

THE VILLAGE OF STOCK, ESSEX, 1550-1610: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC  
SURVEY.

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## Abstract.

This thesis is an examination of as many aspects of the economic and social history of the sixteenth century Essex village of Stock, as surviving records permit.

A survey of landholding and the complex manorial structure in the village is followed by an analysis of agrarian activity (arable and animal husbandry, market gardening and the marketing of produce). Those engaged in non-agricultural occupations are studied, with special reference to those pursuing dual economic roles.

Central to the economy of the village, was the important brick, tile and pottery industry. Very little research has hitherto been undertaken to show clay-based workers in their economic and social setting in the sixteenth century. Methods of production, marketing and distribution, as well as the status of this important group of men are examined. Over fifty clay-based craftsmen are studied biographically.

Religious life and belief within the village are set against a general background of heretical belief in Essex and interpreted in terms of the influence of the resident clergy and the resident noble landlords, the Catholic Petre family.

The maintenance of law and order are studied, firstly through internal manorial agencies (the Court Leet and the Court of Civil Pleas) and secondly through the external or state agencies of law and order. An attempt is made to measure the importance of an efficient Court Leet and to appraise the role of the Quarter Sessions and other courts in the affairs of the village.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

*List of Maps and Plates.*

*List of Tables.*

*List of Appendices.*

*Acknowledgements.*

### Chapter One: Village England.

Introduction.

The Village of Stock; The setting.

Footnotes to Chapter One.

### Chapter Two: Village Topography and the Park of Crondon.

The Historical Topography of the Village.

Crondon Park.

### Chapter Three: Landholding in Stock and Buttsbury.

Introduction.

The Extension of the Cultivated Area.

Multi-Manorial Landholding and the Variety of Tenure.

The Tenants and the Estate Policy of The Petres.

The Large Farms of Stock and Buttsbury.

The Smaller Landholders.

The Village Centre: The Semi-Urban Manor of Imphey.

Inheritance Practices in Sixteenth Century Stock.

Footnotes to Chapter Three.

### Chapter Four: Agricultural Activity.

Introduction.

Marketing of Produce.

Agricultural Production.

Arable Production.

Dairying and Stock Rearing.

Market Gardening.

Footnotes to Chapter Five.

Chapter Five: The Village at Work

Introduction.

Footnotes to Chapter Five.

Chapter Six: Pottery, Brick and Tile making in Elizabethan Stock.

Introduction.

Raw Materials.

The Development of the clay-processing crafts.

The Bricklayers of Stock.

The Potters of Stock.

The Wealth and Status of the Clay Craftsmen of Stock.

Footnotes to Chapter Six.

Chapter Seven: Religious Life in Stock.

The General background.

Stock and Buttsbury: Influences on Religion 1510-1558.

The Clergy of Stock and Buttsbury c. 1550-1610.

The Beliefs of the Villagers, c. 1558-1620.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven.

Chapter Eight: Law and Order: The Role of the Leet Court.

Footnotes to Chapter Eight.

Chapter Nine: Law and Order: Non Manorial.

Footnotes to Chapter Nine.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion.

Appendices

Bibliography

LIST OF MAPS

1. The county of Essex, showing Stock and other towns.
2. Geological Map of Essex, reproduced from The Victoria County History of Essex.
3. Map of Stock and Buttsbury showing principal features.
4. The Fields of Ramseys, Whites and Imphey today.
5. Stock in 1777.
6. Main pottery producing towns and villages in sixteenth century Essex.
7. Sites connected with the brick, tile and pottery industry of Stock.
8. Land and sea route used for the transportation of pots made in Stock during the 1530s.

LIST OF PLATES

1. Map of Ramsey and Whites Tyrells, 1616. (ERO D/DMa P1)
2. Map of Crondon and Stock, c. 1570. (ERO D/DP 2)
3. Section of Map of 1616, showing Stock Green.
4. The Almshouses.
5. The Church of All Saints, Stock.
6. The Bear Inn.
7. Map of roadside waste near Crondon, showing gravel pits. (ERO D/DP P7)
8. Map showing the Quarters of Crondon Park.

LIST OF TABLES AND CHARTS.

1. Copyholders of the Manors of Ramsey and Whites Tyrells in 1616.
2. Occupational analysis of Wills, 1540-1616.
3. Occupational analysis from all sources, 1540-1620.
4. Multiple occupations of husbandmen.
5. Dominant scribes in Stock and Buttsbury c. 1551-1620.
- 6-8.. Numbers of jurors and the frequency of appearance at the Leet Court of Stock (6), Crodon Court Baron (7), and Imphey Hall Court Baron (8).
9. Occupational status of Constables in the village of Stock, 1556-1602.
10. Numbers of inmates and numbers of prosecutions of those harbouring inmates at the Stock Leet, 1550-1604.
11. Number of inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury presented in the Quarter Sessions Court from 1571-1613.
12. Number of inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury presented in the Assize Court between 1569-1603.
13. Number of inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury presented in the Court of Queens Bench between 1570-1604.

LIST OF APPENDICES.

1. Survey of Fristling Hall.
2. Rental of Imphey Hall, c. 1529.
3. Land holding at Imphey Hall, c. 1605.
4. List of different crafts and skills found in Stock and Buttsbury during the years 1550-1610.
5. Biographical details of the Clay Workers of Stock and Buttsbury, c. 1515-1620.
6. Religious Preambles to Wills written by Christopher Dale.
7. Estreat Roll for the Leet Court of Stock for the year 1561.

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## Chapter One

### Village England.

#### Introduction

A sixteenth-century village was small by modern standards. It is often difficult to estimate its size with any degree of accuracy, simply because the records needed for demographic reconstruction have failed to survive into the twentieth century. Of course, numbers living within villages and hamlets varied from time to time and region to region, but it seems a fair assumption that the majority of sixteenth century Englishmen lived for at least some of their lives, in communities of between 100 and 300 people. In 1688, Gregory King estimated that seventy-four percent of England's population lived in 'the villages and hamlets'. A century earlier the percentage was undoubtedly even higher.

Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the English village was never an isolated entity; a fine road network, consisting of both Roman highways and rougher, muddy tracks, facilitated communications and joined tiny settlements to larger marketing centres and county towns, and ultimately to the great cities of England; Bristol, Norwich, York, and most importantly, London. Elizabethan villages were independent and self-sufficient for many of their daily needs, but all were reliant on larger centres which performed more specialized processing and marketing activities for the villagers. A large village was distinguished from a smaller one, not only by population size, but also by the number and variety of processing functions it possessed.

Often, especially in Eastern England, the village did not correspond to a parish; parishes were rarely settlements or



communities as such. Often several separate villages or hamlets were to be found within one parish, each with its own identity. Sometimes, as is the case here, a village community embraced two parishes: half of the inhabitants worshipping in one church and the rest attending a church lying outside the main area of settlement. Likewise, a village did not often correspond to a single manor, owned by one Lord. As in this survey, several manors could encompass the houses, fields and commons of a particular village. A village can best be defined as a community of households surrounded by an area of cultivated land, woods and waste; having a population made up of yeomen, husbandmen, craftsmen, labourers, women and children, some prosperous others not. All members of the community worked, socialised and lived together, often with a high degree of interdependence.

This thesis is an attempt to recreate rural village life; perhaps one of the most important areas of study in the economic and social history of Elizabethan England, simply because for the vast majority of the populace at that time, village England was the world to which they belonged. Many previous studies have been made within this field, often concentrating on just one area of enquiry, such as agriculture, crime, poverty, industry and most recently demography. Here the aim is to study a village community in many aspects; at work, at play and in relation to the world outside: to see a microcosm of the Elizabethan Age. The village under discussion is Stock or Harvard Stock (as it was most commonly called in the sixteenth century) in Essex, and the period of reconstruction of village life is from the death of Henry VIII in 1547 until the year 1610.

The sources used for this study are of great variety and abundance, embracing both those created by the manorial lord and

those kept by the state. The central class of manorial records are an extensive set of court rolls from four of the manors within Stock and Buttsbury: Crondon, Imphey Hall, Fristling Hall and Ing Ging Joybard Laundry alias Harvard Stock. The court of Crondon was a court baron concerning itself principally with the transfer of property. Likewise, the manors of Imphey and Fristling. The court of Harvard Stock was a more interesting phenomenon: a court leet with the right to hold a court of civil pleas. The surviving court rolls are detailed below.

Crondon (Court Baron)

ERO D/DP M788 1551-1553 (1 membrane)

ERO D/DP M789 1554-1558 (6 membranes)

ERO D/DP M790 1559-1578 (6 membranes)

ERO D/DP M791 1569-1576 (3 membranes)

ERO D/DP M792 1579-1600 (20 membranes)

Imphey Hall (Court Baron)

ERO D/DP M757 1561-1597 (20 membranes)

Fristling Hall (Court Baron)

ERO D/DP M720 1547-1553 (4 membranes)

ERO D/DP M721 1555-1557 (3 membranes)

ERO D/DP M722 1561-1602 (39 membranes)

Ing Ging Joyberd Laundry alias Harvard Stock (Court Leet)

ERO D/DP M746 1547-1553 (2 membranes)

ERO D/DP M747 1555-1558 (6 membranes)

ERO D/DP M748 1559-1602 (43 membranes)

Apart from court rolls: court papers, draft court rolls, rentals and surveys and maps survive for some of these manors.

The manorial lords, the Petre family kept extensive records of deeds and leases. Most vital for this survey are 'The Lease Book for Estates' (ERO D/DP E24) dated 1555-1568, and another entitled 'The Petre Estate Book' (ERO D/DP E25) which contains leases issued between 1572 and 1635. Also important to this study are the Petre household account books which concentrate on work performed at the two Essex 'seats' of Ingatestone and Thorndon Halls.

Extensive use has been made of the surviving wills of local inhabitants which have been preserved by the Archdeaconry of Essex and the Bishopric of London. Some of the Ecclesiastical Court records of the Archdeacon of Essex survive for this period: notably the Act Books (ERO D/AEW 1A-22), Visitation Books (ERO D/AEV 1-3), Deposition Books (ERO D/AED 1-4) and a single Excommunication Book (ERO D/AEM 3). Also consulted were the records of the various secular courts; the Essex Quarter Sessions, the Assize and the Court of Queen's Bench.

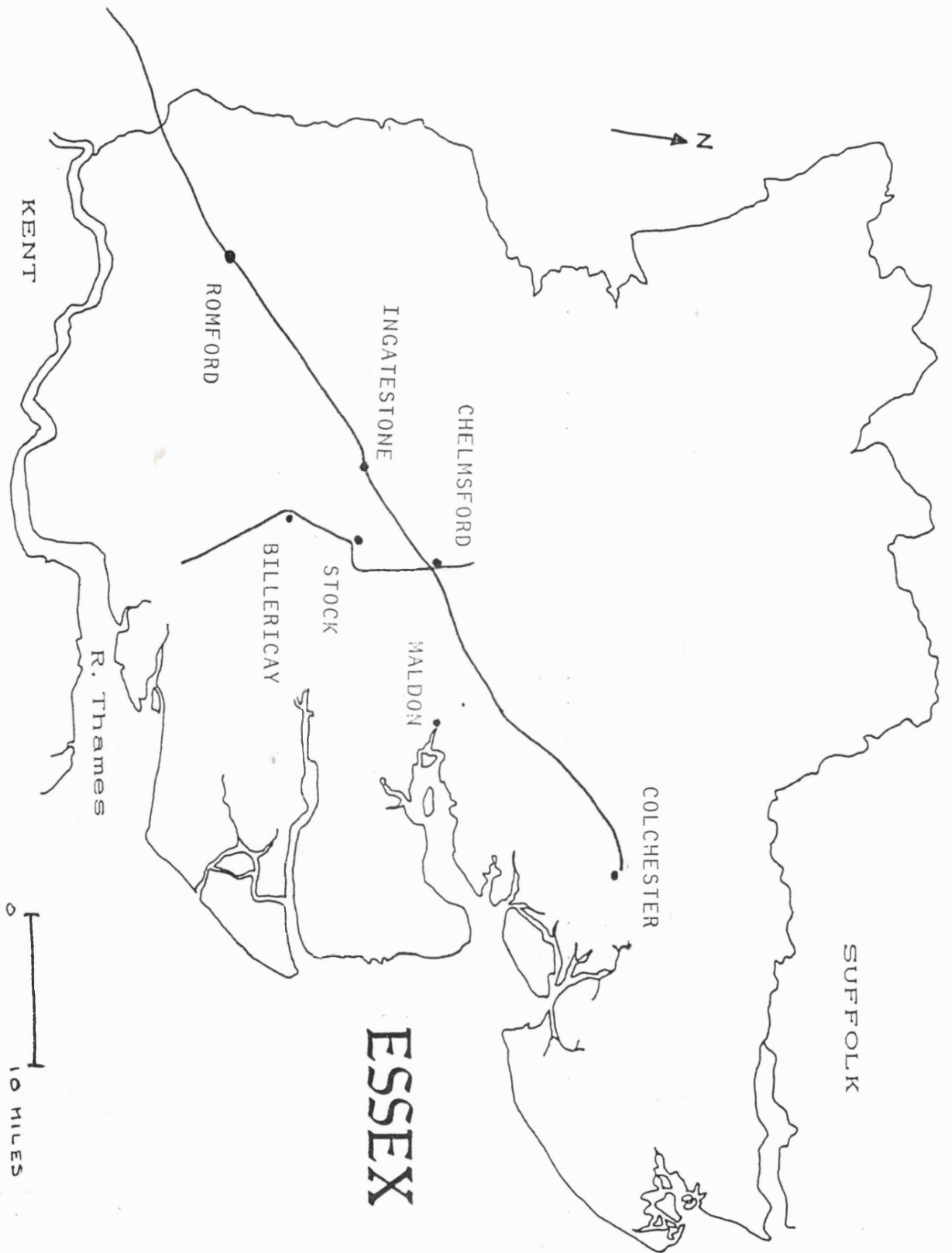
Extant manuscript sources have been examined in conjunction with a fieldwork survey of surviving topographic, landscape and architectural features of the two parishes of Stock and Buttsbury in an attempt to present as full a picture as possible of the area during the Elizabethan era.

#### The Village of Stock: The Setting

Stock, even to this day, lies in a fairly wooded tract of countryside. In the later sixteenth century the village was surrounded on all sides by common land, woodland, pasture, arable and waste. Just half a mile away lay a deer park of quite considerable size, Crondon Park.<sup>2</sup> The agricultural land surrounding the village appears to have been long enclosed, open

THE COUNTY OF ESSEX, SHOWING THE LOCATION  
OF STOCK AND MAJOR TOWNS.

MAP ONE



field farming having been extremely uncommon in this part of Essex as early as the thirteenth century. By the sixteenth century one reads only of closes and fields, there being no mention of arable land held in common or of strips for cultivation. The villagers of Stock had long before the sixteenth century forsaken communal cultivation of the land, if in fact it had ever existed, and the only rights which they held in common were the rights to graze and gather in the heaths, woods and open spaces surrounding the village. Place name evidence in the area is indicative of clearing and assarting, and it is apparent that such removal of woodland had taken place at an early date.<sup>3</sup> The words 'rydding', 'leah', 'wood', 'stubbing', 'holt' and 'stoc' all appear frequently in field, farm and house names round and about the village of Stock.

Stock village lay within the two parishes of Stock and Buttsbury, and was sited approximately six miles south west of the important marketing and administrative centre of Elizabethan Essex, the town of Chelmsford. Billericay, another market town, lay only three miles to the south. Ingatestone and Ingatestone Hall, the family home and administrative centre of the Petre family, the manorial Lords and landowners of much property within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury, was just a mile and a half to the west. The great highway leading from London to Chelmsford and Colchester, with its continuous throng of waggons, carts, animals and horsemen, was just a few miles away. (see Map One). The village was therefore in the fortunate position of having within easy reach several important markets for its agricultural produce and craft manufactures. As will be shown, the inhabitants profited from their geographical advantages. Evidence collected from surviving documents suggests that they conducted fairly

extensive and expanding trade networks with many other communities during the sixteenth century. Prosperity appears to have been the norm, rather than the exception for many of the inhabitants of Stock throughout Elizabeth's reign, even though national statistics have indicated a decrease in real wages for much of England's labouring population, especially during the 1590s.

The village population is extremely difficult to estimate, though it appears to have been fairly equally divided between the two parishes; that of Buttsbury, whose church was isolated to the far west, and that of Stock, whose church formed part of the nucleus of households which constituted the village of Stock. The problem in demographic calculation arises because although the parish registers for Stock go back to 1558, those for Buttsbury do not begin until after the Restoration. The issue is further complicated by the inhabitants of Crondon hamlet, whose lives were inextricably bound up with the park and the village of Stock. Historically, the manor and park of Crondon were a detached part of the parish of Orsett, twelve miles to the south. However, by the sixteenth century, evidence from a document concerning a tithe dispute shows that the inhabitants of Crondon frequently worshipped at the churches of both Stock and Buttsbury, and occasionally at another parish church, West Hanningfield; being only required to attend the church at Orsett once a year.<sup>4</sup> The peripatetic worshippers from Crondon appear in many registers from parishes in the neighbourhood, especially after 1580, when quarrels with the troublesome Rector of Stock, William Pindar, caused many to shun his church.

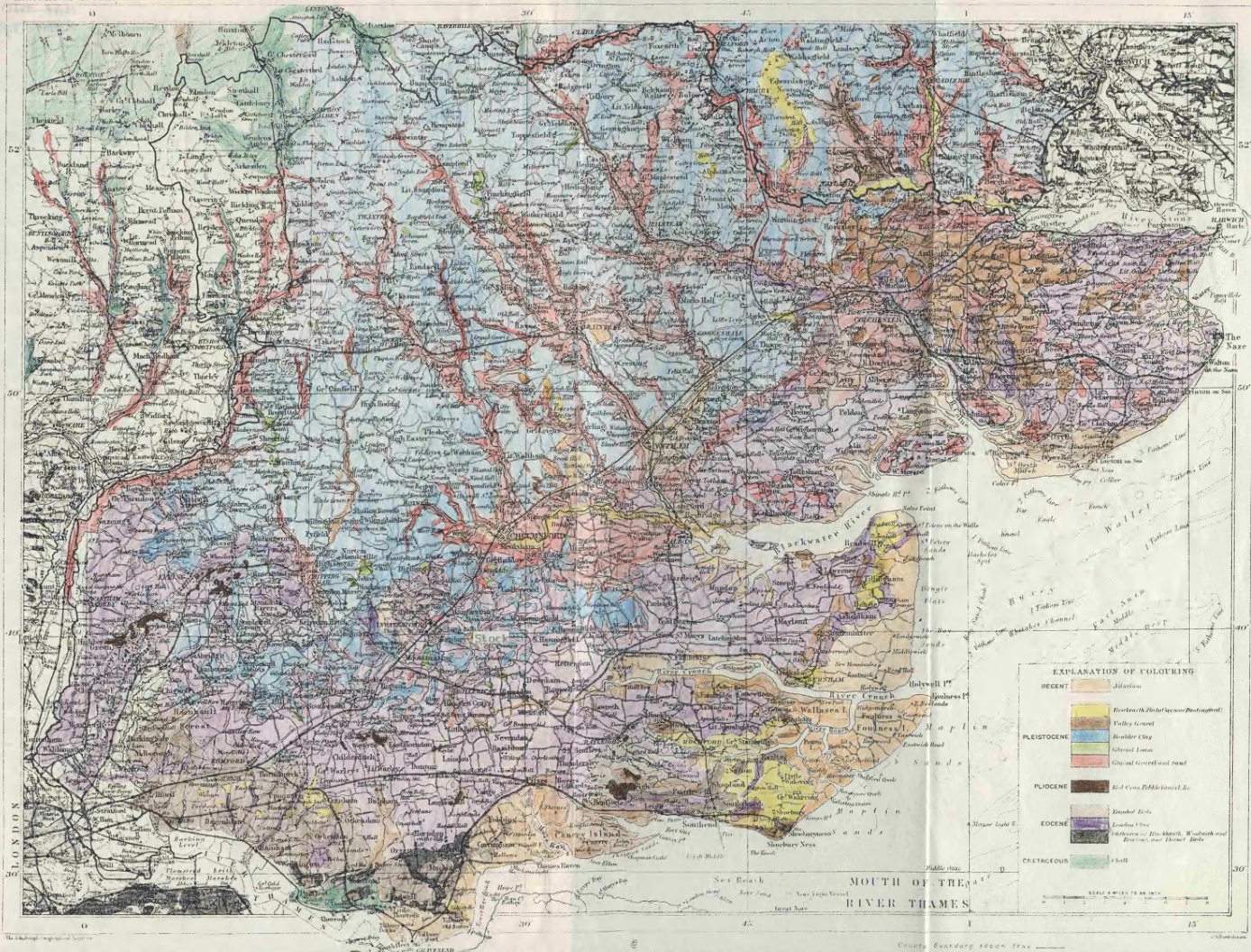
Analysis of baptisms and calculations based on these figures for baptisms show that the population of Stock was approximately

330 during the eighth decade of the sixteenth century. A list of every person paying tithes to the church of Buttsbury during the 1590s names sixty people. Multiplied by the number 4.5 (frequently used as an estimate of household size), this gives Buttsbury a population of around 260. These figures combined indicate a village with a population of 500 or more. The Lay Subsidy return for 1544 lists 93 people paying the subsidy. If the same multiplier is used a population of approximately 420 can be assumed. By 1671, 161 households were listed within Stock and Buttsbury for Hearth Tax assesment (this includes households exempt from payment due to poverty). If the multiplier 4.5 is once again used, the total population living within the two parishes by 1671, was 725. Interestingly the hearths are almost equally divided between the two parishes; 82 in Stock and 79 in Buttsbury.

If these records and calculations are anywhere near correct, then Stock during the second half of the sixteenth century, was a very large village, infact almost the size of a small town in Elizabethan England.

The village of Stock is perhaps a unique phenomenon in sixteenth century studies. Not only was it a very large village, but more interestingly it was an industrialised village with apprenticeships, far-reaching marketing of finished products and a place where sectors of the community were engaged in industrial activity for at least part of the year. Most importantly the industrial activity in which they were involved had nothing to do with textiles, which is what one immediately thinks of in connection with industrial development in sixteenth century Essex. The story of Stock is the story of clay and brickearth and the processing of these two raw materials by the inhabitants. The







MAP TWO.

village lies on the boulder clay area of central Essex. (see Map Two) In 1795 Charles Vancouver, in a report prepared for the Board of Agriculture, described the division of the county in which Stock lay as; 'Temperate mixed soil upon a brown clay or brickearth. A gravelly loam and a tough red clay or tile earth'.

During the sixteenth century Stock was one of the most important centres in the county for the production of tiles, bricks and a wide variety of pottery.

As well as a diversified industrial base, the farming pattern of the village was diversified. The larger farmers combined the production of wheat and oats (cash crops) with the rearing of livestock (sheep, horses and cattle). Animal husbandry was important to all farmers; Stock was an important area for the making of cheese from both sheep and cows' milk. The small landholders while keeping some cows and sheep (sometimes grazed on the marshes besides the Thames) also concentrated on market gardening, producing industrial crops, dye stuffs, as well as fruit, salads, vegetables and herbs for the London market.

The land of the village of Stock, if we add the manor of Crondon to the two parishes, amounted to about 4,000 acres. The manorial holdings within the village were highly complex, and only a brief account of them will be given here. Although important to our understanding of village life, historical descents were often irrelevant to the village as a community. As W.G. Hoskins says,

'It is possible to spend too much time upon the minutiae of manorial history.... villagers must often have been completely unaware of changes at this level, which can have had no effect on their lives.... The local historian would be well advised to confine his treatment of the descent of the manor to those

changes which can be shown to have a direct impact upon the parish or the village'.<sup>5</sup>

In the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury it is possible to find seven manors; all of which to a greater or lesser degree had some jurisdiction and influence over the inhabitants of Stock. Most important was the manor of Ging Joyberd Laundry Hertford Stock alias Blunts. The court held there was a Tourn and Leet, which exercised jurisdiction over several other manors in the area. During the 1550s the Tourn of Stock was purchased from a member of the Tyrrel family by Sir William Petre, at about the same time as he received the manor and park of Crondon from the Crown. The Tourn and Leet of Stock was a complex institution, as a survey made at the time of its purchase reveals.<sup>6</sup> A Common Fine of 3s 4d was levied from twelve landholders of the manor including the Bishop of Ely for the manor of Imphey Hall and Sir Humphrey Ferrers for the manor of Blunts, which were subinfeudated. Four other tenants had payments in abeyance and contested their duty to pay them, while another two landholders' names could not be determined. Apart from the twelve landholders liable for the common fine, there were nine other tenants who were liable to court-keeping fines for non-appearance at the twice-yearly Tourn. The Leet gave the Petre family control over common pasture, woods, waste, agistment, pannage, and the assize of bread and ale. It is important to add that although Sir William Petre held the Lordship and Tourn of Stock, within the village centre his property and landholding was quite small, consisting only of two farms, some odd tenements and two inns: the Swan and the Cock.

In 1715 Giles Jacob stated of the Court Leet that 'this leet was first derived from the sheriffs court; and it enquireth of

all offences under high-treason committed against the Crown and Dignity of the King, though it cannot punish many but must certify them to the Justices of Assize'.<sup>7</sup> As seen from the large number of surviving court rolls for the Tourn of Ging Joyberd Laundry, the Court Leet had a very wide range of enquiry, and was an extremely important instrument for the policing of the manor. The Leet had, however, only limited powers of punishment; although cases punishable by death were examined at the Stock Court, those convicted were sent on to the Justices of the Assize for sentencing. As was frequent practice in Tudor England, the pillory, stocks and tumbrel were often put to use.

Other manors which were influential in the daily lives of the inhabitants of Stock were the manor of Imphey Hall, held by the Bishop of Ely, and from the 1550s leased to the Petre family, who held it for more than a hundred years. The Petres also held two other manors which had much land scattered around the village of Stock. One was the manor of Fristling alias Thristling Hall, which regularly held a Court Baron during the later sixteenth century; although some of this manor's demesne lay in the parish of Margaretting, beyond the River Wid to the north-west, its lands in Stock and Buttsbury were often leased to the inhabitants of Stock village. The other was the manor of Crondon.

In 1545 the Petre family had acquired one of their most important manorial possessions, the manor and park of Crondon, by grant of the Crown. The park of Crondon lay only a mile north-east of the village of Stock, and was highly influential in the daily lives of the inhabitants of Stock. During the Middle Ages the park was held by the Bishop of London in demesne, not as arable, but as parkland to supply his table with venison and rabbits. In 1544 Bishop Bonner released the Manor to Henry VIII,

who soon passed it to Sir William Petre by Letters Patent, at the price of £160, based on a valuation of £8 per annum.

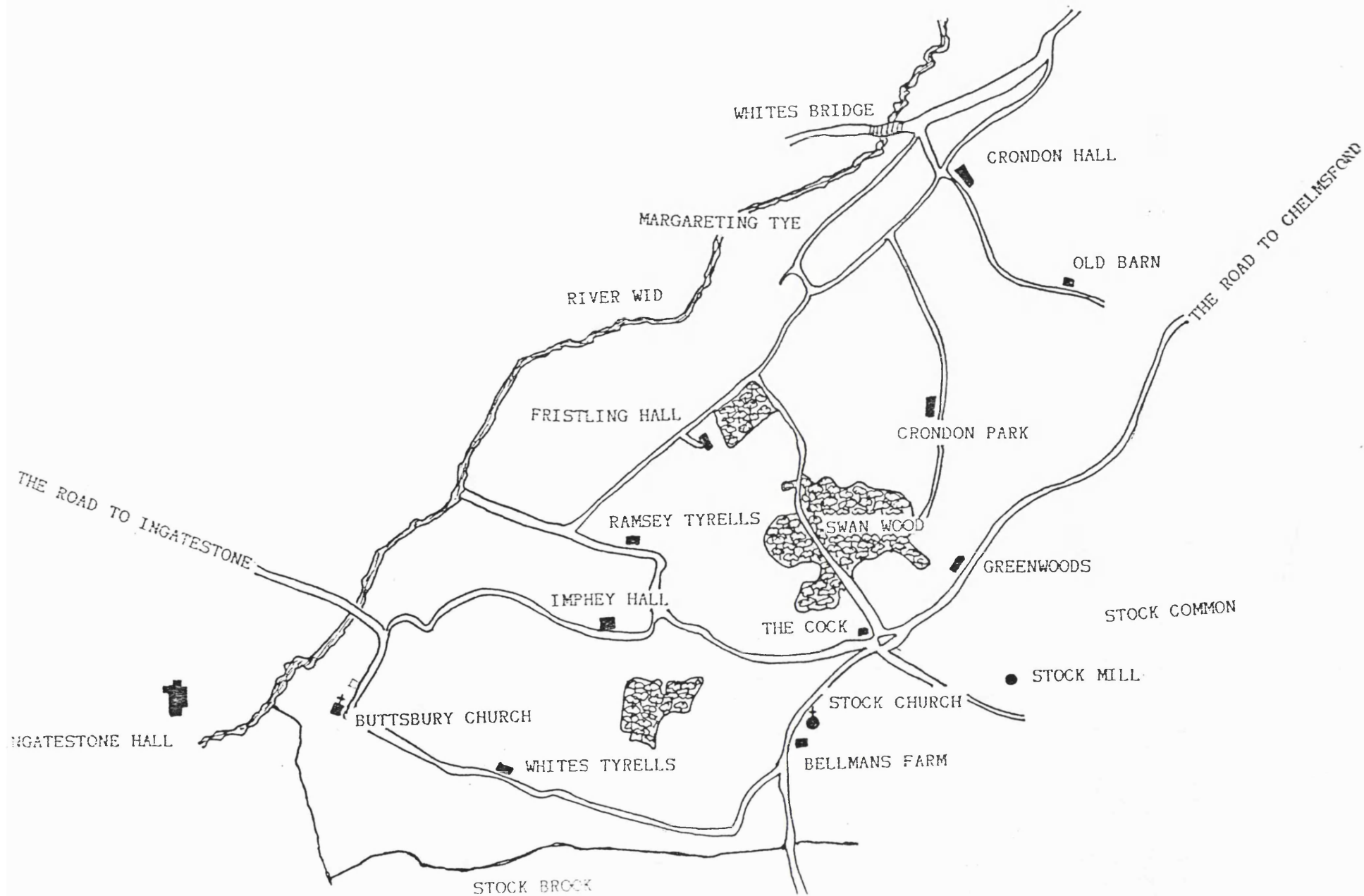
Being a man of sound judgement, Sir William had by 1551 disparked some 500 acres of the deer park, leasing the newly-enclosed land as farms to eager tenants, many drawn from the village of Stock. Although a deer park was still a valuable asset in Elizabethan England, providing as it did fresh food, sport and status, it was an increasingly costly possession to maintain and repair in an era of rising prices and profits. By converting two-thirds of the former park into farmland, Petre became one of the pioneers of a trend which was to affect much of Essex. Not only could he still run an extensive herd of deer (500 in 1556), allowing ample provision for the household and for gifts, but by disparking land he dramatically increased the manorial income of Crondon. In 1556 the rents and casualties of the manor totalled £49 for the year.<sup>8</sup>

The manors of Crondon, Imphey, Fristling Hall and the holdings within the town of Stock made the Petre family the principal owners of land farmed by the people of Stock. Although these lands were an important and integral part of the Petre estate in south-central Essex, which primarily consisted of a large block of manors running from Bulphan in the south to Chignal and Mashbury in the north, it must be remembered that they formed only a small part of the demesne of the whole estate. Dr. F.G. Emmison has estimated that at the time of Sir William Petre's death in 1571, the family owned 20,000 acres in Essex.<sup>9</sup> Under the first Lord John Petre, Sir William's son and heir, additional purchases of land created a total of 34,000 acres under the family's ownership in Essex.

Within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury there were three

SKETCH MAP OF STOCK AND BUTTSBURY, SHOWING PRINCIPAL  
SITES AND PROPERTIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT. (SCALE  
1:25,000).

MAP THREE



other manors of note. Two of them were the manors of Whites alias Whites Tyrell and Ramsey Tyrell, owned by the ancient Essex family of Tyrell. In 1476 the demesne of both together consisted of 200 acres of arable, 40 acres meadow, 40 acres woodland, and 20 messuages, and during the period of enquiry the manors were held by Henry Tyrell Esquire (died 1588), and afterwards by his son Thomas. The third manor was Buckwyns, which had belonged to the Abbey of Stratford-Langthorn until the Dissolution. Afterwards it had passed to Richard Rich who sold it in 1540 to Walter Farre, Gentleman, who held the manor for the rest of the century. No court records survive for these manors; and this makes it impossible to assess their influence upon the villagers.

Map Three shows the village of Stock and the surrounding area as it was in the sixteenth century, giving woods, parks, wastes, manor houses and parish boundaries.

Socially the village is of interest. There were (and some still survive) a number of substantial gentry houses or manor houses both within the village centre and within outlying farms, that were inhabited by persons of a somewhat superior status. Not all these people were associated with agriculture; some were wealthy merchant families with as many connections with the capital as the rural hinterland. Others were London men who had made their fortunes in the City and purchased property outside the capital, as such men had so often done in the past. These sixteenth century residents of Stock anticipated the movement that gathered momentum in the seventeenth century and took so many wealthy London citizens into the Essex countryside.

The social influence of the Petre family was also very important. Although resident in the next parish of Ingatestone

their influence extended far into the Essex countryside. A large Elizabethan household not only required the humbler type of goods and services that the inhabitants of Stock could supply. The Petres required educated gentlemen and gentlewomen to be 'superior' servants in the household. Although the 'servants in household' had sleeping quarters at Ingatestone Hall, many of these gentleman-servants had large household establishments with wife, children and servants in the neighbouring parishes. Some lived in Stock and Buttsbury, often in farms leased to them by the Petres at preferential rates. The village therefore had an abundance of wealthy inhabitants of gentleman and yeoman status.

This thesis aims to recreate and examine the main aspects of life in the village of Stock, between the years 1548 and 1610. It is intended, using the surviving muniments, to recreate the daily lives of the community using manorial, parochial, ecclesiastical, county and national records. It has been divided into four main sections; each of which aims to illustrate a different aspect of life in sixteenth century Stock; they are:

1. Landholding and Topography.
2. The village at work.
3. Spiritual life.
4. Law and Order.



Footnotes to Chapter One.

1. Gregory King, 'Natural and Political observations and conclusions upon the state and condition of England', in G.E. Barnett (ed.), *Two Tracts* (Baltimore, U.S.A. 1936), p. 18.
2. There were c. 800 acres in 1550.
3. M. Williams, 'Marshland and Waste' in L. Cantor (ed.), *The English Mediaeval Landscape*, (1982), p. 109.
4. Essex Record Office (henceforth E.R.O.) D/DP T66.
5. W.G. Hoskins, *Local History in England*, (1959, rev. edn. 1972), p. 53.
6. E.R.O., D/DP E54.
7. Giles Jacob, *The Complete Court-Keeper or Land Steward's Assistant*, (1713), pp. 1-2.
8. E.R.O., D/DP E54.
9. F.G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary, William Petre at Court and Home*, (1961) p. 268.

## Chapter Two.

### Village Topography and the Park of Crondon.

#### The Historical Topography of the Village.

In a recent publication Dr Oliver Rackham has described Essex as 'Ancient Countryside'. Ancient countryside he defined as a region of hamlets and villages, isolated farms, dense mixed hedgerows and many small ancient woodlands. The fields are irregular in size and shape and are enclosed. The landscape is criss-crossed with many lanes and footpaths and there is little evidence of open-field farming.' The parishes of Stock and Buttsbury, having all the above characteristics, fit perfectly into this description of a typical Essex landscape.

Before one can describe the social and economic activities of the village of Stock in the sixteenth century it is important to examine the physical environment in which these activities occurred and in which the inhabitants lived. An attempt to describe the village and the surrounding fields and woodlands as they were in the late sixteenth century, is not as difficult as one might at first imagine. The wooded environs remain largely in situ and the field patterns of some of the farms (notably Imphey Hall and Ramsey and Whites Tyrells) are today almost identical to those depicted on surviving sixteenth century maps and surveys.

The physical appearance of the fields in which the farmers of Stock and Buttsbury worked, is clearly shown in several maps of the period. A map dated 1616, entitled 'A true and perfect plan of the manor of the two manors of Whites and Ramseys' is reproduced in Plate One. It was drawn by the famous Essex map-

MAP OF WHITES AND RAMSEY TYRELLS DRAWN IN  
1616, (E.R.O. D/Dma P1).

PLATE ONE





MAP FOUR



maker John Walker. The enclosures are small irregular-shaped fields and closes, interspersed with small marginal woodlands and heavily-wooded hedgerows. A typical Essex field pattern is depicted: tiny fields of about ten acres. The map suggests that the majority of closes were arable; meadow land being shown as shaded areas and mixed pasture shown with odd dotted trees. Woodland was represented by closely-spaced tree symbols. The fields in the area today follow very similar patterns, with almost identical field sizes as shown in Map Four. The main difference in appearance, is the removal of many of the heavily-wooded hedgerows, something that has occurred since the beginning of the twentieth century.

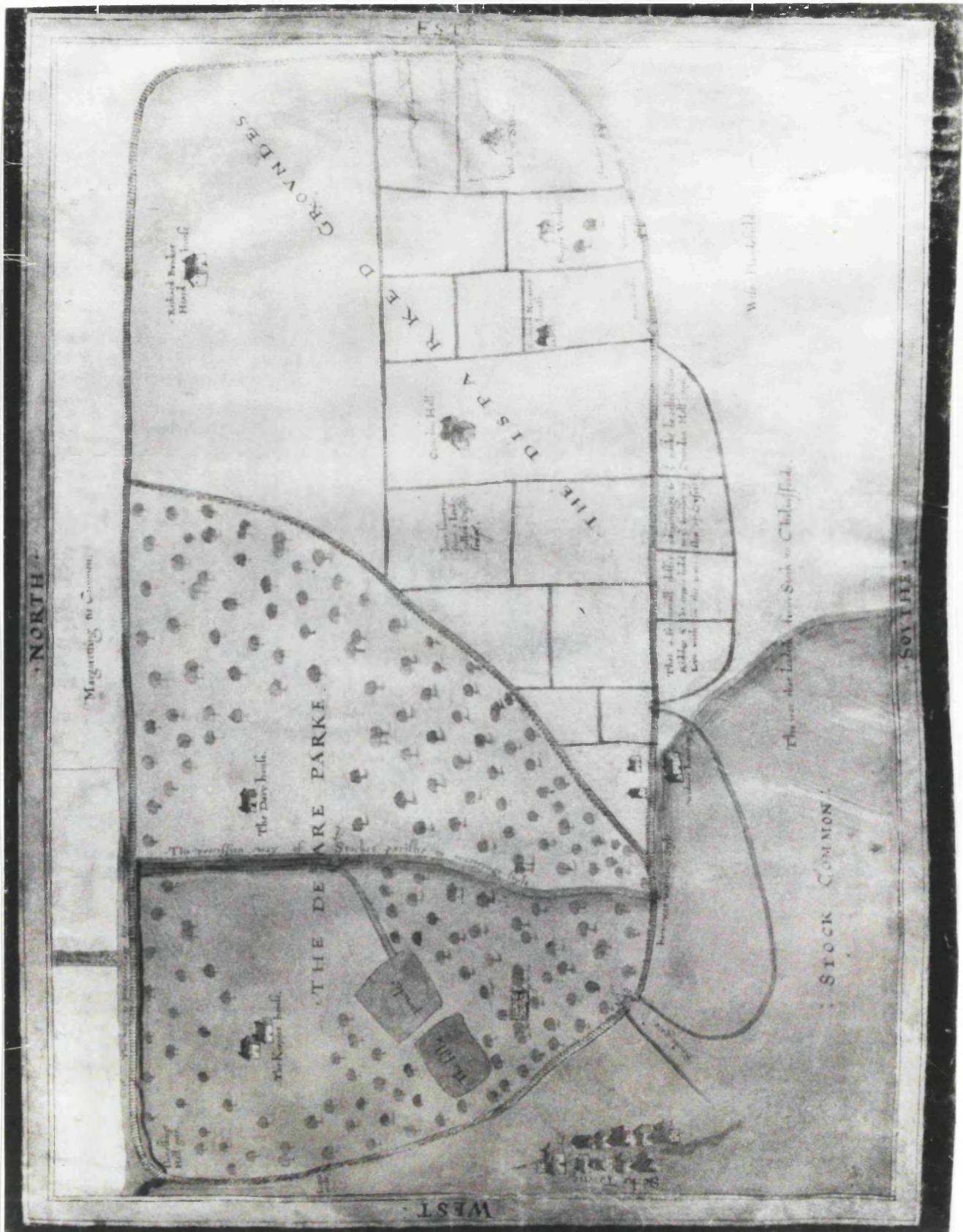
Towards the centre of the map of 1616 the demesne farm of Imphey Hall is shown. The fields of this manor were not depicted on the map but followed a similar pattern, in size and shape, to those of Whites and Ramsey Tyrells. A map of the twentieth century (Map Four) shows the fields of Imphey to be almost identical. Something is known about the working of the fields of Imphey in the later sixteenth century, due to the survival of records for the manor. The largest close of eighteen acres was called Brickfield, but the other arable fields of Imphey were smaller.<sup>2</sup> There were at least two meadows within the farm and mixed farming appears to have been practised by the tenant Robert Bellgrave, who bequeathed eighteen cows to his heirs.<sup>3</sup>

The area of Buttsbury shown on this map was more sparsely populated than the village centre of Stock which is drawn at the bottom left-hand corner. Even so, there are twenty-five houses depicted. Of these, at least six were very substantial properties; double-bayed hall houses with more than two storeys. The other properties were more humble, but by no means simple and



MAP OF CRONDON PARK AND STOCK TOWN  
c.1575. (E.R.O. D/DP P2).

PLATE TWO



crude. Of these less survives today. A few properties have been extended and altered so that their sixteenth century origins are not immediately recognisable, although many still survive upon their sixteenth century sites. But the churches, the almshouses and some manor houses do survive, as do the two inns in the village centre, sited by the old market square. Not only do these inns survive, but one, the Bear is little altered. Both inns have the names by which they were known during the reign of Elizabeth I: the Cock and the Bear.

A second map dating from the 1570s shows Crondon situated at the eastern end of the village of Stock. (See Plate Two) The map shows a different type of field. It depicts the newly created farms which were made from the disparked grounds of Crondon 'old' Park. The fields created there during the middle decade of the sixteenth century were uniform, square-sided fields, typical of those of the later enclosure movement. These fields contrast dramatically with the ancient fields depicted on the Walker map. The small irregular field was more common in sixteenth-century Stock and Buttsbury and had been created by the gradual clearance of woodland in ancient times, rather than by a landlord.

Most travellers arriving in Stock in the sixteenth century would have entered by foot or on horse-back along the main road (the Regia Via of the court rolls). Although an important road, it was not the principal highway that led from Chelmsford to London: that passed through Ingatestone. But the road passing through Stock came from the town of Billericay and from Stock led onwards towards Galleywood and from there to Chelmsford, and as such, was important. (See Map Five dated 1777).

From Stock Brook in the south, the road climbs northwards up Stock Hill and at the summit turns north-eastward before reaching



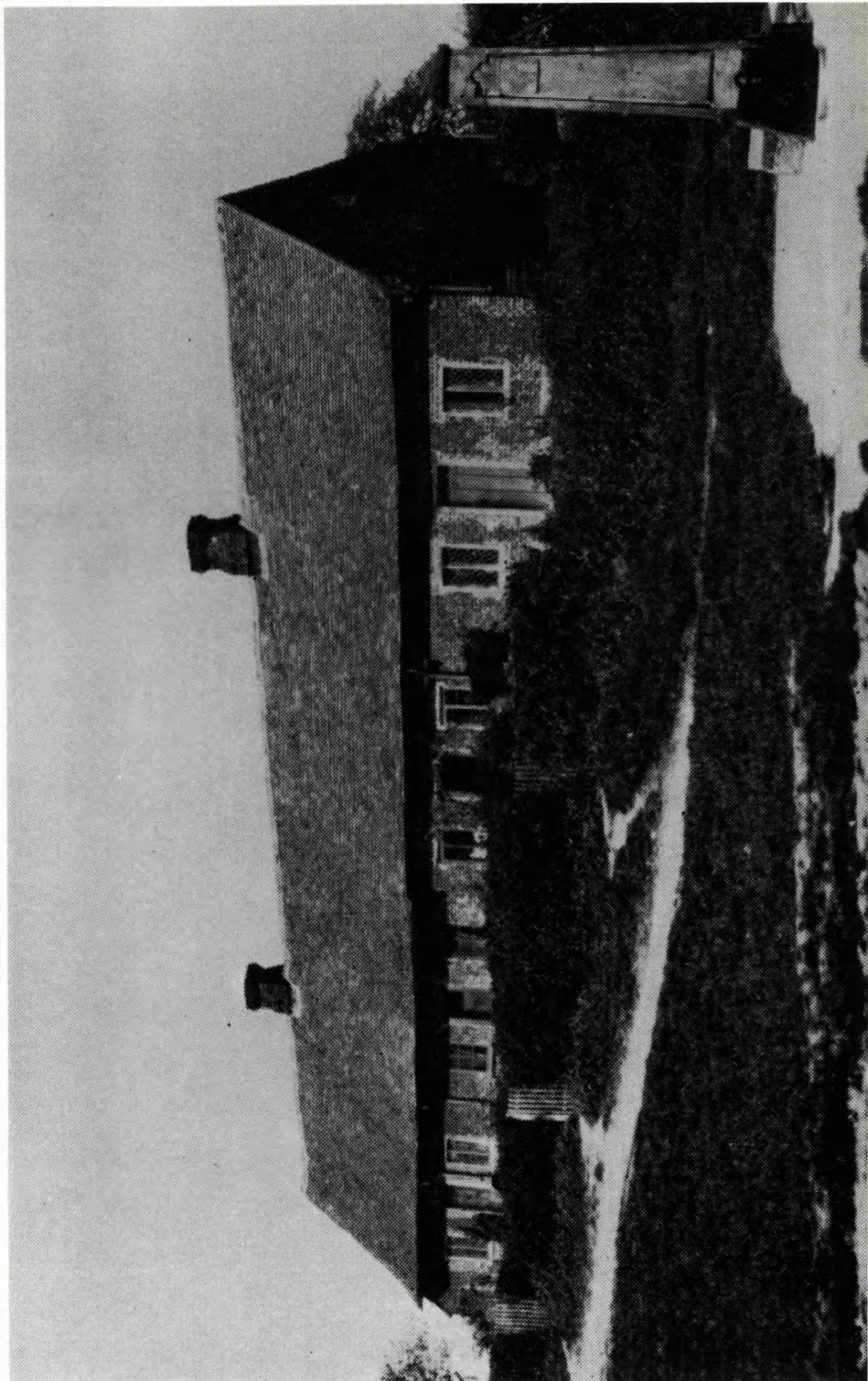


PLATE THREE



TWEEDY'S ALMSHOUSES, STOCK (@E.R.O.).

PLATE FOUR.





THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, STOCK IN 1922. PLATE FIVE  
(@ R.C.H.M.E.).





Stock Green. In the sixteenth century the Green was dotted with elm trees, but today it is simply a grassy area.<sup>4</sup> As seen by comparing Map Four and Plate Three, the Green remains in other respects very similar today to what it was in 1616.

The first buildings on the outskirts of the village were the newly erected Almshouses; bequeathed and built by the 'grave and sage' knight Richard Tweedy who had died in 1574.<sup>5</sup> Solidly built in brick and tile, they are little altered today, as seen in Plate Four and are surviving testimony to the skills of the brick and tile makers of sixteenth-century Stock. Opposite stood Bellman's farm, occupied throughout the later sixteenth century by the prosperous Dale family.<sup>6</sup> The farmhouse, much altered still stands on the site overlooking the Green and churchyard.

At the end of the Green stood the parish church of All Saints, a small mainly fifteenth century church with a fine timber-framed belfry and spire which stands unaltered today. (See Plate Five) The lower stage is faced with vertical boarding and has a tiled pent roof, with the upper stage fenced with horizontal weather-boarding. The church is clearly shown in the maps of 1616 and c. 1570. Behind the church stood the parsonage, which the incumbent William Pindar had extensively altered and extended during the later sixteenth century. In 1610, the parsonage was described as:

' a large hall with a chymney; below a kitchen with a chymney, then a milk house and a buttery --- now to the other end of the hall eastward is adjoined a new erection ---- built by the parson that is now Incumbant ---- of this new erection there are two parts or rooms first a fayre parlour with a chymney, secondly over that a chamber with a chymney likewise--' <sup>7</sup>

From Stock Green the highway runs north-eastwards towards

THE BEAR INN, STOCK c.1940. (@ R.C.H.M.E.)

PLATE SIX





the market square. To both sides of the road were small cottages and houses surrounded by gardens planted for commercial as well as domestic crops, as well as by barns, sheds and stables to house livestock, carts and crops. At the market square the road merged with five other lesser tracks leading from outlying parts of the parish to form an open square. Being at the epicentre of the village and at a major road junction it was the ideal site for a market. The market cross formed the central axis around which the stalls and booths and baskets were laid out every Monday for the weekly market. The market was kept throughout the sixteenth century as we know from the court rolls of Stock, in which the manorial office of clerk of the market was regularly mentioned.<sup>8</sup>

On three corners of the square stood the three most important inns in sixteenth-century Stock: the Cock, the Swan and the Bear. All provided food, drink, accommodation and stabling for villager and traveller alike. The Bear and the Cock remain and the Swan, although no longer standing, is remembered in the name Swan Lane, which leads from the square to Fristling Hall. (See Plate Six)

On all sides of the square ~~were~~ cottages, houses and shops and workshops of craftsmen such as carpenters, joiners, smiths and farriers. Beside the Cock Inn (which during the later seventeenth century became the meeting place for the manorial court) on the road leading to Imphey Hall, was a large pond. It was the site of the village ducking stool, which was much decayed according to the court rolls.<sup>9</sup> Nearby stood the pillory, another instrument of manorial control during the Tudor era.

From the market square the highway passed through the rest of the village. Houses, cottages and gardens and fields lay

beside the road, especially to the north side. On the south side of the road lay the extensive wastes of Stock Common. Now severely diminished in size, some idea of the extent of the common in the sixteenth century can be gleaned by the map of 1777, Map Five which shows how extensive the common once was. On the common, near to the village centre was Stock Mill. The windmill, a post mill was owned by Thomas Whiskard during the 1570s and '80s, and processed much of the corn grown by the villagers of Stock and Buttsbury.

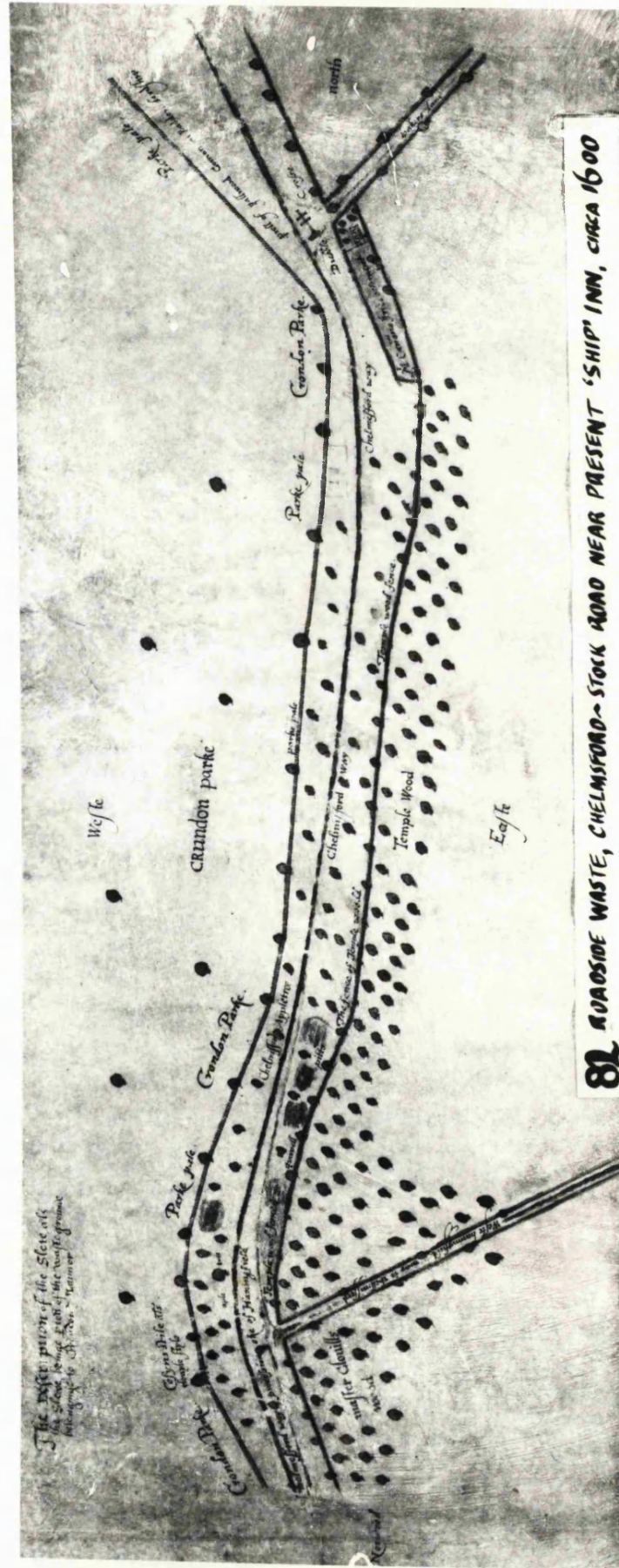
Continuing along the highway the almost urban landscape disappeared and on the outer edge of the village, beside the common, lay the semi-industrial environment of the pottery and tile making community. The community was sited close to the clay pits for easy access to the raw materials, but away from the village centre to prevent the nuisance and pollution of the trade worrying neighbours. Here there were cottages, drying sheds with pots set out on tables and boards, working houses with wheels and moulding tables and yards where prepared clay was stored and sheds where the fired products were stored. Nearby stood the kilns with their smoking chimneys and stacks of faggots and other wood used in the firing process.

A variety of livestock grazed the common: horses, cattle, sheep, geese and pigs as they did everywhere on commons. But on Stock common there were two large pits, enclosed by fences, where clay was dug by licence and carted away by the potters to their yards, as well as coppiced trees and bushes which the villagers harvested for firewood.<sup>10</sup>

About half a mile from the village centre, the park of Crondon lay to the north of the main road. Between the road and the park was an area of waste, where pits were to be found which



MAP OF c.1600 SHOWING ROADSIDE WASTE  
BESIDE CRONDON PARK AND THE PARK PALE.  
(E.R.O. D/P2).





contained gravel that the parish used for highway maintenance. There was also a variety of fruit trees. These features are clearly shown in Plate Seven. The park was bounded by quick-set hawthorn hedges and the park pale.

Cutting across the village topography was the manorial system. Within the two parishes of Stock and Buttsbury were seven manors which all had influence; but Stock, at least by the sixteenth century, was a village rather than a collection of manors. Different landlords and different customs all mattered, but the village was the important economic entity and community. The Petre family although Lords of some manors within the two parishes were influential and important not just to their tenants, but to all inhabitants of the village, for they were Justices of the Peace, local dignitaries and perhaps most important of all, employers of local labour. Their influence and power in the village went far beyond manorial limits.

We know a lot about manorial jurisdiction and issues because the records survive. But just as parish boundaries interfered very little with the village as an economic and social entity, neither did manorial boundaries. Manufacture of goods and the clay industry do not appear to have been controlled by the manor. Farm size or shape were not influenced by manorial considerations either. Men held land from many manors by the sixteenth century and not always within a single parish. No one in sixteenth-century Stock talked of land being held of a single manor, but rather held within the parish of Stock or Buttsbury or Chelmsford. Thus, by the late sixteenth century the economy and society of Stock identified itself more by reference to parish than to manor or landlord. There was however one feature of the landscape of sixteenth-century Stock that was a manorial

possession and was still of great influence and significance. Not just because of its size and importance in the regional topography, but also because through manorial custom, employment opportunities and the venison put onto tables (legally or not!) the park of Crondon played some role in almost every inhabitant's life.

#### Crondon Park.

The impact that a medieval park made on the landscape was considerable. Parks were once a common feature of the English countryside. Many manors had parks as part of their demesne lands. At Crondon remnants of the original earthworks that made the high-sided banks that bordered the park still survive. The boundaries of the park pale have determined the shape and direction of fields and hedges, while the course of roads and footpaths were influenced by them. Field-names and farm-names recall the time when the park was a physical entity and within some fields are the remains of ponds and ditches that were integral to the economy of the park during the Middle Ages.

Surviving documents relating to Crondon Park, including several surveys, enable us to see the park both as a topographical feature and as an economic unit during the sixteenth century. In a survey dated 1548, the park is described as 'the demayne lying within the park therof being in the parishes of Stock and Orsett and well-wooded and it is by circuit by the 'perime' of the pale thereof by estimate V miles'.<sup>11</sup> The park contained over 700 acres and was therefore of considerable size. It was of a type known as 'compartmented', which meant it was divided into quarters. Maps name quarters such as Fristling Quarter, which was close to Fristling Hall.<sup>12</sup> (See Plate Eight)

A MAP OF CRONDON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
SHOWING THE VARIOUS COMPARTMENTS WITHIN THE  
PARK. (E.R.O. D/DP P13, c.16(7?)4).

PLATE EIGHT





This sub-division enabled park keepers to exclude animals periodically from some areas. This allowed coppice growth and prevented the young shoots from being eaten by deer. A 'compartmented' park was more easily, and often better managed than an open park. The deer could be better tended and better fed; and the woodland could be better exploited.

The park had been created by the Bishop of London in 1204.<sup>13</sup> Apart from a few escheats to the Crown for misdemeanours committed by the Bishops, the park remained in their hands until 1545 when it was released to the King.<sup>14</sup> Crondon was one of the few manors held by the Bishop of London to have been kept in demesne for domestic needs during the early sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup> It was therefore physically well-maintained, paled and stocked with deer and other game in 1545. Crondon, together with the important manor of Chelmsford, were valued at £50 per annum in 1535 and £53 per annum in 1546. Together they contributed five percent of Bishop Bonner's income. The manor of Crondon soon passed from the Crown to Sir William Petre by Letters Patent, at a price of £160.<sup>16</sup>

Within Crondon were a number of physical features common to most mediaeval parks. In one part of the park, known as the 'Pond Quarter' were two large ponds joined by a brook. Ponds existed in many parks and contained large quantities of stock-fish, so important for the table on the many Holy and Saints days in the Christian calendar. A survey also stated that 'in the park bredyth heronshrewes'.<sup>17</sup> These were small young herons, which were a particular delicacy in Tudor England. In a document relating to a tithe dispute at Crondon dated 1571, elderly inhabitants of Stock spoke of a hermitage with a resident hermit within the park, although he must have disappeared at the time of

the Dissolution of the Monasteries. In the sixteenth century a hermit was a well-respected person, who often lived in a comfortable, but isolated cottage at the edge of a community.

The most important game within the park were the deer. In 1548 Crondon Park had 'by est. 600 deer'.<sup>18</sup> That was a substantial herd which needed a great deal of care and attention. Protection was needed from both poachers and the harsh winter climate which killed off many deer when they were not looked after. In 1595, William Heywood, the keeper at Crondon was bound by a clause in a lease for land near the park to provide: 'Two good and sufficient cart loads of sweete haye in haye time, at Crondon Park aforesaid for the feeding of the dere there. And if in any extreme or sharp winter the said deere shall want haye, then the said William Heywood shall deliver for the same purpose one litle lode of haye more at the place aforesaid'.<sup>19</sup>

The park keeper at Crondon was a man of some status. He was usually a gentleman or a substantial yeoman; honest and well respected by those living in the vicinity. In the sixteenth century 'the keeper of Crondon Park dwelleth in the lodge and hath a standing fee for the yere of 111£ and he hath going in the park 12 kine, 2 geldings, one mare and hoggs at liberty'.<sup>20</sup> In the same lodge, the Court Baron was held. As well as caring for the deer, the keeper managed the game birds, pheasants and partridges, that lived in the park.

The office of park keeper appears to have become a family monopoly during the later sixteenth century. William Heywood senior who died in 1565, was succeeded by John Woodcock, his son-in-law. Woodcock inherited his father-in-law's 'Gret whit mare' and no doubt used it to ride through the park.<sup>21</sup> William Heywood's son, William junior, was park keeper from the early

1590s until 1608. He was by the time of his death a substantial yeoman farmer, farming nearly 100 acres, including a hop-ground.<sup>22</sup> Prior to his appointment as park keeper, William Heywood junior looked after falcons in the mews at Ingatestone Hall. In the account books there is a record of his purchasing gunpowder at Ingatestone and Stock to kill 'hawke meat for the Goshawkes'. In June 1590 he bought crossbows in Chelmsford, and in July of the same year he bought crossbow cases for Lord and Lady Petre.<sup>23</sup>

It is interesting to note that although the park was the private possession of the Petre family enclosed by a ditch and cleft-oak pale, the tenants and inhabitants living nearby had the right to walk on the footpaths, on their way to neighbouring parishes, except at specified times of the year:

'There is an old custom appertaining to the said park that at fawning tyme and rutting tyme the keeper shall shut up all the flaps, gates and styles about the park saving styles leading from the Lodge to Stock by the space of one month. And at every the said times and before every such time they shall give admonitions there about to the intent the people may refrayn the paths during the sayde [times?]'<sup>24</sup>

The banning of villagers at those times was a necessary precaution.

Just as important to the economy of the park as hunting and game were the timber and wood sales. In 1566 a survey records 'upon the dere park the great store of tymber oke and other woodye trees'.<sup>25</sup> Browswood and underwood were sold from the park and in a single year were worth sixty-six shillings.<sup>26</sup> The woods within Crondon Park were well managed and regularly coppiced. In 1566, a survey of wood was made for the manor of Crondon which

not only described the extent and type of timber, but also its condition and the rights relating to it. In the park there were 'gret store of timber okes'.<sup>27</sup> Two other woods in the manor were described, one containing just two acres but full of '100 year old okes and byrches' which had been 'lopped'.<sup>28</sup> Another wood, Bishops Wood, containing twenty-four acres of birch of thirty years growth had evidently been neglected because the surveyor commented that the wood 'will very well serve to be copized and used in springs'.<sup>29</sup>

Although a park was an important status symbol in the sixteenth century, providing sport, wood, fresh meat for the table and fish from ponds for the many Holy days, it was very expensive to maintain. Of greatest cost to the owner was the upkeep of the wooden park pale. In an era of rising agricultural prices, a park that contained over 700 acres was not earning as much as it could. A much higher income could be obtained by releasing some of the land for use as arable and pasture. In 1548 Sir William Petre, although a conservative landlord, decided to dispark 500 acres of Crondon. It was one of the first examples in Essex of a park being partially or completely disparked and the land turned to tillage in the form of leasehold tenements. The disparking movement gathered momentum as the century progressed and continued all over the county well into the seventeenth century.<sup>30</sup>

The survival of some of the Petre family account books, allows one to trace the physical severing of the land from the old park and to see in detail the creation of five new leasehold tenements.<sup>31</sup>

The first entry referring to Crondon Park was dated 15th December 1549 when 'Robiant and Humfrey of Margareting' (two

general labourers frequently used by the Petre family) were paid for squaring thirty-seven loads of timber for building; (timber that was to be used to construct the new farm houses).<sup>32</sup> On the same day Robert Humfrey the Petre household caterer, paid two men for nine days work, one man for eight days labour, another for four days, a fifth for three days work and 'Little Roger' for a day in making a new ditch at Crondon, 'dividing out Robert Humfreys ground from my masters'.<sup>33</sup>

It is evident from this and two subsequent entries in January and February 1550 that a new deep ditch was dug between the new leasehold farms and the remaining parkland.<sup>34</sup> To provide extra security the ditches were banked with quickset hedges.<sup>35</sup> On a map of circa 1570, (see Plate Seven), the park appears to be paled as well.<sup>36</sup>

In February 1550 a payment clearly states what had been happening:

'Item gave to Robert Humfrey and Skott for earnest money what tyme we bargeyned that they shoulde make a substantial ditch finding quicksetts themselves to hedge it for safeguard of ye meadows after vid. ob. a powle'.<sup>37</sup>

It was not only important to fence the new agricultural land to protect it from trespass by the deer who would ravage any crops planted, but also to confine the game within the park where it might escape the poacher's arrow.<sup>38</sup> Sir William Petre was in reality paying to have his park secured, not to protect any crops that would be planted in the future by his tenants. By April 1550 the ditching and hedging was almost complete. Robert Marshall received 'ye last and full payment for dyching and hedging 120 roods of Crondon, wherof my master bereth one half after viiid. ye roode'.<sup>39</sup> It appears from the above entry and other clues that



Sir William paid only half the costs of fencing the new leasehold farms. Robert Marshall was to become the first tenant of a twenty-four acre farm. Robert Humfrey, who was a member of the household, was involved in the construction (in a supervisory capacity) of the new tenements. His willingness to bear half the costs of ditching and hedging was no doubt linked to his knowledge that he was to receive one of the newly created tenements and seventy acres of ground at a preferential rate.<sup>40</sup>

Towards the end of March 1550, Walker the carpenter made three 'new tenements' at Crondon. By the summer he had been paid £6 6s 4d for completing all the timber work.<sup>41</sup> During May, Humfrey and Foster the tilers were paid for 'tyling, dabbyng and underpinning the iii tenements at Crondon'.<sup>42</sup> Not only were the three small houses erected but a more substantial dwelling house for Robert Humfrey was built. It was larger than the others and had glass in the windows.<sup>43</sup> By the autumn of 1550 all the new tenements and barns were complete. The last entries in the account books were for tiles (for roofs and floors) from several tilers working in the village of Stock.<sup>44</sup> Walter Rawlins prepared 23000 tiles of different sorts at a price of 4s. 3d. the thousand.<sup>45</sup> Chimney pots were also purchased for all the new tenements and are shown in Plate Two.

Once the new tenements were finished and the lands fenced, the properties were quickly let to eager tenants. A survey made in 1556 gives details of the first occupants and also the sizes of the newly created farms:

'Harry Sawell, Tenement called Sawells, 36 foot long, 15 wide , 10 storey tiled and two crofts and one meadow cont. 20 and half acres all disparked'

'William Whiting, one tenement called Whittings 24 foot long, 17

wide and 14 storeys tiled and two crofts, one meadow cont. 20 and half acres all disparked'

'Robert Marshall, one tenement called Marshalls [-] , 14 wyde, 10 storeys tiled, two crofts and one meadow being 24 acres of disparked lands'.<sup>46</sup>

Each of these farms was leased at an annual rent of 33s 4d.<sup>47</sup>

Thus within just three years, the demesne parkland of Crondon manor had been completely altered. Instead of all the land being park and in the Lord's hands, two thirds had been disparked and let as leasehold farming units. The Lord retained a smaller park of approximately 300 acres and also 70 acres of arable and meadow for his own use. All the other lands were let at an average rent of 1s. 8d. per acre per annum.<sup>48</sup>

Footnotes to Chapter Two.

1. O. Rackham, *The History of the Countryside*, (1987 edn.), pp. 4-5.
2. E. R. O., D/DP M777 (survey of Imphey Hall, 1605).
3. E. R. O., D/AEW 2/386.
4. Stock Green still covers the same area as shown on the map of 1616 but the elm trees have long since gone.
5. Prerogative Court of Canterbury (henceforth P.C.C.) 41 Pyckering (will of Richard Twedy, esq., who died in 1575). His Brass in All Saints, Stock tells the story of his life:  
*The corpes of Richard Twyde esquire lyethe buried here in tombe,  
 Bewrapte in clay and so reserved until the Joyefull dome,  
 who in his lyffe hath served well against the Ingleshe foes,  
 In foren landes and eke at home his countrie well yt knowes,  
 the prince he served in courts full long, a pensioner fitt in persona,  
 In his countrie a justice eke, a man full grave and sage,  
 Foure Alms houses here hath he builte for four poor knights to dwell,  
 and them indured with stipends large enough to kepe them well.*
6. Members of the Dale family resident in Stock included Mathew Dale, yeoman (d. 1585), Richard Dale, yeoman (d. 1568), Leving Dale, yeoman (d. 1578), Joan Dale (d. 1585), and Agnes Dale (d. 1555).
7. Guildhall MS. 9628/1 (Glebe Terrier for Stock, 1605).
8. E. R. O., D/DP M748.
9. *ibid.*
10. See Chapter Six below for further details about pottery production in the vicinity of Stock Common.
11. E. R. O., D/DP E29.

12. In addition to the area known as Fristling Quarter, another area of the park was called the Pond Quarter.

13. E. R. O., D/DP T66. This document is a copy of the licence granted by King John, dated 20th November, 1204.

14. Cal. Close Rolls, 1275, p. 187, 'the Bishops park of Crundon taken into the Kings hands by reason of a deer-leap'.

15. P. J. Taylor, 'The Estates of the Bishopric of London from the 7th to early 16th century', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1976.

P. Hembry, 'Episcopal Palaces, 1535-1660', in (eds.) E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht, and J. J. Scarisbrick, *Wealth and Power in Tudor England*. (1978) p. 160.

16. E. R. O., D/DP E29 and L. & P. xxii 707 g 9 850 para 21 and G. Alexander, 'Victim or Spendthrift? the Bishop of London and his Income in the Sixteenth Century', in Ives, Knecht and Scarisbrick (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 130.

17. E. R. O., D/DP M803.

18. *ibid*.

19. E. R. O., D/DP T89.

20. E. R. O., D/DP M803.

21. E. R. O., D/ABW 18/248.

22. E. R. O., D/ABW 20/96.

23. E. R. O., D/DP A21.

24. E. R. O., D/DP M803.

25. E. R. O., D/DP M1325.

26. *ibid*.

27. *ibid*.

28. *ibid*, 'lopped' certainly means coppiced.

29. E. R. O., D/DP M1325.

30. Parks within Essex that were completely or partially lost during the sixteenth century include Jarvis Park in South Benfleet, Copt Hall and Woodham Walter Park. William Petre's park at Ingatestone was gone by 1602.

31. The surviving Petre Account Books are part of a series of household and estate accounts kept during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most important to this study are those for the Ingatestone household, kept by Edward Bell during the 1540s and '50s and those kept by John Bentley during the 1570s, '80s and '90s.

32. E. R. O., D/DP A10.

33. *ibid.*, Robert Humfrey was the chief caterer in the Petre household.

34. E. R. O., D/DP A10.

35. *ibid.*

36. E. R. O., D/P 2. This map, reproduced as Plate Seven, clearly shows the park surrounded by pales.

37. E. R. O., D/DP A10.

38. The problem of poaching seems to have been considerable and many examples can be found in the Quarter Sessions Court. See Chapter Nine.

39. E. R. O., D/DP A10.

40. E. R. O., D/DP M803.

41. E. R. O., D/DP A10.

42. *ibid.*

43. *ibid.*

44. *ibid.*

45. *ibid.*

46. E. R. O., D/DP M803, a survey of 1556.

47. *ibid.*

48. E. R. O., D/DP E29.

### Chapter Three.

#### Landholding in Stock and Buttsbury.

##### Introduction.

The complex nature of land tenure within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury gave rise to myriad forms of landholding by the villagers. The main themes of landholding are first, the extension of the cultivated area; secondly the multi-manorial holding of land by the villagers together with the combination of many different types of tenure by the same individuals; thirdly, the estate policies of the Petre family that meant, for many tenants low rents, reasonable entry fines for copyhold properties and the non-interference of landlords; fourthly, the juxtaposition within the two parishes of the large farms of the yeoman classes, often the old manorial demesne farms, and the tiny scattered holdings of smaller husbandmen; fifthly, the preponderance in the village centre of almost urban properties with narrow frontages and little yards, interspersed with commercial gardens; and lastly the inheritance practices of those living in Stock and Buttsbury.

##### The Extension of the Cultivated Area.

Disparking, as we have seen was one way in which the cultivated area could be increased. The Petre family occasionally enclosed and occasionally assarted wastes and commons elsewhere in Stock and Buttsbury, but on a smaller scale, to increase the properties available for rent to tenants. Within the manor of Fristling Hall, Jeffrey Petygrewe held in 1589, 'one tenement lately granted out of the Lords waste soil', for an annual rent



of 4d.<sup>1</sup> Walter Dawdry, a brickmaker held a brick yard that had been taken from Stock Common and as such was a newly created freehold.<sup>2</sup> In the survey of Whites and Ramseys of 1616, John Humfrey, a copyholder was in possession of one cottage and a yard of ten perches 'lately taken from the highway'.<sup>3</sup> All this was highly irregular and rare, but done with the permission or special favour of the Lords of the Manor, it did occur in Stock. Such small erosions were possible without causing distress from the tenantry and complaints over common rights. As well as taking land for cultivation, men were sometimes allowed to build houses on copyhold lands that they already held. On a small slip of paper, found in the Court Rolls of Imphey Hall and placed between membranes dated 1591, is a rare record of this. It takes the form of a memo written by the Steward:

'memory I rec iiii. of John Tansey of Stock for his Quens fyne, that he may bylde a tenement upon the ground cawled Compas gardyn, upon condytion that he do at the next cort take a lycence for bylding the same and paye the charge of his lycence and entry in the corte rolle. Or ells I may pull yt downe agayn as he agreed before one Clarke (as I remember his name to be) which came with hym'.<sup>4</sup>

By 1500 colonisation was a thing of the past and it was impossible to expand without encroaching upon someone else's land. In their attempts to obtain more land, men frequently found themselves before the courts charged with entering land that was not theirs. In 1577, William Sympson was presented at the Court Baron of Imphey Hall because he had 'encroached upon the waste land of the lord of this manor from the southern part of his house'. He was ordered to quit the land before the Feast of All Saints.<sup>5</sup> For the vast majority of inhabitants within the village

of Stock there was little chance to expand their landholding during the period 1550-1610, except by purchase of tenancy. But as will be seen the inhabitants were fortunate in other ways: there was no engrossing of tiny holdings by the bigger farmers. The small landholder was not pushed out of tillage as the century progressed.

#### Multi-manorial Land holding and the Variety of Tenure.

The first point to make about Stock was that there was multi-manorial holding of land, not just within the two parishes but within many parishes. Men who held land in Stock were quite likely to hold land elsewhere in the county, or even further afield. Perhaps an extreme example, but one that illustrates the point is the case of Nicholas Mann, a currier, who died in 1608.<sup>6</sup> He was living in a house in Chelmsford at the time of his death although he had appeared as a juror for the manor of Fristling Hall in the 1570s. He bequeathed to his widowed daughter all his 'lands and tenements as well freehold as coppihold'.<sup>7</sup> Not only did he hold three houses within Chelmsford but a variety of holdings scattered amongst nearby parishes; 'one acre of land lying in Sandon --- one acre of land lying in Danbury now in the tenure of Iserell Goose, Twelve acres or more or less of customary lands lyeng and being in Sandon aforesaid and 'three acres of customary land with a tenement and orchard in Margaretting uppon Thurstling Tye'.<sup>8</sup>

John Lynkone a yeoman of Buttsbury was a very prosperous man at the time of his death. In his will he left both free and copyhold (customary) lands and also leasehold properties. He held land in at least five parishes and interestingly split his large holdings to provide for his four sons. For the bigger yeoman in

sixteenth century Stock and Buttsbury partible inheritance was more common than primogeniture.<sup>9</sup>

'...to Walter Lynkon my son and his heirs all that my customary messuage or tenement with all and singular the lands thereunto belonging commonle known and called by the name of Burnd Ridden together with ii crofts of land called Stowne croft and situate in Great Burstead....And also iiii crofts of land and iii acres of wood customary which I late purchased of Richard Edlyn in Layngdon cont 15 acres....To John Lynkone my son all that my freheld lands called frenches in buttsbury 13 acres.....To Thomas Lynkone my son all that my costumarie tenement with lands called Kings croft cont. by estimation ix acres more or less in Great Burstead ...unto William Lynkone my ii tenements within the parish of Ramsden Bellhouse now in the tenure of [ ] Rutter and [ ] Harman...Unto Agnes my wife all my right and title which I have unto one lease or term of yearsof one tenement Lawnes in the parish of Mountnessing....xxx acres of otes growyng upon stayne grounds called Chaldones'.<sup>10</sup>

Charles Whiskard, the miller of Stock held land and a mill in Stock and also 'London Mill in Saint Martins in the Fields'.<sup>11</sup> There are numerous other examples of men holding both freehold and copyhold lands both within Stock and Buttsbury and elsewhere. Men held land wherever they could afford to purchase or lease it. Their readiness to pick up land wherever they could implies a policy of letting land rather than farming it, since farming such scattered units would have presented insurmountable problems.

The Tenants and the Estate Policy of the Petres.

At Crondon in 1547/8, of the seven copyhold tenants, one man, John Tabor, held at least 65 acres plus a new barn measuring eleven feet by twenty-four. He held three properties described as tenements and also a 'garden plot cont. by est. one rood'.<sup>12</sup> Of the other copyholders three men; Thomas Cutberd, Robert King and Robert Smith, a gentleman, held between ten and twenty acres each. John Tyrell and Thomas Dowe held six and seven acre copyholds respectively.<sup>13</sup> The man having the smallest copyhold tenement of just two acres was John Samer.<sup>14</sup> The rents charged upon copyhold land at Crondon were very low, averaging just over four pence per acre per annum.

Only five men held freehold tenements in Crondon manor. Of those, three men (John Samer, John Tyrell and John Tabor) were also copyholders. Unfortunately, no renewal premium figures survive for freehold land for this date, but as less than thirty acres were held as this type of tenure it is not significant. The full story about returns on freehold land will never be known because the premiums paid for possession are not known. At the time of this first survey (1547/8) there were no leasehold properties or any land held 'at will' at Crondon.

Ten years later, in 1566, there had been little change in landholding at Crondon; 360 acres were held as demesne (including the park). Four persons held 455 acres by leasehold tenure. Freehold land totalling 41 acres was held by three men, and there were 91 acres of copyhold land held by seven tenants. John Barton, a collier, held twenty-two acres at the 'Lords will' but this was land 'in transit' as in years preceding and following, the same lands were held by lease.<sup>15</sup>

The leasehold properties created out of Crondon park

continued as such, well into the seventeenth century. The three small farms of circa twenty acres, Sawells (later renamed Bartilemewes), Whittings and Marshals were first leased in 1550. In 1558 Henry Sawell, a yeoman, renewed his lease for a further twelve years at a rent of 33s. 4d. per annum.<sup>16</sup> It was presumably renewed once more, as the next enrolled lease is dated 1582. At that date it was called Bartilemewes and was leased for a twenty one year period to Mr. John White, a member of the Petre household, at exactly the same rent as in 1558.<sup>17</sup>

In a survey made in 1595, John White held Sawells alias Bartilemewes, Roger Veale held Whittings and Richard Noreham held Marshalls. All the rents were still at 1558 levels, the Petre family not having increased them to keep pace with inflation.<sup>18</sup> However, although no documentary evidence survives, premiums were undoubtedly paid, but the survival of the small tenant suggests that these, like other tenancies were not burdened by intolerable debts.

In Crondon manor in 1566 freehold land totalling forty-one acres was held by three men, and there were ninety-one acres of copyhold land held by seven tenants.<sup>19</sup> Although copyhold formed only approximately ten percent of the manor, there is no evidence of a decrease in its acreage in Crondon during the sixty years under discussion. Evidence from the court rolls of the manor, show that almost all tenements and farms passed peacefully and unchallenged to the sons or other named heirs of those who held such properties in 1556.<sup>20</sup> Some examples of copyhold inheritance taken from the court rolls show how the system worked in Crondon.

The case of the non-resident copyholder.

In 1550 one Robert Smith, gentleman, held by copy of the court roll one piece of ground called Stone Ridden containing nineteen acres of land. In 1560 he surrendered it to the occupation and use of John Bridges of Chelmsford, his heir and assign.<sup>21</sup> On entry, Bridges paid a fine of twenty shillings and held it at the time of the survey of 1566.<sup>22</sup> By 1583 the property had passed into the hands of Richard Sexton who surrendered it into the hands of John Harrison and Richard Harrison. They paid an entry fine of three pounds.<sup>23</sup> Thus the premium tripled within twenty years.

The case of the resident copyholder (direct family inheritance).

The copyhold property of Well Riding and the adjoining eighteen acres were held from the mid-1530s until 1559 by Robert King and Agnes his wife. In 1559 it was transferred through the court rolls to John King their son and heir. He paid an entry fine of twenty shillings. In 1572, John King, on his deathbed, surrendered the tenement to the use of his under-age son, John and then to Nathaniel his second son. An entry fine was paid which amounted to forty shillings. This was double what had been paid in 1559, perhaps reflecting the fact that two sons were mentioned in the surrender. By 1575 the elder boy had died, and the property was in the hands of Nathaniel, then aged twelve. His guardian paid an entry fine of thirty-three shillings and four pence. In 1584 Nathaniel King reached the age of twenty one. It was noted in the court rolls that he was admitted to Well Riding and he swore fealty to the Lord. He held the property until his death in 1601.<sup>24</sup>

The case of the resident copyholder (non-direct inheritance).

In 1549 William Dowe held Debbyns Croft and seven acres of land at an annual rent of two shillings. He held the property for forty years, always at the same rent, until he surrendered it to the use of Henry Clayton. Henry Clayton paid an entry fine of forty shillings.<sup>25</sup>

From the above examples, one can see how entry fines at Crondon were not fixed by custom or tradition and were in no way related to the annual rental. It seems that the entry fine was determined entirely at the Lord's discretion or whim. Evidence from the court rolls shows that resident husbandmen always paid lower entry fines than non-residents, who were often gentry.

The estate management policies of the Petre family relied heavily upon entry fines to raise revenue as annual rents remained unchanged for most of the sixteenth century. Entry fines at Crondon increased as the century progressed; the highest fine levied being six pounds in 1573. It was paid by Nicholas Tabor the son of John Tabor, for a property at Herds Hill containing thirty-four acres. He also paid a ten shilling heriot. The rent was increased to double its previous level. But it had not increased since 1556 and was still below one shilling per acre per annum: a low rate.<sup>26</sup> The surviving court rolls from Fristling Hall show that entry fines were much higher than those at Imphey and Crondon, averaging four pounds per transfer.

The Petre family evidently chose to increase their manorial income by levying entry fines and ensuring that ancient dues such as heriots were paid, rather than by increasing annual rents to realistic levels. By doing this the tenants paid large sums of money infrequently rather than bearing the cost every year of higher rents. But if the tenant was forced to borrow money to pay



an entry fine then his repayment of a loan had the same effect as an increase in the level of rent: it made him poorer. At Crondon and elsewhere the Petre family also imposed a lot of provision rents and service rents. Often tenants, especially of leasehold properties had to provide cartloads of hay and wood, sheep fleeces, cheeses, partridges and chickens at different times of the year. Others had to act as stewards or perform other services to the family. These type of rents 'in kind' are very difficult to value today and therefore prevent a true calculation of a rent of a property, where such goods and services were to be provided.

There is no evidence of dispossessions or evictions of copyholders within the manor of Crondon, as are known to have taken place in other parts of England. Some rents were increased towards the year 1600, but not dramatically and certainly not to a level that was beyond the capabilities of the husbandmen and yeomen farming the properties. For those holding freehold and copyhold land in Crondon, the second half of the century was a time of good fortune. There is no documentary evidence of subdivision of tenements; a few men held economically viable farms at old and even nominal rates. What a tenant did with his own land remains unknown and he may well have sub-let. The Petre family did not harass or interfere with the tenantry or their rights and those men could take advantage of rising agricultural prices and farm for the market, and benefit from any resulting profits, or let out their land and benefit indirectly from the agrarian boom.

A survey compiled by Dr W.R. Emerson, of land holding in eight Essex parishes where the Petre family held land during the 1560's, shows that twenty percent of the tenantry held less than one acre of land. The survey also reveals that eleven and a half

percent held between one and forty-nine acres.<sup>27</sup> This was certainly not the case at Crondon. During the same decade, no Crondon tenant held less than five acres and eight out of thirteen tenants held more than twenty acres. In Crondon, those holding between one and forty-nine acres made up seventy-eight percent of the tenantry. It is also fair to assume, given the evidence above, that some may have held land on other landlords' estates outside the parish.

#### The large Farms of Stock and Buttsbury.

Apart from the many small holdings of the husbandmen of Stock and Buttsbury, there were at least ten substantial farms of over thirty acres held by yeomen and gentlemen of the parish. Three were in Crondon and had been created from the old parklands.<sup>28</sup> The farm of Robert Humfrey was one and contained eighty acres of disparked grounds. The annual rent was £6 13s 10d.<sup>29</sup> Of the rest of the disparked lands, most of it was let in two substantial farms. John Tendring held the 'capital mansion house' which was Crondon Hall. He also held a large barn, stables, an orchard, gardens and arable, meadow and pasture land containing in all 206 acres, half of which was land lately disparked. He paid an annual rent to the Petres of £26 13s 4d and the following provision rents; 'one goode sounde and large bore' at Christmas, 'three couple of fatt capons' at Easter and 'thirty loads of wood'.<sup>30</sup>

John Paschell, a gentleman of some status who held substantial amounts of property in neighbouring parishes, held the other large farm on a twenty-one year lease. Some of the land of this farm had been taken from the 'old' park. The total acreage of both arable and meadow was 179 acres.<sup>31</sup> The map in

Plate Two clearly shows the three substantial farms at Crondon, as well as the three smaller farms of circa twenty acres each. All the disparked lands were let at an average rent of one shilling and eight pence per acre per annum.<sup>32</sup>

The substantial farm called Bellmans within the manor of Imphey, had been held during the reign of Henry VIII by Thomas Twedy for a knights fee (a feudal due) and a money rent of thirty shillings and two pence per annum. His heir, an under-age daughter, was involved in a long battle in the court of Chancery and the property appears to have been sold. Bellmans was held during the mid-century by members of the Dale family, a wealthy and dominant yeoman clan within Stock.<sup>33</sup> In 1556 Richard Dale held the mansion house and its fifty-five acres for a rent of £5 6s. 8d.

The property had exceptional common rights, including provision to graze twenty head of cattle, sixty sheep and twenty six 'horse beasts' upon Stock Common.<sup>34</sup> It appears that the Petres purchased the freehold of the property soon after this date as the farm was surveyed by the Petre surveyor during the 1560s.<sup>35</sup> The survey shows that apart from the mansion house set around a courtyard there was a dairy house, kitchen, stable, barn and yards. The sixteen fields varied in acreage and were mostly meadow and pasture, with a few fields growing brake, broom and bushes.<sup>36</sup>

In October 1590, Sir John Petre leased Bellmans to Richard Brock for twenty-one years at a lower rent than the 1556 level, just £3 6s. 8d. Brock paid a premium to enter the property of £200 but at the same time he leased 160 acres of Crondon, so the premium was for both properties.<sup>37</sup> The Brock family held the farm of Bellmans from 1571 until the Civil War at exactly the same

rent.

Throughout the Middle Ages the manor of Imphey had been a possession of the Priory of Ickleton in Cambridgeshire, a tiny Benedictine nunnery founded by the Earl of Oxford in 1190. In 1539 the manor was granted to the Bishop of Ely.<sup>38</sup> During the 1550s Sir William Petre obtained a lease of the manor from the Bishop, which the family held for over one hundred years. Almost immediately, in 1558 the 'capital' messuage of Imphey Hall was sub-let to John Wagstaff, a yeoman who was also a member of the Ingalestone household. His rent was ten pounds per year, plus provision rents. He also agreed to discharge without recompense the administrative duties connected with the Petres' extensive and complicated holdings in the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury.<sup>39</sup> Thus the Petres had turned over the manor house to their steward, charging him a nominal rent and provision and service rents which may have been quite onerous.

By 1562, the Manor house of Imphey and its demesne lands totalling eighty acres were held on lease by Thomas Tabor. His lease ran for twelve years and he paid an annual rent of sixteen pounds and six fat geese and six capons.<sup>40</sup> The property was described as a:

'Mansion house called Imphey Hall with a curtilage, a garden, with barns, stables and other buildings with grounds following; meadow called Howsland Meadow (4a) Long Mead (6a) Barnfield Close (15a) Brickfield Close (18a) Stock Croft (3a) Petefield (6a) Great Tylekall Close (10) Little Tylekyll Close (8a) Kitchenfield (8a) Carthouse Field (1a) and another close (2a)'.<sup>41</sup>

In 1572 Imphey Hall was leased to George Young, a yeoman member of the Petre household. The lease was for a term of twenty

years at an annual rent of just twelve pounds, a lower rent than that of the previous tenant. George Young was also charged with the repair of the manor house which appears to have been allowed to decay, and as such, was a repairing lease.<sup>42</sup> In 1598 one William Thwaites, a gentleman was the tenant of Imphey Hall.<sup>43</sup> He still held the property in 1605.<sup>44</sup>

At Imphey, as at Crondon, the large farms of the manor (Imphey Hall [80a], Batchelors [40a], Bellmans [55a] were rented by those of yeoman status and run as profitable farming units; but little had changed as it appears that in 1529 all were farms of the same size.

On the 22nd March 1589, Robert Drury and Henry Drury his son, sold to Robert Petre of Westminster Esquire, (the youngest brother of Sir William Petre) the manor and farm of Fristling Hall for £1400.<sup>45</sup> At Sir Robert Petre's death without issue in 1593, the manor and farm passed to his nephew Sir John Petre, when it was amalgamated into the family's central Essex estate.<sup>46</sup> The manor was quite substantial, being described in 1589 as;

'10 messuages, 10 tofts, 1 mill, 300 acres of land, 50 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood, 200 acres of gorse and heath and 20s. rent (presumably from the messuages and mill)'.<sup>47</sup>

The 'capital' messuage and farm, Fristling Hall had approximately 300 acres of demesne land. A survey of 1575, shows the land to be broken up into many small fields and to extend into three parishes.<sup>48</sup> The farm also had extensive woodlands. During the reign of Henry VIII, the Hall and demesne had been held by John Pease at an annual rent of five pounds and ten shillings.<sup>49</sup> By the reign of Edward, one Thomas Wilton held 'the farm of the manor and the demesne there' at a rent of seven

pounds and ten shillings.<sup>50</sup>

By 1581 Thomas Whitbread, a yeoman of Margaretting, received a lease of the demesne lands and the hall for a term of twenty one years. He paid Henry Drury a premium of £350 and an annual rent of £33 6s. 8d. He was also to pay annually at Drury House at St Clement Danes one 'waye of good Essex cheese'. Provision was also made to allow the Steward to stay at Fristling Hall whenever a court baron was held.<sup>51</sup> Thomas Whitbread still held Fristling when Sir John Petre inherited it in 1593.<sup>52</sup> Four years later Thomas Whitbread paid £180 to renew his lease for a further twenty-one years. The rental was to remain the same. At the turn of the century the farm was in the occupation of Robert Hawkins, yeoman.<sup>53</sup>

Of the two manors of Ramsey Tyrells and Whites Tyrells only a little can be said. Both manors were independent manors owned by the Tyrell family. As the map of 1616 shows, (see Plate One), both lay close together in Buttsbury, near the Church.<sup>54</sup> They were divided by the lands of the manor of Imphey which lay between them.

The manor of Whites Tyrell contained approximately 185 acres, while Ramsey Tyrell was slightly larger with almost 210 acres.<sup>55</sup> It appears from the Leet Court rolls of Stock that both properties were farmed as single units throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. Both had traditionally been demesne farms, but by the Tudor period, were held as leasehold farms by substantial yeomen. When Mathew Dale died in 1585 he bequeathed :  
'All my lease, interest and term of years which I have yet to run of and to the mannor or farm of Whytes Tyrrells in the county of Essex with the appertenences'.<sup>56</sup>

All the large farms in Stock and Buttsbury were held by

yeomen or gentlemen in the sixteenth century. The manorial lord had gone and the farms were held as leaseholds, but the way in which they were farmed was essentially the same as in earlier centuries. From the evidence from surviving wills all these men were most prosperous and appear to have practised mixed farming and as such were in the fortunate position of being able to farm for the open-market as in medieval times.

#### The Smaller Landholders.

It was not just the large men who were fortunate. The situation within the manor of Fristling Hall was equally good for the smaller tenants. Although the manorial Lords had not been resident for most of the sixteenth century, the manorial court had continued to be held twice yearly, thus allowing us a fairly complete picture of land holding within the manor. There is also in existence a series of twenty four rentals from various dates between the years 1461 and 1664.<sup>57</sup>

Only one property (apart from the manor house) within the manor of Fristling was held on lease. That property was the water mill. It is evident that it had once been part of the Lords' demesne and when the Lords of the manor had stopped direct farming both the mill and the manor house had been leased, possibly as early as the late fourteenth century. The water mill had been let at a very low rent from the 1520s until the early 1590s.<sup>58</sup> It was possibly quite antiquated, as in 1594 it was rebuilt at a total cost of £25 11s. 1d.<sup>59</sup> A new mill-stone for grinding corn had been purchased in Chelmsford for 53s. 7d. All costs were born by the new landlord, Sir John Petre.

Once building work was complete, the newly erected mill was leased to Jeremy Hurrell for nineteen years at an annual rent of

£5 6s. 8d. The Petre estate gave two loads of wood each year for repairs.<sup>60</sup> Jeremy Hurrells' son, John, renewed the lease in 1616 for a further seventeen years at the same rent, plus a provision rent of six dozen partridges to be delivered to Ingatestone Hall between August and January.<sup>61</sup>

Apart from the two leasehold properties (Fristling Hall and the Water Mill and its four acres of 'millhopes' (possibly meadow land liable to flood)) and the commons, all the rest of the land within the manor of Fristling was held freely or in customary tenures. Calculations made from the most detailed rental, dated 1589, show that there were 85 acres of freehold land and 164 acres of customary land.<sup>62</sup>

In 1589 there were twenty-seven tenants holding free or customary land within the manor. Of those, seven held less than three acres; nine held between three and six acres; six held between seven and fifteen acres. Just four men held land of between fifteen and thirty acres, while one farmer held a property called Thurgoes which contained thirty acres.<sup>63</sup>

As seen from the surviving rentals, the rents for the properties had not altered for over a century and thus the tenants of Fristling Hall were in the fortunate position of paying archaic and anachronistic rents for their lands. Their good fortune was not unqualified however, for they paid higher entry fines. The court rolls show that entry fines were much higher than those at Imphey and Crondon, averaging four pounds per transfer.

Robert West held two crofts called Malbrokes with a tenement, another croft called Butchers Croft, which together contained six acres. It was a customary tenement and as such, heriotable, but he paid just four shillings annual rent. Thomas



Hawes paid 6s.10d. rent for customary property called Mill Leez containing ten acres and another called Leez Hopes containing two. The freeholder Margaret Whiskard held a croft named Hunts with three acres, and paid a ground rent of just eight pence per annum. Thomas Tabor, a substantial yeoman, holding land in several manors, held two freehold crofts called Kytnells and Pages, containing four acres and paid a shilling ground rent plus two capons.<sup>64</sup> Those freeholders with little more than a cottage and garden paid low annual rents. John Whiskard paid just four pence for his, while Jeffrey Petygrewe paid the same rent for 'one tenement lately granted out of the Lords waste soil'.<sup>65</sup> In the 1550s Roger Stonard paid four pence for 'a cottage in Buttsbury with 1½ acres'.<sup>66</sup> The tenants of the manor of Fristling Hall may not have held such large holdings as the men of Crondon manor, but what land they did possess was held on low rents fixed by custom. However they paid hefty surcharges at infrequent intervals in the form of high entry fines.

Apart from the manor house of Fristling Hall and the few larger farming properties (Thurgoes [30a], Staplers and Boyntons [20a], Tryces [10a], Jamys [17a] ), most of the husbandmen of Fristling manor, unless they held land elsewhere, could do little more than grow food for their own families. Landholders of less than twelve acres, could not provide a living for their families unless they worked in another occupation; or hired themselves out as labour to men with more land than they could work themselves. Only the elderly and retired could manage on such holdings.<sup>67</sup> But a good living could be made on less than ten acres, if the land was intensively cultivated as a market garden. As will be shown in Chapter Five, many husbandmen had several occupations and there is substantive evidence of market gardening.<sup>68</sup> Thus, in

Table OneCopyholders of the manors of Ramsey and Whites Tyrells in 1616.

Landholder	Property	Acreage	Manor
Lord Petre	Moity of a wood	2a 1r 32p	Whites
John Blake, Gent	2 crofts (Stranges)	4a 5r 20p	Whites
" "	2 crofts	5a - 38p	Whites
" "	A cottage	- - 2p	Whites
---] esq. merch. of London	1 tenement & garden	- - 5p	Whites
Eliz Bridges, wid.	1 tenement (Gt. Creeks)	4a 5r 6p	Whites
Edward Goodeve	1 pightle	- - -	Whites
William Butts	A cottage & orchard	- 1r 14p	Whites
John Newton, Clerk	1 tenement & 3 parcels of land (Slowhouse)	11a 3r -	Whites
John Bretton	Tenement & lands (Great Bowers)	8a - 24p	Whites
Thomas Everard	1 parcel of land (Little Bowers)	5a - 25p	Whites
John Humfrey	1 cottage & yard (lately taken from the highway)	- - 10p	Ramsey
Eliz Bridges, wid.	Lands (Newlyn Green)	3a 3r 22p	Ramsey

1549 William Dawson held a tenement with two gardens, called Cokkesland, at a rent of 3s.2d. per annum. These gardens continued to be described as gardens well into the seventeenth century.<sup>69</sup> Another tenement called Martens, contained a half acre garden rented at 5d. per annum.<sup>70</sup> If intensive market gardening were practised on the lighter sandy soils of the manor, it might very well compensate for the meagre size of the holdings. Dawson, in addition to his garden, had some meadowland which suggests even wider diversification.

At Whites and Ramseys many men held small amounts of copyhold land. The copyhold lands of Ramsey and Whites Tyrrells amounted to only 57 acres. The manor of Whites had 54 acres and Ramseys just three acres.<sup>71</sup> In 1578 some of the copyhold lands of the manor of Whites had been held by another yeoman member of the Dale family, Leving Dale of Woodham Ferrers.<sup>72</sup> By 1616, when the map of the manors was drawn by John Walker, the copyhold lands of the manor of Whites were held by nine people, details of landholding being shown in Table One.

#### The Village Centre: The semi-urban manor of Imphey.

Apart from the demesne farm of Imphey Hall and a tenement called Brockmans, with forty acres of land called Batchelors, all the rest of the holdings within the manor of Imphey were small. Many properties were just houses, cottages, inns and shops, situated in the market place and main street of Stock village.<sup>73</sup> A rental taken in 1529 for the Prioress of Ickleton provides a good basis for analysis of property holding in Imphey manor. The rental is reproduced in Appendix Two.

At the end of the 1520s there were 29 freehold properties and 13 held by copyhold. Many properties were tenements held for

very small annual rents, indicating a property with little or no land. Nine persons held 'tenements of stallage', i.e. the right to sell from their properties. By the 1520s, these tenements of stallage were permanent fixtures and many no doubt resembled shops rather than stalls. Of course men such as Thomas Brooke with his 'ground being stallage before his gate' and Richard Egiott with his 'gatespace' were not men relying wholly on retailing of goods and services for their living.<sup>74</sup> But others paying over one shilling per annum for stallage fees, such as Thomas Dabram a butcher and George Medley for his 'tenement of stallage' by the market cross, were in effect shopkeepers.<sup>75</sup>

As in the manor of Fristling Hall, several tenants held gardens. William Crockstone held a tenement and garden with the right of stallage; Robert Hanchet held a garden for an annual rent of just two pence. George Medley held amongst other things a saffron garden at a rent of six pence.<sup>76</sup> Not all the gardens may have contained saffron, a very profitable, if somewhat risky cash crop. But intensive cultivation of vegetables, medicinal herbs or plants needed for industrial purposes, was no doubt one way in which the small landholder could make a living.

As can be seen, a number of persons held substantial amounts of property and/or land. George Medeley, Joan Twety and Thomas Samer held both freehold and copyhold land. Medeley certainly sub-let at least two of his tenements and possibly Thomas Samer did likewise. The widow, Joan Twety seems to have been in possession of a small farm made up from freehold and copyhold properties in Imphey manor and this included pasture, crofts, meadow and a garden.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, no other survey survives until the early seventeenth century.<sup>78</sup> This later survey is by no means as detailed as the survey of 1529; many properties are not

named, few acreages are given; but the survey does provide a basis for comparison and discussion.<sup>79</sup>

The annual rental figures remained in 1605 very much the same as they had been seventy years earlier. Stock windmill was still paying an annual rent of just ten shillings and the Bear Inn paid two shillings and ten pence. All the properties described as cottages paid between four and twelve pence per annum.<sup>80</sup> There appears to have been a break-up of some of the larger units of land held by people such as Medeley, Samer and Twedy. The most notable change had been the inclusion of property held by the Petre family. By the early seventeenth century, they held a number of important properties within the manor of Imphey, including two inns (The Cock and The Swan), a property called Copthall, and the farms of Barnards and Bellmans.<sup>81</sup> These holdings must have been obtained from earlier owners by the purchase of the freehold. There is always a buoyant market in land during an era of inflation, and many small landholders, lacking an heir, or having to provide for several daughters or simply short of cash, would have been willing to sell during the sixteenth century. There is no evidence of the properties being obtained by unscrupulous means. By owning the freehold interest in such tenements the Petres were able to sub-let them at high rents. It is fair to assume that all the properties that the Petre family held in 1605 had been purchased during the 1550s and '60s, as all leases of the properties date from that era. The previous freeholders had perhaps let the properties, possibly at competitive market prices but no records of the earlier rents survive.

The Cock, a substantial inn situated opposite the market place and on the main street built on five and a half acres of

land, was leased throughout the second half of the sixteenth century at a money rent of thirty-seven shillings and the provision rent of two fat capons.<sup>82</sup> The Swan was another large hostelry measuring:

'45 feet long one way and 38 other way, 22 foot wide, 16 storeys tiled.' It had a separate kitchen which was 52 feet long, a large stable and a 40 foot by 22 foot barn. In addition there was another tenement adjoining the main property. There were seven acres of land attached to the inn.<sup>83</sup>

The property was let to Thomas Monke in 1563 on a twenty-one year lease at an annual rental of fifty-two shillings and two capons.<sup>84</sup> He renewed his lease in 1579 for a further twelve years without an increase in rent.<sup>85</sup>

Properties held as freeholds from the Petre family were also sub-let by the freeholders. It was not just the large landholder who could benefit from letting out his freehold property; any freeholder was free to do as he wished with his holdings or houses. The Bear, cottages and other tenements were not occupied by those listed in the survey of 1605. Other property was purchased by those who lived in them. In 1581 the Windmill, Mill house and Daniells were sold by John Dalston of Cumberland to Thomas Whiskard, yeoman miller of Stock for £180. Daniells consisted of five crofts and three meadows.<sup>86</sup>

During the sixteenth century, landholding in the manor of Imphey Hall did not alter a great deal. Much of the manor was essentially urban in character and houses and shops fronting on the main street did not usually have much more than a garden to the rear. Consequently no large amalgamations of tiny tenements into sizable holdings took place. The cottages and tenements without land in 1529 remained landless in 1600. For the

husbandman with just a few acres in Imphey manor, the sixteenth century looks rosy. His rents were fixed by custom and the Lord of the manor did not try to obtain excessive entry fines from him.<sup>87</sup> The men of Imphey were also fortunate in having common rights on Stock Common which enabled those with just a few acres to hold quite large herds of animals.

#### Inheritance Practices in Sixteenth Century Stock.

An examination of the surviving wills for Stock and Buttsbury between the years 1550-1610 makes it possible to see how inheritance practices worked. Twenty-nine men who died between 1550-1610 and who bequeathed specific lands and tenements, provided in their wills for more than one son. It is by looking at what the inheritance custom was in those cases that some idea of the practices can be seen. When there was just a single son to provide for then matters were simple: the land went to that son. Where there were several daughters it was common in Stock for the land to be sold and the cash obtained to be equally divided between those daughters at the age of twenty-one or on their wedding day.

But for those with several sons the options were more complex. The testator could pass on his lands intact to the eldest son or split his holdings between all sons. The eldest son could receive the main holding and other sons could receive small tenements or a few closes of land to help establish themselves. In Stock it appears that partible inheritance was the most common inheritance practice for those with more than one son. Out of the surviving twenty-nine wills, twenty men left their lands to more than one son, while nine left their lands to the eldest and thus practised primogeniture. However, out of those practising

primogeniture, five requested that those receiving the lands should pay cash sums to their brothers or sisters.

William Heywood a yeoman of Stock who died in 1565 left land to his three sons, while his son William who had received lands from his father continued the tradition of partible inheritance by providing his three sons with land. He did have a fourth son, John to whom he was not able to leave land but John was to receive £50 to establish himself.<sup>88</sup>

John Bretton, another yeoman who died in Stock in 1551, stated in his will that after the death of his wife his lands should be 'equally devyded by even portions among my children'.<sup>89</sup> Richard Brock who died in 1607 left his lands to his four sons, Thomas, Richard, William and John. But the eldest son, Thomas received his largest holding.<sup>90</sup>

The prevailing custom therefore in Stock was partible inheritance, even amongst those who left tenements, such as William Starling, Potter who died in 1623 leaving one son two tenements and the other a single house.<sup>91</sup>



Footnotes to Chapter Three

1. E. R. O., D/DP M739/19.
2. E. R. O., D/DP M757.
3. E. R. O., D/DMA P1.
4. E. R. O., D/DP M757.
5. *ibid.*
6. E. R. O., D/ABW 26/294.
7. *ibid.*
8. *ibid.*
9. E. R. O., D/ABW 23/241.
10. *ibid.*
11. E. R. O., D/AEW 9/65.
12. E. R. O., D/DP E29.
13. *ibid.*
14. *ibid.*
15. E. R. O., D/DP E29.
16. E. R. O., D/DP E24.
17. E. R. O., D/DP E25.
18. E. R. O., D/DP M1325.
19. E. R. O., D/DP E29.
20. E. R. O., D/DP M747 and 748.
21. *ibid.*
22. *ibid.*
23. E. R. O., D/DP E29.
24. E. R. O., D/DP M748; D/P 54/1.
25. E. R. O., D/DP M748.
26. *ibid.*
27. W. R. Emerson, 'The Economic Development of the Estates of the

Petre Family in Essex in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, (1951).

28. E. R. O., D/DP A10.

29. E. R. O., D/DP M803.

30. *ibid.*

31. *ibid.* and E. R. O., D/DP 2.

32. E. R. O., D/DP E29.

33. Public Record Office, (henceforth P.R.O.), C1/583/37 and C1/682/11. The wills of the Dale family include E. R. O. D/AEW 7/87; 70 ER 15.

34. E. R. O., D/DP E54.

35. E. R. O., D/DP E29.

36. *ibid.*

37. E. R. O., D/DP E25.

38. E. R. O., D/DP M775.

39. E. R. O., D/DP E24.

40. *ibid.*

41. E. R. O., D/DP T182/12; D/DP E24.

42. E. R. O., D/DP E24.

43. E. R. O., D/DP E25.

44. E. R. O., D/DP E24.

45. E. R. O., D/DP T52.

46. E. R. O., D/DP Z17/3.

47. *ibid.*

48. E. R. O., D/DP M740, survey reproduced in Appendix One.

49. E. R. O., D/DP M739/3 and 4.

50. E. R. O., D/DP M739/11 and 12.

51. E. R. O., D/DP T182/9; D/DP E25 p. 141.

52. E. R. O., D/DP E29.

53. E. R. O., D/DP E29; D/DP T182/9.
54. E. R. O., D/DMa P1.
55. *ibid.*
56. E. R. O., D/DP M748 and the will of Mathew Dale (E. R. O., D/ABW 12/189).
57. E. R. O., D/DP M739/1-23.
58. E. R. O., D/DP M739/4 and 21.
59. E. R. O., D/DP A79.
60. E. R. O., D/DP E25.
61. *ibid.*
62. E. R. O., D/DP M739/20.
63. *ibid.*
64. *ibid.*
65. E. R. O., D/DP M739/19 and 20.
66. E. R. O., D/DP M739/11.
67. Cottagers of Fristling Hall Manor who were retired elderly men include John Whiskard and Jeffrey Petycrewe.
68. For further discussion of market gardening see Chapter Four.
69. E. R. O., D/DP M739/4-20.
70. E. R. O., D/DP M739/11.
71. E. R. O., D/DMa P1, Map of 1616, reproduced as Plate One.
72. E. R. O., D/AEW 7/87.
73. E. R. O., D/DP M775.
74. *ibid.*
75. *ibid.*
76. *ibid.*
77. See rental of 1529, reproduced in Appendix Two. (E. R. O., D/DP M775).
78. E. R. O., D/DP M777, survey of 1605, reproduced in Appendix Three.

79. *ibid.*
80. *ibid.*
81. E. R. O., D/DP E25.
82. E. R. O., D/DP E29.
83. E. R. O., D/DP E25.
84. *ibid.*
85. *ibid.*
86. E. R. O., D/DA T34 and T678.
87. E. R. O., D/DP M722. The average entry fine at Imphey Hall was about nine shillings.
88. E. R. O., D/ABW 18/248.
89. E. R. O., D/AEW 2/303.
90. E. R. O., D/AEW 13/282.
91. E. R. O., D/AEW 17/130.

## Chapter Four.

### Agricultural Activity.

'This shire seemeth to me to deserve the title of the English Goshen, the fattest in the land: comparable to Palestina, that flowed with milk and honey '.

'For Essex is our dower which greatly doth abound, with every simple good, that in the isle is found'.<sup>2</sup>

### Introduction.

These oft quoted comments praise the quality of the land and the farming practices of Essex during the Tudor and Stuart era. The land was good, enclosed and fertile, and there were plenty of marketing opportunities for those willing and able to exploit them. But who were the men that made Essex the 'English Goshen'? In this chapter the farming activity and marketing policy of those engaged in agriculture in the fields surrounding Stock will be examined. An attempt is made to see if farming in the locality was advanced by contemporary standards and whether the yeomen and husbandmen were making the most of their opportunities.

As outlined in the previous chapter the men who held land in Stock and Buttsbury during the sixteenth century were in the fortunate position of paying low rents, reasonable entry fines and suffering very little from the interference of meddling landlords. The small landholder or cottager living in the village could, on the whole, be untroubled by the changes that price inflation brought to the English countryside. If his holding was too small to exploit commercially, he could at least support himself and his immediate family without having to resort to the

market place unless there was harvest failure. In fact many small-holders did other things to supplement meagre landed resources. Some worked for wages and others made things for sale. For more substantial men and for leaseholders of the ex-demesne farms and lands, the century brought opportunities to exploit the land which were perhaps unequalled.<sup>3</sup>

Two major external influences seem to have dominated Essex farming. One was the textile industry of the north-east of the county and the other was London. The London influence is apparent in the records. The textile influence is not. However it can be seen indirectly in the wills of the inhabitants of Stock with their large numbers of sheep and also by the exceptional provision of grazing around the village. Most sheep, although ultimately slaughtered (providing a very scraggy, tough joint), were kept to provide wool for the expanding cloth industry of northern Essex. The industry was of such size that wool from all over Essex must have found its way to towns like Coggeshall, Kelvedon and Halstead, as well as the major centre of Colchester.

Thus in Stock, there was a property behind the Swan Inn called 'The Woole House' which was perhaps a store where fleeces were kept until they were sent to market. In 1553, Robert Monke a yeoman took out a twenty-one year lease for the inn, the wool house and six and a half acres. He renewed the lease in 1579. Another member of the Monke family, Thomas, held the lease of the 'Woole House' later in the century and appears in an Assize Court case in 1589. Thomas Whitbred of Buttsbury appeared at the Chelmsford Assizes charged with stealing 'six woolle felles' worth six shillings belonging to Thomas Monke.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that a middleman called at the village to purchase the fleeces for the clothiers working elsewhere in the county, for there is

little evidence of clothmaking at Stock.<sup>5</sup> Shearing, according to the Petre Account Books, was a task performed by women during the sixteenth century; perhaps to leave the male labourers free to work in the fields. The women received 4d per day for shearing sheep in 1550.<sup>6</sup> The keeping of large numbers of sheep was of great importance to the farmers of Stock; not only does it indicate a county-wide trade in wool and skins, but more importantly it meant the productivity of arable land in the village could be enhanced by efficient manuring. The productivity of the intensively cultivated market gardens in the village was also aided by manure, compost and ashes.

Stock was exceptionally well-placed for communications. Not only were there local markets nearby but London was within a day's ride. The village was therefore an ideal place for dairying as well as wool production. Pastoral farming allowed the farming families to engage in other activities as well. On higher ground, where lighter sandy soils existed, market gardening was practised and the crops sold in London. As in the Vale of Evesham the gardening industry grew up in an area where both small and large farms practising animal husbandry predominated. Like the area about Evesham, Stock was a place where dual occupations were common, especially in the clay-processing industry. The labour demands of gardening were well-suited to this type of economy.<sup>7</sup> Thus farming in Stock was highly complex. The arable husbandry reflected the large numbers of livestock kept there. Although wheat was grown as the major cash crop, oats were very important. Oats were grown to support the large numbers of horses in the area used as draught animals, as well as those being bred in the parks.<sup>8</sup> Market gardening was also aided by the manure from the livestock and the ashes produced by the potters.<sup>9</sup>

The agriculture practised in sixteenth century Stock can best be described as animal-based. The yeomen and husbandmen were fortunate that demand for wool from the cloth industry and the demand for dairy products from London and elsewhere, meant that men of all classes could keep livestock if they wished. The dung which these beasts (mainly sheep and cattle) produced was utilised by the farmers to fertilize and rejuvenate the soils on which arable crops (wheat and oats) and garden products were grown, thus maintaining or even increasing yields. The farmers of Stock had opportunities to practise almost any type of arable cultivation or animal husbandry they chose: their lands were never 'marginal' because of high fertility maintained by constant consumer demand for wool and animal products. With hindsight, it appears with such factors at work within the economy, that the farming community of Stock could not fail to flourish during the Tudor period.

#### Marketing of Produce.

Fine natural attributes, including extensive woodland, rivers and ponds were supplemented by excellent marketing opportunities for the yeomen and husbandmen of Stock. Stock village lay just six miles by main highway from the county town, Chelmsford. Not only was Chelmsford the administrative centre of Essex but also the most important 'in-county' market, especially for grain. There was also a weekly market at Billericay, two miles away, which was held on a Thursday.<sup>10</sup> In 1570 a Stock woman, Widow Whiting, was fined for forestalling the market. She had purchased malt on its way to Billericay. The court rolls of Stock show that a large number of butchers lived and traded in the village and this was still the case a century later when the



1703 stallage fee book for Billericay market shows that there were eleven butchers present on market day, five of whom came from Stock.<sup>11</sup> In 1636, the neighbouring village of Ingatestone was described as 'A good town for market and excellent neat entertainment for travellers'.<sup>12</sup> Without doubt, the weekly markets of Billericay and Ingatestone, lying in the two adjacent parishes provided the inhabitants of Stock with useful outlets for their produce.

Stock itself appears to have held a chartered market every week. In 1239, the Prioress of Ickleton was granted a charter 'that she have for ever at her manor of Hereward Stoc our market each week on Thursday'. The granting of this market charter may reflect growth in Stock prior to the early thirteenth centuries.<sup>13</sup> In 1567 and 1572, a clerk of the market was appointed through the manorial court, indicating the survival of the market.<sup>14</sup> In 1554 Sir William Petre obtained a grant which enabled him to hold two annual fairs in the manor of Crondon. The grant perhaps indicates the growing importance of Stock's commercial life. Throughout the sixteenth century these two annual fairs were held in the parish of Stock; one beginning on the Wednesday of Whitsun week and the other on the 14th September. Both fairs lasted for three days and were no doubt great social, as well as commercial events, with a great deal of economic activity concentrated into a short period.<sup>15</sup>

There is no way of knowing just how important the London market was for Stock, but the capital's influence and demands are well documented and the village of Stock provided a wide variety of farm produce, as well as manufactured goods for the ever-hungry urban population.<sup>16</sup> Twice weekly carriers went from Ingatestone to London during the early seventeenth century and

the servants of the Petre family travelled up and down to the capital from Ingatestone Hall with astonishing frequency.<sup>17</sup>

In 1637, John Taylor in 'The Carriers Cosmographie' stated that the wains from Stock visited the Kings Arms in Leadenhall Street every Wednesday.<sup>18</sup> In view of the importance of Stock's butchers and graziers in local markets it may be presumed that Stock butchers and graziers took livestock to the main livestock markets in London: Smithfield, Honey Lane, Stocks and Leadenhall. In 1595 'fatt chickens' were walked to London from Ingatestone.<sup>19</sup> Trade with London was regular. In 1612 a single carrier from Ingatestone took at least 24 waggons to London in a single year. As well as pottery, the waggons contained hops.<sup>20</sup> Yeomen of Stock sent carts to collect the goods that they required, as this letter from a Stock yeoman of the late sixteenth century shows:-

'Edmund Smyth - I hartily require you to provide for me one half barell of white herying more than I spake to you for and thus all my stuffe maybe made ready for this nyght ther shall come a cart to London for it and I pray you make your bill and shall discharge it.

My harty thanks

all your cussurdly

Richard Lyndsell'.<sup>21</sup>

Not all the trade with London travelled overland. The coastal trade was important for the movement of both farm produce and manufactured goods from the Essex hinterland to London and indeed to other areas of Britain. Maldon about twelve miles from Stock was an important port in the sixteenth century and much cloth made in Essex was carried from there. Pottery from Stock was carried by sea from Colchester to London during the 1530s but no goods are actually known to have been put aboard ship at the

nearer port of Maldon.<sup>22</sup> The evidence is so fortuitous, however, that it would be wrong to read any significance into that fact.

#### Agricultural Production.

England's population more than doubled between 1500 and 1650, reaching a level of perhaps 5.2 million at the later date.<sup>23</sup> Dr Penelope Corfield has calculated that the urban population of England rose from 2 per cent in the 1520s to 16 per cent by 1700.<sup>24</sup> The unprecedented demand for foodstuffs and other agricultural products, coupled with a limited production capability, resulted in rapid price inflation which was further fuelled by the influx of silver from the New World. The average price of foodstuffs, which had remained stable from 1450 to the 1520s, doubled by the 1540s, and trebled by 1570; and by the year 1610 the price levels were six times higher than those of the 1520s.<sup>25</sup> Even though prices soared, the remarkable fact is that this burgeoning population more or less managed to feed itself, either by raising productivity or by bringing more land into cultivation. It is against this background of rising prices, as well as the landholding structure discussed in the preceding chapter, that agricultural activity in Stock must be viewed.

From the period 1540 to 1620, sixty three men within the area were given the social designation of husbandman; a further seventy two were styled yeoman.<sup>26</sup> Although both titles were social, rather than occupational designations, both groups derived most of their income from the output of their land. If we assume that Stock had a population of c.400-500 adults and of those c.120 were male then between them, husbandmen and yeomen made up between 30-40 per cent of the adult male population of the village. Others were labourers and 'living-in' servants in

husbandry. Their numbers are not known but it is perhaps not unreasonable to conclude that at least 70 per cent of the adult male inhabitants of Stock were engaged in some way in earning their living in agricultural production. Of course working on the land did not preclude them from also working in industrial production. The role of women and children in the agricultural economy of the village cannot be ignored either. Many were employed in the fields; children were used for bird scaring, shepherding, guarding cattle and for weeding the crops and general fetching and carrying, while women were employed at busy periods such as harvest-time, as well as in year round activities such as milking, cheese and butter production and tending poultry.<sup>27</sup>

Dr Joan Thirsk states that the area in which the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury lay was a 'region of corn and cattle, with a substantial dairying side with other enterprises'.<sup>28</sup> In almost all respects the evidence is consistent with Dr Thirsk's analysis, although sheep are not specified. Within Stock the most important farming activities were grain production and dairying for all sectors of the community. Any discussion of agricultural production in Stock must begin with livestock, not only because it was so important in itself but also because it had monumental implications for the productivity of the arable.<sup>29</sup>

Horse rearing was an enterprise undertaken by the larger yeomen of Stock, especially those with lands near Crondon Park. Mid-Essex has recently been identified as an area important during the Tudor-Stuart era for breeding and rearing of horses.<sup>30</sup> John Tendering, who farmed land in Crondon manor, bequeathed 6 horses and his carts to his wife.<sup>31</sup> William Heywood, the park keeper of Crondon, died in 1565 leaving 'To John Woodcock, my

gret white mare, item I give to Thomas Hare my son in law my grey gelding. Item I will my dun gelding and my colt be sold'.<sup>32</sup> The Petre family kept horses in Crondon park as an Account Book entry of 1589 indicates.<sup>33</sup> Henry Harkewood a yeoman of Crondon bequeathed two colts; one of which was described as 'a bald yereling mare colt'.<sup>34</sup> At his death, Robert Humfrey, who farmed some of the disparked lands at Crondon, owned at least 3 brown mares and 4 colts.<sup>35</sup> Many of the smaller husbandmen owned at least one horse, which no doubt was used as both a draught and riding animal. Valentine Wheeler, a ripier, (one who carried fish inland) bequeathed to his servant 'A grey gelding called Dick and a brown mare called Joan Twopence'.<sup>36</sup>

#### Arable Production.

The soil within Stock and Buttsbury was a mixture of two types of clay (the boulder clay used as raw material for pots and London clay which covered much of the two parishes). Here and there on higher ground, was a sandy loam, suitable for gardening. (See Map Two) Arable production was of primary importance to all the husbandmen and yeomen working the land in the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury. In the wills of the farmers of Stock, animals were far more likely to be mentioned than the crops growing on the ground. So often 3 closes or 7 fields are bequeathed without a mention of what was happening there, while many a 'black faced sheep or red cow' was listed.

With so many animals, some form of convertible husbandry must have been practised. The key to arable husbandry is the animal husbandry of the area. With clothmaking so close, the demand for wool meant dung for the soil. Every sixteenth-century farmer, like his mediaeval forebears, knew the value of manure and the

animals were put to good use on the fields of Stock. In the Ecclesiastical Court records we hear of Richard Starkes, a husbandman of Stock, who was diligently spreading dung in his fields one February morning when he should have been at prayer.<sup>37</sup> The fields at Bellmans growing broom and brake as a commercial crop were said to be 'resting' from arable production.<sup>38</sup> The arable productivity of Stock, like much of Essex must have been unusually high due to the importance of animal husbandry and the sheer numbers of animals held in the area.

The most commonly grown crops were wheat and oats. This is not suprising as oats are animal feed and wheat the most important cash crop. Both appear with equal frequency in the wills of the yeomen and husbandmen of the area. Robert Goore (d.1591) left a bushel of wheat to 'Ould Awden of Billericaye'.<sup>39</sup> Henry Stonard, a turner, left wheat as well as 10 sheep, lambs and a young grey mare.<sup>40</sup> George Young bequeathed at his death in 1598, eight bushels of 'good' wheat and four bushels of 'good' oats.<sup>41</sup> A minor husbandman, Robert Hawes left three bushels of wheat.<sup>42</sup> A widow Joan Petchie left Thomas Rawlins 'all the grass around about the wheat and 12 bushels of wheat'.<sup>43</sup> The phrase 'grass around the wheat' probably indicates that the wheat was being grown in a plot within a field, almost like a strip in open-field farming.

Oats were produced primarily to feed horses the principal draught animal in sixteenth century Stock. Oxen, although once important on the heavy clay soils are not mentioned in any document consulted for this study and as Dr Langdon has shown, had been superseded by the horse. Oats were bequeathed by a husbandman, Robert Newman in 1606.<sup>44</sup> The largest acreage of oats that there is evidence for, was planted by the yeoman John

Lincoln. In his will of 1585, he leaves his wife 30 acres of oats growing on Stayne Grounds called Chaldons, in the parish of Buttsbury. His will indicates that he held large numbers of livestock.<sup>46</sup>

In the will of Robert Humfrey who farmed at least 70 acres at Crondon, there is an unusually specific request relating to crops.

'Item I wyll Richard Humfrey shall have 2 acres of ground sow every year during his mothers life, one acre with Rye and the other with Otes paying thereof yerely 3s. 4d.'<sup>46</sup>

The Petre family received a provision rent of 30 bushels of oats, one bushel of pease and 2 quarters of barley.<sup>47</sup>

Of the men paying tithes to the Church of Buttsbury in arable crops, John Springfield paid a tithe for six acres with pease, barley and rye in 1599.<sup>48</sup>

The cropping ratios at Stock will never be known, neither will output per acre. It does appear that wheat and oats were grown in similar quantities in the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury, with the newly created farms near to Crondon Park producing oats in larger quantities than Buttsbury parish.<sup>49</sup> Barley and rye were not grown in large quantities, and those that were grown were usually destined for home consumption rather than the market place. Peas, a garden crop were perhaps grown for the market place.

#### Dairying and Stock rearing.

Dr Thirsk has estimated that commercial herds in the sixteenth century commonly ranged in size from 8-20 cattle and says that herds of over 25 were very rare.<sup>50</sup> As late as 1805, Arthur Young reported that Essex farmers thought a herd of 25



cows was large.<sup>51</sup>

It is unfortunate that the probate inventories for the county of Essex have been separated from the wills and lost forever. Inventories give a thorough view of the property of a deceased person: wills do not. A will simply lists specific grants and often most of a testators goods are hidden within the almost throw-away line 'the residue of my goods I bequeath to my wife'. At all times it must be remembered that a will is never a complete statement of wealth and figures mentioned within a will are minimum figures. However, in the absence of probate inventories, the primary source for the investigation of animal holding and crop production in Stock and Buttsbury are the wills of the yeomen and husbandmen.<sup>52</sup>

In 71 surviving wills of husbandmen, yeomen and gentlemen of Stock and Buttsbury between 1555-1610, animals are mentioned in over 65 percent. But even if unspecified in wills most yeomen and husbandmen of Stock had an interest in animal husbandry and most evidence from Stock seems to support Dr Thirsk's opinion. There are exceptionally large herds here and there; and some men kept far fewer numbers than average. Robert Bellgrave, the farmer of Imphey Hall bequeathed 18 cows to his seven children.<sup>53</sup> John Lincoln, a yeoman with property in many parishes, died in 1585, leaving his wife 20 cows and a bull, 120 of his best ewe sheep, 4 rams and 6 of his best horses.<sup>54</sup> Robert Blakemore of Buttsbury died in 1553 owning at least 16 cows and 2 horses.<sup>55</sup> In the previous year John Clark a yeoman of the same parish left his widow her third which amounted to 7 cows, 10 bullocks and a grey mare. He was evidently running a herd of about fifty animals.<sup>56</sup>

John Bunting died in 1564, leaving 10 cows and 20 sheep.<sup>57</sup> John Prentice left 4 cows; John Bellgrave left 3 cows and 6

sheep; John Martyndale left 2 cows, 4 bullocks and 3 mares and William Dericke alias Brown, described in his will as a labourer bequeathed to his brother 'the four milch cove'.<sup>58</sup> Richard Champion dying in 1591, left a brown bullock.<sup>59</sup> Of course these numbers are quite small, especially if one considers the terribly low yield of milk, wool and meat from any sixteenth century beast, but as stated above, wills are never complete records of all the animals owned.

The wealthier men possibly kept cattle both for the dairy and for fattening for the meat market, while the husbandman with just a few cows was chiefly concerned with cheese and butter production.

The greatest problem for any grazier or dairyman of Tudor England was the provision of winter feed. Even the comparatively advanced East Anglian region was not yet producing roots for wintering animals. Thus the Tudor farmer could only keep as many animals as he could supply with grass, hay, straw and lesser crops during the winter months. In Stock it appears that many men had, by the sixteenth century found ways to do this.

Sometimes provision for winter feeding of animals is made in the wills. John Lincoln left his wife 'all the fallow of the lands' presumably upon which to graze his animals. He also left 30 acres of oats, some of which was no doubt used to feed his own horses and even cattle in a bad winter.<sup>60</sup> A rector of Stock, Oliver Clayton died in November 1579 bequeathing to his parishioners 'corne, fodder and haye, in the barne, to be equally shifted and devided among them, to the nourishment of their cattell'.<sup>61</sup> Others provided hay and straw for winter fodder.

In a survey drawn up in the 1560s, the farm of Bellmans had several fields growing with brake and broom.<sup>62</sup> Thomas Tusser

wrote that not only were these used for fuel, but also to make shelters for cattle to stand behind in stormy weather. He goes on to say that brakes could also be used as litter in stables and stalls, when straw was scarce and was needed to feed livestock with. It has also been suggested that gorse was widely sown as a regular cattle and horse fodder. Gorse, even to this day, is widely found in the commons around Stock.<sup>63</sup> And there were other things for the animals to eat. Samual Hartlib, the seventeenth century writer on husbandry wrote that 'there is a plant in Essex called Myrches or cow pursley; which groweth fast and early in the spring, which they give to their cattel at the beginning of the year and they eat it well'.<sup>64</sup>

Another important asset for the year-round feeding of livestock of all breeds, was the ease of access that many inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury had to the many commons, wastes, parkland and tyes within the parishes. The tenant of Bellmans had the right to put 20 cattle, 60 sheep and 6 'horsebeasts' on Stock common.<sup>65</sup> The common would have provided poor grazing and pasture, but for the small husbandman it was better than no winter feeding at all. The tenants of Crondon manor had common rights in Great Bishops Wood and possibly also the right of pannage and herbage within Crondon Park.<sup>66</sup> The park keeper of Crondon had the right to keep 12 cows and 2 geldings and a mare free of charge within the park.<sup>67</sup> Tyes (small greens), wastes and other small pieces of common ground abounded in the area and the villagers used all available grazing rights that they could establish through manorial custom, to help maintain their flocks and herds.

It is also quite likely that some of the animals were grazed, for at least part of the year, on the marshes and wicks

beside the Thames. One sawyer of Stock held a lease of a saw mill in the parish of Pitsea, beside the Vange marshes and his flock of 20 sheep was held there, rather than at Stock.<sup>69</sup> Charles Whiskard the miller of Stock, also fattened cattle upon his marsh by the Thames. The salt flats of Essex were well known for their fattening qualities. Other men kept their livestock elsewhere in the county. Francis Sawell, a husbandman of Stock had 'men bullocks at Birchanger' (over thirty miles away near Bishops Stortford) and John Tabor of Margaretting had '20 sheep going at Rayleigh' about ten miles away.<sup>69</sup>

In 1598 a by-law was enacted in the Court Leet of Stock which perhaps indicates that the pressure of unauthorized animals on the common was becoming too great:

'The jury aforesaid make an ordinance that hereafter no-one be allowed at any time to have a right of pasture or any right of livestock agistment on the common. On pain of forfeiture for each offence -- 20s.'<sup>70</sup>

The by-law was made during March, and was perhaps a direct result of a great overstocking of the common during the previous summer. Whether the order was obeyed or not we do not know, but it is highly unlikely that the farmers would have removed all their livestock from such a convenient place unless other provision was made. The Court Leet was quite often concerned about the over-stocking of the common, but usually it was the townsfolk of Billericay who were told to remove their livestock from Stock Common.<sup>71</sup>

The making of cheese and butter was of great importance to the farmers of Stock. Dairying activities also made exceptional calls upon the labour of women and children. In the Petre rent books cheeses were often included with the ubiquitous couple of

capons, as a provision rent. In 1594 George Young provided 3 cheese leads (a certain size of cheese produced in a special type of mould) and a calf amongst his rents in kind, which also included 6 geese, 12 capons, 30 bushels of oats plus pease and barley.<sup>72</sup> In the same year Thomas Whitbread paid a provision rent of one cheese lead.<sup>73</sup> Not only did these two products provide some of the protein of the husbandmen and labouring classes of Tudor England, but these 'white meats' provided the dairyman of Stock with some of his livelihood. Both Suffolk and Essex were renowned for their butter and cheese, some of which was destined for London.<sup>74</sup> In the Stock region both cows milk and ewes milk were used for cheese making. The Petre Account books for the year 1555 record a payment made to Thomas Mann of Stock for 'Mylking the sheipe this sommer last past'<sup>75</sup> The number of ewes owned by the villagers is also indicative that they were used not only for wool but for dairying purposes.

Even to make cheese and butter on a commercial scale it was not necessary to have a dairy or milk house, although several wills mention such buildings. The materials, equipment and implements needed were minimal and not expensive as the inventory of a West Horndon dairy house of 1598 shows. In the cheese chamber were 'two thick planks standing upon two tressells and a stave at one end, a thick planke standing upon iiij stakes, five ynce bourds hanging upon xv lynes and xxx yron hookes and two wyre wyndowes to sett before the casements'. Apart from the stock lock and 'a key to the dore' the only other items were 'ii crame cheses and cxv cheses'.<sup>76</sup> The fully equipped dairy house was a luxury that most husbandmen and yeomen in Stock could not afford, but the inventory of 1586 of the Petre family dairy house at Thorndon Hall shows what they could aspire to:

'Dairy House at Thorndon

Imprimis, in the first room a table of a plank standing to the wall of two ells long.

Item one other plank standing near the ground to set pails on.

One other thick shelf of a plank to set kettles upon.

A broad plank standing on four short feet to kill hogs upon.

A little thick stool of divers squares, standing on three feet.

Two boilers to well whey in, standing on the south side of the chimney, having two round covers of wood.

A pair of andirons with square tops.

A plain fire shovel and tongs.

One trivet.

A large chafer to heat water in.

A low old candlestick of latten.

A cauldren of brass with two ears.

A kettle of brass with a bail, somewhat lesser.

A kettle of copper with a bail.

Two skillets of pot brass with feet, the one less than the other.

A broad skillet of brass without feet, with a long iron handle.

A skimmer of brass.

Six wooden pails with iron bails and three feet the piece of iron.

An earthern pitcher of a gallon.

A plate lock and a key to the utter door.

The Milk House.

Five planks standing to the walls below to set things upon.

Four shelves of planks standing over them.

A great cheese press with a stone and three wooden wedges.

Two churns with lids and staves.

A tub standing on four feet to whey cheese in.

A tub to set cheese together in.

A little tub with two ears to brine cheese in.

Twelve milk bowls of divers sizes, whereof four new.

Nine cheese moats of one fashion, with four cheese breedes to them.

Two little thick cheese moats.

One great moat for Holland cheese with a bread to it.

Three bowl dishes one of them with a hoop.

One bowl to drain curds in, with a hole or tap in the bottom.

A butter dish of a pint.

One fleeting dish.

A wooden platter.

Two butter barrels.

Two butter pots.

Two cream pots.

One pot for salt.

Three pots for rennet.

A pot for butter milk.

A cleanse or strainer of wood. A cullender of earth to strain curds.

A pair of wooden scales to weigh butter with.

One lead weight of two pounds. And one lead weight of one pound.

A stock lock and a key to the door.'77

Two interesting facts emerge from this inventory; first that rennet (from the cow's stomach) rather than the plant Lady's Bedstraw was being used to curdle the milk. Secondly, that apart from the traditional English moulded hard cheeses and the softer ewes' and cows' cheeses, another type of cheese, the 'Holland cheese' was made. No doubt this was an Edam or Gouda type cheese with a thick rind for better keeping. It is another example of



the influence the Dutch had upon the agriculture of the eastern counties and, perhaps more importantly, shows the willingness of the sixteenth-century farming community to learn from the Continent.

The women (it was nearly always a wife or dairymaid) who made the butter and cheese, needed a clean kitchen or an out-building and a few bowls and presses. Robert Newman, a husbandman bequeathed all the 'milk bowles, charnes and mootes (except two cheese mootes which I give to my son William) all the cheese boards above the milk house' as well as all his cheeses to his wife.<sup>78</sup> The word 'charnes' means churns and the word 'mootes' or 'Moat' was a kind of trough or large mould in which the cheese was put to set or be pressed. William Thorneback, a husbandman, who died in 1543 left both butter and cheese as well as 3 cows and 8 sheep.<sup>79</sup>

The cheese produced in sixteenth century Essex may not have been of the highest quality, Samuel Hartlib thinking Cheddar the very best, being 'seldom seen but at noblemen's tables'. But Essex cheese was sold both locally, in London and further afield to those who could afford an alternative source of protein to bread and beans or meat, fish and eggs.<sup>80</sup>

The possession of cows, and to a lesser degree sheep, was important to the husbandmen and yeomen of Stock. Those too poor to lay out the 30 to 35 shillings necessary to purchase a cow could rent one by the year from a more prosperous neighbour as several wills show. Robert Newman requested his executors to 'let out to hire my three kine'.<sup>81</sup> John Savering, a weaver by trade, who died in 1564 gives an even fuller picture. He evidently ran a large cow leasing concern!

' I have 5 sheep at my brothers and 5 lambs. Item my brother

hath 3 sheep, a cowe, a ram and a hoggerel, them I give to my wife. Item the cow that Sympson hath the time commeth out at Michaelmas next coming, I give this years rent to my Godson John Sympson and I will that Sympson shall have the cowe still if he will give 3s. a year. Item I will that the four beasts that Palmer hath he must pay 9s. 8d. a year, when he shall deliver the stocke at the time appointed. I will he shall have a years respite for the payment of the money'.<sup>82</sup>

#### Market Gardening.

Within the manors of Stock and Buttsbury, there were at least eleven properties described as gardens.<sup>83</sup> Gardens are also named in the Court Rolls of Ging Joyberd Laundry.<sup>84</sup> These gardens were not simply planted for domestic consumption. They were market gardens used for growing vegetables and other crops for profit.

John Harvey has stated that 'the early forms of certain field names indicate the widespread existence of Nurseries'. Notable were Impgarth and Impyard. These names are to be found in the records of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, by which time they were going out of use as descriptions of nursery gardens.<sup>85</sup>

An imp was a graft or young shoot or sapling. Often associated with the word was frith (woodland). Thus imp place-names often indicate a site where young oaks were deliberately planted in nurseries.<sup>86</sup> The manor of Imphey evidently had such a connection, sited as it was next to Crondon Park.

If Stock had been the site of a mediaeval tree nursery, then the tradition and skills associated with gardening would very likely have been passed from one generation to the next, as they

were in the clay processing industry. A street in Buttsbury was called 'Perry Sreet' throughout the sixteenth century and an early form of Buttsbury was 'Botolphberrie' emphasising the pear tree connection.

No-one knows for certain when gardening as a commercial activity began in England. There were gardeners working in the Royal palaces of Havering-atte-Bower, Windsor, New Hall and Hampton Court from the fifteenth century, but there is much earlier evidence for gardening. Many monastic Orders and lay estates had extensive kitchen, flower and herb gardens throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>87</sup>

Gardening in sixteenth century Stock doubtless concentrated on providing fresh vegetables, especially leeks, onions, garlic and cabbages, salads, many kinds of herbs for both the kitchen and the apothecary and fruit such as apples, pears and plums for the London market. Nursery gardening would have been a profitable sideline; for example supplying grafted fruit trees and seedlings to other gardeners and gentlemen who like Sir William Petre dabbled in 'the mysteries of Grafting'.<sup>88</sup>

In January 1554, Sir William Petre purchased from Grey of Stock 'X111 crab tree stocks' at a price of 10d.<sup>89</sup> Thus as early as 1554 there was at least one man living in Stock acting as a supplier of fruit grafts. In 1560, Baldwin Stamer was threatened with forfeiture of six shillings and eight pence by the court leet at Stock if he once more collected 'crabstockes and perrystockes without licence on others land'.<sup>90</sup> A will of 1599 clearly stipulates that the orchard must be protected by, 'putting no cattle to hurt or impare the fruit trees growing within the same'.<sup>91</sup> In 1566 Ingatestone Hall had a large orchard where poultry, including turkeys were kept.<sup>92</sup> As early as 1559 a

by-law was enacted at the Leet of Stock which stated that, 'no inhabitants within this Leet shall trespass into the lands of others and take and collect apples and other fruit, without licence.' Anyone caught doing so would have to pay a fine of 3s. 4d.<sup>93</sup> It would seem that almost every property in Stock and Buttsbury appears to have had an orchard of some sort, although of course not every farm or tenement with fruit trees was marketing its produce.

Many leases granted by the Petre family included clauses relating to the planting of trees. Primarily such covenants were designed to ensure that stocks of timber trees were maintained. Tenants were required to plant Chestnuts, Oaks or Elms if they felled any for repairs or fuel.<sup>94</sup> But almost as frequently fruit trees were to be planted by the tenants. In 1576, John Tabor, a bricklayer took out a lease on a house and 15 acres in Crondon manor. Part of his obligation was to plant three timber trees yearly and also three for fruit, being Apple, Pear or Walnut.<sup>95</sup>

The Petre account books reveal that the inhabitants of Stock made frequent gifts of apples, walnuts, strawberries and other soft fruits to the household throughout the later sixteenth century, the produce probably harvested from their orchards and garden plots.<sup>96</sup>

In Stock those who produced vegetables and fruits for sale were gardening for the wealthy London market as well as for more local markets. The prices of such 'luxury' food items as soft fruits is unknown but it is likely that only the rich and fashionable in the city ate them. Garden produce could have been taken to London by the carriers who left Stock every week.<sup>97</sup> London was certainly a focus of interest for market-gardeners and itself was the centre of important market-gardening activities.

The year 1606 saw the foundation of the Company of Gardeners of London. Membership was limited to those gardening upon less than 6 acres and within a ten-mile radius of the capital. Incorporation can only have come after many years of men practising the art. The skills of gardening in London stretch far back into the Middle Ages.<sup>98</sup> In 1606 the future suburbs of the city; Twickenham, Islington, Isleworth and Battersea were all centres of market gardening. The first Twickenham nurseryman was mentioned in 1597 in Gerards' Herbal who described;

'...many sorts [of pears and apples] are growing in the ground of Master Vincent Pointer a most cunning and curious grafter and planter of all manner of rare fruits, dwelling in a small village called Twickenham'.<sup>99</sup>

It is important to add that some of the London gardeners had gardens as far away as Great Dunmow in Essex, which is a similar distance from the capital as Stock.<sup>100</sup>

As well as traditional fruits, vegetables and herbs certain 'industrial' crops such as dyes (madder, saffron and weld), teasels, reeds, flax and hops were also grown in garden plots or grounds. Essex, and especially the area around Saffron Walden, grew much of England's saffron during the sixteenth century. Saffron was also grown in the village of Stock. In the Imphey survey of 1529 a 'saffron garden' was noted. Later in the century a Stock girl giving evidence in a Quarter Sessions case, stated that she was going to 'Waldon for to picke saffron.'<sup>101</sup> With any other crop this information would not be significant. But saffron was difficult to harvest and skilled, experienced pickers were needed to remove the tiny flower heads. The girl from Stock had possibly learnt the skill locally.

Saffron may have been intricate to harvest, but it was even

more difficult to grow. It took years to develop and was highly labour intensive, but very profitable to anyone who grew it successfully. As Thomas Tusser said: 'a little of ground, brings saffron a pound, the pleasure is fine, the profit is thine.'<sup>102</sup>

Harrison gives a description of the costs, yields and profits of Saffron growing,

'The heads (bulbs) are taken out of the ground in July and then set again in rows until September, about the end of which the flowers are gathered before dawn and dried in little kilns over a gentle fire, pressed into cakes. In good years 100 pounds of wet saffron may be produced from an acre of ground, yielding after being dried, 20 pounds or more.' The saffron was worth at least 20s. a pound. Harrison also stated that from first setting to final gathering is carried out over a three year period; the first year's yield being very small, the next crop bigger and the third the heaviest of all.'<sup>103</sup>

Another crop grown in Stock gardens was hops. There was a hop garden at Ingatestone Hall as early as 1548.<sup>104</sup> By the 1590s there was a hop ground between the farm of Imphey Hall and the grounds of Crondon Park. It was held firstly by John Crossley and later in 1599, leased to Richard Heywood, the park keeper. He paid no money rent to the Petres, just a yearly provision rent of 'one hundreth weight of good clean, fresh and well dried hops in a good bagg of cottage cloth tyeth for that purpose.' The hop ground occupied two acres and was conveniently sited near plenty of wood, needed for supporting the hops.<sup>105</sup> In 1599 a Buttsbury man John Fynche paid a tithe in hops for a 'hopgrownde'.<sup>106</sup> By the early seventeenth century we can tell that hops were being sent to London from the area. In December 1612, Israel Haddock the toll gatherer at Aldgate had received at least 24 waggon

loads of 'Hopps, Potts and other loading' from Richard Baly a carrier of Ingatestone<sup>107</sup>

Robert Newman, a husbandman, left his wife the 'profit of my garden and orchard till Michaelmas'.<sup>108</sup> A carpenter, Edward James who died in 1602 requested that all his fruit trees were protected and preserved. He evidently produced honey, as he was the only Stock resident to mention two hives of bees in his will.<sup>109</sup> They and many other of their contemporaries knew the value of a few acres of garden ground. If well tended those few acres could provide a living; a very good living if the gardener also had a few acres of traditional crops such as rye or peas. Men in the neighbouring town of Billericay were involved in market gardening during the first two decades of the seventeenth century and there is no reason to doubt that the men of Stock were similarly involved half a century earlier. The light sandy soils of the southern part of the parish of Stock were eminently suitable for gardening. As Samuel Hartlib wrote about market gardens in 'His Legacy of Husbandry' of 1655,

'I know divers which by as little as two or three acres of land maintain themselves and family and imploy others about their ground.'<sup>110</sup> And in Stock, with its abundant animal population, the sandy soils were made richer than ever.



Footnotes to Chapter Four.

1. John Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars: an Historical and Chorographical Description of the County of Essex in 1594*, (ed.) Sir H. Ellis, Camden Society IX (1840), p. 7.
2. M. Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, Part Three (1890) p. 3.
3. A.R. Bridbury, 'Sixteenth century farming', *Economic History Review*, second series, XXVII (1974), pp. 538-556.
4. E.R.O., D/DP E25; Assize File 35/31/2 (3 July 1589); D/DP E24.
5. John Savering was evidently a weaver who had looms both at Stock and elsewhere in Essex.
6. E.R.O., D/DP A10.
7. J.M. Martin, 'The social and economic origins of the Vale of Evesham market gardening industry', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 33 pt. 1. (1985), pp. 41-50.
8. *ibid.*
9. *ibid.* Samuel Hartlib, *His Legacie of Husbandry* (1655), p. 35. Hartlib states that 'Ashes of any kind, sea-cole ashes with horse dung, the gardeners of London much commend for divers uses'.
10. H. Richman, *Billericay and its High Street*, (1953), p. 121. A charter granted by Edward IV in 1468 allowed for a weekly market for swine, corn and other merchandise. Two fairs for cattle were held on August 2nd and October 7th.
11. Richman, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
12. John Taylor, *A Relation of the Wine Taverns ... throughout the several Shires*, (1636), unpaginated.
13. *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 23 Henry III, p. 244.
14. E.R.O., D/DP M748.
15. *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1553, 1 Mary, p. 311.

16. F.J. Fisher, 'The development of London as a centre of conspicuous consumption in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, XXX (1948), pp.37-50.
17. E. R. O., D/DP A10-23.
18. John Taylor, *Carriers Cosmographie* (1637) unpaginated.
19. E. R. O., D/DP A23 (1595).
20. Corporation of London Record Office Alchin Box I/1.
21. E. R. O., D/DP M753.
22. P. R. O. E36/241/563.
23. A.R. Wrigley and R. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, (Cambridge 1981), pp.531-2.
24. P. Corfield, 'Urban development in England and Wales in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries', in D.C. Coleman and A.H. John, (eds.) *Trade, Government and Economy of Pre-industrial England*, (1976) pp.222-223.
25. R.B. Outhwaite, 'Progress and Backwardness in English Agriculture, 1500-1650', *Economic History Review*, second series, 39, (1986) pp.1-18.
26. See Table Three, p. 118.
27. E. R. O., D/DP A10-23.
28. J. Thirsk, 'The farming regions of England' in J. Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol IV 1500-1640*, (Cambridge 1967), pp.53-55.
29. D.G. Hey, *An English Rural Community. Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts*, (Leicester 1974), p.55.
30. P. Edwards, *The Horse trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, (Cambridge 1988).
31. E. R. O., D/ABW 37/90.
32. E. R. O., D/ABW 18/248.

33. E.R.O., D/DP A10, 'for a drink paid to ye brown colt going Crondon Park'.
34. E.R.O., D/AEW 9/204.
35. E.R.O., D/ABW 38/192.
36. E.R.O., D/AEW 9/336.
37. E.R.O., D/AEA/3 p.54.
38. E.R.O., D/DP E29.
39. E.R.O., D/ABW 16/347.
40. E.R.O., D/ABW 34/123.
41. E.R.O., D/ABW 421/41.
42. E.R.O., D/ABW 18/290.
43. E.R.O., D/AEW 3/88.
44. E.R.O., D/ABW 27/183 and J. Langdon, 'The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England', *Agricultural History Review*, 30, (1982) pp.31-40.
45. E.R.O., D/ABW 23/241.
46. E.R.O., D/ABW 38/192.
47. E.R.O., D/DP A10 and 11.
48. E.R.O., D/DP Z 30/2.
49. 'Oaty straw of Sawell' E.R.O., D/DP A1125.
50. Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, Vol. V, p.232.
51. A. Young, *General View.....of Essex*, (1805).
52. The wills are from the Commissary Court of the Bishop of London, The Court of the Archdeacon of Essex and the Perogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury.
53. E.R.O., D/AEW 2/386 (Belgrave).
54. E.R.O., D/ABW 23/241 (Lincoln).
55. E.R.O., D/AEW 7/211 (Blackmore).
56. E.R.O., D/ABW 8/163 (Clarke).
57. E.R.O., 89 ER 9 (Bunting).

58. E. R. O., D/AEW 4/162 (Prentice); D/ABW 4/213 (Belgrave); D/ABW 25/217 (Martyndale); D/ABW 12/279 (Dericke).
59. E. R. O., D/ABW 9/306 (Chapman).
60. E. R. O., D/ABW 23/241.
61. Will of Oliver Clayton (1579) P. R. O., CCL Bullock.
62. E. R. O., D/DP E29.
63. Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*. 1st edn. 1557, (edit O. U. P. 1984) p. 225.
64. Hartlib, *His Legacie*, p. 88.
65. E. R. O., D/DP E29.
66. E. R. O., D/DP M803.
67. E. R. O., D/DP M1325.
68. E. R. O., D/AEW 7/291 (Byrton).
69. Francis Savell (E. R. O., D/AEW 14/193 [1612]) and John Tabor (E. R. O., D/ABW 37/169 [1571]).
70. E. R. O., D/DP M748.
71. *ibid.*
72. E. R. O., D/DP A24.
73. *ibid.*
74. M. Mates, 'Pastoral Farming in South East England in the Fifteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, second series, 40, (1987) p. 549. Dr Mates states that as early as 1447/8, whenever cheese was exported from England, Essex was usually designated as the county of origin.
75. E. R. O., D/DP A11 (Nov. 1555).
76. E. R. O., D/DP E2/2.
77. E. R. O., D/DP E2/17 (1586).
78. E. R. O., D/ABW 27/183.
79. E. R. O., D/ABW 37/33 (Thorneback).
80. Mates, 'Pastoral Farming', p. 549.

81. E. R. O., D/ABW 27/183 (Newman).
82. E. R. O., D/DP 87 ER 9.
83. E. R. O., D/DP M748; D/DP M775.
84. E. R. O., D/DP M748.
85. J. Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, (1974) pp. 22-23.
86. J. Harvey, *Mediaeval Gardens*, (1981) p. 58.
87. T. Mclean, *Medieval English Gardens*, (1989 edit.) pp. 13-62  
and 89-119.
88. E. R. O., D/DP E29.
89. E. R. O., D/DP A1.
90. E. R. O., D/DP M748 mem. 41 (1560).
91. E. R. O., D/AEW 11/327.
92. E. R. O., D/DP M186.
93. E. R. O., D/DP M748 (April 1559).
94. See E. R. O., D/DP E24 for tree planting clauses in leases.
95. E. R. O., D/DP E31.
96. E. R. O., D/DP A10 and 11.
97. J. Taylor, *The Carriers Cosmographie*. (1637).
98. F.J. Fisher, 'The development of the London food market 1540-1640.' *Economic History Review*, first series V(2) (1934-5) and  
Mclean, *Medieval English Gardens*, p. 11.
99. A.C.B. Unwin, *Commercial Nurseries and Market Gardens*,  
Borough of Twickenham Local History Society, Paper no. 20  
(1982).
100. The expense of carrying high quality garden produce long  
distances would not have been prohibitive to gardeners as costs  
would have been passed-on to the wealthy London consumer. The  
rich were always willing to pay high prices for exotic produce.
101. E. R. O. D/DP M775, Survey of Imphey Hall (1529); Q/SR 76/22  
(1579).

102. Tusser, *Five Hundred Points*, p.117.
103. William Harrison, *The description of England*. G. Edelen (ed.), (Ithaca, USA 1968), pp.348-356.
104. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, p.148.
105. Lease of Hop ground E. R. O., D/DP T417.
106. E. R. O., D/DP Z 30/2.
107. Corporation of London Record Office Alchin Box I/1.
108. E. R. O., D/ABW 27/183 (Newman).
109. E. R. O., D/DP 54/21/1 (1602).
110. Hartlib, *His Legacie*, p.8.

## Chapter Five

### The Village at Work

#### Introduction

The most obvious impression conveyed by sixteenth-century records is that the countryside of England was dominated by agriculture. More than 50 per cent of all men in Gregory King's table of 1688 were involved in farming and food production.<sup>1</sup> In Tudor England the figure was even larger. All sixteenth century towns possessed fields, closes, commons and areas devoted to agriculture. Except in a few cities, there were few towns where the fields could not be viewed from the market square.<sup>2</sup> In an occupational survey, Wrightson and Levine have discovered the occupations of over 400 villagers in Terling, Essex. Almost all were engaged in farming, either directly, as tillers of the soil, or indirectly as processors of agricultural products.<sup>3</sup> Others were employed as wheelwrights and blacksmiths, which were ancillary to agriculture. There can be no doubt that agriculture was indeed the chief concern of most people.

But appearances can be deceptive. Many people had more than one occupation; and sometimes that occupation eclipsed agriculture in importance in the sense that it brought them more income. Such occupations divide themselves naturally into two types: occupations which derived their raw materials from agricultural activities and those that did not. In the first class we must place any occupation which uses wool, leather, wood or grain as its raw material. In the second are those occupations which depend upon minerals such as iron or tin, or even upon the earth itself, rather than deposits within the ground. The village



of Stock fell into this latter category, due to the involvement of many villagers in the manufacture of bricks, tiles and pottery from clay. Of course farming and the by-products of agriculture were important to the villagers of Stock, but there was far more diversification within the economy of this medium sized community than might at first be suspected.

When we consult the records much of the truth about such diversification can be concealed from us. Formal designations tell only part of the story. Analysis of the formal designations at Stock shows an overwhelming predominance of husbandmen and yeomen. Two tables have been compiled to show the occupational structure of the village for the period *circa* 1540-1615. Table Two is compiled from the occupational designations given on the surviving wills, of those dying in the two parishes between the years 1540-1620.<sup>4</sup> This table is of limited value, as by the nature of the source used, it is socially biased towards the richer inhabitants in the community. The poor, the labouring classes and minor craftsmen did not often make wills unless they had under-age children to provide for.<sup>5</sup> In an attempt to make an occupational survey slightly more representative of the whole community, another table has been constructed from a wider range of source material. Table Three is made up as a result of picking occupational designations out of all the documents looked at for the period 1540-1620. The occupational and social designations of over 400 men have been found in a variety of documents.<sup>6</sup> Table Three is merely an indicator of the importance of various trades and crafts, against a background of agricultural dominance.

Many men are missing from the tables; and there is an almost total absence of women, showing how few women who took part in ordinary crafts were recognized formally. This is not a local

idiosyncrasy. Wrightson and Levine found the same thing at Terling.<sup>7</sup> The formal occupational designations of the women of Stock were limited to those of a few ale-house keepers, a dairymaid, servants, a butcher (who carried on the trade after her husband's death), a midwife and a wet nurse.<sup>8</sup>

Table Two: Occupational Analysis of wills 1540-1615.\*

Occupational designation	Numbers	% of sample
Professional	2	1.5
Gentleman	2	1.5
Yeoman	39	30.0
Husbandman	34	26.2
Labourer	7	5.4
Craftsman (misc)	7	5.4
Textile workers	3	2.3
Leather workers	5	3.8
Pottery/Brick manufacture	15	11.6
Misc	6	4.6
Unknown	10	7.7
TOTALS	130	100.0

\*Wills are from the Commissary Courts of the Bishop of London (ERO D/AB), the Archdeacon of Essex (ERO D/AE) and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PRO PCC).

Table Three: Occupational Analysis from all sources 1540-1620.<sup>a</sup>

Occupational/status designation	Numbers	% of sample
Gentleman	27	6.7
Professional	11	2.7
Yeoman	72	17.8
Husbandman	63	15.6
Labourer	41	10.1
Servant	11	2.7
Butcher	20	5.0
Processors of food *	37	9.2
Textile workers	16	4.0
Leather craftsmen	12	3.0
Pottery/Brick manufacture	47	11.6
Other craftsmen	20	7.4
Misc. **	17	4.2
TOTALS	404	100.0

<sup>a</sup> The sources consulted include Manorial Records, Wills, Parish Registers, Quarter Sessions, Assize Court Records, Queens Bench Indictments, Ecclesiastical Court Records and Lay Subsidies.

\* Includes bakers, brewers, millers and ale house keepers.

\*\* Includes drovers, tinkers, petty chapmen, rapiers (men who carried sea-fish inland), poulterers and higglers.

The first obvious finding to come from these tables is the apparent dominance of agriculture within the village. Yeomen, husbandmen and labourers directly involved in farming, made up 43.5 per cent of all known occupations. Servants in husbandry, who do not appear, no doubt pushed the figure even higher. Those with the social designation of Gentleman, almost without exception, held land, depended upon the land and although not employed themselves in its tillage, either managed it or supervised those who worked it on their behalf. Agricultural work was seasonally biased and possibly the proportion of men working on the land was pushed as high as 80-85 per cent at harvest time, when even women and children were drafted into the labour force at such times of peak activity.<sup>9</sup>

But these figures do not tell the whole story. Part-time occupation was universal. Many workers had dual, or even multiple occupations, which were carried out either seasonally or contemporaneously, throughout the whole year. Taken at face-value someone called a husbandman or yeoman can be added to the numbers engaged in farming to produce a trim portrait of an agricultural community. But many husbandmen did other things, which ultimately reduces the role of straight forward agriculture in a village. Indeed many non-agrarian occupations were, by their very nature, part-time activities, often combined with farming. The rural economy provided the raw materials for many trades; millers, bakers, brewers, woollen and leather workers. Thus for many activities, the seasonality of the crops and the vagaries of the weather influenced economic activity. In many regions 'industrial' jobs were seasonal and part-time and those participating in them returned to their smallholdings or

agricultural labouring when time or necessity made them.

Sometimes it was the richer craftsmen who diversified. Charles Whiskard, the miller of Stock, fattened cattle, by leasing a grazing marsh beside the Thames.<sup>10</sup> Other successful craftsmen purchased land, which they worked with the help of their families, while they continued to practise their craft. At the other end of the scale, the small cottager or labourer was frequently forced to obtain employment in anything he could, just to make ends meet. In Stock, as in other villages, the most common way in which the poor man attempted to improve his living, was to become an ale house keeper.<sup>11</sup> Not all these establishments were licensed or legal and many poor widows or elderly men now and then opened their kitchens or halls as ale houses when money was needed. Almost anyone could have a stake in the victualling trade. Men such as John Beste of Stock, a badger and husbandman in 1577 and a licensed victualler by 1585 and Thomas Monke, who was a tailor in 1584, a labourer in 1587 and a bricklayer in the following year, had to turn their hand to whatever job could provide them with necessities.<sup>12</sup> Monke may have been involved in all these occupations throughout his life.

Multiple occupations were important for many residents of sixteenth-century Stock. Table Four shows how many men were involved in more than one occupation and also shows in which occupations there was a greater need or tendency to follow another job. Of the 72 men described as yeomen in Table Three, only 14 were ever described as anything other than yeomen. (Three were described as yeomen and millers, three as yeomen and bailiffs, three as yeomen and victuallers, two as yeomen and park-keepers and one as a yeoman and scrivener. Another was described as a yeoman and tiler and another as three things; a

yeoman, a scrivener and a brewer).

It is, unsurprisingly, the group described as husbandmen that were most frequently involved in an additional occupation or craft. A husbandman in the sixteenth century was really a 'Jack of all trades.' The breakdown of the dual occupations of the 26 men in the husbandman group was as follows:

Table Four: Multiple-Occupations of Husbandmen.

Husbandman/Collier	(2)	Husbandman /Misc	(2)
" /Wheelwright	(1)	" /Glover	(1)
" /Victualler	(4)	" /Yeoman	(2)
" /Carpenter	(1)	" /Butcher	(1)
" /Labourer	(3)	" /Vict/Flaxman	(1)
" /Craftsman	(3)	" /Vict/Crafts	(1)
" /Baker	(1)	" /Vict/Baker	(1)
" /Acater (cater)	(1)	" /Vict/Badger	(1)
Total = 26			

Although these findings suggest husbandmen being forced to do other things in order to make ends meet, the situation can be viewed another way. Many of these men described as husbandmen were, in fact, craftsmen or processors (such as millers or bakers) who had made enough money to purchase land or had inherited small acreages which they worked part-time. These men held land to provide additional income, to supplement what they earned from crafts or other occupations. The small group of men described both as yeomen and another occupational designation, were those who by skill and luck had increased their wealth so

substantially by their chosen occupation, that they had been able to purchase or rent lands. The profits from these lands had given them an income so great, that their contemporaries thought of them in different social terms: as yeomen.<sup>13</sup> Other men who were first described as yeomen and later in life as something else, were men who had fallen on hard times. Such a man was Robert Monke; he was described in 1565 as a yeoman, but by 1589 as an inn keeper.<sup>14</sup> A man born of good stock, who by ill fortune received a meagre inheritance or lost his wealth through gambling, could also lose his title of yeoman in sixteenth century society.

Men dabbled in a variety of occupations; some officially and others not. In 1610, Henry Ball of Harvard Stock, a glover, was accused in the Quarter Sessions of fraud and deception in buying and selling wool under colour of the art of a glover, and of weighing wool in feet and inches and by other methods of fraud. He was in fact discharged due to insufficient evidence. But no one questioned his right to earn a living by having two occupations.<sup>15</sup> Tanning the skins of sheep, cows, horses and deer (from the park) provided work for many and men with the occupational designation of shoemaker, glover and saddler are found in the village records. Edward Soames, a glover who died in 1598 gave to his father-in-law 'three doe skins' and desired that 'my weale and leather withall my wares and all the furniture belonging to my occupation shalbe presently after thys my will shall be proved solde by my executers'. At the time of his early death (he left two young sons and a pregnant wife) he held both free and copyhold land in the parish of West Hanningfield which he left to his wife and his eldest son when he attained twenty-one.<sup>16</sup>

John Savering, a weaver, died in 1564 leaving his wife all his 'lomes that we have here and at Stock with all that belongeth unto them, saving two weighing beams.' He had at least one apprentice working with him and at least two workshops where weaving took place. His will also shows that he owned a number of cows which were leased to others to provide additional income. The bequests and material content of his will indicate a prosperous man.<sup>17</sup>

On the surface, Stock was a village similar to many others in the region. The basis of life was agriculture and the processing of agricultural produce. However, the development of Stock prior to 1550, as a marketing and processing centre, gave rise to numerous crafts and trades being carried on in the village by the later sixteenth century. In all, 49 different skills and occupations have been found.<sup>18</sup> In fact the number could be higher due to the fact that craft designation is only a general description of what a man did. Specialization went much further; a man described as a weaver could be a linen weaver, a broadcloth weaver, a kersey weaver or a worsted weaver. The larger the town the more varied its occupational structure. But even a medium-sized community such as Stock could, and did, provide a large number of goods and services to its rural hinterland, emphasising the highly developed and specialised nature of the English countryside, as early as the sixteenth century. Stock was really an incipient town with a heavy bias towards agriculture.

But at Stock the main non-agrarian occupation was for some men a full-time job. It occupied more than 10% of the occupationally designated work force and hence even more at peak times. Stock had an important manufacturing industry, the



processing of clay into bricks, tiles and pottery. This made it unique in the Essex countryside. Not only was it a centre of specialization but the presence of such an industry in the village gave employment opportunities for any labourer or husbandman who was a little short of work. Almost anyone could turn his hand to making, or helping to make, pots or bricks.

A villager in sixteenth-century Stock could be farmer, market-gardener, potter, dairyman, wool-dealer, inn-keeper and horse-rearer. No surviving record will show such diversity of employment. Occupational designations can only specify the most obvious or common occupation of any given individual and will not recognise any part-time or secondary employment. As women were so rarely assigned a formal occupational designation, records ignore the role of women and children within the family economy (and indeed within the village economy). A potter with enough land for market-gardening and the right to graze a few cows on the common, could with help from his wife and children make pots, grow vegetables for market, produce cheese or butter and run an ale-house. A man such as this would have been common in sixteenth century Stock, but unfortunately due to the nature of the surviving records, we cannot examine a family with such a plethora of ways of earning a living.

Footnotes to Chapter Five.

1. G.E. Barnett, (ed.) *Two Tracts*, p.31 and J. Thirsk and J.P. Cooper, (eds.), *Seventeenth Century Economic Documents*, (Oxford, 1972), pp. 780-1.

2. E.R.O. D/P, John Walker's map of Chelmsford drawn in c. 1600 shows fields intermingled with houses.

3. K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village, Terling 1525-1700*, (1979), pp. 21-23.

4. The wills are from the Commissary Court of the Bishop of London (E.R.O., D/AB), the Court of the Archdeacon of Essex (E.R.O., D/AE) and the Perogative Court of Canterbury (P.R.O., P.C.C.).

The total number of surviving wills of the inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury is 162, dating between 1550-1620.

5. E.R.O., D/AEW 15/226. For example Charles Simpson, a labourer who died in 1616 with several young children, left a will to provide for his heirs.

6. The sources used include manorial records, wills, parish records, quarter sessions and assize court records.

7. Wrightson and Levine, *Terling*, p. 21.

8. E.R.O., D/DP A10 and 11.

9. *ibid.*

10. E.R.O., D/DP AEW 9/65.

11. See P. Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830*, (1981), pp. 74-75.

12. E.R.O., Q/SR 91/32-5a; Q/SR 102/77.

13. Such a man was Charles Whiskard, who was described in 1554 as a miller. By his death in 1587, he was styled Yeoman (E.R.O.,

D/AEW 9/64). He still owned two mills, one in Stock and the other in St. Martin's in the Fields, London, but he also held large amounts of land, goods and ready cash.

14. Robert Monkes' two sons were always described as tilers, bricklayers or labourers, never yeomen like their father.

15. E. R. O., Q/SR 186/36.

16. E. R. O., 258 ER 17.

17. E. R. O., 87 ER 9.

18. See Appendix Four.

## Chapter Six

### Pottery, Brick and Tile Making in Elizabethan Stock.

'So doeth the potter sit by his worke; he turneth the wheele about with his feete: he is careful always at his worke, and his worke by number. He fashioneth the clay with his arme, and with his feet he tempereth the hardness thereof; his heart imagineth how to cover it with lead and his diligence is to cense the oven.' Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII 29-30.

#### Introduction.

In a recent study of the county of Essex during the early seventeenth century, William Hunt stated that apart from the burgeoning cloth industry:-

'None of the other industries of Tudor-Stuart Essex merits more than passing mention. There were brick kilns here and there, making use of the county's abundant supply of clay; there were also a number of potters in the village of Stock'.

The numbers of potters, tile and brickmakers so far discovered working within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury between 1540-1620, has reached fifty-one.<sup>2</sup>

As seen in Tables Two and Three, potters and other clay workers made up a minimum of 12 percent of the male working population of the village.<sup>3</sup> This number was in reality much larger as potting was a part-time activity and men who practised the craft irregularly, may have had other occupational

designations. The importance of this little known industry to sixteenth-century Essex communities cannot be overestimated. Participation in a clay-based industry provided an alternative or supplementary occupation to farming. As an employer of labour in the towns and villages the numbers engaged in clay processing in Stock compare very favourably with cloth-working. The numbers giving the occupations of clay worker in Stock make it of comparable importance as an employer of labour to that of the cloth industry in the towns and villages of North West Essex during the same era.

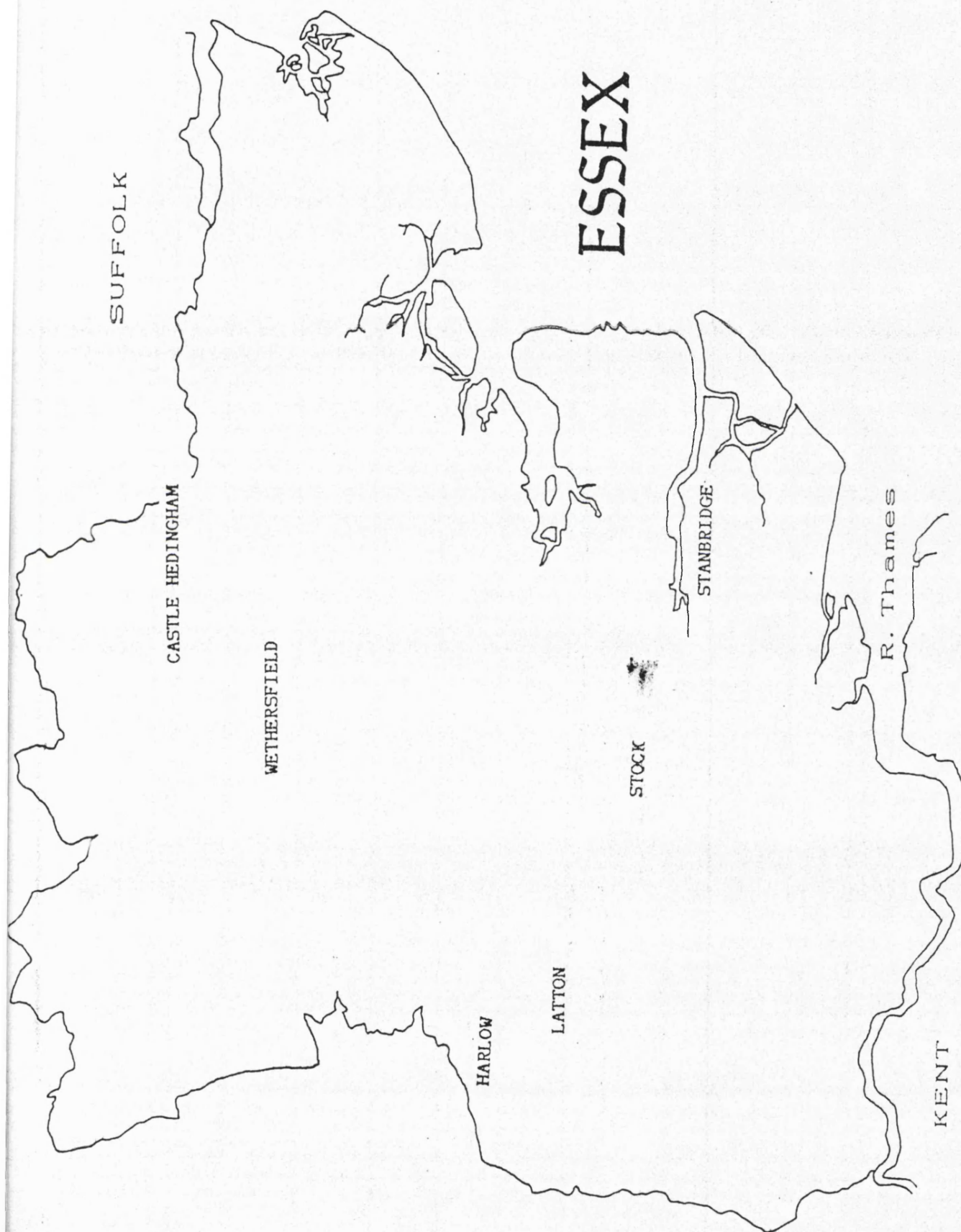
Taken as a whole the brickmakers, potters and tilers of sixteenth-century Stock were not a homogeneous group; some were fairly prosperous and others were poor, some highly skilled and some little more than labourers. But they were all united by a single factor: clay.

The sixteenth century was an era of changing fashions and tastes and the popularity and increased use of clay products, both as a building material and in domestic utensils, benefited all those who worked with the raw material within the village. The growth of the clay working industry in Stock is perhaps best described as 'being in the right place at the right time'. The men of Stock saw a chance to capitalise upon their primary asset, clay, and did so with great success. In this grasping of opportunity the village of Stock was probably not unique, but until other intensive regional studies have been undertaken, no other sixteenth-century clay-based community can be so clearly seen working changing tastes to their advantage.<sup>4</sup>

It was not only in the Stock area that the potters and brickmakers of sixteenth-century Essex were at work. At Latton, Harlow, Wethersfield, Castle Hedingham and Stambridge, the

MAIN POTTERY PRODUCING TOWNS AND  
VILLAGES IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ESSEX.

MAP SIX



pottery industry kept men employed.<sup>5</sup> In addition almost every community had its brickmaker, producing coarse wares for local consumption.<sup>6</sup> In 1596, there were at least sixty-five tileries in existence within the county.<sup>7</sup>

How many Essex men actually earned their living by processing brickearth and clay during the Tudor and Stuart period is unknown and is unknowable because so much work was part-time, but without doubt the number runs into thousands rather than hundreds.

#### Raw Materials

The permanent tileries, potteries and brickmaking yards of early modern England were sited near an ample supply of clay and sand or brickearth. (See Map Two for the geology of the area) Close proximity to water and a woodland or common to ensure an ample supply of fuel during the firing process was also needed. The village of Stock supplied all these needs and Stock Common, which lay to the North end of the High Street (on the road that led towards Crondon Park), provided not only wood and furze, but the clay workers' primary raw material, brickearth and clay. Clay was dug from the Common and required therefore a manorial concession for which a fee was paid. In 1529 'The rents of the ii pyttes called the Brikk pytts upon the Gret Common called stok heth' were 20d. per annum for the 'Grett Pyt' rented by John Bretton and 12d. per annum paid for the 'lesser pytt' by a member of the Dawdry family.<sup>8</sup> Later Court Rolls provide evidence that clay could only be dug as a result of the granting of a licence.

Thus in 1606, at the Court Leet of the manor of Blunts, seven potters and brickmakers were recorded when they applied for licence to dig clay,

'At this court James Castle (12d), William Starling (6d), William Hankyn (6d), John Spilman (6d), Thomas [....], John Bundock (6d) and Thomas Charvell [....] sought permission from the Lord, for taking clay to complete with it their bricks... and each of them gave to the Lord for his fine for having a licence of this kind for one year according, as is written against their names'.<sup>9</sup>

There is no evidence to suggest that clay was brought in for use by potters and brickmakers of Stock. Indeed some of the evidence shows that men dug clay within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury for sale outside.<sup>10</sup>

The licence granted by the Lord of the Manor to enable men to dig clay, was without doubt very cheap by the late sixteenth century when inflation had reduced the real cost of licences because the charge for them had not been raised. Dr. H.E. Jean Le Palourel has discovered that licences for clay working varied throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on most sites from as little as three pence per head, to twenty shillings per head, per annum. Only at Ringmere in Sussex, was there an unchanging payment of nine pence per head for a period of over two hundred years.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the payments at Stock during the early seventeenth century, were lower, even when one disregards Tudor inflation, than those paid on most sites during the Middle Ages. This meant that in the village of Stock, men engaged in the industry paid almost nothing for their most important raw material.

Once a licence to dig clay was obtained, many potters and brickmakers still gave cause to be summoned to the Court Leet at Stock, as a result of clay digging activity. The holes, pits and rubbish created by the men were of great concern to other members



of the rural community. In 1558, William Lee, a potter, was amerced 20d because he had not 'sufficiently filled in his pits in the highway'.<sup>12</sup> Similar cases were reported in 1548 and 1571.<sup>13</sup>

In 1606, a bye-law was enacted in the Court Leet, which attempted to regulate clay digging and the refilling of holes,

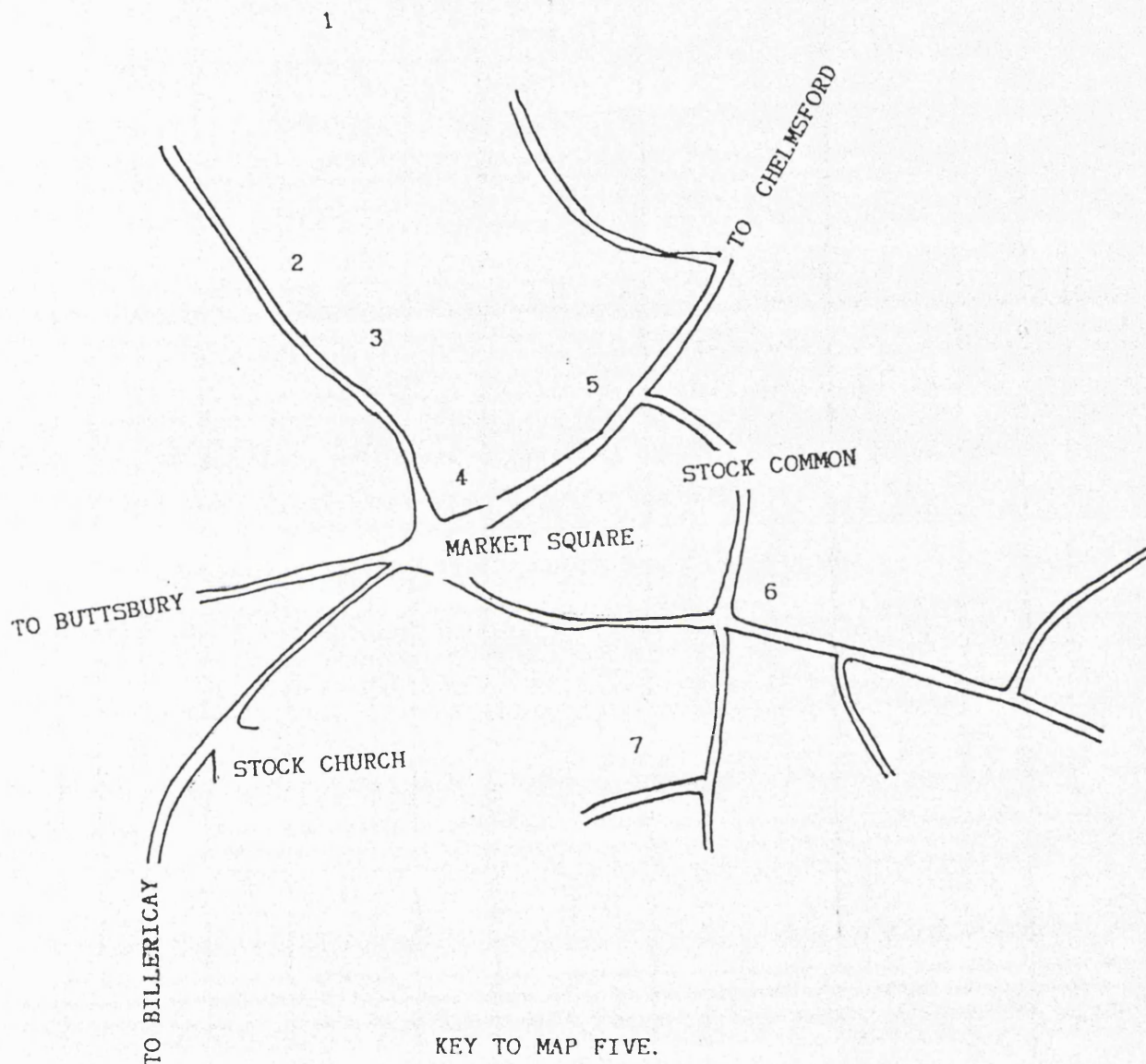
'It was directed that all and singular potters and others, who in their own persons or by their servants, successively shall dig loam and white clay on the waste called Stock Common, for cups, tiles, bricks or other earthen vessels, thereof to be made, shall fill up their pits right up to the top immediately after the digging and casting out of this white clay, under penalty of forfeiting for every pit dug and not filled up v.s.'. <sup>14</sup>

The digging of pits in the highway was an offence in itself and presumably was done by those who did not have a right to dig clay on the common. But the main reason for vigilance must have been a concern for safety. Large pits, which quickly filled with rain water were hazardous for livestock grazing upon the common. Sometimes they even claimed the lives of villagers. At least one potter, Thomas Bush, was described in the Parish Register as 'accidentally drowned'.<sup>15</sup>

The importance of the common as a source of necessary raw materials cannot be overemphasised. As late as 1709, a petition drawn up against its proposed enclosure detailed the importance of the common to the potters working in the village. It stated that 'Wee take it for granted that you are a stranger at Stock and consequently cannot be so sensible of the many inconveniences that will follow the inclosing of Stock common as the Gentlemen that live neare the place,---- the town is famous for potts brick and Tile and serve all the adjacent parts with those commodities

SKETCH PLAN OF THE MAIN SITES IN STOCK ASSOCIATED WITH THE CLAY INDUSTRY. (BASED ON INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY THE SITES AND MONUMENTS RECORD FOR STOCK).

MAP SEVEN



KEY TO MAP FIVE.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. POST MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FOUND IN MOATED SITE IN CRONDON PARK.  | 5. POST-MEDIAEVAL BRICK AND TILE KILN, WITH LARGE QUANTITIES OF BURNT BRICK HAS BEEN RECOVERED. ALSO SHERDS MADE FROM AN ORANGE FABRIC AND GLAZED.                                     |
| 2. POTTERY SHERD FROM BASE OF A LATE MEDIAEVAL JUG.  | 6. MEDIAEVAL POTTERY KILN WASTE FOUND NEAR TO MANHOLE COVER NEAR JUNCTION OF MILL ROAD.  |
| 3. POST-MEDIAEVAL SHERDS OF BROWN GLAZED RED-WARE AND METROPOLITAN SLIPWARE. FRAGMENT OF ROOF TILE WITH GLAZE. | 7. FRAGMENTS OF TILE WITH GLAZE DROPPED ON IT, SCATTERED AT REAR OF BENACRE HOUSE. SIGNS OF POTTERY KILN DATED BETWEEN 16th-18th CENTURIES. ALSO SHERDS OF 16th AND 17th CENTURY POTS. |
| 4. SHERDS OF BROWN GLAZED RED-WARE. FRAGMENT OF UNGLAZED ROOF TILE BY VILLAGE POND.                            |  |

and time out of mind have had their clay and sand from the common and the parish mend some miles on the Road, and have no gravell but what the commons and the poor no fuel but the furze and scrubbs on the common'.<sup>16</sup>

During the late sixteenth century, several potters and brickmakers worked in premises and used kilns near Stock Common.<sup>17</sup> Archaeological investigation has revealed a concentration of kiln and other sites indicative of pot and brick production on the periphery of Stock Common.<sup>18</sup>

One brick maker, Walter Dawdry alias Rawlins was granted permission by Sir William Petre in 1562 to 'occupy the waste upon Stock Common' next to his house and garden.<sup>19</sup> Presumably, this was some kind of licence to assart as common land could not simply be allocated just as a Lord wished. It appears from subsequent descriptions of the property that his yard, tile kiln and work houses were extended onto this new land.

Another reason for the positioning of potters and brickmakers close to the common or waste, was the unwholesomeness, filth and dangers (most notably fire), associated with their trade.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to clay, other basic materials were needed for the production of bricks, tiles and pots. These included sand and gravel, to temper the ware and to make its firing more successful. Both these products were found nearby in Crondon Manor. A map of the 1630s showing the waste along a stretch of the Highway outside Stock, clearly depicts gravel pits beside the road.<sup>21</sup> Sand and gravel were also obtained from the nearby manor of Fristling Hall, where they were extracted from the bed of the River Wid and carted to the village.<sup>22</sup>

A good water supply presented few problems to the clay

workers of Stock since the village contained numerous ponds and a large stream (Stock Brook) and the River Wid close by.

The only other basic necessity was an ample supply of fuel to fire the kilns or clamps. In sixteenth century Stock there is no evidence of either coal or turf being used to fire clay ware, as has been found in other areas of Britain.<sup>23</sup> Brushwood faggots, furze and small timber pieces were all readily available in the well-wooded and extensively commoned countryside surrounding the village. This meant a fuel supply which was abundant and cheap. Hence the frequent mention of wood, (both bundles and for fuel), bequeathed in the wills of clay workers. Between the years 1548 and 1605, no less than ten bye-laws relating to the cutting of faggots and taking of underwood were enacted at the Court Leet of Stock.<sup>24</sup>

The pottery industry was a thoroughly noxious one. The stench of burning kilns and the filth of sodden clay were rendered all but intolerable for neighbours by the danger of deep and stagnant pools of water left by neglected and worked-out clay sites and by the ever-present threat of fire. We are not told what they thought of the fire risks at Stock but elsewhere it was taken very seriously. In the north Devon town of Bideford for example, the town authorities declared in 1632, that:

'We do plainly perceive the great dangers and misery which divers inhabitants of this town are in especially those that lie near unto such places where the Potters' kilns are, by means that diverse of them do burn their kills with furzes and brevres and such flaming fuel and many of them do place and putt their riches... either neare unto the said kills or betwixt their dwelling houses'.<sup>25</sup>

If the clay industry had not been localised on Stock Common

by the pull of raw material needs it would certainly have been zoned by unanimous decision of the rest of the community of Stock. A healthy distance was kept between the potters and the rest of the village.

The development of the clay-processing crafts in Stock.

How old the Stock pottery industry was and how the tradition and skill of its manufacture developed is hard to say. There is early evidence for an industry in the neighbourhood. Pottery known as 'Mill Green Ware' was being produced nearby at Ingatestone/Mill Green from approximately 1140 until the mid-fifteenth century; so that it seems that the skills and traditions of pottery manufacture were to be found in the Stock neighbourhood long before the first surviving documentary evidence tells us about the Stock industry.<sup>26</sup> A will of 1512 is really the first definite evidence of a pottery industry at Stock. In that year John Palmer died and in his will described himself as a 'Potter'.<sup>27</sup> He bequeathed to his two sons, John and Humfrey, two tenements called 'Potters and Leggs'.<sup>28</sup> Both sons appear to have worked in the village as potters during the 1520s and '30s. They appear in the Lay Subsidy assessments of the 1520s which provide evidence of a clay working community at Stock; for three men are listed as potters, while seven others not given occupational designations in the Subsidy are known from other documentary sources to have followed the trade.<sup>29</sup>

The first documentary evidence of the industry at Stock is unlikely to indicate the first appearance of the manufacture of pottery at Stock. Other industries, for example clothmaking, leave very scanty records.

During the first half of the sixteenth century at least four

tilers and ten potters were at work within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury.<sup>30</sup> None of these men, except for Walter Rawlins alias Dawdry, who died in 1565, was ever described as a brickmaker. It is possible that bricks were not produced in large quantities during the early sixteenth century in Stock; the village perhaps specialising in pottery and tile manufacture. However this may have simply been a matter of terminology: bricks were sometimes called tiles in early sixteenth century documents. Terra-Cotta may also have been made at Stock.<sup>31</sup>

By the mid-sixteenth century and well into the next century, the occupational designation of 'brickmaker' becomes common in the records of Stock. The six most prominent brickmakers were Thomas Castle (died 1598), James Castle (died 1606), Bartholomew Rawlins (died 1589), Thomas Rawlins (died 1580), John Rawlins and John Butcher, both working during the last quarter of the century. As the century progressed, the number of clay-processing workers described as brickmakers increased. As this occurred, there was a corresponding emergence of men with the occupational designation of 'bricklayer', a term not found in Stock records prior to the 1570s. Seven bricklayers are known to have worked in the village during the later sixteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

This may not have been a significant movement; the term 'bricklayer' may have simply come into common usage instead of the traditional word 'tiler'. Nevertheless there appears to have been a general increase in demand for brick. Prior to the 1550s few men are exclusively described as brickmakers. Most potters and tilemakers turned their hands to brickmaking when bricks were demanded. The raw materials and skills of production already existed in the village, (brickmaking being in fact less skilled than pot making and very similar to tile production).<sup>33</sup> Thus when

demand for bricks increased, the clay workers were able and willing to respond. The primary cause for the change of emphasis in Stock was the demand generated by the Petre family who spent heavily during the 1540s and '50s on rebuilding Ingatestone Hall and other parts of their central Essex estate in brick.<sup>34</sup>

In Essex, there was a narrower choice of construction material for dwellings and barns, given the lack of any useful building stone in the region, than there was elsewhere. During the medieval era the skills of the carpenter and joiner had dominated the vernacular building of the county where timber-framed houses pervaded the landscape. During the early sixteenth century brick became fashionable. It was used primarily to infill the timber framing and was often set in a herringbone pattern.<sup>35</sup> The period between 1540-1690 is well known as a time of rebuilding and extension of the housing stock and farm buildings of rural England.<sup>36</sup>

The development of brickmaking and bricklaying skills within the village of Stock reflected the beginning of this era. The increasing wealth of the gentry and yeomen farmers, based on the high grain prices of the Tudor-Stuart period working together with demands from the growing population, without doubt provided the stimulus to the rebuilding process.<sup>37</sup> Moreover as the quantities of oak required by carpenters for the frames of these new houses grew, oak became more expensive, and this made brick buildings relatively cheap.

Nor were gentlemen's homes the only ones constructed with brick during the sixteenth century.<sup>38</sup> In housing style, as in all areas of conspicuous consumption, where the gentry led, the yeomen soon followed. Literally hundreds of Elizabethan brick-built houses survive in Essex today, ranging from large

farmsteads and town houses, to smaller craftsmen's cottages and almshouses; all mute evidence of the importance of brick in the rebuilding of Tudor and Stuart East Anglia. Numerous examples of buildings 'lately erected' or 'recently builded' in brick occur in the wills of all but the labouring classes living within Stock.<sup>39</sup> In total eighteen examples of new building in brick have been found in the records of the two parishes of Stock and Buttsbury between the dates 1550-1610.<sup>40</sup> It was not only houses that were constructed in brick but also barns, stables, church towers, almshouses and extensions and additions to already existing timber-framed buildings.

The single most important domestic development that caused demand for bricks to rise was the introduction into all but the humblest dwellings of the chimney. William Harrison, the social commentator, was an Essex man and what he saw during his lifetime in the village of Radwinter, was also occurring in and around Stock.<sup>41</sup> The chimney, unlike the rest of the house, had to be fire-proof. Bricks were the cheapest, most easily obtainable fire-proofing available. Hence the chimney provided the greatest stimulus to the brickmakers of Stock.<sup>42</sup>

From surviving records (Wills, Petre Estate Accounts, Quarter Sessions, Leases and Manorial Records) it is clear that between the years 1530 and 1610, ten men of Stock who are distinguished by trade, produced tiles, seven others made bricks in the village and two others combined tile, brickmaking and pottery manufacture.<sup>43</sup>

The industry was subjected to a good deal of regulation. The preparation of clay ready for the manufacture of tiles was a lengthy process and a statute of 1477 attempted to codify good practice by insisting that clay had to be dug by November, turned



before the beginning of February and not made into tiles before March.<sup>44</sup>

The Essex Quarter Sessions Records reveal a great deal about the numbers working in tile production in Essex and the quality of goods produced. In 1595, the Justices appointed two men to enquire into the occupation of tile makers and to inspect all the tile kilns operating within the county.<sup>45</sup> Scott and Headd, the inspectors appointed, reported back that between 28th July 1595 and the following Christmas, they had searched and surveyed 'all the tyle kelles in Essex, being in number XLVI' and found all to be defective and unlawful and not observing the statute.<sup>46</sup> Some tiles were too small to meet the statute's requirements, some full of marline, marble and chalk-lime, some not well whitened and anealed, while in other cases tilers did not dig for earth at the right time.

When the Justices found no-one observing the requirements of the statute of 1477, all were given warning to amend their ways and a re-survey was made between 1st June and the 28th July in the following year (1596). At the time of the later survey, thirty-six of the tileries were found to have mended their ways and ten had not.<sup>47</sup> The searchers for tiles presented those breaking the statute and recommended the Bench to fine them. The faults of five men were listed in full.<sup>48</sup> All were ordered to stop producing tiles. Stephen Newton was found guilty of possessing on the 1st September: '20 thousand of tile... wanting length, breadth and thickness and also wanting whiteing and annealing and full of Stones... very unlawfull to be sold'.

Another 200 roof tiles and 200 corner tiles of his were

likewise found to be faulty. He was fined five shillings for every thousand of bad thack tiles, six shillings and eight pence for every hundred faulty roof tiles and two shillings for every hundred ill-made corner tiles.<sup>49</sup>

The searchers for tiles then presented others. There was a widow too poor to pay the fine, while five men of Parndon and Horkesley were presented as unworthy to make tiles because 'they destroy a great deal of fire and wood' and the tiles produced were not even worth '12d a thousand, to the great hindrance of the Country.'

Similar controls were enforced by the Tilers and Brickmakers Company of London, whose Search Books of the early seventeenth century are also full of examples of shoddy workmanship and badly-made products.<sup>50</sup>

The Essex survey of 1595-6 showed that most of those who got into trouble were producing inferior products which even so did not meet regulations governing size and manufacture. How many tilers actually continued to produce 'reformed' products after the re-survey, one will never know, but it is perhaps worth stating that these inferior products were evidently finding a market. At all times there is demand for both high and low quality products.

If the tilers of Stock wanted to sell their products in London then higher standards than many of them achieved in 1595 were doubtless required by metropolitan demand. Certainly the London Company of Tilers and Bricklayers were authorised to enforce stringent quality control upon goods brought into the city and suburbs. The authority to exercise quality control over bricks and tiles being used in the capital was granted to the Company in 1568, when Letters Patent issued by the Queen gave the

Master and Wardens the power and right to:

'search and try every cart that shall come into the city of London or the liberties or suburbs of the same or fifteen miles compass with tile or sand to be sold within... the tile cart do contain one thousand tyle to be carried therein at the least... and shall seal the same or cause to be sealed the same cart with the seal or mark of the city of London. And if they find any such defaults then it shall be lawfull... to fine and ammerce...'.<sup>51</sup> What this meant in practice it would be hard to say.

Without doubt the Essex survey of Tilers undertaken in 1595-6 overlooked many producers. It is difficult to believe that there were only 46 tileries in the whole county when we know that there were at least ten producers of tiles within Stock during the period 1550-1610. The Stock evidence which shows that brickmakers and potters also produced tiles when demand was high suggests an explanation; for none of these multi-craft producers was included in the 1595-6 survey. The survey concentrated upon tile makers, not those better known as brickmakers or potters also making tiles.<sup>52</sup> With the expansion of the building industry, tiles were demanded for a wide variety of jobs: for floors, for roofs, for hearths and for walls. In Stock several types of tiles were produced. William Starling, potter, produced during the year 1593, a number of paving tiles; while during the 1550s Walter Rawlins alias Dawdry, brickmaker and tilemaker, produced 'XXIII thousand of all sorts of tiles after iiis iiii the thousand'.<sup>53</sup>

The prices paid for tiles varied a great deal presumably with the type and size being produced and also quality. Walter Rawlings alias Dawdry was producing tiles at iiis iiii per thousand during 1550, while in the same year a man named Finchie

was paid four shillings per thousand.<sup>54</sup> By 1593, William Starling was paid viiis per hundred, the tiles perhaps being larger or of a much higher quality.<sup>55</sup>

To judge from the records, brickmaking was less important than tilemaking in Stock before 1610. There were fewer men employed in it. Seven men are known to have produced bricks in the Stock area, during the later sixteenth century, while an additional seven are known to have earned their living either solely or partially as bricklayers.

The making of brick was regulated by the seasons. It was almost a part-time activity, but one which was spread over a twelve month period. Clay was normally dug in autumn or early winter and then spread out in a field or yard to be broken up by frost and damp. In spring it was watered and trampled, usually by foot. Once prepared, the clay was cut using wooden moulds into the normal brick shape, and left to dry during the summer months. When ready in early Autumn, the prepared bricks were fired. This was most frequently carried out in a clamp or heap on the site where the bricks were to be used. However on occasion bricks were fired in a kiln of the sort used to fire pots or tiles. Once the bricks were fired the year-long process was begun once more.

The use of wooden moulds provided employment for carpenters as is illustrated by the following entry in the Petre Account Books for 1555; 'Item p'd to jackson the carpenter for setting up two moulding tables in ye backehouse and for playning of them two days XIIId.'<sup>56</sup>

This payment of a carpenter by the Petres shows another aspect of brickmaking in the Stock region: the fact that a good deal of it took place on site. The bricks were made where they were to be used because brickmaking clay was to be found wherever

buildings were to be erected. Thus in the Petre Account Books, Thomas Rawlins, brickmaker, was commissioned to produce 200,000 bricks at Ingatestone Hall during its rebuilding in the mid-sixteenth century. He was paid at various times from January 1554 until September of the same year, as he produced the bricks in batches. He made the bricks 'on site': entries in the Account Book record raw materials (but not clay) being delivered to the Ingatestone Estate for the use of the brickmakers. He was paid at the rate of;

'iis the thousand, having wood, strawe and sande brought to him and 1 kynderskyne of bere at the burning of the clampe'.<sup>57</sup>

Throughout the summer, in May, June, July, August and September he was paid as the work was completed. By September the commission was finished and Rawlins had received £13 for the 200,000 bricks produced, and the beer with which to celebrate the completion of his labours!

An entry dated August 1555 records the occasion of the burning of a clamp of bricks in the grounds of the Petres' other home, Thorndon Hall. Two men were paid for bringing fifty-two loads of wood to the site and one Reynolds was paid for making 875 faggots from the wood 'bought of Mr. Richard Baker' at the rate of eleven pence per hundred.<sup>58</sup>

Curiously no-one seems to have paid 'earnest money' for the bricks he had commissioned, though earnest money was paid to men working in other crafts for the Petre family.<sup>59</sup>

From the Petre Account Books one can clearly see Stock men working at Petre properties. The brickmaker was usually paid by the piece, rather than by the day; the skill of the craftsman determining how long an order would take to complete. But the

brickmakers of Stock travelled further than the next parish of Ingatestone in pursuit of their trade. In the will of Bartholomew Rawlin, dated 1589, within the section dealing with debts owing to him is one of fifty-nine shillings by John Bonner of Rayleigh, another brickmaker. The money owed was for the making of brick and tile in Rayleigh, about seven miles from Stock, three years previously.<sup>60</sup>

The peripatetic nature of brickmaking cannot be overemphasised. Most brickmakers for at least some part of their working lives worked 'on site'. The main reason for this was that bricks produced 'off site' would have been prohibitively expensive in terms of transport costs, for any major building. At least one Stock brick producer, like many tilers and potters, owned or leased a kiln. Walter Dawdry alias Rawlins, in 1565 bequeathed;

'My house and tenement... with the tyle kell and working houses adjoining, with yard rooms'.<sup>61</sup>

However, he did produce tiles as well as bricks and perhaps the kiln was used exclusively for firing the tiles that he produced. No other Stock brickmaker mentions a kiln; only yards, workhouses and working implements, indicating that perhaps during the sixteenth century the clamp was the most usual method of firing for large quantities of bricks.<sup>62</sup>

This negative evidence seems to be reinforced by wills and leases. Wills and leases seem to show at least seven kilns at work in the later sixteenth century in Stock, most of them permanent structures. One kiln was known as the 'Pot Kell' and was held by a family of potters, the Hankins. Two others were held by tilers, both being members of the Dawdry family. A fourth kiln was held by Aylott of Imphey Manor who was leased the 'tyle

kiln' for two pence per annum in 1605.<sup>63</sup> This last kiln was presumably used to fire tiles.

We can reasonably conclude from all this that Stock brickmakers used clamps for firing and fired where they had to build. Recent excavation strenghtens this conclusion. In 1977 a kiln site was excavated on Stock Common. It appears to have been a permanent structure and dates from the sixteenth century, although it was used well into the nineteenth century. The report of the sites and monuments record of the Essex County Council Planning Department states that the structure found represented a post-medieval kiln. It is true that brick as well as tile samples found in the vicinity were roughly dateable to the period 1680-1820. However, two sherds of tile from a lower level were dated to the sixteenth century, indicating the use of the kiln at that date, as a tile kiln and not for the burning of bricks.<sup>64</sup>

In contrast, tiles and pots were, by the mid-sixteenth century always fired in kilns. The reason bricks were fired 'en masse' in clamps was not because of their size (sixteenth century bricks being quite small) but because of the large quantities being produced.

#### The Bricklayers of Stock

Brickmaking was an occupation which was sharply distinguished from bricklaying. Those who made bricks and tiles did not lay them. The occupation of bricklayer grew up as a direct result of the growth in brick building in Essex during the sixteenth century. The first Stock man that I have found with the occupational designation of 'bricklayer' is in the year, 1551. During the next fifty years, at least seven men are known to have practised the craft.<sup>65</sup> Like mediaeval masons they had to travel

in order to be able to work; and once again the influence of London is clearly apparent in Essex economic history; for wage-rates in the building industry appear to have been equalised between Essex and London. Thus when the Carpenters Hall was extended in 1572 the Company paid rates which were little different from those paid by the Petre family at Ingatestone Hall. <sup>66</sup> A tiler received between 1s. 2d. and 1s. 4d. per day (without food and drink), a very similar rate to that being paid to craftsmen working at Ingatestone Hall at the end of the 1570s. <sup>67</sup>

Stock bricklayers were a well-paid group. Evidence from wills suggests that a high proportion of them owned property, land and more than a basic minimum of possessions. <sup>68</sup> Thomas Tabor, a Stock bricklayer held during the 1560s and '70s two tenements within Crondon manor as well as land amounting to twenty-eight acres in total. <sup>69</sup> He was a man of some standing within the village community and was, as will be seen below, by no means exceptional amongst his bricklaying contemporaries.

Documentary evidence suggests that the skills of bricklaying were differentiated, like those of the mason, but without benefit of formal classification imposed by a Guild. Those engaged in 'helping the bricklayers' and hod carrying were perhaps more junior men undertaking training or informal apprenticeship before becoming a 'master' bricklayer. Thus, John Tabor, bricklayer of Stock, was employed by the Petre family, on several construction projects during the 1570s and '80s. In 1571, he worked for ten days 'serving the bricklayers' at a daily wage of ten pence. <sup>70</sup> In 1587, John Tabor was still involved in building work; this time engaged with 'the hodd at the west part of the kitchen chamber and the gable end of the great chamber'. During May of the same



year he worked ten days, in July twelve days and in August a further four days. He received a daily rate of 10d. Evidence suggests that he was working as a hod-carrier as he 'served bricklayers with the hodd'.<sup>71</sup>

Thomas Tabor (possibly kin to John) was a 'master' bricklayer, as in all Account Books he is paid for 'laying of bricks.' He was also paid a higher wage than other bricklayers; a rate of '14d per day, finding himself'.<sup>72</sup> Between May and August 1587, he was employed for fifty-two days by the Petre family and earned a total of sixty-one shillings and two pence for his labours, which included the laying of bricks at 'the tower, ye square wall in the chamber and at the gable'.<sup>73</sup>

There was an increase in the daily wages paid to bricklayers by the Petre family from the early 1550s until the 1580s. In 1551, Sir William Petre's Steward had paid Pepper the bricklayer a daily rate of 8d plus meat and drink for his own wages plus those of his 'boy'.<sup>74</sup> By 1587, a bricklayer was earning 14d per day without food, while his assistant received 10d.<sup>75</sup> However most of this increase was due to inflation, which was at its highest level during the 1550s and '60s.<sup>76</sup>

In 1612, the Essex Quarter Sessions produced a very detailed table of wage rates which reveals formal evidence of the bricklaying hierarchy. The recommended daily wage of a master bricklayer was assessed at 16d per day without meat or drink, from mid March until September. This seasonal wage rate shows that the bricklayer, like the brickmaker, was usually employed in another job during the winter months. A servant and apprentice in bricklaying above the age of twelve years but below twenty-four received 8d per day.<sup>77</sup> The wage-rate recommendations of 1612 were unrealistic and represented an attempt to reduce the wages being

paid to craftsmen and labourers.

The final clay-based activity that the men of Stock were engaged in, was the production of pottery.

#### The Potters of Stock.

The potter's was a humble craft in the Middle Ages. The peasant and servile classes were more familiar with the potters' ware than were the wealthier classes, for it was primarily the kitchen, dairy, brewhouse and buttery that used the pots, jugs and jars produced on the wheel.<sup>78</sup> Wealthy people used silver, pewter or even wood at meals and until at least the mid-sixteenth century, everyone but the most exalted, drank from treen (wooden) cups. Consequently due to the mainly practical usage of the products of the medieval potter's work, it was unsophisticated and functional and this severely limited the market. In the later sixteenth century this changed; continental fashion influenced the merchant and gentry classes, who demanded pottery drinking vessels to emulate their Dutch and French contemporaries. By 1700, all classes in England were drinking from cups produced by potters. This enormously benefited the potter who could produce a multiplicity of types and in a vast range of qualities. The change of fashion in tableware of the sixteenth century, was the making of the English potter.

Pottery was made in the sixteenth century in almost exactly the same way as it was in Biblical times. Once the clay was dug, it was gleaned of gravel and sand, usually in a pit of water. It was then beaten and pounded to prepare it for the wheel. This wheel was the potter's most important piece of equipment. As in the Middle Ages, the sixteenth century potter used a kick wheel powered by a treadle type mechanism, leaving the hands free for

shaping and forming the clay. The larger producers of Stock owned more than one wheel, allowing apprentices or servants to work alongside the master potter. One seventeenth century potter bequeathed to his son 'all my bordes and wheels that now belongethe unto my trade of pott making'.<sup>79</sup>

Not all earthenware was thrown on the wheel. Some pieces, especially flat dishes and platters were pressed or moulded in wooden moulds. Once made, the unfired clay pots, jugs or moulded ware were placed on wooden boards to be taken to dry, either outside in the sun or into a drying room.<sup>80</sup> They could then be decorated with slip or dragged patterns or simply left as 'plain' ware.

Most earthenware pottery was glazed during the later sixteenth century. A lead or salt glaze was applied before firing. Not only did glazing render the finished article attractive but also made it stronger and easier to clean. No documentary evidence has been found for lead being owned, bought or bequeathed by any Stock resident during the Tudor-Stuart era. References to salt bins upon the common could indicate that salt was being used as an ingredient in glazing. However, ceramic historians believe this method of glazing was not employed in England until the very end of the seventeenth century.<sup>81</sup>

We are therefore left with a dilemma. We know that glazed-ware was produced in Stock from sherds found in the vicinity of the Common. Also, the Petre family being one of the chief purchasers of Stock pottery would no doubt have wanted the higher quality glazed-ware. The pots must therefore have been glazed before firing using lead, but this cannot be proved from surviving documentary sources.

Then came firing. This process was perhaps the most

important stage in the production of pottery and required great skill. In Stock the process was carried out in kilns. No less than three clayworkers bequeathed kilns to their heirs in wills.<sup>82</sup> Post-medieval kilns appear to have been very similar to their medieval counterparts. As with tile and brick production, wood appears to have been the chief firing agent. The kilns used were circular in shape, consisting of a firing chamber which had a raised floor structure and either one or two firemouths, through which fuel was fed.<sup>83</sup>

Archaeological excavation has revealed one kiln site (used for both pottery and tile firing) underneath the cricket pavilion upon Stock Common. And there must be other kiln sites scattered around the pitch, which are unlikely to be investigated!

It is not possible to tell how soon Stock potters turned to pottery cups because the first evidence of production comes in 1550, when Sir William Petre ordered for his butler 'a dozen cupps -- xiid'.<sup>84</sup> In the same year four pence was paid to 'Prentice of Stock, for ii beare cupps'.<sup>85</sup> The demand of a large noble family and its extensive household for earthenware, both glazed and unglazed, for both the table and the kitchen, encouraged the production of a wider range of goods than those used by peasant families. The demand for earthenware goods by the Petre family, especially from the 1540s was a major influence upon the type of goods produced by the potters of Stock. The range of goods produced, which is detailed in the surviving Petre household Account Books, was extensive.<sup>86</sup> The family's patronage appears to have been given to one potter at a time. During the 1550s, Robert Prentice supplied almost all the pottery needs of the household at Ingatestone Hall. Apart from cups, he supplied stew pans, milk pans, two pots for the kitchen 'to dress meat

in', pots for herbs for the parlour, still and stool pots, bread pans and candlesticks for inside the house. The same supplier, Prentice, also appears to have supplied products for the garden. In January 1550, he supplied '12 potts to set herbs in, a water pott for the Garden' and later in the same year he supplied 'iiii pots for flowers'.<sup>87</sup> With many commercial gardens within the village the items produced for nurserymen may have been important to the potters of Stock.

Perhaps the strangest payment to Robert Prentice was the two shillings and two pence paid for 'iii doz potts for sparrows and starlings and for nayles to hang them by.'. <sup>88</sup>

He was also probably the 'fellow of Stock' who produced a further twenty-four pots for 'sparrows to breed in'.<sup>89</sup>

By the 1590s, the Petre family bought from William Starling of Stock. Like Prentice, he too produced a wide range of goods. In December 1593 and again in July 1594, he supplied pipkyns for the nursery.<sup>90</sup> He also made a variety of earthenware products primarily for the kitchen. In July 1595, he provided 'iii dozen earthern pannes for the larder to keep sowced fyshe in', while a year later he supplied 'six great earthern potts whereof iiii for the deyry and two for the kitchen' valued at three shillings.<sup>91</sup>

Not only did William Starling make pots, on occasion he also produced tiles in his kiln, supplying 275 paving tiles at eight shillings the hundred for Ingatestone Hall in December 1593.<sup>92</sup>

Apart from these two potters, Robert Prentice during the 1550s and William Starling during the 1590s, no documentary evidence survives that indicates any other Stock potter regularly supplying the Petre household. Occasionally another man appears as a supplier in the Account Books. For example [William?] Tanner

of Stock provided unspecified pots and 'a pott to put sugar in' during October 1577.<sup>93</sup> But such entries are rare.

Although a wide variety of pottery was produced at Stock during the Elizabethan period, evidence of what type and style of pot was produced is less easily obtainable. Archaeological discoveries of recent years have revealed a wide variety of sherds and remnants dating from the post-medieval era.<sup>94</sup> Brown glazed redware predominates. Finds include a rolled rim of a large bowl made of orange material, with a green-brown glaze and sherds of metropolitan shipware. Recent excavations in the Moulsham Street area of Chelmsford have unearthed a great many metropolitan slipware sherds. Archaeologists now believe that Stock was a major producer of metropolitan slipware during the later sixteenth century and that most of the coarseware found at Chelmsford was produced in Stock.<sup>95</sup>

The only intact surviving pots known to date from the second half of the sixteenth century, that are likely to have been locally made are four large storage pots, which were recently found in a perfect state of preservation, buried upside down in front of the hearth in the Almshouses in Stock.<sup>96</sup> The Almshouses were built during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, with a bequest made by Richard Tweedy, esquire, of Boreham in 1574.<sup>97</sup> The pots were buried in front of the hearth to ward off evil spirits and to protect the inhabitants from witchcraft.<sup>98</sup>

Apart from the large storage pots found in the Alms Houses the only other surviving example of Stock pottery is grey ware with a shiny black glaze which dates from the 1680s. This consists of a Ringers' jug with the inscription 'made in Stock, 1688' and a smaller jug and dish.<sup>99</sup> All are made in a similar style and of the same materials, probably by the same craftsman.

It is likely that similar products were made a century earlier in the village of Stock, as sherds of an identical black glazed ware have been found in the Moulsham Street excavation and are known to have originated in Stock.

The methods used in the marketing and distribution of Stock pottery during the sixteenth century are difficult to ascertain. Potters do not seem to have taken stalls in the weekly market in Stock as none were leased to them. Possibly that was because they sold from their workshops.<sup>100</sup> The workshop and the adjoining yard were perhaps the showrooms of the sixteenth century potter, as in many small country and urban potteries today.<sup>101</sup> The close proximity of a large number of market towns, notably Chelmsford and Billericay, point to other outlets that Stock potters used. There was also the ever growing, ever demanding city of London for which some Stock ware was probably destined.

Robert Prentice, the potter who supplied most of the Petre household needs during the 1550s appears to have had trading connections with the capital. During 1550 a Petre Account Book states that he supplied Ingatestone Hall with goods that:

'he laid out at London for ii baskets vid, item ii stone potts the xviid, iii pottell glasses xiid and viii quarte glasses - xvid.'. <sup>102</sup>

Prentice evidently travelled the twenty-five miles to London and bought wares from stone potters and glass manufacturers working in the capital. There is no known centre of glass production at Stock or elsewhere in Essex at that date, and Prentice perhaps acted as a middleman bringing products to central Essex that were only available for purchase in London. On his journey to the metropolis he may well have carted his own pottery and indeed the pots of other Stock men or from the

neighbourhood, to sell in London.<sup>103</sup> In 1612 quantities of pots were being taken to London from the locality around Stock. Richard Baly of Ingatestone paid tolls amounting to eight shillings during the year, to the toll collector at Aldgate for:

'bringing into ye said city and liberty Hopps, Potts and other loading ... after ye rate of 2d. ye waggon or cart inward and 2d. the waggon or cart outward'.<sup>104</sup>

Thus a single carrier from Ingatestone took twenty-four waggons through Aldgate in just one year, many of which would have included pottery.

Stock ware certainly went early to London or its environs, as in the 1530s one finds a regular trade in pots between Stock and Hampton Court.<sup>105</sup> The manufacturer was one John Palmer, a member of a Stock potting dynasty whose members worked in the village for over 150 years. He was evidently a man of some wealth, as in a subsidy of 1546, he was assessed upon land valued at £16.<sup>106</sup> Thus, during July 1530, an entry in the Exchequer Accounts refers to 'John Palmer of Stocke, in Essex, for 468 stewe potts serving as well the newe hot hows as in th'old, at 4d the pece'.<sup>107</sup> A further entry for September/October of the same year shows another 430 similar pots being purchased from John Palmer.<sup>108</sup>

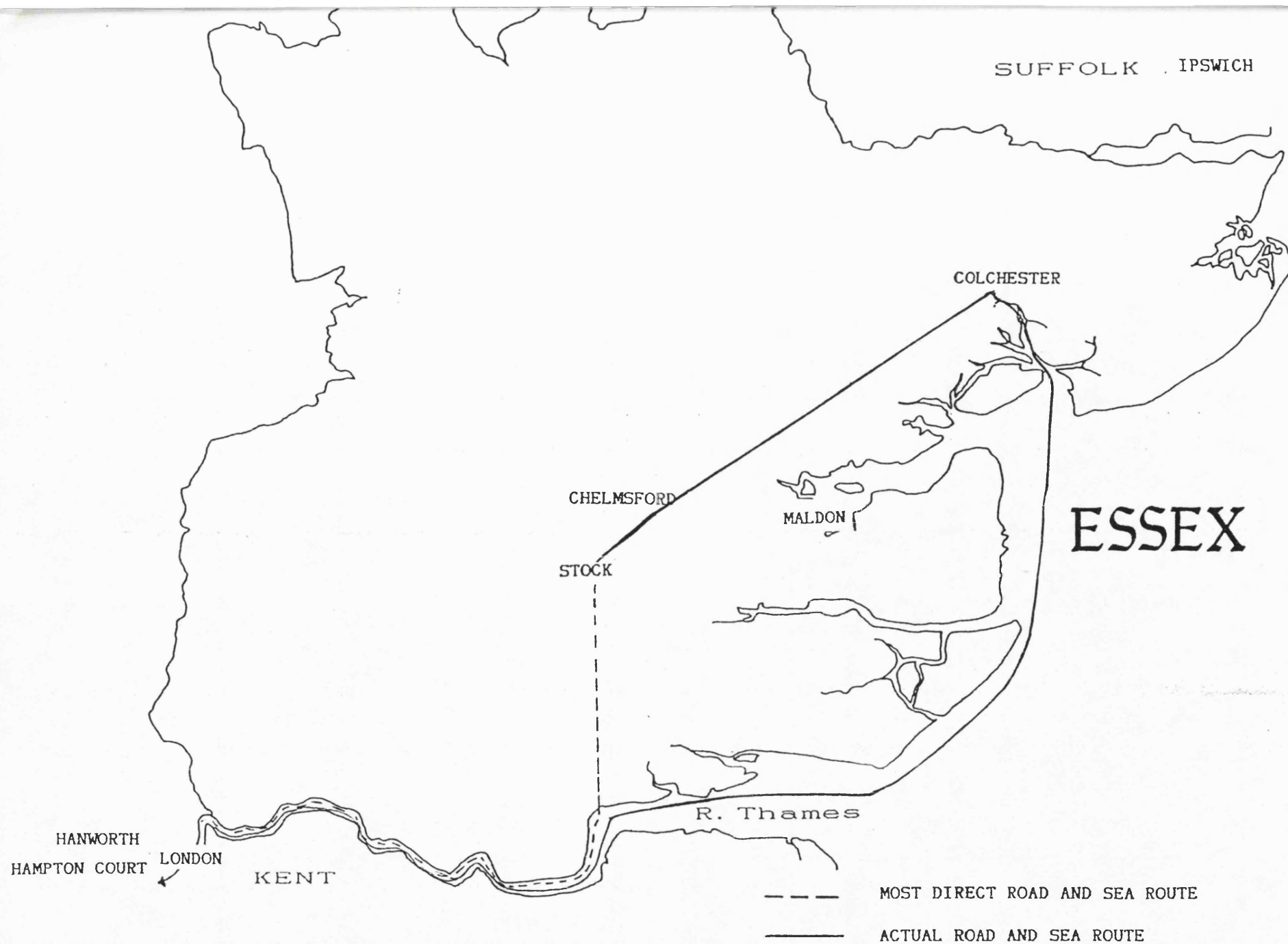
The first load was carried by barge from London to Hampton Court, after an unspecified sea journey. However, the second order was carried by coastal vessel from Colchester to London, and thence by barge to its destination at Hampton. Two years later, John Palmer supplied more pots, this time for Hanworth. The entry in the Exchequer accounts reads as follows:

"John Palmer of Stock in Essex for 430 potts for the hote hows at hanworth at xxiiis viiid the 100 of him bought and delivered at



AND SEA ROUTES USED FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF POTS  
AT STOCK DURING THE 1530s, TO HANWORTH AND HAMPTON  
RT.

MAP EIGHT



Colchester. Christopher Deconson for carriage of the seyde potts from Colchester to London by water iiiis with ii for battlage of the same from London to Hampton Court'.<sup>109</sup>

It is somewhat surprising that the pots were shipped from Colchester, as Colchester lies 28 miles north-east of Stock by road, and London is just 25 miles in the other direction.<sup>110</sup> Why were John Palmer's pots not carted down to the Thames which lay within twelve miles of the village or shipped from one of the many loading points along the Essex coastline? It is possible that many Essex potteries were producing pots for the Hampton Court and Hanworth orders and that Colchester was the most convenient assembly-point for all areas of production. It is also likely that the pots had to catch a special boat chartered for Hampton Court.

Specialisation is the reason why Stock ware was being bought for Hampton Court when there were potteries such as Southwark and Lambeth close at hand. The distance was not important however. Carriers from Stock went weekly up to London. It may be that the choice of Stock pots for Hampton Court shows a specialisation in a certain type of pot or that Stock already had a regional reputation for a certain style.<sup>111</sup> Or there may be a simpler explanation.

There is a connection between the architect Girolamo de Trevezi, who is credited with the architectural design of Hampton Court and the county of Essex. Trevezi was the architect of Fryerning Church (4 miles from Stock), of the tower of Sandon Church (6 miles from Stock) and the clerestory of the nave at Great Baddow Church (the adjacent parish to Stock).<sup>112</sup>

Without doubt Trevezi would have known of tiles, bricks and pottery being produced in Stock and may have used these products

in his building operations in Essex. It may have been that his personal recommendation resulted in Stock products being ordered for use at Hampton Court Palace. However the recommendations of one man would have been unlikely to result in a large order from somewhere so far away as Stock unless the pottery being produced there was not already well-known.

The majority of pottery goods produced in Stock were undoubtedly sold locally and were marketed by cart or pack-horse. In the Essex Queen's Bench Sessions Records a coroner's verdict of death by misfortune was pronounced on a Stock Potter. In April 1586, John Richardson was killed while he 'was taking his mare laden with earthern potts.' The mare went into the river which flows between Ingatestone and Mountnessing and by the strength of the current was carried away. Richardson entered the water to rescue his horse and was likewise carried away and drowned.<sup>113</sup>

#### The Wealth and Status of the Clay Craftsmen of Stock.

In the absence of Probate Inventories, the sole indicator of wealth of sixteenth century craftsmen is their wills, leases and deeds of land held and taxation returns. Nineteen men who are known to have been employed in a clay-based craft left a will. Although making up only 40 percent of all the men known to have been employed in the clay industry in Stock during the late Tudor, early Stuart period, these wills do allow a view, be it somewhat incomplete, of their material prosperity.<sup>114</sup> Of the nineteen, 73.6 percent held property; either houses or land or both, and 20 percent left land holdings of over twenty acres. Of those making monetary bequests (primarily bricklayers), 35 percent left cash sums indicative of a high level of material wealth.<sup>115</sup> The surviving wills are detailed enough to show a high

level of consumer and household wares, indicating comfortable living standards and a level of wealth comparable with that of well-to-do craftsmen and husbandmen elsewhere.

Some clay workers held substantial amounts of land, the largest unit being of 28½ acres, held by John Tabor, a bricklayer.<sup>116</sup> Another man, Richard Berker, a tiler, left four tenements in Romford, Essex. Many others held small holdings of just a few acres. James Castle, a bricklayer, obviously obtained more land as his wealth from bricklaying increased. In 1600 he held a property called Hatchetts and two acres. In 1604 he obtained a lease on Copthall and six acres and by 1610 he had purchased a further two messuages and two crofts in Buttsbury for £36.<sup>117</sup> Earlier, in 1565, William Stamer, a potter, held a substantial property called Bernards with a barn, orchard, garden, crofts and meadow containing fourteen acres.<sup>118</sup> Another potter, William Starling, was in 1598 the tenant of one messuage called Greenwoods in Crondon Manor which contained fifteen acres.<sup>119</sup>

The holding of a few acres by the poorer clayworkers probably served the main purpose of providing food for their families and was worked by them, or by their kin part-time. Those men that held between ten and thirty acres appear to have bought that land as their wealth from clay processing increased. As they diversified, acquired more land and a need for hired labour to supplement family help on their land, they took advantage of high prices for agricultural produce and farmed for the open market, rather than simply for subsistence.<sup>120</sup>

The status of the clayworkers of Stock is difficult to assess. Some like Walter Dawdry and John Tabor were men of substance and therefore had a respectable status within the

community. Some clayworkers were given the designation of 'Yeoman' in official written documents, which indicated a somewhat superior status to that of a simple craftsman.<sup>12</sup> For the successful clayworker of Stock, who was able to accumulate wealth and diversify through the purchase of land, some level of importance within his own village was possible. Eight men engaged in clay working became sidesmen at the parish church; a further four became churchwardens.

Evidence from the Manorial Court Rolls shows that a number of potters and brickmakers were active in the courts in and around Stock. Five men served as Constables within the village, while three held the manorial office of Ale Taster. Between the years 1549 and 1605, twenty four clayworkers served as jurors in the manorial courts of the village. All these positions are humble offices and the wealth enjoyed by these men was likewise humble. No clay worker ever really rose above the lower social strata of the village.

But to hold any of the above offices, however humble, or to serve upon a manorial jury, called for men who had some standing in the community if law and order were to be maintained. By the end of the sixteenth century clayworkers made up a large number of the male workforce of Stock; men of all the lower and middling levels of wealth and status could be included in this group. Within a village such as Stock, where so many were engaged in a single activity, the occupations of potter, brickmaker and tiler enabled those employed in those crafts to enjoy a modicum of respectability in the community.

The occupations of brickmaker, tiler and especially potter often appear to have been passed from father to son. It was common for a father to teach a son or apprentice him to a

neighbour or friend to learn the craft. The will of Christopher Tailor made in 1580, shows that William Starling was apprenticed to him and was to receive £5 at the 'end of his years'.<sup>122</sup> In 1622, the potters of Stock and Buttsbury prosecuted William Mott for potmaking without undertaking a proper apprenticeship. He was to answer the complaint that 'he being a singleman not only worketh at his own hand but setteth up the trade and occupation of a potter having never been bound apprentice thereunto, taking away the living of married persons who have wife and children'.<sup>123</sup> Not only is this a case of artisans taking action against interlopers but also shows how important apprenticeship within potting was seen to be.

In almost all surviving wills that mention bequests of trade tools or kilns, these are inherited by the eldest son, or shared amongst brothers or given to the wife to pass on to an under-age son. When Thomas Castle died in 1598, his son James received:

'all my tooles, plangste, bordes and impliaments, about my work house, whatsoever'.<sup>124</sup>

James Castle, like his father a brickmaker, was already practising the trade prior to his father's death in 1598. He had married in 1585 and was therefore not dependent upon his inheritance to set himself up or to marry.<sup>125</sup> It is interesting to note that one of his brothers, Thomas, may have been capable of reading, as was his brickmaker father who bequeathed the family Bible to this son.

Very little can be determined about the theological beliefs of the clayworkers of Stock. The religious preambles of the surviving wills tell us little more than that 95 percent had standard Protestant beliefs; only one will gives any indication of Puritan or Calvinist leanings and this merely consists of a

sermon being demanded at the funeral of the deceased.<sup>126</sup> Whatever their religious beliefs, the group as a whole tended to be harmonious and friendly to each other. No cases can be found, in Manorial Courts, Ecclesiastical Courts or Quarter Sessions Records of disputes between members of the clay-based crafts.

There is evidence to suggest that the potters and brickmakers of Stock and Buttsbury tended to inter-marry. Almost all surviving wills refer to other known clay workers (often with different surnames) as 'kin', or 'in law'. At least eight clay working families are known to have been related to one another, through marriage during the later sixteenth century.<sup>127</sup> Without doubt in reality the figure was much higher.<sup>128</sup> Often the sons of potters would be apprenticed to other master craftsmen in the village. This would lead to marriage between sons and daughters of clay craftsmen. A girl brought up within a clay working family may also have been skilled in the craft and therefore an asset to a future husband involved in the same occupation. As seen earlier, there is evidence to suggest women were active in the pottery and tile making industry.<sup>129</sup>

Footnotes to Chapter Six.

1. W. Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: the coming of revolution in an English County*, (Harvard, 1983), p.11.
2. See Appendix Five for a complete list.
3. See Tables Two and Three in Chapter Five.
4. There are no other accounts of English potting communities during the sixteenth century.
5. See Map Six for other Essex communities involved in pottery production.
6. See F.G. Emmison (ed.), *Wills at Chelmsford: Vol 1 (1400-1619)*, British Record Society (1958). In this index almost every Essex village is represented by at least one brickmaker or tiler.
7. E.R.O., Q/SR 137/73.
8. E.R.O., D/DP M775.
9. Bodleian Library, Blunts Manor Roll; 4 and 5 James 1, 1606-7.
10. E.R.O., D/DP M754.
11. H.E.' Jean Le Patourel, 'Documentary Evidence and the Mediaeval Pottery Industry', *Medieval Archaeology*, XII, (1968), pp.101-126.
12. E.R.O., D/DP M747. The highway was without doubt the most frequently abused area by those digging clay. This was due to its easy accessibility and its uncertain or common ownership.
13. E.R.O., D/DP M747; D/DP M748.
14. Bodleian Library, Blunts Manor roll.
15. E.R.O., D/DP 54/1 (Jan. 1633).
16. E.R.O., D/DP M754.
17. E.R.O., D/DP T1/2069. A messuage or tenement of James Castle, brickmaker was described in 1610 as 'abutting and being on the



common called Stock Common'. E.R.O., D/DP M153: William Stamer, a potter held in 1554 premises called Barnards near to the common.

18. See Map Seven.

19. E.R.O., D/DP M757.

20. *ibid.*

21. E.R.O., D/DP P7 (See Plate Seven).

22. E.R.O., D/DP M722.

23. E.R.O., D/DP M1154.

24. All bylaws are contained within the court roll for the manor of Ing Gyng Joybard Laundry, E.R.O., D/DP M748.

25. A. Grant, *North Devon Pottery: The Seventeenth Century*, (Exeter 1983), p.44.

26. J.E. Pearce, A.G. Vince and R. White with C.M. Cunningham, 'Mill Green Ware', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 33, (1982), pp.266-298.

27. E.R.O., D/AEW 1/269.

28. 'Leggs' is possibly a misspelling of 'Teggs'-- *Tegulator* being the Latin for tiler.

29. P.R.O., E179/108/241.

30. The tilers were:- Thomas Birde, Walter Dawdry alias Rawlyns, John Tweedy and John Finche. The potters were:- Christopher Fowler, William Lee, Richard Johnson, Richard Lee, Robert Prentice, John Palmer, Richard Palmer, John Spilman, William Stamer and John Taylor.

31. The line of demarcation between moulded bricks and terra-cotta was an extremely fine one. Terra-cotta was produced and used in sixteenth century English building for just fifty years, between 1495-1545. The work was mainly produced by foreign craftsmen but some native potters or brickmakers may have been involved.

32. Those men given the designation of bricklayer were:- William Cumbers (d.1608) Francis Monke, Thomas Monke, John Tabor, Thomas Tabor (d.1588), Humfrey Garrold (d.1617) and one [...] Bannister.
33. See below for brick production methods.
34. E.R.O., D/DP A10, 11 and 12.
35. This herringbone pattern was known as 'nogging'.
36. W. Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640', *Past and Present*, 4 (1953), pp.44-59 and R. Machin, 'The Great rebuilding: A reassessment', *Past and Present*, 77 (1977), pp.33-56.
37. W. Abel, *Agricultural fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, (1980).
38. Essex brickbuilt sixteenth century houses include Ingatestone Hall, Old Thorndon Hall, Theobalds and the most spectacular early Tudor building, Layer Marney Towers.
39. For example the 'newe lofte' of John Amot, surgeon, who died in 1591. E.R.O., D/AEW 10/2
40. The examples have been mainly found in wills and court rolls.
41. William Harrison, *An historical description of the Iland of Britaine*, (Ithaca, U.S.A., 1968), p.201.
42. By 1600 almost all houses in Essex had one chimney at least.
43. Walter Dawdry alias Rawlyns was a brickmaker and tiler and William Starling was a potter and tiler.
44. Statutes of the Realm 17 Edward IV C1V.
45. E.R.O., Q/SR 137/73.
46. *ibid.*
47. *ibid.*
48. *ibid.* The accused were Stephen Newton and Richard Whitehead both of Fordham; John Smith of Horksley and John Thamond and Ambrose Clarke (being partners). This last association is the

only known example of men working as an official partnership in tile making in late sixteenth century Essex.

49. E.R.O., Q/SR 137/73.

50. Guildhall Library MS 3047 Vol. 1.

51. Guildhall Library MS 4323.

52. E.R.O., Q/SR 137/73.

53. E.R.O., D/DP A10 and 22.

54. E.R.O., D/DP A10.

55. E.R.O., D/DP A22.

56. E.R.O., D/DP A10.

57. E.R.O., D/DP Z14/3.

58. *ibid.*

59. 'Earnest Money' was cash paid in advance for goods to be made as a form of token to bind a bargain.

60. E.R.O., D/ABW 32/7.

61. E.R.O., D/ABW 12/11.

62. E.R.O., D/ABW 10/71 Thomas Castle, brickmaker bequeathed to his son James in 1598;- 'My donge carte, and all my tooles, plangste, bordes and impliments, about my work house whatsoever'. He did not mention a kiln specifically.

63. E.R.O., D/DP M777.

64. Essex County Council, Sites and Monuments record for Stock.

65. Thomas Tabor is the first man given a written occupational designation of bricklayer.

66. G.J. Eltringham, 'The extension of the Carpenters' Company Hall 1572', *The Guildhall Miscellany*, Feb. 1955, pp.30-35.

67. In 1610 the Essex Quarter Sessions Wage Assessment decreed that a master tiler and a master bricklayer should receive the same rate of 16d. per day.

68. See Wealth and Social Status of Clayworkers below.

69. E. R. O., D/DP E25; D/DP M1325.
70. E. R. O., D/DP A10.
71. E. R. O., D/DP A20.
72. *ibid.*
73. *ibid.*
74. E. R. O., D/DP A10.
75. *ibid.*
76. R. B. Outhwaite, *Inflation in Tudor and Stuart England*, (1969), p. 14.
77. E. R. O., Q/AA1.
78. See for example Nicholas Maes (1634-93) 'The sleeping kitchen maid', 1655, held by the Trustees of the National Gallery. The picture shows a very large number of pottery kitchen implements.
79. E. R. O., D/ABW 19/300, will of Thomas Charfoulde (1627).
80. There are frequent references to boards in the wills of the potters of Stock.
81. P. C. D. Brears, *The English County Pottery. Its History and Techniques*, (1971) pp. 125-129.
82. E. R. O. D/AEW 11/239 (Edward Hankin, potter d. 1599); D/ABW 12/159 (William Dawdry, tiler d. 1578); D/ABW 12/111 (Walter Dawdry, brickmaker d. 1565).
83. Brears, *English County Pottery* p. 146.
84. E. R. O., D/DP A10.
85. *ibid.*
86. E. R. O., D/DP A10, 11, 22 and 23.
87. E. R. O., D/DP A10.
88. *ibid.*
89. *ibid.*
90. E. R. O., D/DP A22. Pipkins are small pots made of earthenware.

91. E.R.O., D/DP A23.
92. E.R.O., D/DP A22.
93. E.R.O., D/DP A18.
94. Map Seven shows the finds of pottery in the village of Stock.  
Note the concentration of sites around the common.
95. Essex County Council, Planning Department Artefact record.
96. Found during 1977 when the Almshouses were being modernized.
97. P.C.C. 41 Pyckering.
98. J. Rushton, 'Folklore and Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England', *Popular Archaeology* April (1984), pp.33-36.
99. All the black glazed, grey-ware is housed at the Castle Museum, Colchester.
100. E.R.O. D/DP M777
101. For example Castle Hedingham Pottery, Essex.
102. E.R.O., D/DP A10.
103. It is interesting to note that at this date (1550) the connection between glass manufacture and pottery production was in existence. In the next century it was to become a feature of the London trade. See W.G. Bell, *A short history of the worshipful Company of tylers and Bricklayers of the City of London*, (1938).
104. Corporation of London Record Office Alchin Box I/1.
105. J. Musty, 'Pots for the Hot houses at Hampton Court and Hanworth'. *Post Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 10, (1976) pp.102-103.
106. P.R.O., E179/109/287.
107. P.R.O., E36/237/454.
108. P.R.O., E36/241/43.
109. P.R.O., E36/241/563.
110. See Map Eight.

111. Musty, *loc. cit.* He has suggested that Stock potters were well known for this particular product or that no potter near to Hampton Court was producing this type of ware.

112. *Fryerning Parish church: A Guide*, (1979).

113. Calendar of Queens Bench Indictments Ancient 666 pt. III no. 356.

114. Of the 18 men that left wills, 8 were potters, 5 were tilers, 2 brickmakers and 4 were bricklayers.

115. The sums of ready money left by bricklayers were large; William Cumbers who died in 1608 left cash to the value of £63 Gs. 8d; E. R. O., D/DP AEW 15/20.

116. E. R. O., D/DP E25 p 5. He held 15 acres and one tenement in Stock called Le Rydden also 3½ acres, a barn and other tenement called Turnehatch.

117. E. R. O., D/DP T1/2069.

118. A survey of 1565 describes his property as:- '1 tenement called Bernards being 57 foot long, 15 wyde, 9 storey tiled, 1 kitchen 32 longe, 15 wyde, 9 storey tiled, 1 barne 29 longe, 15 wyde, 8 storeys thatched, with orchard, garden curtilage, 1 croft and 1 meadow and 14 acres'.

119. E. R. O., D/DP E25.

120. The amount of land held by some men was far too great for purely subsistence farming.

121. Walter Dawdry was frequently referred to as a yeoman in Quarter sessions and Manorial records.

122. E. R. O., D/AER 14/41.

123. E. R. O., Q/SR 236/84.

124. E. R. O., D/ABW 10/71

125. E. R. O., D/DP 54.

126. E. R. O., D/ABW 334.

127. See wills and parish register, E.R.O., D/P 54.

128. The non-survival of the Buttsbury parish register hinders the discovery of more inter-family relationships.

129. E.R.O., Q/SR 137/73.

## Chapter Seven.

### Religious Life in Stock.

#### The General Background.

The sixteenth century was amongst the most important eras of change in the history of the Church in England. Not only did the split from Rome establish the Church of England but it also witnessed the rise of Protestantism and the introduction of the vernacular to religious services and liturgy. It was not just the ritual of the Church which underwent profound change; more importantly, the spiritual and doctrinal beliefs of many of the inhabitants of England were in a state of instability throughout the Tudor period.

By the mid-sixteenth century Essex was one of the most profoundly Protestant counties of England. This Protestantism pre-dated the actions of Luther in 1517 and had its roots in the non-conformity of Lollardy which had strongly gripped parts of Essex during the fourteenth century and had survived throughout the fifteenth century in some villages in the county. Essex was also geographically well-placed to receive the ideas and printed matter emanating from the presses of Protestant Germany. Colchester, Maldon and other urban seaboard towns in the county were also the first places of refuge for many religious exiles fleeing continental Europe during the first few decades of the sixteenth century. The county was close to the centres of contemporary intellectual thought, London and Cambridge; and therefore received news of doctrinal argument, schism and any changes in the law governing the Church in England, long before more distant counties did.



In Essex heresy of a nascent Protestant type, which demanded the use of the vernacular Bible and the abolition of Popish ritual and superstition had existed prior to the changes made by Henry VIII and his ministers. Generally, Essex was welcoming to the Protestant cause and the establishment of a reformed Church.

Hence when Mary Tudor came to the throne, the county was by and large of a Protestant persuasion. During her short reign, twenty-two inhabitants of Essex were burned for their refusal to accept the 'old' faith.<sup>2</sup> As she lay on her death-bed, a further seven Essex people awaited the flames.<sup>3</sup> Essex provided more martyrs than any other English county. Of course not all Protestants had stayed to face the rancour of the Queen; about three hundred people of sufficient wealth (or patronage) had fled from England to the relative safety of Swiss and German cities.<sup>4</sup> When Mary died many of these Protestant exiles returned to the towns and villages of Essex, no doubt strengthened and encouraged by the power of God who had removed the misguided Queen. Armed with the latest ideas and doctrines from Geneva, Strasbourg and Frankfurt and bringing with them the latest Bibles, Prayer books and other spiritual reading-matter all were eager zealously to preach the 'true' word of God within the county.

The sixteenth century was certainly a time of change in many aspects of the religious sphere; doctrinally, hierarchically, legally and in the rituals of worship. But the overall impression one receives is that, apart from a few deeply religious people who were willing to die for their faith, the vast majority of English people during the Reformation era showed a remarkable readiness to accept the *status quo* and to tolerate the prevailing religious climate.

How the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury were affected by

religious change during this time is examined below.<sup>5</sup> An attempt is made to analyse the influences brought to bear on the spiritual life of the villagers and to see whether belief was changed through education or by the resident clergy or influential laity of Stock and Buttsbury. When one looks at the surviving evidence for the villages of Stock and Buttsbury one soon realises how little evidence there is for a) the beliefs of the villagers and b) the conduct of the rectors. The religious persuasion of the patrons of livings may help somewhat as they frequently chose like-minded men.

#### Stock and Buttsbury: Influences on Religion 1510-1558.

It is highly likely that the villagers of Stock were swayed in matters of religion in the same way as were hundreds of other English rural communities. They were swayed by the views of the resident clergymen and landlords and through the teachings and ideas of the religious reformers that had filtered through society into the minds and hearts of the husbandmen and yeomen of the village. Religion played an obvious part in the lives of most people. As a building, the church was the local centre for social as well as spiritual life. It was the place where news and information on national and local issues was disseminated.<sup>6</sup> In many villages, including Stock, the Church was also the school and the only venue where all the village could meet under one roof. Changes in the practices of religion did interest many people and not just those of the Yeoman and Gentle classes. In 1577 William Crooke an Essex farmer, told the County Quarter Sessions Court that he heard George and William Binkes, two tailors "reasoning very earnestly with his servant" on the question of transubstantiation.<sup>7</sup>

Before the Dissolution of the Monasteries, several of the manors within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury had been administered by two ecclesiastical landlords: the Prioress of Ickleton and the Bishop of London.<sup>8</sup> The park at Crondon had long been the playground of the Bishops. The villagers must have observed in awe the mighty prelates and their liveried servants arriving at the park and the conspicuous wealth of the higher clergy. The splendour of the church was taken by many to be the sign of a flourishing church and thus a sign of God's favour.

The most important and fundamental fact about Stock is that throughout the period under discussion the villagers appear to have got no spiritual lead from their spiritual leaders. Neither the patrons of the livings nor the incumbents provided by those patrons exercised much influence on the beliefs of the village inhabitants.

Before the arrival of Sir William Petre and his household at nearby Ingatestone Hall in the 1540s, the village of Stock had never felt the influence of a substantial resident landlord. A Prioress or Bishop were both birds of passage. Of course, there were resident minor gentry and wealthy farmers in the two parishes, but no one man of sufficient status to give a lead in religious matters in the way that a substantial resident landlord could. A writer in 1650 could state that for a tenant 'his Religion is a part of his copie-hold, which he takes from his land-lord'.<sup>9</sup> But residence was essential. Margaret Spufford has found that heretical belief was much more common in large Cambridgeshire villages that did not have a resident landlord.<sup>10</sup> If lordship was a visible presence it could act as a check upon religious dissent, although it could not prevent it or eliminate it.<sup>11</sup> In Stock heretical belief could have developed unchecked

prior to the 1540s. With the arrival of the Petre family came new and powerful influences. But a resident landlord with an equivocal position so far as religious beliefs were concerned was in no position to mould opinion and provide a lead for the inhabitants of Stock.

Not only was Sir William Petre a grand figure with a retinue of grey and azure liveried servants, but he was also a man of national importance who entertained the rich and powerful of the land (including the Queen) at Ingatestone Hall. He was also a county magnate, a Justice of the Peace, an enormous landlord and an important employer of the inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury. But most of all he was in religious matters an equivocal figure and few inhabitants within the two parishes can have failed to see this.

Sir William and his son Lord John were both reluctant Protestants, barely conforming to the beliefs of the established Church. Both men had wives who were Papists and their households not only celebrated Mass and harboured private Catholic Chaplains but also provided Catholics with places of safe refuge.<sup>12</sup> It can be safely said that both Sir William and Lord John Petre were actively sympathetic to the Catholic cause. However, Sir William Petre had made his name and fortune and amassed his extensive estate from the profits and plundering of the Monasteries.<sup>13</sup> Much of his land, and especially so in Ingatestone, Stock and Buttsbury had been purchased from the King immediately after the Dissolution. He may have been a Catholic at heart, but he willingly embraced Henrican Protestantism in order to make his fortune and estate.

It should be noted that when Mary came to the throne he reaffirmed his belief in the Catholic faith, served her loyally

as a minister but was 'politic' enough to obtain a Papal Bull to protect his rights and interests in his ex-Monastic lands.<sup>14</sup> Such actions speak louder than words and he should be seen as a political creature, willing to accept the faith of his sovereign in a public capacity while retaining personal religious beliefs which he did not seriously compromise. He was evidently a tolerant man. He did not present Catholics for recusancy and more importantly he did not persecute the more radically Protestant members of his tenantry, even during the reign of Mary.<sup>15</sup> How a man like this could influence the local inhabitants is difficult to assess. He was a well-liked man and a popular and fair landlord and perhaps the main thing he taught the villagers was the importance of formal submission to the religion of the day combined with stable inner individual belief.<sup>16</sup> The religious opinions of the inhabitants of Stock were formed prior to the arrival of the Petres during the 1540s. Although no doubt influential in other ways, the impact of the Petre family on the doctrinal beliefs of the indigenous population was minimal.

Evidence from the lay subsidy returns of the 1520s show that by that date Stock had a number of 'alien' settlers from the Continent.<sup>17</sup> At least one, Levinge Dale, is known to have come from 'the Kingdom of the Emperor'.<sup>18</sup> It is possible that these men had come to England to escape persecution and may have held somewhat advanced views in matters of Lutheran doctrinal belief. The Dale family continued to live in Stock until the seventeenth century and apart from being an extremely wealthy yeoman family, held from the 1580s firmly Protestant beliefs.<sup>19</sup>

The first indications of a reforming zeal and a hatred of ritualistic belief in the villages of Stock and Buttsbury comes in 1548. The Priest of Stock John Dakyn was certainly an ardent

Catholic and perhaps the perpetrators of the crimes were dissatisfied with the rituals and trappings of the religious life of the parishes:-

'It is presented that John Sparke of Stocke, husbandman, on the last day of September broke open the door of the sacred edifice at Buttsbury and entered, and two pieces of linen, called a Rochet and an alter clothe, were taken outside the church; and that Richard Clark abetted, assisted and strengthened the aforesaid John to open the aforesaid door'.

'Further they present that Edward Pratte is a common litigant and disturber of very many people of the Lord King there sojourning and after the last court he came within the church of Stocke aforesaid, and finding a certain book called a Register in the choir there, he maliciously and irreverently tore it to the detestable and pernicious example of others, for which deeds of his and for having addressed other scandalous words at that time to the rector there, he is committed to the constable to be punished in the stocks for the space of one day'.<sup>20</sup>

Iconoclasm was not new to Essex and it has been suggested that as official religion moved in a Protestant direction, more people of that persuasion were encouraged to perform such acts.<sup>21</sup> At Writtle in 1573 there was an iconoclastic incident perpetrated by the parish Priest and some of his congregation who did £100 of damage to the church.<sup>22</sup> The incidents in Stock and Buttsbury indicate that at least some of the villagers were not satisfied with the reforms of the Henrican Settlement and wanted an even less ritualistic church.

By 1553 and the accession of Mary Tudor, Protestantism had certainly taken hold in Stock and Buttsbury. At least three men held such strong Protestant beliefs that they were forced to flee

from their homes for at least part of the reign. One man possibly even joined the Marian exiles abroad.<sup>23</sup> In 1556 Commissions were issued ordering various Essex Gentlemen to enquire who had left the country and what lands and goods they had owned. It was also asked who had been receiving the income while they had been away. When the facts came to light, their goods were to be seized for the use of the Crown.<sup>24</sup> Many such exiles had been wise enough to convey their lands to friends or kinsfolk and thus prevent sequestration.<sup>25</sup> John Asser, John Harper and John Rigges of Stock and Buttsbury were all said to have fled. Nothing is known of John Harper other than that he lived in Buttsbury during the 1550s.<sup>26</sup> A little more is known of the other two.

In 1549 John Asser was described as a Gentleman, and held the property of Dukes within the manor of Blunts.<sup>27</sup> John Rigges was also of at least yeoman status and a member of a well-to-do Buttsbury family. He also held property within the parish of Buttsbury in the manor of Buckwins.<sup>28</sup> In April 1556, John Harper, John Asser and the wife of John Rigges were presented at the Court Leet for not attending Church: -

'And that Asser did not go to any Parish Church at any time during Lent until this date. He has not taken the sacraments or Eucharist since Easter. Therefore he has not participated in any Holy affairs. And that Mary Rygges the wife of John Rigges has also not come to church for the time aforesaid nor received the Eucharist or Holy Sacrament and has not participated in any Holy affairs. Like wise John Harper....'.<sup>29</sup>

Although the Commissioners were told that the men had fled, there is little evidence to show that any of them was away for any great length of time. In fact evidence from the Court rolls indicates that John Rigges was resident and serving as a juror

for much of Mary's reign.<sup>30</sup> It seems therefore that all the men were hidden or removed from the parishes at times of questioning and thus supported and protected by family and neighbours, including Sir William Petre, in whose manor they lived. Their Protestant views were evidently tolerated, if not actively supported, by others living in the area. John Asser and John Rigges continued to live in the parish of Buttsbury after the death of Mary Tudor. John Rigges died in 1561 but unfortunately the preamble to his will shows nothing more than a conventional belief in Protestantism and does not show the declaration of faith one might expect from a man prepared to flee his lands to defend his beliefs. The will also points to the fact that preambles to wills are not an infallible way of indicating religious zeal.<sup>31</sup>

John Asser died in 1582 and his statement of faith was likewise unremarkable. 'I bequeth my soule to almighty God and unto his son Jesus Christe by whose death and passion I hope at the reserrection to be saved'.<sup>32</sup>

Stock did not supply any Protestant martyrs, although Thomas Watts, a linen draper who was burned at Chelmsford, came from the adjacent parish of Great Burstead.

#### The Clergy of Stock and Buttsbury c. 1550-1610

From 1556 until 1579 the Rector of Stock was Oliver Clayton who appears to have been a conforming Protestant cleric and a man who subscribed to the Elizabethan settlement of January 1559, which acknowledged the Queen as Supreme Governor of the Church. He may have had some leanings towards the old ways, having been admitted to priestly orders as early as 1531. In 1564 he was arraigned in the Essex Archdeacon's Court because 'he turneth his



face at the communion as he did at mass time.' He replied that from henceforth he would 'stand in no such sort', so he seems to have been confused over the issue rather than defiant in the way that the Eucharist was celebrated.<sup>33</sup>

Oliver Clayton was not a man of reputable character and certainly not one that the more 'Godly' members of his congregation would look to for reforming ways. In 1566 he was denounced as a drunkard by Christopher Driver one of his parishoners. At the same time as this, Clayton and Driver were engaged in a battle in the Court Leet at Stock over a plea of trespass and debt.<sup>34</sup> When Driver and his wife were presented in the Archdeacon's Court for not attending communion, Driver simply stated that 'they were not at peace because the Rector of Stock is a drunkerd'.<sup>35</sup> Clayton was frequently in trouble in the manorial courts, charged with normal agricultural offences such as overburdening the common with animals, owning unringed pigs and having unruly hedges and blocked ditches.<sup>36</sup> The frequent presentments indicate that Clayton was at least a resident Rector. He was also presented for harbouring and giving hospitality to beggars and vagabonds in 1564, showing that at least he did something in his role as a provider of charity.

Apart from his feud with Christopher Driver there were others within the village who did not get on well with him. These included his Churchwardens! In 1576 Henry Clayton and William Savering complained about Clayton to Lord Rich. (Rich held the most radical Puritan beliefs of any Essex County magnate) The two churchwardens were admonished in the Archdeacon's Court for their complaints.<sup>37</sup> Clayton died in 1579 and soon afterwards the villagers of Stock acquired a Rector who was even more of a problem to them.

William Pindar was Rector of Stock from 1580 until 1626, apart from a short period when he was deprived of the living.<sup>38</sup> Not only did he fight with his parishoners but he was involved in a drunken brawl in a Chelmsford inn with the Rector of Leaden Roding.<sup>39</sup> Within the parish his cantankerous nature involved him in disagreements and court cases with others. During the 1580s he fought a long battle in the law courts over a tithe dispute involving the manor of Crondon. In 1586 a group of Stock inhabitants (Charles Whiskard, the wife of Richard Brock, the wife of Pearse, the wife of Rumbold Tavernor, the wife of Alexander Garret, Thomas Miller and the wife of Thomas Burwell) petitioned the Archdeacon to be allowed to attend a 'different church with some sufficient minister, not Pindar'.<sup>40</sup> Permission was granted in 1587 by the Archdeacon who was moved by 'certain reasons' which were unfortunately never revealed.<sup>41</sup> In the same year Pindar was accused in the same courts of being a contentious person.<sup>42</sup>

Troublesome when resident, Pindar's greatest sin was his constant non-residence in the parish, for Pindar was a pluralist. From 1583-90 he was also Rector of Montisfont in Hampshire. Not only was he double-beneficed, William Pindar was also private Chaplain to the widow of the first Marquis of Winchester. He did provide a Curate to substitute for him, but his constant absences from Stock resulted in the sequestration of his living in 1587. He was replaced briefly by William Simmons, but he was back as Rector of Stock by 1590.

Pindar may have been a pluralist and non-resident but he was certainly not mute as a minister. He was described in Grindall's citation as a 'preacher of the Devine Word'. He may have held quite advanced views on doctrinal matters even though committing

one of the 'old religion' vices of pluralism. In 1586 he was presented in the Archdeacon's Court because 'the chancel windows wanteth mending' and more interestingly for 'pulling up a seate in the chancell wch was verie necessary'. This action could possibly have been Pindar rearranging the interior of the church to allow worship to take place in a more advanced manner.<sup>43</sup> Or possibly just bad temper!

In a further appearance in the Ecclesiastical Courts in 1590, the Archdeacon expostulated with Pindar in Latin. But Pindar said he would not converse in that tongue, thus showing either a strong belief in the use of the vernacular in all matters to do with religion, or that he couldn't understand a word said to him.<sup>44</sup>

The Rectors of Stock may not have been too enthusiastic towards their duties to their parishoners, but the situation in Buttsbury was even worse. In 1564, the Archdeacon's court found that 'they have had no sermons this yere' and that 'the parson hath two benefyces'. The parson had also 'not examined the parents neither the godfather nor godmother of their belefe in the time of baptisme nor when they shoulde receave neyther hath instructed the youth in the catachisme'.<sup>45</sup>

Buttsbury did not have a Rector, being a perpetual Curacy. The Curate there from at least 1577 to 1586 was Lewis Maddox, who also held the living of nearby Fryerning and may have been a man of positive Catholic beliefs. In a libellous writing implicating many Stock and Buttsbury residents in a cuckolding incident, Maddox was described as 'a right Papist'.<sup>46</sup>

William Simmons was the next Curate at Buttsbury from 1587-1598. All we know about him is that he quarrelled with his patron, Sir John Petre, who removed him from office after an

undisclosed argument. A letter written by William Simmons explains; 'until such tyme, that upon some mislike conceyed against me by Sir John Petre, Knight I was by him disharged of the said cure, had convenyent tyme and warning given me to departe from the same, which warnings I obstinately reiectinge did still intrude my selfe, both to possesse the parsonage howse, and also to discharge the said cure of Buttsbury for the space of three whole years after, contrary to the will and pleasure of the saide Sir John Petre, Knight, Lord and Patron of the same Parsonage'.<sup>47</sup> Petre was forced to pay him £30 for three years unwanted service. Simmons was replaced by John Middlehurst in 1599, who died in office in 1603. John Taylor became curate until 1609, but was evidently of low calibre, as in 1605 he was accused by the Essex Enquiry into the State of the Clergy of being a 'dumbe Minster', and thus not preaching in a Puritan manner.<sup>48</sup>

Of course for many of the inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury the church met their basic needs of marriage, christening and burial. But for local radicals the local church was obviously unsatisfactory. They may well have attended other churches to hear good sermons and held or attended conventicles in nearby towns.<sup>49</sup> By 1618 there were conventicles being held at Margareting Tye just north of Imphey Hall as this ballad shows:-

'Gowers the Puritane sayeth yt ye signe of the crosse ys the mark of the beast,

But his understanding ys grosse, and hes a knave at the least.

He is become an headboroughe of late,

And all his witt runs through his pate,

Yea more he is the great commander att Tye,

who will not sweare but slander and lye,

He carries the Bible under his arme,

How ys yt possible his neighbour he shoulde harme,  
 He hath not learned such evill out of Gods booke,  
 But from the Davill the same he tooke,  
 Let him taketh sentence from a friende,  
 Without true repentance, badd wll be his end,  
 He by a sligte can handle a sickle,  
 And by candle lighte, have a conventicle'.<sup>50</sup>

The beliefs of the villagers c. 1558-1620.

The individual religious beliefs of the inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury can be seen in two ways, neither of which is entirely satisfactory. First through the presentments made to the Ecclesiastical Courts for religious misdemeanour and non-attendance at church. Although useful, the Ecclesiastical Courts in Essex for the period in question were far more concerned with morality than belief.

The second possible method of seeing individual belief is through the statement or preamble at the beginning of a testator's will. Sometimes such statements reveal personal beliefs by transcending the standard phraseology. But before personal belief can be discerned it is important to know something about the style of the scribe or writer of the will. Not all men used scribes. If literate, a testator often wrote his own will.<sup>51</sup> But illness frequently made even the most educated person unable to write such an important document and another man was therefore employed to write it. Out of the 166 wills surviving for Stock and Buttsbury for the years 1551-1620, the writers of 125 wills are known by name.<sup>52</sup> This includes wills written by a testator or another man acting as a scribe. In all, 47 men wrote at least one will within the two parishes during

that time. This in itself is quite interesting, indicating the high degree of literacy and the wide choice of people to whom a man on his deathbed could appeal for help in writing his will. However, there are a number of men who were used frequently as scribes. ( See Table Five)

Table Five: Dominant Scribes in Stock and Buttsbury c. 1551-1620.

Name of scribe	number of wills written	Period of time
Dale Christopher	18	1561-1591
Heywood Edward	12	1570-1598
Garrett Alexander	9	1580-1599
Clayton Oliver	9	1557-1574
Pindar William	6	1587-1591
Simmons William	4	1589-1615

The first bequest in any will was for the soul. A Catholic testator would always include wording referring to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Company of Heaven. A typical wording would be that which John Amot, a Stock surgeon who died in 1554 used, 'I give and bequeath my soule to almighty God and to our blessed Lady Mary and to all the Holy Company in Heaven'.<sup>63</sup> Throughout the reign of Mary Tudor all wills from Stock conformed to this style and contained similar wording to the above, even though a will made in 1552 by John Clerk a yeoman was definitely Protestant in expression. ' I do bequeath my soule to Almighty God, to be savyed by his death, passion and mercy: and my body to be buryed in the parish churchyard of Buttsbury where it shall please God to wille me to his mercy amending me only to him every

( 2 during this my present life'.<sup>54</sup> The last truly Catholic will from the village comes as early as 1561 when Thomas Lyving bequeathed his soul to 'Almighty God and to all the Blessed cupoyny in heaven'.<sup>55</sup> After that date there survive no more Catholic wills.

All wills from 1561 onwards contain fairly Protestant preambles with definite Puritan beliefs such as that of Richard Barker a tiler who died in 1585, 'I bequeath my soul to almighty god my saviour and redeemer by whose death and passion I trust to have remission of my sinnes and salvation of my soul' and Margaret Amot who died in 1592 'my soul I commend into the hands of almighty God by the mediation of Jesus Christ my redeemer, by whose death and passion I truste to be saved'.<sup>56</sup>

It has been suggested that the scribe of the will was for the most part responsible for the wording of the bequest for the soul in a large number of wills. Margaret Spufford has found that 'the clauses in wills bequeathing the soul of the testator to God are therefore mainly couched in whatever phrase the particular scribe was accustomed to use and, taken alone tell little or nothing of the testator's opinions.'<sup>57</sup>

In an attempt to see whether this was the case amongst the scribes of Stock all the wills written by Christopher Dale (the scribe most frequently used amongst surviving wills) have been examined. All the preambles are set out in Appendix Six. As one can see no will was worded in exactly the same way and it appears that this particular scribe would insert any phrase required by the testator. For example the will of Thomas Lyving was Catholic, while all other wills written by Dale were Protestant. Although Christopher Dale seems most keen on the non-conformist idea of christian burial in an unspecified place, he inserted the words

'to be buried in the churchyard of Buttsbury by my father' for his kinsman Richard Dale in 1568.<sup>58</sup> Christopher Dale's basic preamble wording was 'I commend my soul to Almighty God my maker and redemer and my body to be buried within Christian buryall' but only twice did he use just this basic statement of faith.<sup>59</sup> Thus it does appear from this Stock and Buttsbury evidence that some scribes would, and did, take into account the more personal beliefs of the dying.

If we may judge by the preamble of the will as the century progressed there was an increase in Calvinistic beliefs within the two parishes. The first clear belief in predestination comes from Mathew Dale, a Yeoman, in 1585 whose will states that 'first I thanke my heavenly father through my deere and only saviour Jesus Christ for that he hath chosen me before the beginning of the worlde, and in the worlde in his good tyme (which he had determynd) called me to the assured hope of eternal life in Jesus Christ'.<sup>60</sup> In 1603 and 1616, two Gentlemen of the parish, Walter Farre and John Blake held no fear of death as both knew they were chosen as members of the Elect:

'My soul to God the father his son Jesus Christ my redeamer the Holy Ghoste my comforter three persons and one true eternall and everlasting God trusting and right steadfastly beleiving by and through the pashant death and blodshedinge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to have forgiveness of my synns and by his glorious, resurrection and assensyon syttinge at the right hande of God the father makinge attondment for my crymes and syns of the faithfull to attayne to be inheritor of the blessed kingdom of Heaven with the Electe children of God'.<sup>61</sup>

'First and principally I bestowe and commend my spoule unto the hands of our Almighty God my maker steadfastly trusting through



the merit, death and passion of my sweete saviour Jesus Christ to full pardon of all my synnes and to be partaker of all the celestial joys promysed to the Electe and my body to conveyed to the earth from whence it came'.<sup>62</sup>

Basic Protestant wills began in Stock prior to the reign of Mary.<sup>63</sup> The wills that survive from her reign all revert to traditional Catholic types, in keeping with the change of direction of the English Church. But from the 1560s onwards all wills were of a straight-forward Protestant type and interestingly many do not have a clause bequething the body to a particular churchyard for burial. Most just require that the body should be given a christian burial or that the burial should be at the discretion of the executors.<sup>64</sup> This may indicate some non-conformity. Calvinistic belief does not become important until the 1580s and the word Elect is not used until after 1600.<sup>65</sup> Apart from the few men and women of Calvinistic belief from the 1580s onwards most of the inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury conformed to the established Elizabethan Protestant faith. Their primary belief and emphasis was on salvation through Christ's death and passion alone, rather than having a confirmed belief and knowledge of being a 'chosen one' as a Calvinist would have it.

A few people had strange, indefinable beliefs. For example the will of Thomas Barley, written in 1595 looks at first glance almost Catholic in belief with the mention of the 'Company in Heaven'. It is however strongly Protestant. 'I commend my soul unto almighty God, the father of heaven who for Christs sake his only son, nowe my redeemer, I do faithfully hope and believe will mercifully accept and redeame the same into the blessed companye of Heaven'.<sup>66</sup> Later in the same will, he requests that Mr Joyner,

parson or preacher of Norton shall receive ten groats 'to make a sermon at the parish church of Buttsbury within 1 month of my decease'.<sup>67</sup>

Formal education was highly influential in the spread and acceptance of Protestantism, the ability to read being the most important way in which the word of God could be transmitted. The vernacular Bible rather than the incomprehensible jumble of Latin was the important element in the Elizabethan Protestant Church. Prior to the mid 1580s, it is not known whether basic education was available within Stock and Buttsbury. In the 1580s and 90s there was a school in Stock which taught the rudiments of literacy. It was based within the church building but it is not known if teaching occurred in any but the most sporadic way. In 1586, the schoolmaster was presented in the Archdeacon's Court for causing damage in the church.

'Mr Presson of Stock, schoolmaster had faced (defaced) the chancel in making a fire for his scholars'.<sup>68</sup> In 1589, John Newton the curate of Stock was accused because he 'teacheth children being unlicensed'.<sup>69</sup> He argued that as he was a licensed curate able to teach men that he therefore could teach children. The curate of Buttsbury, William Simmons was also running some sort of school in 1599.<sup>70</sup> Literacy in the two parishes was perhaps higher than at first might be imagined. In 1571 John King a carpenter bequeathed to his son 'my byble and the testament'.<sup>71</sup>

A cuckold scandal presented in the Quarter Sessions Court in 1584 also reveals how many ordinary inhabitants could read. When Thomas Petchey was examined in connection with this case he confessed that 'he found in the porch of his house towards the street, a writing which he then took and read somewhat of it and lay it up----- and upon the friday following he showed it to one

Gillam a stranger, no inhabitant in the town, coming to his house with one Miller of the same town'. Another Stock man John Lynsell was examined in the case and confessed ' that upon Friday was seven night hr receaved of his brother in law Petchey a writing— which he read'.<sup>72</sup>

Even within a Protestant community, Christianity itself had a rival amongst the common people. The belief in witchcraft, sorcery and the 'wise man or woman' was still strong in sixteenth century society. Essex in particular had a strong tradition of pagan belief and rituals that survived into the twentieth century.<sup>73</sup> During the Tudor era the county was viewed as 'a bad countrey, I think even one of the worst in England--- they say there is scarce any town or village in all this shire but there is one or two witches at the least in it'.<sup>74</sup>

Inhabitants of Stock consulted local wise men most frequently at times of illness or misfortune. When disease struck them or their families, often the only hope for a cure was through the herbs and potions of supposed witches. The Archdeacon's Court records contain several examples of witchcraft cases from the Stock vicinity. In 1600 Thomas Saye of Buttsbury was presented because he 'went to a wizzard for help for his child'. Saye admitted he went to a man for medicine. He was cautioned by the court and the case was dismissed.<sup>75</sup> In 1580 Elizabeth Boxworth was accused of being a witch, she denied the charge and no more was heard of the matter.<sup>76</sup>

But the most famous witch trial in Stock was the case of Agnes Sawell or Sawen. In 1576 it was presented at the Quarter Sessions that she was an enchantress 'both of men and beasts and other things'. The specific allegation made against her was that she had two years previously bewitched Christopher the son of

Roger Veale who had become 'lame in both feet' and his feet still remained curved and he was scarcely able to use them.<sup>77</sup> During the following year writs were issued against her and she was delivered to Colchester Gaol where she was held on suspicion of being an enchantress, even though she pleaded not guilty. It appears that she placed herself in gaol as at the top of the entry is written 'put themselves'.<sup>78</sup> It was possible that she feared attack from her neighbours and other local people who harassed her.

In June 1577, a West Hanningfield Husbandman was bound over to keep the peace towards her in the Quarter Sessions.<sup>79</sup> It is most interesting to note that Agnes Sawell held the next door farm to Roger Veale at Crondon, as Plate One clearly shows. This emphasises once more how often old widows or single women could antagonize the patriarchal society and be made scapegoats for the misfortunes of others. It is not completely clear what happened to Agnes Sawell; but a lease dating from 1582 seems to suggest that she was back in Crondon. 'Witnesseth that one Agnes Sawell of Crondon---- widow, hathe and holdeth at the will of Sir John one messuage or tenement commonly called or known by the name Bartilimewes'.<sup>80</sup>

Life was extremely difficult for most ordinary people in sixteenth century society. The superstitious belief in pagan ritual and herbal remedies was as important for many people, especially the uneducated rural poor, as the belief in God and the sure knowledge that in the next life things would not be so hard. For witchcraft and the tradition of Paganism survived the suppressions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and for them to have survived they must have been used and practised by a fair number of people. That is not to say Essex was a pagan

society, just that the magic of superstition, custom and ritual were important within the countryside for many people.

But for the more wealthy and especially the educated, the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation offered an alternative. The belief in Calvinism amongst the more prosperous of the inhabitants of the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury is not simply a coincidence or a matter of chance. Calvinism must have been very appealing to those who had prospered in this life and many wealthy yeomen and gentlemen must have felt that if they were not the Elect, then who were? Certainly not their poorer uneducated neighbours, who did not act in a 'Godly' manner or read their vernacular Bibles.

The wording of the preambles of the wills of the yeomen, husbandmen and craftsmen living within Stock and Buttsbury during the latter part of the sixteenth century, shows that the dominant belief amongst the middling strata of rural society, was Elizabethan Protestantism. It was the belief desired by the state and the established church hierarchy, it was preached from the pulpit and taught in the schools and liturgically it was the simplest, placing the ultimate importance on salvation through the death of Christ alone. The vast majority of residents of Stock and Buttsbury believed in the religion of the State, in what they were told to believe and this in itself is not surprising in sixteenth-century England.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven.

1. There was a large concentration of religious refugees at Colchester.
2. J. E. Oxley, *The Reformation in Essex*, (1965) pp. 210-237.
3. *ibid.*
4. W. Hunt, *The Puritan Moment*, (1983) p. 87.
5. See below, Stock and Buttsbury: Influences on Religion 1510-1558.
6. If the Minister was of the 'preaching' or 'painful' type.
7. F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Disorder*, (Chelmsford 1970), p. 46.
8. See Chapter Three: Landholding.
9. John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie*, (1650) p. 54.
10. M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities. English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Cambridge 1974) pp. 306-315.
11. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, p. 314.
12. In 1590, John Bold or Bolt who had been a Court musician took refuge in the Petre Household at Ingatestone. In 1594 he was arrested at Broadoaks in Essex but later released. He fled to the Continent where he was ordained as a priest in 1605.
13. Dr (later Sir) William Petre was one of Henry VIII's principal Vistors to the Monasteries in the county of Essex.
14. E. R. O., D/DP F/147.
15. See the cases of John Asser, John Riggs and John Harper below.
16. See Chapter Three: Landholding, for the role of the Petre family as Landlords.

17. P.R.O., E179/108/232 (1525) Levyng Dale, an alyaunt; Cornellys de Anderson, servant with the seyde Levng and Awderen Fraunsys, an alyaunt.
18. Cal. Patent Rolls, 32 Henry VIII, p. 8, m. 11.
19. E.R.O., D/AEW 8/269, will of Ellen Dale (1586) 'Thanke the Lord my God through Jesus Christ that he hath given me the knowledge of him and of his onely begotten son wherin standeth the assurance of my Salvation unto whom I do most humbly commend my soul where it shall please him to separte it from my body'.
20. E.R.O., D/DP M746 mem. 2, (1549).
21. Oxley, *The Reformation*, p. 89.
22. E.R.O., Q/SR 48/41.
23. John Asser was not resident in the village during the reign of Mary.
24. D.M. Loades, 'The Essex Inquisitions of 1556', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXXV no. 91 (1962), pp. 87-97.
25. Oxley, *The Reformation*, p. 200.
26. John Harper was presented in the Stock Court Rolls in 1556, E.R.O., D/DP M747.
27. E.R.O., D/DP M 746 mems. 1 and 2.
28. E.R.O., D/DP M 746.
29. E.R.O., D/DP M 747 mem. 5 April, 1556.
30. Rigges served as a Juror in 1555, 1556 (twice), 1558 and in 1559 after the accession of Elizabeth was elected as Constable.
31. E.R.O., D/AEW 4/243 (1563).
32. E.R.O., D/ABW 2/60 (1585).
33. F.G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Morals and the Church Courts*, (Chelmsford 1973), p. 195.
34. E.R.O., D/DP M748 mem. 34.

35. E. R. O., D/AEA 3 f. 77 (1566).
36. E. R. O., D/DP M 746 and 7.
37. E. R. O., D/AED 1, April 29 1576.
38. E. R. O., D/AED 12.
39. Emmison, *Disorder*, p. 70.
40. E. R. O., D/AEA 13 f. 66 (March 1586).
41. *ibid.*
42. E. R. O., D/AEA 13 f. 86.
43. E. R. O., D/AEB 10 (June 1586).
44. E. R. O., D/AEA 5 ( Nov 1590).
45. E. R. O., D/AEV 1 f. 17 (1564).
46. E. R. O., Q/SR 91/68.
47. E. R. O., D/DQ 19.
48. E. R. O., T/A 361.
49. By 1564, regular prophesysings were being held at Chelmsford, Brentwood and Horndon on the Hill. They continued until the 1570s.
50. E. R. O., Q/SR 222/12.
51. This was especially so if the will was written before the onset of an illness.
52. Wills are from the Bishop of London's Commissary in Essex (E. R. O., D/AB) and the Archdeacon of Essex (E. R. O., D/AE).
53. E. R. O., D/ABW 3/2.
54. E. R. O., D/ABW 8/163.
55. E. R. O., D/AEW 4/101.
56. E. R. O., D/ABW 5/84 (Barker); D/AEW 10/121 (Amot).
57. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, p. 332.
58. E. R. O., D/ABW 12/118.
59. E. R. O., D/ABW 12/114 (1566); D/ABW 18/296 (1568).
60. E. R. O., D/ABW 12/189.



61. E. R. O., D/AEW 12/246.
62. E. R. O., D/AEW 15/282.
63. E. R. O., D/ABW 8/163.
64. E. R. O., D/ABW 4/297 The will of Roger Bexwell, yeoman  
(1571/2) 'my body I will shall be buryed in Christian Buryell'.
65. E. R. O., D/AEW 12/246 The will of Walter Farre, Gentleman  
(1603) 'Electe Children'.
66. E. R. O., D/ABW 5/328.
67. *ibid.*
68. A. J. Willis (ed.), *Canterbury Licences (General) 1568-1646*,  
(1972).
69. E. R. O., D/AEA/14 f. 194.
70. E. R. O., D/AED 4 f. 175-178, 'There came unto this deponant  
[John Middlehurst] one David Bushe (his then Scholar)'.
71. E. R. O., D/AEW 6/63.
72. E. R. O., Q/SR 91/70.
73. Even as late as the early twentieth century some areas of  
Essex had strong links with witchcraft.
74. George Gifford, *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and  
Witchcraftes*, (1593), unpaginated.
75. E. R. O., D/AEA/20 f. 237 (Dec. 1600).
76. E. R. O., D/AEA/11 f. 127 (Mar. 1580).
77. E. R. O., Q/SR 59/9.
78. E. R. O., Q/SR 60/48 and 49.
79. E. R. O., Q/SR 63/16.
80. E. R. O., D/DP E25.

## Chapter Eight.

### Law and Order: The Role of the Leet Court.

During the Middle Ages manorial lords held Courts Baron in which they administered their lands, controlled their tenants and extracted their seigniorial dues. The Court Baron was historically the customary court of any manor and was also a court of civil actions between parties where the Crown was not involved. As Coke said in 1764; 'It is the chief prop and pillar of the manor, which no sooner faileth but the manor falleth to the ground'.

By the second half of the sixteenth century the Court Baron was primarily concerned with the transfer of property and land, both copyhold and freehold. As seen in Chapter Three, this was true for the manors which held Courts Baron within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury. As well as the right to hold a Court Baron, some Lords held the right to hold a Court Leet. The Court Leet was the lowest of the national system of courts that dealt with pleas of the Crown. Above them were the courts held by the Justices of the Peace, the Judges of Assize and the Judges of the King's (or Queen's) Bench. The right to hold a Court Leet was an ancient privilege granted by charter and had its origin in the Sheriff's Tourn. It had wide powers of enquiry and could look into many types of offence. It had the power to fine, but could not use imprisonment as a punishment for offenders, although the stocks, pillory and ducking stool might be used to humiliate wrongdoers.

In theory, all persons of whatever rank in life, both men

and women, servants and masters, from the age of 12 to 60 years were compelled to attend the Leet. Leet jurisdiction also gave the authority that held it, power over all the manors lying within its judicial district. Many historians of the post-mediaeval period have assumed that the manorial system went into decline when Lords gave up cultivating their demesne lands and using villein services upon them. Students of sixteenth and seventeenth century rural society speak confidently of the decay of manorial courts and Courts Leet and provide very little information about their role in villages and communities. Cicely Howell's work on the village of Kibworth Harcourt shows that the Court Leet and Court Baron were irregularly held during the Elizabethan period, and were very inefficient:

'No longer did the Court leet deal with brawling, petty theft, debt or rubbish in the streets, it merely recorded licences to brew ale and occasionally took a fine for harbouring vagabonds. In the Court baron land transfers were rarely recorded. Between 1500 and 1611 courts were held in only 27 years'.<sup>2</sup>

Wrightson and Levine in their study of the Essex village of Terling, found few manorial records for the Elizabethan period and state that:

'The courts of the various manors, whatever their powers might have been in medieval times, had ceased by the turn of the 16th century to have any function other than the registration of land transactions'.<sup>3</sup>

This situation was not universal throughout sixteenth-century England. Central government certainly recognised the Leet's continued role and usefulness in administering the countryside. Between the years 1523 and 1607, the Statute Books provided eighteen new laws which had direct recommendations and

requirements for the Courts Leet to act upon. These ranged from sumptuary legislation, to the breeding of horses and the preservation of game, to the better-known acts relating to the maintenance of highways and to the harbouring of inmates Act of 1589.<sup>4</sup> The Crown was well-aware of the actual or potential power of an active Court Leet within the national administrative system.

Both the manors of Crondon and Imphey Hall held Views of Frankpledge and Courts Baron throughout the reign of Elizabeth and Fristling Hall held a Court Baron. But more importantly for matters of law and order, the Petre family also held the right to hold a Court Leet for the strangely named manor of Inge Ging Joyberd Laundry alias Harvard Stock (henceforth referred to simply as Stock Leet).

In the 1540s the Tourn and Leet of Stock was purchased by Sir William Petre from a member of the Tyrrel family. A survey compiled in the 1550s showed it to be a complex institution, giving details of those owing suit to the court and those liable to court-keeping fines.<sup>5</sup> The Leet was to be held twice yearly and was so kept until the beginning of the seventeenth century. It gave the Petres control over common pasture, woods and waste, the right to control the Assize of bread and ale, as well as ancient manorial rights such as the right of deodand. A deodand being the personal chattel which had caused a person's violent or accidental death, was deemed to have been given to God (hence the name) as an offering. In 1595 Stock jurors presented that Thomas Brock, a yeoman of the village, died after falling off a cart carrying forty wooden faggots. They were valued at two shillings and that sum was levied by the Lord in the name of a deodand.<sup>6</sup> The Tourn of Stock also gave the Petres the right to hold a civil

court for tenants' pleas of debt, trespass and slander of a petty nature, involving sums of less than forty shillings. This was the Court Baron acting at the lowest level as a court of common law.

As seen in Chapter Three, the Court Baron was an important and vigorous institution in Stock where the villagers were still using it to register transfers of title and deed. But it was the Court Leet that was more important as an instrument of local economic and social control. For some villages, and Stock was one of them, the Elizabethan Leet Court did administer and enforce such legislation as lay within its power. Evidence from the village of Stock shows that at least some new legislation was almost immediately acted upon and rapidly enforced in the Leet by the Lord. For example an Act passed in 1571 to encourage the wearing of woollen caps on Sundays and Feast-days and thus boost the woollen industry, was being ruled upon in Stock by 1572.<sup>7</sup> Looking at this negatively a Lord may have complied quickly to obtain additional income through fines, but on a more positive note it does show that the system had the potential to enforce legislation, if the Lord was active and able in his court-keeping.

The influence of the Court Leet in Stock was wide-ranging. During the sixty years under investigation over 350 names can be found in the Court Rolls. Between the years 1548-1602, the court rolls for 66 courts leet survive. They are quite full and cover over 51 membranes of parchment.<sup>8</sup> One estreat roll is reproduced in Appendix Seven to illustrate the type of material that is contained in the rolls.<sup>9</sup> The importance of the Leet in its role as a social and economic control mechanism not only depended on the role of the Lord, but just as importantly on the ability and judgement of the twelve men who stood as jurors. At Stock Leet a

total of 175 men appeared as jurors, almost two-thirds making five or less appearances. (See Table Six) Only fourteen men (eight percent of the total) appeared on more than 15 occasions between 1558 and 1602. A similar pattern of jury service can be seen at the Court Baron held at Crondon. Here an almost identical proportion appeared between one and five times, whilst just under ten percent appeared on more than fifteen occasions. (See Table Seven). At Imphey, where the court sat only once a year, an even larger majority (eighty-six percent) attended the court as jurors on no more than five occasions. (See Table Eight).

The jurors were drawn from a wide cross-section of society, from gentlemen to labourers. Although most people were eligible for service, it was the more prosperous members of the community who appeared most frequently. The yeomen, wealthy husbandmen and better sort of craftsmen tended to appear year after year; one husbandman being made a juror on a total of 34 occasions.<sup>10</sup>

The wording of the Poor Law Act of 1602 suggests that although the Court Leet was legally responsible for electing the village constable, many courts had ceased to do so, the right having passed to the Vestry. The main reason for this was that so many communities no longer had a functioning Leet. In Stock however, as in other Essex Leets, the jury of the court continued to elect the constable throughout the Tudor era. In most manors two men were elected as constables each year. In Chelmsford, with a population of about 2500 during the 1580s, there were seven constables; in Stock there were always two.<sup>11</sup> The jury elected two constables at Easter, usually for a two year term. Often a 'new' man served with one who had already served for one year. Thus service was staggered; one year as a kind of apprenticeship with the previous year's constable and the next year as the more

Table Six: Numbers of Jurors and the frequency of appearance at the Stock Leet, 1558-1602.

Number of Appearances	Number of Jurors.
1-5	114
6-10	31
11-15	16
16-20	8
21-25	3
26-30	2
31-35	1
	175

Numbers of Jurors and Appearances  
STOCK COURT LEET 1558-1602

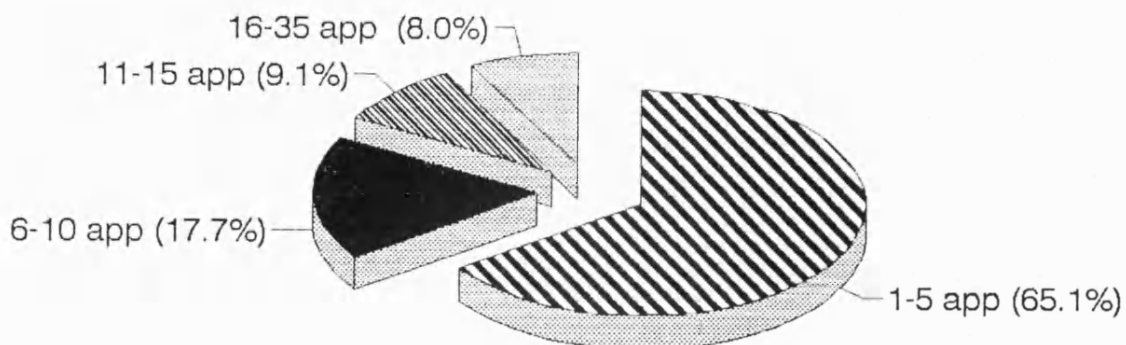


Table Seven: Numbers of Jurors and the frequency of appearance at Crondon Court Baron.

No. of Appearances	No. of Jurors
1-5	46
6-10	10
11-15	8
16-20	3
21-25	2
26-30	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>

### Numbers of Jurors and Appearances CRONDON COURT BARON 1558-1602

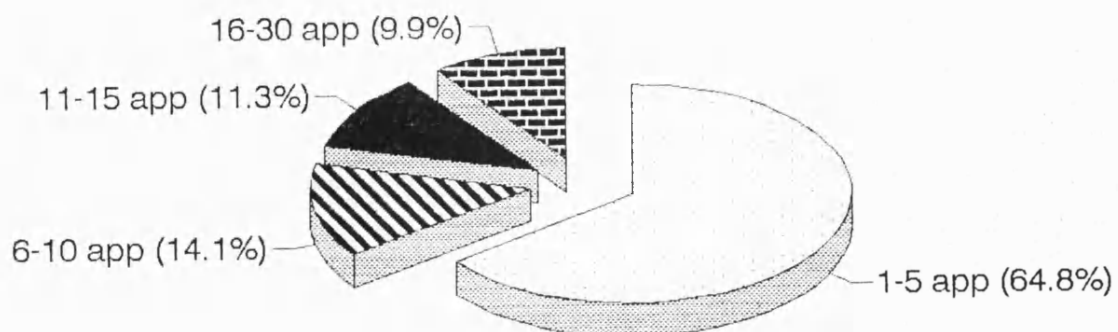
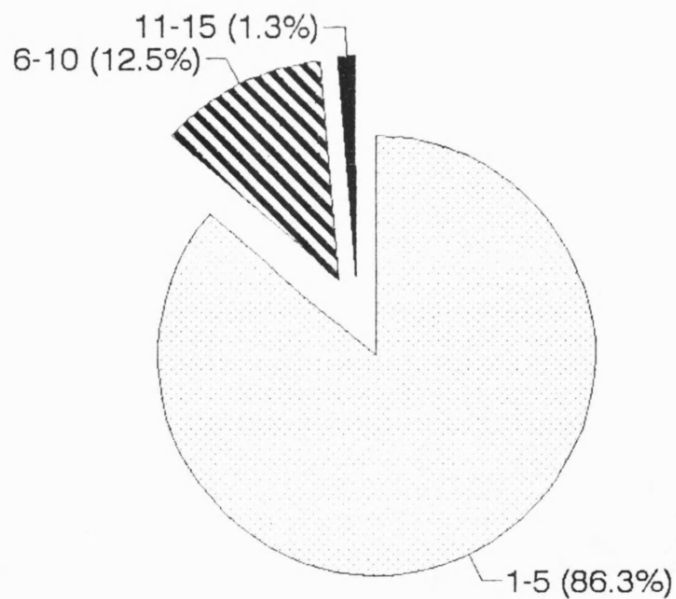




Table Eight: Numbers of Jurors and the frequency of appearance at Imphey Hall Court Baron.

No. of Appearances	No. of Jurors
1-5	69
6-10	10
11-15	1
Total	80

### Numbers of Jurors and Appearances IMPHEY COURT BARON 1558-1602



experienced officer, teaching the newly elected constable. There is some evidence that one constable was responsible for Buttsbury parish and one for Stock.

Some historians have claimed that substantial village inhabitants avoided appointment to the position of constable. But evidence from Stock suggests the reverse; the heavy demands of the post and the responsibility of the office often required a man of status and influence within the community. The appointment also demanded a man who could spare time from earning his living if the duties of the role of constable were to be performed efficiently. Most constables appointed by the Stock Leet were of yeoman family background or at the very least of the better sort of husbandman or substantial craftsman (see Table Nine). Between 1556 and 1602, of the thirty-nine known constables appointed in Stock, twenty-two were of yeoman status, while a further thirteen were substantial husbandmen or craftsmen. Many of these men frequently served as jurors.

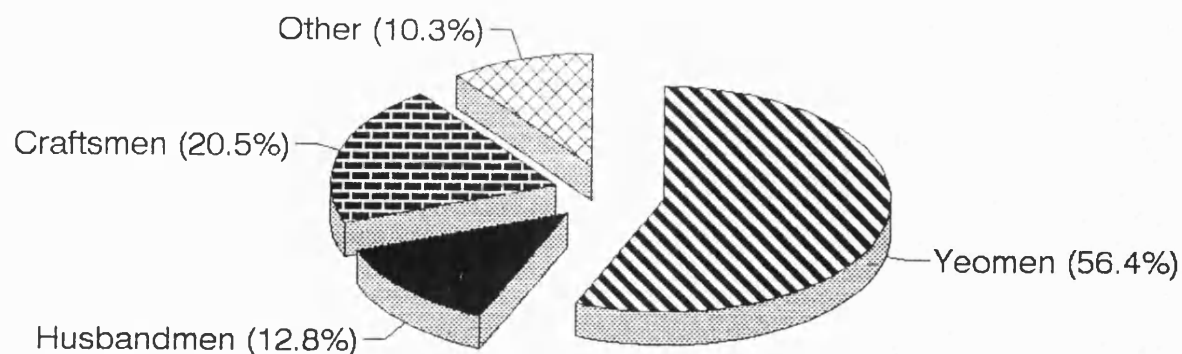
There is no evidence of any man refusing to serve as constable and most men appear to have exercised their office diligently, even when assaulted with hot irons, as one Stock constable was in the 1570s!<sup>12</sup>

David Hey's work on the village of Myddle and Joan Kent's research into the office of constable both point to a similar class of man performing the job elsewhere in England.<sup>13</sup> Somewhat suprisingly it has been found that in the village of Terling, Essex the office of constable most frequently went to husbandmen and lesser craftsmen.<sup>14</sup> At Stock the constables did not appear to be afraid of presenting gentlemen and the better-off inhabitants from the village at the Leet and the words of the dramatist John Heywood on the office of constable ring true:

Table Nine: The Occupational status of Constables in the village of Stock, 1556-1602.

Occupation/ Status	No of persons who were constables (X)	X/total no. of persons (%)	No. of years as constables (Y)	Y/total no. of years(%)
Yeomen	22	56	30	54
Husbandmen	5	13	8	14
Craftsmen (Incl. turner, carpenter, sawyer and potter)	8	21	12	21
Miscellaneous Occs. (Incl. collier, flaxman, chandler and inn-keeper)	4	10	6	11

### Occupations of Constables STOCK VILLAGE 1556-1602



'I am in office and doe knowe,  
directly what the lawe doth saye,  
if soe bee rich men doe offende  
as well as poore they must obey'.<sup>15</sup>

The Stock Leet also elected annually two men as Ale Tasters for the village. Socially, constables seem to have been a cut above these men. Over sixty percent of identifiable Ale Tasters were minor craftsmen, labourers and small husbandmen or cottagers. It must be noted however that despite their lowly status, the Ale Tasters performed their duties diligently. Many presentments were made relating to the Assize of Bread and Ale, mostly for selling with false measures, and a number of bye-laws concerning brewing as well as ale and beer price control were passed in the Stock Leet during the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

In Stock the Leet continued to meet twice yearly throughout the reign of Elizabeth and continued to elect officers to serve the village. The jury was made up of the more prosperous members of the community. The average number of presentments to the Leet was between 50 and 60 per annum (most of the population comes up every two or three years) during the second half of the sixteenth century, a slightly greater number than was found by Alan Macfarlane at Earles Colne, Essex.<sup>17</sup> There, an average of 20 to 30 cases per annum were presented in the Leet Court. An active Court Leet seems to have been operating in Stock and there is no evidence to suggest, as the early twentieth century historian Hearnshaw claimed, that the Court Leet was a 'possible instrument of the most galling persecution'.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover all examinations of Leet rolls, court papers and drafts have lent support to the recent findings of Walter J.

King, who has shown how conscientious, methodical and responsible the Lancashire Court Leet jurors were during the seventeenth century and concluded that:

'For many seventeenth century misdemeanants, the justice dispensed by the Courts Leet was not less reasonable than that dispensed by the Quarter Sessions'.<sup>19</sup>

The following evidence from Stock Leet Court not only supports that opinion but also shows that where an efficient and active Leet existed, there was less need to pursue cases in higher courts such as the Quarter Sessions and Assize Court. The active Court Leet also meant that inter-personal disputes could be solved within the village without recourse to outside authority.

It is impossible to judge whether all orders and demands made at the Court Leet were obeyed. The perennial demands that ditches were to be scoured and hedges trimmed appear to have been obeyed in approximately 70-80 percent of cases, as no further mention was made in later courts of the same offence. Sometimes it may be thought that orders were never obeyed; certainly the butcher presented year after year for the sale of unwholesome meat or the miller fined 4d every year for thirty years for grinding at excessive charge, appear to have ignored all warnings.<sup>20</sup> However, such annual payments could have been a kind of tax upon the activities of these men, imposed by the Lord, rather like a licence to trade or a licence to dig clay and no real offence may have been committed. Such formal breaches of the law may have been unimportant, but the Court Leet at Stock enquired into matters that did have a great effect upon the lives of individuals and the economic life of the village as a whole. Cases of petty felony, trespass into the Lord's and other tenants

property, hedge-breaking, assault and social problems such as the taking-in of travellers and strangers were all important matters requiring guidance and judgement from the jury at Stock Leet.

Historians think that petty felony cases were not usually tried or presented in Courts Leet. During the 1550s and 1560s charges of petty larceny, which were misdemeanours concerning goods worth 12d or less were normally and as a matter of course presented at Stock Leet. They involved thefts of horse-shoes, aprons, chickens, pots, tools and sheepskins. In other villages such cases automatically went to the Quarter Sessions, the records of which contain hundreds of similar indictments. In the Stock Leet those found guilty of such offences were normally fined between 4 and 12 pence.

Research has shown that only six cases of theft of goods, apart from wild game, by persons resident in Stock were taken to the Quarter Sessions between 1558 and 1602, a very small number. Of these only one involved theft of goods valued at less than 12d. In 1602 Dorothy Norrington, a spinster of Stock was found guilty of stealing a smock and a sheep worth a shilling from another Stock resident. She was accused of petty larceny, which she acknowledged and the court ordered that she should be whipped.<sup>21</sup> No-one found guilty of a similar crime at the Stock Leet received such harsh punishment for petty theft during the later sixteenth century and Dorothy Norrington was indeed unfortunate that she was not tried in Stock Leet.

It appears that the Leet Court of Stock performed the same function as the Quarter Sessions in petty theft cases and possibly acted to the advantage of those accused, because those found guilty received less harsh punishment. How many other Courts Leet performed the same function is a question yet to be

answered. But when such information is known it could have a dramatic effect upon crime figures for any county. To date, crime statistics for the sixteenth century have been based solely on cases presented at Quarter Sessions and Assize Courts. Criminological historians may have to look at Leet records before accurate figures of crime can be given.

The Ecclesiastical Courts were active in Essex throughout the Elizabethan era and as seen in the previous chapter many Stock residents appear in the records of that court charged with the common offences of non-attendance at the parish church, Sunday trading and a wide variety of sexual misdemeanours. Nevertheless the Stock Leet did in fact involve itself in matters of religion during the 1550s and '60s. During those two decades, seven Stock residents were presented at the Leet for failing to receive communion and for not attending the parish church.<sup>22</sup> All were fined small amounts of cash. Why were these cases, which were so evidently within the jurisdiction of the church presented in a Court Leet? Possibly the reason was the lack of strong leadership from the archdeacon and the failure of his court to address such matters consistently. The resident clergy within Stock and Buttsbury were not particularly vigilant and coupled with the inadequacies of the county Ecclesiastics meant that in matters of religion, as well as matters of social and economic life, the village turned to the Lord and the Court Leet for guidance.

In a village without a strong vestry it was often left to the Court Leet to administer social policy and regulate social problems, such as vagrancy and the harbouring of inmates. The Poor Relief Statute of 1589, concerning the building of cottages and harbouring of inmates, merely authorised action that the

Court Leet in Stock had been taking for many years. The Act forbade the erection of cottages with less than four acres of land. It made no provision for those lacking four acres and explicitly forbade landless families from seeking refuge with other families; 'There shall not be any inmate of more families or households than one dwelling in any one cottage'.<sup>23</sup>

The Cottages and Inmates Act of 1589 merely put into law the hostility to foreigners, outdwellers, travellers and inmates (meaning illegal tenants) that had been growing since the 1540s. In the Stock Leet the war waged against inmates steadily escalated from the 1540s. Bye-laws relating to the problem vividly illustrate growing fears. The first, made in 1549, stipulated a fine for every illegal tenant of just 12d. By May 1565, the penalty had risen to 20s. and by March 1581 any person who 'shall take into his house or let any house to any foreigner or out-dweller being likely to overcharge the parish' would forfeit sixty shillings for every inmate.<sup>24</sup> That sixty shilling penalty was levied throughout the 1580s and 90s. Without doubt the Leet jurors who were preventing others harbouring inmates, were defending themselves (as taxpayers) against actual or potential charges on the parish poor rates. (See Table Ten).

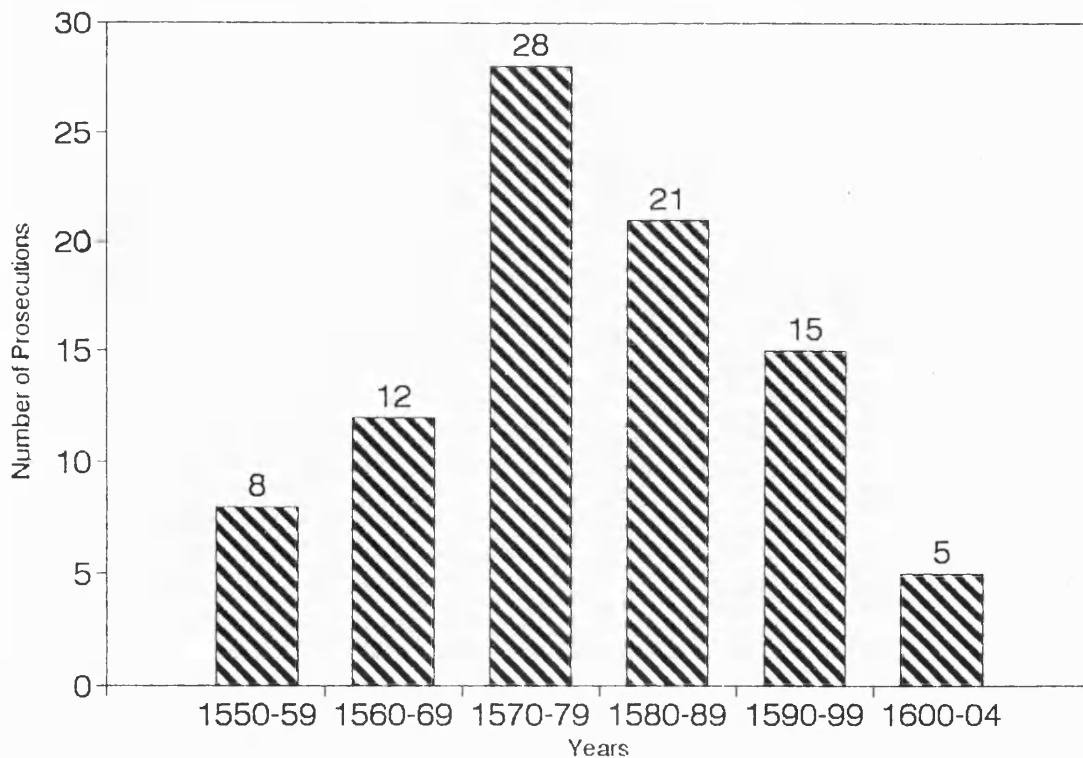
During the 1550s eight cases involving inmates were presented at the Leet and during the next decade the number of cases rose to twelve, involving twenty five people. The problem was at its height during the 1570s when twenty-eight cases involving thirty-five illegal tenants were presented. The 1580s were little better with twenty-one cases presented. But for the fifteen years after 1590 there were only twenty cases involving the same number of inmates presented at Stock Leet. Thus in Stock the problem reached a peak during the 1570s and 80s, years in



Table Ten: Numbers of inmates and numbers of prosecutions of those harbouring inmates at the Stock Leet Court, 1550-1604.

Decades involved	Number of cases	Number of inmates
1550-1559	8	11
1560-1569	12	25
1570-1579	28	35
1580-1589	21	24
1590-1599	15	15
1600-1604	5	5
Totals	89	115

### Prosecutions for Harbouring Inmates STOCK COURT LEET 1550-1604



which more bye-laws than ever were passed at the Leet forbidding the harbouring of inmates and vagrants likely to overcharge the parish.<sup>25</sup>

The decline of Leet jurisdiction over inmates and vagrants after 1600 was primarily due to the Poor Relief Acts of 1597 and 1601 which placed responsibility upon the overseers and made the parish vestry a more powerful and more secular body. It appears that Courts Leet, such as the one operating at Stock, were quite efficient at dealing with the problem of inmates. But the State was presumably forced to instruct a nationwide authority, the parish, to deal with the problem presumably because so few Leet Courts were efficiently run at the end of the sixteenth century.

Where the Court Leet was strong it often performed tasks that had traditionally been seen as the responsibility of the parish. In Stock churchwardens were instructed through the Leet, and more importantly presented their orders and bye-laws through the Leet. The following order made by the churchwardens in 1599 shows how, in a well run village, all authorities, the Church, the State and the Lord, could and did act as one:

' It shall not be lawful for any inhabitant to take any inmate without the assent and consent of the churchwardens and overseers for the tyme being, on payne of forfeit to the Lord - 40 shillings'.<sup>26</sup>

Often the landowner had little intention of allowing the vestry to control the Overseers of the Poor. Sir John Petre, ordered through a bye-law at Ingatestone Leet Court in the 1590s that 'receivers of wood to be fined 3s. 4d. or put in the stocks. Overseers to pay 6s 8d. for every neglect of this order. Constables being charged jointly with them to execute it'.<sup>27</sup> In theory Courts Leet had no power to issue orders to the State's

officers, let alone threaten them with a 6s. 8d. penalty for default. But where a Manorial Lord was powerful and wished to control all areas of jurisdiction within his Leet, most things became possible.

The Petres' Leet Court in Stock also had the right to hold pleas in civil actions for their tenants.<sup>28</sup> This was a basic and ancient right originally exercised in the Court Baron and was of dual benefit to the Lord and his tenants. For the tenants it meant that they had their own domestic court of justice. Not only did this save them the time and expense involved in a lengthy civil law suit at the Royal courts of justice, it also meant the speedy recovery of small debts due to them. The cost of pursuing a case in the court was very low; just 4d. and although pleas of debt were limited to an upper value of forty shillings, many inhabitants of the village used the Stock civil pleas court facility throughout the later sixteenth century. Between 1565 and 1591, ninety-five cases appear in the court rolls, most being pleas of debt, but also including actions concerning breach of contract, trespass and slander.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately these cases although outlined in the court rolls are not fully recorded and therefore only the parties involved in the case and the type of case brought are known. The right to hear civil pleas for his tenants was of benefit to the Lord, not only in terms of prestige, but also because it was a method of preventing unruliness and potential conflict between members of a community. Since the freeholders were the jury, the Lord could himself bring an action against another. He could not do this in the Court Baron where he or his representative, the Steward, were the ultimate judges. In the Civil pleas Court at Stock there is no example of the Petre family bringing a law suit against any

resident of Stock or Buttsbury.

Why were some Leet Courts, such as the one operating in Stock, held regularly throughout the Elizabethan period and apparently well-run, efficient and capable of dealing with a wide variety of matters and giving sound judgement: while other Leets failed even to hold court sessions? Was it simply a matter of a powerful Lord equated with a powerful Leet Court? Evidence suggests that this was sometimes the case; the major landowners in Essex, the Rich, Mildmay and Petre families all administered their courts with great thoroughness.

There may be another reason for the strength or weakness of Courts Leet. It may have something to do with the size of the town or village over which it held power. As the Leet rolls from the unincorporated towns such as Manchester, Coventry, Chelmsford and Southampton clearly indicate, a large community needed a vigorous organisation to maintain law and order, to originate and enact bye-laws for controlling trade, the quality of goods produced and generally regulating the economic and social life of the community. In times of population pressure, such as the sixteenth century and with the growth in mobility, the larger more prosperous towns and villages of England were facing an influx of strangers with hopes of quick advancement. Thus it was perhaps the larger and more prosperous unincorporated towns and villages which used the Court Leet to its maximum advantage during the later sixteenth century.

The Leet if used correctly could protect a community's interests, control the quality of the goods produced as well as playing an important role in the maintenance of law and order. The Leet also provided a forum for members of the community to advance their status amongst their neighbours. To be a juror, an

ale-conner or a constable, even though all were quite humble positions was of some importance in a close-knit community. As Geoffrey Goodman, vicar of Stapleford Abbots in Essex stated in the early seventeenth century:

'We make him a constable, sidesman, a head-borough and at length a church warden; thus we raise him by degrees, we prolong his ambitious hopes, and at last we heape all our honours upon him. Here is the greatest governor amongst us'.<sup>30</sup>

Punishment in the Court Leet was primarily restricted to amercement or forfeiture. It was not a court of gaol delivery, but could impose corporal punishment if necessary. This was through the use of the pillory, tumbrell, stocks and ducking stool. The use of such punishments was quite common throughout the sixteenth century in Stock village, usually for less serious offences. Six bye-laws were enacted during the 1570s and '80s which specified that the punishment for those caught breaking hedges or cutting wood without a licence should be a day spent in the stocks.<sup>31</sup> People convicted of being scolds, nags and general trouble-makers, both men and women, were sometimes placed upon the tumbrel and dragged around the village or ducked in one of the village ponds. Such crimes as being scolds and nags were also presented in the Ecclesiastical courts and show once more how the roles of other courts and the Court Leet could, and did, overlap.

J.A. Sharpe's recent research into seventeenth century crime has shown a great scarcity in the Quarter Sessions and Assize Court records of this sort of punishment involving public humiliation.<sup>32</sup> Other research, in both England and France, on the use of 'rough music' or 'folk justice', has shown how villagers took it upon themselves to punish offenders within their own

communities by public humiliation, such as the use of chanting, slanderous rhyme, carting the guilty person around the village or putting him in the pillory. It has been suggested that this unlawful popular folk justice competed with Royal justice in the courts of the land, and that local communities could act with considerable independence in matters of law enforcement through such activities.<sup>33</sup>

In Stock however the jury of the Leet, as we have seen, acted readily in cases which elsewhere were judged without benefit of due process. This legalisation of 'rough music' in the village of Stock may explain why there is only one case of extra-judicial 'rough music'. This case of 1584, involved a number of Stock residents being named as cuckolds in a scurrilous letter. The letter originated from outside the village, but some men in Stock took it upon themselves to go round to the houses of the men accused in the letter and sing obscene ballads to embarrass them.<sup>34</sup> It would be useful to look at village communities where illegal folk justice took place and to examine the structure and rulings of the Courts Leet there. It would also be pertinent to discover whether in villages where the inhabitants took it upon themselves to chastise and punish wrong-doers in a traditional manner, there was a functioning Leet at all, with the power to turn the villagers' wishes into legitimate penalties for misdemeanours.

External courts were indispensable for cases of a more serious nature; offences such as homicide, poaching, armed assembly and grand larceny were all tried at higher courts. Evidence from Quarter Session and Assize Court records show only fourteen cases involving both a defendant and a prosecutor both coming from Stock. This figure is very low, perhaps indicating

that where a Court Leet with the right to hear Common Plea cases was run efficiently, animosity and lawlessness between neighbours and kinsmen could be quashed by the community, within the community. Thus the local people solved problems through their own court, the Court Leet, before the matter became important enough for external agencies of law and order to become involved. Further research is needed before we can make any correlation between the number of cases that went to the Quarter Sessions and the failure of Leet Courts.

Without doubt for many communities in England (including Stock) the late sixteenth century was the 'Indian Summer' of the Court Leet. During the seventeenth century a variety of factors, primarily the passing of important functions of the Leet to other authorities, increased powers of the Justices of the Peace and the parish officers, as well as the disruptions of the Civil War, saw the decline of the Leet in many areas. But for the majority of inhabitants of sixteenth century Stock at least, the word 'court' meant Leet Court, and it was used as an efficient and influential organ of social and economic control, not simply in the financial interests of the Lord but for the benefit and greater well-being of the individual and the community in which he lived.

Footnotes to Chapter Eight.

1. E. Coke, *The Complete Copy-Holder*, (1764).
2. C. Howell, *Land, Family and Inheritance in Transition: Kibworth Harcourt 1280-1700*, (1983) p. 58.
3. Wrightson and Levine, *Terling*, p. 112.
4. F.J.C. and D.M. Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction in England: Especially as Illustrated by the Court Leet of Southampton*, Southampton Record Society Part I, Section III, pp. 122-130.
5. E. R. O., D/DP M754.
6. E. R. O., D/DP M748.
7. E. R. O., D/DP M748.
8. E. R. O., D/DP M746, 7 and 8.
9. See Appendix Seven, an Extreat Roll for the Stock Leet Court.
10. The husbandman who appeared most times as a juror was Robert Gore.
11. E. R. O., D/DP M746, 7 and 8.
12. Emmison, *Home, Work and Land*, p. 234.
13. J. R. Kent, 'The English Village Constable, 1580-1642: The Nature and Dilemmas of the Office', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol XX (1981) pp. 26-49; Hey, *Myddle*, pp. 218-231.
14. Wrightson and Levine, *Terling*, p. 104.
15. John Heywood, *Fools Fortune*, (1533).
16. E. R. O., D/DP M 748.
17. E. R. O., T/P 271; A. Macfarlane (ed), *Records of an English Village: Earls Colne 1400-1750*, (1980) p. 30.
18. Hearnshaw, *Leet Jurisdiction*, Part 5 p. 133.
19. W. J. King, 'Leet Jurors and the search for law and order in seventeenth century England: "Galling Persecution" or Reasonable



Justice?' *Histoire Sociale- Social History.*, Vol. XIII, 26, (1980), p. 323.

20. E. R. O., D/DP M748.

21. E. R. O., Q/SR 160/185 (Nov. 1602).

22. E. R. O., D/DP M747 and 748.

23. The Building of Cottages and Harbours of Inmates Act: 31 Eliz, Cap 7 (1589).

24. E. R. O., D/DP M746 and 748.

25. E. R. O., D/DP M748.

26. E. R. O., D/DP M748.

27. E. R. O., D/DP M100.

28. E. R. O., D/DP M 748 and 9.

29. *ibid.*

30. C. Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen*, (Oxford, 1968), p. 242.

31. E. R. O., D/DP M 748.

32. J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in Seventeenth Century England: A County Study*, (Cambridge 1983), p. 149.

33. N. Zemon Davis, 'The reasons of misrule: youth groups and charivaris in sixteenth century France', *Past and Present* no. 50 (1971), pp. 41-75 and J.R. Kent, 'Folk Justice in early seventeenth century England: A 'charivaris' in the Midlands', *Midland History* vol. 8 (1983) pp. 70-85.

34. E. R. O., Q/SR 91/68 and 70.

### Chapter Nine.

#### Law and Order: Non Manorial.

As has been shown in the previous chapter, an efficiently administered and regularly held Court Leet, especially when used in conjunction with a Court able to hear cases for Civil Pleas, was an effective and efficient instrument for the maintenance of law and order within an Elizabethan community. But there were times when a higher outside judicial system was required; either because the offence committed was of a very serious nature or because the crime committed was one which the Court Leet did not have the authority to examine. Although the general consensus of most Elizabethan communities was that differences were best settled amongst themselves, there were times when even a well-governed village or manor was forced to resort to external authorities when a crime such as grand larceny, murder, rape or an ecclesiastical misdemeanour had been committed.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter, an attempt is made to examine the frequency with which the villagers of Stock and Buttsbury became involved in non-manorial courts; the reasons for such involvement and what type of offences were most frequently committed by people from the two parishes. An attempt is also made to establish just how important non-manorial law enforcement agencies were for the community of Stock.

The Court of the Quarter Sessions, administered by the Commissions of the Peace, was established and working within Essex long before the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup> The most important gentlemen of the county, acting in their capacity as Justices of the Peace, played an important role in the success of this court.

Members of many important Essex families worked diligently as Justices of the Peace throughout the sixteenth century; a century in which the powers of these Justices undoubtedly increased. By the end of the reign of Elizabeth, there were a total of 309 statutes, which in one way or another, referred to the duties of the Justices of the Peace.<sup>3</sup> The role of the county gentry as Justices for their county, was in one sense, an extension of their power as landowners.

Many active Justices of the Peace would, in times past, have given judgement in their manorial courts. By the sixteenth century many were sitting as judges, not as Lord in their Courts Leet, but as Justices of the Peace for the county judicial system. This emphasises the increasing use made by the Tudor government of the landed classes as instruments of control in the counties, and also the delegation of power from the centre to the regions. But the power devolved by the Monarch was not of a type to make an 'over-mighty' subject and thus create a threat to the Crown. It was only the power to promote a person for the sake of 'national' good and order. In a sense, the feudal power of the county gentry was being harnessed to make them less powerful as individuals, but more powerful as a class of servants of the Tudor state, to rule and govern the shires. In Essex some landowners such as the Petre, Mildmay and Rich families continued to run their own manorial courts (or rather their Stewards did), in addition to making frequent appearances as Justices of the Peace. But these families, although powerful and respected as landowners, presented no threat to the Crown. Many members of these families owed their wealth and status to the Crown and as 'new' county families in sixteenth century Essex possessed no feudal ambitions, commanded no ancient allegiances and were in

reality little more than the 'Queen's men in the county.

The Quarter Sessions court had the power to examine and commit all thieves, murderers, rioters and all people that 'breached the peace'. Apart from judicial matters, the Justices of the Peace, acting through the Quarter Sessions were important licencing authorities; regulators of wages, weights and measures; agents for the maintenance of bridges and highways, and also the county supervisors of the Poor Law.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the Justices were collectors of taxes and enforcers of the 'official' religion. The Justices of the Peace wore many different hats. The two or three days spent every quarter at the Chelmsford Sessions Court, were not merely a time of meetings of the county gentry, lawyers and clerks to administer law and order within the county. These occasions were also great social gatherings of county society and a time for private matters to be aired and settled.

Table Eleven shows the number of residents of the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury who were involved in cases that came before the Essex Quarter Sessions. From 1571-1613, one hundred and four residents of the two parishes were named in some way in cases that came before the Justices of the Peace - that is to say, two or three per year out of a village population of c.500. The greatest number of cases were those involving poaching, illegal hunting and hawking. This not only indicates the importance attached by the great landowners to the preservation of game on their estates, but also confirms the close proximity of Stock to a number of great parks (Crondon, Writtle, Baddow and Ingatestone) and the plentiful supply of game in this part of Essex. Poaching and illegal hunting were not, as one might have thought, the occupations of a poor man. Most offenders presented to the Quarter Sessions for illegal hunting came from the gentry

Table Eleven: Numbers of inhabitants from Stock and Buttsbury presented in the Quarter Sessions Court between 1571-1613 with types of offence committed.

Five year periods from 1569-1613.

Offence	69-73 74-78	79-83 84-88	89-93 94-98	99-03 99-03	04-08 09-13	Total
Forced Entry					1 1	2
Alehouses <sup>1</sup>					3	3
Assault					1 1	2
Felony			1	2		3
Deception			1			1
Encroachment <sup>2</sup>		1	1		1	3
Libel		2				2
Church <sup>3</sup>		1				1
Theft		1		1 3		5
Armed Assembly		1				1
Illegitimacy	1				1	2
Maintainance <sup>4</sup>		2				2
Alehouse Licensing	2	2	2	1		7
Peace <sup>5</sup>	1		1		4 2	8
Witchcraft		1		1		2
Forstalling <sup>6</sup>	1			1		2
Illeg. Games	1					1
Vagrancy		2				2
Poaching	1	3	3	2		9
Highways <sup>7</sup>		1	1			2

Notes and explanations of types of cases..

1. Illegal Alehouses.
2. Encroachment on Highway or Common Land.
3. Presentments for non-attendance at the Parish Church.
4. Maintenance agreements for fathers of illegitimate children.
5. Orders to keep the Peace.
6. Forstalling the Market and sales of faulty goods.
7. Offences against the Highway, i.e. digging of clay.

or yeoman classes, and the weapons used being quite sophisticated, not just the more common nets, bows and arrows, but also hunting dogs and the relatively new handguns and shot.<sup>5</sup>

As shown in Chapter Eight, theft was often dealt with in the Civil Pleas Court in Stock and it is interesting to note that only five cases of theft of goods involving residents of Stock and Buttsbury, appear in the Quarter Sessions records for the 42 year period examined. It is important to note that only one case involved theft between two Stock inhabitants. This was in 1600, when Charles Payne, a butcher from Buttsbury was accused of stealing a sheep worth 6s. 8d. belonging to a Stock resident, Thomas Glascock. Payne was found not guilty.<sup>6</sup> Charles Payne was frequently in dispute with other butchers, and in another Quarter Sessions case, he and his servant were sent on to the Assize Court to answer a charge of theft of animals.<sup>7</sup> In all the cases in which Payne appears, he was either found not guilty or acquitted of all charges. He was decidedly unpopular amongst his fellow villagers whatever may be the truth about his alleged felonies. In 1593 he was presented to the Ecclesiastical Courts because 'He liveth very disorderly, neither frequents his parish church, neither in any order amongst his neighbours, but will most irreverently blaspheme the name of God by cursing and swearing even at his own mother'.<sup>8</sup> He was given penance and instructed to ask her forgiveness.

Of the other four cases of theft which occurred in the years 1581, 1598, 1601 and 1602, two involved the theft of livestock.<sup>9</sup> In one case a sheep and a cow, and in the other, a cow and calf worth 40s. The third case involved the theft of wheat and the final case was that of Dorothy Norrington who stole a smock and a sheet.<sup>10</sup> The inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury were involved in

a variety of cases heard in the Quarter Sessions. These ranged from a number of cases involving illegal hunting during the 1570s and '80s, to cases of libel, illegal or forcible entry and assault. There was just one accusation of witchcraft, which resulted in the trial of Agnes Sawell, which has been detailed above.<sup>11</sup>

Of the more unusual cases was one of armed assembly. At least twelve men, (including one yeoman, five labourers, four husbandmen and a butcher) were led by a Gentleman, John Paschall, an important landlord in the area. They grouped together with 'other malefactors' for an unlawful and armed assembly on part of Stock Common, in the parish of South Hanningfield. That part of the common was within the manor of Downham and held by the Earl of Oxford. When assembled the men assaulted various people including Thomas Clerk, a servant of the Earl's main tenant, Edmund Astlowe.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, no explanation is given as to why the fracas occurred. All but two of the offenders were fined 6d. each.

Another case of interest involved John James, a husbandman from Stock. He was accused of extortion.<sup>13</sup> During the trial it was revealed that James had been the apparitor (servant) of the Suffragan Bishop of Colchester and of the Bishop of London. He used the power of his old office, to summon a woman from Stifford and extort 3s. from her, supposedly to exonerate her from appearing before the Bishop of Colchester.

In November 1609, a group of inhabitants from Stock and Buttsbury, including nine women, were accused of riotously breaking and entering 'with scythes, sticks, cudgels, stones and the like' a property in Stock belonging to Paul Bayninge, Viscount Horsey. They were also accused of breaking down and

taking away wood and underwood worth 10s. At the same Quarter Sessions, five of this number were presented for breaking and entering another close called 'Stock Common' and assaulting Bayninges' servants, who were protecting that property.'<sup>14</sup> These incidents were, most likely, attempts by the villagers to preserve their common rights of free entry onto the Common to collect underwood and browse. They were perhaps prompted by an illegal act by Bayninge in fencing the Common.

When one looks at the incidence of cases and appearances of Stock inhabitants in the Quarter Sessions, there is no discernible pattern of particular crimes committed at certain times by the various classes of men. It is interesting to note that only two cases of vagrancy in Stock went to this court: the problem being successfully and efficiently dealt with in the Court Leet. Likewise very few cases of theft involving Stock men occur, as that crime too was being dealt with quite adequately and more humanely by Court Leet.

There is some evidence that at times, the Court Leet worked with Quarter Sessions, especially as a source of information. In the Court Papers for Imphey Hall Manor during the 1620s, reference is made to a Quarter Sessions case where an accused man had been released, due to insufficient evidence, on a charge of treason for meddling with coins. The Court at Imphey and apparently the man's neighbours still had their suspicions as they continued to make inquiries into the case within the Leet.

'We present that Henry Newman was apprehended under suspicion of treason and carryed before Mr Argall one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace there being no just prooffe against him was discharged for that time, but since some chypinges hath been found in his howse and he is gone away'.<sup>15</sup>



In 1629, the inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury petitioned directly to the Quarter Sessions about the drunkenness and idleness of servants and the poor within the village, due, (they felt), to the many alehouses which were described as 'styes for such swyne and cages of these uncleane birds'.<sup>16</sup> The petitioners condemned the 'slackness of inferior offices and other inhabitants of parishes (where such evils abound) to informe the magistrates of the delinquents that such good lawes might be executed'. Perhaps this was the 'Godly' voice of the Puritan element in the village, but the petition does show how the villages of Essex could petition their local court, the Quarter Sessions Court, and demand justice or better maintenance of law and order within the county.

The Assize Court was one of the main instruments of common law in England, closely associated with the Queen's Bench. The county of Essex lay on the 'Home Circuit' of the travelling Justices. From the year 1559, almost all indictments survive for Essex although these surviving documents only constitute about 10% of the original documents created by this court.<sup>17</sup> The indictments contain offences such as robbery, burglary, rape, grand larceny and murder. Table Twelve shows the number of inhabitants from Stock and Buttsbury who appeared in the Assize Court between 1569-1603. The most common reason for appearance was theft; theft accounted for fourteen cases out of the total of twenty-one. There were eight cases concentrated in the period 1584-93. These years were an era of great hardship and high prices in the region. Although the 1590s have been well-documented as a period of dearth, it appears from evidence found in the Stock parish registers, supported by the prices of wheat in the Chelmsford market place, that much of the 1580s were

Table Twelve: Number of Inhabitants from Stock and Buttsbury presented in the Assize Court between 1569-1603.

5 Year Periods	Crime Committed			
	Theft	Murder	Rape	Poaching
1569-73	3	1	0	3
1574-78	0	0	0	0
1579-83	1	0	0	0
1584-88	5	0	1	0
1589-93	3	0	0	0
1594-98	0	1	0	0
1599-1603	4	0	1	0
Totals	17	2	2	3

Table Thirteen: Number of Inhabitants from Stock and Buttsbury presented in the Court of Queen's Bench between 1570-1604.

5 Year Periods	Offence Committed					
	Theft	Murder	Weapons	Suicide	Inquests	Other <sup>1</sup>
1570-74	0	0	1	0	0	0
1575-79	0	1	0	2	0	1
1580-84	0	0	0	1	0	0
1585-89	1	0	0	0	1	0
1590-94	1	0	0	0	0	0
1595-99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1600-04	1	1	0	0	0	0
Totals	3	2	1	3	1	1

Note.

1. The 'other' case involved the holding of a Court Leet without right.

almost as difficult for many of the poorer inhabitants of Chelmsford Hundred. Theft of goods, livestock and foodstuffs was often related to economic hardship. Out of the seventeen cases of theft involving Stock inhabitants, only in three cases was the defendant found not guilty.<sup>19</sup> The types of goods stolen ranged from livestock (lambs and ewes, horses, pigs and poultry), silver plate and wool fells to a simple kettle.

One of the more interesting cases in the Assize Court occurred in 1573, when a man accused of murder was found not guilty of the crime, but of killing in self-defence.<sup>20</sup> The inquisition was taken before the coroner at Downham:

' on the view of the body of Humfrey Reineberd of Downham, yeoman, servant of Henry Tirrell, Knt aged 30 years, on the oaths of Robt. Bundock, John Glaskock sen, John Glascock jun, William Knightsbridge, Tho. Trebold, Charles Bundock, John Simpkin, John Hunter, John Stapler, John Kemper, John Davie, Geo Walles, Wm Hobb and Tho Hitchcock, who say on the 3rd March Walter Clark of Downham, yeoman another servant to Henry Tirrell, Knt, assaulted William Neile of the same yeoman, another fellow servant (Walter and Wm arguing and fighting together) and it happened that John Bulbrock of Ramsden Belhouse labourer, was trying to separate them when Humphrey Raineberd came up suddenly and attacked Wm Neale and struck him with a staff worth 8d. Whereupon he turned on Raineberd and grasped him in his arms and struck him with a dagger worth 12d. which he held in his left hand on his right cheke from which blow he languished until 6th March when he died'.<sup>20</sup>

The jurors said that William Neale killed Raineberd. But Neale pleaded not guilty of murder but guilty of murder in self-defence. Neale appeared at the gaol delivery and pleaded not

guilty; the jurors said that he was not guilty of murder as the inquest had said, but that he had indeed killed in self defence.

In 1579, there was another murder committed by one Stock man on another; Robert Tweedy or Twytte, a gentleman, and Thomas Tabor, a yeoman from Stock. Tweedy assaulted Tabor and stabbed him with a dagger. Tabor died soon afterwards from his wound. The Assize Court inquired into the case, but without the murderer present.<sup>21</sup> Tweedy appears to have fled, as the case was then taken to the Queen's Bench where his household goods were valued at £9 12s. 8d.<sup>22</sup>

The overall impression given by the crimes presented in all courts is one of a relatively peaceful society. As at so many periods, men did not simply argue: they fought to settle their differences, and because of the prevailing fashion for carrying knives and swords on the person, some people were injured and killed. Armed assembly and riot were not common amongst ordinary people and on the one occasion in which it occurred near Stock, it involved a local dignitary as leader. This involvement of a person of status is perhaps a relic of archaic feudalism in the Essex countryside.

As shown in Table Thirteen there were just eleven cases involving inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury presented to the Court of the Queen's Bench. Of these eleven, three cases were coroner's hearings on suicides in Stock and another an inquiry detailing the accidental death of a potter from the village. The suicides included the case of an unknown stranger with no goods who hanged himself with a horse-halter in the hay loft of Thomas Brock of Stock in 1575.<sup>23</sup> A Stock woman, Elizabeth Love hanged herself in 1577.<sup>24</sup> The third suicide, in 1584, involved Richard Taylor, a husbandman of 'Haverstock' who killed himself by cutting

his own throat.<sup>25</sup>

Of the remaining seven cases in the Queen's Bench records, two were murders by stabbing and another case involved two Stock men running amok with guns and shot.<sup>26</sup> There were also three theft cases, all petty.

One of the remaining cases is of interest and involved a Gentleman, Richard Blake, who held land in Stock, as part of his extensive estate. In 1576, he was accused of holding a View of Frankpledge for a year, with the Assize of Bread and Ale, the election of a constable and the inspection of weights and measures - in other words a full court for his manor of Bassetts in Little Baddow - without any authority.<sup>27</sup> He was regarded as in contempt of the Queen for this action. It perhaps shows just how valuable a court could be that even to those that did not have the right to hold one should presume to do so!

The deepest impression given by all the court records is of a society perhaps very similar to ours today: basically law abiding, but with some troublesome elements. There will always be thieves, swindlers, drunken brawlers and poachers in society, in any century. Violent crime and homicide were rare. The truth seems to be that Stock did not need or use the public courts a great deal. This may be a tribute to the efficient court leet but as it did not have jurisdiction over many felonies and misdemeanours this cannot tell the whole story. Stock gives the impression that it was almost entirely innocent of serious indictable crimes. This could be the case, but a more likely reason for lack of appearance in the external courts was the fact that many Stock men were never caught. The villagers perhaps conspired together against the authorities to prevent wrong-doers

being caught or perhaps passed their own judgement on those  
comitting violent acts in the village and took their own revenge.

Footnotes to Chapter Nine.

1. In the Essex village of Terling there was no active Leet Court to run the village by the Elizabethan period. See Wrightson and Levine, *Terling*, pp. 111 -12.
2. The National Justices of the Peace were established by statute in 1327.
3. G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary*, (Cambridge 1960) p. 454.
4. J.P's. in Essex were active in all these areas.
5. E.R.O. Q/SR 41/12.
6. E.R.O. Q/SR 152/174.
7. Assize Calendar 35/43/2.
8. F.G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Morals and the Church Courts*, (Chelmsford, 1973) p. 72.
9. E.R.O., Q/SR 132/98 and 99; Q/SR 152/83 and 85.
10. E.R.O., Q/SR 160/185. See Chapter Eight for further information on Dorothy Norrington.
11. E.R.O., Q/SR 59/9.
12. E.R.O., Q/SR 75/45.
13. E.R.O., Q/SR 127/28.
14. E.R.O., Q/SR 189/94.
15. E.R.O., D/DP M765.
16. E.R.O., Q/SR 264/103.
17. A. Macfarlane, *A Guide to English Historical Records*, (Cambridge 1983) p. 49.
18. Assize Calendar 35/12/4, 35/28/2 and 35/43/2.
19. Assize Calendar 35/15/7.
20. *ibid.*

21. Assize Calendar 35/2/4.
22. Calendar Queens Bench Indictments Ancient (henceforth Q.B.I.A.) 647 pt. I nos. 58 and 59.
23. Calendar Q.B.I.A. 639 pt. II no. 237.
24. Calendar Q.B.I.A. 646 pt. II no. 142.
25. Calendar Q.B.I.A. 662 pt. II no. 187.
26. Calendar Q.B.I.A. 634 pt. I nos. 59 and 60. 'Robt Thomson of Rawreth labourer, Edward Taverner and John Crosley, both of Stock labourers against the form of the Statute of Edw. VI used hailshot in handguns on 12 July in diverse places'.
27. Calendar Q.B.I.A. 641 pt. I no. 95.



Chapter Ten.Conclusion.

Throughout the previous nine chapters a variety of aspects of life in sixteenth century Stock have been explored. From the outset the main proposition has been to examine the village between the years 1548 and 1610, and to describe the lives of the inhabitants of Stock, rather than to present any specific theory about society or economy within Tudor England.

No single central theme has emerged from the research other than the fact that the economy of Stock (in both agricultural and industrial terms) was far more complex and diverse than originally envisaged. But there is one issue that can be seen to be central to the lives of the villagers of Elizabethan Stock and Buttsbury: the role of the Petre family. The economic and social power of the family and the household maintained at Ingatestone Hall influenced, both directly and in less obvious ways, the development of the economic, social and spiritual life of the village. The decision made during the 1540s by Sir William Petre to reside at Ingatestone Hall and consequently to make it the 'control-centre' for the administration of his extensive Essex landed estate, profoundly influenced the lives of those resident in the adjacent village of Stock.

The close proximity of a noble household from the 1540s until the 1570s (when Lord John Petre moved the principal seat of the family to Thorndon and Ingatestone Hall became the home of his mother, Dowager, Lady Petre) was perhaps one of the most influential factors in the way in which Stock developed during

the second half of the sixteenth century.

As the major landlords of the fields and farms cultivated by the inhabitants of Stock and Buttsbury, the Petres have been shown to be reasonable and just landlords. The worst abuses of the Tudor age: rack-renting, prohibitive entry fines, the eviction of tenants and the engrossing of small farms, were not to be found at Stock. The tenants were charged reasonable entry fines, often paid anachronistic rents and were indeed fortunate that they faced little interference from the Petres or their Steward. The Court Baron was active, ensuring the registration and correct legal descent of property. Those men who farmed just a few acres were also fortunate that manorial custom relating to the use of commons and heaths was maintained in favour of the tenants and enclosure of common land did not occur on the Petre Estate.

The topography of the area around Stock was also influenced by the Petres. The decision by Sir William to enclose half of Crondon Park during the 1540s not only altered the landscape to the north-east of the village, but also created new farms for the inhabitants of the village to cultivate. These new farms with their square-sided fields, neatly enclosed by pales and hedges were unique in this part of the country. All other farms in the area comprised small irregular sized and shaped fields which had been enclosed many centuries before.

Upon these lands the farmers practised mixed farming. The dairy herds and the many sheep, kept to provide north Essex with wool for cloth-making, helped to keep the fertility of the cultivated land high. Wheat must have been the main crop; Chelmsford Hundred being the main wheat-growing area of the county. Oats were also important with so many horses to feed,

large numbers being needed for ploughing, carting and for overland transport to London as well as riding animals. The economy of the village, if not buoyant for all the period examined, was flourishing for many individuals. The large farmer such as Robert Humfrey was evidently prospering in the 1550s; his widow later told the Ecclesiastical court that the Parson of the time viewed 'The sheaves of corne as they were layd up into her husbands carts and came into the barn to see the corne there'.<sup>1</sup> Market-Gardening must have given the village an 'intensively cultivated' look - everywhere rows of vegetables, small closes of saffron, orchards full of fruit blossom in spring and enclosures of saplings. Clustered around the village centre were the large inns frequented by the many travellers and traders visiting Stock for market day. Smaller ale-houses serviced the needs of the local population. The roads bustled with carts, waggons and pack-horses loaded with produce heading towards distant towns and ports. Towards Crondon Park the potters filled the air with pollutants and no doubt proved a great nuisance to the more genteel residents of sixteenth century Stock.

A unique insight has been given to a previously unexamined sixteenth century industrial activity: pottery and brick making. The tradition of pottery production in Stock stretches back into the fifteenth century. Long before the Petre family arrived a Stock potter was supplying Hampton Court and Hanworth with pots.<sup>2</sup> But the Petre household did provide a stimulus to the potters by demanding a wide-range of utensils for the kitchen, table and garden. Without a noble family living close-by, the potters would not have received orders for such specialist products. Such demand allowed the potters to diversify into a wide-range of pots and with these new products, perhaps unique in the county, they

could expand their markets. The pots of Stock were certainly sold in London throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, transported by both sea and land. Brick and tile production was also stimulated by the demands of the Petre estate. New houses, barns and stables were built in the countryside around Stock during the Elizabethan era by both yeoman and husbandmen. The introduction of the chimney into all but the poorest dwelling houses by 1600, further stimulated brick production and work for the bricklayer. In the sixteenth century the bricklayer was a 'new' occupation and as such well-paid, one Stock man being able to leave over £60 in cash bequests, in his will written in 1608.<sup>3</sup>

Although the inhabitants of Stock were attached to their community and 'country', especially through kinship and friendship, most were not inward-looking and were well aware of the opportunities of advancement of the world outside. Charles Whiskard, the yeoman-miller of Stock, owned a large mill in Saint Martins-in-the-Fields; another man held extensive property in the town of Romford (a market-town and an important coaching stop on-route for London).<sup>4</sup> Others, especially the potters and other craftsmen traded within a wide area, knowing that the goods they produced would fetch better prices further afield, than in nearby Essex markets. Families sent away their teenage children all over the county and to London to be apprenticed to craftsmen. On occasion the Petre family provided financial help, clothing and advice.<sup>5</sup> Of course for some there was chronic under-employment and therefore poverty. Perhaps for some families it was a struggle even to feed their children. But I believe this was the exception rather than the rule.

The maintenance of law and order, both within the manorial

system and by outside agencies, appears to have worked well within the village, and an ordered society existed. The Petre family through the work of their Stewards in maintaining active Courts Leet were responsible for the efficient use of the manorial court to maintain law and order within Stock and Buttsbury. How frequently the Leet was used with such good effect elsewhere in the country remains unknown.

Some speculation on more philosophical aspects of the lives of the villagers has been possible through the examination of wills and other legal records left by the inhabitants. What influenced the people of Stock and Buttsbury is less clear, although the Petre family can be seen as important in economic, social, political and employment matters. For the more wealthy inhabitants the good opinion of the Petres was vital for both economic and social reasons as the following case shows. George Young, Sir John Petre's steward in Stock and Buttsbury was accused in 1590 of lechery with Margaret Gubberd of Stock. He had purged himself by the word of six men, but the curate of Buttsbury opposed his purgation. Margaret confessed to four acts of fornication, 'first when Young coming hither about the fall of calf, being the tithe gatherer of Buttsbury parish, did give her 4d. to be naught with her'. Young produced 11 more men willing to speak for him and the judge had no alternative but to pronounce Young had purged himself. The curate, William Symonds objected to the purgation because the cuckolded husband, Thomas Gubberd had stated that 'Young were better to give a hundred pounds than that Sir John Petre should know of his abuses'.<sup>6</sup>

Religious belief has been shown to have been largely the choice of the individual with the resident landlord and the lax clergy of the area not particularly influential. The Petres with

their active belief in Catholicism, but tolerance of more radical Protestants residing in Stock and Buttsbury showed the importance of formal submission to the religion of the moment, combined with deeply held inner beliefs often kept from public view.

The village was indeed a community, with rich and poor, old and young, friend and foe living in close proximity, but the overriding impression to emerge from this enquiry was the power and strength of the individual man or woman and the importance of the individual in all matters. Sixteenth century Stock was not dramatically different from a village now. Most of the inhabitants of the village had the aims and ambitions of the majority of people of all eras. They wanted good housing, an education, and a skill, trade or enough land on which to earn their living. Most hoped for marriage, healthy children and the wealth to establish those children in a decent occupation or worthy marriage partnership.

Some men had community interests, and it was they who became jurors, churchwardens, sidesmen and constables. Frequently it was men of at least yeoman status who desired these humble offices. In Stock and Buttsbury 38.7 per cent of all churchwardens between 1579-1603 were described by their contemporaries as yeomen. Of those elected to the office of constable by the leet jurors of Stock between 1555 and 1602, almost 45 per cent were yeomen of the village.<sup>7</sup>

Many lives in sixteenth century Stock were not untouched by books, plays, traditional games or sporting interests. The Stock leet even found it necessary to legislate in 1585 against the poorer inhabitants keeping hunting dogs: 'no man shall have greyhounds or greyhound bitches without owning land or living in a tenement over the value of xls.'<sup>8</sup> In 1580 an order was made in

the leet 'that no person or persons living within the parishes of Stock and Buttsbury shall play football on the Lords day on pain of forfeiture, iiis. iiid.'<sup>9</sup> The lure of the alehouse with the promise of illegal card and dice games proved attractive although illegal to many living in the village. Sir William Petre and members of the gentry and yeoman classes participated in 'tables' or backgammon.<sup>10</sup> William Heywood, who was the parker at Crondon, was the brother of John Heywood, an important Tudor epigramist and playwright. He visited his brother at Stock and the strange name of the Stock Court Leet is included in one of his plays.<sup>11</sup> The Petre family were enthusiastic patrons of music and important Elizabethan composers such as William Byrd visited Ingatestone Hall.<sup>12</sup> The family with their Catholic sympathies, were special patrons to Byrd and his famous settings of the Ordinary of the Mass was probably written for the Petres and first performed at Ingatestone Hall. Mummers and travelling players toured the Essex countryside until their suppression during the early seventeenth century and the neighbouring town of Great Burstead had its own troop of players.

Many living in Stock and Buttsbury, no doubt influenced by Petre family, cultivated high levels of conspicuous material wealth, desiring fashionable clothes, fine plate, jewels and high-quality furnishings for their homes. The will of the widow Joan Dale, who during the 1560s and '70s was the most wealthy inhabitant in the village, perhaps indicates the high level of comfort possible to the yeoman classes. She was a descendant of the alien Leving Dale who was the highest tax payer in Stock in 1525, paying on goods valued at £40.<sup>13</sup> When she died in 1586 she bequeathed twenty-eight pieces of pewter, including a pewter chamber pot, thirteen silver spoons, 'a stone pott covered with

silver' and 'the best pott covered with silver'.<sup>14</sup> Her personal apparel included 'a silke apron', 'the black gowne which I wore Sundais', 'my blewishe petticoat, the blew half worsted kertle', 'my taffeta hat' and 'my beste cloke'. Dressed in her finery and mounted on horseback with her 'mare saddle, saddle cloth, pillian, footstall and best bridell' Joan Dale must have made an impressive sight.<sup>15</sup> She had outlived her son Mathew, but made provision for her grandson Richard. All four of her daughters had made successful marriages. Two of them had married residents of Stock (Katherine Dale married William Munds and Mary Dale married John Tendring). Her third daughter Ellen had married John Willett, a yeoman of Wickford in Essex and another daughter Margaret had married John Hunt, a merchant of the City of London. Although her will is especially informative about material wealth, her good fortune was not unique. Jeremy Hurrell, a yeoman who held the water mill at Fristling Hall left lands and fine furniture and household goods as well as cash bequests of £360.<sup>16</sup>

Within the community there were still some values which could be seen as relics of feudal society, although these were not associated with an ancient landed family, but a relatively 'new' one, the Petres, who obtained all of their Essex lands after the Reformation. The Petres gave traditional hospitality to tenants and workers at Christmas and harvest time, when individuals and their wives were invited to Ingatestone Hall to eat sumptuous feasts. On 3 January 1552, 'Sir Thomas the curate of Buttsbury, Tho. Wilton, Dale, Stamer, Haywoode, Kynge, Dawson, Hosyer, Carre, Hankin, Tyrell, Stonarde, Marshall, Whiting, with their wives beside 4 messe of poor folkes of Stocke' were entertained at Ingatestone Hall.<sup>17</sup> Their dinner included nine pieces of boiled beef, five pieces of roast beef, 'a brest, a



legge and loyne of porke', a goose, a leg of roast mutton, two mallards, five 'connies', twelve beef pies and four pastries; two containing kid and two filled with venison.<sup>18</sup>

The villagers were not forced by feudal tenure to work for their landlord. These workers were paid day-labourers who chose to work for the Petres, rather than another gentry or yeoman family who wished to hire them at busy periods in the agricultural year. But after the death of Lord John Petre in 1613, the manorial nexus disintegrated, most notably in the decline in importance of the Courts Leet, Baron and Civil Pleas and in the role of custom and tradition. Manorial government was replaced by national bodies such as the parish and civil courts.

The story of Stock cannot be said to be typical of any other village, even in Essex. Stock was not a microcosm of sixteenth-century England but a unique entity. In this survey we have perhaps glimpsed a village in England running under the influence of an almost feudal power base. Even in its heyday during the 1550s and '60s this was somewhat anachronistic and with the death of Lord John Petre in 1613, any relics of such bastard feudalism also died. Although in religious matters individualism was dominant, the influence of the Petre family meant that socially late sixteenth-century Stock can be regarded as mediaeval society operating within an early-modern state. But as we have discovered the opportunities offered by good communications, the close proximity of London, the nearness of the cloth towns of north Essex, the fertile soils and the exploitation of clay, meant that in economic terms the inhabitants of Stock were not looking back to the medieval past, but participating in an economy that had much more in common with the seventeenth century. The economy of sixteenth century Stock was beginning to specialise and was

therefore relatively advanced, and the inhabitants early participants in capitalism and individual enterprise.

Footnotes to Chapter Ten.

1. E. R. O., D/DP T66.
2. P. R. O., E36/237/454; E36/241/43 and E36/241/563.
3. E. R. O., D/AEW 15/20.
4. E. R. O., D/AEW 9/65.
5. E. R. O., D/DP A18 (1576), 'Given in reward to Widow Marshall ... toward the apparaylings of Willm Marshall her sonne my masters godson being an apprentyce in London'.
6. Emmison, *Morals*, p.295.
7. These figures are calculated from figures extracted from the Stock Leet Rolls (E. R. O., D/DP M748) and the Archdeacon of Essex Act Book.
8. E. R. O., D/DP M748.
9. *ibid*
10. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, p.218.
11. In John Haywood's *Play of the Weather* (1533), the following line occurs, which refers to Stock:  
'At Graveln, at Gravesend, and at Glastonbury,  
Ynge Gyngiang Jayberd the parish of Butsbury'.
12. Other musicians visited Ingatestone including John Bolt or Bold, Queen Elizabeth's virginal player.
13. P. R. O., E179/108/232. In 1566, Joan Dale was assessed on goods worth £9, paying 9s. tax, the highest payment made in the village. (P. R. O., E179/110/422).
14. E. R. O., D/AEW 8/269.
15. *ibid*
16. E. R. O., D/AEW 15/89.
17. E. R. O., D/DP A13.
18. *ibid*

APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX ONE

The Sytte of manor of Frystlyngghall. (E. R. O. D/DP M740)

## In Buttsbury Parish.

The manor house site	½ acre 34 poles.
The mylking yard	½ acre 20 poles.
Little orchard	3 roods 27 poles.
Close called Little Berryfield	2 acres 3 roods 20 poles.
Close called Downhill field	11 acres 1 rood.
Close called Little Cursefield	8 acres 20 poles.
Close called Great Cursefield	22 acres 1 rood.
Close called Slype Mead	3 acres 3 roods 10 poles.
Close called Great Berryfield	11 acres.
Parcel of close called Maldon Hill	4 acres 1 rood 24 poles.
Parcel of Ladyberry Meade	2 acres ½ rood 12 poles.
Close called Downehyll field	14 acres 20 poles.
Orchard called The Great Orchard	3 acres 1 rood 20 poles.

## In Margaretting Parish.

Parcel of Ladyberry Meade	4 acres 3 roods.
Parcel of close called Maldon Hyll	9 acres 3 roods 26 poles.
Close called Croshall croft	4½ acres 12 poles.
Close called Little Stonehyll	19 acres 3 roods.
Close called Great Stonehyll	18½ acres 1 rood 20 poles
Pightle called Stonehyll Pightle	1½ acres.
Meadow called Ganbridge Meade	7 acres 20 poles.
Meadow called Mill Meade	11½ acres 26 poles.
New Lease field	30 acres 1 rood.

## In Stock Parish

Close called The Barneyard	½ acre.
Close called The Style croft	7½ acres.
Close called The Great Park field	21½ acres.
Close called Little Park field	4 acres 1 rood 30 poles.
Close called The Park Hall	3 acres.
Close called Great Downhall field	12 acres 3 roods.
Close called Lytell Stock field	5 acres 3 roods 40 poles.
Close called Great Stock field	16 acres 20 poles.
Close called Stock croft	2 acres 1 rood 15 poles.
Croft called Bushe croft	1 acre 30 poles.

## Woods and Trees.

## Buttsbury Parish.

Wood	1 rood 5 poles
"	23 poles.
"	1 rood 20 poles.
"	½ acre 1 rood 10 poles.
"	1 rood.
1 acre wood in middle of	
Great Berryfield	1 acre.
Wood	30 poles.
"	23 poles.
Grove called Downhyllfield Grove	7 acres.
Wood	3 roods 12 poles.
Pykkett cont.	1 acre 3 roods.

## In Margaretting Parish.

Wood	1 acre 1 rood.
1 Grove called Maldenhyll Grove	7 acres 3 roods 24 poles.
Wood	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre.
"	2 roods 20 poles.
Wood - New Trees	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

## In Stock Parish.

Grove called Parkfield Grove	6 acres.
Park Hoppett	1 acre 1 rood.
Wood	1 acre.
"	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre.
"	1 rood 40 poles
Wood (well set with young trees)	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre 1 rood.
Wood	36 poles.
Lyttel spring	3 roods 10 poles.

## APPENDIX TWO.

Rental of Imphey Hall, 1529. (E. R. O. D/DP M775)

Landholder	Property	Tenure	Annual Rental
Sir J. Tyrell	5a. Hounds Hill	F	5s.
Robt. Tyrell	Windmill & tenement	F	10s.
George Medeley	Tenement	F	1s. 2d.
"	"	F	3s. 4d.
"	Foots land	C	2s. 6d.
"	Saffron Garden	C	6d.
"	Tenement of Stallage	S	1s. 4d.
"	House by Mkt Cross	S	6d.
"	Tenement The Cock	F	2s.
"	Croft (Barn Croft)	F	2s.
John Drywood	Stable	F	3d.
Joan Smith, wid	Tenement	F	4d.
William Bone	"	F	6d.
"	"	F	4d.
"	For Land	C	1d.
Thomas Samer	Tenement (part of)	F	2d.
"	"	F	1s. 2d.
"	Land	F	2d.
"	Croft (Springfield)	F	2s.
"	Tenement	F	1s.
Thomas Samer &			
John Stonard	Lands (Neighbours)	C	3s.
John Stonard	Tenement	F	2s. 2d.



Joan Twety, wid	Pasture (Wellmeade)	F	7d.
"	Croft (Berne croft)	F	1s.
"	Petscroft	F	[-]
"	Land (Peppers Garden)	C	8d.
"	Croft in two parts	C	1s.
"	Land (Officials)	C	2s.
"	Close (Ballards)	C	1s. 4d.
"	Land (Panne Mead)	C	8d.
Simon Stonard	Tenement	F	1s. 2d.
William Brown	"	F	4d.
Thomas Prentice	"	F	1s.
Richard Egiott	Croft (Copped Hall)	F	1s. 2d.
"	Gatespace leading to		
	Copped Hall Mead	S	4½d.
Eleanor Stonard	Tenement	F	10d.
"	Stallage (now enclosed)	S	2d.
Joan Egiott, wid	Mess. with garden	F	8d.
"	Stallage of house	S	4½d.
Eliz Forde, wid	Tenement	F	6d.
Humfrey Odingsell,			
Gent	Great Messuage (The		
	Bear)	F	2s. 10d.
Robt Hanchet	Tenement	F	8d.
"	Garden	F	2d.
Richd Gilbert	Skynners (Tenement,		
	Curtilage & upper &		
	lower garden)	C	16d.
John Crossley	Parcel of Frith 4a.	C	10s. 2 capons.
Richd Wilton	" " " 10a.	C	30s. 2 capons.
Richd Wilton	" " Turks 5a.	C	13s. 4d.

Edwd. Spyltimber Parcel of Turks		C	10s.
Thomas Dowset	" " " 3a.	C	8s. 4d. capons
Edwd. Hankyn	" " " 6a.	C	15s. 2 capons
Richd Newman	" " "	C	13s. 4d.

## APPENDIX THREE

Landholding at Imphey hall c. 1605. (E. R. O., D/DP M777)

Landholder	Property	Tenure	Annual Rental
Edward Fage	Stock Mill	F	10s.
Francis Bridges	Barncroft	F	20d.
Jn Blake, gent	The Bear	F	2s. 10d.
John Clist	Tenement	F	9d.
Roger Sparks	Cottage	F	4d.
Sir J. Tyrell	Hadfields (parcel of Ramsey Tyrells)	F	5s.
John Lord Petre	The Cock	F	4s. 1½d.
"	The Swan	F	12d.
"	Smiths Tenement	F	2s. 1d.
"	Barnards (Crossley)	F	3s.
"	Barnards (Hankyn)	F	2s. 4d.
"	Copthall	F	13d.
John Tauser	Tenement	F	4d.
Marg. Vaughen	Cottage	F	16d.
G. Petwich, gent	For premices	F	6d.
"	Wellmead	F	7d.
"	Stone garden	F	4d.
"	A barn	F	6d.
Will Barker	Tenement	F	6d.
Percival Strut	"	F	4d.
John Hewet	"	F	9d.
Willm Dale	Cottage (Croft House)	F	6d.
Thom Tyrell gent	Cottage	F	12d.
John Newton	Cottage	F	10d.

Richd Brock	Cottage	F	8d.
Willm Rutter	[     ]	F	14d.
Willm Hatter	Curtilage	F	2d.
Richd Brock	[     ]	F	2d.
Fr. Taylor, wid	Somerscroft	F	2s.
"	Another	F	16d.
Paul Heath	Colescroft	F	18d.
"	Coles Garden	F	½d.
John Dawe	Skinner's (house & curtilage)	F	12d.
Henry Pavely	Batchelors & Brookmans 40a.	C	14s. 6d.
John Smith	Stallage	S	8d.
George Lark	[     ]	C	6d.
William [   ]	[     ]	C	2d.
John Tansey	Campers & Garden	C&S	10s. 1d.
Richd Heywood	Officials	C	2s. 7d.
"	Foots	C	2s. 6d.
Maria Riggs wid	Ballards & Harpendons	C	2s. 10d.
"	For Stallage	S	2d.
Aylott via wife	A Cottage	C	2d.
"	The Tile Kiln	C	2d.
John Crossley	Parcel of Frith 4a.	C	2 capons 10s.
Richd Wilton	" 10a.	C	2 capons 30s.
"	Parcel of Turks 5a.	C	13s. 4d.
Ed. Spyltimber	"	C	10s.
Thomas Dowset	" 3a.	C	capons 8s. 4d.
Edward Hankyn	" 6a.	C	2 capons 15s.
Richard Newman	"	C	13s. 4d.

## APPENDIX FOUR.

The different skills and crafts found in Stock and Buttsbury  
during the period 1550-1610.

1 Miller	28 Tailor
2 Baker	29 Blacksmith/Smith
3 Butcher	30 Glover
4 Ripier	31 Petty Chapman
5 Acater	32 Drover
6 Sawyer	33 Wheelwright
7 Brickmaker	34 Badger
8 Bricklayer	35 Tinker
9 Tiler	36 Turner
10 Potter	37 Mercer
11 Carpenter	38 Joiner
12 Grazier	39 Pale-maker
13 Fletcher	40 Fish monger
14 Shoemaker/Cobbler	41 Upholsterer
15 Bowyer	42 Gardener
16 Park keeper	43 School master
17 Alehouse keeper	44 Linen draper
18 Collier	45 Currier
19 Surgeon	46 White Tawyer
20 Scrivener	47 Mid-wife
21 Clerk	48 Curate
22 Thatcher	49 Appariter
23 Higgler	
24 Poulterer	This list does not include the occupations yeomen, husbandmen, gentlemen, labourers, servants and maids.
25 Flaxman	
26 Weaver	
27 Spinner	

## APPENDIX FIVE.

Biographical details of the Clay workers of Stock and Buttsbury.1) Allen Simon

Potter

Working in the area during the early seventeenth century.

2) Aylot [----]

Tiler

Appears in Survey of Imphey Hall manor as the holder of a tile kiln.

3) Bannister [-----]

Bricklayer

He occupied 3 acres of land with a tenement and an orchard at Fristling Tye in 1608. The property was leased from Nicholas Mann., a carrier of Chelmsford.

4) Berker Richard

Tiler

At the time of his death in 1588, he held five tenements within the town of Romford, Essex.

5) Birde Thomas

Tiler

He was working within the manor of Ging Joyberd Laundry during the 1530s and '40s.

6) Bundock John

Potter

He was working within the manor of Ging Joyberd Laundry during the first decade of the seventeenth century. He was the son of Richard Bundock (see next entry).

7) Bundock Richard

Potter

He died in 1574. At that date he had six children all aged under 21. He also had two servants at the time of his death. He was a man of perhaps Puritan belief as he requested a sermon at his funeral and both the witnesses and overseers to his will were Puritan.

8) Bulcher John

Brickmaker

He was the sub-tenant of the tile kell of Walter Dawdry in 1565.

9) Castle James

Potter/ Brickmaker

Working in Stock from the 1580s until c.1615. He was a churchwarden in Buttsbury in 1603. In 1604, he leased from Lord Petre a tenement and 6 acres called Copt Hall in Stock, close to the common. In 1610 he held property near to Stock Common and 'Le Tyle Kell'. He was the son of Thomas Castle (see next entry).

10) Castle Thomas

Brickmaker

At the time of his death in 1598, he had 5 surviving children.

He bequeathed his Bible to one son, Thomas. Therefore possibly literate.

11) Charvell alias Palmer Thomas

Potter

Working within the manor of Ging Joyberd Laundry between 1559 and the late 1580s.

12) Cumbers William

Bricklayer

At his death in 1612 he was a man of some wealth, leaving cash bequests of over £60 and large numbers of sheep.

13) Dawdry alias Rawlins Walter

Tiler/ Brickmaker

At the time of his death in 1565 he held two houses, one with a tile Kiln and working yards. He held Copt Hall and six acres. He was working within the manor of Ging Joyberd Laundry from 1540-1565. He was a man of some status within the community and was called a yeoman in some documents.

14) Dawdry alias Rawlins William

Tiler

Son of Walter (see previous entry). At his death in 1578, he held a house and a tile kiln. He served as a juror at the Imphey manor court from 1566-1577.

15) Finche John

Tiler



He worked for the Petre family during the 1550s, producing tiles.

16) Fowler Christopher

Potter

Working in Stock during the early 1580s.

17) Garrold Humfrey

Bricklayer

At his death in 1617, held a tenement and over 15 acres of land in Downham parish. As well as laying bricks he appears to have been involved in cloth or yarn manufacture as he held lambs, sheep and more importantly two spinning wheels; one for linen and one for wool.

18) Hankin Edward

Potter

Working within the manor of Ging Joyberd Laundry from 1573-1597. In 1595 he held several parcels of land, a barn and an orchard within the manor of Imphey, together totalling about 15 acres. At the time of his death in 1599, he held a tenement with a work house and a pot kiln.

19) Hankin William

Potter

Working within Stock during the first decade of the seventeenth century. He was the son of Edward (see entry above) and inherited his fathers pot kiln and working tools. He was a church warden of Stock in 1589 and 1590.

20) Johnson William

Potter

A very poor man holding only one rood in a survey of 1566.

21) Johnson Richard

Potter

Working in Stock during the mid 1570s. Possibly son of William Johnson (see entry above).

22) Lee Richard

Potter

Died in 1558. Possibly the father of William (see next entry)

23) Lee William

Potter

Appears in the court rolls of Ging joyberd Laundry from 1575-1613. He held a tenement called the 'Pott House'.

24) Monke Francis

Tiler/ Bricklayer

Working within the Stock area during the 1570s and '80s. An active poacher!

Son of Robert and brother of Thomas (see next two entries).

25) Monke Robert

Tiler

He was a man of some status as he was called yeoman in many documents. He appears in the court rolls of the manor of Ging Joyberd Laundry from 1555-1587. He was the Ale House Keeper of

the Swan from 1558 until his death in 1587. Father of Francis and Thomas.

26) Monke Thomas

Bricklayer/ Tiler

He was living in Stock throughout the 1570s and '80s. Like his brother Francis, he was frequently involved in trespass and poaching offences at the Quarter Sessions Court.

27) Palmer Henry

Potter

Died in 1588.

28) Palmer Humfrey

Potter

Appears in the court rolls of the manor of Ging Joyberd laundry from 1555-1586. in his will of 1588 he bequeaths two houses, one with a working house and land called Grays. Son of Richard who died in 1559.

29) Palmer John

Died in 1518.

30) Palmer John

Potter

Born in 1570; he was the son of Humfrey (see above entry). He received the property Grays and the working house in 1618.

31) Palmer John

Potter

Working in the Stock area during the 1530s. A man of some wealth, as assessed in the Lay Subsidy of 37, Henry VIII, on land valued at £16. He supplied the pots for Hampton Court. Son of John Palmer who died in 1518.

32) Palmer Richard

Potter

At the time of his death in 1559, he holds Grays tenement and a work house as well as farming equipment and livestock. Father of Humfrey.

33) Prentice Robert

Potter

Working in Stock during the mid-sixteenth century. He was the main supplier of the Petre household. His son and daughter both marry in Stock during 1563.

34) Rawlin Bartholomaw

Brickmaker/Labourer

He worked as a peripatetic brickmaker throughout the county from at least 1569. He died in 1589.

35) Rawlins John

Brickmaker

Living in Stock/Ingatestone area during the 1590s.

36) Rawlins Thomas

Brickmaker/Potter

Appears in the court rolls of Ging Joyberd Laundry from 1560-1580. He died in 1580 and was actively involved in farming.

37) Richardson John

Potter

Working in Stock from 1571 until 1587. He held the property Barnards. He died in 1589.

38) Samer Richard

Potter

Died in 1613.

39) Spilman John

Potter

Working in the Stock area during the 1520s.

40) Spilman John

Brickmaker?

Working in Stock during the early seventeenth century.

41) Stamer William

Potter

Working in Stock during the 1530s, '40s and '50s. In the 1550s and '60s he held a property called Barnards with at least 14 acres of land.

42) Starling William

Tile maker/Potter

Working in the Stock area from the 1580s until c.1612. He supplied the Petre family with tiles and pots. He was church warden for Stock in 1602. During the late 1590s he held a property called Greenwoods and 15 acres, as well as an inn called the Bear.

43) Stanley William

Tile maker

Worked for the Petre family during the 1550s.

44) Tabor John

Bricklayer

At work in the Stock area during the 1560s and '70s. At the time of his death in 1576, he held one tenement called Le Ridden in Stock and 18½ acres.

45) Tabor Thomas

Bricklayer

Worked for the Petre family during the 1580s.

46) Tanner[-----]

Potter

Resident in Stock from 1564-1580. Supplied the Petre household with pots during 1577.

47) Taylor John

Potter

Working in Stock between 1543 and his death in 1560.

48) Taylor Christopher

Potter

Died in 1581, leaving five surviving children.

49) Taylor Christopher

Potter

Working in Stock during the mid-1580s. Son of Christopher Taylor (see above entry).

50) Tweedy John

Tile maker

Died in 1522.

51) Wilson Thomas

Potter

Working in Buttsbury in 1610.

## APPENDIX SIX

The Religious Preambles to the wills written by Christopher Dale.

1. E. R. O. D/DABW 19/12 The will of John Humfrey (husbandman / yeoman) d. 1573,

'I commend my soule to almighty God trusting by the mercye of his blessed passion and death I shall have forgiveness of all my synes. And I wyll my body to be buryed in Christen buryall'.

2. E. R. O. D/ABW 12/11 The will of Walter Dawdrye (brickmaker) d. 1565,

'first I commend my soul to almighty God my maker and redeemer and body to be buryed within christian burial'.

3. E. R. O. D/ABW 4/334 The will of Richard Bundock (potter) d. 1574,

'fyrst I commend my soule to Almighty God my maker and to Jesus Christ my redemer trusting assuredly to have remyssion of all my synnes through the merits of his death and passion--- and my body I will to be buryed in Christian buryall--- Item it is my mynde that my executrix shall cause a sermon to be made at my buryiall and my wife to geve the Parson for his paines liis. iiid'

4. E. R. O. D/ABW 34/162 The will of John Symson (tailor) d. 1574,

'ffyrst I commende my soule to Almighty God my maker and to Jesus Christ my only saviour and redemer trusting by the merite of his death and passion to have forgeven all of my synes and my body to be buried in Christen mans buryall'.



5. E. R. O. D/ABW 34/58 The will of Richard Stonard (turner) d. 1567,

'Ffyrst I bequeth my soule to almighty God my maker saviour and redemer and my body to be buryed within Christian buryall'.

6. E. R. O. D/ABW 34/32 The will of Margaret Savering d. 1565,

'fyrst I commend my soule to almighty God my maker and redeemer and my body to be buried within Christian buryall'.

7. E. R. O. D/ABW 31/203 The will of John Robiant (labourer) d. 1574,

'fyrst I commytt my soule to almightye God trusting throwe the merite of his passion to have forgiveness of all my synnes and my body I will to be buried in Stock churchyard aforesaid'.

8. E. R. O. D/ABW 42/14 The will of John Osborne (fletcher) d. 1574,

'I commend my soule to Almightye God and my body to be buryed in Stocke Church yard aforesaid'.

9. E. R. O. D/ABW 26/29 The will of William Munds (yeoman) d. 1591,

'first I commend my soule to Almighty God my maker and to Jesus Christ my redemer trusting theron faith in the misery of his death and passion to have forgiveness of all my synnes and I will my body to be buried in the churchyarde of Buttsbury aforesaid'.

10. E. R. O. D/ABW 25/217 The will of John Martyndale (husbandman) d. 1566,

'I bequeth my soule to Almighty God my maker redemer and saviour. And my body to be buryed within christ---- buryalle'.

11. E. R. O. D/AEW 4/101 The will of Thomas Lyving (shoemaker) d. 1561,

'I comend my soule to almyghty god and to all the Blessed cupoyny in heaven and my body to be buryed in crystian buryall'.

12. E. R. O. D/AEW 6/63 The will of John King (carpenter) d. 1571,

'I bequeth my soule to Almighty God and my body to be buried in Christian buryall----Item I geve to my son John my byble and the testament'.

13. E. R. O. D/ABW 18/296 The will of Roger Hardinge (labourer) d. 1568,

'fyrst I bequeth my soule to Almighty God my maker savour and redemer and my body to christian buryall'.

14. E. R. O. D/ABW 19/17 The will of Thomas Hare (husbandman) d. 1573,

'I commend my soule to God almightie Trusting by the death and passion of Jesus Christ to obteyne and have remyssion of all my synnes. And my body I will shal be buried in christian buryall'.

15. E. R. O. D/ABW 12/114 The will of William Driver (husbandman) d. 1566,

'I bequeth my soule to almighty God my maker and redemer and my body to be buryed within Christian buryall'.

16. E. R. O. D/ABW 12/118 The will of Richard Dale (yeoman) d. 1568,

'fyrst I bequeth my soule to Almightye God my maker, savyour and redemer and my body to be buryed in the church yard of Buttsbury by my father'.

17. E. R. O. D/ABW 4/297 The will of Roger Bexwell (yeoman) d. 1572,

'I commend my soule to almighty God my maker and to Jesus Christ my [ ] trusting assuredly that I shall have remyssion of all my synnes by the merytte of his passion and death and my body I will shalbe buryed in christen buryall'.

18. E. R. O. D/ABW 18/248 The will of William Heywood (yeoman) d. 1565,

'fyrst I bequeave my soule to almightye God and to Jesus Christ my savior trustling by his deth and paf [ ] have forgiveness of all my synnes and I will my body to be buryed in Christen buryall'.

## APPENDIX SEVEN.

Estreat Roll for Stock Leet for 1561. (ERO D/DP M756).

Inge Gynge	The extracte of the turne with the lete there
Joyberd Laundry	holden the monday being the XXIIIIth daye of
Harford Stocke	March in the third yere of the reign of our
in the parish	sovereign ladye Elizabeth by the grace of God
of Buttsbury	Queen of England, France and Ireland defender
	of the faythe etc.
common fine	for the common fine-----xxd.
xxd.	
fine ii s.	Rombold Taverner for John Ferrys esquire for the
	fyne for the lete at the manor of Blunts---ii s.
viiid.	For that Robert Stonard and Thomas Lyndsell be
	comon brewers of bere and have broken the assyse
	of eyther of them---iiid.
viiid.	For that Robert Monke, John Martyndale and
	William Clarke and Walter Dawdry alias Rawlyn be
	tipplers and do take excessyve gayne of every of
	them-----iid.
iid.	Of Henry Motte for that he is a botcher and
	takyth excessive gain-----iid.

- fine xvid. Off John John Wagstaff farmer of the Bishop of  
Elye of the manor of Ymphey Hall for the fyne of  
the seyde byshope for his lete at the said manor  
to be holden----xvid.
- iiis. 1111d. Off wydowe Stokes for that she hath sufferyd  
wydowe Combes her tennemente to make a fyer in  
her little house and not makying a redress there  
contry to the ordinance at the last leet made  
iiis. 1111d.
- iiis. 1111d. Off the same wydowe Stoke for that she hath not  
layd open the lane latly by her curtyard as it  
was ordeynd at the last lete----iiis 1111d.
- a monyton Gyve warnyng to all the inhabitants of this towne  
and within this turne and lete that every person  
do leve and enshewe all unlawfull games also  
cards dyse and every other and that they use and  
exercyse ther bowes and shafts accordinge to the  
forms of the statute ther of made uppon pertyme  
to forfeyle to the lord the peneltyes in the same  
statute conteyned.
- dyvers Warne John martyndale to score V perches of dytch  
paynes against Henry Stonnerde the landholder of little  
Ponde to score xii perches of dytche from the'nd  
of ther fylde unto the water corse ther. Richard  
Dale and Thomas Tabor to score the dytch in the  
lane ledyng from Holecroft gale unto Thomas

Tabers gate where nede is. The landholders of Cherrydowne to score ther dytch from Cherrydown gate by the orchyard of Thomas Clarke unto Buttesburye Grene. The landholder of the Cokke to score ther dytch from the weyer in length as his land lyeth the landholder of Panmeade to score xx<sup>14</sup> perches of dytche against the heigh way ledyng from Buttsbury grene to Rome grene. John west of Much Bursted to score xl perches of dytch ageynst the highway leadynge from his house at Perrystreet unto Gayloway croft. The landholders of Perrystreet to score xii perches of dytch ledyng from bradfyld pytte. Willm Heywood to score his dytch from his orcheyerd unto the barne beneth Wylherehyll and to cut downe the bowes overhanging the heighway and all this to be done before the feast of Saynte Michael the Archangell next comynge uppon payne to forfeyt for every perche not done---iid.

Penelty      Warne Baldwyn Stamer to score his wholve before his gate at thyssyde the feast of Seynt James the appostle uppon payne to forfeyt---xiid.

Sum per. huis turn cum visi:- xvis. vid.

per me William Rutter

Steward here.

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