504-1553* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 240-41. It is worth noting that the only justice to refuse to sign the document was Canterbury's own Sir James Hales, see: *The Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham*, ed. by D. MacCulloch, *Camden Miscellany*, 28, Camden Society, 4th Series, xxix (London, 1984), pp. 181-301 (p. 248).

¹⁵⁰ Foxe, *A&M* (1583), pp. 1665-73, 1979-80. On the trials of the Allins see: T. S. Freeman, 'Notes on a Source for John Foxe's Account of the Marian Persecution in Kent and Sussex', *HR*, 67 (1994), 203-211.

incumbents, he was able to appoint Catholic-leaning clerics.¹⁵¹ It is also likely that his ties at one of these parishes, Frittenden, were notable in the arrests of parishioners Edmund and Katherine Allin.

Other notable Kentish conservatives such as Sir Thomas Moyle and Cyriac Petit also became heavily involved in the persecution. Like Baker, Moyle was patron of several livings and after January 1555 arrested a number of suspected heretics of his own volition, most notably John Bland, Richard Yeoman, and William Fisher.¹⁵² Each of these men had been involved in the plot to bring down Cranmer two decades prior, and the sudden burst of conservative activity in the wake of his fall only underlines the effectiveness of his administration. Yet, even those who appeared to have been fully committed servants to the English Reformation, such as Richard Thornden, Cranmer's suffragan bishop of Dover, who was given the unfortunate sobriquet 'Dick of Dover' by John Foxe. Thornden worked closely alongside Archdeacon Harpsfield and enjoyed a profitable relationship with Archbishop Pole, and after 1556 was one of the quorum on the heresy commission in the diocese.¹⁵³ Despite this efficient and apparently highly motivated network of investigators, though, Canterbury remained insulated from the horrors of the persecutions thanks to the sense of communal solidarity which persevered throughout the violence.

¹⁵¹ Baker is listed as patron to the following livings: Stourmouth, Kent; Frittenden, Kent; Kingsnorth, Kent; Dallington, East Sussex; Iden, East Sussex; Bodiam, East Sussex; Hanborough, Oxfordshire; this data is available via the *Clergy of the Church of England Database*. Citing the Catholic Record Society edition of the articles of Archdeacon Harpsfield's 1557 visitation, Thomas Freeman correctly lists Baker as patron to Frittenden, but also to Smarden and Staplehurst, which seem to have been controlled by the archbishop and Thomas Culpepper respectively, see: T. S. Freeman, 'Burning Zeal: Mary Tudor and the Marian Persecution', in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. by S. Doran and T. S. Freeman (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 171-205, 313-320 (p. 317 n.100).

¹⁵² Moyle was patron of livings at: Newington next Hyth, Kent; Eastling, Kent; Eastwell, Kent; Cheriton, Kent; see *Clergy of the Church of England Database*. Foxe, *A&M* (1583), pp. 1954, 2045. See also: T. S. Freeman, 'Bland, John (d. 1555)', *ODNB*.

¹⁵³ M. Zell, 'Thornden, Richard (c.1490–1558)', *ODNB*.

Conclusion

Despite the trials and tribulations that the corporation had to navigate during the 1550s, the spirit of the commonwealth still pervaded. In September 1558, the brewer and alderman William Coppyn was noted as absent through sickness in the burghmote minute book and his will was proved shortly afterwards on 4 October.¹⁵⁴ At his death, Coppyn had been an alderman for the best part of two decades and had served both city and crown authorities ably during his lifetime, accruing a sizeable personal wealth at the same time.¹⁵⁵ In 1540, he used his connections to St Augustine's Abbey to successfully petition the crown to purchase a number of tenements in and around the Longport, including two parcels of lands called the 'Olde Parke' and the 'Newe Purchase' for which he paid £49 10s.¹⁵⁶ He had been a regular attendee of burghmote council meetings throughout the period, and does not seem to have been involved in litigation with fellow members in local or national courts. During the investigations into the Prebendaries' Plot he had gone out of his way to reconcile himself (and the corporation) with the archbishop, and his will suggests that he looked favourably on reform and left money to repair the highway out of Canterbury and the poor of his parish.¹⁵⁷ Alongside these provisions he also stipulated that immediately after his death, 20s be given to the chamberlain to provide 'an honest dinner or breakfast' to be held in John Fuller's house (or at a local tavern, if Fuller had deceased). At this dinner the mayor and 'al the company of the Borow Mote to be and take parte therof desiring all the same company with good remembrance to give good thanks and praye for me in such order as shalbe then

¹⁵⁴ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 118v; CCA, PRC 32/27/120.

¹⁵⁵ For a short biography of Coppyn see: H. Miller, 'Coppyn, William (by 1509-58), of Canterbury, Kent', *HPO*.

¹⁵⁶ L&P, 15, 613(37). See also: CCA, DCc, ChAnt/C/965.

¹⁵⁷ CCCC, MS 128, pp. 196-97; CCA, PRC 32/27/120.

commonly used'.¹⁵⁸ Occasions of orchestrated camaraderie such as these were becoming increasingly common in the corporate calendar; in particular it was becoming customary for all newly elected common councillors to make (or purchase) a dinner for the rest of the corporate body shortly after their election.¹⁵⁹

Such a bequest befits the ethos of corporation and commonalty that had helped bind the corporate community through the trying mid-Tudor years. While the level of 'crisis' in the city might not have been up to the levels previously suspected, the years following King Henry's death had brought major challenges and periods of prolonged change to the city. In this atmosphere, though, the corporation prospered and the vitality of commonwealth ideals allowed governance in the city to remain strong, but also reactive to the economic and social challenges of the period. New attitudes to provision for the poor and the maintenance of social order pointed to a corporation that was involving itself more vigorously in the wider affairs of the city, spurred on by exhortations to uphold the commonwealth emanating from the state and from within the corporation itself. At the same time, religious disturbances were kept to a minimum thanks to the ongoing policy of magistrates to avoid pursuing uniformity, something that served to insulate the city from the most violent aspects of the period.

¹⁵⁸ CCA, PRC 32/27/120.

¹⁵⁹ These start to become regularly recorded during the Marian period, see for example: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 102r, 124r, 142v, 146v.

Conclusion

1 The Elizabethan Settlement and the Death of Corporation

In January 1560, shortly after returning to England from Switzerland, John Bale gained a prebendal stall at Canterbury Cathedral. Soon after arriving in the city, Bale became incensed at the state of popular religion. Preachers, he reported, stood ‘in the pulpett with a very small numbere of hearers afore them’, while the city’s residents openly lit bonfires in the streets ‘in contempte of the Christen religyon and for upholdyng of the olde frantyck supersticyons of papistrye’. Bale described a divided city, where the popish mob openly held ‘unruly pageauntes’ in the city streets and mocked and harried all ‘whome they knewe to be protestauntes’.¹ To Bale, this was the fault of the city governors, who, despite frequent exhortations from ‘sober, godly, and learned’ preachers, had allowed such ‘superstitouse and mockyng customes’ to continue. Bale concluded:

with these mockeryes of the Christen religyon and preachers, the
Mayer and most of the Aldermen hys bretherne were nothyng
offended but both in sylence and in other aperiaunce wele pleased.
God sende that cytie better and more godly gouernours²

In the early years of Elizabeth’s reign, the civic authorities of Canterbury were, in Bale’s eyes at least, failing in their ‘dewty’ to uphold ‘best rule’, foster ‘true religyon’, and meet ‘the Quenes maiesties godly expectacyon’.³ Such an accusation

¹ LPL, MS 2001, fols. 2r-3v. This is the holograph manuscript of: J. Bale, *A returne of James Cancellers Ralynge Boke upon his Owne Head, called the pathe of Obedyence: to teach hym here after how he shall sedyciously gyve fourth a pernycouse disobedyence against the crowne thys realme, in stede of true obedyence* (1561), fol. 3r. Partially transcribed at: E. J. Baskerville, ‘A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561: John Bale’s Unpublished Account’, *HR*, 65 (1992), 340-348.

² Bale, *A returne*, fol. 3r.

³ Bale, *A returne*, fol. 2r.

that the urban governors of Canterbury possessed a moral obligation to their city is important, and to Bale their failing was not necessarily a result of their own personal beliefs, but of their collective dithering in the face of spiritual corruption. These charges were levelled by Bale in a manuscript compiled during June 1561, but as early as May 1560 he had brought a libel case to the archdeaconry court against the Catholic alderman John Ugden who mocked Bale's plays.⁴

There are some signs that the city had remained outwardly attached to Marian Catholicism following Mary's death, in particular within the cathedral where Archdeacon Harpsfield was suspected of acting provocatively.⁵ A pamphlet, published by a Roman Catholic convert more than six decades after the event, describes Harpsfield leading a procession during summer 1559 in opposition to changes in religion incorporating the city's 'most Catholike' clergy and 'better sort of devout people and citizens'.⁶ In theory, this procession provoked angry reactions from Protestants in the city who were joined in a mocking counter-procession by various townsmen from Dover who adopted the guise of the pope in a pageant.

It is likely that this is one of the 'unruly pageauntes' alluded to by Bale, but when examined there is little to implicate the corporation in any of this. The Privy Council's initial suspicions surrounding Harpsfield originate from unnamed cathedral servants and make no allusions to any supporters outside of the cathedral community. Likewise, the description of the processions, which were recorded by a man not baptised until 1565, should be treated with a hefty pinch of salt. Even if taken on their word, they make no concrete allusions to office holders of Canterbury

⁴ CCA, DCd, J/X/10.7, fols. 36r-39v.

⁵ APC, vii, p. 53.

⁶ B. Carier, *A copy of a letter, written by M. Doctor Carier beyond seas, to some particular friends in England*. (Secret press, 1615), pp. 41-42. See also: Collinson, 'Protestant Cathedral', p. 166 n.69.

on either side, with the only Protestants named being residents of Dover.⁷ Whereas it is clear that Harpsfield and many of the cathedral chapter intended to impede Elizabethan reform, with a large portion of the chapter refusing to attend Matthew Parker's election on 1 August 1559, there is little reason to suspect this obstinacy pervaded the wider city.⁸ Indeed, visitations between 1559 and 1561 saw only a handful of obstinate incumbents deprived of their livings across the entire diocese, while a December 1559 visitation of the Canterbury archdeaconry found that thirty-three of the 144 clergy serving the 215 cures had been appointed in the time since Mary's death.⁹ Parker, perhaps out of necessity, clearly enjoyed freer rein over parochial appointments than Cranmer had three decades earlier.

Since her coming to throne in November 1558, Elizabeth's government had overturned Marian religious policy, replacing the reformed Roman Catholicism with a diluted version of Edwardian Calvinism. The heresy trials were halted in December 1558, with any remaining prisoners freed.¹⁰ The first parliament of her reign in January 1559 formally created the official Protestant Church of England, and reinstated the separation from the papacy by passing a slightly modified Act of Supremacy (1 Elizabeth 1 C.1). Finally, the Act of Uniformity (1 Elizabeth 1 C.2) reinstated a modified version of the 1552 Edwardian Prayer Book, and abolished the Mass in England. A series of Royal Injunctions promulgated in summer 1559 and enforced by visitation that same year required the use of a vernacular liturgy and

⁷ Anthony C. Ryan, 'Carier, Benjamin (*bap.* 1565, *d.* 1614)', *ODNB*.

⁸ Daeley, 'Episcopal Administration of Matthew Parker', p. 162.

⁹ Zell, 'Establishment of a Protestant Church', p. 236.

¹⁰ Haigh, *Reformations*, pp. 238-39.

bibles, demanded an end to the veneration of saints and parish processions, and required the removal of re-erected roods and other images.¹¹

Despite the reformist instincts of these injunctions, the settlement was relatively broad, and made significant concessions designed to incorporate one-time Catholics alongside Protestants. For example, the Elizabethan settlement made no concrete pronouncements on the placement of altars and its relation to celebration of the Eucharist, treating it as a matter of only ephemeral importance.¹² Like her father, Elizabeth realised the need for outward uniformity and professions of true obedience, and it is telling that a reworded oath of supremacy was circulated during the 1559 visitations.¹³ The act of uniformity required token attendance at church services by parishioners, mandated all clergy to follow the prayer book and eschew extemporary sermons, and empowered parish officials to enforce these measures.

Bale's outrage at the state of things in the city was, then, as much an attack on the state of the national church as it was on the corporation, who by all accounts had professed their allegiance and were maintaining at the very least nominal Protestantism in the city. During March 1559 the Privy Council had instructed the mayor John Fuller to examine and commit to ward clerics suspected of speaking lewd words.¹⁴ Later that year, in June, the recently re-established St Thomas Pageant, a ceremony that had become a handy divining-rod for national religious policy, was once again dropped as per the injunctions circulated that same month. On 13 June, the burghmote declared that 'the common wacche used to be kept on

¹¹ Haigh, *Reformations*, pp. 241-46.

¹² Duffy, *Stripping*, pp. 568-69.

¹³ Haigh, *Reformations*, p. 243.

¹⁴ *APC*, vii, pp. 62, 63.

seynt Thomas Evyn next shall not be then done with pageantes'.¹⁵ Likewise, the injunctions of 1559 had quickly taken hold in the parishes. The churchwardens of St Andrew's paid for a book of injunctions and visitations before Christmas Day 1559, and also paid 36d for the removal of the Easter Sepulchre and associated images, for the defacing of the rood and various other images, and for taking down the 'Hye alter' and two other 'lytell alters' at the same time.¹⁶ The extramural parish of St Dunstan's waited until the 1561 to remove its rood, sell off its vestments and other Catholic accoutrements, and purchase the new prayer books, psalters, and homilies necessary.¹⁷ On the whole, the records of the city and ecclesiastical courts do not suggest that open commitment to Catholicism lingered in the city or region.¹⁸

The new political and religious settlement coincided with the dawning of a new generation of clerical and political leadership in the city. At Elizabeth's first parliament the city elected two first time attendees, George Maye and Sir Thomas Finch. Both men were broadly in line with the new religious settlement, Finch, a prominent county gentleman, had defended Mary during Wyatt's Rebellion and served in the examinations of some Kentish heretics but on the whole appears to have been a religious journeyman and the Privy Council seemed to have no qualms entrusting him to investigate Harpsfield's activities in 1559.¹⁹ The wealthy grocer George Maye on the other hand appears to have held stronger Protestant convictions. During the early 1540s he was named alongside John Starky and John Toftes as having spread rumours against Edmund Shether and Robert Serles, and during 1547

¹⁵ CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 124v.

¹⁶ Cotton, 'St Andrew's vol. 4', p. 51.

¹⁷ 'St Dunstan's' (1887), pp. 115-17.

¹⁸ Baskerville, 'Religious Disturbance', p. 343; A. J. Willis, *Church Life in Kent, being Church Court Records of the Diocese of Kent, 1559-1565* (London, 1975), passim.

¹⁹ Foxe, *A&M* (1570), p. 1845; *CPR 1554-5*, pp. 62, 92.

had served as commissioner to survey and sell church goods in Kent.²⁰ He was elected as a common councillor in 1546, and had been made an alderman in early 1552, serving out Mary's reign quietly alongside his colleagues. Soon after Bale's arrival in the city he became linked with Maye, and his house in St Andrew's was apparently the site of one of Bale's plays.²¹ Both men, then, were clearly experienced administrators and posed little threat to the new religious settlement.

Alongside these new men, various pillars of the Marian administration like Sir John Baker, Sir Thomas Cheyne, Christopher Roper, and Richard Thornden, were all dead by the end of 1559; in Canterbury, three stalwarts of the aldermanic bench (Thomas Frenche, William Coppyn, and Nicholas Fyshe) also died that year (see Appendix A, Part V). At the cathedral, two prebendaries (Hugh Glasier and George Lily) and one Six Preacher (Thomas Burgess), were also out of the picture by the end of Elizabeth's first year, thus giving the new archbishop, Matthew Parker, freer rein to implement Elizabethan reforms. Amongst the parochial clergy, mortality also took its toll, with thirty-one of the c.226 clergymen named in Harpsfield's 1558 visitation having died before Parker's first visitation in September 1560.²² Across the diocese there was a general reinvigoration of the clerical community in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, a process that was aided in no small part by the dearth and disease of the time. There was, then, change within the post-Marian city, and despite the remnants of a conservative clergy and laity lingering on, there was little doubt that the Elizabethan Settlement had taken hold. To Bale, though, it was not the

²⁰ CCCC, MS 128, pp. 167, 171. He also served as churchwarden of St Andrew's during Edward's reign, see appendix B.

²¹ CCA, DCb, J/X/10.7, fol. 39r.

²² Daeley, 'Episcopal Administration of Matthew Parker', pp. 148-50. Of these only one was from a city parish, Ralph Prescott, rector of St Mildred's since 1555, see: *CCEd* Person ID: 38976; CCA, PRC 17/33/119b.

immediate lack of progress that so irked him, rather, it was the lack of overall reform in the city since his last visit in the latter 1530s.

The events sparked by Bale's invective the June 1561, and the actions of the Privy Council which followed were the first steps towards what Professor Collinson called 'the sacralisation of the town'.²³ From this point on, corporate governance became more overtly confessionalised, and for the first time religious affiliation was used as a bar to political office, an instance which marked the death of the old corporation and the birth of a figurative New Jerusalem. It was in May 1562, shortly after the ejection of six aldermen and one common councilor, that the burghmote passed new Sabbatarian ordinances against drinking and dancing, and instituted a morning prayer at St Mary Bredman to be observed by the whole burghmote 'ev[er]y day beyng no hollyday at syx of the clock in the morning'.²⁴ This ordinance was completed with the telling exhortation that encouragement should be 'geyvn to the rest of the Inhabytantes of this cyty that they repayer thether to the same prayer at such tymes as they convenyently may'.²⁵ In the wake of the Elizabethan settlement, the city 'became self-consciously a godly commonwealth, its symbolic and mimetic codes replaced by a literally articulated, didactic religious discipline' that encapsulated social and political lives.²⁶ Such an outcome, though, was inevitable given what had preceded it. The Erastianism of the pre-Elizabethan corporation had quietly allowed Protestantism to take root within the magisterial classes and

²³ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, p. 55.

²⁴ CCA, CC, A/C/1, fol. 146r. The six aldermen dismissed were: John Twyne, Edward Carpenter, Stephen Sare, John Ugden, George Bygham, and Richard Railton; the common councillor was George Toftes, see: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 145v. For the letters between the city and the privy council authorising these ejections, see: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 150v-152r.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Collinson, *Birthpangs*, p. 55.

guildhall, and, following the following the Elizabethan Settlement, the spark of Bale's ire was the catalyst necessary to set the old corporation alight.

2 *The Early Age of Reformation in Canterbury*

There seems to be nothing to be said about this town, unless anyone would like to know that it has a big cathedral dedicated to St. Thomas²⁷

Over the course of the first six decades of the sixteenth century the City of Canterbury underwent a sea-change, a successful Reformation in religious, political, and cultural terms. Old institutions that had become synonymous with the city, not to mention the ritual lives and daily grind of late medieval urban life, were swept aside, and new edifices were erected in their place. The disappearance of monastic religion and the associated pilgrimage and patronage monies associated with them removed what had been, for many, Canterbury's *raison d'être*, leaving the city bereft, and its magisterial classes poorer in both financial and symbolic terms.

When William Lambarde passed through the city around 1570, he noted, with a hint of Protestant triumphalism, that a city once enriched by monastic wealth comparable to 'Midas or Croseus', and that boasted 'great welth, multitude of inhabitants, and beautiful buildings', had descended 'to extreme povertie, nakedness, and decay'.²⁸ While Lambarde's rhetoric of decay was undoubtedly swelled by his desire to defame Canterbury's 'two irreligious synagogues', his decayed depiction speaks to a picture of the post-Reformation city that has persisted for many centuries

²⁷ Quoted from: 'An impression of England by an Italian visitor, 17 November 1497', in *English Historical Documents, V, 1485-1558*, ed. by C. H. Williams (London, 1967), p. 188.

²⁸ Lambarde, *Perambulation*, pp. 268, 273.

since his perambulation.²⁹ Namely, that the process of Reformation enacted by King Henry was as a bucket of icy water over urban society, jolting it from its medieval slumber, and in so doing cursing it to a spell of decline while it attempted to comprehend what had befallen it.

Such a view is manifestly incorrect, and ignores the decades of evolution and development that characterized the politics and culture of the late medieval town and that pre-figured the rifts of post-supremacy England. But, more so, such a narrative reduces the early Reformation to a process that, first and foremost, ended Roman Catholicism in England. While this is obviously true in some respects, the reality is far more complex. When Lambarde visited Canterbury, all he saw were the righteously moldering corpses of medieval religion, shoveled-up by papal deceits and public ignorance, and brought low by divine providence and royal action. Lambarde makes no mention of Canterbury's inhabitants. What he missed, though, was the still-functioning, still-evolving city that existed amongst his exaggerated decay. Far from damning the city to a post-monastic malaise, the Reformation and dissolutions provided opportunity and corporate gains, and the break with Rome stimulated a period of rapid cultural adjustment in the guildhall.

The successful political Reformation of the 1530s instilled an atmosphere of reform in the guildhall, and Catholics and Protestants alike were able to coexist within the corporate environment. Tudor state authorities effectively ingratiated members of the corporation into the break with Rome by making them complicit in the process of reform itself using methods of intimidation, such as the destruction of Elizabeth Barton and her cohort, alongside subtler 'soft' tools of coercion. Within an

²⁹ Lambarde, *Perambulation*, pp. 267.

urban corporate context, the oath of succession, by all accounts a fairly lily-livered piece in terms of its legal veracity, served to bind together the corporate community under terms set by the rhetoric of the royal supremacy where obedience was the principal measure of royal service. Within this there was significant space for the religious diversity that were to develop as the direction of official reform meandered above. As a result, from the middle of the decade, when national policy gave recourse to magistrates to take a more active role in policing religious orthodoxy, or indeed as disputes at parish level began to increase, there was no sign that confessional identity was of any concern at a corporate level. Aside from the two sessions held in June 1536, the only others brought before the courts were those who challenged the tenants of the royal supremacy or who spoke seditiously. Such a path was again encouraged by the actions and the presence of figures of state authority who maintained the authority networks of Cranmer and Cromwell post-1534, seeking principally to foster uniform acceptance of the royal supremacy.

As the 1530s progressed, the balance of power in the city between civic and monastic powers started to shift from the late medieval ascendancy of the Benedictine foundations, to a more segmented picture of authority in the city. In line with this shift, the dissolution removed many of the physical remnants of old religion and reformist ideas were more overtly evident across the city community. Lutheran ideals surrounding civic governance infiltrated the corporation via various channels, including members of the corporation such as John Fuller and Jon Twyne, but also Thomas Cranmer himself. Cranmer's approach to reform during the later 1530s, and in particular the early 1540s not only increased the pace of reform in his diocese, it also served to turn large sections of his own clergy against him. Coupled with the new onus placed on preaching by at the new cathedral in the city this enmity

produced a level of discourse and dispute amongst parishioners that threatened to unseat Cranmer. However, the prebendaries' plot was a failure, and the investigations into it demonstrate how ingratiated the archbishop had become into corporate affairs in both political and religious terms, with no member of the corporation, Catholic or Protestant willing to speak against their primate.

In a similar fashion, the issue of doctrinal allegiance did not, in the short term, constrain access to political agency in the city in any measurable sense. While the ideas and tenants of continental Lutheranism were prominent in the magisterial classes after the 1540s, these were by no means shared by all, with Catholic members existing happily on the city benches throughout the fluxes in national religion. In many senses this was because, following on from the events of 1534, the magisterial classes were able to separate doctrinal fervor from political action. Throughout this period, magistrates were careful to maintain the corporation's collective Erastian demeanor, both for the benefit of their individual economic and political aspirations, but likewise for the weal of the wider city; the specter of communal disorder was a powerful unifying force in this respect.

Yet, again, caution is needed. This cultural realignment was part of a broader picture of socio-political of change over time, and any talk of an 'Age of Reformation' must beware endowing doctrinal reform with the sort of transformative power that it has been attributed by previous generations of scholars. New ideas surrounding the role of urban magistrates informed by Protestant theology certainly started to inform the direction of corporate governance, not to mention the altruistic endeavors of individual magistrates during the 1540s and 1550s, but these were informed as much by the surrounding socio-economic crisis and official rhetoric as they were by doctrinal changes alone. During the 1540s the city went through a

major process of change both in the guildhall and the parishes that was principally a process of political and cultural realignment.

Within the parishes, many members of the corporation continued to exert control over parochial administration in a similar way that they had in the pre-Reformation period. During the 1540s this manifested itself in a more visceral parish discourse over matters of reform, something that was notably never transferred to the guildhall, where the communal ethos of pre-Reformation urban politics remained strong even as it was evolving. Continuities such as these were vital to the experience of reform and played a role in the city's transition to Protestantism, which became less a momentous or consciously made choice, and more of a gradual shift occasionally interspersed by spells of energetic change. During times of extreme turbulence, such as the Marian years, the experiences and ethos of the corporation served to shelter the city from the worst of the persecutions, with only a single resident from the city being convicted of heresy despite the already large Protestant population. Thanks to their corporate status, their conscious desire to uphold royal authority, and well developed sense of commonwealth the city's corporate magistrates both placated Marian authorities by policing sedition and avoided being drawn into a pursuit of heresy that could have been catastrophic for the city and some of the magistrates themselves.

The accession of Queen Elizabeth and re-establishing of a Protestant order, though, coincided with a generational shift within the city that saw large sections of the corporate community replaced with new members whose conception of obedience and magisterial order was far different to that of their forebears. Confessional identity and the utilization of instruments of corporate government to enforce uniformity were made concomitant with magisterial duty, bringing to an end

the separation and ethos of corporate behavior forged in the late medieval guildhall that had in part carried the city through the early Reformation and facilitated its rapid, at times noisy, but principally peaceful transition away from Roman Catholicism.

3 *The Urban Reformation: A Concerted Picture*

The history of English towns, especially in relation to the Reformation, is coming to the end of an important period of revision and recalibration that started around two decades ago. This thesis fits into this process. The reinvigoration of the Reformation Town, from a place of stagnation to one of political and cultural innovation has been thorough and persuasive. In line with this, the thesis has offered a thorough, post-revisionist account of the Reformation's impact in a provincial English town that fits into a broader body of work that has, in recent years, looked to identify the various patterns and paths by which communities navigated reform.

Study of the English Reformation has moved beyond arguments of speed, or 'bottom-up' or 'top-down' leadership, and in this vein, this thesis has provided an analysis the *kind* of Reformation experienced in Canterbury. As was the case in towns and cities across England, this experience was dependent on a host of local factors. Key to this thesis and to Canterbury's Reformation was the strength of urban governance in the city and the long tradition of public service that it had engendered within the civic community. The institutional strength and political experiences of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries had, over the course of successive generations, created a political community that was able to overcome the stress of the early Reformation. Similarly, thanks to the tradition of late medieval government in the city, based as it was on political as opposed to expressly religious ideology,

the corporation as an institution could jettison the old faith without major disruption. Such a picture provides important detail to ongoing debates over the nature of the English Reformation, and whether it needs to be refocused as a study of the larger state narratives and of doctrine as opposed to of provincial culturally-focused discussions.

However, this thesis, along with two decades of work on other towns and cities, have demonstrated the value of a regional approach to the Reformation, where the interplay between the political, economic, cultural and social aspects of religion are seen in sharper focus. In urban terms, the conclusions of this thesis fit into a broader pattern of work that has looked to downplay the divisive and destructive aspects of the Reformation in social, cultural and economic terms. Muriel McClendon's discussions of Norwich and Ben Lowe's descriptions of Gloucester both, in a similar way to this thesis, eschew a purely doctrinal understanding of the Reformation, are based principally on civic archives and focus on civic communities in urban locales. In both Lowe's and McClendon's work, many of the old binaries of traditional/revisionist Reformation studies are lost, and that is true of Canterbury too. Just as in Norwich, Canterbury was witness to a higher level of entrenched anticlericalism than revisionist historians might like to imagine. Similarly, political authorities in all three cities worked hard to avoid communal strife via a politically-led process of cultural adaptation. As such, change, while eventually assured, was piecemeal and quiet. As such, post-revisionist urban histories have made clear that the early stages of the Reformation 'resonated far beyond fine points of doctrine'.³⁰

³⁰ Lowe, *Reformation*, p. 82.

Studies such as these have identified that far from being the product of sustained violence, the Protestant Reformation came about through negotiation and circumstance. From the very beginning, the process of reform in England was justified as a principally political process and only later, after 1559, became a process that was ostensibly confessional. The post-revisionist approach employed here has recognized the importance of this distinction, and, in terms of this thesis, has used it to explain the movement's early success. One of the key differences in Canterbury's story was the role of the archbishops in the process, in particular Archbishop Cranmer and his allies. Following the Elizabeth Barton affair, the evolution of the city's political landscape was a vital one of the manifold forces behind Canterbury's eventual shift to Protestantism.

It is important to state that Canterbury was not a remarkable place during the Reformation. It was not a place of hot godliness or entrenched conservatism, nor was it a place of prolonged discord between religious groups, on the whole, in terms of the political community's experience, the Reformation appears to have been routine. Rather, it is a site where we can identify some of the most important characteristics of the English Reformation. Happily, the history of the English Reformation now exists at a point where the shift from one religion to another is no longer able to be explained simply by the deficiency of one over the other, or by the inexorable march of some undefined sense of 'progress'. Likewise, descriptions of England's transition to Protestantism are no longer obsessed with the idea that religious discourse or difference was a thoroughly divisive influence in society. This thesis has never aimed to deny that dispute and discord were at the heart of much of the early Reformation in England, rather it has attempted to avoid assuming that religious difference was the primary motivator in every apparent case of dispute

within Canterbury, or to assume that division and faction existed where the evidence for this is minimal at best. Rather, by taking the rhetoric of political cooperation which underpinned corporate business before, during, and after the split with Rome at its word, the thesis has attempted to discover how urban political ideals themselves eased the process of reform by dulling the destructive influences of confessional discourse.

Appendix A: Canterbury Officials

I - Mayors of Canterbury (1448-1565)

Canterbury elected its first mayor in 1448, following the charter granted that same year. Throughout the period the new mayor was elected on the feast of Holy Cross (14 September) before being sworn in on Michaelmas (29 September).

This table lists the names and primary occupations of Canterbury's mayors up to 1565, it also records the number of terms served by each individual as mayor, the year they were admitted as freemen and the method of admission alongside any information relevant to this. So as to prevent an overly cluttered table, the information is only provided on the first appearance of an individual, when an individual is listed for any subsequent terms as mayor certain boxes will be greyed out.

The starting point for this table is the list compiled by Cyprian R. Bunce in his *Translation of Several Charters* (1791), which has then been heavily amended and added to with data compiled from a variety of sources. Admissions data is taken from the city Chamberlains' Accounts (CCA, CC, F/A) and in some cases from J. M. Cowper's *List of the Persons Admitted to Live and Trade within the City of Canterbury*. Other material on the election of mayors is taken from the city minute books (CCA, CC, A/C) and where these are deficient from other civic sources such as the quarter session records (CCA, CC, J/Q). Finally, some of the information of professions and kinship networks is lifted from city wills.

Key: r = redemption; m = marriage; b = birth; f = favour; a = apprentice.

Year	Name	Term No.	Profession	Admission	Style	Link
1448	John Lynde	1	Brewer	?		*
1449	William Benet	1	?	1406	r	*
1450	Gervase Clifton	1	Gent.	1440	r	*
1451	Roger Rydle	1	?	?		*
1452	John Mullynge	1	?	?		*
1453	John Mullynge	2				
1454	John Wynter	1	Baker	1454	r	*
1455	William Bonnington	1	?	1424	m	Christina, daughter of John Cherche
1456	Richard Prat	1	Draper	1408	r	*
1457	Philip Bealknap/ William Bolde	1 / 1	? / Webber	? / 1410	? / r	*
1458	Roger Rydle	2				
1459	John Wynter	2				
1460	Roger Rydle	3				
1461	William Bygge	1	Brewer	1434	r	*
1462	John Frennyngham	1	Butcher	1442	r	*
1463	Thomas Forster	1	Gent.	?	m	Alice, daughter of John Wynter
1464	William Sellowe	1	Mercer	1437	m	Dionisia, daughter of John Tapton
1465	Hamon Bele	1	Lawyer	1458	r	*
1466	John Harnell	1	Tailor	1430	r	*
1467	William Bygge	2				
1468	John Frennyngham	2				
1469	Roger Rydle	4				
1470	Nicholas Faunt	1	Chandler	1438	r	*
1471	Roger Brent	1	?	1459	m	a., daughter of Edward Dorant
1472	Roger Brent	2				
1473	John Bygge	1	Yeoman	1440	m	a., daughter of Henry Bygges
1474	John Bygge	2				

1475	John Whitlok	1	Draper	1463	r	*
1476	Roger Brent	3				
1477	Thomas Atwode	1	Lawyer	?		*
1478	Hamon Bele	2				
1479	Thomas Atwode	2				
1480	Thomas Atwode	3				
1481	Richard Carpenter	1	?	1445	r	*
1482	Nicholas Sheldwich	1	?	1469	b	John Sheldwich
1483	Nicholas Sheldwich	2				
1484	William Sellowe	2				
1485	John Whitlok	2				
1486	Thomas Atwode	4				
1487	Stephen Barrett	1	Gent.	1478		*
1488	William Ingram	1	?	?	?	*
1489	John Crysp	1	Brewer	1483		*
1490	John Carlille	1	Grocer	1463	r	*
1491	John Swan	1	?	?		*
1492	Thomas Propechaunt	1	Grocer	1463	r	*
1493	Edward Bolney	1	Brewer	?	?	*
1494	Edward Bolney	2				
1495	Thomas Atwode	5				
1496	Stephen Barret	2				
1497	Henry Gosebourne	1	Lawyer	1489	r	*
1498	Thomas Sare	1	Draper	1467	r	*
1499	John Plompton	1	Yeoman	1479	r	*
1500	William Atwode	1	Lawyer	1489	b	Thomas Atwode
1501	John Huet	1	Mercer	1479	b	John Hewys
1502	Henry Gosebourne	2		1489	r	*
1503	Thomas Sare	2		1467	r	*
1504	Thomas Wode	1	Lawyer	1490	b	Thomas Atwode
1505	William Crompe	1	Brewer	1490	r	*
1506	Henry Gosebourne	3				
1507	Ralph Brown	1	Tailor	1477	r	*
1508	John Nayler	1	Gent.	1502	r	*
1509	William Crompe	2				
1510	John Huett / Ralph Brown	2, 2				

1511	Roger Clarke	1	Vintner	1480	r	*
1512	Thomas Wode	2				
1513	John Broker	1	Brewer	1497	r	*
1514	Thomas Wainfleet / Thomas Fokys	1, 1	Vintner / Limeburner	1484 / 1477	b / r	Thomas Waynflete / *
1515	John Nayler	2				
1516	Henry Gosebourne	4				
1517	Thomas Fokys	2				
1518	William Rutlande	1	?	1509	r	*
1519	John Broker	2				
1520	John Brigges	1	Brewer	?	?	*
1521	Roger Clarke	2				
1522	William Nutte	1	Baker	1498	r	*
1523	Thomas Bele	1	Lawyer	1496	b	Hamon Bele
1524	John Brigges	2				
1525	John Alcock snr	1	Goldsmith	1502	r	*
1526	Roger Clarke	3				
1527	James Whithals	1	Lawyer	?	?	*
1528	William Rutland	2				
1529	Robert Lewes	1	Grocer	1507	b	John Lewes
1530	Thomas Wode	3				
1531	John Alcock	2				
1532	Thomas Bele	2				
1533	William Nutte	2				
1534	John Briggs	2				
1535	John Alcock	2				
1536	Robert Lewes	2				
1537	Roger Clarke	4				
1538	John Starky	1	Barber	1524	r	*
1539	Thomas Bele	3				
1540	Robert Lewes	3				
1541	William Coppyn	1	Brewer	1531	r	*
1542	Thomas Gore	1	Tailor	1514	m	a., daughter of Richard Hart, hosier
1543	John Freeman	1	Yeoman	1527	r	*
1544	John Alcock Jnr	1	Goldsmith	1522	b	John Alcock snr
1545	Thomas Frenche	1	Mercer	1524	r	*

1546	Thomas Bathurst	1	Clothmaker	1541	f	*
1547	George Webbe	1	Mercer	1532	r	*
1548	Gregory Rand	1	Brewer	1519	b	John Rande
1549	John Freeman	2				
1550	Robert Lewes	4				
1551	William Coppyn	2				
1552	George Webb	2				
1553	John Twyne	1	Schoolmaster	1538	m	Alice, daughter of William Pepper
1554	Thomas Frenche	2				
1555	Edward Carpenter	1	Mercer	1520	b	John Carpenter
1556	John Fuller	1	Innkeeper	1535	r	*
1557	George May	1	Grocer	1545	m	a., daughter of Simon Hoggis
1558	Stephen Sare	1	Mercer	1544	b	Robert Sare
1559	John Fuller	2				
1560	Henry Alday	1	Mercer	1540	r	*
1561	Richard Furner	1	Brewer	1538	b	William Furner
1562	Richard Railton	1	Yeoman	1543	r	*
1563	Thomas Percy	1	Gent.	1555	r	*
1564	Thomas Giles	1	Scrivener	1555	f	*
1565	George May	2				

II - Sheriffs of Canterbury (c.1461-1565)

Canterbury's shrievalty was granted along with its county status in 1461, their terms ran in parallel to the mayoral year (i.e. Michaelmas to Michaelmas).

List reproduced from: William Urry and Cyprian Rondeau Bunce, *The chief citizens, etc.* (Canterbury: Privately Printed, 1978).

1461	Richard Carpenter	1499	John Walker
1462	Hamon Bele	1500	John Wright
1463	John Bygge	1501	Thomas Fokys
1464	John Wattys	1502	John Broker
1465	William Bele	1503	William Prior
1466	Walter Hopton	1504	James Potkyn
1467	Richard Carpenter	1505	William Megge
1468	John Bygge	1506	William Thompson
1469	Thomas Atwode	1507	John Alcock
1470	William Faunte	1508	John Bregge
1471	Nicholas Sheldwich	1509	Nicholas Symon
1472	N/A	1510	William Nutte
1473	John Wattys	1511	Henry Okeman
1474	William Bele	1512	William Furner
1475	Richard Carpenter	1513	John Elsy
1476	John Karhill	1514	William Rutland
1477	William Audeley	1515	James Whithales
1478	Henry Parker	1516	William Crispe
1479	William Ingram	1517	John Pargate
1480	John Atwode	1518	Paul Richemond
1481	William Goldsmith	1519	John Fowle
1482	Edward Pargate	1520	John Austen
1483	Stephen Barrett	1521	William Haute
1484	Thomas Sare	1522	Robert Lewis
1485	Walter Hopton	1523	John Taylour
1486	William Audeley	1524	Anthony Knyght
1487	John Hamond	1525	John Burges
1488	John Plumpton	1526	William Myllys
1489	Henry Swerder	1527	John Conyngton
1490	Thomas Frere	1528	George Sutton
1491	William Levyns	1529	John Starky
1492	John Huet	1530	Francis Rutland
1493	John Pote	1531	James Thomson
1494	Thomas Compton	1532	John Johnson
1495	John Wode	1533	John Toftes
1496	John Baret	1534	John Alcok jnr
1497	William Goteley	1535	John Hobbys
1498	Robert Bone	1536	Thomas Callow

1537	George Webbe	1552	Stephen Sare
1538	William Coppyn	1553	John Wydope
1539	Henry Gere	1554	Barnard Bonnard
1540	John Fuller	1555	John Semark
1541	Robert Browne	1556	Peter London
1542	Thomas Bathurst	1557	Peter Kelsham
1543	Roger Welles	1558	John Mylles
1544	John Twyne	1559	James Nethersole
1545	Henry Alday	1560	Phillip Lewes
1546	Edward Carpenter	1561	Thomas Giles
1547	John Ugden	1562	Clement Bassock
1548	Roger Saunders	1563	Anthony Webbe
1549	George Maye	1564	Leonard Cotton
1550	Richard Waller	1565	Simon Brome
1551	Thomas Walker		

III - Chamberlains of Canterbury 1500-1565

As the keeper of the city finances, the chamberlain was one of the most important roles in civic government. Throughout the sixteenth century they were elected by the body of aldermen and then held the office until they were ejected or gave up the post.

This list has been compiled from my own research and data is taken primarily from the chamberlains' account books (CCA, CC, F/A) and from burghmote minute books (CCA, CC, A/C) where their names and elections are regularly recorded.

1500	Thomas Gilbert	1527	Robert Lewys
1501	Thomas Chatbourne	1528	Anthony Knyght
1502	Thomas Atwode	1529	Anthony Knyght
1503	William Crompe	1530	Anthony Knyght
1504	William Crompe	1531	Anthony Knyght
1505	William Crompe	1532	Anthony Knyght
1506	Roger Clerk/Clarke	1533	Anthony Knyght
1507	Roger Clerk/Clarke	1534	John Starky
1508	William Rutland	1535	John Starky
1509	William Rutland	1536	John Starky
1510	William Rutland	1537	John Starky
1511	John Broker	1538	John Alcock
1512	John Broker	1539	John Alcock
1513	John Fyshe	1540	John Alcock
1514	John Fyshe	1541	John Alcock
1515	William Nutte	1542	Anthony Knyght
1516	William Nutte	1543	Anthony Knyght
1517	William Nutte	1544	Anthony Knyght
1518	William Nutte	1545	Anthony Knyght
1519	William Nutte	1546	Anthony Knyght
1520	William Nutte	1547	Anthony Knyght
1521	John Alcok	1548	Anthony Knyght
1522	John Alcok	1549	Anthony Knyght
1523	John Alcok	1550	Anthony Knyght
1524	Robert Lewys	1551	Anthony Knyght
1525	Robert Lewys	1552	Anthony Knyght / Nicholas Fysh
1526	Robert Lewys	1553	Nicholas Fysshe

1554 Nicholas Fyssh
1555 Nicholas Fyssh
1556 Richard Furner
1557 Richard Furner
1558 Richard Furner
1559 Richard Furner
1560 George Byngham
1561 George Byngham
1562 Peter Kelsham
1563 Peter Kelsham
1564 Christopher Scott
1565 Christopher Scott

IV - Canterbury Members of Parliament 1508-1558

These are the men returned to the parliaments of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I. Most of the data comes from the biographies available via the History of Parliament and Oxford Dictionary of National Biography alongside some relevant additions from my research.

Name	Session(s)	Profession	Corporation Offices	County Offices
William Crump	1510	Hosier / Brewer	CC (by 1500); chamberlain (1503-5); alderman (by 1505-1514); Mayor (1505-6; 1509-10)	commr. Subsidy (1512, 1514);
Thomas Wainfleet	1512	Innholder	CC (by 1500); Alderman (by 1504); Mayor (1512, 1514);	commr. Gaol delivery (1510, 1513), subsidy (1512, 1514, 1515)
John Hales	1512, 1515	lawyer	Legal Counsel (1517-1540);	JP Kent (1503-d.), Mdx. And Suss. (1524-d.); Commr. Subsidy Kent and Canterbury (1512, 1514, 1515, 1523, 1524); Baron of Exchequer (1522-d.); member division of king's council for legal matters in 1526; steward of the liberties Christ Church (1501>.
Thomas Atwode	1504, 1510, 1515, 1529	lawyer	Alderman (1496), chamberlain (1500-3); Mayor (1504; 1512; 1530)	commr. Gaol delivery Cant. (1507, 1510, 1513); Subsidy (1512, 1514, 1515); Kent (1515); JP Kent (1515-d);
Christopher Hales	1523	lawyer	Legal Counsel (1529-1542)	Council of Princess Mary (1525); Commr. Subsidy, Kent (1515); JP Kent (1526-d.) et al; Master of the Rolls (1536); Steward of multiple house inc. Christ Church and St Augs (up to the Diss.);

Name	Session(s)	Profession	Corporation Offices	County Offices
John Briggs	1523, 1529, 1536	Brewer	CC (by1509); alderman (by1519); Dep Mayor (1529); Mayor (1520, 1524, 1534);	commr. Subsidy (1523, 1524)
Robert Darknall	1529, 1536, 1542, 1547 Mar. 1553; (Rochester Oct. 1553)	Lawyer	N/A	Member of the Household (1537); Teller receipt of the exchequer (1550-d.); commr. relief Middlessex (1550);
John Starky	1539	Yeoman	CC (1529); Sheriff (1529); Alderman (1535); Chamberlain (1534-37); Mayor (1538);	Commr. Relief (1550);
Robert Lewes	1539, 1545	Mercer	CC (1519); Sheriff (1522); Alderman (by 1529); Churchwarden St Andrew's (1516); Mayor (1529, 1536, 1540, 1550)	commr. benevolence (1544/45), relief (1550)
Walter Hendley	1542	lawyer	N/A	JP Kent (1531-d.); Solicitor ct. augmentations (1537-40), attorney (18 Mar. 1540 - 2 Jan. 1547); commr. For suppression of Mons (1539), benevolence Kent (1544/45), chantries Kent Cant Roch [et al] (1548);
Thomas Hales	1547	lawyer	N/A	Commr. Relief, Kent (1550); JP Kent (1558/59-d.); Servant of Cranmer
George Webbe	Mar. 1553	Mercer / Lawyer	CC (by1537); sheriff (1537); Alderman (1540); Mayor (1552);	commr. Goods of churches and fraternities (1553);
John Twyne	Oct. 1553, Apr. 1554	Schoolmaster	CC (1539-47, 1548-50); Sheriff (1544); alderman (1550-62); mayor (1553);	N/A

Name	Session(s)	Profession	Corporation Offices	County Offices
Willaim Coppyn	Oct. 1553, Apr. 1554	Brewer	CC (by 1537); Sheriff (1538); Alderman (1539); Dep. Mayor (1549); Mayor (1541, 1551);	Commr. benevolence 1544
Nicholas Fyshe	Nov. 1554	Draper	CC (1546); Alderman (1550); Chamberlain (1553-5);	Commr. Goods of churches and fraternities (1553)
Richard Raylton	Nov. 1554	Yeoman	CC (1552); Alderman (1556); Mayor (1562);	N/A
William Roper	Cant 1555, 1558 (Bramber 1529, Rochester 1545, 1547, Winchelsea Oct 1553, Rochester Apr 1554, Nov 1554)	Lawyer	N/A	Cranmer's steward Kent (by 1535); commr. heresy diocese of Cant 1556; steward Kent 1546-66; Sheriff Kent (1554-5);
William Rastell	Canterbury 1555 (Hindon Oct 1553, Ripon Apr 1554)	Lawyer	N/A	Judge KB 27 Oct 1558; retained as 'serjeant at law' by the council (Aug. 1556);
Henry Crispe	Canterbury 1558 (dover Mar. 1553; Winchelsea Oct. 1553)	Gent.	N/A	JP Kent (1539-58); JP Quorum (1558/9-d.1575); sheriff (1546-7); commr. Chantries (1548); relief (1550); Goods of Churches and fraternities (1553); Heresy (1556);

V - City Councillors c.1529-1562

Lists of Council Members c.1529-1562

The primary sources for these lists are the registers of council meetings compiled in the burghmote minutes (CCA, CC, A/C/1 & A/C/2) which appear sporadically after 1520, but only regularly after 1529. Where there are gaps in the minutes (as in 1536), other city archives have been utilised, typically the records of city quarter sessions (CCA, CC, J/Q) or the chamberlains' accounts (CCA, CC, F/A), where attendance registers were also taken but where only a proportion of the corporate body attended. Such records are available from the beginning of the century but without any full registers would provide an insubstantial picture of the city benches. In those years where all sources are sparse or entirely absent, names have been entered only when it is repeated in a subsequent session and there is no evidence that individual has been subject to a temporary dismissal. Between the years 1520 and 1529 there is not sufficient evidence available to make viable lists of members and these years have therefore been omitted.

When a new member is admitted to the common council or aldermanic bench I will provide the date of election to the closest day or month as is evident, where there is no clear record of election I will only note the mayoral year that they made their 'first appearance'. Likewise, a date will be given for the death or dismissal only when this can be gleaned from corporation or probate materials, if neither is forthcoming then the time of their last appearance in the registers will be taken as the end of their civic career.

For each year a list of aldermen will be provided first, followed by the lists of common councillors serving that year.

1520

John Brygges, mayor; Matthew Browne; John Nayler; Thomas Wode; William Rutland; Roger Clarke; Thomas Bele; Thomas Fokys; William Nutte; Nicholas Simon¹; Henry Gosebourne²; Ralph Brown³; John Broker⁴

= 12

¹ Died this year.

² Died 1522.

³ Died 1522.

⁴ Died 1524.

Walter Evynden; John Alcock snr; William Furner⁵; William Miles⁶; James Whithales; John Tylly⁷; John Tent⁸; John Austyn⁹; William Crispe; Stephen Wode; George Sutton; John Gotley¹⁰; Richard Ham¹¹; John Courtman; John Fowle; John Fyshe; Robert Lewes; John Coppyn; Richard Master; Anthony Knyght
= 20

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 69, 70, 71.

1529

Robert Lewes, *mayor*; Matthew Browne; Thomas Wode; John Brygges; John Alcock snr; William Nutte; Francis Rutland; Roger Clarke; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; James Whithales; William Rutland; Thomas Fokys; Thomas Bele
= 13

Walter Evynden; George Sutton; John Fowle; John Coppyn; John Fyshe; John Burges; John Taylor; George Haselhurst; John Hobbys; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere; William Gold; James Thomson; Thomas Calowe; Thomas Gore¹²; Stephen Apsley; Thomas Fyll; John Elys; John Johnson; John Starky, *sheriff*; John Fitzwalter
= 22

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 75.

1530

Thomas Wode, *mayor*; Robert Lewes; John Brigges; Matthew Browne; Francis Rutland, *sheriff*; Roger Clark; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; James Whithales; William Rutland; Thomas Fokys; Thomas Bele; William Nutte; John Alcock snr
=13

Walter Evynden; George Sutton; John Fowle; John Coppyn; John Fyshe; John Burges; John Taylor; George Haselhurst; John Hobbys; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere; William Gold; James Thomson; Thomas Calowe; Thomas Gore; Stephen Apsley; Thomas Fyll; John Elys; John Johnson; John Starky; John Fitzwalter
= 22

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1,76, 78, 79; BL, Add MS 32311, fol. 76r

1531

⁵ Dies 1523.

⁶ Dies 1529.

⁷ Dies this year.

⁸ Dies 1526.

⁹ Dies 1523.

¹⁰ Dies 1526.

¹¹ Dies 1526.

¹² Occasionally appears as 'Gower'

John Alcock snr, *mayor*; Robert Lewes; William Nutte; Matthew Browne; John
Briggs; Francis Rutland; Roger Clark; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; James
Whithales; William Rutland; Thomas Fokys; Thomas Bele; Thomas Wode
= 13

Walter Evynden; George Sutton; John Fowle; John Coppyn; John Fyshe; John
Borges; John Taylor; George Haselhurst; John Hobbys; James Vydean; John
Toftes; Henry Gere; William Gold; James Thomson, *sheriff*; Thomas Callow;
Thomas Gore; Stephen Apsley; Thomas Fyll; John Elys; John Johnson; John
Starky; John Fitzwalter¹³

= 22

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 80, 81, 82.

1532

Thomas Bele, *mayor*; Thomas Wode¹⁴; Matthew Browne; James Whithales;
William Nutte; Roger Clarke; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; John Brygges;
William Rutland¹⁵; Robert Lewes; Francis Rutland; Thomas Fokys; John Alcock
snr

= 13

Walter Evynden; George Sutton; John Fowle; John Coppyn; John Fyshe; John
Borges; John Taylor; George Haselhurst; John Hobbys; James Vydean; John
Toftes; Henry Gere; William Gold; James Thomson; Thomas Callowe; Thomas
Gore; Stephen Apsley; Thomas Fyll; John Elys; John Johnson, *sheriff*; John
Starky

= 21

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, 83, 84

1533

William Nutte, *mayor*; Matthew Browne; John Brygge; Thomas Bele; Thomas
Fokys; John Alcock snr; Roger Clarke; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; Robert
Lewes; Francis Rutland; James Whithales

= 11

Walter Evynden; George Sutton; John Fowle; John Fyshe; John Coppyn; John
Hobbys; John Taylor; James Vydean; John Toftes; sheriff; Henry Gere; James
Thomson; Thomas Callow; Stephen Apsley; Thomas Fyll; Thomas Gore; John
Elys; John Johnson; John Starky; Christopher Levyns¹⁶; John Alcock jnr¹⁷; John
Maske Andrew Kempe; Thomas Gylham; Robert Hunt

= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, 86, 87, 88.

¹³ Last appearance, no will extant.

¹⁴ Dies 1532.

¹⁵ Dies 1532.

¹⁶ First appearance as Common Councillor January 1534, no record of election.

¹⁷ First appearance as Common Councillor January 1534, no record of election.

1534

John Brygges, *mayor*; Mathew Browne; Roger Clarke; Robert Lewes; Francis Rutland; John Alcock snr; James Whithales; Thomas Bele; Thomas Fokys; Anthony Knyght; William Nutte

= 11

Walter Evynden; George Sutton; John Fowle; John Fyshe; John Coppyn; John Hobbys; John Taylor; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere; James Thomson; Thomas Callow; Stephen Aplesey; Thomas Fyll; John Elys; John Johnson; John Starky, *chamberlain*; Christopher Levyns; John Alcock jnr, *sheriff*; John Maske; Andrew Kempe; Thomas Gylham; Robert Hunt; Thomas Gore

= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 89, 90

1535

John Alcock snr, *mayor*; Thomas Fokys¹⁸; Francis Rutland¹⁹; Matthew Browne; Roger Clarke; Robert Lewes; James Whithales; Thomas Bele; John Brygges; Anthony Knyght; William Nutte; John Starky, *chamberlain*²⁰

= 12

Walter Evynden²¹; George Sutton²²; John Fowle²³; James Thomson²⁴; John Alcock jnr²⁵; Thomas Gore²⁶; Christopher Levyns²⁷; John Fyshe; Thomas Fyll; John Coppyn; John Hobbys, *sheriff*; John Taylor; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere; Thomas Callow; Stephen Apsley; John Elys; John Johnson; John Maske; Andrew Kempe; Thomas Gylham; Robert Hunt

= 23

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 90.

1536

Robert Lewes, *mayor*; John Starky, *chamberlain*; James Whithales; John Alcock jnr; Thomas Gore; Matthew Browne; Roger Clarke; Robert Lewes; Thomas Bele; John Brygges; Anthony Knyght; William Nutte

= 12

¹⁸ Died this year 15 June.

¹⁹ Died early 1536.

²⁰ Must have been elected before May 1536 as described as alderman in parliamentary election fiasco.

²¹ Dies 1536.

²² Dies 1536.

²³ Last appearance, no will extant.

²⁴ Last appearance, no will extant: a James Thomson is assessed in the subsidy of 1545 at £280, might be same man.

²⁵ Elected to alderman before September 1536.

²⁶ Elected to alderman before September 1536.

²⁷ Loses his seat in June 1536.

Thomas Callow, *sheriff*; John Coppyn; John Fyshe ²⁸; Thomas Fyll²⁹; John Hobbys; John Taylor; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere; Stephen Aplsey; John Elys; John Maske; John Johnson; Andrew Kempe; Robert Hunt; Thomas Gylham

= 16*

Sources: No registers survive from this year so these names have been pieced together using CCA, CC, F/A/10, as such the lists are incomplete, particularly for the common council.

1537

Roger Clarke, *mayor*; James Whithales³⁰; John Brygges³¹; Matthew Browne; Robert Lewes; John Alcock snr; Thomas Bele; William Nutte; Anthony Knyght; John Starky, *chamberlain*; Thomas Gore; John Alcock jnr

= 12

John Coppyn³²; John Hobbys; John Taylor; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere; Thomas Callow; Stephen Aplsey; John Elys; John Maske; John Johnson; Andrew Kempe; Robert Hunt; Thomas Gylham; Thomas Gibson³³; John Wydehope³⁴; Gregory Rand³⁵; George Webbe, *sheriff*³⁶; John Gybbys³⁷; Thomas Frenche³⁸; William Coppyn³⁹; John Fuller⁴⁰

= 22

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 91

1538

John Starky, *mayor*; John Alcock jnr, *chamberlain*; Roger Clarke; Matthew Browne; Robert Lewes; John Alcock snr; Thomas Bele; William Nutte; Anthony Knyght; Thomas Gore

= 10

William Coppyn, *sheriff*; Thomas Gibson⁴¹; John Johnson⁴²; John Toftes; John Hobbys; Thomas Callow; John Taylor; James Vydean; Henry Gere; Stephen Apsley; John Elys; John Maske; Robert Hunt; John Wydehope; Andrew Kempe;

²⁸ Dies late 1536, probate made 1537.

²⁹ Dies late 1536, probate made 1537.

³⁰ Final appearance 7 November 1537, no will extant.

³¹ Dies 27 January 1538.

³² Last reference, no will extant.

³³ First appearance.

³⁴ First appearance.

³⁵ First appearance.

³⁶ First appearance.

³⁷ First appearance.

³⁸ First appearance.

³⁹ First appearance.

⁴⁰ First appearance.

⁴¹ Last appearance, no will extant.

⁴² Last reference as councillor, leaves city but remains active in Kent.

Gregory Rand; George Webbe; John Gybbes; Thomas Frenche; John Fuller; John Twyne⁴³; Thomas Taylor⁴⁴; John Freeman⁴⁵

= 23

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 93

1539

Thomas Bele, *mayor*; Matthew Brown; Robert Lewes; John Alcock snr; Roger Clarke; Anthony Knyght; John Starky; Thomas Gore; John Alcock jnr, *chamberlain*; William Coppyn⁴⁶; John Freeman⁴⁷; Robert Nayler⁴⁸

= 12

John Hobbys; John Taylor; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere, *sheriff*; Stephen Apsley; Thomas Callow; John Elys; John Maske; Robert Hunt; John Wydehope; Andrew Kempe; Gregory Rand; George Webbe; John Gybbes; Thomas Frenche; John Fuller; John Twyne; Thomas Taylor⁴⁹; Robert Browne⁵⁰; Nicholas Reynolds⁵¹; John Courthop⁵²

= 22

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 94, 95, 96, 97.

1540

Robert Lewes, *mayor*; Matthew Browne⁵³; John Alcock snr⁵⁴; Thomas Bele; William Coppyn; Roger Clarke; Anthony Knyght; John Starky; John Freeman; Thomas Gore; Robert Nayler; John Alcock jnr, *chamberlain*; George Webbe⁵⁵; Stephen Apsley⁵⁶; Thomas Frenche⁵⁷; John Gylbert⁵⁸

=16 (no more than 13 serving at one time)

John Hobbes; John Taylor; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere; Thomas Callow; John Elys; John Maske; Andrew Kempe; Robert Hunt; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; Gregory Rand; George Webbe; John Fuller, *sheriff*; John

⁴³ First appearance, no record of election.

⁴⁴ First appearance, no record of election.

⁴⁵ First appearance, no record of election.

⁴⁶ Elected this year.

⁴⁷ Elected this year.

⁴⁸ Elected this year.

⁴⁹ Last appearance, no will extant.

⁵⁰ Elected this year.

⁵¹ Elected this year.

⁵² Elected this year.

⁵³ Last appearance, no will extant.

⁵⁴ Excused through old age 28 September 1540, no will extant.

⁵⁵ Elected this year.

⁵⁶ Elected this year

⁵⁷ Elected this year.

⁵⁸ Elected as a common councillor and then an alderman this year.

Twyne; Robert Browne; Nicholas Reynold; John Courthop; William Fryth⁵⁹;
Roger Wellys⁶⁰; Edward Carpenter⁶¹; John Ugden⁶²
= 23 (not counting John Gylbert)
Source: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 97, 98, 99, 100.

1541

William Coppyn, *mayor*; Thomas Bele⁶³; Anthony Knyght; Thomas Gore;
William Coppyn; John Freeman; John Alcock jnr, *chamberlain*; George Webbe;
Roger Clarke; Robert Lewes; Stephen Apsley; Robert Nayler; Thomas Frenche;
John Starky

= 13

John Hobbys; James Vydean; John Taylor; Henry Gere; John Toftes; John
Gybbes; John Twyne; John Maske; Thomas Callow; Gregory Rand; Robert Hunt;
John Wydehope;

Thomas Gylham; John Elys; Andrew Kempe; John Fuller; Nicholas Reynold;
Robert Browne, *sheriff*; John Courthop; William Fryth; Roger Wellys; Edward
Carpenter; John Ugden; Thomas Bathurst⁶⁴

= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 100, 101, 102.

1542

Thomas Gore, *mayor*; William Coppyn; Roger Clarke⁶⁵; Robert Lewes; Stephen
Apsley;

Robert Nayler; Thomas Frenche; John Starky; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*;
John Freeman; George Webbe; John Alcock jnr; John Gybbes⁶⁶;

= 13

John Hobbys; John Taylor; James Vydean; John Toftes; Henry Gere; Thomas
Callow; John Elys; John Maske; Andrew Kempe; Robert Hunt; Thomas Gylham;
John Wydehope; Gregory Rand; John Fuller; John Twyne; Robert Browne;
Nicholas Reynold; John Courthop;

William Fryth; Roger Wellys; Edward Carpenter; John Ugden; Thomas Bathurst,
sheriff

= 23

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/1, 103, 104, 105.

1543

⁵⁹ Elected this year.

⁶⁰ Elected this year.

⁶¹ Elected this year.

⁶² Elected this year.

⁶³ Last appearance, no will extant.

⁶⁴ Elected this year.

⁶⁵ Last appearance, composes will in November 1542 not proved until October 1543.

⁶⁶ Elected this year.

John Freeman, *mayor*; Thomas Frenche; Robert Nayler; Thomas Gore⁶⁷; John Gybbes; George Webbe; Stephen Apsley; John Alcock jnr; Robert Lewys; John Starky; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; William Coppyn; Gregory Rand⁶⁸;
= 13

James Vydean; Henry Gere; John Taylor⁶⁹; John Courthop⁷⁰; Thomas Callow; John Hobbes; John Toftes; John Elys; John Maske; Robert Hunt; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; John Fuller; John Twyne; Andrew Kempe; Robert Browne; William Fryth; Roger Wellys, *sheriff*; Edward Carpenter; Nicholas Reynold; John Ugden; Thomas Bathurst; Nicholas Colbrand⁷¹
= 23

Sources: CCA, CC, J/Q/342/iii

1544

John Alcock jnr, *mayor*; Robert Lewys; Thomas Frenche; John Starky; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; William Coppyn; Robert Nayler; George Webbe; Gregory Rand⁷²; Stephen Apsley; John Gybbes; John Freeman; Thomas Bathurst⁷³
= 13

James Vydean; John Toftes; Thomas Callow; John Elys; John Maske; Henry Gere; Robert Hunt; Nicholas Reynold; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; John Hobbes; John Fuller; John Twyne, *sheriff*; Robert Browne; William Fryth; Roger Wellys; Edward Carpenter; John Ugden; Nicholas Colbrand; Andrew Kempe; Henry Alday⁷⁴; Stephen Sare⁷⁵; William Hunt⁷⁶; Walter Trott⁷⁷
= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 4r, 10v, 11v, 12v.

1545

Thomas Frenche, *mayor*; Robert Lewys; John Alcock jnr; John Starky; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; William Coppyn; George Webbe; Gregory Rand; Stephen Apsley; Robert Nayler⁷⁸; John Gybbes; John Freeman; Thomas Bathurst
= 13

John Toftes; John Elys; John Maske; James Vydean; Thomas Callow; John Hobbes; Nicholas Reynolds⁷⁹; Henry Gere; Robert Hunte; Thomas Gylham; John

⁶⁷ Last appearance, no will extant.

⁶⁸ Elected this year.

⁶⁹ Last appearance, dies 1545.

⁷⁰ Last appearance, will not proved until 1551.

⁷¹ Admitted this year.

⁷² Elected this year.

⁷³ Elected this year.

⁷⁴ Elected this year.

⁷⁵ Elected this year.

⁷⁶ Elected this year.

⁷⁷ Elected this year.

⁷⁸ Died this year 12 February 1546.

⁷⁹ Dismissed this year.

Wydehope; John Fuller; John Twyne; Robert Browne⁸⁰; William Fryth; Roger Wellys⁸¹; Edward Carpenter; John Ugden; Nicholas Colbrand; Andrew Kempe; Henry Alday, *sheriff*; Stephen Sare; William Hunt; Walter Trott; George Saunders; George Nycolls⁸²

= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 14r-15r, 21r-24r.

1546

Thomas Bathurst, *mayor*; John Alcock jnr; Robert Lewes; Thomas Frenche; John Starky; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; William Coppyn; George Webbe; Gregory Rande; Stephen Apsley; John Gybbes⁸³; John Freeman; John Toftes⁸⁴; John Maske⁸⁵

= 13

James Vydean; John Elys⁸⁶; Robert Hunt; Thomas Gylham; George Saunders; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Nycolls; John Wydehope; John Twyne; John Fuller; William Fryth; Edward Carpenter, *sheriff*; John Ugden; Nicholas Colbrand; Andrew Kempe; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare; William Hunt; Walter Trott; James Boyden⁸⁷; George Maye⁸⁸; Richard Waller⁸⁹; Thomas Walker⁹⁰; Nicholas Fysh⁹¹

= 26

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 26r-33v

1547

George Webbe, *mayor*; John Alcock jnr; Robert Lewes; Thomas Frenche; John Starky; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; William Coppyn; John Gybbes; Gregory Rand; Stephen Apsley; John Freeman; Thomas Bathurst; John Toftes⁹²; John Maske

= 13

Robert Hunt; James Vydean; William Fryth; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Maye; Henry Alday; Andrew Kempe; Nicholas Colbrand; John Ugden, *sheriff*⁹³; Edward Carpenter; John Twyne⁹⁴; John Fuller; John Wydehope;

⁸⁰ Noted in Burghmote Book that he dies this year.

⁸¹ Dies this year.

⁸² Admitted this year.

⁸³ Dies this year.

⁸⁴ Elected April.

⁸⁵ Elected September.

⁸⁶ Dies this year

⁸⁷ Appointed this year.

⁸⁸ Appointed September.

⁸⁹ Appointed September.

⁹⁰ Appointed this year.

⁹¹ Appointed this year.

⁹² Dies this year in February.

⁹³ Dismissed and immediately restored to the common council in November, no reason provided.

⁹⁴ Dismissed in November, no reason provided.

Thomas Gylham; Stephen Sare; William Hunt; Walter Trott; George Nycholls;
George Saunders; Richard Waller; John Boyden; Thomas Walker; Nicholas Fysh
= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 36r-37r.

1548

Gregory Rande, *mayor*; Robert Lewes; John Starky; John Alcock jnr; Thomas
Frenche; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; William Coppyn; George Webbe;
Stephen Apsley; John Freeman; John Maske; Thomas Bathurst⁹⁵

= 12

Robert Hunt; James Vydean; William Fryth; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere;
George Maye; Henry Alday; Andrew Kempe; Nicholas Colbrand; John Ugden;
Edward Carpenter; John Twyne⁹⁶; John Fuller; John Wydehope; Thomas
Gylham; Stephen Sare; William Hunt; Walter Trott; George Nycholls; George
Saunders, *sheriff*; Richard Waller; John Boyden; Thomas Walker; Nicholas Fysh
= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fol. 41r.

1549

John Freeman, *mayor*; Robert Lewes; John Alcock jnr; Thomas Frenche; John
Starky; William Coppyn; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*; George Webbe;
Gregory Rand; Stephen Apsley; John Maske⁹⁷

= 11

Robert Hunt; James Vydean; William Fryth; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere;
George Maye, *sheriff*; Henry Alday; Andrew Kempe⁹⁸; Nicholas Colbrand; John
Ugden; Edward Carpenter; John Twyne; John Fuller; John Wydehope; Thomas
Gylham; Stephen Sare; William Hunt; Walter Trott; George Nycholls; George
Saunders; Richard Waller; John Boyden; Thomas Walker; Nicholas Fysh
= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 44r-46r

1550

Robert Lewes, *mayor*; John Alcock jnr; John Starky; Anthony Knyght,
chamberlain; William Coppyn; Thomas Frenche; Gregory Rand; Stephen
Apsley⁹⁹; John Freeman; John Twyne¹⁰⁰; John Fuller¹⁰¹; Nicholas Fysh¹⁰²;
Edward Carpenter¹⁰³

⁹⁵ Not seen again until 1554.

⁹⁶ Reinstated in August.

⁹⁷ Dies this year in April 1550.

⁹⁸ Last appearance, no will extant.

⁹⁹ Last appearance, no will extant.

¹⁰⁰ Appointed July.

¹⁰¹ Appointed July.

¹⁰² Appointed July.

¹⁰³ Appointed July.

= 13

Robert Hunt; James Vydean; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; William Fryth¹⁰⁴; John Ugden; Nicholas Colbrand¹⁰⁵; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare; William Hunt; Walter Trott¹⁰⁶; George Nycolls; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Saunders; George Maye; Richard Waller, *sheriff*; John Boyden; Thomas Walker; John Semark¹⁰⁷; Richard Furner¹⁰⁸; Thomas Bull¹⁰⁹; Thomas Byng¹¹⁰; Thomas Barrett¹¹¹; Thomas Reynold¹¹²

= 25

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 47r-48v, 50r, 53r

1551

William Coppyn, *mayor*; Robert Lewes; John Alcock jnr; John Starky; Thomas Frenche; George Webbe; Anthony Knyght, *chamberlain*¹¹³; Gregory Rand; John Freeman¹¹⁴; John Twyne; John Fuller; Edward Carpenter; Nicholas Fysh

= 12

James Vydean; Robert Hunt¹¹⁵; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; John Ugden; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare; William Hunt; George Nycholls; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Saunders; George Maye; Thomas Walker, *sheriff*; Richard Waller; John Boyden¹¹⁶; John Semark; Richard Furner; Thomas Bull; Thomas Byng; Thomas Barrett; Thomas Reynold; Barnard Bonnard¹¹⁷; Thomas Godfrey¹¹⁸; George Toftes¹¹⁹

= 25

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 60r, 64v-65r.

1552

George Webbe, *mayor*; William Coppyn; John Alcock jnr; Robert Lewes; Thomas Frenche; John Starky; Gregory Rand¹²⁰; John Twyne; John Fuller; Edward Carpenter; Nicholas Fysh, *chamberlain*¹²¹; George Maye¹²²

= 12

¹⁰⁴ Died this year.

¹⁰⁵ Last appearance, dies 1551.

¹⁰⁶ Dies this year.

¹⁰⁷ Appointed June.

¹⁰⁸ Appointed June.

¹⁰⁹ Appointed June.

¹¹⁰ Appointed July.

¹¹¹ Appointed July.

¹¹² Appointed July.

¹¹³ Last appearance, dies early 1552.

¹¹⁴ Last appearance, dies early 1552.

¹¹⁵ Last appearance, no will extant.

¹¹⁶ Last appearance, makes his will this year but not proved until 1555.

¹¹⁷ Elected October.

¹¹⁸ Elected October.

¹¹⁹ First appears December, no mention of election.

¹²⁰ Dies this year.

¹²¹ Accounts for Anthony Knyght who died three months into new mayoral year.

¹²² Last referred to as common councillor June 1551, referred to as alderman April 1552.

James Vydean; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; John Ugden; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare, *sheriff*; William Hunt; George Nycholls; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Saunders; Thomas Walker; Richard Waller; John Semark; Richard Furner; Thomas Bull; Thomas Byng; Thomas Barrett; Thomas Reynold; Barnard Bonnard; Thomas Godfrey¹²³; George Toftes; Richard Railton¹²⁴; Peter London¹²⁵

= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 60v, 68r-69v, 71v-73r.

1553

John Twyne, *mayor*; John Alcock jnr¹²⁶; Thomas Frenche; John Starky; Robert Lewes; William Coppyn; George Webbe; John Fuller; Edward Carpenter; Nicholas Fysh, *chamberlain*; George Maye; Stephen Sare¹²⁷; Henry Alday¹²⁸

= 13

James Vydean; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope, *sheriff*; John Ugden; William Hunt; George Nycholls; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Saunders; Thomas Walker; Richard Waller; John Semark; Richard Furner; Thomas Bull; Thomas Byng¹²⁹; Thomas Barrett; Thomas Reynold; Barnard Bonnard; George Toftes; Richard Railton; Peter London; Thomas Dale¹³⁰; Gregory Rose¹³¹

= 22

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 75v, 77r-80r.

1554

Thomas Frenche, *mayor*; Robert Lewes; John Starky¹³²; William Coppyn; George Webbe; John Twyne; John Fuller; Edward Carpenter; Nicholas Fysh, *chamberlain*; George Maye; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare; John Ugden¹³³; Thomas Bathurst¹³⁴

=13

James Vydean; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; William Hunt; George Nycholls; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Saunders; Thomas Walker; Richard Waller; John Semark; Richard Furner; Thomas Bull; Thomas Barrett¹³⁵;

¹²³ Last appearance, no will extant.

¹²⁴ Appointed in April, dismissed same month for acting in action against city, reappointed by November.

¹²⁵ Appointed April.

¹²⁶ Last reference in burghmote book this year but doesn't die until 1555/6 – nothing to suggest expulsion or disagreement.

¹²⁷ Appointed July.

¹²⁸ Appointed July.

¹²⁹ Last appearance this year.

¹³⁰ Appointed June.

¹³¹ Appointed June.

¹³² Dies 11 September 1554.

¹³³ Elected September.

¹³⁴ Readmitted as common councillor then immediately elected alderman in September.

¹³⁵ Dies this year.

Thomas Reynold; Barnard Bonnard, *sheriff*; George Toftes; Richard Railton;
Peter London; Thomas Dale; Gregory Rose
= 20

Source: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 84v-88r.

1555

Edward Carpenter, *mayor*; Robert Lewes; Thomas Frenche; William Coppyn;
George Webbe; John Twyne; John Fuller; Nicholas Fysh, *chamberlain*; George
Maye; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare; John Ugden; Thomas Bathurst¹³⁶
= 12

James Vydean; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; William Hunt; George
Nycholls; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Saunders; Thomas Walker;
Richard Waller; John Semark; Richard Furner; Thomas Bull; Thomas Barrett¹³⁷;
Thomas Reynold; Barnard Bonnard, *sheriff*; George Toftes; Richard Railton;
Peter London; Thomas Dale; Gregory Rose
= 20

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 91v, 96v-97v.

1556

John Fuller, *mayor*; Edward Carpenter; Robert Lewes; Thomas Frenche; William
Coppyn; George Webbe¹³⁸; John Twyne; Nicholas Fysh; George Maye; Henry
Alday; Stephen Sare; John Ugden; Richard Railton¹³⁹; Richard Furner,
*chamberlain*¹⁴⁰
= 13

James Vydean; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; William Hunt; George
Nycholls¹⁴¹; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; George Saunders; Thomas Walker;
Richard Waller¹⁴²; John Semark; Thomas Bull; Thomas Reynold; Barnard
Bonnard; George Toftes; Peter London, *sheriff*; Thomas Dale; Gregory Rose;
Phillip Lewes¹⁴³; Christopher Scott¹⁴⁴; Peter Kelsham¹⁴⁵; John Mylls¹⁴⁶
= 22

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 90v, 100r-103v, 105r.

1557

¹³⁶ Dies this year.

¹³⁷ Dies this year.

¹³⁸ Dies this year.

¹³⁹ Elected alderman in March.

¹⁴⁰ First referenced as alderman in December, acted as chamberlain in place of Fysh.

¹⁴¹ Dies this year.

¹⁴² Dies this year.

¹⁴³ Elected in March.

¹⁴⁴ Elected in March.

¹⁴⁵ Elected in March.

¹⁴⁶ Elected in March.

George Maye, *mayor*; Thomas Frenche; William Coppyn; John Twyne; John Fuller; Edward Carpenter; Nicholas Fysh; Richard Furner, *chamberlain*; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare; John Ugden; Richard Railton; Robert Lewes
= 13

James Vydean¹⁴⁷; George Saunders¹⁴⁸; Thomas Gylham; John Wydehope; William Hunt; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; Thomas Walker; John Semark; Thomas Bull; Thomas Reynold; Bernard Bonnard; George Toftes; Thomas Dale; Peter London; Peter Kelsham, *sheriff*; Gregory Rose; Phillip Lewes; Leonard Norgrove; Christopher Scott; John Mylls; George Byngham¹⁴⁹; Steven Thornherst¹⁵⁰; William Watson¹⁵¹; Roger Fowler¹⁵²
= 23

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 107v, 111v-112r.

1558

Stephen Sare, *mayor*; Thomas Frenche¹⁵³; William Coppyn¹⁵⁴; John Twyne; Robert Lewes; John Fuller; Edward Carpenter; Nicholas Fysh¹⁵⁵; Henry Alday; George Maye; John Ugden; Richard Railton; Richard Furner, *chamberlain*
= 13

Thomas Gylham¹⁵⁶; John Wydehope; William Hunt; Thomas Callow; Henry Gere; Thomas Walker¹⁵⁷; Thomas Bull; John Semark; Barnard Bonnard; Peter London; George Toftes; Thomas Reynold; Gregory Rose; Thomas Dale¹⁵⁸; Philip Lewes; Leonard Norgrove; Christopher Scott; Peter Kelsham; John Mylls, *sheriff*; Steven Thornherst; William Watson¹⁵⁹; Roger Fowler¹⁶⁰
= 22

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 117v-121r.

1559

John Fuller, *mayor*; John Twyne; Edward Carpenter; Robert Lewes; George Maye; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare; John Ugden; Richard Railton; Richard Furner, *chamberlain*; George Byngham¹⁶¹
=11

¹⁴⁷ Last appearance, no will extant.

¹⁴⁸ Last appearance, no will extant.

¹⁴⁹ Appointed September.

¹⁵⁰ Appointed September.

¹⁵¹ Appointed September.

¹⁵² Appointed September.

¹⁵³ Dies this year.

¹⁵⁴ Dies this year.

¹⁵⁵ Dies this year.

¹⁵⁶ Last appearance, no will extant.

¹⁵⁷ Dies this year.

¹⁵⁸ Dies this year.

¹⁵⁹ Dies this year.

¹⁶⁰ Dies this year.

¹⁶¹ First referenced as alderman in October 1559.

John Wydehope¹⁶²; Thomas Callow; William Hunt; Henry Gere; John Semark;
Thomas Bull; Thomas Reynold¹⁶³; George Toftes; Barnard Bonnard; Peter
London; Gregory Rose; Philip Lewes; Leonard Norgrove; Christopher Scott;
Peter Kelsham; John Mylls; Steven Thornherst; John Nutte¹⁶⁴; George Mylles¹⁶⁵;
Nicholas Bremar¹⁶⁶; Thomas Dabbys¹⁶⁷; Steven Redbourne¹⁶⁸; John Mott¹⁶⁹;
James Nethersole, *sheriff*¹⁷⁰
= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 121v, 123r-125r, 126v.

1560

Henry Alday, *mayor*; Robert Lewes¹⁷¹; John Fuller; John Twyne; Edward
Carpenter; Stephen Sare; George Maye; John Ugden; Richard Railton; Richard
Furner; George Byngham, *chamberlain*; Barnard Bonnard¹⁷²
= 12

Henry Gere; Thomas Callow¹⁷³; William Hunt; John Semark; Thomas Bull;
George Toftes; Peter London; Gregory Rose; Phillip Lewes, *sheriff*; Leonard
Norgrove; Christopher Scott; Peter Kelsham; John Mylls; Steven Thornhurst;
John Nutte; George Mylles; Thomas Dabbys; Steven Redbourne; Nicholas
Bremer¹⁷⁴; John Mott; James Nethersole; Thomas Gyles¹⁷⁵; John Brese¹⁷⁶;
Thomas Lymiter¹⁷⁷; William Fysshier¹⁷⁸
= 24

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 128r-129r, 132v-133r.

1561

Ricard Furner, *mayor*; Edward Carpenter; John Twyne; John Fuller; George
Maye¹⁷⁹; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare; John Ugden; Richard Railton; George
Byngham, *chamberlain*; Barnard Bonnard; John Semark¹⁸⁰; William Fysshier¹⁸¹
= 13

¹⁶² Last recorded in June, when it is recorded that he ‘wylfully drowned hymself’.

¹⁶³ Last appearance, no will proved.

¹⁶⁴ Appointed this year, first record in April.

¹⁶⁵ Appointed this year, first record in April.

¹⁶⁶ Appointed this year, first record in April.

¹⁶⁷ Appointed this year, first record in April.

¹⁶⁸ Appointed this year, first record in April.

¹⁶⁹ Appointed this year, first record in April.

¹⁷⁰ Appointed this year, first record in April.

¹⁷¹ Last appearance in late 1560 March 1561.

¹⁷² Elected in April 1561.

¹⁷³ Last appearance late 1560.

¹⁷⁴ Last appearance March 1561, no will extant.

¹⁷⁵ Elected in October.

¹⁷⁶ Elected in October.

¹⁷⁷ Elected in October.

¹⁷⁸ Appears March 1561, no record of election.

¹⁷⁹ Temporarily dismissed for non-attendance in September 1561, readmitted by February 1562.

¹⁸⁰ Elected September

¹⁸¹ Elected September.

William Hunt; Thomas Bull; Henry Gere; Peter London¹⁸²; George Toftes; Phillip Lewes; Gregory Rose; Peter Kelsham; Leonard Norgrove; Christopher Scott; John Mylls; Steven Thornhurst; George Mylles; John Nutte; Thomas Dabbys; Steven Redbourne; John Mott¹⁸³; James Netersole; Thomas Gyles, *sheriff*; John Brese; Randolph Tatnall¹⁸⁴

= 21

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 134r, 138v-139v, 142r, 152r.

1562

John Twyne¹⁸⁵; John Fuller; Edward Carpenter¹⁸⁶; George Maye; Henry Alday; Stephen Sare¹⁸⁷; John Ugden¹⁸⁸; George Bygham¹⁸⁹; Richard Railton¹⁹⁰; Richard Furner; John Semark; Barnard Bonnard; William Fyssher; Thomas Lymiter¹⁹¹; Thomas Gyles¹⁹²; Thomas Percy¹⁹³; Peter Kelsham, *chamberlain*¹⁹⁴; James Netersole¹⁹⁵

= 18 (no more than 13 at once)

Henry Gere; William Hunt; Thomas Bull; George Toftes¹⁹⁶; Gregory Rose; Phillip Lewes; Christopher Scott; Leonard Norgrove; John Mylls; John Nutte; Steven Thornhurst; George Mylles; Thomas Dabbys; John Brese; Steven Redbourne; Randolph Tatnall; Thomas Pollynn¹⁹⁷; Clement Bassock, *sheriff*¹⁹⁸; William Harte¹⁹⁹; Henry Prowde²⁰⁰; Robert Vincent²⁰¹

= 21

Sources: CCA, CC, A/C/2, fols. 145r-147r.

¹⁸² Last reference, no will extant.

¹⁸³ Died late 1561.

¹⁸⁴ Elected before January 1562.

¹⁸⁵ Dismissed in May.

¹⁸⁶ Dismissed in May.

¹⁸⁷ Dismissed in May.

¹⁸⁸ Dismissed in May.

¹⁸⁹ Dismissed in May.

¹⁹⁰ Dismissed in May.

¹⁹¹ Elected in May.

¹⁹² Elected in May.

¹⁹³ Elected Common Councillor on 25 May, elected alderman on 26 May.

¹⁹⁴ Elected in May.

¹⁹⁵ Elected in May.

¹⁹⁶ Dismissed in May.

¹⁹⁷ Elected in May.

¹⁹⁸ Elected in May.

¹⁹⁹ Elected in May.

²⁰⁰ Elected in May.

²⁰¹ Elected in July.

Appendix B: St Andrew's Churchwardens 1484-1565

This is a list of the individuals listed as churchwardens for St Andrew's parish in all of those years between 1484 and 1565 where records have survived, the list has been compiled from Charles Cotton's editions of the accounts. Typically, there were two churchwardens per year, but in some years there was only one listed. Alongside their names I have also provided a list of the various civic offices held by the churchwardens during their lifetimes, typically these were offices gained in the years following their term as churchwardens. Those years that do not appear in the accounts have been shaded out to avoid confusion.

Key: f = freeman; cc = common councillor; a = alderman; ch = chamberlain; con = constable; m = mayor; sh = sheriff; b = burgess; x = no evidence

	Churchwarden	Offices	Churchwarden	Offices
1484	John Wattys	x	Richard Wellys	f
1485	Edward Mynot	f, cc, ch	Robert Bone	x
1486	Edward Mynot	f, cc, ch	Robert Bone	x
1487				
1488				
1489				
1490				
1491				
1492				
1493	Thomas Chadbourne / Chatbourne	f, ch, cc,	John Fyche snr	f, cc, a, m, ch,
1494	Thomas Chadbourne / Chatbourne	f, ch, cc,	John Fyche snr	f, cc, a, m, ch,
1495	Thomas Chadbourne / Chatbourne	f, ch, cc,	John Fyche snr	f, cc, a, m, ch,
1496	Thomas Chadbourne / Chatbourne	f, ch, cc,	John Fyche snr	f, cc, a, m, ch,
1497	Thomas Chadbourne / Chatbourne	f, ch, cc,	John Fyche snr	f, cc, a, m, ch,
1498	Thomas Chadbourne / Chatbourne	f, ch, cc,	John Fyche snr	f, cc, a, m, ch,
1499				
1500				
1501				
1502				
1503				
1504	William Rutland	f, cc, a, m	John Burgess	f, cc
1505	William Rutland	f, cc, a, m	John Burgess	f, cc
1506	William Rutland	f, cc, a, m	John Burgess	f, cc

	Churchwarden	Offices	Churchwarden	Offices
1507	Nicholas Simon	f, con,	John Alcock snr	f, cc, a, m, sh, ch
1508	Nicholas Simon	f, con,	John Alcock snr	f, cc, a, m, sh, ch
1509	Nicholas Simon	f, con,	John Alcock snr	f, cc, a, m, sh, ch
1510	Nicholas Simon	f, con,	John Alcock snr	f, cc, a, m, sh, ch
1511	Nicholas Simon	f, con,	John Alcock snr	f, cc, a, m, sh, ch
1512	Nicholas Simon	f, con,	John Burgess	f, cc
1513				
1514	Paul Richmond	f	John Tylley / Tilley	f, cc
1515	Paul Richmond	f	William Laurence	f
1516	Robert Lewes	f, cc, s, a, m, b	William Laurence	f
1517	Robert Lewes	f, cc, s, a, m, b	Thomas Frenche	f, cc, a, m
1518	John Coppyn	f, cc, a,	Thomas Frenche	f, cc, a, m
1519	John Coppyn	f, cc, a,	Anthony Knyght	f, cc, a, ch,
1520	William Holte	f	Anthony Knyght	f, cc, a, ch,
1521	Willaim Holte	f	Thomas Gylham	f
1522	Thomas Gore	f, cc, a,	Thomas Gylham	f
1523				
1524	Thomas a Gore	f, cc, a,	James Vydean	f, cc, a,
1525	William Tewkesbury	f	Simon Vydean	f
1526	John Fyshe jnr	f, cc, a,	N/A	
1527	William Hunt	f, cc,	John Hobbes	f, cc, sh
1528				
1529				
1530				
1531				
1532				
1533				
1534				
1535				
1536				
1537				
1538	Robert Brome	f, cc, sh	John Fuller	f, cc, a, sh, m

	Churchwarden	Offices	Churchwarden	Offices
1539				
1540	Thomas Waynflet jnr	f,	N/A	
1541				
1542				
1543				
1544				
1545	Richard Waller	f, cc,	Nicholas Fyshe	f, cc, a, ch, b,
1546	William Hunt	f, cc,	Nicholas Fyshe	f, cc, a, ch, b,
1547	William Hunt	f, cc,	Henry Alday	f, cc, a,
1548				
1549	Thomas Walker	f, cc, sh,	Henry Gere	f, cc,
1550	George May	f, cc, a, m,	Henry Gere	f, cc,
1551	George May	f, cc, a, m,	Stephen Sare	f, cc, a, sh, m,
1552	Thomas Dale	f	Stephen Sare	f, cc, a, sh, m,
1553	N/A		Peter London	f, cc, sh,
1554	John Nutte	f, cc,	John Miles	f, cc, sh,
1555	John Nutte	f, cc,	Christopher Scotte	f, cc, a,
1556	Daniel Pottar	f,	Christopher Scotte	f, cc, a,
1557	Daniel Pottar	f,	Nicholas Brymer	x
1558				
1559				
1560	Phillip Lewes	f, cc,	Peter Kelsham	f, cc, sh, m,
1561	Clement Bassocke	f, cc, sh, m,	Peter Kelsham	f, cc, sh, m,
1562				
1563	Walter Bygge	f, cc, m	Symon Brome	f, cc, sh, m
1564	William Willenson	f	Symon Brome	f, cc, sh, m
1565	William Willenson	f	Robert Swanten	f

Appendix C: Wills and Related Data from Aldermen and Prominent Figures

Preamble: T = Traditional; NT = Non-traditional; E = Evangelical; M = Mixed; NA = No obvious intonation or provision for soul.

Positions: A = Alderman; CC = Common Councillor; M = Mayor; S = Sheriff; MP = Member of Parliament; O = Other minor office.

Name	Occupation	Position	Date Written	Date Proved	Preamble	Priest / Masses	Church repairs	Prayers for Soul	Alms for Poor	Gifts for City	Associates
William Rutland	Apothecary	CC, A, S, M	3 April 1532	No probate	t			Y		Y	Anthony Knyght, John Toftes, John Coppyn
Francis Rutland	Baker	CC, A, S, O	9 February 1533	No probate	nt	Y	Y		Y		
Thomas Fokys	Innholder	CC, A, M, S	3 May 1535	19 June 1535	t		Y				Thomas Gore, John Elys
John Brigges	Brewer	CC, A, M, MP, O	1537	27 January 1537	t	Y		Y	Y	Y	Jerome Oxenbridge, Robert Browne, James Hales, John Toftes
James Whithales	Attorney	CC, A, O, M, S	10 May 1537	25 November 1537	t	Y	Y	Y		Y	
William Nutte	Baker	CC, A, M, S	28 September 1539	27 November 1539	t	Y	Y	Y	Y		Francis Rand
Thomas Bele	Yeoman	CC, A, M, O	20 June 1541	29 November 1541	t	Y		Y			Thomas Atwode, Robert Brent, Sir Richard Kempe
Roger Clarke	Vintner	CC, A, M	7 November 1542	October 1543	e			Y	Y		John Toftes, John Semark, Sir William Sandford
Robert Naylor	Goldsmith	CC, A,	1545	12 February 1546	e	Y	Y	Y	Y		Christopher Levyns, John Mylls, Edmund Shether, Anthony Knyght, Thomas Hammond of London
John Gibbes	Yeoman	CC, A	8 May 1546	20 September 1546	nt	Y					Robert Kempe, Richard Fagge, John Semark, Stephen Scott, Sir Robert Thompson
John Freeman	Yeoman	CC, A, M,	12 August 1546	20 January 1551	e	Y		Y	Y	Y	James Hales, James Thomson, Robert Darknell, George Webbe, Sir Thomas Kewood
John Maske	Draper	CC, A,	11 February 1549	29 April 1549	e				Y		Robert Cotton, John Salysbury, William Hubble

Anthony Knyght	Lawyer	CC, A, O, S	11 May 1552	20 May 1552	nt			Y	Y		Thomas Tallis, Nicholas Fysh, George Maye, Thomas Walker, John Saye
Gregory Rand	Brewer	CC, A, M	5 November 1552	8 December 1552	e		Y		Y	Y	Stephen Thornherst, John Austen, Richard Grene, William Oldfield
John Starky	Yeoman	CC, A, S, M, O	4 August 1554	11 September 1554	nt		Y			Y	Richard Railton, George Toftes, John Lyttle, Thomas Brette, Thomas Cutte
Thomas Bathurst	Draper	CC, A, S,	30 December 1554	6 May 1555	e				Y	Y	Robert Streter, Thomas Cockes, Thomas Scranton, John Baker; Christopher Lede, Richard Holte, Christopher Singleton
John Alcock jr	Goldsmith	CC, A, M,	2 January 1555	23 April 1555	m	Y	Y		Y		John Alday, John Harte, John Wilson
George Webbe	Mercer	CC, A, S, M, O, MP	23 August 1556	18 November 1556	nt		Y	Y	Y		Thomas Frenche, Henry Alday, George Toftes
William Coppyn	Brewer	CC, A, O, M, S, MP	8 April 1558	4 October 1558	e		Y		Y	Y	Barnard Bonnar, John Fuller, Thomas Fokys jnr
Nicholas Fysh	Draper	CC, A, M, MP, O	1 November 1558	No probate	nt		Y				Christopher Lewes, John Johnson, Michael Franckelyn, William Woodruffe, John Gylbert, Richard Collyns, Sir Valentine Norton
Thomas Frenche	Mercer	CC, A, M, S	17 November 1558	18 November 1558	t						Thomas Stock, John Frenche, Thomas Lobely
Robert Lewes	Grocer	CC, A, S, M, MP, O	1559	6 March 1561	t	Y	Y		Y		John Twyne, William Lovelace, Christopher Swan, Robert Phillips, Margery Lovelace, Henry Alday, John

											Bogas, Christopher Turnour, John Nutte
John Ugden	Mercer	CC, A, S,	2 September 1565	28 February 1566	t			Y	Y		Thomas Wainflet, Henry Nonyngton, Leonard Gartsyde, John Longe,
John Fuller	Innkeeper	CC, A, M, S, O	28 December 1566	20 June 1579	e				Y		Thomas Bredgate of Dover, Mark Bredgate, Sir John Fuller, William Butlershye, John Butler, Edward Carpenter, William Lovelace, John Michael, Clement Norton, Robert Wainflett
John Fuller	Innkeeper		17 August 1570	21 May 1573	e						As above
Stephen Sare	Mercer	A, S, CC, M, O	4 October 1571	20 December 1571	e						William Lovelace, Henry Alday, Thomas Hownden, Thomas long, Thomas Ovenden, John Dale
Richard Railton	Yeoman	CC, A, M, MP	6 July 1575	2 October 1575	e						Peter Kelsham, Richard Gaunt, John Smith
Richard Furner	Brewer	A, CC, M,	12 October 1575	7 August 1576	nt	Y			Y	Y	Thomas Cranmer gent of Canterbury, Thomas Maye
John Twyne	Schoolmaster	A, CC, S, M, MP	1578	1582	na						
Edward Carpenter	Mercer	CC, M, A, S, O	1579	1580	m		Y		Y	Y	
Henry Alday	Mercer	CC, M, A, O, S	13 December 1589	September 1590	e				Y		Thomas Wydehope, Thomas Cranmer, Thomas Gowerly, John Barker, Stephen White, Ada Sprockling, Richard Whinstone

John Boteler	Justice of the Common Pleas		20 November 1517	14 October 1519	t	Y	Y	Y			Thomas Kempe, William Hall, John Man, William Elias, John Seth, Robert Rede, Andrew Windsor, John Norton, John Rooper,
Rauf Brown	Tailor	CC, A, M, O	20 September 1522	12 March 1523	t	Y	Y	Y			Sir Walter Wade, Hugh Rauncefeld, Richard Baker, John Toftes, John Roger
Humfrey Walys	Baker	O,	12 June 1540	No Probate	t		Y	Y			John Toftes, John Garde, William Dudstone, William Watson, Stephen Bryce
William Asheton			1537	22 October 1537	nt	Y	Y				William Doggrell, John Ambrose, John Thomas
John Myles			7 May 1538	9 October 1538	t						John Young, Henry Frognall, Sir Thomas Olyver, Robert Linstede, John Bainys, Richard Wode
Sampson Coleman			16 December 1535	20 May 1536	t	Y	Y				Sir William Abboforth, curate, William Richard, Thomas Gilbert
William Brabourne	Priest at Roper chantry		1544	1544	t	Y	Y	Y			Richard Benger, William Jackman, John Hichyne, Richard Unfrey, Richard Watson, Thomas Mennall
William Kempe	Vicar of St Mary Northgate		16 October 1543	24 February 1543	t	Y	Y	Y			John Clerke, Thomas Elys, Thomas Bredkirke, Roger Mantell, William Sweting, Stephen Redebourne, Robert Johnson, Robert Clarke
Thomas Browne	Gentleman		1544	15 November 1544	t	Y	Y				Walter Coryour, John Parys, Thomas Miller
Robert Browne	Gentleman / Grocer	CC, S, O	28 August 1544	1545	e	Y		Y	Y		John Gibbes, Jerome Oxenbridge, John Toftes

John Courtop	Gentleman	CC	2 July 1551	1 September 1551	e				Y		William Quilter, Richard Crosse, John Thorne, Thomas Ligham, John Hawksby
Edward Kacherall	Tallow-chandler	O	13 December 1552	8 March 1553	e		Y				
Thomas Callow	Tallow-chandler	CC, O, S	12 November 1559	16 April 1560	m	Y		Y	Y		John Alcock, Edward Kacherall, Robert Collyns, Henry Alday, Nicholas Brent, Christopher Turnour
Agnes Brygges	Widow		30 February 1556	1 March 1556	e		Y		Y		George Maye, Richard Railton, Sir John Bosden, Jerome Oxenbregge, Robert Oxenbregge, William Sweting, Robert Browne, John Forde, Thomas Bedyll, William Stock,
Richard Waller	Grocer / Draper	CC, S	23 November 1556	8 December 1557	nt	Y		Y	Y		John Durrant, Gilbert Hyde, John Pollyn
William Doggerell	Currier		1 November 1558	28 January 1559	e				Y		John Man, John Bryse
Humphrey Hales	Gentleman		?	13 May 1571	e		Y		Y	Y	George Maye, Roger Manwood, Walter Mantell, Rous Herman
Stephen Streter	Gentleman		28 September 1571	December 1571	nt				Y	Y	William Lovelace, William Morebread, Thomas Poolyb, William Pretye
John Johnson	Merchant	CC, O	1 August 1566	17 October 1566	e		Y		Y	Y	Henry Alday, Valentine Norton, Raffe Hyde, John Thorpe, William Mattras, Gilbert Hyde, William Harwood, Richard Brome
Henry Gere	Tailor	CC, S	26 April 1561	10 Decmber 1563	nt		Y		Y		Thomas Forde, Thomas Dunce

William Swetinge	Parson of St George's		9 January 1571	8 May 1575	e		Y				William Newton, John Pashely
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Appendix D: Ecclesiastical Values

Source: *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henry VIII. Auctoritate Regia Institutus*, ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter, 6 vols (London, 1810–1834), i, pp. 7-33.

Table 1: Values of Lands and Dissolution Information for Canterbury Monasteries and Friaries

Institution	Type	Valor	Founded	No. at Diss.	Dissolved
Christ's Church Cathedral Priory	Benedictine Priory	Gross: £2,493 6s. 2¾d; deductions of £143 17s. 9½d = net £2,349 8s. 5¼d yearly	c.598	55	20 March 1540
St. Augustine's Abbey	Benedictine Priory	Gross: £1,729 9s. 11¾d; net value £1,413 4s. 11d	598	31	30 July 1538
St. Sepulchre's Convent	Benedictine Priory	Gross: £38 19s.; 7½d; Net: £29 12s. 5½d yearly	c.1100	8	1536
St. Gregory's Priory	Augustinian Canons Regular	Gross: £166 4s. 5½d; deductions of £44 9s. 4½d; net: £121 15s. 1d yearly	c.1075	8	1536
Blackfriars	Dominican Friars	N/A	1236-7		14 December 1538
Greyfriars	Franciscan Friars - Observants by 1498	N/A	c.1224		13 December 1538
Whitefriars / Austin Friars	Mendicant Augustinians	N/A	Settled by 1318		14 December 1538
Friars of the Sack	Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ or Friars of the Sack	N/A	bef. 1274		bef. 1314

Institution	Type	Valor	Founded	No. at Diss.	Dissolved
St. James' Hospital, Thanington	Hospital	Gross: £53 16s. 11¼d; Net: £32 2s. 1¾d. yearly;	by 1164		28 February 1551
St. John Northgate	Hospital	Gross: £93 15s. Net: £91 16s. 8½d. yearly;	c.1075		N/A - came under control of Archbishopric
St. Laurence's	Hospital	Gross: £39 8s. 6d; Net: £31 7s. 10d. yearly	1137		May 1557
St. Mary/Poor Priests	Hospital	Gross: £28 16s, 1d; Net: £10 13s. 8½d yearly. Deductions included £12 paid to the priests serving the churches of St. Margaret and Stodmarsh	1243		14 May 1575
St. Nicolas & St. Katherine	Hospital	N/A	?		1203
St. Thomas Eastbridge	Hospital	Gross: £43 12s. 3¾d; Net: £23 18s. 9¾d.	c.1176		Ruinous by 1576
St. Nicholas Harbledown	Hospital	Gross, including the £80 from the archbishopric and £13 6s, 8d from the city, £112 15s. 7d; Net: £ 109 6s. 2d yearly	c.1075		N/A - Came under control of Archbishopric
St. Mary / Maynard's Spital	Hospital	N/A	1317		N/A - survived as almshouses

Table 2: Surveyed Values of Canterbury Parishes and Incumbent at *Valor*

Parish	Valor	Tenth	Parson
St. Andrew	£13 6s 8d	26s 8d	John Cockys
St. Mary Bredman	Gross: £9; Net: £8 13s 4d	17s 4d	Thomas Baron
St. Peter	Gross: £4; Net: 70s 8d	7s ob	William Sandford
St. Mildred	£7 19s 8d	15s 11d ob	George Polley
St. George	Gross: £8 11s 4d; Net: £7 18s	15s 9d ob	John Toser
All Saints	£7	14s	Richard Knepe
St. Mary de Castro	Gross: £3; Net: 58s	5s 9d ob	Laurence Notte
St. Mary Magdalene	Gross: £4 16s 8d; Net: £4 10s	9s	John Frankleyn
St. Alphege	£8 14s 4d	17s 4d	Thomas Davyes
St. Martin	£11	18s	William Haynes
St. Paul	Gross: £10 6s 8d; Net: £9 18s 9d	19s 10d ob	John Clerk
Holy Cross Westgate	Gross: £13 4s 6d; Net: £13 2d	26s	William Brabourne
St. Mary Northgate	£11 8s 8d	22s 11d	William Kemp
St. Mary Bredin	Gross: £4 3s 4d; Net: £4 16d	8s 1d ob	Thomas Straytbarell
St. Dunstan's	£4 17s 10d	9s 9d ob	Henry Weyman, vicar

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Tanner MS 165

Tanner MS 224

Tanner MS 240

Tanner MS 343

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Additional Manuscripts (Add MS)

Add MS 32311 Collections relating to the City of Canterbury, c.605-1782

Add MS 32638 Farming Accounts and Memoranda relating to Thomas Bele

Add MS 36773 JPs of every shire in England, 1509-1510

Cotton Manuscripts (Cotton)

Cotton MS Cleopatra E/IV, E/V

Cotton MS Otho C/X

Cotton MS Titus B/I

Cotton MS Vespasian F/IX, F/XIII

Cotton MS Vitellius B/XII

Egerton Collection (Egerton)

Egerton MS 3308 Documents relating to Thanington Manor

Harleian Manuscripts (Harley)

Harley MS 419 John Foxe Papers

Harley MS 7314 Seventeenth Century Miscellany

Stowe Manuscripts (Stowe)

Stowe MS 850 Collections relating to Kent and other Counties

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City Collections (CC)

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A/B/1	Burghmote Order Book (1487-1602)
A/C/1	Burghmote Minute Book (1419-1542)
A/C/2	Burghmote Minute Book (1542-1578)
A/P/K	Petitions to Crown (1499)
F/A/2	Civic Accounts (1445-1505)
F/A/5-F/A/16	City Chamberlains' Accounts (1465-1568)
J/B/1	Court of Pleas Records (1300-1624)
J/B/C	Files of Royal Writs (1312-1557)
J/Q/284-388	Records of the Canterbury Court of Quarter Sessions (1485-1588)
R/SM	Statute Merchant Rolls
SuppMs/6	Alderman Gray's Notebook (1737-c1780)
Woodruff/3/3	Jury Presentment (1539)
Woodruff/7	Documents relating to the Corporation of London (1536 – 1631)
Woodruff/12/3	Depositions October (1572)
Woodruff/54	Deeds Relating to Incorporation of Several Trades (1330-1602)
Woodruff/56/1	Fauconberg's Rebellion (1471)

Dean and Chapter (DCc)

Bond	Dean and Chapter Bonds Series (1285-1718)
CA/1	Chapter Act Book (1561-1568)
ChAnt/C	Chartae Antiquae relating to Christ Church, Canterbury (0803- [early 20th century])
ChAnt/C/1232	Papers relating to a dispute between Christ Church & the City (c1428 - c1501)
DE	Domestic Economy (1221-1723)
MA/40	Treasurer's Accounts (1542-1575)
MSSB/C	Miscellaneous Scrap Books (1175-1684)
	<u>Diocese of Canterbury (DCb)</u>
PRC 3	Archdeaconry Court Act Books
PRC 17	Archdeaconry Court Registers
PRC 32	Consistory Court Registers
J/X	Consistory and Archdeacons' Court Books (1364-1735)
J/Y	Consistory Court Acta Files
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LitMs/E/34	Cathedral Register (17th century)
LitMs/E/37	Canterbury Cathedral Statutes (early 19th century)
	<u>Records of the Canterbury Drapers' and Tailors' Company (U12)</u>
U12/A1	Drapers' and Tailors' Memoranda Book (1544-1672)
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REQ 2	Court of Requests Pleadings, Henry VIII -Charles I
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