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DRINKING HOUSES, POPULAR POLITICS AND THE MIDDLE SORTS IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NORWICH

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ABSTRACT This article explores some of the most notorious popular political events of early seventeenth-century Norwich, with an eye to understanding these events as specific to the political culture of the middling sorts, especially the freemen electorate. Popular politics was not of course the sole preserve of the middling sorts, but it is interesting how the surviving evidence of political activity (including riots and contested elections) in Norwich strongly suggests an overlap between those men who held power in Norwich and those who most actively contested it. From the same body of civic records, popular politics is also revealed as grounded in particular features of the urban landscape, a claim explored for other cities but not yet for Norwich, as certain drinking houses – inns especially – reoccur as the location for significant political activity. This article argues, therefore, that popular politics in Norwich had a direct and meaningful connection not only with the culture of its middling sorts but also with their social networks and spaces of sociability. In particular it seeks to uncover whether there were any patterns to political happenings and whether, perhaps over time, certain places became fixed as ‘political’ in the common memory of Norwich’s landscape.

Keywords: popular politics, drinking houses, urban landscape, middling sorts

In the seventeenth century, Norwich was still one of the largest and most important cities in England and its population had a healthy relationship with politics. This manifested in a number of ways: from participating in the formal mechanisms of governance through the practice of holding a local office,¹ debating (or on occasion directing) the course and outcome of local elections and protesting against changes to the corporation’s charter or negotiating its terms, to expressing opinions about political events or personalities in the alehouse, or even rioting in the streets. This lively political atmosphere fits with recent scholarship which has examined urban political spaces, part of the wider ‘spatial turn’ of social history and a reconsideration of the origins of the

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public sphere.² While Norwich's 'vibrant' and 'participatory' political culture has been recognized, it is generally the latter part of the period that has been subject to scholarly attention.³ This culture was, however, a long-standing part of the city's history and landscape. By exploring known incidents of informal political discourse and popular politics and their location, this article will demonstrate how drinking spaces fit within the middling social culture and politics of the city in first half of the seventeenth century. Norwich, with a proud political history as a corporation, provides an excellent study for understanding how political activities – including political meetings and riots – were often centred around the networks of the middling sorts and the places in which they drank. Critically, therefore, this article explores how the dynamics of popular politics and place interacted with social status. Yet neither politics nor the emerging public sphere was limited solely to an urban elite – the governing class of aldermen, sheriffs, mayors and magistrates; nor can we detect the exclusivity of political culture that so dominated the coffee house and club culture of the eighteenth century.⁴

The article also demonstrates how political activities and drinking house culture were part of the emerging public sphere, a concept which is more often discussed in relation to the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The city's inns emerge in this study as a significant means by which Norwich's inhabitants understood and navigated their city. An examination of the civic records relating to popular politics and seditious speech for Norwich reveals that the inns adjacent to the marketplace in the central parish of St Peter Mancroft provided the primary platform for the articulation of political discourse, political meetings, and politicking from 1600 to 1650.⁵

The recent 'spatial turn' of social history has brought new insights into the relationship between people, the places that they inhabited, and their politics. This connection between politics and physical place has been well made in several studies. For example, Beat Kümin's pioneering collection of essays on political spaces in pre-industrial Europe demonstrated just how the social forces of politics have shaped 'architectural, ceremonial, territorial' and 'cultural' spaces, intimately creating and connecting politics with places in our landscape.⁶ Of particular interest in many of these studies are the definition of, and changes to, urban and religious spaces, and the connection between memory and environment.⁷ By taking a new view of the early modern city, these spatial studies help us to understand how the city was perceived and navigated by its inhabitants. Such studies require re-defining the places in which we ordinarily locate such topics as politics, discourse and protest.

In provincial towns and cities the places in which non-formal politics was most frequently enacted were also those places most commonly associated with the communication of news and information: drinking houses. Traditionally news had been spread via word of mouth, but the increasing availability of cheap printed material – including newsletters and 'separates' from the 1620s and pamphlets, newspapers and political propaganda in the 1640s – advanced provincial political discourse by offering a 'sense of the integration of local and national' affairs.⁸ This printed material followed set pathways through the city, grounded in communications and postal networks. This emerging political communication and discourse focused around drinking houses and other communal spaces – an adjunct to what Jürgen Habermas labelled as the 'public

sphere'.⁹ While initially identified in the eighteenth century and associated with the introduction of the coffee house, a public sphere was evident as early as 1580, historians have more recently argued.¹⁰ Not only have the chronological foundations of the public sphere been expanded, but also the geographic and social boundaries of this concept. Notably, Phil Withington's recent work has argued that a 'discursive public sphere' existed which was not explicitly associated with governmental or legal circles, but was encouraged by the dissemination of news and politics and thus less socially exclusive.¹¹ The connection of the public sphere with political discourse, especially that which circulated in the taverns, inns and alehouses, makes it possible to connect the intangible concept of a public sphere to a set of places in which news could be heard, read and discussed.¹²

Nearly forty years have passed since Alan Everitt and John Brewer identified the chief inns as the social centre of most provincial towns. Everitt's extensive research demonstrated the importance of inns to early-modern political culture, offering the middling sorts a variety of avenues – including public and private rooms – to facilitate political clubs and debating societies. Brewer also pointed to the connection between coffee-house culture and inn culture in the eighteenth century.¹³ However, the inn was just one of a number of drinking establishments, and there was a clear hierarchy when it came to inns, taverns, and alehouses. As Clark and others have noted, alehouses were at the bottom of the pecking order and inns were at the top.¹⁴ Despite Everitt's and Brewer's work on eighteenth-century inns, the drinking houses which have generated the greatest historical discussion by early modern historians have most commonly been the alehouses frequented by the labouring sorts, the disaffected working men who had cause to complain about their employers over an ale at the end of a long, hard day. This focus on the drinking culture of the lower orders owes much to the work of Peter Clark and Keith Wrightson, who brought drinking houses to scholars' attention as more than simple places of sociability but as windows into early-modern social, political and economic worlds.¹⁵ Resultant studies have viewed the drinking house – especially the alehouse – as a location of plebeian political culture and, heavily influenced by the work of anthropologists such as James C. Scott, focused on 'seditious mutterings' and class conflict.¹⁶

More recently, studies by Beat Kümin, Anne Tlusty and James R. Brown have revealed a more wide-ranging view of drinking-house culture. These works have reassessed the view of drinking houses that cast them as sites of disorder, seeing them instead as positive sites for affirmative social action and the interaction of a range of social classes.¹⁷ Much of this research has focused on the post-Restoration period, during which time, Peter Clark notes, drinking houses were gradually 'becoming more respectable', concomitant with the shifting perception that they were no longer 'the enemy of the political establishment' but a 'weapon of political influence'.¹⁸ For the same period, Buchanan Sharp also recognized that 'high politics were routinely the stuff of alehouse conversations'.¹⁹ Arguably, however, urban drinking houses, largely due to the lack of other viable alternatives for social gatherings, meetings and so forth, had always performed this role. Indeed, as Beat Kümin suggests, coffee-house politics 'built on foundations laid by traditional drinking establishments'.²⁰ This all points to

a much earlier and more robust political environment located around the drinking establishments of the early modern city. Further, this argument fits into the revised timeline of the emergence of the public sphere, dating it to the late Elizabethan period.

It is upon these arguments that this article builds. First, it does so by drawing on the work of Kümín et al. that connected place with politics, especially popular politics, by considering a set of records for a regional city that have not been explored in this way. Second, by drawing on the recent trends set by historians of popular politics, it demonstrates that although seventeenth-century legislation reflected anxiety about drinking houses' potential for engendering politically subversive activities, those same people who were responsible for upholding this legislation were also those who most often used them in this context. The article thus takes as its conceptual framework the recent 'spatial turn', with its emphasis on dynamic and socially constructed spaces, and connects this with the slightly older – yet no less relevant – historiographical field of popular politics²¹ to make a connection between non-formal political activities, the places in which these activities happened, and social class.

Norwich was, and still is, known for its great number of drinking houses. For a population of approximately 28,881 residents in 1693,²² there were at least 281 alehouses: a ratio of one for every one hundred inhabitants.²³ Norwich's drinking houses ranged from tiny, illegal unlicensed premises like that of Widow Garneham 'in the Lazer Howse without Magdalene Gates' that was quickly shut down by the authorities,²⁴ to large well-established coaching inns catering for the better sorts and visiting county gentry, such as the Rampant Horse on the street of the same name, whose customers ranged from clerics to armigers, gentlemen, silk weavers and vintners, amongst others.²⁵ The busiest, largest and most successful houses, usually inns, were clustered around the city's main roads and the densely populated areas of the city centre, with a concentration around the ancient marketplaces of Tombland and St Peter Mancroft.

Drinking houses in Norwich were neither entirely public nor private places; rather, they occupied a shifting, liminal space across those rather arbitrary boundaries. This is especially apparent in the fact that all drinking houses – even those that were simple front rooms in private houses – were subject to governmental interference through legislation and policing.²⁶ The most obvious type of legislation was licensing to control the numbers and type of houses opening. In 1634, for example, Norwich's magistrates complained that although there had 'bene greate paynes ... to reduce the Alehouses in this City to a small number', they were unable to cope with the 'multitudes' of new houses opening without licence, whose owners 'convert dwellinge howses to Innes and take liberty to erect & hange out signes'. To resolve the problem it was ordered that '[i]f a man might erect an Inne [i]t must be in a fittinge place & where there are not ancient Innes sufficient to intertayne strangers'.²⁷

Magistrates also focused on the external and internal appearance of the building itself. Distinguishing drinking houses from domestic houses with a sign had been the law since the fourteenth century, though the reiteration of this particular piece of legislation throughout the seventeenth century suggests that establishments frequently needed reminding of this fact.²⁸ The authorities stipulated not only the hanging of a

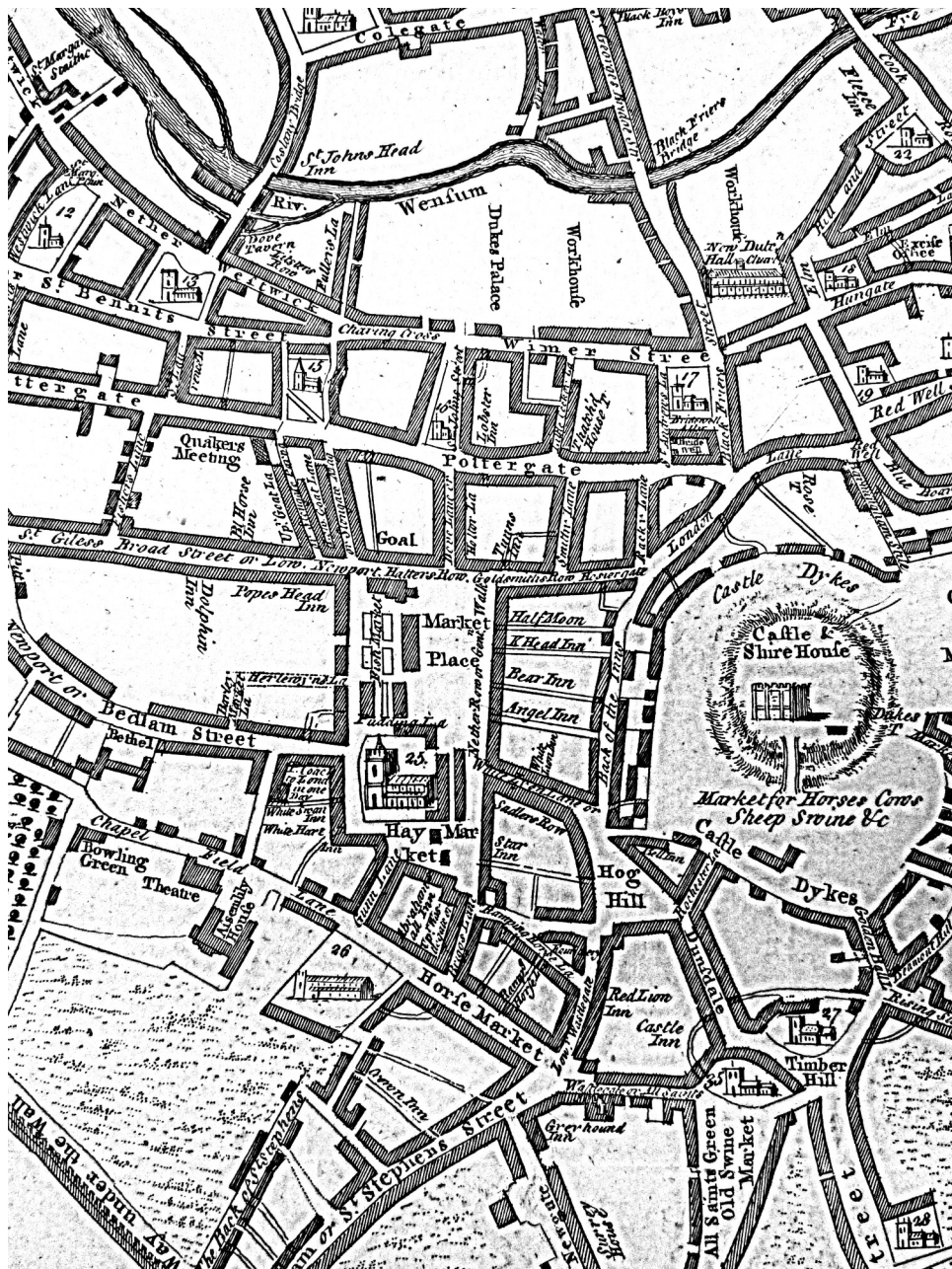


Figure 1 Detail from *The City and County of Norwich* by Samuel King, 1766, showing the drinking houses in St Peter Mancroft parish. By kind permission of the Norfolk Heritage Centre.

sign, however, but also its size, shape and position. It was to be placed at the front door, not the back – too small and it would not serve its intended purpose, too large and it could be obstructive and even dangerous.²⁹

Regulation did not stop at the front door either. Across the century a combination of central legislation and local by-law obliged alehouse keepers to report prostitution, strangers (especially during periods of particular political or religious tension), travellers who lodged for more than a night and a day, or establishments open for custom during Sunday church services. In 1633, for example, the corporation of Norwich ordered ward constables to visit inns and alehouses during the time of morning and evening prayers and to take down the names of all brewers supplying beer, and all customers partaking in it.³⁰ Keepers were expected to ‘deliver the Names of all unknown Passengers that lodge in their Houses; and if they stay suspiciously at any Time, to present them to the Governour: whereby dangerous Persons seeing these strict Courses, will be more wary of their Actions, and thereby mischievous Attempts will be prevented’.³¹ Constables, under the authority of the corporation, were given the power to make ‘searches for such Apprentices or other Servants in Taverns, Ale-houses, or Gaming-houses, and such Apprentices or other Servants as shall be found in any such place after eight of the clock in the evening, or being drunk, or otherwise disorderly, or shall there remain after eight of the clock in the evening on such day of Recreation’ and to bring them to justice.³² In this way, the public interest regulated private affairs.

The clientele and history of Norwich’s inns, however, show just how those people who were responsible for enacting such legislation were often also those who were on the receiving end of it. The Maid’s Head at Tombland, for example, was one of Norwich’s largest and oldest coaching inns, a postal exchange, and the destination of Norwich’s and Norfolk’s landowners, justices, aldermen, mayors and members of parliament during the assizes circuits and the Norwich ‘season’.³³ It is perhaps no surprise, then, that meetings concerning local and national politics are known to have been held there. In 1624, for example, the election for the two Norfolk constituency parliamentary seats was hotly contested. The election of Sir Thomas Holland and Sir John Corbet was opposed by Sir Robert Gawdy, who stood against them in one of the most confusing and drawn out elections in the city’s history.³⁴ Gawdy based himself at the Maid’s Head, in direct contrast to his opponents Corbet and Holland who took rooms at the King’s Head (another well-known inn favoured by Norwich’s great and good) at the marketplace of St Peter Mancroft. Gawdy’s choice was not random; as already mentioned, the inn was frequented by Norfolk’s elite. It was also only a few streets away from the King’s Head, the Guildhall and Shirehall where the polling and counts took place. Indeed, the inn’s situation, at the intersection of several main roads and overlooking a marketplace and the cathedral, had ancient and symbolic significance. Gawdy also made good use of the symbolism of certain city roads and spaces to his own ends. On his arrival in the city, he embarked on a public progression to the inn in a manner reminiscent of civic parades and royal progresses.³⁵ Starting at the Norman Castle, Gawdy processed through the streets to the Guildhall, parading past the King’s Head as he traversed the marketplace at St Peter Mancroft. From here Gawdy trod the path that the city’s mayors made every year past New Hall to

Tombland but, instead of entering the cathedral as would the mayor-elect, Gawdy turned into the Maid's Head.³⁶ The election dragged on for several days, and, whilst waiting for the final outcome to be decided, Gawdy, having complained that the poll was improperly conducted, was to be found in the Maid's Head, where he offered anyone who would support him free food and drink.³⁷ Ultimately Gawdy – along with Robert Catelyn – lost to Corbet and Holland, but the event is a good example of how the tacit bond of renowned civic symbolism could be hijacked for individual ends, linking popular and formal politics, drinking venues and the expression of contemporaneous alternative political narratives within the public sphere.

Three years after the 1624 election, the Maid's Head once again accommodated another high-profile political meeting when around forty disgruntled freemen (and quite possibly some aldermen) refused to accept the results of that year's shrieval election.³⁸ The freeman had – as the law allowed – proposed an alternative to the aldermen's unpopular nominee: Puritan Thomas Atkin. When the freemen's choice, John Kettle, lost the election by a mere ten voices, it inspired accusations of vote rigging. The event hinged on the controversial selection versus election principle, many freemen being determined to see their rights to elect shrieval nominees upheld, especially since James I had expressly ceased their option to elect mayoral candidates in 1619.³⁹ However, in 1627 the connection between drinking houses and political activity was recognized and feared by the authorities, which meant that the ringleaders of the meeting – John Kettle and Edward Skarffe – were arrested on suspicion of meeting 'in Troopes and multitudes in very disordered manner', possibly with intent to riot.⁴⁰ The events of 1624 and 1627 both reveal how the Maid's Head was closely associated with Norwich's more controversial political culture, as well as how places were linked in contemporary perception and understanding to political, even subversive, activity.

The King's Head was also a politically charged space. This was partly due to its advantageous location abutting the busiest city-centre market in one of the most prosperous parishes, but also because of its clientele and past political associations.⁴¹ The area in which the inn was located was the city's civic heart, home of the Guildhall and the setting for public punishments. The Guildhall doubled as the city's courthouse and prison, the centre point of civic authority. The area had witnessed some of the more notorious popular political events of the early-modern period (including the 1549 rebellion). Its convenience as an open space for gatherings was a practical reason for this but, notwithstanding, the space was redolent of civic pride and thus often appropriated as a symbolic gesture by rioters. In 1646 Norwich's butchers and brewers had gathered there to lead the vanguard against the collection of parliament's excise tax, capitalizing on the message that the occupation of this emblematic space would send to the authorities, and in 1648 the area was the scene of the largest riot to have taken place within the city walls that century.⁴² In April 1648, Norwich's mayor John Utting found himself the target of the corporation's powerful godly faction for, in their eyes, not having done enough to eradicate the legacy of Bishop Matthew Wren's Laudian policies on Norwich's churches, as well as being suspected of Royalist sympathies in a Parliamentary city.⁴³ Utting, a rather conservative politician and religious moderate,

had until then been walking a tightrope to appease the multifarious religious and political factions then in evidence during this tumultuous period of Norwich's history. However, when he permitted bonfires and feasts to be prepared in March 1648 to celebrate Charles I's accession, his decision set in motion a series of events, known collectively as the 'Great Blow', that was to fundamentally alter Norwich's political trajectory for the next few years.

Utting's sanction for the celebrations was the spark that inspired two prominent corporation Puritans, sheriff Thomas Ashwell (a Parliamentary army major) and alderman Thomas Baret, to present the Commons with a petition.⁴⁴ Ostensibly, this petition requested that the controversial recent appointment of some city aldermen, contrary to the Commons ordinance of 14 March 1647, be investigated, but the subtext was the Puritan faction's dissatisfaction that Utting had ignored their cries to further reform local churches. The Commons responded by ordering that Utting be removed to London for questioning, assigning Puritan ex-mayor Christopher Baret as his temporary replacement.⁴⁵ The summons arrived in Norwich on Saturday 23 April. The messenger spent the weekend in discussion with Utting at the King's Head, the intention being for Utting to accompany him back to London on the Monday morning.

News of what was happening spread through the city like wildfire and, worried about what was to come next, Utting and six aldermen asked the town clerk, Thomas Balleston, to draft a petition highlighting Utting's 'good government and behaviour'⁴⁶ and requesting fair passage to London.⁴⁷ The document had to be ready to travel to the capital with the mayor, leaving only a day and a night to garner the necessary supporting signatures. The aldermen arrived at a plan of action: circulate the petition during Sunday services and at the city's busiest inns and taverns. They exploited the implicit knowledge that drinking houses were channels of communication and, targeting those at the marketplace in particular, that they could mobilize those people who could best influence the situation as well as the ordinary man.

Richard Haddon the barber, for example, was drinking in the White Lion (three doors down from King's Head) that Saturday evening when he heard about Utting's predicament. The next day he told his customer Robert Cooke the story, saying how 'certain gentlemen' in the White Lion had been heard discussing publicly how they 'wo[u]ld stand by' Utting and not suffer him to leave. Haddon insisted 'they wer[e] men of quality who said they had lost nere two parts of their estate & wo[u]ld now win the horse or loose the saddle'.⁴⁸ Likewise, Nicholas Dawes confirmed the presence of 'Comittee men' at the inn, adding that they 'had sayde to the people doe you the work as for us we have estates to loose you have none & we will assist you'.⁴⁹ The gentlemen included ex-mayors 'Mr Toly and Watts' and James Sheringham who 'had collected funds' for Utting's cause.⁵⁰ Thomas Palgrave, a merchant and friend of Sir John Potts, a Norfolk landowner, was also seen buying drinks to encourage people to pledge themselves for Utting,⁵¹ and the watch reported how several 'gentlemen' had bought drinks on the understanding that the recipients would not let Utting be taken from the city. John Wilson the night watchman had visited the Angel Inn (between the King's Head and White Lion) at around midnight on Sunday. Here he had discovered around twenty people still drinking, contrary to statute, who said they had been given their ale

money by a gentleman 'who hoped they were for the King, and that they would not let Mr Mayor go out of the city'.⁵² Mary Fordham even swore she had seen Utting at the King's Head ask a man to 'go and resolve the people' and find some muskets.⁵³ According to John Graye, however, Utting's only involvement that evening had been to try to calm his supporters' spirits, which he rightly sensed were getting out of hand. Graye insisted that 'ther[e] beinge a great company of people before the Maiors dore a mayde of his came out & told them that her maister gave them many thancks for the[i]r care & love & desired them to goe whome'.⁵⁴ Doctor Brooke and Christopher Bransby, the latter representing alderman Matthew Lindsey, allegedly had a meeting at the Angel,⁵⁵ after which Bransby went directly to the White Lion where he argued publicly that if the people of Norwich 'suffered the mayor to be carried away, they would have a governour put in (as was done at Lyn,) and then all would be tried by martial law; and then ... freemen would have no freedom at all in any choice'.⁵⁶ His audience would have been well aware of the three-week siege of King's Lynn by the Earl of Manchester's forces in 1643, after which the town effectively became a military garrison under the command of Colonel Valentine Walton.⁵⁷

As darkness fell across the city on the Sunday evening, it seems the inspiring words (and free drinks) had done their job, and it was in the drinking houses where the events of 1648 moved from discourse to action. Fuelled by alcohol, groups of men tumbled from the drinking houses into an area known as the Back of the Inns, literally behind the inns from the market, firing shots and shouting abuse at anyone who happened to pass by, and

began to assemble ... calling out that [they] might thank Tom Baret, but before they had done, they would make him a poor Tom Baret indeed ... and ham-string any body that should offer to carry Mr. Mayor away; and it being reported that the Mayor was to be carried off in the night, they went in a body to all the gates, locked them up, and carried away the keys ... about midnight they grew into a large body in the market place, being armed, and gave out a watch-word ... For God and King Charles.⁵⁸

By the morning of Monday 24 April, around 2,000 supporters were waiting for Utting outside the King's Head in the space created by the market. A group broke off and ran riot through the streets, looting the houses of Parliamentary aldermen as they went, and storming Sheriff Ashwell's house for the weapons which were then used to capture the Committee House, home to the city's munitions supplies.⁵⁹ Fearing the worst, Thomas Baret sent an urgent plea for help to Colonel Charles Fleetwood whose Eastern Association regiment was stationed nearby at Dereham. Arriving in Norwich later that day, Fleetwood's troops pursued the rebels through the streets of St Stephen and St Peter Mancroft parish, until they then took refuge at the Committee House, spilling gunpowder in their panic. A few stray sparks from a pistol was all it took for the gunpowder barrels, stockpiled for the war effort, to explode. Colonel Fleetwood recalled how the explosion 'did shake the whole City [and] threw down part of some Churches, wounded and killed a great many of the Inhabitants, the certain number not being yet known, nor many of them that were killed as yet found, or can be known'.⁶⁰ Later, a pamphlet told how 'here armes and there legges of dead men scattered ... [and]

these bloody men that but now threatened to make the ensuing night the most bloody night *Norwich* ever saw, were before night sent into the land of darknesse'.⁶¹

John Utting and alderman John Toly were arrested. There was not enough evidence to convict either man for instigating the riot, but their role in creating and circulating the petition, an act that led directly to the gathering of a 'great concourse of people', was undisputed. Utting was further charged with neglecting his duties and not stopping the mob, as well as earlier charges of attempting to 'elect unduely some persons in the place of aldermen' and 'countenancing malignant and sequestered ministers publickly to preach in the city'.⁶² He was fined 500 pounds and committed to London's Fleet Prison for six months. Toly was fined 1,000 pounds and spent three months in the Fleet.⁶³ The butcher James Sheringham was also fined.⁶⁴ They escaped lightly in comparison to the less socially privileged rioters, however, of whom eight were hanged. The godly aldermen under Christopher Baret, who had stepped up to his appointment as temporary mayor, now found themselves in a good position to purge the corporation of opposition: the Common Council lost a third of its membership.

The riots of 1648 provide an excellent example of how specific local rivalries and long-standing political antagonisms merged with and took shape from national events, but they are also revealing of how the popular politics of this decade hinged on certain areas and places. The King's Head, White Lion and marketplace especially were integral to the course of events that fateful weekend in April. The King's Head was the focus of the crowd's anger because it was here that the Common's messenger had spent the weekend and here that Utting had met with him, but also because there was a symbolic connection to past political activities in, or adjacent to, the inn. No surprise then that it was outside here that the crowd gathered on the Monday morning. The White Lion, commanding a view of the market square and the comings and goings from the King's Head, was the perfect place to plan the mayor's defence. Indeed, it was here that 'men of quality'⁶⁵ conspired to lock the city's gates and rouse *Norwich*'s inhabitants with alcohol and provocative speeches, all with the backing of William Blackmoore, the White Lion's tapster, who allegedly used 'any motive or speech to stirr up the people against the Tro[o]pe that wer[e] come into *Norwich* to stand upon the[i]r g[u]ard & shew them selves men'.⁶⁶

The episode is also revealing of just how the city's central drinking houses functioned as nodal points for information in practice. The gentlemen responsible for stirring up trouble knew that drinking houses provided the right environment to nurture pre-existing tensions into a full-scale protest, and the events of the weekend demonstrate just how important drinking houses could be in engendering popular political unrest. The foot soldier John Allen, for example, told the investigating officials how on the Sunday evening he had witnessed trouble brewing from the vantage point of the Three Fishes and the Poppinjay.⁶⁷ Christopher Bransby had also been at the Poppinjay, where he collected a pistol before going to his meeting at the Angel and from thence to the White Lion.⁶⁸ He then spent the night in lodgings at the Angel. On the day of the riot George Woolbright described how he headed straight to the cluster of drinking houses around the market – which included the Kings Head, Angel and White Lion – because he instinctively knew that here he would find his servants who had not turned up for

work that morning.⁶⁹ Christopher Hill was also to be found at the King's Head on the Monday morning when, 'hearinge of the Company att Mr Ashewells ... [Hill] did not goe home but went to Mr Ashewells where he mett with Thomas Lee att St Michaells at plea churchyard stile wher he continued untill the Arms were cast out of Mr Ashewells window, & then he went from there ... to Edward Eades [drinking house] ... wher[e] he tarried untill ne[a]re fower of the clocke'.⁷⁰ Likewise, Edward Marshall described how after leaving 'Mr Whinotts [drinking house] ... he came through the markt [and] did se[e] a great company ther ... & after goeing from Whinott to Sunderlands he did se[e] a great company before Parmenters wher[e] he stood by the shomaker beyond the blew bell & stayed ther[e] ... after the company was gone ... he came home from Sunderlands by the white hart'.⁷¹ Similarly, Mary Burman noted that she was by the Maid's Head when William Racker asked her whether the 'Roundheads wheel should turne round this day',⁷² and Edward Damme was at the back gate of the Black Swan when he heard the explosion at the Committee House.⁷³

The Great Blow was one extreme example highlighting the connections between drinking houses and politics in early seventeenth-century Norwich, but those drinking houses most closely involved in this and the other abovementioned events – the King's Head, White Lion, Angel and Maid's Head – were also part of a broader history of political connections. The Half-Moon (an inn and the base for Edward Martin, bookseller), for example, next door to the White Lion in the marketplace, had been the base for a pamphlet war of the late 1640s. On Christmas Eve 1645, Norwich's mayor had ordered church ministers to cancel the forthcoming Christmas Day services and freemen to 'set open their shops that day' instead. Opponents of this unpopular order later arranged the printing of an anonymous 'publick remonstrance' entitled *Vox Populi, or the Voice of the People*, described as 'a libellous pamphlet ... reviling the Magistrates and Ministry of Norwich'. *Vox Populi* quickly provoked a printed response in the form of *An Hue-and-Cry after Vox Populi, or an Answer to Vox Diaboli*, printed for 'Edward Martin ... at the sign of the Upper Half-Moon in the Market place'.⁷⁴ Likewise, the Castle – a common inn at the swine market – also had a traditional and somewhat uneasy relationship with authority. It had been the setting for the verbal abuse of a constable in 1603; Adam Dobleday had called ex-mayor Thomas Pye a knave to his face in 1605 for carting an honest woman;⁷⁵ a constable had been violently assaulted by John Assand after he had drunk 'A helth to the divell and damnacon & all that wold pledge him' in 1612;⁷⁶ and drinkers from here (mainly freeman butchers) were likewise implicated in the Excise Riots of 1646 and the Great Blow of 1648.⁷⁷

The drinking houses of St Peter Mancroft, especially those that lined the marketplace, were integrally linked to the drinking and political culture of Norwich's middling sorts and freemen citizens and were fundamental to the middling sort's social and working lives, as well as functioning as a channel for the exchange of news. It is not surprising then that it was these drinking houses that served as the location for political discussion and events, both formally and informally. For example, the King's Head was not only a postal exchange receiving mail from the significant county town and port of King's Lynn;⁷⁸ it was also here that corporation committees met to discuss business. In 1694, for instance, a special committee of aldermen spent one pound on refreshments when they met to

discuss the allocation of Mr Richard Ireland's 'gift' to the city's poor.⁷⁹ City committees often met at drinking houses, especially inns, probably because of the availability of space and refreshments during long meetings and their role as hubs in the postal network, as well as their central location. The Fee Committee, for example, spent two pounds and four shillings on wine and food at the Castle in one year, an inn leased by the corporation and located at the south-eastern side of the marketplace.⁸⁰ The Castle was also the city's busiest postal exchange. Most drinking houses traded post from one or two county towns or villages, but the Castle was the interchange for nine, including the major towns of Bury St Edmunds, Dereham and Colchester. From the latter, post would have been transported to and from London.⁸¹

The other market-side inns discussed above in connection to political intrigue we also know to have been favoured haunts of the middling sorts. The White Lion and the Angel, for example, were mentioned in witness statements recalling the events of the Great Blow. It was at the White Lion, for example, that 'men of quality' were witnessed conspiring before the riot,⁸² and at the Angel Inn where others involved in this event lodged, including Christopher Bransby, alderman Matthew Lindsey's 'man' and a key participant in the following events.⁸³ We also know of the clientele of these venues from incidental everyday references to middling sociability in the records; for instance, customers are mentioned here on many occasions over the course of that century being entertained by 'Punctionella' shows, dancing bears and giants.⁸⁴ With public access, private rooms and of course the ready availability of food, drink and lodging, the larger inns were the perfect setting for private, political meetings of both a formal and an informal nature.⁸⁵

During this time, and despite the numerous attempts to curb political activities in drinking houses, the connection between politicking and drinking houses was secured, albeit in many cases unfairly. Certainly, there were other drinking houses in and around the marketplace that are not mentioned in connection with popular politics in the records, the Sun and the Bear being just two. Nonetheless, because of the many instances of political activity that were uncovered at neighbouring establishments, that association was likely never far away. It is perhaps significant too that the most notorious events, at least those to which the court devoted time, were those that involved the governing class themselves. This attention may be due to the fact that the involvement of the better sorts was considered a more serious threat to local stability, though, as the punishments allocated after the Great Blow demonstrate, members of the governing class did not suffer the harsh fate of the ordinary rioter. It is quite likely that the actions of the governing class were more palpable, as they had the connections and resources enabling them to mobilize and channel opinion on a far wider scale, rather than because they were more involved in popular politics than the general public. The events of the Great Blow demonstrate this most keenly; people from all backgrounds were involved, but it was the better sorts who were able to persuade, bribe and capitalize on the sympathies of the wider public for their own ends.

The association of politics with certain marketplace inns in Norwich formalizes the link between politics, social class and location, but the landscape of politics also provides a window into inhabitants' mental map of their city. As the records of Robert

Gawdy's electoral challenge or those of the Great Blow demonstrate, inhabitants described, navigated and conceptualized their city with drinking houses as their signposts. Of course, churches, civic buildings and historic sites featured just as prominently, but drinking houses had a special significance in seventeenth-century life. From the meetings of the corporation's committees to the planning of petitions or electoral strategy and even riots, politics and everyday life in seventeenth-century Norwich were intimately connected with drinking-house culture. As cornerstones in the expanding public sphere, drinking houses facilitated participation in political events, channelled rumours, news and information, and provided a space for the dissemination and expression of public opinion.

NOTES

1. For more on this topic, see Mark Goldie, 'The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England', in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500–1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 153–94, or M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c.1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2000).
2. Important studies include Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester and Carol Symes (eds), *Cities, Texts and Social Networks 400–1500* (Farnham, 2010); Beat Kümin (ed.), *Political Space in Pre-industrial Europe* (Aldershot, 2009); Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007).
3. Mark Knights' claim that Norwich's political culture was 'vibrant, exuberant, partisan and sometimes violent' refers to his post-1660 study of that city; however, he acknowledges Norwich's 'longstanding appetite for political conflict and participatory politics' – Mark Knights, 'Politics, 1660–1835', in Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (eds), *Norwich since 1550* (London, 2004), p. 168.
4. For more on this subject, see Peter Clark, 'Politics, Clubs and Social Space in Pre-industrial Europe', in Kümin (ed.), *Political Space*, pp. 81–117.
5. The records informing this study are from the civic courts and administration: city sessions court, mayor's court, chamberlain's accounts, pamphlets, maps and correspondence between the corporation and the Privy Council, amongst others.
6. James C. Scott, 'Preface', in Kümin (ed.), *Political Space*, p. 1.
7. On sacred space, see William Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005); the need to focus upon the physical history of the Reformation is noted in several essays in Patrick Collinson and John Craig (eds), *The Reformation in English Towns 1500–1640* (London, 1998). The connection between material culture, place and belief is explored by some of the articles in David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (eds), *The Archaeology of the Reformation, c.1480–1580* (Leeds, 2003), while some works address the connection between the landscape and memory, especially David Rollinson, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire 1500–1800* (London, 1992); Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013); Nicola Whyte, *Inhabiting the Landscape: Place, Custom and Memory, 1500–1800* (Oxford, 2009).
8. Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 112(1) (1986), p. 69.
9. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1991). For critical analysis, see Harold Mah, 'Phantasies of the Public Sphere:

- Rethinking the Habermas of Historians,' *Journal of Modern History*, 72(1) (March 2000), pp. 153–82; David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, NJ, 2000); Phil Withington, 'Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship and State-Formation in Early Modern England', *American Historical Review*, 112(4) (2007), pp. 1016–38; Brian Cowan, 'Geoffrey Holmes and the Public Sphere: Augustan Historiography from Post-Namierite to the Post-Habermasian', *Parliamentary History*, 28(1) (2009), pp. 166–78.
10. See Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45(2) (April 2006), pp. 270–92, or Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007).
 11. Philip Withington, 'Two Renaissances: Urban Political Culture in Post-Reformation England Reconsidered', *Historical Journal*, 44(1) (2001), pp. 239–67, 248–9.
 12. For more on this subject, see Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2002).
 13. Alan Everitt, 'The English Urban Inn, 1560–1760', in Alan Everitt (ed.), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London, 1972), pp. 91–137; John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 159–60. See also John Chartres' discussion of the importance of inns to developing marketplaces and trade in *Internal Trade in England 1500–1700* (London, 1977).
 14. Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200–1830* (London, 1983), pp. 5–15.
 15. Clark, *The English Alehouse*; Keith Wrightson, 'Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590–1660', in Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (eds), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590–1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (Brighton, 1981).
 16. For example, Andy Wood, "'Poore men woll speke one daye": Plebeian Languages of Deference and Defiance in England, c.1520–1640', in Harris (ed.), *Politics of the Excluded*, pp. 67–98, 91; Adam Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145(1) (1994), pp. 47–83; John Walter, 'Public Transcripts, Popular Agency and the Politics of Subsistence in Early Modern England', in Michael Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 149–65.
 17. James R. Brown, 'The Landscape of Drink: Inns, Taverns and Alehouses in Early Modern Southampton', unpublished PhD thesis, Warwick University, 2007, p. 3; James Brown, 'Drinking Houses and the Politics of Surveillance in Pre-modern Southampton', in Kümin (ed.), *Political Space*, pp. 61–80; Beat Kümin, *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe* (Basingstoke, 2007); Beat Kümin and Anne Tlustý (eds), *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002).
 18. Clark, *The English Alehouse*, pp. 225, 232, 237.
 19. Buchanan Sharp, 'Popular Political Opinion in England 1660–85', *History of European Ideas*, 10(1) (1989), pp. 13–14.
 20. Kümin, *Drinking Matters*, pp. 188, 195–6.
 21. Influential texts include: David Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People: Popular Politics and England's Long Social Revolution 1066–1649* (Cambridge, 2010); Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics* (Basingstoke, 2002); John Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester Plunderers* (Cambridge, 1999); David Underdown, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996).
 22. Norfolk Record Office (hereafter NRO), Miscellaneous Collection (hereafter MC) 453,

- Loose Papers, A Parochial List of the Number of Houses and Inhabitants within the City of Norwich, 1693 and 1752. See also Penelope Corfield, 'A Provincial Capital in the Late Seventeenth Century: The Case of Norwich', in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Early Modern Town: A Reader* (New York, 1976), pp. 233–72, 234–6.
23. Approximate number of drinking houses in 1702, cited in Knights, 'Politics, 1660–1835', p. 180.
 24. William L. Sachse (ed.), *Minutes of the Norwich Court of Mayoralty 1632–1635* (Norwich, 1967), p. 53, 2 Feb. 1632.
 25. NRO, DN/DEP/47/51, fol. 345r, April 1666.
 26. Judith Hunter, 'English Inns, Taverns, Alehouses and Brandy Shops: The Legislative Framework, 1495–1797', in Kümin and Tlustý (eds), *World of the Tavern*, pp. 65–82.
 27. NRO, Norwich City Records (hereafter NCR), 16a/20, fol. 11v, 1634.
 28. For more on this, see Catherine Dent, 'The Function of Inn Signs and Their Place in Early Modern British History', *Reinvention: A Journal of Undergraduate Research*, 4(1) (2011), accessed online. An important piece of legislation in drinking-house history was the 1551 Licensing Act, and subsequent statutes passed in 1609, 1625 and 1627 simply built on and reconfirmed its principles. The 1627 statute, for example, specifically referred to the 1551 Act, giving 'Reasons why the said Statute has not wrought the Reformation intended'.
 29. Eric Delderfield, *Introduction to Inn Signs* (Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 12–14, and Dent, 'Function of Inn Signs'.
 30. Sachs, *Minutes 1632–1635*, p. 93. Order passed by the court on Monday 12 August 1633.
 31. 'To have the Names of all Lodgers taken by all Inn-keepers': John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State*, I, 1618–29 (1721), pp. 12–17.
 32. An Ordinance Concerning Days of Recreation Allowed unto Scholars, Apprentizes and Other Servants, June 1647, in C.H. Firth, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660* (1911), pp. 985–6.
 33. The Townsend, Cornwallis and Windham families were regular patrons of the Maid's Head. In the eighteenth century, the diarists Parson Woodforde and John Longe drank here: John Beresford (ed.), *James Woodforde: The Diary of a Country Parson 1758–1802* (Norwich, 1999), p. 192; Michael John Stone (ed.), *The Diary of John Longe 1765–1834* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 106; John Beresford (ed.), *M. Du Quesne and Other Essays* (1931), p. 58.
 34. For a full account of the election, see www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/constituencies/norfolk; Derek Hirst, *The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 121, 144; J.T. Evans, *Seventeenth Century Norwich: Politics, Religion and Government 1620–1690* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 66–73.
 35. For Norwich's civic procession route, see MC 453, Notice of the Procession on Guild-Day, printed at Norwich 1732. In 1578, Elizabeth I's progress had taken a similar route, as had Charles II's in 1671: Dawson Turner (ed.), *Narrative of the Visit of His Majesty King Charles II to Norwich in the September of the Year 1671* (Yarmouth, 1846), pp. 8–9. For a longer view, see Mary A. Blackstone, 'Walking the City Limits: The Performance of Authority and Identity in Mary Tudor's Norwich', in Glenn Clark, Judith Owens and Greg T. Smith (eds), *City Limits: Perspectives on the Historical European City* (Montreal, 2010), pp. 106–38.
 36. Hirst, *Representative of the People?*, pp. 121, 144; Evans, *Seventeenth Century Norwich*, pp. 66–73.
 37. www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/constituencies/norfolk.
 38. NA (the National Archives), SP 16/79, fol. 38. Letter from the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich to the Privy Council, 27 September 1627.

39. Norwich's freemen exercised their right to vote against the aldermanic selection for mayor in 1605, 1610, 1611, 1613, 1616, 1617 and 1618, attracting James I's displeasure. In 1619, James ordered that seniority and service alone should determine the choice of future mayoral candidates, but his order met with fierce resistance. It took a year and an official investigation to force Norwich's Assembly to agree, and thus freemen focused their protest on shrieval elections instead. Evans, *Seventeenth Century Norwich*, pp. 66–73.
40. NA, SP 16/78, fol. 53. Letter from the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich to the Privy Council, 18 September 1627.
41. Several studies have shown St Peter Mancroft to have been home to the highest concentration of mayors, aldermen and corporation officeholders in the seventeenth century. Not surprisingly, it was also one of the wealthiest parishes with some of the highest rated taxpayers: Evans, *Seventeenth Century Norwich*, ch. 1, and D.T. Jones, 'Aspects of the Social Geography of Early-Modern Norwich: Applications of Computer Techniques I', unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 2003, Fig. 4.10, 6.6, 12.2–12.9.
42. Evans, *Seventeenth Century Norwich*, p. 173.
43. Norwich had declared for parliament in 1642, but the city's loyalties were divided: Andrew Hopper, 'The Civil War', in Rawcliffe and Wilson, *Norwich*, p. 94.
44. The Humble Petition of Divers of the Justices, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Citizens, of the City of Norwich, 18 April 1648: House of Commons Journal 5, 1646–8 (1802), p. 534, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=25347>.
45. Order concerning the mayor of Norwich, 18 April 1648: House of Commons Journal 5, p. 535, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=25347>. Christopher Baret had held the position of sheriff in 1615 and mayor in 1634. This was to be his last corporation post as he died the following year, aged eighty-seven: T. Hawes, *An Index to Norwich City Officers 1453–1835* (Norwich, 1989), p. 13, and B. Cozens-Hardy and E.A. Kent, *The Mayors of Norwich 1403–1835* (Norwich, 1938), p. 79.
46. F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, III(I) (1806), p. 394.
47. Hopper, 'Civil War', p. 108. See also Walter Rye, *The History of the Bethel at Norwich* (Norwich, 1906), p. 85.
48. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 94.
49. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 36.
50. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 94a, 6 May 1648. John Toly was an alderman who had been mayor in 1638 and 1644. Henry Watts had held the position of sheriff in 1639 and mayor in 1646: Cozens-Hardy and Kent, *Mayors of Norwich*, pp. 80, 83. Sheringham was James Sheringham the freeman butcher, who had previously been arrested (and rescued) for his central role in the Excise Riots of 1646: P. Millican, *The Register of Freemen of Norwich, 1548–1713* (Norwich, 1934), p. 240; NRO, NCR, 18a, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1648–63, fol. 257v, 25 March 1661–2. Andrew Hopper suggests that Sheringham was instrumental in collecting signatures for Utting's petition: Hopper, 'Civil War', p. 109.
51. Hopper, 'Civil War', p. 111. For more on Potts, see Clive Holmes, *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 56–60.
52. NRO, NCR, 12a/1, deposition 274, 28 May 1648.
53. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 95, 6 May 1648.
54. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 66, 4 May 1648.
55. Rye, *Bethel*, p. 87.
56. Blomefield, *Topographical History*, III(I), p. 394.
57. For more on the siege, see Susan Yaxley (ed.), *The Siege of King's Lynn 1643* (Dereham, 1993) and British Library (BL), TT E67, 28, *A Briefe and True Relation of the Siege and*

Surrendering of Kings Lyn, 20 September 1643.

58. Blomefield, *Topographical History*, III(I), p. 394. Alderman Thomas Baret had accompanied Sheriff Ashwell to London to present the petition against Urting. Christopher Baret was his father.
59. Hopper, 'Civil War', p. 108.
60. John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State*, VII (London, 1721), pp. 1071–2.
61. BL, TT E438(6), Anon., *A True Relation of the Late Great Mutinie Which Was in the City of Norwich* (London, 1648), p. 3.
62. Rye, *Bethel*, p. 102.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 104; Evans, *Seventeenth Century Norwich*, p. 175.
64. NRO, NCR, 18d, 1646–1733, fol. 4r, 18 Dec. 1648.
65. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 93 and 94, 6 May 1648.
66. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 98, 6 May 1648.
67. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 1, 27 April 1648.
68. Rye, *Bethel*, p. 89.
69. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 46, 29 April 1648.
70. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 118, 3 May 1648.
71. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 4, 27 April 1648. Interestingly, the 'blew bell' was infamous in later seventeenth-century local political history as a haunt for Jacobites. In the eighteenth century, the Bell became synonymous with the Hell Fire Club: Knights, 'Politics', p. 181. It was situated just south of Norwich Castle, in the parish of St John Timberhill and very near to the Castle Inn. The White Hart was on the south-western edge of the marketplace, behind St Peter Mancroft church and near the Hay Market.
72. Rye, *Bethel*, p. 125.
73. NRO, NCR, 12C/1, deposition 146, 26 April 1648. The Black Swan was near the marketplace at St Peter Mancroft.
74. Blomefield, *Topographical History*, III(I), p. 392. The middling-sort booksellers Samuel and Sarah Self also drank at the Half-Moon; see Lawrence Stone, 'Libertine Sexuality in Post-Restoration England: Group Sex and Flagellation among the Middling Sort in Norwich in 1706–7', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 2(4) (1992), p. 514.
75. NRO, NCR, 16a/14, fol. 63r, 28 Nov. 1603, and fol. 155r, 6 Dec. 1605.
76. NRO, NCR, 16a/14, fol. 385v, 27 Feb. 1612.
77. Rye, *Bethel*, p. 114. A small survey of the backgrounds of deponents mentioned in diocesan court cases who witnessed disputes at the Half-Moon, the Castle and the King's Head shows (where backgrounds can be traced) that the witnesses were of middling status: (in order of drinking house) DN/DEP/38/43, fol. 476r, 10 January 1629, *Robert Cubitt v. Nicholas Weston*; DN/EP/43/47b, fol. 228v, 18 October 1638, *Martha Read v. William Runt*; DN/DEP/49/53, section 20, October 1674.
78. NRO, NCR, 18b/1-20.
79. Blomefield, *Topographical History*, III(I), p. 436, and NRO, NCR, 18b/1, 1700–1: Accounts relating to expenditure by the committees.
80. NRO, NCR, 18b, fol. 5r, 1671–2, and NCR, 18b/1, 1700–1: Accounts relating to expenditure by the committees.
81. Anon., *A Compleat History of the Famous City of Norwich: From the Earliest Account, to this Present Year 1728* (1728), p. 38.
82. NRO, NCR, 12c/1, deposition 93 and 94, 6 May 1648.
83. Rye, *Bethel*, p. 87.
84. W. Rye (ed.), *Depositions Taken before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich, 1549–1567 &*

- Extracts from the Court Books of the City of Norwich 1666–1668* (Norwich, 1905), p. 174.
85. Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London', in A. Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 39.