

MEN WHO RULED COVENTRY 1725-1780

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for this study came to me while I was arranging the borough archive of the city of Coventry during the early 1980s; whilst a good many volumes and other documents had been used by historians in the past, a mass of material had not before been easily available – particularly was this the case for the eighteenth century, an era in Coventry about which comparatively little has been written.

I am grateful to colleagues at Birmingham Reference Library, Leicestershire Record Office, Lichfield Joint Record Office and Warwick County Record Office for accommodating a “spy in the camp” on several occasions (especially Warwick).

M. J. Hinman
February, 1988

EDITORIAL NOTE

The Publications Committee of Coventry Historical Association are pleased that we have been able to bring out a new pamphlet in the series just 12 months after the previous one. We hope that this heralds a series of more regularly produced works in the future.

My thanks to all who have assisted with this production and especially to Ian Rowney for the photography.

David Paterson

Photograph on Front Cover

Mayor's Parlour

(from B. Poole – ‘Coventry – Its History and Antiquities’)

MEN WHO RULED COVENTRY, 1725 – 1780

It is 26th April, 1726 – a busy day for Coventry city council¹. Three of the aldermen (senior members for their wards, and justices of the peace *ex officio*) and three of the other members are deputed to view a place by Spon Tower where one James Adcock intends to build an oven, and to report back whether he should be allowed to do so; aldermen Owen and Copson meanwhile will inspect ground in Palmer Lane where William Smith junior proposes to build. The same five aldermen, together with the Town Clerk, are formed into a committee to consider making St. John's, Fleet Street a parish church, which took local and national secular and ecclesiastical government another eight years to effect. Some boys' names are approved for admission to Bablake School. Loans of from £10 to £50 are made to young city tradesmen, though others who have not repaid theirs will be sued. Members pass the sealing of a grant to a citizen of Cheylesmore manor land. Exceptionally, all seventeen corporationmen are present, varying from the septuagenarian Jonah Crines², who had been mayor back in 1702³, to John Kilsby, a recent mayor⁴ but on the council until he died in c.1748⁵. How these men, and others like them, ran the city, how they were related, what their trades were, and what else they did, form the subject of this study.

The years 1725 – 1780 formed the archetypal eighteenth-century period of Coventry corporation's history: from 1695 to 1725 that body had directed a disproportionate amount of its time to the biggest by far of its many litigious battles for the control of Sir Thomas White's Charity, whilst from 1780 the local body-politic withstood shocks of electoral violence and rigging bad enough for central government to pass a local Act regulating Coventry's elections. Between 1725 and 1780 came plenty of charity lawsuits, though none of them approached the volume of the earlier Sir Thomas White's one; there was spasmodic electoral enthusiasm, and at least one punch-up between rival corporators, but the corporation remained in control of the day-to-day running of the city and its administrative ground-rules.

OFFICES

Before the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, each English borough had its own constitution, conferred by a succession of royal or noble charters. Under the terms of the 1621 charter

governing it, each of Coventry's ten wards had one alderman, who was an ex-mayor and a freeman; other members of the corporation were not required specifically to be freemen, and their active numbers varied in practice (1725–80) from fifteen in October, 1758 to October, 1759⁶ to 27 in the period October, 1779 to October, 1780⁷. This flexibility contrasts with the situation at the fairly similar Midlands town of Leicester, where 24 aldermen were chosen from amongst 48 common councillors, who together operated a bicameral system⁸. With sufficient other local worthies to total 31, the members of Coventry corporation, acting as the "grand enquest", or electoral body of that Court Leet which mediaevally had been the principal organ of local government, chose the chartered officers, namely the mayor and the pairs of sheriffs (the town's representative officers), chamberlains (who were mainly concerned with corporation lands) and wardens (in charge of corporation moveables), from all of whose ranks corporators were drawn⁹; the recorder (usually a nobleman, and in effect the political link with the royal court), coroner and steward (legal officers, often chosen from amongst the local gentry or leading families), who were not members of the city council; and lesser officials, such as the macebearer, who were servants¹⁰. Every mayor was a corporator, but not every sheriff, chamberlain or warden had to be – thus the earliest-serving corporator for the period, Jonah Crines, had come on to the council on 18th September, 1697¹¹ but had just served in one of the three relevant charter-officer posts as a warden from 11th October, 1687¹². Between the October choice-days of 1725 and 1780, 43 men served as mayor, of whom four served three times and four others twice. Additionally, thirteen had served as mayor previously (the earliest being Jonah Crines in 1702/03) and two were to do so after the period (of whom John Carter held the chief office in 1800/01 and was the last of these eighteenth-century corporators when he made his final council appearance on 3rd September, 1805¹³). 54 corporators of the total of 94 served as sheriff during the period, and 25 had held the post before 1725. Why only 23 were chamberlains during the period and fifteen before, whereas 30 were wardens during the period and fourteen before is not apparent from the records. Whilst the chamberlainship seems to have been more prestigious than the wardenship as it precedes it both in the appointment-lists and elsewhere, there was no practical expression of this, as is highlighted by no corporator having served successively as both warden and chamberlain – promotion was rather from

both the lesser offices of chamberlain and warden (in which together 53 corporators served during the period) to sheriff (54) and then mayor (43). Including offices held before October, 1725 but not those after October, 1780, of the 94 men 43 served at all three stages (warden/chamberlain, sheriff, mayor), five at lowest and highest, 28 at lowest and middle, eight at the lowest alone, three just as sheriff and one exclusively as mayor. The longest term completely within the period was 41 years (Thomas Brockhurst, on the council from 1726 to 1769). Excluding the 1779 intake, only William Hewitt jun. features for a single year (1760), after which time he preferred his London house and Dominican plantation so was removed from the council, of which he was still theoretically a member, in 1769¹⁴.

MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE

Presided over by the outgoing mayor, the 31 men who comprised the Court Leet's grand enquest met early every October to choose all the charter officers except the new mayor; most of the 31, thenceforward acting as corporators, sat for the following twelvemonth and at their next meeting selected the new mayor. The following attendance-tables¹⁵ run in each case for a twelvemonth from the quasi-council meeting termed the grand enquest to the ordinary council meeting preceding the next grand enquest:-

Table 1 : Number of Attenders at Council House Meetings

	1725/26	1735/36	1747/48	1758/59	1769/70	1779/80
Average	15	18.1	14.1	9.8	13	13
Possible maximum	17	24	20	15	19	23
Actual maximum	17	23	16	14	18	18
Minimum	13	14	11	8	10	11
Minimum Possible maximum	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5

Table 2 : Individuals' Attendances at Council House Meetings

	1725/26	1735/36	1747/48	1758/59	1769/70	1779/80
Average	9.7	12.7	7.1	7.1	13.3	14.8
Possible maximum	11	14	10	11	20	25
Actual maximum	11	14	10	11	20	25
Minimum	5	3	1	1	1	1
Minimum Possible maximum	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.09	0.05	0.04

The tables deal only with men apparently on the council for the whole of each twelvemonth. They show that, whilst the numbers of councillors fluctuated, frequency of attendance declined as the century progressed, and that the proportion of councillors attending meetings also on the whole deteriorated. Similarly, there is a consistent decline in individuals' commitment to attend, and from mid-century a yearly appearance seems to have been sufficient to justify one's place. The possible maximum of seventeen corporators was reached for two meetings in 1725/26, whereas the actual maxima for each of the other twelvemonths was reached but once. The 1769/70 minimum was reached thrice, the 1725/26 and 1779/80 minima twice, and the others once in the respective twelvemonths. Attendances were generally best up to Christmas and worst in the new year early in the period, but worse during the summer later. Except for Edward Freeman in 1747, the incoming mayor presided at all his council-meetings, but the outgoing mayor often took the opportunity for a rest. The longest-serving corporators were not to be amongst the poorest attenders, but the eventually-senior John Ward was consistently bad whereas Thomas Brockhurst was more diligent in his younger days. Abraham Owen, James Towers and Thomas King were the best attenders.

COUNCIL BUSINESS

Council business was principally a matter of property-management. The property may be divided into that which the corporation held as its own estates and which was administered by the wardens and chamberlains; Cheylesmore manor and its dependencies, administered on behalf of the Crown; and estates held under the provisions of the city's many charities for which corporators acted *ex officio* as trustees and bailiffs. It would be anachronistic to accuse the corporation of corruption on the grounds of "jobs for the boys" without questioning the whole scheme of eighteenth-century administration¹⁶. However, what both the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries would deem serious errors did occur – as was customary, aldermen Kirkman, Freeman and Thomas Oldham jun., the corporators Edward Bibbins jun. and Samuel Oldham, and Mr. Cox (a general auditor) were on 28th February, 1759 ordered to audit George Porter jun.'s account as treasurer for Sir Thomas White's



St. Mary's Hall, Council House Chamber
(Troughton Drawings)

Charity¹⁷ – nothing wrong was discovered then, but on 20th January, 1780 an error in the late Mr. Porter's 1761 account was noticed and the amount deducted from his estate¹⁸. However Samuel Vale jun. might have quietly absorbed certain Jesson's Charity lands into his personal holdings, that is of course not recorded in the council minute books, nor naturally may it be deduced from his will¹⁹, but his son had to give up the property at the time of the 1833 charity commissioners' investigation. One might cry corruption because alderman John Clarke and his sons (one, Samuel, also a corporator) repaired city conduits, but none of the corporators appointed to enquire into their bills²⁰ was related to the Clarkes, and the family was doing other work for the Coventry establishment (they were building galleries in Holy Trinity church before the sometime churchwarden Thomas Luckman²¹ was on the council). The most corrupt practice, to our eyes, was perhaps that of rewarding George Porter jun. and John Clarke, successive Sir Thomas White's Charity bailiffs, with leases of property which in the latter's case certainly belonged to the same charity²². Apart from estate-management, the council was mainly concerned with disbursements of charitable gifts, appointments of staff and inmates for the Freeschool, Bablake School and Bond's and Ford's Hospitals, and nominating preachers and recommending scholars to St. John's College, Oxford and fellows to St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge under some charities' terms. A more sporadic activity connected with the city charities was defence, usually by the Town Clerk, of the corporation against litigants for money or obligations; the most voluminous account amongst the corporation records²³ only amounts to 69 items surviving there compared with for instance 153 for the same Bond's Hospital charity just before the period. Cheylesmore manor was less troublesome, necessitating only occasional correspondence with the Prince's Council²⁴. Occasionally, something more like modern planning than purely maintenance of property appears in the minutes²⁵, but that is far less commonly found there than in say the First Leet Book (1421 – 1555)²⁶, the function having been transferred to sessions of the peace. The increase in charity business reflects 55 years' steady growth following a cutting-back in reaction to the 1695–1725 Sir Thomas White's Charity case; once St. John's had been parochialized in 1734, "other" matters subsided.

Table 3 : Council House Activities

	1725/26 ²⁷		1758/59 ²⁸		1779/80 ²⁹	
	Transactions	%	Transactions	%	Transactions	%
Constitution (grand enquest, mayor-making)	5	9.4	3	4.8	9	9.7
Personnel/ Patronage (expenses, appointments)	7	13.2	5	7.9	10	10.8
Land (non- manorial/ charity)	12	20.8	16	25.4	11½ ³⁰	12.4
Manorial	3	5.7	4	6.3	0	0.0
Charity	21	39.6	35	55.6	60½	64.9
Other	6	11.3	0	0.0	2	2.2
Total	53	100.0	63	100.0	93	100.0

Even admitting different sizes of Town Clerks' handwriting, the growing business shown in the above table is also implied by the increasing number of minute-book pages required to record a year's activities³¹, trebling from early in our period to its middle and then doubling again towards its end. Business increased to cover thrice as many pages per meeting in 1779/80 compared with 1735/36. The take-off was at mid-century, perhaps in belated response to the town's population-growth³².

FAMILY LINKS

In any vaguely political organisation, birds of a feather will flock together and over the generations produce children. Some corporators' families intermarried, whilst at a more general level men remembered each other and their families in their wills. At the most superficial level of family connexion, eleven corporator surnames were duplicated (Bibbins, Clarke, Fox, Minster, Poole and Vale), triplicated (Eburne, Oldham and Porter) or quadruplicated (Hewitt), providing 28 individuals, i.e. 29.8% of the 94, a proportion little smaller than amongst Leicester corporationmen as a whole (34.3%)³³. Corporators did marry other corporators' daughters, but there were of course many more occasions when corporator A married into the extended family of corporator B; whilst to chart all suspected marriages of corporator A's family with corporator B's would produce many highly tenuous links, a number of family groups can be proved and others confidently

Table 4 : Corporators' Genealogical Connexion

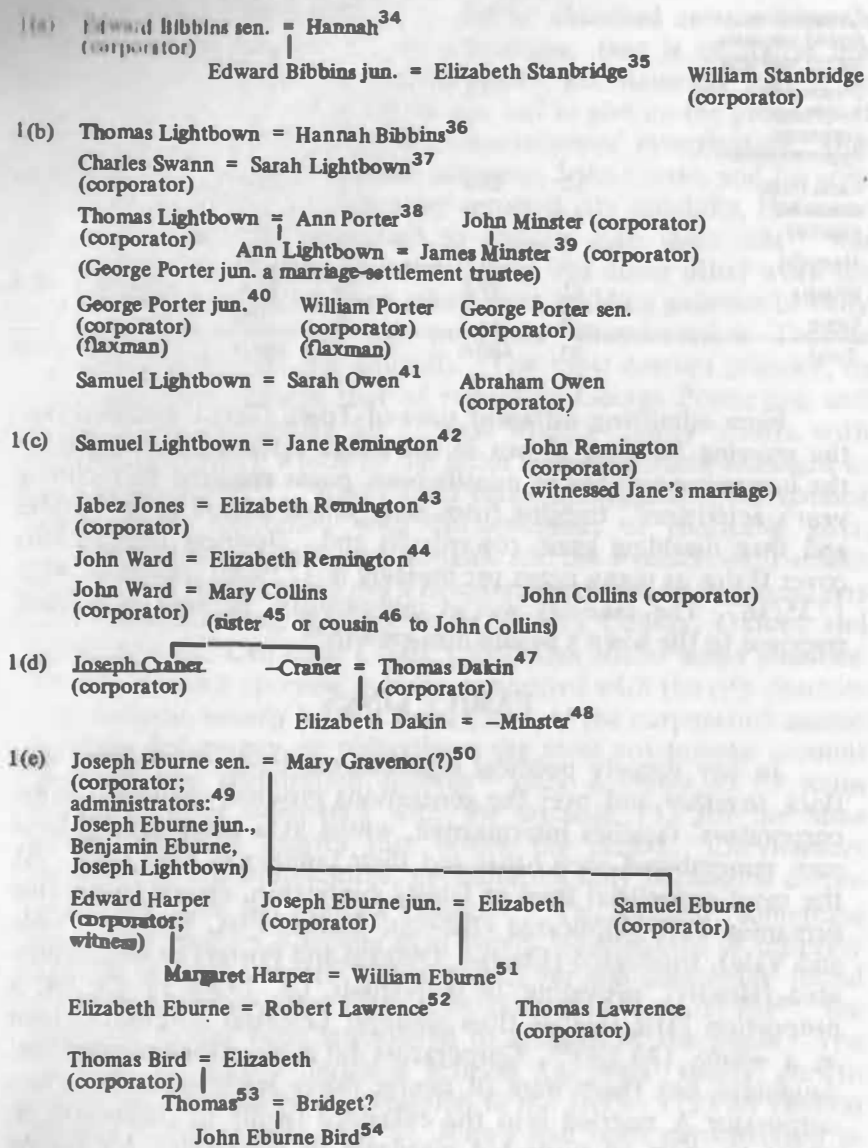
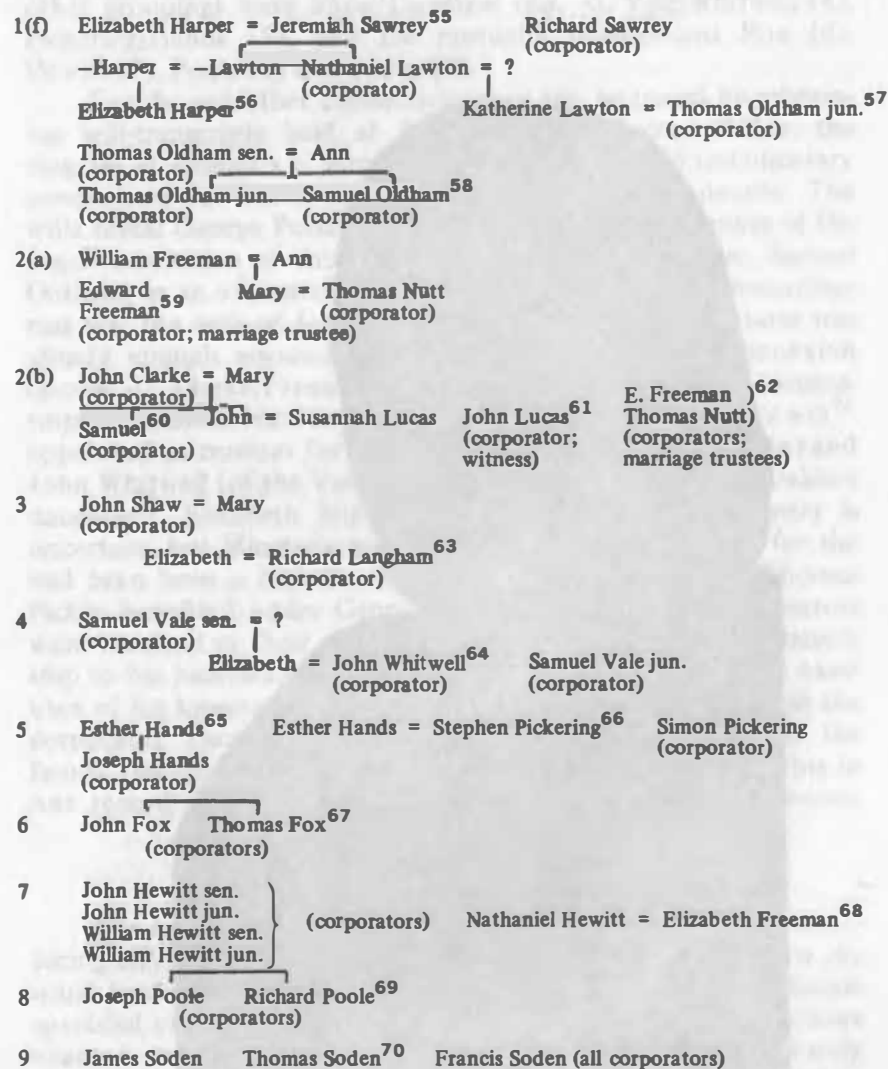


Table 4 : Corporators' Genealogical Connexion (continued)



Possibly thirty of the 94 corporators were connected in the main group 1, with 22 in the smaller core groupings 2 - 9.



Thomas Picken, Mayor of Coventry 1780/1
(Herbert Museum and Art Gallery)

suggested. Thirty of the 94 corporators formed a big group 1 centred on the Porters, Eburnes and Oldhams; Thomas Nutt, Edward Freeman, John Lucas and the Clarkes formed a second; other groupings were Shaw/Langham (no. 3), Vale/Whitwell (4), Pickering/Hands (5), and the mutually independent Fox (6), Hewitt (7), Poole (8) and Soden (9).

Family and other connections may also be traced by examining will-transcripts held at Lichfield Joint Record Office; the diagram at appendix 6 summarises both familial and testamentary connexions, for which this paragraph provides some details. The wills reveal George Porter jun. as a key figure; this member of the major connexion of thirty corporators named⁷¹ another, Samuel Oldham, as an executor; amongst those who received a mourning-ring was the wife of James Minster, of the thirty; the testator was closely enough associated with the smaller extended connexion (group 2: Clarke/Freeman/Nutt/Lucas) to bequeath mourning-rings to Thomas Nutt and John Clarke. Thomas Luckman's will⁷² appointed as trustees for sale Joseph Craner (from the thirty) and John Whitwell (of the Vale/Whitwell connexion). Thomas Dakin's daughter⁷³ Elizabeth Minster's relationship to John Minster is uncertain, but Minster's wife reinforces the thirty's links, for she had been born a Lightbown⁷⁴. Whilst John Cheney and Thomas Pickin benefited under George Porter jun.'s will, no corporators were involved in their own dispositions⁷⁵. Whatever his relationship to his namesake James, Francis Soden was named⁷⁶ an executor of his kinsman the corporator John Kilsby, together with the corporator Thomas Hunt and Benjamin Brockhurst. All the family ties are reinforced by examination of the wills surviving in one record office except the vague Pickering/Hands connexion.

OCCUPATIONS

For most of its history, Coventry has been a textile-manufacturing city; in addition to which, the early-modern period saw the usual level of leather, metalwork and food trading and smallscale specialist enterprises. Of the 94 corporators, over half (54) were engaged entirely or mainly in textile manufacture, whereas only 30% had been so from 1660 to 1729⁷⁷; twelve were in leather, eight in food, six in metals, three in building and eleven in other trades. In the following tables, the principal trade alone features for each man, but during the time of their holding chartered office or being on the council, thirteen men were described as working in

two trades and four others in three – most of these were closely associated (thus John Hewitt sen. was a linen-draper but also worked as a silkman and received the general appellation of “clothier” which was culturally associated with membership of the Company of Broadweavers and Clothiers⁷⁸) but seven men’s trades were not. Of these seven, Joseph Johnson’s ambiguity was his being considered a weaver when a warden⁷⁹ but a grazier when a sheriff⁸⁰ (he is tabulated as a grazier), and John Lowson is described as a tiler when a warden⁸¹ but as a confectioner when a sheriff⁸² and in the freemen’s index⁸³, so on balance is treated as a confectioner. John Carter appears as a barber when a warden⁸⁴ but as a breechesmaker when a sheriff⁸⁵; he dressed corporation servants’ wigs⁸⁶ but held office in the Tailors’ and Shearmen’s Company⁸⁷ (he is here regarded as a breechesmaker). Samuel Vale sen. is described as a worsted-weaver when a warden in 1732⁸⁸ but as a maltster in the will⁸⁹ which, made two years after he left the council, appoints his son-in-law John Whitwell, worsted-weaver an executor – he is here considered as a maltster. John Whitwell does not feature as a worsted weaver in any document primarily concerned with himself, although when a warden he was a dyer⁹⁰; at some stage he might have been in watchmaking with Samuel Vale jun.⁹¹, but most of his associations and his will⁹² state that he was a salesman or auctioneer, so he is deemed one herein. A neat pairing is the Minsters’ – John Minster (the father) was mainly a flaxman, though he or a namesake had been described as an ironmonger in a 1747 conveyance⁹³, and was thus-defined when enfeoffed with charity-land in 1770⁹⁴: John Minster’s will baldly proclaims that he was an “alderman”⁹⁵, whereas his son James⁹⁶ makes the latter an ironmonger with the father as an executor; as freeman⁹⁷, chamberlain⁹⁸ and sheriff⁹⁹, James is both ironmonger and flaxman, but on balance he is reckoned here as an ironmonger.

With each man consigned to a single trade, the occupations are as follows:—

Textiles	Threadmen	3	Gardeners	1	Other	
Breechesmakers	“Weavers”	2	Maltsters	3	Apothecaries	2
Cappers	Woollendrapers	1		8	Barbers	1
Clothiers		54	Building		Chandlers	2
Dyers	Leather		Builders	2	Corkcutters	1
Flaxmen	Cordwainers	11	Carpenters	1	Printers/	
Linen-drapers	Curriers	4		3	Booksellers	2
Mercers	Fellmongers	3	Metals		Salesmen/	
Silkmen/	Skinners	2	Blacksmiths	1	Auctioneers	1
Silkweavers	Tanners	2	Braziers	1	Schoolmasters	1
Stuffmerchants		12	Cutlers	1	Watchmakers	1
Tailors	Food		Ironmongers	1		11
Tammymerchants/	Butchers	2	Goldsmiths	2		
Tammyweavers	Confectioners	1		6		

Where a distinction may be attempted, the wholesale and processing sides of each trade group predominate over the retail, with just the breechesmakers, tailor and cordwainer comprising four out of 66 in the clothing bloc; only the schoolmaster was not a tradesman. The smaller trades might have no council representatives for a time, or the trade could disappear from the chamber altogether or another trade become established later in the period.

By using the dates previously chosen for corporators’ attendances, and omitting men who either died or were sworn on to the council during the twelvemonth concerned, trade group strengths within the period are as follows:—

	1725/26	1735/36	1747/48	1758/59	1769/70	1779/80
Textiles	10	15	15	12	11	11
Leather	3	5	1	0	2	2
Remainder	4	4	4	3	6	11
	17	24	20	15	19	23

The textile group’s predominance was exceptional around mid-century both because the council was at its smallest and because of business relationships rather than family links, for only one Hewitt and one Oldham are counted in the 1747/48 figure, albeit both Bibbinses and two Porters appear in that for 1758/59 – rather, one family member handed on the torch to another or overlapped only slightly (hence at least one Hewitt was on the council continuously from 1727 to 1777). The leather group, however, was so prominent in 1735/36 because of three Eburne fellmongers, and building was so in 1779/80 thanks to the Clarkes.

TRADING

A comparison can be made between individuals who belonged to a trade group and those who were part of a family or testamentary connexion. Of the thirty corporators who form the heart of the largest connexion, over half (17) were in the textile trade-group (roughly one-third of that group), five in leather (out of twelve), none in food, one in building (of three) and three in metalworking (of six) – they also provided both apothecaries and the corkcutter. Of twelve men associated by will of administration with that main connexion and others, three each were in textiles, leather and food, one in metalwork, one was a printer/bookseller and another the schoolmaster. The second largest connexion,

two trades and four others in three – most of these were closely associated (thus John Hewitt sen. was a linen-draper but also worked as a silkman and received the general appellation of “clothier” which was culturally associated with membership of the Company of Broadweavers and Clothiers⁷⁸) but seven men’s trades were not. Of these seven, Joseph Johnson’s ambiguity was his being considered a weaver when a warden⁷⁹ but a grazier when a sheriff⁸⁰ (he is tabulated as a grazier), and John Lowson is described as a tiler when a warden⁸¹ but as a confectioner when a sheriff⁸² and in the freemen’s index⁸³, so on balance is treated as a confectioner. John Carter appears as a barber when a warden⁸⁴ but as a breechesmaker when a sheriff⁸⁵; he dressed corporation servants’ wigs⁸⁶ but held office in the Tailors’ and Shearmen’s Company⁸⁷ (he is here regarded as a breechesmaker). Samuel Vale sen. is described as a worsted-weaver when a warden in 1732⁸⁸ but as a maltster in the will⁸⁹ which, made two years after he left the council, appoints his son-in-law John Whitwell, worsted-weaver an executor – he is here considered as a maltster. John Whitwell does not feature as a worsted weaver in any document primarily concerned with himself, although when a warden he was a dyer⁹⁰; at some stage he might have been in watchmaking with Samuel Vale jun.⁹¹, but most of his associations and his will⁹² state that he was a salesman or auctioneer, so he is deemed one herein. A neat pairing is the Minsters’ – John Minster (the father) was mainly a flaxman, though he or a namesake had been described as an ironmonger in a 1747 conveyance⁹³, and was thus-defined when enfeoffed with charity-land in 1770⁹⁴: John Minster’s will baldly proclaims that he was an “alderman”⁹⁵, whereas his son James⁹⁶ makes the latter an ironmonger with the father as an executor; as freeman⁹⁷, chamberlain⁹⁸ and sheriff⁹⁹, James is both ironmonger and flaxman, but on balance he is reckoned here as an ironmonger.

With each man consigned to a single trade, the occupations are as follows:–

Table 5 : Corporators’ Trades¹⁰⁰

Textiles	Threadmen	3	Gardeners	1	Other	
Breechesmakers	2 “Weavers”	2	Maltsters	3	Apothecaries	2
Cappers	1 Woollendrapers	1		8	Barbers	1
Clothiers	11	54	Building		Chandlers	2
Dyers	1 Leather		Builders	2	Corkcutters	1
Flaxmen	6 Cordwainers	11	Carpenters	1	Printers/	
Linen-drapers	4 Curriers	4		3	Booksellers	2
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Silkmen/	2 Skinners	2	Blacksmiths	1	Auctioneers	1
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Table 6 : Trade Groups

	1725/26	1735/36	1747/48	1758/59	1769/70	1779/80
Textiles	10	15	15	12	11	11
Leather	3	5	1	0	2	2
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TRADING

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based on the Clarke family, provided merely two in textiles but as many in building; its testamentary associates brought in one man in textiles and one in food. Of the lesser connexions, in total Langham/Shaw had one man in textiles and two in food; whereas Vale/Whitwell provided one man in food and three miscellaneous. Both Simon Pickering and Joseph Hands were in textiles, the Foxes were both curriers and the Hewitts all linen-drapers. The Pooles were both clothiers but associated by will with a goldsmith, as were the textile-manufacturing Sodens whose only other such link was with the mercer Thomas Hunt, likewise connected with the thirty. The pattern may be traced in detail in the concordance of corporators' links which forms appendix 7.

Seen from the trades' viewpoint, rather than the connexions', however, the thirty's preponderance within the textile sector appears less than monolithic: nearly a third (17) of the 54 in the textile group consisted of independents, the same number as from the thirty. In the leather sector, five were members of the thirty, and two associates; there were only two independents out of twelve in the group but proportionately as strong an association with the thirty as that which the textiles sector enjoyed. No family grouping predominated within the food sector. In metal-working, however, four were in or associated with the thirty, one man associated with both Sodens and Pooles, and the other independent. The two builders were Clarke *père et fils*, but the carpenter was amongst the thirty. Of the others, the two apothecaries and corkcutter were fully within the thirty and the schoolmaster associated with that body, but one printer/bookseller was linked with the Vale/Whitwell connexion as well and the other was independent (Joseph Wilcox Piercy); the barber was a Clarke associate, the chandlers were the mutually-associated Daniel Davis and Matthew Goodall, and the salesman/auctioneer was John Whitwell. Of the 23 independents, the blacksmith, cordwainer, gardener, stuffmerchant and tailor were the only representatives of their trades, and on the whole socially inferior; the only other skinner apart from the independent John Oram was Henry Cockerum, merely an associate of the Foxes who were in the kindred currying trade. The independents were seldom on the council for long, the securest tenures being usually in the textile trades plus Thomas King who, whilst being classed as a gardener, acquired so much land in the Spon End and later Earlsdon areas¹⁰¹ that he was presumably a market gardener and socially similar to the builders on the council.

Whilst corporators have been assigned above to the branch of trade most often used to describe them, representatives of various branches can be found severally amongst the records of those trading companies which during the eighteenth century were turning from mercantilist associations into informal meetings of the upper middle class but which remained more influential than at Leicester, so were better integrated with the corporation¹⁰². The Broadweavers' and Clothiers' Company (or "Weavers' Company", to distinguish it from the Worstead Weavers' Company) was during the early part of the period still comprised entirely of weavers, but from 1741¹⁰³ admitted social leaders from other trades as love-brothers who could then hold office within the company. Like the council, the Weavers' Company became smaller, and indeed remained so, with an increased concentration of corporators so that of its twenty members recorded on 27th October, 1773¹⁰⁴ ten were or had been on the council; in that decade, the Minsters, Sodens and younger Oldhams ran it. 22 corporators were at some time before 1780 members of the company (all assigned in the current study to the textile group except the apothecary John Lucas, a lovebrother¹⁰⁵), of whom fifteen reached the heights of head master/master or second master/master's fellow. As well as being an ordinary bonded member, someone could be admitted into "the house" of company officers when one died – the deceased was often a corporator or a corporator's relative, hence for instance Edward Bibbins sen. was admitted¹⁰⁶ to the house in 1737 on Joseph Poole's death and was succeeded by Thomas Oldham jun.¹⁰⁷. Seven corporators were members of the Mercers' Company (of whom six became master or master's fellow) and are the seven classified for the purpose of this study as mercers¹⁰⁸. The tanner Nathaniel Lawton was alone a member of the Drapers' Company. Lawton was Tanners' Company master, 1736-56 *passim*¹⁰⁹, but the other corporator-tanner, William Osborne, was not a member during the period. Although principally a mercer, Edward Freeman appears to have received on behalf of the Skinners' Company and Whittawers' Company Wheatley's Loan Money (for tradesmen) through being a Wheatley's Loan Feoffee¹¹⁰. Similarly, the gardener Thomas King received the Whittawers' Loan money annually from 1752 and the curriers Thomas Collett and Joseph Craner received it on behalf of the Cordwainers' Company¹¹¹. The trading companies' surviving records are too patchy to draw many conclusions affecting the whole corporation body beyond the observation that 35 men were definitely members

of at least one company, that Nathaniel Lawton was certainly a member of two, and that general social importance rather than trade relevance lies behind corporators' receiving loan money on behalf of companies not of their trade group.

FREEMANSHIP

Until 1918, service as an apprentice in Coventry, confirmed at its end by claiming from the mayor the freedom of the city, was an enfranchising privilege; it was in the eighteenth century a tool of patronage whose use culminated in the 1780 wholesale creation of "mushroom" freemen with dubious claims. One did not have to be a freeman to be a member of the corporation, but at least 64 of the 94 corporators were, judging from the Freeman's Court rolls and index¹¹² which might only survive from 1715 but are retrospective. A given younger generation tended to serve an apprenticeship and be admitted freemen where through circumstances the elder had not — thus it is the junior Edward Bibbins, Joseph Eburne, John and William Hewitt, and James Minster, not their seniors, who appear; however, John Clarke features as well as Samuel, as do all the Oldhams and Porters (but it is the prior man who represents the Vales). 64 corporators can be certainly assigned to city wards as follows:—

Table 7 : Wards from which Corporators were made Freemen

Bayley Lane	1	Gosford Street	2
Bishop Street	5	Jordan Well	4
Broadgate	3	Much Park Street	4
Cross Cheaping	20	Smithford Street	9
Earl Street	6	Spon Street	8

Men domiciled in Cross Cheaping Ward at the time of receiving the freemanship predominate because it covered the city's trading heart; west of it lay Smithford Street Ward, the next best represented. The Smithford Street Ward's trades reflect somewhat the River Sherbourne's use for processes, as is the case in Spon Street Ward. The seven other more easterly and peripheral of the twelve wards afforded 22 men in textiles (just over half for that group) and altogether 25.

Table 8 : Arrangement of Trade Groups by Ward

	Textiles	Leather	Remainder	Total
Bayley Lane	1	0	0	1
Bishop Street	4	1	0	5
Broadgate	2	0	1	3
Cross Cheaping	10	5	5	20
Earl Street	5	0	1	6
Gosford Street	2	0	0	2
Jordan Well	4	0	0	4
Much Park Street	4	0	0	4
Smithford Street	4	2	3	9
Spon Street	4	1	3	8
Freeman corporators in group	40	9	13	62
All corporators in group	54	12	28	94

A comparison by trade of the 62 freeman-corporators in known wards with all 94 corporators reveals that proportionately few in the food and "other" (i.e. "remainder" excluding food, building and metals) groups were freemen but that disproportionately more were freemen amongst the main apprenticeship groups of textiles and leather. Textiles were the only group found in four eastern wards, and accounted for at least half of the freeman-corporators everywhere except in Smithford Street Ward, whereas leather was strongest in the west and north of the city. Where represented, Cross Cheaping Ward provided more men than any other for each group.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Who owned or occupied what in a city of 12,000 people¹¹³ is beyond the scope of this essay, for many non-corporators would be involved, as might non-Coventrian institutions, but 63 corporators' property has been identified. 46 of these men were freemen, which is a similar proportion to that of 63 freeman-corporators with a definite ward to 94 corporators in total. In some cases a man apparently continued to live in the ward where domiciled when he had become a freeman — certainly twenty corporators had property in their freemanship wards. In addition, the non-freeman John Minster occupied¹¹⁴ a messuage in Cross Cheaping Ward whence his son James became a freeman. Possibly five other family successions have been noted concerning the Bibbinses, Eburnes, Hewitts, Lawton/Oldhams and Vales¹¹⁵. Four other land transactions involving pairs of corporators have been noted¹¹⁶ These transactions' property was either town houses, suburban lands, or situated in the further reaches of Coventry county or

beyond; most was leased from the corporation in its capacities of administering its own mediaeval estate, what it acquired at the Reformation through dissolution of the monasteries and of the guilds and chantries, or what serviced the numerous charities. The chief of these (Sir Thomas White's) had much land suitable for skin-dressing because of its proximity to the River Sherbourne, or for gardening and grazing. Undoubtedly the tanner Nathaniel Lawton had plenty of land at Radford Close¹¹⁷ and beyond Well Street Gate¹¹⁸, and the fellmonger Eburnes around Spon End¹¹⁹, but these need not be linked as strongly with their trades as might the butcher John Moore's Foleshill land¹²⁰. The largest landholder was Joseph Eburne sen.¹²¹ with eight identified properties, two men had seven each, five had six apiece, and another had five. Apart from the complications surrounding Lawton's Drapers' Company Land¹²², the one running battle was also over the property of the Drapers' Company whose lease the tenant Joseph Eburne sen. refused to produce during 1731-33 and whence he was threatened with ejection in 1737, but he was still holding it in 1742 shortly before the lease's expiry¹²³. The only trades without known corporator-landholders were mostly inferior socially – tammy-weaver, threadman, weaver, cordwainer, confectioner, ironmonger, blacksmith and corkcutter.

CHARITY CONNECTIONS

Coventry had something like a hundred charities¹²⁴ for the usual deserving causes of housing the aged, feeding, warming and clothing the poor, educating the young, setting men up in business, and preaching at all and sundry; some we know were administered at least well enough for them to survive until the Charity Commissioners inspected them in 1833, but the smaller ones tended to be unviable, especially if not associated with the larger. Of charity records examined in detail, in the case of Sir Thomas White's, eighteen corporators acted as auditors¹²⁵, sixteen as loan-sureties¹²⁶, twentyone as trustees¹²⁷, two as rent-receivers¹²⁸, one each as loan-mortgagee¹²⁹ and bailiff¹³⁰. Eighteen leased property – it was normal to act as surety for a relative¹³¹ or another in the same trade¹³², and as John Remington so acted although already living in London¹³³. The one piece of "corruption" noticed is a tammy-weaver's deposition to the Town Clerk (as returning officer) that on 18th November, 1736 Thomas Oldham sen. had promised him and another £4 each from White's money if he voted in a certain



Bablake Hospital 1794
(by W. Piercy)

way at a bye-election¹³⁴. Regarding Wheatley's Charity for loans to tradesmen, ten corporators were feoffees¹³⁵ over the whole period, seventeen received loans on behalf of trading companies¹³⁶ and five were tenants¹³⁷. In 1760¹³⁸ ten present or future corporators were appointed trustees of Bond's Hospital for old men. Seven councillors tenanted Bablake Boys' School property¹³⁹, whilst six held premises belonging to the Free-school¹⁴⁰. Crow's Charity accounts¹⁴¹ reveal periodic auditing which involved eleven corporators. Edward Bibbins jun. was a trustee of Billing's Gift to the Weavers' Company¹⁴². Three corporators were concerned with charity schools¹⁴³. The only corporator actually to found a charity was John Moore, whose 1729 will¹⁴⁴ devised to Joseph Poole, Richard Poole, John Shaw and two other Dissenters his land in Silver Street, Cook Street, Bishop Street and New Buildings, in Keresley and in Nuneaton, for the poor of Coventry to enjoy the proceeds from the rents – no religious restriction is mentioned. Moore himself tenanted a Palmer Lane stable from Coxon's Charity¹⁴⁵. Fifteen of the seventeen 1725 corporators were appointed Jesson's Charity feoffees in that year, though the only relevant Jesson's tenure-reference is to Samuel Vale jun.'s land which his son had to give up at the time of municipal reform¹⁴⁶. Two of the senior corporators of 1726 had been appointed Norton's Charity feoffees, along with some of their then colleagues, in 1708¹⁴⁷. Henry Cockerum was treasurer of Samuel Edwards' Charity¹⁴⁸ and Thomas Soden was a trustee¹⁴⁹; an executor of the founder¹⁵⁰, John Ward administered the charity¹⁵¹ and bequeathed £20 to it¹⁵². John Carter was treasurer of Collins' Charity¹⁵³. With his partner, John Minster supplied coats under the terms of Gayer's Charity¹⁵⁴. Whilst members of the corporation were active in many charities, their names do not feature in likely records for Bohun's Charity¹⁵⁵ nor were any actually trustees of Bayley's School¹⁵⁶. Men who either were never or were not thus far corporators were deemed worthy of being appointed trustees, feoffees or auditors alongside corporators, and the council house men did not do particularly well out of the lands, judging by rents charged¹⁵⁷. Their rents were a little higher than the average for tracts whose extent one cannot say was much greater than what others held. As for activity, Henry Cockerum and Joseph Poole feature in the records relating to five charities, and six men in four others. No less than 74 of the 94 corporators have been noted, of whom the most glaring omissions were Thomas Bird¹⁵⁸, and James Minster (who died young): the rest include

brief sojourners on the council and some of the socially inferior, yet the blacksmith Thomas Smith does feature¹⁵⁹. The charities' provisions interested men of many trades, but it is noticeable that the schoolmaster Thomas Noxon was concerned with three of the five educational institutions with a corporator presence.

CORPORATORS' WEALTH

How wealthy were these men whose alliances, trades and property have been investigated? The main sources are the Great Meeting Account Books (1714 – 1802)¹⁶⁰, Land Tax Assessment and Returns (1765 – 1832)¹⁶¹ and a list¹⁶² of promises to pay money towards the city's defence at the time of the 1745 rebellion. The scale "wealthy", "high", "substantial", "above average", "average", "below average" and "low" wealth is in each case measured against all assessments, not just other corporators'. In the case of Great Meeting dues, "wealthy" = £1 +, "substantial" = 10/- – £1, "above average" = 5/- – 10/-, "average" = 2/6 – 5/-, "below average" = 2/- – 2/6, "low" = below 2/-; for Land Tax, "high" = £2 – £2/10/-, "above average" = £1/10/- – £2, "average" = £1 – £1/10/-, "low" = £1. To be eligible to serve on the committee which organised the city's defence in 1745, one had to have been ready to contribute £20 towards the scheme. Of the men eligible to form the committee, eight were corporators, all but one of whom were in the textile trades; four of them did join the committee of twelve. The wealth of 67 corporators can be assessed; allowing for variations through an individual's amassing property as he grew older, and the selectivity of surviving Land Tax assessments which might mention only someone's lesser properties, they show that the corporators *en masse* were predictably prosperous above the average. Only the dyer Joseph Hands, the flaxman John Minster (surprisingly) and the breeches maker Richard Sawrey are assessed lowly for Land Tax. The wealthiest individual, the mercer Thomas Hunt, was never below the "substantial" level in his Great Meeting dues, contributed the joint-highest sum (£100) towards the city's defence in 1745, and had the largest Land Tax assessment in Foleshill in 1777 at £12/3/3¼ – indeed, the textile traders were all of at least the average wealth for the city and usually far above it. The leather trades group shows a lower level wealth since only the skinner John Oram could be classed as wealthy, but "substantial" applied to five of the ten represented. Of the food group,

William Roberts was assessed lowly but John Taylor was eligible for the 1745 defence committee. Of the metalworkers, the cutler Christopher Hooke, goldsmith George Porter sen. and brazier Charles Swann were all prosperous, but the watchmaker Samuel Vale jun. was average, whilst the builder John Clarke was above average. Of other trades, the apothecaries ranged from low to high, the printer/bookseller and salesman/auctioneer both increased in wealth as the years passed, but the schoolmaster was at best average. The Hewitts were the wealthiest family, followed by the Porters and Oldhams, the Pooles, the Foxes, the Eburnes, the Vales, the Sodens, the Clarkes, the Minsters and the Bibbinses, in which ranking the second, third, sixth, tenth and eleventh families were part of the central connexion – that particularly the Hewitts, Pooles and Foxes did not belong to that congeries shows how the “thirty’s” potential influence was not absolute – even more does the wealthiest man’s being Thomas Hunt, whose only traced link is with Francis Soden, from whom the line of association has to wend via Thomas Brockhurst and the Pooles before it enters the major complex through Joseph Poole’s bequest¹⁶³ of mourning-rings to members of the Bird and Oldham families.

PETTY-DEBT LITIGATION

The only overview of day-to-day commercial activity across the trades for which we have evidence is the petty-debt litigation evidenced in the city’s Town Court archive¹⁶⁴ where at least fifty corporators feature, all as plaintiffs but seven as defendants too. There were 213 involvements of corporators in 206 cases (out of c. 3,600 cases over the period 1725-80), Samuel Clarke being associated in each of the four instances with his father John¹⁶⁵, and John Whitwell once with Samuel Vale jun.¹⁶⁶ and Thomas Luckman¹⁶⁷. On 22nd December, 1779 a precept (or warrant) was issued for the case of Thomas Luckman v J. W. Piercy, both corporators (and both printers), the only instance of one corporator suing another. Joseph Eburne jun.’s three cases were independent of Joseph Eburne sen.’s two, as mutually were the twelve cases concerning three Hewitts. Whilst some of Caleb Copson’s 31 cases might relate to a synonymous individual, the time-span is correct for him – even were the number halved, he would still be the most frequent litigant. 43 men feature in five cases or fewer, ten in only one each. Seven corporators were defendants in nine cases (they contested twenty cases altogether). A corporator not

counted in the totals is Jabez Jones because he was only on the jury for a case in which Jonah Crines’ executors were nonsuited against Henry Inge¹⁶⁸, but included are Samuel Gibbard as one Thomas Diston’s executor¹⁶⁹; Richard Poole, three of whose four appearances are on his behalf by his widow or administratrix¹⁷⁰; John Remington, one of six appearances being as Thomas Remington’s executor¹⁷¹; and T. L. Smith, three of whose eight appearances are as a bankruptcy assignee¹⁷².

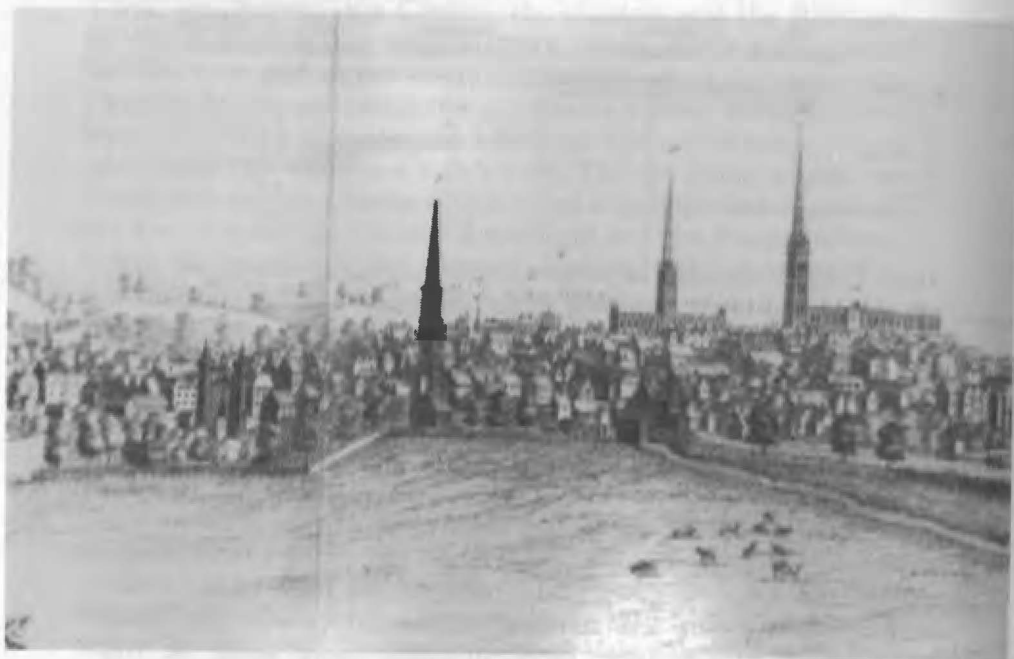
Table 9 : Involvement in Petty-Debt Litigation

	All Individuals	Involved in Suits	%	Number of Suits	Number of Suits per Individual Involved
Textiles	54	29	54	135	4.7
Leather	12	6	50	18	3
Food	8	2	25	4	2
Building	3	2	66	19	9.5
Metal	6	5	83	11	2.75
Other	11	6	54	26	4.3
	94	50	54	213	4.3

John Clarke’s number of involvements makes the number of suits per individual in the building sector aberrant. The lowest number of suits per individual is in the food sector, and there it is the retail side (the confectioner John Lowson and the butcher William Roberts) who are involved. In leather, both skimmers are litigants, Thomas Collett bringing seven complaints. In the textile sector, proportionately the mercers were the most active, even if five of their number (seven altogether) who complained produced just thirteen suits. Of the 38 men considered wealthy or of substantial means, assessed highly, or eligible to serve on the city’s 1745 defence committee, 23 were Town Court litigants, but most of the recurring applicants were less secure in their wealth. The core lesser connexional groups were proportionately more active in this sphere than the grand alliance, providing seventeen out of 25 compared with sixteen out of 35. A slightly smaller proportion (39:50 = 0.78) of “connected” corporators were litigants than featured generally as connected (75:94 = 0.80).

RELIGION

It is especially difficult to ascertain corporators’ religious affiliations during the period. There were practices of occasional conformity whereby habitual nonconformists would receive the sacrament once a year in order to qualify for civic office and



South Prospect of Coventry, 1731

would tend to marry in an Anglican church but raise their children in another denomination. There was also the enlargement of this ambiguity so that individuals were able to hold office within more than one communion¹⁷³. Thus the corporator Thomas Smith was both a feoffee of the Great Meeting (Presbyterian turning Unitarian assembly)¹⁷⁴ and a St. Michael's¹⁷⁵ and Holy Trinity¹⁷⁶ churchwarden. Of five other corporators with both Presbyterian and Establishment tendencies, the most contentious was Joseph Eburne sen., whose having received the Anglican sacrament during the year before he became mayor in 1711 had been maintained by his corporation supporters¹⁷⁷ but denied by the parish clerk¹⁷⁸, yet who was a St. Michael's churchwarden in 1698¹⁷⁹ and was buried thence in 1745¹⁸⁰. Edward Freeman was a Great Meeting feoffee, and trustee of that institution's Old South Sea Annuities and seat-setter¹⁸¹, but witnessed¹⁸² the marriage of William Freeman in Holy Trinity on 26th June, 1769. John Fox in 1701 gave Smithford Street premises for the Great Meeting¹⁸³ but was father of a 1722 Holy Trinity churchwarden¹⁸⁴. Thomas Hunt was another Great Meeting feoffee¹⁸⁵ but had a memorial in Holy Trinity¹⁸⁶. Abraham Owen's receiving the sacrament was disputed in 1711¹⁸⁷ although he had been a St. Michael's churchwarden in 1697¹⁸⁸. Moreover, Thomas Dakin had both Presbyterian and Independent links, being a Great Meeting feoffee¹⁸⁹ but involved in the setting up of West Orchard Chapel¹⁹⁰.

Table 10 : Religious Affiliations¹⁹¹

Denomination	Number	Percentage
Presbyterian	32	56
Presbyterian/Anglican	6	10
Presbyterian/Independent	1	2
Independent	3	5
Anglican	15	27
	57	100

Over the period 1725/26 to 1747/48, confessional proportions remained stable with an average of 56% of the 64% religiously-identifiable corporators Presbyterian, 28% Anglican and 16% Presbyterian/Anglican. Smaller proportions have been identified for 1769/70 (58%) and 1779/80 (48%), but at each date there was one Presbyterian/Anglican, one Presbyterian/Independent and one Independent, the Anglicans for the first time rivalling the Presbyterians (with five men each) in 1779/80. The Presbyterian tenacity is partly explained by an older generation's longevity – of the

eight "pure" Presbyterian corporators in 1748/49, four had joined the council in the 1720s, whilst two of these (Thomas Brockhurst and John Ward) were still there in 1758/59, more recent acquisitions amongst the 1747/48 eight had been less tenacious (only Edward Bibbins sen. survived in 1758/59). Two-thirds each of the textiles and leather groups' men religiously identified were Presbyterians ("pure" Anglicans only predominating amongst those involved with food) and provided two of the five found in the metal trade; one each in the building group was Presbyterian, Presbyterian/Independent or Anglican. The Anglicans tended to be out-of-town businessmen – of the five corporators in the food group, the Establishmentarians were the gardener, the grazier and a maltster, whereas the confectioner was a Presbyterian, and a butcher (John Moore) the builder of Vicar Lane Independent Chapel when a schism developed within the Presbyterian Great Meeting in 1723/24¹⁹². However, of the four in miscellaneous trades, the two Presbyterians were the pair of apothecaries, the two Anglicans being a Chandler and a printer/bookseller (equally urban). Presbyterian connexional predominance presumably reinforced that sect's continuing influence upon the council, for, by marriage or will, over half of the corporators whose religious affiliations can be identified were of that persuasion (32) of whom half again (16) were members of the congeries embracing such as the Porters and Eburnes, forming one-third of that main grouping of which only one-fifth was "pure" Anglican – moreover, ten of the fourteen entirely unconnected men whose religious affiliations can be traced were Presbyterians. On the other hand, three of the Clarke connexion were Anglican, with one each Presbyterian and Presbyterian/Anglican, and only the smallest groupings (Shaw, Vale, Goodall and Pickering) had no trace of Presbyterianism. Absolute Independency was best represented by John Moore who, although the only corporator under review in this part of the study who had Shaw connexions, was also linked with the main and Poole Groups.

Table 11 : Religious Affiliation Related to Wealth¹⁹³

	High	Medium	Low	Not available	Total
Presbyterian	18	7	3	4	32
Presbyterian/Anglican	6	0	0	0	6
Presbyterian/Independent	0	0	0	1	1
Independent	0	2	1	0	3
Anglican	7	3	0	5	15
	31	12	4	10	57

The size of the Presbyterian group ensured that it contained more wealthy men than any other, but it also had more of middle or low income than any other. By excluding those whose religious affiliation is known but whose wealth is not, and using percentages, a different impression is given:

Table 12 : Proportion of Wealth within each Religious Affiliation

	High	%	Medium	%	Low	%
Presbyterian	18	64	7	25	3	11
Presbyterian/Anglican	5	100	0	0	0	0
Independent	0	0	2	67	1	33
Anglican	7	70	3	30	0	0

The Anglicans might have been fewer, but they were proportionately the wealthiest.

OTHER OFFICES

So far, we have examined the 94 as corporators first and as family men, tradesmen or sectarians second, but these aspects of social standing would reinforce their claims to other offices in the city at least as much as corporation membership. Under the 1621 governing charter, the mayor and aldermen were justices of the peace – this was their most important city activity outside of corporation business, and they exercised it throughout the surrounding county of the city, so were not frustrated by a challenging jurisdiction as at Leicester¹⁹⁴. In comparing relevant corporators' attendance-records as members of the council from 9th October, 1725 to 5th September, 1726¹⁹⁵ and as justices of the peace from 4th October, 1725 to 3rd September, 1726¹⁹⁶ it appears that the outgoing and incoming mayors (Caleb Copson and Thomas Lawrence) were entirely assiduous, each being present for all sessions held during his mayoralty (neither happening to be an alderman, neither attended when not mayor); six corporator-justices each put in the maximum achieved number of council appearances (eleven out of a possible seventeen), of whom two also attended all the six sessions. Of the other eight aldermen, five made five sessions appearances each, but only three of these five were at as many as eleven of the seventeen council meetings. A similar comparison for 12th October, 1747 to 13th September, 1748 (council)¹⁹⁷ and 5th October, 1747 to 1st October, 1748 (Quarter Sessions)¹⁹⁸ reveals that the outgoing mayor (John Kirkman) headed the magisterial bench on all suitable occasions, but

that his successor (Edward Freeman) was absent on three days when he should have been in charge. Out of forty sessional sittings in 1747/48, six men attended at least three-quarters; three of the six were among the four corporators who went to all ten possible council meetings. Whereas it was normal for a majority, large in 1725/26 or small in 1747/48, of the justices to attend every week during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, only as many as four of the seven active (including the mayor) were there four times in 1758/59. Comparing as before (3rd October, 1758 to 1st October, 1759 (council)¹⁹⁹ and 2nd October, 1758 to 1st October, 1759 (Quarter Sessions)²⁰⁰), one finds the outgoing mayor (Edward Bibbins sen.) assiduous, but the incomer (John Hewitt jun. – not an alderman) at only 44 sessional meetings of 51 possible, albeit he managed the easier load of all eleven council meetings for the twelvemonth, as did two other J.P.s. There is a greater spread of sessions-attendance than earlier, making a pattern inverse to that on council. Council business' rise to 25 meetings between 18th October, 1779 and 16th October, 1780²⁰¹ made for a pattern similar to that at sessions. As the surviving records are not strictly comparable from mid-1780, for comparison²⁰² one may take the twelvemonth of 14th May, 1779 to 12th May, 1780 to discover that the outgoing mayor (Edward Harper, not an alderman) was entirely assiduous at sessions and the next one (John Minster) almost as consistent; however, with the better general attendance, Minster's 45 out of 57 possible appearances was the highest, the worst being the aged Edward Freeman's – three went to 30 - 40 sessions, paralleling the council picture.

Leaving aside litigation mentioned earlier, corporators' discerned links with the courts are few – two ex-mayors from the textile "establishment", John Kirkman and John Remington, were, with the current mayor, bail-book examiners in 1767²⁰³, whereas less central figures (the barber Francis Soden in 1750 and 1751, and the skinner John Oram in 1764) were elected Bishop Street Court Leet bailiffs²⁰⁴, or served on a Town Court jury (the corkcutter Jabez Jones in 1733)²⁰⁵. Of the two corporators identified as collecting Land Tax, John Kirkman²⁰⁶ might have been a wealthy silkman, but he was not attached to any grouping; Thomas Noxon had links with the large congeries but was a middling schoolmaster²⁰⁷. Of the five Land Tax approvers, two were part of the thirty linked by marriage, two were linked thereto by will, and James Soden was part of a small group (although in other

respects a classic corporator, being a wealthy Presbyterian silkman), so the very top of the social tree was not exclusively fiscally involved²⁰⁸. A similar balance is struck amongst the excise officers²⁰⁹, where Thomas Brockhurst might have been wealthy but was amongst neither the main connexion nor the textile traders. Ezekiel Kendrick and William Porter were moderately well-off, being respectively a clothier associated with the central congeries and a flaxman fully therein, but John Shaw was a maltster from a small grouping. The corporator entrusted with receiving city revenues on the sequestrators' behalf, c.1718-31²¹⁰ was William Wood, an Anglican of moderate means. However, on the other margins of the period, of nine corporators who were appointed commissioners to enquire into the 1780 general election's local excesses²¹¹, five were either members of the thirty or associated exclusively therewith, three had Soden or Vale associations and only one (Edward Freeman) was part of the Clarke set; five rich, four poor, they were drawn from across the trading groups. In national terms, both Whigs and Tories were appointed commissioners, but not one was on the Tory election committee²¹² or on the list of committee members in Coventry for the poll²¹³. Longer-term purely corporation functions (tabulated, like the above, at appendix 7) show more of a balance. Of the corporation treasurers, Thomas Hunt early in the period²¹⁴ was a wealthy mercer connected loosely with the thirty but also with the Sodens, John Cheney²¹⁵ a wealthy silkman only associated with the thirty by will. Of twelve corporation land feoffees²¹⁶, four were full members of the thirty, but five belonged to other connexions, and three to none. There was also some balance amongst receivers of corporation rents, where the central figure of George Porter jun.²¹⁷ appears, but so also do Thomas Noxon²¹⁸ and John Shaw²¹⁹. Of the original 22 appointed street commissioners under a 1763 local Act, nine were corporators, but only Edward Freeman attended in 1770/71 when the surviving minutes begin²²⁰, and that because he was treasurer, in wealth and connexion there was a balance between the forces in 1763, even if all but one were in the textile group. In a time of occasional conformity, men who naturally worshipped at Presbyterian or Independent chapels could accept at least the more secular offices based on Anglican parishes, namely highway surveyor and overseer of the poor – of the 23 overseers for St. Michael's and Holy Trinity parishes, five were certainly Anglican but six Presbyterian and one bi-confessional. Each church had four each of overseers and churchwardens,

a fresh set being chosen every year with little re-election of churchwardens who had served in the recent past; four²²¹ of the ten St. Michael's corporator-churchwardens had Presbyterian links. The corporation's own emphasis on property administration might explain why only one councilman served as an Anglican feoffee at each of the churches which chose a fresh score about once in a generation; however, 22 of our corporators were feoffees at the Presbyterian Great Meeting. Essential to Establishment decision-making was the select vestry, yet only five²²² of the nineteen Anglicans or relevant bi-confessionals were members. Of the 22 Great Meeting feoffees and holders of similar posts there²²³, three had Anglican, one Independent, associations; sixteen (as opposed to five of the eleven Anglican churchwardens) were wealthy, eleven (*vice* six churchwardens) in the textile group, and nine (cf. four churchwardens) core members of the thirty. The wealth figures suggest how leadership of a non-priestly church devolved more upon the laity, and the whole picture is of the Anglican church not feeling the need to be so politically involved. The one contemporaneous "pure" Independent, Thomas Collett, was a West Orchard Chapel founder-trustee²²⁴. Of the 94 corporators, Thomas Smith held seven of the above positions and three men enjoyed four; twelve men had three places each, sixteen had two, and 37 one, only 25 leaving no such record of their activities.

There is little correlation between holding non-corporation offices and sect, wealth or trade, but lack of connexion cuts both ways, for Thomas Smith, devoting himself to the church bureaucratic, was not in any such group; on the other hand, of the 25 corporators without detected non-corporation office, eight were also amongst the 18 unconnected by family or will. That eleven of the 25 officeless were amongst the 35 connected by blood or testament exclusively with the central congeries might suggest that that association was being less efficient than others in getting jobs for the boys.

Table 13 : Place-Holding Reckoned by Connexion

Group	Group Membership	Places	Places per Man
Central	35	50	1.42
Clarke	6	10	1.67
Langham/Shaw	2	3	1.5
Vale/Whitwell	3	3	1
Pickering/Hands	2	2	1
Fox	3	5	1.67
Hewitt	4	2	0.5
Poole	2	2	1
Soden	3	6	2
Unconnected/Will Only	28	22	1.3
Overall	94	124	1.3

Being associated with more than one group was beneficial – the six men concerned shared ten jobs (1.67 each), whereas the one-family group of the Hewitts fared worst.

INDIVIDUAL DISPUTES

Few traces survive of corporators' individual characters, for official accounts and memorial inscriptions are necessarily, for different reasons, bland; however, national partizanship is reflected in local attitudes if only via corporators' personal preferences. At the time of the 1736 bye-election, Ezekiel Kendrick denied²²⁵ that he assaulted Daniel Davis at the "Bear" inn for being in a mob which attacked the Whig candidate Neale's supporters – he merely took him by the breast-button to engage his attention. However, a rule *nisi* was made²²⁶ against him, Joseph Eburne jun. and Caleb Copson by Davis and others which alleged breakage of Davis' head and striking of his right hand when he read the Riot Act²²⁷ (only Davis' namesake son identified Copson and Kendrick as having pushed their hands against the father's throat). Be it said that the informers against Kendrick *et al* were all poor people except the Davises, whereas at least 31 current or future councillors were amongst the signatories to a bye-election pact supporting Neale and Euston²²⁸, and Eburne had feared that the mob, instead of dispersing as he told it to do, had hurt his hand so severely that he despaired of regaining its proper use²²⁹. Reckoning by how the Tories supposedly deserted the 1745 defence association when (as was government policy) it opened a subscription-list instead of calling out the militia²³⁰, only two corporators – Daniel Davis and John Shaw – were Tory. Passions ran high in 1775 when Joseph Craner attempted to resign as a magistrate and corporator because of "the unhappy divisions amongst you, and the great inattention to public business . . . I'm certain [that] without a union amongst yourselves and a proper family at your head [sic] as a corporate body and act[ing] jointly together, without that your interest will decline daily."²³¹ The corporation not acceding, Craner complained to the Town Clerk in terms showing that he disagreed with the performance of M.P.s they had nominated²³², but the resignation was not to be accepted²³³ until after the mayoralty of Joseph Hands, whose election had been disputed²³⁴. Both Davis and Craner had to submit to the will of a self-perpetuating oligarchy which on other occasions they supported in principle as strongly

as their colleagues and which was to provide ruling dynasties long after the 94 corporators had become but the stuff of which history is made.



Bayley Lane (St. Mary's Hall end)
(Troughton Drawings)

APPENDIX I

MEMBERS OF COVENTRY CORPORATION, 1725 – 1780

The years are those for the grand enquests at which corporators were chosen every October.

	Page References
Edward Bibbins sen. (1746–70)	9, 10, 16, 28, 30.
Edward Bibbins jun. (1757–78)	6, 9, 10, 18, 22.
Thomas Bird (1727–36)	10, 22.
Thomas Boyce (1747–56)	
Thomas Brockhurst (1726–69)	5, 6, 24, 28, 31.
John Bromley (1734–55)	
William Brown (1770–79)	
John Carter (1779 – post 1780)	4, 14, 22.
John Cheney (1773–78)	13, 31.
John Clarke (1762–79)	8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 24, 25.
Samuel Clarke (1774 – post 1780)	8, 9, 13, 16, 18, 24.
George Cocker (1726–32)	
Henry Cockerum (pre 1725–1734)	16, 22.
Thomas Collett (1762 – post 1780)	17, 25, 32.
John Collins (pre 1725–1725 only)	10.
Caleb Copson (pre 1725–1726)	3, 24, 29, 33.
Joseph Craner (1769–74)	10, 13, 17, 33.
Jonah Crines (pre 1725–1726)	3, 4, 25.
Thomas Dakin (1762–79)	10, 13, 27.
Daniel Davis (pre 1725–1745)	16, 33.
Joseph Eburne sen. (pre 1725–1743)	9, 10, 13, 20, 24, 27.
Joseph Eburne jun. (1729–53)	9, 10, 13, 18, 20, 24, 33.
Samuel Eburne (1729–43)	9, 10, 13, 20.
James Elliott (1762–75)	
John Fox (pre 1725–1732)	9, 11, 16, 27.
Thomas Fox (1729–36)	9, 11, 13, 16.
Edward Freeman (1746–73)	6, 11, 13, 17, 27, 30, 31.
John Gammage (1762–63)	
Samuel Gibbard (1728–35)	25.
Daniel Gill (1729–36)	
Matthew Goodall (pre 1725–1727)	16.
Joseph Hands (1770–78)	11, 13, 16, 23, 33.
Edward Harper (1774 – post 1780)	10, 30.
John Hassard (1726–30)	
John Hewitt sen. (1747–57)	9, 11, 13, 14, 16.
John Hewitt jun. (1754–77)	9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 30.
William Hewitt sen. (1727–47)	9, 11, 13, 16.
William Hewitt jun. (1760–69)	5, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18.
Christopher Hooke (1762–68)	24.
Thomas Hunt (1728–51)	13, 16, 23, 24, 27, 31.
Joseph Johnson (1769–79)	14.
Jabez Jones (1736–41)	10, 25, 30.

APPENDIX I (continued)

Page References

William Keeling (1726-45)	
Ezekiel Kendrick (1734-66)	31, 33.
John Kilsby (pre 1725-1747)	3, 13.
Thomas King (1762 - post 1780)	6, 16, 17.
John Kirkman (1746-73)	6, 29, 30.
Richard Langham (1754-61)	11, 13.
Thomas Lawrence (pre 1725-1726)	10, 29.
Nathaniel Lawton (1727-60)	17, 18, 20.
Thomas Lightbown (1746-55)	10, 13.
John Lowson (pre 1725-1731)	14, 25.
John Lucas (1762-64)	11, 13, 17.
Thomas Luckman (1773-79)	8, 13, 24.
Thomas Masfen (1756-57)	
James Minster (1774-77)	9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 22.
John Minster (1762 - post 1780)	9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 19, 22, 23, 30.
John Moore (pre 1725-1730)	20, 22, 28.
Thomas Noxon (1779 - post 1780)	23, 30, 31.
Thomas Nutt (1762-69)	11, 13.
Samuel Oldham (1754-69)	6, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18.
Thomas Oldham sen. (1726-55)	9, 11, 13, 18, 20.
Thomas Oldham jun. (1751-66)	6, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18.
Joseph Oram (1770-76)	16, 23, 30.
[N.B. Christian name is really "John" not "Joseph"]	
William Osborne (1769-70)	17.
Abraham Owen (pre 1725-1739)	3, 6, 10, 27.
Simon Pickering (1746-56)	11, 13, 16.
Thomas Pickin (1769 - post 1780)	13.
Joseph Wilcox Piercy (1779 - post 1780)	16, 24.
Joseph Poole (pre 1725-1736)	9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 22, 24.
Richard Poole (pre 1725-1734)	9, 11, 13, 16, 22, 25.
George Porter sen. (1726-53)	9, 10, 13, 18.
George Porter jun. (1754-67)	6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 18, 31.
William Porter (1728-67)	9, 10, 13, 18, 31.
John Remington (1762-68)	10, 20, 25, 30.
William Roberts (1762 - post 1780)	24, 25.
Richard Sawrey (1771-78)	11, 23.
John Shaw (1729-64)	11, 13, 22, 31, 33.
Edward Smith (pre 1725-1733)	
Francis Smith (1779 - post 1780)	
Thomas Smith (pre 1725-1731)	23, 25, 27, 32.
Thomas Landor Smith (1774 - post 1780)	25.
Francis Soden (1754-72)	11, 13, 16, 17, 24, 30.
James Soden (1762 - post 1780)	11, 13, 16, 17, 30.
Thomas Soden 1769-77)	11, 13, 16, 17, 22.
William Stanbridge (1769-75)	10.
Charles Swann (1771-79)	10, 24.
John Taylor (1736-52)	24.

APPENDIX I (continued)

Page References

James Towers (1734-50)	6.
Samuel Vale sen. (1754-55)	9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18.
Samuel Vale jun. (1773 - post 1780)	8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 22, 24.
John Ward (1726-60)	6, 10, 22, 28.
John Whitwell (1779 - post 1780)	11, 13, 14, 16, 24.
William Wood (pre 1725-1741)	31.

APPENDIX II

MEMBERS OF COVENTRY CORPORATION, 1725 – 1780,
WHO WERE MADE MAYOR BEFORE 1780.

The years are those for the council meetings (following the annual grand enquests) at which mayors were chosen every October.

Edward Bibbins sen.	(1757)
Edward Bibbins jun.	(1759)
Thomas Brockhurst	(1739, 1762 (in mayoral year beginning 1761) in succession to the deceased Richard Langham). 1769 (in mayoral year beginning 1768) in succession to the deceased Christopher Hooke).
John Bromley	(1749)
John Clarke	(1769)
Henry Cockerum	(1715)
Thomas Collett	(1762)
John Collins	(1720)
Caleb Copson	(1724)
Joseph Craner	(1770, 1771)
Jonah Crines	(1702)
Thomas Dakin	(1767)
Daniel Davis	(1716)
Joseph Eburne sen.	(1711)
Joseph Eburne jun.	(1734)
Samuel Eburne	(1737)
John Fox	(1722)
Thomas Fox	(1736)
Edward Freeman	(1747)
Matthew Goodall	(1703)
Joseph Hands	(1776)
Edward Harper	(1778)
John Hewitt sen.	(1750)
John Hewitt jun.	(1755, 1758, 1760)
William Hewitt sen.	(1744)
Christopher Hooke	(1768; died in office)
Thomas Hunt	(1735, 1742)
William Keeling	(1731)
Ezekiel Kendrick	(1741)
John Kilsby	(1721)
John Kirkman	(1746)
Richard Langham	(1761; died in office)
Thomas Lawrence	(1725)
Nathaniel Lawton	(1729)
Thomas Lightbown	(1751)
John Minster	(1764, 1772, 1779)

APPENDIX II (continued)

John Moore	(1728)
Thomas Nutt	(1763)
Thomas Oldham sen.	(1733, 1743, 1754 (in mayoral year beginning 1753) in succession to the deceased George Porter sen.)
Thomas Oldham jun.	(1754)
Abraham Owen	(1710, 1712, 1726)
Joseph Poole	(1718)
Richard Poole	(1723)
George Porter sen.	(1727, 1745, 1753; died in office)
William Porter	(1752)
John Remington	(1765)
John Shaw	(1756)
Edward Smith	(1714)
Thomas Smith	(1730)
Thomas Landor Smith	(1775)
James Soden	(1766, 1773, 1774)
John Taylor	(1740)
James Towers	(1738)
Samuel Vale jun.	(1777)
John Ward	(1732, 1748)

APPENDIX III

MEMBERS OF COVENTRY CORPORATION, 1725 – 1780,
WHO SERVED AS SHERIFF, OR REFUSED TO SERVE.

The years are those for the October grand enquests.

Edward Bibbins sen.	(1742)
Edward Bibbins jun.	(1755)
Thomas Boyce	(refused, 1753)
Thomas Brockhurst	(1731)
John Bromley	(1730)
William Brown	(1766)
John Carter	(1777)
John Cheney	(1771)
John Clarke	(1757)
Samuel Clarke	(1773)
George Cocker	(1718)
Thomas Collett	(1747)
John Collins	(1721)
Caleb Copson	(1716, 1717)
Joseph Craner	(1762)
Thomas Dakin	(1752)
Daniel Davis	(1711)
Joseph Eburne jun.	(1726)
Samuel Eburne	(1729)
James Elliott	(1761)
John Fox	(1706)
Thomas Fox	(1727)
Edward Freeman	(1741)
John Gammage	(1745, 1749)
Samuel Gibbard	(1724)
Daniel Gill	(1725)
Matthew Goodall	(1695)
Joseph Hands	(1765, 1768)
Edward Harper	(1769, 1772)
John Hassard	(1722)
John Hewitt sen.	(1736)
William Hewitt sen.	(1724, 1726)
William Hewitt jun.	(1754)
Christopher Hooke	(1759)
Joseph Johnson	(1749; refused, 1753)
Jabez Jones	(1734)
William Keeling	(1721 – did not serve; 1722)
Ezekiel Kendrick	(1729)
John Kilsby	(1712)
Thomas King	(1761)
John Kirkman	(1741)
Richard Langham	(1747 as a substitute for a refuser; 1760)

APPENDIX III (continued)

Thomas Lawrence	(1719)
Nathaniel Lawton	(1714)
Thomas Lightbown	(1742)
John Lowson	(1711)
John Lucas	(1755)
Thomas Luckman	(1770)
Thomas Masfen	(1748, substitute; 1753, substitute; 1754)
James Minster	(1773)
John Minster	(1757)
John Moore	(1712)
Thomas Nutt	(1757)
Samuel Oldham	(1750)
Thomas Oldham sen.	(1716; 1721 – did not serve; substitute, 1724)
Thomas Oldham jun.	(1748)
John Oram	(1768)
William Osborne	(1763)
Abraham Owen	(1701)
Simon Pickering	(1739)
Joseph Wilcox Piercy	(1775)
Joseph Poole	(1708)
Richard Poole	(1713)
George Porter sen.	(1713)
George Porter jun.	(1749, substitute; 1760)
William Porter	(substitute, 1720)
John Remington	(1759)
William Roberts	(1756)
John Shaw	(1721, substitute)
Edward Smith	(1703)
Francis Smith	(1777)
Thomas Landor Smith	(1769, 1772)
Francis Soden	(1744)
James Soden	(1757)
James Towers	(1728)
Samuel Vale jun.	(1770)
John Ward	(1717)
John Whitwell	(1774)
William Wood	(1710)

APPENDIX IV

MEMBERS OF COVENTRY CORPORATION, 1725 – 1780,
WHO SERVED AS CHAMBERLAIN

The years are those for the October grand enquests.

Thomas Bird	(1726)
Thomas Brockhurst	(1725)
George Cocker	(1713)
Henry Cockerum	(1705)
Caleb Copson	(1710)
Joseph Craner	(1760)
Daniel Davis	(1706)
Joseph Eburne sen.	(1696)
Joseph Eburne jun.	(1723)
Samuel Eburne	(1727)
Thomas Fox	(1720)
Edward Freeman	(1740)
Samual Gibbard	(1718)
Matthew Goodall	(1692)
Edward Harper	(1759, 1767)
John Hassard	(1712)
John Hewitt jun.	(1747)
Thomas Hunt	(1727)
William Keeling	(1713)
John Kirkman	(1738)
Thomas Lawrence	(1715)
Nathaniel Lawton	(1708)
John Lucas	(1744, 1748)
James Minster	(1770)
John Minster	(1752)
Samuel Oldham	(1746)
Thomas Oldham jun.	(1742)
John Oram	(1768)
William Osborne	(1760)
Abraham Owen	(1698)
Simon Pickering	(1737)
Joseph Wilcox Piercy	(1772)
John Remington	(1755, 1756, 1757)
Francis Smith	(1772)
Thomas Smith	(1714)
Thomas Landor Smith	(1765)
Francis Soden	(1737)
Samuel Vale jun.	(1764)

APPENDIX V

MEMBERS OF COVENTRY CORPORATION, 1725 – 1780,
WHO SERVED AS WARDEN

The years are those for the October grand enquests.

Edward Bibbins sen.	(1731)
Edward Bibbins jun.	(1744)
Thomas Boyce	(1729)
John Bromley	(1727)
William Brown	(1763)
John Carter	(1771)
John Cheney	(1768)
John Clarke	(1749)
Thomas Collett	(1747)
Jonah Crines	(1687)
Thomas Dakin	(1749)
James Elliott	(1748)
John Fox	(1699, 1700)
Daniel Gill	(1725)
John Hewitt sen.	(1734)
Christopher Hooke	(1752)
Joseph Johnson	(1745)
Jabez Jones	(1731)
Ezekiel Kendrick	(1722)
John Kilsby	(1709)
Thomas King	(1753)
Richard Langham	(1743)
Thomas Lightbown	(1735)
John Lowson	(1708)
Thomas Noxon	(1769)
Thomas Nutt	(1746)
Thomas Pickin	(1761)
Joseph Poole	(1701)
Richard Poole	(1704)
George Porter sen.	(1707)
George Porter jun.	(1745)
William Porter	(1713)
William Roberts	(1750)
Richard Sawrey	(1766)
John Shaw	(1720)
Edward Smith	(1698)
Thomas Soden	(1757)
William Stanbridge	(1759)
Charles Swann	(1760)
James Towers	(1722)
Samuel Vale sen.	(1732)
John Ward	(1711)
John Whitwell	(1766)
William Wood	(1708)

APPENDIX VI

TESTAMENTARY CONNEXION ADDED TO
FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

1 - 9 = Family groups (1 = the thirty, 2 = Clarke, 3 = Langham/Shaw, 4 = Vale/Whitwell, 5 = Pickering/Hands, 6 = Fox, 7 = Hewitt, 8 = Poole, 9 = Soden).

0 = Unattached by family.

Swann(1) Whitwell(4)	Craner(1) Dakin(1) Luckman(0) Osborne(0)	Dakin(1) Craner(1) Minster(1) Collett(0)	Porter(1) Minster(1) Oldham(1) Clarke(2) Lucas(2) Nutt(2) Langham(3) Soden(9) Cheney(0) Hooke(0) Kendrick(0) Luckman(0) Noxon(0) Pickin(0)	Minster(1) Dakin(1) Porter(1) Roberts(0) Clarke(2)	Oldham(1) Lawton(1) Poole(8) Boyce(0) Kendrick(0)
Lawton(1) Harper(1) Oldham(1)	Remington(1) Eburne(1) Boyce(0) Moore(0)	Eburne(1) Lightbown(1) Remington(1) Freeman(2) Hewitt(7) Taylor(0)	Ward(1) Bibbins(1) Collins(1) Poole(8)	Bibbins(1) Ward(1) Copson(0)	Clarke(2) Minster(1) Porter(1) Carter(0)
Lucas(2) Porter(1)	Nutt(2) Porter(1)	Freeman(2) Eburne(1)	Langham(3) Porter(1) Shaw(3) Poole(8) Bird(1) Oldham(1) Ward(1) Brockhurst(0) Moore(0)	Shaw(3) Langham(3) Moore(0) Soden(9) Porter(1) Kendrick(0) Brockhurst(0) Hunt(0)	Vale(4) Whitwell(4)
Whitwell(4) Swann(1) Vale(4) Luckman(0)	Fox(6) Towers(0) Cockerum(0)	Hewitt(7) Eburne(1) Towers(0)	Cheney(0) Porter(1)	Hooke(0) Porter(1)	Noxon(0) Porter(1)
Luckman(0) Craner(1) Porter(1) Whitwell(4)	Osborne(0) Craner(1)	Collett(0) Dakin(1)	Cheney(0) Porter(1)	Hooke(0) Porter(1)	Noxon(0) Porter(1)
Pickin(0) Porter(1)	Kendrick(0) Oldham(1) Porter(1) Soden(9)	Roberts(0) Minster(1)	Boyce(0) Oldham(1) Remington(1)	Moore(0) Remington(1) Shaw(3) Poole(8)	Taylor(0) Eburne(1)
Copson(0) Bibbins(1)	Carter(0) Clarke(2) Johnson(0)	Johnson(0) Carter(2)	Towers(0) Fox(6) Hewitt(7)	Cockerum(0) Fox(6)	Brockhurst(0) Poole(8) F.Soden(9)
Hunt(0) F.Soden(9)	Goodall(0) Davis(0)	Davis(0) Goodall(0)	Gammage(0) E.Smith(0)	E.Smith(0) Gammage(0)	
Pickin(0) Porter(1)	Kendrick(0) Oldham(1) Porter(1) Soden(9)	Roberts(0) Minster(1)	Boyce(0) Oldham(1) Remington(1)	Moore(0) Remington(1) Shaw(3) Poole(8)	Taylor(0) Eburne(1)
Copson(0) Bibbins(1)	Carter(0) Clarke(2) Johnson(0)	Johnson(0) Carter(0)	Cockerum(0) Fox(6)	Towers(0) Fox(6) Hewitt(7)	Brockhurst(0) Poole(8) F.Soden(9)
Hunt(0) F.Soden(9)	Goodall(0) Davis(0)	Davis(0) Goodall(0)	Gammage(0) E.Smith(0)	E.Smith(0) Gammage(0)	

APPENDIX VII

MISCELLANEOUS OFFICE-HOLDING

Following the name, the figures 1 - 9 and 0 refer to testamentary connection added to family relationships (see appendix 6).

The lower-case letters refer to the following offices:—

- a = Quarter Sessions justice.
- b = bail book examiner.
- c = Bishop Street Leet bailiff.
- d = Town Court juror.
- e = Land Tax collector.
- f = Land Tax approver.
- g = exciseman.
- h = sequestration receiver.
- i = 1780 election commissioner.
- j = corporation treasurer.
- k = corporation land feoffee.
- l = corporation receiver.
- m = street commissioner.
- n = turnpike trustee.
- o = leathersearcher.
- p = St. Michael's parish surveyor.
- q = Holy Trinity parish surveyor.
- r = St. Michael's overseer.
- s = Holy Trinity overseer.
- t = St. Michael's churchwarden.
- u = Holy Trinity churchwarden.
- v = St. Michael's feoffee.
- w = Holy Trinity feoffee.
- x = St. Michael's vestryman.
- y = Holy Trinity vestryman.
- z = Great Meeting feoffee.
- * = West Orchard Chapel trustee.

P, A, I show religious affiliation (Presbyterian, Anglican, Independent).

h, l, m refer to wealth (high, low, medium).

T, L, F, B, M, O refer to trade-groups (textiles, leather, food, building, metal, other).

APPENDIX VII (continued)

Edward Bibbins sen.	1				0	P - T	
Edward Bibbins jun.	1		m		1	P l T	
Thomas Bird	1				0	P h T	
Thomas Boyce	1/0				0	- h T	
Thomas Brockhurst	8/9/0	g	k		2	P h O	
John Bromley	0			z	1	P h T	
William Brown	0				0	- - T	
John Carter	2/0		m	r t	3	A - T	
John Cheney	1/0	j		r(refused)	1	- h T	
John Clarke	2			z	1	P h B	
Samuel Clarke	2			t	1	A - B	
George Cocker	0				0	- h T	
Henry Cockerum	6/0				0	- - L	
Thomas Collett	1/0	f	m	*	3	I m L	
John Collins	1			t	1	A m T	
Caleb Copson	1/0				0	P m T	
Joseph Craner	1				0	I m L	
Jonah Crines	0		k	w	2	- - T	
Thomas Dakin	1			z	1	P l - B	
Daniel Davis	0				0	- - O	
Joseph Eburne sen.	1			t	1	P A - L	
Joseph Eburne jun.	1		k	z	2	P m L	
Samuel Eburne	1		k	r	2	- m L	
James Elliott	0			p	1	- - L	
John Fox	6			yz	2	P A h L	
Thomas Fox	6		k	o s	3	P h L	
Edward Freeman	2		i	m	z	3	P A h T
John Gammage	0				0	- - T	
Samuel Gibbard	0				1	P h T	
Daniel Gill	0		k		1	P - L	
Matthew Goodall	0		k	y	2	A - O	
Joseph Hands	5			r	1	I l T	
Edward Harper	1		i	z	2	P h O	
John Hassard	0				0	- h T	
John Hewitt sen.	7			z	1	P h T	
John Hewitt jun.	7				1	- h T	
William Hewitt sen.	7		k		1	A h T	
William Hewitt jun.	7				0	- h T	
Christopher Hooke	1/0				0	A h M	
Thomas Hunt	9/0		j	z	2	P A h T	
Joseph Johnson	2/0			s	1	A m O	
Jabez Jones	1	d			1	- - O	
William Keeling	0		k	z	2	P m T	
Ezekiel Kendrick	1/9/0	f g		s	3	- m T	
John Kilsby	0				0	P h T	

APPENDIX VII (continued)

Thomas King	0					p r s(?)	3	A - F
John Kirkman	0		b e		m			3 - h T
Richard Langham	3					r		1 - - T
Thomas Lawrence	1							0 P h T
Nathaniel Lawton	1						z	1 P h T
Thomas Lightbown	1					r		1 P m T
John Lowson	0					t		1 A/P - F
John Lucas	1						z	1 P l O
Thomas Luckman	1/4/0				i	q s		3 A h O
Thomas Masfen	0							0 - - T
James Minster	1							0 - - M
John Minster	1				f i	s		3 - l T
John Moore	1/3/8/0							0 I - F
Thomas Noxon	1/0		e	i	l		z	4 P l M
Thomas Nutt	2					m		1 - l T
Samuel Oldham	1					m	z	2 P h T
Thomas Oldham sen.	1							0 P h T
Thomas Oldham jun.	1						z	1 P h T
John Oram	0		c				z	2 P h L
William Osborne	1/0				n	s		2 P m L
Abraham Owen	1				k	t	x	3 P A h T
Simon Pickering	5					t		1 A - T
Thomas Pickin	1/0				i			1 - l T
Joseph Wilcox Piercy	0							0 - - O
Joseph Poole	8					t		1 A h T
Richard Poole	8				k			1 P - T
George Porter sen.	1					t		1 A h O
George Porter jun.	1		f	l	m			3 - m T
William Porter	1				g			1 - m T
John Remington	1		b		m	s	z	4 P m T
William Roberts	1/0					s		1 - l T
Richard Sawrey	1				i	s		2 - l M
John Shaw	1				g	l		2 - - O
Edward Smith	0							0 - - T
Francis Smith	0					s		1 - - T
Thomas Smith	0					r t u v	xyz	7 P A h M
Thomas Landor Smith	0						z	1 P h T
Francis Soden	9/0		c					1 - - O
James Soden	9				f i	s	z	4 P h T
Thomas Soden	9					r		1 - m T
William Stanbridge	1							0 - - T
Charles Swann	1					s		1 - h M
John Taylor	1/0							0 A h F
James Towers	6/7/0							0 - m T
Samuel Vale sen.	4							0 - h T
Samuel Vale jun.	4					s		1 - m O
John Ward	1				k	r	z	3 P h T
John Whitwell	4				i	s		2 - h O
William Wood	0				h	t		2 A m T

B.R.L.: Birmingham Reference Library.
 C.R.O.: Coventry City Record Office.
 L.J.R.O.: Lichfield Joint Record Office.
 W.R.O.: Warwick County Record Office.

1. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Administrative Records: Corporators: A14(f) p.69.
2. W.R.O. DR581/2 shows that he was born on 25th Nov., 1654.
3. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Court Leet: A3(b) p.348.
4. C.R.O. A3(b) p.389.
5. C.R.O. A14(g) pp.139ff.
6. C.R.O. A14(g) pp.358-362; A14(h) pp.1-20.
7. C.R.O. A14(j) pp.487-545; A14(k) pp.1-14.
8. R.W. Greaves: *The Corporation of Leicester, 1689 - 1836* (1939) pp.5ff.
9. Relevant mayors, sheriffs, chamberlains and wardens are listed in appendices 2 - 5.
10. This selection was made by the 31 acting as an electoral college of the Court Leet, which until the sixteenth century had been the primary power-source in Coventry; by the time under review, its functions were otherwise largely honorific and city administration had passed to the corporation *per se* or its members acting as magistrates.
11. C.R.O. A14(c) p.18.
12. C.R.O. A3(b) p.311.
13. C.R.O. A14(m) unpaginated.
14. C.R.O. A14(j) pp.1, 2.
15. Computed from C.R.O. A14(f) pp.56-73 for 1725/26, A14(f) pp.305-318 for 1735/36, A14(g) pp.139-149 for 1747/48, A14(g) pp.358-362 and A14(h) pp.1-20 for 1758/59, A14(j) pp.3-56 for 1769/70, A14(j) pp.487-545 and A14(k) pp.1-14 for 1779/80.
16. Cf. *Victoria History of the Counties of England: Warwickshire Vol.VIII* (1969) p.267.
17. C.R.O. A14(h) p.12.
18. C.R.O. A14(j) p.525. Porter had failed to obtain securities for three £50 loans.
19. C.R.O. 101/11/2.
20. C.R.O. A14(j) p.501.
21. W.R.O. DR581/65 sub 2nd. Apr., 1771.
22. C.R.O. A14(h) p.9; Borough Archive: Corporation Charity Records: Sir Thomas White's Charity: Bailiffs' Rent Account Book, 1770 - 1828.
23. A proportion reinforced by examination of the uncatalogued C.R.O.54 (Bond's Hospital).
24. C.R.O. A14(f) p.62, dated 26th. Jan., 1726 (N.S.); Borough Archive: Corporation Manorial Records: Cheylesmore: papers relating to case temp. Frederick, Prince of Wales, m.18c.
25. See first paragraph of this study.
26. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Court Leet: A3(a).

27. C.R.O. A14(f) pp.36-73.
28. C.R.O. A14(g) pp.358-362; A14(h) pp.1-20.
29. C.R.O. A14(j) pp.487-545; A14(k) pp.1-14.
30. The "½"s in the 1779/80 transactions column arise from a committee's remit to examine all corporation and charity property.
31. The following lines utilize council minute books for the twelvemonths beginning with grand enquests held on 9th. Oct., 1725 (C.R.O. A14(f) pp.56-73); 7th. Oct., 1735 (A14(f) pp.307-318); 12th. Oct. 1747 (A14(g) pp.139-149; 3rd. Oct., 1758 (A14(g) pp.358-362; A14(h) pp.1-20); 11th. Oct., 1763 (A14(h) pp.175-210); 7th. Oct., 1766 (A14(h) pp.253-284); 24th. Oct., 1769 (A14(j) pp.3-56); 18th. Oct., 1774 (A14(j) pp.253-309); 21st. Oct., 1777 (A14(j) pp.386-442); and 19th Oct., 1779 (A14(j) pp.487-545; A14(k) pp.1-14).
32. A. McInnes: *The English Town, 1660 - 1760* (1980) p.5.
33. G.A. Chinnery (ed.): *Records of the Borough of Leicester, 1689 - 1835 Vol. V* (1965) pp.541-548.
34. N. Tildesley (ed.): *St. Michael's, Coventry Bishop's Transcripts* (n.d.), 1st April, 1737.
35. W.R.O. DR581/2 sub 3rd. May, 1742.
36. W.R.O. DR581/2 sub 19th. Sept., 1695.
37. Tildesley, 2nd. Oct., 1739.
38. *Ibid.*, 6th June, 1740.
39. W.R.O. MI58/2 sub 28th. July, 1768.
40. Trustee of James Minster's marriage-settlement (C.R.O. 67/1).
41. Tildesley, 24th. July, 1737.
42. W.R.O. MI58/2 sub 24th. Aug., 1769.
43. Tildesley, 16th Jan., 1723 (N.S.).
44. *Ibid.*, 27th Feb., 1720 (N.S.).
45. L.J.R.O. Codicil (7th. Jan., 1725 (N.S.) to probated will (28th. Sept., 1727) of John Collins.
46. L.J.R.O. Will (6th June, 1723; probated, 28th. Sept., 1727) of John Collins.
47. L.J.R.O. Probated will (8th Apr., 1785) of Thomas Dakin.
48. *Ibid.*
49. L.J.R.O. Administration (4th. Nov., 1746) of Joseph Eburne.
50. Tildesley, 30th. Jan., 1697 (N.S.).
51. W.R.O. DR411/12 sub 27th. Oct., 1765.
52. Tildesley, 18th. May, 1719.
53. *Ibid.*, 14th. Jan., 1733 (N.S.).
54. W.R.O. MI371/20 sub 24th. Apr., 1776.
55. Tildesley, 14th. Oct., 1734.
56. L.J.R.O. Probated will (28th. Aug., 1758) of Nathaniel Lawton.
57. W.R.O. MI371/1 sub 3rd. June, 1744.
58. L.J.R.O. Probated will (11th. Oct., 1793) of Thomas Oldham.
59. C.R.O. 115/6, 10.
60. W.R.O. DR411/1 sub 31st. Dec., 1744.
61. W.R.O. DR411/13 sub 21st. June, 1767.

NOTES (continued)

62. C.R.O. 346/40-41.
63. W.R.O. DR581/2 *sub* 16th. Feb., 1732 (N.S.).
64. W.R.O. MI371/1 *sub* 1st. May, 1754.
65. Tildesley, 6th. May, 1720.
66. *Ibid.*, 14th. Apr., 1734.
67. C.R.O. Accession 244.
68. Tildesley, 8th. Dec., 1734.
69. L.J.R.O. Probated will (15th. Apr., 1737) of Joseph Poole.
70. C.R.O. 34/3,4.
71. L.J.R.O. Probated will (14th. Apr., 1769) of George Porter.
72. L.J.R.O. Probated will (8th. Oct., 1784) of Thomas Luckman.
73. L.J.R.O. Probated will (8th. Apr., 1785) of Thomas Dakin.
74. W.R.O. MI58/2 *sub* 28th. July, 1768.
75. L.J.R.O. Administration granted (9th. Oct., 1789) to John Cheney's heir, and probated wills, (16th. Apr., 1784 and 10th. Feb., 1801) respectively of Thomas Pickin and Thomas Collett.
76. L.J.R.O. Probated will (10th. Sept., 1748) of John Kilsby.
77. J.J. Hurwith: "A Fanatick Town": *The Political Influence of Dissenters in Coventry, 1660 - 1720. Midland History* Vol. IV (1977) p.43.
78. C.R.O. Accessions 34, 100 *passim*.
79. C.R.O. A3(b) p.420.
80. C.R.O. A3(b) p.424.
81. C.R.O. A3(b) p.361.
82. C.R.O. A3(b) p.369.
83. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Commercial & Freemanship Records: Freeman's Court.
84. C.R.O. A3(b) p.449.
85. C.R.O. A3(b) p.455.
86. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Administrative Records: Corporators: A56 fol.174a.
87. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Commercial & Freemanship Records: Shearmen and Tailors' Company Order Book (1729-64) fols.40r, 41r-v, 42r.
88. C.R.O. A3(b) p.404.
89. L.J.R.O. Probated will (12th. Oct., 1758) of Samuel Vale.
90. C.R.O. A3(b) p.441.
91. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Town Court: precept for John Whitwell, Joseph Butler and Samuel Vale *v* Francis Shackleton, 29th. Dec., 1773.
92. L.J.R.O. Probated will (9th. Jan., 1796) of John Whitwell.
93. B.R.L. 575314-5.
94. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Estate Records: Surveys, Rentals and Accounts: A19 (unfoliated).
95. L.J.R.O. Probated will (14th. Oct., 1786) of John Minster.
96. L.J.R.O. Probated will (24th. Apr., 1778) of James Minster.
97. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Commercial & Freemanship Records: Freeman's Index *sub* 1768.

NOTES (continued)

98. C.R.O. A3(b) p.448.
99. C.R.O. A3(b) p.451.
100. C.R.O. A3(b) *passim*.
101. C.R.O. Sir Thomas White's Charity Bailiffs' Rent Account Book, 1770 - 1828.
102. Greaves p.49.
103. C.R.O. 34/3.
104. C.R.O. *Ibid.*
105. C.R.O. 34/3 *sub* 17th. Apr., 1750.
106. C.R.O. 34/4 p.111.
107. C.R.O. 34/3 *sub* 3rd. Feb., 1774.
108. C.R.O. Accession 15.
109. C.R.O. 31/1 fols.8-11 *et passim*.
110. C.R.O. Sir Thomas White's Charity Bailiffs' Rent Account Book, 1770 - 1828.
111. C.R.O. *Ibid.* 1773ff.
112. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Commercial & Freemanship Records: Freeman's Court: Freeman's Rolls (1715) and Freeman's Index (1722 - 1935).
113. McInnes p.6.
114. C.R.O. 145/1 p.25.
115. For Bibbins, see C.R.O. 101/1/282-283; for Eburne, A19 *sub* 1706, 1730, 1751, and 145/1 pp.13,31,33,42; for Hewitt, C.R.O. 56/2 and 309/69, 70; for Lawton/Oldham, note 56 above; for Vale, C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Estate Records: Tenants' Land and Buildings: F22 (part) and A19 *sub* 26th. Mar., 1782.
116. For Minster/Clarke, see C.R.O. Sir Thomas White's Charity Bailiffs' Rent Account Book, 1770 - 1828; for Minster/Towers, B.R.L. 575314-5; for Owen/Collins, C.R.O. A19 *sub* 1703 and 25/1; for Porter/Eburne, C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Charity Records: Sir Thomas White's Charity: Rental, 1752 and 145/1 p.11.
117. C.R.O. 145/1 p.24.
118. C.R.O. 154/2 fol.109.
119. C.R.O. A19 *sub* 1706-51 *passim*.
120. C.R.O. 171/18/1,2.
121. C.R.O. A19 *sub* 1706-45; 90/35, 37; 145/1 pp.13, 31; 154/2 fols. 109-137 *passim*.
L.J.R.O. Administration granted, 4th. Nov., 1746.
122. One Samuel Critchlow, without authority from the Drapers' Company, left Nathaniel Lawton Well Street premises which in 1732 were found not to have yielded rent for 42½ years — on Lawton's death, the land was leased to Thomas Oldham sen. See C.R.O. 154/2 fols.109,112; 513 (Drapers' Company Pass Book *sub* 6th Jan., 1766).
123. C.R.O. 154/2 fols.109-137 *passim*.
124. V.C.H. Vol. VIII pp.398-414; *Charity Commissioners' Report for Coventry* (1833); S. Carte and W. Jackson *An Account of the Loans, Benefactions, and Charities Belonging to the City of Coventry* (1733).

NOTES (continued)

125. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Charity Records: Sir Thomas White's Charity: Bailiffs' Accounts (1725-57 *passim*) and Rent Account Book (1770 - 1828).
126. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Charity Records: Sir Thomas White's Charity: A12(c).
127. C.R.O. Accession 101 *passim*, etc. (see C.R.O. searchroom persons-index).
128. See note 125.
129. C.R.O. A12(c).
130. C.R.O. Sir Thomas White's Charity Bailiffs' Accounts for 1744-57; in the time of the man concerned (George Porter jun.), unlike during his non-corporator predecessor's, a non-corporator examined the accounts; and the mayor passed them during his time from before he joined the council.
131. C.R.O. A12(c) *sub* 11th. Nov., 1772 — John Clarke for his son Yardley.
132. *Ibid.* *sub* 30th. Apr., 1773 — J.W. Piercy for Thomas Lesson, printer.
133. *Ibid.* *sub* 5th Jan., 1773.
134. C.R.O. 248/4 fol.98.
135. C.R.O. A19 *passim*.
136. C.R.O. A12(c); Borough Archive: Corporation Charity Records: Wheatley's Loan: Yearly Accounts, 1752-79.
137. C.R.O. A19 *passim*; 202/33/1,3.
138. C.R.O. persons-index.
139. C.R.O. A19 *passim*; 145/1 pp.23,26.
140. C.R.O. A19 *passim*; 101/148/1; 145/1 pp.33,36.
141. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Charity Records: Crow's Charity: Accounts, 1712 — 1836 (27 years).
142. C.R.O. 34/3 *sub* 3rd. Apr. 1757.
143. C.R.O. 368/1/2.
B. Poole: *Coventry: Its History and Antiquities* (1870) pp.199,270.
144. L.J.R.O. Probated will (9th. Apr., 1731) of John Moore.
145. C.R.O. 145/1 p.75.
146. C.R.O. 101/140/19.
V.C.H. Warws. Vol. VIII p.401.
147. C.R.O. 242/2/2.
148. C.R.O. 146/1 p.9.
149. C.R.O. 101/143/25.
150. C.R.O. 146/1 p.2.
151. C.R.O. 146/1 pp.9-45 *passim*.
152. L.J.R.O. Probated will (8th. Jan., 1761) of John Ward.
153. C.R.O. 114/1 fol.1.
154. C.R.O. A56 fols.113a,116.
155. C.R.O. Accession 711.
156. C.R.O. 368/1/1.
157. C.R.O. A19 *passim*.
158. A Thomas Bird is mentioned rather too late in Sir Thomas White's Charity Bailiffs' Rent Account Book, 1770 - 1828.
159. C.R.O. 101/140/19,20.

NOTES (continued)

160. C.R.O. Accessions 460, 481.
161. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Sessions of the Peace.
162. C.R.O. 36/3.
163. L.J.R.O. Probated will (15th. Apr., 1737) of Joseph Poole.
164. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Sessions of the Peace.
165. C.R.O. Town Court precepts for 22nd. Nov., 1775 (J. Clarke and S. Clarke *v* Thomas Cowdall), 17th. Feb., 1777 (J. Clarke and S. Clarke *v* Joseph Stringer), 7th. June, 1777 (J. Clarke, S. Clarke and Yardley Clarke *v* Joseph Flanagan), 9th. June, 1777 (J. Clarke and S. Clarke *v* Thomas Ratcliff).
166. C.R.O. Town Court precept for 29th. Dec., 1773 (J. Whitwell, Joseph Butler and S. Vale *v* Francis Shackleton).
167. C.R.O. Town Court precepts for 14th. June, 1773 (T. Luckman and J. Whitwell *v* Joseph Hawkesford), 17th. Feb., 1779 (T. Luckman and J. Whitwell *v* Francis Ludyatt), 6th. July, 1778 (J. Whitwell and T. Luckman *v* Joseph Williamson).
168. C.R.O. Town Court narration, 28th. Mar., 1757.
169. C.R.O. Town Court affidavit, 23rd. Dec., 1727.
170. C.R.O. Town Court precepts for 11th. Aug., 1735; 20th Aug., 1739; 26th. Nov., 1739.
171. C.R.O. Town Court precept for 8th. Mar., 1756.
172. C.R.O. Town Court precepts for 16th. May, 1763 (two cases); affidavit, 12th. June, 1762.
173. This was nothing new, for the prominent corporator Edward Owen had in the late seventeenth century been an Anglican churchwarden while a member of a Dissenting conventicle (Hurwith p.17).
174. C.R.O. Accession 244 *sub* 30th. May, 1732.
175. W.R.O. DR461 box 4 (22nd. Apr., 1728).
176. W.R.O. DR581/65 p.216 (11th. Apr., 1732).
177. C.R.O. 17/63/1,2; 22/4/6-9.
178. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Administrative Records: Corporators: W99.
179. W. Reader: *St. Michael's Church, Coventry* (1828) p.82.
180. W.R.O. MI371/1.
181. C.R.O. Accession 244 *sub* 27th. July, 1755; 13th. Jan., 1756; 3rd. May, 1761.
182. W.R.O. MI371/1.
183. C.R.O. 137/1.
184. C.R.O. 122/1 p.19.
185. C.R.O. Accession 244 *sub* 30th. May, 1732.
186. Poole p.194.
187. C.R.O. W99.
188. Reader p.83.
189. C.R.O. Accession 244 *sub* 16th. June, 1771.
190. C.R.O. 101/150/1.

NOTES (continued)

191. This has been determined by including references to churchwardens and vestrymen, but not to overseers of the poor, who include such prominent Presbyterians as John Remington (a Holy Trinity overseer, 8th. Apr., 1763 (C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Sessions of the Peace: A133) but also a Great Meeting feoffee (C.R.O. Accession 244 *sub* 27th. July, 1755), and by excluding references to Great Meeting dues, which were made upon everybody of any consequence.
192. Poole p.233.
193. "High" = considered from taxation records or Great Meeting dues as of substantial means or assessed highly, or eligible to sit on the city's 1745 defence committee; "Medium" = of average or above-average taxable means; "Low" = of below-average taxable means. "High", "Medium" and "Low" relate to the taxable population as a whole.
194. Greaves p.36.
195. C.R.O. A14(f) pp.56-93.
196. W.R.O. QS64/1/2,3.
197. C.R.O. A14(g) pp.138-149.
198. W.R.O. QS64/1/5.
199. C.R.O. A14(g) pp.358-362; A14(h) pp.1-20.
200. C.R.O. A133.
201. C.R.O. A14(j) pp.487-545; A14(k) pp.1-14.
202. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Sessions of the Peace: A135.
203. W.R.O. QS64/2/1.
204. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Bishop Street Court Leet: lists of elected officers, 1750-78.
205. C.R.O. Town Court *venire facias*, 20th. Aug., 1733.
206. C.R.O. 31/2; 309/3-5.
207. C.R.O. 368/49.
208. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Judicial Records: Accounts Various 20(1), (2).
209. C.R.O. A133.
210. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Estate Records: Surveys, Rentals and Accounts.
211. C.R.O. 854/181.
212. C.R.O. 854/1.
213. C.R.O. 854/120 fol.4.
214. C.R.O. 35/2; 90/21,23,24.
215. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Administrative Records: Corporators: A62 fol.56.
216. C.R.O. 90/9,10,16,18,19,22,24.
W.R.O. DR581/65 p.226.
217. C.R.O. A62 fol.6.
W.R.O. QS64/2/1.
218. C.R.O. A14(k) p.8.
219. W.R.O. QS64/2/1.

NOTES (continued)

220. C.R.O. 317/1.
221. Reader pp.82,83.
222. W.R.O. DR461 box 4; DR581/65.
223. Elections recorded in C.R.O. Accession 244.
224. C.R.O. 101/150/1.
225. C.R.O. 248/4 fols.107,108.
226. C.R.O. 248/4 fol.109.
227. C.R.O. 248/4 fol.124.
228. C.R.O. 248/4 fol.73.
229. C.R.O. 248/4 fols.110,111.
230. C.R.O. 36/3 fol.6.
231. C.R.O. Borough Archives: Corporation Administrative Records: Corporators: W1506.
232. C.R.O. Borough Archive: Corporation Administrative Records: Corporators: W1559.
233. C.R.O. A14(j) *sub* 22nd. Jan., 1777.
234. C.R.O. A14(j) *sub* 15th. Oct., 1776.

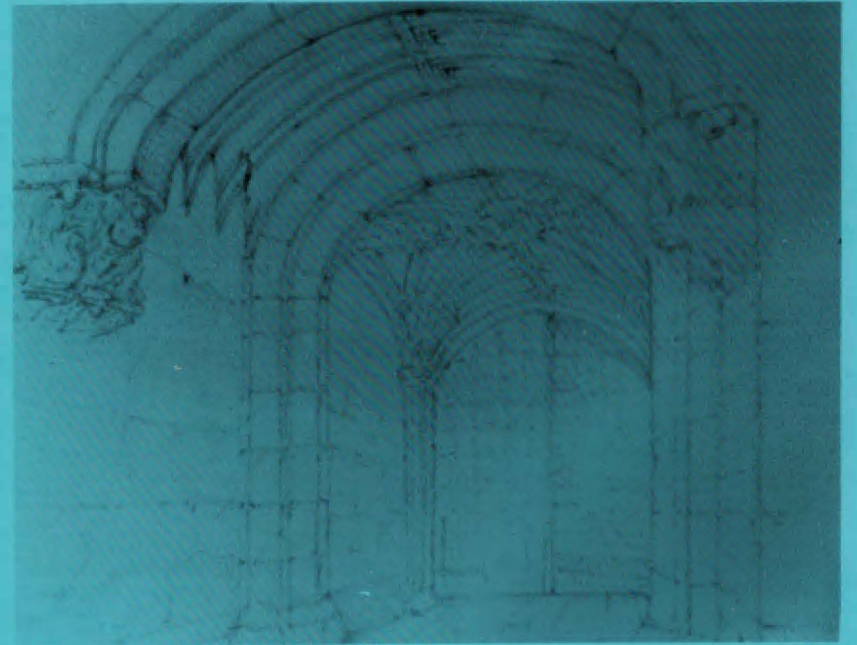
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St. Mary's Hall entrance gate
(The Troughton Drawings)