GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

IN

TUDOR AND STUART NORWICH,

1525-1675

A thesis submitted by

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List of abbreviations used

1.	A.B.	Assembly Minute Book
2.	A.P.C.	Acts of the Privy Council
3.	C.A.	Chamberlains' Accounts
4.	C.B.	Mayor's Court Book
5.	C.S.P.D.	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
6.	Hudson and Tingey	W.Hudson and J.T.Tingey, Records of the City of Norwich, 1910.
7.	LP	Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII
8.	N.N.R.O.	Norfolk and Norwich Record Office
9.	Norf.Arch.	Norfolk Archaeology
10.	Norf.Rec.Soc.	Norfolk Record Society
11.	Univ.of Birm.Hist.J.	University of Birmingham Historical Journal

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INTRODUCTION

More than eighty years ago the American historian, Charles Gross, made an impassioned plea for a more scientific approach to the study of urban history. He described the 'average so-called town history' as no history at all, properly speaking, but 'a heterogeneous mass of antiquarian odds and ends thrown together at haphazard'. [1] In 1956, sixty-five years after Gross had written, Professor Hoskins still found it necessary to emphasise the extreme paucity of printed material dealing with the economy, social structure and physical growth of English towns before the latter half of the eighteenth century. [2] Apart from Hoskins' own valuable study of industry and trade in Exeter, the only modern book dealing with town life in the early modern period was that of Sir Francis Hill on Tudor and Stuart Lincoln. [3] The only articles available were those by Hoskins and Charman which concerned themselves with aspects of Tudor Leicester and, to a lesser extent, with the distribution of wealth in early sixteenth century Nottingham. [4]

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1. Charles Gross, 'A Plea for Reform in the Study of English Municipal History', American Historical Review, v, 1891, pp. 48-55, quoted in J. T. Evans, The Political Elite of Norwich, 1620-1690, University of Stanford Ph.D. thesis, 1971, p. 2, note 2.

2. W. G. Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century' in Provincial England, 1963, p. 68.

3. W. G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800, 1935; J. W. F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, 1956.

4. W. G. Hoskins, 'An English Provincial Town: Leicester' in Provincial England, pp. 86-114; Derek Charman, 'Wealth and Trade in

Hoskins' article on Elizabethan Leicester and his more general one dealing with English provincial towns in the early sixteenth century made use of sources already used to great effect by the Leicestershire archivist, Derek Charman, in 1949. In a paper dealing with industry and trade in early sixteenth century Leicester, Charman described the ways in which the subsidy returns of the 1520s could be analysed to provide a picture of the distribution of wealth in a given community, and of how this picture could be supplemented by an analysis of the occupations given in the freemen's lists. Where Charman was specific, Hoskins was general and his article provided a useful comparison of the trade structures of Coventry, Leicester and Northampton, as well as emphasising the great disparity of wealth to be found in any community in the country. In addition he indicated the use that could be made of the probate inventories, a source he was to use again when describing the activities of the Elizabethan merchants of Exeter. [5]

A number of books have appeared in the intervening twenty years, but much of Hoskins' criticism remains valid. Virtually every study of an English town in the early modern period provides some details of the topography and population of the area described, together with a description of the systemsof government prevailing and, invariably,

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Leicester in the Early Sixteenth Century', Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, xxv, 1949, pp. 67-97.

5. W. G. Hoskins, 'The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter' in Elizabethan Government and Society, eds., S. T. Bindoff et al., 1961, pp. 163-187.

of the governing classes themselves.[6] Less frequently, information is provided about the religious history of a given town, the system of education prevailing there, its parliamentary history, and, depending on the period being studied, an account of the city's activities in the English Civil War.[7] Roger Howell's study of Newcastle-upon-Tyne is confined exclusively to the Civil War period, and for the moment remains in a class of its own. Not only does it provide a full account of the city's activities during the Civil War and Interregnum, it also gives details of the distribution of wealth in the town and some impression of its occupational structure.[8] The amount of detail naturally varies, but while few of such studies have been treated in an analytical fashion the type of information described above is usually given in a satisfactory manner. In contrast, very few books provide details of the occupational structure of a town, the distribution of wealth within it, its financial history or its poor law history.

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6. See, for example, W. T. MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640, 1958; Hill, op.cit., and A. D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century, 1973.

7. The best general survey of English towns in the early modern period is provided by the contributors to P. Clark and P. Slack, eds., Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700, 1972. Dyer, op.cit., examines religion and education, pp. 227-40 and 244-49; Hill, op.cit., discusses religious affairs, pp. 40-68, 96-108 and, in conjunction with politics, pp. 109-127 and 170-197; and he has a chapter dealing with the Civil War and Interregnum in Lincoln, pp. 145-169.

8. R. Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, 1967, pp. 350-354.

Occupational studies of towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are few and far between. The only ones providing full details of the trade structure of a provincial town are those by Derek Charman, referred to above, my own study of sixteenth century Norwich, and Dr. Evans' analysis of the admissions to the freedom in Norwich between 1590 and 1690. [9] Other historians have seldom made use of the freemen's lists in a satisfactory manner. MacCaffrey's analysis of the occupations of the Exeter freemen, for example, is confined to the years 1620-1640, despite the fact that the records of admission embrace the whole of his chosen period. Even for this short span, he has restricted himself to a description of occupational groupings, rather than of trades as such, and has thus made comparison virtually impossible. [10] Palliser's thesis on Tudor York suffers from the same defect. [11] Although he has clearly made a thorough analysis of the admissions to the freedom, Dr. Palliser felt it unnecessary to print the full occupational details anywhere in his thesis, and has thus made it impossible to compare the occupational structure of the northern capital with those prevailing elsewhere. The same criticism can be levelled against Kerridge's study of Tudor and Stuart Leicester and, indeed, against Hoskins' own study of the occupational structures of Coventry, Leicester and Northampton in the

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9. Charman, loc.cit., pp. 95-6; J. F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', Past and Present, 34, July 1966, pp. 65-9; Evans, op.cit., 552-557.

10. MacCaffrey, op.cit., p. 163.

11. D. M. Palliser, Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York in the Sixteenth Century, University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1969, pp. 276-7.

early sixteenth century.[12] Miss Wilson, in contrast, provided full details of the admissions to the freedom in her study of York during the years 1580-1640.[13] While this makes her analysis of greater value than Palliser's in this respect, it is still frustrating to have no breakdown of the figures into smaller periods which would have given an indication of the changing fortunes of Elizabethan and early Tudor Stuart York.[14]

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12. Eric Kerridge, 'Social and Economic History, 1509-1660' in V.C.H. Leicester, IV, pp. 76-110; Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns', op.cit., p. 79. Joan Thirsk's analysis of the trade structure of Stamford between 1663 and 1721 is much more satisfactory. Although she deals with occupational groupings she makes it clear which trades are contained within those groupings. See her 'Stamford in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in A. Rogers, ed., The Making of Stamford, 1965, p. 63. Roger Howell's analysis of the trades of Newcastle-upon-Tyne between 1600 and 1659 is equally useful. He makes it reasonably clear which trades are to be found in his occupational groupings, and he also lists the twelve leading trades of the town at ten yearly intervals. Howell, op.cit., pp. 353-4.

13. B. M. Wilson, The Corporation of York, 1580-1660, University of York M.Phil. thesis, 1967, pp. 10-11.

14. Dr. Evans' thesis not only provides full occupational details for the seventeenth century, but also gives them at ten yearly intervals, thus facilitating comparison. Evans, op.cit., pp. 552-57. A similar breakdown is to be found in my article cited in note 9 above, and in pages 314-318 of this thesis.

The use of inventories or wills as indicators of the trade structure of a given town is even less satisfactory, unless the limitations of such analysis are clearly stated. Dr. Dyer has looked closely at those wills surviving for Tudor Worcester, and has drawn conclusions about the occupational structure of the town from his analysis of them.[15] As freemen's lists are unavailable, it was a perfectly legitimate source to draw upon but, to my mind erroneously, Dr. Dyer has said that they are of comparable use with freemen's lists in this respect.[16] Freemen's lists are themselves, at best, a partially satisfactory source for the occupational structure of a town, but they do at least list the trades of the majority of those people being admitted to the freedom of a city, in effect all the master craftsmen of the area. Inventories and wills, in contrast, do no more than state some of the occupations of those wealthy enough to leave property. It is perfectly true that a few of these survive for relatively poor people, and in this sense they provide some occupational details which cannot be derived from the freemen's lists, but it is equally true that they do not survive for every person dying in the year concerned. Using them as an indicator of the trade structure of a town can easily distort the true picture, and give an impression of the predominance of certain trades whereas, in fact, they are doing no more than providing an indication of the wealthier occupations of the area. Thus, while the cloth trade was of undoubted importance in Tudor Worcester one must at least suspect that the building trades, to quote a single example, were probably of

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15. Dyer, op.cit., pp. 81-92.

16. Idem., 'The economy of Tudor Worcester', Univ. of Birm. Hist. J., x, 1966, p. 124.

greater importance than an analysis of the inventories would suggest.[17]

While there is some excuse for the paucity of occupational studies in the early modern period, there is less reason for the inadequate treatment of the distribution of wealth in Tudor and Stuart England. The Henrician subsidy returns and the Caroline Hearth Tax returns survive in sufficient quantity to enable satisfactory estimates to be made for at least part of those centuries, and the tax returns for the intervening years, although much less satisfactory, can be made to yield at least some useful information. Despite this, the only printed analyses of the subsidy rolls for the larger provincial towns are those for Norwich, Exeter, Hull and Worcester;[18] the only Hearth Tax analyses are those for Cambridge, Exeter, Hull, Leicester, Newcastle and York;[19] a situation which led me to make my own

17. On the evidence of the wills, the building trades employed between 2 and 3 per cent of the working population, a distinctly lower proportion than elsewhere. Dyer, City of Worcester, p. 82.

18. Pound, loc.cit., p. 51; MacCaffrey, op.cit., pp. 248-50; G. C. F. Forster, 'Hull in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', V.C.H. East Riding, I, 1969, pp. 158-9; Dyer, City of Worcester, p. 175. Julian Cornwall analyses the subsidy returns of the 1520s for the small country towns of Buckinghamshire, Rutland and Sussex in his article, 'English Country Towns in the Fifteen Twenties', Econ. Hist.Rev., 2nd Ser., 15, No. 1, 1962; and Keith Allison provides a similar analysis of the 1543 return for Warwick, V.C.H. Warwicks., VIII, 1969, p. 487.

19. C. A. F. Meekings, 'Cambridge University and Borough Hearth Tax Assessments, 1662-1674', V.C.H. Cambs., III, 1959, pp. 500-504; W. G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, pp. 115-17; Forster, op.cit., p. 161; W. A. Jenkins and C. T. Smith, 'Social and

analyses of the material for several of the larger towns.[20] Where such studies have been made, however, they tend to be comprehensive. MacCaffrey's analysis of the Exeter subsidy rolls, for example, and Hoskins' analysis of the Hearth Tax returns for the same city, take into account the wealthiest and poorest areas of the city, as well as giving the overall picture.[21] Hull, Leicester, Newcastle and York are treated in similar fashion, as is Norwich by the present writer.[22]

The financial history of the English provincial town has yet to be written. With the exception of MacCaffrey's study of Exeter and Hoskins' of Leicester, no book, to the writer's knowledge, provides full details of the receipts and expenditure of a particular town.[23] My M.A. thesis listed such details for Elizabethan Norwich, and Miss Wilson has provided some information for seventeenth century York, but other studies are singularly lacking.[24] Where they do exist, studies are invariably confined to a single year. In the case of

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Administrative History, 1660-1835', V.C.H. Leics., IV, 1958, pp. 156-9; Howell, op.cit., pp. 350-52; C. C. F. Forster, 'York in the Seventeenth Century', V.C.H. Yorks., The City of York, 1961, p. 164.

20. See pages 24, 26 and 46 of this thesis.

21. MacCaffrey, op.cit., pp. 250-1; Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, pp. 121-2.

22. Forster, 'Hull in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', op.cit.; Jenkins and Smith, op.cit.; Howell, op.cit., pp. 11-12; Forster, 'York in the Seventeenth Century', op.cit. For Norwich, see pp. 49-50 of this thesis.

23. MacCaffrey, op.cit., p. 55; W. G. Hoskins, 'An Elizabethan Provincial Town: Leicester', in Provincial England, 1963, p. 99.

24. J. F. Pound, The Elizabethan Corporation of Norwich, 1558-1603,

Bristol, it is possible to make some comparison between the Elizabethan and the Stuart town as examples are provided for both periods. Tom Atkinson's survey of the Winchester finances, in contrast, is confined to a single year, while that of Sir Francis Hill on Lincoln makes no reference to the financial history of the town whatsoever.[25]

Poor law studies, of necessity, are usually restricted to descriptions of what was actually done to alleviate poverty, whether in the form of local rates or mercantile benefactions, and we are rarely given any information about the poor as such. Apart from my own work, referred to below, the only study to give any details of the urban poor is that by John Webb. In his book Webb prints full details of the surviving portions of a census of the Ipswich poor, but he makes no analysis of the relevant material.[26]

The various poor law schemes adopted by the towns have been normally well described. Dyer, MacCaffrey and Hill have all provided systematic accounts of the measures taken to alleviate poverty in the areas they are describing, and the theses of Palliser and Wilson deal adequately with the same problems.[27] Vagrancy, in Salisbury in

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University of Birmingham M.A. thesis, 1962, pp. 174-6; Wilson, op.cit., p. 109.

25. D. M. Livock, ed., City Chamberlains' Accounts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Bristol Record Society, xxiv, 1966, p. xxii; Tom Atkinson, Elizabethan Winchester, 1963, p. 127; Hill, op.cit.

26. J. Webb, ed., Poor Relief in Elizabethan Ipswich, Suffolk Records Society, ix, 1966, pp. 122-40.

27. Dyer, City of Worcester, pp. 165-72; MacCaffrey, op.cit., pp. 100-117; Hill, op.cit., pp. 38-9, 65-7, 89-92, 104-5, 134-8, 214.

particular and in England in general, has received recent treatment by Paul Slack, his two articles being mainly concerned with the seventeenth century.[28]

The poor, as such, are rarely described, the few references to them being confined to those who were in receipt of poor relief.[29] The writers concerned can hardly be blamed for lacking sources as useful as those of the censuses of the poor which were taken in Ipswich and Norwich during the Elizabethan period.[30] They could, however, have made much better use of the inventories available. The term 'poor' is necessarily a very general one, embracing those ranging from the absolute destitute to the impecunious craftsman. Contemporaries were united in recognising the extent of poverty in their localities and were well aware that a man who was earning his living on one day could be in receipt of poor relief on the next. It was men such as these that the Sheffield authorities had in mind when they described

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Pallliser, op.cit., pp. 254 et seq.; Wilson, op.cit., pp. 151-66.

28. P. Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury, 1597-1666' in Clark and Slack, op.cit., pp. 164-203; Idem., 'Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664', Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd Ser., 27, No. 3, 1974.

29. See, for example, MacCaffrey, op.cit., p. 113; Dyer, City of Worcester, pp. 166-7, refers to surveys of the poor made in 1556 and 1563. He provides some statistics, but gives no indication of the completeness of the surveys.

30. Webb, op.cit., pp. 122-40; J. F. Pound, ed., The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norfolk Record Society, XL, 1971, passim.

the poor of their town in 1616, those who 'though they beg not..are not able to abide the storme of one fortnights sickness but would be thereby driven to beggary'. [31] Some of these men and women had possessions to leave and, on occasion, made a will. Many of them had their property recorded by their neighbours, and by analysing their inventories it is possible to see the poor in a new perspective. Professor Everitt has made good use of the surviving inventories of the rural labourers, and those of the Norwich poor have been treated in similar fashion below. [32]

Until comparatively recently Norwich has been badly treated by historians, and it is only in the second half of this century that the history of the city has been tackled with any seriousness. This applies particularly to the Tudor and Stuart periods. Apart from Blomefield's survey in his general history of the county, the only serious contributions were those of Moens, who made a thorough investigation into the activities of the alien community, and Sachse, whose interests were confined to the workings of the mayor's court in the mid seventeenth century. [33] Hudson and Tingey were mainly concerned with the medieval period, while the researches of Rye and Cozens-Hardy and Kent were too specific to be of much general use. [34]

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31. J. F. Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England, 1971, p. 93.

32. A. M. Everitt, 'Farm Labourers' in The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640, 1967, pp. 396-465; See also pp. 236-50 of this thesis.

33. W. J. C. Moens, The Walloons and their Church in Norwich: their History and Registers, 1887-88; W. L. Sachse, ed., Minutes of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty, 1630-31, Norf.Rec.Soc., xv, 1942; Idem. 1632-35. Norf.Rec.Soc., xxxvi, 1967.

34. W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, The Records of the City of Norwich,

No historian attempted a general synthesis of the available material until 1951 when the American, Bruce Allen, completed his doctoral thesis on the merchant classes of the city between 1485 and 1660, and even this work, useful though it is in many ways, leaned heavily on secondary sources.[35] My own M.A. thesis was the first general study of Norwich in the early modern period to be drawn primarily from original sources and, with the exception of the present study, remains the only one to have examined the history of the city in general rather than from a specific point of view.[36] Even in the specific sphere, studies are few and far between, being confined to the studies of Sachse and Moens, referred to above, Allison's study of the worsted industry and Evans' analysis of the activities of the Norwich merchant classes during the seventeenth century.[37]

1910; W. Rye, ed., inter alia, Norfolk Families, 1913; Norwich Rate Book, April 1633-April 1634, 1903; Norwich Houses before 1600, 1916; 'The Dutch Refugees in Norwich', Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany, iii, 1887; B. Cozens-Hardy and E. A. Kent, The Mayors of Norwich, 1403 to 1835, 1938.

35. B. H. Allen, The Administrative and Social Structure of the Norwich Merchant Class, 1485-1660, Univ. of Harvard Ph.D. thesis, 1951.

36. Pound, thesis, passim.

37. K. J. Allison, The Wool Supply and the Worsted Cloth Industry in Norfolk in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, University of Leeds Ph.D. thesis, 1955; J. T. Evans, The Political Elite of Norwich, 1620-1690, University of Stanford Ph.D. thesis, 1971.

The works of Allison, Moens and Sachse were extremely thorough and scholarly in every respect, but they were essentially confined to specific aspects of the history of Norwich. Moens, writing as long ago as 1888, made an exhaustive examination of the primary and secondary sources relating to the alien communities in Norwich. He used both local and national repositories, and drew on material in Dutch and Flemish archives. While, in keeping with the times, his work was not especially analytical, it remains a valuable quarry and an essential source for anybody working in the field. Professor Sachse's analysis of the working of the mayor's court in mid-seventeenth century Norwich is equally useful. Sachse made a full transcription of the court books for the years 1630-1635, and prefaced it with a thorough account of the workings of the court, an account which is equally applicable to the earlier period. Finally, Keith Allison's doctoral thesis, which appeared in 1955, is a monumental survey of the worsted industry in both Norwich and Norfolk. Although confined by its very nature to one aspect of the history of Tudor and Stuart Norwich, the thesis does include some analysis of the tax returns for the city and of the available demographic material.

All three of the studies referred to in the preceding paragraph add greatly to our knowledge of sixteenth and seventeenth century Norwich, and the same is true of John Evans' study of the merchant elite between 1620 and 1690. An excellent piece of work in every way, Evans' thesis makes a thorough survey of the aldermanic and common councillor classes in the seventeenth century, dealing with both their origins and aspirations. The thesis is especially good in dealing with the Civil War period and with the controversies concerning the reign of James II, and will make a major contribution to seventeenth

century studies when it is eventually published.[38]

While no work is infallible, criticism of the specialised studies discussed above would be unnecessarily pedantic. Within their own limits, each author has made excellent use of the available material and asked most of the questions that one can reasonably expect. Unfortunately, one cannot say the same about the first modern historian to attempt a more general survey of the city's history. Bruce Allen's doctoral thesis has two main themes: the administrative control of the merchant classes between 1485 and 1660; and the social origins of those classes. The first half of the work looked at the origins of the city's government and its operations in the judicial sphere. Despite the vague statement implying reference to original authorities, it is clear from Allen's own footnotes that the first half of the thesis is derived almost entirely from printed sources, with little or no reference to the originals.[39] Apart from isolated examples, the work is heavily based on the researches of Blomefield, Sachse and Millican. His fellow countryman, John Evans, has been scathing in his criticism. In his opinion, the thesis 'is poorly researched, factually defective, and generally unreliable'.[40] This

38. Evans, op.cit.

39. Allen, op.cit. On page 135, for example, in a chapter dealing with the workings of the mayor's court, he has a footnote which states, 'All the following information was gleaned from the mayor's court books in the municipal archives'. No specific references are given. Where references are given in the first half of the thesis, they relate almost entirely to secondary sources, the only exceptions being occasional references to the assembly books.

40. Evans, op.cit., p. 2, note 2.

is, perhaps, rather too harsh as the second half of the thesis is quite clearly based on examination of original materials, notably the very large number of wills housed in the Norwich Consistory Court and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. From these and other sources, including the heralds' visitations, Allen has built up a convincing picture of a merchant class in transformation. He provides detailed evidence of the buying and selling of land and of the rise to pre-eminence of certain families, and refers to the inter-marriage of the wealthier merchants and the leading county families.[41]

It can reasonably be argued in Allen's defence that he was not concerned with the history of Tudor and Stuart Norwich as such, but rather with an examination of the ruling body of the city; and that within these limits his work is reasonable. Nevertheless, even if confined to this sphere Allen could have asked some more pertinent questions. For example: What were the occupations followed by the city's ruling classes? What proportion of the city's wealth was in their hands? How easy (or difficult) was it to attain high office? What was the relationship of the aldermanic classes to the rest of the community? Did the composition of the ruling body change and, if so, why? What offices were held exclusively by the aldermanic class, and were even these held by a minority? How long did they serve and what was their background of civic service, if any? In another context, it might be asked, how well did they govern the city? Allen refers to the mayor's court, but says nothing about finance or the treatment of the poor: two spheres of primary importance in a well-ordered city. All of these questions could have been answered

41. Allen, op.cit., part II, passim.

by an analysis of the relevant material, but nothing of the sort was attempted.

My own M.A. thesis, completed in 1962, examined a shorter period - the reign of Elizabeth - than that attempted by Allen, and was concerned to look at Norwich in general rather than to examine the activities of one social or trade group. The sections concerned with the trade structure of the city, its finances and the treatment of the poor made original contributions to the study of urban history, and those dealing with the distribution of wealth and the onset of plague were the fullest studies of those aspects to have appeared in print at that time.[42] Three of my subsequent contributions to the subject have been published since the completion of the thesis: an analysis of the Norwich census of the poor, taken in 1570, together with a survey of the city's poor law scheme during the reign of Elizabeth; a study of the social and trade structure of Norwich between 1525 and 1575, which included the first analysis of the 1520s subsidy returns for a major English provincial town, and provided the fullest occupational survey of an urban community to have appeared in print; and, finally, my transcription of the full census of the Norwich poor for the Norfolk Record Society, together with a revised and extended analysis of the relevant material.[43]

It is against the national and local background described above that the present study is set. Wherever possible, I have concentrated

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42. Pound, thesis, pp. 123-47; 148-87; 188-239; 58-122; 240-270.

43. Idem., 'An Elizabethan Census of the Poor', Univ.of Birm.Hist.J., viii, 1962; 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', Past and Present, 34, July 1966; ed., The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norf.Rec.Soc., XL, 1971.

on areas which are either dealt with inadequately or not at all in other works. Full details are given of the city's occupational structure in both the Tudor and Stuart periods, based on the freemen's lists, the census of the poor, and a full occupational survey made in 1589. The material is supplemented by an analysis of the apprenticeship indentures, indicating the changing aspirations of the various social classes as well as population mobility as such.[44] The financial history of Norwich is described in detail, and the poor are studied in depth, probate inventories and hearth tax material being used as well as the census of the poor.[45] The distribution of wealth in Tudor and Stuart Norwich is studied in equal depth, and I have made comparisons with other towns by analysing the relevant source material.[46] Finally, I have made a detailed analysis of the city's governing classes, dealing with common councillors as well as aldermen, and asking all of the questions suggested in discussing Allen's work on an earlier page.[47]

My thesis, then, attempts both to explore new territory and to amplify points which have been touched upon elsewhere. I have attempted to ask and answer some of the questions which, it seems to me, were omitted or evaded by earlier historians of the city. In the process I hope that I may have made some contribution to the study of urban history in the early modern period.

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44. See Chapter III of this thesis.

45. See Chapters V and VII.

46. See Chapter II, especially pages 24, 26 and 46.

47. See Chapter IV. The other chapters - I and VI - relate to the topography of the city and the working of the mayor's court.

CHAPTER ONE

POPULATION AND PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Any estimate of the population of a pre-industrial city must be based, in part, on speculation even when reasonably full tax lists survive which can be used as a basis for research. Some estimate must always be made of the numbers excluded from a particular return, and the resulting figure must then be subjected to a multiplier which, in itself, can be only partially correct. As taxation lists are rarely full enough to be used for demographic purposes in themselves, recourse must invariably be made to such supplementary materials as muster returns, parochial estimates of births and deaths, lists of ratepayers and, more rarely, censuses taken for a particular purpose. The central and local archives provide examples of all types of material referred to above and, between them, they provide a broadly accurate picture of the demographic history of Norwich between 1525 and 1675.

In 1525 1,414 citizens of Norwich contributed to the second instalment of the subsidy granted by parliament to assist in the financing of Henry VIII's French wars. [1] At least one quarter of the city's population would have been exempted on the grounds of poverty making a combined male population of some 1,885. If this figure is multiplied by 4·5 we obtain a total of 8,482 or, in round numbers, a minimum population of approximately 8,500 people. [2] Assuming a similar

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1. J.F.Pound, 'The social and trade structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', Past and Present, 34, 1966, p. 49.
2. The multiplier used here is the average of the 4·75 suggested by T.P.R.Laslett, 'Size and Structure of the Household in England over Three Centuries', Population Studies, XXIII, no. 2, 1969, pp. 207, 211, and the 4·2 suggested by D.V.Glass, 'Two Papers on Gregory King', in D.V.Glass and D.E.C.Eversley, eds., Population in History, 1965, p. 177.

proportion were exempted elsewhere, and using the same multiplier, Bristol in the same period would have had a population of approximately 6,570, York 7,300, Exeter 5,740 and Salisbury 3,530.[3]

In common with other provincial towns, with the possible exception of York, the population of Norwich increased steadily as the century progressed.[4] We are next in a position to measure it some 45 years later, our sources on this occasion being a very full muster return taken in 1569 and the census of the poor and the lists of those contributing to poor relief which were drawn up the following year.[5] The muster return recorded the names of 2,285 men aged between 16 and 60. Few of those in the 16-21 age group would have been householders, but as those over 60 were excluded by virtue of their age it will not be distorting the picture too much to use the multiplier of 4·5 on the numbers actually listed. This suggests a population of some 10,282. The other sources supply a similar figure. From 1570 onwards some 950 individuals were called upon to contribute to the relief of the poor. This was half as many again as were assessed for the subsidy in 1576 and suggests that the city expected contributions from everybody above the

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3. These figures are based on the numbers of contributors to the subsidy of 1525, Table VIII, p. 26.

4. Population estimates of York vary. Professor Dickens in his article on 'Tudor York' in The City of York, V.C.H., Yorks., 1961, pp. 127-8, was of the opinion that there was very little increase in population during the sixteenth century. Dr. Palliser, in contrast, has suggested that it rose by at least 50 per cent between 1550 and the end of the century, reaching 11,500 by the close of Elizabeth's reign. D.M.Palliser, 'York under the Tudors: The Trading Life of the Northern Capital', in A.M.Everitt, ed., Perspectives in English Urban History, 1973, p. 40.

5. Muster Rolls: Henry VIII to Charles II, N.N.R.O., Case 13, shelf a; J.F.Pound, ed., The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norfolk Record Society, XL, 1971, p. 95; J.F.Pound, 'Social and Trade Structure of Norwich', loc. cit., p. 53.

status of wage-earner.[6] If we assume that the wage earning classes still comprised approximately 40 per cent of the male population above the level of the very poor, as they had in 1525, the figure would be increased to 1,580.[7] An additional 525 poor men would bring the total to 2,105, or one which is not radically different from that of the muster return. Multiplied by 4·5 this would suggest a population of 9,452. These calculations are based exclusively on returns relating to Englishmen and, allowing for the many provisos, it might thus be safe to indicate a native population of approximately 10,000 people in 1570, supplemented already by some 3,000 Dutch and Walloon immigrants.[8] The immigrant population doubled during the next decade, and by the plague year of 1579 the combined English and alien population must have comprised between 16,000 and 17,000 people.

At least 6,000 of these were swept away by plague between 1579 and 1580, and although natural increase and further immigration built up the population again, the frequent recurrence of plague prevented any rapid progress.[9] One result of the initial outbreak was the appointment of what amounted to a Registrar of Births and Deaths. The authorities were so concerned at the heavy toll that they appointed one Thomas Usher, first to record deaths and subsequently to provide a record of both baptisms and burials. The records maintained by Usher and his successors provide us with population statistics for the next 65 years or so. The figures were presented once a week at the meeting of the mayor's court, and were evidently derived from the parish registers. As not all the registers have survived for

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6. J.F.Pound, 'Social and Trade Structure of Norwich', loc.cit., p. 53.

7. Ibid., p. 51.

8. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. lxxx.

9. J.F.Pound, The Elizabethan Corporation of Norwich, 1558-1603, University of Birmingham M.A. thesis, 1962, p. 260.

the period concerned, we are heavily dependent on the transcriptions made by Usher and those who followed him in the post. The figures provided by these officials give at least a broad impression of the demographic changes taking place in Norwich between the end of Elizabeth's reign and the middle years of the seventeenth century, however, and in the absence of any reliable muster or taxation returns we have no alternative but to rely on them.[10]

The baptismal records begin in July 1582 and end in 1646 and can be used to provide an impression of the city's population at the end of each ten year period. It has been suggested that if the average number of births over a ten year period be multiplied by 30 it will provide a figure which is correct to within 10 per cent either way. Using this method, the following details emerge over a 50 year period.[11]

Table I

An estimate of the population of Norwich between 1591 and 1640

Period	Number of baptisms	Yearly average	Estimated population
1591-1600	3,696	369°6	11,088
1601-1610	4,786	478°6	14,358
1611-1620	7,489	748°9	22,467
1621-1630	8,362	836°2	25,086
1631-1640	7,106	710°6	21,318

The fall in population from the 16,000-17,000 suggested earlier is quite compatible with the mortality figures we have for the same period. Plague deaths alone totalled some 3,500 in the late 1580s and early 1590s, and a similar number perished in the onslaught of 1603. The rapid rise in the early decades of the seventeenth century is accounted for both by natural

10. Ibid., p. 253

11. The method is suggested in W.G.Hoskins, Local History in England, 1972 edn., p. 169. The figures are derived from Pound, thesis, p. 265 and K.J.Allison, The Wool Supply and the Worsted Cloth Industry in Norfolk in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, University of Leeds Ph.D. thesis, 1955, p. 607.

increase and by immigration; the retraction in the subsequent decades by further outbreaks of plague in 1625-6, 1631 and 1637-8 and by some emigration from the city for religious reasons in the 1630s.[12]

No further estimates can be made until the 1670s when we are again dependent on taxation returns, supplemented in this case by the Compton return of 1676. During the first decades of Charles II's reign Norwich, in common with other cities, was called upon to contribute to the Hearth Tax, a new fiscal measure devised to extract the maximum return from the maximum number of people. The assessors were expected to list the numbers exempted on the grounds of poverty as well as those actually taxed and thus, in theory at least, the total number of households should be recorded. Inevitably, there was some evasion and not all returns have survived, but sufficient remains for Norwich, both in the local and central archives, to enable the number of households to be reconstructed with reasonable accuracy. In 1671 Norwich had rather more than 5,000 households, each of which may be assumed to have contained an average of some 4·2 persons.[13] If the round number is multiplied by this figure, we obtain a total of 21,000, an estimate which can be checked against the religious census already referred to. The census listed 12,562 communicants in the city.[14] Assuming that this referred to the 60 per cent generally assumed to be over 16 years of age, it would suggest a total population of 20,937, sufficiently near to that derived from the Hearth Tax material to confirm the figure of 21,000 as a satisfactory approximation. The fact that this differs little from

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12. P.Corfield, 'A provincial capital in the late seventeenth century', in P.Clark and P.Slack, eds., Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700, p. 268.

13. Glass and Eversley, op.cit., p. 177.

14. Corfield, loc.cit., p. 267.

that of the middle decades of the century is almost entirely due to yet further outbreaks of plague in 1665/6, when 2,251 deaths were recorded from this source out of a total mortality of 3,012, and, to a lesser extent, to smallpox.[15] With the final disappearance of plague after this outbreak, the growth of population was rapid. By 1693 the city contained 28,881 persons and by the end of the century the total may have reached 30,000.[16]

The physical appearance of the city.

The original plan of the city had been decided long before Leland, the first traveller of note to mention Norwich, made a passing reference to the town's walls.[17] Anglo-Saxon settlers, inspired partly by the natural advantages of the Yare and Wensum valleys, partly perhaps by the proximity of the former Roman town of Venta Icenorum, had settled on the site of the future Norwich by the sixth century, to be followed in their turn by Danish and Norman invaders. It was the latter who built the great stone castle which for so long dominated the town, replacing the wooden construction of an earlier age; and it was a Norman bishop, Herbert de Losinga, who was responsible for the building of the Cathedral when he transferred the see from Thetford to Norwich in 1096.[18] The Cathedral was the most resplendent building in a town which already boasted 25 churches, and which was ultimately to have more than twice that number.[19] It was around the outermost of these that the city began to build its walls in 1297, and by the time they were completed in 1334 they

15. F.Blomefield, An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, 1806, III, pp. 410-11.
16. Corfield, loc.cit., p. 267.
17. L.Toulmin Smith ed., The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535 to 1543, 1909, IV, p. 33.
18. B.Green and R.Young, eds., Norwich - the Growth of a City, 1963, pp. 9, 13.
19. Ibid., p. 11.

encircled an area some six miles in circumference.[20] Within them were no fewer than 58 churches, 22 religious houses and hospitals, the castle, the cathedral, and the larger houses of the gentry and merchant classes as well as those of their less prosperous neighbours.[21] Even so, large areas of the city were unoccupied by buildings of any kind, and farming took place on a limited scale within the walls.

It was these main features - the walls, the cathedral, the churches, and the castle - which took the eye of the traveller, and they were invariably commented upon to the exclusion of less obvious things. The more perceptive among the visitors also referred to the city's market place and its products, its great market cross and, in later years, to the Duke of Norfolk's palace, but rarely to anything else.

Sixteenth century descriptions of Norwich are particularly unrewarding. Leland devotes one sentence to the walls.[22] Camden refers to the 'neatness of buildings, and beautiful churches' and makes brief reference to the city's industries, but no satisfactory picture emerges.[23] Fortunately, a map produced in the middle years of the century makes good these deficiencies. The cartographer concerned made a most realistic attempt to depict the city as he actually saw it. He carefully distinguished between the different types of houses, as well as indicating the major buildings and uninhabited areas of the town. Norwich is depicted as a town contained almost entirely within its walls. Suburbs, such as Pockthorpe and Heigham, were small and contained very few of the inhabitants. The bulk of the population is shown as living in the centre of the city in an area

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20. C.Morris ed., The Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1947, p. 148

21. R.Taylor, Index Monasticus, 1821, p. 75.

22. Toulmin Smith, op.cit., p. 33.

23. W.Camden, Britannia: or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland together with the adjacent lands, 1722, I, p. 461.

embracing the wards of Mancroft, Wymer and the most southerly part of Ultra Aquam, or the ward across the water. Conesford contained a number of houses spreading upwards from the river but, like its neighbour, St. Stephen's, had tracts of open land towards the walls. The eastern part of the city was almost entirely bereft of buildings due, in part, to the extent of the cathedral lands, and large areas to the north of the city were also unoccupied. All of the main city monuments are clearly shown, ranging from the castle, cathedral and churches on the one hand to the market place and its cross and the five city bridges on the other.[24]

Useful as it is, the map can tell only part of the story, and in the last resort we have to rely on documentary evidence to complete the tale. Norwich in 1525 was still essentially a medieval city, and in most respects it differed little from what it had been two centuries earlier.[25] The sixteenth century witnessed some changes in its physical appearance, however. A disastrous fire, which swept through the centre of the town in 1507, destroyed more than 700 buildings and no attempt was made to repair the damage for almost 30 years. The scorched and blackened remains were still visible in the second decade of Henry VIII's reign, and it required pressure from the authorities before any attempt was made to rebuild. The city was also denuded of buildings in another way. The dissolution of the monasteries took place during the 1530s and all of the city's monastic establishments were swept away, with the single exception of the church of the Blackfriars which was bought by the city to be used for secular purposes. As such, it has survived until the present day. A number of churches were secularised at the same time and by the end of the century no more than 36 were still in use.[26] In contrast,

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24. See the map of the city in 1558.

25. See the map of medieval Norwich reproduced from the frontispiece of W. Hudson, How the City of Norwich grew into shape, 1896.

26. Blomefield, op.cit., pp. 182-3; Green and Young, op.cit., p. 21; Morris, op.cit., p. 148.

there was some rebuilding. A number of houses appear to have been built between 1530 and 1550, partly in response to pressure from the city fathers, and some building must have taken place in the middle decades of Elizabeth's reign. Even so, the advent of the Dutch and Walloons after 1565 caused considerable pressure on existing resources, and it seems that many families in the industrial areas of Wymer and Ultra Aquam must have lived in conditions of extreme discomfort. [27]

The authorities were not concerned with buildings alone, and between 1521 and 1591 four of the city's five bridges were repaired and put on firmer foundations; the single, and notable, exception was the old Bishops' Bridge, built as long ago as 1275, which was the only stone one in the city and thus more durable. Coslany bridge was rebuilt of stone in 1521; Whitefriars' bridge was first repaired in 1554 at a cost of £28.0s.0d., following its destruction by Ket and his men five years earlier, and was finally rebuilt of stone in 1591 at six times the earlier cost; Fyebridge, which was demolished by floods in 1575, was rebuilt three years later; and Blackfriars' bridge was rebuilt with stone in 1589. [28]

Camden, as mentioned earlier, made vague references to the city's textile industry, but neither he, nor anyone else, made any attempt to indicate the areas in which individual trades proliferated. This can be established for the early sixteenth century by examining the occupations of the various freemen taxed in 1525. [29] None of the crafts were spread equally throughout the city. More than three-quarters of the textile workers were to be found in the wards of Wymer and Ultra Aquam. Wymer alone housed two-thirds of the metal workers, half the leather and woodworkers and, combined with Mancroft, 60

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27. Pound, thesis, p. 317.

28. Anon., A Topographical and Historical Account of the City and County of Norwich, 1819, pp. 105-107.

29. For full details, see Appendix I, pp. 295-6.

per cent of those producing clothing. Almost all of the 13 transport workers who had taken up their freedom lived in Conesford, and most were concerned with plying their trade on the water. Two-thirds of the builders were to be found in the two wards of Conesford and Wymer and the same areas housed the majority of those concerned with the production of food and drink.

The industrial character of the city is made still clearer by an examination of the trade groupings most common to each of the city's petty wards.[30] With the exception of the tiny ward of St. Giles, each of the twelve administrative districts of Norwich housed craftsmen employed in four main trade groupings which, between them, accounted for between 66 and 90 per cent of the workforce of the area concerned. The figures in the table below are given as a percentage of the whole.

Table II

Occupations most common to the various areas of the city

Occupational grouping	SC	NC	BS	St.S	St.P	St.G	WW	MW	EW	Cos	Cg	Fib
Building	13	22	16				11				11	6
Food & Drink	23	16	24	16	15	14		14	15	10	5	
Distributive				23	22		13	28		16	11	21
Clothing		12			15				15	7		
Transport	18											
Leather			12	16		14	13		20			9
Metal								15				
Textiles	28	16	21	14	15	29	37	14	15	55	63	48
Percentage employed in major groupings	82	66	73	69	67	57	74	71	65	88	90	84

30. For administrative purposes, Norwich was divided into four great wards known as Conesford, Mancroft, Wymer and Ultra Aquam, each of which was sub-divided into three petty wards. The petty wards were known respectively as South Conesford, North Conesford and Ber Street; St. Stephen's, St. Peter's and St. Giles'; West, Middle and East Wymer; and Coslany, Colegate and Fyebridge. The abbreviations used above refer to these divisions. Full details of every trade and profession practised in Henrician Norwich, and the areas in which they proliferated, are given in Appendix I.

Textiles appear as one of the most important occupational groupings in each of the twelve wards and the most important, in terms of numbers employed, in Ultra Aquam as a whole, in West Wymer, St. Giles and South Conesford. The food and drink trades were a major employer in ten of the wards, and although pre-eminent in Ber Street alone ranked second in importance in six of them. The building, distributive and leather trades were among the most important occupational groupings in half of the city's wards, with building and leather being of primary importance in North Conesford and East Wymer respectively, and the distributive trades reigning supreme in the wealthy wards of St. Stephen's, St. Peter's and East Wymer. The remaining occupational groupings were less equitably distributed. The clothing trades appear as one of the leading employers in four of the petty wards but, with metal and transport, were of major importance in none. Transport appears among the leading employers in South Conesford alone while metalworkers were of significance in the single ward of Middle Wymer. [31]

If one ignores the servant in St. Giles, the freemen of early Tudor Norwich had 76 occupations to choose from. No more than half of these were to be found in any one ward, and in most cases considerably less than this. Thus St. Giles contained representatives of only 10 of the available trades, while South Conesford and Coslany housed 18 and 19 respectively. As indicated above, this is explained by the importance of a particular trade grouping in a particular area. Nevertheless, with the exception of the transport trades, the professions and, to a lesser extent, the woodworkers, at least one representative of each of the trade groupings was present in the majority of the petty wards. The table below summarises the position. It should be noted that the figures refer to the number of individual trades within each trade grouping which are present in a given area.

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31. The individual trades which are contained within the various trade groupings are clearly set out in Appendix I.

They do not refer to the number of people employed in a particular trade or profession.

Table III

The numbers of different trades in each of the petty wards

Occupational grouping	SC	NC	BS	St.S	St.P	St.G	WW	MW	EW	Cos	Cg	Fib
Building	2	5	6	4	3	1	5	2	5	1	5	3
Food & Drink	5	3	4	5	6	1	5	4	4	3	2	2
Distributive	3	1	4	4	4		4	3	3	3	4	5
Clothing	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
Transport	3	3				1				1		1
Leather	1	3	4	5	3	2	4	4	5	3	1	2
Metal		3	2	1	3	1	4	7	4		1	1
Textiles	3	2	6	3	5	2	8	4	3	4	6	6
Woodwork			2	1	1	1	2	2	3			2
Professional		1		1	1					1	1	
Miscellaneous			1		1		1	1	1	1	1	
Totals	18	22	30	26	29	10	34	28	30	19	22	23

Individual trades were particularly inclined to be concentrated in certain areas. The bulk of the butchers lived in Ber Street, most of the fishermen lived beside the river in Conesford and the fishmongers near the market in Mancroft. A majority of the coverlet weavers plied their trade in West Wymer while most of the shearmen were to be found in Middle Wymer, significantly in the vicinity of Charing, or Shearing, Cross. Ten of the twelve drapers in the city were to be found in the three wards of St. Peter's, West and Middle Wymer, and the same areas housed more than half the mercers. The pewterers and goldsmiths were to be found exclusively in the great ward of Wymer, while the tanners concentrated principally in the hamlet of Heigham, preferring to exercise their trade outside the city walls.

Turning again to the physical appearance of the city, there is remarkably little evidence of new building, as distinct from the conversion of existing houses, in Norwich between the years 1525 and 1675. The Chamberlains' Accounts record two new houses built on the site of monastic property in 1545. [32] Leonard Howes, in his study of Elm Hill, ascribes five of the properties there to the Tudor period. [33] Walter Rye, looking at other

32. C.A. 1541-1549, f. 194, N.N.R.O., Case 18, shelf a.
33. L.Howes, Elm Hill, 1961, pp. 10, 13, 15, 16.

areas in his survey of Norwich houses before 1600, suggested that Curat House was built about 1529; that the dwellings of Henry Bacon and Augustine Steward, in Colegate and Tombland respectively, were erected before 1549; and that those of Anguish, Garsett and Thurston were late Elizabethan. The only one of these houses to be actually dated was that of Robert Garsett, the so-called Armada House bearing the date 1589. Aldermanic dwellings apart, Rye was able to ascribe one other house to the Elizabethan period, that of Bishop Hall which he dated 1587. [34]

Nikolaus Pevsner adds little to Rye's account in this respect. He describes Suckling House in St. Andrew's as being essentially an early sixteenth century merchant's house, despite its medieval antecedents, and Aldrich's house in Colegate as being of the same period. Apart from these two aldermanic houses, and a reference to Armada House, the only other specifically sixteenth century buildings he refers to are the Manor House at Bracondale, dated 1578, and the house above Pull's Ferry against the river. Strangers' Club in Elm Hill and an unspecified house in the Cathedral Close are described as being of either the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. [35]

The same story is true of the seventeenth century. Pevsner observed that No. 16, Princes' Street, was dated 1619, the Boys' Hospital 1620, Samson and Hercules House 1657, and Earlham Hall, which fell within the city's jurisdiction, 1642. [36] Howes noted two specifically seventeenth century houses in Elm Hill. [37]

Clearly, the houses referred to above were not the only ones built in the century and a half between 1525 and 1675. Many buildings belonging to the period must have been destroyed in the intervening centuries. Nevertheless,

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34. W.Rye, Norwich Houses before 1600, 1916, pp. 13, 15, 16.

35. N.Pevsner, North-East Norfolk and Norwich, 1962, pp. 233, 234, 268, 285.

36. Ibid., pp. 271, 276, 280, 288.

37. Howes, op.cit., pp. 13, 16.

the lack of specific examples accords with recent archaeological evidence. The Norwich Survey, for example, is concerned particularly with the origins and building history of the city. Its Director, Mr. Alan Carter, has found evidence for rebuilding after the fire of 1507 and considerable building activity from the 1670s onwards, but very little for the intervening years.[38]

This is not to say that the city retained an essentially medieval appearance. Many of the older houses were modernised on more than one occasion, several of those in Elm Hill, for example, dating back to the fourteenth century.[39] The street front to Strangers' Hall, home of the Sothertons and other aldermanic families, is dated 1621, but the original house was medieval and alterations have taken place throughout the centuries.[40] The same applies to the houses of the Dukes of Norfolk in the city. Surrey, or Howard, House, occupied by the Wodehouse family after the execution of its original owner in 1546, was 'greatly beautified' by Sir Philip Wodehouse some time after 1588; while the original ducal palace in the parish of St. John Maddermarket was first demolished and rebuilt in 1602 and rebuilt yet again seventy years later.[41] The mansion house of the Hobarts, situated on the site of the old College in Chapelfield, was also altered from time to time.[42] The evidence of surviving inventories suggests that similar alterations were taking place at intervals throughout the city. This particularly applies to the addition of attics and the apparent conversion of what may have been the upper parts of medieval houses to sleeping chambers.[43]

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38. This is based on a recent discussion with Mr. Carter.

39. Howes, op.cit., passim.

40. Pevsner, op.cit., p. 263.

41. E.A.Kent, 'The Houses of the Dukes of Norfolk in Norwich', Norf.Arch., xxiv, pp. 74, 83.

42. B.Cozens-Hardy, 'The Norwich Chapelfield House Estate since 1545 and some of its Owners and Occupiers', Norf.Arch., xxvii, pp. 352, 357.

43. See Chapter II, pp. 43

The relative dearth of new buildings contrasts markedly with a town like Worcester, where new buildings quickly covered the open spaces.[44] Their absence is borne out to some extent, however, both by the comments of travellers and by the evidence of a map of the city produced in 1696.[45] According to the map, the occupied area of the city had altered little since the middle years of the sixteenth century, suggesting either complete rebuilding of existing houses or adaptation in various ways. Celia Fiennes, who visited Norwich in 1698, commented on this conservatism. She observed that all the houses were 'of the old form, mostly in deep points and much tiling.....their building timber and their plaster of laths.....but none of bricks except some few beyond the river which are built of (sic) some of the rich factors like London buildings'.[46] The extensive tiling was itself of fairly recent origin. When Fuller saw the city some thirty years earlier he commented especially on the large numbers of thatched houses which were then in evidence.[47]

If the evidence has been interpreted correctly, the industrial areas of Norwich, in particular, must have been subjected to severe overcrowding. The poverty-stricken inhabitants of the city had no opportunity to improve their living conditions. At worst they were crowded together in tiny hovels, inside the towers or against the walls.[48] At best they were among those who took over

44. A. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century, 1973, p. 18.

45. See the map of the city, dated 1696, in the end pocket.

46. Morris, op.cit., p. 148.

47. J. Nichols, ed., Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, 1811, p. 154.

48. J. F. Pound, The Norwich Census of the Poor, p. 13.

houses formerly occupied by the wealthy and converted them into tenements, each building housing a number of individual families. The Hearth Tax return of 1671 provides the best evidence of this. The parish of St. Peter's Southgate, for example, was almost entirely composed of households containing one hearth, whereas previously it had housed a number of the local gentry. The return does not differentiate between individual houses, as distinct from households, but many of the buildings survive and few of them are small enough to have contained only a single hearth. By the second decade of Charles II's reign, virtually all of them must have housed more than one family and overcrowding may well have been rife. The very high proportion of households containing one or two hearths, particularly in the industrial areas of Wymer and Ultra Aquam, suggests that there was another side to the pleasing picture presented by the late seventeenth century travellers to Norwich.[49]

Although there were few new buildings to delight the eye, most visitors to Norwich were impressed by what they saw. Fuller, who visited the city some time before his death in 1662, was fulsome in his praises. To him, Norwich was '.....pleasant and populous.....either a city in an orchard or an orchard in a city, so equally are houses and trees blended in it, so that the pleasures of the country and the populousness of the city meet here together'.[50] John Evelyn, who came to Norwich in 1671, was equally impressed. He described the town as 'one of the noblest of England, for its venerable cathedral, number of stately churches, cleanness of the streets and buildings of flint so exquisitely headed and squared....'[51] Fuller had little to say in complaint but Evelyn was more

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49. Norwich City Assessment Books, Nos. 1, 3 and 4, dated July 1671, N.N.R.O., Case 13, shelf a. No. 2 is missing.

50. Nichols, op.cit., p. 154.

51. E.S. de Beer, ed., The Diary of John Evelyn, 1959, pp. 562-9. Like Fuller, Evelyn was impressed with the gardens of Norwich, 'in which the inhabitants excel'.

objective, at least in a relative sense. He described the Duke of Norfolk's palace, which had so impressed Fuller, as 'an old wretched building', and he noted in passing that the city's churchyards were so full that they seemed to have been built in pits. [52]

As in the sixteenth century, comments on the city's industrial activities were few. Celia Fiennes referred to the city's markets, both in the centre of the town and immediately beyond this, but little else. [53] Thomas Baskerville, in contrast, was sufficiently impressed with the hustle and bustle of the Norwich market place to leave his impressions in full, following his visit in 1682.

'A little way from this (Norwich) castle on the opposite side of a hill is the chief market place of this city, and this being the only place where all things are brought to be sold for the food of this great city, they not as in London allowing markets in several places, make it vastly full of provisions, especially on Saturdays, where I saw the greatest shambles for butchers' meat I had ever yet seen, and the like also for poultry and dairy meats, which dairy people also bring many quarters of veal with their butter and cheese, and I believe also in their seasons pork and hog-meats. These people fill a square of ground on the side of a hill twice as big (as) Abingdon market place. They setting their goods in ranges as near as may be one above another, only allowing room for single persons to pass between; and above these the butchers have their shambles and such kind of people as sell fish, of which there was plenty of such kinds as the seas hereabouts afford, viz. crabs, flounders, mackerel, very cheap, but lobster for sea fish and pike or jack for river fish were dear enough. They asked me for one pike under 2 foot, 2s.6d., and for a pot of pickled oysters they would have a shilling. Here I saw excellent oatmeal which being curiously hulled looked like French barley, with great store of gingerbread and other edible things. And for grain in the corn market, which is on the other side of the market house, as large for space of ground as that on which the dairy people stand, I saw wheat, rye, oats, malt ground and not ground, French wheat, and but little barley, because the season for malting was over.' [54]

Neither Baskerville nor Fiennes appeared aware of the industrial picture in the city as a whole, and, in fairness, it would probably be unreasonable to expect

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52. de Beer, op.cit., p. 569.

53. Morris, op.cit., pp. 148-9.

54. H.M.C., Portland, II, pp. 268-270.

much more than we are provided with, and we must again rely on the combination of tax returns, which provide us with names and places of residence, and freemen's lists which provide the occupational details.[55] The information provided suggests that the various occupational groupings in the city remained in very much the same place as they had been a century and a half earlier. There were some exceptions to this. Mancroft housed twice as many builders as in the Tudor period while the proportion of the same workers in Conesford had fallen by one third. Mancroft had also attracted a higher proportion of grocers, mercers, merchants and men of similar occupations, and a large influx of metalworkers at the expense of Wymer. These occupations apart, Conesford housed almost half of those concerned with the provision of food and drink, while two-thirds of the leatherworkers were to be found in the wards of Mancroft and Wymer. The textile trades were distributed rather more equitably throughout the city than they had been in Henrician Norwich, but fully two-thirds of those employed in this field were still to be found in the two wards of Wymer and Ultra Aquam. The summary below gives the percentage of people employed in the various crafts and professions at the two dates.[56]

Table IV

Percentage of people employed in the various crafts and professions in Henrician and Restoration Norwich.

Occupational grouping	Conesford		Mancroft		Wymer		Ultra Aquam	
	1525	1671	1525	1671	1525	1671	1525	1671
Building	39	27	16	34	28	22	16	18
Food & Drink	38	45	22	18	28	17	13	20
Distributive	13	18	25	45	35	23	27	14
Clothing	20	22	30	26	35	33	15	18
Transport	77	50	8	25	-	25	15	-
Leather	16	19	25	31	43	35	13	15
Metal	17	20	17	49	60	16	6	15
Textiles	16	20	10	14	25	25	48	40
Woodwork	11	33	28	7	50	40	11	20
Professional	17	11	50	47	-	38	33	4
Miscellaneous	25	20	12	36	44	24	19	20

55. Norwich City Assessment Books, 1671, N.N.R.O., Case 13, shelf a; P.Millican, ed., The Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713, 1934, passim.

56. See Appendices I and II for full occupational details.

As in the case of Henrician Norwich, the industrial character of the city can be made clearer by an examination first of the occupational groupings which are most characteristic of each ward, and second of the number of different trades and professions to be found in the various areas. In contrast to the earlier period, the relevant information is available for the great wards only. In order to make comparison easier, the great ward totals for 1525 are given as well as those for 1671.

Table V

Occupational groupings most common to the city in 1525 and 1671

Occupational grouping	Conesford 1525	Conesford 1671	Mancroft 1525	Mancroft 1671	Wymer 1525	Wymer 1671	Ultra Aquam 1525	Ultra Aquam 1671
Building	16	10				7	6	6
Food & Drink	22	16	16		12		7	6
Distributive	9		20	15	17	8	16	-
Clothing		11	13	12		14		8
Leather	9	8	15	12	15	14	6	6
Metal				11	9			
Textiles	21	38	16	23	24	40	55	64
Percentage employed in major groupings	77	83	80	73	77	83	90	90

The figures above, which are given as a percentage of the whole, tell their own story. The leather and textile industries were of importance in each area of the city in both Henrician and Restoration Norwich. Textiles, which were of secondary importance in both Conesford and Mancroft in 1525, reigned supreme in every part of the city by 1671, while the proportion of leatherworkers employed remained remarkably constant throughout. The fortunes of the other crafts varied. The clothing industry, which was of importance in Mancroft alone in 1525, had risen to a position of some significance in all parts of the city by the later date. The drapers, grocers, mercers and merchants, who were the most important members of the distributive trades, in contrast, were of less importance numerically than their Henrician counterparts. They still featured among the leading trades in the wealthy wards of Mancroft and Wymer, but were no longer among the top five employing groups in Conesford and Ultra Aquam. A similar story is true of the food and drink trades. They remained an important

minority group in Ultra Aquam and continued to be of significance in Conesford, but were no longer a major employing group in Mancroft and Wymer in 1671. The fortunes of the building trades were equally varied, their story being one of decline in Conesford, of maintaining the status quo in Ultra Aquam, and of rising to a position of minor importance in Wymer. The metal trades, which were represented among the top five trades in Wymer in 1525, had changed their venue by 1671 and were of primary importance in the great ward of Mancroft.

As one would expect, the Norwich of 1671 had a greater variety of trades to offer than in 1525, and the increase in number from 76 to 108 is reflected in the various parts of the city. In Mancroft the number of individual metal trades trebled, the building and distributive trades doubled. Conesford, which in 1525 had tailors alone, was a major centre for feltmakers in 1671 as well as employing hosiers and an upperbodymaker, and it housed twice as many representatives of the distributive trades as in the earlier period. Wymer was also a centre for feltmakers in Restoration Norwich, as well as providing employment for many of the city's hosiers, while Ultra Aquam was able to offer the services of nine distinct types of metalworker compared with the two which were present 150 years earlier.

Table VI

The number of different trades in each ward in 1525 and 1671.

Occupational grouping	Conesford		Mancroft		Wymer		Ultra Aquam	
	1525	1671	1525	1671	1525	1671	1525	1671
Building	8	9	7	8	8	10	8	10
Food & Drink	7	5	7	5	6	7	3	5
Distributive	4	8	6	10	5	7	5	6
Clothing	1	4	3	4	2	5	2	2
Transport	4	1	1	1	-	1	2	-
Leather	4	8	7	9	7	8	5	5
Metal	4	5	4	13	9	9	2	9
Textiles	8	9	7	8	8	10	8	10
Woodwork	2	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
Professional	1	5	1	6	-	6	2	2
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	3
Totals	43	56	43	67	49	65	38	49

Individual trades continued to concentrate in specific parts of the city. No fewer than 35 of the 43 butchers were to be found in the single ward of Conesford,

which also housed a majority of the city's masons and, combined with Mancroft, the bulk of the blacksmiths. Mancroft proved attractive as a residential area to a number of the Norwich freemen. By 1671 it was housing three-quarters of the painters and glaziers; most of the drapers and mercers and almost half of the grocers; and the greater part of the city's cutlers, goldsmiths, locksmiths and pinners, as well as individual spurriers and watchmakers. Combined with Wymer it was the major place of residence for the cordwainers and glovers among the leatherworkers, and the doctors and scriveners among the professional men; and with Ultra Aquam it shared the bulk of the dyers and carpenters. Wymer continued to attract the city's tanners, as well as providing homes for the three vintners and many of the worsted weavers, while Ultra Aquam was the most important single area of the city's textile trades. Other trades were spread equitably throughout the city as a whole.

It remains to sum up. The majority of the buildings erected by the middle years of Henry VIII's reign were still standing at the accession of Charles II. Many had been altered structurally, principally by the addition of sleeping chambers and additional windows, and in that sense, at least, the skyline of Restoration Norwich would have been different from that of 150 years earlier. Completely new buildings were rare, however. Some houses had been built on the site of monastic property but, apart from them, the majority of new dwellings were those of aldermen, and it was people of this class who began the housing revolution in the 1670s, a revolution which extends beyond the range of this study.

The Henrician merchant would thus have found little difficulty in finding his way about Restoration Norwich. He would have been surprised at the overcrowding in the industrial areas of the city, possibly saddened at the disappearance of the monastic houses and some of the older churches, and gladdened at the resurgence of the city's textile industry, but he would have found little that would have left him a puzzled man.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PATTERN OF WEALTH

The basic sources for a study of the pattern of wealth in Norwich between the reigns of Henry VIII and Charles II are threefold: the subsidy returns for 1525 and 1576; the 1671 Hearth Tax return; and some 950 inventories, beginning in 1584, which provide a link between the two. [1]

The subsidy return for 1525 was referred to in the first chapter. [2] It was intended that an individual's contribution should be based as nearly as possible on his real wealth and, although the rich were quick to get their assessmts reduced, the subsidy provides a reasonably accurate picture of the pattern of wealth of some three-quarters of the city's population.

Inequality of wealth was prevalent everywhere in Tudor England and Norwich was no exception to the rule. The city's wealthiest citizens were the 29 men who owned moveable goods worth between £100 and £1,000. Although comprising little more than 2 per cent of the taxable population they owned, between them, more than 40 per cent of the city's wealth. Immediately below them, and forming what can conveniently be described as an upper middle class, were those assessed on amounts varying between £40 and £99. This group, numbering a further 52, or approximately 4 per cent, of the contributors, and those above them, were recognised as the most influential citizens in the community. As such they, and their peers elsewhere, were called upon to pay their contributions in advance when the tax was first instituted in 1523 and they were taxed at a high rate for the ensuing three years. A further 204 people (14 per cent), assessed on goods worth between £10 and £39, may also be considered middle class while the 141, including

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1. P.R.O., E179/150/218; N.N.R.O., Case 7, shelf i; P.R.O., E179/154/701; Norwich City Assessment Books, 1671, N.N.R.O., Case 13, shelf a; N.N.R.O., Invs. 1 to 65.
2. See Chapter One, page 1.

a few of the city's common councillors, who were worth between £5 and £9 may reasonably be described as comfortably off. Below this, we are approaching those who were near poverty at times. Nearly 30 per cent of the citizens of Norwich were assessed on goods valued at between £2 and £4, while the remaining 40 per cent - the wage earners - owned even less. Broad as this base was, at least a quarter of the inhabitants - possibly more - would have been too poverty-stricken to contribute at all, making between 50 and 60 per cent of the population poor or very poor. The situation was not unusual. Professor Hoskins has suggested that fully two-thirds of the urban dwellers in the 1520s lived either just above or on the poverty line, and the Norwich figures serve to confirm this. [3]

In virtually every town in England a minority of people owned much of the taxable wealth. [4] In Norwich about 6 per cent of those taxed owned approximately 60 per cent of the property; at Exeter an upper class of some 7 per cent were in possession of almost two-thirds of the taxable wealth. Men of the same social standing in Bristol, Salisbury and Canterbury, never numbering more than 7 per cent of the population, all owned more than half of the property in the town concerned. In the relatively small, but extremely wealthy, cloth town of Lavenham, an unusually large upper class of 12 per cent had more than four-fifths of the town's property in their hands. At the other end of the scale, the 570 Norwich wage-earners owned less than 4 per cent of their city's wealth. At Lavenham, where men of the same class made up more than half of the population, the wage-earners' share of the taxable wealth was less than 3 per cent. The proportions were similar elsewhere, ranging from 2 and 3 per cent at Stamford and Thetford respectively to

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3. W.G.Hoskins, Provincial England, 1963, p. 84.

4. For much of what follows, see Tables VII and VIII, comprising the writer's analyses of the subsidy returns for twelve provincial towns, and the sources quoted there.

Table VII

The pattern of wealth in twelve English provincial towns 1524-5

Name of town	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:- Under £2	£2-4	£5-9	£10-19	£20-39
Norwich	570	416	141	124	80
Percentages	40°37	29°46	9°98	8°78	5°66
Bristol	398	404	88	73	47
Percentages	36°35	36°89	8°04	6°67	4°29
Exeter	457	202	85	68	45
Percentages	49°40	21°98	9°25	7°40	4°90
Salisbury	218	174	60	60	33
Percentages	37°01	29°54	10°19	10°19	5°60
York	387	499	147	114	59
Percentages	31°64	40°80	12°02	9°32	4°83
Canterbury	395	167	59	62	39
Percentages	51°57	21°80	7°70	8°09	5°09
Bury St. Edmunds	301	207	48	49	27
Percentages	45°88	31°55	7°32	7°47	4°12
Lavenham	100	37	12	8	12
Percentages	52°08	19°27	6°25	4°17	6°25
Lincoln	435	152	77	61	23
Percentages	56°86	19°87	10°07	7°97	3°01
Great Yarmouth	111	273	34	49	18
Percentages	22°38	55°04	6°86	8°67	3°63
Southampton	179	89	36	28	14
Percentages	50°14	24°93	10°09	7°84	3°92
Stamford	51	107	40	12	16
Percentages	21°16	44°40	16°60	4°98	6°64

Table VIII
(Continued)

Name of town	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:- £40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Norwich	52	25	1	3	1,414
Percentages	3°68	1°77	0°07	0°21	
Bristol	67	18			1,095
Percentages	6°12	1°64			
Exeter	33	29	1		956
Percentages	3°59	3°05	0°43		
Salisbury	27	16	1		589
Percentages	4°58	2°72	0°17		
York	13	4			1,223
Percentages	1°06	0°33			
Canterbury	31	13			766
Percentages	4°05	1°70			
Bury St. Edmunds	16	8			656
Percentages	2°44	1°22			
Lavenham	13	9		1	192
Percentages	6°77	4°69		0°52	
Lincoln	16	1			765
Percentages	2°09	0°13			
Great Yarmouth	14	3			496
Percentages	2°82	0°60			
Southampton	7	4			357
Percentages	1°96	1°12			
Stamford	13	2			241
Percentages	5°39	0°83			

The details in this, and the following, table are derived from analyses of the sources given below.

Norwich: P.R.O., E179/150/218.

Bristol: P.R.O., E179/113/192.

Exeter: W.T.MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640, 1958, pp 258-60

Salisbury: P.R.O., E179/197/154.

York: P.R.O., E179/217/92.

Canterbury: P.R.O., E179/124/188.

Bury St. Edmunds: Suffolk in 1524, loc.cit., pp. 348-58.

Lavenham: Ibid., pp. 24-9.

Lincoln: P.R.O., E179/136/323.

Great Yarmouth: P.R.O., E179/150/210.

Southampton: P.R.O., E179/173/175.

Stamford: P.R.O., E179/136/315.

Table VIII

The total taxable wealth of
twelve English provincial towns 1524-5

Name of town	Value of goods owned by those assessed at:- Under £2	£2-4	£5-9	£10-19
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Norwich	570 6 8	1,037 0 0	869 13 4	1,484 13 4
Percentages	3°83	6°96	5°84	9°97
Bristol	410 12 4	934 6 0	571 0 0	932 6 8
Percentages	3°85	8°77	5°36	8°76
Exeter *	£542 0 0		508 6 8	818 0 0
Percentages	6°10		5°90	9°90
Salisbury	253 0 0	437 13 4	393 0 0	812 3 4
Percentages	3°75	6°49	5°83	12°05
York	406 13 2	1,256 0 0	856 6 8	1,440 13 4
Percentages	6°24	19°26	13°13	22°09
Canterbury	396 4 0	435 6 8	363 6 8	612 0 0
Percentages	6°74	7°41	6°18	10°41
Bury St. Edmunds	301 0 0	554 0 0	302 13 4	559 6 8
Percentages	7°06	13°00	7°10	13°12
Lavenham	100 0 0	83 13 4	78 0 0	97 6 8
Percentages	2°70	2°26	2°11	2°63
Lincoln	461 6 8	390 0 0	500 13 4	808 13 4
Percentages	12°71	10°74	13°79	22°27
Great Yarmouth	111 6 8	636 0 0	214 0 0	535 0 0
Percentages	3°49	19°93	6°71	16°77
Southampton	179 0 0	218 0 0	217 6 8	363 6 8
Percentages	8°31	10°12	10°09	16°87
Stamford	51 0 0	255 0 0	231 0 0	137 0 0
Percentages	2°43	12°16	11°02	6°53

* MacCaffrey does not distinguish between the people owning goods worth between £2 and £4 and those receiving wages of less than £2 a year.

Table VIII
(Continued)

Name of town	Value of goods owned by those assessed at:- £20-39	£40-99	£100-299	Totals
Norwich	£ s d 2,016 0 0	£ s d 2,850 6 8	£ s d 3,585 0 0	
Percentages	13°54	19°15	24°90	
Bristol	1,152 0 0	3,660 0 0	2,990 0 0	10,650 5 0
Percentages	10°82	34°37	28°07	
Exeter	1,002 0 0	1,410 13 4	3,994 6 8	
Percentages	11°70	16°40	46°50	
Salisbury	853 10 0	1,460 0 0	2,132 0 0	
Percentages	12°66	21°66	31°63	
York	1,339 6 8	582 0 0	640 0 0	6,520 19 10
Percentages	20°54	8°93	9°81	
Canterbury	941 6 8	1,612 0 0	1,516 13 4	5,876 17 4
Percentages	16°02	27°43	25°81	
Bury St. Edms.	715 0 0	680 13 4	1,150 0 0	4,262 13 4
Percentages	16°77	15°97	26°98	
Lavenham	330 13 4	668 0 0	1,343 6 8	
Percentages	8°93	18°05	36°30	
Lincoln	565 13 4	804 0 0	100 0 0	3,630 6 8
Percentages	15°88	22°15	2°76	
Great Yarmouth	441 0 0	753 6 8	500 0 0	3,190 13 4
Percentages	13°82	23°61	15°67	
Southampton	293 6 8	400 0 0	483 6 8	2,154 6 8
Percentages	13°62	18°55	22°44	
Stamford	397 0 0	806 0 0	220 0 0	2,097 0 0
Percentages	18°93	38°44	10°49	

Name of town	Value of goods owned by those assessed at:- £300-500	Over £500	Totals
Norwich	£ s d 400 0 0	£ s d 2,066 13 4	14,879 13 4
Percentages	2°68	13°88	
Exeter	300 0 0		8,575 0 0
Percentages	3°50		
Salisbury	400 0 0		6,741 6 8
Percentages	5°93		
Lavenham		1,000 0 0	3,701 0 0
Percentages		27°02	

7 per cent at Bury St. Edmunds.[5] The only exception to this was at Lincoln where a wage-earning class of 57 per cent owned about one-eighth of the moveable goods.[6]

Much of a town's wealth was usually in the hands of a few exceptionally rich men. Richard Marler, a Coventry grocer, and Thomas Guybon of King's Lynn, for example, each paid about one-ninth of their town's contributions to the subsidy, while William Wigston of Leicester paid just over one-quarter.[7] The widow and daughter of Thomas Spring of Lavenham, assessed on £1,000 and £333.6s.8d respectively, paid rather more than 30 per cent of the town's subsidy.[8] Thomas Smyth of Long Melford, assessed on £600, contributed more than 46 per cent.[9]

Norwich had several wealthy men. Robert Jannys, grocer and alderman of the city, was assessed on £1,100 in 1523, his assessment almost equalling that of the entire city of Rochester. Thomas Aldrych, a draper, was considered to be worth £700, John Terry, a grocer, £550, and Edward Redo and Thomas Pyckarell, mercers, £500 and £300 respectively. In all, 32 Norwich men were assessed on personal estate to the value of £100 or more in 1523.[10]

Most of these people lived in the wards of St. Peter Mancroft and Middle Wymer, although the wards of West Wymer, Coslany and Colegate also contained a number of rich men. Almost a quarter of the city's wealth was to be found in the single ward of Middle Wymer, and a similar

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5. See P.R.O., E179/250/263 for Thetford and Suffolk in 1524: Subsidy Return, Suffolk Green Books, X, 1910, pp. 348-358, for Bury St. Edmunds.
6. See Tables VII and VIII.
7. Hoskins, op.cit., p. 73; Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany, II, 1883, p. 406.
8. Hoskins, op.cit., p. 73.
9. Suffolk in 1524, loc.cit., p. 30.
10. The information in this paragraph is derived from an analysis of P.R.O., E179/150/208.

proportion was shared between those living in Coslany and Colegate, albeit with a combined population three times as great as that of the former ward. Conesford contained the houses of a few wealthy men and women but, with the exception of the small ward of St. Giles, tended to be the poorest section of the city.[11]

Table IX

Distribution of the taxable population and wealth throughout Norwich in 1525*

Area of the city	Numbers taxed	%	Total wealth of group £	s	d	%
South Conesford	82	5°80	486	6	8	3°27
North Conesford	72	5°09	508	0	0	3°41
Ber Street	128	9°05	622	13	4	4°18
CONESFORD	282	19°94	1,617	0	0	10°86
St. Stephen's	63	4°45	1,106	0	0	7°43
St. Peter's	122	8°63	1,342	6	8	9°02
St. Giles'	33	2°33	144	13	4	0°97
MANCROFT	218	15°41	2,593	0	0	17°42
West Wymer	166	11°74	1,612	13	4	10°84
Middle Wymer	112	7°92	3,383	13	4	22°74
East Wymer	147	10°40	1,091	6	8	7°33
WYMER	425	30°06	6,087	13	4	40°91
Coslany	161	11°39	1,581	6	8	10°63
Colegate	174	12°30	1,758	0	0	11°82
Fyebridge	154	10°89	1,242	6	8	8°35
ULTRA AQUAM	489	34°58	4,581	13	4	30°80
Total numbers of taxed population and wealth	1,414		14,879	6	8	

* Based on an analysis of P.R.O., E179/150/218

In Norwich, at least, it seems that more people were called upon to contribute to the subsidy in 1525 than in the previous year, but several of the taxpayers had their assessments radically reduced.[12] In the absence of a complete 1524 return, it is impossible to give many details of lesser men, but the members of the

11. See Appendix III, pp. 292-6 , for full details of the distribution of wealth throughout Norwich in 1525.

12. J.F.Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', Past and Present, 34, 1966, p. 52, for the details in this paragraph.

city's upper classes were treated ever more generously in each successive year. Of the 96 people worth £40 and above who were taxed in both 1524 and 1525, 56 had their assessments reduced, 4 were increased and 36 remained the same. Twenty-four of these had their assessments reduced yet again in 1527. Some of these reductions were considerable. Robert Jannys paid on £1,100 in 1524, £960 in 1525 and on only £600 in 1527. Aldrych's assessment of £700 in 1524 was reduced to £566.13s.4d in the following year. Edward Rede's wealth allegedly fell from £500 in 1524 to £266.13s.4d three years later, Pykarell's from £300 to £160 in the same period - virtually halved in both cases. In contrast, although on a more modest scale, Thomas Grewe, a butcher, who paid his contribution in advance in 1523, although considered to be worth no more than £30, was assessed on £66.13s.4d in 1527, the year that he attained the shrievalty.

All of these men, with the exception of Grewe, were members of the Norwich merchant classes, and it was among such people that the bulk of the city's wealth was to be found. As a class they comprised no more than 15 per cent of the 693 men recognisable as freemen in 1525, but they owned more than half the taxable property. They were comfortably off almost to a man, little more than one in five owning goods worth less than £5. The textile workers, numerically almost twice as large, owned almost one-fifth of the property, while just under 11 per cent was in the hands of those following the food and drink trades. The city's metal workers were reasonably well-off, as were the few men employed in a professional capacity, but the bulk of the remainder were either poor or, at best, moderately-off. Two-thirds of the building workers and those employed in the leather trades owned moveable goods worth less than £5 a year. Almost 70 per cent of the small number of freemen concerned with transport were in the same category. A lone freemason worth £100 was the only really wealthy man among the builders, while the leatherworkers had two men who could claim to be more than comfortably off. The transport workers and the wood-workers, alone among the city's freemen, had nobody in this category.

Table X

The distribution of wealth
among the freemen of Norwich in 1525

Occupational grouping	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:- Under £2	£2-4	£5-9	£10-19	£20-39
Textiles	54	80	27	18	17
Percentages	25°96	38°46	12°98	8°65	8°17
Distributive	5	18	14	20	16
Percentages	4°72	16°98	13°21	18°87	15°09
Food & Drink	23	30	9	16	6
Percentages	24°73	32°26	9°68	17°20	6°45
Clothing	11	21	8	9	3
Percentages	20°37	38°89	14°81	16°67	5°36
Leather	25	26	10	8	7
Percentages	32°05	33°33	12°82	10°26	8°97
Metal	8	6	5	9	6
Percentages	22°86	17°14	14°29	25°71	17°14
Building	9	34	11	10	2
Percentages	13°43	50°75	16°42	14°92	2°99
Woodwork	5	5	4	3	1
Percentages	27°78	27°78	22°22	16°67	5°56
Transport	6	3	3	1	
Percentages	46°15	23°08	23°08	7°69	
Professional		1	3	1	1
Percentages		16°66	50°00	16°66	16°66
Miscellaneous	4	6	3	1	1
Percentages	25°00	37°50	18°75	6°25	6°25
Totals	150	230	97	96	60
Percentages	21°61	33°14	13°98	13°83	8°65

The details in this and the following table have been obtained by relating the occupations given in the Old Free Book, 1317-1549, N.N.R.O., Case 17, shelf c, to the relevant names in the subsidy roll for 1525, P.R.O., E179/150/218, as well as analysing the contents of the subsidy roll concerned.

Table X
(Continued)

Occupational grouping	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:- £40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Textiles	9	3			208
Percentages	4°33	1°44			30°00*
Distributive	17	12	1	3	106
Percentages	16°04	11°32	0°94	2°83	15°27
Food & Drink	7	2			93
Percentages	7°53	2°15			13°40
Clothing	2				54
Percentages	3°70				7°78
Leather	2				78
Percentages	2°56				11°24
Metal	1				35
Percentages	2°86				5°04
Building		1			67
Percentages		1°49			9°65
Woodwork					18
Percentages					2°59
Transport					13
Percentages					1°87
Professional					6
Percentages					0°86
Miscellaneous		1			16
Percentages		6°25			2°30
Totals	38	19	1	3	694
Percentages	5°48	2°74	0°14	0°43	

* The percentages in this column relate to the proportion of freemen employed in the particular trade grouping.

Table XI

The value of the moveable goods owned by the freemen of Norwich in 1525

Occupational grouping	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:- Under £2	£2 to £4	£5 to £9	£10 to £19
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Textiles	54 0 0	212 13 4	164 3 4	213 13 4
Percentages	2°50	9°86	7°63	9°90
Distributive	5 0 0	46 13 4	89 0 0	251 13 4
Percentages	0°08	0°75	1°44	4°06
Food & Drink	23 0 0	75 13 4	58 0 0	198 13 4
Percentages	1°85	6°09	4°66	15°97
Clothing	11 0 0	51 6 8	48 13 4	96 6 8
Percentages	3°05	14°23	13°50	26°71
Leather	25 0 0	62 13 4	62 13 4	96 13 4
Percentages	4°88	12°23	12°23	18°87
Metal	8 0 0	16 6 8	31 6 8	107 6 8
Percentages	2°19	4°48	8°59	29°43
Building	9 0 0	85 6 8	71 6 8	126 6 8
Percentages	2°02	19°16	16°02	28°37
Woodwork	5 6 8	13 0 0	27 13 4	30 0 0
Percentages	5°56	13°54	28°82	31°25
Transport	6 0 0	8 0 0	19 0 0	13 6 8
Percentages	12°95	17°27	41°01	28°77
Professional		2 0 0	15 0 0	10 0 0
Percentages		3°51	26°32	17°54
Miscellaneous	4 0 0	14 6 8	20 13 4	10 0 0
Percentages	1°99	7°13	10°28	4°97
Totals	150 6 8	588 0 0	607 10 0	1,154 0 0
Percentages	1°29	5°04	5°23	9°88

Table XI
(Continued)

Occupational grouping	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:- £20 - 39	£40 - 99	£100 - 299	Totals
Textiles	£ s d 441 6 8	£ s d 524 13 4	£ s d 546 13 4	£ s d 2,157 3 4
Percentages	20°46	24°31	25°34	18°47*
Distributive	404 13 4	922 6 8	2,006 13 4	
Percentages	6°53	14°89	32°40	
Food & Drink	165 0 0	430 0 0	293 6 8	1,243 13 4
Percentages	19°89	34°58	23°59	10°65
Clothing	60 0 0	93 6 8		360 13 4
Percentages	16°63	25°88		3°09
Leather	170 6 8	95 0 0		512 6 8
Percentages	33°25	18°54		4°39
Metal	161 13 4	40 0 0		363 13 4
Percentages	44°33	10°97		3°12
Building	46 13 4		106 13 4	445 6 8
Percentages	10°48		23°95	3°81
Woodwork	20 0 0			96 0 0
Percentages	20°83			0°82
Transport				46 6 8
Percentages				0°40
Professional	30 0 0			57 0 0
Percentages	52°63			0°49
Miscellaneous	32 0 0		120 0 0	201 0 0
Percentages	15°92		59°70	1°72
Totals	1,531 13 4	2,105 6 8	3,073 6 8	
Percentages	13°12	18°03	26°32	

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:- £300 - 500	Over £500	Totals
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Distributive	400 0 0	2,066 13 4	6,192 13 4
Percentages	6°46	33°37	53°04
Totals	400 0 0	2,066 13 4	11,676 16 8
Percentages	3°42	17°42	

* The percentages under the totals column on the right hand side indicate the proportional share of the wealth of the occupational grouping concerned.

Although there was reasonable opportunity for social mobility in the city, the distribution of wealth among the various categories altered little in the 50 years separating the second decade of Henry VIII's reign from that of Elizabeth. The analysis of a subsidy roll for 1576, supplemented by details of those contributing to poor relief in the same period, provides an opportunity to compare the two periods, and shows a remarkable similarity between them.[13]

Table XII

Distribution of wealth in Norwich, 1576

Tax group	No. in group	Percentage
Wage-earners*	650	40·00
£2-£3 @	548	33·72
£4-£5	165	10·15
£6-£7	78	4·80
£8-£12	83	5·11
£13-£19	60	3·69
£20-£24	25	1·54
£25-£30	11	0·68
Over £30	5	0·31
Totals	1,625	100·00

* It is assumed that the wage-earners still comprised 40 per cent of the population above the level of the very poor.

@ This total is a combination of the £3 men - the lowest level assessed in the subsidy - and the 321 men listed as rate-payers but not recorded as subsidy contributors.

The bulk of the city's wealth remained in the hands of a few men. At the apex were the 2·53 per cent corresponding to the £100 plus class of 50 years earlier. Immediately below them were another 3·69 per cent comprising the rest of the city's upper classes. Among this group were all of the Norwich aldermen and the richest third of the common councillors. Exactly how wealthy they were is difficult to ascertain. Thomas Wilson, writing at the end of the sixteenth century, said that he knew of 24 Norwich aldermen worth at least £20,000 apiece, some much more, and several lesser

13. N.N.R.O., Case 7, shelf i.

citizens worth half as much.[14] Wilson was obviously generalising about the aldermanic body as a whole, and the so-called 'lesser citizens' may well have been the common councillors. In almost every case, the greater part of this wealth was held in lands and, to a lesser extent, plate and jewels. Even so, fairly large sums of money were disbursed on occasions. Clement Hyrne and Thomas Whall, both of whom served as mayor in the Elizabethan period, bequeathed £950 and £1,382 respectively. Thomas Sotherton, mayor in 1605, left instructions for the disposal of more than £8,000 at his death in 1608. This was unusual. In the late sixteenth century typical aldermanic wills disposed of between £300 and £500 in cash.[15]

The men allegedly worth between £8 and £12 in 1576 - those corresponding to the £20-£39 men of 1525 - came next in the city's hierarchy. Among them were a majority of the city's common councillors, 25 in all. Below this, and including the rest of the city's ruling classes, were those assessed at between £4 and £7. They ranged from the moderately affluent to the comfortably off.

With the exception of the wage-earners, whose numbers are necessarily conjectural, the table includes the rest of the Norwich ratepayers. Not all of them were deemed sufficiently wealthy to contribute to the subsidy, for a man had to have an ostensible £3 worth of goods before he was caught in the Elizabethan net, but the least of them was considered able to contribute at the rate of a halfpenny a week to the upkeep of his less fortunate neighbours. The welfare of the poor is considered elsewhere. It is sufficient to note here that they comprised more than 2,300 people, possibly a quarter of the city's English population.[16]

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14. Thomas Wilson, 'The State of England, A.D. 1600', ed. F.J.Fisher, in Camden Miscellany, xvi, 1936, p. 20.

15. See P.C.C., 49 Windebanck, 57 Pyckering and 83 Drake for Hyrne, Whall and Sotherton, and J.F.Pound, The Elizabethan Corporation of Norwich, 1558-1603, University of Birmingham M.A. thesis, 1962, pp. 82-94, for other examples.

16. See Chapter 7, p. 254

At this juncture we must turn our attention to the surviving inventories. The earliest date from 1584, and there is a total of 222 for the sixteenth century, with a further 728 for the period ending in 1675, or 950 in all. Although a reasonable proportion are concerned with people who are poor or, at best, moderately off, the majority are clearly those of the wealthier section of the community, using that term in its widest sense. They are thus less satisfactory as a source for the distribution of wealth than either the subsidy returns or the Hearth Tax returns, but they present a broadly accurate picture of the situation in Norwich at different periods of time and thus allow some consideration of the changing fortunes of various sections of the community. [17]

Table XII

The median value of Norwich inventories, 1584-1675

Occupational grouping	1584-1600 £	s	d	1601-1625 £	s	d	1626-1650 £	s	d	1651-1675 £	s	d
Textiles	8	8	3	64	5	0	73	11	1	92	7	8
Distributive	38	17	10	92	6	6	111	3	11	116	19	1
Food & Drink	88	15	11	75	11	1	92	9	5	136	6	6
Clothing	12	18	11	34	14	6	28	2	2	80	10	2
Leather	15	19	3	36	16	0	19	8	11	66	6	8
Metal	14	12	10	46	11	5	41	5	3	105	16	1
Building	7	13	0	19	13	5	60	9	10	61	10	0
Transport	85	7	10	113	16	0	11	1	4			
Woodwork	17	12	3	18	5	0	40	10	6			
Professional				212	15	11	141	5	7	90	3	1
Farming	27	17	6	66	8	8	41	7	2	176	2	5
Clergy	9	7	6	59	19	4	88	16	8	89	16	5
Gentry	353	14	0	339	3	0	336	3	8	167	16	0
Women	15	2	11	15	6	6	38	16	10	55	10	0
Miscellaneous	22	6	1	20	3	6	28	2	4	63	9	0
Unstated	6	14	11	10	19	10	15	10	8	24	10	0
Median of all inventories for the period	15	15	11	31	13	0	57	8	0	74	7	3

The most striking thing to emerge from a study of the inventories is the steady rise in their median value. Between 1584 and 1600 the overall median was £15.15s.11d. It doubled over the next twenty-five years, almost doubled again between 1626 and 1650, and reached £74.7s.3d. in the period culminating in 1675. One must immediately sound a note of caution. This was still a period of inflation and

17. Full details of the inventories of the various trades and professions are given in Appendix V, pp. 310-18.

this must account for at least part of the increased value of the inventories, albeit only a part. On the evidence of the Phelps Brown - Hopkins index, the cost of living rose by 38 per cent between 1584 and the turn of thecentury, by another 16 per cent during the reign of James I and, after a period of stability in the middle years of the century, increased by a further 30 per cent between 1655 and 1675. There were considerable variations during the years concerned, but in 1675 the cost of living was 108 per cent higher than in 1584. In the same period of time, builders' wage rates fell by almost 40 per cent, a factor which will be of some significance when considering the evidence of the Hearth Tax returns later in the chapter.[18]

Thus, even allowing for inflation, it is clear that the wealth and, by definition, the standard of living, of a section of the Norwich populace rose appreciably during this period. This is particularly well documented in the case of the city's textile workers. At the end of the sixteenth century the median value of their goods was £8.8s.3d., or little more than half the average. The next twenty-five years saw a substantial improvement in their fortunes, due principally to the development of the New Draperies, and by the end of James I's reign the value of their goods had increased eight-fold, subsequently rising by

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18. E.H.Phelps-Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Price of Consumables, compared with Builders' Wage-Rates', in E.Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, II, 1962, p. 195. According to Peter Bowden, wages began to move ahead of prices in the first half of the seventeenth century, but builders' rates, at least, were liable to fluctuation and, after a rise of approximately 40 per cent between 1625 and 1650, fell again in the succeeding period to a level little higher than at the end of Elizabeth's reign. See his 'Agricultural Prices, Farm Profits and Rents' in Joan Thirsk, ed., Agricultural History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640, 1967, p. 609.

1675 to a level twelve times what it had been a century earlier.[19]

If only because of their initial poverty, the rise in the fortunes of the textile workers was almost meteoric. None of the other trades could compete with them in this respect, but all of them experienced some improvement in their living standards. Thus, the median value of the inventories of the merchant classes trebled between 1600 and 1625; the leather workers experienced a similar increase and, on the evidence of the surviving inventories, increased their wealth four-fold between 1600 and 1675; the median value of the, admittedly few, metal workers' inventories more than trebled during the first quarter of the seventeenth century and had risen to more than £100 by 1675; while on the same evidence the building workers of Restoration Norwich were eight times as wealthy as their Elizabethan predecessors.

The rising standard of living was not confined to the tradesmen of the city. The inventories of women, principally widows, and clergy rose between three and four times between 1600 and 1675, and those of the farming community at least trebled.

In contrast, those of the gentry and professional classes either remained static or actually declined in value, but this probably reflects the chance survival of a small number of inventories rather than an actual situation. It can reasonably be argued, in fact, that where there are fewer than a dozen inventories, to take an arbitrary figure, any analysis of them could distort the true picture, that the accident of survival has helped to create an impression of affluence which may not have existed in reality. Nevertheless, while this may be true of individual occupations, or occupational groupings, it is unlikely that an analysis of the sum total of inventories for a period, varying in number between 148 and 327, would give an unduly false impression, and the general picture of a rise in living standards remains valid.

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19. See Table XII, p. 37, for this and the following paragraphs.

By no means all of the increased wealth was invested in domestic goods. In many cases, the value of such property simply kept pace with the rise in the cost of living and, in some cases, actually failed to maintain such a pace. Between 1600 and 1675, for example, the median value of the domestic goods of the women and those in unstated occupations merely doubled in a period when, as already stated, the cost of living rose by 108 per cent; while that of the people engaged in the distributive and food and drink trades actually declined. In contrast, the value of the domestic goods recorded in the inventories of clothing and textile workers quadrupled, that of the metal workers was trebled. The overall picture, however, is one of a city in which the value of domestic property rose as the cost of living rose, and rarely went beyond it.

Table XIII

The median value of the domestic goods recorded in inventories made between 1584 and 1600 and 1651 and 1675

Occupational groupings	1584-1600 £	s	d	Number of inventories	1651-1675 £	s	d	Number of inventories
Textiles	9	1	3	19	37	8	2	31
Distributive	39	9	11	18	36	5	8	11
Food & Drink	39	9	7	16	27	11	0	13
Clothing	9	8	2	12	34	0	0	9
Leatherwork	7	18	2	8	30	12	10	3
Metalwork	10	6	10	8	30	12	4	6
Building	6	12	0	13	21	1	1	4
Farming	17	13	2	5	14	11	11	3
Clergy	7	0	0	7	89	16	5	3
Gentry	72	16	8	4	44	19	6	5
Women	10	17	8	28	23	5	8	28
Miscellaneous	12	7	9	16	32	14	1	3
Unstated	5	10	11	32	11	16	3	18
Overall median	11	7	6	188	28	11	0	138

The examples given above concern the occupational groupings for which a reasonable number of inventories survive. One is obviously on less certain ground when discussing the changing fortunes of the leather and building workers, and those of the farmers, clergy and gentry. Once again, however, the picture provided by the inventories as a whole may be assumed to be a reasonably correct one.

Domestic goods thus increased by some two and a half times in median value compared to the five-fold increase in the value of the inventories as a whole. There

is one reason, above all, which accounts for this, namely the considerable increase in the number of people who involved themselves in money-lending in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Whereas in the last years of Elizabeth's reign little more than a quarter of the inventories record details of such transactions, the proportion had risen to 61 per cent for the years 1651-1675.

Table XIV

The proportion of inventories devoted to debts in Elizabethan and Restoration Norwich

1 = Total number of inventories
2 = Number of inventories with debts recorded
3 = Percentage of inventories with debts recorded

Occupational grouping	1584-1600			1651-1675		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Textiles	21	4	19	40	23	58
Distributive	18	5	28	8	8	100
Food & Drink	13	7	54	13	8	62
Clothing	17	4	24	10	5	50
Leatherwork	10	2	20	4	3	75
Metalwork	8	2	25	6	4	66
Building	13	3	23	5	2	40
Farming	5	3	60	2	2	100
Gentry	6	6	100	6	4	66
Clergy	8	2	25	3	-	-
Women	36	13	36	29	19	66
Unstated	42	7	17	18	9	50
Miscellaneous	18	1	6	4	3	75
Totals	222*	59	27	148*	91	61

* The totals include two transport and five woodworkers in the first period, and a single professional man in the second without recorded debts.

Virtually all sections of the community had sums of money owed to them, whether great or small, and they often made up a large proportion of the total sum of the inventories concerned. From this point of view, the two periods were very similar. In the last quarter of Elizabeth's reign the median percentage of debts recorded was 47; it rose marginally between 1651 and 1675 to just over 50.[20]

While some of these debts, probably the majority, are simply the result of normal trading transactions, it seems fairly certain that others stem from money lending for a profit. R.H.Tawney pointed out

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20. This statement is based on an analysis of the relevant inventories.

long ago that people ranging in social status from the small craftsman and farmer to the substantial gentleman were engaged in such activities during the early modern period, and some of the Norwich inventories substantiate this.[21] Scriveners invariably engaged in money-lending, and it comes as no surprise to find one William Edgeley owed almost £492 out of an inventory total of just under £747.[22] The gentry, too, often had large sums due to them in debts. To quote but three examples: Matthew Sotherton was owed £1,162 out of a total sum of £2,257 at his death in 1611; Augustine Woode, who died in the same year, had £1,800 due to him, the residue of his property, of all sorts, being worth little more than £72; while William Pearce, who died some 30 years later, had an inventory total of £5,529.8s.1d., of which £5,393 was recorded as being made up of 'good debts, as bonds, bills and mortgages and ready money'.[23] It is, of course, always possible that men of this standing had more domestic goods in another house in the county, although when this was so the two inventories were often combined.[24] Debts of the size recorded above were unusual, but many people had large sums due to them, possibly as the result of money-lending activities. Quoting at random, we find Thomas Norforth, beer-brewer, owed £450 out of a total of £1,240; a worsted weaver who was owed almost £600 out of a total of £929; a hosier with bonds and bills to the value of £633 out of £813; and a widow who was owed £1,075, the residue of her goods being valued at little more than £25.[25] Occasionally, details of the

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21. R.H.Tawney, ed., Thomas Wilson, A discourse on usury, 1925, introduction, passim.

22. N.N.R.O., Inv. 27, 131. All the inventories referred to are in the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, and hereafter the inventory reference only will be given.

23. Inv. 22, 310 and 358; Inv. 46, 137.

24. See, for example, the inventory of Sir Thomas Hyrne, Inv. 43, 159.

25. Invs. 22, 170; 27, 148; 41, 72; 43, 132.

debtors are given, usually when they are local gentry, but such information is relatively rare.[26]

Although a number of people invested their money in the way described above, others were more concerned with improving their standards of living, and there is little doubt that for a section of the community conditions did improve. This is evidenced both by the increasing building activity and by the rising standards of some of the building workers. The seventeenth century witnessed a considerable increase in the adaptation of existing houses and - at least after 1670 - the building of new ones. The number of houses with cellars doubled; those with 'false roofs' increased fourfold; while specialised chambers, including larders, washing houses and pantries, increased in number and variety. At the same time some of the older terms became less fashionable. The hall, which was mentioned in almost half of the inventories at the end of the sixteenth century, was referred to in only one inventory in four 75 years later, being replaced in many cases by the kitchen. The parlour and buttery suffered a similar decline in popularity.

Table XV

Rooms most frequently mentioned in inventories 1584-1675

Name of room	1584-1600		1601-1625		1626-1650		1651-1675	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Buttery	50	53	55	32	35	27	19	22
Chamber	87	92	158	93	118	91	87	100
Hall	46	48	78	46	37	29	20	23
Kitchen	58	61	106	62	98	76	79	91
Parlour	76	80	110	65	79	61	45	52
Bakehouse	5	5	4	3	6	5	5	6
Brewhouse	3	3	6	4	8	6	2	2
Cellar	14	15	34	20	25	19	25	29
False roof	8	8	34	20	32	25	40	46
Lardor	7	7	2	1	6	5	1	1
Pantry	1	1	6	4	9	7	3	3
Washing house			7	4	17	13	24	26
Workhouse	11	12	9	6	3	2		
Shop	37	39	57	34	37	29	34	39
No. of houses with rooms named	95		170		129		87	

26. See, for example, Inv. 16, 195B.

On the evidence of their surviving inventories, at least a section of the building trades prospered as a result of the activity outlined above, but few did as well as Robert Aldred, tiler. At his death in 1616 the value of his property, and the debts due to him, exceeded £450. Bills and debts totalled £143.13s.4d., and leases made up another £147, but he had nearly £26 worth of plate and money in his house and almost £17 worth of brass and pewter as well as other domestic goods which were valued at some £80.[27]

Aldred, and people like him, relied primarily on their chosen craft but others, even people of moderate substance, preferred to have an alternative occupation. Richard Clarke, described as a clothier, had 35 dozen bowstaves in his house, as well as 1,500 patching tiles, when his inventory was taken, quite apart from looms for broadcloth and blankets. Katherine Warwick, a widow, included 160 knit stockins, worth £37.19s.0d., in her possessions out of an inventory worth £78.18s.9d. in all. Martyn Stevens, described as a fishmonger, owned 7 acres of rye worth £8 and 8 loads of hay, as well as the more obvious tools of his trade. An innkeeper of St. Paul's had even more of the same commodity, his 7 score combs of barley and 5 combs of oats being assumed to be worth £49: this may have been intended in part for his customers, but it made up almost half the total value of his inventory. A reeder who died in 1592 worth the comfortable sum of £192.16s.5d. also gave evidence of farming activities, his property including 4 milking cows worth £10, horses worth £8 and pigs priced at £4 as well as 8 combs of wheat totalling £2.13s.4d. in value. The minister of St. Edmund's parish was similarly occupied keeping cows and horses priced at £13.10s.0d., as well as 3 hens and barley, wheat and hay worth £4.13s.4d. Farming was

27. Inv. 27, 161.

not the only alternative occupation. A reeder of St. Peter's Southgate took advantage of the fact that his parish was near the river and evidently plied a boat for hire. At his death in 1601 this was one of his most valued possessions, being priced at £1.13s.4d., second only to his bedding which was worth £3 and being of rather greater value than the cow and calf which he also kept and which were assumed to be worth 30 shillings.[28]

A number of people were full-time farmers, despite living within the city precincts, and on the evidence of their inventories found the occupation generally profitable. They included both Englishmen and Dutchmen, and their holdings ranged from the 10 acres held by Francis van Dijcke to the 110 acres or so farmed by Thomas Potter of Trowse.[29] Like their counterparts in other occupations, they were not averse to entering the money market. Davy Cushing, described as a yeoman of St. Julian's, had debts due from people as far afield as Trowse, Hevingham, Earlham, Felthorpe and Aylsham at his death in 1619. He had evidently loaned animals as well as cash, for his debtors included people in possession of some of his cows as well as those responsible for monetary repayments.[30]

On the evidence quoted above, one would expect to find the Norwich of the 1670s a much more prosperous place than it was a century and a half earlier. In fact, the Hearth Tax returns suggest the reverse, for some 60 per cent of the city's households were exempt on the grounds of poverty, a distinctly higher proportion than any other provincial town of comparable size, and probably higher than most of smaller size.

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28. Invs. 5, 119 and 161; 15, 128; 14, 18; 9, 79; 17, 79 and 121.
29. Inv. 3, 42 and Inv. 30, 37.
30. Inv. 30, 65.

Table XVI
The distribution of wealth in Norwich and five other provincial towns in the 1670s

	Number of households containing:- 1 hearth	2 hearths	3-5 hearths	6-9 hearths	10 hearths and above	Total No. of houses
Norwich*	2,290	1,087	710	261	87	4,435
%	51°63	24°51	16°01	5°88	1°96	
Bristol	714	1,150	1,312	338	67	3,581
%	19°94	32°67	36°64	9°42	1°87	
Exeter	1,073	579	451	203	62	2,368
%	45°31	24°50	19°00	8°50	2°50	
York	715	481	619	250	85	2,150
%	33°25	22°37	28°79	11°63	3°97	
Ipswich	171	685	477	224	64	1,621
%	10°55	42°26	29°43	13°82	3°95	
Leicester	537	175	236	58	18	1,024
%	52°44	17°09	23°04	5°66	1°76	

* These figures include the parishes of St. Peter Hungate, St. Edmund's, St. Paul's and Pockthorpe, for which there is no information other than the numbers exempted.

For the continuation of the table below, the following numbers have been used to save space:-

1 = Households taxed
2 = Households exempted
3 = Hearths taxed
4 = Hearths exempted
5 = Total households
6 = Total number of hearths
7 = Average no. of hearths per household
8 = Percentage of households exempted

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Norwich	1,817	2,618	7,717	3,890	4,435	10,199	2°30	59°03
Bristol	2,842	739	9,855	1,156	3,581	11,011	3°07	20°64
Exeter	1,433	935	5,037	1,084	2,368	6,121	2°59	39°48
York	1,722	428	6,014	449	2,150	6,463	3°00	19°91
Ipswich	1,031	590	4,594	1,057	1,621	5,651	3°49	36°40
Leicester	743	281	2,145	281	1,024	2,426	2°40	27°44

The sources from which I have analysed the material given above are as follows:-

Norwich: N.N.R.O., Norwich City Assessment Books, 1671, Case 13, shelf a; P.R.O., E179/254/701; E179/336.
Bristol: P.R.O., E179/116/541.
Exeter: W.G.Hoskins, Industry and trade of the people of Exeter, 1688-1800, 1935, pp. 112, 115, 117.
York: P.R.O., E179/218/180
Ipswich: Suffolk in 1674, Suffolk Green Books, XI, pp. 160-77.
Leicester: W.A.Jenkins and C.T.Smith, 'Social and Administrative History, 1660-1835', V.C.H., Leics., IV, 1958, pp. 156-159.

Bristol, the city's main rival, had little more than 20 per cent of its households exempted, York had rather less than this, while Leicester, Ipswich and Exeter had 27, 36 and 39 per cent exempted respectively. More than three-quarters of the people of Norwich were housed in dwellings with either one or two hearths, again a higher proportion than in any of the other provincial towns with which the city is compared in Table XVI. The only explanation for the apparent conflict between the evidence of the inventories and that of the Hearth Tax returns is that the gulf between the rich and the poor had widened in the seventeenth century, that the relative dearth of inventories for the lower classes reflects the fact that they had little property worth recording. In the absence of a full analysis of inventories for other towns, it is impossible to say how far this reflects a general situation and how far a local one. It is clear, however, that by the 1670s the situation in Norwich, at least so far as the poor were concerned, had deteriorated more than in most towns. It is, perhaps, no coincidence that full records of the maintenance of the poor survive for this particular decade whereas they are absent, except at a parochial level, for earlier periods.

Turning to the analysis of the returns themselves, it becomes apparent that the distribution of wealth in Norwich had altered remarkably little during the 150 years between 1525 and 1675. The 52 per cent living in households with one hearth correspond broadly to the 55 per cent which are made up by combining the probable number of exempted poor with the wage earners in 1525. Similarly, the 24 per cent with two hearths compare in number with the 22 per cent assessed on sums of between £2 and £4 in 1525, and the higher categories correspond in much the same way. The subsidy of 1576 shows a very similar division of wealth. As it is necessary to estimate the numbers of poor in 1525, and the numbers of wage earners in 1576, one must obviously be careful of making sweeping assertions, but the similarity between the three returns is, nevertheless striking.

Table XVII

Comparison of the Hearth Tax Returns with the Tudor Subsidy Rolls

Date	Poor and wage earners	Numbers owning goods valued at:- £2-4	£5-19	£20-39	£40 & over	Totals
1525	1,158	416	265	80	81	2,000
%	58	21	13	4	4	
1576	Poor and wage earners	Numbers owning goods valued at:- £2-3	£4 - 7	£8 - 12	£13 & over	
	1,225	548	243	83	101	2,200
%	56	25	11	4	5	
	Number of households containing:-					
1671	1 hearth	2 hearths	3-5 hearths	6-9 hearths	10 hths and above	
	2,290	1,087	710	262	87	4,435
%	52	24	16	6	2	

Some areas of Norwich were composed almost entirely of the poor or wage-earning classes. Rather more than 90 per cent of the parishioners of St. Peter's Southgate were in this category, only two households in the whole parish being assessed on more than two hearths. The parishes of St. Michael at Thorn and St. Paul's had over 80 per cent of their houses exempted from the Hearth Tax and a further five parishes - St. Julian's, St. Peter per Mountergate, All Saints, St. John Sepulchre and St. Augustine's - had three-quarters or more of their inhabitants designated poor. Significantly, six of the eight parishes referred to above were in the single ward of Conesford.[31]

In contrast, almost three-quarters of the householders of St. Peter Mancroft were called upon to contribute to the Hearth Tax, and similar numbers paid in the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Michael at Plea. In St. John Maddermarket 60 per cent of the parishioners paid the tax. These were the area where some of the largest houses in the city were to be found, ranging in size from the huge mansions of the Duke of Norfolk and Sir John Hobart, with 60 and 50 hearths respectively, to the more modest, but still large, houses of the city gentry and aldermen, which had between 10 and 25 hearths each. There were just under 90 houses in Norwich with 10 hearths or more, or fewer than

31. See Table XVIII for this and the following paragraphs.

two per cent of the total households. Twenty-two of these were in the one large parish of St. Peter Mancroft; St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's each had seven and St. Gregory's six, the rest being distributed more or less evenly throughout the city.

Rather more than one-fifth of the houses in Norwich had between 3 and 9 hearths, the type inhabited by all the common councillors of the city and by some of the less affluent aldermen. A similar proportion lived in houses with 2 hearths. Some of these were exempted from paying hearth tax on the grounds of poverty, some were undoubtedly occupied by wage-earners, but most were probably above bare subsistence level.

Table XVIII

The parochial distribution of wealth in Norwich, 1671

The following letters have been used to save space:-

A = Total number of households
B = Total number of hearths
C = Average number of hearths per household

Wards & Parishes	Total number of hearths 1	2	3-5	6-9	10+	A	B	C
St. Andrew & St. Julian	96	17	10	2	1	125	177	1°42
St. Etheldred	20	12	8	1	1	42	97	2°31
St. Peter Southgate	102	10	2			114	129	1°13
Trowse	41	10	9	3		63	114	1°81
Carrow	5	1	1	3		10	31	3°10
SOUTH CONESFORD	264	50	30	9	1	354	548	1°55
Percentages	75	14	8	3	1			
NORTH CONESFORD	224	106	29	8	3	370	630	1°70
Percentages	61	29	8	2	1			
St. John Timberhill	64	33	23	4	2	126	264	2°09
All Saints	62	10	7	4		83	132	1°59
St. Michael at Thorn	121	36	12	2	1	172	271	1°57
St. John Sepulchre	88	50	15	4		157	272	1°73
Eaton	17	5	5	1	1	29	65	2°25
Lakenham	21	18	6	3	2	50	136	2°72
BER STREET	373	152	68	18	6	617	1150	1°86
Percentages	60	25	11	3	1			
ST. GILES'	78	30	25	11	3	147	341	2°32
Percentages	53	20	17	7	2			
ST. PETER MANCROFT	105	85	99	40	22	351	1281	3°18
Percentages	30	24	25	11	6			
ST. STEPHEN'S	147	65	52	15	7	286	681	2°16
Percentages	51	23	18	5	2			

Table XVIII
(Continued)

Wards & Parishes	Total number of hearths 1	2	3-5	6-9	10+	A	B	C
Earlham	3	1	2		2	8	42	5°25
St. Swithin's	43	17	9	3	1	73	142	1°95
St. Margaret's	79	29	11	4		123	203	1°65
St. Benedict's	66	14	10	1		91	137	1°51
St. Laurence's	49	28	18	1	4	100	219	2°19
St. Gregory's	47	45	28	12	6	138	389	2°29
Heigham	50	24	12	6	2	94	210	2°23
WEST WYMER	334	157	88	27	13	619	1300	2°05
Percentages	54	25	14	5	2			
St. Michael at Plea	39	13	33	14		99	301	3°04
St. John Maddermarket	11	29	21	11	4	76	338	4°45
St. Andrew	32	38	48	31	7	156	587	3°76
MIDDLE WYMER	82	80	102	56	11	331	1226	3°70
Percentages	25	24	31	17	3			
Christchurch	19	22	36	20	3	100	401	4°01
St. George Tombland	24	11	5	3		43	85	2°00
St. Simon & St. Jude	22	17	16	8	2	65	209	3°21
St. Martin at Palace	90	51	17	4	1	163	302	1°91
EAST WYMER	155	101	74	35	6	371	997	2°69
Percentages	42	27	20	9	2			
St.Michael & St. Mary	218	84	37	9	1	349	603	1°73
St. Martin at Oak	119	53	24	4	2	202	356	1°76
COSLANY	337	137	61	13	3	551	959	1°74
Percentages	59	24	13	3	1			
St. George's	70	25	36	10	4	145	362	2°50
St. Augustine's	75	44	16	6		141	259	1°84
Hellesdon	6	4	4		2	16	52	3°25
COLEGATE	151	73	56	16	6	302	673	2°23
Percentages	50	24	19	5	2			
St. Saviour's	18	10	9	5	1	43	122	2°84
St. Clement's	19	40	15	8	3	85	249	2°93
FYEBRIDGE (Part)	37	50	24	13	4	128	371	2°90
Percentages	29	39	19	10	3			

The parish of St. Peter per Mountergate comprises the whole of the ward of North Conesford. St. Giles', St. Peter's and St. Stephen's were also both wards and parishes. The lists of payers were defective in the parishes of St. George Tombland & St. Simon & Jude, and the parishes of St. Michael's andSt. Mary's, Coslany, were not clearly separated in the original return. Finally, most of the ward of Fyebridge is missing.

We know the occupations of about one-third of those recorded in the Hearth Tax returns, as well as their social status. Significantly, 80 per cent of the building workers lived in houses with either one or two hearths, and were thus poor or, at best, in modest circumstances, a picture which contrasts sharply with that produced by the inventories of their wealthier colleagues and tends to reinforce the impression that the poor were indeed getting poorer. Over 60 per cent of the textile, leather, clothing, metal and woodworkers were in similar circumstances, and more than half of those occupied with food and drink. Only the city's merchants and professional men had small numbers in those categories, with 19 and 13 per cent respectively. The bulk of the drapers, grocers, haberdashers, mercers and merchants lived in houses containing 3 hearths and above, as did the Norwich apothecaries, clerks, doctors and scrivenors.

Trade groupings can, of course, conceal individual differences. Thus, one-third of the city's carpenters and tailors, and two-thirds of the hosiers, were men of some substance, most of the bakers and brewers were comfortably-off, and the cordwainers and tanners both contained a number of men of the middle class within their ranks. The same story is true of the metalworkers where goldsmiths, ironmongers, pewterers and pinners were predominantly men of the middle rank, and the textile workers where the worsted weavers were among the wealthiest men in the city. The broad picture, however, remains that painted above.

A summary of the social status of the various occupational groupings is provided in Table XIX overleaf, while the full details of individual trades and professions are given in Appendix VI.

It remains to sum up. The distribution of wealth among the various classes in Norwich altered remarkably little between 1525 and 1675: the percentage of poor, wage-earners, middle and upper classes remained much the same in the middle years of the seventeenth century as it had in the days of Henry VIII. Despite inflation, those of the middle and upper classes

Table XIX

The social status of the freemen of Norwich, 1671

Occupational groupings	Number of households with:- 1 hearth	2 hearths	3-5 hearths	6-9 hearths	10 & above	Totals
Building	61	35	22		1	119
Percentages	51°26	29°41	18°49		0°84	
Food & Drink	26	32	39	15	5	117
Percentages	22°22	27°35	33°33	12°81	4°27	
Distributive	6	18	51	40	10	125
Percentages	4°80	14°40	40°80	32°00	8°00	
Clothing	52	56	39	12	6	165
Percentages	31°51	33°94	23°64	7°27	3°64	
Leatherwork	53	46	39	4	2	144
Percentages	36°81	31°94	27°08	2°78	1°39	
Metalwork	29	28	20	8	1	86
Percentages	33°72	32°56	23°26	9°30	1°16	
Transport	2	1	1			4
Percentages	50°00	25°00	25°00			
Professional	3	3	18	15	8	47
Percentages	6°38	6°38	38°28	31°90	17°02	
Woodwork	6	5	3	1		15
Percentages	40°00	33°33	20°00	6°66		
Miscellaneous	5	11	7	2		25
Percentages	20°00	44°00	28°00	8°00		
Textiles	209	162	166	49	16	596
Percentages	34°06	27°18	27°85	8°23	2°69	
Grand totals	446	397	405	146	49	1,443
Percentages	30°91	27°51	28°07	10°12	3°39	

for whom we have information had raised their standard of living almost to a man, however, whereas the lot of the poor appears to have grown progressively worse or altered very little. In part, this reflects the changes in the city's economy, in part the effects of economic change and pestilence in general. The city suffered severely from plague throughout the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and was hit almost equally hard during the 1620s and 1630s when, in common with other parts of the country, it had to combat economic regression as well. The poor, as always, were the hardest hit, whereas their wealthier neighbours prospered, however indirectly, from the successful introduction of the New Draperies. By the second decade of

Charles II's reign the gulf between the richer and the poorer sections of the community was wider than it had ever been, and the problem of the poor remained one that was to haunt the city fathers for decades to come.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TRADE STRUCTURE OF TUDOR AND STUART NORWICH

I The sources

Norwich is rich in materials relating to the trade structure of the city. The lists of freemen range in unbroken sequence from the reign of Edward II to that of Victoria; apprenticeship indentures are available for the period 1548-1749, albeit with many omissions; and, even more significantly, returns are available which give occupational details of the poor in 1570 and of the vast majority of the city's householders in 1589. The 1589 list is particularly valuable for it provides a check on the validity of the freemen's lists as a source for the trade structure of Norwich, as well as providing details of occupations which do not appear in those lists.

With the exception of the return of 1589, all of this material is in print and, when subjected to minute analysis, provides a clear and on the whole satisfactory picture of the trade structure of Norwich in the Tudor and Stuart periods.[1] The picture is made even clearer by the occupational details appearing in censuses of the Dutch and Walloons, taken in 1568 and 1622 respectively.[2]

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1. P.Millican, The freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713, 1934; P.Millican and W.Rising, An index of indentures of Norwich apprentices enrolled with the Norwich Assembly, Henry VII-George II, Norf.Rec.Soc., Vol.XXIX, 1959; J.F.Pound, The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norf.Rec.Soc., Vol. XL, 1971. With the exception of that of 1589, all analyses relating to the apprenticeship indentures and freemen's lists are derived from these sources.

2. W.J.C.Moens, The Walloons and their Church in Norwich; their History and Registers, 1887-88, pp. 152-6, 207-16.

II The Norwich apprentices

Admission to the freedom in Norwich, a necessary pre-requisite to normal trading activities, was obtainable in three ways: on completion of a period of apprenticeship, usually of seven years duration but extending on occasion to ten, twelve and, exceptionally, fourteen years; by patrimony; and, progressively less frequently, by purchase. Theoretically, all apprenticeship indentures should have been enrolled in the book provided for the purpose. This practice was not always adhered to, however, and from the mid seventeenth century, in particular, there was considerable slackness in this respect. Between 1551 and 1675 details of 4,992 apprenticeship indentures are recorded. No more than 1,043, or 21 per cent of the apprentices referred to, ultimately took up their freedom. In the same period the freemen's lists record 3,351 people obtaining their freedom as the result of an apprenticeship and a further 1,741, the majority of whom had also served a period as an apprentice, who claimed their freedom by patrimony. The two sources are not absolutely comparable. At least seven years elapsed between the binding of an apprentice and his emergence as a freeman, and usually the period was rather longer. Nevertheless, the figures suggest that between 66 and 80 per cent of the apprenticeship indentures were not officially recorded.

The apprenticeship indentures are, nonetheless, indispensable for the incidental details which they supply. They invariably list fathers' occupations and the place of origin of the apprentice, as well as details of the trades entered. It is also possible to determine, in some cases, the length of time elapsing between a person's completing his apprenticeship and taking up his freedom, and the proportion of apprentices ultimately proceeding to their freedom in a given trade.

On the evidence available, most of the people apprenticed in Norwich had their origins in the city itself or in the surrounding country districts. Some three-quarters of the city's apprentices in the second

half of the sixteenth century were born in Norfolk and the proportion rose to more than 90 per cent as the seventeenth century progressed. In each period of twenty-five years between 1551 and 1650 apprentices were drawn from between 150 and 160 of the Norfolk towns and villages. It seems possible that local migration of this sort was general. In Kent, for example, over 70 per cent of the apprentices coming to Maidstone between 1567 and 1599 were drawn from a radius of up to eleven miles; 61 per cent of those entering Faversham between 1592 and 1642 came from similar distances.[3]

Those taking up apprenticeships in Norwich from outside the county came predominantly from Suffolk and Yorkshire with regular, but smaller, contingents from Cambridgeshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. Individuals arrived in the city, at intervals, from most parts of the British Isles, but the bulk of the apprentices came from the same areas throughout the entire period under consideration.

Table XX

Places of origin of people taking up apprenticeships in Norwich between 1551 and 1650

	1551-1575	1576-1600	1601-1625	1626-1650
Norfolk	269	311	283	312
%	70°42	60°51	67°22	90°62
Suffolk	42	34	39	32
%	10°99	6°61	9°27	8°27
Yorkshire	32	68	29	13
%	8°38	13°22	6°89	3°36
Lincolnshire	6	10	21	10
%	1°57	1°95	4°99	2°58
Lancashire	5	16	4	3
%	1°31	3°04	0°95	0°78
Leicestershire		17	8	1
%		3°23	1°90	0°26
Cambridgeshire	3	8	6	3
%	0°78	1°52	1°43	0°78
Other areas	25	50	31	13
%	6°55	9°73	7°36	3°36
Totals	382	514	421	387

3. P.Clark, 'The migrant in Kentish towns, 1580-1640' in P.Clark and P.Slack, eds., Crisis and order in English towns, 1500-1700, 1972, pp. 134-5.

Norwich, whether as the second city in the realm or as a major industrial centre, attracted immigrants both from other towns and from the rural hinterland. Craftsmen sent their sons to receive specialised instruction either in their own occupations or in one which would raise their social status. Husbandmen and yeomen looked to trades which might be more secure than farming or, perhaps, might provide a secondary occupation. The gentry and clergy looked to the profits which might accrue from their sons pursuing a potentially lucrative trade. Collectively, the fathers of the apprentices followed almost as many occupations as were to be found in Norwich itself. Initially craftsmen and husbandmen predominated, but as the fortunes of the city improved in the seventeenth century increasing numbers of yeomen, clergy and gentry sent their sons for training with the Norwich craftsmen. The table below summarises the changing background of the Norwich apprentices over a period of 100 years.

Table XXI

Social origins of apprentices entering Norwich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Occupational grouping or standing of the fathers	1551-1575	1576-1600	1601-1625	1626-1650
Gentlemen	4	13	33	63
%	3°25	4°48	11°50	19°63
Clergy	1	16	31	37
%	0°81	5°52	10°80	11°53
Yeomen	17	55	68	98
%	13°82	18°97	23°69	30°53
Husbandmen	33	90	56	41
%	26°83	31°03	19°51	12°77
Textiles	16	9	6	17
%	13°01	3°10	2°09	5°30
Distributive	8	7	12	9
%	6°50	2°41	4°18	2°80
Clothing	6	30	23	15
%	4°88	10°34	8°01	4°67
Food & Drink	11	19	12	14
%	8°94	6°55	4°18	4°36
Leatherwork	11	25	12	9
%	8°94	8°62	4°18	2°80
Metalwork	3	2	9	3
%	2°44	0°69	3°14	0°93
Building	8	12	13	7
%	6°50	4°14	4°53	2°18

Table XXI
(Continued)

Occupational grouping etc.	1551-1575	1576-1600	1601-1625	1626-1650
Transport		2	2	3
%		0°69	0°70	0°93
Professional		2		2
%		0°69		0°62
Miscellaneous	5	8	10	3
%	4°06	2°76	3°50	0°93
Totals	123	290	287	321

The Norwich textile industry, particularly that section relating to worsted weaving, was in decline for much of the sixteenth century, and fathers were increasingly reluctant to commit their sons to a trade in which unemployment could well become widespread. Gentry, clergy and yeomen all tended to avoid the industry and the more conservative husbandmen, although always supplying more recruits than the others, slowly followed their example. The clothing industry, in contrast, remained relatively popular throughout, and tailoring especially always attracted a number of recruits even when the textile industry was at its height again. The husbandmen were particularly attracted to this trade, and consistently supplied the same proportion of apprentices throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They remained equally faithful to the leather and building industries, which suffered a dearth of recruits from other sources as the textile industry revived.

Initially attracted to the clothing trades and to those concerned with mercantile activity, the gentry apprenticed an increasing proportion of their sons to worsted weaving as the seventeenth century progressed. Even so, such occupations as grocer, mercer, draper and merchant remained a popular choice with people of this class, both from the point of view of status and prospective wealth. It is thus surprising to find a small number of the local gentry apprenticing their sons in the building and leather trades. A career as a cordwainer or carpenter can have done little to

enhance the status or the fortune of the son of a gentleman, and one can only assume that such families were under considerable economic pressure.

The clergy favoured the textile and clothing industries, and the same is broadly true of the yeomen, although they tended to distribute their favours rather more widely than the other non-craftsmen groups. Yeomen tended to interpret the economic picture rather more shrewdly than their fellows. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century fewer than 15 per cent of them sent their sons into the textile trades, while a healthy 29 and 35 per cent respectively were apprenticed to the booming distributive and clothing trades. They changed course abruptly in the seventeenth century when half of the yeomen sent their sons to receive training in the, by now, prospering textile industry. A minority retained an interest in the clothing, leather and food and drink trades, but far fewer sons of yeomen were apprenticed in the distributive trades than heretofore.

Table XXII

Occupational groupings chosen by the non-craftsmen groups

Gentlemen	1551-1575	1576-1600	1601-1625	1626-1650
Textiles		2	20	28
%		15°38	60°60	44°44
Distributive	2	3	5	18
%	50°00	23°07	15°15	28°57
Food & Drink	--	--	--	--
Clothing	2	4	5	10
%	50°00	30°76	15°15	15°87
Leatherwork		2	1	3
%		15°38	3°03	4°76
Metalwork		1	1	2
%		7°69	3°03	3°17
Building		1	1	2
%		7°69	3°03	3°17
Totals	4	13	33	63
Clergy				
Textiles	1	4	18	20
%	100°0	25°00	58°06	54°05
Distributive		4	4	3
%		25°00	12°90	8°10
Food & Drink				4
%				10°81
Clothing		6	7	4
%		37°50	22°58	10°81
Leatherwork		2	1	3
%		12°50	3°22	8°10

Table XXII

(Continued)

Clergy	1551-1575	1576-1600	1601-1625	1626-1650
Metalwork				2
%				5°40
Building			1	
%			3°22	
Professional				1
%				2°70
Totals	1	16	31	37
Yeomen				
Textiles	4	8	34	51
%	23°52	14°54	50°00	52°04
Distributive	2	16	3	8
%	11°76	29°09	4°41	8°16
Food & Drink		2	5	6
%		3°63	7°35	6°12
Clothing	3	19	16	15
%	17°64	34°54	23°52	15°30
Leatherwork	6	4	8	11
%	35°29	7°27	11°76	11°22
Metalwork	2	4	2	2
%	11°76	7°27	2°94	2°04
Building		1		2
%		1°81		2°04
Professional		1		3
%		1°81		3°06
Totals	17	55	68	98
Husbandmen				
Textiles	15	31	28	10
%	45°45	34°44	50°00	24°39
Distributive		6	1	1
%		6°66	1°78	2°43
Food & Drink	2	6	2	
%	6°06	6°66	3°57	
Clothing	8	21	14	13
%	24°24	23°33	25°00	31°70
Leatherwork	4	12	9	10
%	12°12	13°33	16°07	24°39
Metalwork	1	8	1	3
%	3°03	8°88	1°78	7°31
Building	3	6	1	3
%	9°09	6°66	1°78	7°31
Professional				1
%				2°43
Totals	33	90	56	41

When we turn to the sons of craftsmen, whether native-born or immigrants, one fact immediately stands out: for the greater part of the period under consideration, more than half of them were apprenticed

to trades which were vastly different from those of their fathers. This is partly explained by what has recently been called 'betterment migration' - the desire to rise in the social hierarchy - but there is also the reverse side of the picture when a youth is apprenticed to a trade which is obviously inferior to that of his father. This has already been noticed in the case of a few of the gentry. In the industrial sphere, to instance some of the more obvious cases, sons of grocers and merchants became building and leather workers, the trade of cordwainer being particularly attractive to them, while those of professional men were apprenticed, in some instances, to the metal trades. The situation varied from trade grouping to trade grouping. Textile workers were more conservative than most, even when the industry was at its nadir. The proportion of those following their fathers was never lower than 46 per cent, and rose eventually to as high as 64 per cent. The same applies to the clothing trades, where the tailors were particularly prone to follow their fathers, the proportion varying between 50 and 62 per cent. Sons of leather workers, in contrast, invariably moved to a different trade. In the middle years of the sixteenth century fewer than one third chose to follow their fathers, and although the proportion rose steadily about half of those apprenticed always sought another occupation. This clearly reflects the ambitions of those concerned, and the same argument applies to the metal, building and transport workers. It is more surprising to find the sons of merchants and professional men seeking an alternative occupation, particularly in the sixteenth century when there was an increasing demand for their products or services.

Broadly speaking, the number of apprentices entering the various trade groupings remained surprisingly constant throughout the period 1551-1650. The one notable exception was the textile industry which increased its share of apprentices from 25 per cent in the second half of the sixteenth century to 42

Table XXIII

Occupational groupings of apprentices and their fathers

1 = Number of apprentices following fathers' trades
2 = Number of apprentices following a trade in the same occupational grouping
3 = Number of apprentices entering a different trade grouping
4 = Total number of apprentices with occupations of fathers known

	1551 - 1575				1576 - 1600			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Textiles	54	16	38	108	39	8	38	85
%	50	15	35		46	9	45	
Distributive	35	16	24	75	25	10	30	65
%	47	21	32		38	16	46	
Clothing	10	1	13	24	34	4	32	70
%	42	4	54		49	5	46	
Food & Drink	15	2	21	38	21	5	31	57
%	39	6	55		37	9	54	
Leatherwork	13	4	25	42	23	6	34	63
%	31	9	60		36	10	54	
Metalwork	4	-	10	14	8	3	10	21
%	29	-	71		38	13	49	
Building	3	3	11	17	18	1	25	44
%	18	18	64		41	2	57	
Transport	-	1	6	7	1	-	6	7
%	-	14	86		14	-	86	
Professional	2	-	1	3	2	-	5	7
%	66	-	33		29	-	71	
Miscellaneous	2	-	16	18	-	-	14	14
%	11	-	89		-	-	100	
Totals	138	43	165	346	171	37	225	433
%	40	12	48		40	8	52	

Table XXIII
(Continued)

	1601 - 1625				1626 - 1650			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Textiles	75	24	29	128	137	43	60	240
%	59	19	22		57	18	25	
Distributive	25	24	60	109	27	13	51	91
%	23	22	55		30	14	56	
Clothing	48	2	51	101	64	4	55	123
%	48	2	50		52	3	45	
Food & Drink	29	4	49	82	24	5	65	94
%	35	5	60		26	5	69	
Leatherwork	24	4	39	67	43	8	46	97
%	36	6	58		44	9	47	
Metalwork	19	2	15	36	20	6	32	58
%	53	6	41		34	11	55	
Building	19	3	30	52	21	6	27	54
%	37	6	57		39	11	50	
Transport	-	-	10	10	1	-	4	5
%	-	-	100		20	-	80	
Professional	5	1	10	16	4	-	11	15
%	31	6	63		27	-	73	
Miscellaneous	1	2	17	20	4	-	19	23
%	5	10	85		17	-	83	
Totals	245	65	311	621	345	85	370	800
%	39	11	50		43	11	46	

Table XXIV

Apprentices entering a different trade grouping to that of their fathers

T = Textiles
D = Distributive
C = Clothing
FD = Food & Drink
L = Leatherwork
M = Metalwork
B = Building
Tpt. = Transport
P = Professional
Misc = Miscellaneous

Trade groupings of fathers	Trade groupings entered by apprentices										
	T	D	C	FD	L	M	B	Tpt	P	Misc	Ps.
A 1551-1575											
Textiles		7	8	4	7	1	5		3	3	38
%		18	21	11	18	3	13		8	8	
Distributive	5		6	4	7	1	1				24
%	21		25	17	29	4	4				
Clothing	3			3	2	1	2			2	13
%	23			23	16	8	16			16	
Food & Drink	6	6	3		2	1	1		2		21
%	28	28	14		10	5	5		10		
Leatherwork	6	6	8	4					1		25
%	24	24	32	16					4		
Metalwork	3	2		2	2		1				10
%	30	20		20	20		10				
Building	6	1	3		1						11
%	54	9	27		9						
Transport	2				4						6
%	33				66						
Professional		1									1
%		100									
Miscellaneous	11		2		2		1				16
%	69		12		12		6				
Totals	42	23	30	17	27	4	11		6	5	165
%	25	14	18	10	16	2	7		4	3	

Table XXIV
(Continued)

Trade groupings of fathers	Trade groupings entered by apprentices										
	T	D	C	FD	L	M	B	Tpt	P	Misc	Ts.
B 1576-1600											
Textiles		4	9	5	10	2	5	2		1	38
%		11	24	13	26	5	13	5		3	
Distributive	11		4	3	4	4	2		2		30
%	37		13	10	13	13	7		7		
Clothing	15	5		2	6	1	2			1	32
%	47	16		6	18	3	6			3	
Food & Drink	6	9	3		3	3	5	1		1	31
%	20	30	10		10	10	15	3		3	
Leatherwork	13	3	7	2		1	5		1	2	34
%	38	9	21	6		3	15		3	6	
Metalwork	2	3		1			1		1	2	10
%	20	30		10			10		10	20	
Building	7	2	7	3	3	1			2		25
%	28	8	28	12	12	4			8		
Transport	2				4						6
%	33				66						
Professional	1			2	1	1					5
%	20			40	20	20					
Miscellaneous	2	1	7	1	1		1	1			14
%	15	7	50	7	7		7	7			
Totals	59	27	37	19	32	13	21	4	6	7	225
%	26	12	16	8	14	6	9	2	3	4	
	T	D	C	FD	L	M	B	Tpt	P	Misc	Ts.
C 1601-1625											
Textiles		7	9	3	7		3				29
%		24	31	10	24		10				
Distributive	30		5	5	9	5	3		3		60
%	50		8	8	15	8	5		5		
Clothing	26	9		3	7	2	3		1		51
%	52	18		6	14	4	6		2		
Food & Drink	22	4	4		7	4	2	1	3	2	49
%	45	8	8		14	8	4	2	6	4	

Table XXIV

(Continued)

Trade groupings of fathers	Trade groupings entered by apprentices										
	T	D	C	FD	L	M	B	Tpt	P	Misc	Ts.
C 1601-1625 (Cont.)											
Leatherwork	26		4	2		4	1			2	39
%	66		10	5		10	3			5	
Metalwork	3	1	6		3		2				15
%	20	7	40		20		13				
Building	9	1	7	2	4	5			1	1	30
%	30	3	23	7	13	17			3	3	
Transport	3		1	3	1	1	1				10
%	30		10	30	10	10	10				
Professional	2	4	2	2							10
%	20	40	20	20							
Miscellaneous	9		3		4			1			17
%	53		18		24			6			
Totals	130	26	41	20	42	21	15	2	8	5	310
%	42	8	13	6	14	7	5	1	3	2	
D 1626-1650											
Textiles		5	14	10	20	3	6		2		60
%		9	23	17	33	5	10		3		
Distributive	26		15	4	5	1					51
%	51		30	8	10	2					
Clothing	28	6		7	6	6	2				55
%	51	11		13	11	11	4				
Food & Drink	37	8	9		5	3	1			2	65
%	57	12	14		8	5	1			3	
Leatherwork	23	3	9	4		1	3		1	2	46
%	50	7	20	8		2	7		2	4	
Metalwork	13	3	5	3	2		6				32
%	41	9	16	9	6		18				
Building	15		4	2	4	2					27
%	56		14	7	14	7					
Transport	1		1	1			1				4
%	25		25	25			25				
Professional	4	3	1	1	1	1					11
%	36	27	9	9	9	9					
Miscellaneous	10		1	2	1	4	1				19
%	53		5	10	5	21	5				
Totals	157	28	59	34	44	21	20		3	4	370
%	42	8	16	9	12	6	5		1	1	

per cent in the first half of the seventeenth. In the process, it naturally reduced the proportion entering the other trades but all of them were affected equally, no one trade grouping showing a radical decline in the number of potential entrants.

'Potential' is the operative word in this context. Any discussion of recruitment to the various trades is undermined, to some extent, by the fact that the majority of the people referred to were never to proceed to their freedom. The proportion of non-freemen, of all sorts, ranged from as high as 94 per cent in the period 1576-1600 to between 72 and 77 per cent in the other periods under review.

Table XXV

Number of apprentices in the various occupational groups not taking up their freedom

A = Number of apprentices not proceeding to their freedom
B = Total number of apprentices enrolled

Occupational grouping	1551-1575		1576-1600		1601-1625		1626-1650	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Textiles	185	245	208	241	809	1,040	393	561
Distributive	42	67	66	89	97	149	57	81
Clothing	114	136	154	188	298	390	156	203
Food & Drink	29	38	45	52	62	86	21	44
Leatherwork	83	99	87	103	162	231	99	128
Metalwork	29	38	32	43	76	100	30	41
Building	30	43	43	63	46	76	31	39
Transport	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	3
Professional	5	9	3	6	12	14	4	5
Miscellaneous	8	9	3	3	2	2	5	7
Totals	526	686	645	689	1,566	2,090	797	1,112
Percentage not proceeding to freedom	77		94		75		72	

One can only suggest reasons for this high loss of potential freemen. A number of those completing an apprenticeship undoubtedly returned to their home towns or villages; others would have stayed in Norwich as journeymen; some, possibly many, may have fallen victim to the recurrent attacks of plague. The difficulty is deciding how far this situation reflects a general trend. It has already been pointed out that the apprenticeship indentures refer, at best, to a mere

third of those actually bound to a master. Some, at least, of the missing indentures must relate to those who never proceeded to their freedom. A rough-and-ready check can be made by comparing the numbers apprenticed in one period of twenty-five years with those actually taking up their freedom in the next. The men who attained their freedom, either as the result of an apprenticeship or by patrimony, added to those who never achieved this status, correspond, very broadly, to the total number of apprentices in any one period. Clearly, few apprentices took as long as twenty-five years to attain their freedom from the time they were originally bound to a master, but as several served apprenticeships in excess of seven years and, as discussed below, took up to ten years ~~to~~ subsequently to become freemen, the linking of the successive periods does not greatly distort the facts.[4]

Table XXVI

An estimate of the proportion of apprentices proceeding to their freedom

	1576-1600	1601-1625	1626-1650	1651-1675
Numbers attaining their freedom by apprenticeship or patrimony	666	975	1,253	1,621
Number of apprentices from preceding period never attaining their freedom	526	645	1,556	797
Totals	1,192	1,620	2,819	2,418
Percentage attaining freedom on this basis	56	60	45	66

An analysis of the return of 1589, referred to below, suggests that approximately half of the householders were freemen of the city and of the remaining half many, for example labourers and schoolmasters, would never have been bound apprentice. It can be tentatively

4. The numbers of apprentices not proceeding to their freedom have been taken from Millican and Rising, op.cit., and the numbers of freemen from Millican, op.cit.

suggested, on this evidence, that some two-thirds of the apprentices remaining in Norwich, and possibly half of all those originally apprenticed, eventually proceeded to the freedom of the city, a fact which gives the table above some credence.

Theoretically, all apprentices should have taken up their freedom on completion of their apprenticeship. In practice, if only because of the costs involved, this was seldom done promptly, if at all. An apprentice was mature at the end of his term, usually twenty-four years of age, sometimes older, but unless he came from a reasonably affluent family he needed time to build up his capital and establish himself as a householder.[5] When he had done this to his satisfaction he would seek enrolment as a freeman. If he was the son of a freeman this, in itself, would cost him nothing.[6] Other apprentices had to pay a standard fee of 13s.4d.[7] These fees were not unduly onerous and although admission to the freedom meant the acceptance of the duties of a master craftsman, together with a number of civic responsibilities, a certain number of apprentices were always ready to be enrolled, usually after a short period as a journeyman. On the limited evidence available, more than 80 per cent of those that took this step did so within ten years of completing their apprenticeship. Of these, 12 per cent sought almost immediate enrolment and a further 50 per cent did so within five years. Others took decidedly longer. Fourteen per cent of the apprentices waited between 11 and 20 years before seeking admission to the freedom; 5 per cent of them allowed more than 20 years to elapse before taking this step. One worsted weaver,

5. Richard Grime, for example, was apprenticed as a worsted weaver early in James I's reign until he was 27 years and 16 weeks old. Millican and Rising, op.cit., p. 78.

6. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. 382.

7. Ibid., I, p. 106.

almost incredibly, waited 40 years between the completion of his apprenticeship and taking up his freedom, and seventeen of his fellows in the same trade allowed more than 25 years to pass before taking the same course. Half a dozen others -- two cordwainers, a barber, a brewer, a feltmaker and a hosier -- took up their freedom more than 30 years after their term of apprenticeship had expired. One must assume that a combination of poverty and disinclination to serve the community is the main explanation for such delays. No non-freeman could trade on his own account for very long. He was allowed to maintain a shop for two years and a day, but was forbidden to take any apprentices. After the period had expired he had the choice of taking up his freedom or closing the shop.[8]

Table XXVII[9]

Number of years elapsing between completion of apprenticeship and enrolment as a freeman 1551-1675

Occupational grouping	Nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Over 25
Textiles	32	173	91	45	27	16	18
Distributive	19	49	14	1	4	2	1
Clothing	25	107	26	10	8		3
Food & Drink	10	18	12	1	3		1
Leatherwork	6	45	17	9	4	2	4
Metalwork	4	21	6	6	2		
Building	11	35	8	3	3	1	
Transport		2					
Professional	5	3	1	1	1		
Miscellaneous		2	1	1	1	1	
Totals	112	455	176	77	53	22	27
Percentages	12	49	19	8	6	2	3

III The Norwich freemen

Despite the fact that many apprentices did not take up their freedom, and others were reticent about doing so, the numbers admitted to the freedom increased steadily. In contrast to the apprenticeship indentures, there was little, if any, under-recording of the freemen

8. Millican and Rising, op.cit., p. ii.

9. The details in Table XXVII are based on those examples in Millican, op.cit., where the dates of apprenticeship and of taking up the freedom are both given.

and in consequence the lists provide a reasonably accurate picture of the trade structure of Tudor and Stuart Norwich. Very broadly speaking, the story is one of the decline and resurgence of the local textile industry and of the development of the city as a regional capital. In the process Norwich grew to rely progressively less on the skilled tradesman coming in from outside its confines, and more on its own freemen's sons and on those people who were apprenticed in the town. Initially, certain trades, notably those concerned with clothing, food and drink and transport, relied heavily on outsiders. Eighteen of the carriers, keelmen, watermen and wheelwrights purchased their freedom in the period 1551-1575, for example, the only exceptions being a keelman who was the son of an existing freeman and a wheelwright who served an apprenticeship. All of the brewers, cooks, innholders and innkeepers were admitted non apprentice in the same period, as were more than 100 of the 142 tailors. The influx of such newcomers caused some resentment, however, as that of the Dutch and Walloons was to do in another context, and legislation attempted to restrict their admission to the freedom. In theory, their numbers were limited to four per year after 1622.[10] In practice, this proved difficult to implement but by the third quarter of the seventeenth century the proportion of men admitted to the freedom as non-apprentices had fallen to 11 per cent compared to the 44 per cent admitted between 1551 and 1575. In the same period the proportion of apprentice admissions increased by 50 per cent while those by patrimony almost doubled. The full details of admissions to the freedom in general, and a breakdown of those admitted by apprenticeship, patrimony and purchase, is given in Appendix VIII. It will be convenient here to consider the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries separately, for both had their own special characteristics.

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10. Millican, op.cit., p. xx.

(a) The sixteenth century

Whether judged on the basis of admissions to the freedom or, as is done below, on the trade structure for a single year, it is clear that to discuss Norwich solely from the point of view of its textile trade is to oversimplify grossly. In the first half of the sixteenth century potential freemen had between eighty and ninety trades to chose from, a number which had risen to more than one hundred by the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Nevertheless, it is true to say that the textile industry was one of the most important, if not the most important, in Tudor Norwich, and the city fathers bewailed the town's decline from this point of view.

In the first quarter of the century the textile trades still employed the greatest number of freemen, the 209 people admitted accounting for rather more than 28 per cent of all those admitted. The distributive trades, employing just over 19 per cent of such people, were formidable rivals, while the building, clothing and leather trades, each employing some 10 per cent of the freemen, were the most important minority groups. Thereafter the decline of the textile trades was rapid until by the turn of the century they accounted for little more than 14 per cent of the city's freemen. Those admitted to such occupations as draper, grocer and mercer maintained themselves at the same level for much of the period, declining slightly in the last quarter of the century. The leather trades, in contrast, increased steadily, the clothing trades rapidly, the latter doubling their share of the freemen between the first and last quarters of the century.

The general situation is summed up overleaf, but the broad trends are made clearer by a comparison of the city's trade structure in certain specific years. This is possible on three occasions in the sixteenth century: in 1525 and 1560 when, as already pointed out, the names from the very full subsidy lists for the first year, and those from the equally full muster

roll for the second, can be related to the freemen's lists; [11] and in 1589 when, for reasons which are not apparent, full details of the city's householders and their occupations were recorded. [12]

Table XXVIII [13]

Admissions to the freedom in the sixteenth century

Occupational grouping	1501-1525	1526-1550	1551-1576	1576-1600
Textiles	209	189	171	164
%	28°47	23°30	15°92	14°74
Distributive	142	151	212	175
%	19°35	18°62	19°73	15°72
Clothing	69	97	173	207
%	9°40	11°96	16°10	18°61
Food & Drink	63	87	131	133
%	8°58	10°73	12°20	11°96
Leatherwork	78	100	135	166
%	10°63	12°33	12°56	14°92
Metalwork	40	59	67	64
%	5°45	7°27	6°23	5°75
Building	72	53	109	122
%	9°81	6°54	10°15	10°97
Transport	6	15	20	11
%	0°82	1°84	1°86	0°98
Professional	17	18	17	24
%	2°32	2°21	1°58	2°15
Woodwork	16	23	20	20
%	2°18	2°84	1°86	1°80
Miscellaneous	22	19	19	26
%	3°00	2°34	1°77	2°34
Totals	734	811	1,074	1,112

Approximately half of the 1,414 people who were taxed in 1525 are identifiable as freemen, occupying between them 78 different trades. [14] The twelve leading occupations, given in Table XXIX overleaf, provide a clear picture of the main trading interests at that time.

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11. See page 31 for earlier references to the 1525 subsidy roll. The names in the 1569 muster roll, N.N.R.O., Case 13, shelf a, have been related to the occupations given in Millican, op.cit.

12. N.N.R.O., Aylsham Collection, 156.

13. Details from The Old Free Book, 1317-1549, N.N.R.O., Case 17, shelf c, and from Millican, op.cit.

14. See Appendix I, pp. 295-6

Table XXIX

Occupations with the largest number of freemen in 1525

1	Worsted weavers	131
2	Tailors	51
3	Cordwainers	44
4	Mercers	44
5	Butchers	33
6	Grocers	27
7	Carpenters	23
8	Shearmen	23
9	Bakers	21
10	Masons	18
11	Coverlet weavers	17
12	Raffmen	17

Grouped into specific categories, the industrial character of the city emerges. The textile trades were clearly the largest employers, the worsted weavers alone being almostbthree times as numerous as the tailors, the second largest group. Nevertheless, almost 70 per cent of the Norwich freemen were employed in trades other than textiles and even if the clothing trades are considered to be closely allied more than six people in every ten were engaged in different spheres. Of these, the distributive trades were both the second largest and the wealthiest group by far. The food and drink trades, the third largest grouping, employed more than 12 per cent of the Norwich freemen, the most numerous being the bakers, butchers and fishmongers. These trades also included a number of wealthy men, the three leading groups supplying more than 85 per cent of those citizens who were called upon in 1523 to pay their tax in advance of the others. [15]

The majority of the remaining freemen were engaged in the leather, building, clothing and metal trades. The first two of these, employing between them one-fifth of the city's freemen, were among the poorer occupational groupings, two-thirds of the builders and over two-thirds of the leather workers being worth less than £5 in personal estate. The bulk of the masons, glaziers and reeders in the building trades and the curriers, saddlers and shoemakers in the leather trades fell into this category.

15. See Appendix III for the value of the moveable goods owned by the workers in

Table XXX

Trade groupings in 1525
given as a percentage of the whole

Occupational grouping	Number of freemen	Percentages
Textiles	208	30°00
Distributive	106	15°27
Food & Drink	93	13°40
Leatherwork	78	11°23
Building	67	9°65
Clothing	54	7°78
Metalwork	35	5°04
Woodwork	18	2°58
Miscellaneous	16	2°29
Transport	13	1°87
Professional	6	0°86
Total	694	

The Norwich trade structure makes interesting comparison with that of other county towns for the same period. It is now some eighteen years since Professor Hoskins published his pioneer study of three midland towns, in which he pointed out that the clothing, food and drink and building trades provided employment for between 35 and 40 per cent of the working population.[16] The Norwich figures tend to confirm those for Coventry, Leicester and Northampton, the three groupings employing just over 30 per cent of the city's freemen in 1525. Subsequent research has produced similar results from other towns. In Chester, for example, the same trade groups employed some 28 per cent of the populace, while for York the figure is as high as 36 per cent. In Worcester, in complete contrast, the three occupational groupings employed no more than 16 per cent of the workforce in a town which was apparently dominated bybthe textile industry.[17]

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16. W.G.Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', in Provincial England, 1963, p. 80.

17. L.A.Clarkson, The Pre-Industrial Economy in England, 1500-1750, 1971, pp. 88-9. As he states on page 90, Dr. Clarkson has followed my method of classifying the various occupations, and thus the categories should be identical in every town referred to.

Table XXXI

Trade groupings of six county towns given as a percentage of the whole

A = Chester, 1558-1603
B = Coventry in 1522
C = Leicester, 1559-1603
D = Northampton in 1524
E = Worcester before 1589
F = York, 1558-1603

Occupational grouping	A	B	C	D	E	F
Textiles	10°60	16°90	6°60	10°50	42°00	5°40
Distributive			6°70	6°20	13°00	16°70
Food & Drink	12°60	15°50	18°60	15°00	12°00	16°60
Leatherwork	22°60	11°00	22°00	23°00	11°00	13°90
Building	5°90	4°50	5°90	7°50	2°00	8°10
Clothing	9°30	16°30	10°00	5°10	4°00	17°20
Metalwork		8°00	4°60	3°00	7°00	10°90
Totals	61°00	72°20	74°40	70°30	91°00	88°80

The proportion of people employed in the different trade groupings naturally differs from town to town. Worcester, on this evidence, was even more of a textile town than Norwich was alleged to be, and Coventry also employed a number of people in that field. In every town, the food and drink and leather trades were of some importance, and in most of them the building and metal workers were important minority groups. The proportion of building workers in Worcester is surprisingly low, as is that of the metalworkers in Northampton. One suspects that the absence of metal and distributive workers in Chester and of distributive workers in Coventry is one of absence of evidence rather than of workers as such.[18]

Turning again to Norwich, one finds that radical changes took place in the city's economy between 1525 and 1569. Whereas in the former year much - although by no means all - of the city's prosperity depended on the activities of its textile workers, by the second decade of Elizabeth's reign it relied increasingly on the activities of its grocers and the demands of the surrounding gentry and countryfolk for its wealth.

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18. As the Worcester evidence is based on an analysis of surviving inventories, the paucity of building workers may be an indication of poverty, not lack of

The change was brought about by the lessening demands for its products. As early as 1536 complaints were made that worsted could not be sold, one weaver, at least, attributing his failure to pay subsidy to that cause, and the tax collectors were obliged to collect reduced amounts in the city. Competition abroad, where a better class of worsted was produced, caused considerable distress in Norwich and the government showed itself aware of the problem by making specific provision for the city's merchants to buy and sell worsted elsewhere. The decline continued, however. Up to 1535 between 1,000 and 3,000 Norwich worsteds were exported annually from Great Yarmouth. Thereafter the numbers fell steadily until by the third year of Elizabeth's reign no more than 38 left for foreign markets.[19]

In an attempt to restore the city's fortunes new industries were fostered, the hatters becoming a separate company in 1543, the russell weavers in 1554. Neither trade was particularly successful. The hatters suffered from the apparent total inability of the city fathers to control their activities, with the result that inferior products were put on the market. Initially, there was no effective training, no specific period of apprenticeship, and a number of people from depressed occupations (worsted weavers, shearmen etc.) tried their hands at the new trade. It also attracted some people from the surrounding country districts, few of whom ever proceeded to their freedom. The difficulties were not finally settled until the 1560s, several hatters in the meantime having left the city to escape possible craft restrictions. The russell

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19. K. J. Allison, 'The Norfolk Worsted Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, xii, 1960; N. Williams, The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 1550-90, Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1952, pp. 38 and 74.

weavers, when they began, introduced foreign craftsmen and repeatedly made better products than their continental rivals but their output was small, numbering only a few hundred cloths each year.[20]

The depression did not affect those engaged in the purely textile trades alone. For much of the first half of the sixteenth century the Norwich mercers shared in the prosperity resulting from the boom in the cloth trade. Some, as merchant adventurers, were members of the so-called Old Hanse, trading to the Baltic and elsewhere; at least one, Alexander Mather, may have been a member of the Russia Company.[21] Their wealth is apparent in their contributions to the subsidy of 1523-7, when twenty paid their contribution in advance, half of them on sums of more than £100, and in the fact that they held the mayoralty no fewer than fourteen times in the first half of the century. The slump which followed the saturation of the market in 1550, and the subsequent steady decline of Antwerp, affected the mercers as a class, however, and they never regained their pre-eminent position. There were still 48 of them in Norwich in 1569 but the number of mercers admitted to the freedom of the city steadily declined and by the last quarter of the century they are no longer to be found among the twelve leading trades.

The various crises in the cloth trade, depreciation of the coinage and the rise in prices affected Norwich as elsewhere and some tradesmen attempted to solve the problem by emigration. In May 1549 the Common Council complained that masons, carpenters, reeders and tilers had left to find work in the country, the

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20. K.J.Allison, 'The Norwich Hatters', East Anglian Magazine, xvi, p. 138.

21. The name of Alexander Mather is recorded, without further comment, in T.S.Willan, The Muscovy merchants of 1555, 1953, p. 113. Mather was a common councillor of Norwich between 1549 and 1554 and an alderman between 1554 and 1559. It is feasible that it may have been the same man.

void created being filled by 'foreigners' and beggars.[22] Significantly, it was in the latter year that many of the latter caused trouble in the city during Ket's rebellion and that Norwich became the first provincial city to inaugurate compulsory contributions to the relief of the poor.

To add to the trade depression, the city suffered severely from plague in 1556. No precise figures are available, but Blomefield records the death of ten aldermen and a number of common councillors from this cause, classes that usually survived similar outbreaks in the Elizabethan period, and the poor almost certainly suffered severely.[23] Plague mortality and emigration from the city affected the physical growth of Norwich and by the second decade of Elizabeth's reign the English population of the city was little higher than it was in 1525.

Despite the relatively static population, the number of freemen increased steadily throughout the fifty year period under discussion. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century the average number of annual admissions was twenty-eight. By the 1570s it had increased to forty-nine and it is thus possible to identify 1,250 men as freemen as against the 705 some fifty years earlier.

Even more than in 1525, an analysis of the occupations reveals how inadequate it is to describe Norwich as a purely textile town, little more than one freeman in five being thus engaged. There were as many people engaged in the distributive trades as in textiles, the clothing trades employed almost one-sixth of the freemen and one in ten found employment in building, leather work and the various food and drink trades. As in 1525, too, about one freeman in twenty was a metal worker.

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22. D.Knoop and G.P.Jones, The Medieval Mason, 1933, p. 209.

23. F. Blomefield, History of Norfolk, III, p. 276.

Table XXXII

TWELVE LEADING TRADES IN NORWICH, 1569

1	Worsted weavers	166
2	Grocers	150
3	Tailors	146
4	Cordwainers	59
5	Mercers	48
6	Dornix weavers	35
7	Butchers	35
8	Tanners	34
9	Bakers	32
10	Carpenters	31
11	Butchers	29
12	Masons	26

Looking more closely at the trade groupings, it becomes apparent that the most striking changes in the fifty year period were the decline of the textile and, to a lesser extent, the food and drink trades and the steady rise in numbers of those employed in the clothing and distributive trades. Despite an increase of over 500 freemen, the numbers engaged in the former trades altered little. In contrast, those employed in the clothing trades and in professional activities more than trebled in number, those concerned with the distributive trades doubled, and the numbers of building, leather and metalworkers almost doubled.

Table XXXIII

Trade groupings in 1569
given as a percentage of the whole

Textiles	21°12
Distributive	20°08
Clothing	14°88
Leatherwork	12°24
Food and Drink	9°68
Building	9°28
Metalwork	5°20
Others	7°52
Total	100°00

The increased number of freemen and, in particular, the spheres in which they increased, reflect a major change in the economy of the city. Much has been written about the decline of Norwich as a textile town

and its subsequent revival with the coming of the New Draperies, but to paint a picture of complete economic stagnation before the arrival of the Dutch and Walloons would be misleading in the extreme. Far from being a depressed town there is every evidence, textiles apart, that the economy of Norwich was in a very healthy state in the first decades of Elizabeth's reign due, at least in part, to the increasing demands of the surrounding gentry. The number of tailors alone suggests a considerable demand for clothing from beyond the city. If we add to this the large numbers of the occupied population engaged in the provision of food and drink, household goods and building facilities it becomes apparent that the city served many customers beyond its immediate precincts. At least 80 per cent of the freemen were engaged, directly or indirectly, in providing goods for the consumer, and it is hardly possible to envisage four people producing goods for the other one.

It seems fairly clear, in fact, that Norwich was becoming increasingly attractive as the capital city of its region - a lesser London. On a reduced scale, the city had much the same advantages as the metropolis. The Duke of Norfolk held court there in a very real sense; the quarter sessions attracted the country gentry, and others, at frequent intervals and many of them were in residence for at least part of the year; the city's grammar school took at least a portion of the country people; it was a minor port, albeit an inland one; and the great fairs, held at regular intervals throughout the year, brought in a vast concourse of people.

In this respect Norwich resembled many of the other large towns that played the part of capital cities to their regions. Professor Hoskins has pointed out that many towns of this type - Exeter, Salisbury, Newcastle and Bristol, as well as York and Norwich - were in the process of becoming social capitals 'in which a growing proportion of the larger gentry had a

town houses to which they migrated for the winter months', while Professor Dickens noted the steady increase in number of those engaged in the luxury trades at York, a town which, like Norwich, increased little in population during the sixteenth century.[24]

That much of the demand in Norwich was for luxury goods is evidenced both by the increasing quantity of groceries imported and by the phenomenal rise of the grocers themselves, 150 being identifiable as freemen in 1569 compared to the 27 who were present in 1525. A contemporary noted the change as early as 1550, remarking in a tavern that 'there were more merchants now by the hundred thousand in carrying and conveying victual and such like things'.[25] If the number of merchants was exaggerated it is difficult to exaggerate the variety of goods being brought into the city at this time. Dr. Neville Williams has noted that while exports from the city consisted almost entirely of cloth, imports included goods as diverse as 'fish, corn, sugar and prunes, hops and wine, woad, madder, fullers' earth, soap, alum, wool from Spain and from Lincolnshire, yarn and woolcards, paper, salt, coal, bricks, tiles, timber, glass, iron, pewter and tin'.[26] By the 1570s the East Anglian ports were importing ever increasing quantities of sugar, molasses and syrup, figs and prunes, raisins and currants. In 1581 a cargo of 20,000 oranges and 1,000 lemons reached Norwich in time for the St. Bartholomew's Fair. The grocers were mainly responsible for this activity, but they were not the only ones to take advantage of the opportunities offered. The Norwich mercers, possibly extending their activities, imported large quantities of French and sweet wines at about the same time. Even the Bishop of Norwich imported beer for his household, rather surprisingly, for the number of local beer brewers increased considerably.[27]

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24. W.G.Hoskins, Provincial England, pp. 86-7; A.G.Dickens, 'Tudor York' in The City of York, V.C.H., Yorks., 1961, pp.127-8.
25. N.Williams, op.cit., p. 216.
26. Ibid., p. 73.
27. Ibid.

The innkeepers were able to make large profits on occasion, particularly when the quarter sessions brought in the justices and other notables, and by 1575 one had achieved aldermanic status.[28] The business of the tailors increased only less than that of the grocers, while the ever increasing river traffic enabled John Stingate, Keelman, to quote but one example, to leave over £250 to his children at his death, as well as real estate within the city. The development of the leather trades increased the status of the cordwainers, ordinances passed in 1561 allowing them to become common councillors for the first time. Richard Durrant, the Norwich bonesetter, prospered sufficiently to leave over £280 at his death in addition to large sums owed him, almost certainly, by wealthy patrons.[29]

The increasing wealth of at least a section of the community is reflected, too, in what appears to have been considerable building activity in Norwich between 1576 and 1590, activity only temporarily halted by the various outbreaks of plague. There is evidence of an increasing substitution of brick for timber and slate for thatch, large quantities of bricks and tiles being brought up-river, mostly from the Low Countries. By 1580 the volume of river traffic had grown to such an extent that the authorities found it necessary to construct a new common staithe.[30]

There was, of course, a reverse side to the picture, and the census of the poor, taken in 1570, makes it clear that there was considerable poverty in the town. The condition of the poor, and what was done to alleviate their distress, is discussed thoroughly elsewhere.[31] It is useful at this juncture, however,

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28. The innkeeper concerned with Nicholas Baker.

29. N.C.C., 273 Flack for Stingate; ibid., 150 Candler for Durrant.

30. Williams, op.cit., pp. 77, 205.

31. See Chapter Seven, pp. 219-73.

Table XXXIV

Combined occupations of freemen and poor [32] compared with those of the freemen alone

A = Numbers of freemen employed in the various occupational groupings in 1569
B = Percentage of freemen employed in the same groupings
C = Numbers of poor employed in the various occupational groupings in 1570
D = Percentage of poor employed in the same groupings
E = Combined totals of freemen and poor employed
F = Percentage of people employed in the combined groups
G = Percentage difference between the freemen groupings and the combined groupings

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Textiles	264	21·12	120	25·53	384	22·33	+ 1·21
Distributive	251	20·08	2	0·43	253	14·71	- 5·37
Clothing	186	14·88	26	5·53	212	12·33	- 2·55
Food & Drink	121	9·68	22	4·78	143	8·31	- 1·37
Leatherwork	153	12·24	63	13·40	216	12·56	+ 0·32
Metalwork	65	5·20	21	4·47	86	5·00	- 0·80
Building	116	9·28	50	10·64	166	9·65	+ 0·37
Transport	18	1·44	8	1·70	26	1·51	+ 0·07
Professional	25	2·00	2	0·43	27	1·57	- 0·43
Woodwork	35	2·80	6	1·28	41	2·33	- 0·47
Miscellaneous	16	1·28	30	6·40	46	2·67	+ 1·39
Labourers			120	25·53			
Totals	1,250		470		1,720		

to take into account the occupations listed in the census, and to see if their presence radically affects the picture of the city's trade structure provided by the muster return of the previous year. This will still exclude the non-freemen above the level of the very poor, and in that sense the return of 1589, which is discussed below, is more satisfactory, but it does make the picture that much clearer.

The table above provides no surprises. The inclusion of the 124 labourers has reduced the importance of the distributive, clothing and food and drink trades for the obvious reason that the former and, to a lesser extent, the latter, recruited from men of some substance. Other changes are minimal, the inclusion of the poorer textile workers making little difference to the position of the trade grouping in the occupational hierarchy.

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32. The details of this table are derived from J.F.Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', Past and Present, 34, 1966, pp. 65-6, and Ibid., The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norf.Rec.Soc., XL, 1971, pp. 97-8.

Twenty years later, in 1589, a full occupational census of the city's householders and a few 'sojourners' was taken. There is no obvious reason for this. The return came to light a few years ago when a batch of papers was transferred from a local solicitor's office to the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office. Other returns for some country districts in the same year include a few occupational details, but none in the same detail as those for the city. In the year after the Armada one might guess that the return was the prelude to a muster, but if this was the case some householders would have been excluded by virtue of their age while others would have been included who had not yet attained the status of householder. At all events, the document provides occupational details of 1,370 men, ranging in status from the gentleman to the labourer, and the historian must be grateful for what is, perhaps, the most complete return of its kind in existence.[33]

Under normal circumstances, the only documents to record the names of individuals in any one year are muster and subsidy returns. If the historian wishes to reconstruct the trade structure of a city or town, he must relate the names in such documents to the lists of freemen, assuming that they exist. This means that all non-freemen are, by definition, excluded and that one must assume that a freeman continued to trade in his original occupation. Inventories can establish the fact that an individual changed his trade between the time of taking up his freedom and his death, but obviously they provide information for only a limited number of cases. With both the 1589 return and the freemen's lists to work from, however, it is possible to build up a reasonably accurate picture, the return correcting the freemen's lists while they, in their turn, clarify certain generalisations. Thus all those who are placed together in the general category of weaver in 1589 can be identified as dornix weavers, worsted weavers, lace weavers etc., as the case may be, and the same applies to the general category of smith. The occupations of men content to call themselves gentlemen are identifiable in the same way.

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33. N.N.R.O., Aylsham Collection, 156.

Complete changes of occupation are rare, numbering no more than 17 in all; movements within the same occupational grouping are rather more numerous, twice as many people taking this step. Examples of the former include a twisterer becoming a cobbler, a draper a maltster and a painter becoming a weaver; among the latter were cordwainers who had slipped slightly in the social hierarchy to become cobblers and tailors who had become hosiers. Full occupational details from the 1589 list are given in Appendix IX. The table below summarises the overall position.

Table XXXV

A comparison of the occupational details given in the freemen's lists and the return of 1589

Occupational grouping	Occupational groupings from the freemen's lists		Occupational groupings of the same men from the 1589 return		Occupational groupings of all men included in the 1589 return	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Textiles	140	20°95	144	21°56	264	19°41
Distributive	115	17°22	104	15°57	124	9°05
Clothing	101	15°12	100	14°97	149	10°88
Food & Drink	74	11°08	86	12°87	152	11°09
Leatherwork	102	15°27	93	13°92	160	11°68
Metalwork	30	4°49	33	4°79	55	4°29
Building	60	8°98	59	8°83	106	7°74
Transport	7	1°05	6	0°90	30	2°19
Professional	20	3°00	20	3°00	42	2°33
Miscellaneous	9	1°35	12	1°80	32	2°34
Woodwork	10	1°50	11	1°65	24	1°75
Labourers					166	12°12
Farming					36	2°63
Gentlemen					30	2°19
Totals	668		668		1,370	

Where the freeman class is concerned, it is clear that the information derived from the return differs little from that obtainable from the freemen's lists. The full return, on the other hand, includes the names of a number of tradesmen who had not proceeded to the freedom, as well as those of a substantial number of labourers and smaller numbers of husbandmen, yeomen and gentry. Their inclusion offsets the numerical superiority of the merchant classes and, to a lesser extent, those concerned with the making

of clothes, but has little effect on the position of the other trades. It would thus seem, on this evidence, that the freemen's lists provide a reasonably accurate impression of the trade structure of Elizabethan Norwich, distorting it only where the wealthier trades are concerned.

The return of 1589 can be used in two other ways, namely to provide details of occupations which are unobtainable from other sources, and to establish the proportion of freemen to non-freemen.

In 1589 the freemen of the city comprised almost 50 per cent of all the city's householders, and 59 per cent if the gentry, farmers and labourers are excluded. Among the larger occupational groupings, the distributive trades had the greatest proportion of freemen with 84 per cent, the food and drink trades the smallest with 57 per cent. The smaller trade groupings tended to have fewer freemen among their ranks, ranging from the 20 per cent of the transport workers to the 60 per cent employed in the metal trades.

Table XXXVI

Proportion of freemen to non-freemen in 1589

Occupational grouping	Number of freemen	Number of non-freemen	Totals	Percentage of freemen
Textiles	144	120	264	54°55
Distributive	104	20	124	83°87
Clothing	100	49	149	67°11
Food & Drink	86	66	152	56°58
Leatherwork	93	67	160	58°12
Metalwork	33	22	55	60°00
Building	59	47	106	55°66
Transport	6	24	30	20°00
Professional	20	22	42	47°62
Miscellaneous	12	20	32	37°50
Woodwork	11	13	24	45°83
Totals	668	470	1,138	58°70

Excluded from the table are the 166 labourers, 36 farmers and 30 gentry referred to on the previous page. These apart, the list also included 9 schoolmasters, 7 attorneys, a doctor, 2 surgeons and 11 boatmen, none of which trades appear in the freemen's lists. The schoolmasters and surgeons are particularly interesting. Until the appearance of the 1589 return, few teachers were known other than those employed by the Norwich grammar school;

information about the legal profession was completely lacking.

One further significant fact emerges. Admissions to the freedom over twenty-five year periods give the impression of a steady decline of the textile trades, reaching its nadir with the 14 per cent of the freemen admitted in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. It is clear from the 1589 list, however, that the trade was already reviving and employed half as many men again as the wider analysis suggests. In part, at least, this reflects the advent of the Dutch and Walloons.

Norwich had had contact with the Netherlands for many years, chiefly through the activities of its Merchant Adventurers. When Richard Bate took Christopher Layer as an apprentice in 1550, for example, he agreed that 'he at his own costs and charges shall sufficiently fynde the seide Christopher son yere within the seide terme in Flaunders to be sufficientely taughte to speke Duche'. [34] Few aliens were settled in the city in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, however, and it took the Duke of Alva's invasion of the Netherlands to cause a wholesale exodus from their native land. By 1565, when Letters Patent authorised their settlement in Norwich, at least forty-two families, comprising 174 people in all, had already arrived in the town. [35]

The general immigration to Norwich came as the result of action by the mayor, Thomas Sotherton. [36] An unusually wet autumn in 1564, followed by severe frost, aggravated the city's employment problem which was already made bad by the decline of the textile trades. Sotherton approached the Duke of Norfolk and the privy council in turn, pleading the decline of the worsted trade, the large numbers of unemployed, and the fact

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34. Millican, op.cit., p. 231.

35. W. Rye, 'The Dutch Refugees in Norwich', Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany, 1887, III, p. 185.

36. Ibid., II, p. lxxix.

that several artisans were leaving the city causing the decay of many houses which had to be let at small prices. The appeal was successful and Letters Patent dated 5 November 1565 authorised 30 families with their servents to settle in the city. Twenty-four of these were to be Dutch and six Walloon, the total number being limited to 300 people, i.e., ten per family, including servants. They were expected to introduce bayes, arras, sayes, tapestry, mockadoes, 'carsays' and other outlandish commodities' not previously manufactured in this country. The common council of the city, possibly fearing the competition of so many strangers, refused to put their seal to the orders, but the opposition was overcome by the mayor using his own seal of office. [37]

The numbers authorised were soon exceeded. In 1568 the men alone numbered over 400, more than half of whom were employed in the textile trades; of these 193 were woolcombers, an occupation which took some time to gain popularity in Norwich, and 62 were weavers. Amond the more interesting of the miscellaneous occupations were those of printer, one of whom set up in Norwich, and bookseller. Anthony de Solon was apparently the first printer to become established in Norwich, certainly the first to become a freeman in the trade; he combined this activity with importing Rhenish wine. [38]

Despite the fact that the aliens arrived at the express invitation of the Norwich authorities they were regarded with more than a little antipathy. They were placed under severe restrictions, being forbidden to buy or sell any goods except those of their own make, and even these could only be sold to members of their own nation. These restrictions were to cause incessant disputes between the 'strangers' and the city authorities. How unwise the city fathers were to

37. Moens, op.cit., p. 29.
38. Ibid., 152-6, pp. 207-16.

antagonise the aliens was proved by the immediate revival in trade, the pieces produced by the Russell Company, for example, increasing almost immediately from 276 to 1,048 and reaching 2,845 by 1572.[39]

Although there was this initial stimulus, there was by no means wholesale co-operation between the English and the aliens. Initially, the English weavers experienced keen competition from the strangers over the available wool supplies, and there is no record of the English being instructed in new methods until the 1570s and 1580s and then only in the making of bays. In 1581 the Dutch refused to pass on the secrets of fulling and scouring, while the English, in their turn, did nothing to prevent unskilled shearmen from having access to the new cloths nor was there any attempt made to compel native dyers to comply with the Strangers' Book of Orders.[40]

By the turn of the century, however, the major difficulties had been resolved. In 1598 the strangers were admitted to the freedom for the first time and allowed to buy and sell as readily as any English freeman. The English, although never mastering the art of bay making which declined with the Dutch congregation, took more easily to the Walloon grograines, mockadoes, vellums, buffins and other caungeantry, and by the last years of Elizabeth's reign the manufacture of traditional worsteds was all but extinct.[41] The scene was set for the tremendous boom in the textile industry which was to occur in the seventeenth century.

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39. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. (illegible).

40. K.J. Allison, 'The Norfolk worsted industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Part II. The New Draperies'. Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, Vol. 13, No. 2, Nov. 1961, pp. 63-4.

41. P.J. Bowden, The Wool trade in Tudor and Stuart England, 1962, p. 53.

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The disinclination or inability of the English craftsmen to take to the Dutch methods meant that the sale and production of bayes declined rapidly. French products, on the other hand, went from strength to strength. According to Professor Wilson, the particular strength of the Norwich industry was the light, bright, stuffs often made of a mixture of wool and silk 'which came to be the popular wear of the not too affluent squire's lady or tradesman's wife'.[42] The sheer diversity of these cloths is well brought out in a letter written by Thomas Anguish, the mayor of Norwich, in 1611. In it he refers to the French congregation 'who have exercised, made, and wrought sundry cloths and stuffs called buffins, mockadoes, velours all of linen, velours, linen, and cruell camlets, damask, says of dry cruell after the fashion Lile Ameens and Mondry, grograins, double mockadoes, ollyets, bumbasins of silk and sciet (sic), silk burrato, bumbasins alias rash, with the ground of linen, silk, says, tuft, taffety all silk, striped says, broad lyles, Spanish satins, cross billetts of silk and sciet fustinado, fushian of linen, and cotton filizetis of cruel serge de Boice of cruell, silk filizetis, silk serge de Boice, silk say, striped tobines, silk tufted and striped waied satins, catalownes tropodelis, tufted buffins, catalowne says, striped and plain serges de Boice in catalowne figuratoes brato pearled and striped tufted says and such like of now denise.....'[43] The ladies concerned may have been as baffled as the modern reader by the variety of names, but they could not complain of lack of choice.

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42. Charles Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763, 1965, p. 76.

43. Joan Thirsk and J.P. Cooper, Seventeenth Century Economic documents, 1972, p. 731.

Both the home and the foreign markets were captured by the men producing the New Draperies and their success encouraged more and more people to enter the worsted industry. If the sixteenth century can be seen, however broadly, as a story of the steady decline of the textile industry in Norwich, the seventeenth century must be seen as one of its phenomenal rise. On three separate occasions during the reign of James I more than one hundred youths were apprenticed as worsted weavers in a single year, and over eight hundred are known to have been apprenticed to the trade during the first twenty-five years of the century.[44] Admissions to the freedom never reached this level, but more than 260 men were admitted as worsted weavers in the first quarter of the century, half as many again in the succeeding period and a further 680 between 1651 and 1675.[45] In the process the textile industry's share of the freemen rose from 26 to 40 per cent, a much greater proportion than was ever achieved in the preceding century.

Most of the other occupations maintained themselves at the same level, in an absolute sense, the leather and metal workers actually increasing in number between 1626 and 1650; but virtually all of them declined relatively as an ever-increasing number of apprentices entered the textile trades. Only the building and clothing trades reversed the general trend. The builders had reached their high point at the end of Elizabeth's reign. They lost ground over the next fifty years, recovering slightly between 1651 and 1675. The clothing trades continued to attract much the same proportion of freemen throughout the seventeenth century, and the number of admissions actually rose by some 25 per cent during the Commonwealth and Restoration periods. The position is summed up below.

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44. Millican and Rising, op.cit., passim.
45. See Appendix VII, pp. 322-6.

Table XXXVII

Admissions to the freedom in Norwich, 1601-1675

A = Numbers admitted B = Percentages

Occupational grouping	1601-1625 A	1601-1625 B	1626-1650 A	1626-1650 B	1651-1675 A	1651-1675 B
Textiles	387	26°65	492	31°55	747	40°79
Distributive	219	15°08	202	12°96	159	8°68
Clothing	224	15°42	216	13°85	266	14°52
Food & Drink	157	10°81	149	9°56	124	6°77
Leatherwork	178	12°25	196	12°57	174	9°50
Metalwork	97	6°68	111	7°11	97	5°29
Building	101	6°95	103	6°60	135	7°37
Transport	9	0°62	3	0°19	6	0°33
Professional	37	2°55	29	1°86	35	1°91
Woodwork	17	1°17	18	1°16	40	2°18
Miscellaneous	26	1°79	40	2°57	48	2°62
Totals	1,452		1,159		1,831	

The fortunes of the individual trades naturally varied as much as those of the trade groupings. Worsted weavers, tailors, cordwainers and grocers held the first four places among the twelve leading occupations throughout; the hosiers, newly emerged as a separate occupation, maintained themselves in seventh place. The fortunes of the rest fluctuated. The bakers, butchers and masons were always among the leading trades, and both bakers and masons climbed the ladder when other trades suffered a partial decline. The drapers and brewers, in contrast, the former permanently, the latter temporarily, made an early exit to be replaced among the leading occupations by carpenters, blacksmiths and - briefly and interestingly - mercers. The barbers increased in number during the reign of Charles I and held their position between 1651 and 1675. The changing fortunes of the various trades are set out below.

Table XXVIII

Twelve leading trades in Norwich, 1601-1675, with number of admissions for each quarter of a century

	1601-1625	1626-1650	1651-1675
1	Worsted weavers 261	Worsted weavers 392	Worsted weavers 680
2	Tailors 165	Tailors 160	Tailors 192
3	Cordwainers 81	Cordwainers 107	Cordwainers 115
4	Grocers 75	Grocers 88	Grocers 70
5	Merchants 57	Bakers 59	Bakers 58
6	Dornix-weavers 45	Masons 35	Carpenters 46
7	Hosiers 42	Hosiers 33	Hosiers 38
8	Bakers 41	Barbers 30	Masons 36
9	Mercers 36	Merchants 30	Barbers 34
10	Brewers 34	Carpenters 29	Butchers 27
11	Butchers 29	Butchers 28	Blacksmiths 26
12	Masons 29	Blacksmiths 27	Woolcombers 24
		Dornix-weavers 27	
		Mercers 27	

The discussion would be incomplete without some mention of the aliens' occupations. They continued to have a strong bias towards textiles, the census of 1622 placing 62 per cent of them in that category, but some other occupations had made an appearance. The presence of 27 hosiers suggests that aliens may have been responsible for the introduction of that trade in Norwich. A small group of 8 gardeners and farmers indicates the Dutch interest in that particular field, and that of a small proportion of schoolmasters, physicians and surgeons their professional interests.[46]

A mention of doctors and physicians leads naturally to a discussion of the occupations omitted from the freemen's lists and of those which appeared for the first time in those lists during the seventeenth century.

46. Moens, op.cit., p. iii.

With the exception of scriveners and the occasional notary, professional men are rarely mentioned in the freemen's lists. The return of 1589 suggested that schoolmasters and attorneys were more numerous than might have been believed, but it made little mention of the medical profession. If this implies that there were relatively few doctors in Norwich at that time, the situation changed radically in the seventeenth century. Dr. Raach has discovered the names of no fewer than 19 of such people operating in the city, most of whom were in practice in the middle years of the century. Several were university trained, either in this country or abroad, and some, at least, were comfortably off. Outstanding in this respect was William Rant, the son of a local merchant. He inherited 200 acres of land, a capital messuage in the parish of St. Peter Mancroft and St. Stephen and 1,000 marks from his father, and he added considerably to his inheritance during his lifetime. At his own death he died seised of 352¼ acres of land, a manor, the church and rectory of Thurton in Norfolk with its appurtenances, five messuages in the city of Norwich and one in Yelverton, and £76 of ready cash.[47]

In complete contrast to the wealthy and educated members of the medical profession were the licensed tipplers of the city. Their names and occupations first appear in the Quarter Sessions books for 1651. In that year 142 tipling houses were licensed, the licensees being distributed among 38 different occupations. Thirty-eight of these were worsted weavers, 25 widows and 15 beerbrewers. The rest included butchers, cobblers, tanners, labourers, brewers and husbandmen, to select at random. Twenty years later the numbers had risen to 243 but by this time the occupations of the licensees were not given.[48]

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47. John H. Raach, A Directory of English Country Physicians, 1603-1643 (London, 1962), pp. 15, 110

48. N.N.R.O., Quarter Sessions Minute Books, 1639-1654, 1665-1687, Case 20, Shelf a. No pagination.

Forty new occupations appeared in the freemen's lists between 1601 and 1675, some of which had been practised in the city by non-freemen for some considerable time.[49] Roger Horton was described as a furrier as early as 1563, but no freeman was enrolled as such until 1694.[50] John Porter was engaged as a clockmaker before 1598, but none appears in the freemen's lists until 1613 when, surprisingly, the youth in question was apprenticed to a man who had begun his career as a grocer.[51] Lastmakers, coppersmiths and crossbowmakers appear among the occupations to which boys were apprenticed, but no freeman was officially practising as such. It is fairly clear, in fact, that many men were engaged in trades other than those in which they were originally apprenticed, or that they were practising more than one trade. The authorities were aware of this and attempted to regulate the practice without notable success. The tailors were particularly indicted for this, and it is not surprising to find tailors taking hosier apprentices when that trade re-emerged towards the end of Elizabeth's reign.[52] It is more surprising to find men who began their careers as basket-makers and locksmiths also taking such apprentices.[53] Some occupations emerged as the result of Dutch or Walloon influence. The lone claspmaker followed a trade previously practised only by a Dutchman while Thomas Spilling, who emerged as the first freeman chairmaker in the city in 1640 was described as having been apprenticed to a Dutch chairmaker.[54]

Finally, some mention must be made of the servant class. They were clearly numerous but usually appear anonymously among the 50 per cent or so of the adult

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49. Millican, op.cit., passim.

50. C.B., 1562-9, ff. 95-97, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf a; Millican, op.cit., p. 65.

51. Millican, op.cit., pp. 34, 131.

52. Ibid., p. 86.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., p. 33; Moens, op.cit., p. iii.

population to whom no trade can be ascribed. The only occasion on which their numbers can be ascertained with any certainty is in 1694. A return survives for that year which gives full details of 255 households in the large and wealthy parish of St. Peter Mancroft. One hundred and fifty of the households, or 60 per cent of the whole, employed servants, the larger of them having between five and seven, the smaller between one and two, for an average of just over two per household. There were approximately six female servants for every four males, and their total of 316 comprised just under 39 per cent of the entire adult population of the parish.[55] This can in no way be described as an average number but it does give some impression of the importance of this class in the city's occupational structure.

The tremendous boom in the textile trades might suggest relative prosperity for much of the seventeenth century. In part this is true. In 1576 the only worsted weavers in the city's government were the five men who sat as common councillors. A century later half of the aldermen and one-third of the common councillors were drawn from the trade, an eight fold increase which reflects their increasing wealth. On the other hand, 55 per cent of the people who lived in households containing a single hearth in 1671 were also worsted weavers.[56] The difference partly reflects the economic fluctuations of the century. A combination of plague and trading depression between 1625 and 1630 caused the poor rate to be trebled and large numbers were unemployed.[57] By 1650 relatively few cloths were being exported overseas and the clothiers relied heavily on the home market for the sale of their

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55. J. F. Pound, 'The Social Structure and Governing Classes of Norwich, 1525-1670'. Unpublished paper circulated and read to the meeting of the Urban History Group at Norwich, April 1968, pp. 9-10.

56. Ibid., p. 8.

57. Thirsk and Cooper, op.cit., p. 27.

produce.[58] As in the sixteenth century, when there was a trading slump the members of the largest trade suffered the most, and it is not without some significance that in 1671 60 per cent or so of the city's households were exempted from payment of the hearth tax on the grounds of poverty; a distinctly higher proportion than was to be found in York, Exeter and Leicester, for example, where the comparative figures were 20, 21 and 27 per cent respectively.[59]

If the fortunes of the worsted weavers varied, if only because of their numerical superiority, those of other occupations tended to be more stable. Although no longer rivalling the textile industry in numbers, as they had done during the middle years of the sixteenth century, the distributive trades contained a far greater proportion of wealthy, or relatively wealthy, men, as did the food and drink trades and those concerned ... the professions. The textile workers had 38 per cent of their members with houses containing three or more hearths; the food and drink trades had more than half of their members in this position while the proportion of those engaged in the distributive trades and the professions was as high as 77 and 88 per cent respectively.[60] Their wealth reflects the continuing demands of country customers as well as those of the citizens of Norwich themselves. Norwich, in many respects, was even more of a regional capital in the reign of Charles II than it had been in the reign of Elizabeth I. The Restoration city has been succinctly described by Macaulay. 'It was the residence of a Bishop and of a chapter. It was the chief seat of the chief manufacture of the realm. Some men distinguished by learning and science had recently dwelt there; and no place in the kingdom, except the capital and the Universities, had more attractions for the curious. The library, the museum, the aviary

58. Penelope Corfield, 'A provincial capital in the late seventeenth century: the case of Norwich' in Clark and Slack, op.cit., p. 280.

59. Pound, loc.cit., p. 4.

60. Ibid., p. 8.

and the botanical garden of Sir Thomas Browne, were thought by Fellows of the Royal Society well worthy of a long pilgrimage. Norwich had also a court in miniature'.[61]

Thomas Baskerville, actually visiting the city in Charles II's reign, was concerned with more practical things. He saw there 'the greatest shambles for butchers' meat I had ever yet seen, and the like also for poultry and dairy meats'. He noticed that the fish trade was encouraged by the butchers being compelled to sell all their meat by Thursday night, and in consequence was unable to get meat for his meal the following day. The fishmongers took advantage of the situation, as they were intended to do, and asked 2s.6d. for a pike under two feet long and 1s. for pickled oysters, prices which surprised Baskerville. Despite the obvious prosperity of the butchers, fishmongers and others, to Baskerville as to Macaulay, 'the chief trade of this famous town consists in making stuffs and worsted stockings, they in these sorts of manufactures excelling all other places'.[62]

To the visitor, the more obvious signs of poverty were concealed. The traveller saw the wealth and affluence of both the great and not so great, and he was usually impressed. Sir John Harrington sums up the views of many. 'I should judge this City to be another Utopia. The people live so orderly, the streets kept so cleanly, the tradesmen, young and old, so industrious, the better sort so provident and withal so charitable, that it is as rare to meet a beggar there, as it is common to see them in Westminster'.[63]

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61. T. B. Macaulay, History of England from the reign of James II, 1906 edn., I, p. 261.

62. Thirsk and Cooper, op.cit., pp. 402-3.

63. Wilson, op.cit., p. 77.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNING CLASSES OF TUDOR AND STUART NORWICH

I: The origins of the city's system of government

The men who ruled Norwich in the middle years of Henry VIII's reign were the inheritors of a system of government which had its origins in the days of the Plantagenets. The city received its original charter during the reign of Henry II, but the first of any real significance was the one granted in 1194 which gave the municipality its independence. It authorised the citizens to take burgage rents, tolls and profits of the borough court for themselves in exchange for a fee-farm rent of £108, and at the same time gave them the right to elect a reeve, coroners and other subordinate officials, and to hold a leet or local court. Forty years later, in the reign of Henry III, the reeve was replaced by four bailiffs, a move connected with the assumption of leet, or police jurisdiction by the citizens. The city was divided into four leets, the bailiffs acting in the dual capacity of city heads and police officers.[1]

Succeeding charters confirmed these major privileges and occasionally added to them, and by the end of the thirteenth century a well-defined class of leading citizens had come into being on whom fell the burden of the city's administration. By 1378 this body, the most prominent of whom were the '24' who sat in the Assembly, were seeking to accumulate power in their own hands, rather than share it with the whole community. The refusal of Richard II to grant their request for a mayor caused them to espouse the cause of the future Henry IV, and in return for their support he promised them the desired charter.

The granting of the charter in January 1404 was an important landmark in the city's history. It

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1. Hudson and Tingey, I, pp. xv-xxviii.

transformed the citizens from a self-governing community, in which each of them had at least a theoretical voice in the government and administration, into that of a body under the virtually permanent control of a magistracy combined, for legislative purposes, with a limited number of elected representatives.

In the process Norwich was elevated to the dignity of a county in its own right, a status already achieved by Bristol in 1373, York in 1397 and Newcastle in 1400. The bailiffs were replaced by a mayor and two sheriffs, the governing classes being henceforth described as 'The mayor, sheriffs, citizens and commonalty of the city of Norwich'. Later in the year the charter was supplemented by an act of assembly which created a body of 80 citizens, but disputes over the relative authority of aldermen and councillors in the early years of Henry V's reign led the ruling body to request the arbitration of its leading citizen, Sir Thomas Erpingham. His decisions, which were recorded in a document known as the Composition of 1415, represent the final stage in the development of the city's government.[2] The '24' were confirmed as the major legislative body, but it was agreed that they should enact nothing binding on the city without the consent of the commonalty, and that all ordinances passed by them and the mayor should be declared to the common council by the recorder or his deputy. The councillors, now reduced to 60, were to be allowed time for deliberation before giving assent.

As well as determining the relative authority of the two estates, the Composition dealt with the method of election and the appointment of the various city officials.

The 60 common councillors, who were apportioned according to the size of their particular ward, were elected in the week following the fifth Sunday in Lent. The twelve representatives of Conesford were chosen on

2. Ibid., p. lix.

the Monday, the sixteen of Mancroft on the Tuesday, the twenty men of Wymer on the Wednesday, and the twelve of Ultra Aquam on the Thursday.[3] There was no guarantee of regular tenure of office. Some men were rejected after serving the community for no more than one year, others were regularly re-elected. Continuity of service normally implied that the person concerned was a potential alderman, but there are cases of individuals serving for several years and never achieving higher status.

Aldermanic service was normally for life and elections were thus intermittent. When they did occur, a man could be chosen from any part of the city to represent a particular ward, in contrast to the councillors who were drawn exclusively from the areas in which they lived, and who were expected to resign if they moved to a different part of the town. Two aldermen were elected to represent each of the twelve petty wards of Norwich, the four great wards being subdivided into South and North Conesford and Ber Street; St. Giles', St. Stephen's and St. Peter's of Mancroft; West, Middle and East Wymer; and Conesford, Colegate and Fyebridge. From time to time individuals were transferred to other wards as a method of administrative convenience rather than any affiliation to a particular area.

The election of the sheriffs was left to the Chamber, one being chosen by the mayor and aldermen, the other by the common councillors from among their own number, on 8 September each year.[4] The sheriffs were primarily responsible for the judicial aspects of city administration and for the payment of the fee farm rent. They were aided by the under-sheriff who acted as sheriff's clerk, making entries, records and returns; by the sheriff's sergeants, who executed plaints or received them to present to the court, and who served

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3. Ibid., p. lxix.
4. Ibid., p. lxvii

distresses and warrants; and by attorneys who were bound to give true counsel to clients, to be obedient to the sheriffs and court, and to attend all courts of oyer and terminer, of gaol delivery and of quarter sessions. About 1520 these officials were supplemented by a steward who was appointed legal adviser to the sheriffs in the same way as the recorder was to the mayor.[5] Apart from dealing with petty offences in their own court, the sheriffs' biggest responsibility was the payment of the fee farm rent. They were paid £30 towards the cost of this, and every sheriff claimed unspecified perquisites of office at his election, but most of them were out of pocket at the end of their year's service.[6] For the ambitious, the major reward was the prospect of subsequent election to the mayoralty, a position open only to a person who was both a serving alderman and a past sheriff or mayor.

Theoretically, all of the citizens had the right to be present at the mayoral election which took place on 1 May each year.[7] In practice, those attending were invariably freemen and it was their responsibility to nominate two men for the vacant post. After the existing mayor and aldermen had been informed of the freemen's choice they were required to vote for one or the other, informing the common clerk, recorder and common speaker of their choice separately and secretly. All three officials were required to keep a record of the votes, and the result of the ballot was duly entered in the assembly book.[8]

The mayor was supreme in all departments. As chief magistrate he was responsible for maintaining the city's laws and keeping the peace, a position in which he was advised by the recorder, and as clerk of the markets

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5. Ibid., p. xc.
6. Ibid., p. 126.
7. Ibid., p. 94.
8. Ibid., p. 95.

he was expected to deal with regulations concerning food. His immediate assistants were the city's aldermen. Further assistance came from the mayor's sergeants who were primarily concerned with market regulations, and the ward constables who were responsible for keeping the peace.

Equally important in his own sphere was the chamberlain. He was concerned with all city business which dealt with common property and, with the exception of the fee farm rent, with the receipts and expenses of the community. The chamberlains were expected to enter the week's costs every Saturday and to pay the workpeople in money, not goods, on the same day. He was assisted by the common sergeant who collected rents and distrained defaulting tenants at the end of every quarter.[9]

The more senior the position, the more onerous was the office, and it was expected that some members of the assembly would avoid the more exacting positions. The assembly were always paid for avoidance of duty. An alderman, once elected, was fined £40 if he attempted to avoid office. Fines for asking to be relieved of the shrievalty for various periods ranged from £10 to £20 in the Elizabethan period and rose to as high as £50 during the succeeding fifty years. Attempts to avoid the mayoralty normally involved a penalty of twice as much.[10]

The expenses involved as a serving mayor were normally so onerous that only a really wealthy man could afford to serve. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries some men served twice and even three times in the office, but after 1620 a man could legally serve only once.[11]

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9. Hudson and Tingey, op.cit., I, p. 95.

10. A.B., 1551-1568, f. 131d; 1568-1585, ff. 80d, 188, 312. During the seventeenth century fines of £50 were levied on occasion: A.B., 1613-1642; 1642-1668, passim. Unless stated to the contrary, all the Assembly Books referred to are to be found in Case 16, shelf c, of the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office.

11. Of all men serving as, or appointed as, aldermen during Elizabeth's reign, for example, six held the mayoralty three times, eight held it twice.

Wealthy though the mayors may have been, they still found the cost of office burdensome and their salary was increased at regular intervals throughout Elizabeth's reign, after which it remained static. Beginning at £20 it was increased to £33.6s.8d. in 1566,[12] and by 1573 it had been increased again to £53 for the first two mayoralties and £66.13s.4d. for a third.[13] Further increases were made in 1582 and 1594.[14] In the former year the salary of a man serving for a second time was increased to £66.13s.4d. and in the latter year the salary for a third mayoralty was raised to £100. There were provisos for the increases in both cases. In 1582 it was ordered that the mayor should no longer have any profits from the fines or amercements levied on the Dutch and Walloons. In 1594 the increase was made on the understanding that the mayor should continue to provide diversion for his officers. By the latter date there were thus distinct salaries for the first, second and third mayoralties. Inflation encouraged further increases, however, despite attempts by the assembly to restrict them. In 1596 Richard Perrone, serving for the first time, was granted a benevolence of £20 'as housekeeping is more chargeable than previously'. It was expressly stipulated that 'this benevolence shall be no president for others hereafter succeeding in the office of maioralty'. Despite this, the increase was made permanent the next year 'because of the dearness of corn and other things'.[15] In 1598 the fee for a second mayoralty was increased to £100 and by the turn of the century this had become the fixed fee for any period of mayoral service.[16]

12. A.B., 1551-1568, f. 128d.
13. A.B., 1568-1585, f. 214.
14. Ibid., f. 317; 1585-1613, f. 131d.
15. A.B., 1585-1613, f. 162.
16. Ibid., f. 208.

Despite the expenses involved, the attainment of the mayoralty was the pinnacle of fame and in the ambitious Elizabethan age, in particular, it was a prize that was eagerly sought. A man was nominated for the position by virtue of his standing in the community, and there was no question of a person being chosen by virtue of his seniority alone. In 1561, for example, William Mingay and Nicholas Norgate were tenth and thirteenth in order of seniority, but their names were put forward by the freemen and the aldermanic body duly elected Mingay.[17] In 1568 Ellis Bate, the unsuccessful candidate, was as low as eighteenth on the list, as was Thomas Gleane in 1576. There is no doubt, however, that the freemen had their favourites and they sought whenever possible to get them into office. As tradition always demanded that the senior of the two be chosen, except when a man had served previously, it was not difficult for the electorate to nominate their favourite and match him with a man who had entered the aldermanic body at a later date. Another way was to continue to nominate the same man year after year until he was chosen. Francis Rugg was first nominated in 1578. He was an unsuccessful candidate, and his name was not brought forward again until 1583 when he was beaten by Thomas Gleane. He was then named for four consecutive years, being finally successful in 1587. His name was put forward on two further occations, unsuccessfully in 1597 and successfully in 1598. Thomas Layer and Thomas Gleane were named on six occasions, and both served three times as mayor. Other people were less fortunate. Ellis Bate was chosen on four occasions between 1569 and 1575 but was never successful in being chosen, a dismal record he shared with Nicholas Layer.

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17. The details in this paragraph are derived from a general analysis of all the nominees for the mayoral chair.

The seventeenth century aldermen were less ready than their Elizabethan predecessors to be passed over and their protests sparked off the constitutional crisis discussed later in the chapter.

II: The common councillors

Theoretically, any person who was the son of a freeman, who had served an apprenticeship with a freeman, or who had bought his freedom after entry into the city from outside, was eligible for election to the common council. In practice, this basic qualification had to be supplemented by sufficiency of wealth and membership of an acceptable trade. Sufficiency of wealth, by the standards of the 1525 subsidy, meant possession of an absolute minimum of £5 worth of moveable goods, and a place among the wealthiest quarter of the city's population.[18] Membership of an acceptable trade restricted the choice of candidates to those following a maximum of some two dozen trades in each period of 25 years between 1526 and 1675, and invariably to those engaged in fewer than half those occupations.[19]

The 60 common councillors were divided into three almost equal groups according to their wealth, the so-called 'first, second and third sorts' which were referred to whenever a rate was levied. The twenty or so men who were the richest among them possessed wealth comparable to, and often in excess of, that owned by many of the aldermanic class, and were the natural successors of their seniors in the upper house. The middle group included those who were willing and able to devote many years of their lives to civic responsibilities. Those in the third category included the craftsmen among the councillors, men who could spare little time for civic duties and who returned to their own onerous tasks as soon as circumstances permitted. Some of the councillors, of course, were in a transitional stage and could expect to accumulate greater wealth and, if inclination and opportunity permitted, a correspondingly higher place on the social

18. P.R.O., E.179/150/218.

19. See Table XXXIX.

ladder. Others had achieved all that they were likely to achieve and were content to maintain the status quo. There is some evidence, however, that the threefold divisions among the councillors were deliberately maintained. In the 1520s those completing their period of service were almost always replaced by men of similar standing, and the same phenomenon can be detected, although with less certainty, in the 1670s.[20]

Accumulation of wealth was seldom sufficient, on its own, to gain admittance to the city's ruling classes. The more plebeian occupations were frowned upon and a prospective councillor from among them was compelled to change his trade if he wished to tread the path to civic advancement. Invariably he chose to become a grocer or mercer, occupations which were sufficiently flexible to include a number of trading activities. The city fathers of Elizabethan Norwich, if more oligarchic than their forebears, were rather more flexible than their predecessors in this respect and in 1561 authorised members of a craft as mundane as that of cordwainer to stand for election to the council if they so chose.[21] Nevertheless, few of the 125 or so trades practised in the city were socially acceptable and the ruling classes of Norwich, whether aldermen or councillors, were invariably drawn from the same dozen occupations. Worsted weavers, bakers, drapers, grocers, mercers and scrivenors were always represented, in varying numbers, among the common councillors. Scarcely less frequent were the brewers, butchers, goldsmiths, tanners, tailors and - latterly - cordwainers. Even among this elite certain crafts stand out,

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20. J.F. Pound, 'Government and society in Tudor and Stuart Norwich, 1525-1670'. Unpublished paper circulated to the meeting of the Urban History Group at Norwich, April 1968.

21. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. 135.

The grocers and mercers were outstanding in the sixteenth century, and the grocers continued to be the dominant city trade until finally ousted by the worsted weavers in the second half of the seventeenth century. The fortunes of the latter trade waxed and waned according to the state of the economy. Even at its nadir people made sufficient from the trade to find a place on the city council, and at its zenith worsted weavers comprised almost one third of the whole common council. In the middle years of the seventeenth century the ward across the water was almost wholly represented by worsted weavers and several were to be found among the twenty representatives of the great ward of Wymer. [22]

Table XXXIX

Occupational groupings of all men not proceeding to aldermanic rank

A = 1526-1550
B = 1551-1575
C = 1576-1600
D = 1601-1625
E = 1626-1650
F = 1651-1675

Occupational grouping	A	B	C	D	E	F
Textiles	54	18	12	15	33	51
%	30°17	13°04	12°00	17°65	29°20	37°78
Distributive	54	41	35	34	33	29
%	30°17	29°71	35°00	40°00	29°20	21°48
Food and Drink	23	24	17	11	18	15
%	12°85	17°39	17°00	12°94	15°93	11°11
Leatherwork	12	16	10	6	10	9
%	6°70	11°59	10°00	7°06	8°85	6°67
Metalwork	10	8	3	3	6	11
%	5°59	5°80	3°00	3°53	5°31	8°15
Building	11	5	4	1	2	4
%	6°15	3°62	4°00	1°18	1°77	2°96
Professional	-	4	6	7	4	5
%		2°90	6°00	8°24	3°54	3°70
Transport	1	5	1	3	-	-
%	0°55	3°62	1°00	3°53		
Clothing	9	14	11	4	7	9
%	5°03	10°15	11°00	4°71	6°19	6°67
Miscellaneous	5	3	1	1	-	4
%	2°79	2°17	1°00	1°18		2°96
Unknown	27	5	3	2	5	6
Totals	206	143	103	87	118	141

22. Information derived from an occupational analysis of the common councillors during those years. The percentages in the above table relate to the known occupations.

Given the requirements noted above, any man was eligible for election by the freemen of the ward concerned. Quite often an opulent outsider was chosen, a qualified tradesman who had opted to reside in the city and had purchased his freedom from the authorities. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the first period in which we have sufficient statistical material on which to base an opinion, more than one third of the people elected to the council came from this background. The authorities were not entirely happy with the position and, more in an effort to protect trade than to change the composition of the council, passed an ordinance in 1622 which restricted the number of non-apprentices to four per year. As in so many cases, the ordinance was not strictly adhered to, but it was sufficient of a deterrent to reduce the numbers of such people on the council. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century the proportion of non-apprentices dropped to 18 per cent of the total, falling to 15 per cent during the Restoration period.

Table XL

Common councillors with a background of civic service, 1576-1675

A = Sons of aldermen
B = Sons of councillors
C = Apprentices of aldermen
D = Apprentices of councillors
E = Apprentices of men with no civic experience
F = Non-apprentices
G = Occupations unknown or no background details given
H = Totals

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1576-1600	7	10	11	11	21	36	7	103
%	6°80	9°71	10°68	10°68	20°39	34°94	6°80	
1601-1625	6	9	10	11	29	16	6	87
%	6°90	10°34	11°50	12°64	33°33	18°39	6°90	
1626-1650	7	12	13	14	41	22	9	118
%	5°93	10°17	11°02	11°86	34°75	18°64	7°63	
1651-1675	13	13	5	18	58	22	12	141
%	9°22	9°22	3°55	12°77	41°13	15°60	8°51	

Many of the local-born representatives either came from families with a background of civic service or were apprenticed to men who had devoted part of their working life to a period as alderman or councillor. The proportion was as high as 66 per cent during the period 1576-1600, but thereafter it fell gradually, dropping to 47 per cent a century later. Not infrequently, son followed father as a common councillor, in some cases three and even four generations served the city. In the process they contributed to the creation of the dynasties which sprang up in the eighteenth century in particular, and which are discussed in more detail below.

A minority of freemen came from sufficiently substantial backgrounds to embark on a civic career almost as soon as they had completed their apprenticeships. They never numbered more than 5 per cent of those elected as common councillors during any 25 year period, and they were invariably drawn from the wealthier trades of grocer and mercer. Most men had to wait longer for their first experience of local government, but between 1526 and 1575 some 57 per cent of those elected had begun to serve the community within ten years of becoming a freeman. Subsequently such early service became exceptional, the proportion falling to 27 per cent in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. In contrast, the number of those who began their civic careers in middle, or even old, age rose steadily. In the second quarter of the sixteenth century 14 per cent of the councillors were elected when they had been freemen for more than 20 years. The proportion fell to 5 per cent between 1551 and 1575 but thereafter rose steadily to reach 30 per cent in the Civil War years and 36 per cent during the Commonwealth and Restoration periods. In extreme cases, in both the first and last periods under discussion, men were elected to serve as common councillors who had been freemen for between 40 and 50 years, and who were thus anything between 65 and 75 years of age.

Table XLI

Number of years between attaining freedom and becoming common councillor

	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Over 25	Totals
1526-1550								
Men who remained councillors (1)	9	39	49	34	21	14	11	177
Percentages	5°08	22°03	27°68	19°21	11°86	7°91	6°21	
1551-1575								
Men who remained councillors (2)	6	37	32	28	21	5	2	131
Percentages	4°58	28°24	24°43	21°37	16°03	3°82	1°53	
1576-1600								
Men who remained councillors (3)	3	9	24	24	18	11	8	97
Percentages	3°09	9°27	24°72	24°72	18°54	11°33	8°24	

(1) In two cases the occupations are known but the date of attaining the freedom is not. In 27 instances no occupational details are available.

(2) In seven cases the occupations are known but the date of attaining the freedom is not. In five instances no occupational details are available.

(3) In three cases the occupations are known but the date of attaining the freedom is not. In a further three instances no occupational details are available.

Table XLI

(Continued)

1601-1625	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Over 25	Totals
Men who remained councillors (4)		11	22	14	15	13	8	83
Percentages		13°25	26°50	16°87	18°07	15°66	9°64	
1626-1650								
Men who remained councillors (5)	2	8	20	21	24	12	23	110
Percentages	1°82	7°21	18°18	19°09	21°82	10°91	20°91	
1651-1675								
Men who remained councillors (6)	4	24	17	23	20	14	33	135
Percentages	2°96	17°78	12°59	17°04	14°81	10°37	24°44	

(4) In two cases the occupations are known but not the date of attaining the freedom. In a further two cases no occupational details are available.

(5) In three cases the occupations are known but not the date of attaining the freedom. In five instances no occupational details are available.

(6) No occupational details are available for six of the councillors.

The details concerning future aldermen are given in Table XLVI, p. 128.

Under such circumstances service was unlikely to be lengthy. In the early sixteenth century, however, whether a man was old or young his period as a common councillor tended to be brief; a complete contrast to the situation in London where service was invariably for life. Between 1526 and 1550 almost 69 per cent of the men elected as councillors devoted no more than five years of their lives to civic service. Of the 206 men chosen to serve within that period 44, or approximately 21 per cent, served for a single year. Short service was a phenomenon peculiar to all classes of society, whether they were humble craftsmen or wealthy members of the merchant guilds, and is partly explained by the depressed state of the city's economy in those years. As the situation improved, first under the auspices of the grocers and other men catering for those wishing to be entertained in the provincial capital; subsequently under the textile trades inspired by the advent of the new draperies, service became progressively longer. Men could afford to devote more of their time to civic affairs and short service gradually became the exception rather than the rule. By the end of the sixteenth century the percentage of councillors serving for five years or less had fallen to 39, and in the succeeding 25 years it fell still further to little more than 24 per cent. Thereafter there was a relapse and by the first decade of Charles II's reign the proportion of people serving for short periods of time had risen to 47 per cent. This is partly explained by the disruptions brought about by the Civil War, partly by the changes brought about by the Restoration, aspects of the city's history which are considered in a later section of the chapter.

Table XLII

Total service of common councillors and aldermen beginning their careers in the periods stated

1526-1550	Years of service: 1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	41 to 45	46 to 50	51 to 55	56 to 60	Totals
Men who remained councillors	142	29	21	7	5	2							206
Future aldermen	3	8	13	2	7	5	3	4	3		1		49
Totals	145	37	34	9	12	7	3	4	3		1		255
Percentages	57	15	13	3	5				7*				

* This, and subsequent percentages marked with an asterisk, relates to those with 25 or more years of service

1551-1575	Years of service: 1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	41 to 45	46 to 50	51 to 55	56 to 60	Totals
Men who remained councillors	68	31	19	15	2	5	3						143
Future aldermen	2	3	3	5	2	8	1	3	4	2		1	34
Totals	70	34	22	20	4	13	4	3	4	2		1	177
Percentages	39	20	12	12	2				15*				

1576-1600	Years of service: 1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	41 to 45	46 to 50	51 to 55	56 to 60	Totals
Men who remained councillors	40	18	19	12	12	1	1						103
Future aldermen	1		6	4	8	7	1	4	5	3	1		40
Totals	41	18	25	16	20	8	2	4	5	3	1		143
Percentages	29	13	17	11	14				16*				

Table XLII

1601-1625	Years of service: 1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	41 to 45	46 to 50	51 to 55	56 to 60	Totals
Men who remained councillors	21	18	20	13	7	6	1	1					87
Future aldermen			1	1	8	10	5	3					28
Totals	21	18	21	14	15	16	6	4					115
Percentages	18	16	18	12	13			23*					

1626-1650	Years of service: 1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	41 to 45	46 to 50	51 to 55	56 to 60	Totals
Men who remained councillors	46	31	23	11	2	4		1					118
Future aldermen	2	4	7	14	10	7	3	1		1			49
Totals	48	35	30	25	12	11	3	2		1			167
Percentages	29	21	18	15	7				11*				

1651-1675	Years of service: 1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	16 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	41 to 45	46 to 50	51 to 55	56 to 60	Totals
Men who remained councillors	68	32	20	14	3	3	1						141
Future aldermen		1	3	4	1	6	1	1	1				18
Totals	68	33	23	18	4	9	2	1	1				159
Percentages	42	21	14	11	3				10*				

In the hundred years between 1526 and 1625 the length of service steadily increased and, as a natural consequence, the number of men elected fell steadily. The proportion of men who were to devote between 11 and 20 years of their lives to civic service rose from 13 per cent in the second quarter of the sixteenth century to almost 38 per cent between 1601 and 1625; in the same period the proportion of those serving in excess of 20 years increased fivefold. Between 1526 and 1550 just over 200 men were chosen as common councillors; during the 25 years ending in 1625 the number had fallen to 87.

Some councillors devoted most of their working lives to serving the community, the 42 years served by Thomas Cory, a baker of Wymer ward, being only the most exceptional of many.[23] Periods in excess of 25 and 30 years were by no means infrequent. Most people, whether by personal inclination or the whim of the electors, served the city as a common councillor on one occasion only. Between 1526 and 1550 61 per cent of the 206 men elected did not return for a further term. The proportion fell to 52 per cent in the third quarter of the sixteenth century but thereafter rose steadily until by the Restoration era over 88 per cent of the chosen councillors met their commitment with a single period of service. It follows that, with the exception of the period 1651-1675, between 30 and 40 per cent of the councillors were returned for a further period of service in subsequent years. Sometimes a second term sufficed, sometimes a third, but between 1526 and 1575 men were occasionally elected to serve for a fourth, fifth or even sixth time.

Among the latter were John Pettus, a tailor of Wymer ward who, although devoting to more than eight years to civic service, was elected five times between 1533 and 1557, and was followed by a son and two grandsons, all of whom became aldermen and mayors of

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23. A.B., 1491-1553, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf d, *passim* for Cory's service. The subsequent examples are based on my analysis of aldermanic and councillor service, the details being taken from the appropriate assembly books.

the city; James Lynne, a tanner of the same ward, who was elected six times and served for a total of 24 years between 1531 and 1564; and Edward Pye, a worsted weaver, who represented his ward on five distinct occasions between 1553 and 1580 and completed 20 years of service in the process. Pye, like Pettus, began a tradition of service to the community. John Pye, baker, was returned as representative of his ward on four occasions between 1554 and 1588, serving for a total of 13 years, while Edward's sons, Henry and Thomas both became aldermen of the city. Henry died young after devoting ten years of his life to service as a councillor, and three to aldermanic service. Thomas Pye represented his ward for no less than 51 years, between 1574 and 1625, including 40 years as an alderman. He was elected mayor in 1597. Other families who served the city for an extended period included the two branches of the Cock family, which produced four aldermen and 5 councillors between 1526 and 1682: the Skottows, beginning with Richard, who represented his ward as councillor and alderman between 1585 and 1612, and who was followed by four of his sons at varying times between 1616 and 1655; and above all by the Sothertons who served the city almost continuously between 1520 and 1608, and again between 1631 and 1664. Between them they provided Norwich with four common councillors and seven aldermen, none of whom served for less than 12 years.

The fortunes of those people who remained common councillors were in no way comparable to those of actual or potential aldermen. Most aspired to no more than possession of lands and tenements within the city walls and possibly the accumulation of capital as well, but these were exceptions to the rule. Reginald Barker, a cooper who died in 1530, left no money at all but he was able to bequeath a house in Bracondale, lands in Wraxham and 4 acres at Bixley.[24]

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24. N.C.C., 69 Alpe.

John Barker, a brewer, who died in 1558 and who may have been a relative of Reginald, left no more than 36 shillings in cash but, in addition to lands and tenements in the parishes of St. Margaret's, St. Swithin's and St. Giles', he owned landed property in the hamlets of Earlham and Hellesdon and in Costessey, a few miles outside the city.[25] Silvester Force, a worsted weaver, whose will was proved in 1600, possessed no property at all outside the city but he left almost £200 to his relatives in addition to a house in St. George's, unspecified jewellery and household stuff.[26] Peter Peterson, possibly the most famous goldsmith ever to have lived within the city, was much wealthier, but under normal circumstances he would almost certainly have become an alderman. He specifically requested exemption from all civic duties, except that of chamberlain, however, and paid £40 for the privilege as well as donating a large silver cup to the city which remains the pride of its regalia. At his death in 1603 at the age of 85 he had become Lord of three manors as well as owning property in five Norwich parishes. He bequeathed over £400 in cash as well as a great deal of jewellery, specified in detail in his will, and his landed property.[27]

It was from among men of this sort, and not from the rank and file of the common councillors, that the various city offices were filled. Little more than a quarter of those elected as councillors were ever called upon to serve in an official capacity and, significantly, those selected were invariably drawn from the wealthier wards of Mancroft and Wymer and were members of the merchant guilds.[28]

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25. N.C.C., 5 Ingold.

26. N.C.C., 1 Force Original Wills 1.

27. J.F. Pound, The Elizabethan Corporation of Norwich, 1558-1603, University of Birmingham, M.A. thesis, 1962, pp. 91-93. For further examples of wills and inventories, see Ibid., pp. 82-121.

28. These details are derived from analysis of the office holders within the city.

Three offices, those of chamberlain, foreign receiver and common speaker were filled exclusively by members of the lower house. Five others, those of sheriff, clavor, auditor, coroner and counsellor to the chamber, were shared by councillors and aldermen alike. The mayoralty alone was confined to members of the upper house. Of those offices filled solely by common councillors, that of chamberlain was the most prestigious by far. The holder was responsible for husbanding the city's fortunes, and could rely on the assistance of the clavors, or city treasurers only in times of real emergency. The foreign receiver was also a treasury official, but one whose activities were confined to collecting the various sums paid by those taking up their freedom. The common speaker was the 'link-man' between the upper and lower houses, and beyond exercising this task he was a person of no great significance. The duties of the shared offices are more or less self-explanatory, those of the first two being discussed in greater detail elsewhere. Most posts were held for a single year, although a person could be returned for a second term of office. Those of coroner, chamberlain and foreign receiver sometimes remained in the same hands for an extended period.

Of posts open to aldermen and councillors alike, that of sheriff was by far the most important. To achieve the mayoralty, a person had to have served as sheriff. In practice, too, it tended to become the virtual gateway to promotion to alderman. As early as the period 1526-1550 some 62 per cent of the aldermen had been appointed sheriff before elevation to the upper house. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century the proportion rose to 81 per cent and attained its peak of 89 per cent during the years 1601-1625. Before the end of that period the position had been officially recognised. In 1620 complaints had reached the ears of the king that far too many younger men were usurping the authority of their elders, and that some

were elected mayor with scarcely any previous aldermanic service. The dispute was essentially an aldermanic one and, as such, is dealt with in detail below, but its aftermath led to changes which made the shrievalty of even greater importance. James I, in letters to the mayor and corporation, stipulated that from henceforth every person promoted alderman should be a past or present sheriff.

Table XLIII

Table to indicate proportion of people elected to the shrievalty before promotion to alderman

	Appointed sheriff while serving as common councillor		Appointed in the same year as election to alderman		Appointed sheriff after election as alderman		Totals
		%		%		%	
1526-1550	24	61°54	4	10°25	11	28°21	39
1551-1575	22	62°86	1	2°86	12	34°28	35
1576-1600	30	81°08	1	2°70	6	16°22	37
1601-1625	24	88°88	1	3°71	2	7°41	27
1626-1650	47	94°00	-		3	6°00	50
1651-1675	20	80°00	1	4°00	4	16°00	25

III: The aldermen

Compared to the aldermanic body of London, which demanded a £10,000 property qualification for its members and fines of between £600 and £1,000 for refusal to serve, the Norwich body was relatively liberal.[29] The transition from councillor to alderman was by no means an easy one, however. All of the stipulations applying to prospective members of the common council applied to those aspiring to admittance to the upper house, but they were applied much more stringently. Those ultimately elected were normally wealthier, were drawn from fewer trades, had usually had experience of local government sooner than the majority of their fellows, and, in the earlier period at least, were much more likely to have come from families with a background of civic service.

If the 1525 subsidy can again be used as a guide, a prospective alderman would normally need to be in possession of at least £40 worth of moveable goods, the minimum amount on which any alderman was assessed in that year. Possession of such a sum would place him among the richest third of the common councillors at his election, but his fortune would be small compared to those amassed by older members of the upper house. He would be sitting cheek by jowl with men taxed on goods worth anything from £100 to £1,000; who, at their wealthiest, were second to none except peers of the realm; and who, in extreme cases, were individually taxed as heavily as some towns.

Membership of a suitable trade was absolutely essential at this level, and most aspiring aldermen would be members of the merchant classes, following such occupations as grocer, mercer and draper. Between 1526 and 1650 men drawn from such occupations comprised between 64 and 74 per cent of the total aldermanic body, and it was rare for a man to follow another trade.

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29. Valerie Pearl, London and the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, 1961, p. 60.

It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that members of the textile trades, effectively worsted weavers, came into their own, and even then they captured no more than 43 per cent of the seats. The proportion of merchants on the aldermanic bench fell to 25 per cent of the whole, however, the residue being held mainly by representatives of the food and drink and metal trades.

Table XLIV

Occupations of all men becoming aldermen between 1526 and 1675

Occupational groupings	1526 to 1550	1551 to 1575	1576 to 1600	1601 to 1625	1626 to 1650	1651 to 1675
Textiles						
Coverlet weavers		1				
Dornix weavers			1			
Dyers	1				1	
Wool combers					1	
Woolmen	1					
Worsted weavers	2	2	1	2	7	12
Totals	4	3	2	2	9	12
Percentage of all occupational groupings in the period concerned	8°89	7°14	5°41	6°90	17°00	42°86
Distributive						
Drapers	1	3	1	4	4	1
Grocers	15	13	20	7	18	5
Mercers	16	12	5	4	3	
Merchants				4	9	1
Raffmen	1	2				
Wax chandlers		1				
Totals	33	31	26	19	34	7
Percentage of all occupational groupings in the period concerned	79°33	73°81	70°28	65°52	64°15	25°00
Clothing						
Cappers		1				
Hosiers					5	2
Tailors	1	2	4		1	
Totals	1	3	4		6	2
Percentage of all occupational groupings in the period concerned	2°22	7°14	10°82		11°33	7°14

Occupational groupings	1526 to 1550	1551 to 1575	1576 to 1600	1601 to 1625	1626 to 1650	1651 to 1675
Food and Drink						
Bakers	2	1			1	
Brewers	1			1	1	2
Butchers	1	1		1		
Fishmongers		1				
Innholders			1			
Maltsters		1				1
Vintners					1	
Wine merchants				1		
Totals	4	4	1	3	3	3
Percentage of all occupational groupings in the period concerned	8°89	9°52	2°70	10°34	5°66	10°71
Metalwork						
Bladesmiths						1
Goldsmiths	1		1			
Ironmongers			1	1	1	1
Pinners						1
Totals	1		2	1	1	3
Percentage of all occupational groupings in the period concerned	2°22		5°41	3°48	1°89	10°71
Professional						
Apothecaries				1		1
Scriveners	1	1	2	2		
Totals	1	1	2	3		1
Percentage of all occupational groupings in the period concerned	2°22	2°38	5°41	10°34		3°57
Leatherwork						
Glovers				1		
Totals				1		
Percentage of all occupational groupings in the period concerned				3°48		
Miscellaneous						
Barbers	1					
Totals	1					
Percentage of all occupational groupings in the period concerned	2°22					
Grand totals	45	42	37	29	53	28
Unknown		1			1	

As well as being wealthier and drawn from fewer trades, the aldermanic body contained far more men with a background of civic service. More than twice as many aldermen as councillors had parents who had served the city before them, and many of the rest had been apprenticed to men with such a background. There was always a proportion of outsiders among them, men who had come to the city from elsewhere and purchased their freedom, and on occasion they were sufficiently affluent and influential to be elected to the aldermanic body without having previously served as a common councillor. These apart, it was rare for a man to enter the upper house who had not been brought up against a background of civic service, the proportion being as low as 3 to 4 per cent between 1576 and 1625. The purges of the Civil War and Restoration periods brought an abrupt end to the traditional picture. Between 1626 and 1675 approximately one-third of the aldermen elected were sons of neither alderman nor councillor, and their masters had never been called upon to serve in any capacity whatsoever.

Table XLV

Men beginning their aldermanic careers between 1576 and 1675 with a background of civic service

A = Sons of Aldermen

B = Sons of councillors

C = Apprentices of aldermen

D = Apprentices of councillors

E = Apprentices of men with no civic experience

F = Non apprentices

G = Unknown

H = Totals

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1576–1600	8	9	6	4	1	9	–	37
%	21.62	24.32	16.22	10.81	2.71	24.32		
1601–1625	4	6	8	4	1	6	–	29
%	13.80	20.70	27.60	13.80	3.60	20.70		
1626–1650	7	4	8	9	16	9	1	54
%	12.96	7.41	14.83	16.66	29.61	16.66	1.85	
1651 – 1675	2	5	4	2	10	4	1	28
%	7.14	17.68	14.29	7.14	35.71	14.29	3.57	

Men destined to become aldermen began their civic careers much sooner, on the whole, than their less ambitious, or less wealthy, colleagues. Between 1526 and 1550 almost 60 per cent of the future members of the upper house were elected councilmen within five years of becoming freemen of the city, and four out of five of them had achieved this status within ten years. In the succeeding twenty-five years the proportions rose to 69 and 87 per cent respectively, and to the end of James I's reign it was still possible for some seven out of every ten prospective aldermen to achieve councillor status within ten years of becoming a master craftsman. Thereafter the situation changed. Between 1626 and the end of the period under discussion, more than 70 per cent of those elected aldermen had been freemen for more than ten years before they began their civic careers. Significantly, in the third quarter of the seventeenth century those with no aspirations beyond that of common councillor began their civic careers more quickly than the future aldermen, a point worthy of consideration in the fuller discussion of the Civil War later in the chapter.

Table XLVI

Number of years between future aldermen attaining freedom and becoming common councillors *

	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Over 25	Totals
1526-1550	4	22	11	5		2		44
%	9°09	50°00	25°00	11°36		7°91		
1551-1575	2	20	6	1	3			32
%	6°25	62°50	18°75	3°13	9°37			
1576-1600		13	12	7	1		1	34
%		38°24	35°29	20°59	2°94		2°94	
1601-1625	1	9	8	2	2	2		24
%	4°17	37°50	33°33	8°33	8°33	8°33		
1626-1650		5	8	14	16	2	1	46
%		10°87	17°39	30°43	34°78	4°35	2°18	
1651-1675			3	2	4	3	1	13
%			23°08	15°38	30°77	23°08	7°69	

* It should be noted that these figures relate to the periods in which the aldermen began their civic careers. Other tables relate to the periods in which they were elected. The totals are thus different.

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Except possibly during the Civil War years, prospective aldermen were normally recognised as such from the outset of their political careers. On election to the council they were usually placed at the head of the list of members. They were described as 'Mr.', or titular gentleman, and were promoted as soon as an aldermanic vacancy occurred. Sometimes this was quite soon. At the two extremes of the period under discussion some 75 per cent of such people were elected aldermen within ten years of commencing service as a councillor. Four out of every ten of them achieved this status within five years. As aldermen served for life, however, there was no guarantee of such swift promotion, and in the 75 years beginning in 1551 between one-third and one-half of the potential members of the upper house had to wait for periods in excess of ten years before they achieved their aim. Despite the purges of the 1640s, the Civil War did little to alter this pattern.

Table XLVII

Periods of aldermanic tenure and previous service as common councillors

1526-1550

Years of aldermanic service	Previous years of council service								
	Nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	Totals	%
1-5		5	6	1	1		2	15	34·88
6-10	2		4	2				8	18·61
11-15	1	2	1	1	1			6	13·95
16-20		1						1	2·33
21-25		5		1		1		7	16·28
26-30		1	1		1			3	6·98
31-35				1				1	2·33
36-40		1						1	2·33
41-45		1						1	2·33
Totals	3	16	12	6	3	1	2	43	
%	6·98	37·21	27·91	13·95	6·98	2·33	4·66		

1551-1575

Years of aldermanic service	Previous years of council service							Totals	%
	Nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30		
1-5	1	2	2	3	1			9	20°93
6-10	1	4	3	1				9	20°93
11-15			3	2	2			7	16°28
16-20			1		1			2	4°65
21-25				1	3			4	9°30
26-30		1	4					5	11°63
31-35		1	3					4	9°30
36-40			1					1	2°33
41-45			1					1	2°33
46-50			1					1	2°33
Totals	2	8	19	7	7			43	
%	4°65	18°61	44°19	16°28	16°28				

1576-1600

Years of aldermanic service	Previous years of council service							Totals	%
	Nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30		
1-5	1		3	1	1	1		7	18°92
6-10		1	2		3			6	16°22
11-15	1		4		3			8	21°62
16-20	1	1	1	1				4	10°81
21-25	1		1		1	1		4	10°81
26-30		1			1			2	5°41
31-35		1	2					3	8°11
36-40			1	1				2	5°41
41-45	1							1	2°70
Totals	5	4	14	3	9	2		37	
%	13°51	10°81	37°84	8°11	24°32	5°41			

1601-1625

Years of aldermanic service	Previous years of council service								
	Nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	Totals	%
1-5			1	1	2			4	13°79
6-10				1	1	1		3	10°35
11-15			3	2				5	17°24
16-20			2					2	6°90
21-25	1	1	2	3		1		8	27°60
26-30	1	1	1	2	1			6	20°70
31-35			1					1	3°45
Totals	2	2	10	9	4	2		29	
%	6°90	6°90	34°48	31°05	13°79	6°90			

1626-1650

Years of aldermanic service	Previous years of council service								
	Nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	Totals	%
1-5		3	4	1	1	1	1	11	20°37
6-10			7	7		1		15	27°78
11-15		2	6	4	2			14	25°92
16-20	1	1	1	3		1		7	12°96
21-25			1					1	1°85
26-30	1	1		1				3	5°55
31-35		1	1	1				3	5°55
Totals	2	8	20	17	3	3	1	54	
%	3°70	14°80	37°04	31°48	5°55	5°55	1°85		

1651-1675

Years of aldermanic service	Previous years of council service							
	Nil	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Totals	%
1-5		1	2	1			4	14°29
6-10		1	1	2	1		5	17°86
11-15	2	4	1	1			8	28°58
16-20	1		3	2			6	21°43
21-25		1	1				2	7°14
26-30		1					1	3°57
31-35			1				1	3°57
36-40								
41-45	1						1	3°57
Totals	4	8	9	6	1		28	
%	14°29	28°58	32°14	21°43	3°57			

Once a man had achieved aldermanic status he had tenure for life unless he transgressed in some way, and then his brother aldermen had the right to remove him. Removals before the Civil War were rare. In 1598 Cuthbert Brereton was dismissed for inadequate service, and towards the end of Elizabeth's reign Nicholas Sotherton and Sir Robert Wood were disfranchised for insisting on living outside the city.[30] There were some anomolies, however. During the 1520s and 1530s Thomas Moore, a wealthy draper of Mancroft ward, regularly alternated between councillor and aldermanic service.[31] At various times between 1522 and 1533 he represented the wards of St. Giles' and St. Stephen's as alderman, and both before and after those dates he served Mancroft as a councillor. Moore became a freeman in 1500 and was subsequently elected to the common council for the first time. He served a year in this position, during which time, despite his short service, he was

30. A.B., 1585-1613, ff. 53, 64, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf d.
31. Ibid., 1491-1553, for the years stated.

elected sheriff, and was then chosen alderman for the ward of St. Giles'. He was out of office for the year 1524-5 but, being a man of substance (assessed on £80 in the 1525 subsidy), he was re-elected as alderman in 1525, this time for the ward of St. Stephen's. He represented St. Stephen's for two years at the end of which time he was chosen again for his original ward of St. Giles', serving for a further year. He was out of office between 1528 and 1529, and when he resumed his civic career it was for another spell as councillor, on this occasion for the two years 1529-1531. He was placed at the top of the list, as a potential alderman, and was re-called to the upper house in 1531 for his second period as representative of St. Stephen's. Again he served for no more than two years, followed by a year out of office, and returned finally to serve Mancroft ward as councillor for the years 1534-1545. Moore's career was almost unique. It's nearest parallel was that of Anthony Style, mercer and notary, who represented Mancroft ward on two occasions between 1559 and 1565, served as alderman for St. Stephen's between 1565 and 1567, and returned as councillor for his ward for a further two periods between 1567 and 1568.[32] There is no record of either man requesting to be relieved of his aldermanic duties or of being officially removed by his peers.

Aldermanic election was normally a peaceful affair. The freemen electors always chose a man of substance, invariably one who had served as sheriff, and usually selected a person who was acceptable to both alderman and councillors. Except during the Civil War, there were only two disputed elections during the whole of the 150 years under review.

The first of these occurred during Elizabeth's reign.[33] In 1595 Simon Bowde, mayor in 1579 and 1588

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32. A.E., 1551-1568, 1568-1585 for the years stated.
33. Liber Albus, ff. 115-118, N.W.R.O., Case 17, shelf d.

and burgess in parliament in 1585, died and the freemen of St. Stephen's ward chose one William Peters, mercer, as his successor. Peters had all the obvious attributes for alderman. He had been a councillor for the ward on two occasions, the first between 1578 and 1580, the second between 1592 and 1595, and he had served as shoriff in 1590. Despite this record of service he was unacceptable to his brother aldermen. It was asserted that he had been elected by 'many of the inferyor sorte.....who exceded the nombre of the moste fytt and hablest men in the saide vardo' and that 'for diverse consideracions best knowne to themselves and not fytt here to be expressed' his election would not be ratified.

Peters, nevertheless, served for a year, at the end of which the aldermen again refused to accept his election. Instead of accepting the decision 'the saide William Peters, thyrstinge after promocion, desyerus and covetinge the said degree and state of Alderman sought extraordinary meanes (the lyke hathe not bene redd of in any age) to attayne and attchyve the same'. He procured a writ of certiorare in Chancery, directed to the mayor and shoriffs of Norwich, which should have forced them to concede the point. The aldermanic body insisted, however, that by charter and ancient custom they and the mayor had the right to allow or disallow an election, and they consulted Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, on the point. After due deliberation he cancelled the writ.

There the matter should have ended. The inhabitants of the ward concerned were called together and had the legal position explained to them by Henry Hobart, the city steward, and it was assumed that they would now vote for the aldermanic choice. Much to the chagrin of the authorities, however, 'the meane sorte of the inhabitants.....did of a hedy wilfulnes preache and cotynewe their formor nomynacion', which was just as promptly rejected again. Ultimately, at another meeting of the inhabitants of the ward, held on 19 October 1596

when more of the 'better sort' were present, a man acceptable to the aldermanic body was elected; the election was ratified four days later.

Interestingly enough the man elected, one George Downing, had only been admitted to the freedom of the city four days before his election to aldermanic rank.[34] He was not apprenticed, and thus not a native of Norwich, and it is just possible that he was well known to certain of the aldermen who may have hoped for financial gain from his election. This is pure speculation, however. What is certain is that his ultimate election seems to have been rushed through when many of the electors were absent. Within two years Downing was chosen as one of the sheriffs, his only other office in the Elizabethan period being that of clavor in 1601, and he attained the mayoralty in 1609.

The antipathy to Peters remains puzzling. It is just possible that his antecedents were considered unworthy of a member of the upper house. Although he took mercer apprentices late in Elizabeth's reign, there is no record of his being admitted a freeman in that trade. There is a record of a William Peter, wheelwright, purchasing his freedom in 1551, however, and accepting apprentices in that trade immediately afterwards.[35] This may be the same man, but again it must be conjectural. In any case, there was a well established tradition that people wishing to climb the social ladder must be prepared if necessary, to change their trade, and Peters may have done no more than this. Either way, he accepted defeat and continued to serve his ward as a councillor for a further twelve years, disappearing from the lists in 1608.

The second clash between the aldermen and the electors of a particular ward occurred some thirty years later, and was a direct consequence of the constitutional changes of the 1620s. These are fully discussed below, and it is sufficient to note here that in 1620 it was agreed that from henceforth the mayors of the city should

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34. Millican, op.cit., p. 75.

35. Ibid., p. 150.

36. See A.B., 1585-1613, N.N.R.O., Case 17, shelf c, for the years stated.

be chosen exclusively from the senior aldermen in any given year, a seniority principle well-established in London; and that all future aldermen should be elected from the senior of the surviving sheriffs in a ward. In other words, once a man was elected sheriff he was bound to be ultimately elected mayor, unless he died in the meantime. The shrievalty had always been the gateway to the mayoralty, but there had been no compulsion in the past to elect every sheriff to the mayoral chair, provided he was the most senior alderman present; nor had possession of the office ensured promotion to alderman although, as noted earlier, almost 90 per cent of the men elected alderman in the period 1601-1625 had, in fact, served in this capacity. The most significant thing about the changes is that the Peters incident could not be repeated. If a man was legally elected as the sheriff nothing the aldermen could do would prevent his ultimately becoming one of the upper house. It was thus essential that the man nominated by the freemen electors should be a person of suitable standing. As it happened, the constitutional changes occurred at a time when both the councilmen and the electorate in general were becoming increasingly aware of their powers, and were more disinclined than ever before to subscribe to aldermanic pressures. Their nomination of men relatively new to the aldermanry as prospective mayors had encouraged the intervention of the king in the first place. As their hands were tied in this particular respect after 1620, the electors were determined to make their presence felt at the election to the shrievalty. The crisis came in 1627. The aldermanic choice of sheriff was unacceptable to the multitude. In retaliation 'a great multitude of mechanical men and other citizens of meanest quality' nominated one John Kettle, basketmaker, as their man. Kettle had been elected to the freedom as a non-apprentice in 1609.[37] He had apparently been a servant of Sir Charles Cornwallis at some time, and Cornwallis maintained the association,

37. Millican, op.cit., p. 14.

supporting Kettle whenever occasion demanded.[38] He could not have had a more fractious servant. The man appeared unable to keep out of trouble. At intervals, his name appears in the court books, charged with obstructing the market place, with refusing to contribute to the poor rate, with abusing the aldermanry and accusing them of corruption, in short being a general nuisance and a thorn in the flesh of the ruling body. It is hardly surprising that the exasperated magistrates were totally opposed to the nomination of a man they described as 'so unworthy of a place of magistracy (and) so rude and uncivil as he is not fit for common society, a man so addicted to railing and drunkenness as he hath been often bound to his good behaviour and yet never reformed.....'

Kettle did not get universal support, however. He was opposed by Thomas Atkins, subsequently to be a leading Puritan in the city and a future Lord Mayor of London, and in the resulting poll Kettle was defeated by ten votes. His supporters were incensed and, declaring that the election had been pre-determined, threatened to disrupt the swearing-in of the new sheriffs. Feeling that the matter was beyond them, the authorities complained to the privy council who summoned Kettle to appear before them, declared the election valid, and cast him into the Fleet Prison for a period. After his release he was ordered to return to Norwich, to make humble submission to the mayor and corporation, to conform to the constitution and, for good measure, to pay a fine of £40 for refusing to contribute to the mayor's feast. Men like Kettle did not make humble submission. He appeared before the court with his patron, Sir Charles Cornwallis. Cornwallis began by disputing the validity of the judgement, and Kettle took the opportunity to abuse

38. J.T. Evans, The political elite of Norwich, 1620-1690, University of Stanford Ph.D thesis, 1971, pp. 61-6.

the corporation yet again. After being shown the appropriate document, Cornwallis persuaded his henchman to submit, but after the formalities were over he asserted in open court that he knew that many of the accusations against Kettle were false. The unsavoury affair concluded with Cornwallis' grandson and some of his servants abusing the mayor to his face.

An event such as this could not be allowed to create a precedent, and the magistrates made a further appeal to the privy council, this time to have the commons' sheriff chosen by the councillors alone rather than by the whole body of freemen, and for the aldermen to be chosen from the whole body of sheriffs, rather than from the ancient in rank. The privy council agreed to the request, although it seems that the freemen body continued to participate in elections.

The aldermanic body seldom had cause to examine the antecedents of its members. Not only were its members socially acceptable but by the Elizabethan period they were virtually a closed cast. Eleven families predominated, nearly all of whom originated in the county, whether they were of yeoman or gentry stock. Four of the families, the Anguishes, the Barretts, the Davi and the Layers were gentle in origin; five of them, the Ferrors, the Hymnes, the Mingays, the Sothertons and the Sucklings, came from yeoman stock; while the Aldriches were descended from bailiffs of Great Yarmouth and the Pettus clan from lower tradesmen of Norwich.[39] Eight of the families were connected by marriage, the Layers having links with five of the others, the Aldriches, Davies and Sucklings with three, the Anguishes, Ferrors, Hymnes and Mingays with two. The Pettus and Sotherton families were not linked by marriage to the main group, but they were related to other aldermanic families, the Pettuses having connections with five families, the

39. B.H. Allen, The administrative and social structure of the Norwich merchant class, 1485-1660. University of Harvard Ph.D thesis, 1951, pp. 281-2.

Sothertons with no fewer than eleven. Between them, the eleven major families produced 31 generations of Norwich aldermen and 28 mayors. At one stage, if one includes connection by apprenticeship, 23 of the 24 aldermen were linked together in one way or another.[40]

Although many of them served as aldermen for a number of years, none of the men concerned showed any desire to forge permanent links with the city. In common with members of the merchant classes in many of the other provincial towns they sought connections with the land, and the length of their stay reflects their success or otherwise in this connection. The Forrors, with five generations in the city, the Davies and Sothertons with four were the longest stayers; the rest departed within two or three generations.

Possession of land was imperative, and in this connection three broad phases can be detected. In the first of these, which ended around 1550, the aldermen were recruited almost solely from the merchant class and had little or no social connections with the surrounding gentry. Civic affairs absorbed much of their time, and if they invested their money it was invariably in property within the city walls. It was only rarely that an alderman bought land outside the city boundaries.

During the reign of Elizabeth, as suggested above, the aldermanic class of Norwich became increasingly oligarchic. Sixteen of them belonged to six great families.[41] Others were connected by apprenticeship or marriage to the central group. In contrast to the earlier period, more and more aldermen began to invest their money in landed estates outside the city, albeit within a distance of fifteen miles or so. The amount of land purchased grew steadily year by year. Manors, rectories, advowsons, tenements, meadows, pastures, mills, marshes, all came into aldermanic hands. When manors

40. Ibid., p. 286.
41. Ibid., p. 267.

were bought, branches of the leading families frequently settled in the country and became respected members of the minor gentry.[42] With the exception of Sir Robert Wood, none of these families were knighted, none became sheriffs of the county and very few married members of the greater Norfolk families. Some of the aldermen grew to prefer their estates to their civic responsibilities, so much so that in 1588 two of them, Sir Robert Wood and Nicholas Sotherton, were removed from office.[43]

Between 1603 and 1660 this tendency increased sharply. The ruling group gradually changed from a self-sufficient exclusive merchant class to one with more relationships with the county aristocracy. Far more of the aldermen had gentle origins and they tended to marry into their own class, fourteen such alliances taking place in this period as against four in the previous half century. The city aldermen intermarried with the gentry in Norwich and all over Norfolk and bought land themselves. In consequence, in the first half of the seventeenth century several of them were heads of families ranked among the gentry. The same period saw three of them - Sir Thomas Hyrne, Sir John Pettus and Sir Peter Gleane - become sheriffs of the county, having already served in this capacity for the city.[44] The first of these is a perfect example of the rapid rise to pre-eminence of a family not of gentle stock. Sir Thomas Hyrne's grandfather was a yeoman of Drayton, a village just outside Norwich.[45] The yeoman's son Clement was apprenticed in Norwich as a grocer; he prospered and ultimately rose to aldermanic rank. At his death he left £1,305 in cash, a number of houses, and a manor at Haveringland which his son, Thomas, inherited.[46] The latter's rise was meteoric. He took

42. Ibid., p. 344.
43. A.B., 1551-1568, f.64, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf c.
44. Allen, op.cit., p. 350.
45. N.C.C., 134 Goldingham.
46. N.C.C., 161 Skyppon.

up his freedom as an ironmonger on 16 October 1596, succeeded to his father's place as alderman five days later, without having served as a common councillor, was sheriff within less than a year and served the first of his three terms as mayor seven years later.[47] Ultimately, as related above, he became the first man to serve as sheriff of both city and county; he was knighted by James I and he represented his native city in parliament.

Broadly speaking, those families which rose highest did so most rapidly, purchased the least amount of city property and left Norwich for the county earlier than the other groups. This inevitably meant that they attained the shrievalty and the mayoralty far sooner than men many years their senior, both in age and civic service. Whereas in Elizabeth's reign a man had to have at least seven years aldermanic experience before becoming mayor, at least one man in every subsequent decade attained this status in a shorter time. Richard Rosse, for example, became mayor in 1618 within one year of his election to the upper house. Others reached the position after three to five years aldermanic service. At the same time the average period of aldermanic service became shorter, but this can be explained almost entirely by the purges of the Civil War and Restoration periods. In the decade 1641-1650 alone, twenty-nine men, or twice the normal average, were elected to aldermanic positions, and there was a similar turnover in the years immediately following 1660.[48]

Partly, no doubt, because of their origins, the city assembly became increasingly title conscious during the seventeenth century. A man entering the council ranks as a gentleman was invariably placed at the top of the list, and was ready to step as quickly as possible into

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47. Pound, thesis, p. 15.

48. The above account is based on an analysis of the elections to the aldermanry and the mayoralty between 1642 and 1668. See A.B., 1642-1668, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf d, passim.

the shoes of an alderman. After 1620 those councillors appointed sheriff and thus, by definition, potential aldermen, were immediately designated gentlemen if they had not begun their civic service as such. For the first half of the century no distinction was made between the aldermen, all of whom were assumed to be of gentry status. From the 1640s, however, a man was described as esquire as soon as he had attained the mayoralty, and all who could proclaimed their armigerous status. Thereafter no distinction was made between the councillors, all sixty being designated Mr., or titular gentleman, for some years.[49]

Quite apart from the leading families referred to above, very few of the city's upper classes were descended from the lower tradesmen in the seventeenth century. It was much more common for the countryman to enter the city with enough to become upper merchants in the first generation. As in the sixteenth century, the civic careers of the major families were not long, at the most about four generations. They usually began when a second son was sent to Norwich. Already having financial backing, he accumulated further wealth as an alderman or mayor of the city, eventually bought a manor and settled a branch of his family on it. That branch of the family would settle permanently on the land and have little or nothing to do with civic affairs. Other sons continued in city trade for a further two or three generations, providing the city with more aldermen or mayors, but each civic generation sent some members out of Norwich. Eventually the last member of the family would retire to the country and that particular clan would cease to have direct contact with Norwich or with trade. Now much wealthier than before, the family owned many manors where previously they may have had one or even none at all. They were accepted in county society and many married into the

49. Ibid. This may well have been the practice in other towns as well.

leading county families. Thus the Hymnes formed associations with the Knyvetts, the Hobarts, the Bacons and the Pastons. The family of Mingay had ties with the Gawdys (twice), the Wentworths, the Jernegans, the Cokes and the Cornwallis'. The Sucklings intermarried with the Drurys, the Woodhouses and the Knyvetts; the Sothertons with the Bacons; and the Pettus family with the Heveninghams, the Saltonstalls and the Knyvetts. In every case they had used their connection with Norwich trade to rise high in the county hierarchy.[50]

Some positive examples must support the above generalisations. The case of the Hymnes has already been referred to. The Mingays, if not quite so successful, had similar origins. The family originated from the village of Shotesham, some seven miles outside Norwich. The first member of the family to move to the city was Robert, a cordwainer. He inherited some lands and tenements from his yeoman father but was able to add little to those, leaving no more than £26 in cash and two tenements in Norwich at his death in 1545.[51] Of this meagre fortune, his son William was bequeathed the houses and £10, but he was a shrewd businessman. He had already climbed beyond his father's status by being apprenticed as a mercer, and he increased his patrimony by shrewd buying and selling of monastic lands. In due course he became alderman and mayor of the city in 1561, and at his death in 1564 he had enhanced the family fortunes to such a degree that he owned manors in both Norfolk and Suffolk, lands, tenements and a rectory at Shotesham and lands at Saxlingham. He was also able to bequeath more than £600 in cash. Significantly, with the exception of his Suffolk property all of his land purchases were in the vicinity of the ancestral home at Shotesham. None of his three sons went into trade. Two became lawyers and a third became the squire of Axminghall.[52]

50. Allen, opcit., pp. 334-5

51. N.C.C., 184 Punting.

52. B. Cozens-Hardy and E.A. Kent, The Mayors of Norwich 1403 to 1835, 1938, p. 57; N.C.C., Pr. Martyn

Another branch of the family was even more successful. John Mingay, nephew of William - whom he emulated as mayor in 1617 - and a Norwich apothecary, was able to purchase a manor at Swainsthorpe, just outside the city; lands and houses in Norwich, including the site of the Austin Friars' on which he built three houses; meadows and lands at Shotesham and Lakenham; and at his death in 1625 he had three warehouses full of goods and a total of £3,777 in cash. [53]

The Pettus family were originally small tradesmen of Norwich. Thomas, who died in 1491, was described as an 'opulent citizen'. His son John, referred to earlier in the chapter, was a member of the common council and married his daughter to Richard Corpusty, a Norwich alderman. [54] Their son, Thomas, joined his father as a common councillor, became an alderman in 1568, served the city as mayor in 1590, and before his death in 1597 had married into the Dethick family, gentry from South Elmham in Suffolk. Thomas prospered exceedingly during his civic career. At his death he owned the manor of Rackheath, purchased in 1591, two small manors near Worstead, houses and lands at Hethersett and Holt and in other parts of the county and, uniquely, houses and lands in London. He was also able to bequeath more than £2,000 in cash. [55] Both of his sons followed him as aldermen and mayors of Norwich and one of them, John, was knighted in 1603. [56] Sir John Pettus made a prosperous marriage, his wife being the daughter and co-heiress of Augustus Curtis Esq. of Hannington in Suffolk. In due course both of his sons were knighted, one of them, Sir Thomas Pettus, was appointed High Sheriff of Norfolk in 1632 and created baronet nine years later. [57]

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53. Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit., p. 73; N.R.O., 335 Belward.
54. W. Rye, Norfolk Families, 1913, p. 666.
55. Ibid., p. 667; P.C.C., 15, 16 Lewyn.
56. Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit., pp. 69 and 72.
57. Rye, op.cit., p. 668.

The Layer family were descended from gentry stock in Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk.[58] William Layer was the first of the family to settle in Norwich and after some years establishing himself in the city he accepted nomination as an alderman in 1531, ultimately serving as mayor in 1537. At his death he left a manor in Suffolk, landed property in Norwich, and the unusually high sum for the time of £800.[59] His six sons were all well provided for. One was sent to Gonville College, Cambridge; another was established as a merchant in London; while the others were apprenticed as mercers and grocers in Norwich.[60] Three of the latter served the city as aldermen, Christopher being twice elected mayor , and Thomas three times in a career which spanned 57 years.[61]

Christopher Layer inherited the family manor in Suffolk and £80 in cash, and by his death in 1600 had added lands and tenements in Norwich and in Suffolk; the manor of Booton and lands and tenements there and in four adjacent parishes; and £1,387 in cash.[62] Thomas Layer received a smaller patrimony - a tenement and £50 in cash - but he, too, made considerable gains in his lifetime. When he died in 1614 he was the owner of orchards, a capital messuage, six tenements andlands in Norwich; lands and tenements in Cringleford and adjacent parishes; houses in Havoringland and land in Gressenhall worth £700; a lease of land in East Carleton; and £855 in cash.[63]

One final example of the most successful families must suffice. Thomas Aldrich, a draper, was one of the wealthiest men in Henrician Norwich, being assessed on £700 worth of goods in the subsidy of 1524.[64] He was one of the few aldermen to buy land outside the city in this period, and died owning £2,125, three tenements and lands in Norwich,

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58. Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit., p. 49.
59. P.C.C., 19 Cromwell.
60. Allen, op.cit., p. 300.
61. Pound, thesis, pp. 45, 47.
62. P.C.C., 53-4 Wallopp.
63. Ibid., 96 Lawe.
64. J.F.Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', Past and Present, 34, 1966, p. 51.

and the manor of Mangroen Hall as well as lands and tenements in adjacent towns.[65] His son John, who served the city for over forty years as councillor, alderman and mayor between 1541 and 1582, added lands and tenements in Morley and Deopham and three adjacent towns to this patrimony, plus three messuages in Norwich, houses worth £300 scattered throughout the county, and a manor in Essex.[66]

Two of the sons of John Aldrich followed their father as aldermen of Norwich while a third became a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[67] All three added to the family's landed property. Quite apart from real estate in the city, Michael Aldrich purchased four messuages and 50 acres of land at Ringland, and also possessed landed property in Carleton, Heigham, Barlham and Wootton.[68] Henry Aldrich, the Cambridge don, possessed property in Norwich and lands in Morley,[69] while John Aldrich, Jr., added landed property in Felmingham and Heigham to the family possessions in Norwich and Essex.[70]

While not all aspired to connections with the leading families of the county, virtually every alderman purchased land outside the city. While they themselves invariably finished their days in Norwich, it was much more common for their descendants to leave the city and settle on the family estates. In some cases, the trading connection was severed immediately; in others, it was not broken for two or three generations; but ultimately all the families disappeared from the urban scene. As with the greater families, some individual examples will illustrate the general trend.

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65. P.C.C., 9 Jankyn.
66. Inf. derived from A.D.s. 1491-1553, 1551-68, 1568-85, 16 c & d. N.C.C., 57 Courant.
67. Ibid.
68. N.C.C., 10 Lawson.
69. Ibid., 54 Clarke.
70. Ibid., 83 Scroope.

John Scottow, described as a yeoman of Suffield at his death in October 1560, [71] apprenticed his 14 year old son, Richard, to John Read, Merchant Adventurer of Norwich, for a period of 11 years in 1559. [72] The indenture stipulated that in due course the boy was to be made free of the fellowship of the Merchant Adventurers and thus a member of one of the leading companies of the early Elizabethan period. Having secured his son's future, the elder Scottow bequeathed him his houses and lands at Antingham, both free and bond, to be inherited at 25 years of age, and, more immediately, a stock of corn comprising ten combs each of barley and oats, three of wheat, two of rye, and two acres of peas. [73]

The inheritance was intended to coincide with the completion of the boy's apprenticeship, but within a year of this, and two years before taking up his freedom, Richard Scottow saw fit to mortgage his lands at Antingham, and other property in Felmingham and Suffield, presumably with the intention of concentrating on his trading activities. [74] In due course, he married Mary, daughter of John Sotherton, a member of one of the city's leading families, changed his occupation to that of vintner, and over a period of years produced a family of eight sons and three daughters. [75]

After 15 years of trading in the city, he was elected to the common council for the first time and served for a period of 14 years between 1585 and 1599. After a break of 10 years, he served for a further three years as a councillor, followed by five years as an alderman. He died in 1617, having purchased the manor

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71. N.C.C., 187 Bircham.

72. P. Millican, The Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713, 1934, p. 241.

73. N.C.C., 187 Bircham.

74. Norf. Arch., XIII, 1898, p. 57.

75. A.W. Hughes Clarke and A.H. Campling, eds., The Visitation of Norfolk, 1664, 1934, pp. 199-200.

of Little Melton some years before.[76]

The manor was inherited by his son, Augustine, who, nevertheless, remained in the city, serving as common councillor between 1622 and 1629, and as alderman between 1629 and 1637; a tradition of service which was emulated by three of the other sons of Richard Scotton between 1616 and 1655.[77] Neither they, nor Augustine's son of the same name, showed any desire to reside permanently in the county, and it was left to Richard's great-grandson, Thomas, to settle permanently on the family manor of Little Melton where he died, aged 93, in 1758.[78]

Another aldermanic family of yeoman stock was that of Croshold. John Croshold, mayor of the city in 1663, was born in 1599. His father, Thomas, died before the boy's birth, but bequeathed the unborn child the sum of £10 to be given him at the age of 21.[79] When he was no more than 12 years old, John Croshold inherited the family lands at Mattishall from his brother Thomas, and subsequently purchased property in the parish of All Saints in Norwich.[80]

The Mattishall lands were inherited by his son, Alexander Croshold, who continued to trade in the city as a hosier and served as common councillor for four years between 1663 and 1667.[81] Alexander's son, John, who became rector of Gresham, made the final break from the city and settled permanently in the county.[82]

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76. The details of Scottow's civic career have been derived from A.B.s 1585-1613 and 1613-1642, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf d.

77. Ibid., 1613-1642; 1642-1668.

78. Hughes Clarke and Compling, op.cit., p. 200

79. N.C.C., 25 Adams.

80. Ibid., 349 Styward.

81. Ibid., 121 Stockdell; A.B. 1642-1668 for Alexander Croshold's civic career.

82. Hughes Clarke and Compling, op.cit., p. 61.

Similar reluctance to sever their trading connections with the city was shown by two men who came from a clerical background Augustine Briggs and Barnard Church. The father of Augustine Briggs, a clerk at Banningham who died in 1625, did not visualise his son entering trade at all. He anticipated that he would become a scholar and left £40 for the boy's education, with the promise of his goods and chattels on his mother's death.[83] Despite this, following education at the local grammar school, Augustine was apprenticed to a grocer and duly took up his freedom in 1645. Briggs prospered in his chosen career and at his own death in 1684 he was able to bequeath property in Norwich, Swardeston, Holt, Tunstead, Surlingham and Corton in Suffolk. He served as mayor in 1670, and as burgess in parliament four times between 1677 and 1681.[84]

Despite inheriting much of his father's lands, his son Augustine continued to trade in the city, served as mayor in 1695, and died in 1704.[85] He was succeeded by his brother William, a physician of some note, and ultimately by William's son, Henry, who resided outside the city as rector of Holt and chaplain to George II.[86]

Barnard Church, son of Richard Church, clerk of Whinbergh, had been a freeman of Norwich for twelve years when his father died in 1636.[87] Church's immediate inheritance was bonds, bills and obligations of an unspecified sum, and it was only later that he inherited the family lands.[88] His interests remained in the city, however, where he lived for a further 50

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83. N.C.C., 320 Bolward.
84. Cozens-Hardy and Kent, op.cit., p. 94.
85. Ibid., p. 104.
86. Hughes Clarke and Campling, op.cit., p. 35.
87. Millican, op.cit., p. 161.
88. N.C.C., 243 Blosse.

years, serving as mayor in 1651 and burgess in parliament in 1654 and 1656. He was apparently the only member of his family to have any connections with the city, and he died childless in 1686.[89]

Christopher Barrett, mayor of the city in 1634 and deputy mayor in 1649, was of gentle origin, his father William owning the manor of Westhall in Suffolk. Christopher was born in 1562, and after apprenticeship in London he purchased his freedom as a grocer in Norwich in 1590. He traded successfully in his chosen trade, bought Suckling House from John Suckling, alderman of the city, in 1595, and began his civic career at the age of 38 in 1600. He served the city continuously for the next 49 years, a period almost evenly divided between councillor and aldermanic service, and died in 1649 at the age of 87, leaving the manor of Westhall to his son, Thomas.[90]

Thomas Barrett chose to follow the same trade as his father, rather than retire to his manor, and in due course served as councillor and alderman between 1632 and 1661, being elected mayor in 1650. He was ejected from his position as alderman in 1661, and although buried in Norwich in 1685 it is possible that he may have devoted his remaining years to living on his manor.[91] His son, another Thomas, spent a single year as a common councillor between 1673 and 1674, but apart from this had little connection with city affairs, dying as lord of the manor of Horstead in 1710.[92]

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89. Ibid., 581 Calthorpe.

90. Hughes Clarke and Campling, op.cit., p. 15; Cozens Hardy and Kent, op.cit., p. 74; Millican, op.cit., p. ; N.C.C., 54 Houchin.

91. See A.B.s. 1613-1642 and 1642-1668, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf d, for Thomas Barrett's civic career; Hughes Clarke and Campling, op.cit., p. 15.

92. Hughes Clarke and Campling, op.cit., p. 15.

While not every alderman aspired to a position among the leading families of the county, virtually all of them invested in land outside the city and either they, or their successors, took up residence there. With the notable exception of the Gotherton family, no aldermanic family stayed in the city for more than three generations, a fact amply illustrated by the changing names of the members of the upper house. In this respect, they were emulating their peers elsewhere, and allowed for an influx of new blood and new attitudes. The new men were well to the fore in the Civil War years.

IV: The Civil War and its antecedents.

During the hundred years between 1526 and 1625 the government of Norwich was carried out in an atmosphere of almost studied calm. The Peters controversy, referred to earlier, was so out of character that is was noted in minute detail in the Liber Albus, a book kept specifically to record the unusual.[94] The whole of the city assembly, aldermen and councillors alike, were concerned to maintain good order, and a form of continuity was ensured by the ever-longer periods of time served by the elected members. When members of the same family were present in both the lower and the upper houses, when family ties were made stronger by the presence of both former master and former apprentice among the ruling body, there was little cause for friction.

The first decades of the seventeenth century saw the disappearance of some of the leading families from the stage, however. The men who replaced them had no tradition of service within the city. Many were imbued with strong Puritan ideals, in some cases to the point of fanaticism, and they were far less inclined than their predecessors to accept every ruling of the upper house with a good grace. When the more wealthy among them were elected to aldermanic rank they placed ever greater pressure on their more conservative colleagues, and ultimately succeeded in purging the old guard completely.

The first signs of conflict appeared in the second decade of the seventeenth century. It became increasingly noticeable that men were being nominated as mayor over the heads of their older and more experienced colleagues. This was not necessarily a new departure. It had always been accepted that a man must be both willing and able to bear the city's highest - and most expensive - office. Seniority alone did not create such a situation. Indeed, as mentioned earlier,

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94. Liber Albus, ff. 115-118, N.N.R.O., Case 17, shelf b.

it was not uncommon for men to pay relatively large sums to avoid both the shrievalty and the mayoralty, or, at the other extreme, to be nominated on several occasions without ever attaining the desired position. There is some evidence, however, that the freemen of the city may have been deliberately nominating men well down the list in terms of seniority in order to ensure the election of the other candidate. The aldermen, of course, made the final choice, but there were no precedents for accepting the junior of the two nominees unless the older men had served on a previous occasion. Seniority was something to be jealously guarded. On all feast days the mayor took precedence, followed by those of his predecessors in the order that they had attained the chair, and finally by the other aldermen in order of seniority. The only exception to the strict observance of this rule was if a man was knighted whereupon he automatically became second to the serving mayor. Bickerings over precedence even took place among the aldermen's wives. Under such circumstances, any men who aspired to the mayoralty and were superseded by their juniors would be bitterly resentful.[95]

In due course, as mentioned above, James I felt constrained to intervene. He wrote to the authorities in April 1619 urging them to conform to the system of London where seniority was rigidly adhered to.[96] The aldermanic body was, on the whole, willing to concur but any such alteration to the constitution had to have the assent of the majority of both houses. On 11 October the proposed bye-law was introduced, and the common council immediately requested time to consider the implications of such a change. A committee was set up to consider the matter but it dragged its feet and by December the Lord Chief Justice and the Justices of Assize began to agitate for a decision. When no decision had been reached three

95. Evans, op.cit., p. 48.

96. C.S.P.D., 1619-1623, p. 40.

months later the Justices presented their own scheme, and even then a further two months elapsed before it was presented to the assembly for consideration. Ultimately on May 29 1620, more than a year after the King's original letter, the matter was put to the vote. The meeting was barely quorate, 15 aldermen and 33 common councillors being present, but after some consideration the motion was accepted by the narrow majority of 25 and 23. There the matter should have ended, but the councillors protested vigorously, pointing out that while 14 out of 15 aldermen supported the motion it had had the support of only one-third of the councillors present. In an effort to be democratic, the assembly accepted the protest, but an attempt to vote on the issue again three weeks later proved abortive. The matter was finally decided on 4 August in the presence of the Chief Justice of Common Pleas, two justices of assize, the mayor, sheriffs, 18 aldermen and 48 councillors. The seniority principle was agreed to, and at the same time it was accepted that in future all aldermen were to be elected from the senior surviving sheriffs among the common councillors.[97]

The weaknesses of the new system were fully brought out in the Kettle controversy, already referred to, and required further amendment in 1627. What is immediately significant here is that the councillors had shown their teeth, an ominous portent for the future.

Constitutional problems apart, Norwich experienced all the irritations suffered by other towns in the years leading up to the Civil War. Shortly after the Kettle incident the city was called upon to billet large numbers of Irish troops on their way to the wars of the Continent. The mayor, Francis Cock, protested bitterly, both at the imposition and the behaviour of the troops concerned. As protests had to be lodged with the city's old adversary, Sir Charles Cornwallis,

97. Evans, op.cit., pp. 56-7.

little could be expected and the authorities fulminated to no purpose. The next decade saw the almost inevitable protests against Ship Money and other exactions, again to no purpose. Of greater significance was the advent of Matthew Wren, the new bishop of Norwich, and the bitter in-fighting which followed between him and the more puritanical members of the assembly.[98]

Wren was appointed Biship of Norwich in 1635, after having served for a few months as Bishop of Hereford. He was one of Laud's most loyal supporters, a lover of ceremony and a rigid disciplinarian, but also a man of deep piety and learning and, when necessary, of considerable courage. He was resident in Norwich for little more than two years, but it was long enough to make him the best hated of all bishops after Laud.[99] He interpreted his orders so rigorously that some 500 people chose to emigrate to America from Norwich alone, and as many as 1,350 from Norfolk as a whole.[100] He was no respecter of persons. The year after his appointment he insisted that the mayor and all the corporation should be regular attenders at divine service in the cathedral every Sunday. This would have been sufficiently odious for the Puritanically minded assembly, but they were made even more uncomfortable by the actions of the resident clergy. The magistrates were seated in uncomfortable chairs, exposed to chill winds, directly underneath an overhead gallery. The gallery was invariably filled with people opposed to the local Puritans. On one occasion a bible was dropped onto the mayor, which broke his spectacles. On another a stool was dropped which just missed his head. His gown was cut up as he knelt in prayer, while

98. C. Owens, Norfolk, 1620-1641: Local Government and Central Authority in an East Anglian County; University of Wisconsin Ph.D thesis, 1970, pp. 206, 211-12.

99. R.W. Ketton-Cremer, Norfolk in the Civil War, 1969, p. 62.

100. Ibid., p. 77.

his brother aldermen were spat upon.[101]

Such actions led to official complaints and petitions to parliament against Wren. Even so, Wren had considerable support, including at least half the aldermanic body. When, in 1636, the mayor and a majority of the Corporation petitioned the king in favour of non-conforming ministers, twelve of the aldermanic body felt constrained to write a personal letter to Wren in which they recorded their dissent. 'Whereas it is come to our knowledge that a petition is preferred to his Majesty in the name of the whole Corporation of Norwich: we whose names are subscribed thought it our bounden duty to certify under our hands that our assent was not thereunto.' The letter was signed 'your Lordships' ever devoted', and included the names of many of those subsequently ejected from the aldermanic bench by their Puritan colleagues.[102]

Within five years the political climate had changed, however. There were further attacks on Wren, despite the fact that by now he had left the city, and they culminated in January 1641 by accusations that he had introduced popish superstitions, rites and ceremonies and disrupted the life of the community. In contrast to the petition of 1636 only two members of the aldermanic body refused to subscribe to the petition.[103]

William Gostlyn, an ardent Royalist and one of the two that refused to sign, was mayor in 1641 and it was anticipated that he would be succeeded, by virtue of the 1620 ordinance, by the octogenarian, John Loveland. Loveland had also refused to sign the petition and the thought of one Royalist following another was more than many of the commons could bear. Accordingly they ignored the city's constitution and elected two men who were third and fourth in order of

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101. Evans, op.cit., p.132.

102. Kotton-Cromer, op.cit., p. 85.

103. Ibid.

seniority. The man chosen, one Thomas Carver, was a moderate leaning, if anything, towards the Royalist side. It was well known that he was a sick man, however, and he died on 29 May, before he had taken up his appointment. Even before his death the common councillors were agitating for greater freedom in the nomination of his replacement. A decision taken on 4 June that in future the election procedure should be determined by the whole assembly suggests that the Puritans had the upper hand. According to the constitutional changes of 1620, on the death of a mayor one of the two ex-mayors with the greatest seniority should serve for the remainder of the term. This should have meant either Richard Rosse or Alexander Anguish, both ardent Royalists and both fated to be removed from the magistracy in the aldermanic purges to follow. On 11 June, however, the issue was avoided by the assembly's claiming that the death of a mayor-elect was not the same as the death of a mayor. In consequence, they reverted to the Charter of Henry IV which allowed all the aldermen to be considered as replacements with the exception of those who had served as mayor within the previous three years. On 16 June, Samuel Pucklo, a strong Parliamentarian, was chosen as deputy.[104]

By June 1641 the Puritans felt fairly certain of the support of the majority of the freemen body and of the common councillors, but several aldermen remained who were either uncommitted or else avowed Royalists. The moderates held the balance in the upper house between two groups who were otherwise evenly matched. The Puritans had two alternatives; to transfer power to the assembly as a whole or to remove the Royalist aldermen. In 1641 they began with the first approach; in 1643 they successfully invoked the second.[105]

Two days after the election of 1641, the common council brought up the question of what power the mayor and aldermen had of their own accord, and what

104. Evans, op.cit., p. 133.
105. Ibid., p. 138.

required the consent of the council. A committee of 16, evenly divided between aldermen and councillors, was set up to discuss the issue. Three of the aldermen were Royalists, but the six Puritan councillors ensured a majority for those of their own persuasion. Some positive results emerged from the discussions. In December it was decided that the presentation and settling of advowsons, in which the patron was the Corporation of Norwich, should be the concern of the entire assembly and not just that of the mayor as in the past. The following April it was resolved that in future any measure passed by the assembly must have the consent of the majority of the common councillors, rather than a majority of all as in the past.[106]

In January 1643 the relatively peaceful relationship which had existed between Puritans and Royalists in the city came to an end. On the last day of the month a letter arrived from Parliament empowering two captains or either of the sheriffs to enter the homes of known recusants, refusers to contribute to the proposition money, or any who spoke out against Parliament, and seize all arms, horses and ammunition belonging to them. Within two weeks of the letter the Royalist mayor of the city, William Gostling, was under investigation by the Committee of the Association of Counties for alleged misdemeanours. He survived until 1 March when his refusal to approve an order of the mayor's court to send 100 men, arms and horses to Cambridge led to his arrest. Gostling was sent to Cambridge by Lord Grey, Major-General of the Eastern Association, and his arrest was followed by a purge which, by the end of the month, had forced all non-co-operative Royalists from office.[107]

The Puritan onslaught may have been encouraged by Gostling's actions and by the fact that a supporter of Parliament was Deputy Mayor. Of greater significance was an abortive Royalist rising which took place in the city in early March. On the 13th of the month, just

106. Ibid., p. 139.
107. Ibid., p. 144.

over a week after the rising, a meeting of the assembly took place. After first authorising the sending of extra men and horses to Cambridge, it ordered letters to be sent to three absentee Royalist aldermen - Lane, Daniel and Osborne - ordering them to either return to their homes and explain their absence from the Court of Aldermen or be removed from office. Five days later, with 15 members present at a meeting of the mayor's court, they were formally deprived of their positions. Perhaps significantly, Oliver Cromwell had stopped in Norwich on the previous day, on the way to put down a Royalist rebellion at Lowestoft. He returned to Norwich on 20 March, the first day of a new election which saw 18 new common councillors and 5 Parliamentary aldermen appointed. The moderates were left unmolested for the time being, but the core of the Royalist party had been removed within a month. Of those aldermen who were absent from critical meetings concerning the assembly in 1642 and 1643, Lane, Daniel and Osborne were removed on 18 March 1643. Other Royalists were removed at the same time. Richard Rosse was ousted on the same day as the absentee aldermen; Gostling was in jail at Cambridge; John Alguish died on 24 April and John Freeman was impeached by his ward on 3 May. The purge was completed in April 1644 when Alexander Anguish was ejected on trumped up charges of fraud. That the Puritans were in control was made absolutely clear by the mayoral election of May 1643. By the seniority principle still in force Thomas Barber, a man with anti-Puritan tendencies, was due for election. The assembly simply dispensed with the 1620 law, passed Barber over, and nominated two Parliament men of whom John Thacker was elected. The next year the moderate, John Freeman, was due for election but the assembly declared that the 1620 ordinances were very inconvenient and declared void the section relating to the election of mayors, although the provisions relating to the

election of aldermen remained in being.[108]

Between 1640 and 1643 the distribution of Royalists and Parliamentarians among the aldermen had been completely reversed. In the former year supporters of the king numbered eleven, supporters of Parliament eight, with five moderates making up the total. By 1642 the ten Parliamentarians just outnumbered the nine Royalists. The following year fifteen men supported Parliament but no more than four were ready to speak for the king. The number of moderates remained the same throughout.

Fresh from these triumphs the Puritan party launched a wholesale offensive against the Royalists. They began by inviting various notorious Puritan preachers to Norwich, including men who had fled overseas to avoid persecution in the past, and then turned their attentions to Bishop Hall and Norwich Cathedral. In January 1644 a party of iconoclasts, led by aldermen Greenwood and Lindsey and Sheriff Toft, forced their way into the cathedral and proceeded to destroy stained glass windows, monuments and brasses, to demolish the altar and burn surplices and relics. The scene is best described in the oft-quoted words of Bishop Hall himself. 'It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Lindsay, Toft the Sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here! What clattering of glasses! What beating down of walls! What tearing up of monuments! What pulling down of seats! What wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves! What defacing of arms! What demolishing of curious stonework, that had not any representation in the world,

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108. Blomefield, op.cit., III, p. 385; C.B., 1634-1646, ff. 381, 384d, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf b; A.B., 1642-1668, ff. 16-16d, N.N.R.O., Case 17, shelf d; Evans, op.cit., pp. 145-6.

but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason! What tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes, and what a hideous triumph on the market day before all the country, when in a kind of sacrilegeous and profane procession, all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green Yard pulpit, and the service-books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market place, a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the Litany used formerly in the Church. Near the public cross all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much zealous joy in discharging ordnance, to the cost of some who professed how much they had longed to see that day.' [109]

Bishop Hall, of course, was simply a witness to scenes which were duplicated in many parts of the country. In Norwich itself, religious paintings from St. Peter Mancroft and St. Swithin which had survived the earlier onslaught were burnt in the market place in early March.

The eviction of Alexander Anguish and the replacement of the Recorder, Francis Cory, brought the immediate political purges to an end. In 1645 events were taken to their logical conclusion with the discontinuation of the old church services and the abolition of Christmas.

For four years there was peace in the city. The moderates in the assembly saw no reason to antagonise their opponents, the ultra-Royalists had little opportunity to act. Their opportunity came in 1648 following an abortive Royalist rising, prompted by the arrest of the mayor, John Utting. [110] Unfortunately,

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109. Ketton-Cremer, op.cit., pp. 232-3.

110. The rising is discussed in detail in Ketton-Cremer, op.cit., pp. 331-43.

matters got out of hand. The town gates were locked by the mob, an armed watch was kept outside Utting's house, and by early Monday morning a mob in excess of 1,000 people had assembled in the market place. Sheriff Ashwell's house was attacked and arms taken from it, and the houses of other known Parliament men were ransacked. In the confusion some of the citizens managed to escape and were able to contact Colonel Fleetwood's regiment which was conveniently stationed 12 miles outside Norwich. He arrived at 4 o'clock, immediately opened fire on the rioters, and finally cornered the bulk of them in the so-called Committee House. There were no fewer than 100 barrels of gunpowder in the house. When the rebels were fired on the gunpowder ignited and the resulting explosion effectively ended the riot.

Possibly disturbed by the strength of feeling against them, the assembly finally moved against the moderates in January 1649. They numbered six, a sizeable minority group, and they were forced out of office by a decision of the assembly which stipulated that the ordinance of 1648 should continue for the forthcoming election; and that all those who had helped in the riot should be ineligible to vote or be elected. All six were forced to retire, and at the same time there was a turn-over of one-third of the common council. If they were, indeed, all implicated it says much for the strength of the Royalist opposition among the wealthier classes. It also says something for their luck. On the previous Christmas Day 41 people were tried for their connection with the riot. Nine were acquitted; twenty-four were fined £30; and eight were sentenced to death. The latter were all poor men, a brazier, a blacksmith, a dyer, a saddler, an oatmeal-maker, two labourers and one man whose occupation was not recorded. They were hanged in the Castle Ditches on 2 January 1649 in company with two old women convicted of

witchcraft.[111]

The final purge of the Civil War years occurred in 1650. An ordinance was brought into force which stipulated that in future officeholders were not to be removed for past acts but for refusal to sign a written statement of loyalty to the national government. Nine aldermen disappeared between April 1649 and April 1650; but five of these died in office; the remainder may have been removed for this reason. It seems reasonably certain that this was the cause of another large turnover of common councillors, twenty being replaced in the same period.

Many of the newcomers, both aldermen and councillors alike, were men who under normal circumstances would probably never have been elected at all. Both the upper and lower houses recruited a greater proportion of people with no background of civic service. A majority of the councillors had less than four years service to their names, and were thus vastly less experienced than most of their predecessors, and many were so old that they could only be expected to serve for a limited period. Thirty-five of the men elected between 1626 and 1650 had been freemen for more than twenty years at the time of their election; six of them had been freemen for more than thirty years. The figures were higher still in the succeeding period, being forty-seven and nineteen respectively. Between 1651 and 1675 seven men were elected to the common council after they had been in employment for in excess of forty years; all of them must have been over sixty-five. The twenty-five year periods chosen disguise the fact that the majority of these middle-aged and elderly men were elected as a result of the purges of the middle years of the seventeenth century.[112]

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111. Ibid., p. 348.

112. See Table XLI, p. 113.

The purges had nevertheless effectively drawn the teeth of the Royalist lion and for the next decade aldermen and councillors alike launched themselves into the quarrels between Presbyterians on the one hand and Independents on the other. No constitutional changes occurred as a result of these quarrels, and the next major shake-up of the ruling body occurred with the restoration of Charles II in 1660.

The king lost no time in ordering that all aldermen displaced because of loyalty to the crown should be restored, and that all those unduly elected should be removed. John Osborne was the sole survivor of those removed in 1643 and he was duly returned to office in company with the moderates, Matthew Sotherton and John Croshold, the survivors of those purged in 1649. Ten of the Parliamentary Puritans were purged in their turn, five being declared unduly elected, one being removed by the Act of Indemnity of 1661 and four by the Corporations Act of 1662. Within three years only nine of the aldermen serving in 1660 were still in office, four having died and one resigned in addition to the ten purged.[113]

The same story is true of the common council. Thirteen new members were elected in 1660 and a further twenty-eight in the following year. None had served during the Civil War or Interregnum, so that fully two-thirds of the lower house comprised men with no political experience. In many cases as related above they were unlikely to give the city extended service on account of age alone.

The story of purges and counter-purges was not yet over. Norwich was to experience the same thing under James II and his successors, and the in-fighting between Whigs and Tories in that period has been well described by Dr. Evans.[114]

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113. Evans, op.cit., pp. 242-3.

114. See Ibid., pp. 263-354, for a full account of city politics in the later seventeenth century.

The events of the later seventeenth century are beyond the scope of this thesis. At this juncture we can turn our attention to matters which were the permanent concern of the ruling body. A healthy financial situation was essential for the good governing of the city, as was the maintenance of law and order. Both aspects were affected by the presence of the poorer classes: the cost of maintaining the indigent led to a steady increase in the rates paid by the more affluent citizens; while a steady influx of vagrants placed a heavier burden on the shoulders of the constables and their helpers. These topics are considered in detail in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

The accounts of the city of Norwich during the Tudor and Stuart periods were many and varied. Apart from those maintained by the major financial officials, known as the clavors and chamberlains respectively, separate accounts were kept for the care of the river and streets; for sums received on admission to the freedom of the city; for the provision of a corn stock; for the Hospital for the aged and destitute; for profits received from the aliens' customs and for dyeing and sealing their produce; for aulnage profits; for sums received from court and other miscellaneous fines; and, for at least the decade 1570-1580, for money received and distributed to the poor. Most of these bodies were self-supporting. If absolutely necessary, sums were occasionally borrowed from one or the other to support a particular city venture but repayment was always prompt. Normally, apart from paying the officials concerned with the account and workmen responsible for any relevant tasks, the scribe had little to do apart from rendering his account and adding the profits to the next year's receipts. The chamberlain and foreign receiver (the person responsible for money received on admission to the freedom of the city) were the only officials expected to contribute their surplus to the city treasury and the clavors' accounts record the intermittent receipt of such sums. We will be concerned here with the activities of the clavors, or city treasurers, and, in much greater detail, with the normal city business recorded in the chamberlains' accounts.

The clavors' primary task seems to have been to maintain a reserve stock of money which could be drawn on in time of need. In part their funds were derived from the profits accumulated by the chamberlains and foreign receivers, but this was at best an insecure source of revenue. It was rare for the chamberlains

to record a profit in the sixteenth century, and although the position improved in the succeeding period it was much more common for the chamberlains to receive help from the city treasurers than it was for them to provide it. The foreign receivers, in contrast, always received more than they had to pay out and yet they were invariably in debt.[1] The clavors regularly recorded the receipt of sums derived from admission to the freedom but these seldom bore any relationship to the profits actually made. It seems, in fact, that the foreign receivers were allowed the use of the sums they controlled, repaying the city as and when they could. One would have expected the city to receive interest on such 'loans', but it is impossible to establish this from the accounts. The remainder of the treasurers' income was normally derived from loans made to various city officials, again presumably with interest, and from fines for being relieved of the office of alderman or sheriff. Occasionally this was bolstered from other sources. The profits from aulnage, granted to the city for six years from 1580, brought in over £600.[2] Fines for readmission to the freedom of the city, following disfranchisement for various offences, brought in a small, but relatively regular, income.[3] Almost without exception the clavors made a profit due to the careful farming of their resources. They rarely undertook tasks which were beyond their financial capabilities. When it was absolutely necessary to do so they borrowed from other city accounts, drawing on the funds of the corn stock and the Great Hospital, for example, in 1578 when the city purchased the manor

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1. Clavors' Accounts, 15550164⁶, passim, N.N.R.O., Case 18, shelf d.
2. Ibid., f. 53d.
3. See, for example, A.B., 1551-1568, f. 86, N.N.R.O., Case 18, shelf a.

of Little Ellingham,[4] but repayment of such loans was always prompt.

The payments which the clavors were called upon to make were usually more diverse than their receipts. Regularly throughout the sixteenth century and intermittently during the seventeenth the treasurers had to bolster the chamberlains' accounts. Almost without exception this committment was the result of heavy expenditure on repairs to city buildings, a point which will be discussed in more detail below. Other payments were made on an ad hoc basis and reflect the temporary importance of particular issues. Thus money was expended from time to time on city business in London. In times of scarcity corn had to be purchased and sold cheaply to the poor. The conveyance of water from the New Mills to the Market Cross cost virtually £700 between 1583 and 1585.[5] A new prison cost almost £220 in 1600.[6] During the seventeenth century payments are recorded, among others, of £163 in 1630 for the defence of the Palatinate;[7] of £10 for the entertainment of local dignitaries in 1635 when the ship money issue was discussed;[8] of £25 for the purchase of 100 swords in 1645;[9] of £22.5s.8d. in 1650 for the provision of clothing for poor boys sent to New England;[10] and, as late as 1665, a sum of £116 for the repair of the city walls.[11] These payments, and others like them, were mainly additional to the usual city business and the normal day-to-day expenditure came within the province of the chamberlains.

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4. Clavors' Accounts, f. 43d.
5. Ibid., ff. 50d, 52.
6. Ibid., f. 78.
7. Ibid., f. 127d.
8. Ibid., f. 144d.
9. Ibid., f. 152d.
10. Ibid., June 1649-May 1651, n.p.
11. Ibid., 1665, n.p.

Table XLVIII

CLAVORS' ACCOUNTS*

Receipts and expenditure at five yearly intervals

Date	Receipts £. s. d.	Expenditure £. s. d.
1561	81. 5. 2	72. 19. 4
1565	194. 7. 2	82. 18. 11
1570	154.11. 5	40. 3. 4
1575	286. 6. 7	80. 4. 4
1580	962.11.10	1056. 2. 3
1585	258. 4. 1	431. 3. 0
1590	416.10.11	126. 3. 1
1595	583. 6. 8	69. 17. 10
1600	670.16.11	448. 1. 9
1605	210.17. 9	85. 3. 4
1610	301. 6. 5	158. 13. 4
1615	372.10. 6	320. 15. 3
1620	308.16.11	179. 8. 10
1625	160. 1. 6	153. 11. 2
1630	426. 3.11	422. 17. 5
1635	420. 3. 5	209. 0. 4
1640	235.18. 3	101. 18. 8
1645	436.17. 6	182. 12. 4
1650	326. 5. 2	328. 17. 10
1655	152. 6. 2	132. 6. 5
1660	178. 8. 5	168. 0. 0
1665	553.11. 1	550. 9. 9
1670	191. 6. 4	140. 3. 4
1675	745. 9. 0	741. 0. 3

* The details have been extracted from the Clavors' Account books, N.N.R.O., Case 18, shelf d.

The city's income, as recorded in the chamberlains' accounts, was derived from much the same sources throughout the entire 150 years under discussion. The greatest single source of revenue was the so-called New Mills, purchased from the Abbot of St. Benets as long ago as 1430.[12] Substantial sums were obtained from the lease of city property, both landed and otherwise, and from the rents derived from the stalls and shops in the market place, and smaller amounts were received from the profits of tolls and customs. At the end of each account were listed the so-called foreign receipts, primarily the sums paid by the clavors for repairs although short-term renting of city property was included among them, and, especially in the seventeenth century, large sums which were in arrears.

The New Mills were a particularly profitable investment. One hundred years after their original purchase they were providing the city with no more than £10 a year.[13] Thereafter, partly in response to the price rise, they rose steadily in value. The rent had quadrupled by 1535, increased by almost a further 50 per cent five years later, and reached £56.13s.4d by the early years of Elizabeth's reign, by which time the local bakers were obliged by Act of Assembly to grind their corn there.[14] For twenty-five years the rent remained stable. It then jumped to £95 in 1588, £100 by the turn of the century and had reached £120 before the beginning of James I's reign, a fourfold increase in a period of some seventy years.[15] Subsequent increases took the rent for the Mills to £160 a year in 1615 and to an all-time

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12. Hudson and Tingey, I, p. 67.
13. C.A., 1532-1549, f. 8d, N.N.R.O., Case 18, shelf a.
14. Ibid., 1531-1537, f. 73; 1537-1547, f. 56; 1551-1567, f. 164; A.B., 1551-1568, f. 57.
15. Ibid., 1580-1589, ff. 222d, 305d; 1589-1602, f. 285d; 1603-1675, n.p. Part of this increase must, of course, be attributable to the price rise.

high of £212.10s.0d in 1625.[16] Thereafter there was a gradual decrease in revenue, the rent finally becoming stabilised at £170 a year in 1655.[17] Needless to say, the Mills were not entirely a source of profit. At an Assembly meeting held on 16 November 1562, for example, it was noted that the New Mills and Blackfriars Bridge were 'in decay and required moche costes'.[18] The following year £116.8s.1d were spent on the Mills alone.[19] Twenty-five years later, when the rent was almost doubled, a further £168.14s.0d was spent on them, and smaller sums were expended at regular intervals.[20] Nevertheless, even allowing for this expenditure, the profits from the New Mills greatly exceeded the sums spent on them. The available accounts for Elizabeth's reign show that in a period of thirty-five years the city obtained £2,411.18s.8d in rents from this source and spent rather more than £348 on repairs.[21] It was undoubtedly the greatest single source of city revenue.

If the irregular sums for foreign receipts and arrears are excluded, rents for lands and tenements made up some 40 per cent of the city's revenue. The tenements can be classified into three broad categories, namely those held by the city for centuries and whose rents, apparently, could not be legally raised; others also owned for a long period of time but whose rents did show some increase; and those which had previously belonged to monastic establishments and were obtained after the dissolution of the monasteries, primarily due to the good offices of the Duke of Norfolk. Between 1525 and 1565 rents from the tenements and from lands owned by the city approximately doubled every twenty years; they had doubled again by 1615 at which point they were bringing in almost £200 a year;

16. Ibid., 1614-1616; 1625, n.p.
17. Ibid., 1655-56, f. 6d.
18. A.B., 1551-1568, f. 161.
19. C.A., 1551-1567, f. 258d.
20. Ibid., 1580-1589, f. 287d.
21. Ibid., 1558-1603, passim. The volume containing the accounts for the years 1550-79 inclusive is missing.

fifty years later receipts exceeded £300.[22] In part, as might be expected, this increase was the result of enhanced rents, in part the result of increased investment in property of this kind. Thus the rent of the lime kilns was increased from £2.6s.8d to £10 a year on the expiration of a sixty year lease in 1625.[23] The rent of a tenement in the parish of St. Martin at Palace was doubled at the end of a twenty-one year lease in 1623.[24] Other tenements and grounds which were rented yearly were subject to still more rapid increase. Against this, all city property was subject to periodic repair and the city fathers had to combat increased labour costs as well as a rise in the price of materials. As with the New Mills, however, repair bills were never sufficiently high to offset the gains made from incoming rents.

The same story is true of the stalls and shops rented or leased to various city traders. These comprised rows of stalls rented to city and country butchers, fish stalls and wool shops. All naturally increased in value in the 150 years under review, either because of enhanced rents or, in the case of the country butchers, because of a combination of this and the greater number of stalls occupied. After a sharp increase between 1531 and 1535 when the butchers' rents increased fivefold and those of the other stalls were more than doubled, rents remained relatively stable until near the end of the century.[25] Between 1600 and 1675 the trend was reversed and rents again rose, sometimes steadily, sometimes sharply, to a point where the return from all the stalls was three times what it had been seventy-five years earlier.[26] The number of stalls rented by city traders remained virtually the same, but there was a considerable increase

22. See Appendix
23. C.A., 1625, n.p.
24. Ibid., 1622 and 1623, n.p.
25. See Appendix
26. Ibid.

in those occupied by country butchers. In 1565 men from outside the city were hiring 37 stalls which brought in just under £28 in rents.[27] Seventy years later the number of stalls had increased to 54 for a return of £84.9s.4d[28] and by 1675 the city was receiving more than £109 from the 70 or so stalls leased to traders from outside its confines.[29] One can only speculate at the reasons for this. Increased opportunities in the textile trades during the seventeenth century encouraged fathers to apprentice their sons to such occupations leaving a void to be filled from elsewhere. The pressures of a rising population may have been greater than the local butchers could combat, a fact which would have encouraged their country rivals to extend their activities in this sphere. The city would have stood to gain in both directions. Food supply would have been assured as well as a steadily increasing revenue.

The only remaining source of revenue of any significance was that derived from the profits of tolls and customs. Worth no more than £2.1s.8d in 1531, they had risen to £20.13s.4d four years later[30] after falling to £29 in 1610 profits rose sharply to £69.7s.10d in 1615 and to almost £78 by 1620;[31] following a further fall in subsequent years profits became stabilised at £56.3s.4d in the immediate post-Restoration period.[32]

Foreign receipts - the sums paid to the chamberlains for extraordinary expenditure - have already been referred to, the amounts fluctuating according to the repairs in hand. A disturbing aspect of the accounts during the seventeenth century was the apparent difficulty the chamberlains had in collecting some of

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27. C.A., 1551-1567, f. 311.
28. Ibid., 1625-1648, ff. 193-194d.
29. Ibid., 1674, ff. 2-3.
30. Ibid., 1531-1537, ff. 8, 89-92; 1589-1692, ff. 176, 179.
31. Ibid., 1610, 1615, 1620, n.p.
32. Ibid., 1665-6, ff. 4, 6, 6d.

the rents. Arrears were referred to occasionally in Elizabeth's reign, but the first amount of any significance was the £61.10s.1d recorded in 1610.[33] This was reduced to just over £15 five years later but by 1620 the amount had risen alarmingly to £221.1s.5d[34] and after some fluctuations reached £357.5s.4½d in 1650.[35] Thereafter the amount was slowly reduced but it continued to be in excess of £100 for the remainder of the period under discussion. No explanation for the situation is given. Initially the problem could have arisen either through the recalcitrance of individual debtors or because of the ineptness of a particular chamberlain and one suspects that slack administration allowed the situation to deteriorate. Subsequently some people remained in debt for many years although the sums involved were seldom large.

The overall picture which emerges from the events outlined above is one of steadily rising income matched by ever-increasing expenditure. After an initial leap from just under £80 to almost £200 between 1531 and 1535, mainly due to increased rents from the butchers' stalls, the New Mills and the various tolls, receipts rose steadily throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[36] The chamberlains were receiving more than twice as much money in 1600 as they were seventy years earlier and by 1620 the receipts had doubled again. The £1,000 mark was passed in 1645 and, apart from a temporary recession in 1660, continued at that level thereafter.[37]

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33. Ibid., 1610, n.p.
34. Ibid., 1615 and 1620, n.p.
35. Ibid., 1648-1663, f. 1.
36. See Table XLVIII.
37. Ibid.

Table XLIX

Chamberlains' Accounts

Receipts and expenditure
given at five yearly intervals

Date	Receipts			Expenditure		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1531	79	16	1	70	8	6
1535	197	14	5	196	2	5
1540	253	8	0	232	6	1
1545	467	14	7	473	15	6
1552	213	5	4	210	7	7
1555	255	15	11	246	15	2
1560	213	19	4	195	14	10
1565	268	6	4	300	2	7
1580	351	6	0	475	16	10
1585	343	6	2	528	3	6
1590	620	14	8	740	19	2
1595	488	3	9	474	11	10
1600	401	1	9	489	6	10
1605	419	11	9	528	7	3
1610	558	17	11	658	7	10
1614	566	9	5	606	11	6
1620	926	5	4	769	19	5
1625	867	1	0	607	17	9
1630	819	3	2	675	6	5
1635	869	8	1	655	16	8
1640	946	4	4	758	6	9
1645	1,007	16	10	791	18	5
1650	1,074	18	10	965	2	3
1655	1,001	10	8	919	11	8
1660	884	14	6	846	2	11
1665	1,547	4	6	1,604	3	11
1670	1,184	17	5	1,076	1	11
1675	1,364	5	6	1,183	15	3

The accounts for the years 1530, 1550-1, 1570 and 1575 are missing. Collective accounts for the period 29 September 1614 to 15 August 1616 inclusive were presented for an unspecified reason. The receipts were £904.11s.1d., the expenditure £812.2s.1d.

The events outlined above can probably be paralleled in most English towns of any size, differing only in the amounts of money actually received. Bristol, Exeter, Leicester and Winchester, for example, all received the bulk of their incomes from property rented or leased within, or just outside, the town confines, the actual proportion varying from just over half in Leicester to between 75 and 85 per cent at different times in Bristol.[38] The major difference between these towns and Norwich is that the chamberlains there were concerned with virtually all financial matters whereas in the East Anglian town some responsibility was delegated to subordinates. In all four towns, for example, the chamberlains were concerned with the receipt of sums of money due for admission to the freedom, a task which was the special concern of the foreign receiver in Norwich. In Leicester and Winchester respectively the chamberlains received fines for refusal to accept office and for the payment of aulnage, money which in Norwich would have been paid direct to the clavors.[39] It is not a particularly profitable task to attempt a comparison of the relative receipts and expenditure of the various towns. The accounts of Exeter and Leicester have been printed for at least part of the period covered here, but those for Bristol and Winchester cover only single years while those of other cities are even less satisfactory.[40] It would, in any case, be mainly concerned with stressing the relative poverty of the smaller towns and the comparative wealth of those which were larger, a point which will emerge at least briefly in a discussion of expenditure.

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38. W. G. Hoskins, Provincial England, 1963, p. 99; D. M. Livock, ed., City Chamberlains' Accounts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Bristol Record Society, XXIV, 1966, p. xxii.

39. Hoskins, op.cit., p. 98; T. Atkinson, Elizabethan Winchester, 1963, p. 127.

40. W. T. MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640, 1958, p. 56; Hoskins, op.cit., p. 99.

The details of the city's expenditure between 1525 and 1675 are marginally more complex than those of the receipts. Two items stand out: the sums paid for fees and wages and the relatively large amounts spent each year on repairs. With those exceptions, the money spent by the chamberlains tends to reflect the importance of particular issues at a given period of time. Thus the earlier accounts record the sums spent on monastic property following the dissolution of the monasteries, together with full details of the citizens involved.[41] Elizabethan accounts are increasingly concerned with details of presents and rewards and, on occasion, with the payments necessary for mustering soldiers and sending them to their particular destination. As the seventeenth century progresses, more money is expended on sermons and from 1645 onwards relatively large sums are recorded as having been paid to parliament.

Almost without exception, the wages bill rose steadily from the £45.10s.0d recorded in 1531 to a peak of £398.13s.6d in 1645. It fell to £385.4s.8d in 1646 and thereafter fluctuated between £340 and £350 a year.[42] In part this reflects the inevitable rise in prices, in part the steady increase in the number of officials employed. The mayors' salary, for example, rose from the £20 a year paid to the Henrician officials to £100 a year by the end of Elizabeth's reign.[43] Other, less radical, increases involved the common clerk whose fee rose from £4.6s.8d to £6.13s.4d; the five waits whose nominal salary of 13s.4d in 1531 had increased to £15 by 1600 and £30 75 years later; the swordbearer who, initially paid 10s.0d., was earning £3.6s.8d in 1600 and as much as £20 in 1675; the clerk of the market whose fee rose

41. C.A., 1541-49. ff. 152d-157.
42. Ibid., 1531-1537, ff. 9d-10; 1625-48, n.p., 1648-75, passim.
43. Ibid., 1531-1537, f. 9d; 1589-1602, f. 290d.

by stages from 6s.8d to £2.2s.8d; and the chamberlain whose fee of £1 a year in 1531 had risen to £20 by 1675.[44] The sheriffs, the councillors to the city and the recorder were paid the same nominal amounts of£30, £1.6s.8d and £10 throughout. The number of officials concerned is perhaps of greater significance. In 1531 the chamberlain recorded his own salary and those of the mayor, the sheriffs, the recorder, the common clerk, the swordbearer, the waits, the clerk of the market, two mayor's servants and three men 'learned in the law'.[45] By 1600 the number of offices had increased to 30 and by 1675 to 35.[46] Apart from the major officials, fees were being paid to individuals as diverse as the water bailiff and the bellman, the sweeper of the assembly chamber and the trumpeter: one man was paid 8s.0d for keeping the mayor's place in church, another 6s.0d for sweeping the ground outside the New Hall; in the 1670s sums were being paid to the under-chamberlain, to men responsible for keeping the city's arms and for recording the christenings and burials in the city; even to the churchwardens of St. Andrew's and St. Peter Mancroft for arranging the Tuesday and Thursday 'lectures'.[47] By 1675 the combination of increasing salaries and additional officials had produced a wages bill which bore comparison with the total city expenditure of a century earlier.

This again was a phenomenon characteristic of most towns and cities of any size. Between 1556 and 1627 the number of officials employed by the Bristol corporation increased by almost 50 per cent while at the same time the wages bill virtually doubled.[48]

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44. Ibid., 1673-1683, f. 25.
45. Ibid., 1531-1537, f. 9d.
46. Ibid., 1589-1602, f. 290d; 1673-1683, f. 25.
47. Ibid.
48. Livock, op.cit., p. xxii.

In the latter year both Norwich and Bristol had to find some £300 for official salaries. The fortunes of the east and west country towns varied. In Mary I's reign the mayor of Bristol was receiving twice the salary of his Norwich counterpart but whereas by 1627 his fee of £40 had risen to £52 the senior citizen of Norwich was allowed £100 and had been since the later years of the sixteenth century.[49] In contrast, the town clerk of Bristol was paid three times as much as the Norwich official and the sword-bearer there was receiving £20 a year some time before the Norwich man achieved equality.[50] The mayor of Exeter fared better than both his rivals, his Edwardian salary of £26.13s.4d being increased to £120 a year by the end of Elizabeth's reign.[51] Elsewhere the mayoral fees reflect the relative poverty of the towns concerned. In Leicester the mayor was receiving no more than £10 a year until 1572 when his salary was increased to £13.6s.8d 'for and towards the better maintenance of his housekeeping'.[52] Even this small amount added to the fees of the recorder and the mayor's clerk came to nearly half the town's expenses in 1558.[53] Nottingham and Winchester were both able to afford £20 a year for their senior officials during Elizabeth's reign, fees comparable to that paid in Norwich at the same time, and in the case of Nottingham this had been doubled by the early seventeenth century.[54] In every case, fees and wages made up between one third and one half of the total expenditure of the towns concerned.

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49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. MacCaffrey, op.cit., p. 50.
52. Hoskins, op.cit., p. 98.
53. Ibid., p. 99.
54. Atkinson, op.cit., p. 131; W.H. Stevenson, ed., Records of the Borough of Nottingham, iv, 1547-1625, pp. 117, 281.

Important though salaries obviously were to a town's economy, the repairs bill was usually of even greater significance. The sums expended varied from year to year, but not infrequently they made up half, and on occasion more than half, of the yearly expenditure. During the seventeenth century it became the practice of the Norwich chamberlains to note the sums presented by bill without giving details of the work undertaken. Even so, full details were given in the earlier period and it is possible to get a general impression of what was done from these earlier accounts. It has already been noted that large sums were spent on the New Mills from time to time and smaller sums virtually throughout the reign of Elizabeth. Other property proved less expensive but every major city building had to be attended to at least once during the second half of the sixteenth century. The common hall, for example, which had been bought by the city after the dissolution of the monasteries at a cost of £54, had more than £70 spent on it in 1562, a further £44 three years later, and various smaller sums, often between £20 and £30, throughout the entire period.[55] As the rent increased from £6.7s.8d in 1558 to £36.11s.0d by 1601 and to £57 by 1660, however, it was still a profitable purchase.[56] The guildhall, the lazar houses, the common staithe, the butchery, to select at random, all had sums spent on them from time to time, and all were a source of profit to the city.[57]

Repairs of this nature were necessarily intermittent. Much more frequent were the sums expended on the city's walls and gates. Every year the Elizabethan chamberlains made some reference to a section of the walls being repaired and the sums spent on them were

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55. C.A., 1540; 1551-1567, f. 142, 250d, 326; 1589-1602, f. 307d.

56. Ibid., 1558-1660 passim.

57. Ibid., 1580, 1585, 1590.

often large. In 1558 and 1580, for example, £43 was expended on such repairs; in 1585 the gates cost the city more than £74; in 1590 and 1595 sums in the region of £50 and £67 respectively were disbursed in this direction.[58] When particularly large sums were expended the chamberlains were provided with money to meet the costs under the heading of 'Foreign Receipts'. Certain sums of money could be called on which were specially set aside for this purpose, every alderman, for example, being obliged to contribute 02 towards the repair of the walls when he was sworn into office.[59] In addition, some legacies were specially intended for work of this kind.[60] It was the responsibility of the mayor to check the walls and to decide when such money should be used. Thus in 1567 it was noticed that the walls were greatly decayed and the mayor ordered £20 a year to be spent on them for the next seven years.[61] Further action was taken in February 1576 when a workman was appointed to be specially responsible for the repair of the walls. It was ordered that he be paid 20s a year for this task on top of his normal wages.[62]

Occasionally the repairs bill was increased by a natural disaster in the city. In 1590, for example, a fire destroyed the majority of the butchers' and fishmongers' stalls and shops, together with houses in the butchery, and over £156 had to be spent on their replacement.[63] The greater part of this sum was provided by the clavors, and as in the same year a new bridge was built at St. Martin's at a cost of £177.5s.0d both the chamberlain's receipts and expenditure for that year were the highest recorded in Elizabeth's reign.

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58. Ibid., 1551-1567, f. 154d; 1580-1589, f. 21; 1589-1602, ff. 26d, 194d.
59. Manaper Accounts, passim.
60. A.B., 1551-1568, f. 142, e.g. f. 8
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., 1568-1585, f. 244.
63. Chamberlains' Accounts, 1589-1602, ff. 65d, 81.

Even allowing for the fact that the cost of repairs varied from year to year, there was a perceptible increase in the amounts spent in this direction as the years progressed. Much of this increase can be attributed to the rise in workers' wages and, less certainly, to the increasing cost of building materials. The wages of craftsmen and labourers approximately doubled between 1540 and 1590, and rose by a further 50 per cent over the next sixty years. Thus carpenters, masons, reeders and tilers were being paid between 6d and 7d a day in 1540, 10d a day by 1565 and as much as 1s.2d between 1590 and the turn of the century. Fifty years later the daily rate had risen to 1s.6d. Labourers' wages rose in the same period from between 4½d and 5d to 9d by 1590 and 1s. a day by the mid seventeenth century.[64] By the latter period wages were officially set by the justices of the peace. The Norwich assessment for 1657 was brief and to the point. 'Wages for men servants by the year £3, women servants 40s. and meat and drink, master workmen of carpenters, tilers, masons, reeders and the like to have 18d a day and their labourer 12d a day'.[65] Consciously or otherwise, these rates were in operation in the mid 1650s.[66] It is impossible to be as precise about the cost of building materials, but the relatively high bills being submitted to the city corporation during the seventeenth century bear some witness to this. In 1665, for example, Isaac Cooper and Thomas Austen, roughmasons, had bills paid to the value of £90.13s.3d and £154.3s.7d respectively; those of William Burgess and Robert Collman, carpenters, totalled £100 and £113.2s.1d. Although never as high as this, other building workers presented bills

64. Ibid., 1537-1549, ff. 38, 38d, 39d, 46, 46d, 128d; 1551-1567, ff. 49, 146d, 152d, 320, 320d, 321, 322d, 329; 1589-1602, f. 312d; 1648-1663, ff. 16, 191, 268d.

65. W. E. Minchinton, ed., Wage regulation in pre-industrial England, 1971, p. 104.

66. C.A., 1648-1663, f. 16.

ranging in total from £10 to in excess of £40.[67] Five years later Collman was paid £77 in part-payment of a bill totalling £120.19s.7d.[68] The Corporation was evidently satisfied with their work. Auston and Collman were submitting bills as long ago as 1650 and it was evidently official policy to maintain contact with the same people.[69] Some of the men referred to in the accounts were members of the Common Council, but they are not present in sufficient number to suggest that work was being deliberately farmed out to such people.

Repairs were so obviously a feature of all corporation expenditure and increase in costs so obviously for the same reasons that extended comment on other towns in this connection seems superfluous. Sufficient to say that the printed accounts of such towns as Bristol, Exeter, Leicester, Nottingham and Winchester all produce similar evidence, varying only in the amounts expended and the type of work undertaken.

Among the minor items regularly recorded by the Elizabethan chamberlains were sums listed as presents. The Norwich merchants were relatively independent compared with some provincial towns, but even so they considered it advisable to keep on good terms with their local patron, the Duke of Norfolk, and with important visiting officials such as the judges of assize. Thus in 1582 the payments included £4.15s.0d for a hogshead of wine for Mr. Justice Wyndham and 40s. for the Queen's Players.[70] Presents to the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk varied in value but on occasion they were worth as much as £50.[71] An average disbursement in this direction would be in the region of £20 but £50 was spent on presents in 1566 and almost

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67. Ibid., 1663-1673, ff. 57-57d.
68. Ibid., ff. 156-157.
69. Ibid., 1648-1663, f.60.
70. Ibid., 1580-1589, f. 97d.
71. Ibid., f. 164.

£100 in 1584.[72] It is very probable that still higher sums were spent on the occasion of the Queen's visit in 1578, the clavors providing more than £700 for the purpose, but the absence of the chamberlains' accounts for the relevant decade makes it impossible to be precise on the point.[73]

The only other item of major importance is the appearance of the monthly assessments in 1643. In the second year of their payment the sums are described as being 'for the advance of horse and for the British Army'. Thereafter the marginal comment describes them as 'payments to the parliament' (1651-2), 'parliament rates' (1654-5), 'monthly taxes' (1655-6), and finally (1656-7) as 'monthly rates'. The amounts were derived from a tax on city property and levied in accordance with the value of the buildings or lands concerned. At their highest, in 1645, they brought in a total of £109.2s.8d. Usually the amounts fluctuated between £40 and £75, although on occasion they fell to as low as £4 or £5. Although originally intended to bolster the fortunes of parliament and the Commonwealth, the taxes continued to be levied after the Restoration and were still being collected in 1675. From their inception to that date they brought in just over £1,500, a sum which corresponds in no way to even the full amount demanded by the parliamentary assessors.[74] Between 1643 and 1659 Norwich should have contributed £23,866.7s.7d., quite apart from its share of taxation levied on the county as a whole.[75] At best, the sums recorded by the chamberlains were a contribution towards this larger whole.

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72. C.A., 1551-1567, f. 359d; 1580-1589, f. 164.
73. Clavors' Accounts, 1555-1646, ff. 40d, 43, 44. There are no chamberlains' accounts for the years 1567 to 1580.
74. C.A., 1648-1663, ff. 152, 114, 132d, 14d, 1645 n.p.
75. C.H.Firth and R.S.Rait, Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1911, I, pp. 224, 273, 292, 323, 615, 631, 742, 763, 810, 959, 1,074, 1,109; II, pp. 28, 53, 288, 459, 655, 904, 1,031, 1,060, 1,236, 1,358.

Moving to relatively minor items, rents owed by the city formed the smallest part of its expenditure. They were payable primarily for lands and tenements hired from grantees of former monastic lands and until well into Elizabeth's reign they showed little or no change, even declining by a few shillings to £7.13s.7d. [76] In 1580, however, the rent increased to more than £26, due almost entirely to the £18 payable to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the benefit of city scholars at Corpus Christi, Cambridge. [77] From then until the 1660s the rents altered little, ultimately exceeding £30 in 1665. [78]

Other items of interest appear intermittently in the expense accounts. In 1540 the chamberlain recorded payment of £54 for what was later to be known as Blackfriars' Hall, a building used to this day for civic purposes. [79] Five years later, under the heading of Minute Expenses, the relatively high payment of £19.19s.5d. was entered for six guns to be shipped to London, together with the costs of 54 men retained as soldiers. [80] The following year £56.18s.1d. was disbursed on 40 soldiers pressed for Henry VIII's wars. [81] In the same account reference is made to a payment of £153.10s.11d. for lead from the churches, the sum being payable to the king. These, and similar items, reflect events of fleeting importance, but ones of significance both locally and nationally at the time of their occurrence. Items of local interest are listed in the seventeenth century under Payments in General, Payments by Warrant and Payments by Order. The first category included such items as gifts to visiting officials, payments to the overseers of the poor, to carriers, even to the locksmith for supplying a lock to the ducking stool. [82] Sums paid by warrant were

76. C.A., 1551-1567, f. 349.
77. Ibid., 1580-1589, f. 19d.
78. Ibid., 1663-1673, f. 54d.
79. Ibid., 1537-1547, f. 39.
80. Ibid., f. 191d.
81. Ibid., ff. 173-173d; 186-186d
82. Ibid., 1614-1616, n.p.

equally diverse. In 1615 the wages of the marshals were included under this heading; a sum of money was paid to the clerk of the market for expenses incurred while going about his duties; city officials were reimbursed for money spent while on business in London; a craftsman was paid for repairing the city plate.[83] Similar payments were made by order including the cost of masters and presents given to visiting dignitaries.[84] Although varied in content, collectively those items made up a substantial portion of the city's expenses, particularly during the seventeenth century.

For the greater part of the sixteenth century the chamberlains' accounts showed a deficit, even allowing for the sums paid to them by the city treasurers. It was one of the less pleasing aspects of the office that the chamberlains were expected to make good such loss to the city. Despite this, the post was not an unpopular one and in contrast to such cities as Exeter and Nottingham, where the officials responsible for the town's finance were prepared to pay large sums, on occasion, to avoid the office, several chamberlains served for long periods of time.[85] A possible reason for this is that no undue pressure was placed on the people concerned, provided the debt was ultimately met. This was certainly the case with the foreign receivers and there seems no reason to assume that one person was treated differently from another. Certainly, with the one exception which is noted below, the chamberlains never felt it necessary to record the ultimate payment of their debts, and as there is no record of their arraignment for debt one must assume that the city was reasonably satisfied with the arrangement.

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83. C.A., 1614-1616, n.p.

84. Ibid.

85. MacCaffrey, op.cit., p. 63; Stevenson, op.cit., pp. 272, 286, 296, 320, 339, 342. In Norwich, Peter Peterson served for 9 years, Richard Skottow for 10, and Robert Goldman for 14 years. M.Grace, 'The Chamberlains and Treasurers of the City of Norwich, 1293-1835', Norf.Arch., xxv, 1935, pp. 199-200.

The single exception to the rule occurred in 1549 when Robert Raynbald completed his tenure of the office, in debt to the sum of £157. Raynbald faithfully recorded in three pages of writing the method he adopted to offset the debt. He was able to raise some £60 in cash and a similar sum from sale of plate, all set down in great detail, and the residue from the sale of two tenements and a close in the parish of St. Vedast. He received £60 from the latter transaction and was able to note, with some satisfaction, that the city was then in debt to him. The account is concluded with a record of the £23 then owed being duly paid to him.[86]

The seventeenth century saw the situation reversed, with the chamberlains in credit for virtually the entire period of time.[87] One is left with a general impression of financial competence with all the officials, whether clavors, chamberlains or auditors, normally well in command of the situation.

86. C.A., 1541-1550, ff. 343-344.

87. See Table XLIX.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MAYOR'S COURT

Throughout the period 1525-1675 responsibility for law and order in Norwich was in the hands of three distinct, but inter-related, bodies. The least important of these was the old Leet Court, functioning under the sheriffs and operating at ward level. It dealt essentially with petty offences, malefactors being tried by a jury specially empanelled for the purpose from the inhabitants of the ward concerned. Those found guilty were fined sums ranging from a few pence to three or four shillings. The more serious offences, ranging from petty larceny to murder, were the prerogative of the Quarter Sessions, presided over by the mayor and such other justices as had passed the mayoral chair. The mayor's court effectively bridged the gap between the two. As the period progressed it gradually took over from the Leet Court jurisdiction which extended over nuisances, defective weights and measures, market offences, fraudulent manufacture and a variety of other breaches of the law. In common with Quarter Sessions, it had responsibility for the suppression of vagrancy, apprenticeship problems, tippling and gaming. Occasionally offenders in these respects would be sentenced at Quarter Sessions while the sentence itself would be executed in the mayor's court. Ordinarily, the majority of these offences would be dealt with at the twice weekly sessions of the mayor's court as a matter of course.[1]

The mayor's court has received scant treatment from historians. The only person to study the subject in any depth has been the American, W. L. Sachse, and he was essentially concerned with the years 1630-1635. Professor Sachse dealt with the origins and functions of the court in his introductory volume, however, and the following paragraphs are derived from his account.[2]

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1. Hudson and Tingey, I, pp. cxxvii-cxxxiv.
2. W.L.Sachse, ed., Minutes of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty, 1630-1631, Norf.Rec.Soc., XV, pp. 12-24.

The mayor's court, as such, emerged rather late in the city's history. The so-called Composition of 1415, which listed the functions of the various city bodies in some detail, called the aldermen the mayor's council, the term curia not being used until 1516. As late as 1542 the court books use the word Convocatio Aldermannorum, i.e. a deliberative assembly, despite the fact that before the mid-sixteenth century the court was dealing with matters relative to law and order.

The court met twice weekly, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, with occasional additional meetings to deal with urgent business. Such aldermen as attended were expected to undertake specific duties, in addition to their judicial function. Among others, these included the inspection of the work of the poor in the bridewell; the auditing of accounts; making provision for the watch at the gates in time of plague; and acting as arbitrators between conflicting parties.

The court relied on the aldermen both for counsel and for the administration of its orders, but legal advice was necessary on occasion. The official legal consultant was the recorder, although occasionally the steward, the chief justice of the sheriffs' court, acted in this capacity. The orders emanating from the court were enforced by a variety of officials, including the sergeants at mace, the ward constables, beadles, watchmen and marshals. The sergeant at mace, or mayor's sergeant, was a special attendant, particularly concerned with the oversight of markets and the making of summonses. The arrest of wrongdoers devolved on the regular and special constables. Twenty-four men were elected annually with responsibility to maintain law and order, supervise the keeping of the watch, and to execute all the mayoral orders. They were assisted from time to time by the appointment of auxiliary constables at large, appointed by the mayor and sworn in the court. Their office was an unpopular one, and was frequently avoided by the payment of a sum varying from 30 shillings to £3.0s.0d. The marshals and beadles were appointed as occasion demanded, usually for a few weeks at a time, and they were paid weekly.

The cases before the mayors' court naturally varied in number and importance from year to year. Some, such as theft and the necessity to arbitrate between conflicting parties, were ever present. Others, such as the provision of grain in time of dearth and the implementation of plague regulations, occurred intermittently. The period 1525-1675 is covered by no fewer than 23 volumes, each of which contains more than 700 pages. [3] The books are thus far too detailed to analyse in depth, but they have been examined for every fifth year throughout the 150 year period and the discussion below is based on this survey.

Until their hand was forced by external events, the Norwich ruling body was little concerned with the problem of the vagrant, who sought to avoid work at all costs, or the itinerant craftsman who travelled from place to place seeking employment. [4] From time to time the authorities fulminated against the admission of newcomers, even threatening to impose really large fines on transgressors, but they undermined their case by tacitly ignoring their own regulations whenever it was to their advantage to do so. In 1570, for example, a census of the local poor revealed the fact that the alderman and councillor class were the landlords of almost 40 per cent of such people, despite the fact that local ordinances specifically forbade such action. Prospective settlers were able to flout the entrance regulations with such impunity that at least 60 families from Norfolk and Suffolk alone were able to make their homes in Norwich between 1560 and 1570, and travellers from much further afield found it equally easy to settle there. In the same period itinerants from

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3. N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelves a and b.

4. The threat of a local uprising in 1570 prompted Lord Burghley to write to the mayor about the problem of the local poor. Significantly, the city's scheme for the relief of its destitute began in that year. Prior to that, the number of people arrested for vagrancy was minimal. For a fuller discussion of this, and other events referred to in this paragraph, see pp. 337-41

London, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland and Hertfordshire established themselves in the East Anglian city, as well as those from Ireland and unspecified northern territories. Not surprisingly, the city's generosity - or laxity - in this respect became widely known and if the trickle of vagrants did not become a flood it at least developed into a fast flowing stream.

Initially, the reaction of the authorities was one of apparent indifference. Four people were ordered to leave the city in 1550, one in 1555, but it was not until 1560 that a vagrant was punished as such; in that year two of the three people ejected were whipped and given passports ordering them to return to their place of origin.[5] Thereafter the attitude of the justices was more vigorous.[6] By 1570 the mayor's court had dealt with 62 cases of vagrancy or unauthorised entry to the city in the years sampled, the majority involving men and women travelling on their own.[7] In the five years selected between 1575 and 1595 this number had virtually doubled, while in the period 1600-1620 the local authorities had to deal with eight times as many cases as their early Elizabethan predecessors. During the reign of Charles I the numbers declined again while in the Commonwealth and Restoration eras the numbers arrested for this offence were minimal.[8] If one ignores

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5. C.B., 1549-1555, f. 19; 1555-1562, f. 37; N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf a. It is emphasised again that the court books have been examined for every fifth year.

6. This was almost certainly in response to a letter from Sir Nicholas Bacon, written in 1562, exhorting the justices to be more diligent in their duties. Vagrants were to be apprehended according to the statutes of 1531 and 1550. Pound, thesis, pp. 274-5.

7. See the breakdown of cases in Table L overleaf.

8. Considerable under-recording must have taken place in the middle years of the seventeenth century, but such evidence as we have does suggest that vagrancy was becoming less of a problem by the second decade of Charles II's reign. See pages 206-7 of this thesis.

the artificially low figures for the period 1655-1675, it is noticeable that the number of vagrants actually punished as such is much higher in the years preceding the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 than in the years following it. On the evidence of the court books, far more people were on the move in the latter period but many of them were recognisably above the level of the vagrant. Unless they could provide sureties that they would not be a charge on the town, the newcomers were ordered to leave as a matter of course with the threat of punishment if they returned, but they were not punished indiscriminately as their forefathers had been. The constables were frequently unwilling to whip every poor man or woman who was genuinely travelling in the hope of obtaining employment but, like many of their neighbours, they felt uneasy at the prospect of too many strangers flooding the labour market. Under such circumstances they were more than willing to escort the newcomer to the town boundary. If he chose to return they would have fewer scruples about using the whip as a deterrent.

Table L

Cases of vagrancy and other unauthorised travel brought before the mayors' court, 1550-1675

M = Men W = Women C = Children F = Families

Period	Vagrants				Others				Totals				Percentage of vagrants			
	M	W	C	F	M	W	C	F	M	W	C	F	M	W	C	F
1550 to 1570	29	11	-	5	7	5	1	4	36	16	1	9	81	69	-	56
1575 to 1595	50	8	-	1	21	13	-	20	71	21	-	21	70	38	-	5
1600 to 1620	105	43	18	9	127	88	2	45	232	131	20	54	45	33	90	17
1625 to 1645	87	23	11	10	97	32	4	27	184	55	15	37	47	42	73	27
1655 to 1675	11	8	4	6	1	1	-	2	12	9	4	8	92	89	100	75

The men, women and children referred to above were all travelling on their own. The families were arrested as such, and no distinction was made between younger and older children when their cases were recorded in the court books.

If the number of wandering families and individuals increased, so did the areas from which they were drawn. If Norfolk is included, immigrants entering Norwich in the first of the periods considered above came from nine different counties. In the last quarter of Elizabeth's reign the figure had risen to fourteen, while during the reigns of James I and his successor the city saw visitors from no fewer than twenty-nine different areas including vagrant families from as far afield as Scotland, Ireland and Wales. The summary below provides details of the twelve areas from which most of them came.

Table LI

TWELVE AREAS MOST COMMON TO VAGRANTS ETC. ENTERING NORWICH BETWEEN 1550 AND 1675

	1550 to 1570	1575 to 1595	1600 to 1620	1625 to 1645	1655 to 1675	Totals
Norfolk	12	22	167	135	5	341
London	17	1	24	24	4	70
Suffolk	3	6	25	15	-	49
Yorkshire	1	1	19	13	8	42
Essex	1	3	11	7	2	24
Cambridgeshire	-	2	9	7	4	22
Lincolnshire	1	2	11	8	-	22
Kent	-	1	3	8	1	13
Nottinghamshire	-	-	4	7	2	13
Northamptonshire	-	2	6	1	-	9
Leicestershire	-	-	5	3	-	8
Wales	-	-	6	1	-	7
Totals	35	40	290	229	26	620
Total for whom place of origin is given	39	45	321	254	34	693
Total no. of vagrants etc. apprehended	76	153	535	355	47	1,166
Percentage for whom place of origin is given	51	29	60	71	62	59

With the exception of Wales, the places of origin provide few surprises. The same counties had been sending apprentices to Norwich for a considerable time. [9] There was something of a tradition which encouraged emigration to the East Anglian city, and although it was

9. See Chapter Three, p. 56.

hardly this which provided the impetus for the vagrant classes they were at least treading a well-worn path. With the notable exceptions of Yorkshire and London, the majority came from the counties closest to Norfolk. The possibility of work in a city which catered for much more than the textile worker, the knowledge that the Norwich merchant classes were at least relatively generous to the itinerant poor, a realisation that a city so often decimated by plague would need a transfusion of labouring people, any or all of these factors may have encouraged the wanderer in the earlier of the periods under review. At the end of the sixteenth century, and for much of the seventeenth, one needs to look no further than harvest failure and severe economic depression to account for the general influx of people. Desperate men sought sustenance wherever they thought it was to be found. Those seeking work in an often over-crowded labour market were usually turned away, but they were seldom required to depart immediately. Most were given a few days grace, with the threat of punishment if they delayed their departure too long. The professional vagrant neither received nor expected such latitude. Most of them sought quick gains, either in money or in kind, before continuing their travels. If they were whipped in the process it was accepted as an occupational hazard. Some may have returned to their place of origin. Others may have eventually settled down if they could escape the vigilance of the local constables. Either way, their numbers remain problematical.

In 1577 a contemporary estimated the number of vagrants in England at 10,000.[10] Just over one hundred years later the statistician, Gregory King, considered that there were as many as 60,000 vagrant families on the road.[11] Alarming reports on their numbers appear at intervals throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. John Aldrich, the mayor of Norwich, spoke

10. J.F.Pound, Poverty and vagrancy in Tudor England (London, 1971), p. 27

11. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Poor Law History. Part I: The Old Poor Law (London, 1962), p. 356

with some exaggeration of the influx of beggars to the city before the reorganisation of its poor law scheme in 1570.[12] The oft quoted letter of the Somerset justice of the peace, Edward Hext, complains of virtual anarchy in Somerset at the end of the 1590s.[13] In 1649 Liverpool was apparently thronged with beggars,[14] and as late as 1678 Gloucestershire complained of the 'dayly concourse and great increase off Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars'.[15] All of the reports share a common vagueness, an impreciseness of detail, and most of them were written in times of dire economic distress. It is extremely rare to have precise statistics, even of vagrants actually apprehended. A welcome exception is provided by Salisbury which kept a register of over 600 vagrants whipped out of the town between 1598 and 1638.[16] The details provided can be compared with those of Norwich for a similar period of time although, as the Norwich figures have been collected at five yearly intervals, only the percentages are directly comparable.

Table

NUMBERS AND CATEGORIES OF VAGRANTS PUNISHED AT SALISBURY AND NORWICH BETWEEN 1598 AND 1645

	Husbands and wives	Single men	Single women	Children	Totals[17]
Salisbury 1598-1638	86	343	171	51	651
Percentages	13	53	26	8	
Norwich 1600-1645	36	192	66	29	323
Percentages	11	59	21	9	

12. J.F.Pound, Poverty and vagrancy in Tudor England, p. 61

13. Ibid., pp. 94-97

14. Webb, op.cit., p. 359

15. Ibid., pp. 361-362

16. P. Slack, 'Poverty and politics in Salisbury, 1597-1666', in Clark and Slack op.cit., p. 166

17. This refers to the total number of individuals, not of categories

Both the figures and the percentages relate strictly to people actually punished for vagrancy and give no indication of the relatively large number of people being ordered to depart without being actually punished.[18] As such, the proportion of vagrants is remarkably similar in the two cities. It suggests, if anything, that the problem of out and out vagrancy was a small one, and one that was fairly easily contained by the authorities concerned. Apart from periods of economic distress, the average vagrant was easily kept in check. After the issue of the Book of Orders in 1630, for example, reports from many parts of the country speak of the virtual disappearance of such people. At Guildford in Surrey in 1631 the mayor informed the central authorities that 'very few or none are found to wander nor any come to this Towne'. In Shropshire it was apparently 'rare to see any wandering person'. The Derbyshire justices were able to write that 'our country is clearly delivered of them', and similar reports were received from counties as far apart as Somerset and Yorkshire.[19] In contrast, Norwich, which was in the throes of a trade depression, received a fresh influx of wanderers in the 1630s.[20] Vagrancy was clearly a problem which waxed and waned according to the efficiency of the local authorities and the prevailing state of the economy.

As defined by the Act of 1597, virtually every poor person leaving his home town or village could be designated vagrant. Officially they comprised 'all wandering persons and common labourers being persons able in bodye using loytering and refusing to worke for such reasonable wages as is taxed or commonly gyven in such parties where such persons do or shall happe to dwell or abide, not having lyvinge otherwise to maynteyne themselves'.[21] Sixty years later the parliament of 1657

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18. See Table L, page 193, for non-vagrant wanderers in Norwich

19. E.Leonard, The Early History of English Poor Relief (London, 1900), pp. 250, 299, 358

20. See Chapter 7, pp.267

21. P.Styles, 'The evolution of the law of settlement', in Univ.Birm.Hist.J., ix, 1963-4, pp. 34-35

took a similar attitude, enacting that 'any and every idle, dissolute person who was discovered wandering away from his place of abode and was unable to give adequate reason for his wandering should be judged a rogue and punished as such, although he was not taken begging'.[22] It was left to the magistrate to decide what was meant by 'able in bodye'. The very old and completely indigent, in theory at least, would be unable or unlikely to wander far from their homes. Those that did were subject to the full rigour of the law. As fear dictated the actions of many justices of the peace they tended to use the lash rather than the threat of it. From 1565, when vagrancy was first recognised as a problem in Norwich, until the end of the century, the usual sentence of the mayor's court was that a vagrant, whether man, woman or child, should be whipped and returned to his place of origin. Only rarely was he given the chance to leave with the threat of punishment hanging over his head.

Examples of all types of vagrant can be found in the pages of the mayors' court books. Among those whipped and passed on were a bagpipe player from Ipswich;[23] 'an old man of love stature' and his wife;[24] a blind man and his son;[25] a one-armed man from Monmouthshire taken 'wogingo and bogingo';[26] and a number of runaway servants and apprentices, including the very young. One such was William Margaret, an eight year old apprentice, 'having a paire of pothookes about his neake'.[27] The little boy had apparently fled from his master on more than one occasion for both runaway servants and apprentices were marked in this way, a sentence apparently having its origins in the savage vagrancy laws of the mid sixteenth

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22. Margaret James, Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution (London, 1966), p. 287
23. C.B. 1624-1636, f. 70d, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf
24. Ibid., 1615-1624, f. 306
25. Ibid., 1603-1615, f. 82
26. Ibid., f. 97
27. Ibid., 1624-1636, f. 32

century.[28] Adults were differentiated from children by having iron collars fixed around their necks instead of the pair of pot hooks common to the apprentice, but both man and boy were clearly identifiable.[29] The sentence was in use over an extended period. In Norwich, isolated examples have been discovered ranging in date from 1565 to 1625, and the practice may have continued until well into the seventeenth century.[30]

Local children were usually treated kindly. Reference is made elsewhere to civic concern for the orphaned and homeless, culminating in the foundation of the Boys' and Girls' Hospitals,[31] and those brought before the court invariably received some assistance. In most cases, the justices insisted that the parishes concerned accepted their responsibility although occasionally they went further and provided help themselves. Thus John Gomes, 'a vagrant under the age of seaven yeres', was placed in the care of the parish of St. Peter Permountergate,[32] while the mayor himself clothed two older boys who were found begging before returning them to their native parish.[33] Where outsiders were concerned, however, the city fathers adopted a rigid attitude, their sole concern being the cost to the community. If anything, their attitude to wandering children was even more severe than it was to adults. Thirty-three of the forty youngsters from other places who were described as vagrants were whipped and sent on their way, six were threatened with punishment if they were found in Norwich in the future.[34] For a short period in the seventeenth century entries in the court books concerning punishment to children occur with almost

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28. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. xcix
29. C.B. 1562-1569, ff. 194, 196, 326, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a
30. Ibid., and C.B. 1615-1624, f. 275; 1624-1636, f. 32
31. See Chapter 7, pp. 269.
32. C.B. 1613-1624, f. 6, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a
33. Ibid., 1654-1666, f. 112, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf b
34. Ibid., 1609-1675 passim., N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelves a and b

monotonous regularity. Children from the age of eight upwards were entering the city having travelled, in many cases, more than one hundred miles. An eight year old girl, almost incredibly, had come from as far away as Staffordshire,[35] an eleven year old boy had tramped the hundred miles and more from London.[36] In both cases they were summarily whipped and ordered to be returned to their birthplaces. No thought was given to the possible dangers of travel. It was presumed as a matter of course that vagrants travelled in bands, even if taken singly, and certainly children of that age must have received some adult assistance. On one occasion a tailor offered to escort a little girl of ten back to her birthplace in East Tuddenham, some nine miles from Norwich, but this was a rarity.[37] Not surprisingly, children and adults occasionally resisted such pressures and they were quick to discover that sanctuary was still available in the cathedral precincts. An entry in the court books for January 1600 noted that 'the Bedells of the cittie doe this day complayne that ragishe boyes and beggers escape from them and runn into the liberties of Christes Churche wher they are harbored and not punished and in the evenynges they goe abroade in the cittie begging'.[38]

If some escaped the attentions of the beadles many others did not. In 1600 alone more than 160 people were brought before the mayor's court for illegal entry to the city, and the numbers dealt with for this offence remained high for the next half century.[39] The disastrous harvests of the late 1590s were, no doubt, partially responsible for the large number of itinerants at the turn of the century, and a combination of harvest failure, plague and trade depression guaranteed the continued presence of such people throughout the seventeenth century and beyond.

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35. C.B. 1654-1666, f. 239, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf b
36. Ibid., 1624-1636, f. 37, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a
37. Ibid., 1603-1615, f. 459
38. Ibid., 1595-1603, f. 399
39. See Appendix p. 193

Many of the individuals and families entering the city were recognisably not of the vagrant class. There was all the difference in the world between Thomas Draper, deemed a dangerous rogue and branded on the shoulder for his offence when he arrived in Norwich in 1620,[40] and the travelling shoemakers and blacksmiths who arrived there five and ten years later.[41] Nevertheless, any newcomer was a prospective charge on the city and viewed with the utmost suspicion. If he was well-behaved but poor he was ordered to depart, with the threat of punishment as a vagrant if he remained. It was accepted that immediate departure might cause undue hardship and a time-limit was usually imposed, varying between a few days to as much as three weeks.[42] The majority of those affected left without trouble. Some returned at a later date, either to be actually punished or to be given a further warning to depart. Most sought the shelter of their own homes again or looked, optimistically, for a warmer welcome elsewhere.

The magistrates never used the whip indiscriminately. As early as 1550 two undesirable women were simply ordered to 'departe out of the cittie and go whether they will', as was one Margaret Thacker, ordered to leave in 1555 'for her vycyous and incontynent lyving'.[43] Despite being regarded unfavourably, wandering players and musicians were usually treated with the same latitude. John Gyrlynge of King's Lynn, 'callyng himselfe a musitian and beyng founde in this cytie exercysyn the ydle trade of mynstralsy' was called before the mayor in 1580 and warned to cease his activities or be punished as a rogue.[44] Twenty years later Richard Rogers, described by the mayor as 'a balloft synger' and 'no better than a rogishe vagrante' received similar treatment.[45] Even out and out vagrants could be released with a warning of

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40. C.B. 1615-1624, f. 304d, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a
41. Ibid., 1625-1636, ff. 28a, 58, 279, 279d
42. Ibid., 1603-1675 passim, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelves a and b
43. Ibid., 1549-1555, f. 19; 1555-1562, f. 37, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a
44. Ibid., 1576-1582, f. 515. 45. Ibid., 1595-1603, f.498

future punishment, as could those that harboured them. On at least one occasion a man was returned to his home town with half a crown, rather than a whipping, to speed him on his way.[46]

The dividing line between the decision to mete out punishment or otherwise must have been a fine one. There is no obvious reason - other than local knowledge - why one vagrant should be whipped while another escaped with a warning, any more than there is for one family to be ordered to leave almost immediately while another was given several weeks latitude. Even stranger was the attitude of the justices in the 1630s when they ordered men who had lived in the city for between four and seven years to depart or be punished as vagrants.[47] This exceptional severity can be paralleled elsewhere, a Yorkshire woman and her children being ordered to leave their home after a stay of seven years, but it does present a picture of surprising inconsistency.[48]

If the city was inconsistent in this respect, it was also transgressing against its own laws and against general judicial sentiment in the country at large. As early as 1547, an otherwise exceptionally severe statute had granted immunity from expulsion after a residential qualification of three years, and this had been recognised in a local ordinance in 1557 and in the 'Orders for the Poor' in 1571.[49] Matters were taken a stage further in 1629 when Sir Francis Harvey, presiding over the Summer Assizes in Cambridge, decreed that justices of the peace 'were not to meddle either with the removing or settling of any poor, but only of rogues',[50] a declaration which received the full support of the Judges of Assize in 1633 who condemned the 'illegal unsettling, which the law

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46. C.B. 1595-1603, f. 470, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a
47. Sachse, op.cit., pp. 107, 151
48. James, op. cit., p. 291
49. Hudson and Tingey, op.cit., II, pp. 138, 353
50. Webb, op.cit., p. 319

forbiddeth, for none must be forced to turn vagrant'. [51] Two years later the same sentiments appeared in Michael Dalton's 'Country Justice' where it was asserted that 'no man is to be put from the town where he dwelleth, nor to be sent back to their place of birth, or last habitation, but a vagrant rogue'. [52] The Norwich authorities could hardly claim to be ill-informed in this respect for, apart from their own ordinances, they specifically ordered a copy of Dalton's book for use in the mayor's court soon after it was published. [53]

The reasons for inconsistent punishments can only be surmised. The men on the spot had to judge the relative poverty or aggressiveness of the individuals brought before them, and it was presumably this which prompted their decisions. In times of dearth, too, they had to protect their own citizens, whether from an increase in the poor-rate or from undue competition from outsiders. It was possibly those considerations which led the magistrates to authorise the settlement of a joiner who had hired a house and shop, and who could afford to pay 12d. a week towards the relief of the poor, and to order the displacement of a cordwainer as a prospective vagrant, despite the fact that he had succeeded in finding employment. [54] In general, any person who appeared likely to be a future charge on the community was ordered to depart. The economic climate was too uncertain to risk the indiscriminate settling of all and sundry, and excessive unemployment could always lead to a prospectively dangerous situation. As late as 1666, when plague increased unemployment, fears were expressed about the demeanour of the poor. Many of the wealthy fled, leaving their workmen unemployed and those that remained in constant fear of mob rule. The Norwich town clerk, Thomas Corie, who remained at his post,

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51. Stykes, loc.cit., p. 43
52. Webb, op.cit., p. 329
53. C.B. 1638-1646, f. 62d, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf b
54. Sachse, op.cit., pp. 77, 99

expressed the views of many when he wrote that 'wee are in greater feare of the poore then the plague' and at least one correspondent was convinced that the poor intended to take over the houses of those that had gone and plunder them at their convenience.[55]

Plague, of course, was an intermittent problem, but harvest failure and economic crisis occurred all too frequently. In 1614, for example, James I was persuaded to forbid the export of unfinished cloth to the Continent. A company headed by William Cockayne, a London alderman, was given the sole right to bleach and dye such cloths and to export them to the European markets. The quality of the English finishing was poor, however, and it proved extremely difficult to sell the products abroad. Within two years cloth exports had fallen by more than one half, leading to a crisis of over-production and widespread unemployment in the clothing industry.[56] The Cockayne fiasco was followed by subsequent crises in 1621-2 and 1630-1, the latter linked with harvest failure, while the years 1646-50 saw one of the worst periods of successive harvest failure in the century. As ever, different parts of the country were affected at different times. In Warwickshire, cases involving resettlement of vagrants jumped from 29 in 1630-41 to 100 for the period 1649-60.[57] In Norwich the evidence is conflicting. Rice Bush in his book, 'The poor man's friend', published in 1649, was able to assert that there were no beggars in such towns as Norwich, Ipswich and Dorchester, and judged by the number of cases brought before the mayor's court the problem in Norwich was certainly easing by the 1650s.[58] In contrast, a Norwich petition to parliament in 1649 declared that the trade of the city's merchants was utterly ruined, and that prices were inordinately high, wheat being 40s. a comb, rye 22s. and other provisions at proportionately high rates.[59] As the petition was one to

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55. R.H.Hill ed., The correspondence of Thomas Corie, Norfolk Record Society, Vol. XXVII, pp. 19-20

56. D.L.Farmer, Britain and the Stuarts (London 1965), p.34

57. A.L.Beier, 'Poor relief in Warwickshire, 1630-1660', in Past and Present, 35, pp. 82, 86, 90

58. Jordan, op.cit., p. 207

59. James, op.cit., p. 50

reduce taxation, one is inclined to be very suspicious, but it is a picture which conforms with that painted for the rest of the country. Throughout much of the 1640s parliament was inundated with petitions complaining of the general state of trade, a situation which led Miss James to assert that 'there is little doubt that the Civil Wars increased the numbers both of genuine rogues and of those workless men who were too often confused with them'. [60] The story is much the same in 1659. A letter from the gentry of both Norwich and Norfolk spoke of 'the loud outcryes of multitudes undone and almost famished people, occasioned by the generall decay of trade, which hath spread itself throughout the whole Nation, and these Counties in particular'. [61]

Inevitably, many people sought work in areas outside their immediate locality and just as inevitably they were turned away. The uncertainty of the Civil War and Commonwealth periods prevented any serious discussion of the problem, but within two years of the Restoration the government had produced the Act of Settlement, an Act which, according to the Webbs, theoretically immobilised nine-tenths of the nation. [62] Any person not belonging to the propertied classes was prevented from settling in a new area unless he could provide absolute surety that he would never be a charge to the parish. It was not sufficient to prove employment. The justices had to be satisfied that a man had reserves to draw on in times of economic depression, otherwise he and his family were liable to summary removal to his last dwelling place, provided complaint was made within 40 days of his settlement.

The central authorities were doing no more than regularising an existing situation. Resistance to any impecunious newcomer had become almost commonplace in mid-seventeenth century England, and at least one modern authority has seen the Act of Settlement as the final inevitable link in an evolutionary chain. [63] The Act was by no means universally popular, however. Roger North,

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60. James, op.cit., p. 286
61. Ibid., p. 76
62. Webb, op.cit., p. 321
63. Slack, loc.cit.

writing about the year 1670, was particularly scathing in his criticism: 'The poor are imprisoned in their towns(hips), and chained down to their wants, so that they are deprived of means to mend their condition, if their own wits or their friends should suggest any, by removing to places more proper for them either for sort of work or of friends to employ them. But if any chance to remove for experiment, they are sent back, and tossed from pillar to post in carts, till they return to their old settled misery again'. He concluded, 'surely it is a great imprisonment, if not slavery, to a poor family to be under such restraint by law that they must always live in one place whether they have friends, kindred, employment or not, or however they might mend their condition by moving; and all because they had the ill-luck to be born or to have served or resided a certain time there'.[64]

The Act may have caused the genuine workman to hesitate before seeking employment elsewhere, but it was no more successful than its predecessors in restraining the professional vagrant. The Gloucestershire magistrates complained in 1678 of rogues and vagabonds 'grown soe insolent and presumptuous that they have oft by threates and menaces extorted money and victualls from those who live in houses far remote from neighbours'.[65] Forty years after the Act became law Defoe, when entering Wellington in Somerset, found himself surrounded by so many beggars that he had difficulty in keeping them from under his horse's hoofs.[66]

It remains true, nevertheless, that the Commonwealth and Restoration periods in Norwich were singularly free of unauthorised entrants, if the numbers apprehended can be taken as any guide at all. There is no obvious explanation for such a drastic decline in the numbers of those brought before the mayor's court. It cannot be explained by emigration to America, for this was evidently at its peak during the 1630s when itinerants of all sorts were still relatively numerous,[67] nor is there any suggestion that the constables and other officials were

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64. Webb, op.cit., pp. 328, 330n.
65. Ibid., pp. 361-2
66. Ibid., p.359
67. Sachse, op.cit., p. 50

unduly negligent in their duties. The court kept a wary eye on the situation, and as late as November 1675 ordered the churchwardens to keep a register of all newcomers to the city. The registers were drawn up 'for the preventing of poore people comeing out of the country to inhabit in thys city', and had to be presented to the aldermen of the wards on the first Monday of every month when requisite action would be taken.[68] One can only suggest that a high proportion of undesirables were turned away, quite literally, at the city's gates, a suggestion which implies a high degree of zeal on the part of those responsible, particularly as the suburbs were also kept clear of such people. Whatever the reason, vagrancy and illegal entry to the city had ceased to be a major concern of the Norwich authorities before the advent of the Act of Settlement. Poverty within the walls continued to tax their attention, and the extent of the problem can be gauged by the fact that 60 per cent of the population were exempted from the payment of Hearth Tax in 1671,[69] but the city fathers ensured that the burden did not become an insupportable one by the intrusion of poverty-stricken outsiders.

The problem of the vagrant, while always kept within reasonable bounds, was one which occupied the attention of the court for much of the period under review. Other cases brought before the mayor's court occurred less frequently, and as such merit less detailed treatment. They were, nevertheless, numerous. In 1570, for example, the justices dealt with cases involving arbitration between contending parties, adultery, apprenticeship misdemeanours and assault; begging, craft inquisitions and counterfeit passports; disobedience to officials, debt and disturbance of the peace; food and drink offences, the appointment and discharge of various officials, people charged with using seditious words, scolds, theft and unlawful games.[70] Sixty years later the authorities were more concerned with drunkenness and swearing, but these offences apart they were dealing

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68. C.B. 1666-1676, f. 333d, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf b
69. See Chapter , p.
70. C.B. 1569-1576, ff.

in all essentials with the same problems as their Elizabethan forebears.[71]

Punishments for the various offences altered little throughout the entire period. Assault, one of the more serious offences, was invariably rewarded with the cage, the whip, or a period in the Bridewell. The scold was either ducked or spent a period in the cage. 'Michery', a local expression for petty theft, was a frequent charge. In most cases, the material stolen was the produce of orchards and gardens; sometimes it was fence-rails or wood. The offences were seldom sufficiently serious to be transferred to Quarter Sessions, and normally resulted in a whipping for a child or a period in the stocks for an adult.[72]

People accused of immorality were brought before the court as often as those that were charged with pilfering. In the Elizabethan period the usual sentence was one of public disgrace, the offending parties being paraded around the market place with paper hats on their heads and followed by a crowd tinkling basins.[73] Subsequently, the sentence was one of whipping, ducking or a period in the House of Correction. Thus one woman was placed in the Bridewell for entertaining three men in her house after midnight; another was paraded around the market place with a placard reading, 'For keeping a house of bawdry'.[74]

The city's policy regarding immorality was influenced in part by the fear of incurring unnecessary costs. An illegitimate child could become a charge on the rates and in consequence the Court was scrupulous in seeking out the father of the bastard child. The men concerned were usually bound over to Quarter Sessions, but once security had been given that the community would not be held responsible, the father was released and discharged from his recognisance.[75]

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71. Sachse, op.cit., pp. 24-27

72. Ibid., p. 25

73. C.B.s 1555-1603 passim, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a

74. Sachse, op.cit., pp. 25-6

75. See, for example, C.B. 1595-1603, f. 55, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a

If the official attitude to immorality was influenced by increasing costs, the Court's policy towards drunkards, swearing and games players was influenced by a growing tendency towards Puritanism. As early as 1572 17 Dutchmen had been expelled from Norwich for 'the disgraceful vice of drunkenness' and, according to Camden, their English neighbours learned this art even more quickly than they absorbed the new methods of spinning and weaving. Offenders were usually fined five shillings or sentenced to six hours in the stocks, while those drinking after hours were required to pay 3s.4d. or spend a period in the pillory.[76]

A surer way of preventing drunkenness was to limit the number of alehouses in the city, and it was the mayor's court which set their number, specifying precisely how many were to be allowed in each ward and liberty. In 1621, for example, it reduced the number from 54 to 37.[77] Eleven years later the individual aldermen were called upon to list suitable licensees in their wards, and the following year the constables were required to take a census of 'all innkeepers, alehouse keepers, cooks and sellers of bragget', both licensed and unlicensed.[78] In theory, no one was supposed to keep an alehouse unless licensed to do so in Quarter Sessions, a stipulation dating back to the last years of Edward VI's reign, but many people ignored the ruling. In 1630 the court imposed a penalty of twenty shillings or the whip for each offence, and vigorously pursued offenders, sending them to the House of Correction if they transgressed on more than one occasion. Similarly, existing alehouse keepers were brought before the court if they allowed patrons to tipple after hours, or if they sold less than a full ale-quart for a penny. Offenders were usually forbidden to keep an alehouse for three years, the penalty being imposed either by the mayor's court or by the same justices at Quarter Sessions.[79]

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76. Sachse, op.cit., p. 27

77. R. Fitch, 'Notices of Norwich Brewers' Marks and Trade Regulations', Norf. Arch., V, pp. 326-7

78. C.B. 1624-1634, f. 416, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a

79. Ibid., ff. 421, 435

Alehouses were seen as prospective haunts of idlers and vagabonds and the magistrates were most reluctant to see the lower classes spending an undue period of time in them. Partly because of this, they took a somewhat repressive attitude towards popular amusements. Warrants were issued, for example, to prevent 'poor, idle, unruly, and disordered persons' from frequenting a bowling alley, and the names of all those committed to Bridewell for haunting such a place were posted in a prominent position to act as a deterrent to others.[80] Even greater concern was expressed when such games took place on a Sunday. In 1589 the authorities noted that games players were entering the city on that day and playing during time of preaching, resulting in 'quarrels and brawls whereby murder hath ensued'.[81] Freemen were fined 16d. for participation, a fine which was increased to 3s.4d. in 1596 when the offending games were listed as table tennis, cards, dice and bowls.[82] The city fathers had little success in their endeavours, individuals being punished for the same offence forty years later.[83]

Sabbatarian laws, as such, appear in the city records for the first time in 1570. In that year it was ordered that the city gates were to remain locked from Saturday night to Monday morning to prevent carts entering or leaving the city on the Sabbath, and to prevent beer carts being in the city on that day. No shops were allowed to open for buying, selling, or retailing on pain of a 3s.4d. fine.[84] Trade regulations contain similar provisions, the cobblers, for example, being fined one shilling if they worked on Sundays.[85] By 1580 the punishments had become much more severe, a fine of £3.6s.8d. being levied on every cart travelling to or from London on the Sabbath and one of 20 shillings for

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80. C.B. 1615-1624, f. 218, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a
81. A.B. 1585-1619, f. 54, N.N.R.O. Case
82. C.B. 1595-1603, f. 55, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a
83. Sachse, op.cit., p. 27
84. A.B. 1568-1585, ff. 24-5, 16 June 1570.
85. Ibid. ff. 235

every laden horse.[86] Tradesmen were also dealt with more harshly towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. In 1600 a man was imprisoned for working on Ascension Day, and two years later butchers were forbidden to kill on the Sabbath on pain of a fine of between 10 and 20 shillings. They were not allowed to go to markets or fairs to buy animals on that day unless they had first heard evening prayer.[87]

In a city so obviously inspired by the puritan ideal, one would have expected increasing evidence of sabbatarianism during the seventeenth century. In fact, the entries relating to this offence are relatively few. This may do no more than indicate that breakers of the Sabbath were few and far between for, according to Strype, 'it was preached in Norfolk that to make a feast or wedding-dinner on that day was as great a sin as for a father to take a knife and cut his child's throat'. Laws were, nevertheless, enacted to avoid 'prophanation of the Lord's day' in 1615, 1623 and 1631, and in the first instance a campaign was subsequently launched against offenders: it was not repeated with the same enthusiasm after the subsequent enactments, possibly because the need was less great.[88] On occasion, as in the Elizabethan period, fines were levied on people who saw fit to travel on the Sabbath, 10 shillings being mulcted for each offence. In February 1655, however, the penalty notwithstanding, Robert Cawston had offended on eight occasions, Lidea Cawston on four and her sister Anne twice. By this time the court's patience had worn thin and it threatened to levy distresses on the parties concerned unless their fines were paid promptly. Outsiders were subjected to more summary treatment. Five butchers from Wymondham who arrived in Norwich on a Sunday were promptly placed in the stocks as they had no money to pay their fines. Inevitably, there were always some who resisted such enactments. At frequent intervals attempts were made to prevent carriers and watermen from

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86. A.B. 8 March 1580.
87. C.B. 1595-1603, f. 1 May 1600.
A.B. 1585-1613, f. 29 October 1602.
88. Sachse, op.cit., p. 51.

plying their trade on the Lord's day, but the very need for repetition implies a reluctance to comply with the orders and the readiness of a few to disobey them.[89]

The mayor's court was equally concerned with the formal attendance of its own members at church and memorial services. In addition to regular attendance on Sundays, the members of the court were expected to appear at commemorative ceremonies for deceased benefactors and, during the Civil War period, at relatively frequent thanksgiving services for the successes of the parliamentary armies. Other services were held on the king's birthday and accession day and on 5 November. Sermons were anything but brief. On Gild Day, 1638, the mebers of the court listened to a sermon which, when printed, filled 150 pages.[90]

Sabbatarianism apart, much of the legislation referred to above reflects the attitude of the city fathers to the problem of the idle poor, and the same attitude was prevalent where wandering actors and entertainers were concerned. Elizabethan statutes against vagrancy classified all such people as idle rogues, and until the Restoration any man claiming to be such was lucky to escape without a whipping.[91] Groups of players were not frowned on to the same extent and they were occasionally licensed to play in the city, particularly if they were under the patronage of a great personage or had a licence from the Master of the Revels, but whenever possible the magistrates resisted their pleas. Large gatherings could lead to the spread of plague or possibly to riots and disorders, and the city frequently petitioned the privy council to prevent such people from coming to Norwich. In 1623 it complained that it had recently been 'disquieted' by players, tumblers and other entertainers, whose presence was prejudicial to local manufacturers, a petition which led the council to forbid such entertainers to enter the city until further order. Subsequent petitions complained

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89. C.B. 1655-1666, f. 2; 1634-1646, f. 457d, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf b.

90. Sachse, op.cit., p. 51.

91. See page 260

that plays consumed a large portion of the earnings of poor workmen, drove their families to want and imposed a financial burden on the city. On more than one occasion the magistrates went so far as to pay players to depart.[92] After the Restoration attitudes changed to some extent. In 1675, for example, a fire-eater was authorised to perform on more than one occasion, as was a woman who wanted to show two mermaids and a 'devouring great eatinge quaker'.[93]

The city's attitude was conditioned to a large extent by fear of increasing the poor rate, and entries abound in the court books concerning the methods adopted to relieve the local poor. Poverty and the poor have been considered in detail in Chapter Seven. Here it is sufficient to note that the magistrates concerned themselves with providing work for the unemployed; with the appointment of officials and the organisation of the various city hospitals; with the provision of money and a supply of corn in times of dearth; with the organisation of a poor rate; and with the administration of endowments and bequests of various kinds.

The provision of work for the unemployed was only part of the city's responsibility. It was also concerned with apprenticeship regulations and with the appointment of male and female servants. In the case of apprentices, the court authorised the premium payable and kept a fairly conscientious watch over their welfare. Cases where the master had refused to accept an apprentice or had abandoned him were settled; a new master was provided if the original one died before the end of the specified period; a master ill-treating his apprentice was suitably dealt with. Invariably, however, the apprentice was at fault, usually by refusing to work or by running away. In either case, he received short shrift from the magistrates. Refusal to work in his

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92. L.G.Bolingbroke, 'Players in Norwich from the accession of Queen Elizabeth until their suppression in 1642', Norf.Arch., XIII, p. 15.

93. C.B. 1666-1676, ff. 331d, 334, 333d, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf b.

master's house led to compulsory toil in Bridewell. Flight meant a whipping and a prompt return, sometimes with a pair of pothooks round his neck.[94]

At intervals the court concerned itself with the hiring of servants and, less frequently, with disputes between employer and employee. Thus in May 1563, in conformity with the Statute of Artificers, the magistrates ordered a man to serve in husbandry for a year at an annual wage of 33s.4d., the person concerned being paid a retainer of one penny.[95] Seventy years later the rates of pay were much the same.[96] Thomas Games, who hired himself to a twisterer in 1630, was promised 30 shillings anda pair of shoes; Henry Bussey was put to service in the same year for a similar sum plus meat and drink.[97] By 1657, however, servants' wages had doubled, a man receiving £3.0s.0d. a year and a woman £2.0s.0d. with the addition of meat and drink.[98] Similar details of the hiring of servants are recorded in the court books throughout much of the period under review, but disputes between master and servant were seldom sufficiently serious to bring to the attention of the court. A few examples occur in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. In February 1559, for example, the court had to arbitrate between a baker, who had hired himself to two masters at once, and the employers concerned. He was ordered to serve one for a week and then go to the other.[99] Two years later a man who had promised the authorities that he would let his servant go to another master attempted to override the authority of the magistrates and appealed to the Duke of Norfolk. He was fined 10 shillings, both

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94. Sachse, op.cit., p. 38.

95. Pound, thesis, p. 283.

96. Wage rates remained virtually static between 1580 and 1640. Christopher Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 1969, p. 57.

97. Sachse, op.cit., pp. 87, 100.

98. R.K.Kelsall, 'Wage Regulation under the Statute of Artificers' in W.E.Minchinton ed., Wage Regulation in Pre-Industrial England, 1972, p. 104.

99. C.B. 1555-1562, f. 366, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a.

for his effrontery and the fact that he had tried to conceal his original promise.[100] Physical assault was treated more seriously. A servant accused of beating his master and dame was placed in the stocks.[101] Another, who broke his master's head with a pair of tailor's shears, was imprisoned. In the latter case insult was added to the master's injury for he was also imprisoned for not reporting the offence.[102]

As well as maintaining law and order in the city, the mayor's court was responsible for the welfare of the citizens of Norwich in other spheres. Poor relief has already been referred to. Price regulation, market offences, and the provision of corn in time of dearth are dealt with below. All were items of almost daily importance, and never more so than in time of plague. The citizens of Norwich were well acquainted with this phenomenon. From the advent of the sweating sickness in 1555, when almost half of the ruling body were swept away, until the final disappearance of bubonic plague in 1666, men were always present who could remember the previous outbreak and who waited with dread for a further visitation.[103] In every decade from the middle years of Elizabeth's reign onwards the court had to make provision for plague victims. Severe attacks of bubonic plague occurred in 1579-80, 1588-93, 1603, 1625 and 1665-66 and less severe attacks in the intervening periods. That of 1579 may well have been as serious as the original onslaught of the Black Death in 1349, being responsible for the deaths of some 6,000 people, or approximately one-third of the city's population. At least 3,500 individuals perished in the subsequent Elizabethan outbreaks, and similar numbers in the seventeenth century onslaughts.[104]

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100. C.B. 1555-1562, f. 472, N.N.R.O. Case 16, shelf a.
101. Ibid., f. 507.
102. Ibid., f. 548.
103. F.Blomefield, The History of the City and County of Norwich, 1741, p. 196.
104. J.F.Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England, p. 14.

In 1579 the citizens were unprepared and had no real idea how to combat the visitation. Plague had been present for four months before the authorities acted in a positive manner. In July those afflicted were forbidden to leave their houses for six weeks, money being provided to maintain them during this period. Aldermen were expected to contribute 20 shillings each, past and present sheriffs 13s.4d., and common councillors 10 shillings, 5 shillings, or 2s.6d., depending on their social status.[105] The following year attempts were made to stamp out the plague before the summer months. Nobody living in an infected house was allowed out unless he carried a two-foot white wand as an identification mark. The parish sextons were ordered to fix papers to the doors of the inflicted inscribed with the words, 'The Lord have mercye upon us', and in a further effort to avoid the infection spreading it was ordered that no household stuff was to be sold before the end of May.[106]

Precautions proved to be of little avail during the sixteenth century outbreaks, but the authorities were at least prepared for subsequent attacks.[107] At the first sign of an outbreak the aldermen were required to acquaint themselves with the parishes and houses affected, a requirement which was largely accomplished by the searchers appointed by the court. The bearers, burlers and searchers were given wages for the duration of the outbreak, and were forbidden to mix with the public without a distinguishing mark on their clothing or a red wand in their hands. Special arrangements were made to feed them and provide them with other necessaries. As in the sixteenth century, the houses of those afflicted were nailed up, suitable marks were placed on them, and watchmen were posted outside. The period of quarantine varied. In 1637 the court agreed on a period of six weeks, but this could be waived provided the released person was 'wary not to put himself unnecessarily into company'. Apart from individual dwellings, pest-houses

105. Hudson and Tingey, p. 187.

106. Ibid., p. cxxvi.

107. Sachse, op.cit., p. 45.

were provided where the same regulations were applied. The clothing of infected people was usually burned and as a further precaution wandering animals of any sort were summarily despatched.

It was accepted that the poor would be more adversely affected than others, and special rates were levied to provide for their maintenance. The sums collected were paid to the Treasurers of the Infected Poor, officials specially appointed for the purpose, and minor officials were called upon to distribute the money to those in greatest need.[108]

The presence of plague accentuated the ever-present problem of the poor. Its presence meant a temporary increase in the poor rate, a more careful regulation of the price of corn, and increased efforts to see that the latter was equitably distributed.[109] Normally, only the absolutely destitute could expect to receive such assistance. To ensure that the number of people in this category was kept to an absolute minimum the court kept a careful watch on prices. The mayor, as clerk of the market, regulated the price of both corn and beer and, from time to time, saw to it that prices of other commodities were kept at a reasonable level.[110] Tradesmen accused of selling bad, or underweight, food were examined by a jury appointed for the purpose and, if found guilty, were fined sums which ranged from 1s.0d. at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to between 10s.0d. and £1.0s.0d. by the middle years of the seventeenth century.[111] Innkeepers were told the maximum price they could charge for meals, while anyone found guilty of forestalling was suitably

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108. Sachse, op.cit., p. 45.

109. See, for example, A.B. 1585-1613, ff. 66d. - 71d., N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf c; and Sachse, op.cit., pp.82 84, 87, 92 and 97.

110. Examples are given in C.B. 1555-1562, ff. 361, 498, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf a; A.B. 1551-1568, f. 91d., N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf c; and Sachse, op.cit., pp. 97 and 102.

111. C.B. 1555-1562, f. 623, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf a; Sachse, op.cit., pp. 91, 240.

punished.[112]

If the number of cases brought before the justices is any guide at all, the city was successful in its endeavours and succeeded in establishing a firm hold on the trading activities of the people concerned. Between 1630 and 1635 the mayor had to act in his capacity as clerk of the market on only eight occasions, fining butchers for various offences in each case.[113] Regulation of corn prices was a more frequent occurrence, being governed, in part, by both plague and harvest failure, but the evidence available suggests that market offences were a relatively minor source of irritation to the local justices.[114]

It remains to sum up. The offences brought before the mayor's court were very much the same throughout the entire period under discussion. Vagrants increased in numbers during the first half of the seventeenth century, but never, apparently, to the extent that they caused the city any serious problems. Whenever possible, they were treated leniently by the standard of the times, and a careful distinction was usually made between the obviously professional vagrant and the man desperately seeking work, an attitude which had evolved from the city's experiments with poor relief in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. A determination to keep the populace at work, to suppress the idlers whenever possible, to look after the interests of the poor, whether by the provision of work or the supply of corn, were the constant concerns of the city fathers. A blend of paternalism and occasional repression ensured that the city was usually well governed. In times of plague, or severe economic regression, the task was made more difficult and sometimes, in those circumstances, the burden proved almost too heavy. Normally, a combination of aldermanic vigilance and zealous work by the officials concerned was enough to make Norwich one of the best governed provincial cities in the kingdom.

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112. Sachse, op.cit., p. 42.

113. Ibid., p. 41.

114. Ibid., p. 42.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE WAGE-EARNING CLASSES AND THE TREATMENT OF POVERTY

I: The wage-earning classes

Under normal circumstances, the lives of the poor are shrouded in obscurity. It is generally assumed that as a class they formed between one-quarter and one-third of the population, an assumption which it is sometimes possible to put to the test, while the amount of absolute destitution can be gauged from the numbers actually receiving poor-relief.[1] Above the level of absolute poverty were the wage-earners similar in status to those assessed for taxation in 1524-5. As a group, they made up some 40 per cent of the tax-payers or, to look at it in another way, a further one-third of the population. Both groups appear to have remained fairly constant throughout the entire period under consideration.[2]

Statistical details apart, the only positive material concerning the poor, other than isolated instances, appears to be contained in the various censuses of the poor which were compiled from time to time. Very few of these survive. The most comprehensive, by far, is the Norwich survey which was made in 1570 as a prelude to the complete reorganisation of the city's poor law scheme.[3] It lists 525 men and

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1. W.G.Hoskins, Provincial England, 1963, p. 84; J.F.Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', Past and Present, 34, 1966, p. 50. I have found in my researches into the Babergh Hundred of Suffolk that the poor there made up some 20 per cent of the population in 1522, less than is usually assumed for urban areas.

2. See Chapter Two, p. 48.

3. The discussion between here and page 236 is based on my introduction to the Norwich census of the poor, Norf.Rec.Soc., XL, 1971, pp. 9-21. A partial census of the Ipswich poor, taken in 1597, is printed in J.Webb, ed. Poor Relief in Elizabethan Ipswich, Suffolk Record Society, IX, 1966, pp. 122-40.

860 women over the age of 16 as well as almost 1,000 of their children. The information provided is far-ranging. Ages and occupations are given in almost every case, as are details of house-ownership and the provision of alms. Where it is relevant to the city's purpose, information is also given about a person's place of origin and his period of residence in the city. Similarly, it is clearly stated whether an individual was employed or not at the time of the census and, in the cases of the children, the numbers receiving some form of education. From the details provided it is possible to establish the areas of the city in which the poor were most prolific; to place them in specific age groups; to estimate the average size of their families and the extent to which their children were educated; to draw up a complete trade structure of the poor, both male and female, and in the process get an impression of the importance of female and child labour; to estimate the extent of unemployment among people of this class; to gauge the interest of the various classes in housing the poor and to discover how far they had to be self-supporting; and, finally, to get some impression of the amount of mobility among the city's destitute.

At the time of the census the vast majority of the Norwich poor were in some form of employment. It was the prospect of employment, rather than the lure of easy pickings which encouraged most families to come to the metropolis. In 1570 at least half of the city's poor were not local born, although many had lived in Norwich for so long that they were virtually natives by default. Seventy-five families, or just under 11 per cent of those for which the requisite information is recorded, had lived in the city for more than 20 years. A further 261 families, or 38 per cent of the whole, had migrated there during the previous 20 years. The Norwich authorities were particularly concerned with the most recent arrivals, the thirty

or so families which had been resident for three years or less. Wherever possible, they sought information not only about their actual period of residence but also about their place of origin. Significantly, as the following table indicates, the details become progressively less the longer a family had established itself. The city was concerned to rid itself of those recent arrivals. It was less worried about the long established groups, provided they were not too great a strain on the local resources.

Table LIII

Summary of places of origin of people with up to 20 years residence in Norwich.

A = Years of residence
B = Places of origin: Norfolk.
C = Places of origin: Suffolk.
D = Places of origin: Elsewhere.
E = Unknown
F = Totals
G = % known
H = % unknown

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1 - 5	27	3	8	19	57	66.66	33.33
6 -10	20	10	19	42	91	53.85	46.15
11 -20	3	-	1	109	113	3.54	96.46
Totals	50	13	28	170	261	34.87	65.13

It becomes apparent, from such details as we have, that the majority of the immigrants were from Norfolk and Suffolk. Nevertheless, one-third of the known cases came from further afield. Eleven of the twenty-seven families who had settled in Norwich in the previous ten years, and who had origins outside East Anglia, came from the northern counties. Individual families came from as far afield as Wales and Ireland. Others

came from the west country, the midlands, London and Cambridge. An apparently single man came from Scotland. All found the city sufficiently congenial to cease their wanderings, and they had settled in without any undue pressure from the authorities.

If the census is less than full about a person's origins, it is the reverse where details of age and marital status are concerned. Almost every adult over the age of 16 has his or her age clearly stated, little more than 3 per cent of the men and just under 6 per cent of the women having this information unrecorded. The same is true of marital status. Few of the men were unmarried, and the women are normally clearly indicated as either married, widowed, or deserted. Where this is not stated, even in the case of elderly women, it seems probable that they had never married. Sometimes this is clearly apparent at other times, particularly where the surname of mothers and children are the same, the details are rather ambiguous. As precise details are given in 85 per cent of the cases, however, the problem is a small one.

A large proportion of both sexes aged between 31 and 40, almost 29 per cent of the men and 26 per cent of the women falling into this category. Some 23 per cent were younger, being aged between 16 and 30. Of greater significance, however, is the relatively large number of elderly people, both men and women, recorded in the census. No fewer than 21 per cent of the men and a quarter of the women were aged 60 and above, a significantly high total in an age when 50 was considered old and the poor might have been expected to succumb more quickly than their wealthier fellows. Among the aged poor, seven men and fifteen women were aged 80 and above, two of the women being centenarians.

Evidence of this sort does not square too easily with the official assertion that the city's poor were almost universally disease-ridden. Some were, and are described as such. Several were maimed in some way, others had lost limbs, but such visitations were not, apparently, sufficiently disastrous to cut them off in the prime of their lives. Their environment may have at least partially contributed to their longevity. Norwich had always had a reputation for cleanliness, and until the advent of the Dutch and Walloons caused severe overcrowding there is little evidence that the poor were unduly congested. Fewer than one family in five lived in households containing more than four people, and although many of these lived in tenements, one house sometimes containing several families, congestion was rare. Three-quarters of the 859 dwellings of the poor contained six people or less; one-quarter of them housed no more than one or two.

With one or two exceptions which will be dealt with below, the houses or buildings containing relatively large numbers of poor were not in private hands. All belonged to the church or civic authorities. There were twelve church and two college houses in the city which between them provided shelter for 95 poor people. The two college houses were in the parish of St. Michael's at Coslany. One was apparently a small dwelling and housed a single widow. The other was large and contained eight families comprising, between them, no fewer than 29 people. The church houses were scattered about the city. Four in St. Benedict's housed 23 people; a single house in St. John's Maddermarket provided shelter for twelve; another in St. Stephen's was the home of two childless married couples, a single person and a family of five. A number of people were also housed in the hospital precincts within the city. Twenty-four people lived in the thirteen houses situated in the main city hospital known as the Normans, several of them being

widows. A single city house in St. Giles' Hospital provided homes for 16 individuals. Another large hospital house in St. Augustine's sheltered 19 people. The parish houses, too, were sometimes large if the numbers contained within them are any guide. Thus one house in the parish of St. John at the Gates in Bar Street contained six families, totalling 19 people, another in St. Stephen's housed 15 individuals. Between them the nine parish houses described as such provided shelter for 62 of the city's poor. Finally, 58 people lived in eight gate houses and twelve of the towers around the city walls.

Table LIV

Numbers of poor housed in civic and church property

A = Description of property.
B = Number of houses.
C = Total people sheltered.
D = Percentage housed in property of this kind.

A	B	C	D
Church houses	12	65	21.66
College houses	2	30	10.00
City houses	3	26	8.66
Gate houses	8	33	11.00
Normans	13	24	8.00
Hospital houses	4	35	11.66
Parish houses	9	62	20.66
Towers	12	25	8.33
Totals	63	300	100.00

The remaining 396 houses of the poor in the city were in private hands. By far the majority of these belonged to people who were either already serving the city as aldermen and councillors, or who were to do so

in the immediate future. John Aldrich, the mayor, owned five such houses, two in North Conesford and one each in St. Mary's, Coslany, St. Botolph's and St. Clement's. The five provided shelter for 33 of the people he condemned so sweepingly in the preamble to the orders of the poor. John Sotherton and Robert Suckling also owned five houses apiece while Edward Pye had no fewer than seven. Others owned two or three, many had no more than one. A few of the city's ruling classes had turned over really large houses to the poorer classes to be used as tenements, presumably with the intention of extracting what profits they could from the transaction. Thus one of John Blennor Hasset's houses in St. Paul's contained eight families, or a total of 23 individuals. John Sotherton owned a house in St. Mary's Coslany which housed even more, eleven families, comprising 34 people, being crowded within its confines. One of Thomas Parker's houses in Pockthorpe contained 20 people; Augustine Steward's two properties in North Conesford contained 17 and 14 people respectively; Edward Wardon's house in St. Gregory's contained 15; one of Aldrich's in St. Mary's Coslany had 13 people living in it; John Rede's property in St. Saviour's housed two families, each containing six people. Several of the city fathers owned properties which were let to ten people; many had tenements which contained six people or more. Despite their subsequent protestations, it is clear that the propertied classes in the city saw the poor as a source of income as well as a prospective nuisance. In the process, they may well have been guilty of severe overcrowding in a minority of cases, although in the absence of precise details about the size of houses one cannot be dogmatic on the point. It is most unlikely that either they, or the other freemen referred to below, sheltered the poor out of any feelings of pity.

Indeed, more than twenty years previously they had passed laws specifically forbidding such 'charity' and they continued to pay lip service to this ideal.

Apart from the owner-occupiers among the poor themselves, the rest of the privately owned property in the city was distributed among 55 freemen who were never to attain civic importance; 58 men who either for lack of money or lack of inclination never took up their freedom, and 22 women. Most of these people owned single houses, but there were exceptions. Thus among the freemen Nicholas Kent, baker, owned five properties, all in All Saints; Christopher Austen, a cordwainer, owned three houses, one large enough to contain 12 people; John Gose, a worsted weaver, owned two houses in St. Benedict's, one of which sheltered 16 of the poor; John Lynge's two properties in Pockthorpe housed eight families, or 22 people in all; Edward Oxne had a house in St. Swithin's containing 13 people; William Alman's four in St. Stephen's housed ten. Some of the non-freemen also owned properties of a reasonable size. Humphrey Rant, a man of some substance, had a house in All Saints large enough to contain 17 individuals; Thomas Richmann's owned a property of similar size in St. Swithin's; John Hemming had five houses in the parish of St. Andrew and St. Julian's, none exceptionally large, which provided accommodation for 19 people between them. Few of the women owners possessed more than one house or had large properties. The two major exceptions were a Mrs. Felix who owned four houses in North Conesford, and Mrs. Norgate in St. Augustine's whose single property housed 15 individuals.

The final group of houseowners in the city come from within the ranks of the poor themselves. Sixty-one families, or between eight and nine per cent of

the whole, possessed their own property. Most of the heads of the households were employed in three main occupational groupings, 14 being leather workers, 14 textile workers and 13 labourers. Widows account for a further ten of the householders, building workers for nine, with the rest destributed evenly among the clothing, food and drink and metal workers. In one or two cases, the houses were in mortgage, such as that inhabited by a deserted wife in St. Giles'. Some were still 'in purchase' like those owned by labourers in the Normans. Occasionally the sums owed are quoted. Thus a widow in the parish of St. John at the Gates was said to owe £8 for her property, another had a further £5 to pay. In the majority of cases, however, the poor families concerned were in full possession of their property. Not surprisingly, they took in lodgers whenever possible. A weaver in St. Paul's had 16 people in his house, and this was hardly likely to have been a large dwelling. Two of the families were sufficiently prosperous to own more than one house. A currier in the parish of St. John on the Hill had two; a 'haymaker' in St. Augustine's had three. The overall position is summed up below.

Table LV

Owners of private property in the city used to house the poor

A = No. of houses owned
B = No. of owners
C = No. of houses
D = Total housed
E = Average no. per hous
F = Percentage of houses owned

	A							B	C	D	E	F
Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
Aldermen and Councillors	48	11	11	2	4	1	1	78	144	792	5.50	36.27
Other freemen	36	11	4	3	1	-	-	55	87	454	5.22	21.91
Non-freemen	47	7	3	-	1	-	-	58	75	375	5.00	18.90
Owner-occupiers	59	1	1	-	-	-	-	61	64	289	4.51	16.12
Women (other than poor)	20	1	-	-	1	-	-	22	26	149	5.73	6.80
Totals	210	31	19	5	7	1	1	274	396	205	5.18	100.00

Whether tenant or owner-occupier, whether paying rent, however nominal, or paying off a mortgage, some form of income in addition to that required for normal family needs was essential. In fact, the vast majority of both men and women were in some form of employment. Despite the steady decline of the textile industry in sixteenth century Norwich, and the decreasing number of people being admitted to the freedom of the city in such occupations, a number of the poor were employed as worsted weavers. No more than eight of the 68 described as such in the census were unemployed, and in the industry as a whole 106 of the city's 120 poor textile workers had work of some kind. The same story is true of the other occupational groupings. In those in which relatively large numbers were employed, 75 per cent of the leather workers and over 60 per cent of the labourers were in gainful employment. In the building trades in contrast, some difficulties were obviously being experienced, rather more than half of such workers being described as unemployed. Four out of the five glaziers were in this category and seven out of the eleven masons. It was only among the men where no specific occupation was given that unemployment was really rife, and it may be guessed that these 39 included a proportion of genuine beggars. Some, of course, were simply too old to work any longer.

Full occupational details are given in Appendix but the position may be summarised as follows.

Table LVI

Occupational groupings of poor men

A = Occupational grouping
B = Numbers employed
C = Percentage
D = Numbers unemployed
E = Percentage
F = Total
G = Percentage of all occupationa

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Labourers	75	62.50	45	37.50	120	23.39
Textiles	106	88.33	14	11.66	120	23.39
Leather	47	74.61	16	25.39	63	12.28
Building	24	48.00	26	52.00	50	9.74
Unspecified	2	4.88	39	95.12	41	7.99
Miscellaneous	21	66.66	10	33.33	31	5.84
Clothing	16	61.54	10	38.46	26	5.06
Food & Drink	18	79.17	5	20.83	23	4.67
Metal	15	71.43	6	28.27	21	4.09
Transport	7	87.50	1	12.50	8	1.55
Distributive	3	75.00	1	25.00	4	.77
Servingmen	4	100.00	-	-	4	.77
Professional	2	100.00	-	-	2	.38
Totals	340	66.28	173	33.72	513	c.100

Important though the earnings of the head of the household were, they were seldom sufficient for the needs of his family as a whole, and the census reveals the very great reliance placed on both female and child labour. Like the men, almost all of the women were in some form of employment. Spinning bulked large in the female occupations, over three-quarters of the employed women being engaged in some form of this work. Those spinning white

warp were the most numerous, the 343 women being thus employed making up 47 per cent of the total female labour force. Important subsidiary occupations were sewing, knitting and weaving which between them employed a further 99 people, or just under 14 per cent of the whole. These occupations apart, the women were engaged in a variety of jobs. Some sold aqua vitae, flesh, sauce and links (probably sausages). Others were pedlars, pipe fillers, servants, washerwomen and teachers of knitting. Many combined more than one occupation. Thus we have women who knit and sew, who sew and make buttons, and who sew and sell bread and other victuals. Others spin and make malt; some combine spinning with dressing meat and drink, with picking chalk and selling fish. One was employed in teaching children to spin, another travelled on her husband's behalf. In all, fewer than 14 per cent of the women have no occupation listed beside their name, and as in the case of the men, a number of these were beyond work of any description.

Table LVII

Occupational groupings of women aged 21 and above at the time of the census.

Occupational grouping	Number employed	Percentage of the whole
Spinning	554	76.31
Clothing	91	12.52
Textiles*	40	5.51
Miscellaneous	27	3.72
Food and drink	12	1.65
Unspecified	2	0.28
Totals	726	

* This refers to textiles other than spinning. Full details of the women's occupations are given in Appendix

Most of the children were employed as well as their parents. The third definitely described as being aged between 1 and 5 years old can almost certainly be supplemented by many of those of unspecified age who are referred to as being very young thus raising the total to somewhere between 40 and 45 per cent of the whole. A majority of these children were far too young to work, but a child living in St. Peter's Southgate had begun to weave at the age of four, and others were in employment by the time they were five. In all, some 330 children and young people between the ages of four and twenty helped to supplement the earnings of their elders. As in the case of the women, many were concerned with spinning and weaving. Others had a miscellany of occupations. One boy kept a bowling alley; another, a tinker's son, carried his father's bag; a girl looked after an elderly couple and a boy acted as guide to a blind man. Few of the latter 'occupations' can have added much to the family income, but the earnings of the children as a whole were not unimportant. On two occasions, both relating to girls spinning great hose, they were described as the family's chief source of income. Poor as many of the families may have been, not all of them felt obliged to make their children work to supplement their incomes. A small number of children (77 in all, or perhaps 16 per cent of those aged between 5 and 12) were sent to school, often even when their fathers were unemployed. In many cases, the schools were almost certainly of an industrial nature where the children would be taught the rudiments of spinning or weaving, but some, at least, were concerned with teaching of a more academic nature and at worst combined this aspect with preparing the children for some sort of future occupation. The city authorities considered schooling to be sufficiently important to make special provision for it when they reorganised their poor law scheme. Twelve children kept in St. Giles' Hospital were ordered to be taught their

letters by the resident bailiff and his wife 'as their capacities shall be hable to attayne', a provision which was still, apparently, in force twenty years later.

Almost all the adult males listed in the census were married men. One-third of them had no children, several of those being young men in the 21-30 age-group. A further 40 per cent of the married men had families containing either one or two children at the time of the census, 21 per cent had families with three or four, and fewer than 5 per cent had large families with five or more children. As might, perhaps, be expected, men in the 31-40 age group had the largest number of resident children in most cases, although the few really large families belonged to still older men. The table below gives the number of children per family according to the age of the married man. It should be noted that all resident children are included as such even if, as in a few cases, they are mature adults.

Table LVIII

Family size according to age of father

Age groups	Nil	%	1	%	2	%	3	%
16-20	2	100.00						
21-30	39	37.14	34	32.38	19	18.09	12	11.42
31-40	30	20.27	28	18.91	34	22.97	25	16.89
41-50	18	21.42	20	23.80	12	14.28	16	19.04
51-60	31	37.80	22	26.82	14	17.07	6	7.31
61-70	15	53.57	4	14.28	2	7.14	3	10.71
71-80	15	65.21	4	17.39	1	4.34	2	8.69
81-90	5	100.00						
91-100							1	100.00
Unspecified	9	52.94	3	17.64	3	17.64	2	11.76
Totals	164	33.13	115	23.23	85	17.17	67	13.53

Age groups	4		5		6		7		8		Total in group
16-20											2
21-30	1	0°95									105
31-40	24	16°21	4	2°70	3	2°02					148
41-50	10	11°90	5	5°95	2	2°38			1	1°19	84
51-60	2	2°43	3	3°65			2	2°43	2	2°43	82
61-70	1	3°57	3	10°71							28
71-80			1	4°34							23
81-90											5
91-100											1
Unspecified											17
Totals	38	7°67	16	3°23	5	1°01	2	0°40	3	0°60	495

Almost all of the married women were employed in four main occupational groupings, of which the labourers and the textile trades were by far the largest, with the leather and building trades employing proportionately smaller groups. The textile, building and leather workers all had larger families than the labourers, between 15 and 17 per cent of them having four or more children compared to the labourers' 9 per cent. These four groupings apart, the numbers employed in the various categories are too small to make any comment on family size really valid.

Table LIX

Number of children in families according to occupational grouping

Occupational grouping	Nil	1	2	3	4
Textiles	42	25	13	17	11
%	35°59	21°19	11°01	14°40	9°32
Labourers	36	23	27	15	8
%	32°43	20°72	24°32	13°51	7°20
Leatherworkers	17	16	8	10	6
%	27°87	26°22	13°11	16°31	9°83
Building	11	15	8	6	4
%	23°40	31°91	17°02	12°76	8°51
Unspecified	25	6	3	4	
%	64°10	15°38	7°69	10°25	
Miscellaneous	13	9	5	1	4
%	37°14	25°71	14°28	2°85	11°42
Clothing	4	7	6	5	3
%	14°81	25°92	22°22	18°51	11°11
Food & Drink	5	4	7	6	1
%	21°74	17°30	30°43	26°09	4°34
Metalwork	9	5	4	2	1
%	42°86	23°80	19°04	9°52	4°76
Transport		3	4		
%		42°85	57°14		

Table LIX
(Continued)

Occupational grouping	Nil	1	2	3	4
Distributive	1	2			
%	25°00	50°00			
Professional	1			1	
%	50°00			50°00	
Totals	164	115	85	67	38
%	33°13	23°23	17°17	13°59	7°67

Occupational grouping	5	6	7	8	Total in group
Textiles	6	2	1	1	118
%	5°08	1°69	0°84	0°84	
Labourers	2				111
%	1°80				
Leatherwork	4				61
%	6°55				
Building	1	1	1		47
%	2°12	2°12	2°12		
Unspecified				1	39
%				2°56	
Miscellaneous	1	1		1	35
%	2°85	2°85		2°85	
Clothing	2				27
%	7°40				
Food & Drink					23
Metalwork					21
Transport					7
Distributive					4
Professional					2
Totals	16	5	2	3	495
%	3°23	1°01	0°40	0°60	

Apart from the married couples, two men, probably widowers, and 112 women had children. Sixty-seven of the women were widows, 27 deserted wives and 18 women of no clear status. The table below gives details of all poor families in the city in which children were present, excluding apprentices and servants.

Table LX

Distribution of children among the poor

A = Number of children per family
B = Number of families with children
C = Total number of children
D = Average number of children per family

Category	A								B	C	D
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
Married couples	115	85	67	38	16	5	2	3	331	786	2°37
Widows	40	15	6	4	2				67	114	1°70
Deserted wives	13	7	2	3		1	1		27	57	2°11
Others	9	9	2						20	33	1°65
Totals	177	116	77	45	18	6	3	3	445	990	2°22

The number of children had little or no bearing on the amount of support a family might expect from the city authorities. If the main bread-winner, whether man or woman, was designated 'able' the city was seldom prepared to subsidise his or her family. The fact that a man might be temporarily unemployed made no difference to the officials concerned. It was considered his responsibility entirely, and if in times of real distress he begged his bread from his more affluent neighbours he was vigorously denounced for his temerity. With this attitude prevailing, it is not surprising to find that on the eve of the census more than 75 per cent of those subsequently recorded were receiving no support at all. The rest received relatively small sums of money, little more than 10 per cent of the families getting sums in excess of twopence a week. The table below sums up the evidence.

Table LXI

Summary of alms received at the time of the census

Amounts received	Number of people	Percentages
Nil	566	75°87
½d to 1½d	32	4°28
2d	73	9°78
3d	24	3°21
4d	38	5°09
4½d to 14d	13	1°74
Totals	746	

In the uncertain conditions of the times, when the central government, if not the local authorities, feared the possibility of insurrection, it was clear, even to the most hardened conservative, that the existing situation was inadequate. The reorganisation which followed the evidence of the census is detailed elsewhere, but it may be suggested here that such reorganisation did materially improve the lot of the poor. They remainded at the foot of the ladder, but a few, at least, gathered sufficient possessions to make it worth an appraiser's while to draw up an inventory of their goods at the owner's death. These inventories provide us with an alternative source from which to obtain details of the poor and one which gives another dimension to the evidence discussed above.

In this context people are deemed poor who owned property worth up to £10 before 1600 and up to £15 in the subsequent period. Their inventories follow a general pattern, and lend themselves to analysis in five ways. About a quarter of them provide details of the various rooms in the house which can be compared with the dwellings of the farm labourers recently discussed by Professor Everitt.[4] Both these and the remaining inventories can be analysed to provide details of the proportion of domestic goods in the households, the value of the bedding, the relative value of the clothing and, finally, details of those households containing books and animals.

The vast majority of the inventories give no indication of the number or type of rooms in the various houses. Fewer than one-quarter provide details of this sort in the Elizabethan period, and although subsequent inventories are more informative this basic information is still lacking for some two-thirds of the houses in the late 17th century. This was not an unusual situation. Some 70 per cent of the inventories examined by Professors Barley and Everitt were equally uninformative. In many cases there were almost certainly one-roomed houses.

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4. A.M. Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1600, 1640, 1967, pp. 396-465.

possibly medieval survivals open to the roof. In others, the lack of detail may do no more than indicate the impreciseness of the appraisers, particularly where details of living and sleeping accommodation are followed by those of kitchen ware, indicating progress from one room to another.

One is on safer ground when dealing with the documents which provide positive details of the various rooms. During the whole of the period 1584-1675 this information is given in 70 instances, or about 25 per cent of the whole. Approximately 26 per cent of these houses contained two rooms, 60 per cent had between three to five rooms, distributed in roughly equal proportions, and a further 14 per cent contained six or more rooms.

Table LXII

Percentage of houses with 2 rooms and above

	Number of rooms							
	2	3	4	5	6	8	9	11
1584-1600	16	16	21	32	5		5	5
1601-1625	25	21	25	7	11	7	4	
1626-1675	35	17	17	26	5			

In contrast to the houses of the typical rural labourer, there was a tendency for the proportion of city dwellers with two-roomed houses to increase as the century progressed, twice as many being thus housed in the post-Jacobean period as in the Elizabethan. The same period saw a radical decline in the number of houses with six rooms or more, but this may do no more than reflect the chance survival of inventories recording this information. Nevertheless, the proportion of people owning houses with three rooms or more (75%) in the latter period corresponds closely with the situation in rural areas in general and may indeed reflect a general trend.

Within these general figures, one can observe some changes in the actual structure of the houses. The hall, which was named, or obviously present, in two-thirds of the Elizabethan and three-quarters of the Jacobean inventories was mentioned in only one-quarter of those surviving for the subsequent period. In part, this is explained by the increasing use of what was the hall for a cooking area. In no more than a dozen cases, distributed equally between the three periods, were the hall and kitchen referred to together. In contrast, the kitchen is mentioned as a distinct unit on 17 occasions, 10 of these occurring in the period after 1625. This is a phenomenon which Professor Barley has observed elsewhere and the Norwich inventories do no more than reflect a general trend.[5] The same is true of the less frequent use of the medieval term 'buttery'. More than 58 per cent of the late Elizabethan inventories record such a unit whereas the proportion had fallen to little more than 17 per cent in the post Jacobean period. More surprising is the decline in the use of the parlour or, to be more precise, the less frequent references to it. In the years up to 1600 this room was mentioned in 74 per cent of the relevant inventories, in the first 25 years of the seventeenth century it was referred to in more than half the recorded cases, while in the post Jacobean era the proportion had fallen to as low as 22 per cent. This is puzzling, particularly as almost all of these houses had upstairs chambers. It would suggest that such innovations in house structure as had taken place were restricted to the provision of an upstairs room, probably reached by a ladder rather than stairs, which was used for storage as well as for sleeping purposes. This particular point is discussed more fully below, but one would have expected a reversal of the trend with increasing sub-division of the lower rooms as the century progressed

5. M.W. Barley, The English Farm house and Cottage, 2nd edn., 1967. See, for example, pp. 44, 53, 138,

rather than the reverse. It is possible that this again reflects the chance survival of particular inventories rather than a positive trend, but it is impossible to be dogmatic on the point.

There was greater consistency in the number of chambers recorded. In the whole of the period under review fewer than one house in five comprised a single storey, while almost 40 per cent of the inventories record the presence of a second upstairs room and one in ten a third. In the individual periods there was some fluctuation. Between 1601 and 1625 almost 93 per cent of the inventories list a single chamber, a fact which is more likely to indicate the transformation of an existing house among people as relatively poor as this, rather than the building of a new dwelling as such.

Apart from these more usual rooms, a number of others are referred to in the individual inventories. Shops are mentioned on 17 occasions, one man, Thomas Mace of the parish of All Saints, owning no fewer than three, a distinction which was still unable to raise the total value of his inventory to much above £15.0s.0d.[6] Other rooms referred to include cellars, working houses, vaults, attics and, in a few individual cases, pastry cellars and brew houses.

Table LXIII

Percentage of houses with

	Hall	Chambers				Parlour	Kitchen	Buttery	Shop	Others
		1	2	3	4					
1584-1600	68	79	32	16	5	74	47	58	37	74
1601-1625	75	93	46	7	-	50	21	35	25	50
1626-1675	26	70	35	9	-	22	70	17	13	70

Most uncharacteristic of all those whose inventories are dealt with here was Roger Kilham, hosier, who died in 1593.[7] Although owning

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6. N.N.R.O., Inv. 28, 76.

7. Inv. 10, 372.

property worth no more than £3.15s.0. he lived in a house which contained eleven rooms. In addition to the usual hall, parlour, kitchen and buttery, Kilham had 4 chambers, one each above the buttery, kitchen and parlour and one adjoining the kitchen chamber, a study, a pastry cellar, a closet belonging to the parlour chamber and a wood-house in the yard. Despite these trappings of opulence, his possessions included little more than books, boxes, and 'writings' worth £1.6s.4., bedding worth at most 3s.6d. and (unique among these inventories) a picture of Kilham himself worth 3s.4d. It is at least possible that much of his property had been disposed of earlier, but there is no will to substantiate this.

Despite its fluctuations, the table above would suggest that the housing revolution had affected more working class people in Norwich than in most rural areas. Virtually all of the labourers' inventories analysed by Professor Everitt make reference to a hall while no more than one-fifth refer to a kitchen, implying a slower rate of adaptability.[8] The same is true where an upper chamber is concerned. Four out of five of the city dwellers had had their houses converted in this fashion compared to the three in five of their rural counterparts, and the contrast is greater still where additional chambers are concerned. Twice as many Norwich men had a second compartment upstairs and three times as many a third. In contrast, when it comes to older established rooms, such as the buttery and the fire house, the situation is very similar in both rural and urban areas. The latter term, almost certainly, as Professor Barley tells us, a medieval survival, is met with in Norwich as late as 1640.[9]

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8. Everitt, op.cit., p. 444.

9. Barley, op.cit., p. 76; Inv. 46, 160.

Turning to the contents of the rooms, one is again aware of the sharp contrast between the living conditions of the townsman and the countryman. Professor Everitt has pointed out that very few labourers in rural areas could afford the luxury of domestic ware, by far the greater part of their possessions comprising their domestic animals and stock.[10] In contrast, over 60 per cent of the men and women whose goods were assessed in late Elizabethan Norwich owned little more than their furniture, and the proportion rose to as high as 70 per cent in the succeeding years.

Table LXIV

Proportion of inventories devoted to domestic wares

	1-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	91-100%
1584-1600	3	2	-	7	7	13	8	8	24	28
1601-1625	1	2	4	4	2	8	9	16	25	29
1626-1675	4	-	2	2	7	6	9	17	7	46

The value of individual goods over the period as a whole ranged from just under £1.0.0. to in excess of £13.0.0., with a notable increase in value as the century progressed. At the end of Elizabeth's reign no more than one-third of the people here designated as poor owned domestic goods worth £5 or more whereas in the Caroline and Commonwealth periods the proportion had increased to one-half.

Table LXV

Percentage of inventories with goods worth under

	£1	£2	£3	£4	£5	£6	£7	£8	£9	£10	£10 & abov
1584-1600	6	17	15	12	17	12	11	3	4	1	1
1601-1625	1	7	16	19	11	12	7	5	7	5	10
1626-1675	2	7	12	18	10	7	12	8	8	5	12

10. Everitt, op.cit., p. 459.

Typical of the less wealthy was Robert Teale who died in 1595 possessed of property worth £1.7.3.[11] His domestic ware, including his bedding worth 4s.8d. made up £1.1.11 of this sum, the remainder comprising his clothing worth 5s and his bow and arrows which were assessed at the princely sum of 4d. Similar in status was Thomas Gray, 'a pore lame man & almost blind which received wekely collection'.[12] At his death in 1618 Gray was worth £2.6s.8d. Apart from his apparel which was worth 6s.8d. and his bedding which, at £1.0.0., made up half the total value of his domestic wares, his sole possessions were 3 old kettles worth 6s.8d., and old frying pan, 2 earthen pots, 6 dishes and wooden platters, a 'cowl', 2 old coffers, a little box, an old tub, a little sieve, a spinning wheel, 2 or 3 old pieces of board, a pail, a little gridiron, a little pair of hakes, a 'towcome', 2 little pewter dishes, 3 saucers and 6 trenchers. He apparently possessed neither chairs nor table in his single-roomed house, indeed very little apart from his eating and drinking utensils and his bed, and must have eked out a precarious living supported by his wife's activities at the spinning wheel. Edmund Ransom, who died 20 years later, was poorer still if the value of his inventory is a true indication.[13] The appraisers summed up his wordly possessions in twenty-four words: 'An old bedstead, fetherbed nat & cord and an old cubbart and an old table, a forme and thre old chayres prised at 25s.' Ransom must have had some clothes and, presumably, something from which to eat and drink, but, like Gray and Teale, he was desperately poor.

Where a man was 'wealthier' at this level it was only in a relative sense. Perhaps he had a little more pewter orbrassware, some cushions or the occasional trappings of luxury such as a looking glass

11. Inv. 12, 190.
12. Inv. 29, 137.
13. Inv. 44, 11.

or some pieces of joined furniture, even, on occasion, some animals. One such was Thomas Plowman who died in 1584 worth £5.19.3. He owned feather, trundle and transome beds in addition to a couple of chests, a table and chairs, some pewter candlesticks, oddments of kitchenware and a cow worth 30 shillings. Each of his possessions was carefully itemised in his will and duly bequeathed to a relative or friend. His clothing was enumerated in some detail, and was in sufficiently good condition to be valued at 18s.3d, or some 15 per cent of the total inventory. It included black and white doublets, blue, grey and velvet hose, 3 shirts, black, white and friese coats, an old cloth gown and black drawers. Like most of his class, Plowman had little or no ready money in his possession and had to make arrangements for the sale of his cow to meet his few monetary bequests. The picture which emerges is one of a soberly dressed man, probably just above the poverty line, extracting a meagre living from his activities as a husbandman or general labourer, and dying secure in the knowledge that his relatives were not left in absolute penury.[14]

Almost without exception, the most important item of a man's domestic ware was his bedding. Throughout the entire period three men in five owned bedding which made up between 30 and 60 per cent of their household goods, and in a few cases it was the only property an individual owned, apart from his clothing. As an item, the value of bedding increased markedly during the 90 or so years under discussion. Between 1584 and 1600 no more than 14 per cent of the inventories record bedding worth £3 and above. The proportion doubled in the Jacobean period and rose to as high as 45 per cent in the years up to 1675. In part, this increase is clearly attributable to the price revolution, but it rose at a far faster rate than

14. Inv. 2, 35; N.C.C. 393 Bate.

other items of domestic furniture.

In contrast to Professor Barley's evidence for Lincolnshire up to the mid-seventeenth century,[15] the most usual place for the bed to be stored was in the chamber, although not infrequently it shared this room with such diverse objects as pitchforks, looms, yarn and other miscellaneous lumber. Beds were also to be found in the parlours, in the hall, even, on occasion, in the kitchen. One man went so far as to have a separate bed chamber in the yard. Where there was more than one chamber, it sometimes housed a servant or perhaps an apprentice. Thud John Nobbes, who lived in a seven roomed house in the parish of St. Andrews, and apparently carried on business as a pointmaker, had his own bedding worth £2.5.4. in the main chamber while his servant was supplied with a trundle bed worth no more than 2s. in the chamber specifically designed for this purpose.[16] Nobbes may have been above the level of the very poor, but his property was worth no more than £4.8.4., almost 90 per cent of it being made up of his domestic wares.

The one other item which is contained in most of the inventories is the apparel of the deceased. This was rarely a major item and seldom exceeded 20 per cent of the value of the inventory, but even so it was worth twice as much, in general, as the clothing of an agricultural labourer.

Table LXVI

Proportion of inventories devoted to clothing

	1-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	91-100%
1584-1600	35	37	8	7	4	2	2	0	5
1601-1625	33	35	17	6	4	1	-	-	2
1626-1675	50	22	13	2	-	4	-	2	3

15. Barley, op.cit., p. 152.
16. Inv. 6, 200.

The average value of an individual's clothing rose little. At the end of Elizabeth's reign the median stood at 15s. and it rose to no higher than £1.0.0. in the succeeding years. The few occasions when clothing formed a major part of an inventory may imply absolute poverty, that a man literally owned little more than the clothes he stood up in or, in some cases, that the bulk of his property had been disposed of before his death. In contrast again to the inventories of the rural labourers,[17] a number of the Norwich ones give precise details of a person's apparel. William Roberts, described as the guider of the poor house outside St. Stephen's gates, possessed a doublet, a pair of breeches, an old hat, a gown, 2 pairs of old stockings, a pair of shoes, 2 shirts and 3 old shirt bands.[18] William Smyth, a fishmonger, owned 3 doublets, 2 cloaks, 2 pairs of 'Venetians', 3 pairs of stockings, a pair of shoes, 2 girdles, 2 shirts, 2 shirt bands an a hat.[19] John Partan, a draper, despite living in an eight roomed house and having property valued at £8[illegible]0.8., appeared worse off in this respect.[20] His clothing, valued at 10s., consisted simply of an old gown, a threadbare cloak, a pair of hose and an old jerkin. In contrast, the apparel of Robert Reade, a clerk, was assumed to be worth £2.13.0., or almost 40 per cent of the value of the entire inventory, and included a gown of Norwich stuff worth £1.6.8.[21] Joan de Grave, a widow of the parish of St. Michael at Coslany possessed little apart from her bedding, which at £3.3.6. comprised over 90 per cent of the value of her furniture, but her clothing was valued at £1.9.6.[22] She evidently took great care of what she had, forhher neighbours noted, possibly with some satisfaction, that her apparel included an 'ould hatt

17. Everitt, op.cit., pp. 449-50.
18. Inv. 17, 91.
19. Inv. 6, 202.
20. Inv. 19, 175.
21. Inv. 19, 211.
22. Inv. 41, 89.

of the ould fasion'.

The close proximity of town and countryside and indeed the semi-rural nature of the area within the walls of the city is indicated by the number of people owning farm animals of some sort. Some, without any occupation to their names, may well have farmed in a small way. In other cases, animals were kept as a form of insurance, a useful addition to a man's main occupation and a saleable commodity either at his death, as in the case of Thomas Plowman, or possibly to offset the rigours of unemployment during a period of depression or dearth. Very few of the poor could afford such additional security. No more than a dozen people owned animals in the whole of the period 1584-1675, and where they were present they were usually one of the most valuable possessions of the person concerned. Eight people owned cows, ranging from the guider of the poor house to three tailors and two weavers. The value of the animals was normally similar, ranging from 20 to 30 shillings, but in one case a milch cow was priced as highly as £2.13.4. - half the total value of the man's possessions.[23] Two men, one a tailor, owned more than one animal. The tailor's additional stock - 2 hens and 4 pullets worth 2 shillings - added little to the value of his property. His fellow in this respect maintained what were described as an old lean gelding and two old diseased mares, the three being valued at 27 shillings, or 14 per cent of the total value of the inventory.[24] Two other people owned horses. One, belonging to a widow, was valued at 15 shillings while the other, the property of a person of unspecified occupation, was worth four times as much.[25]

23. Inv. 25, 14.
24. Inv. 29, 260.
25. Inv. 41, 132.

A much higher proportion of the poor had books recorded in their inventories, ranging from the 20 per cent of the late Elizabethan period to the 16 per cent in the years after 1625. The owners followed a variety of occupations, no one group being outstanding in any of the periods. Most numerous were the five tailors, closely followed by 3 weavers and, in the later 17th century, 3 women. There were two examples of clerks, ministers and schoolteachers, all relatively poor but having a proportion of their inventories devoted to what were, in a very real sense, the tools of their trade. Individual examples include painters, masons, joiners, basketmakers, hatters, coopers and beerbrewers. While the possession of books is not in itself absolute proof of literacy, it seems reasonable to assume that someone in the household was capable of reading them, and it is interesting to speculate on where these people obtained their education. It is at least possible that a few of them may have been products of the system of elementary education set up by the Norwich authorities in the 1570s and which seems to have been maintained for an extended period.

As might be expected, the value of the books varies considerably. A musician who owned only two books - a copy of Foxe's Martyrs and a Bible - had them valued at twenty shillings while another man, possibly a bookseller, had 70 books which were valued at no more than £1.6.3. Thus, while the hosier whose 'library' was presumed to be worth £1.6.4., and the minister and clerk, each with a collection worth £1.10.0., undoubtedly owned several books it would be unwise to speculate on the actual number.[26]

Without exception, those books which were specified were of a religious nature. Bibles, prayer books and psalm books abound. A weaver had a Bible, testament and psalm book worth 6s.7d½, a brewer's 7 sermon books were valued at 1s.4d., a widow's service book at 1s.6d., an alien, possibly bi-lingual, had both French and Dutch Bibles which, with a testament, were

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26. Invs. 15, 146; 8, 114; 10, 372; 6, 97; 10, 211

valued at 11s.5d.[27] As books of this sort were apparently always clearly indicated, it seems reasonable to assume that the simple term 'books' refers, in at least some cases, to books of a different nature. A joiner owned 13 of these, valued at £1.0.0.[28] Other owners of books of a non-religious nature include tailors, a basketmaker and a painter as well as schoolmasters and ministers of religion.

One general point which emerges is the steady decline in the value of the books, the median falling from 7s. 4d. in the late Elizabethan period to 4s. in the post Jacobean era. In the former period, six people owned books worth more than 10s., in the Jacobean period the number had fallen to two while in the years after 1625 only a tailor, who owned a Bible and 18 little books worth 11s.4d., was in this category.[29] How far this reflects a general trend is open to question. As in other cases, it may do no more than relate to the chance survival of certain inventories, but one would have expected to see at least some indication of the price rise unless, in virtually every case, these were old books handed down from one generation to another.

Working tools were of far greater use to a man at this level than books, but very few of the inventories record these in any detail. Six weavers had their looms recorded, ranging in value from about 2s.6d to 10 shillings and in quantity from one to ten, while one alien, in addition to his loom which was worth 6s. owned wool combs, bay yarn and charse nyles valued at £2.12.3.[30] The inventories of two building workers provide greater detail. James Tomson, a mason who died in 1589, owned a rough saw, 3 trowels, a brick axe, a hammer axe, a plumb rule, a level, a

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27. Invs. 46, 107; 36, 18; 45, 192; 31, 104.
28. Inv. 25, 40.
29. Inv. 29, 229.
30. Invs. 5, 200; 6, 218; 8, 138; 9, 53; 12, 120; 14, 71; 15, 147.

square, 2 'whiten' brushes, a little hammer, a hand pickaxe, valued, between them, at the princely sum of 2s.6d. [31] Six years later the appraisers began to list the property of William Morley, carpenter. When they came to his tools they noted wimbles, planes, saws, chisels, moulds, and then, possibly through lack of technical knowledge, gave up, concluding with '& other thinges belonging to carpenters craft by what name soever they be called'. [32] In all, they were priced at 6s. Henry Cockly, a fletcher who died in the same year as Tomson, owned working tools priced at no more than 5s., but his stock, which included 3,000 feathers priced at 10s. and a sheaf of arrows valued at 7s., was assumed to be worth eight times as much. [33] Even better off in this respect was James Mountfort, fisherman, who owned boats worth £2. 0s. 0d. and working tools valued at £4.4s.0d. at his death in 1602. [34] A lone labourer had a spade listed at 1s.6d. and a hoe at 3d. in addition to unspecified tools valued at 1s.8d., all worth considerably less than his clothes which were priced at £1.15s.0d. His property was valued at £9.5s.2d. at his death in 1635, which probably placed him above the level of absolute poverty. [35]

People who belonged to the wage-earning classes were, in a sense, walking a perpetual tightrope. Under normal circumstances they could survive without undue difficulty. In a few cases they may have lived in relative comfort. But with even the threat of industrial depression they could find themselves in severe difficulties. In such circumstances there was always the possibility that they would react violently, and in the uncertain

31. Inv. 5, 127.
32. Inv. 12, 22.
33. Inv. 5, 152.
34. Inv. 18, 248.
35. Inv. 41, 121.

economic climate of the times they were always a potential threat to the wellbeing of the community. It was essential they they should be well contained, and it explains, at least in part, why cities such as Norwich took their poor law problems so seriously, and what prompted many of them to take action which anticipated all, or much, of governmental legislation in this respect.

II: The Treatment of Poverty.

The treatment of poverty in Norwich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries falls into three well-defined, but unequal, phases. The first, which ends in 1570, sees the principle of a compulsory poor rate established, the foundation of a permanent grain stock and the beginnings of that flood of mercantile charity which was a welcome and necessary complement to the city's efforts; the second is concerned exclusively with the establishment of the Norwich scheme for the relief of the poor in the decade 1570-1580 and its immediate aftermath; and the third phase sees the city responding to national legislation while still following its own bent whenever the situation seems to demand it.

In 1525 about one-quarter of the Norwich population was considered sufficiently poor to be exempted from a subsidy which was purposely as all-embracing as it could possibly be.[36] The proportion was not significantly high, bearing comparison with the situation prevailing in other provincial capitals and large towns, and the numbers of poor remained at this level throughout the sixteenth century and beyond.[37] Probably the greatest single cause of poverty where Norwich was concerned was the instability of the labour market. The cloth industry, in particular, was at the mercy of the prevailing political climate, and many an urban craftsman became temporarily or permanently unemployed as the result of continental warfare which led to the closure of the main trade routes and less demand for the staple product. Economic instability affected all the wage-earning classes from time to time, but the numbers of the poor were swelled at intervals by a host of other factors which varied in extent from

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36. This may be an under-estimate. It has been suggested that the proportion excluded was as high as one-third elsewhere. See W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England, 1963, p. 83.

37. See Chapter Two, p. 48.

area to area and in importance from decade to decade. Enclosure of common land affected few, if any, of the Norwich labouring classes and the same is probably true of the dissolution of the monasteries, although a few ex-monastic retainers may have sought a living in the locality. The city would have had its share of demobilised soldiers and sailors who may, or may not, have been re-absorbed into the local economy, and the pressures of the price-rise, as well as the adverse effects of plague and harvest failure, would have affected Norwich as elsewhere.[38]

Numerous though the poor may have been, there is no indication that they caused the city authorities any real problem until the onset of Ket's rebellion in 1549, and even then the insurgents almost certainly included many itinerant vagrants and other outsiders as well as a sprinkling of the local poor. When, in accordance with the statute of 1531, Norwich surveyed its beggars, the city authorities could find no more than 51 who were sufficiently destitute to be authorised to beg.[39] Monastic charity provided succour for many others of the local poor and in the case of Norwich Cathedral Priory they could rely on the beneficence of one of the most generous houses in the whole of England.[40] Hospital facilities, providing both shelter and medical care for those in need, were available both before and after the Reformation, and some local merchants were already instituting loan funds for the more needy members of their own occupations.

It seems, in fact, that a combination of authorised and unauthorised alms-giving, combined with the eleemosynary activities of the monastic houses, was more than sufficient to maintain the needy or, if not to maintain them, at least to keep them quiescent.

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38. J.F. Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England, 1971, pp. 3-24.

39. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. xcviii.

40. G.W.O. Woodward, The Dissolution of the Monasteries 1966, p. 22.

Even so, the events of 1549 were sufficiently serious to hurry through a local plan for compulsory contributions to poor relief, and in that year Norwich became the first provincial city to institute regular collections for the relief of its deserving poor.[41] No rate-books survive for this period and it is impossible to tell whether the scheme was long-lasting or whether, as was so often the case, it was a temporary remedy for a temporary problem. Certainly begging was again authorised in 1556, which implies that many of the poor were uncared for, but equally certainly a well established rate was still in existence during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign.[42] In addition, a permanent corn stock had been established in 1554 under the terms of the will of William Castleton, the last Prior and the first Dean of Norwich. Castleton made provision for 100 quarters of wheat to be sold to the poor in small quantities whenever the market price was high and the city fathers, in their turn, guaranteed to make good any deficiency which might accrue.[43]

The combination of an established rate, a permanent corn stock, hospital facilities for the indigent, and the steadily increasing charitable donations of all classes combined to give Norwich a poor law scheme which compared favourably with others in existence in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. It is thus somewhat surprising to find the mayor, John Aldrich, complaining in 1570 that vagabonds were becoming an intolerable nuisance in the city and inaugurating comprehensive regulations for their treatment in the future, particularly as the numbers apprehended rarely exceeded twenty-five or so a year. It is quite possible that the impetus was a political one. The rebellion of the Northern Earls had taken place in the previous year and had been followed by

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41. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. c.

42. J.F. Pound, The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norf. Rec. Soc., XL, 1971, pp. 19-20.

43. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. ci.

a plot by malcontents in the Norwich area. Ostensibly, it was aimed at the increasing numbers of Dutch and Walloons settling in the neighbourhood, but the participants were chiefly Catholics and there was some talk of a link-up with the northerners if it was successful. The mayor and the local justices of the peace were aware of it from the first, and arrested the conspirators at their convenience, but the potential threat must have greatly concerned the central government. Poor men could be easily stirred up, as the events of twenty years before had proven, and it is at least possible that Aldrich was instructed to take particular care with the local poor.[44]

At all events, a comprehensive census was promptly taken which revealed the presence of over 2,300 poor men, women and children in the city.[45] Most claimed to follow a trade, but it was alleged that this was merely a pretence, the majority of them continually begging from door to door to the irritation of the citizens and the degradation of themselves. According to Aldrich, the local citizens were so beneficent in their almsgiving that many of those normally prepared to follow a trade were taking to permanent begging as a more profitable occupation. They were so well supplied with food that they threw the surplus into the streets. The vagabonds among them were not concerned with permanent dwelling-places but used church porches, cellars, barns and hay chambers as resting places and, as they rarely changed their clothes, most of them were disease-ridden and thus a source of physical as well as moral contagion. When not begging they spent their time in victualling places which were filled with drunkards and abusive individuals throughout much of the day.

A number of these people may well have been permanent beggars, especially in times of extraordinary

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44. See Appendix XII for a fuller discussion of this point.

45. See Pound, Census of the Poor, pp. 9-21, for an analysis of the census.

dearth, but it is far too sweeping to lump them all together in this one general category. It seems, in fact, that although speaking in general terms, the authorities were concerned with two distinct groups of poor, the relatively passive natives and an increasing number of normally itinerant beggars drawn to the town by the generosity of its merchant class. The census itself to some extent substantiates this viewpoint. As well as giving the occupations of all those in actual employment at the time it was taken, it specifically states which people were unemployed, differentiating between the able and those who were too old or too infirm to work. A majority of both men and women were in work and it was rare to find a household where neither adult was employed. If they were all vagrants, it would have been a pointless task to distinguish so carefully between employed and unemployed and it must be assumed that the majority of the native poor were in at least temporary employment at the time of the census. This is not to suggest that any of this section of the community were comfortably off. Some of them may well have resorted to begging on occasion, a few may have found it more profitable to beg than to work, but the very fact that the more unruly elements were stated to be homeless makes it clear that they were professional vagrants. All of the poor referred to in the census had houses and many of them were owner-occupiers.

Whether political events forced the city's hand or not, it seems fairly clear that the action of the Norwich authorities was taken as much with a view to the future as to deal with an immediate problem. It almost certainly reflects their anxiety at the results of the misplaced generosity of certain of the merchant class, a generosity which made it increasingly difficult to prevent beggars settling in the city, and which might ultimately corrupt the native poor and undermine what had been until then a fairly satisfactory poor law system. The action taken was

drastic. It incorporated all aspects prevailing in other towns, but in four major respects it went much further. Begging of any kind was absolutely forbiddon within the city precincts; an all-embracing organisation was provided which dealt adequately with every aspect of poor relief, including the provision of work for the able-bodied; regular funds were provided which were essential for the smooth running of the system; and finally, and perhaps most important of all, the city's system was consistently applied throughout the decade 1570-1580 and at least intermittently thereafter. These aspects combined to give Norwich a poor law system far in advance of its contemporaries, for it was here that other towns failed most noticeably. Financial difficulties caused the collapse or virtual cessation of many of the municipal schemes and the fact that begging was tolerated, even if theoretically confined to the impotent, undermined much of their efforts. [46]

The financial aspect was of primary importance. A beginning was made by trebling the existing sums donated for poor relief and, where necessary, by taxing people for the first time. Virtually everybody above the status of wage-earner was a contributor, the assessments varying from ½d to 1s.4d a week. As might be expected, most people paid small amounts, almost two-thirds contributing twopence or less. In contrast, all of the city aldermen had to pay one shilling a week and the Bishop of Norwich was assessed at the maximum amount.

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46. E.M. Leonard, The Early History of English Poor Relief, 1900, pp. 41-5.

Table LXVII

Alms paid before and after reorganisation in 1570
(Amounts in pence)

A = Number of contributors after 1570
B = Amounts given by them before that date

		Amounts given after reassessment												
A	B	0	¼	½	1	1½	2	2½	3	4	5	6	8	16
291	0			105	74	29	33	1	24	14	1	5	4	1
70	¼	1	1	56	5	7								
205	½			46	41	65	27	3	19	3		1		
242	1			1	10	32	56	2	92	46		2	1	
15	1½						1		6	7		1		
74	2					1	1		5	40		25	2	
18	3									6		11	1	
13	4									1		2	10	
7	6												7	
1	2d a quarter			1										
1	3d a quarter					1								
3	4d a quarter			2	1									
Totals														
940		1	1	211	131	135	118	6	146	117	1	47	25	1

The wealthiest parishes naturally had the largest number of contributors and the smallest number of poor to deal with, for there was a tendency for the less wealthy to congregate in certain areas of the city. Thus a parish such as St. Peter Mancroft, with 111 people contributing to the poor rate and with only 22 individuals considered worthy of support, was expected to provide for the poor of other parishes as well as its own, and did in fact make contributions to six other areas. St. Andrew's, with 54 contributors and only 6 of its own

poor to look after, made donations to four other parishes. Altogether nine of the Norwich parishes supported their less fortunate fellows.[47]

Within a few years of the inception of the city's poor law scheme the numbers of contributors and recipients had become roughly stabilised. Throughout most of the 1570s some 950 people were providing support for about 380 regular 'pensioners'. By 1574-75 the annual receipts for poor relief exceeded £530 and they continued to be above £500 for the rest of the decade. The Norwich chamberlains received less than this for normal city business, a fair indication of how seriously the problem of the poor was regarded. In normal circumstances the numbers contributing were sufficiently high for the deacons to collect more than they actually paid out, and this surplus was used as a reserve stock to be drawn on in cases of special need. The usual beneficiaries were people who were sick or who were suffering from broken limbs. Such people would not be permanent 'pensioners', and their ability to draw what amounted to unemployment or sickness benefit removed any excuse they may have had to beg.

Adequate financial provision was an absolute prerequisite if the city's system of poor relief was to be a success. Once this was established to their satisfaction, the authorities made a thorough reorganisation of the existing system. Vagabonds were placed in the Bridewell, a building which had been purchased for the purpose in 1565. Certain of the begging women and some of the younger children were put in the charge of 'select women' who were specially chosen for the task. Other young people were sent to St. Giles' Hospital to be educated. The aged and impotent were sustained by increased alms and, where possible, work was provided for those willing and able to do it.

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47. See Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, pp. 63-8 for the information contained in the following paragraphs.

A number of new officials were appointed at the same time to see that the scheme worked smoothly. The mayor himself took over the position of Master of the Bridewell and four of the aldermen were made responsible for the four great wards, or major administrative areas, of the city. They, in turn, appointed a host of minor officials. From the point of view of overall responsibility, the deacons were by far the most important of these. Two were appointed for each petty ward (24 in all) and they were initially responsible for recording the names of all the poor, including those of children whose parents were unable to support them adequately, the latter being put out to service. Those with less than three years residence were sent away from the city while all newcomers unable to support themselves were refused admittance. Having obtained this information, the deacons were ordered to see that all capable of work did work, all vagabonds, loiterers, idlers or drunkards that remained being punished. In addition to these punitive duties, they were expected to know how many poor there were in the city with insufficient alms so that they could be provided for, and to see that any money, wood, or other gifts to the poor were duly distributed.

The Bridewell, which was an essential part of the city's poor law system, was also provided with new officials. The most important was a resident bailiff who was appointed at a salary of £30 a year. From this he was expected to provide for his wife, children, servants and a surveyor who was responsible for the arrest of idle rogues. He was assisted by two wardens who were concerned with the provision of household utensils and the year's supply of food. Twelve vagabonds were to be housed in the Bridewell for a period of at least twenty-one days and obliged to work from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m. in the summer and from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. in the winter. Half an hour was to be allowed for a meal break and quarter of an hour for prayer, and it was expressly ordered that if they refused to work they were to receive no food.

The 'select women' were appointed at a salary of 20 shillings a year. Each woman was responsible for between six and twelve people, and while primarily responsible for seeing that they worked she was also expected to teach the children the rudiments of reading and writing. If this task was done properly, and if the census of the poor is to be believed, it would suggest that something like one in ten of the poorer children received at least a basic education, and that the level of literacy among those people was higher than is generally believed. The women and children worked shorter hours than the men. In the winter months they began at 8 a.m. and continued until 4 p.m., while in the summer their hours of labour extended from 6 a.m. until 'paste vii of the clocke at nighte'. Throughout the year they had a two hour dinner break which extended from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. Provided they supplied their own materials, they were allowed to keep the profits from their work. Otherwise they had to be content with the wages paid them by the 'select women'. Although their treatment seems to have been relatively mild for the times, some unruliness was expected for the 'select women' were empowered to give loiterers six stripes with a whip and if they retaliated they were to be handed over to the deacons for a double punishment or be sent to Bridewell.

These orders made provision for the most unruly inhabitants of Norwich, but the stipulations were by no means entirely coercive. The authorities went out of their way to provide instruction in reading and writing for the children sent to St. Giles' Hospital, for example. Twelve children were to be kept there in the charge of the Bailiff and his wife who were responsible for teaching them letters and other exercises 'as their capacities shall be hable to attayne' They were also to provide them with clothes, meat and drink and see that they went to church on Sundays. Provision was also made for the impotent poor and those prepared to work, two hospitals being maintained for the

former and stocks of materials being provided for the latter.

The Norwich authorities were not content to rest on their laurels. They not only maintained the existing scheme, but added to it at intervals throughout the decade 1570-1580. Some of the action taken was specifically geared to avoid a return to wholesale vagrancy. A law passed in 1574, for example, stipulated that all unemployed men were to assemble at the Market Cross at 5 a.m. each day with the tools of their trade and wait there for an hour in the hope of being employed. Further laws were passed to prevent the housing of vagrants, and the city authorities dealt promptly with complaints that artisans were losing money by appearing on juries by ordering that in future they should be paid at the rate of twopence per man. Rigorous settlement regulations were enforced, any newcomers that appeared at all likely to be a charge to the city being refused admittance. At the other extreme, all affluent newcomers were brought before the mayor after 1576 to be assessed for their contribution to the relief of the poor. The reserve fund was regularly drawn on to sustain people who were temporarily incapacitated, and on occasion the city went beyond this, supplementing the alms given for poor relief by making grants in kind. Thus in 1580 a lame boy was supplied with a joint of mutton or veal twice a week, as well as being treated by a surgeon. The 'medical staff' was improved in 1573 by the appointment of one Richard Durrant - 'a man very skillful in bone setting and of good will to dwell in the cittie' - as the municipal bonesetter. He was to be responsible 'for the releyfe of souch as shall fortune by misfortune to have ther legges, armes, or the bones of other partes of ther lymes to be broken and of souche as be poore and not able to pay for ther heling'. Durrant was obviously an able man. His initial salary of £4 a year was soon increased to £10 and he seems to have built up a clientele of

private patients as well. At his death in 1602 he left bequests amounting to £282.10s.0d.[48]

It would be misleading to suggest that the Norwich scheme was infallible. From time to time itinerant beggars proved themselves a nuisance, but references to them in the Court Books are even fewer than they were before 1570 and the authorities were clearly well in command of the situation. After the scheme had been operating for a year the officials concerned reported on its success. They were able to state that throughout the year 950 children had earned 6d a week, 64 men 1s.0d. a week and 180 women between 1s.0d. and 2s.6d a week, all of whom, it was alleged, had previously been beggars. It was calculated that if the yearly earnings of these people were added to the sums previously given in alms, both for healing and general maintenance, the city had profited by more than £3,000. Much of this transformation was attributed to the 'feare of the terrour of the house of Bridewell', and vagrants apparently preferring to seek normal employment rather than be compelled to work in such a place. The figures for the children are almost certainly exaggerated, representing virtually the total number recorded in the census, but those given for the men and women are probably correct and may well represent the numbers of known beggars among the poorer classes. Even allowing for possible over-exuberance where the figures are concerned, the scheme was clearly a success. The Norwich authorities had succeeded in just those respects that had caused, and were to cause, the collapse of so many apparently sound urban schemes.[49] They had forbidden begging entirely, thus preventing any abuse of the licensing system before parliamentary sanction had been given for

48. N.N.R.O., Inv. 18, 275; N.C.C. 150 Kandler.
49. Leonard, op.cit., pp. 41-5.

compulsory taxation for poor relief, Norwich had not only taxed its citizens in this respect but had trebled the initial contributions and regularly collected and distributed such sums of money throughout the whole of the decade 1570-80; and provision was made for all categories of poor, even to the extent of finding work for the able-bodied. Perhaps the most significant thing about the Norwich scheme, however, was the consistency with which it was applied, and it was this consistency above all else which made it superior to those undertaken by other towns and ultimately brought the city national acclaim. Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and himself a Norwich man, specifically asked for details of the Norwich methods, and John Aldrich, its originator, sat on a parliamentary committee which discussed the whole question of poor relief in 1572. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the Act passed in that year incorporated several aspects of the Norwich scheme.[50]

The scheme, which was clearly intended to last for an indefinite period, came to an abrupt conclusion with the onset of a severe outbreak of plague in 1579. At its height the plague deaths exceeded 350 a week, and before it had run its course the outbreak had been responsible for taking the lives of some 5000 people.[51] Although, as the assembly minute books and the records of the mayor's court show, the city officials remained at their posts, relatively few of the upper classes were affected, mortality being confined almost exclusively to the poorer elements in the city. This can be explained in part by the severe overcrowding in the industrial areas caused by the advent of the Dutch and Walloon refugees. From the first they were accused of lack of cleanliness and blamed for pollution of the river, and their intrusion into areas already

50. Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, p. 68.
51. Hudson and Tingey, II, p. cxxvi.

heavily populated by the poor can only have made a bad situation worse. Whatever the reason, the decimation of the poorer classes by the plague considerably lightened the city's task in this respect. For twenty-five years Norwich was seldom free from this menace. Some 3,500 people perished in outbreaks between 1584-86 and 1590-93 and a similar number died of the disease in 1603.[52] In some cases the loss of the principal breadwinner, in others the disappearance of an employer would have caused considerable hardship to individual families and some form of relief would have been an absolute necessity. Between 10 August 1590 and May 1592, for example, the citizens were assessed on four separate occasions for the relief of the afflicted poor.[53] Even so, it seems probable that the Norwich scheme ceased to operate effectively after 1580 for the simple reason that the need was no longer there. Relief continued on an ad hoc basis and at parish level, but not under the direct supervision of the city fathers as it had been hitherto.

This is not to say that the city neglected its responsibilities. Recalcitrant individuals could always be referred to the city assembly for judgment. Thus in 1584, one Robert Gyrdeler was disfranchised for refusing to contribute to the poor rate and to the charges of the church and parish, contrary to his oath as a freeman.[54] Collections were made at intervals to provide the able-bodied poor with work and when it was thought necessary the Bridewell regulations were revised. One such revision took place in 1588 when, rather surprisingly, the services of the select women and the deacons were dispensed with,

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52. J.F. Pound, The Elizabethan Corporation of Norwich, 1558-1603, University of Birmingham M.A. thesis, 1962, p. 260.

53. A.B., 1585-1613, ff. 80, 102d, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf c.

54. Ibid., f. 316d.

ostensibly so that the 'artycles tuching Bridewell bee not repugnant or contrary to the lawes and statutes of this realme'.[55] It became impossible to maintain the laws against begging, however. A few years after the first attack of plague complaints were again made that the taverns were filled with idlers who had little or no concern for their dependants. The city authorities feared, with reason, that this would be a direct encouragement to begging. A law passed against such people in 1586 referred to their wives and families who 'suffer much penury, wanting competent sustenance and are likely dayly more and more to becom greatly burdenous and chardgeable to this worshippful citie'.[56] The following year specific reference was made to wives and children forced to go begging from door to door.[57]

It remains an open question as to whether collections for the poor continued to be levied in each individual parish during the last two decades of Elisabeth's reign. Certainly the auditors for the poor continued to be appointed, which implies a regular income, but the sums concerned may well have been drawn exclusively from the wealthier parishes.[58] The only accounts for the overseers of the poor which survive for this period relate to the large and wealthy parish of St. Peter Mancroft, and are concerned with the years 1598 to 1634.[59] Significantly the accounts begin in a period of acute famine and it is possible that they are a response to the parliamentary legislation of that year rather than a continuation of the existing Norwich scheme. The inhabitants collected over £100 for poor relief in 1598, donating almost half of this sum to three poorer parishes.

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55. Ibid., f. 38d.
56. Ibid., ff. 40-40d.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., passim.
59. N.N.R.O., Parish Register lists, PD 32/39.

It seems very probable that the other wealthy areas of the city responded in the same way. At the same time the Norwich aldermen provided 4,600 quarters of rye for the poorer inhabitants of the city, selling it at 4s.0d. a bushel, a considerably cheaper rate than that prevailing in most other towns.[60] The combination of municipal and parochial benevolence shielded the citizens from the worst effects of the harvest failures of the late 1590s but, almost inevitably, the generosity of the merchant classes led to a further influx of undesirables. In 1601 the mayor, Alexander Thurston, felt obliged to take drastic action. It was stipulated that a weekly search was to be made for all newcomers liable to a charge to the city: that the number of unemployed single women, particularly those pregnant, was to be listed, together with the numbers of known idlers and those sick and infirm; the names of those hiring poor people and giving them lodging were to be recorded; and it was again insisted that all over the age of fourteen were to be apprenticed. Reference was made to those that refused to contribute to the poor rate but surprisingly, although both national and local legislation had made this compulsory, theoverseers were merely ordered to see 'what you can by good means bring them willingly to give'.[61]

The principles formulated during the reign of Elizabeth continued to be followed during the succeeding century. It seems fairly clear that a poor rate was levied regularly on those individuals who could afford to pay. From 1616 the Quarter Sessions books make reference to the necessity for the wealthier parishes to support their poorer neighbours and the principal inhabitants are accordingly required to provide

60. Goddard Johnson, 'Chronological Memoranda touching the City of Norwich', Norf. Arch., I, 1847, p. 150.
61. A.B., 1585-1613, ff. 244-5.

sums in addition to those already paid by them.[62] In exceptional circumstances, such as severe economic distress, even this was considered insufficient and rates were collected in 1634 and in the 1670s which appear to be additional to those already gathered.[63] In the latter period between 750 and 850 people were regularly maintained from the rates, or, to put it in another way, about one quarter of those considered too poor to contribute to the Hearth Tax.[64]

Norwich was unusual in consistently levying a poor rate over an extended period. Most towns adopted compulsion only in times of dire necessity. In part, this apparent indifference was dictated by sheer economic necessity, in part by a realistic response to an existing situation. Under normal circumstances, much of the responsibility for the relief of the poor fell on the shoulders of the merchant classes, in particular, and, to a lesser degree, on those of any body able and willing to bear the burden. In the post-Reformation period members of every class from the humblest artisan upwards contributed to the relief of the poor. In urban areas especially the wealthier merchants became almost obsessed with the needs of the poor, and, far from being concerned exclusively with immediate relief, in many cases they made positive efforts to prevent their poorer neighbours from sliding into this particular abyss.[65]

Sometimes the provisions of a will were general such as that of William Castylton in 1550, which provided £40 to provide gowns, shirts or smocks for poor boys and 100 quarters of wheat to be sold under

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62. Quarter Sessions Book, 1616, n.p., N.N.R.O., Case 20, shelf a.

63. W. Rye, Norwich Rate Book, April 1633 - April 1634, 1903, passim; Documents relating to Poor Rates, 1677-89, N.N.R.O., Case 15, shelf b.

64. This is based on my analysis of the relevant documents referred to in the previous foot note.

65. See W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 1961, passim, for a thorough discussion of the changing aspirations of the merchant classes.

the market price in times of dearth; and those of Thomas Gray and Thomas Harleston who, at their deaths in 1559, provided £6.13s.4d for the town granary and £10 for the relief of the poor respectively.[66] Increasingly, however, the merchant classes looked to the future. The provision of loan funds, usually intended to aid the poorer members of the donor's own trade, was a particularly popular device. Examples of charities of this sort can be found from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards.

In 1553, William Rogers left not only £7.16.0. as outright doles to the poor but also £300 to be employed for interest-free loans to needy merchants and other inhabitants of the city, stipulating that not more than £20 was to be lent to any one person.[67] Richard Read, a haberdasher who died in 1568, in addition to £22.5.0. left outright for poor relief and £4.2.0. for the support of almshouses, donated £100 to be lent to poor men in sums not exceeding £10, the amounts to be lent without interest but with security.[68] Thomas Pettus, a tailor of the city and mayor in 1590, left £20 as a stock to set the poor to work in the Bridewell, £86 for general charitable purposes and £100 for a loan fund. The latter sum was to be loaned in sums of £5 and £10 on proper security, half among poor worsted weavers and half among needy dornix weavers, none of which were to retain the money for longer than two years.[69] The most notable among benefactors of this sort was Henry Fawcett, a Norwich woollen merchant and alderman who died in 1619. In all, Fawcett donated £1,394.13.4. to charitable purposes in the city and county including £94.6.8. outright to the poor of Norwich as well as

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66. N.C.C., 75-78 Wellman; 102 Jervos; 219 Ingold.
67. Jordan, op.cit., p. 102.
68. Ibid., p. 142.
69. Ibid.

£40 as a stock for the poor among the Dutch and French communities in the city. A sum of £45.6.8. was provided to enable the churchwardens of six parishes to buy coal for the poor in winter; £40 was left to be advanced each winter to any local entrepreneur who would provide winter work for poor masons in the local stone mines; and £360 was provided for loan funds. The latter sum made available £300 to as many as thirty poor worsted weavers, £30 to six dornix weavers, £20 to shoemakers and £10 to poor smiths.[70] The fact that security was demanded for loans of this sort in virtually every case meant, inevitably, that they would have been of little use to the very poor. They were meant to prevent destitution and to take some of the weight from the shoulders of the city fathers. As such, they played a valuable role in the city's system of poor relief.

The same objective was undoubtedly behind the founding of the Boys' and Girls' Hospitals in 1621 and 1650 respectively.[71] Many citizens were concerned that so many children were wholly or partially uncared for, and sought means to look after them while young as well as arranging for them to be apprenticed to a trade at an appropriate age. The attitude of the philanthropists in the city was made clear in the will of Thomas Anguish, mercer and sometime mayor of Norwich, who died in 1618.[72] Anguish was the founder of the Boys' Hospital, and he suggested that such an institution had been 'for many years wished and desired'. He spoke of 'compassion and great pityn' for the young and poor children 'borne and brought up in this city..... and specially suche as for wante, lye in the streetes.... whereby many of them fall into great and grievous diseases and lamenesses, as that they are fitt for no profession, ever after'. He intended that as many

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70. Ibid., p. 108.

71. Hudson and Tingey, II, pp. cx-cxii.

72. Jordan, op.cit., pp. 131-7., for this and the following paragraph.

as forty boys and girls should be maintained in his hospital, under the tuition of a master and mistress as well as other teachers. They were to be admitted at between five and seven years and kept until they were about fifteen. Anguish himself provided the house for this purpose, 'being large, spacious, and new built, and many rooms therein', as well as an endowment comprising urban real estate for the support of the property. The hospital, which was opened on 1 January 1621 when 14 boys were admitted, proved a popular institution. Numerous bequests were received in the following decade, the largest being the £525 from the estates of Nicholas Reeve, a London scrivener, and Mirabell Bennett, widow of a prosperous London merchant. In all, some £2,150 was donated between 1619 & 1630, providing an income in excess of £100 a year, and by 1660 the endowments for the Hospital stood at £4,260, an amount sufficient to provide complete maintenance and training for about 53 children.

Despite Anguish's original intention, it seems probable that no girls were ever admitted to the original hospital and a separate institution was founded for them in 1650. The founder was Robert Baron, parliamentarian mayor of the city, who left £250 for the purpose at his death in 1649. He directed that the sum should be used 'for the training up of women children, from the age of seaven, untill the age of fifteen years, in spinning, knitting, and dressing of woull' under the guidance of a discreet and religious woman to be appointed by the magistrates. Although less popular than the Boys' Hospital, some £790 was bequeathed in support of the venture during the next ten years, and the institution became as firmly founded as its male counterpart.

The role of the merchant classes, both in relieving the poor and, where possible, preventing poverty was as significant in Norwich as elsewhere in the country. Even so, the East Anglian city was never wholly dependent on philanthropy. Apart from a well

established and long-standing poor rate and a normally well-stocked granary, a number of individual parishes devised methods of their own to assist the poor in the immediate locality. Several parishes instituted loan funds in the seventeenth century, the sums lent varying from £2 to £10.[73] Security was demanded in every case. Usually, items of household furniture were provided. In many cases, silver spoons were 'pawned' for a period and not infrequently loans were taken up again for a further period. No interest was payable on such loans, but the very fact that security was required must have placed such aid beyond the reach of the very poor. It seems probable that the aged and impotent continued to be maintained by the parish although, with the exception of the parish of St. Peter Mancroft to 1634 and an isolated account for St. Michael at Thorn dated 1656, positive evidence is lacking.[74] In the parish of St. Benedict's it was usual to provide alms for the poor in general on the first Monday of each year and again at Easter. The funds for this were provided in part from the rents of parish houses.[75]

In times of dearth or general economic instability the impetus came from the ruling body. Extraordinary rates have already been referred to. In addition to the provision of corn which was, and always had been, a feature in times of dearth, there were frequent attempts to restrict the use of corn by members of various trades. Brewers, maltsters and starch makers were particularly vulnerable in this respect, and in the 1630s they were frequently hauled before the mayor's court to be dealt with.[76] Attempts were made to forbid, or restrict, the numbers of country workers employed in the city while at the same time ensuring,

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73. N.N.R.O., Parish register lists, P R G / 6-36.
74. Ibid., P D 32/39; M S 21285.
75. Ibid., P R G / 4-6.
76. Leonard, op.cit., pp. 318-26.

as far as possible, that additional hands were taken on in times of economic distress. Thus, both in 1625 and 1630 work was provided at the local stone mines for poor masons, the produce being used to pave the streets.[77] Entrepreneurs who in some cases employed hundreds of workers in the country districts were asked to take on additional employees in the city, and usually responded with apparent ease.[78] Knitting schools were established in those parishes where they did not already exist, and the poor were allowed to keep some of the profits of their activities.[79] Bread baked against the court's order was usually given to the poor.[80] There were also further attempts to prevent the settlement of undesirable newcomers, the authorities levying a tax not only on the newcomer himself but also on his landlord and employer.[81] A person who was allowed to stay for an indefinite period had to provide sureties that he would not become a charge on the city, and he had to be prepared to contribute to the existing poor rate. From time to time the justices exercised their power of removal. Despite the legal ruling that a person who had settled in an area for a month without complaint could be deemed to be settled there, on occasion the Court banished individuals who had been resident in the community for years. Nor was it a respecter of domestic ties. Husbands were separated from wives, elderly parents from their children, if it seemed at all likely that the city would have to pay for their keep.[82]

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77. C.B., 1624-1634, N.N.R.O., Case 16, shelf a, ff. 294d, 304d, 319, 320, 321d.

78. Ibid., duplicate book containing additional details, n.p., 2 November 1634.

79. C.B., 1624-1634, f. 306.

80. Ibid., ff. 324d, 367d, 368d.

81. Ibid., ff. 263, 311, 372d, 394, 432; C.B., 1634-1646, f. 54d.

82. C.B., 1624-1634, f. 309; 1634-1646, f. 89d.

Under normal circumstances, the Norwich ruling body had little difficulty in supporting its poor, the combination of a regular rate, a permanent corn stock, the philanthropy of its merchant class and the extraordinary contributions of the parishes being more than sufficient to maintain its 'pensioners'. Hospitals for the aged and the young and a Bridewell for the idle and unruly ensured that other sections of the poor were not neglected. The city was by no means entirely successful, as is evidenced by the number of poor children lying unattended in its streets as late as 1618, and it would be foolish to assume that every unwanted child was subsequently cared for in either the Boys' or the Girls' Hospital. Nevertheless, the Norwich authorities accepted their responsibilities and combatted them to the best of their abilities. Their beneficence was restricted to those born within their boundaries, but within these confines they maintained a poor law system which had few rivals elsewhere and which, from the point of view of continuity, may have had no rivals at all.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: TUDOR AND STUART NORWICH

Between 1525 and 1675 the population of Norwich virtually trebled, the 8,000 or so resident in the Tudor city swelling to more than 20,000 by the second decade of Charles II's reign. In addition to natural increase and immigration from the outlying districts, the city had to absorb an ever-increasing number of Dutch and Walloon refugees until ultimately the aliens comprised approximately one-third of the total population of the East Anglian capital.[1] Almost incredibly, it seems that the bulk of the increased population was absorbed not only within the walls but largely within the same houses, many of which underwent conversion into tenements to house the larger numbers.[2]

In consequence, the traveller to Restoration Norwich would have seen a city which looked in all essentials very similar to its early Tudor counterpart. It was surrounded by the same walls and dominated by the same castle and cathedral. The vast majority of the churches were still standing, and the open areas remained effectively what they had been 150 years earlier. The only major buildings to have disappeared were those of the monastic houses, with the notable exception of the chancel of the Blackfriars.[3]

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1. See pages 1-5 for a discussion of population sources.
2. See pages 12-16 for a discussion of this point, and a survey of the available evidence, both documentary and archaeological.
3. See pages 7-9 for details.

Nevertheless, change had obviously taken place. While few new houses appear to have been built, many of the existing ones had been renovated and altered structurally. Most of the alterations were probably internal, for as late as the 1690s the city presented an antique appearance to that intrepid traveller, Celia Fiennes.[4] As suggested above, a number of dwelling-places must have been converted into tenements to house the swelling numbers of the poor. In a city which had far more people exempted from the Hearth Tax than other towns of comparable size, poverty was ever-present and the destitute were more than ready to take possession of the houses vacated by their betters.[5] Change of this type is most in evidence in the wards of Conesford, where there was hardly a household with more than a single hearth, but overcrowding was equally rife in the industrial areas to the north of the city, areas which absorbed thousands of Dutch and Walloon immigrants without noticeably expanding their built-up areas.[6]

Broadly speaking, the occupations practised in those areas and in the wealthier areas towards the centre of Norwich remained very similar throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods. The wards of Wymer and Ultra Aquam continued to be peopled primarily by textile workers, while the central districts of the city housed the merchant and professional classes. The distributive trades which were of some importance in Conesford in 1525, however, were ousted in favour of the clothing trades by 1671, and there are other examples of individual change. The food and drink trades, for example, which

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4. C. Morris, ed., The Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1947, p. 148.

5. See Table XVI, p. 46.

6. See Table XVIII, pp. 49-50.

were of general importance in the Henrician period, employed relatively few people in the wards of Mancroft and Wymer by 1671. The metal trades, which were of significance in Wymer alone in 1525, had changed their major venue to Mancroft by Charles II's reign, to be replaced by building and clothing workers. Tailors and the like were also of some importance in Ultra Aquam by 1671, whereas those concerned with the distributive trades were, at best, of secondary importance. [7]

Throughout the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the textile industry was of prime importance in Norwich, and outstandingly so in the seventeenth century. At its lowest point it employed at least 20 per cent of the working population of the city, quite apart from the unknown, but substantial, number of people dependent on it in the surrounding districts; at its highest it provided work for twice as many. [8]

Nevertheless, the story of the Norwich textile industry is by no means one of unqualified success. The sixteenth century saw its steady decline, the nadir being reached in the last years of Elizabeth's reign when fewer than 15 per cent of those admitted to the freedom of the city were textile workers. [9] Significantly, almost one-quarter of the Norwich poor either were, or had been, textile workers, when the census was taken in 1570. [10] With the advent of

7. See Tables IV to VI, pp. 18-20.

8. See Tables XXXV and XXXVII, pp. 86 and 93.

9. See Table XXVIII, p. 73.

10. See Table LVI, p. 229.

the Dutch and Walloons a slow but steady resurgence took place. During the reign of James I just over one-quarter of those admitted to the freedom of the city were textile workers. By 1675 the proportion had reached more than 40 per cent.[11]

The waxing and waning of the textile industry is reflected in the changing aspirations of the apprentices' fathers. When the industry was in decline only the conservative husbandmen continued to send their sons to be apprenticed to it in any numbers. The gentry were never attracted to the industry in the sixteenth century, the clergy hardly at all, while the yeomen and tradesmen looked to mord prosperous avenues for their sons' advancement. All classes were quick to notice a changing situation, however, and the upper classes were as willing as the tradesmen and farmers to set their progeny on what appeared to be a prosperous path. During the seventeenth century at least half of the sons of the gentry and clergy who were apprenticed in Norwich were normally apprenticed to the textile trades. A similar proportion of yeomen's sons were apprenticed to the industry during the same period, but the husbandmen, while being initially attracted, subsequently apprenticed an equal proportion of their sons to the clothing and leather trades. Many of the apprentices came from Norwich itself and the surrounding county, but a substantial proportion came from farther afield, especially from the midlands and the north.[12]

As suggested earlier, it would be misleading in the extreme to discuss the industrial development of Norwich solely in terms of its textile industry. Even when that industry was at its height, six people out of every ten were employed in other spheres, while during

11. See Table XXXVII, p. 93.

12. See Table XIII, pp. 59-60.

the reign of Elizabeth other occupations were of far greater significance. With Norwich becoming increasingly important as a regional capital, more and more people turned their attention to providing for the needs of the city's neighbours, whether visiting countrymen or gentry in residence for the season. Individual trades prospered exceedingly, the number of grocers increasing sevenfold between 1525 and 1569, with other trades catering for the visitors also showing a proportional increase. [13]

Many of these - grocers, mercers, drapers, were prestigious occupations and provided ample opportunities for social mobility. Whenever possible, city and county tradesmen and the wealthier yeomen apprenticed their sons to the distributive trades. During the sixteenth century the gentry and clergy who apprenticed their sons in Norwich looked virtually nowhere else. Even in the textile industry's boom years, greater fortunes were still to be made by grocers and merchants, despite the fact that their share of the city's freemen had fallen.

Some broad trends can be discerned by an analysis of probate inventories but the distribution of wealth in Norwich can only be measured with reasonable accuracy at the beginning and end of the period under consideration. The full subsidy return survives for 1525, a return which included the majority of men (and some women) of the status of wage-earner and above, and the Hearth Tax assessment of 1671 survives sufficiently to enable a reasonably accurate picture to be derived from it. [14] In 1525 the numbers of poor have to be estimated. In 1671 those excluded from payment on the grounds of poverty are quite clearly listed. [15]

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13. See Tables XXXVII, p. 93; XXIX, p. 74; and XXXII, p. 80.

14. P.R.O., E179/150/218; N.N.R.O., Norwich City Assessment Books,

The two tax assessments were obviously made on an entirely different basis, the earlier of them being based on broadly accurate assessments of the wealth of the persons concerned, while the latter was concerned solely with the number of taxable hearths in a particular household. Nevertheless, comparison is possible. In a society very much concerned with the status of the individual a man tended to live up to, and occasionally beyond, his means, and his household size/of his house is normally a fair indication of wealth. Assuming this to be true of Henrician and Caroline Norwich, comparison of the two returns suggests that the distribution of wealth in the city had altered little, proportionately speaking, during the 150 years concerned. In 1525 6 per cent of the taxable population owned 60 per cent of the wealth.[16] In 1671 7 per cent of the citizens were living in houses containing six or more hearths and, as the wealthiest section of the community, may be presumed to have been at least as rich as their Henrician forebears.[17] Poverty was acute in both periods. In 1525 more than 40 per cent of the taxpayers were wage-earners, with at least one quarter of the population too poor to contribute at all.[18] In Restoration Norwich some 60 per cent of the city's householders were exempted from paying hearth tax on the grounds of poverty, and while this undoubtedly comprised both very poor and wage-earners it is clear that the situation had not improved.[19]

1671, Case 13, shelf a; P.R.O., E179/254/701.

15. P.R.O., E179/336.

16. See Table VII, pp. 25 and 27.

17. See Table XVI, p. 46.

18. See Table VII, p. 24.

19. See p. 45.

A minority of people thus continued to be in possession of most of the wealth in the city while the majority were either poor or relatively poor. One further general point needs to be stressed, however. In 1525 the proportion of wage-earners in Norwich - and possibly the proportion of those below that status - was very similar to that to be found in other provincial towns. In 1671, in contrast, the percentage of people exempted from paying hearth tax was distinctly higher than that found elsewhere.[20] This suggests either that Norwich was a poorer town than its rivals elsewhere by the late seventeenth century, or that wealth had come to be distributed on a more equitable basis in other provincial centres.

As one would expect, the bulk of the wealth in both Henrician and Caroline Norwich was to be found in the hands of the governing classes of the city, and those of equivalent status, whether resident gentry or potential aldermen and councillors. These people were merchants almost to a man, whether they were described as such or given a more specific designation such as grocer, mercer or draper. Occasionally men from other occupations were to be found among them, including goldsmiths, scriveners and, especially during the seventeenth century, the wealthier members of the textile trades, but the lion's share of the city's wealth remained in the hands of the merchant classes throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods.[21] This is not to say that other classes were necessarily poor. Certain of the clothing and food and drink trades prospered during the reign of Elizabeth, for example, and the introduction of the New Draperies saw a steady rise in the living standards of those textile workers for whom we have the

20. See Tables VII and XVI, pp. 24 and 46.

21. See Table X, p. 32; Table XIX, p. 52; and Table XXXIX, p. 110.

requisite information. Individual members of the building and metal trades also accumulated personal fortunes.[22] None of these, however, bore comparison with the wealthier members of the merchant classes.

Nevertheless, whatever their occupation, it seems that the wealth of the more affluent citizens - those with sufficient property to have it recorded in an inventory - rose steadily throughout the entire period under consideration. When all due account has been made for inflation, it seems reasonably certain that the top third of the city's population not only saw their incomes rise as the cost of living rose but in many cases their incomes rose faster than prices.[23] This is a generalisation based on the median value of inventories over 25 year periods linked with such price data as we have. By no means all of those with their possessions recorded were wealthy, as the chapter on the poor indicates, but the broad picture of a rise in the standards of living of the upper strata seems undeniable.[24] Certainly a proportion of those people had sufficient cash in hand to lend it to other individuals, and the number of people with debts due to them increased radically between the end of Elizabeth's reign and the beginning of that of Charles II.[25]

While a minority of the city's population may have lived in comfort, the vast majority lived in conditions of extreme poverty. Norwich was by no means unique in this respect. Poverty was a feature common to any English town of reasonable size in the sixteenth

22. See Table XIII, p. 37.

23. See p. 38 for a discussion of this point.

24. See Chapter Seven, pp. 236-50.

25. See Table XIV, p. 41.

and seventeenth centuries, and it has been estimated that between one-quarter and one-third of the urban populations lived on the verge of destitution and that up to 70 per cent were at least relatively poor.[26] 'The poor' is necessarily an all-embracing term, and some people in this category were obviously better off than others. Provided they were employed at reasonably regular intervals they could normally expect to have sufficient to feed and clothe themselves and their families and, on occasion, to have a little to spare. Their situation was necessarily an uncertain one. Even if they chose to work regularly - and few did - work was seldom available to them on a regular basis. When they were in employment there was always the danger of a sudden recession which could reduce them to the level of a begger at a stroke.[27]

Nevertheless, a proportion of the Norwich poor - we cannot be sure of what proportion in the absence of figures for the poor, as such, for much of the period - were sufficiently well-off, in a relative sense, to leave enough property to be recorded in an inventory; and analysis of this material allows us to paint a very broad picture of those living above the level of absolute poverty. Sixty per cent of these people lived in houses containing between three and five rooms, and a few lived in larger dwellings still. No more than a quarter of them inhabited houses with two rooms or less. A small minority owned animals - cows, pigs, horses and chickens - which provided a cushion against unemployment, but most of them owned little more than their personal property. Of this, bedding was by

26. W. G. Hoskins, Provincial England, 1963, p. 84; J. F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich', loc.cit., p. 50.

27. D. C. Coleman, 'Labour in the English Economy of the Seventeenth

far the most valuable item, followed by personal clothing and books. Every fifth person owned a few books, some among them owning several, which suggests a reasonable level of literacy among people of this class. A number of the poor lived in property which had been renovated, either by themselves or by their landlords, and one is conscious, when examining the inventories, of the slow change taking place in the domestic architecture of Norwich, even at this level.[28]

The very poor were less fortunate. A substantial number lived in church property, in civic property made available for the purpose, even in the towers along the walls. Others were housed in property belonging to aldermen, common councillors and other rate-payers of Norwich, while a few were apparently owner-occupiers.[29] As no more than a quarter of them were in receipt of alms when the census of the poor was taken in 1570, both sexes were obliged to work until it was no longer physically possible to do so. Very few were unemployed. A majority of the men were textile workers or labourers. Most of the women were concerned with spinning or similar work. The rest were employed in a miscellany of occupations.[30] Poor though they were, a minority of them were prepared to send their children to school, either to learn their letters or to learn a trade, and they were encouraged to do so by the city fathers who themselves provided

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Century' in E. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, II, 1962.

28. See Chapter Seven, pp. 236-50.

29. J. F. Pound, ed., The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norfolk Record Society, XL, 1971, pp. 13-15.

30. Ibid., pp. 97-9.

teachers for a proportion of the children.[31] That they were at least relatively successful is indicated by the number of books recorded in the inventories of those a rung or two higher up the ladder.

As early as 1549 the Norwich authorities had organised support for the resident poor, the first provincial city to insist on compulsion in this respect, and twenty years later external events caused the city fathers to take the problem even more seriously. The threat of insurrection in 1570 led to the inauguration of a system of poor relief which had no parallel in England, and one which was regarded as sufficiently important to serve as a model for the first major Elizabethan Act two years later. Exacerbated at intervals by plague, harvest failure and industrial depression, the problem of poverty was never completely eradicated either in Norwich or elsewhere, and if anything the lot of the poor was probably worse in 1670 than it had been a century earlier. The census of the poor suggests that overcrowding was limited in Elizabethan Norwich.[32] In contrast, the Hearth Tax returns suggest that many of the poor in Restoration Norwich were crowded tightly together in tenements, a natural result of an expanding population being crammed together in much the same built-up areas.[33]

Despite this unsatisfactory situation, there is evidence that the city looked after its worst cases. The authorities did all they could to avoid illegal settlement and were ruthless where professional vagrants were concerned, whether they were adults or children. The

31. Ibid., p. 17. Some 16 per cent of the children were sent to school before the city organised full-time teachers for them.

32. Ibid., pp. 21 and 15.

33. See Chapter One, pp. 15-16.

native poor, however, were provided for, at least at parochial level. Some of the worst cases of orphan children were cared for in the newly established Boys' and Girls' Hospitals, and there was adequate provision for the aged and incapacitated.[34] Within limits, the city fathers did well by the native poor. Neither they nor their counterparts elsewhere were ever entirely successful.

It is against this background that the city's government and governing classes can be considered. The framework of government remained the same throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods. An upper house of 24 men, divided equally among the twelve petty wards, had executive power. From their ranks were chosen the mayor, one of the sheriffs (until it was decreed that all potential aldermen should have served in that capacity), the justices of the peace and most of the important office-holders. Similarly, 60 common councillors were chosen throughout the period. The most affluent among them replenished the ranks of the aldermen whenever a vacancy occurred. They supplied the second of the sheriffs until the seventeenth century, a common speaker to represent their views to their superiors, and they filled a host of minor offices. Aldermen and councillors apart, the most important officials were the recorder, steward and chamberlain, the last of these being responsible for the financial affairs of the city.[35]

All of these men were comfortably-off or wealthy, their status depending on their wealth. Most of them, whether aldermen or common councillors, were drawn from no more than a dozen or so trades,

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34. See Chapter Seven, pp. 269-70, for details of the foundation of these Hospitals.

35. See Chapter Four, pp. 101-4.

the same occupations being represented throughout the entire period. Inevitably, the success or failure of a particular occupation is reflected in the ranks of the ruling body. Thus of all men entering civic service in the period 1576-1600, no more than 11 per cent were textile workers, whereas 100 years later the proportion had risen to 39 per cent. Similarly, for much of the period under consideration four out of every ten men serving the city in an official capacity were members of the merchant classes, the proportion falling to 22 per cent between 1651 and 1675 when the textile trades were at their height. Representatives of other trade groupings - butchers, bakers, cordwainers and ironmongers, for example, - also varied in number depending on the success or failure of the textile industry. [36]

While many of the merchants regarded it as their duty to serve the community, if chosen to do so, few of them were prepared to serve for long periods in the pre-Elizabethan era. Just over 20 per cent of those elected between 1526 and 1550, for example, served for a single year, and less than a third of them were prepared to devote more than five years as a common councillor. Their successors tended to be wealthier men, many of them coming from gentry backgrounds, who were able and willing to devote more time to civic service. By the end of the reign of James I the situation had been reversed, the majority of those elected serving for periods in excess of five years. [37]

Broadly speaking, the majority of the common councillors were the sons or apprentices of men who had themselves represented the city in that capacity. Many of those who came from a different background

36. See Table XXXIX, p. 110.

37. See Chapter Four, p. 115 and Table XLII, pp. 116-7.

were wealthy merchants who had purchased their freedom on coming to Norwich, although this element was radically reduced in the seventeenth century at the instigation of the aldermen themselves. Most of the potential councillors could expect to be elected within ten years or so of becoming freemen, although a minority took considerably longer than this to achieve office. [38]

The same pattern is discernible among the aldermanic ranks, the major difference being that potential aldermen were elected to the council ranks twice as quickly, on average, as those persons who never aspired to, or never attained, this rank. [39]

The Civil War and Restoration led to both a change of personnel and a change of outlook among the city's ruling body. Despite its apparent parliamentary affiliations, Norwich contained a solid core of royalist sympathisers and, as might be expected, many of them were to be found among the ranks of the aldermen and common councillors. They were not the most vociferous or aggressive of their kind, however, and the more fervent Puritans found little difficulty in ousting them from their position of authority. The lower house was purged so drastically that few of the surviving members had had more then a year or two's experience of local government. The new men were drawn from among the lesser lights of the freemen, men who under normal circumstances would never have been elected to such a position. In many cases they had been trading in the city for more than 25 years, a situation which produced a lower house comprised of men who were either elderly or in advanced middle age. [40]

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38. See Table XLI, pp. 113-14.

39. See Table XLVI, p. 128.

40. See Chapter Four, p. 164, for discussion of this point.

The purge of the upper house was, if anything, even more ruthless. Those who resisted were liable to be imprisoned, as in the case of William Gostling, mayor in 1642, or falsely accused of behaviour unbecoming an alderman, as in the case of Alexander Anguish. Attempted neutrality was of little avail. Unless a man was an avowed parliamentarian, he was thrust from office, either immediately or at the first reasonable opportunity.[41]

The stability which emerged from the events outlined above was of short duration. The inevitable Royalist reaction in 1660 saw another series of purges, a situation which was to be repeated yet again, for different reasons, under James II.[42]

Such drastic upheavals caused a radical change in the city's outlook. From the reign of Henry VIII to that of James I the city fathers had been concerned with internal affairs above all else. Fiercely proud of their independence, they had brooked no interference from outsiders whatsoever. Change was, perhaps, inevitable, as more and more of them emerged from gentry backgrounds or married into gentry families. Horizons were widened with interests extending to the county if not beyond. The Civil War forced them to look further still until by the Restoration, if not before, the upper house had a stake in national politics as well as those taking place nearer home. Significantly, admissions to the freedom of the city in 1678 were closely linked to the aspirations of rival Whig and Tory groups. More than 300 worsted weavers alone were admitted in January of that year, all of whom, it was hoped, would vote for the party concerned.[43]

41. Ibid., pp. 160-1 and 163-4.

42. For a thorough discussion of the political issues in late Stuart Norwich, see J. T. Evans, op.cit., pp. 263-354.

43. P. Millican, ed., The Freemen of Norwich, 1548-1713, 1934,

If the type of man governing Restoration Norwich was different, in some ways at least, from his Henrician forebears, the problems confronting him were very much the same. The most important of these concerned finance, law and order, and the treatment of the poor.

In apparent contrast to other cities of comparable size, Norwich had two major financial bodies, those organised by the chamberlains and the clavors respectively. The chamberlain was responsible for normal day-to-day financial affairs, recording both receipts and expenditure and paying workmen weekly from the accrued funds. The clavors, four of whom were appointed each year, took charge of surplus funds, and recorded any extraordinary receipts and expenditure. Whereas the chamberlains were invariably in arrears during the sixteenth century, if solvent thereafter, the clavors rarely recorded a loss, and were normally in a position to bolster the funds of the chamberlains and, if necessary, the other financial bodies operating in the city.[44]

In broad terms, thinking purely in terms of the chamberlains, the financial history of the city can be summed up as one of impecuniousness in the sixteenth century and of relative prosperity in the seventeenth. Deficits were seldom large and could normally be met by the clavors who, in return, received such surplus funds as became available. While the actual sums of money involved inevitably increased during a period of raging inflation, the sources of revenue, and the areas on which such revenue was spent, remained much the same throughout the entire period under consideration.

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pp. xvi and 182-6.

44. See Tables XLVIII and XLIX, pp. 170 and 176.

Rents from city property provided much of the city's income, salaries and repairs to city property the bulk of the expenditure. From time to time additional items appeared, mainly reflecting the temporary importance of a particular issue, but the additions were never sufficiently onerous to make the chamberlains' task a severe one. In consequence, in contrast to such towns as Exeter and Nottingham, the post was a relatively popular one, and its occupants invariably held office for a number of years. [45]

The success of the city fathers in this respect is matched by their similar success in the role of justice of the peace. All serving mayors and those who had already passed the chair were entitled to sit in the mayor's court and, less frequently, to participate at Quarter Sessions. Throughout the period some petty offences were still dealt with at parish level, the sheriffs' court fining people for such misdemeanours. By Elizabeth's reign at the latest, however, the majority of such offences, together with those of a more serious nature, had become the responsibility of the mayor's court. [46]

Some offences, as might be expected, were ever-present, varying only in the number of people actually indicted. These included pilfering; breaking the peace, whether through swearing, scolding, drunkenness or assault; market offences of various kinds; and immorality. Offenders were usually sentenced to be fined or whipped; ducked or put in the cage for scolding; or paraded around the market place for immorality. Vagrancy was a much more serious

45. See Chapter Five, p. 187, and references quoted there.

46. W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, Records of the City of Norwich, I, pp. cxxvii-cxxxiv.

problem, particularly during the seventeenth century, but is discussed more appropriately below in the section dealing with poor relief.

The court was by no means concerned with crime and punishment alone. The mayor, as clerk of the market, was responsible for the pricing of victuals and for ensuring that any commodities sold were fresh and wholesome. Closely linked to this function was the provision of grain, especially in time of dearth, the members of the court ensuring that it was sold at a reasonable price to prevent starvation among the poor. [47]

Dearth was often linked with plague, a scourge that appeared all too often in Tudor and Stuart Norwich. Sweating sickness had been rampant in the city during the middle years of the sixteenth century, striking suddenly at both rich and poor, but the first serious outbreak of bubonic plague since the Black Death occurred immediately after the Queen's visit in 1578. The following year Norwich experienced an outbreak so severe that at least one-third of the city's population died, and thereafter, until the advent of James I's reign, plague recurred, on average, once every five years. Subsequently it appeared intermittently, notably in 1625 and the 1630s, and it finally disappeared after a further serious outbreak in 1665.

Although initially caught off their guard, the city fathers responded to the best of their abilities, providing money and corn for the afflicted as well as keeping a strict watch on their houses, and ultimately on the pest houses provided for them.

A combination of plague and shortage of food made the problem of dealing with the city's poor infinitely more difficult. Fortunately

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47. See pp. 215-17 for a fuller discussion of the points referred to in this, and the succeeding, paragraph.

for the town, its poor law system was firmly established by 1579. After the extent of the problem had been made clear by taking a census of the poor in 1570, the authorities trebled the poor rate and took responsibility for some 400 permanent pensioners. Special provision was made for the old and incapacitated, and subsequently for children, and recalcitrant vagrants were dealt with ruthlessly in the House of Correction. Continuity was essential if the scheme was to be at all successful and, despite an apparent breakdown of the system during the initial outbreak of plague, there is evidence that this continuity was maintained.[48]

The very success of the scheme encouraged a certain class of vagrant who was prepared to risk the Bridewell in return for potential gain, and initially this class was treated in the most ruthless fashion. Subsequently, severity was tempered with mercy. The city authorities were never prepared to support wanderers from other towns or villages, but they were prepared to distinguish between the professional vagrant and those who were travelling either singly or as a family and who sought nothing more than a place to work. No work was provided for the non-native poor and they suffered ultimate expulsion, but a feature of the seventeenth century was that such expulsion was not necessarily immediate. Both individuals and families were given as long as three weeks to depart and, on occasion, they were provided with money to speed them on their way. If they returned the authorities were less inclined to leniency.[49]

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48. See Chapter Seven, pp. 258-67, for an account of the city's poor law system.

49. See Chapter Six, pp. 199-201.

The constables clearly knew their men and anybody remotely resembling a professional vagrant was treated with the utmost severity. Small children were as subject to a whipping and order to depart as their elders, and there are several examples in the mayor's court-books of children under ten years of age being set adrift outside the city gates with nobody to care for them. [50]

Generally speaking, a combination of severity tempered with mercy to outsiders and a general concern for the welfare of the native poor helped to keep the city authorities in control ofthe poor law problem. Certainly in the sixteenth century, possibly in the seventeenth, Norwich led the rest of England in both its attitude to, and its treatment of, the poor. If it was never entirely successful in this respect it was because the problem was beyond the resources of any community until well into the twentieth century.

There are inevitable gaps in the foregoing survey of government and society in Norwich between the reigns of Henry VIII and Charles II. In part they reflect the work being undertaken by other historians in this field, notably that of Dr. Evans on seventeenth century politics, in part the fact that to have attempted a complete survey would have required a study twice as long as the present one. The ecclesiastical history of Norwich has still to be written, although a start has been made in certain respects. [51] Little has been done on the educational history of the city since H. W. Saunders published his volume on Norwich School more than 40 years ago. [52] The

50. Ibid., p. 200.

51. Notably the useful study, based mainly on secondary sources, by L. R. Paul, A Survey of the Ecclesiastical History of the Town of Norwich, 1500-1575, University of Chicago M.A. thesis, 1958.

52. H. W. Saunders, A History of the Norwich Grammar School, 1932.

parliamentary history of the city awaits its historian, although a section of my own M.A. thesis and some sections of Dr. Evans' Ph.D. thesis tough on the subject. [53] When these aspects have been finally explored, it seems reasonable to suggest that most of the essential research will have been completed, although fresh interpretations of the evidence will undoubtedly appear from time to time.

53. J. F. Pound, The Elizabethan Corporation of Norwich, 1558-1603, University of Birmingham M.A. thesis, 1962, pp. 334-341; J. T. Evans, op.cit., especially pages 263-354.

Appendix I

Distribution of the various crafts throughout the city in 1525

Building	SC	NC	BS	St.S	St.P	St.G	WW	NW	EW	Cos	Cg	Fib	Totals
Carpenters	2	1	5	1	3		3		2	1	2	2	22
Freemasons									1				1
Glasswrights			1				1						2
Glaziers		2	1	1	1			2	1		1	1	10
Joiners											1		1
Masons	3	2	4	1	2		4		1		1		18
Millwrights		1	1										2
Reeders			2	1		1	1	1	1			1	8
Sawyers		1					1						2
Tilers											1		1
Totals	5	7	14	4	6	1	10	3	6	1	6	4	67
Food & Drink													
Bakers	1	1	2	3	2		2	2	4	2	2	1	22
Brewers		3	1	1	1		2	3					11
Butchers	2	1	15	1		2	1	3	3	2	1	2	33
Cooks			3	1	1		1		1				7
Fishermen	5												5
Fishmongers	1			1	5			2	1	2			12
Millers					1		1						2
Spicers					1								1
Totals	9	5	21	7	11	2	7	10	9	6	3	3	93
Distributive													
Drapers					4		3	3			1	1	12
Grocers	2	1	3	5	5			4	1	2	1	3	24
Haberdashers	1		1	1									3
Mercers			2	3	8		6	13	3	6	3	3	47
Raffmen	1		3	2			2		1	1	1	6	17
Wax-chandlers					1		1					1	3
Totals	4	1	9	10	16		12	20	5	9	6	14	106
Clothing													
Cappers					3					1			4
Hosiers				1					1				2
Tailors	2	4	5	3	8	1	5	5	8	3	1	3	48
Totals	2	4	5	4	11	1	5	5	9	4	1	3	54
Transport													
Carriers	1	1										1	3
Carters						1				1			2
Keelmen	1												1
Loadors		1											1
Watermen	5	1											6
Totals	7	3				1				1		1	13
Miscellaneous													
Barbers			4		1		3	2	2	1	2		15
Servants						1							1
Totals			4		1	1	3	2	2	1	2		16

Leather	SC	NC	BS	St.S	St.P	St.G	WW	MW	EW	Cos	Cg	Fib	Totals
Cobblers				1									1
Collarmakers						1							1
Cordwainers		1	3		6	1	4	3	3			3	24
Curriers		1	4	1			#			1			7
Glovers							1		#		1		2
Parchmeners									1				1
Pointmakers										1			1
Saddlers	1		1	1	1				2			1	7
Shoemakers		1	2	2	3		1	2	5	1		3	20
Skinners								3					3
Tanners				2			6	1	1	1			11
Totals	1	3	10	7	10	2	12	9	12	4	1	7	78
Metal													
Blacksmiths						1							1
Bladesmiths		1		1				1					3
Braziers							1				1		2
Goldbeaters		1											1
Goldsmiths								3	2				5
Hardwaremen								1					1
Locksmiths					1								1
Pewterers							1	1	1				3
Pinners			1		1			3	1				6
Sheargrinders							1						1
Smiths		1	2		2		2	1			1	1	9
Spurriers								1	1				2
Totals		3	3	1	4	1	5	11	5		1	1	35
Textiles													
Calendrers							5	1		1		3	10
Coverlet-weavers			3		1		10				2		16
Dyers	1				1		4	1	1	4	2	2	16
Fullers			2		1		2				1	1	7
Shearmen	1	1		2	1		2	6	2	4	2	2	23
Staymakers											1		1
Thickwoollenweavers			1				1						2
Weavers			1										1
Woolchapmen						1							1
Woolmen			1	1								1	3
Worsted shearmen							1						1
Worst. weavers	9	4	10	3	7	3	9	2	6	23	28	23	127
Totals	11	5	18	6	11	4	34	10	9	32	36	32	208
Woodwork													
Bowyers			1										1
Coopers			1				2	1	1			1	6
Fletchers					2	1			1			1	5
Gravers				2									2
Pattern-makers								1	2				3
Ploughwrights							1						1
Totals			2	2	2	1	3	2	4			2	18
Professional													
Mayor's sergeants					#					1			1
Minstrels					1								1
Scriveners		1		2							1		4
Totals		1		2	1					1	1		6

Appendix II

Distribution of occupations throughout the city, 1671

Building	C	M	W	UA	Totals
Brickmakers		1			1
Carpenters	2	11	6	11	30
Glaziers	4	9			13
Joiners	4	5	5	2	16
Masons	10	2		1	13
Painters		3	1		4
Reeders	1		2	1	4
Roughmasons	9	8	8	5	30
Ship's carpenter			1		1
Tilers	2	1	3	1	7
Totals	32	40	26	21	119
Food & Drink					
Bakers	12	11	8	10	41
Brewers	4	3	3	8	18
Butchers	35	3	2	3	43
Cooks	1				1
Fishermen				1	1
Fishmongers		3			3
Innholders		1			1
Maltsters			1		1
Millers	1		2		3
Sugarbakers			1	1	2
Vintners			3		3
Totals	53	21	20	23	117
Distributive					
Drapers	1	7		2	10
Grocers	12	25	9	8	54
Haberdashers	4	4	2	2	12
Haberdashers of small wares		2	3		5
Linen drapers	1	1	4		6
Mercers	1	10	3	2	16
Merchants	1	2	7	3	13
Merchants of coals and reeds		1			1
Starchmakers	1	1			2
Tallowchandlers	1			1	2
Woollendrapers		3	1		4
Totals	22	56	29	18	125
Clothing					
Bodymakers			1		1
Feltmakers	5		4		9
Hosiers	2	7	8	6	23
Milloners		2			2
Tailors	29	33	39	24	125
Upperbodymakers	1	2	2		5
Totals	37	44	54	30	165

Transport	C	M	W	UA	Totals
Keelmen			1		1
Watermen	2	1			3
Totals	2	1	1		4
Miscellaneous					
Barbers	5	8	5	3	21
Gardeners				1	1
Ropemakers				1	1
Tobacco pipe makers		1			1
Whiteplate makers			1		1
Totals					25
Leather					
Bookbinders		1	1		2
Cobblers		1	1		2
Cordwainers	16	30	30	14	90
Curriers				1	1
Glovers	2	4	2		8
Knackers	1				1
Leatherdressers		1	1	1	3
Pointmakers	1		1		2
Saddlers		3	3	1	7
Stationers	1	3			4
Tanners	4	1	12	4	21
Parchmeners	1				1
Translators		1			1
Trunkmakers	1				1
Totals	27	45	51	21	144
Metal					
Armourers		1		1	2
Blacksmiths	9	10	4		23
Bladesmiths		1		1	2
Braziers			1	1	2
Clockmakers			1		1
Cutlers	3	6	1	4	14
Goldsmiths		2	1		3
Gunsmiths	1	1		1	3
Instrument makers		1			1
Ironmongers	3	2	2	1	8
Locksmiths		7	1	1	9
Pewterers		3	2	1	6
Pinners		6	1	2	9
Plumbers	1				1
Spurriers		1			1
Watchmakers		1			1
Totals	17	42	14	13	86
Woodwork					
Chairmakers			1		1
Coopers	3		3	3	9
Turners	1	1	2		4
Wine coopers	1				1
Totals	5	1	6	3	15

Textiles	C	M	W	UA	Totals
Bay weavers	1				1
Chapmen				1	1
Clothworkers			1		1
Combers	1			3	4
Dornixweavers	4	1	6	8	19
Dyers	1	5	1	4	11
Fringemakers				1	1
Linenweavers	1	1	1	1	4
Natmakers				1	1
Shearmen	1	1			2
Sayweavers			1		1
Silkweavers			1		1
Slaywrights	1				1
Twisterers			2		2
Upholsterers		3	1		4
Weavers		1		2	3
Woolcombers	7	1	5	5	18
Worstedweavers	105	70	132	214	521
Totals	122	83	151	240	596
Professional					
Apothecaries			2		2
Barber surgeons		1			1
Bonesetters	1				1
Chemists		1			1
Clerks	1	6	1		8
Doctors	1	3	5		9
Judges			1		1
Musicians	1	1			2
Prebendaries			2		2
Scriveners	1	10	7	1	19
Surgeons				1	1
Totals	5	22	18	2	47

Appendix III

The distribution of wealth among the various crafts in 1525

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-					
	Under £2	£2-4	£5-9	£10-19	£20-39	£40-99
Building						
Carpenters	3	10	4	4	2	
Freemasons						
Glasswrights	1		1			
Glaziers		7		2		
Joiners		1				
Masons	3	10	3	2		
Millwrights	1		1			
Reeders	1	6		1		
Sawyers			1	1		
Tilers			1			
Totals	9	34	11	10	2	
Food & Drink						
Bakers	4	6	2	5	1	4
Brewers	3	4		1	1	1
Butchers	10	11	3	4	3	1
Cooks	3	3				1
Fishermen		2	1	1	1	
Fishmongers	2	4	1	5		
Millers	1		1			
Spicers			1			
Totals	23	30	9	16	6	7
Distributive						
Drapers		1		4	2	3
Grocers		6	2	8	5	4
Haberdashers		3				
Mercers		3	6	10	8	10
Raffmen	4	4	5	1	3	
Wax-chandlers	1	1	1			
Totals	5	18	14	20	16	17
Clothing						
Cappers	2	1	1			
Hosiers				1		1
Tailors	9	20	7	8	3	1
Totals	11	21	8	9	3	2
Transport						
Carriers	1	1	1			
Carters	1		1			
Keelmen		1				
Loaders	1					
Watermen	3	1	1	1		
Totals	6	3	3	1		

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-			
	£100-299	£300-500	Over £500	Totals
Building				
Carpenters				23
Freemasons	1			1
Glasswrights				2
Glaziers				9
Joiners				1
Masons				18
Millwrights				2
Reeders				8
Sawyers				2
Tilers				1
Totals	1			67
Food & Drink				
Bakers				22
Brewers	1			11
Butchers	1			33
Cooks				7
Fishermen				5
Fishmongers				12
Millers				2
Spicers				1
Totals	2			93
Distributive				
Drapers	1		1	12
Grocers	3		1	24
Haberdashers				3
Mercers	8	1	1	47
Raffmen				17
Wax-chandlers				3
Totals	12	1	3	106
Clothing				
Cappers				4
Hosiers				2
Tailors				48
Totals				54
Transport				
Carriers				3
Carters				2
Keelmen				1
Loaders				1
Watermen				6
Totals				13

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-					
	Under £2	£2-4	£5-9	£10-19	£20-39	£40-99
Leather						
Cobblers		1				
Collarmakers		1				
Cordwainers	6	8	5	3	2	
Curriers	1	4	11	1	1	
Glovers			1		1	
Parchmeners						1
Pointmakers			1			
Saddlers	2	4		1		
Shoemakers	10	6	1	2	1	
Skinners		2		1		
Tanners	6		1		3	1
Totals	25	26	10	8	7	2
Metal						
Blacksmiths	1					
Bladesmiths	1		1		1	
Braziers	1			1		
Goldbeaters		1				
Goldsmiths			1	2	1	1
Hardwaremen			1			
Locksmiths	1					
Pewterers				2	1	
Pinners	1	1	1	2	1	
Sheargrinders		1				
Smiths	2	2	1	2	2	
Spurriers	1	1				
Totals	8	6	5	9	6	1
Textiles						
Calendrers	1	5	1	1	1	1
Coverlet-weavers	3	6	3		3	
Dyers	6	1	4	3		1
Fullers	3		2	1	1	
Shearmen	8	11	1	1	1	1
Staymakers		1				
Thickwoollen weavers	1	1				
Weavers	1					
Woolchapmen				1		
Woolmen		2		1		
Worsted shearmen		1				
Worsted weavers	31	52	16	10	11	6
Totals	54	80	27	18	17	9
Woodwork						
Bowyers		1				
Coopers	2	2	1		1	
Fletchers	2	1	2			
Gravers				2		
Pattern-makers	1	1	1			
Ploughwrights				1		
Totals	5	5	4	3	1	

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-			
	£100-299	£300-500	Over£500	Totals
Leather				
Cobblers				1
Collarmakers				1
Cordwainers				24
Curriers				7
Glovers				2
Parchmeners				1
Pointmakers				1
Saddlers				7
Shoemakers				20
Skinners				3
Tanners				11
Totals				78
Metal				
Blacksmiths				1
Bladesmiths				3
Braziers				2
Goldbeaters				1
Goldsmiths				5
Hardwaremen				1
Locksmiths				1
Pewterers				3
Pinners				6
Sheargrinders				1
Smiths				9
Spurriers				2
Totals				35
Textiles				
Calendrers				10
Coverlet-weavers	1			16
Dyers	1			16
Fullers				7
Shearmen				23
Staymakers				1
Thickwoollenweavers				2
Weavers				1
Woolchapmen				1
Woolmen				3
Worsted shearmen				1
Worsted weavers	1			127
Totals	3			208
Woodwork				
Bowyers				1
Coopers				6
Fletchers				5
Gravers				2
Pattern-makers				3
Ploughwrights				1
Totals				18

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-					
	Under £2	£2-4	£5-9	£10-19	£20-39	£40-99
Professional						
Mayor's sergeants			1			
Minstrels				1		
Scriveners		1	2		1	
Totals		1	3	1	1	
Miscellaneous						
Barbers	3	6	3	1	1	
Servants	1					
Totals	4	6	3	1	1	

	Numbers owning goods valued at:-			
	£100-299	£300-500	Over £500	Totals
Professional				
Mayor's sergeants				1
Minstrels				1
Scriveners				4
Totals				6
Miscellaneous				
Barbers	1			15
Servants				1
Totals	1			16

Appendix XV

The value of the moveable goods owned by the various crafts in 1525

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-											
	Under £2			£2 to £4			£5 to £9			£10 to £19		
Building	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Carpenters	3	0	0	23	13	4	29	0	0	55	0	0
Freemasons												
Glasswrights	1	0	0				8	0	0			
Glaziers				20	13	4				25	6	8
Joiners				4	0	0						
Masons	3	0	0	25	0	0	17	13	4	26	0	0
Millwrights	1	0	0				5	0	0			
Reeders	1	0	0	12	0	0				10	0	0
Sawyers							5	0	0	10	0	0
Tilers							6	13	4			
Totals	9	0	0	85	6	8	71	6	8	126	6	8
Food & Drink												
Bakers	4	0	0	16	0	0	13	0	0	58	6	8
Brewers	3	0	0	100	0	0				16	0	0
Butchers	10	0	0	27	13	4	21	0	0	48	13	4
Cooks	3	0	0	8	0	0						
Fishermen				6	0	0	6	0	0	10	0	0
Fishmongers	2	0	0	8	0	0	5	0	0	65	13	4
Millers	1	0	0				5	0	0			
Spicers							8	0	0			
Totals	23	0	0	75	13	4	58	0	0	198	13	4
Distributive												
Drapers				2	0	0				48	6	8
Grocers				13	13	4	12	0	0	72	6	8
Haberdashers				7								
Mercers				11	0	0	36	6	8	119	0	0
Raffmen	4	0	0	11	0	0	33	13	4	12	0	0
Wax-chandlers	1	0	0	2	0	0	7	0	0			
Totals	5	0	0	46	13	4	89	0	0	251	13	4
Clothing												
Cappers	2	0	0	2	13	4	6	0	0			
Hosiers										10	0	0
Tailors	9	0	0	48	13	4	42	13	4	86	6	8
Totals	11	0	0	51	6	8	48	13	4	96	6	8
Transport												
Carriers	1	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	0			
Carters	1	0	0				8	0	0			
Keelmen				2	0	0						
Loaders	1	0	0									
Watermen	3	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	0	13	6	8
Totals	6	0	0	8	0	0	19	0	0	13	6	8

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-											
	£20 - 39			£40 - 99			£100 - 299			Totals		
Building	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Carpenters	46	13	4							157	6	8
Freemasons							106	13	4	106	13	4
Glasswrights										9	0	0
Glaziers										46	0	0
Joiners										4	0	0
Masons										71	13	4
Millwrights										6	0	0
Reeders										23	0	0
Sawyers										15	0	0
Tilers										6	13	4
Totals	46	13	4				106	13	4	445	6	8
Food & Drink												
Bakers	35	0	0	240	0	0				366	6	8
Brewers	30	0	0	80	0	0	160	0	0	299	0	0
Butchers	80	0	0	40	0	0	133	6	8	360	13	4
Cooks				70	0	0				81	0	0
Fishermen	20	0	0							42	0	0
Fishmongers										80	13	4
Millers										6	0	0
Spicers										8		
Totals	165	0	0	430	0	0	293	6	8	1,243	13	4
Distributive												
Drapers	50	0	0	185	0	0	160	0	0	1,012	0	0 *
Grocers	88	6	8	216	0	0	490	0	0	1,842	6	8 *
Haberdashers										7	0	0
Mercers	196	6	8	521	6	8	1,356	13	4	3,190	13	4 *
Raffmen	70	0	0							130	13	4
Wax-chandlers										10	0	0
Totals	404	13	4	922	6	8	2,006	13	4	6,192	13	4
Clothing												
Cappers										10	13	4
Hosiers				40	0	0				50	0	0
Tailors	60	0	0	53	6	8				300	0	0
Totals	60	0	0	93	6	8				360	13	4
Transport												
Carriers										10	0	0
Carters										9	0	0
Keelmen										2	0	0
Loaders										1	0	0
Watermen										24	6	9
Totals										46	6	8

* These totals include a draper assessed on £566.13s.4d., a grocer assessed on £950 0s. 0d., and two mercers assessed on £400 0s. 0d. and £550 0s. 0d. respectively.

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-											
	Under £2			£2 to £4			£5 to £9			£10 to £19		
Leather	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Cobblers				2	0	0						
Collarmakers				2	0	0						
Cordwainers	6	0	0	19	0	0	31	13	4	41	6	8
Curriers	1	0	0	11	0	0	8	0	0	10	00	0
Glovers							7	0	0			
Parchmenors												
Pointmakers							5	0	0			
Saddlers	2	0	0	10	13	4				10	0	0
Shoemakers	10	0	0	14	0	0	6	0	0	22	0	0
Skinners				4	0	0				13	6	8
Tanners	6	0	0				5	0	0			
Totals	25	0	0	62	13	4	62	13	4	96	13	4
Metal												
Blacksmiths	1	0	0									
Bladesmiths	1	0	0				6	0	0			
Braziers	1	0	0							12	0	0
Goldbeaters				3	0	0						
Goldsmiths							8	0	0	22	0	0
Hardwaremen							7	0	0			
Locksmiths	1	0	0									
Pewterers										29	6	8
Pinners	1	0	0	2	0	0	5	6	8	20	0	0
Sheargrinders				2	0	0						
Smiths	2	0	0	6	0	0	5	0	0	24	0	0
Spurriers	1	0	0	3	6	8						
Totals	8	0	0	16	6	8	31	6	8	107	6	8
Textiles												
Calendrers	1	0	0	16	13	4	6	13	4	12	0	0
Coverlet-weavers	3	0	0	14	0	0	19	0	0			
Dyers	6	0	0	2	0	0	23	13	4	39	6	8
Fullers	3	0	0				17	16	8	10	0	0
Shearmen	8	0	0	30	0	0	5	0	0	18	0	0
Staymakers				3	6	8						
Thickwoollen weavers	1	0	0	2	0	0						
Weavers	1	0	0									
Woolchapmen										10	0	0
Woolmen				4	0	0				13	6	8
Worsted shearmen				2	0	0						
Worsted weavers	31	0	0	138	13	4	92	0	0	111	0	0
Totals	54	0	0	212	13	4	164	3	4	213	13	4
Woodwork												
Bowyers				2	0	0						
Coopers	2	0	0	5	0	0	6	13	4			
Fletchers	2	0	0	2	0	0	13	0	0			
Gravers										20	0	0
Pattern-makers	1	6	8	4	0	0	8	0	0			
Ploughwrights										10	0	0
Totals	5	6	8	13	0	0	27	13	4	30	0	0

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-											
	£20 - 39			£40 - 99			£100 - 299			Totals		
Leather	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Cobblers										2	0	0
Collarmakers										2	0	0
Cordwainers	45	0	0							149	0	0
Curriers										30	0	0
Glovers	22	0	0							29	0	0
Parchmeners				45	0	0				45	0	0
Pointmakers										5	0	0
Saddlers										22	13	4
Shoemakers	20	0	0							72	0	0
Skinners										17	6	8
Tanners	83	6	8	50	0	0				144	6	8
Totals	170	6	8	95	0	0				512	6	8
Blacksmiths										1	0	0
Bladesmiths	30	0	0							37	0	0
Braziers										13	0	0
Goldbeaters										3	0	0
Goldsmiths	20	0	0	40	0	0				90	0	0
Hardwaremen										7	0	0
Locksmiths										1	0	0
Pewterers	26	13	4							56	0	0
Pinners	20	0	0							48	6	8
Sheargrinders										2	0	0
Smiths	65	0	0							102	0	0
Spurriers										4	6	8
Totals	161	13	4	40	0	0				364	13	4
Textiles												
Calendrers	20	0	0	66	13	4				123	0	0
Cov.weavers	84	13	4				246	13	4	367	6	8
Dyers				50	0	0	140	0	0	261	0	0
Fullers	23	6	8							54	3	4
Shearmen	30	0	0	40	0	0				131	0	0
Staymakers										3	6	8
Thickwoollenweavers										3	0	0
Weavers										1	0	0
Woolchapmen										10	0	0
Worsted shearmen										2	0	0
Wstd.weavers	283	6	8	368	0	0	160	0	0	1,184	0	0
Totals	441	6	8	524	13	4	546	13	4	2,157	3	4
Woodwork												
Bowyers										2	0	0
Coopers	20	0	0							33	13	4
Fletchers										17	0	0
Gravers										20	0	0
Pattern-makers										13	6	8
Ploughwrights										10	0	0
Totals	20	0	0							96	0	0

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-											
	Under £2			£2 to £4			£5 to £9			£10 to £19		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Professional												
Mayor's sergeants							5	0	0			
Minstrels										10	0	0
Scriveners				2	0	0	10	0	0			
Totals				2	0	0	15	0	0	10	0	0
Miscellaneous												
Barbers	3	0	0	14	6	8	20	13	4	10	0	0
Servants	1	0	0									
Totals	4	0	0	14	6	8	20	13	4	10	0	0

	Numbers owning moveable goods valued at:-											
	£20 - 39			£40 - 99			£100 - 299			Totals		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Professional												
Mayor's sergeants										5	0	0
Minstrels										10	0	0
Scriveners	30	0	0							42	0	0
Totals	30	0	0							57	0	0
Miscellaneous												
Barbers	32	0	0				120	0	0	200	0	0
Servants										1	0	0
Totals	32	0	0				120	0	0	201	0	0

Appendix V

The distribution of wealth in Norwich as indicated by the surviving inventories A 1584-1600

Number of people with inventories valued at:-

	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Textiles									
Clothiers			1		1				2
Cloth shearmen	1								1
Dyers		2							2
Lace weavers		1							1
Shearmen		1							1
Weavers		1							1
Worsted weavers	3	3	3		4				13
Totals	4	8	4		5				21
Distributive									
Grocers	1		1	4		3	1		10
Haberdashers			2	1					3
Mercers	1					2			3
Merchants					1	1			2
Totals	2		3	5	1	6	1		18
Food & Drink									
Bakers					1	1			2
Brewers								2	2
Butchers		1			1	1			3
Fishmongers		2			2				4
Innholders					1				1
Innkeepers						1			1
Totals		3			5	3		2	13
Clothing									
Feltmakers			1	1					2
Hosiers	1				1				2
Tailors	3	2	3		4			1	13
Totals	4	2	4	1	5			1	17
Leather									
Cobblers	1								1
Cordwainers		1	2		2				5
Parchmeners					1				1
Pointmakers	1								1
Saddlers					1				1
Tanners	1								1
Totals	3	1	2		4				10
Metal									
Blacksmiths	1		1	1					3
Goldsmiths						1			1
Pewterers			1						1
Pinners				1					1
Plumbers			1						1
Smiths			1						1
Totals	1		4	2		1			8

A 1584-1600
(Continued)

Number of people with inventories valued at:-

	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Building									
Carpenters	1	2		1					4
Joiners				1					1
Limeburners					1				1
Masons	1	2							3
Painters	1								1
Reeders						1			1
Roughmasons					1				1
Sawyers		1							1
Totals	3	5		2	2	1			13
Transport									
Keelmen					1				1
Wheelwrights					1				1
Totals					2				2
Farming									
Husbandmen			1	2			1		4
Yeomen					1				1
Totals			1	2	1		1		5
Clergy									
Clerks	1	2	1	1					5
Ministers		1							1
Preachers					2				2
Totals	1	3	1	1	2				8
Gentry					1	1	2	2	6
Women	6	4	10	9	5	2			36
Miscellaneous									
Aliens		2	3	1	3	1			10
Barbers			1	1	1				3
Labourers	1								1
Musicians		1		2					3
Servants				1					1
Totals	1	3	4	5	4	1			18
Woodwork									
Basketmakers	1								1
Coopers			1			1			2
Fletchers		1		1					2
Totals	1	1	1	1		1			5
Unstated	19	8	6	7	1	1			42
Grand totals	45	38	40	31	42	17	4	5	222
Percentages	21	17	18	14	19	8	1	2	

The distribution of wealth in Norwich as indicated by the surviving inventories B 1601-1625

Number of people with inventories valued at:-

	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Textiles									
Calendrers	1								1
Clothiers						1		1	2
Clothworkers				1	1				2
Dornix weavers	1					1	1		3
Shearmen				1					1
Silk weavers						1			1
Weavers			1	2	1	2			6
Worsted shearmen					1				1
Worsted weavers		3	1	1	4	3			12
Totals	2	3	2	5	7	8	1	1	29
Distributive									
Drapers		1			1		1		3
Grocers		1		2	3	2		1	9
Mercers						1	2		3
Merchants					1	1	1		3
Wood drapers						1			1
Totals		2		2	5	5	4	1	19
Food & Drink									
Bakers				1	2	3			6
Brewers						2	1	3	6
Butchers			1	1	2			1	5
Cooks						1			1
Fishermen		1							1
Fishmongers				1					1
Innholders			1		1	1			3
Innkeepers			1						1
Totals		1	3	3	5	7	1	4	24
Clothing									
Bodymakers						1			1
Feltmakers					1				1
Hatbandmakers					1				1
Hatters		1		3	1				5
Hosiers					2	2			4
Tailors	1	2	4	4	4	2			17
Totals	1	3	4	7	9	5			29
Leather									
Cordwainers	2	1	1	2	2				8
Curriers					1				1
Glovers		1		3	1	1			6
Leatherdressers					1				1
Parchmenors				1					1
Saddlers				1	1				2
Stationers						1			1
Tanners			2			1	1		4
Totals	2	2	3	7	6	3	1		24

B 1601-1625
(Continued)

Number of people with inventories valued at:-

	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Metal									
Blacksmiths		1	1						2
Claspmakers					1				1
Goldsmiths					2				2
Pewterers							1		1
Pinners				1					1
Totals		1	1	1	3		1		7
Building									
Carpenters	1			2	1	1			5
Joiners			3	1	1	1			6
Masons	2								2
Painters		2		1					3
Reeders			1						1
Roughmasons		1	1			1			3
Tilers							1		1
Totals	3	3	5	4	2	3	1		21
Transport									
Carriers						1			1
Keelmen					1				1
Totals					1	1			2
Professional									
Apothecaries		1							1
Barber-surgeons						1			1
Bonesetters							1		1
Schoolmasters			1						1
Scriveners								1	1
Totals		1	1			1	1	1	5
Farming									
Husbandmen		1		1					2
Yeomen			1	2	3	3		2	11
Totals		1	1	3	3	3		2	13
Clergy									
Clerks			1		1	2	1		5
Ministers		1		1					2
Totals		1	1	1	1	2	1		7
Gentry				1	1	2	3	4	11
Women	11	4	10	8	6	6		1	46
Miscellaneous									
Aliens			2	2	2		1		7
Barbers					1	1			2
Chapmen		1	1						2
Guider to poor house	1								1

B 1601-1625
(Continued)

	Number of people with inventories valued at:-								
	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Miscellaneous (Continued)									
Servants				1					1
Totals	1	1	3	3	3	1	1		13
Woodwork									
Basketmakers		1			1				2
Coopers	2		1	1					4
Fletchers						1			1
Totals	2	1	1	1	1	1			7
Unstated	22	10	18	9	6	4	1		70
Grand totals	44	34	53	55	59	52	15	15	327
Percentages	13	10	16	17	18	16	5	5	

The distribution of wealth in Norwich as indicated by the surviving inventories c 1626-1650

Number of people with inventories valued at:-

	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Textiles									
Dornix weavers	1		1		3	2			7
Sayweavers					1				1
Shearmen				1					1
Silkrasers			1						1
Silkweavers								1	1
Weavers				1	1			1	3
Wool chapmen							1		1
Worsted weavers	4	1	2	3	3	8	1	2	24
Totals	5	1	4	5	8	10	2	4	39
Distributive									
Drapers					1	1			2
Grocers				1	1	5			7
Mercers				1	1	3			5
Merchants				1					1
Wool drapers			1						1
Totals			1	3	3	9			16
Food & Drink									
Bakers		1			3	2			6
Brewers			2	2		2		1	7
Butchers	1				1			1	3
Fishmongers				1					1
Gingerbreadmakers					1				1
Innholders					2	2	1	1	6
Maltsters						1			1
Millers					1				1
Vintners						1		1	2
Totals	1	1	2	3	8	8	1	4	28
Clothing									
Feltmakers		1	1						2
Hosiers								1	1
Tailors	1	1	3	5	2	1		1	14
Totals	1	2	4	5	2	1		2	17
Leather									
Cobblers		1							1
Cordwainers			1	1					2
Glovers					1				1
Stationers			1						1
Totals		1	2	1	1				5
Metal									
Blacksmiths	1			1	1				3
Bellfounders			1						1
Ironmongers								1	1
Plumbers					1				1
Totals	1		1	1	2			1	6

c 1626-1650
(Continued)

Number of people with inventories valued at:-

	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Building									
Carpenters			1		1	2			4
Roughmasons					1				1
Totals			1		2	2			5
Transport									
Keelmen						1			1
Watermen	1								1
Wheelwrights	1								1
Wherrymen			1						1
Totals	2		1			1			4
Professional									
Apothecaries				1		1	1		3
Schoolmasters			1						1
Totals			1	1		1	1		4
Farming									
Husbandmen					1				1
Yeomen			1	2	1	1			5
Totals			1	2	2	1			6
Clergy									
Clerks	2		1	1	3	4			11
Totals	2		1	1	3	4			11
Gentry						7	5	3	15
Women	6	6	6	13	6	16	4	3	60
Miscellaneous									
Aliens						1			1
Labourers		1				1			2
Musicians						1			1
Servants	1								1
Tennis court keeper				1					1
Totals	1	1		1		3			6
Woodwork									
Basketmakers	1								1
Coopers					1				1
Totals	1				1				2
Unstated	6	5	7	3	5	2	1		29
Grand totals	26	17	32	39	43	65	14	17	253
Percentages	10	7	13	15	16	26	6	7	

The distribution of wealth in Norwich as indicated by the surviving inventories D 1651-1675

Number of people with inventories valued at:-

	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Textiles									
Dornix weavers								1	1
Dyers						1			1
Jarsey drawers				1					1
Linen weavers							1		1
Twisterers					1				1
Weavers					3				3
Wool chapmen							1		1
Worsted weavers			3	3	5	8	4	2	31
Totals		6	3	4	9	9	6	3	40
Distributive									
Grocers					1	2		1	4
Haberdashers			1					1	2
Mercers						1			1
Merchants					1				1
Totals			1		2	3		2	8
Food & Drink									
Bakers					1	4			5
Butchers				1					1
Innholders					1	3			4
Millers				2					2
Oatmealmakers						1			1
Totals				3	2	8			13
Clothing									
Feltmakers					1				1
Tailors		1		2	2	4			9
Totals		1		2	3	4			10
Leather									
Collarmakers					1				1
Cordwainers					1				1
Shoemakers					1				1
Tanners				1					1
Totals				1	3				4
Metal									
Blacksmiths				1	2				3
Cutlers						2			2
Pewterers							1		1
Totals				1	2	2	1		6
Building									
Carpenters						1			1
Glaziers				1		1			2
Reedlayers			1						1
Tilers					1				1
Totals			1	1	1	2			5

D 1651-1675
(Continued)

Number of people with inventories valued at:-

Professional	£1 to £5	£6 to £9	£10 to £19	£20 to £39	£40 to £99	£100 to £299	£300 to £500	Over £500	Totals
Apothecaries					1				1
Totals					1				1
Farming									
Husbandmen					1				1
Yeomen						1			1
Totals					1	1			2
Clergy									
Clerks					2	1			3
Totals					2	1			3
Gentry			1		1	3		1	6
Women	3	2	2	5	10	4	2	1	29
Miscellaneous									
Barbers					1	1			2
Servants					1				1
Tobacconists						1			1
Totals					2	2			4
Unstated	4	1	1	8	2	2			18
Grand totals	7	10	9	25	41	40	9	7	148
Percentages	5	7	6	17	28	27	6	5	

Appendix VI

The distribution of wealth among the various crafts in 1671 as suggested by the Hearth Tax returns

	Number of hearths per household:-					
Building	1	2	3-5	6-9	10 & over	Totals
Brickmakers	1					1
Carpenters	10	10	9		1	30
Glaziers	4	6	3			13
Joiners	8	3	5			16
Masons	10	2	1			13
Painters		3	1			4
Reeders	3	1				4
Roughmasons	19	9	2			30
Ship's carpenter			1			1
Tilers	6	1				7
Totals	61	35	22		1	119
Food & Drink						
Bakers	7	9	17	7	1	41
Brewers	2	2	9	3	2	18
Butchers	15	19	9			43
Cooks		1				1
Fishermen	1					1
Fishmongers			1	1	1	3
Innholders				1		1
Maltsters			1			1
Millers	1	1	1			3
Sugarbakers			1	1		2
Vintners				2	1	3
Totals	26	32	39	15	5	117
Distributive						
Drapers		4	3	2	1	10
Grocers	1	8	24	16	5	54
Haberdashers	3	1	7	6		17
Linen drapers	1	1	2	2		6
Mercers		3	9	4		16
Merchants	1		1	9	3	14
Starchmakers		1	1			2
Tallowchandlers			1	1		2
Woollendrapers			3		1	4
Totals	6	18	51	40	10	125
Clothing						
Bodymakers			1			1
Feltmakers	4	5				9
Hosiers	2	7	2	7	5	23
Milleners			2			2
Tailors	46	41	33	4	1	125
Upperbodymakers		3	1	1		5
Totals	52	56	39	12	6	165

Appendix VI
(Continued)

	Number of hearths per households:-					
Transport	1	2	3-5	6-9	10 & over	Totals
Keelmen		1				1
Watermen	2		1			3
Totals	2	1	1			4
Miscellaneous						
Barbers	4	10	6	1		21
Gardeners			1			1
Ropemakers		1				1
Tobacco pipe makers	1					1
Whiteplatemakers				1		1
Totals	5	11	7	2		25
Leather						
Bookbinders	1		1			2
Cobblers		2				2
Cordwainers	36	28	23	2	1	90
Curriers	1					1
Glovers	1	4	3			8
Knackers	1					1
Leatherdressers		2	1			3
Parchmeners	1					1
Pointmakers	1	1				2
Saddlers	1	3	2	1		7
Stationers	3		1			4
Tanners	6	6	7	1	1	21
Translators	1					1
Trunkmakers			1			1
Totals	53	46	39	4	2	144
Metal						
Armourers	1	1				2
Blacksmiths	15	15	3			23
Bladesmiths		1		1		2
Braziers	1			1		2
Clockmakers		1				1
Cutlers	4	8	2			14
Goldsmiths		1	1	1		3
Gunsmiths		1	2			3
Instrument-makers		1				1
Ironmongers	2	1	1	3	1	8
Locksmiths	1	5	3			9
Pewterers		1	4	1		6
Pinners	2	2	4	1		9
Plumbers	1					1
Spurriers	1					1
Watchmakers	1					1
Totals	29	28	20	8	1	86

Appendix VI
(Continued)

	Number of hearths per household:-					
Woodwork	1	2	3-5	6-9	10 & over	Totals
Chairmakers			1			1
Coopers	5	2	1	1		9
Turners	1	2	1			4
Wine-coopers		1				1
Totals	6	5	3	1		15
Textiles						
Bay weavers	1					1
Chapmen			1			1
Clothworkers		1				1
Combers	2	1			1	4
Domix weavers	8	5	5	1		19
Dyers	2	2	6	1		11
Fringemakers			1			1
Linen weavers	1	1	1		1	4
Nat makers		1				1
Say weavers		1				1
Shearmen	1		1			2
Silk weavers			1			1
Slaywrights		1				1
Twisterers	1		1			2
Upholsterers		1	1	2		4
Weavers	1	2				3
Wool combers	4	5	8	1		18
Worsted weavers	182	141	140	44	14	521
Totals	203	162	166	49	16	596
Professional						
Apothecaries			2			2
Barber-surgeons	1					1
Bonesetters	1					1
Chemists			1			1
Clerks		2	5		1	8
Doctors			1	3	5	9
Judges				1		1
Musicians		1	1			2
Prebendaries				2		2
Scriveners	1		9	7	2	19
Surgeons			1			1
Totals	3	3	18	15	8	47
Grand totals	446	397	405	146	49	1,443

Appendix VII

Admissions to the freedom in Norwich

Building	1501 to 1525	1526 to 1550	1551 to 1575	1576 to 1600	1601 to 1625	1626 to 1650	1651 to 1675
Bricklayers			4		2		1
Brickmakers						1	
Carpenters	27	17	14	32	24	29	46
Freemasons		2	2				
Glassurights	2						
Glaziers	6	4	9	11	9	10	17
Joiners		3	19	22	21	14	14
Limeburners	1	2	4	2	2	1	
Masons	21	18	24	29	19	26	5
Millwrights	2						
Painters	1		4	4	6		5
Reeders	9	5	14	7	4	9	13
Reed merchants						1	1
Roughmasons			7	8	10	9	31
Sawyers	2		1	1			
Stainers			2				
Stainers & glaziers		1					
Tilers	1	1	5	6	4	3	2
Totals	72	53	109	122	101	103	135
Clothing							
Bodymakers					4	6	2
Cappers	2	12					
Feltmakers				8	9	8	19
Hatband-makers					1		
Hattors		10	29	22	2	2	1
Hosiers		1	2	6	42	33	38
Merchant Tailors				1			
Milleners						5	3
Tailors	67	74	142	170	165	160	192
Upperbodymakers					1	2	11
Totals	69	97	173	207	224	216	266
Distributive							
Chandlers					1	4	2
Drapers	12	13	17	27	29	23	2
Grocers	31	53	121	96	75	88	70
Haberdashers	1	6	20	18	17	20	7
Haberdashers of small wares						3	11
Kyddyer					1		
Linen drapers			2		2	3	10
Mercers	70	69	49	22	36	27	19
Merchants			1	9	57	30	22
Raffmen	21	10	2		1		
Soap-boilers							1
Tobacco-pipe makers							3
Wax-chandlers	7						
Woollen-drapers				3		4	11
Totals	142	151	212	175	219	202	159

Food & Drink	1501 to 1525	1526 to 1550	1551 to 1575	1576 to 1600	1601 to 1625	1626 to 1650	1651 to 1675
Bakers	11	19	23	32	41	59	58
Brewers	8	7	12	1	22	11	2
Brewers of Ale			1	1			
Brewers of Beer	2	9	16	24	12	8	21
Butchers	20	26	29	30	29	28	27
Comfit-makers					1		
Cooks	3	2	6	5	13	6	2
Fingerbreadmakers			1				
Fishermen	1	2	2	2	1		
Fishmongers	12	6	18	13	15	7	5
Freshwatermen	4	4	3				
Gingerbreadmakers							3
Innholders		1	7	13	17	11	
Innkeepers		5	4	3		1	
Maltsters		1		2	1	1	1
Mealsellers							1
Millers	1	1	3	1		1	2
Oatmealmakers			1				
Poulterers		1				1	
Stillers of hot water						1	
Sugar-bakers			1			2	1
Victuallers		1	4	1	1		
Vintners	1	2		5	4	12	1
Totals	63	87	131	133	157	149	124
Leatherwork							
Bagmakers	1	2					
Bookbinders			1		1	2	
Bridlemakers						1	
Buttonmakers						1	
Cobblers			9	8	20	7	2
Collarmakers			1			1	
Cordwainers	18	29	53	78	81	107	115
Curriers	3	2	6	6	4	3	
Foisterers	2	3		1			
Glovers		11	16	32	21	24	16
Heelmakers						1	
Jerkin-makers			1				
Knackers				1	1		1
Leathercarvers		2					
Leatherdressers				3	3	8	3
Parchmeners	4	2	4	3	3	3	1
Patternmakers	3						1
Pointmakers	4		2	2	1		1
Saddlers	9	8	10	9	8	8	11
Shoemakers	16	14	2				
Skinners	4	2	8	5	3	2	
Stationers				3	5	3	6
Tanners	14	25	22	15	27	24	11
Translators							5
Trunkmakers						1	1
Totals	78	100	135	166	178	196	174

Metalwork	1501 to 1525	1526 to 1550	1551 to 1575	1576 to 1600	1601 to 1625	1626 to 1650	1651 to 1675
Armourers			1		2	3	2
Bellfounders		2	1				
Blacksmiths			10	19	27	27	26
Bladesmiths	5	5	7	5	4	4	2
Braziers	3		2	1		1	5
Claspmakers					1		
Clockmakers					1	3	
Cutlers		2	7	6	9	14	10
Farriers			1				
Furbishers			1				
Goldbeaters	2						
Goldsmiths	4	7	9	8	9	7	7
Gunsmiths						3	2
Hardwaremen	2	2					
Hookmakers		1					
Instrumentmakers							1
Ironmongers				1	6	7	9
Latten-founders					1		
Locksmiths	2	2	5	8	18	18	14
Pewterers	2	3	4	5	5	5	6
Pinners	7	2	5	3	8	11	7
Plumbers			1	2	3	3	4
Sievemakers			1	1		1	1
Smiths	10	32	10	4			
Spurriers	2		1	1	3	2	
Tinkers		1					
Watchmakers						2	1
Wiredrawers	1		1				
Totals	40	59	67	64	97	111	97
Miscellaneous							
Ashburners			1	1			
Barbers	15	15	8	15	19	30	34
Chapmen					1	1	
Courtholders			1				
Fellmongers							1
Gardeners							2
Horseleeches			1				
Jackmakers						1	
Labourers			1				
Latheryvers			1				
Mapmakers							1
Minstrels	2	1					
Musicians			2	6	3		2
Organmakers	1						
Plateworkers							1
Ploughwrights	1	2	1				
Potters							2
Printers			1				
Ropemakers			1	1		1	
Sergeants	2						
Stringers		1					
Swordbearers	1		1		1		
Whiteplatemakers						6	4
Whiteplateworkers						1	1
Totals	22	19	19	26	26	40	48

Professional	1501 to 1525	1526 to 1550	1551 to 1575	1576 to 1600	1601 to 1625	1626 to 1650	1651 to 1675
Apothecaries	1	1	1	7	12	11	11
Barber-surgeons			1	1			
Chemists							2
Juris periti		3					
Legis periti		3					
Notaries		2					
Schoolmasters					1		
Scriveners	15	8	12	15	21	17	20
Surgeons	1	1	3	1	3	1	2
Totals	17	18	17	24	37	29	35
Textiles							
Bayweavers				4	1		
Bleachers	1						
Calendrers	10	10	3	2	2	9	
Cardmakers						1	
Clothiers				6	3		
Clothmakers		1					
Clothmen		1					
Clothshearmen				3	2	1	8
Clothworkers		1					
Colourmakers		1					
Combers				1	4	12	2
Coverletweavers	12	8	2				
Dornixweavers		2	27	38	45	27	14
Dyers	7	11	10	3	18	14	7
Embroiderers	1						
Fringemakers					3	2	
Fullers	4	4					
Hairmakers			2				
Hairmen		1					
Hairweavers							1
Hotpressers							1
Laceweavers				1		1	1
Linenweavers			5	3	2	4	
Linen & woollenweavers			4	2			
Natmakers					1		
Ribbonweavers			2	2			2
Russellweavers			2	1			
Sayweavers					1	1	
Shearmen	26	29	11	10	11	7	2
Silkrasers					3	4	
Silkweavers					3		1
Slaymakers	3			2	2	1	
Slaywrights		1			1	1	
Tachemakers		1					
Thickwoollen weavers	5	3					
Tuft-mockado makers				1			
Twisterers				1		3	2
Waterers of stuffs						1	
Weavers	1			3	16	3	
Woolchapmen	1			2			
Woolcombers				1	7	6	24
Woolmen	1						
Worsted calendrers		1					
Worsted shearmen	3	1	2	1	1	2	1

Textiles (Cont.)	1501 to 1525	1526 to 1550	1551 to 1575	1576 to 1600	1601 to 1625	1626 to 1650	1651 to 1675
Worsted-weavers	134	114	103	74	261	392	680
Totals	209	189	171	164	387	492	748
Transport							
Carriers	2	8	8	5		1	
Carters	1	1					
Coachmakers							2
Keelmen		5	7	2	8	2	1
Loaders	1						
Ship's carpenters							1
Watermen	2	1	2		1		2
Wheelwrights			3	4			
Totals	6	15	20	11	9	3	6
Woodwork							
Basketmakers			3	3	4	3	6
Bowyers	2	1	1				
Chairmakers						1	1
Coopers	3	11	11	14	12	13	22
Fletchers	4	4	2	1			
Gravers	5	4					
Pedmakers			1	1			
Skepmakers	2	1					
Turners		2	2	1	1	1	11
Totals	16	23	20	20	17	18	40

Appendix VIII

Admissions to the freedom by patrimony apprenticeship and purchase, 1551-1675

A = Patrimony
B = Apprenticeship
C = Purchase
D = Totals

1. 1551-1575

Building	A	B	C	D
Bricklayers		3	1	4
Carpenters	2	9	3	14
Freemasons	1		1	2
Glaziers	1	5	3	9
Joiners	2	9	8	19
Limeburners	1		3	4
Masons	1	17	6	24
Painters		1	3	4
Reeders		3	11	14
Roughmasons		6	1	7
Sawyers			1	1
Stainers		1	1	2
Tilers	1	4		5
Totals	9	58	42	109

Food and Drink				
Bakers	5	9	9	23
Brewers			12	12
Brewers of Ale			1	1
Brewers of Beer			16	16
Butchers	8	8	13	29
Cooks			6	6
Fingerbreadmaker			1	1
Fishermen	1		1	2
Fishmongers	3	2	13	18
Freshwatermen	2		1	3
Innholders			7	7
Innkeepers			4	4
Millers			3	3
Oatmealmakers			1	1
Sugarbakers			1	1
Victuallers			4	4
Totals	19	19	93	131

Miscellaneous				
Ashburners			1	1
Barbers	2	5	1	8
Courtholders	1			1
Horseleeches		1		1
Labourers			1	1
Latheryvers			1	1
Musicians			2	2
Ploughurights			1	1
Printers			1	1
Ropemakers			1	1
Swordbearers			1	1
Totals	3	6	10	19

Clothing	A	B	C	D
Hatters	1	16	12	29
Hosiers			2	2
Tailors	9	28	105	142
Totals	10	44	119	173

Distributive				
Drapers	5	6	6	17
Grocers	41	63	17	121
Haberdashers	3	6	11	20
Linen drapers			2	2
Mercers	16	11	22	49
Merchants			1	1
Raffmen	2			2
Totals	67	86	59	212

Leatherwork				
Bookbinders			1	1
Cobblers	1	4	4	9
Collarmakers		1		1
Cordwainers	12	19	22	53
Curriers	3	1	2	6
Glovers	1	2	13	16
Jerkin makers		1		1
Parchmeners	2		2	4
Pointmakers			2	2
Saddlers		10		10
Shoemakers	1	1		2
Skinners		2	6	8
Tanners	5	12	5	22
Totals	25	53	57	135

Metalwork				
Armourers		1		1
Bellfounders			1	1
Blacksmiths		8	2	10
Bladesmiths	1	6		7
Braziers			2	2
Cutlers		3	4	7
Farriers			1	1
Furbishers			1	1
Goldsmiths	1	5	3	9
Locksmiths		3	2	5
Powterers		1	3	4
Pinners	2	2	1	5
Plumbers			1	1
Sievemakers			1	1

Metalwork	A	B	C	D
Smiths		6	4	10
Spurriers		1		1
Wiredrawers			1	1
Totals	4	36	27	67

Textiles	A	B	C	D
Calendrers	1	2		3
Coverlet weavers	1	1		2
Dornixweavers	6	17	4	27
Dyers	5	3	2	10
Hairmakers			2	2
Linenweavers		1	4	5
Linen and woollenweavers	2		2	4
Russellweavers		2		2
Shearmen	2	1	8	11
Worsted shearmen		2		2
Worstedweavers	21	65	17	103
Totals	38	94	39	171

Professional	A	B	C	D
Apothecaries		1		1
Barber-surgeons			1	1
Scriveners	5	4	3	12
Surgeons	1	1	1	3
Totals	6	6	5	17

Transport	A	B	C	D
Carriers			8	8
Keelmen	1		6	7
Watermen			2	2
Wheelwrights		1	2	3
Totals	1	1	18	20

Woodwork	A	B	C	D
Basketmakers		1	2	3
Bowyers			1	1
Coopers	5	3	3	11
Fletchers		1	1	2
Pedmakers			1	1
Turners	1	1		2
Totals	6	6	8	20

2. 1576-1600

Building	A	B	C	D
Carpenters	4	16	12	32
Glaziers	4	4	3	11
Joiners	4	8	10	22
Limeburners			2	2
Masons	1	20	8	29
Painters	1		3	4
Reeders	1	3	3	7
Roughmasons	2	6		8
Sawyers	1			1
Tilers	1	1	4	6
Totals	19	58	45	122

Food and Drink				
Bakers	11	12	9	32
Brewers			1	1
Brewers of Ale		1		1
Brewers of Beer	4	7	13	24
Butchers	10	7	13	30
Cooks			5	5
Fishermen	1		1	2
Fishmongers	3	1	9	13
Innholders	2		11	13
Innkeepers			3	3
Maltsters			2	2
Millers			1	1
Victuallers			1	1
Vintners	2	2	1	5
Totals	33	30	70	133

Miscellaneous				
Ashburners	1			1
Musicians	2	1	3	6
Ropemakers	1			1
Upholsterers			3	3
Barbers	5	9	1	15
Totals	9	10	7	26

Professional				
Apothecaries	3	4		7
Barber-surgeons			1	1
Scriveners	4	7	4	15
Surgeons		1		1
Totals	7	12	5	24

Transport				
Carriers		1	4	5
Keelmen	1	1		2
Wheelwrights	2	1	1	4
Totals	3	3	5	11

Clothing	A	B	C	D
Feltmakers		7	1	8
Hatters	2	13	7	22
Hosiers	1	2	3	6
Merchant Tailors	1			1
Tailors	18	54	98	170
Totals	22	76	109	207

Distributive				
Drapers	4	22	1	27
Grocers	27	44	25	96
Haberdashers	5	6	7	18
Mercers	3	11	8	22
Merchants	3	4	2	9
Woollen drapers		1	2	3
Totals	42	88	45	175

Leatherwork				
Cobblers			8	8
Cordwainers	17	31	30	78
Curriers	1	2	3	6
Foisterers	1			1
Glovers	1	13	18	32
Knackers			1	1
Leatherdressers			3	3
Parchmeners			3	3
Pointmakers			2	2
Saddlers		6	3	9
Skinners		3	2	5
Stationers	1	1	1	3
Tanners	6	7	2	15
Totals	27	63	76	166

Metalwork				
Blacksmiths	1	4	14	19
Bladesmiths	2	2	1	5
Braziers			1	1
Cutlers	2	2	2	6
Goldsmiths	2	4	2	8
Ironmongers	1			1
Locksmiths	1	5	2	8
Pewterers		2	3	5
Pinners	1	1	1	3
Plumbers	1		1	2
Sieve makers			1	1
Smiths	1	1	2	4
Spurriers			1	1
Totals	12	21	31	64

Textiles	A	B	C	D
Day weavers			4	4
Calendrers		2		2
Clothiers		2	4	6
Clothshearmen			1	1
Clothworkers	1		2	3
Combers			1	1
Dornixweavers	5	31	2	38
Dyers	1		2	3
Embroiderers		1	2	3
Laceweavers		1		1
Linenweavers			3	3
Linen and woollenweavers	1		1	2
Russellweavers			1	1
Shearmen	1	4	5	10
Silkrasers			1	1
Slay makers		1	1	2
Tuftmockado makers	1	1		2
Twisterers	1			1
Weavers	1	1	1	3
Woolchapmen			2	2
Woolcombers			1	1
Worstedshearmen	1			1
Worsted weavers	20	43	11	74
Totals	33	86	45	164

Woodwork	A	B	C	D
Basketmakers		2	1	3
Coopers	3	6	5	14
Fletchers			1	1
Pedmakers		1		1
Turners			1	1
Totals	3	9	8	20

3. 1601-1625

Building	A	B	C	D
Bricklayers		1	1	2
Carpenters	2	16	6	24
Glaziers	3	4	2	9
Joiners	4	9	8	21
Limeburners		1	1	2
Masons	4	10	5	19
Painters	2	3	1	6
Reeders		4		4
Roughmasons	5	5		10
Tilers	2	2		4
Totals	22	55	24	101

Food and Drink				
Bakers	20	15	6	41
Brewers	3	12	7	22
Brewers of Beer	6	4	2	12
Butchers	12	7	10	29
Comfit-makers			1	1
Cooks	1	6	6	13
Fishermen	1			1
Fishmongers	4	6	5	15
Innholders		1	16	17
Maltsters			1	1
Victuallers	1			1
Vintners		3	1	4
Totals	48	54	55	157

Metalwork				
Armourers		1	1	2
Blacksmiths	1	16	10	27
Bladesmiths	1	3		4
Claspmakers			1	1
Clockmakers		1		1
Cutlers	3	5	1	9
Goldsmiths	3	5	1	9
Ironmongers	3	3		6
Latten-founders			1	1
Locksmiths	2	12	4	18
Pewterers	4		1	5
Pinners	2	2	4	
Plumbers		1	2	3
Spurriers		2	1	3
Totals	19	51	27	97

Professional				
Apothecaries	3	8	1	12
Schoolmasters			1	1
Scriveners	6	10	5	21
Surgeons			3	3
Totals	9	18	10	37

Clothing	A	B	C	D
Bodymakers		2	2	4
Feltmakers	1	7	1	9
Hatbandmakers			1	1
Hatters	1	1		2
Hosiers	6	15	21	42
Tailors	15	67	83	165
Upperbodymakers			1	1
Totals	23	92	109	224

Distributive				
Chandlers			1	1
Drapers	4	22	3	29
Grocers	20	46	9	75
Haberdashers	5	6	6	17
Kyddyers			1	1
Linendrapers		1	1	2
Mercers	8	22	6	36
Merchants	20	20	17	57
Raffmen			1	1
Totals	57	117	45	219

Leatherwork				
Bookbinders	1			1
Cobblers		2	18	20
Cordwainers	12	27	42	81
Curriers		1	3	4
Glovers	1	10	10	21
Knackers			1	1
Leather dressers	1	2		3
Parchmeners	1	1	1	3
Pointmakers			1	1
Saddlers	3	2	3	8
Skinners	2	1		3
Stationers		2	3	5
Tanners	6	12	9	27
Totals	27	60	91	178

Miscellaneous				
Barbers	6	9	4	19
Chapmen			1	1
Musicians	1	1	1	3
Swordbearers		1		1
Upholsterers	1	1		2
Totals	8	12	6	26

Transport				
Keelmen	1		7	8
Watermen			1	1
Totals	1		8	9

Textiles	A	B	C	D
Bayweavers			1	1
Calendrers		2		2
Clothiers			3	3
Clothworkers	1		1	2
Combers			4	4
Dornixweavers	14	29	2	45
Dyers	1	6	11	18
Fringemakers		1	2	3
Linenweavers			2	2
Natmakers			1	1
Sayweavers	1			1
Shearmen		4	7	11
Silkrasers	1	1	1	3
Silkweavers			3	3
Slaymakers	1	1		2
Slaywrights			1	1
Weavers	2	2	12	16
Woolcombers	2	1	4	7
Worstedshearmen		1		1
Worstedweavers	68	150	43	261
Totals	91	198	98	387

Woodwork	A	B	C	D
Basketmakers	1		3	4
Coopers	1	11		12
Turners			1	1
Totals	2	11	4	17

4. 1626-1650

Building	A	B	C	D
Brickmakers	1			1
Carpenters	9	17	3	29
Glaziers	2	5	3	10
Joiners	5	7	2	14
Limeburners		1		1
Masons	9	14	3	26
Reeders	1	3	5	9
Reedmerchants			1	1
Roughmasons		8	1	9
Tilers		3		3
Totals	27	58	18	103

Food and Drink				
Bakers	18	38	3	59
Brewers	3	5	3	11
Brewers of Beer	2	3	3	8
Butchers	12	7	9	28
Cooks		3	3	6
Fishmongers	5	1	1	7
Innholders	2	2	7	11
Innkeepers			1	1
Maltsters	1			1
Millers	1			1
Poulterers		1		1
Stillers of hot water			1	1
Sugarbakers	1	1		2
Vintners	3	3	6	12
Totals	51	70	41	162

Metalwork				
Armourers		3		3
Blacksmiths	6	17	4	27
Bladesmiths	2	2		4
Braziers			1	1
Clockmakers	3			3
Cutlers	3	7	4	14
Goldsmiths	5	1	1	7
Gunsmiths	1	2		3
Ironmongers	1	4	2	7
Locksmiths	6	11	1	18
Pewterers	2	1	2	5
Pinners	6	4	1	11
Plumbers	1	1	1	3
Sievemakers	1			1
Spurriers	1	1		2
Watchmakers		1	1	2
Totals	38	55	18	111

Clothing	A	B	C	D
Bodymakers	2	3	1	6
Feltmakers	4	2	2	8
Hatters	1	1		2
Hosiers	14	15	4	33
Milleners	2		3	5
Tailors	35	63	62	160
Upperbodymakers		2		2
Totals	58	86	72	216

Distributive				
Chandlers	1	1	2	4
Drapers	4	17	2	23
Grocers	22	56	10	88
Haberdashers	10	8	2	20
Haberdashers of small wares	1	1	1	3
Linendrapers	1	2		3
Mercers	8	18	1	27
Merchants	10	16	4	30
Woollendrapers		3	1	4
Totals	57	122	23	202

Leatherwork				
Bookbinders	1	1		2
Bridlemakers		1		1
Buttonmakers			1	1
Cobblers	2	1	4	7
Collarmakers		1		1
Cordwainers	35	50	22	107
Curriers		2	1	3
Glovers	5	12	7	24
Heelmakers	1			1
Leatherdressers	1	6	1	8
Parchmenors		3		3
Saddlers	4	2	2	8
Skinners		2		2
Stationers	1	1	1	3
Tanners	9	10	5	24
Trunkmakers			1	1
Totals	59	92	45	196

Miscellaneous				
Barbers	8	19	3	30
Chapmen			1	1
Jackmakers		1		1
Ropemakers			1	1
Upholsterers		2	4	6
Whiteplateworkers			1	1
Totals	8	22	10	40

Professional	A	B	C	D
Apothecaries	1	8	2	11
Scriveners	8	3	6	17
Surgeons			1	1
Totals	9	11	9	29
Transport				
Carriers	1			1
Keelmen		1	1	2
Totals	1	1	1	3
Woodwork				
Basketmakers			3	3
Chairmakers		1		1
Coopers	3	6	4	13
Turners			1	1
Totals	3	7	8	18

Textiles	A	B	C	D
Calendrers	1	4	4	9
Cardmakers			1	1
Clothworkers		1		1
Combers	8		4	12
Dornixweavers	10	17		27
Dyers	4	8	2	14
Fringemakers		1	1	2
Laceweavers	1	1		2
Linenweavers			4	4
Sayweavers	1			1
Shearmen	2	4	1	7
Silkrasers	1	1	2	4
Slaymakers	1			1
Slaywrights		1		1
Twisterers		1	2	3
Waterers of stuffs			1	1
Weavers		1	2	3
Woolcombers	1	4	1	6
Worstedshearmen		1	1	2
Worsted weavers	102	251	39	392
Totals	132	295	65	492

5. 1631-1675

Building	A	B	C	D
Bricklayers	1			1
Carpenters	18	23	5	46
Glaziers	6	10	1	17
Joiners	3	9	2	14
Masons	4	1		5
Painters	4		1	5
Reeders	3	9	1	13
Reed merchants	1			1
Roughmasons	6	25		31
Tilers	1	1		2
Totals	47	78	10	135

Food and Drink				
Bakers	26	27	5	58
Brewers	1	1		2
Brewers of Beer	9	9	3	21
Butchers	16	6	5	27
Cooks	1		1	2
Fishmongers	3	2		5
Gingerbread makers	2		1	3
Maltsters	1			1
Mealsellers	1			1
Millers	2			2
Sugarbakers			1	1
Vintners	1			1
Totals	63	45	16	124

Metalwork				
Armourers	2			2
Blacksmiths	16	10		26
Bladesmiths	2			2
Braziers	2	2	1	5
Cutlers	4	6		10
Goldsmiths	1	4	2	7
Gunsmiths	1	1		2
Instrument-makers			1	1
Ironmongers	2	4	3	9
Locksmiths	1	11	2	14
Pewterers	3	3		6
Pinners	2	3	2	7
Plumbers	3	1		4
Sieve-makers			1	1
Watchmakers		1		1
Totals	39	46	12	97

Professional				
Apothecaries	5	5	1	11
Chemists	1		1	2
Scriveners	10	10		20
Surgeons	1		1	2
Totals	17	15	3	35

Clothing	A	B	C	D
Bodymakers	1	1		2
Feltmakers	5	13	1	19
Hatters		1		1
Hosiers	16	21	1	38
Milleners		3		3
Tailors	45	96	51	192
Upperbody makers	2	6	3	11
Totals	69	141	56	266

Distributive				
Chandlers		2		2
Drapers	1	1		2
Grocers	24	42	4	70
Haberdashers	3	3	1	7
Haberdashers of small wares		9	2	11
Linendrapers	3	5	2	10
Mercers	5	13	1	19
Merchants	13	7	2	22
Soap boilers		1		1
Starchmakers		1		1
Tobacco-pipe makers	2	1		3
Woollendrapers	4	7		11
Totals	55	92	12	159

Leatherwork				
Cobblers		1	1	2
Cordwainers	30	76	9	115
Glovers	8	8		16
Knackers			1	1
Leatherdressers		2	1	3
Parchmenors		1		1
Pattern-makers			1	1
Pointmakers		1		1
Saddlers	2	5	4	11
Stationers		3	3	6
Tanners	8	2	1	11
Translators			5	5
Trunkmakers		1		1
Totals	48	100	26	174

Miscellaneous				
Barbers	11	16	7	34
Fellmongers			1	1
Gardeners			2	2
Mapmakers			1	1
Musicians		2		2
Plateworkers		1		1
Potters			2	2
Upholsterers	2	2		4
Whitoplatemaker	1			1
Totals	14	21	13	48

Transport	A	B	C	D
Coachmakers		1	1	2
Keelmen			1	1
Ship's carpenters	1			1
Watermen		1	1	2
Totals	1	2	3	6

Woodwork				
Basketmakers	3	2	1	6
Chairmakers	1			1
Coopers	4	16	2	22
Turners	2	6	3	11
Totals	10	24	6	40

Textiles	A	B	C	D
Clothworkers	1	5	2	8
Combers	2			2
Dornixweavers	7	7		14
Dyers	2	5		7
Hairweavers			1	1
Hotpressers		1		1
Laceweavers		1		1
Ribbonweavers		1	1	2
Shearmen	1		1	2
Silkweavers	1		1	2
Twistorers		1	1	2
Woolchapmen		1		1
Woolcombers	13	6	5	24
Worstedshearmen		1		1
Worstedweavers	207	432	41	680
Totals	234	461	53	748

Appendix IX

Occupational details provided by the 1589 return, with the number of freemen given in brackets

Textiles		
Bay weavers	2	(2)
Calendrers	4	(2)
Clothiers	1	(1)
Clothworkers	1	(1)
Combers	4	(1)
Dornix weavers	14	(7)
Dyers	8	(7)
Embroiderers	1	
Hairweavers	1	
Laceweavers	1	
Shearmen	15	(7)
Slaymakers	3	(1)
Slaywrights	1	
Spindlemakers	1	(1)
Twisterers	3	
Upholsterers	1	(1)
Weavers	187	(100)
Wool chapmen	1	(1)
Worsted weavers	15	(12)
Totals	264	(144)

Distributive		
Drapers	16	(14)
Grocers	68	(56)
Haberdashers	10	(6)
Linen drapers	1	(1)
Mercers	11	(11)
Merchants	18	(16)
Totals	124	(104)

Farming		
Husbandmen	22	
Yeomen	14	
Totals	36	

Gents. etc.		
Gentlemen	28	
Esquires	2	
Totals	30	

Miscellaneous		
Barbers	13	(8)
Baste-rope makers	1	
Bellows makers	1	
Bottle makers	1	
Carvers	3	(1)
Gardeners	4	
Knackers	1	(1)
Pedders	3	(1)
Ropers	1	(1)
Sojourners	1	
Unknown	3	
Totals	32	(12)

Professional		
Apothecaries	8	(6)
Attorneys	7	
Bonesetters	1	
Doctors	1	
Notaries	1	
Schoolmasters	9	
Scriveners	13	(13)
Surgeons	2	(1)
Totals	42	(20)

Clothing		
Feltmakers	2	(1)
Hatters	24	(11)
Hosiers	6	(5)
Tailors	117	(83)
Totals	149	(100)

Transport		
Boatmen	11	
Carriers	9	(1)
Carters	3	
Keelmen	6	(4)
Wheelwrights	1	(1)
Totals	30	(6)

Labourers	166	

Leatherwork		
Cobblers	27	(7)
Cordwainers	52	(39)
Curriers	6	(3)
Glovers	23	(16)
Leatherdressers	2	(1)
Parchmeners	2	
Pattern-makers	2	
Pointmakers	2	(1)
Saddlers	11	(6)
Skinners	4	
Stationers	3	(2)
Tanners	26	(18)
Totals	160	(93)

Food and Drink		
Alebrewers	1	(1)
Bakers	24	(18)
Beerbrewers	8	(8)
Brewers	24	(12)
Butchers	37	(23)
Cooks	4	(2)
Fishermen	8	(3)
Fishmongers	10	(8)
Freshwaterfishers	1	(1)
Innholders	7	(2)
Innkeepers	3	(2)
Maltsters	7	(4)
Millers	10	(1)
Tipplers	4	
Vintners	4	(1)
Totals	152	(86)

Metalwork		
Armourers	1	
Bellfounders	1	(1)
Blacksmiths	1	(1)
Bladesmiths	1	(1)
Cutlers	7	(5)
Goldsmiths	3	(3)
Ironmongers	2	(2)
Locksmiths	5	(5)
Pewterers	4	(2)
Pinners	3	(1)
Plumbers	3	(2)
Smiths	23	(10)
Tinkers	1	
Totals	55	(33)

Building		
Carpenters	35	(16)
Freemasons	1	
Glaziers	9	(4)
Joiners	12	(10)
Limeburners	4	(1)
Masons	26	(17)
Painters	6	(4)
Reeders	9	(6)
Sawyers	3	(1)
Tilers	1	
Totals	106	(59)

Woodwork		
Basketmakers	1	(1)
Bowyers	3	
Coopers	15	(7)
Fletchers	2	(1)
Skepmakers	2	(1)
Turners	1	(1)
Totals	24	(11)

Appendix X

Major sources of revenue from the chamberlains' accounts, 1531-1675

Examples are given for every fifth year, except where the accounts concerned have not survived. Foreign receipts and arrears have been subtracted to show more clearly the steady increase in the regular sources of revenue. Some minor items have been excluded. The various amounts will not, in consequence, make up the grand totals.

	1531			1535			1540			1545		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Arrears				2	11	7				50	4	6
Property rents	22	19	4	31	19	0	37	9	10	55	18	2
Butchers' stalls	9	13	9	42	10	4	43	13	4	46	8	4
Other stalls	5	0	3	12	6	2	13	0	0	13	16	8
Farm of New Mills	10	0	0	30	0	0	43	6	8	43	6	8
Tolls	3	15	0	20	13	4	20	13	4	20	13	4
Foreign Receipts	30	13	2	56	8	10	94	0	11	235	1	2
Grand totals	79	16	1	197	14	5	253	8	0	467	14	7
Grand totals minus arrears and foreign receipts	49	2	11	138	14	0	159	7	1	182	8	11

	1552			1555			1560			1565		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Arrears	10	16	5	11	15	2						
Property rents	63	1	6	63	12	4	75	15	6	107	5	0
Butchers' stalls	46	3	10	51	14	1	52	12	0	55	12	8
Other stalls	18	17	0	14	5	0	13	16	8	11	10	2
Farm of New Mills	53	6	8	53	6	8	56	13	4	56	13	4
Tolls	20	13	4	20	13	4	13	13	4	13	13	4
Foreign Receipts		-		40	9	3		2	0	17	11	6
Grand totals	213	5	4	255	15	11	213	19	4	268	6	4
Grand totals minus arrears and foreign receipts	202	8	11	191	16	3	213	17	4	250	14	10

Appendix K
(Continued)

	1580			1585			1590			1595		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Arrears	46	1	5	4	13	8						
Property rents	125	10	6	139	19	9	119	0	1	130	1	7
Butchers' stalls	59	7	0	68	6	7	66	11	0	68	16	8
Other stalls	14	18	8	13	2	11	12	3	8	16	11	0
Farm of New Mills	56	13	4	56	13	4	95	0	0	95	0	0
Tolls	14	16	0	25	13	4	33	10	0	39	4	4
Foreign Receipts	21	9	0	34	8	11	291	9	10	144	11	1
Grand totals	351	6	0	343	6	2	617	14	8	488	3	9
Grand totals minus arrears & foreign receipts	283	15	7	303	18	7	326	4	10	343	14	8

	1600			1605			1610			1614		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Arrears							61	10	1	21	13	3
Property rents	161	7	6	173	9	3	191	11	0	219	4	10
Butchers' stalls	70	1	10	70	16	4	84	5	8	84	8	6
Other stalls	17	13	0	17	3	8	18	7	4	19	7	4
Farm of New Mills	100	0	0	120	0	0	120	0	0	160	0	0
Tolls	20	13	2	28	16	11	29	0	0	66	6	8
Foreign Receipts	33	6	2	9	6	7	52	10	8	7	1	8
Grand totals	401	1	9	419	11	9	558	17	11	556	9	5
Grand totals minus arrears & foreign receipts	367	15	7	410	5	2	444	17	2	527	14	6

	1620			1625			1630			1635		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Arrears	221	1	5	209	13	7	185	6	6	194	4	4
Property rents	217	14	3	239	10	1	251	18	4	271	8	7
Butchers' stalls	84	9	4	84	2	10	84	2	10	135	1	5
Other stalls	23	0	8	24	10	8	24	14	0	24	14	0
Farm of New Mills	205	0	0	212	10	0	190	0	0	185	0	0
Tolls	77	16	7	42	2	9	53	1	8	54	9	1
Foreign Receipts	22	1	3	54	11	1	29	19	11	7	9	6
Grand totals	926	5	4	867	1	0	819	3	2	869	8	1
Grand totals minus arrears & foreign receipts	608	0	10	602	16	4	603	16	9	667	14	3

Appendix X
(Continued)

	1640			1645			1650		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Arrears	214	4	6	258	6	0	337	16	0
Property rents	284	19	3	285	7	3	290	17	3
Butchers' stalls	144	4	1	158	2	0	157	19	4
Other stalls	24	13	8	24	14	0	32	0	8
Farm of New Mills	180	0	0	180	0	0	180	0	0
Tolls	56	8	4	56	4	7	56	3	4
Foreign Receipts	20	4	8	40	12	10	9	1	0
Grand totals	946	4	4	1,007	16	10	1,074	18	10
Grand totals minus arrears and foreign receipts	711	13	2	708	18	0	728	1	10

	1655			1660			1665		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Arrears	174	4	6	91	3	9	104	17	6
Property rents	280	10	3	295	15	4	300	10	8
Butchers' stalls	158	1	4	158	6	4	161	16	4
Other stalls	32	14	0	33	1	4	33	6	0
Farm of New Mills	170	0	0	170	0	0	170	0	0
Tolls	56	8	4	49	8	0	56	3	4
Foreign Receipts	123	11	0	76	18	9	677	13	3
Grand totals	1,001	10	8	884	14	6	1,547	4	6
Grand totals minus arrears and foreign receipts	703	15	2	716	12	0	764	13	9

	1670			1675		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
Arrears	187	19	3	115	8	4
Property rents	300	19	6	301	4	0
Butchers' stalls	161	16	4	161	16	4
Other stalls	33	6	0	34	2	8
Farm of New Mills	170	0	0	170	0	0
Tolls	56	3	4	56	3	4
Foreign Receipts	256	11	8	488	14	1
Grand totals	1,184	17	5	1,364	5	6
Grand totals minus arrears and foreign receipts	840	6	6	760	3	1

Appendix XI

Major items of expenditure from the chamberlains' accounts, 1531-1675

Rents resolute, fees and wages, and repairs appear amongst the payments throughout the period. Other items appear intermittently. As with revenue, only major sources are included and these will not make up the final totals.

	1531			1535			1540			1545		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Rents resolute	5	2	8	8	1	4	11	14	8	12	10	0
Fees and wages	45	10	0	82	10	0	79	16	8	99	8	8
Repairs		11	8	37	7	2	81	5	6	236	0	10
Minute expenses	19	4	2	68	3	6	5	9	10	125	15	7
Purchase of Blackfriars							54	0	0			
Totals	70	8	6	196	2	5	232	6	1	473	15	6

	1552			1555			1560			1565		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Rents resolute	8	0	4	8	0	7	7	14	0	8	2	5
Fees and wages	91	14	2	97	16	5	97	17	0	131	1	4
Repairs	67	6	1	97	6	2	59	6	0	121	15	11
Presents & rewards	4	7	10	21	0	10	15	9	9	14	18	1
Totals	210	7	7	246	15	2	195	14	10	300	2	7

	1580			1585			1590			1595		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Rents resolute	26	7	5	26	18	5	26	11	5	27	0	5
Fees andwages	160	0	6	198	18	9	183	3	8	238	19	8
Repairs	185	17	2	138	18	9	414	16	5	125	15	6
Presents & rewards	25	11	10	35	4	10	29	11	6	20	1	5
Stores and provisions	34	18	0	91	0	6	9	15	1	10	3	4
Musters							23	18	8	37	8	7
Payments by warrant							9	8	6			
Totals	475	16	10	528	3	6	740	19	2	474	11	10

Appendix XX
(Continued)

	1600			1605			1610			1614		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Rents resolute	26	18	11	26	14	9	26	14	9	26	17	9
Fees andwages	245	16	4	247	9	8	245	9	4	278	6	0
Repairs	52	4	0	144	17	6	169	15	7	68	0	8
Rewards	12	16	11	15	9	6						
Payments by warrant	103	14	0	73	15	8	81	4	10	103	17	10
Stores & provisions	11	2	4	9	1	4						
Payments by bill	14	16	10				91	5	3	114	13	11
Payments in general										7	1	6
Sermons										2	0	0
Totals	489	6	10	528	7	3	658	7	10	606	11	6

	1620			1625			1630			1635		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Rents resolute	27	11	2	27	1	1	27	12	1	27	6	1
Fees and wages	290	11	6	303	15	8	313	1	4	328	12	0
Repairs*	16	16	10	14	5	6	19	10	7	21	10	4
Payments by warrant	125	9	1	57	8	7	102	2	5	98	2	0
Payments by bill	166	7	1	157	18	11	159	17	5	144	13	8
Payments in general	17	2	10	8	5	4	13	18	4	14	7	0
Payments by order												
Sermons	2	16	8	5	0	0	3	16	8	3	10	0
Totals	769	19	5	607	17	9	675	6	5	655	16	8

* There was no sudden decrease in repairs. The bulk of the repair work after 1610 was listed under the heading 'payments by bill'. Payments by warrant embraced such city expenditure as law suits, business in London, payments to the muster master andrepairs to city plate. Payments in general were small sums paid out for various petty items.

Appendix XI
(Continued)

	1640			1645			1650			1655		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Rents resolute	23	16	1	24	4	7	13	6	6	27	17	9
Fees and wages	345	12	8	385	4	8	310	0	0	376	19	4
Repairs	23	12	4	14	8	4	36	8	9			
Payments by warrant	53	16	11	90	6	10	140	9	4	69	17	6
Payments by bill	240	9	1	114	4	7	104	18	0	230	19	0
Payments in general	10	16	8							17	19	3
Payments by order	37	5	5				19	8	7	25	18	0
Sermons	3	16	8	19	1	8	23	11	8	3	16	8
Monthly assessments				109	2	8	75	15	2	40	0	8
Totals	758	6	9	791	18	5	965	2	3	919	11	8

	1660			1665			1670			1675		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Rents resolute	23	1	1	33	19	9	42	16	5	32	5	2
Fees and wages	314	7	0	341	8	2	353	0	8	345	17	0
Repairs	21	11	5	48	2	10	3	9	7	1	7	10
Payments by warrant	124	1	8	13	15	3	32	16	6	4	3	8
Payments by bill	213	11	7	917	17	7	298	9	11	260	6	7
Payments by order	58	5	8	152	7	9	319	9	4	224	17	4
Sermons	22	19	2	7	6	8	6	6	8	5	10	0
Monthly assessments	43	18	4	67	5	10	2	0	4	1	0	0
Totals	846	2	11	1604	3	11	1076	1	11	1183	15	3

The vast increase in expenditure between 1660 and 1665 is almost entirely accounted for by additional sums spent on unspecified repair work. In the latter year four builders submitted bills to the value of £516.6s.8d.

Appendix XIII

THE BACKGROUND TO THE NORWICH CENSUS OF THE POOR, 1570

In late 1570 or early 1571, the Norwich authorities undertook a major census of the city's poor as a prelude to a complete reorganisation of its poor law scheme. It revealed the presence of 525 men and 860 women over the age of 16, and a further 974 children under that age. Between them, they made up rather less than one quarter of the families living in early Elizabethan Norwich and were so poor that they were probably below the level of the wage-earning classes assessed for taxation in 1524-5. Nonetheless, more than 80 per cent of the male and female adult population were in some form of employment and fewer than a quarter of them were deemed worthy of financial support. Rather more than half of the families were local born but a proportion of outsiders had been infiltrating into the city for a number of years, and they caused so little concern to the city authorities that the vast majority of them were housed by aldermen, councillors and other freemen who would normally be expected to contribute to the poor rate. Itinerant beggars, too, appeared to pose few problems if the numbers actually punished for vagrancy are any guide.

It is thus all the more surprising that in late 1570 the mayor, John Aldrich, launched a massive attack against vagrancy in the city. In the preamble to the orders for the poor, Aldrich claimed that the more affluent citizens were dismayed to find so many poor families in the city, particularly as the bulk of them, although claiming to follow some sort of occupation, spent most of their time begging. The 'foolish pity' of the mercantile classes was blamed for this. Their largesse was said to be so great that the city was becoming a virtual mecca for the

unemployed. Over-gorged beggars were seen to throw their surplus food into the streets, and more and more people were turning to vagrancy as a more congenial way of life than their normal occupation.

Certain points in the preamble stand out. If the situation in Norwich had deteriorated as badly as the orders for the poor suggest, one would have expected to find evidence of increasing numbers of beggars and of positive action being taken against them. In fact the reverse is true. On average, fewer than one itinerant vagrant a fortnight had been hauled before the mayor's court in the two years prior to 1571, and there is no evidence in either the Court books or the Assembly books to suggest that the city was in any way concerned with a superabundance of such people. The same story is true of the resident poor. In the three years prior to the census some 30 families had entered the city from outside its boundaries and established themselves within its confines. Most of them had succeeded in finding employment and not a few of them had received both alms and shelter from the city authorities now complaining of their presence. Another puzzling point is Aldrich's blanket statement concerning the resident poor. According to the official document, almost all of them - men, women and children - were beggars, either openly or subversively. Despite this, the clerks responsible for taking the census had been extremely careful to distinguish between the employed and unemployed, even to the extent of stressing temporary unemployment. Where a person was a known beggar this was stated without reservation. Another apparent anomaly is the statement about housing. Everyone of the 790 or so families recorded had a home, whether it was their own property, that of another person, or a shelter provided by the city or church

authorities. The beggars referred to in the preamble to the orders for the poor, in contrast, are said to inhabit church porches, barns and other places in the open, becoming filthy, verminous and disease-ridden in the process. It is implied that these are resident poor, but such an implication does not tally with the evidence of the census. People of this sort were almost certainly itinerant vagrants, drawn to the city, perhaps, by the generosity of the locals and content to sleep where they could if the daily pickings were good enough.

The contrast between the official reasons for the city's action and the evidence of the census is so great, in fact, that it seems possible that the local authorities had received a jolt which had jerked them out of their relative complacency. The jolt may have come from high places. Some 20 years previously Norwich had become the first provincial city to inaugurate compulsory contributions to the relief of the native poor. Significantly this action followed Ket's Rebellion, a major outbreak in which the local poor had been only too ready to participate. Had there been any recent occurrence which might have had the same effect on the city fathers and, even more important, on the central government? The events of the previous year suggest that there had.

On 16 May 1570, some three months after the abortive rebellion of the Northern Earls had ended in defeat, the standard of revolt was raised in Norwich. Ostensibly, the rising was aimed at the increasing numbers of Dutch and Walloon refugees who were entering the city after fleeing from the invading Spanish armies led by the Duke of Alva, but the principal objectives of the conspirators were much wider. They envisaged a link-up with the Northern Earls and were quite ready to betray the ports to Alva's soldiers to achieve their aims. The leaders were men of some

substance in the county. John Appleyard, whose half-sister was married to Robert Dudley, the Queen's favourite, had been Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1559. Brian Holland of Redenhall had been escheator of the county in 1556-7, and his family were responsible for the administration of much of the Duke of Norfolk's property in Norfolk. Others were local gentry, well-educated men and all with Catholic sympathies. Despite their connections with the Duke and the fact that they were operating in an area that might have been expected to be particularly loyal to him, there is no evidence that the conspirators used his name. Nonetheless, they twice assembled a small gathering of armed men in Norwich, but on neither occasion did their polemics attract any local support. After carefully watching the situation for a period of some six weeks the city officials acted. The leaders of the rising and their principal adherents were arrested to suffer subsequent imprisonment and, in some cases, death, and the whole affair collapsed.

The government was, nevertheless, worried and investigated closely. Norwich was the second city in the realm as well as being the centre of the Duke's home countryside, and even the threat, much less the actuality, of insurrection in those parts was enough to cause considerable disturbance. On or about 11 July 1570 William Cecil wrote to the Deputy Lieutenants of the county. After some preliminary instructions, he went on to say, '.....we will that you shall have special regard to the state of the City of Norwich where the conspiracy, as it seemeth, had its beginning; and for maintenance and comfort of the citizens who generally are faithful - and yet consisting of a great multitude of people of mean and base sort cannot be void of fear - we would have you so order the matter betwixt you as one of you might be there by turns, to tarry there, or at least to be

frequently there, where by your presence, with the company of Edward Clere and Drew Drury, our faithful servants, and such others, the heads and governors of the City may be emboldened to retain the multitude in quietness and obedience'. Cecil went on to order all loyal gentry to muster their tenants, to find arms for them, and to arrange for the inspection of those volunteer bands up and down the shire. They were to make returns of all available men, horses and weapons, to see that warning beacons were in readiness, and to make orders for the suppression of vagrants, for seeing that the Queen's peace was kept in fairs and markets, that unlawful assemblies were prohibited and that rumour mongers were dealt with.

The order to suppress vagrants might be regarded as no more than common form, particularly as the Privy Council had inaugurated a whipping campaign in 1569 which was to continue until 1572. Nevertheless, the comments about the poorer classes of Norwich are significant. The governing body were at once both contemptuous and fearful of the lower orders. Poor people, particularly in times of distress, needed little encouragement to embark on a course of action which might bring ultimate disaster to them but which could cause their betters considerable trouble. It is at least feasible that this local uprising, abortive and ill-planned though it was, might have provided the impetus for what was to be one of the best conceived and best executed poor law schemes of the century. Within a few months of Burghley's letter, possibly 'emboldened' by the presence of Clere and Drury, the city made arrangements for the census of the poor, the essential pre-requisite to a complete reorganisation of its existing scheme.

Extracted from J. F. Pound, ed., The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norf.Rec.Soc., XL, 1971, pp. 8-9.

Appendix XIII

Age, Sex and Marital Structure of the Norwich poor in 1570

Men	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70
Married	2	105	148	83	82	29
Percentages	0°40	21°21	29°89	16°76	16°56	5°86
Unmarried	9	4	3	2	3	3
Percentages	30°00	13°33	10°00	6°66	10°00	10°00
Totals	11	109	151	85	85	32
Percentages	2°09	20°76	28°76	16°19	16°19	6°09
Women						
Married	4	105	150	109	64	19
Percentages	0°80	21°25	30°36	22°06	12°95	3°84
Deserted		10	17	10	3	2
Percentages		21°73	36°95	21°73	6°52	4°34
Widowed		4	33	33	48	31
Percentages		2°18	18°03	18°03	26°22	16°93
Unmarried	18	26	17	15	18	9
Percentages	19°13	18°97	12°40	10°94	13°13	6°56
Totals	22	145	217	167	133	61
Percentages	2°55	16°86	25°23	19°41	15°46	7°09
Unspecified sex						
	36	10				
Percentages	75°00	20°83				
Grand totals	69	264	368	252	218	93
Percentages	4°81	18°36	25°69	17°59	15°22	6°49

Appendix XIII
(Continued)

Men	71-80	81-90	91-100	Unspecified	Totals
Married	23	5	1	17	495
Percentages	4°64	1°01	0°20	3°43	
Unmarried	4	1		1	30
Percentages	13°33	3°33		3°33	
Totals	27	6	1	18	525
Percentages	5°14	1°14	0°19	3°42	
Women					
Married	8	2	2	31	494
Percentages	1°61	0°40	0°40	6°27	
Deserted	1			3	46
Percentages	2°17			6°52	
Widowed	26	5	2	1	183
Percentages	14°20	2°73	1°09	0°54	
Unmarried	18	3	1	12	137
Percentages	13°13	2°18	0°72	8°76	
Totals	53	10	5	47	860
Percentages	6°16	1°16	0°58	5°69	
Unspecified sex				2	48
Percentages				4°16	
Grand totals	80	16	6	67	1,433
Percentages	5°58	1°11	0°41	4°67	

Extracted from J. F. Pound, ed., The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norf.Rec.Soc., XL, 1971, p. 95.

Appendix XIV

Occupations of the poor

A: Men

Building	
Carpenters	9
Glaziers	5
Joiners	1
Limeburners	3
Masons	11
Painters	3
Reeders	5
Sawyers	8
Stainers	1
Thatchers	1
Tilers	2
Wrights	1
Totals	50

Metalwork	
Armourers	1
Blacksmiths	4
Bladesmiths	1
Cutlers	1
Furbishers	1
Goldsmiths	2
Pewterers	1
Plumbers	1
Silversmiths	1
Smiths	4
Smith and boatman	1
Tinkers	3
Totals	21

Textiles	
Calendrers	2
Dornixweavers	9
Dyers	1
Embroiderers	1
Hairweavers	1
Laceweavers	8
Linenweavers	1
Pipefillers	4
Russellweavers	4
Shearmen	6
Staymakers	1
Slaywrights	2
Spindlemakers	1
Weavers	7
Wool combers	1
Woollen weavers	1
Worst.weavers	68
Totals	120

Clothing	
Cappers	1
Hatters	7
Tailors	18
Totals	26

Leatherwork	
Bagmakers	1
Bookbinders	1
Cobblers	26
Cordwainers	17
Curriers	1
Glovers	7
Knackers	1
Parchmeners	1
Pointmakers	1
Skinners	2
Tanners	5
Tawers	1
Totals	64

Labourers	120

Professional	
Clerks	2

Servingmen	4
Unspecified	43

Woodwork	
Basketmakers	3
Bowyers	1
Coopers	1
Flotchers	1
Totals	6

Distributive	
Chandlers	1
Haberdashers	1
Totals	2

Food and Drink	
Aqua vitae sellers	2
Bakers	6
Beerbrewers	1
Brewers	3
Butchers	5
Millers	2
Slaughterers	2
Spinebreadmakers	1
Totals	22

Miscellaneous	
Barbers	2
Birdcatchers	1
Bodgers	5
Chapmen	1
Chimney sweeps	1
Gardeners	2
Gatherer of coney skins	1
Haymakers	1
Husbandmen	1
Kitchen keeper	1
Keeper of St. Gregory's church	1
Maker of horns and spoons	1
Mouldmakers	1
Ostlers	1
Quarry pickers	1
Seafaringmen	1
Shepherds	2
Travellers in small wares	1
Totals	25

B: Women

Clothing	
Button makers	4
Embroiderers	1
Knitters	47
Knitters of caps	2
Knitters of hose	9
Makers of women's hose	1
Menders of old garments	1
Sewers	24
Tailors	2
Totals	91

Food and Drink	
Aqua vitae stillers	2
Bread and victuals sellers	1
Fish sellers	2
Flesh sellers	1
Malt makers	1
Meat and drink sellers	1
Sauce sellers	3
Sauce and links sellers	1
Totals	12

Textiles (other than spinning)	
Bobbin fillers	1
Bone lace makers	1
Carders	3
Lace weavers	15
Pipe fillers	16
String weavers	2
Wool carders	1
Yarn twisters	1
Totals	40

Spinning	
Cotton spinners	5
Flax spinners	4
Hair spinners	1
Hemp spinners	3
Linen spinners	11
Montlewarp spinners	23
Middlewarp spinners	2
Smallstuff spinners	11
Spinners	54
Spinners and carders	49
Tow spinners	3
Twine spinners	1
Webbing spinners	17
Whitewarp spinners	343
Woollen spinners	27
Totals	554

Miscellaneous	
Bodgers	1
Botchers	1
Chalk pickers	1
Choppers of flocks	1
Cutters of shreds	1
Haberdashers	1
Kiln pickers	1
Labourers	5
Midwives	1
Pedlars	2
Servants	1
Towel sellers	1
Travellers	1
Turners of spits	1
Washerwomen	8
Totals	27
Unspecified	2

Grand totals 726

The occupational details in this Table are derived from J.F.Pound, ed., The Norwich Census of the Poor, 1570, Norfolk Record Society, XL, 1971, pp. 97-99.

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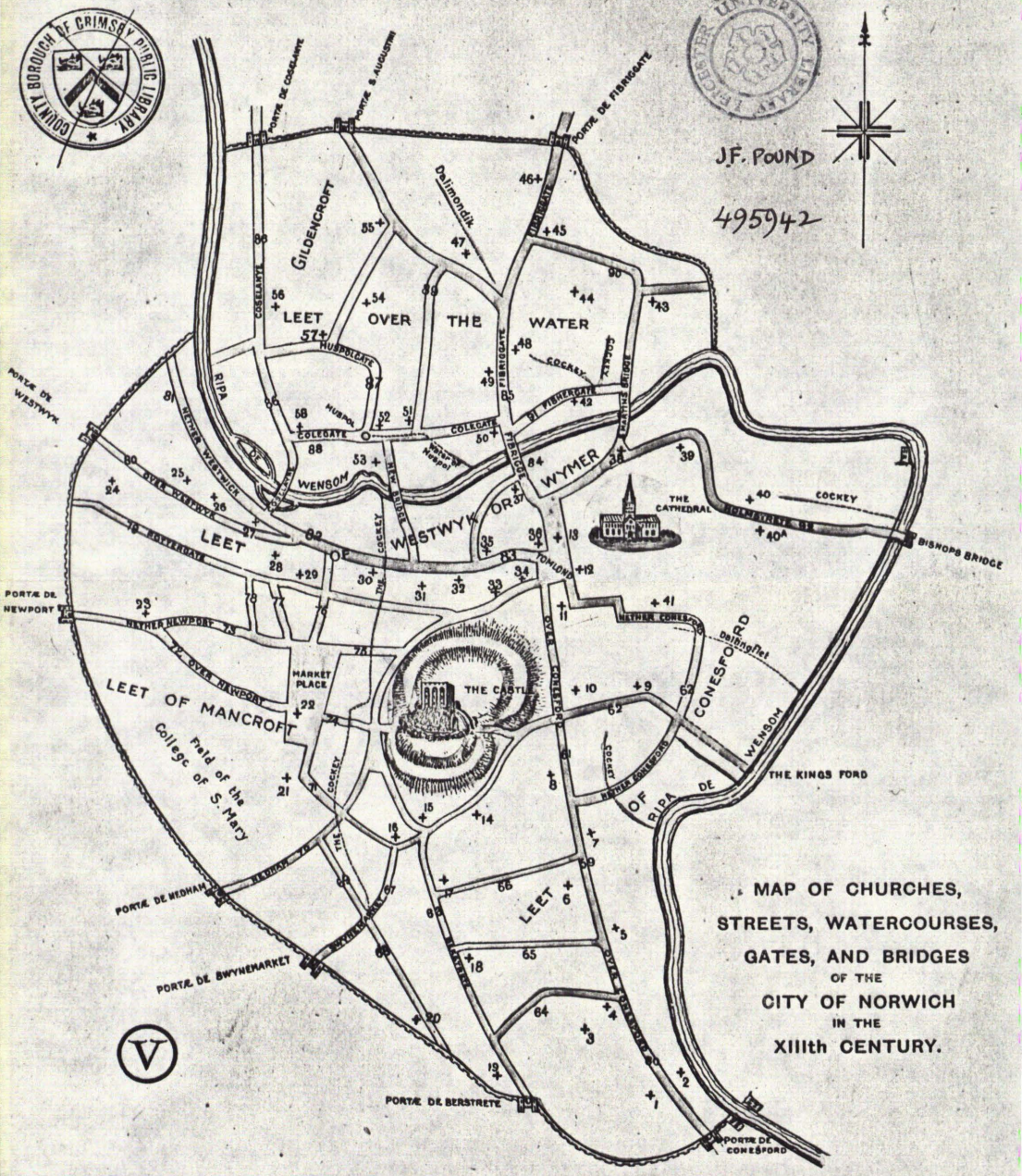
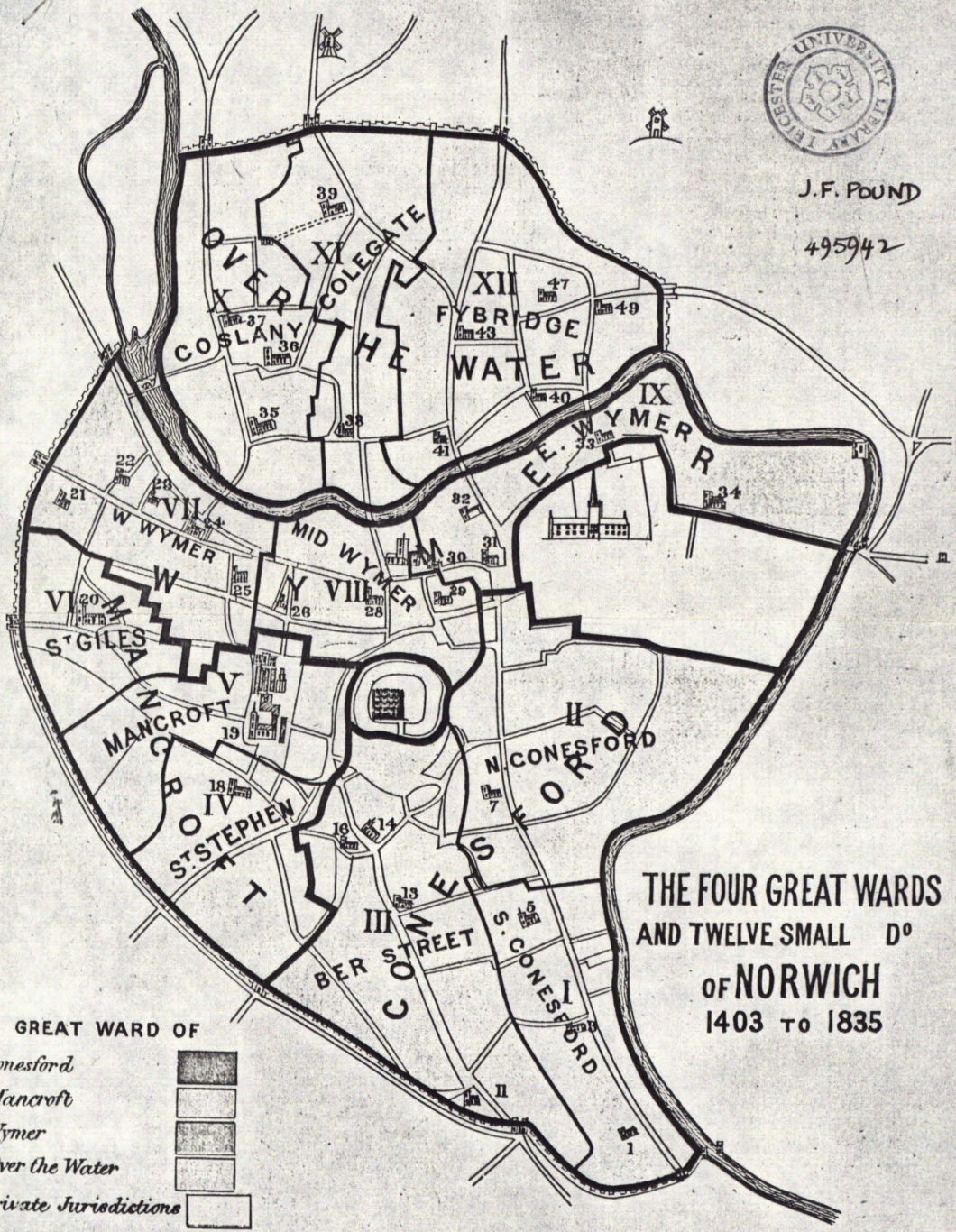


MAP OF CHURCHES, STREETS, WATERCOURSES, GATES, AND BRIDGES OF THE CITY OF NORWICH IN THE XIIIth CENTURY.

V



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LIST OF PARISHES ON MAP II (OPPOSITE).

1. St. Peter Southgate
3. St. Etheldred
5. St. Julian
7. St. Peter Permountergate
11. St. John de Sepulchre
13. St. Michael at Thorn
14. St. John Timberhill
16. All Saints
18. St Stephen
19. St. Peter Mancroft
20. St. Giles
21. St. Benedict
22. St. Swithin
23. St. Margaret
24. St. Lawrence
25. St. Gregory
26. St. John Maddermarket
28. St. Andrew
29. St. Michael at Plea
30. St. Peter Hungate
31. St. George Tombland
32. St. Simon and St. Jude
33. St. Martin at Palace
34. St. Helen
35. St. Michael Coslany
36. St. Mary Coslany
37. St. Martin at Oak
38. St. George Colegate
39. St. Augustine
43. St. Saviour
47. St. Paul
48. St. Edmund
49. St. James

MAP SHOWING THE WARDS OF NORWICH AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POOR IN 1570

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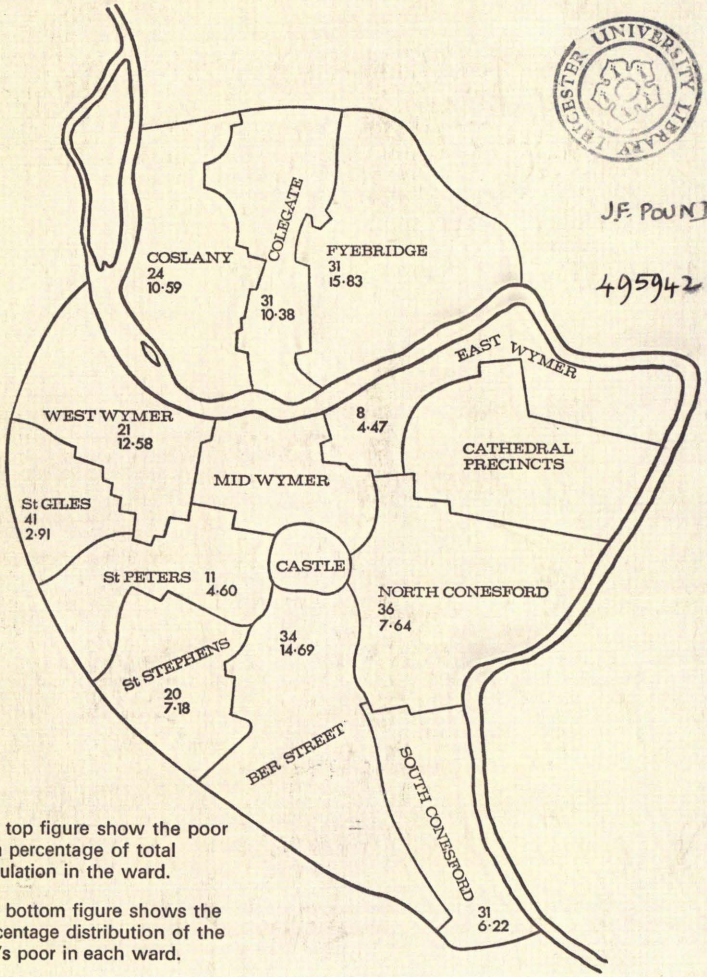
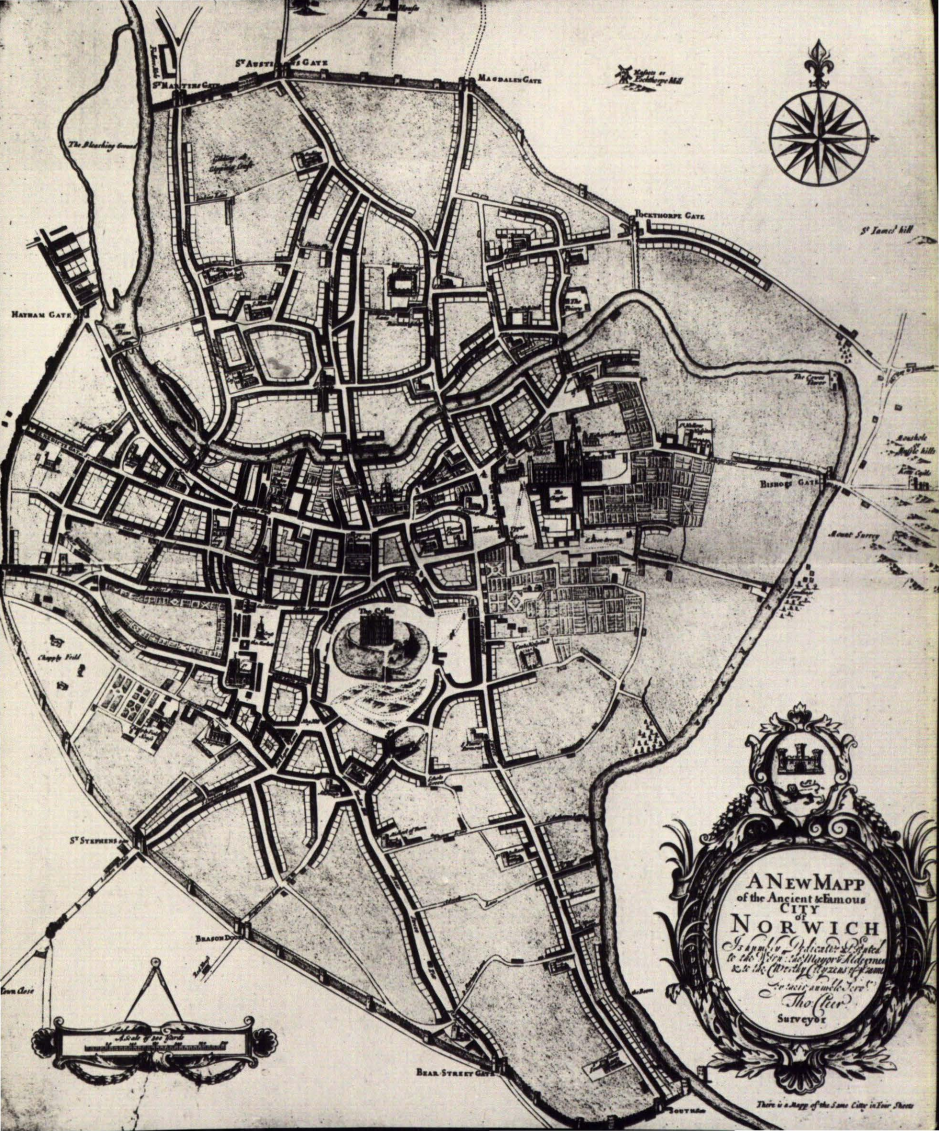


The top figure show the poor as a percentage of total population in the ward.

The bottom figure shows the percentage distribution of the city's poor in each ward.


A NEW MAPP
of the Ancient & famous
CITY
of
NORWICH
Surveyor
There is a Mapp of the Same City in Four Sheets

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HONI SOIT QVY MAL Y PENSE
NORDOVICVM, ANGLIÆ CIVITAS
1558
ANNO
Pmterit Tempus

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The Reference or Key to the Map is in the following words, in dorso:— "The Declaration of the Principal places in the Citie, after th' order of th' Alphabete.

A Thorpe Woode
B S. Leonardes
C The place where men are custom-ablie burnt
D Bishoppes Gate
E The Cathedrall church, called Christes Churche
F S. Martins at the Pallis Gate
G Pokethorpe Gates
H The Suburbs called Pokthorpe
I Magdalene Gates
K S. Butholdes
M S. Clementes
N S. Augustines
P S. Augustines Gates
Q S. Martines Gates
R S. Martines at th' Ooke
S The new milles
T Hellgates, the Suburbs ioyning to it, called Heiham
V S. Benets Gates
W S. Giles Gates
X S. Stephens Gates
Y Brasendore
Z S. Johns gates
ℭ Lakenam Woode
AA Chappell in the fielde
BB Eaton Woode
CC The Castell
DD The hospitall
EE The market place
FF S. Peters permantigate
GG S. Martines on the hill
HH S. Johns on the hill
II S. Michaels
LL S. Johns at the gates
MM S. Stephens
NN Thorpe
QQ In the right hand is that part of the river Yërus coming from Yermouth, and renneth thorow the City.
QQ The left hand th' other part of the forsaid riuer going hier into the countrye"

A NEW MAPP of the Ancient & Famous CITY of NORWICH

Is humbly Dedicated & Presented to the Worp^ll the Mayor & Aldermen & the Worthy Citizens of the same

by their humble Serv^t

Tho: Cleer

Surveyor

There is a Mapp of the Same Citty in Four Sheets

A Scale of 300 Yards

50 100 150 200 250 300

St Austins Gate

St Martins Gate

Magdalen Gate

olim Porte de Fybriggegate

Haſets or Pockthorpe Mill

olim Porte de Barregatis

Pockthorpe Gate

St James hill

The ancient common shooting ground

The Bleaching Ground

Gildene Croft

Hayham Gate

olim Helleyate

Porte Inferni

St Benedicts Gate

St Stephens Gate

olim Porte de Nedham

Brason Doors

olim Porte et Turnemarket

Bear-Street Gate

Bishops Gate

The Castle

The Cathedrall

The Cowes Tower

Mushold

Mushold hills

Precinct of St Leonard's Priory afterwards called Mount Surrey

olim Silva S. Leonardi

Chapple Feild

Town Close

Pest Houses, olim Hospitale Leprosorum

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