
2. TNA PRO C47/1/4 m10.

3. TNA PRO C47/1/9 m 11r.

4. Such attempts by the first three Edwards each produced a mere handful of Kentish landowners, but evasion was probably widespread: TNA PRO E198/1/9 (21 Edward I) – 9 individuals; C47/1/8 (9 Edward II), 7 individuals; C47/1/12 (19 Edward II) 5 individuals; C47/1/13 (8 Edward III), 5 individuals; C47/1/16 m 10r (40 Edward III), 5 individuals. For the increased stratification of the gentry see Given Wilson, *English Nobility*, pp. 69-72; T. B. Pugh, ‘The magnates, knights and gentry’, in *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399-1509: Studies in Politics and Society*, ed. S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross & R. A. Griffiths (Manchester University Press, 1972), pp. 86-128.


10. There is a surprisingly weak correlation between the two lists: only four knights of the same name are found in both lists, and there are only six instances were knights or ladies share the same family name between the two assessments. Neither is there a clear correlation between the two assessments in terms of relative wealth. While Sir William Septvans was the twelfth richest among the 1334/5 knights (assessed at £1 5s 4d), and the seventh richest individual in 1346/7 (£8), a reasonable degree of difference over the space of twelve years, Sir Maurice de Bruyn, the fourteenth richest in 1334/5 (£1), was the sixtieth richest in 1346/7 (£2). Even more striking, Sir Otto de Graundison was assessed in 1334/5 at only 6s 8d, in other words as holding less than a quarter of a knight’s fee, but he was the fourth richest individual assessed in 1346/7 (£9 6s 8d).

11. A comparison between individuals’ wealth assessed in fifteenth-century 15th and 10th subsidies on moveables on the one hand with the 1431 and 1450 subsidies on land on the other for those members of the Kentish gentry who were assessed in both gave a ratio of one to three, which is not too far from the figure arrived at here: Fleming, ‘Gentry of Kent’, pp. 51-2.
12. This would still be the case if the multiplier of three, derived from the fifteenth-century comparison, was used.


14. TNA: PRO, E179/124/218. The 1431 assessment has not been used since it survives for only 16 of Kent’s 68 hundreds: FA, Vol. III, pp. 56-81. The 1436 assessment does not survive for Kent.


17. These findings also suggest the importance of widows as property holders: they account for 18 of the 47 inquisitions, not counting the duchess of Gloucester and her two daughters.


21. Based on the 1334 subsidy and the 1346/7 aid for knighting the Black Prince: see above, nn. 8-9.


25. He was also assessed at £3 6s in moveable goods in 1334/5: see above, nn. 8-9.

26. GEC, *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, pp. 648-50; W M Ormrod, ‘Clinton, William, earl of Huntingdon (d. 1354)’, *ODNB*.


30. George seems to have been of a romantic disposition, since he later married his mistress: T. B. Pugh, ‘Neville, Edward, first Baron Bergavenny (d. 1476)’; A. Hawkyard, ‘Neville, George, third Baron Bergavenny (c.1469-1535)’, *ODNB*.


40. Fleming, ‘Gentry of Kent’, pp. 82-90. Roskell, *History of Parliament*, vol. 1, pp. 455-7 generally confirms this view for the period 1386 to 1421, concluding that, ‘there is nothing to indicate that the government ever interfered in elections to obtain a politically satisfactory outcome’ (p. 456), and ‘No hint of influence from magnates, lay or ecclesiastical, is to be found in the electoral indentures’ (p. 457).

41. For this paragraph, see Fleming, ‘Gentry of Kent’, pp. 95-9.
42. For a recent summary of the debate over the existence of ‘county community’ in later medieval England, see Harriss, *Shaping the Nation*, pp. 187-95.


45. Fleming, ‘Gentry of Kent’, pp. 113 122-7, Appendix III, Map A, pp. 465-6. In her will of 1516 Amy, widow of William Brent esquire, left her properties in Devon and Cornwall to her son John: CKS PRC 32/12/7. 46.


49. TNA: PRO, E198/1/9, m 2; C47/1/4; Roskell, *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, p. 557. 50.


51. TNA: PRO, C47/1/13, 16.


59. TNA: PRO, C67/47, 55, C146/121, 125, 10117, 2792, 4466; *CCR, 1485-1500*, nos. 368, 768.

60. TNA: PRO, E179/124/218; E326/877, 879, 1119; C146/1334, 98880/3, 9929; *CPR, 1446-1452*, p. 480.

61. TNA: PRO, C67/50, C146/1157, 1160-1, 2219, 1334, 3941, E210/960, PROB 11/8 f. 18; J. H. Baker, ‘Rede, Sir Robert (d. 1519)’, *ODNB*.

63. J. L. Leland, ‘Bealknap, Sir Robert (d. 1401)’, *ODNB*.


68. Hasted, *Kent*, vol. 3, p. 38; TNA: PRO, C140/10; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem ... Henry VII*, vol. 3, no. 404; GEC, *Complete Peerage*, vol. 10, pp. 137-40, vol. 12, p. 739; J. Hughes, ‘Boleyn, Thomas, earl of Wiltshire and earl of Ormond (1476/7-1539)’, *ODNB*.


71. P. Fleming, ‘Haute Family (per. c.1350-1530)’, *ODNB*.


83. P. Fleming, ‘Culpeper family (per. C.1400-c.1540)’; J. L. Kirby, ‘Savage, Sir Arnold (1358-1410)’, *ODNB*. 
84. Potyn had moved in high circles as an associate of Alice Perrers before 1377, despite being no more than a citizen and draper of London at the time, and so such a relationship between one of the middle-ranking Kentish gentry and a lord is not necessarily unlikely: Roskell, *History of Parliament*, vol. 4, pp. 125-7.


87. See above, n. 81.


99. TNA: PRO, C1/185/71, KB27/702 m 42v. See also the case of William Keen, below, p. 00.


114. TNA: PRO, C67/47, CP25(i)/117A/345/145, 147; British Library Harleian Charters 76/G/56, 76/H/8, 77/F/36; CKS U47/11/8; *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 301.

115. TNA: PRO, C67/42.


124. *CPR, 1467-77*, p. 44, *CPR, 1476-85*, pp. 58, 119, 238, 287, 344; TNA: PRO, C67/52; Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, pp. 177-8. Other gentry families may also have had their humble off-shoots. In 1445 William Finch, alias Doget, of Maidstone, took out a pardon in which he described himself as a tailor: TNA: PRO, C67/40. In 1450 a pardon was procured by Richard Guildford, a tailor of Hawkhurst: *CPR, 1446-52*, p. 341. The will of Henry Scott of Halden, made in 1511, mentions his plough, oxen and workhorses: CKS PRC 32/11/29. The will of
Elizabeth Scott, made in 1497, indicates that she too was of non-gentle rank: CKS PRC 32/16/1.

125. For the Cobhams, see above, pp. 00.

126. Thomas Culpeper esquire (d. 1515), of the Aylesford branch, was the husband of Margaret, daughter of Thomas Culpeper of Bedegbury. The couple shared a common ancestor in Sir John Culpeper, who died in 1413, but they were separated by five degrees of kinship, one degree beyond the most distant relationship: Hasted, Kent, vol. 4, pp. 436-7; Attree & Booker, ‘The Sussex Colepepers’; E. Foss, A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England (London, 1870), pp. 180-1; P. Fleming, ‘Culpeper family (per. c.1400-c.1540)’, ODNB.


128. See M. Mate, ‘Economy’, in this volume.

129. Based on Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem, vols 18 & 19.


131. For example, S. Cunningham, ‘Guildord, Sir Richard (c. 1450-1506)’, ODNB.