

THE TOWN OF

CROPPEDY

1570 - 1640

By Anne Pamela Keegan

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Preface

There must be others who have felt the urge to personally gather up any snatches of oral history, record the churchyard memorials, complete a fields name survey, pace the hedges, measure the farm hovels and yet, especially in the 1970's, wonder if all this was really necessary!

As the material gathered others had been transcribing the registers and it was possible to make a copy to further the graveyard survey. The transcribing continued with the later tithe accounts and on through land tax to the census, but the greatest interest came with the repaired early tithe books.

The Reverend Thomas Holloway of Cropredy, Oxfordshire (1572-1619) made copious lists of their tithes and kept folios of farm accounts while his registers were fuller than most and a family reconstitution of the whole parish began. Holloway lived in a period of upheaval that changed the working of the land and rebuilt many of the dwellings which has greatly influenced the lives of all Cropredian residents ever since.

Could surveys taken amongst the old town and fields of Cropredy discover these changes, customs and old methods of farming? How to take account of the fact that agricultural practices which were obviously then influenced more by the size of the seed, the daily energy of an oxen team, the capacity of a cart and the need to build a barn to hold a sufficient number of cartloads? The Holloway folios did help to answer some of these questions and yet Thomas Holloway's parish, it was soon realised, did not always fit the national evidence.

Going back to walking the fields would surely reveal their strip system. It did but in places hedges with many shrubs went gaily across the ridge and furrows, and realigned streams cut across them. Pieces had been taken off the common all with hedges that were definitely earlier than the 1775 enclosure. All was again not quite what it seemed, but some clues remained and types of hedge were studied more closely alongside the few remaining records.

The houses looked easier only to reveal interiors that did not follow general pattern. It was a case of trying to make general rules and updating each property as solutions in one helped with another round and round site by site it goes. This could take years as renovations continue, though much has been lost. Would the hearth tax list help with the chimneys? Not according to the vicar's lists. It all depended upon how much land they leased, leaving the rest invisible, until a look into the cottages revealed more and the inventories confirmed this.

Thomas Holloway's Easter lists were more reliable than the hearth tax lists to calculate the population from, but only for the adult residents in their households, the family was larger than that. The lists did enable the families to be placed upon a site tying them into available deeds and terriers which greatly extended the information. Having stepped inside to meet the family it was noticed in their inventories (which could be compared with many others already printed) which items were rare or readily available. When a senior member of the town died their inventory may show furniture for the bedstead and a few clothes. Was this old man or woman living then in a hovel without a fire or a cooking pot, or could we step into the downstairs chamber of a two and a half storey house and find just such a room?

Husbandmen's personal estate may show their assets were in stock and corn rather than in household effects and apparel, but the real value can only be assessed when seen as part of the whole town for that particular period. The year too is important for the situation could change rapidly after a disastrous harvest or drop in the price of wool.

The time for setting down the results could no longer be put off. It was hoped to provide one method of looking at the history of properties, or a way to approach a family history. Two studies that complement each other. Having divided the book into five parts the first two look at the background to the parish, the redevelopment, the husbandmen and their wives who ran the town helped by the many craftsmen, their servants and children, all the while accommodating the senior members often relatives as well. It finishes with their final arrangements for the continuance of their own family. Part Three takes in the land greatly by Holloway's farm accounts while Part Four provides details the houses and the families living in them. The last Part visits the halls, chambers and service rooms in more detail, finding and comparing their equipment. Completing this section with the value and type of clothing worn by the residents which can provide a link between the family and their occupations, status in the town and the religious attitudes of their household.

The book ends with appendices and a glossary. A bibliography for sources and further reading. An index of people to locate information about a particular family who if in residence during this period can lead the enquirer to a house (A list of surnames with their site numbers under a map of Cropredy will be found in *The Town of Cropredy*. By printing a copy of this map it will help to fit families to properties and can also be used throughout the book to locate the sites mentioned in the text). Lastly a general index to chase up more information about a particular subject and four small indexes for apparel, field names, lanes and a list of occupations.

Without an accurate map for our period the reconstructions came from the following sources:

- The 1775 Enclosure Award map, now in the care of Oxfordshire Archives.
- The 1843 tithe map for Cropredy and Prescote.
- Sketches made from Brasenose College maps Clennell B. 14. 1/29a and 1/29b.
- Sketch maps made from the 1882 Ordnance Survey maps their permission.

- And lastly aerial diagrams using Mr Paul Baker's photographs, again with his permission.

These can only act as a guide to the position and size of the buildings. They cannot unfortunately prove beyond all reasonable doubt that the building shown represents the one built, or already standing, during the period covered by this book.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank all those who have helped me with this book, either by providing material or in other ways. In particular my thanks are due to my husband Mark Keegan for his assistance in publishing the book, with all the problems that entailed. The generous help given by Sue Lester for her constant encouragement and letters, but especially for all the trouble taken in reading the manuscript at an early stage when it threatened to erode her impeccable spelling.

I also acknowledge with gratitude the help given by the following: Paul Baker for some difficult glossary explanations and for of his aerial photographs. The encouragement to begin from late Sidney Roland Cherry which has been kept going by Audrey and Ray Cherry's letters. I cannot thank them enough. Appreciation for Brian Cannon's generosity in allowing access to the terrier in his deeds. To Dolly Monk who has been a great friend and source of local knowledge from the beginning. To Anja and John Tapley who not only allowed access with generous hospitality to their house, but also supplied information in abundance. They and all other parishioners cannot be blamed for any wrong conclusions expressed in this book. To Stephen Wass for the two reconstructions of his house on pages 521 and 542 and for his encouragement. To Mr.E. J. Swingler for his helpful comments about glass and window fittings. Grateful acknowledgement must also be given to Ben Watkiss who suffered constant checking of their property during their renovations. To all the members of the Cropredy Historical Society for their support and for whom the book was begun. To all those very patient householders who made the book possible by allowing inside and outside measurements to be taken, or contributed letters and plans. To the owners of fields and farm buildings who allowed the hedge and barns survey and the relatives who endured quizzing over gravestones and helped with their family history. Without all their help and interest it would have been impossible to face the task.

I would like to thank Mr Barry Nicholas, then principal of Brasenose College, who gave his permission in 1980 to quote freely from the archives. The invaluable and kindly help from the librarians, especially the late Mr Peedell who made the visits to the college library one of the highlights of the whole research. My thanks to Dr. D.M.Barratt, then at the Bodleian, who patiently encouraged a raw searcher and for her help with the folios, will and references to Thomas Holloway. Special appreciation must be given for the skills of the late Mrs Judith Segal who by repairing the documents enabled the Easter Oblations to unlock many of the Cropredy records. I should also like to add my gratitude to the staff at the Public Record Office and all the County Record Offices mentioned in the bibliography for their efficient and encouraging help.

I must express my gratitude for the use of the Banbury Historical Society publications and permission to quote from them especially Dr Thomas Loveday's very interesting and useful article on "The Registers of Williamscothe School" in *The Cake & Cockhorse*. Also to Jeremy Gibson for supplying a list of Cropredy PCC wills and for his help and encouragement.

- Grateful acknowledgement is made to the following for permission to reprint for the purposes of this non profit making book only, specified excerpts from the previously published material:
- Alston Frank for extra information about *Skeps*. Northern Bee 1987.
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- Russell C. *The Crisis of Parliaments* Oxford Univ. Press 1971 Excerpts reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.
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- Permission was granted for the excerpt from Peate I.O. "The Long-House " published in the *Folk Life Vol 11* 1964 pp 78,79.
- Permission was granted for excerpts from the "Oxford Peculiars" by Peyton S.A. issued for the *Oxfordshire Record Society Volume 10* in 1928.
- Permission has kindly been granted by Blackwell Publishers for a quote from Bennet M.K. "British wheat yields per acre for seven " in the *Economic History Review 111*(1935) p12-29.
- Permission has been given to quote from the Boothby Letters [Additional 71960-62] by The British Library.

Abbreviations

- Bodl.- Bodleian Library, Oxford
- BNC - Brasenose College Oxford
- OA - Oxfordshire Archives
- PCC = Prerogative Court of Canterbury
- PRO - Public Record Office
- Harrison - Harrison W. *A Description of England* ed. F.S.Furnivall. ,1877 and 1881.
- Royce - *Historical Account of Cropredy* 1880
- Tusser - *Good Points of Husbandry* 1580
- VCH - *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford Vol.X*
- House Sites [1 to 60]. To be used with the sketch map of Cropredy.

Symbols used in Part 4.

- b - born (1654 ff)
 - bp - baptised at Cropredy
 - bur - buried at Cropredy
 - d - died
 - G - Grave stone at Cropredy Churchyard (post 1631)
 - Inv. - Inventory
 - m - married
 - Will* - Any of the testator's legatees will have the same symbol as the Will*
-
- References for Cropredy M.S.Wills Peculiar 1547 to 1640 at O.A. are given in Appendix one.
 - Cropredy wills post 1641 and all Bourton Wills given in the text are at O.A. under M.S.Wills Peculiar. For example: To Thos Sabin's [51/1/11] will on p58 add M.S.Wills Peculiar to 51/1/11.

Introduction

This is a unique record of English cultural history, in that it manages to relate husbandmen's and craftsmen's wills and inventories, made in the late 16th. and early 17th. century, with present day properties.

This is not just a book about one town with less than 350 residents, but a positive way to set a study within the context of a particular parish while never forgetting to relate the information to the surrounding area, as well as a particular period. It provides one method of looking at the history of properties or a way to approach a family history.

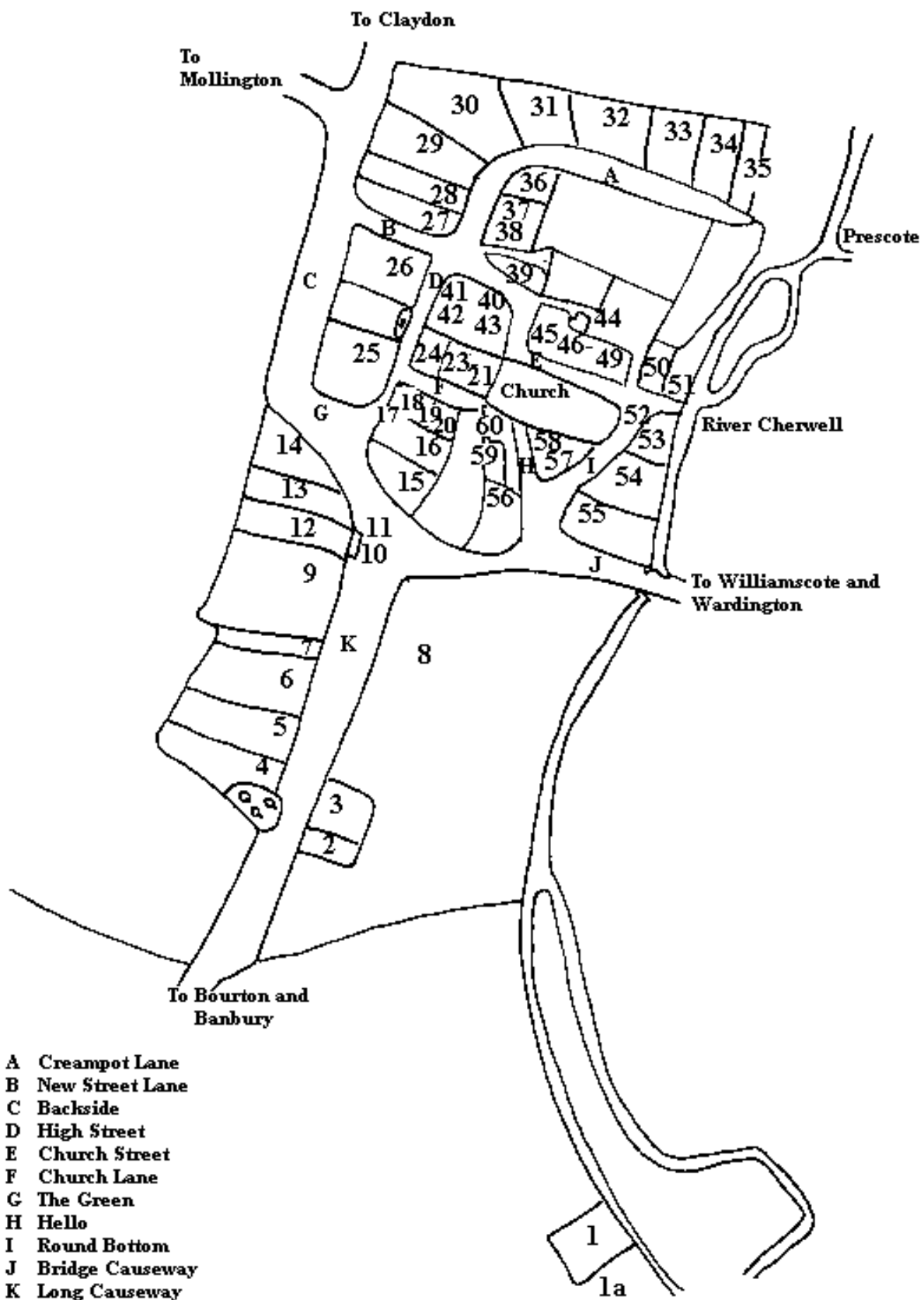
Documents in an Oxfordshire parish chest encouraged this research into the town of Cropredy. The Reverend Thomas Holloway left many rare folios which included eight years of Easter Oblations. His lists made it possible to locate the sixty dwelling sites and use to advantage the inventories and wills proved at the Peculiar Court of Banbury. That Court's records raise some of the attitudes and religious changes the town had to accommodate.

Analysis produced unusual information about three generations of families, numbers of servants and adult children in the households. The vicar's farm and tithe accounts, inventories, Brasenose College records and a hedge survey all contribute to a section on the land. A house survey covering the sixty sites uses family reconstitutions to help compare the different types of property with their occupations.

The last part looks at halls, chambers and service rooms to discover which items were rare or readily available. The book ends with a chapter on apparel. The value and type of clothing can provide a link between the family and occupations, status in the town and perhaps the religious attitudes of the household. Every site has a number which is used in the text and on the map. There are diagrams, houseplans, family trees and maps; together with appendices, glossary and index.

A map of The Town of Cropredy, showing the 60 sites appears below, followed by a list of occupants. This will be useful throughout the book. The map reference for St. Mary's Church is SP 4689 4666.

The sixty House Sites in The Town of Cropredy, 1570 - 1640.



[1]	Palmer	[17]	Haddock	[32]	Rede	[48]	Norman
[2]	Lucas	[18]	Matcham	[33]	Truss	[48]	Hudson
[3]	Devotion	[19]	Hudson	[34]	Watts	[49]	Cox
[4]	French	[19]	Bagley	[34]	Hall	[50]	Coldwell
[5]	Hunt	[20]	Hill	[35]	Hentlowe	[51]	Cross
[6]	Hall	[21]	Holloway	[36]	Huxeley	[52]	Thomson
[7]	Clyfton	[22]	Wells	[37]	Breeden	[53]	Mallins
[8]	Woodrose	[23]	Vaughan	[38]	Elderson	[54]	Evans
[9]	Howse	[24]	Howse	[39]	Tanner	[55]	Bokingham
[10]	Adkins	[24]	Pratt	[40]	Ladd	[56]	Hyrens
[11]	Page	[25]	Gybbs	[41]	Bostocke	[56]	Wood
[12]	Handley	[26]	Robins	[42]	Sutton	[57]	Carter
[12]	Gorstelow	[27]	Watts	[43]	Fenny	[58]	Pare
[13]	Wyatt	[28]	Howse	[44]	Thompson	[59]	Palmer
[13]	Denzie	[29]	Lyllee	[44]	Allen	[60]	Suffolk
[14]	Lumberd	[30]	Cattell	[45]	Rawlins		
[15]	Toms	[31]	Kynd	[46]	Whyte		
[16]	Hunt	[31]	Wyatt	[47]	Bryan		

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Part I

1. The Thomas Holloway Documents
2. The Ecclesiastical Parish of Cropredy
3. The Church at Cropredy

A collection of documents in a parish chest enabled some research into a north Oxfordshire town. The result is this book which looks at the parish, people and properties in Cropredy from 1570 to 1640. Their married vicar, the Reverend Thomas Holloway left many folios which reveal that Cropredy was the mother church of a wider ecclesiastical parish. The older residents and new tenants were equally under the influence of the church and all had to pay tithes to the vicar. Every resident must attend Saint Mary's church which was the town centre for worship, education and news.

22^v

Crepusculi oblationes
at apud 1617

De dabo de 2 ijs

De lucas de 2 ijs

De fura de 2 ijs
De fura de 2 ijs

De pax de 2 ijs

De pax de 2 ijs

De pax de 2 ijs

De pax de 2 ijs

De pax de 2 ijs

De pax de 2 ijs

De pax de 2 ijs

De pax de 2 ijs

De dabo
De lucas
De fura
De pax

De dabo de 2 ijs

De lucas de 2 ijs
De fura de 2 ijs

1.1 Easter Oblations (1) 1617 [c25/7 f22v]

1. Thomas Holloway Documents

A fine collection of accounts survived amongst other documents in Saint Mary's parish chest in the small north Oxfordshire town of Cropredy. The very tiresome script belonging to the Reverend Thomas Holloway spread over many valuable folios from 1587 to 1619: lists of Easter oblations, gifts of poultry, sheep and kylene tithes, cottagers commons and most important of all Thomas's farm accounts from land leased with his sons. All are remnants and mostly from the latter end of his time as guardian of the souls in the larger Ecclesiastical parish of Cropredy. This collection of parishes included the two Bourtons, Williamscothe-in-Cropredy and Prescote who worshipped at the mother church of Saint Mary's, as well as Mollington and Claydon who had their own churches with ministers put there at Thomas's expense and the large parish of Wardington, Coton and Williamscothe-in-Wardington which required another curate for their church.

The next vicar only added a list of offerings for 1624 and "remembrances taken out of my/ predecessors bookes" which he took from the Holloways folios [c25/10 f2]. The Reverend Edward Brouncker having decided to reside in Ladbroke, Warwickshire, required samples of Cropredy's records to guide him in his collection of tithes. One of the saved years was 1614 a particularly appropriate one for Edward to keep beside him for it represented a year of average harvests in the previous decade. Many of his parishioners soon felt he paid scant attention to their requirements by putting in non-preaching curates.

In spite of all the surviving records, few, apart from the Brasenose College properties, gave any clues as to which dwelling the families were connected with. The College mid-seventeenth century tenancy agreements had required the tenant to make a terrier which was a useful description of their leased land and buildings. Nearly all the people mentioned in the records had been involved in the rebuilding of their houses in stone, or spent their childhood in the new houses described in the wills and inventories, but until the vicar's Easter Oblations lists had been closely examined it was not possible to know if they were going to solve this major obstacle of putting families to sites. Holloway's very rare documents had been moved from the parish chest to the Bodleian library [Now with Oxfordshire Archives]. A visit was arranged and the ordered box arrived at the desk. It was very disappointing to be told the folios were too fragile to be handled, or photocopied, and it was suggested that funds be raised to have all the vicar's accounts repaired. Only then could we go ahead with a transcription. Some of the lists were covered by a rare document belonging to the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury and had a note to say the "Bottom corner eaten by rodents otherwise quite good condition. We do not recommend removing cover. To repair £18." By 1983 the bill was more, it came to £30 for that document alone, so that it was entirely due to everyone's generosity that the repairs were begun. Meanwhile it was decided to do a family reconstitution for every household from the registers and wills to help with the eventual transcription. The excitement only began when it was realised the amount of information these lists were going to unlock, so it is only fair to begin by introducing you to one of the delicate manuscripts.

Mrs Judith Segal, at that time the expert on restoration at the Bodleian Library, agreed to restore them, and afterwards came to explain how the intricate work had been done. They were "dry cleaned, washed, deacidified, resized and repaired with Japanese paper and wheat starch paste." The rare 1611 cover which could not be removed was "relaxed and repaired with new parchment and toned with water colorer and pasted with wheat starch paste." Finally the documents were to be placed in a protective box. Only then could a photographic copy be made by Mrs Segal for the purpose of studying the lists and accounts. The documents themselves are a very rare survival from the past and will now last into the future.

Inside the 1611 cover the folios measure 12 inches by three and three quarter inches [30 x 9.5 cms]. This was the first to arrive and was labelled MS. dd par Cropredy c25/7. There were 25 folios bound together [50 pages]. The rest of the Holloway documents were repaired and photocopied as funds were raised. A list of the documents is given on page 1002.

Transcribing the first page began very slowly and has since needed to be corrected. It all proved far more difficult than anticipated, but one thing was soon apparent as the folios became clearer, the vicar had been very keen and methodical. The households were given in order beginning at the south end of the town and working up the Long Causeway house by house. All those properties belonging to the Brasenose College, which had already been identified, helped to prove that Holloway's lists made a yearly census from 1613 to 1619.

Cropredy Town

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries parishioners referred to Cropredy and a few of the surrounding villages as towns. The Reverend Harrison writing in 1577 refers to "uplandish towns." A township was made up of all those inhabiting a particular parish. In Cropredy like any other parish there were those who made their living entirely from the town lands as well as those who practised a craft. They had a Cross, but no charter to hold a market as Banbury did [Harrison W. *Description of Britain*].

Those who dwelled in Cropredy during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries created a new town with their stone and thatched buildings. Wonderfully comfortable places and yet they were not without pressures for only one of their married children could take over their lease and the majority had to leave. Why did they not take on the twenty or so town properties vacated as families died out? Who allowed strangers to come in? How large was their town in those days and why did it never expand when the population began to rise in the early seventeenth century? Can we find out who lived in the town so long ago and how they earned their living? Could we learn about the organisation of their lives at work, at home, in church?

The search begins very naturally with the Reverend Thomas Holloway whose numerous folios made the following pages possible. The Queen had the patronage of the living and could put in any minister recommended to her. The parishioners must accept whoever was chosen. In 1573 they not only had to accept a young man, but possibly for the very first time one who

was married. A resident vicar with a family and staff would mean a diligent tithe collector for he not only had to support them, but educate any boys up to university to become clergymen.

Another influence on the lives of the parishioners was the fact that as his patron was the Queen he could not afford to ignore her bishop's instructions. Archbishop Grindal who supported preaching was suspended by the Queen and any progress towards independent sermons vanished. Queen Elizabeth preferred homilies to sermons, considering three or four preachers sufficient for each county. Thomas Holloway must have obeyed the hierarchy even if he excelled at using bible quotes which could be taken in two ways. Somehow he kept his licence and preached for at least forty six years. Thomas as vicar gave weekly sermons at Cropredy and quarterly ones in the other three churches in which he put curates to conduct the rest of the services.

Edward Brouncker who followed him as vicar was a great disappointment to the town for although they had to pay him a tenth of all their produce they had no say in who should be their vicar and could not force him to live in the town. The Sunday sermon for most people must have become the highlight of the week. Clergy were relied upon for information and education. The church was governed by the bishops directly from the Crown and as more of the bishops took up important administrative posts so church and politics became inseparable. To wish for reform of the clergy was almost to utter treason. One year the townsmen paid for their own preacher, a local man, for Brouncker had put in non- preaching curates, but once again the hierarchy were successfully suppressing preachers, still preferring catechisms and homilies. The people's preacher had to go and the town was furious. After the death of Thomas Holloway in 1619 sermons and records from a vicar severely diminish.

The church and parish records together with the collecting of small tithes in the Holloway folios were absolutely necessary to the period this book attempts to cover. They dominate and influence the use of the information, because like Brouncker we have only "Mr Holloway's books which I have by me," to help study their Open Common Field agriculture. Any enclosed, or manor farm land [8 & 50] seems to have had tithes collected and written down separately, so the calculations he made underestimate the total acreage. To complicate matters the land was measured then in yardlands, but not all yardlands have the same number of acres even in one parish (p295). Of course Thomas did not write with the same end in view demanded here, so like all such documents they have their limitations. On the other hand several facts revealed in his folios give them great value. Apart from Thomas's mentions of early enclosures, his seeding quantities and sales of corn, the folios will be constantly used as they form the backbone to the rest of the book.

Cropredy and the Ecclesiastical Parish.

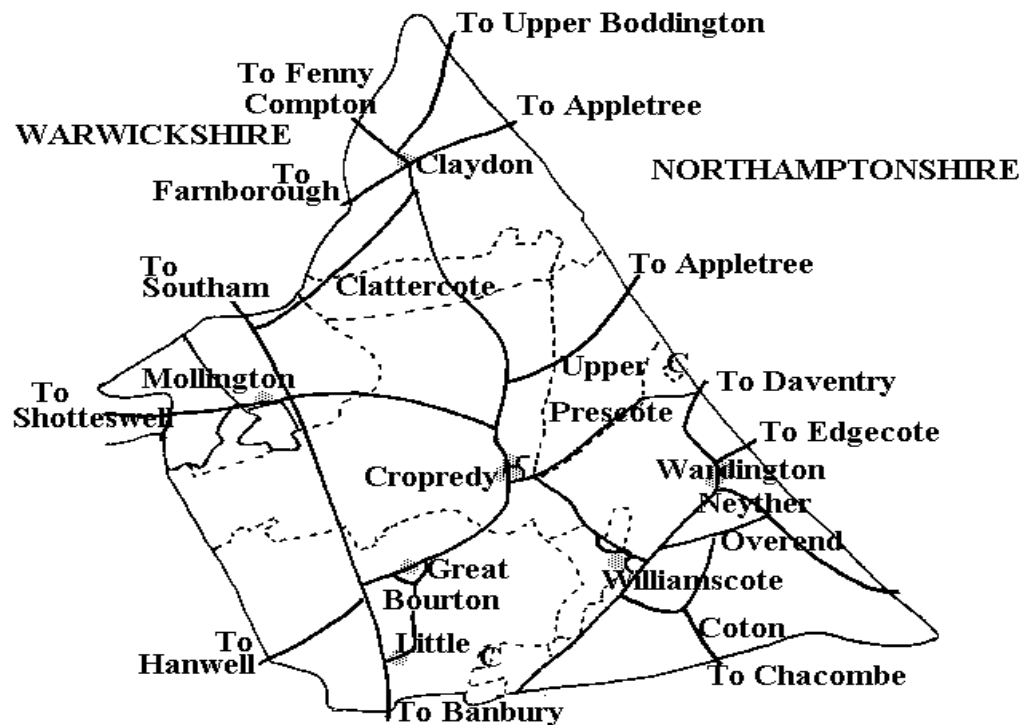
Cropredy was important enough to be the centre of the eleven chapelries and hamlets north of Banbury, squeezed into the tip of Oxfordshire. Each civil parish was responsible for their own Open Common Field or Enclosed land and the population who

depended upon it. The vicar was responsible for the souls of all eleven civil parishes which together formed the larger Cropredy ecclesiastical parish. The people from this ancient parish owed small tithes to the vicar of Cropredy and the large or rectorial tithes to a lay impropiator (p34). The majority of their wills were proved at the Peculiar Church Court held in Saint Mary's church Cropredy (p26).

The eleven civil parishes had for their outer boundary the county hedges of Northamptonshire on the northeast and Warwickshire on the northwest. The broad base of the area lay below Bourton and Wardington to the south [Fig.1.2]. Mollington was partly in Oxon, but mostly in Warwickshire which accounts for its apparently small acreage. Mollington was also in the Bloxham Hundred whereas the rest were in the Banbury Hundred.

At the top of the triangle lay Claydon. The twelfth, but extra-parochial, parish of Clattercote was a narrow belt of land lying between Claydon and Cropredy. From west to east lay Mollington, Cropredy and Upper Prescote and Prescote. To the south of Cropredy lay Great and Little Bourton. Below and to the east of the Prescotes lies the chapelry made up of Wardington, Upper Wardington, Williamsote and Coton.

Prescote and Clattercote were already enclosed. Williamsote-in-Cropredy (once part of Wardington) was enclosed during the second half of the sixteenth century.



The Ecclesiastical Parish of Cropredy.

The approximate size of the parishes in Oxfordshire were:

- Claydon chapelry - 1,999 acres
- Mollington chapelry - 783 acres
- Prescote Lordship - 555 acres
- CROPREDY - 1,926 acres [1,659 in 1775]
- Wardington chapelry with Coton & Wilscoate - 2,572 acres
- Bourtons chapelry - 2,681 acres

The townsmen used the yardland rather than the acre to describe the quantity of land (an average yardland on the B manor was equal to 32 acres p295). The vicars refer to Bourton as sixty yardlands and odd quarters [c25/10 f4], which in Bourton

did not include the five yardlands for the manor, whose tenant paid a tithe of 16s-8d for half a year. The rest were also paying 3s-6d a yardland twice a year - **Paying:**

Nether end of Great Bourton	21 yardlands 1/4	£ 3 - 10 - 10
Either end of Great Bourton	25 yardlands 3/4	£ 3 - 19 - 02
Outer Bourton	14 yardlands	£20 - 00 - 08
Totalling	60 (61) yardlands	

Thomas under estimates Wardington yardlands, for Brouncker wrote that he received of "Wardington for 107 yardlands £35" [c25/10 f1]. Holloway had only the following, which misses out Williamscoote. Had the rodents eaten the top off his 1614 lists, for they were very short of the smallholders tithes?

- Wardenton Overend - approx. 28 yardlands
- Wardenton Neyther end - approx. 45 yardlands
- Coton - approx. 11 yardlands [c25/5]

The explanation for the discrepancies may lie in Thomas's method of putting payments for Cropredy tenants of the Open Common Field, in one document and enclosed land in another. A separate section was also reserved for the two manor farms, their mills and cottager's commons. This means that Cropredy's 56.5 yardlands appear as only 45 yardlands and three quarters. The annual total Thomas received came to £15-5s [c25/10 f2v]. The parishioners paying him 6s-8d for every yardland, on top of their other small tithes. As Walter Calcott had taken his manor of Williamscoote-in-Cropredy out of the Wardington common fields his tithes were also entered separately. Whether the land was open or enclosed it was still measured by the yardland and paid tithes at the same rate.

An average yardland in Cropredy had 32 acres 1 rood, a third of which must lie fallow [Part 3]. In 1614 Cropredy had twenty three husbandmen leasing land. This had increased to twenty seven by 1670 and the middle range of holdings dropped from two yardlands to one and a half yardlands. At the same time one tenant had six, making it more difficult for those at the bottom end of the farming ladder to rise higher than half a yardland:

1614		1670	
0.5 to 1.5 yardlands	7	0.25 to 1.25 yardlands	11
2 yardlands	7	1.5 yardlands	3
2.25 to 4.5 yardlands	9	2 to 6 yardlands	13

The number of tenants who were trying to manage on smaller and smaller amounts of land increased in Wardington between 1614 and 1670, until twenty out of fifty nine had half a yardland (around 16 acres) or even less. One smallholding had only four acres.

Although these surrounding parishes may seem to have nothing to do with Cropredy people they are in fact of the utmost importance. No township was entirely independent. Any changes to customs or enclosure in surrounding parishes would be commented upon by their interested neighbours and especially if relatives were involved. The vicar was able to flourish with such a large rural population, all paying him their small tithes, but it was the lot of his chapelries that they had to put up with a curate living on a low wage and after 1619 Cropredy was in the same position.

Enclosure of whole parishes was frowned upon and yet piecemeal enclosure was generally more widespread than first thought. They managed it by bargaining within the parish as tenants in common, for the purpose of increasing their leyland. Clattercote and Prescote both next to Cropredy were totally enclosed at an earlier date, but by the landlord for an entirely different reason. These enclosures drove out the smaller tenants and the consequences of this were there for all to see. It left a lordship like Prescote with almost no-one in the parish except a manor house and farm with their servants.

Had they managed to come to some agreement to prevent this occurring in Cropredy? No one would dream of rebuilding in stone if their tenancy was under such a threat. Cropredy had easy access to roads leading to the market towns and could be more profitable to a landlord by developing the trade and thereby ensuring an increased rental.

Cropredy had been divided into two manors. Each with a manor farm, but no resident landlord. To distinguish between them, but only for the purpose of this book, the original manor will be referred to as the "A manor." This had the bailiff's farm (p613) in Church Street [50] (now Red Lion Street) and was owned in 1572 by widow Lee of Clattercote and her nephew William Watson. The smaller "B manor" belonged to the Principal and Scholars of the Brasenose College Oxford whose manor farmhouse [8] was on the Long Causeway (p511).

Highways and Lanes.

Cropredy had the old Royal Way from Brackley to Warwick passing through which was a busy highway connecting two trade routes while Prescote was tucked away behind Cropredy and although it certainly had Lanes, none were quite as busy as the Royal Way. Clattercote was also dependent on one inter parish Lane rather than a busy highway. Williamsote-in-Cropredy the latest enclosure on the other hand actually welcomed the Drove Road close by, but even so the enclosed land was purposely kept away from the verge of Banbury Lane and their boundary with the Royal Way already had an ancient mound and hedge (Fig.10.1 p136). In Oxfordshire Cropredy was the most important town north of Banbury and well supplied by roads.

The area had several major routes which used the higher land, so that through the Ecclesiastical parish passed two very old ridgeway tracks converging on Banbury to the south. The road from Coventry via Southam entered Oxfordshire just north of Mollington, coming south along the wide flat ridge of land five hundred feet above sea level. It passed through the South Field of Cropredy into Bourton and on down Hardwick Hill to Banbury. This broad ridge fell away sharply to the west into the Warmington valley. To the east towards the town of Cropredy it sloped gently down through well drained arable strips to the wetter clay of the valley floor.

There the valuable flood meadows followed the south flowing river Cherwell.

The second ridge to the east of the river took the Banbury Lane via Wardington and Williamsote down hill to Banbury. Joining these two routes was the meandering Royal Way from the direction of Brackley, coming westwards down Williamsote hill, over the bridge beside the old ford into Cropredy, and up the Green to the Cross. It left the town between the North and South Fields crossing over the Oxhay pasture to reach the Mollington fields. This Royal Way then passed over the Broadway and on through Mollington to eventually reach the Banbury to Warwick highway.

The next main crossing over the river Cherwell was at Banbury four miles to the south, so Cropredy's ford was of some importance to the positioning of the town established since at least the formation of the Open Common Fields.

There are a sprinkling of Cropredy records left by people who used the roads. After the A manor's landlord moved to Derbyshire from Clattercote he had to constantly send messages to his bailiff in Cropredy about the repairs and collection of rents. On one occasion when the landlord of the A manor left Derbyshire for London via Cropredy he ran up a bill on the return journey of £5- 2s which included corn and hay for the horses, his meat and drink £1-5s and the servants 5s, not forgetting the horses shoes 2s-8d [Loose paper in Additional MSS 71960: 1702]. When his tenants wanted a will proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury they must journey to London to do so. One of the chosen routes was via Banbury, "Alesbury.../ Windover.../" and "Uxbridge". Woodrose's and Wilmers [8] had connections with London and so did the French and Hall [6] families. It would take them at least two to three days to travel to London and stay in lodgings there, before returning. They would find it a very expensive business, though a more private way to prove their wills and conduct their affairs. For those without land in other areas the local Peculiar Court of Cropredy was the usual place for people of the eleven surrounding hamlets and towns to prove their wills, but always in the presence of the town and neighbouring population, keen to hear all the details.

The parish roads helped the tenants to move from the farm to the land and it was up to the town to maintain them. The major ways took them from the town to all the markets around, and must have been passable for them in all but the worst seasons. Without a reasonable passage they would not have been able to pay their rents from the sale of produce. The wives also

walked their cheese, butter and eggs to Banbury. Cropredy's nearest sheep, cattle and horse market was also at Banbury four miles away. The vicar used Southam ten miles to the north, Warwick seventeen to the west for selling stock and corn and Daventry fourteen miles away to purchase seed corn (p309).

Roads entering a great many English Greens arrived at the corners which would be gated. A convenience that any mover of stock would appreciate. Sheep will not leave by a central gate, but will happily follow the leader into a corner one, especially as at Cropredy there is a slight rise up from the river towards the west end. Two routes leave the upper edge, one for the Oxhay pasture and the North Field, the other for the Hayway, by the Cross, passing through the South Field to reach the western meads. The North Field route left along Backside, the rear way into the farms sited along the western edge of the town above the Green. The second northern Lane to leave the Green gave them their front entrance. This became known latterly as the High Street. It continued on to become Creampot Lane. Originally there may have been no farms on the north side of Creampot as it curved round to become the back lane for the A Manor Farm. To avoid the long trail up the High Street for these farms, not to mention the mess their stock would make, a way was cut through to Backside and called New Street Lane (p170). One other route left the north side of the Green at the river end. This was Round Bottom which kept just above the meadow line and skirted round below the churchyard to reach the manor house [50] and upper mill in Church Street. Also below the church was a passage called Hello leading down to Round Bottom. On either side were a few buildings which appear to have been built in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

The Long Causeway coming northwards from Bourton arrived at the middle of Cropredy's Green. The Green merged into the Bridge Causeway going eastwards down to the river Cherwell. There was only one Causeway leaving the Green southwards because the land was low lying and the meadow came further westwards. Yet there was still one way the farmers could avoid trailing across the Green to reach their farms on the Long Causeway. From the Cross there was a field way southwards towards Bourton to meet the Bottom Way, otherwise called Small Way, or Belser. This track came down from the South Field to the Long Causeway opposite the Brasenose Manor Farm entrance [8].

The Two Manors.

Cropredy had no freeholders to buy out the smaller copyholders, which happened in many other parishes. Craftsmen were very much encouraged with small amounts of land attached to their cottages (this was several years before the 1589 Act in which four acres should be allocated to new cottages). Trade and farming mixed and prospered without too much interference from above. There were very few yeomen, most were husbandmen and artisans who had improved their income during the fixed rents of the sixteenth century. The only way the landlord could increase his revenues was to charge higher entry fines. The College leased out their land for thirty years to customary tenants and to the copyholders they usually allowed three lives to be entered on the court roll.

After 1578 the Brasenose College Oxford took advantage of an Act of Parliament in 18 Elizabeth 1 (1575-6) which allowed colleges to demand a third of their tenant's rent in wheat or malt barley (p339). By doing this the B manor estate had a better share of the profits than the landlord of the A manor still on fixed rents. Possibly the B manor tenants felt they were being unfairly penalized when their neighbours were putting by more savings whenever the price of corn rose. It was a fact that the two main college farms were redeveloped in stages and not totally rebuilt as some on the A manor were. They must have watched while specially cut stone was used in the fine ashlar elevations on a few of the other manor's farms. The rest including the craftsmen and cottagers having theirs in the less expensive rubble stone on both estates.

The College manor leased to their tenants fixed parcels of land scattered about the North and South Fields always attached to each farm site. The A manor did likewise, but they had some extra parcels of demesne land which were often let separately in half yardland lots, to various parishioners on both manors. This complicated an otherwise fairly straightforward pattern of land holding, by changing the tenants of some parcels from year to year. These lots were let to any who could afford the extra entry fine and rent. Yet not one family managed to take an unfair share of the extra land permanently. Each homestead seemed to grow and diminish according to their needs. This was possible when all families were at a different part of their twenty nine year generation cycle (p57). Some leased a farm site for several generations, and then the name changes. On closer examination the farm may have passed to a married daughter, in the absence of a son. With this security of tenure in the second half of the sixteenth century the family could plan ahead on low rents to put by enough to rebuild, or substantially alter the property. What was the situation in Cropredy regarding sites available for new buildings in the 1570's?

A Manor

Group 1:

[1] Palmer [4] French [16] Hunt
[28] Howse [30] Cattell [52] Thompsons
[53] Malins [59] Palmer [60] Suffolk

Group 2:

[9] Howse [15] Toms [24] Howse
[25] Gybbs [31] Kynd [50] Coldwell
[51] Cross

Group 3:

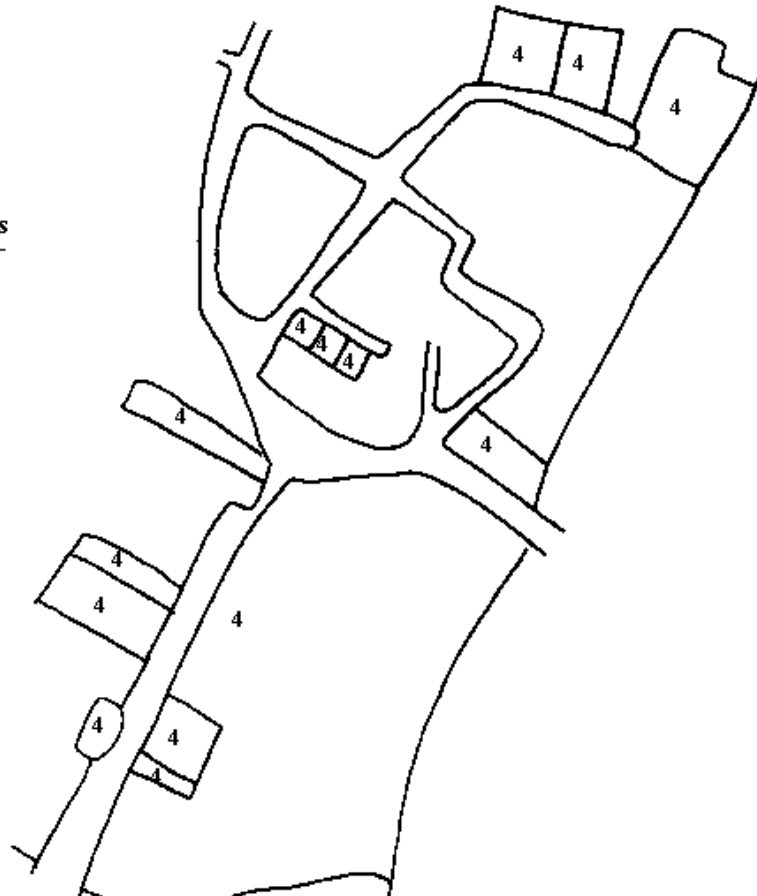
[12] Handley [23] Vaughan [26] Robins
[29] Lyllee [34] Watts [42] Sutton
[57] Carter [58] Pare

B Manor

Group 4:

[2] Lucas [3] Devotion [6] Hall
[7] Clyfton [8] Woodrose
[13] Wyatt [18] Matcham
[19] Bagley [20] Hill
[32] Rede [33] Truss
[35] Hentlowe
[36] Bokingham

1.3 The Two Manors



The Two Manors.

Many farmsteads must have merged for the number of households in the 1560's had dropped below the sixtytwo noted in 1548. Once two had joined they were unlikely to be given up again by a resident tenant and this may have led to the shortage of building land within the town. New sites had to be squeezed out of meadow land, the Green, or the A manor's home close. It may be that some of these lesser sites had been abandoned in the late 1550's, and now due to a period when burials rose over births, there was room for newcomers. We shall see that when some small parcels of land were taken from the north and south part of the Oxhay common, they were allocated to certain house sites and let to craftsmen as smallholdings.

Artisans being not wholly dependent on harvest and stock to pay the rent, might increase their wealth faster than husbandmen. Even so both could afford to build in Cropredy. When did they begin? Apparently building in stone had begun by the 1570's. After 1594 due to difficult harvests, famines and a steeper rise in the cost of living the building programme slowed down. However it is almost certain that by then a great many of the sixty households were already in stone under a thatched roof. In the early seventeenth century the masons still continued to work, but not on any new sites (except at Shotswell's [1a]), the alterations being confined to extensions and improvements to existing dwellings.

Cropredy's climate and soil conditions which produced the mixed farming was another important factor influencing the type of dwellings required and those past Cropredians who played a large part in the creation of their town deserve to be brought to our notice. Walter Rose, the carpenter, understood for he says "no-one of reflective mind can possibly separate the old-world cottage from the lives once lived in it... to whom we owe so much" [Rose W. *Good Neighbours* Cambridge Univ. Press p9].

What type of houses did they replace? Most would be timber framed houses, with hazel and daub infilling. The roof material was always a thatch of straw. There had long been a shortage of timber, in north Oxfordshire, for the parishes lacked woods and had only small spinneys. Leland passing from Southam to Banbury in 1538 noted that all the land "be champaine, noe wood, but exceeding good pasture and corne" [Smith L.C. *Itinerary* 1538].

The landlord provided the timber for repairs allocating it in rotation once he had felled some trees on the estate. The tenants had to plant yearly six or nine young trees, either oaks, ash or elm along the boundaries and hedgerows, the majority being around the town closes. Extra timber being carted in from woods further away, where they regularly produced underwood and some long timber for other parishes.

Cropredy may have produced some underwood by coppicing oak and hazel in small areas. Osiers were also grown and pollarded along the Cherwell and in special osier beds to cater for the thatching spars and hurdles. From the 1540's the price of bringing in timber and underwood rose alarmingly, as much as 75% has been given [Bowden P.J. "Agricultural prices, farm Profits, and Rents" in *Ag.H.E.W.* 1V, p.605]. If the buildings were constantly kept in a watertight condition, then the situation may not have become impossible, but when in the 1550's there was a sudden drop in population and consequent fall in

tenants, the materials now required after a long period of neglected repairs to the old timber buildings may have become prohibitive. Since they acquired their estate in 1524 the College buildings seem not to have suffered as tenants were quickly replaced. The bailiff tenancing the demesne farm on the A manor [50] may also have kept the Church Street cottages [44,46-9] belonging to his farm in reasonable repair, but the manor as a whole had suffered as it changed hands.

The whole of the A manor had been surrendered by the Bishop of Lincoln, and by 1547 belonged to the Crown. After changing hands it was sold to Thomas Lee in 1560, who was leasing the three hundred and forty acres of Clattercote Parish, now part of Christ Church College. It is possible that Lee could have started the new buildings beginning with the demesne farmhouse [50] and Howse [28], or carried on with a scheme already started, but he did not complete his plans. Thomas Lee died in April 1572 having left Clattercote and the manor of Cropredy to his widow Mary and she was to pay yearly to his nephew William Watson the sum of £32-9s-10d out of the rents. He was the son of Thomas Lee's late sister Ann Watson. William at the time was only nineteen years and twentytwo days old. How did they decide to increase their revenues? William had to defer to his aunt Mary who had rashly entered the manor of Cropredy without first getting a licence to do so, which was to cost her a fine of £5 in 1582 [Pat Rolls p13 m36 1582].

In those past ten years they had between them kept in motion an improvement scheme, a third of which appears to be under William's control for when he married Anne in 1589 this third was held, presumably in trust for her, by John Mardon and Arthur Coldwell [50]. William continues with the rest until 1596 [Pat Rolls p1 m2] when he and his wife Anne took out a licence to transfer ownership of two thirds of the manor to Humphrey Lee Esq and Richard Wood.

Widow Mary Lee had already married Richard Corbet who bought the reversion of the manor from Watson. After Mary died, her husband Richard Corbet married a Judith who had twice been widowed and he settled Cropredy and the Clattercote Priory on his new wife. Richard died in 1606 and his widow moved to Clattercote and lived in the Priory. Judith Corbet made two wills (one in 1618, the second in 1631) leaving the Cropredy manor to her son Henry Boothby by a previous marriage. By 1619 Lady Corbet had moved to Mollington with her son and daughter [c25/8 f 12 (ult)v], but by 1634 Lady Corbet was at Langley, Derbyshire [S.S.& F. Box 107 Bundle c. O.A].

Around 1572 discussions must have commenced with the Brasenose College to organise the parish land in a more profitable way and allow the tenants to update the buildings by using stone rather than timber. Some areas in England had stone available, but timber and wood being plentiful they delayed using stone until a lot later, and many preferred timber buildings which had stood the centuries as well as any stone ones. In Cropredy it is possible the chronic shortage of timber and underwood and the number of properties in need of repair caused the change in the traditional ways of building their homes, rather than timber buildings falling from favour. Increasing the amount of timber on the front elevation was one method of boosting the occupiers status, but could stone do the same? The gentry were rebuilding using fine cut stone. The influence of

new houses being built all around the area by wealthy yeomen and lesser gentlemen, such as Williams-cote House, would be watched with interest. At Banbury market no doubt they would hear of others being built all along the limestone belt from Dorset up through the Cotswolds to the north east.

Some of the brown stone came from the marlstone beds of the middle lias quarried at Hornton. This they knew from the church, could stand the weather for centuries. Cropredy tenants were nearer to the quarries than to parishes like Silverstone with timber to sell, and as carting was at their expense this clearly affected costs. Roofing material presented few problems, just the nuisance of repeated renewals of homegrown long rye straw, or the shorter wheat.

When tenants rebuilt the dwellings on their ancient sites, they could only do so in a peaceful economic climate and the landlords permission. In the 1570's Cropredy had enclosed estates on two sides (Clattercote to the north, Prescote and a section of Williams-cote-in-Cropredy to the east), so that many must have feared for their farms when the landlord began to have discussions about the future of the parish. The Reverend Thomas Holloway, with his glebe land scattered in the whole ecclesiastical parish was going to want to preserve the labour intensive Open Common Field system of Cropredy and build himself a suitable house near the church. Thomas as a married clergymen would be keen to guard every one of his tithes and rights.

Tenants had been benefitting from increased wool prices. Corn had been even more profitable for twentyfive years, though from 1573 to 1583 wool again exceeded corn. While the tenants pocket improved some landlords outgoings increased beyond their inputs and they could do nothing about raising their incomes on fixed rentals without changing the system.

The new landlord must decide on the best way to increase the income from his estate, but how would it fit in with the College? Many tenants had died in the 1550's leaving widows and young sons to carry on through several change of owners. If the estate was to pull through and become prosperous again then the properties had to be rebuilt and a whole new management scheme undertaken. The town had three good assets: access roads, a river with mills and good arable land.

There were three options open to them. To exchange land and enclose the whole parish, reduce the number of tenants and charge increased rents for the convenience of enclosed farms. This would drive away the industrious craftsmen. Or they could farm it themselves with the help of shepherds and gain everyone's disapproval (including the College). This had happened close by at Wormleighton. The third way was to work with the College and reorganise the agriculture, adjusting the balance between the arable and the leyland through the Manor Courts, and to increase the number of craftsmen, by attracting them into the parish. There was no shortage of applicants at a time when the population had recovered from the mid century epidemics and was now rising. Some landlords were dividing the land and making more farms, not less, benefitting from the demand. The number of properties could not increase above sixty, but now, some of the cottages were allocated leyland from

the demesne part of the common, though most were still well under four acres. It was important to keep a workforce of craftsmen, for too few meant they could not get the harvest home, but too many for the land to feed would soon erode the balance.

The A. Manor appears to have put the third policy into action, but who actually paid for the mammoth venture? There are no bills showing the cost per bay of stone building for Cropredy. Costs were rising fast and this may have advanced the programme. Approximate costs locally came to around £10 per bay. Huxeley's [36] house and barn had six bays within a seventy by twenty feet outer shell. Was £60 too small, or too large an estimate of the costs when they arrived in the 1570's? As shepherds they would think of this as equal to a hundred and eighty good ewes. Help was required before undertaking such a huge investment which was initially for only three lives, though many decendants were able to enter more lives by paying an entry fine. What we still cannot be certain of is how much the owners contributed.

What evidence is there to show which houses were involved? Nearly all households on the vicar's Easter lists can be allocated to a plot in Cropredy. From other evidence just a few, such as the four cottages in Church Street [46-49] remained as timber buildings for well over a hundred years. In 1613 there were once again about sixty households. In Edward VI's time there had been sixtytwo houselings (p718) [1548 Chantry certificate]. In the 1550's the numbers of tenants had fallen, but the rebuilding in stone encouraged the town to reach a maximum of sixty.

Two indicators of changes taking place were the increase in new surnames into the town and the planting of hedges in the parish.

Movement of Tenants.

There were few surnames coming through from the early sixteenth century, so it is not surprising to find that the largest proportion of householders living in Cropredy in the 1570's were incomers who took advantage of the reorganisation of land and buildings.

In 1614 out of twentyone farms (not including the vicar) thirteen had ancestors of the same name mentioned in early deeds and the 1552 Survey of the A manor. By 1640 only seven of these surnames remained though two more would return when the stepfather died. Four other farms went to son-in-laws, nephew or cousin with a different surname.

NAME	DATE	SITE	SITUATION BY 1640
French	1513	[4]	Resident
Howse	1513	[9]	Resident
Howse	1513	[24]	To Pratt
Howse	1513	[28]	Resident
Handley	1524	[12]	Left 1614
Lumberd	1513	[6&14]	Died 1635
Gybbs	1557	[25]	Resident
Robins	1557	[26]	To Daughter 1635
Devotion	1538	[3]	Resident
Toms	1540	[15]	Resident
Hunt	1548	[16]	Resident
Lyllee	1538	[29]	To daughter 1623
Rede	1540	[32]	Resident
Hanwell	1546	[34]	Died 1598 to Watts
Hentlow	1558	[35]	Died 1616
Rose	1552	[60]	Died 1511 to Suffolk

- French [6], the lease to nephews, Halls of Priors Marsden.
- Nuberry [8] to c1606, Woodrose to 1637, Wilmers, then Wyatts.
- Vaughan [23] arrived 1572 still there in 1640.
- Butlers [30] in 1578 list. Cattells to 1635 then T. Wyatt.
- Kynds [31] 1575 to 1614, left. Wyatts moved up from [13].
- Coldwells [50] c1589- 1624. Cartwrights then Wyatts.

A few names which had a long innings were Howse who spread to three farms, then left before 1700. Wyatts came as trade in 1605 and by 1663 had the tenancy of four good farms. Toms stayed to the end of the nineteenth century. Most died in Cropredy, but three husbandmen left in 1614.

Smythe and Palmer the millers were there before 1570. Hill the bakers were also early residents. In Church Street the two copyholders Bryan [47] and Cox [49] were tenants in 1540, but their neighbour's surname, Norman [48], goes back only to

1585. There was a large influx over sixteen years so Cropredy must have had a lot to offer as most came in to set up a business. Not all these newcomers had new sites, some took over vacant ones. What they did have in common (except for Whytes and Normans) was an early stone house and the fact that they came into the town over a very short period of time (1574-1590), encouraged to settle and build by the landlord offering them small parcels of land. Craftsmen who took up leases and arrived between 1574 and 1590 may have done so attracted by the chance of a good stone building? Their known trades are added from wills:

NAME	DATE	SITE	TRADE	SITUATION BY 1640
Adkin	1579	[10]		Remain
Bagley	1586	[19]		Left
Bokingham	1586	[55]		To Daughter
Bostocke	1587	[41]	Leather & Ale?	Remain
Breedon	1574	[37]		
Elderson	1584	[38]	Carpenter	Remain
Huxeley	1574	[36]	Shepherd	Remain
Pare	1582	[58]	Saddlemaker & Collarmaker	Died
Rawlins	1590	[44]	Corvisor & Shoemaker	Remain
Russell	1572	[13]	Blacksmith	Died 1601
Sutton	1583	[42]	Tailor	To Daughter
Tanner	1584	[39]	Mercer	Died
Watts	1588	[27]	Weaver	Remain
Whyte	1578	[46]	Leather Industry?	Remain

The husbandmen had a third of the properties and the trade and cottage labourers the rest. The landlord of the A manor kept the craftsmens "new" properties as a separate part of the estate records and they are found in a deed of 1681 [M.S.ch Oxon 4950] (Ch.29).

More names came in over the next fifty years:

NAME	DATE	SITE	TRADE	SITUATION BY 1640
Hudson	1593	[19]		Left 1614
Ladd	1596	[40]		Died 1630
Cross	1599	[51]	Miller	Died 1617
Matcham	1600	[18]	Tailor	
Terrie	1601	[13]	Weaver	Died 1603
Wyatt	1605	[13]	Blacksmith	Remain
Hill	1606	[58]	Butcher	Left 1634
Denzie	1606	[13]	Blacksmith	Remain
Shotswell	1610	[1a]+		Remain
Tustain	1615	[33]		Left 1634
Plyvie	1615	[35]		Left c1634
Andrews	1616	[19]+		Remain
Langley	1617	[42]		Remain
Orton	1631	[58]	Butcher	Remain

Labourers names between 1593 and 1640:

NAME	DATE	SITE	SITUATION BY 1640
Hyrens	1592	[56]	Died 1616
Wells	1597	[22]	
Haddock	1607	[17]	Left
Wood	1611	[15&56]	Died 1642
Spencer	1601	[7]	Left 1615
Clyfton	1614	[7]	Died 1650

The constant changes in the thirtysix households connected with agriculture by trade or work is understandable when the cottage went with the work. It was also inevitable that over seventy years many would not have a son to inherit. Several copyholders entered a daughter who then married bringing a new surname to the town. On the farms the two manor sites had strangers taking over the lease. The husbandmen were the ones who kept a hold on the property for the longest periods,

except for the Church Lane timber dwellings. Only the Adkins family were able to hold on like the Toms for centuries and we have no idea how they managed to do so. Certainly few survive for a hundred years, or for more than three or four generations. Perhaps the most stable population was over the early part of our period, the time when many were setting up a business and rebuilding in stone.

The Reorganization.

Several changes had to be made. One way was to reallocate some of the demesne pasture. This is looked at in the description of land in Part 3. Another was to alter the stocking quotas and again this has been dealt with alongside the description of land and stock. A third was to reduce the costs of moving and controlling stock by planting hedges along the Lanes. This could be coupled with protection of meads by drainage ditches and more hedges. All these took place.

A hedge survey helped to confirm the planting of hedges and this is looked at first, being more recent than Thomas Holloway's folios. Part 3 and 4 will try and prove that the major changes on the two estates from the rebuilding of the houses, stock reduction to the planting of hedges nearly all took place in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Planting Hedges.

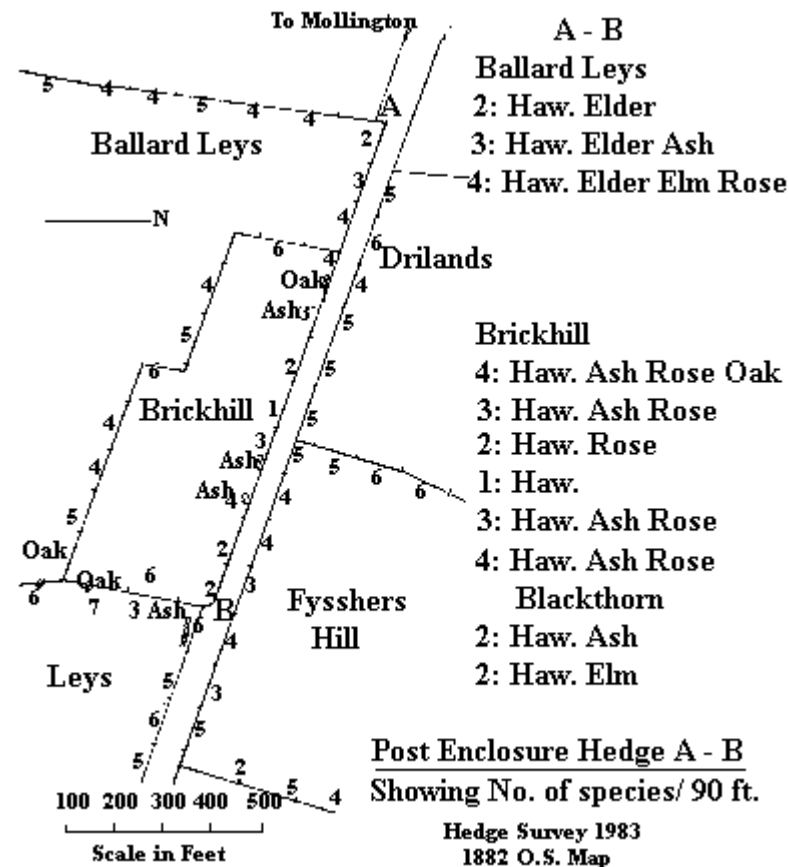
Hedgerows were mainly used to keep stock and crops apart, but were also used to help combat a shortage of firewood. Those who could afford to helped solve the problem by changing from wood to coal, but this required a flue. The urgent need for coal fires was recognised by building at least one chimney in every new stone dwelling. Even though the old open hearths only burnt wood which burned at a slower rate than a fire drawn up a chimney, there was not enough hedging and topping to cater for sixty households.

In the early 1980's a hedge survey using the Hooper system of counting shrubs in thirty yard sections was made over Cropredy, Prescote and Williamscoote-in-Cropredy [Hooper M. D. *Hedges* 1974]. The additional effort to record the whole hedge corner to corner was taken in every field, because so many were in danger of removal. It became evident that there were four distinct types of hedges. These became known in Cropredy as:

- The Oldest with 8 to 10 plus species per 90 foot section.
- The Early Hedge with 6 to 7 species per section.
- The MIDDLE hedge with 4 to 5 species per section.
- The Late Hedge with 2 to 3 common species which were planted for the 1775 Enclosure of the Open Common Fields.

In Thomas Hennell's book it was discovered that Canon Marcon of Edgefield Rectory, Norfolk had recognised in the early 1930's that there were two kinds of hedges. Old ones with many species were generally winding while new all thorn ones were straight. The exception being those new ones that were parallel to older road hedges [Hennell T. *Change on the Farm* 1934 Cambridge Univ. Press]. Cropredy's have been taken a little further, but did not advance as Trevor Hussey has into species profiles ["Hedgerow History." *The Local Hist.* Vol.17 No.6 p327-342].

Cropredy's Middle hedges planted around four hundred years ago were found in four definite places. Firstly those on either side of the wide roads. The Oxhay road across the cow pasture had only straight hedges due to a lack of arable ridge and furrows in its pasture land. Elsewhere the roads had one hedge which would follow the curve of the ridge and furrow and the second hedge ran parallel to it, even if behind that hedge the arable strip lands butted up to the road. These middle hedges had ditches dug out on the road side of the hedge. The hedged roads helped the drover taking cattle and sheep to and from the market. The local shepherds and herdsman were able to drive stock to the common, leyland or fallow with the minimum of damage to headlands and crops.



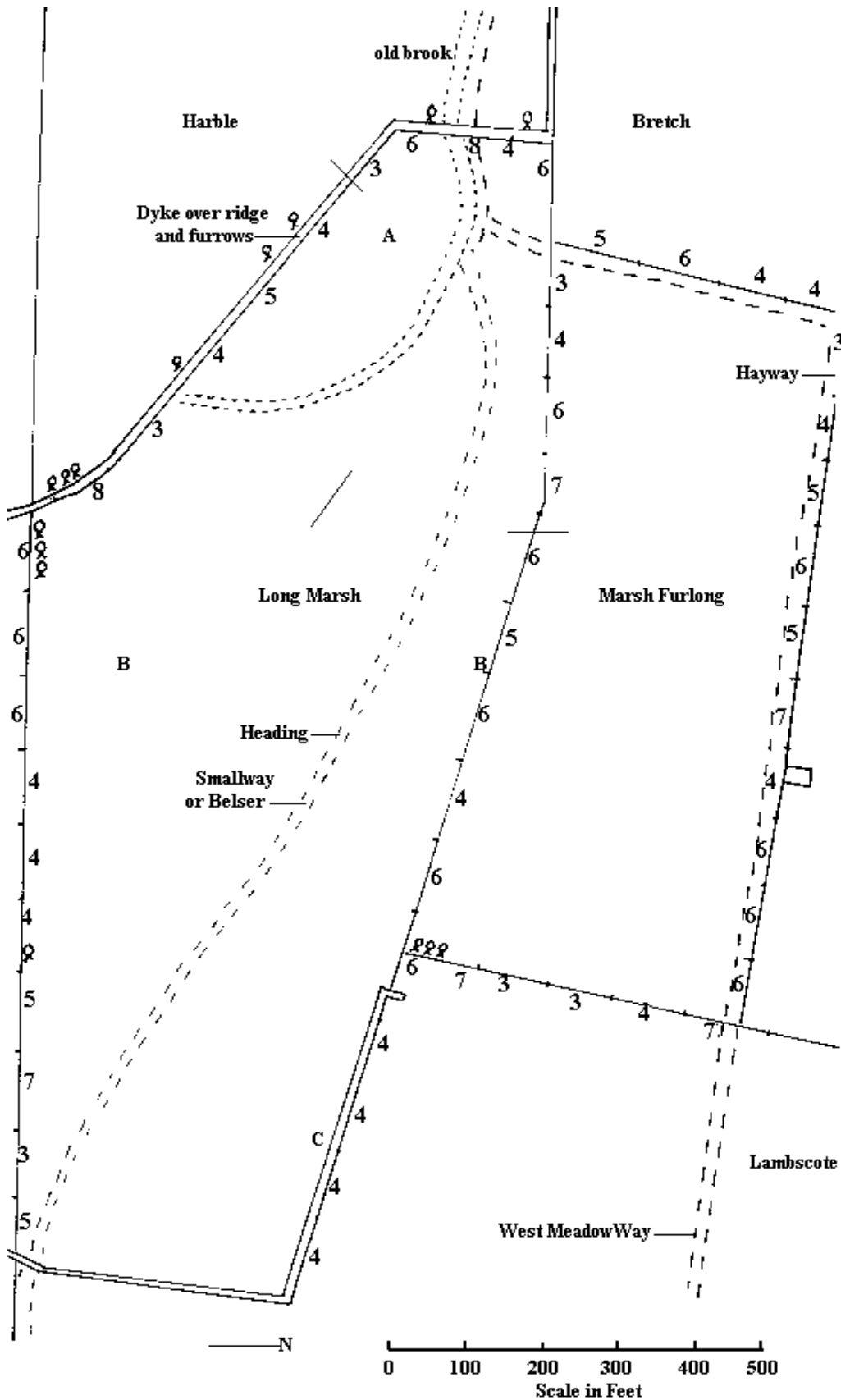
Late Encroachment onto the Oxhay Road.

It was interesting to find later alterations to Middle hedges for example on the Oxhay road to Mollington. This was altered when encroachments were made on the south side two hundred years later. Anker's brickyard close, Brickhill, was enlarged by grubbing up the Middle hedge and including the verge by replanting alongside the road with a Late Post Enclosure hedge (A-B). The ditch was piped under the encroachment (Fig.D1.4). Other alterations took place on Moorstone Way to Claydon. This has Early and Middle hedges from the town to the parish boundary with Clattercote, except where the Anker's again altered their boundary on Warkworth hill by planting a Late hedge around Lime Kiln Ground. It was also found that no parish had used the ridgeway to define a long boundary. These old routeways had a habit of widening in rainy seasons, but husbandmen with strips alongside wanted to keep drovers from trespassing on their crops and so Middle hedges were planted all along the

Broadway at last defining the width of the highway. There are some records, included in the bundles of College terriers, of verges being encroached and the Middle hedge being removed. One in 1791 from Smedley's [Station House?] southwards to the later osier bed on the Sowburge, gave the College tenant an extra half acre in Sow Croft. A Late hedge replaced the original one.

Secondly, Middle hedges were planted at the top of the meadows alongside the ditches. This kept stock out, or in, as required, saving damage and herdsmen. At West Meadow the new permanent hedges also divided the mead into areas or closes, which meant the cattle did not graze the aftermath all at once (Fig.14.5 p204). These replaced the need for the temporary hurdles once used to contain stock. This was still done on the arable with sheep to manure the fallow land, but was obviously a time consuming task.

The Third area of hedging was round the leyland plots, especially in the concentrated north east corner of the parish (p200). If the hedges were planted over former arable they might run across the ridge and furrows. In the South Field there are to-day three fields Marsh furlong, Bretch and Long Marsh which have Middle hedges over former ridged up lands. One of the improvements in that area was to move the Sow burge tributary coming down from the Goggs. It was given a new straight bed on the south side of the Long Marsh Furlong [Dairy Ground] and planted with a sixteenth century hedge (Fig.D 1.5). The ley areas in Honeypleck between Bretch and the Oxhay Road (p223) acquired Middle hedges which were later used by the Vicar when it became his Glebe farm in 1775. By allocating him this area he was saved the considerable expense of hedging his parcel of land (Fig.14.6 p206).



- A. Water course straightened over Ridge and Furrows.
- B. "Middle" hedges over Ridges on Long Marsh and Marsh.
- C. Furlong on wet clayland. Later dykes at N.E. corner.

1.5 Re-organisation of Land in the South Field.

Hedge Survey 1983

Re-organisation of Land in the South Field.

The Fourth Middle type hedges were the most important ones as far as the house survey was concerned. Part of the Oxhay common in the South Field had at some time been taken off in "Pieces." Two of these plots went to two farms built on the communal Green [15 & 16], possible proof of their "new" arrival. These became known as Toms and Hunts Pieces, from the farmers who leased them. A third Piece used for the sexton's acre was in Little Church Piece, otherwise known as "Read's Piece" when the Redes were the parish clerks. They also had half a sydling in Church Piece to the north of a block of strips let to the Brasenose manor farm [8]. The sydling was a piece of leyland running alongside the arable and used for access and grazing (p206).

They had begun to structurally improve the Open Common Field farming by planting hedges, bringing down the number of stock allowed and setting aside greensward areas (ch. 15) to improve the herbage. All this not only to increase their cows production, but to make better provision for their horse teams, uncatered for in the days when oxen were the main source of power. Horses required better hay from enclosed leyland and more grazing land. In return they ploughed more land in a day than oxen, though at a higher cost. Once the land improvements had been put into effect the tenants would wish to carry on and improve their own accommodation.

What was the background to their town? Would it influence their rebuilding at all?

Was Cropredy built to a plan?

In pasture areas the houses were dispersed over the whole parish. Open Common Field farming used the land differently. The buildings kept to as tight an area as possible. Once they had decided upon the maximum number of households the land could support did they then plan the layout of the town? Or could it just have grown and when would they have limited that growth? Rebuilding on old sites abandoned in the 1550's still did not bring the number up to sixty and new sites had to be fitted in.

It can be said that villages evolved naturally over a long period of time, but there is a theory that some estates made a firm structural plan, relating the closes to the landsharing. The house sites do appear to be carefully thought out, but no relationship to a rotation of strips matching the placing of the farms to each other has so far been found in the terriers (though these only came in long after the Open Common Field system was set up).

The A manor rent roll divided the homesteads to the west of the town into three groups (Fig. 1.3p11) and they rotate through their properties, from one, two and three groups repeated from south to north and then down Creampot Lane, but ignoring the B. manor sites. The B. manor was split off from the A manor when the land belonged to the Bishop of Lincoln. The ones which do not relate to the rent roll division are the two on the Green [15 & 16] and the three in Church Lane [21, 23 & 24], but these were fairly allocated between the three groups. It is very doubtful that this was left over from the distant past, or is

of any significance, for it could simply be the A manor's means of dividing up the manor so that a wife had a third and a son two thirds. The division of the farms for widows could only have come about after the bishop finally surrendered Cropredy for obviously on the death of a bishop his successor took over the entire estate. In which case the divisions had nothing to do with the original layout of the town.

Creampot Lane is split between the two landlords. Two wide ones [31, 32] and two narrow [34, 35]. This must have occurred after the original manor was divided in two giving the manor a quarter of the bishop of Lincoln's estate in Cropredy. There are other sites which ignore the groups. Below the Green there are two thin closes stretching westwards. One to each manor [13, 14]. Both could be later additions. To the south of them, all on the A manor estate, were two older farm sites [9, 12] behind two cottages [10, 11] encroaching on the verge, Below these came Springfield Farm [6] on the B manor and over the Long Causeway the College Manor farm [8]. Just two other sites lay on the west side, one of which belonged to the Rector [5] and French's farm [4]. Lastly on the east side an encroachment onto the B manor meadows of Devotion's [3] farmstead with Lucas's [2] copyhold cottage.

They built their homes above the highest flood level, between the meadow and arable. There were several advantages of living near the river. Two mills were built close to the town and the stock could be watered easily night and morning, below the Green. The roads crossed this Green and the mother church for the area was built above it. They were fortunate in their water supply. Many wells after being sunk were found suitable for drinking. The town had one pond in the High Street and perhaps another on the present 1881 Chapel site previously used by a wheelwright.

The next task was to look at the sites themselves. Was the position of the farms important? Which lanes were the farmers or craftsmen most likely to live in?

Villages were often built around a Green or along a highway. Cropredy had a Green, but it seemed more of a wide edge to the Royal Way running through the parish (after crossing the Cherwell ford), than a definite area set aside in the original plan. Cropredy's Green actually interrupted the plan of the town, rather than forming a centre piece. To the north and south of it, on the western side of the main Lanes, the farms had been laid out in an orderly fashion, totally ignoring the Green between the upper and lower sections of the town.

The two manor farmsteads were completely independent of the Green, preferring to stand near their meadows, and in the case of the larger A manor estate, near the upper mill. These were sited on the eastern side of the town, one above the Green and one below. Craftsmen's copyhold properties, needing less access to the arable land and with little choice anyway, were built in the centre of the town.

The Green was a large space below the church, stretching from the Town Cross fence on the west down to the river Cherwell on the east. It was not surrounded by property facing into the open pasture area. Nor was it used as a market, so the Cross was either a medieval preaching cross, or a place for travellers to express their thanks for a safe crossing through the floods in medieval times. The parishioners had required the Green at Cropredy to be kept open as a common pasture, alongside the important route through the parish, but as soon as there was pressure for more dwelling sites they began to nibble away at the Green from below the church and Church Lane.

The whole town was apparently conveniently set out with the majority of the farmcloses running east to west. It may be that originally the sites were of a standard size. The depth and the width making up an acre. There were three types. The three narrow ones of about 80 feet in width, six about a 100 feet wide and five about 120 feet wide. The two between the Green and Newstreet Lane had just over an acre each with a paddock between them because Hobb's Pool took up the High Street frontage. A strip once running east from the High Street towards the church, was 120 feet wide and divided into three, whose front boundaries each measured 100 feet on the north side of Church Lane. Toms and Hunts on the Green had a frontage of around 120 feet each.

In this town just over half of the houses faced east-west. The causeway, street or lane serving their house to a large extent governing the position of the property. Why did the rest decide to face southwards? Not all the western line of farms were rebuilt in stone to face east at the edge of their crofts. Howse [28] faced north and Lyllee [29] faced south at the north end of the town and French's [4] at the southern end was built with the gable end to the road on a narrow 80 foot close (p487). Each must have had a reason.

The farms in Creampot Lane appear to have originally been built right back on the edge of the wide A manor farm track, with their rear walls onto the headings of arable land. Any home close for [32 and 33] had to be attached to their farmstead upon the old verge. This in effect gave them odd sideways plots in marked contrast to the conventional long closes on Cropredy's western side. When these two rebuilt in stone I believe they took the opportunity to come forward to the edge of the by now sunken lane. The first three sites [31 to 33] faced south on wide sites, but the bottom two [34, 35] must still face across their narrow sites. The last close in the lane [35] being right against their meadow hedge (ch. 36) .

Three craftsmen on the College estate had cottages facing either north onto Church Lane [18-20], or southwards onto their gardens. They were opposite the three south facing A manor farms [21, 23, 24]. The Church Street cottages facing south may have housed the staff for the A. manor house [50] and farm. The present Chapel Green provided homes for four craftsmen [40-43] in their stone cottages. Huxley's [36], Breeden's and Elderson's [37, 38] faced west, and Tanner's [39] which faced south were all built as craftsmen's smallholdings, taken from the edge of the A manor's demesne close.

Cropredy may differ from the rest of the country for the town had very few one cell cottages, and none to actually retire to. They were all family dwellings. The population went on increasing, but only a handful of cottages were fined at the court for encroaching onto the Green in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The next major upheaval came with the reorganisation following the 1775 Enclosure Award. Between 1570 and 1640 the land could feed only sixty households. Children who would be unable to take up a lease with a tenement must leave, but not all do so as early as fourteen. The records give us rare insights into who resided in the town from 1613 to 1624, other years have unfortunately been lost. The pattern of movement amongst the families and staff was surely following the local custom throughout our chosen period. The new stone houses had more space inside and sharing was tolerable up to a point, as long as the daughter-in-law could cope. If not then the widowed mother might have to "bitake herself to some friends whome shee please," as suggested by Thomas French [4] in 1631/2 .

Part 1 finishes with the most important person without whom none of this could have been put together, the Reverend Thomas Holloway. He industriously produced some of the finest documents with the sole intent of bringing in his revenues. In Part 2 the people who lived in this period, the husbandmen, craftsmen and servants dominate the pages, with their families, their inheritance customs and belongings revealed in the wills and their children's education or lack of it. Part 3 will deal with the Open Common Fields and the use of the land by the townsmen. Coming back to the houses in Part 4 it was discovered that Church Street had a row of early timber cottages preserved under a later stone facade, and Cropredy rebuilt a type of longhouse adapted to late sixteenth century requirements. The craftsmens cottages with some land are followed in the text by cottages connected to a farmstead. The farms are taken in town order in their own chapters while Part 5 deals with their apparel and possessions found in the inventories.

A mass of local detail has been added for those who wish to follow the unusual or commonplace in these various properties. Many factors brought out in the study are those which contributed to Cropredy's unique growth. A neighbouring parish would present a completely different set of results, though the archive material, the buildings, the soil and climate might be similar. It is the mixing of the ingredients which produced the unique environment and it is this essential Cropredy which we want to display, for this whole exercise is striving to explore, and hopefully to encourage the reader to continue to find more evidence and better solutions, especially those who live in one of the original sixty properties.

No apologies need be made for transcribing the documents using the original spelling, for during this period words had not settled down and it was quite permissible for the scribe to write as he spoke. These are not transcribed in order to amuse us, but to hear the English language as spoken in this small community. Several words escape translation and there is plenty of room for a further exhaustive search of the difficult scripts.

The new stone buildings reduced the amount of heat once lost in a poor dwelling, and saved time and money previously wasted in constant repairs. Goods would also keep longer in a dryer building. Then if the number of births did not rise too high, too quickly over burials, and the emigration of surplus individuals went on, those left might slowly begin to prosper after the initial expense of rebuilding.

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2. The Ecclesiastical Parish of Cropredy

The central town in the large ecclesiastical parish was Cropredy. The bishop of Lincoln, who had to surrender the estate to the crown in 1547, had once held the eleven parishes not only as landlord, but also as their rector, putting in a priest to see to the souls of all the parishioners. The ecclesiastical parish was too large for one man and while the vicar could reside in Cropredy near the mother church, he must put curates in other parts of the greater parish.

Richard Gabell M.A. who had been the rector of Aynho from 1555 came to Cropredy to be instituted on the 17th of February 1561/2. He was the vicar when Thomas Holloway married Elizabeth Briggs on November 2nd 1571 at Cropredy. Which one of them had connections with the parish, unless Thomas was acting curate while still a student at Oxford university? Where did the young wife live? Thomas was instituted to Cropredy by a representative of the Crown in March 1572/3, while he was still working for his M.A. Thomas having first been ordained on the 27th of February by the Bishop of Gloucester (p547 for refs). Four weeks later they buried their former vicar Richard Gabell. The vicarage [21] accommodation did not cater for a married family and a new stone building was going to be necessary. This was at a time when the rebuilding activities were just beginning in the parish.

The young couple with nine month old George began their lifelong residence in the town. Elizabeth died after only eight years of marriage having had two sons and a daughter. Thomas was to marry again in 1581. Elizabeth Gardner, who came from Thorpe Mandeville, and Thomas had nine children (p547). Married clergymen formed perhaps two thirds of all clergy. The first were married in Edward VI reign, but suffered during catholic Queen Mary's reign, some losing their church. Queen Elizabeth was not an advocate of married clergy, but their numbers went on increasing. Many parishioners watched with misgivings for it was their hard earned pence which went to support them, leaving little over for the poor.

A protestant vicar, brought up in a catholic church for six of his formative years, had not lessened his determination to become ordained and to further the education of the next generation. Holloway's first allegiance had to be to the Crown, for the Queen was the supreme governor of the realm and in practice, if not in name, the head of the church. Individualism was not encouraged although Holloway must have been well aware of the customs and beliefs, the fears and superstitions that his flock had had to struggle with. While overcoming his own disquiets he had to present a well disciplined and authoritative attitude to gain their attention.

The church was the State's only propaganda tool and when Thomas Holloway announced the latest proclamation, or on visiting the houses pronouncing on this and that, he had a powerful influence over the inhabitants. He like few others could visit every house in the parish and in his surrounding parishes if he had no curate there. From baptism to schooling, to catechism classes to sick visiting, marriage celebration, tithe paying, will making and burial ceremonies Thomas was there. As he grew older he

had had constant contact with every parishioner, more so than any other person in the town. The State could not wish for a better agent.

The townsmen grew accustomed to a married resident vicar and reported, as ordered by the dean, that "Mr Holloway who precheth every sabboth unlesse by greate occassions of bysynees he be from home" [Oxon Archd papers b 52. 161 in O.A]. This and other quotations are taken from the Ecclesiastical Court which met sometimes twice a year at Cropredy. The Archbishop Richard Bancroft of Canterbury (1604-10) insisted on the relicensing of all preachers in 1606. Thomas had his licence renewed so he must have accepted the canons of 1604. He continued to wear the surplis and hood which the more puritanical protestants thought of as the bishop's livery and believed it still represented the catholic church. Thomas was not one of those who refused to wear them or genuflect in church, but neither was he a catholic. Over the following years he baptised the children, married many of them and in turn christened their children. Thomas encouraged the brighter ones and watched those chosen by lot achieve their schooling with his own sons. He knew everything about them from their newest lamb to the number of loads coming into their barns (for he "farmed" a moiety of the rectorial tithes for the lay owner p709), and finally helped them compose their last wishes and bequests, as well as sometimes acting as overseer for their widows.

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century and up to 1619, when Thomas died, the congregation's lives were controlled by rules and regulations from three separate and very different authorities. The manor courts governed all agrarian pursuits and the renewal of copyhold leases for land and cottages. The civil court under the local Justice of the Peace settled wages and appointed some of the parish officers, such as the Surveyor of the Highways and the parish Constable. They also allowed Rates to be collected for the Poor and perhaps this rate set in progress the change over from having a church ale to provide money for the church fabric to a church rate. The nonpayment of which soon saw them presented at the third court, the church court. Although the church court dealt with the congregation's wills and morals it was no longer conducted by the clergy, but by lay lawyers and their staff whose livelihoods were dependent upon the fines payable for offences.

The Peculiar Court.

In the province of Canterbury wills could be proved in the Archbishop's Prerogative court, or at the lesser Archdeacon's church court. In between was a third court belonging to the Bishop who held a Consistory court to deal with diocesan matters. The Archdeacon was not always allowed to hold courts throughout the diocese as several areas were exempt from his jurisdiction and for a variety of reasons held a Peculiar court instead. Banbury and Cropredy had one under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln cathedral. When they surrendered the prebendaries of Cropredy to the Crown in 1547 they held onto the possession of this court [cf VCH p168].

The Peculiar court of Banbury and Cropredy included all the parishes north of Banbury in Oxfordshire, as well as Horley, Hornton and Kings Sutton, the last being in Northamptonshire. Cropredy held theirs in the nave of the church and later at an Inn, though which one is not recorded, until by the end of the seventeenth century the Brasenose Inn [13] had been enlarged from two dwellings and a smithy, and was able to hold the 1702 court there.

Each court was run by an Official. Letters place Dr Oliverly Lloyde as one from at least 1610 to 1616. He wrote to Claydon to ask them to send their presentments to his apparitor, Harry Smith at Banbury in 1610 and a William Wackton in 1616. An apparitor must collect up the presentments and order those named to attend the next court. They also observed any deaths to make sure the family presented their wills. The Official could not seek out and collect all the information himself and neither could his staff, they had to rely upon each parishes two church wardens and sidesmen. To help them in their year of office and to present their accounts at the end the church wardens used a Book of Articles. Their answers to the questions in 1619 show the book had put them under several headings. They dealt with the church fabric, the services, their vicar's conduct and also his parishioners. The vicars had to help their church wardens for many were "loath to trouble our consciencies with such uncertentyes" as the gossip and hints of fame that reached their ears [1619 Cropredy b52 176 and Kings Sutton b52 238: Oxon Archd papers]. If they reported under oath and were then presented at the following court for wrongful evidence the churchwardens could be excommunicated. If they left well alone they would be presented for not taking the matter up. Small wonder those in Kings Sutton and elsewhere were loath to fulfill their duties.

Husbandmen, but not widows, in Cropredy took their turn to be a church warden about every ten or eleven years, if there were twentytwo men leasing land. They were always on duty with a fellow warden. In the church court records some of these sidesmen and wardens are named. Elderson [38], Tanner [39] and Cross [51] were tradesmen leasing land so that they had to take a turn. It was not as some said just "the better sort." Parish duties were inescapable once a townsman had land to till. They resisted calling in the farming widows, though the sons may have had to catch up on their share later. In 1619 the vicar wrote "our churchwardens do at all tymes diligently frequent the church and gyve upp ther accompts at the yeres end [Easter] when new church wardens are chosen."

The idea was to make presentations for the "glory of god, the good of the parties having offended" and to be an example to others [22 Feb 1606 Banbury 9. Oxon Archd Papers. Oxon b 52. 9. canon 116]. Oaths were never taken lightly and many lived in real fear of perjury and the consequences of the disgrace and excommunication. Sometimes they presented only those who might cost the parish money by having a bastard, or an obvious case where baptism closely followed marriage. Only a few girls were presented (p122). Their penance was to stand on a stool in the nave with bare head and feet, covered only in a white sheet, during the service, while waiting to confess the intimate details for the whole town to hear. As the courts were apt to ignore extenuating circumstances the church wardens may have left well alone rather than expose their neighbours to the court.

The hardest task was presenting according to the canons of 1604: incest, drunkenness, swearing, ribaldry, and usury. Adultery, whoredom and such wickednesses all required proof, but sometimes all they had was hearsay. Only a few cases of swearing or drunkenness came up in Cropredy's court. One was an unsigned memorandum.

"John Ethersey was in the house of Joane Buckingham" [55] "drinking in tyme of devin prayer he being churchwarden his wyf and tapster and osler ded fetch him home this I do myself, also ffrancis Curingtons child not yet batesed" [Oxon. Archd. Papers, Oxon Cropredy b. 52, 173].

With the minister's help the churchwardens and sidesmen drew up a "bill of detection" naming those to be presented who must attend the next court. This was sent to the court Ordinary who checked them. He or his notary wrote out citations to those parishioners who were to be presented. One of his officials, an apparitor, must then deliver them to the offender asking them to attend the next court. In church all the summonses were read out. Each was guilty until proved innocent at their own expense by persuading four or six neighbours to swear their innocence. If still found guilty they had to perform a penance in the church and often a public one in the market as well. Rich people were able to pay a fine which led to tales of corruption.

Many of the poor even after doing their penance could not afford the fine and remained excommunicated. As such no-one could entertain them, they could not sue or renew their copyhold as oaths were forbidden them. Likewise no will could be written or witnessed. Legacies could not be recovered or debts collected. Burial in the churchyard was not for the excommunicated if they had not received a pardon and paid a fine.

The churchwardens attended to answer the many questions given in articles which covered the church canons. Those which concerned the vicar were the easiest providing their attitudes towards Thomas Holloway were acceptable and safe to swear an oath on. A careful answering of questions which they had no way of avoiding. From these responses to the Church court's demands comes our only portrait of the absent Doctor Edward Brouncker (until a more intensive search has been made). Very few quarrels had arisen over tithes during Holloway's long stay. Somehow apart from a few problems their "minister ys knowen to be a modest man in all things and maker of peace not cawsinge dissension" [1619. b 52. 176]. He was neither apparently a "frequenter of ale house or taverne" which was forbidden to ministers, or encouraging "dauncinge nor other sports uppon sabboth days before eueninge prayer be redd." Instead he devoted a great deal of his leisure time to reading the scriptures. Altogether a peaceable minister trying to set a reasonable standard. A man who dressed according to his work. A coat with sleeves for a journey and a scholar's cloak about the town as he went to say prayers with the sick. At home they had no more staff than was necessary and these did all the servile labour necessary which again would be unseemly for him to undertake as a vicar and a gentleman.

As to his church services his great fault according to some was his failure to catechise the young every Sunday for half an hour or so before evensong, "but onely at such tyme as they are to receve comunyon." Rather than allowing the "common sort" to read and discuss the bible themselves it was thought better that they were taught their catechism by their minister. For the rest of the queries Thomas followed the common prayer book as required and dressed in surplus and Oxford hood he called them all to celebrate communion three times a year. It would appear that this married vicar kept closely to the bishop's guidelines and attended to his parish in the prescribed way. What of his parishioners? Here many were educated thinkers themselves? No small country place of only sixty households can thrive without everyone knowing everyone else's business almost as well as their own and again they would turn a blind eye if necessary, though risking presentment themselves for doing so.

One yearly task "Our minister or his substytute kepeth the perambulations in the rogation weeke in singinge phalmes and Redinge accordinge to the artycle without eny superstycious order" [1 July 1619 Oxon. Archd. papers, Oxon b 52. 176]. To many these were too catholic but providing there were no prayers to wells and "holy" places they continued as it was important for everyone to get to "know" their parish. Processing around the parish gave each husbandman, together with the rest of the male members of his household, a collective memory. This could be called upon in the case of disputes, any filching of another's strips, erection of illegal boundaries, or putting up of gates, and they took tools to remove such obstacles enroute, always using collective memory to guide them towards the correct solution.

The theme of the day being to impress on his congregation the idea of God as the bountiful provider and society ordered by God's divine intentions [cf Homily for Rogation]. "The ancient bounds and limits" of the parish and the rights and customs binding the people for their "commodity and comfort."

In 1607 the vicar accompanied by some young scholars, usually the eldest son who would inherit the lease, and several leaseholders of the town set off in the festive manner fully expecting to have drink supplied by the millers as was the custom. The way was long and rough and the singing made them thirsty and all must have kept going in anticipation of the good things to come.

Cropredy had three mills. Arthur Coldwell's at the bottom of Church Street run by Cross the miller [51], Joseph Palmer's at the lower mill [1] and Bourton's Slat mill run by Robert Mansell. The first two were well educated men. The last two had a son each who became clergymen. One of Mansells sons was to become chaplain to King Charles at Oxford where he lost his life. Most millers became prominent townsmen. At which mill did they arrive hot and tired to be confronted by a pious miller declaring that instead of drinking the vicar should rather "reade some parte of the scripture" to them? Imagine Mr Holloway's indignation. They had sung the relevant psalms and hymns at prescribed intervals all day and now by tradition they were due some refreshment. He replied apparently, this peace loving man, perhaps more forcefully than was his usual tone saying

"What, shall we saie praiera to a mill" [Oxon. Archd. papers Oxon c 175 f8]. The lack of refreshment due from the millers was defying the set homilies Thomas had taken the trouble to read while about the boundaries.

Mr Holloway was either prompted to encourage the churchwardens to more presentations at Dr Lloyd's next court, or he was incensed enough to start proceedings on all those who also upset him by leaving every service before it had finished. The churchwardens also presented Woodrose [8] for nonpayment of tithes and the millers for their withholding of refreshments. When had these people begun to act more openly, defying the rather rigid church laws? Was it because of a disagreement in attitudes and doctrine? The fear that they were retaining too many catholic traditions even after the gunpowder plot of 1605? The millers were each practicing sobriety and hard work as some of the chosen elect. At that court the two wardens begin by pulling up the vicar for his lack of weekly examining of the youths. Thomas did this as we saw above only in lent "at such tyme as they are to receve comunyon" [b.52. 176] and he did encourage parents and govenors to send children and servants in lent, which meant they would not get bored, but have it still fresh. Other ministers did likewise, but it was contrary to the canons. The failure to take those under sixteen every Sunday through the ten commandments, the Creed and examining them in the catechism was sometimes associated with a low standard of education in the minister, but that did not apply with the Revd Holloway M.A. Some of his parishioners believed catechisms more important than sermons, and that it was the duty of the parson to teach their teenagers and servants.

Doctor Lloyd may have asked Thomas for his opinion about the Banbury vicar who had accused his curate of neglecting the catechising. Two letters survive and the one from Mr Holloway helps to explain the atmosphere a little better. Thomas wrote to Doctor Lloyd:

13. "Wheras in your last courte Mr Woodruffe in the behalfe of the rest pleaded, that ther departure from ther parishe churche was not subiect to any punishment intended by the rule of the canon, and that publykely youe did referr the interpretation thereof to the archbishop therfore they all beleve that canon could not ponishe them, and the rather because the persons styll so contynew without contradiction. Therein to make new presentments yt is held are superstitious: Mr Woo[d]ruffe payethe to me no tythes for a yere paste, as ys thought because I do not demaund them, and as I do not take yt the law requyrethe the breder to tender upp & make knowen the tythe, and he also lettethe his shepe comons to other men, who must discharge the tythes and himselfe not accomptable nor pleadable therein and as beleve I may pleade him althoughe the cattell doth belonge to others. I would do what is Justyfyable by law, and to procede in yo'r cowrte yt wilbe longe to come to heringe, your courts kept but seldom / Therefoer how to advise my selfe I am very vncertayne / I doubte not but Mr houghton at bambury yf he kepeth a registry of thos he marrieth without banes, as also at tymes inhybyted by law but he wilbe accomptable unto you for good score of money: The church by a corious proverbe (bothe in respecte of the gyvinge & ministration of the sacraments as also for number of mariges without banes) is called a lawless churche. I could wishe our churches in thes exempt Jurisdictions were so

repressed, as that we were not by words in the country / To your wisdom in this your Jurisdiction I commend all, prayinge god that we may agree in one uniforme order, accordinge to our wholsome & good lawes therein appoynted. I humbly take my leave the 23 of february.

Your worships to command /Thomas Hollowey" [Oxon. Archd. papers, Oxon b.52.13].

Thomas's income came largely from tithes but as the courts took a long time to act he was not prepared to present his parishioners for non-payment. In canon Eighteen people could not leave the church without an urgent reason which was anyway upsetting to the minister by its very snub and rudeness. The church of Banbury had become known as a lawless church by ignoring canon Sixtytwo which required banns to be published on three Sundays and the marriage to take place only between the hours of eight and twelve a.m. in the parish church of one of the partners. This blatant ignoring of the canons was making them all "by words" because they were parishioners in an exempt jurisdiction using a Peculiar court.

We know where the men who left church early lived in Cropredy. The new parishioner Mr Woodrose lived at the Brasenose manor farm [8]. The gentleman Mr Arthur Coldwell [50] who leased the larger manor's farm and Upper mill and the possible bailiff of his farm, Jhon Thompson [44] who was related by marriage to the yeoman Thomas Vaughan [23] another who left early. Vaughan lived near the vicar in Church Lane. There were three young men from second or third generation Cropredy families, each about the same age and all christened Richard: Kynd [31] in Creampot, Handley [12] opposite Woodrose on a small farm, and the weaver Hunt [5] from the south end of the town. The Church wardens whose awful task it was to present these men were Thomas Devotion [3] who lived next to Woodrose, and Henry Broughton [9] who was Richard Handleys neighbour. Henry Broughton had connections with milling and yet he and Devotion had no choice but to act.

The Bourton Churchwardens also had to present those who left early from their parish, one of which was the miller Robert Mansell from Slat mill whose son moved to Cropredy [35]. Two of the Bourton families, Sherwell [or Sharman?] and Gardners had twentyone children between them and even if only some of them were at home, they must have caused quite a commotion leaving the church. All the Bourton men who left early were substantial husbandmen, except for one cottager, Toby Kely. Were these Sunday afternoon services running late. Did all these people have stock to attend to? The morning service beginning sometimes at nine a.m could last for up to two hours with the majority standing.

According to Thomas's letter they continued to leave. Was he long winded? Did they not approve of his sermons which he had to keep within the Bishop's dictates whereas all who left may have had access to a Geneva Bible with its margin notes helping them to interpret the text, that they began to shuffle out while he spoke? Even the straw strewn upon the floor would not have quietened their exit.

By neglecting his tithes Mr Robert Woodrose, who shared the lease with his son, was more open than the others and allowed to be their spokesman. It cannot have been a question of lack of funds for they farmed four yardlands and his son's inventory included many items of furniture unheard of in most Cropredy homes. Robert and his wife Dyonice both had their wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, having land elsewhere, and each left a high donation of £2 to the poor of Cropredy. They also paid one of the highest taxes in the town in 1627. Robert objected to the new church rate preferring to contribute perhaps his bushel of malt per yardland (or whatever the contribution was). Rich men often objected to forced church rates preferring contributions over which they had some control of their use. As the College manor farm had a kiln it may have brought about a tradition of providing the malt and ale. Having only recently arrived as the College's foremost tenant on the farm where their manor court was held, did he expect some recognition for his position from those born in the parish? As to his tithes he appears to pay them eventually [c25/3]. Those who left the church early were not presented again. Either Thomas Holloway came to some agreement with them and they all agreed to stay to the end of the service, or else he shortened his sermon. In other churches people left with all manner of excuses to cover apathy, boredom or pressure of family matters [Underdown D. *Fire from Heaven* 1993]. After the death of Thomas Holloway in November 1619 they seldom had a preacher which may have brought shorter services and an end to people leaving early?

The chance was taken by the church wardens to demand the churchyard walls be put in repair by those who lived around them. This included the Coldwell farm [50] and cottages down Church Street [45-9], Suffolks [60] and Thomas Pare's [58] by Hello all of whose properties faced or backed onto the churchyard. When the church walls needed repairing, stray stock could get in and eat the vicar's grass. His horse could also get out. Had Thomas allowed his temper to show? Instead of asking the individuals concerned to carry out repairs, he had presented them at the court. There were many ways in which a parishioner could irritate the minister enough to send him to seek help from the court. Very few heads of household were uninvolved in that court's presentments. Did any retaliate? If they did it was not found in the court records. At the next session John Suffolk and Thomas Vaughan presented nothing and the Bourtons just two wills to be proved.

The catholics had kept fortythree days apart from Sundays as holy days and festivals. It was unlawful to work on saint's days before the end of the afternoon service, still celebrated by the church, much to the annoyance of busy protestants who preferred a holier sabbath and no saint's days. The bishops were keen to enforce the church laws and curb the laxness which was spreading. Most men out every day on the land or business and the women about their endless tasks looked forward to such days which brought everyone together and promoted the feeling of belonging to their own parish. Working often in isolation it was necessary to do things together, to grow responsive to all the townsmen and therefore important rituals had grown up, some of which became unique to that place. The husbandmen as employers objected to these holy days when the weather demanded urgent carrying in of the hay or corn. The church law still insisted they must attend the afternoon service before the carts could go out. The vicar decided to act in 1610 when he knew many had been working on Saint James day. The church wardens may have resisted the vicar's request to search out the culprits, especially if they were not in agreement

with that church law and Suffolk and Vaughan who were apparently now the sidesmen at the August Court had not named the culprits.

Thomas Holloway wrote to the official:

"Whereas I understand ther was certen laborers & worke bodyes uppon saynte James day at they works, and althoughe I haue requyred the church wardens to be redy to make dew enquiry for thes defawltes, yet thes semeth to be conceled whereby yt resteth an encouragement to dyvers to comytt lyke defawltes" [Oxon. Archd. papers. Oxon b 52. 165].

The matter seemed to end there although his son-in-law followed his example in Wardington when it was his turn to be a church warden. Richard Timcocke and his fellow warden present those who leave the parish church early. One of these was Thomas Gubbin. In 1610 another of Holloway's son-in-laws John Clarson was his preaching minister at Wardington and he and Timcocke presented Crescent White for working on St Bartholomew's day. When John Clarson becomes the minister at Horley he again presents a townsman for carrying corn on that holy day in 1619. Amongst the whole of the Dorchester, Thame and Banbury Peculiar records only two other villages mention work taking place on a saint's day. Was it "conceled" by unwilling husbandmen? The matter deteriorated in Wardington as the industrious Gubbins became more irritated by the system.

A few educated villagers could now write their own wills and need no longer rely upon a clergyman. In fact after 1619 with no resident vicar there were always one or two who disliked the curate's lifestyle or attitude and demanded a stricter more puritanical minister. It was always a bone of contention that they paid tithes to the clergy yet could not choose their own preaching minister. The church and state were linked as one and to even question the choice of minister could be seen to be criticising the state and an offence. One of the homilies read out in church stated that "injustice from those higher than them must be suffered quietly." The educated clergy might follow their queen or king and believe that English men and women were there to be ruled, not to question. Many still continued to wish for fewer saints' days and a holier sabbath instead. Ratepayers all had to take a turn as church warden and as we saw one difficult task was to present a fellow husbandman who mowed or carted on a saints day. It could have led to some using their position to take revenge. The protestant church still with its outdated catholic traditions was crying out for reform.

Just before and after Thomas Holloway's death quite a few local quarrels erupted in the Bourtons and Wardington. In Upper End Wardington lived one of the more prominent husbandmen Thomas Gubbin who may still have been smarting from his own presentment. The Gubbins by this time had one of the larger farms in the parish, one of over four yardlands. The following Michaelmas day young Gubbin and two others were so busy carting they had no time for church. The father joined them after the service, so he did not break the church law, but all were presented and a penance demanded for the second Sunday after the 30th of April 1621 [Oxon c 157 f 204]. Such a penance to be made in public for such a prominent man who had actually

attended church was too much. What happened to the congregation? Did they side with them or not? Thomas was unable to contain his anger one Sunday which led to him again being presented. "Thomas Gubbin the elder for disgracing our minister openlie in church afore all the parish at morninge prayer upon a sabboth daye without anie lawfull cause at all." "... for slandering the ministers which served heretofore at our parish in saying that some of them were Drunkards and whore masters.

"Wee present him alsoe for calling the churchmen base fellowes for dischardging there conscience in presenting things amisse.

"The same Thomas Gubbin also after all these wrongs offered to our minister by him, soe lightlie esteemed of him, that he reported that he did not care a fart for him, which our minister taketh more unkindelie than all the wrongs that he had done him. John Parry minister" [Oxon. Archd. papers. Oxon b 52. 326].

It did not end there for the minister John Parry and his church wardens had to present him again that year in September for not paying his church rate. The church warden was yet another Thomas Gubbin of Williamscoote.

"We present Thomas Gubbin the elder for charging our minister wrongfallie with false doctrine and reporting absolutelie that he toulde a lie in the pulpet and for threatening to complaine upon him to the judge of the assise for these pretended causes."

With no resident Cropredy vicar to try and smooth the problems between his curates and their congregations, the situation exploded. Thomas Gubbin senior was about to become involved in civil action. The government's failure to bring out a bill to make the sabbath more holy and prevent trading on holy days, did not help the curate. In 1606 the bill failed in the Lords. The king considered the sabbatarians would deprive the poor of recreation and leave them with nothing better to do than drinking with discussion. Far better to allow sport and keep them healthy, strong and occupied practicing at the butts, after the service. In 1621 another bill aimed more against King James's Book of Sports (1618) was passed, but naturally failed to receive the Royal assent. The same thing happened in 1624. The Gubbins must have known about all this and the fact that there was no civil law forbidding them from holy day carting, just the churches. The situation was to get worse. In 1625 the bill was passed with the Royal consent, but only in regard to sport. Nothing was said about labour.

The church in Thomas Holloway's time was quite different from to-day. From birth to death practically everyone, but the very poor, were involved. It was the supreme influence in educating their children, providing practically all the outside information coming down from the government which used this useful method of communicating. They learnt what to believe as children from the catechism, homilies and vital sermons. Since the middle ages entertainment had traditionally taken place on saints'

days often in the churchyard itself after the evening service. This was slowly being eroded as the catholic inheritance was replaced by protestant dislike of drunkenness and resultant relaxing of moral standards, though little evidence of this appeared in the church court records for Cropredy.

Teaching was mainly by the clergy from learning to read right up to obtaining a degree. There was often little to read except the bible and almanacs (p150), which were turned to at every occasion. No newspapers with daily news. The pulpit was the source of information. Those who wanted reform within the church would find this monopoly irksome. The bishop's instructions went to all ministers. Non preaching clergymen must rely upon the Book of Homilies to be read out instead of a sermon. A list in the Prayer Book of Homilies shows they covered most of the aspects needed to ensure an obedient congregation. The clergy were the bishop's mouth pieces and the bishops were there to obey the Royal wishes.

Any attempt to question political ideas came up against the church with dire consequences. Men of property, merchants and smaller tradesmen were anxious to advance, but the crown kept a feudal hold over it all. Some towns like Banbury decided to pay for a market preacher. The Revd William Wheatley, a puritan, gave lectures in the market place on market days for six years, before becoming the vicar there. How many of Cropredy's congregation heard him when they went to sell corn, cheese or cattle? It had its negative side, for many of the fun and frolic lovers must have gone to another market with their stock and avoided the puritanical Banbury. Some from Cropredy would discuss the sermons over a penny meal at market. There they met brothers, sisters and other friends which gave them a chance to catch up on local gossip, sermons and news from afar.

The Vicar's Tithes.

The folios saved from the Holloway era show just how important to the successful collection of the small tithes they could be. There was also the Easter offerings of twopence per person, except for a man and his wife who were treated as one person. This was usually agreed between the parishioners and the vicar as a recompense for his ecclesiastical duties. Holloway wrote:

"memo The oblations at
ester 1619 of cropredy
*borton & borton, prescott
& willscott cam unto
in all iij£ xs viijd/ Thomas Holloway" [c25/8 f 12 (ult)v].

The attention to yearly detail left everyone certain of how they stood, while the farm accounts provide an equally important reference for the family who were sharing leased yardlands. These give some insight into the parish from the vicar's side in contrast to the church warden's presentments which reveal another side of the minister.

The farming world that the Holloway's lived in left few of its own records. The manorial court papers on their agricultural customs are lost. Fortunately Thomas kept accounts of purchases and sales, of rents and wages and of the loads of corn coming into his barn. The rest concerned his income which had to be collected by a penny here and twopence there. The gaps are far from ideal, but what remains is of great importance and more so for its rarity. The collection of loose folios dealing with poultry tithes, cottage commons, sheep, wool, cows and the Easter Offerings help to supplement the wills and inventories. The next vicar contributed a little, and may have destroyed many of Holloway's folios which he did not need.

Holloway's records are used throughout this book, but Brouncker's are used here to bring this chapter up to 1640. Edward Brouncker lived in Ladbroke and from then until he died the parish must be content with a curate. Brouncker was thirty when he took over the ecclesiastical parish of Cropredy in 1619. Widow Elizabeth Holloway calls him Mr Drew Brouncker in her will asking him to preach her funeral sermon and leaving him a generous twentytwo shillings. Edward having obtained his doctorate obviously had a licence to preach, but instead of the weekly one Cropredy was used to when her husband Thomas was alive (though not Wardington, Claydon and Mollington), they would now be getting just one a quarter or less. Dr Edward Brouncker did not trouble to come and witness the husbandmen's wills, though he was there when Mrs Dyonice Woodrose asked him in 1623. Cropredy had plenty of adequate townsmen to fulfill this task (Ch.10) and could manage without him. He may have suffered from poor health, though one instance would hardly prove this. In 1632 Edward had been ill for on the 10th of March he asked John Battie the curate of Mollington to give him a licence to eat meat in lent. Battie gave it because of "Doctor Brouncker, being weake and sicklie..."

When he first moved to Ladbroke Edward began to find out the sources of his income and not living in the central parish he had to collect up Holloway's folios and start his own lists of tithes due to him. No orderly accounts survive just "A note of such moneyes as I have/ received" in 1619" [c25/10 f6v].

Five years later he wrote "A note of what tythes & consideration/ for tithes I now have this very year 1624/ Looke Mr Hollowayes bookes wh. I have by me" [f4]. Some confusion must still exist, but most of the following notes deal with the tithes of the whole ecclesiastical parish as Brouncker struggles to obtain his tithes. On [f1] he included his church offerings which came to £5.

On folio one, though they are not in order, he has a long list of the main sums due from all the parish. Apart from the tithe of 6s-8d per yardland from each parish, which was collected for him and cost twenty pence a quarter to gather in, he had to arrange with tenants of larger leases to pay him in a lump sum, as Holloway had done before him [f2]. For example the £11 from Mrs Holloway for land in Prescote, which must be for the enclosed meads near the High furlong brook [f1]. It was not always easy for Brouncker wrote "Look into certain bother at lease turned downe" [f2]. Like Holloway he had had to visit all the civil parishes in his ecclesiastical care and sometimes agreements between him and the larger farmers were entered into

his account book. These give some insight into the extent of trouble he had gathering in tithes. In Claydon a small area had been taken out of the Open Common Field. "Besides I have 26s-8d p annum /of Mr Vivers of Banbury for the tithe/ of 4 yardland taken out of Cleidon field called/ Silvermans grounds/." He went on to mention "Item I have £4 p. annum fore the tithe of Lawne/ Hill it is a ground un was once taken out/ of Cleidon field together with the Spellows/ adjoininge" [f4]. There must have been other books for Claydon and Mollington which were not returned to the Cropredy church chest from which he found these details. A case was brought in the Star Chamber about this land. It has been suggested that Silverman's was about 118 acres [Star Chamber 2/6/20].

If Claydon was complicated, Clattercote was hopeless. Edward was not satisfied when the widow Corbet attended Cropredy church as all residents of Clattercote Priory had done, and yet she declared that they had a papal Bull releasing them from any payment of tithes. "I am now in Suite with the Lady Corbett for her/ tithe of Clattercott as she denyes me saing/ it never payd any" [f4]. He lost.

He grew very frustrated in his dealings with Calcott Chambres of Williamscothe manor

for Calcott "would ---plead [c]ustome of painge no/ more for his whole Lor pp [Lordship]." His Palmer's Ground had been "heretofore taken out of/ the common field by Mr Kankalt [Calcott] /I had all this yere but 1£ 6s 8d now I/ have gotten 8d a yere more un foulke/ Greene new tenant to the Ground payd me/ un I laboured to doe because I would prevent/ this subtelltye of Ch[am]bers the puritan" [f4].

Chambres of Williamscothe had borrowed money from his late father-in-law which was now being withdrawn. He was selling his inheritance piece by piece and he may have let the manor house, at any rate he was not paying Easter offerings after 1616 and in 1619 Holloway found him at Palmer's house [1] (p136). Why then did he purchase property in Ireland sold by the crown? When his wife died in 1624 her father's estate were still pressing for repayment. Not surprising Brouncker found it hard to get Chambres to pay his tithes, especially if he insulted Chambres the parson by calling him a puritan [f4]. Brouncker was also sure he was due hay from Chambres' closes, and certainly from the town closes. Hay was really a rectorial tithe and yet for some reason Mollington's tithe hay was allowed to go to the vicar? He knew he was entitled to a tithe from the rents. "Millclose" in Williamscothe rented out at £11 per annum gained him a tithe of 19s-4d from William Plant. He also collected the tithes from other tenants such as Robert Lord [1a], a fuller, who rented a meadow down by the mill for £6, but this time Dr Brouncker only had 2s "because they never payd anything before" [c25/10 f4].

Wardington's boundary came right up to the river Cherwell. The meadow by the upper mill was mentioned in 1637 when John Haslewood [14] agreed to pay Dr Brouncker "for the/ Mill Ham £3 for all the benefitt/ arising from it untill our Lady/ day next" £2-6s-8d [c25/4 f31]. The name of part of the land has remained as Haslewood's Ham, situated between the mill race and the

river ever since, though the river bed has been filled in leaving just the upper mill race alongside the drive to Prescote Manor (Fig.29.1 p464).

Brouncker must set his glebe land. Holloways daughter Dorete had married Richard Timcocks who lived at the Nether End of Wardington and between 1604 and 1620 they had eight children [c25/5 1614-16]. Timcocks farmed the two glebe yardlands in Wardington. His sheep must have been above average for in 1616 he sold twenty shergogs to Holloway for £11-10s which was a good price (p261) [c25/2 f22]. Richard died leaving a widow and eight children who had no rights to remain as tenants. Whatever became of the Timcoke family when Brouncker put in Hirons and Cole as tenants and the house had to be vacated?

"Goodman Hirons demanded of me satisfact/ion because I suffered him not to hold/ the commoditys of the land until Michel/mas but I denyed him any yet I promised/ him to refere the busines to any two at the/ end of the 4 yerres that they should judge/ whether any thing more due to him/.seeing my other Tenant gardner Cole/ demanded more but [would c.o] have lost/ at May Day" [c25/10 f5].

Each of the families who followed the Timcocks remained for several generations in the parish. Did they renew and get their dues at the end?

Brouncker had the same profits from the sheep as Holloway had (Ch.18) [c25/10 f2]. From the orchards and small live stock he had tithe apples, warrens, eggs and pigs. The water mills owed two strike of millcorn quarterly for "they plead custom for it," preferring to give corn rather than cash. Holloway had already arranged with fuller Lord to have 4s a quarter for the fulling mill [1], but Brouncker discovered that Thomas had never negotiated with the tenants of the new windmills for tithes. "The windmills lately builded the vicar hath/ forborne to take or sue for corne wanting/ the real composition" [f2]. There were several windmills according to various deeds which had terriers describing land near them. The first known college terrier mentions Cropredy's Windmill furlong in 1609 (p304).

Dr Edward Brouncker put in curates, and Cropredy for the first time for well over half a century had no resident vicar. Mrs Holloway continued to live in the vicarage until she died in 1623. Living with the family was her new son-in-law Ambrose Holbech, a lawyer, who had married the last daughter Joanne and perhaps they found room for the poorly paid curate who could not afford to keep up a vicarage household? What would happen to the curate after the Holbech's moved to Mollington in 1627 (p551)? Curates without a licence must swear they would not preach in public: "I shall interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority." The authorities insisted that each church must provide a book in which to write the names of any strangers preaching on a Sunday. Cropredy had parishioners who had gone to university and had their Master of Arts which was necessary for a licence. The countrymen often objected to curates as they were wage earners (nicknaming

them "hedge or hireling" priests) complaining that these men were not skilled enough to take care of the souls of their wives and children.

In 1641 Cropredy, Wardington and Claydon protested that the curates were underpaid for the cost of living had risen sharply since 1619 and presumably they could not manage on the money. To make matters worse Mr Andrews whom they had paid to preach had been turned away by their absent pluralist vicar. Discussion amongst the congregation was again discouraged, books had been suppressed by the clergy and there were obviously many opposed to bishops who in some parishes acted as patrons forcing upon them an unwanted vicar. The three Cropredy parishes took their complaints to the House of Commons. Anyone needing to get round the matter and achieve a hearing would accuse the minister concerned saying he was "a man of scandalous life." The vicar had then to defend himself. Whether the experience was too much for Edward the records do not say, but Brouncker is known to have died on June 7th 1642. His sister Catherine put up a memorial to Edward in Ladbroke church. Her feelings reflected in the latin inscription indicate that his parishioners had betrayed him [Hist. MSS. Com. House of Lords, iv.97].

Tithes were always upsetting some parishioners who disliked paying for an absent vicar. Archbishop Laud who took over in 1633 had been suggesting that tithes should be increased, something which was hardly likely to make the clergy popular, especially the bishops, and undermined the loyalty to their King when discussions erupted after our period. Many believed that ministers should receive voluntary contributions but no tithes. If these fell short then the minister could work like the rest. Lay proprietors having invested heavily when purchasing rectorial tithes did not want to lose their property and in the end property won.

When Brouncker first arrived he was responsible, as the tenant, for what went on in the churchyards. He had also to pay the new church rates and saw no reason to continue church ales, which needed his permission to take place in the churchyards. He began to refuse permission for them. "Cleidon my/ not allowing any drinking as at Mollington." The traditional custom of ales with their dancing to the accompaniment of local musicians, and perhaps some wrestling which would be watched by the older men as they sat drinking their ale, all came to an end, having been disapproved of by strict protestants in their determined effort to set a higher moral tone. Festivals brought everyone together as a community with their maypoles, dancing and travelling showmen. They provided relief from toil and at the same time the ale helped to provide money for the church and poor. What happened to their wooden pipes which played for the children round the maypole? Too small in value to be mentioned in an inventory, or hidden in the chimney along with the ballad sheets? All this came to an end in the 1620's. Puritan Banbury being one of the first. Their Sundays were strict and caused Richard Braithwait to write in 1616:

"To Banbery came I, O prophane one!
Where I saw a Puritane one

Hanging of his cat on Monday
For killing of a mouse on Sunday."

[Barnabae Itincrarium (1638) copy in Bodleian. Douce B255].

The protestants encouraged forward thinking and hard diligent work. They punished drunkards, swearing and disapproved of masterless men and women whom they set to work. The catholic church may have suited the more old fashioned amongst the laity. If they believed firmly in catholicism they would find that within the old church the priest and lay fraternity could look after their own souls and the family, past and present. They had hired a priest to say mass for their dear ones. This had a double purpose for it drew in the poor to help pray in return for bread. The parish duties such as the repair of bridges, roads and the church gained revenues from indulgences given to sinners in return for money. All this was now illegal and besides many catholic priests were in hiding, or in prison.

The processions around the town and boundaries were again a day of joining together and feasting afterwards. Entertainment provided essential funds to run the parish. A rate gave no amusement or relaxation. Not only had the enjoyment been gradually taken away, but also anything that reminded the protestants of catholicism, so piece by piece, saint's feast by feast they were stopped. What of the bell at the height of the mass? Gone. Their three bells which spoke up full of meaning, and the bells which tolled away a neighbour so that all offered up a prayer, were only rescued when the Bell Land was retrieved from the crown. They may no longer leave money for lights and masses, but at least the upkeep and ringing of their bells was assured.

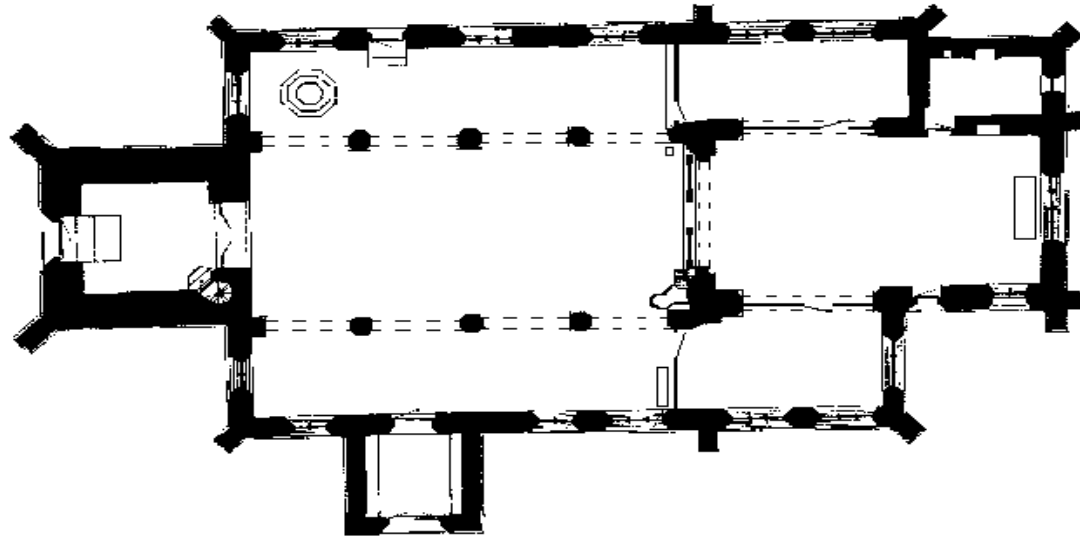
Pilgrimages to Saint Fremund's shrine ceased in Queen Elizabeth's time, if not in Edward VI's. Money collected from the pilgrims which was put to good use along with money for indulgences stopped with the cessation of all these "superstitious practices." Who was Saint Fremund and how did the change over from being catholics to protestants affect Saint Mary's church?

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3. The Church at Cropredy

3.1 St. Mary's Church, Cropredy



Saint Mary's Church, Cropredy.

A Forgotten Saint and Saint Mary's Church.

The Reverend Canon Wood D.D. vicar of Cropredy (1870-1898) wrote an article called "A Forgotten Saint" in which he searches for the proof that Saint Fremund's shrine was in Cropredy church [*The Antiquary* xxvii 1893]. In the 1870's no-one had any recollection of one, but a Danvers relative had come across references to Fremund's chapel in three wills. The first will belonged to a Richard Danvers of Prescote manor who was buried on the 14th of February 1489/90. His family's chantry

supported a chaplain to pray for the souls of the departed Danvers, but was this at Prescote manor or transferred with the relicts to Saint Mary's church when the south chapel was built?

"..to Sir Ranulphus chaplain of the chapel of St Frethmund 20s to pray for my soul. I give 100s to the works of the body or nave of the Prebend church of Cropredy; 20s towards the repairs of St Fremund, where his shrine is situated."

Richard placed the church bequest between two Fremund references so could this not mean they were on the same site? The shrine had once been in Fremund's Hamm a valuable Prescote meadow surrounded by the river Cherwell and fed by the Brademere (High Furlong brook). Although the meadow was visited by sick cattle, the main pilgrims would have been directed to the relicts in his chantry chapel from which came tales of miraculous cures.

Richard Danver's second son John had married Ann Stradling and lived at Dauntsey in Wiltshire (inheriting Prescote in 1511 after the decease of his brother Richard's wife and daughter Anna). In Dauntsey church John and Ann have a large tomb and above it is a stained glass window with a scroll "Sancte Fredismunde ora pro nobis." Saint Fremund is shown carrying his head under his arm. In John's will of 1514 he left 20s to Cropredy church and 20s to St Frethemund's chapel, while Ann also remembered the chapel when in 1539 she left a cow to Culworth church and ten ewes to the "Chapel of Saynte Fredysmunde in Cropredy." Dr Wood began with this information to try and establish the connection between Danvers and Fremund.

Who was this Fremund? How did the legend arise and how much was altered down the years? Dr Wood came across *Lives of Saints* compiled by John of Tynemouth in 1366 and copied by Hardy. The vicar quoted from this text in his *A Forgotten Saint* in 1893. The direct quotes are from Hardy interspersed with information taken from Dr Wood's interpretation of the tale.

"Fremund was the son of a pagan king who reigned in England, named Offa, and his queen Botilda, his birth foretold by a child, who died when 3 days old [sic]. He is baptised by Bishop Heswi [Oswy], performs many miracles, and converts his parents. Offa resigns his kingdom to his son," but after a year Fremund left the throne to become a hermit, taking Burchard and an attendant. For seven years he remained on Caerleon on the Wye until in 870 King Edmund was killed by the Danes when they invaded West Mercia. Offa sent twentytwo noblemen to find and collect his son asking for his help. "He assents in consequence of a vision in which it is revealed each of his companions shall appear as a thousand to his enermies. He attacks and defeats 24,000 of the enemy" with twenty four men.

"While he is prostrate in thanksgiving for victory, Duke Oswi, formerly one of Offa's commanders" and a pagan, "cuts off his head," and as the blood splashes over Oswi he repents and is forgiven. Fremund jumps up and carrying his head walks from Radford, the scene of the battle, some distance to a place between Long Itchington and Harbury and there where he touches

the ground with his sword a spring burst forth and he washes his wounds, "falls prostrate and expires. His body is buried at the royal mansion of Offchurch."

After sixty six years Fremund's body was moved to a place between the "Charwell and the Brademere." This move came about when three disabled people, one deaf, one dumb and the last a cripple, were bidden by an angel in a dream to take the body there and to build a tomb. They set off, all cured, to prepare a place only to discover the body had mysteriously vanished, yet tradition has it that a tree grew over the body and that Fremunds Ham grew marvellous grass and herbs much sought after to cure sick beasts.

His body is again discovered by a pilgrim named Edelbert. He was praying at the Holy Sepulchre when he had three dreams each telling him to go to a large willow tree near the Charwell and there to find "a mylk-whit sowhe...with younge piges in noumbre ful threttene" and five priests in a chapel nearby, at Prescote. Egelbert not believing the message soon found his arm dislocated by the angel. In some pain Egelbert gains permission to go, and with testimonial letters and bulls set out for Prescote. At Fremunds Ham he recovered the use of his arm and there under a tree he found "The sowhe, the piggis...and preestis fyue dwellyng ther-be-syde." The saint's body and former priests were moved to an eminence across the river in Cropredy and a church built around 1050.

By 1203 Richard de Morins the Prior of Dunstable, Bedfordshire (1202-1242) translated the relics, with the Pope's permission. Richard the prior was a friend of King John and pleased him with the acquisition of the saint, so much so that King John endowed lands to the priory and gave everyone a three days holiday. At Dunstable Saint Fremund's feast day is on May 13th. Why had Cropredy given up such an important relic, or was enough left to still perform miracles? Had money been so desperately needed by the laity to rebuild the church?

The Prescote's chantry at the east end of the south aisle was reassociated with the saint by Dr Wood. To understand the situation in Richard Danver's time and the importance of chantries and confraternities to the catholic congregation we have to look inside their church, before studying the general architectural features.

The calling bell rang out in time for the mass, and after 1512 the hourly clock struck, as they had all assembled, each crossing themselves with holy water from a stoop in the porch before entering. The Prescote people went to the south aisle, the Bourton's to the northern aisle and Cropredy people to the nave. The few pews belonged to the wealthier tenants, and standing was quite normal for the rest. The light coming through the windows aided by numerous candles lit up the pictures painted on the walls. The eye immediately being drawn upwards to the huge cross in the rood loft with the brightly coloured doom painting behind, under the chancel arch. The priest celebrating mass was in the chancel partially hidden by the wooden screen. The high altar was covered in rich cloths, but the priest in his embroidered vestments had all his attention on the latin

mass. At the ringing of the bell the murmurs would stop for the adoration of the host. Afterwards bread would be distributed in the nave.

The men and boys with their plainsong and instruments joined in when they had a sung mass which fed the emotions and certainly the devotions.

The church may seem to be apart from the laity, but they and their ancestors had contributed to the high nave, side aisles, and the tall tower and now the fabric was always demanding attention.

A group of parishioners would join in a fraternity, because the doctrine of Purgatory made it necessary to lighten their load of sins. The lay fraternity lit candles and kept the Easter sepulchre light lit as well as candles up in the rood loft which used to singe the wood. There were candles lit to Mary to intercede for them and money left for torches. Most important of all each deceased member had a funeral mass attended by every member who paid their penny for the priest. On a certain day they had their annual mass followed by a business meeting and feast. The brethren consisted of any townsman, man or woman. The women were there in their own right, something confined only to these medieval guilds. Cropredy was too small to have a trade or craft guild, but this town's small independent group had the chance to conduct their own affairs within the church.

Chantries were for the wealthier gentlemen who used them for their own private chapels for masses said for their family's souls. Usually land was set aside to pay for a chaplain who had his own altar in the chapel. A month after the funeral came the "month mind" mass and every year after the "obit" mass [Scarlsbrick J.J. *The Reformation and the English People* 1984 Blackwell]. Some left money for bread to be distributed on each occasion to the poor. This could be said to bring in extra people to pray for the soul of the departed, but it was the custom and served two purposes. If Saint Fremund's relicts were kept in the south chapel, were the people allowed to have their fraternity masses said in there, or must they leave that altar to the Danvers's, and use the north aisle chapel? There was a third chapel made in the south aisle next to Saint Fremund's for Simon of Cropredy's family [8].

To finance the chantries money, stock or land was left in wills. Ten years after Anne Danvers left the ten ewes to Saint Fremund's chapel in Cropredy the chantries were closed. The brethren would have already leased out the small flock to increase and provide an income for the obit masses for her soul. Part of the chantry and church income came from property in Wardington. The situation changed in King Henry VIII's reign turning their world upside down.

Henry VIII cut the church off from Rome and became the spiritual head of the church. He went further having severe monetary problems. Over a period of years he set a plan in action. First his Royal commissioners went round all the

monasteries, abbeys and priories taking down particulars of their assets. His intent was to end all their superstitious practices, pension them off and take into his coffers the money from the sales of land and valuables.

The choice of becoming a protestant country did not come from below but from above. Edward VI continued to draw in ecclesiastical property following an Act of 1545 which had allowed Henry to suppress colleges, free chapels and chantries, many of whom had supported the poor, funded schools, hospitals and almshouses. Clattercote and Chacombe priories had both lost their funding in his father's time. In 1547 Bishop Holbech of Lincoln had to exchange the prebend manor [A] of Cropredy with the Crown for a grant. For a short period fifty of the town's household's very existence depended upon the Crown. The rest of the tenants on the Brasenose manor would no doubt be anxiously wondering if the Crown would seize the Colleges as well. In 1549 the Royal commissioners were out again in the neighbourhood but this time taking particulars of Chantries, now unnecessary as masses for the dead did not take place. Lights need not be lit. Rood screens must come down and the paintings whitewashed over. *Statues must go. The high altar had been removed from the chancel and a communion table placed by the nave.*

From the commissioners Book of Particulars volume lxxvii [Cal. Pat. 1548/9, 191] the Revd D Royce copied out the Cropredy entry that "certyn lands were gyven for the maynteynyng of a lampelyght within the said parishe church forever by whome unknowen. The value of the lands to the same belongynge ys yerely 4s."

Within the church they had apparently no "ornaments, plate, jewels and stocks to the same." Who had carefully hidden the eagle, the pyx and surely the chalice and candlesticks? Where were the vestments? Perhaps forewarned by Clattercote the fraternity had taken action [Royce p43].

Royce found more: "Divers lands in Cropredye...Rent of a cottage and meadow in Cropredye in tenure of John Hill at the will of the Lord ijs...Rent of another cottage in tenure of Thomas Hill ijs...Rent resolute from land in Cropredye, paid annually to William Gifford, gent ijs...Memord, the premises aforesd were given by dyvers persons unknown to the mayntenance of lampelights, obitts, and to be prayed for in the aforesaid church for ever."

So their assets were to be sold off as the chantry was no longer needed in the eyes of the spiritual head of their church. No one asked what the majority thought who had kept the fraternity going for so long. They were informed purgatory had been dismissed and mass forbidden. However the commissioners made one big mistake. Some of this land belonged to the clock, the church bells and church repairs all of which had nothing to do with "superstitious practices" and so should not have been taken. It was only in 1512 that the Reverend Roger Lupton had given them, so documentation was found and produced which showed the trust had purchased two quarter parcels of land, one in 1513 and the second in 1517, but these trustees had to fight long and "oftimes harde in the Courte." They had been sold in 1549 with the chantry to George Owen and a William

Harrison who bought up Banbury's as well. They could have pulled down the building, but if it was part of the church it made sense to sell it to the Danvers to keep their pews in their former chapel. Besides they had owned it before the commissioners came round. The chapel was much older than 1549 and has not been rebuilt. The chancel door the Danvers used to reach the chapel may be of this period, but why a chancel door? It can only have been to save the gentlemen from coming to the south aisle through the townsmen's porch.

These townsmen wanted back their land to pay for the clock to be wound and bells rung and five trustees from the Bourton and Cropredy Bell Land trust were chosen to act on their behalf namely Thomas Smith, Will Newman, John Sherman, Roger Truste and Thomas Gubbyn. They presented a bill proving the land was the gift of Roger Lupton and Richard Skipwith and that "the premises came not, nor ought to come into the hand of the late king..." By 1553 catholic Mary was on the throne and she did allow land and grants to help many churches and by 1557 it was finally returned. One tenement in which Joane Hill widow dwelt for twentyone years was to be leased for half a year to the defendant plus 40s and the present tenant Thomas Gardner must surrender. With no doubt a sigh of relief the five transferred the property to younger trustees. For nine years they had fought to win back their strips of land in the Wardington Open Common Fields, which after 1775 were gathered into one Bell Land plot on the road to Chacombe.

Queen Mary had the altar reinstated during her six years and once again the rood light was mentioned in wills, but all vanished when Elizabeth came on the throne. The rood screen being recycled to the north chapel. It includes the candle burns. The altar went back to the nave. Queen Elizabeth had no wish to interfere with inner convictions, but her people would no longer be allowed to believe in the miracle of the catholic mass. To them the Doctrine of the Real Presence in the mass came with the words: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."

The communion service having taken the place of the mass, used the words "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving."

The church now had no holy stoops in the porch and the inside was whitewashed and plain. The new protestant order was for the congregation (which must go to church or pay a fine), to listen to the minister and take part in the communion service. Holloway had communion at least three times in the year. "All in the parish do receive the communion reverently kneeling." Few "absent themselves from their parish church at morning prayre wher by the xijd a piece hath not bene demanded. He redeth the lateny and other prayers Wednesday and Fridays" and the canons were read out yearly to the parishioners. This was reported in 1619 and catholicism was well in the past for the majority. Holloway's morning service could be as early as nine o'clock and the evening sevice began at two o'clock in the winter and three in the summer. Towards the end of our period the altar moved back to the east window and a communion rail was put up.

Gradually pews paid for by the husbandmen and perhaps forms for the poorer elderly made it easier to listen to the sermons. Archbishop Laud (1633-45) insisted pews be low, of uniform height and face the altar. Parishioners building their own before this could make high, boxed in affairs. At Claydon from 1609-11 some were jostling in their seats over who should sit where, and had to be presented at the church court. Around 1610 none were arguing over pews in Cropredy "nor any hath of many yers bene buylte." Widow Robins [26] mentions her pew in 1627, but no record has survived of when it was built (p165).

The choir, when there was one, was divided into four parts, cantus, altus, tenor and bassus to chant the rhyming psalms in English. The processing in through the south door and out through the north stopped, but the Whitson beating of the bounds kept on. Gradually one by one the festivals went. The maypole hung on for a while and then the church ales were replaced by a church rate (p37). Structurally their beautiful church remained as magnificent as ever even without Mary's window. All was not entirely lost for when the head was found from the glass portrait they placed it in the north aisle window (p45).

Cropredy church is not in the grand tradition of the local churchs of Adderbury, Bloxham and Broughton all of which are in the Oxford Diocese and yet the architecture is just as impressive. Cropredy church originally belonged to the Prebend of Lincoln cathedral who possessed all the land in the parish, leaving no room for wealthy townsmen, and that alone could account for the difference.

In 1880 Dr Wood as vicar of Cropredy, helped with the research for the Revd Royce who wrote about Cropredy church for a series called *The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England* published by the Parkers. Henry Parker added an appendix [p53-56] "Questions and suggestions on the Architectural details of Cropredy Church." Some of Parker's Victorian quotes with additions by Royce are used below. Others put the nave in the Decorated Period, but Parker finds a mixture of styles (p699). Why? It was decided to repeat some of Royce's details of the architecture after describing each area.

Architectural Details.

Henry Parker speculates [p55] that because the north windows had high, wide and well arched proportions they were perhaps inspired by the architect William of Wynford in the fourteenth century. Others put the date of their construction into the following century. Parker believed that the work on the church, especially the nave, resembled the work of William who was architect in chief at Windsor, the protege of the bishop of Wykeham whose financial backing was largely responsible for the architect's work. How was he connected with Lincoln? The architect had been working at Windsor castle, the new nave at Winchester, Winchester college, New college Oxford and Wells cathedral and was surely too eminent a man to journey north to Cropredy? However at that time Thomas Boteler held the Prebend of Cropredy and also the Deanery of Winchester. Had he secured the interest, advice and direction from William of Wynford? Parker was greatly impressed with the designs and mixing of periods to make old and new blend together. William "adapting this and that to the one general effect making all mouldings

old and novel, all proportions Decorated and Perpendicular and Flamboyant, all imaged faces grim enough, all geometric foliations and flame-like wavings, all pendant bosses, and petalled flowers, and inter-weaving leaves, all serve his purpose, work out his will" superbly. He also left both the Early English windows on the south side one of which still commands the eye of most visitors.

There are remains of the first church possibly as early as 1050, in the nave foundations, the nave's east gable foundations and some of the south aisles outer wall in which there could have been a very early chantry for the B. manor. Two tomb recesses were apparently for Simon of Cropredy, father and son [In charters 1150 - 1209. Ch. Arch. 156 and Bk. of Fees, 39]. Was it one of this family's monumental effigies they found under a footpath and identified by the armour to be of late thirteenth century? It was placed tidily in one of the recesses. The Early English three light window with geometrical tracery links the family to the Decorated period. The outside cornice and rough stone work underneath are from the earlier church.

Royce describes the windows in more detail: The geometrical Early English window of three lights. The central light with round trifoliated head. The side ones with five soffit cusps are higher than the central one because of the large uncusped circle in the head. The smaller Early English of two lights, five foliated in the head, a trefoil in a circle, cusped with a fleur-de-lis, the jambs of two orders, outer, roll between fillets, inner plain. The labels of both windows alike. Here are a knight in mail, a lady in wimpole, a greyhound and a bulldog.

Parker comments on the outside south wall to the east of the porch. The stones are "rough and irregular gathered from the surface of the soil of the parish and flung into a bedding of indifferent mortar, the soup-like mess being called rubble." Other stones were of good cut ashlar. It has been suggested that the downfall of the first church with its nave and two aisles and possibly a smaller chancel, was because of this poor masonry upon which it was impossible to improve the height and grandure of the building. The foundations' of the east gable of the nave were kept with disastrous results to its structure. They rebuilt the rest using only ashlar.

Around 1320 the Prebend rebuilt the **chancel** and perhaps enlarged it. The fine eastern window is in the Decorated style with sunk chamfers. These are detailed and well proportioned. Notice the corbels with monk's heads whose tongues are out as far as their ears. The parapet is plain and carried down in one line over the priest's chamber.

Royce: The window has four lights, ogeed; net-work tracery, mullions correspond externally, but internally are hollow chamfered.

The south window of the chancel is lofty like the east one, but of only two lights. The priest's door has two orders, a sunk chamfer and wave mould, and a label scroll. The Danvers also had access via this door which suffers slightly in shape from the protrubance of the eastern wall of the Prescote and Williamscothe Saint Fremund's chapel (p135).

From the chancel the masons moved to the **south aisle** outer wall, but retained the older Early English door and the Simon de Cropredy's chantry. The cornice above the two Early windows was reused. The new south windows had "flowing tracery of beautiful design and delicate details." Parker noticed that the architect had mixed old and new. He had copied the chancel's east and south windows with their sunk chamfers and made this a feature of the south aisle windows, but gave them Flamboyant tracery in their headings. A replacement porch was added to the south door. Until recently a scratch dial remained to the east of the outer door. These were the early "clocks." The Reverend John Rosse added a larger sundial in 1747 high up on the south west end of the south wall. This has been renewed.

Around 1370 the **nave** was entirely rebuilt (possibly under the influence of Thomas Boteler and William of Wynford). The original arcades had no clerestories and the steep thatched roof came down to the older arches. The mouldings of the new arcades continue to the ground entirely without capitals. Parker found the arches were examples of early Perpendicular, but the contours of the arches Decorated. Royce has described the piers as Early English: "The piers are bevelled off to a lozenge, set on a square base. On the east and west faces of the south side is a small pyramid in relief, on the fillet of the pier. Mouldings continuous." Perhaps Parker was right thinking he used every period to form a whole with the rest of the church, but others call them tall Decorated arcades. The roof was extended up to make the clerestory which has five two light windows under square heads on each side. In the Perpendicular style windows were often set in a square "panel" and their arches were no longer as pointed as in the Decorated style. Some are Decorated and some Flamboyant. In 1880 these were described as "bold and vigorous in design and execution, the work of the man who designed the later north aisle windows," but did he?

Royce: There are five two light clerestory windows on each side. Tracery varied and vigorous. In 2 and 5 south and 3 and 4 north a central quatrefoil is flanked by two halves. In 4 south and 1, 2 and 5 north are two divergent bilobed foils with small oval between. 3 south has two inverted curves foiled, one over each light.

Having enlarged the nave with the four fine arches the east gable arch was now out of proportion and a larger one was made. The old rougher rubble walls at the base were too insecure to take the added weight, made worse when a rood loft with stairs was added. The doom painting over the eastern arch suffered as fissures appeared in the masonry. The flat nave roof replaced the steep thatched one. The wood is all moulded from principals, purlins, rafters, to ridge and wall plates. Figures of bishops, some with mitres, decorate the centres of the tie-beams. At the chancel end tudor roses were painted on the beams.

The **north aisle** was rebuilt around 1375. Again others have mentioned the fifteenth century. Each of the three aisle windows has three lights. In the second window of the aisle is a fragment of fifteenth century glass which was recovered from the churchyard. It is the head of the Blessed Virgin Mary crowned as Queen of Heaven in the church dedicated to her name when the Pope was still the spiritual head of the English church.

Royce: Good transitional Decorated of three lights trifoliated, ogeed; over the middle light in tracery are 4 openings, 2 above 2, counter foiled, flanked by a longer opening, ogeed. In the eyes, bilobed foils; apex plain. Chamfered string under the sills and round the buttresses in the lower stages. The diagonal buttresses at the angles and one where the chantries join the aisles. For example the north east one is a fine pedimented and crocketed in the lower stages, the weatherings overlap, the nosing runs slanting up the east wall. The chamfered string cuts the buttress and the next one set where the chapel begins.

Early in the fifteenth century a **tower** was begun with a fine arch made in the nave's west gable. The first part was finely constructed and described as "massive, simple and of good character." The belfry and parapets added later were not as good.

After the tower was finished entrances were made from the chancel to the **north and south chapels**. Each had a massive arch with Perpendicular mouldings. The south chapel was then partially rebuilt. A new window was put in the north chapel. The priest's doorway through the five feet thick sanctuary wall to the **vestry** was altered. The priest's chamber over the vestry was reached by a ladder. His small three foot high west window had two lights. The sides were plain, the mullion chamfered and with a lozenge opening in the head cut out of a single stone. This looked into the church as the chapel had filled the space between the aisle and vestry. One of the north chancel windows is from the Perpendicular period and Parker points to the sunk chamfer in the other one which must have been moved from the chancel wall to the north chapel, to explain why it is in the Decorated style.

Paintings, Clocks, Bells, Chest, Font, Screen, Pulpit and Eagle.

Almost the whole of the north wall was covered in paintings. One painting showing a tree of the seven deadly sins and seven virtues had seven branches to left and right. Beside it was a quotation done in black lettering. In 1876, when the roof repairs were being carried out, the wall paintings were left exposed to the elements so that water damage destroyed them.

The fifteenth century doom painting over the chancel arch behind the old rood loft is described by Dr. Wood: "In the centre, upon a rainbow appears our Lord in glory; His uplifted hands and His feet bearing the marks of the nails. On the right and left appear the saints. At his feet, in front, kneel St. John Baptist and the blessed Virgin Mary. In the foreground are the opening graves and mankind rising. A woman holds a crown in her hand and above it is a bright star." To the left some of those raised

from the dead are seen ascending into heaven, while on the right hand side almost lost through damage, hell threatens the damned .

Placed below this hidden painting the table would be the centre of attention when the communion was celebrated. The table would also be used for the Church court and other parish meetings. With sixty households in Cropredy well over a hundred and fifty adults were expected to attend from Cropredy alone. There were even more parishioners coming in from the two Bourtons, Prescote & Williamscoote-in-Cropredy.

Summoning all these people to church was very important. Time keeping was difficult when no-one had clocks. At first they relied upon the scratch dial which was hopeless on cloudy days. When Roger Lupton was the priest (1487-1528) he lost his way returning from Chacombe in a fog and only the sound of the Cropredy bell tolling helped him to reach home safely. In gratitude he made an Indenture on the 26th of August 1512 in which he placed £6-13s-4d in the care of the Cropredy and Bourton Churchwardens to be invested in land which was to pay one person to daily wind up a faceless clock. This struck the hours. He was also to ring the bell daily both winter and summer at four in the morning the "grettest or myddell bell by the space of a quarter of an houre and toll dayly the Aves bell" at six in the morning, at twelve noon and at four in the afternoon, and to toll in winter at seven in the night three tolls and immediately after the tolling to ring curfew by the space of a quarter of an hour." In summer to toll and ring curfew between eight and nine at night. Failure to get this seen to would mean the churchwardens had to forfeit 6s-8d to the vicar for every month the curfew was left unringed. Already then Cropredy had a great, middle and perhaps the priest's bell hung in the tower's bell chamber. Not until between 1686-90 were a peal of six bells in the key of A to join the older priest's bell [Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) "The church good, 6 bells"].

William Rede [born at 32 moved to 55 and then 59] as parish clerk would surely be employed by the Cropredy and Bourton trustees of the Bell Land to wind the clock and ring both the curfew and daybell. There was a piece of land for Redes use in Church Piece, and all parishioners had to pay a set amount yearly as well as for any services he provided specifically for them. Another responsibility of the clerks was to keep the church "clean and decent, in tolling and ringing the bells before Divine service and when any person is passing out of this life" [Articles of Enquiry...within the Arch-Deaconry of Sudbury]. William took care of the church documents (under the eye of the churchwardens who had the responsibility of church repairs, partly paid for by the bell fund), transcribing the bills, writing levies, accounts and before 1654 sometimes filling in the registers. There was also the vicar's surplus for his wife to mend and wash and the communion bread to provide [Church Accounts 1694ff].

In about 1610 the churchwardens Henry Broughton [9] and Thomas Devotion [3] found "that our byble in certen leaves are rent." They went on to plead "we stay the provyding of a new, for that we understand ther is appoynted by the kings autorite a new shortly to be impressed for the whole realme, when we shalbe willinge to provyde of that sort." This was for King

Jame's 1611 authorised version. There were other books the church must provide besides the book of Homilies and Common Prayer. They had to have the book of canons, registers and a terrier of the glebe land while Archbishop Bancroft (1604-10) insisted two of his works be provided.

Before William Rede could enter anything into a register, kept in the parish chest, he must first have both the church wardens and the vicar each with their key to one of the three locks on the thirteenth century chest. A new padlock, costing 8d, was bought for the chest in the chancel (now in the south aisle) in 1726. This was a long wooden coffer greatly strengthened by decorative ironwork. Two bars at each corner and the wooden frame forming feet to keep the chest off the floor and well above the straw. Even so some damp not surprisingly ate away the corners of the parchments and tarnished the parish silver. The recent tale that the chest was hidden in the Cherwell before the battle of Cropredy bridge is without any documentary evidence and seems unlikely. Much easier to hide it in a dry cockloft nearby amongst the household garners or coffers with all the documents safely inside.

Thomas Holloway would have appreciated the safety of the coffer for in his time the majority of the parchments were written in his hand. The registers began in 1538 and the first has been preserved by sewing the paper folios inside the sheets of a twelfth century breviary. There are some gaps in the baptisms from December 1555 to October 1563 and between 1558 to 1563 in the burial register.

In Holloway's time children were baptised at the medieval octagonal font. In the early nineteenth century this was removed and sunk into the vicarage garden to be used as a plant pot. When returning it to the church, in the late nineteenth century, an extra seven inches of stem were added which would present a problem for any parson trying to use the raised font for baptisms [Revd George Barr c1920].

Behind the ancient chest at the east end of the south aisle is the south chapel's screen. The carpenter was instructed to repeat the letters A.D. as part of a design using carved tudor roses. Richard Danvers died in the winter of 1489/90 just three years after the war of Roses ended. His mother was Alice Danvers nee Verney, his sister Agnes and his new grand daughter Anna, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth nee Preston. Surely it was he who had commissioned this screen? The later screen between the chancel and the Prescote chapel has unfinished sections, but also some fine carvings of grapes and vine leaves. Part of the north side of the chancel's screen came from the old rood loft.

The rood loft had been reached by a flight of stairs and after taking down the loft the doorway was blocked off. The infill can still be seen above the pulpit.

Thomas Holloway having been a great preacher died in November 1619. The pulpit has, according to local information, the date of 1619 somewhere upon it. The whole two tier pulpit was carved from one great Cropredy oak tree. A local carpenter left marks from his adze and slips from his gouge as he worked at the bevelled sides of the panels. This was then painted. The preacher reached the platform up a flight of wooden stairs. Cropredy now had a fine pulpit, but heard few sermons. Where had Thomas preached from? Did he pace about or have a desk? In the oldest postcards the steps had a metal rail, but later ones show a replacement in wood.

Across the nave from the pulpit was the rare pre-Reformation brass lectern for the church bible. Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) remarked that "In the church [is] a brass eagle of very curious workmanship" [MS Rawl. B 400 Bodl]. The lectern is an eagle standing on a globe which in turn has a stem supported by three small lions. The beak of the eagle was used to collect Peter's pence called sometimes Pentecostals, Whitsuntide farthings or Smoake farthings. The farthings were removed from the eagle's brass tail feathers. After the Hearth tax the two became associated with smoke rather than heads of household taxes. In the diocese of Lincoln this was a church tax paid by every head of household at a farthing a house. In 1138 the Oxfordshire pentecostals were granted by the bishop of Lincoln to Eynsham Abbey. The farthings were taken by the faithful on a Whitson pilgrimage. In 1154 the bishop having recently granted a Whit fair to Banbury wanted the processions in his Peculiar to go to Banbury and so encourage the trade associated with such events. In Edward VI's reign we saw that there were sixty-two households which would contribute fifteen pence and two farthings yearly and this would be entered up in the bishop's register. Did the Bourtons, Prescote and Williamscote add their farthings?

On September 22nd 1699 the churchwardens "paid four shillings and ninepence upon ye account of a duty called Smoak farthing for eleven years ending at Michaelmas as our part" [Church Accounts]. Most cottages escaped and only ten or eleven of the rate payers had contributed but in 1701 there were twenty-four paying a farthing or just over a third. It was discovered that most had hearths, but with only a little land the cottages did not pay rates (p623).

It may be that past Cropredians cared passionately enough to save the eagle from being melted down. When Henry VIII and then Edward VI were seizing church property had the Cropredy churchwardens hidden the eagle for the first time, or did they do so in Elizabeth's reign? Archbishop Parker (1559-1575) was asking for brazen eagles which stood in many of the church's chancels, acting as lecterns. He considered them as ornaments that must be melted down to make pots and basins for new fonts. Demanding church treasures went on and with a rising puritanical mood the eagle would be safer in the river. When church treasures were no longer being seized by the crown the lectern was returned to the church (perhaps late on in Holloway's time). In 1643 the townsmen thought the treasures again in danger this time from the Parliamentarians on the eve of the battle of Cropredy bridge. They carried the eagle down to the river Cherwell and hid it there. Unfortunately due to lost church accounts the date when the eagle was brought back is unknown. Entries of the eagle being scoured yearly begin in 1695 [Church Accounts]. Dame Whyte or her daughter Hannah with John Neal [46] were paid 2d for the work. As she

scoured, the word generally used for a vigorous polishing, it would be clear that the eagle was made of brass not bronze. After rescuing the eagle, which was discoloured from the immersion and missing a lion, a replacement in bronze had been hastily made to match, only to find too late that the eagle was made of shining brass. The lectern must have been left for many years for the men to have forgotten how bright it used to be. Had they enquired of the women in the Whyte family no doubt the truth would have been found out sooner. When Rawlinson saw it in the early eighteenth century he knew it was brass, but only because the parishioners kept it polished? The foot was made between 1644 and 1695, not in 1841 as Beesley thought. He wrote that the eagle was "sadly mutilated and the feet used as ornaments on a wooden desk." The bronze one was mentioned. Would the stern Reverend Ballard (1811-1850) have done this? [Beesley *History of Banbury* p128]. Tales and legends have a habit of attributing events which happen several hundred years ago to a later era.

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THE TOWN OF CROPREDY 1570 - 1640

Part II

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4. Households and Families

Once the Easter the Easter Oblation Lists had been transcribed several pieces of information began to fit together. These confirm or contradict past information about the sixteenth century.

Cropredy was able to build in stone during this century as Oxfordshire was a relatively prosperous county and probably in advance of many areas in Britain.

The elderly carried on living in their own homes giving accomodation to a married son or daughter. Although many married late after rebuilding it was surprising that the average age of marriage was still the same as the national one. It was also unusual to find that the farmhouses and some cottages had a large number of unmarried adults living in and for many boys from all types of households to be attending school.

Looking at Cropredy Wills reveals how the parishioners were able to provide for their widows and children.

4.1 Soloman Howse's [9] 1641 Inventory

<p>Item in the Dairy & butter one panning having 4: drink Duckets a pott one being a quart a dozen pivers a little milk pivers a little panning tubba lined wppid and a wotten wgele and two oth- tubbs</p>	1	13	4
<p>Item 3 milk pannes 3 Duckets in implement</p>	0	5	0
<p>Item in the Dairy 3 Duckets in furnished and one Ducket</p>	4	0	0
<p>Item one Ducket in board two Duckets one by the good Docket</p>	1	10	0
<p>Item one Docket 3: Blankets 2: bolsters two pillows 2: Blankets 8: Duckets of sheets 4: pillow Duckets 2: dozen of Duckets one Ducket Docket two board Dockets of two Dockets two of four pillows</p>	5	6	8
<p>Item two Duckets of the same sort pannes two Duckets one pott a panner a Ducket in pott of potters great small</p>	4	0	0
<p>Item in the Dairy one 2: Dockets 3: pannes</p>	0	10	0
<p>Item in the Dairy one of the hall a Docket</p>	2	4	

Soloman Howse's [9] 1641 Inventory.

The search into Cropredy's past began with a study of the buildings. The occupiers and their work came next and was saved from floundering in the seventeenth century by Thomas Holloway's Easter Oblation lists. Thomas it was soon discovered collected his dues household by household coming up the Long Causeway and proceeding around the town. He most certainly did not walk around house to house, but visualised their sites and their occupants, writing them down in columns. The payments could have been made at the church as all were expected to attend. Seven of his lists date from 1613 to 1619. The last one in 1624 was made by his successor. Counting the population, organising local rates, or collecting government taxes such as the later hearth tax were all done by property. In the hearth tax of 1663 the more important householders were set at the top of the list, but the rest went in the usual house order. The cottagers were left out if they had less than half a yardland (pp 623,700).

The need to associate people with a house has continued right down the centuries. Sometimes a family name became one with a property and remained in use even after new tenants had moved in. Palmer's House [1] and Shotswell's House [1a] were two in Cropredy which were known by that in 1681 even though the two families had departed. In Great Bourton, Elkington's, Ellyett's, Sabean's and the Chapel Houses were all mentioned in Thomas's lists. For example in 1617 Thomas Tymes was dwelling in Sabean's House [c25/4 f19]. The rest of the town were living in their own homes and the vicar had no need to add "house" after the family surname.

Families in certain houses had built pews within the church. One Great Bourton deed sold the rights with the house to a certain pew in the Bourton aisle of Saint Mary's church, Cropredy. The new house owners then used the seats they had purchased, but only as long as they were the owners of the house. The tenants connected to a particular site made similar arrangements. The custom was extended to grave plots, in the seventeenth century, which went with certain house sites. When a surname changed upon the lease it was found that the memorial stones after that date were commemorating members of the new tenants' family. In this way the Robins from the High Street farm [26] had a particular plot on the south side of the church. They were followed by the Blagraves [26] and then the Blackamores [26] onto the farm and grave plot. This was noted in the churchyard long before the Robins family reconstitution took place and confirmed a gap in the documents. On the north side of the church the new occupants of a cottage in Church Street, sold after the Enclosure of the Open Common Fields, purchased their plot in one of the only places left in the churchyard. Smiths [46] continued to be buried there only if they died as one of the family living in and owning that particular cottage. Other members who lived elsewhere in Cropredy had to find another grave plot.

From Holloway's lists a household appears to consist of the family who are all related to the master or mistress and into this household might come relatives who acted as servants but remained part of the family. There might be other servants also employed and they too became part of that household. They ate with them, slept in their children's chambers, but were not really "family" and known as such, even though they all paid their christian dues together.

The difference being they were temporary and not entitled to the master's love and legacies as his children should be.

Thomas Holloway draws a half line under some names entered for one house site and then proceeds with a second master and his family, as seen at [8]. This house contained two separate families and yet they were kin, father and son living in a house converted into two. The lease confirms that first the father then the son leased the land, but in the tithe books the father still has one yardland and his own garden for some time after the change in the lease. Eventually the son has the whole tenancy and the house then holds only one family. This was one of the only leases on the B manor to include the wife. In 1624 Martha Woodrose signed the documents and as a widow in 1632 she continued to do so when a new lease was drawn up. To the same property in 1637 came her relative John Wilmer of the Inner Court, London, Esquire. He took over the tenancy, but Martha was allowed to have the parlour end where she set up her own separate household. If they had divided the land with the landlord's permission then the number of Cropredy households rose by one or two depending upon the temporary arrangements in the town at the time. Upon the death of the widow, or parents and the releasing back of the separated yardland the number of households would fall accordingly. The actual number of sites had not grown or diminished, but the system was flexible for those who had been able to lease and divide up one of the larger properties. Thomas Holloway indicated the split household with a half line.

There was a great advantage in having eight lists for the young adults could be seen to be coming and going in a few households. Naturally on the sixty sites the families were all showing themselves at different stages in their life cycle. Using one static list unexplained by any family reconstitution would mean fossilising the community to one date. The eight lists spread over twelve years reveal their movements for at least a fifth of a household's lifecycle, presuming they lived for sixty years. A second problem of confining a family to the members of a household mentioned in one list is that they may indeed have been there for upwards of one year (though in a census only one night is guaranteed), but we are leaving out members who return on other years. Relatives come and go. Visitors descend who may be of wider kin. Not shown are those who came daily to the hall or kitchen and there may be other staff which are under eighteen, or day staff which are not listed with that household. There would also be grandchildren, nieces and nephews staying under eighteen. The lists are in this instance limiting our knowledge and if we build up the whole parish from the households only, we must be careful we are not denying the families their relations. Some daughters returned to be married from home before departing to their husband's parish. They too may have spent many years of their life away in service, but considered themselves part of the family and were remembered in wills.

By combining all the records such as wills, inventories, registers, college deeds with terriers and the newly transcribed Easter lists it was realised the families could be placed on all the available sites. It was then possible to show that the elderly parents had no other place to live, except in their family home.

Cropredy lists give all adults over eighteen years of age. The vicar rarely allowing confirmation to any under that age, although sixteen was permissible. The household usually went in order of status. Man and wife being as one paid just two pence. The woman was not named and appeared as "ux" or "uxor" meaning the wife. Widows followed if they were not the main leaseholder, though occasionally the vicar mistakenly headed the list with a widow when the son had already taken the chair. She too paid her twopence. Any married relative came before adult sons and daughters. Outdoor staff such as the shepherd or the master's man should follow the daughters each paying their twopence. Last of all came the maids.

Someone confirmed for that Easter may pay only a penny. Widow Armett mentions some of the poor and all these usually pay their two pence. In 1616 two widow's names were written down, but no money was paid. These were Mrs Huxley [36] and Mrs Mallins [53] and that year no-one from the Whytes [46] paid. Did he decide in "his love" to forego it? They would have their pride, but surely lack of paying was a sign of failing, or temporary ill health, for to neglect to pay for their communion wine might still be considered an ill omen.

Taking just a few examples from 1613 when Holloway placed "Mr Woodrusse ux ijd" [8] at the head of the household, followed by his daughter and her husband "Mr Ellcocke ux ijd" [c25/7 f1]. The rest of the family were written below in the correct order. Over the road in the Howse [9] family the master was Henry Broughton who had married widow Margery. Her two sons remained throughout the lists and daughters stayed for several years. Solomon, Thomas and Elizabeth were twentysix, twentyfive and twentyone in 1613. This information from the registers adds a great deal to the bare lists of names and more was revealed in the records. At Lumberds [14] on the Green Edward's mother who had married twice had moved to her chamber being of great age. She may never have left her house since her first marriage, except when the rebuilding took place. Two of her grandchildren had been confirmed already and were at home. Almost the entire life of her son Edward had been spent living in a household with parents and siblings then step father and step sibling Em, until he marries very late, and has children and still the mother lives on her third of the land until perhaps shortly before her death in 1613. Edward was able to keep in contact with Em for she moved down to Devotions after her marriage [3]. Only after Edward's son married did he leave Cropredy, but was forced to return when the son became ill (p534). Few houses had simply man, wife and children.

Married children and parents lived together not only on farms, but in the craft cottages. Weaver William Watts [27] is followed in the list by his eldest daughter Annes and her husband, Wam Shottswell. They lived in an upper chamber. There was also the apprenticed nineteen year old son Thomas who on the death of his father would carry on the business, though while William Shottswell lived with his father-in-law he was senior to Thomas.

Going on down Creampot Lane to just one more farm we find the Watts [34] household headed by Richard Hall and not widow Watts or her eldest son Arthur. Richard we have to presume had entered the lease on their farm when the widow was still young enabling the family to carry on until the eldest son could take over at the start of the next lease. Arthur never did, for

although he had already married and had three children he died during an epidemic, and never entered upon the lease. The same fever took the lives of his young adult siblings who came back possibly to nurse the sick and tragically endangered their own lives (p594). The lists show that before that dreadful year the siblings took turns to be home acting as servants. No other record can prove the presence of these single people in the town, or the numbers of male servants needed to run the farm, or the indoor staff helping to make butter and cheese.

The lists also reveal that parents with married children did not make way for them straight away when they could split up the lease. A newly married couple had to manage on half or two thirds. If both parents died leaving a son to rear his younger siblings, half the land went to rear them and provide their legacies; only when the siblings had left could they enter the whole of the lease. No parent would give up part of the lease without making various safeguards for their own future, for by hanging onto a third an old couple kept their independence even if reduced to a chamber with use of the hearth and table.

Having paid a large entry fine, and with so many years left of a lease, it counted as moveable estate which must be added to an inventory, so while the senior members were still actively partners in the property they remained at the top of Thomas Holloway's household lists.

How many of the farms had been leased for three lives like cottagers? The copyhold cottagers had been bought a "life" which was entered at the manor court often at birth or after marriage. When a senior "life" died, or surrendered, then the new wife or husband and eventually a child could be entered. Not all the girls with lives on a copyhold were able to marry. Anne Norman remained a spinster [48]. The three named lives on a copyhold could live in Cropredy and the youngest was more likely to return home from service earlier and then be found on the lists, if this coincided with the surviving eight years from 1613 to 24.

Three Generation Households.

The above information has already revealed that Cropredy households were not just master, mistress, children and perhaps servants. Were they unusual? Peter Laslett has found that "it is not true that the elderly and the widowed ordinarily had their married children with them, or that uncles, aunts, nephews and neices were often to be found as resident relatives" [Laslett. *P. The World We Have Lost further explored.* 1983 Methuen]. In Cropredy the basis for each household has been the property, as this was the most stable unit. Whoever was leasing the land, or whoever had their name on the copyhold had we saw the right to live on that site. All widows had a customary right to continue to lease half their late husband's land while there were still children under age and then a third. At the same time the married son or son-in-law having the remainder could take up one of the upper chambers. In the vicar's lists this is proved again and again and was confirmed in leases following the death of a father. A Rede [32] must keep a brother, and another Rede a stepmother and step-sister in a chamber, and often provide

meat as well. Stepmothers and mothers-in-law are assured full board and lodging in the testators will, though if either party is unhappy a bequest of money is left so that they may depart to friends (p505). This departure to another household means some sites did include a relation or "friend" out of kindness. Cropredy sites definitely housed three generations.

Dyonice Woodrose's [8] will showed that relatives, two grandchildren belonging to another parish, were living with her. Mothers-in-law might also come in from other parishes. Grace Howse [24] had to leave her farm and live with first one daughter and then another, both fortunately in Cropredy so that her movements can be recorded (p118). Admittedly some widows are not buried in Cropredy and their place can only be known when more parish studies have been done, but presumably the choice to stay or leave was theirs to make.

These complicated households and especially the one headed by Richard Hall [34] in Creampot lane whose relationship to the Watts we cannot as yet prove, makes the division into types of household difficult for they are constantly changing over the seventy years after 1570. Cropredy, which lacked the ability to increase the number of sites to allow the older generation separate households, was not conforming to patterns discovered in many areas over the rest of Britain. Yet if other local towns had Easter lists and their families could be placed to house sites, then the custom of having three generation households might be found to be widespread, especially in parishes where there was no spare land upon which to erect cottages. Certainly on their own the rest of the parish records would not be able to dispute so certainly Mr Laslett's statement that it was not true the elderly and the widowed had married children living with them, for in Thomas Holloway's time the majority had three generations and a few had relatives under one roof during some part of their life cycle.

Cropredy's sixty households were obviously not completing their life cycles all at the same time. A few were at the three generations under one roof stage, while others were in the nuclear phase. The families that were traceable over a long period of time revealed the number of years the household had three generations. It might be for only a few years while the children were small when at least one if not two grandparents were alive. One thing that comes out very clearly from the family reconstitutions is the fact that only very rarely did a widow live alone. The two exceptions were widow Ursula Hyrens and then widow Judith Wood [56] using the cottage in Hello. Both began life there with their husbands alive, then as widows with no surviving sons they continued to be the copyholders. If in the rest of the country over half lived in a one bay dwelling then Cropredy was exceedingly fortunate to have very few one cell cottages. Most of Cropredy's stone buildings had chimnies and upper chambers while the surviving timber buildings had at least three narrow bays, one of which had an upper chamber (ch.25).

The older inhabitants continued in their home moving into one or two of the chambers. The senior parents were therefore well housed and possibly well cared for under a dry roof. They kept the benefits of the hall fire, yet the young wife was there to cook if they fell ill. Several seniors owned a cow and indeed contributed to their living necessities right up to the end. A few

survived into their seventies and eighties, so that after their death the son's or daughter's household of one couple with children was hardly there for long before the eldest child was at a marriageable age. The chamber would once again house parents and soon there would be three generations living together under the one thatch. They were not left alone in small cottages in Cropredy even if they had wished for solitude. A few parents may move out if they found someone else to take them in. The eldest son by custom "set up his lease" as near to his twentynine years as could be managed, sharing with, or caring for his surviving parents. Mr Laslett found the opposite to be true [Laslett p99].

This was not rare in Cropredy. Thirty out of thirtyfour Cropredy born men waiting for the lease married and started farming on a holding in which the household had a senior member alive. Tenants had no permission or right to any land upon which to build a cottage for parents. They could only, like Robert Robins [26] who had shared with his mother for most of his married life, buy a tenement in another parish like Wardington for his widow to share with their ordained son, but she still did not live alone.

During the eight years covered by the Easter lists it was discovered that two thirds of the town were never just man, wife, children and staff. Twentyfour households had no year alone and only five were nuclear families throughout these eight years. The remaining thirtyone households had the following years alone:

- 6 had 7 years alone
- 2 had 6 years alone
- 5 had 5 years alone
- 2 had 4 years alone
- 5 had 3 years alone
- 7 had 2 years alone
- 4 had 1 year alone.

In the list for 1617 Cropredy had 20% with 3 generations, 40% with other relations, and 4% with two families under one roof, leaving less than 36% as nuclear families, which was half the average found in population lists from the end of the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries.

These reveal that in other parts of England 69.2% of households consisted of only parents and their children. 5.7% had three generations and even less had two married couples under one roof [Laslett P. p99]. Margaret Spufford's findings according to the wills in Cambridgeshire however were that "a household should very frequently have contained the older generation" [*Contrasting Communities* 1979 Cambridge Univ. Press p114].

When only the Registers were available it was found that the number of years when a house had three generations could vary from one to twentyfour. Eighteen had one to five years, four had six to ten years, eleven had eleven to fifteen years, three had sixteen to twenty years and the Robins twentyfour. In sixtysix marriages thirtyone had overlapped the next generation while thirtyfive did not reach this situation. Naturally a few grandparents out-lived one of the younger couple. Thomas Sabin of Bourton was concerned for Ellen. His mother? Ellen was to be kept with "meate, drinke and aparrell bye and lodginge duringe they lease of xxi yeares if she soe long live by my wyffe and Richard Sabin my sonne by Even and Equall portions." This was made the 19th of September 1614 [MS. Will Pec. 51/1/11], but was crossed out. Their two married sons Thomas and Richard still lived at home. The Easter lists were then checked and Ellen was living next door with the Plants in 1613, at home in 1614, 1615 and 1617, but was missing in 1616 and up to her burial on the 30th of May 1620. Was it possible she escaped paying her Easter twopence through infirmity? Or had Ellen betaken herself off to live with other relations?

Unfortunately only on those eight years can we prove that people had lodgings with families other than their own, or stayed on with married siblings. By housing a young couple the leasehold and copyhold tenants had an active work force. Manor courts might frown or even prohibit the practise, but over these eight years the rule was disregarded. Most lodgers were relatives or fellow parishioners, not strangers. This practise had probably become the best way to solve homelessness after a fire, while repairs or rebuilding took place, family overcrowding, or simply the best way of solving the care of the old and at the same time housing a new couple who would eventually take over. This happened in Church Lane when William Bagley and his new wife went to live at William Hudsons [19] (p429).

Those who came from another parish to set up their business may at first escape parental responsibility or care of siblings, but the immediate family finally caught up with Densey [13], Holloways [21] and Gybbs [25]. Mrs Gybbs nee Batchelor took care of her mother who became ill in the April. The widow may not have intended to stay, but when she could not return they had to sublet her home in West Adderbury. According to widow Batchelor's will her relations were reduced to the Gybbs for on her late husband's side there seem none eligible for legacies. The lists and wills prove that relations were not forgotten. Cattell's [30] mother and sisters come to live in Cropredy. Evans the herd has his sister, while at the A manor farm the Coldwells [50] sheltered a sister, and the good Mrs Calthrope. Mr William Hall [6] gives houseroom to his wife's relatives and grandchildren. Nieces come to help and learn from grandmothers and aunts [8]. Although many may have come on other years, stayed and departed, they left no records and are "invisible." One of the values of the vicar's Easter lists is to prove that these movements of relatives took place, even if their full extent cannot be told.

As widowers and widows aged then the family cared for them, it was not the exception, but the custom in Cropredy to do so. The only people excluded being the married farm labourers who had no hold on their cottage once their employment stopped.

The family trees for all the known households are found with the description of the properties as well as the average number of people in their households over the eight listed years (in Part 4). As the purpose of the lists was to ensure every confirmed parishioner paid their "tuppences" can we be sure they included the very poor, the elderly and the poorer widows? It would appear Holloway did, or at least they offered them. The lists may have contained all except the bedridden and the travelling poor. Widow Arnett's will of November 1607 (p81) left something to the poorest who can be traced to cottages. Some of these properties which were never hovels are still lived in. Providing they attended the Easter communion service these very poor people were included in the lists. This is important for it means that with very few exceptions all the adults were included in the lists from the poorest to the richest living in the town. Of course some of the very poor may have left to swell the ranks of travelling paupers seeking work in larger town but those families which the records prove moved away did not fit into the group of very poor for they had leased farmland.

Occasionally a man or woman fell ill and realised they would never work again. One solution was made in Bourton by William Tims the carpenter. His inventory reads as though he died in a one room hovel. The opposite was true. Here was a man who had leased a house which had been rebuilt in stone under a thatched roof. He owed money through not being able to work and passed on everything to his carpenter son in a legal deed made the 30th of December 1625. William then had no rent worries and his meat, drink, washing and nursing were taken care of. The Tims' home remained the same and presumably if William was cold, and the fire was lit, he took his place on the inglenook bench in the hall. One day he must have passed through this stage judging by his apparel. Was this just a night shirt and he was confined to bed? In William's chamber the now much reduced belongings were itemised following his burial on the 6th of January 1628/9 (if this was his burial date?):

"His apparell ijs
The bed and bedding where on he lay vs
One coffer and three sheelves and two Augers ijs
One table and a frame and a stoll and
other implements xxd
soma totalis tenn shillings and eightpence" [MS.Will Pec. 52/3/41].

Cropredy's fine new houses, with their extra chambers, enabled them to accommodate the whole family plus parents, staff and even other relatives so each house could reasonably cope with three generations for many years providing the harvests flourished and the stock remained healthy. Even the Church Street timber cottages had a sleeping loft and managed to accommodate extra members of the family though at a greater loss to comfort. At the Norman's [48] the two daughters continued to live with their father. It is an excellent example of the rights of an unmarried daughter whose life was entered on the copyhold to inherit a lease, even if she still had to make room for a sisters family, which in this case brought the name of Hudson to the cottage (p381). However crowded the cottages became wherever possible they looked after their own.

The poor of England were thought by some early readers of inventories to have lived in a single room or home, with barely the basic essentials of daily living to support them. In Cropredy quite a different picture emerges. If the inventories are interpreted alongside other evidence which places their chamber within a larger building, then the picture of abject poverty, at least in the rural areas along the stone belt, is far less severe.

Servants, maids, students, aged parents and even the occasional gentleman died with their possessions confined to one room in the property. Surely this tells us a great deal about the caring attitude of the people in the town of Cropredy which during these seventy years put money by to rebuild and could still afford to house relatives in their average sized households. It could mean in years of harvest failure that there was not enough food to feed them all, and the town would have to try and help the poorer members of the community. A family crisis would also present individuals within a household unable to contribute their share, so that alms were necessary.

One group of Cropredians who had to leave town earlier than was the custom were orphans. Many parents who died young, left their children with no option, but to find work elsewhere. The pull to come back and visit siblings would not have been as great as to parents or grandparents who could afford to house them in return for help.

Cropredy's Population.

The size of the population and the fact that Cropredy was presumed only able to maintain sixty households must have influenced the retention of the three generation custom. Their new buildings cannot be discussed without first some knowledge of the size of the town's households, given over eight years, and their needs in terms of chambers and working space.

In spite of some terrible years of dearth and agues Cropredy's baptisms showed a steady rise over burials from 1577 to the 1640's, so that every year, some had to leave and live elsewhere. Taking the generation covered by the lists, births in the families span from 1587 to at least 1633 and during that time apart from at least thirtynine children dying, one hundred and seventeen girls departed either still single or married, and eightynine sons. A chart of who is thought to have stayed or left of those mentioned in the Easter lists is on (p128). In 1593 and 1623 baptisms were unusually high, only to fall back drastically as bad harvests, failure of the cloth trade, fevers or a combination of years of undernourishment reduced the population. In such years as 1579, 1584, 1588, 1596, 1602, 1607 and 1609 the burials, which were in the same register for both the towns of Cropredy and Bourton, rose from the usual 2, 3 or 4 upwards to 20. Due to the fever of 1631 burials rose to 25. 19 were buried in both 1633 and 34 and deaths rose to over 20 in 1638, 1639 and 1641.

On the 5th of September 1538 Cromwell issued a mandate which ordered every wedding, christening and burial to be recorded in a book each Sunday after the service [State papers Domestic Vol xiii, pt 11, No.281. Tate W.E. 1946]. The vicar had to have at least one church warden present to act as witness and failure to comply led to a fine of 3s-4d, admittedly put to the repair of the church. The penalty of paying out the price of half a ewe was prohibitive. Cropredy registers have been reasonably well cared for, except for terrible fever years. Like all paper work entries were forgotten, or names wrongly spelt. Easy to give a girl a sibling's christian name, at her marriage, especially in a large family and seldom was her surname put down. Pages are lost and in 1598 when Thomas Holloway had new orders to copy out the paper register onto parchment other mistakes were bound to occur. On one occasion there was a deliberate crossing out in the original (saved in the bishops transcript) of an entry for Richard Kinde [31], son of John and Alyce, baptised 2 February 1575/6. This son had been to school, gone away, married while away and returned in November 1597 just prior to the transcribing of the register.

Here was a mystery for although he stays with his wife to farm and brings five children to be baptised he leaves suddenly after the 1613 Easter list. Or had he been excommunicated and had to leave at the end of his lease being unable to renew? Richard by then was thirtyseven (p591).

Of those who remained the majority were baptised, or buried in Cropredy, but others failed to use the parish church of their town by having relations buried elsewhere, or getting married by a preaching minister in another church, or the wife's parish. Did others take the eldest child to be baptised at their mothers home town? Some had strong religious feelings and objected to the parish church, but few did this until later in the seventeenth century when Quakers were to have their own burial grounds. What about the very poor who could not pay the fees? How many never baptised their children? Did they then get charged a fine in the church court, or was that too left unpaid? In a later century when records were jotted down on the remaining blank pages at the end of the Burial in Woollens book mistakes can be seen when compared with their final entry into the register [MS. dd par Cropredy c2]. Although the registers and wills are the major source for family reconstitution it is obvious, when a whole town is analysed from 1570 to 1640, that several families had other children not apparently christened and possibly not registered as buried. All calculations on the number of teenagers are therefore difficult and open to query.

Cropredy is particularly fortunate that Thomas Holloway enjoyed writing and maintained well kept parchments to keep his income up to date. From the Easter lists it is possible to calculate the adult population. For the children we have to go to his registers to find them, but of course what we cannot tell is how many of those aged between twelve and seventeen years of age were away for a year or more and how many teenagers came in from other towns to work in Cropredy houses. A few clues of children's whereabouts, are given in wills.

The vicar's habit of naming most of the male adults in the family (though not often enough with the servants), is of great value for it tells us who made up their side of the adult household, including the relations. The numbers of women can be

calculated, but their names came from the registers. Staff whose names are missing can only be added up. The occasional naming of their shepherds and men brought out their length of service to the family during the eight years. The opportunity to make a chart of the number of adult residents in each property (Pt.4) gives information that few other sources can prove. There were bound to be other relations and visitors which escape these lists, for they owed their Easter oblations in another parish, but providing it is realised our use of the list was not the original intention, the information it reveals is very valuable.

From the lists of 1614 and 1624 it was possible to discover and compare how many adults dwelt in Cropredy's sixty houses:

	1614	1624
Heads	50 couples	52 couples
	8 widows	7 widows
	1 batchelor	
	1 spinster	
Elderly	12 widows/widowers	8 widows
	3 couples	1 couple
Others	5 couples	6 couples
Single	11 sons	12 sons
	13 daughters	13 daughters
Siblings	7 brothers	2 brothers
	5 sisters	3 sisters
Servants	32 male(23 households)	21 male
	27 female	26 female
Children	about 88	about 132
Total	about 321	about 342

The children went up by about forty four and adults down by seventeen over ten years. From October to March in 1623/4 Cropredy lost seven adults, five from the Watt's [34] household. The average size of a household in Cropredy in 1614 was 5.3. By 1624 this had risen to 5.6.

Another way of tabulating the 1624 households was to divide them up into types of property:

FARMS	COTTAGES	
Husbandmen	Craftsmen	Labourers
40 married	60 married	14 married
7 widows	6 widows	3 widows
13 single relatives	15 single relatives	2 single
44 servants	3 servants	

Of the heads of household for the farms in 1624 eighteen of them were married men, and four widows. The rest of the farming residents were made up of two extra married couples living in the houses, three elderly widows who had retired and lived in their own chambers, and one elderly bachelor. Also on the farms dwelled a brother and sister who had stayed on with a married sibling, six bachelor sons between twentythree and thirtyseven and five daughters coming home for a spell, aged between nineteen and thirtytwo. With the servants there were fiftyseven single people over eighteen years of age needing, in the twentythree buildings, mens and maids chambers above stairs. The parents or the grandparents being housed in the lower chambers.

The custom continued in Cropredy of employing their own children once they had had some experience elsewhere. They came home to help fathers with their third of the lease, or with mother's household tasks. Cox's daughters may have had to help with his trade [49]. Some quite simply came to help a parent in need, rather than expect them to employ a servant. They would sleep with the servants employed by their sibling, or in the cottages with the children in their chamber. On balance over the eight years daughters were able to return more than brothers, but this would fluctuate according to families. As there were no separate cottages for the elderly, the returning adult children could not stay on permanently unless like Em Devotion and her sisters [3] their eldest brother remained a bachelor and needed their help. Only a few returned after the death of parents. George Watts was one who continued to do so [34]. Obviously these felt some claim on the home, or else they awaited their portion.

In these families the Masters, a few servants, widowers, widows or student sons would probably make a will providing they still had possessions to distribute, or explanations about the destination of their assets.

The cottagers with a trade farmed only a small amount, perhaps as little as their common and a few strips under four acres. Thirtytwo cottage tenants were leased rights of commonage. They seldom required any staff, and their children must depart earlier leaving only eighteen single people at home. There were twentynine married heads of household with one widow and two widowers. Three other widows and a married couple were lodging in the cottages. A sister housed a thirtytwo year old

bachelor and two sisters aged twentyone and twentynine. Five sons still lived with parents aged twenty four, twentyeight, thirtytwo, forty and one unknown. While seven daughters aged twentytwo, thirtyfive, thirtyeight, thirtynine and three unknown were working at home. These thirtytwo cottages had only two male servants and one maid living in for 1624 (Wyatts who employed a maid when they lived on the Green [13] in 1614, had moved their farrier business to a farm [31] by 1624).

Cottages whose tenancy depended on their employment which did not always allow the use of common rights attached to the farm, sometimes took on a lease from another townsman (p228). In these cottages lived five heads of household all married and two extra couples living in. In addition there were two widows and a widower. One nineteen year old son and an eighteen year old daughter brought the total of inhabitants in the seven cottages for 1624 to nineteen adults. Two cottages had only one bay, the rest had two (ch.30).

From the eight list years the households average number of adult occupants over eighteen were worked out. The farms had on average over six people to accommodate in three bays and the craftsmen and cottagers had around four in their one, two or three bay cottages. In a three bay house with three upper chambers over the hall, lower chamber and nether chamber they were able by having one or two sleeping to a room to leave the buttery, kitchen and hall for storing, preparing and eating food. The general conclusion was that some overcrowding did take place at some period in a family's life in Church Street, but in Lumberds [14], Gybbs [25] or Huxeleys [36] there was usually sufficient room to manage the three generations without causing a severe health hazard. In fact most buildings had more bays of building than many modern dwellings today. Admittedly the one cell cottages were overcrowded when a family lived in them, but ideal for a couple like the Woods [56]. Sutton's [42] one cell building might be tight, because of the "sick" daughter who was apparently having to sleep downstairs in the hall, but there was no question of Anne's sister Jane having the copyhold if Jane refused to look after her. Anne Sutton therefore remained in the hall or shared their chamber. Jane married William Langley and he had to tolerate this inconvenience. Boxed wall bedsteads with a settle attached were still seen in Sibford, Oxon and on Gower into this century [Local information and the Museum of Welsh Life, Cardiff]. The Gower bed was built beside the hall fire giving them a little privacy at night and warmth by day, when there was no spare lower chamber. A will often revealed information about members of the family, and their inventories began to mention the rooms they lived in. The later terriers provided the number of bays per house for the B manor properties.

Unfortunately not all heads of household left a surviving will or inventory. There were some who might be expected to make a will, but circumstances beyond their control sometimes prevented them from doing so. One such was the epidemic which swept through Cropredy in 1609. Two people perhaps classed as craftsmen, or labourers as they grew older, lived in Church Street next to each other. They were John Whyte [46] and John Bryan [47].

Just because neither in those days of sudden death made a will we cannot conclude they lived in inadequate dwellings and were always too poor to have belongings. Whyte's lived in the largest timber house in Church Street and Bryan's in a smaller one. John Bryan's home background was not the cause of the lack of a will, for his mother had made one, more the circumstances of his sudden death. John was paid for contract threshing on the vicar's farm in 1587 [c/25/2 f1], so he could have approached the vicar, but did he need to? Were his belongings due to age already dispersed to children and now worth less than £5. Or had he just died too quickly? Both had dwelt in a reasonable timber and thatched cottage, still there to-day inside an outer stone wall, and their sons, William Whyte and Richard Bryan, having taken on the cow commons would also be living in their households (ch.25).

Servants who left a will, would have no belongings except their clothes and perhaps a coffer, but their chamber in their master's house would be as stark, or as comfortable as their mistress provided. In other poorer areas staff might sleep in the hall on straw palliases, but not any longer in Cropredy. Even the less well off householders had chambers which contained bedsteads and at least two pairs of sheets, if not three or more (ch.39). The information found in wills and inventories depended a great deal upon which stage of life the testator died in.

Three Stages in a Working Lifetime.

From the family reconstitution it was evident that there were three stages in a man's adult life and that these affected the contents of a testator's estate. In stage one a young man was out earning his capital and lived in several households under the master's control. They were employed by the year and lived as part of the family, but obviously having different claims on the master than his children and by the end of the year many felt the need to move on to another household. The second stage depended on several factors. The amount of money the young adult had managed to save from his earnings. The ability to attract a future partner who had also saved enough to help set up "house" together and thirdly their age. On average it was twentynine for men, but younger for some women, though many men waited until their late thirties before they could enter onto a lease, or part of a lease shared with their parents. In Cropredy the majority of husbandmen's first born sons lived in one of their parents chambers after marriage. The most informative wills and inventories were from those dying in the second stage. They had to provide a will to organise their affairs and provide for their children which involved settling their estate in the house, farm or trade. The executor appointed would then have to have an inventory made. The will needed proving and the inventory exhibited at the next church court.

A man's last stage on withdrawing from his total involvement to perhaps at first a third of the lease was to allow his son, or a son-in-law, to take over the rest, while he and his wife moved into one or two chambers. On their now reduced assets, having hopefully already dispersed adequate stock, goods or money to each and every child, they, or one of them, often lived on for several years dying in their own homes.

The one thing to look for in the inventory of a widow's goods was to see if she had kept the table traditionally provided by the husband, and her own fire pots. Girls often took to their marriage the bedstead, bed furnishing and some brass cooking kettles and pots, as Mrs Ann Lyllee did [29].

If the widow still had all the fire equipment for the hall fire then she was indeed still mistress of her household. In that case no final deed had been made transferring her rights in exchange for "divers comforts."

Older widows and widowers might retain one table on which to eat in the privacy of their chamber, but the lack of one could mean, if the pillows and bolsters were much in evidence, that they, he or she had taken to bed for some time now. Warming pans and chamber pots in the wealthier homes could signify that old bones needed to be provided with a few luxuries in preference to a pail (p678).

Ten widows who left wills or just inventories were receiving full board and lodging as well as eight widowers and bachelors, while five other widows and widowers kept a table, but had given up the cooking fire. Of these twentythree all must have reached the third stage in their lives. Their inventories are for their room only, not a hovel, but an adequate chamber in a rural household. The rest of the building is not entered by the appraisers as the deceased had only the use of one or two chambers. If these formed 60% of Britain's inventories then their interpretation can only be made with several other known factors, including the size and type of house they lived in, before any conclusions are made.

Even acknowledging the fact that the household on the site had three generations, with the married son entered upon the second stage and the senior's on their third, it was not always as simple as that. A few sites mentioned above, had two families living side by side in a split household each with their own hearth. It did not matter whether they were husbandmen or gentlemen they must have agreed to share the dairy and or brewing equipment [8]. This still allowed the junior couple more space to live as an independent household, which was not possible for couples sharing a timber cottage who could only have one master [48]. On other sites the lease was taken out in one name, but the terriers give a different tenant using that farm's strips. On closer examination a son-in-law was farming part of his father-in-laws land [29]. A different set up was found down Creampot at Watt's [34]. Widow Anne allowed Richard Hall to run the farm for years and the Watts do not take over again until after Hall's death. Next door John Hentlow [35] had kept his copyhold rights, but the land was set to others. He continued to live in part of the house, along with his married sister and another couple. These were just a few of the explanations for name changes on parcels of land and revealed some families with complicated households.

During their lifetime men and women might be raised in one parish, serve their stage one out in several others and then just the fortunate eldest returned to the home farm, while the husbandmen's other sons each had to make their own way in the

world depending largely upon their own skills, health, and determination to provide for their family usually as a tenant in another parish.

When a list was made of the townsmen's wealth from their inventories, and studied with the size of their houses, hearths, type of possessions and their considered status in life, it is obvious that it is almost impossible to generalise on the association between wealth and house size for husbandmen and trade. The first question to ask is the one of "what age were they when they died?" For the people's "pocket purse" varied enormously from stage to stage in their lives (p184), but also the decade they died in was vital as coins were often in short supply. Secondly we ask "was their house a stone or timber one?"

In Church Street they managed with the open hearth, but the houses were substantial enough to still be here today. In their inventories the capital is low for they lacked more stock and crops, which is where the husbandmen kept their wealth, rather than inside the house. Some craftsmen had more in pewter and furniture, because they did not have the land to increase stock, but a shepherd's sheep may reach a total far in excess of the husbandmen's estate (p269) and Palmers who died as labourers had some wealth from stock and milk equipment. The testators, it will be revealed below, leave vital clues about the change over from leaving corn and stock to pewter and finally money or bonds. Just a few left land, but it was not included being immovable and having separate documentation. The family's wealth is not always evident, for often a great deal had been given away already, or exchanged to pay debts in the case of the carpenter Tims (p59), and in some inventories all except the bedstead and bedding had gone, which it has been emphasised did not in this town indicate a hovel. The carpenter William Tims who made the deed of a "gift" to his son did so "by reason of my age and weakness" leaving his son to provide "all things necessary for my nourishment and food for my body divers years since" [MS.Will Pec. 52/3/41].

We find a shepherd dying a day labourer, a gentleman in one chamber, another gentleman leaving silver, but whose inventory is lost, a will maker with no will and widows and others who died too soon, leaving silence. All this adds up to only a paper thin glimpse, and it is only a glimpse of who lived in the town and where. More can perhaps be added from their schooling, clothes or the servants they employed. So tied up is the evidence that in the following chapters material may be used more than once. Before searching for the names of those who lived in Cropredy we can now look briefly at how they divided up the living space in their houses. This was revealed in inventories and the House Survey of the remaining sixteenth century properties.

One of the aims of the House Survey was to make detailed drawings of the older Cropredy properties. These were to be followed up by a search for deeds and documents connected with the properties. Not all the properties could be seen. Details will be found in Part 4.

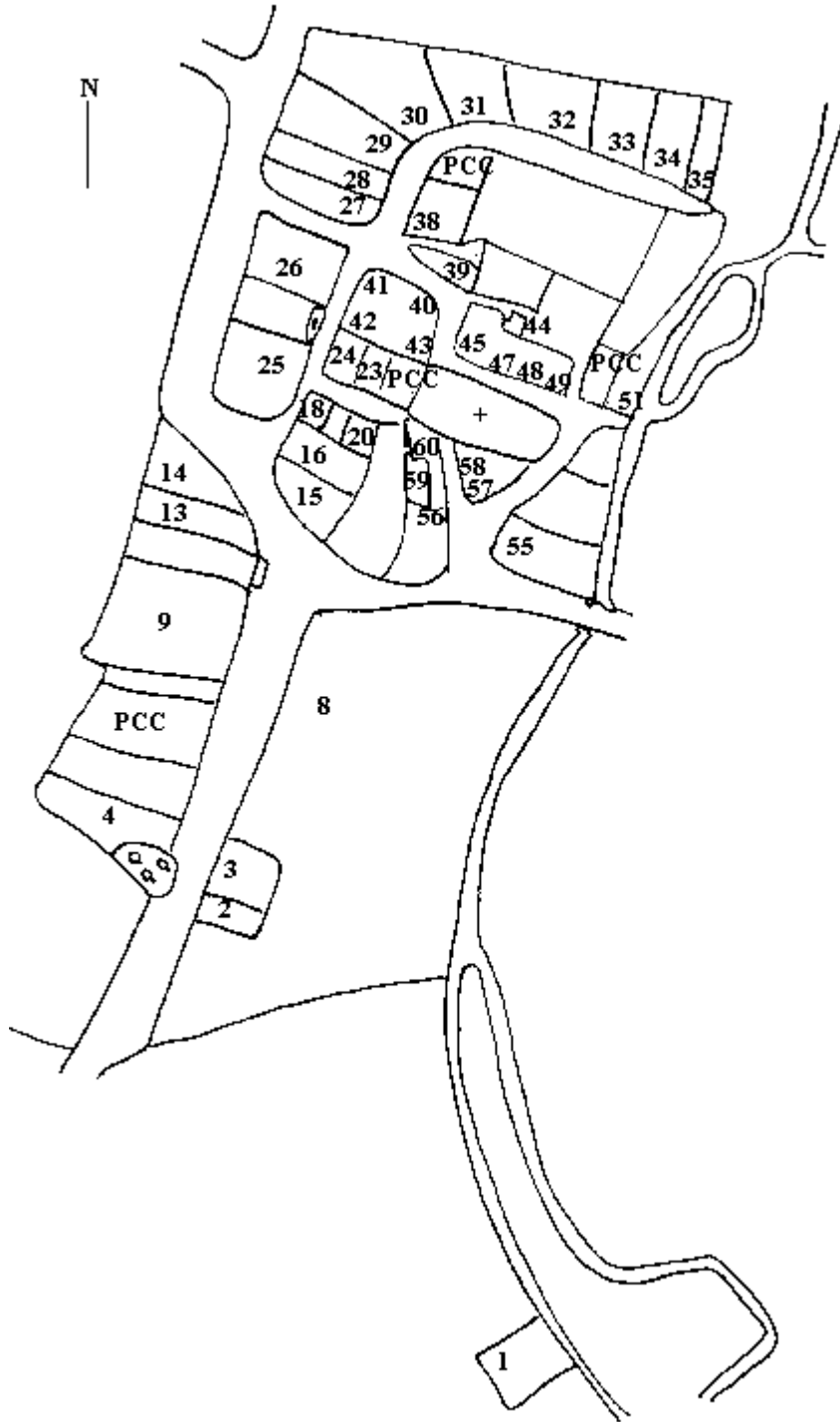
The House Survey's Contribution.

The House Survey produced evidence that hearths were built into the inner walls supporting the roof and so appeared long before the hearth tax lists. A labourer Thomas Palmer [59], a shepherd Valentyne Huxeley [36], a mercer Edmund Tanner [39] all had a hearth, so did Devotion [3] on one yardland as well as those with more yardlands such as Watts [34] and Howse [28]. Only when Wyatts [31] used a chimney as a visible sign of wealth had they begun to add to the original one, but many like Richard [34] and John Hall [29], both yeomen, kept to one hearth. Hill [20], the baker, had a chamber over his hall, so it is likely he had his chimney and cooking utensils in the hall and although no oven is mentioned he needed one for his trade.

Were the houses large enough to hold the three generations? What written evidence was there for upper chambers and the size of properties from 1570 to 1641? Out of ninetyfour inventories looked at thirtythree did not mention any rooms. There was after all no obligation on the part of the appraisers to do so, but it severely reduces the material. Of the remaining sixtyone only thirtyseven mention upper rooms beginning in 1587. Yet even then we know there were chambers over the lower rooms in Church Street from the evidence of the house survey. We also know that the new stone houses were built as one and a half, two, and two and a half story buildings which were put up mostly before the end of the sixteenth century in the late first or early middle stage of the tenants' lives. Families had been living in them for several years before an inventory following a death had to be made.

1577 - 1596	20 inv.	10 had rooms mentioned	3 upper chambers
1597 - 1616	25 inv.	14 had rooms mentioned	7 upper chambers
1617 - 1636	41 inv.	32 had rooms mentioned	24 upper chambers
1637 - 1647	8 inv.	5 had rooms mentioned	3 upper chambers
Total	94	61	37

D4.2 Cropredy Inventories 1575 - 1641.



Cropredy Inventories 1575 - 1641.

In some houses rooms were mentioned in wills which were definitely left out of the attached inventory, for example Thomas Smith of Great Bourton has a "garner over Entry" in his will which was left out of the 1612 inventory [MS. Will Pec. 51/1/2]. Of the thirtythree from Cropredy which have no rooms mentioned it is known that the house had either the open hall with a lower chamber and buttery under the upper chamber, or was a stone house which had a hall, including a stone chimney, chamber and buttery. Over the hall a chamber would eventually be made and partitioned, even if the appraiser chose to write the list minus any indication of the chambers in which the goods were normally kept. The failure to mention upper chambers is more likely to be a deficiency in the records rather than the buildings in this area. They also missed out upper chambers, or the lower chamber, if married relations were housed in them. This is where the wills made in the second stage in life were of real use in the study of buildings. They could be used alongside the family tree, but help was still needed from other deeds and terriers as well as the 1613 to 1624 lists. These prove the existence of large households such as Halls [6] whose inventory has been lost. Other information came from the House Survey, College records and Holloway folios.

The inventories had to be read aloud at the Court. At first this may have been the vicar, Thomas Holloway's task. His writing was difficult to read, but when some Williamscoote pupils became adults and remained in the town a few developed a neat way of setting out the inventories which would have helped their reader's performance at court, for that is what it became. Such aids to help the listener were the staccato two tone "It- em" beginning each new group of possessions to be valued. It allowed the voice to indicate a space between two valuations (p52). Later useful headings such as "The upper chamber," or the "Chamber below the entry" gave the exact whereabouts of the valuers and helped the townsmen to visualise the particular house, mentally walking round with the appraisers. A few of the scribes were not so careful and their personal views of the cottage and its worth might be confirmed by their hasty grouping together of the contents. They failed to give the chambers, settling for a valuation of the main items with their total. On the other hand some who had of late been confined to one chamber had each article itemised as though to show respect to the deceased by prolonging their inventory. Had the chosen valuers been carefully selected by the executors to give as good a showing as possible? Or had it been sensible to choose those whom they might need to appeal to later? When the scribe sat at the hall table sending someone into each room for a quick list of items, those who were unable to write would have trained their memories to produce a spoken list with ease, which could then be jotted down by the scribe, who left out the room. The hall equipment perhaps being put down while he waited, or at the end. Such a method would not do for the Hunt's [16] who needed each and every room carefully given. The exhibiting of these important documents would fill the Church at the Ecclesiastical Courts. As it was compulsory to attend everyone would hear the reading of the inventory.

Neighbours may not be asked inside each and every hall to judge the contents, but we saw above they only had to attend the Church Court and listen to inventories being read out to picture, weigh up and draw their own conclusions. Who had what? If they listened carefully they could follow the appraisers noting everything which the scribe had jotted down. Some items will be old, and remembered as such, and having passed down through many owners, these may receive a low value. They were

giving these articles their worth and not their replacement value. Some items were passed over as being wooden or perishable. They noted the bedstead, the pewter, the table, the brass cooking pots, the stock and the corn, while the most informative named the rooms they were in.

On some years inventories regress and fail to inform us of upper floors and later ones dispense with such items as hearth equipment for by then they were commonplace and could be put with a lump sum for brass. All of which means that inventories in one parish have to be taken and studied as a whole alongside the family reconstitution which gives the age of the deceased and his stage in life (Part 4).

The stone house might acquire partitions and cocklofts later, but from all the evidence the original building in stone would nearly always include a chimney and for many a built in oven. The stone houses' outer walls and main timbers may have been provided by the landlord, while the inner partitions, floors and doors could be added by the tenant. Without the blacksmith John Russell's [13] will made in 1600 we would never have known from the College records that he had already improved the dwelling house by adding partitions and lofts (p438). In some Bourton inventories there was some confusion as to whom the additions now belonged, so they were detailed with care. Bourton had some freehold land and tenements. At John Ellyett's house he had added a floor over the hall with a partition. John then added a partition "between the kitchen and the entrie and the loft over the entrie" worth 12s. There was also his floor over the chamber and certain planks held ready to make beds and floors worth 26s-8d by 1595. In 1613 Ellyetts lived next to the Bourton "Chappell" (which may temporarily be housing the poor). George Hopkins as late as 1632 may have lived in Ellyett's house. In his house George had floors, partitions and "dores" worth £4 and they definitely had a stone chimney for they burnt coal in it and that chimney made it possible to have a hall chamber [MS. Wills Pec. 37/3/8, 41/3/18].

Conclusion.

How many other parishes, if they had had an Easter Oblations list would have revealed three generation households? Cropredy's households had extended families, in which siblings and grandparents resided with the young couple. It was certainly not rare or due to exceptional circumstances. Grandparents had a significant part to play as members of the family. They fulfilled an important role in a verbal society where the oral history of their land, customs, relations and family tales would delight as well as prepare the grandchildren. It was not either just the labourers who must double up under one roof, but all levels of Cropredy society.

For Cropredy at least we have found that during the family cycle households often had three generations. That there were few hovels except in the farmyard, though some servants slept over the manor stables [8], and the number of people per household was surprisingly large, due to the high number of single people in each farmhouse.

What we wonder did the people in Cropredy consider was their station in life?

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5. A Town run by Husbandmen

6
 5.1 Easter Oblations(2) 1618 [c25/8 f6].
 [34 - 39] (p 168).

In godts gulle
 Vrijdags waalt 2
 avonds waalt by 2
 vrye poveren 1 ijs
 vrye waalt 1 ijs
 goame waalt 2 ijs
 and waalt 2 ijs

maer afte aldyde ijs

vullendyng gelyc by ijs
 vrye gelyc 2 ijs

In godts vryden by ijs
 In godts vryden by ijs
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In godts vryden by ijs
 In godts vryden by ijs

1618
 f6
 34
 39
 p 168

Easter Oblations (2) 1618 [c25-8 f6].[34 - 39].(p. 168)

"I bequeath to RECHARD HOWSE my sonne two horse the Best after the Lorde be shared three score of shepe the one halffe of them to be delyvered unto hymn at the age of ten yeres and also the horse the three Kyne and the other halfe score of shepe to be delyvered to the aforesaid Rechard at the age of fourtene yeres and the best carte and two of the best brass potts and a lesse brasse potte and the best brass panne and one of the leaste pannes a possiet a table and a bedd and all that pertenth thereto that is mete for a husbandman." Made the "8 daye of Aprill" 1550 by his father Rychard Howse of Cropredy [MS. Oxon 180] (p295).

Gentlemen believed that a certain standard of wealth was necessary to belong to each section of society. Looked at from a lower position this involved not keeping staff, or employing only sufficient for their needs and standing in the town (p83). Rychard Howse [28] went further insisting his son should be provided with all "that is mete for a husbandman." His bed (mattress) with the furnishing, a table and cooking utensils. The best stock, after the landlord had taken his heriot, to work a yardland. No plough at first, for young Rechard's mother had to control the cultivations, but he could have the best cart. The widow meanwhile to keep the farm going for her two children. The the first of three widow Ayllys's on that homestall to successfully carry on running the business and bringing up their families as future husbandmen.

Cropredy had twentytwo farms in 1614. The average husbandman farmed two yardlands out of farms leasing from half a yardland up to four and a half. Having no resident landlord for the two manors the tenants took over the parish tasks. There was no freehold and all held either leasehold or copyhold properties. Not a place where you would expect to find many yeomen or gentlemen. The vicar Thomas Holloway [21] was perhaps the most educated member of the parish in the 1570's. This was before the school brought education within the reach of any boy chosen by lot from one of the households. Thomas would consider himself a gentleman, but his early parishioners were, except for the yeoman William Vaughan [23], all husbandmen or craftsmen trading from Cropredy. The names yeoman, husbandman and craftsman do not describe a person's permanent position in society. It was possible to move from being a husbandman to a yeoman or down to a labourer. Shepherds might die as day-labourers. A blacksmith took up a farm lease and became a husbandman. Carpenters leased land. It would help to know how they regarded themselves as distinct from what their neighbours thought of them. Was it by the number of leased yardlands or freehold elsewhere? It is now too far away from us to slot them neatly into a group with only the wills, inventories, a few terriers and college land records, but no diaries. Yet the documents must surely tell us something.

Neighbours' Views.

In puritan towns the desire of the godly citizens was to get rid of bad language, excess drinking and to train up the unruly fun loving youth into reasonable townsmen. It was not unknown for the member of the vestry chosen to act as constable to be seen spying at windows and doors and reporting undesirable goings on to the magistrate who would issue a warrant for the backslider's arrest, or present their offences at the church court. By Archbishop Laud's time in the late 1630's the puritan

influence was under threat by the high churchmen as the altar was once again returned from the nave to the chancel. Apart from their various religious views there were other differences in the small town.

To the outsider wealth might increase a man's power. The manner in which he spent his money often indicated his desire to claim a higher status. People were judged eventually by their personal estate, honest dealings and trustworthy relations. Some must judge them by their apparel, especially a display of embroidered cloth and jewellery. The more puritanical warned of the dangers of dressing extravagantly. In 1600 a certain William Vaughan (not from Cropredy) thought it could lead eventually to adultery [*The Golden Grove*].

How did the people in Cropredy decide on a neighbour's status? If through material possessions then was it the size of the house and land? The number of leased yardlands in Cropredy or freehold land elsewhere was a good indicator of ability to pay. Would they consider the length of their education? Their food, drink, furniture or stock? The loans out on bonds? Or was it their London connections, relations who were educated as clergymen, or lawyers which raised their status? Or was it entirely based on the depth, or lack of, their Cropredy ancestors stretching back in time? How long were they regarded as strangers? There were certain necessary chores connected with the town which only men could attend to. Was it just a question of status or duty in relation to the quantity of land they were leasing?

Status could change over the years. A husbandman's son did not necessarily remain the same, though they did on Howse's farm [28] during a 100 years as tenants. A husbandman's son was nothing more than a labourer until he took over a household. By the 1630's one husbandman was calling himself a yeoman during a rising level of inventory totals, but not all shared his opinion of himself. Nothing was very clear cut. If husbandmen felt they had status from the amount of land they leased, they still farmed working alongside their workforce which consisted of their family and living-in servants. Extra help came from day labourers from time to time. This status was also held by many craftsmen who as they prospered purchased land elsewhere, or leased parcels of Cropredy land. These enterprising men began to leave personal estates worth far more than some full time husbandmen.

Husbandmen had control of the manor court in the absence of resident landlords until the A manor [50] farm in the sixteenth century and the B manor farm [8] in the first decade of the seventeenth were let to gentlemen and not to husbandmen as previously. We might presume these tenants would be bound to have more time on their hands and be asked to accompany the vicar to witness wills, or other documents. This however did not at first happen, although Coldwell does witness leases for Calcott Chambres [Williamscothe House] amongst a few wills, but Woodroses failed to be active in this way. Only William Hall [6] as he moved from husbandman to yeoman and finally gentleman helped with wills and inventories. By 1632 he was called Mr Hall. Husbandmen continued to operate as they had done for many generations. Artisans with a little working land probably contributed more to the running of the church, highways and the poor than any gentleman. The opportunity for education

being available for all Cropredy families (p138), providing the parent's could support the family and allow one or two to be at school. The day to day running of their land was as absorbing a subject of conversation at the mercers, the tailors and weavers, as the blacksmiths and millers. Any who actually worked the land, or lent themselves out at harvest time had more in common with husbandmen than the newer wealthier tenants. Gentry had to employ men to work their land.

In a sample taken during one of the list years of the sixty households there were about thirtynine men over the age of thirty amongst the husbandmen and craftsmen who should be able to help run the town, yet not all of these would be allowed to if they had less than half a yardland. The widows were also denied a chance, even those with land.

AGE	MARRIED MEN	WIDOWS
Up to 30	10	1
31 to 40	15]	1
41 to 50	16]	4
51 to 60	3 -] = 39	
61 to 80	5 -]	
Total	49	6

The situation in the household had to be right. As a widow played no part in parish affairs, Arthur's widow Ann Watts [34] (who still had Richard Hall farming the land as her late husband and mother-in-law had done) could not help with the manor court, the church or parish work. Richard Hall as a bachelor was also prevented from doing so until he finally marries the young widow Ann. From that time onward he is in charge as head of the household and would be called upon to help with town business. He dies a yeoman, whereupon the young Richard Watts takes up his rightful place with his mother farming the Watt's land.

The town was run not by an elite group of wealthy townsmen, but by a collection of tenants united by their leased land. They must between them organise the parish work. None could live or work in isolation, for whether they liked it or not the Open Common Field, the church, the poor, the sick, the roads and the whole environment was theirs to care for. Ales or rates must be organised or collected to help finance the work.

Artisans who contributed their harvest labour were not reduced by such undertakings. There was room for some independence in a town which was not destroyed by a wealthy gentleman's patrimony. Craftsmen such as Thomas Wyatt [13b & 31] could also move progressively upwards on leased land. He moved to Kynd's deserted farmstead and carried on shoeing horses with

some veterinary work while farming. His son either inherited his books or as a farmer cum farrier had his own. This family was unusual. A few generations before the Howse family had spread to three farms remaining as husbandmen, but the Wyatts managed to move in three generations to becoming gentlemen and leased the two manor farms and at least three others all in Cropredy, while buying land, in Shotteswell. Why did all these owners of freehold land outside Cropredy choose to still live on a leased farm? Cropredy must have been a much sought after place being the central town north of Banbury to make it worth while holding onto their leases.

Could hard work and eventual achievement, as the Wyatts believed in, be available to all? It seems not. In every town there was always some family sliding downwards due to economical pressures. Watts the weavers prospered until the wool trade went into crisis and from owning their looms they may have been forced to sell them and then hire them back.

Others were not able through home demands to take the best off the land they were leasing and use the mart to their advantage. The farming Watts [34] and other husbandmen fell upon hard times at the end of the seventeenth century and failed to renew their leases.

New arrivals in the craftsmen's cottages would not be churchwardens it was thought on their few acres. Yet there was Thomas Elderson [38], Richard Cross [51], Edmond Tanner [39] and Thomas Sutton [42] presenting at the church court as church wardens and not just as sidesmen. Each sent a son to the school. In Cropredy apparently such official work in the town was taken on because they had leased land and must thereby take on responsibilities like all other tenants, irrespective of their previous social standing. These four people had taken up spare half yardland parcels of land for a short time and advanced their status only to drop back later. Others like Rawlins the shoemaker [45] who did not take up a parcel of land still sent three children to school. The millers educated sons were able to go on from school to university (p142).

Did those who had their wills proved in London, ignoring the church court in Cropredy, have land elsewhere to merit this or was it just a status symbol? They included French and Hall of [6], three Woodrose's of [8], a blackmith and weaver of [13], one Howse [28], Robert Whettel a servant for [50] and his master Mr Coldwell, Thomas Holloway [21], but not his wife, and William Rose [60]. These had land elsewhere, sometimes for their children's legacies. Mrs Holloway's children had all been settled when she had her will made and so it could be proved at Cropredy. Some of these twelve people appear in a useful Tax List.

The tax list for 1627 shows who were increasing their possessions or had land elsewhere and while these purchases went on they changed their status and became eligible to pay taxes. The tax was collected from only 10% of the population. The list was written down according to the payer's status in the town of Cropredy. The owner of the A manor, Lady Judith Corbet from Clattercote paid £20 on her land and came at the end only because she was in the next parish. Those assessed on goods were

William Hall for £5-13s-4d [6], Dyonice Woodrose £4-10s-8d [8] and Richard Cartwright £3-7s [50]. Those who were taxed on land which they had in other parishes all paid £1-4s. The group was made up of: Robert Robins [26] who had purchased 56 acres of land in Wardington in 1623, Richard Hall [34] whose will mentions property in Banbury, Solomon Howes [9] who had freehold property in Kineton purchased before 1558 as well as land in Bourton and John Hunt [16] who was the last of the Cropredy owners of land, but the whereabouts of his property has escaped the surviving records. The first three to be taxed were in the gentry group, the next two yeomen and the last two husbandmen and this was the order of wealth-cum-status the tax was written in. Ffoulke Green, husbandman, had once been in Coldwell's [50] household and now held land in Williamscoote-in-Cropredy. Only wills, tax and land records together can produce some of the missing details of non moveable wealth [PRO 164/467]. We can be certain that Gybbs [25] had no land as he escapes the tax though he had moveable assets (money out in bonds) rather than a high percentage of moveable possessions or land. Gybbs ended up with one of the largest inventory totals and his balance between the inside goods and the stock and corn was of much more importance to his success (p189). He had put out his savings upon bonds.

In 1641 came another tax on possessions:

Wm Hall [6] paying	10s
Joseph Palmer [1]	-5s
Thomas Gorstelow [12]	-3s - 9d
Margery Broughton & her son Thomas Howes [9]	-5s
Mr Walker (curate?)	-3s - 9d
Mr Dr Brouncker (vicar)	-3s - 9d
John Willmore [8]	12s - 6d
Richard Gorstelow [Prescote Manor]	-2s - 6d
William Read [55]	-1s - 6d
Alyce Howse [28]	-1s - 6d
John Wyatt [31]	-1s - 6d
John Orton [58]	-1s - 6d
Richard Denzy [13]	-1s

[PRO 164/493 17 CHARLES I].

Hearths and Wealth.

The number of taxed hearths in a parish has been used by some to discover the wealth of the parishioners. In Cropredy it really only divided the landholders from the cottagers who had less than half a yardland to till, because the later did not have to pay a church rate and so were not taxed on their cottage hearths (p623 & App.3) Lack of fuel was one reason not to have two hearths burning, especially when coal was an expensive input.

Chimneys of fine tall brick standing well above the inflammable thatch announced in some areas the presence of an enclosed hearth. Along the Cotswold belt stone chimneys protruded into the skyline, and Cropredy was no exception as one after another house and cottage were built with plain stone chimneys without the twists of the earlier brick ones. Not only the husbandmen now had smoke issuing forth, but so did the cottagers as and when they could afford to light the fire. One chimney might not add prestige to a building, for one was common place, but two or more were not.

Could they indicate inner hidden wealth? In group one we have nine cottagers who each had a hearth and their inventory totals range from under £4 up to £30 giving a median of £21:

[20] £3-14s
[55] £11-5s
[33] £25-18s
[41] £3-16s
[49] £11-9s
[59] £30
[39] £4
[56] £11-10s
[59] £30-5s

Sixteen husbandmen also with one hearth had varied estates from just under £7 up to over £128 and with a median of £48 they had twice as much as the labourer:

[3] £6-15s
[9] £23-13s
[31] £33-10s
[34] £92
[24] £15

[44] £23-13s
[60] £37- 10s
[9] £112
[32] £21-18s
[33] £27
[15] £37-14s
[16] £114-11s
[28] £21-12s
[34] £30-7s
[3] £44
[33] £128-5s

The six husbandmen who had two hearths had a median total of £114, which was five times that of the labourer. Cattell [30], a husbandman, had as little as £45-15s:

[30] £45 - 15s
[4] £97 - 6s
[25] £220 - 18s
[4] £87 - 16s
[29] £124
[16] £271 - 8s

The husbandmen were bound to leave the world with more assets than most labourers if they still had stock and land, and although two hearth properties fitted in with the wealthier husbandman's lifestyle, only the inside possessions and farm's stock could give their true value. Even then it depended upon the economical state of the country, their previous health record, age and family commitments. One hearth on its own could not prove much when most, if not all, of the stone properties had had one built in.

Two yeomen [29, 34] who had only one hearth died worth £26 and £196. However the first, John Hall, had retired from full farming retaining only a small flock of sheep. The second, Richard Hall [34], belonged to the Watt's household previously all husbandmen who left varying amounts of personal estate and employed family or staff:

- Hanwell in 1592 left £30.
- R.Watts in 1602 left £92. He took over Hanwells.

- A.Watts in 1624 left £16-11s. Eldest son, not yet on the lease.
- R.Hall in 1634 left £196-3s. He married A.Watt's widow and had property in Banbury. The first three were husbandmen the last a yeoman. Each died at a different age, but all had used the one hearth in that two and a half storey house built with ashlar stone. Their one chimney was no indicator of the household's wealth (p594).

Robert Robins [26] (d. May 1631) who increased his hearths to three, became a yeoman. The B manor farmhouse [8] had perhaps four hearths in Nuberry's time and he left £166. By 1663 the Wyatts [8] had seven hearths. Thomas Wyatt of Creampot Lane's sons took up positions as husbandmen, adding hearths to Coldwell's [50] old manor farmhouse where at some period the hearths were increased to seven and one to Cattells [30] and Suffolks [60]. A hearth added comfort to the parlour as well as the hall, kitchen and upstairs chambers. These additional chimneys would certainly count for a great deal if they could be seen to all issue smoke out of their pots. The main advantage was the ability to afford fuel to keep down the "damps" and warm the bed chamber. Two and a half storey houses in themselves had more prestige than a one and a half storey dwelling, irrespective of the number of hearths.

The Husbandmen moving up to become Yeomen.

As the seventeenth century progressed many of the husbandmen moved into the yeomanry class. By the end of the century their names may have vanished from the registers. Not all left to better themselves for the A manor landlord refused to renew the lease on some households, giving them no option but to find land to lease elsewhere. Was this after nintynine years? In the 1570's husbandmen could manage the town quite adequately. It was this generation and their sons who rebuilt the houses. Now some of the third generation were moving up a class. Having been educated for at least two generations and having improved the property any surplus money was buying land and yet surely the household outgoings were rising to take in extra possessions (p189). A yeoman's wife or gentlewoman might dress more grandly than a husbandman's, and she would not go out into the fields to lead the plough horse, though she could like Mrs Holloway [21] order the malt to be made, attend to the brewing, work in the dairy, and be out in the garden or orchard. There she had to collect seed, exchange some, dig, plant, hoe and harvest to keep her household in good food and health throughout the year. Many knew how to grow herbs to heal. Robert and Nicholas Woodrose [8] both paid a tithe on their gardens, but the rest of the husbandmen's garden tithes are lost (p513). Gentlemen in Cropredy do not appear to have a spinning wheel in the house, though literature mentions ladies spinning. Did they buy in from the local tailor and weaver or travel to a larger town to purchase? The advantages of a self sufficient husbandman's household must have contributed to their savings in contrast to a gentleman's extra expenses.

Husbandmen and craftsmen use their home close to grow vegetables and sow hemp in March, but their women also had to do all the spinning of the yarn for the sheets, towels, and smocks as well as wool for blankets and woollen cloth. Outside she had the cattle to tend, the hay to turn in June and the sheaves to make in August. In spring the cow shed was cleaned out and the

yard muck heap loaded onto the cart by the women. They may have taken many loads to their strips prior to cultivation. When it was time the wife took herself off with laden baskets through the Bourtons up to the Broadway and so into Banbury market. The yeoman and gentleman's wife went by pillion if she attended market and the maid took the wares in her basket. Em Devotion [3] and the French's [4] rode pillion and so would any who were fortunate enough to have a horse and saddle. The gentlewoman might not have to actually do the work, rather she would supervise the maid, whereas the husbandman's wife would be at the oven, out in the dairy or in the buttery making butter or cheese, besides finding fuel to chop, water to fetch, rush lights to make, feathers to gather and prepare for the pillows and bolsters as well as the mattress. Leather if not cured at Pare's [58] could be done at home for the men's breeches. Training to be an adequate wife, with all the skills required to prosper, took up all their years as children at home, as well as those out at service.

Although the size of the herd is thought to indicate the status of a man, in Cropredy it indicated the amount of land he farmed and it was the number of yardlands which gave them seniority in the town. The herds in Cropredy seldom exceeded twelve, which could be kept on four yardlands. As all extra land was leased as required and then released leaving only the permanent parcel of land with the homestalls, no townsman could hang onto land and a higher status. To achieve that he must buy into land elsewhere.

Was it perhaps the incomers who came with their new apparel and furniture that encouraged the husbandman's family to aspire to greater extravagance? Having the benefit of schooling made it easier to acquire land by being able to double check the documents themselves instead of relying on a third party as their ancestors had done. Or was it governed by the necessity to make marriage jointures for their wife and better legacies for their children's dowries as they moved up the ladder to become yeomen? John French, husbandman, at Springfield farm [6] had no heir so he left his lease to Hall's, nephews from Priors Marsden. First came Anthony Hall, but he died in 1599 and was followed by William who died in 1653. William came from husbandman stock, yet was soon called a yeoman and gradually changed to being called a gentleman with property elsewhere. To gain entrance into the gentleman's class he must be receiving £10 a year in rent or have £300 in moveable goods. The herald might overlook the lack of gentleman in the families ancestors providing they could live without doing manual labour, but no doubt took more than an adequate fee. By 1614 the town had three gentlemen, including the vicar. Up the hill in Williamscoote Mr Walter Calcott, who founded the school, had persuaded the herald to visit in 1568, which enabled him to add a coat of arms to a window at home, and his son to add one to his memorial in the church (p136). By the 1630's some acquired the title of "Mr" without having purchased an estate. Land was becoming increasingly scarce and many trades and professions were run by gentlemen without land, though the aristocrats may not in fact regard them as real gentry.

There were at least eighteen husbandmen, occasionally more. As such we might expect them to farm less than the gentry and yeomen, but some went higher, up to five yardlands and still considered themselves husbandmen in their wills.

There is no instance of a husbandman being labelled a yeoman by his neighbours, though they downgrade a yeoman to being a husbandman when making an inventory [14]. Family farms like Hentlowes and Howses in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, who leased more and more failed to pass on this ability to their sons, or perhaps the chances never came their way again. Did marriage too late or too early affect them? When the very successful Justinian Hunt [16] died suddenly in 1609 his young married son took over. By prolonging his wife's child bearing age they had a large family of nine children spread out over twentythree years, which saw the decline in the family fortunes. Thomas Devotion [3] hastily married Em Whiting from the Green [14] in 1591, and they too had a family of nine over twentyfour years, which on such a small farm left a very heavy burden on the next generation expected to pay the legacies. George, the eldest son, took on an extra yardland, but still did not marry. Of course there could be many reasons for this.

Gybbs [25] remained husbandmen and ran a family farm which always had three generations living together. Perhaps the strain fell to their wives especially when they had the largest number of child deaths. There was however a twin gene in the Gybbs' family and a difficulty in rearing them. Alyce Gybbs married to William had four sets of twins. Elizabeth wife of her grandson Thomas also had sickly children to nurse as well as in-laws and elderly members including her own mother. How much help would she get from his family? Thomas calls her "his loving wife Elizabeth" when he died aged fiftyfour leaving her to cope, the eldest only sixteen and three young ones, all that remained of the nine. These husbandmen never became yeomen, even though Thomas left the fourth highest amount of personal estate. The name disappeared for only three grand daughters were born and the lease passes to the husband of the eldest.

One husbandman who was climbing upwards was Robert Robins [26] and he played most of the cards to bring him into the yeomanary class, Robert helped his son Thomas through university to become a clergyman, who would then die a gentleman. Robert the father left £343 in 1631, a sum which does not include his land in Wardington and is a much larger personal estate than Robert Woodrose's [8], gentleman, who died a few years earlier still leasing four yardlands.

Cottagers.

The thirtytwo cottagers, many of whom were craftsmen or shepherds, lived in copyhold properties with ancient rights for the tenant to graze a cow and a breeder, until this was reduced to one cow in 1575. Some also had flocks of sheep. No evidence was found for the cottagers business deals in Cropredy but most cottagers did not necessarily survive on wages. A business had to send out bills for services rendered, for articles produced, or work done. Others combining their craft with helping husbandmen, either exchanging work for corn or the loan of a cart.

Cropredy supported two weavers, two tailors, two carpenters, two blacksmiths, at least two collarmakers, cordwainers (shoemakers), thatchers, innkeepers, millers, a fuller, a mercer and the schoolmaster. Who though was the stonemason and wheelwright? Their cottages and families appear in Part 4.

A shepherd may or may not be tilling the land or producing cheese like a husbandman and yet during the second stage in his working life he may possess more than a husbandman. However the longer they lived, especially if married, the more their fortunes would be dispersed to children, or ill health diminish them. Two of the three shepherds who died in Cropredy had fathers who came into the parish to a new stone long-house type with land attached. This allowed them to enter three lives on the copyhold which gave them a good base to increase their flocks. For the landlord it ensured good shepherds keen to hold onto their tenancy. The first of the three shepherds who died would be in his late twenties or early thirties. The second a bachelor of fortytwo and the third a widower of seventytwo. The first who died in 1619 was still out earning a wage to provide capital to obtain a lease. The unfortunate John Sheeler was still at the "servant" stage, working for Mr Coldwell [50]. Sheeler's possessions, mostly savings, were valued at £35. The second John Truss [33], who died in 1634, had leased commons from time to time from Coldwells and others. He lived on a small College copyhold in which his married sister kept house for him and her family. John left the considerable sum of £128. Almost as much as his friend Richard Hall [34]. They were both carried off unexpectedly within days of each other on their neighbouring properties. The third shepherd lived on the small holding at the top of Creampot [36]. Valentyne Huxeley's house was similar to Truss's, but had a cockloft. Both were good stone and thatch long houses built by the 1570's (Ch.26). Valentyne could no longer manage a large flock and although seventytwo and apparently weak, he had to do day work. He died while out labouring in the fields. Valentyne knowing he was far from well had already made a will which his daughter had to prove in London, because although he had no freehold land in another parish the Cropredy church court had been suspended during the interregnum. He left small amounts of money, a gold ring and a bible, which may have come to less than £20. The inventory has not survived. His widowed daughter Elizabeth who would have had a life in the copyhold property was able to remarry and her new husband was William Pinfold the shepherd (p396). On some manors the landlord could order her to marry if he needed the house for a shepherd. We do not know if pressure was put upon the couple.

All these shepherds had bibles which no doubt greatly influenced their lives. They left varying personal estates due to being in stage one or three, or remaining a bachelor. The poorly educated John Truss had gained more than most through his sheep. Valentyne may once have been comfortably situated, but lived too long. A man's status was not necessarily a durable.

A few fortunate husbandmen leased a labourer's cottage with his farmstead and the cottage's common was part of his yardlands. Just six or seven cottages held labourers, mostly married men working for the farms, but sometimes denied the cow common (ch. 30). Cottage copyrights were attached to the property owner not the head of the household, but in farm cottages the labourer was sometimes forced to lease a cow common from another when his master hung onto the one that

should have been spared for him. Or else the master had paid his cow tithes for him so that the labourer does not appear in the vicar's accounts. When a husbandman had a good cowman or shepherd then he would surely provide a common and endeavour to keep him in Cropredy.

It must be emphasised that several of the thirtytwo cottagers would die working as day-labourers, taking on contract work for a set amount. They were not tied to a yearly wage, but used their skills wherever they were needed to the benefit of both parties. The only problem was the steady decrease in the purchasing power of their money. If they could not grow sufficient corn they could through no fault of their own be reduced to, or leave their widow, living on the poverty line. It was these deserving poor who relied upon alms given in wills unless a poor rate in terrible years was collected for their relief. The labourers who had cows might work for a wage and have the family manage the day to day running of their stock as the Palmers [59] must have done. We do not know if James Ladd [40] or his father worked for Tanners by the year, or whether they were hedgers and ditchers and employed throughout the year by several farms? If the Arthur Evans [54] who was a herdsman had left a will would he have been called a labourer? Perhaps not for Edward Rocke of Great Bourton was called a "neateherd" in 1620. Arthur and Ellen Evans had five children and the fourth, Thomas was a scholar in 1610.

According to Gregory King (1648-1712) and the eyes of his contemporaries, anyone who sold his greatest possession, his own labour, to another was thereafter called a pauper. Labourers, cottagers without commons and the poor without means, contributed nothing it was thought to the wealth of the nation. Sir Thomas Smith in 1565 judged anyone who received a wage as being unfree [Palliser D.M. *The Age of Elizabeth*. 1992 Longman]. Apprentices were temporarily servants. Journeymen still working for a master craftsman were also unfree and even curates were nicknamed "hedge-priests" for they too received a wage. Women and children had no rights. They were subject to the head of the household, unless as widows they inherited the house.

To prevent the cottager becoming a burden on the husbandmen most owners of cottages anciently allowed the tenant to have a cow common and a little land, plus the right to gather furze which helped them to remain above the line of destitution, and so kept down the new poor rates by preventing the needy from becoming permanent paupers. The town could not survive without the labour they could provide, especially in such a mixed farming area with all the arable land to harvest. The more land a husbandman took on obviously the more help he required. At the same time the more rates he would pay whenever a parishioner appealed for help. Once a balance in the work force was made in relation to the number of households, then that number was kept until the late seventeenth century. In an Open Common Field parish there was no room for squatters as every piece of land belonged to the parishioners as tenants in common. There appears to be no evidence that the vicar left out any paupers cottage in his lists.

Those who contracted out their labour while farming part time filled the great divide. Married shepherds we saw might be housed in a cottage with or without commons attached. These were not necessarily "the real poor," except at certain stages in their life when the death of a partner, or ill health made them more vulnerable, through the inability to earn wages. Perhaps struggling on part of a yardland was "easier" than a twelve hour day as a labourer, even in old age. None would wish to descend the ladder to be classed a labourer, a pauper.

In 1607 one widow mentions in a will some of the few deserving poor. Mrs Arnett may have understood only too well the deprivations and problems of rearing a family on her own, or being alone and ill, and yet still have to present an independent front, though as a widow with some assets, would Mrs Arnett regard the poor as her neighbours, or her duty?

Of the six poor which widow Arnett remembered the first was Widow Wilson who lived down Creampot Lane at [33], a stone and thatched dwelling (p410). As Constance Smith she was first married in 1547 to William Truss. They had two girls and a son John by 1553. After twenty years of marriage she is left a widow, but Henry Wilson proposed and they marry baptising Hugh in 1569. Henry farmed the smallholding until it becomes his step-son's by right, when in 1582 John Truss was married. Constance again became a poor widow and by 1607 being at least eighty lived in a household where her youngest grandson, the shepherd John, was already sixteen. She died in February 1609/10. The old lady may not have been able to contribute her share towards the household. Was she bedridden and living without any income? Or was the "poor" an indication of illness and suffering from the cold as many would at that age?

Another on Arnett's list was widow Alyce Mallins [53] who had married John in 1593 and been left a widow in 1606 with four daughters. Apart from having a lodger, Richard Andrews, who married her daughter Elizabeth, we do not know what work she managed to find up to her death in 1621. The Andrews had by then moved to Bayley's empty cottage in Church Lane [19]. The Andrews stayed in Cropredy and eventually moved down Creampot [35] to leave their name attached to a house.

The fourth Mrs Arnett mentions was a widow, Elizabeth Bostock, who had been working for Wyatts. The Bostocks are mentioned on page 106.

The fifth was Widow Hyrens [56] from the cottage at the bottom of Hello (p449). She had a chimney and upper chamber. Her 4d would no doubt have gone towards flour to make bread. William Hyrens died in the starvation year of 1596 and Ursula remained a widow for nineteen years. Her only son John died in 1612 aged fifteen. Her daughter worked at the vicarage. There was no question of the poor being excused their 2d for their Easter oblations and Widow Hyrens does not forget. Widowhood must have severely aggravated the problems of trying to find ready money.

The sixth was Ralph Wells [22] living in Church Lane. He had been a widower since 1603 and his three girls were then five, four and two. He managed to "breed them up" hopefully gaining help from the children's maternal relations next door [23].

To the rest of the poor in Cropredy the widow Arnett gave "twoe dozen of breads." Many who managed to live into their seventies and eighties were almost bound to become poor, unless like the Lyllees [29] they could hang onto a portion of land.

For a hundred years after 1540 at least twentytwo wayfaring poor were buried at Cropredy having been "goying a godding [begging] from dore to dore." Twelve were children, six men and three women. One was a "stranger." Were they not all? Over the next forty years only one travelling poor child is buried. In nearby Tysoe, Warwickshire, two poor women apparently gave birth in the church porch. The first in January 1609. The time of year and the fact that the child was not given a name suggests both must have left for no burials were registered. Again in September 1613 the register records "Elizabeth a bastard borne in the church porch." No-one dared to name the mothers, but this was not unusual because before the 1654 Register (not Registrar) was sworn in, no mother's name appeared in Tysoe's baptism register. In Cropredy at least the women were called by name from 1538, except a few with illegitimate children which might be for their protection. The Tysoe people would not be allowed to have a pregnant stranger in their cottage without serious consequences to themselves, for by so doing the baby would gain a settlement in Tysoe and possibly become a charge on the parish. Had the two babies deliberately been recorded without enough details to be identified in years to come when they might be a drain on the parish [*Tysoe Registers* ed. by Woodfield D.B. A family History Publication 1976]?

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6. Servants

6.1 Servant's Wages

(1) 1614 15
[c25/2 f6] (p97).

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Servants Wages (1) 1614/15 [c25/2 f6](p97).

"13. Our minister is married and kepeth servants fyttinge ther bodelye labor and not otherwise" [Oxon. Archd. paper b52. 1619].

"act an humble servant's part
Till god shall call me to be free" 1641 [George Wither *Hallelujah* 1857 p294].

Tawney found only one Gloucestershire husbandman in ten employing a servant. Anyone in receipt of wages had given up their right to be considered free. Were there many of the unfree in Cropredy's Easter lists? Cropredy supported only one gentleman, the vicar Thomas Holloway in 1575, but increased this to three by 1613. All of these would be expected to have farm and house servants. Craftsmen in other towns trained apprentices and some had living in servants while their own children went to other households for their training, but unless they were over eighteen years of age the vicar's lists did not reveal them in Cropredy. It was mainly the husbandmen whose servants paid their tuppences and so appear in the eight lists. Was it the size of the leased parcels of land, and the kind of work conducted by the head of household that required a surprisingly high proportion of young working adults to reside in Cropredy? Even though the parish records show a certain stability over two or three generations. When the main branch of a family still tenanted the land or cottage, it meant that a large proportion of each family had a secure place to return to, and their presence once again could oust the servant.

The vicar's family and staff were not included in his Easter lists. This meant they were the only Cropredy family without a yearly role call of all their adults. For the eight years the lists cover we can calculate the number of servants over eighteen living in. At the same time trying to find out how many households still offered a roof to siblings, parents and married couples who may remain to help with the daily work instead of employing servants.

On years without a list the servants are almost invisible for they are seldom mentioned in wills, including those recorded over the eight years. Masters may ask the executor to pay their wages, or include them in the household debts to be paid off. Just a few felt they owed them more, but what a low percentage, and yet here in the lists the number of single people living in Cropredy is quite astonishing. In 1624 Dr Brouncker gave everyone's christian name (except wives). This provides the additional information that few local adults, from eighteen years and upwards, were taking up a living-in servants position in their own town of Cropredy (p87). Except when returning to work in their own home servants usually came from other parishes and this meant Cropredy youngsters found residential work away from their own town, though we must bear in mind that it cannot tell us which of the young adults residing at home worked as day staff for others in Cropredy.

When the Easter oblation lists were drawn up Holloway does not write down even the names of his own daughter and son's servants for several years. He had not set out to name each individual servant, though sometimes a name was given. Only in 1624, when the new vicar lived in Ladbroke, was his scribe diligent enough to ask and record the majority of the servants and relations acting in that capacity by name, though he does not draw a convenient line between the households as Holloway had

done. Thomas had been well aware of the names of the Watts adult children returning to help, but then these had recently been confirmed at Cropredy and personally known to him whereas most yearly servants would not be.

One interesting comment made in 1615 was that "Jhon" Mills of Little Bourton had "a stranger servant" who was presumably from outside the circle of information. The locals would have a good knowledge of the families in the various parishes around. For good or ill young boys and girls family reputations spread out in a widening circle. This was useful to the employer, but could work against some potential labourer, or servants seeking first time employment. Work was not always found by recommendations and those without a place would set off for the Banbury Michaelmas fair. Husbandmen seeking new servants would be there assessing them on their qualities rather in the manner of choosing stock. The chosen staff being taken on for a year.

Hired women live in with the family and sleep in the daughter's chamber and the hired men in the son's chamber. In the lists relations come before adult sons and daughters, but servants came after them, and this constant positioning gave the one definite clue as to whether they were from the wider family group or a stranger. The seating at the table probably followed the same order below the master. They were part of the household, but not part of the family. Theirs was a yearly contract, unlike apprentices who stayed for a term of years.

Neither wife, child nor staff were answerable in law for their crimes (p101), only the master. He had the ultimate control over the servants who could be vigorously chastised and dismissed even though the maids were the concern of the mistress. The unfortunate maid who was at the masters call could hardly be described as a child. Dismissal might follow with disastrous results.

All yearly servants had board and lodging as part of their year's payment. Just a few households may be beginning to separate themselves from the staff, but while servants slept in family chambers and ate with them they were regarded more as apprentices. All were under the guidance and authority of the head of the household, maintaining the homestall as a going concern through good and bad years. When the majority of boys and girls lived away from home they learnt that the Master was truly that. All sexual activities were discouraged by discipline and hard work at a time when the boys were entering maturity. Good behaviour was essential to retaining their post and getting a good reference for their next year.

The Family and Servants at Home.

The twentytwo farms had on average six people living in, whereas the cottages had only four so the staff were obviously going to be found mostly on the farms. Servants were not needed all the time. Adult members of the family came and went apparently taking it in turn, according to the lists, to help at home or work away where they could save for their eventual

marriage. Older children acted as "servant" to their parents. Some bachelor brothers, elderly uncles, active parents and unmarried sisters all earned their livelihood on the family farm, small-holding or trade as long as it was at all profitable to do so. As each holding could only feed so many it was the limiting factor to all remaining at home until marriage, even if this was desirable.

Most must save for their future and in a famine year too many under one roof would spell disaster. In spite of this many men and women were at home for odd years even in their twenties and thirties. Girls were expected to begin their apprenticeship for management of a household from an early age, perhaps first helping a grandparent, and on through graded tasks. Young children began their outdoor working life as scarecrows following the sowing of corn, or stone picking, minding stock or other seasonal work.

On seventeen of the twentytwo farms in 1614 there is evidence of eleven sons and five daughters over eighteen years of age with eight elderly widows doing their utmost to contribute to their board. On thirteen of these farms there were also nineteen young men and twenty young girls doing their apprenticeship for future marriage and farming. The majority would come from families just like their employers. Most male servants were just passing through a necessary stage in life that all heads of household would have experienced. The few who did not intend to farm themselves looked for those employers who had cottages. Once they were married they were more likely to remain year after year whereas very few of the yearly staff stayed on.

Between 1614 and 1624 the single men and married labourers fall by six from a total of twentynine to twentythree, but the women rise from thirtythree to thirtyfive.

Being Set to Another.

One illegitimate daughter had been brought up by her grandfather, John Truss [33] (formerly a shepherd, but by now a labourer), who charged his son John in 1613/4 "with the education of Dorethey daughter of Annes Trusse my daughter nowe in Irelande until she may bee honestlie preveyded for and sett to service." That "sett to service" was a binding arrangement used to set land, or belongings, as a daughter was, to another. An apprenticeship between a master and child or young adult. Usually they went to another parish to help the child resist returning home too soon, teaching them to adapt. Young maids like this and backhouse boys escape the records except in Thomas Holloway's farm accounts for his were paid a small wage although generally none had wages until sixteen and instead received full board. The lists refer to "boy servants" just confirmed [c25/7], who had not been eighteen for a whole year. They only pay half the Easter Oblation. Ava Tomes at [28] in 1613 paid jd [f2]. Tom's [15] man paid his jd in 1615 [f11v]. In 1614 Edmond Tanner [39] his man paid jd and in 1617 a "mayd" jd [fols7 & 23v]. In 1616 George Gorstelow paid jd for his "boy servant" [f17].

Most servants referred to will be men, for women were usually called "mayds." Just occasionally Holloway wrote "Mayd servant" in his final writing up of the lists. Some could not pay their "Ester oblations" for they stood excommunicated, but we can be certain the poor were not allowed to escape, though once the vicar's maid Mary Robins paid for Anne More a servant at Gybbs [25]. Not all servants were young. On April 16th 1616 George Hopkins sent his wife Mary and servant with the calf tithe of 6s 8d down to the vicarage. Thomas wrote "his servant mayde/ an old woman anne tomkins/ where of I gyve to hopkins/ wife iijd and the mayd jd" [c25/4 f9]. In 1624 Anne still lived at Hopkins house, next to the Bourton "chapel." She was buried on the 30th of April 1626.

Husbandmen and Gentlemen both Required Staff.

Which households could afford to employ servants? If the master of the farm had died then the widow must employ help, unless a son or relation could stand in to work the land. Staff were not a status symbol for husbandmen as they were for gentlemen, but to both they were a necessity.

The number of known employed men and women over eighteen we saw varied in some households as the family had their own relations to help out, but there were still four residences which always had more than six or seven: Halls at Springfield [6] and their neighbours opposite at the Brasenose Manor farm [8], though this was split between Robert Woodrose and his son Nicholas, the Holloways at the vicarage in Church Lane [21] and lastly Arthur Coldwell [50] at the A Manor farm in Church Street. Halls were moving up from husbandmen to gentry and like the other three would be expected to have servants.

In the High Street [26] the Robins had four or more servants on at least six years. Generally a shepherd was employed on all the above farms. On the Green the Lumberds [14], the Toms [15] with their couple living in the cottage and Hunts [16] next door, who also had a cottage [17], often had two or more extra servants. The Lumberds were during the list years beginning to rely on their growing family. Howses in Creampot [28] had two or more on at least five years depending on the number of brothers residing at home and the fact that Alyce was left a widow in 1617. The Gybbs [25] had employed five men and six maids over eight years when no brother or relative were available to take on the work. Widow Pratt [24] across the High Street in Church Lane had Thomas Webb as bailiff until the year after her marriage to William Howse who was one of Alyce's brothers-in-law [28].

Another four farms occasionally have one or more maids for a few years to tide them over a difficult pregnancy, in the absence of a grandma, or when the family were struck down with illness [34]. The Watts house down Creampot Lane [34] had a constant supply of adult sons and daughters taking turns to help their widowed mother, eldest brother Arthur and Richard Hall to run the farm. Then came the dreadful winter of 1623/4 when all those siblings taking their turn at home died (p594). By 1624 the reduced household had only Richard Hall, the young widow Ann Watts and George Watts surviving and they took

on John Clifford and Alice Page as staff. Further up Creampot Lane Cattell [30] had his mother and then a sister to attend to the house. Broughton [9] on the Long Causeway, having married widow Howse farmed her land with the help of her two sons. They needed an extra man on only three of the eight listed years. Had they taken on extra land when two daughters returned home?

Other reasons for employing maids or recalling daughters, would appear to be the loss of a grandma [30] or a maternal grandmother's arrival at the house in need of care and attention [25], though when Mrs Hunt's mother, widow Gibbons, arrived on the Green [16], she must have been able to help for no extra maid was employed. Not every household could afford to bring in a maid or servant. At Lumberd's [14] a daughter left to be married and the next sibling must take her place. At Rede's [32] in Creampot his brother leaves to be married, but he was not replaced. When a master or mistress looked for servants at the Michaelmas hiring fair in Banbury it may be after the death of a son [34], or a widow taking over [34 & 50]. On the death of a father, or his retirement, a married son might take on the lease, but he may have to manage without staff and rely on siblings, or if he was fortunate his mother was there to help the household.

As the young family increased then was the time, for those with more land and fewer legacies to pay off, to increase the number of maids, or relations as Dyonice Woodrose did [8].

Craftsmen's Staff.

Out of the thirtytwo craftsmen's households in 1614 at least ten of the adult daughters lived in five of the cottages and rendered extra help unnecessary. In the 1614 lists seven other families rely on a son apprenticed to the father and one had a brother and another a sister helping. Seven did take on staff, but by 1624 only two did so: Edward Marten at Carters the saddlers in Round Bottom [57] for business may have been as usual, and a couple at Cross's mill. The seven in 1614 were employed by Hunt the weaver [5], the two blacksmiths Densey [13a] and Wyatt [13b], who each had one, the mercer Tanner [39], Palmer [1] at the lower mill with grandma, brother and maid, Cross [51] at the upper mill and the collarmaker Carter [57]. The winter of 1623/4 was a bad one for small business's and employment. There was a crisis in the wool trade, in the rural economy and fevers catching those at a low ebb.

Eleven daughters remained at home although three were already married. This meant an extra man in three of the houses [27, 29, & 35]. Eight sons helped and three of these were already married. Mr Hill the whitbaker [20] allowed his son to take over. The Pratts and Bostockes share a house [41] combining ale and some leather trade. Mr Hill [58] the butcher in Round Bottom next to Carters looked after his mother and at Monkeytree [36] Mrs Huxeley senior, Valentyne's stepmother who brought him up, was in residence throughout the lists. Valentyne's first wife died leaving four young children, but he soon remarries and two more arrive. The whole taken care of by the two women. In this way smaller households remained self-

sufficient and housed their own. Wyatt, one of the two blacksmiths on the Green, moved to Kynd's vacated farm [31] at the top of Creampot Lane in the 1620's and continued to practice as a farrier and vet. At the same time he began to farm and needed some help from sons and a maid.

Named servants: Bostockes, Hyrens and Clyftons.

The Wyatt family took their maid Elizabeth Bostocke who had been with them according to the lists since 1614 when she became eighteen. Was she the daughter of another Elizabeth Bostocke remembered in Widow Arnett's will of 1606 as one of the poor? The registers record the death of an Elizabeth Bostocke on the 13th of December 1610 and this must surely have been the mother. At that time her daughter would have been only fourteen and unable to keep herself unless the Wyatts kept her on. It may seem to be stretching the truth in all directions but fortunately another 1601 will was found which left to "Elizabeth [Bostocke] the elder and to the daughter betwixt them the sum of 3s-4d." This was made by Russell the blacksmith who had the property before Densy and Wyatt [13]. Like several others the Bostocke girls appear to form a good relationship with the master. They may also have learnt from other Bostockes [41] the art of good brewing. In the poultry tithe book [c25/6 f4v] Elizabeth Bostocke sent a pot of ale to the vicar in 1614.

In 1595 John French a husbandman [6] left "Mary Bostock my servant on[e] heifer of 1 yeare old to be delivered to her presently after my decease." Another Marie Bostocke had pleased the widow Johan Robins [26] for she left her "a peticotte with russed bodies and a smocke" as well as a shilling in 1579. We know from Thomas Holloway's wage records that he kept on two girls, or they chose to stay, for several years.

Ann Bostocke was over twenty one when she worked for two years at the vicarage then moved to Allen's [44] before her marriage to Nicolas Dunckley on the 17th of July 1615. Ann was then twentythree. Nicholas had lived either on his own or as a lodger at Suffolks [60] in Hello. In Wardington's Poultry book [f9] Nicholas gives the vicar a "coke" in 1617. They must have moved there, but soon departed for they left no entries in the registers.

Bess Hyrens who was also born in 1592 was one of the only Cropredy girls to stay on year after year at the vicarage. Her widowed mother lived alone (which was very unusual) in Hello and may have needed nursing. She died in 1616 and that left Bess without a home to return to. The Wood's who had been living in the Tom's cottage [15a] soon moved round to the late Hyrens cottage [56]. Elizabeth without even a brother, for he too died, may have had no other relations in Cropredy. Most daughters, judging by the numbers who come and go in the eight listed years, kept strong links with their parents and home, while they are out at service. Without a home Bess's plight was only relieved by the length of her stay with a caring family. Yet what happened to such a girl cast adrift on the death of widow Holloway? Would her daughter Joanne Holbech employ her?

Not many servants who came on a yearly hiring stayed on and took up residence unless they were one of the few from Cropredy. John Clyfton was an outsider who married Dyonice Woodrose's maid, Abishag Ryuxe, while he was the shepherd. Abishag may have come to Cropredy with the Woodroses. After the wedding in 1608 they left for six years to work elsewhere as the Woodrose's farm cottage [7] was occupied. Did the Woodrose's recall them? When Nicholas had most of the farm the Clyftons return and live in the cottage [7] across the Long Causeway. This was a two bay cottage and they shared it in 1615 with the Pettifer couple. Two Clyfton boys and two girls are baptised at Saint Mary's, but we do not know how many others were born away from Cropredy. The couple lived in the cottage for thirtyfive years and Abishag returned to being Dyonice's maid and was obviously appreciated for she was left 20s in her employer's will. Marion Palmer, who may have been brought up in Hello [59], was one of the other maids. Dyonice left her a generous 10s (p495).

Servants in Wills.

Servants were seldom left something in wills. One surname that seems to encourage a mention were girls from the Denzey/Densey family. George Gardner a husbandman of Great Bourton who died in 1591 never married and had several living in staff, he mentions Jilian Hunt and Alice Denzey the daughter of John Denzey. First he wrote "I will that Pratt my man may have for his wages which I owe him. And John Silver my man his wages dulie to be paid...I give unto every of my servants now being over and above their wages Fyve shillings." Alice Denzey was to have "one heifer of 2 yeres olde and better.... My servant Cleydon did sell to Rowland a warden amonge my wooll, two todd of wooll price 20s a tod vitz 40s. I do will that warden paying the debt the said Cleydon shall have his money out of it because the Bond was made wholly to me." So he fairly settled his debts to the staff, having no wife to do this, and made sure they collected what was theirs. "To Jilian Hunt the feather bed she broughte with her wth the furniture thereunto belonging as also six paire of sheets two table clothes and three table napkins wth all her apparrell wholly and the best coffer she brought with her." Also £10 a year "during the terme of her natural life" [PCC 77 Folio 1-55, p392-393]. Jilian appears to have been given a chamber to furnish with her own inherited goods.

It will be noted that her master took over these articles, but "gave" them back to her in his will. He returns her best coffer, but what of her worst? How many women arrived to work for others taking their own bedding and what was Jilian's real relationship with her master? How many articles valued as the masters could have been a servants?

In 1634 Thomas Gill also of Great Bourton and a yeoman had a servant Ann Densey and he left her ten shillings and "the rest of the servants in the house 2s-6d a peece." These are generous by most standards. Mrs Elizabeth Holloway did not remember in her will any of the staff. She may have believed as she says that she was one of God's Elect, and once her staff were paid that seemed to be that. Maybe only her more thoughtful late husband, the ill and the richer employers remember servants. The Reverend Thomas Holloway obviously felt a need to protect some for in his will he had asked that "My wife shall stand

encharged with Agnes ffentlowe myne servant to see her honestly provided for during her life....I do give to everyone of my servants serving at my decease, of household servants two shillings and sixe pence a peece." Agnes was not on the vicar's list of wages paid. Did she live with them for board and lodging, but no wages being old? Or at her old parish? Again what would happen after Mrs Holloway's death?

In 1627 Ellen Bicke came to Cropredy to be nursed at her son-in-law Densey's [13a]. She left some of her clothes, from a seemingly well stocked presse to servants (p707).

"To Judeth Moasly ij paire of stockinges and a playne band.
To Elizabeth Sutton one plain band and an olde paire of bodyes.
To Sibbell my sister Densey's maide ij paire of stockinge and one paire of --- an old Rede Peticote."

In the year of 1595, when there was a great shortage of corn, John Ellyett also of Bourton considered the needs of his servant John Leeke and left him instead of a sheep "a Butt to sew Barlie on this yeare and a strike of barlie to sow itt wth all." Although this was a thin sowing it may save his life (p314). Was he now dismissed or retained as part of the household?

A wealthier widow had two servants she wished to reward. In 1622. Joanne Townsend of Bourton made her will leaving "to my servant John Shirley ten shillings," and "to my servant Richard Blackborne ten shillings" [MS. Will Pec. 52/3/30]. From the lists of 1619 we know she employed Richard Blackburn and a maid. A year earlier Elizabeth Heritage, John Shurly, his wife and his mother made up the household. John had been with her probably since before 1613 which may explain her gratitude [c25/8 f7v & f2], or else these were wages due.

Servant's own Wills.

Robert Cleaver a yeoman of Cripplegate London, but born in the same parish of Priors Marston as William Hall, died after becoming ill at his master's house in Cropredy [6]. What affairs did the Hall's of Springfield have elsewhere? Robert left perhaps in appreciation for services rendered "to Mr Hall his servants 40s to be divided amongst them."

A shepherd saving up for his own farm, was John Sheeler who fell ill at the same time as his master Arthur Coldwell, Thomas Holloway and others. He left "To my fellow servants 6d a peece" and his master's two kinswomen 6d. The bulk of his money went to his sister, £13-6s-8d, with £6-13s-4d to his mother. The inventory shows how a serving man could amass his own starting capital including his tools which it appears he had to take to Coldwells. There he lived in a chamber without the necessity of providing his own board and lodging:

"Imprimis All his Apparellxxxs
 Item one Coffe price..... ijs
 Item A Bible & little psalme booke pricevs
 Item Three Todds & two pounds of woollii j£ vijs
 Item Thirteene sheepe price..... vj£
 Item that he had in Ready money at his death..... v£ ..vjs ivd
 Item A Pitching forke A Sheephooke
 and some other Implements prised at..... ijs
 Item that was oweing unto him upon two bands..... x£ iiijs
 Item that was oweing him that he had no band
 for but only witness..... ..viijs
soma totalis xxxv£ vjs jd"

Exhibited 27 April 1620 by Robert Sheeler.

The Robert who exhibited the inventory was his brother "dwelling in Grimsbury." John left a sheep to each of his nephews, sons of Robert. The brother must bestow 12s on the poor of Cropredy at the burial service. John was one of the many in Cropredy who could read his bible. Did he carry the psalm book about his work as well as his bible, hoping for a quiet read? Or to practice singing the Sunday psalms? The three who witnessed his will were Thomas Taylor, Edward Shepherd (his mark) and John Adkins. The last two were Bourton shepherds. Thomas Taylor, a Wroxton man, had farmed Widow Smyth's farm at Great Bourton since 1612. Edward Shepherd in 1627 left to John Atkins, servant to Thomas Taylor his "best black shepe".

Mr Coldwell [50] certainly had the largest number of employees living in after the vicar's. Farming three yardlands he also had other interests, but was considered a gentleman and as such had to employ staff to work the land and upper mill. His shepherd and bailiff could both read and write. Faulke Green was with him from at least 1613 until 1617. He went on to farm (p74). Robert Whettell came in 1616 and stayed on to help the widow for he was still there in 1624 and died working for Mr Cartwright [50] (p151). Coldwell's men had a tendency to remain for several years. Mr Coldwell's will mentions Millycent Sherwood and Elizabeth Warren and leaves to "either of them a heifer." They were his maids from 1616 to 1619.

Avis Gardner who died in 1580 was a servant employed by the Howse family in Church Lane [24]. She lived in the servants' or family chamber and owned no furniture, except like John Sheeler a coffer to keep her clothes in. Avis's had hinges and a lock (unusual) and was worth 1s-8d. Many inventories like Avis's appear to suggest the deceased lived without even a bedstead and bedding in a one roomed hovel, but this is very misleading. The Howse farmhouse was one of the larger properties, and in return for her services they had cared for Avis even to the extent of listening to her last requests, for she wanted to make

sure her clothes went to the right child, though it would cost them more to prove it at the Peculiar Court at Cropredy than the goods were worth. It was important to note that Avis still had her dowry from her father, but kept it with her brother, presumably at the family home. While her brother was master of that household were Avis's goods considered technically as his for they were not investigated? She left them to her brother Gardner in her will. Her inventory is on page 977. We do not know anything about her background.

Avis may have lived in a room with other members of the family. Families seldom have a chamber set aside just for children, but next door at Vaughans [23] they called their only upper room the children's.

Although Vaughans had been considered as yeomen the children only shared their room with a servant on five of the eight years. This was possibly because Ralph Wells [22] lived and worked from Vaughan's cottage next door (p501).

Servant Chambers and Cocklofts.

Servant's cottages are given their own section (ch.30), the rest lived in the house or over the stable. John Pare the collarmaker [58] who died in 1610 had a servant's chamber in which was an old bedstead. Servants chambers in craftsmen's cottages were still fairly rare, but John Pare could spare a chamber when there were so few people in the household. A recent innovation, made possible with the new stone two and a half storey buildings, was to provide a cockloft and up there make a men's chamber when the household had need of an extra room. This was a far cry from the former rushes on the hall floor of an earlier dwelling, but it did not necessarily bring about a complete separation of servants from the family, though the possibility was there.

Most properties had provided a second floor for this was very economical on space. The Huxeleys, Eldersons and Tanners all had one and added a cockloft which made a convenient mens chamber. The Hall's [6], Lumberd's [14], Gybbs [25], Wyatt's (from 1620 onwards) [31], and Hentlowe's [35] all had cocklofts (p656). Another was Richard Hall's [34] who died in 1634. Richard had been with the Watts since at least 1602 when Mr Watts senior died. The house was ashlar built and up in the cockloft next to the cheese chamber was the men's chamber where sons and the occasional staff slept. In it was only "one old bedsteed with the beddinge." Maybe sons overflowed up there sleeping on straw palliasses, or else George Watts still owned part of the household furniture which had not passed to Richard? The other chambers had been used to house the three generations and the returning daughters (p594).

It has been suggested that only gentlemen and yeomen had habitable cocklofts in the sixteenth century [Wood-Jones R.B.]. However Nuberry [8], husbandman, at the B manor farm may have had a garret in the south bay at the beginning of our period. The Woodroses, admittedly gentlemen, who took over the farm employed from five up to eleven servants. They gave

them proper feather mattresses on a bedstead, rather than a straw pallet and sheet on the floor. Those who slept in the "garrett" had "two bedsteeds" amongst other items. In the maid chamber they had "one bedsteed one feather bedd one blankett one rugg one boulster" amongst other implements worth a pound. The rest of the men had "the Chamber over the Stable" in which there were "two bedsteeds wth the beddinge upon them," worth a pound. The stable was next to the gatehouse leading onto the Long Causeway (p252). They no doubt protected the valuable horses, but must have suffered from ammonia fumes. When the staffing increased presumably they slept two to a bed.

At the Robins' household [26] the first mention of servants came from widow Johan in 1579 who leaves her servant Johan Westburie 6d and Marie Bostocke 1s. By 1603 when they had three upstairs chambers, the third next to the stairs doubled as a corridor for all to pass through to reach the Second and Innermost chambers. The servants had "the 3 chamber" next to the stairs in which were "2 small bedsteds & bedding for servants." The innermost or southern chamber was taken over by the widow Joanne when she gave up the rest of the house for her married son. The male servants must then go on up to one of the two cocklofts formerly used for storage. Half the cockloft by 1631 is called "the men's chamber" the rest being used as the apple chamber.

There were "Two bedsteeds two woolebeds two coverletts fower blankets two garners" for malt amongst other things in their chamber.

Great Bourton by 1611 had some good new stone dwellings. In Thomas Smyth's they had a men's chamber with "One beede furnished wth other smalle things" worth 20s. The furnishing refers to sheets, wool mattress and coverlets, and the other small things being called "trumpery." Mr Smyth left to "my two men and my two maydes wch nowe are dwelling wth me every one of them a shepe presently after the next sheeringe by my wyffe and Henry Taylors appoyment." Henry was Thomas Taylor's father from Wroxton (p90). The men must have shared the bed and the maids slept in another chamber [MS.Will Pec. 51/1/2].

Richard Gorstelow of Prescote Manor had Peter in the men's chamber, three maids in the maids' chamber all with their own bedsteads, wool mattresses, blanket, coverlet and bolster, though Peter lacked a bolster. Thomas the miller was likewise accommodated in the miller's chamber. Had a miller or a shepherd to be given accommodation after the parish was enclosed, so that they must have a miller's chamber? A law to prevent sixteenth century enclosures could be overcome by keeping accommodation in the remaining house for a shepherd or a milkmaid. In this case it was a miller. All these staff were over eighteen, there could very well have been other young maids sleeping in. The Breedons who would help run the farm lived in the upper Prescote farmhouse. The rest of the miller's family lived at the nearby mill with Thomas Arledge.

Servants Work.

The only real information about servants came from the Holloways who were farming two and three quarter yardlands in 1614, on his fortythird year in the parish. Of their children perhaps only Thomas aged thirteen and Joane aged fifteen were at home, but they still had the largest known staff in the town.

Thomas Holloway having about a hundred and forty sheep and followers needed a shepherd and mentions one in the accounts. The farm required two farm workers. There was always a dairymaid and two others, but once again we have no idea how much outside farm work they would be asked to do.

They appear not to have a cottage for their shepherd, unless Fenny's [43] had been built for this purpose partly tucked into the vicar's plot. The Holloway's had to sleep the men in the cockloft and the maids in another chamber. His man Thomas Stephens stayed for a few years at the vicarage while still a bachelor. On being able to obtain a lease then the young men could leave, marry and settle down. Most would be under twentynine when working for others. The vicar's boy servant William Toms was learning the house and farm trades as we follow him to the kiln (p668). The Holloways had two maids who stayed on year after year and a third who came and went at the Michaelmas Fairs.

The vicar sublet some of the commons from his leased land keeping the rest for his wife's stock. According to his will Elizabeth had several cows, which one of his three maids would milk (p176). There is no book mentioning tithe milk. Unless money was paid in lieu of this, the vicars were due a milk tithe, which would be made into butter or cheese and the skimmed milk going to feed the pigs, another of the maids responsibilities along with the poultry. Cooking and cleaning, vegetable and fruit growing left little or no spare time, but any left must be spent carding and spinning, brewing and preserving under the constant eye of their mistress. Those who had pewter to clean used fine sand, woodash and part of a plant called mare's tail.

The wooden platters and spoons were daily scoured very energetically and if sunny put outside to bleach in a safe place.

They do not record the days their man ploughs and it must be presumed he was hired by the year and ploughing was part of the daily work. Neither was it necessary to state the hours taken to harrow, sow and roll the winter wheat and rye, or the oats, peas and barley later in the spring. The vicar's folios record only those processes he shared with his children to make sure they received the correct amount of grain. They did once employ John Bryan [47] by contract to thresh the corn, which must have exceeded the amount Holloways yearly staff could cope with. Extra help was taken on in the garden for the carpenter Thomas Elderson senior was paid for work there, though he could have been repairing something. Other people may have come and gone daily doing specific tasks, or contracted for a short term in the house, or on the farm. Washing may have required some outside help in the bigger houses, but no record remains.

Wages.

The local Justice of Peace set the wages of servants from time to time. This was the maximum not the minimum, after all they too employed people. Fortunately Thomas kept details of his own servants' wages which included the juniors. Those employed under eighteen would either still live at home, or receive board and lodging but no pay until they were sixteen. After that they were entitled to a wage. Holloway's head man had £3-6s-8d a year, but the shepherd at the vicarage only £2 or £1-10s with some provision for sheep (pp 97/8). They were at various ages and experience and employed accordingly. Shepherds were often able to read and write in Cropredy and were there to gain experience and save for their own farm. The man servant who served at Coldwells went on to lease fields of his own. He too had received some schooling. We do not know if the vicar's men, who must have been responsible for the farm, could write or not. Michael Sabean and William Gardner for some reason, possibly age and experience, had larger wages than most. Both these were local Oxfordshire names, but difficult to trace to a particular family. Women's wages were half that of the men, but they still had to save for marriage, which was earlier for women than men in Cropredy. Not all were able to get a farm cottage as Clyftons [7] did (p495).

The amount of clothing provided by their master at the vicarage was I fear very small, unless hand-me-downs took the place of new, or as the Holloways do not add the cost of food onto the wages record they may have left out apparel as well. They had board and lodging, but were also supposed to have a small livery allowance. Elisabeth Stacy had "a skyrte smocke" and Wam Toms, Anne Taperto and Joane had shoes at 1s-8d a pair (pp97/8).

Harvests were hopefully in by the Michaelmas Quarter rent day. This terminated the farming year. Servants then departed to Banbury to seek new Masters. For parishes in wetter areas the hiring was put off until Martinmas, so that staff could finish gathering the produce before the change over. Few servants who worked in Cropredy can have been held back from leaving their employment to attend the hiring fair, even though the employer had the right to refuse them permission to leave. The yearly turnover of the named servants in the eight years appears to favour new staff, except in a few households. Some husbandmen and craftsmen's children must surely choose to take their allotted turn with their own family, supplementing the household purse with day work. On the other hand no yearly servant once taken on could leave before his year was out unless dismissed.

There was still going to be a shortage of people to bring in the hay and corn harvests and it was here that a town with so many craftsmen's cottages managed to iron out this deficiency. The wise decision to encourage more craftsmen into Cropredy therefore helped to solve the desperate need for extra hands. Many craftsmen and older shepherds sometimes with their wives took up day labouring such as harvesting, threshing, weeding or stone picking. Their labour was as essential to the running of the farms and their own few acres as the welfare of the cottage cow.

The importance of the lists in the absence of other documents is enormous. They show the number of single adults and widows who fill up the households rendering servants unnecessary. This explains why servants were employed on some years

and not on others, but most of all we can now say that Cropredy still had more servants employed by husbandmen than Gloucestershire [*Agri. Regions and Agrarian History in England and Wales*].

Being a servant in the first stage in life was acceptable, it was not so in the second, having already moved on from that service, unless marriage was not possible. During difficult years when old age was advancing a shepherd could be found taking on day work, and a collarmaker becoming again a servant when his wife died (p475).

From the vicar's Easter Oblation lists we can get the average numbers of staff and adult members for each household. These have been averaged for the eight list years.

Farm site	Name	Staff	Family over 18	+ children 1 - 17	Master & Wife Married children	Yardlands Approx	Rising Status
[3]	Devotion		0.4	2.3	2	1 - 2	Husb
[4]	French	0.2	1.8		1	2	Husb
[6]	Halls	6.0			2	2+	H/Yeo
[8]	Woodrose	7.7		1.12	4	4	Gent
[9]	Broughton	0.4	3.2		2	1+	Husb
[12]	Handley	left 1614					Husb
[14]	Lumberd	1.5	1.5	2.0	2	3	H/Yeo
[15]	Toms	3.7	0.3	2.0	2	2	Husb
[16]	Hunt	3.0		0.6	2	3+	Husb
[21]	Holloway	7.0		2.0	2	2+	Gent
[23]	Vaughan	1.7	1.0	1.25	2	?2	Yeo
[24]	Pratt	1.0		2.5	1	?	Husb
[25]	Gybbs	1.3	2.0	0.5	4/3	2	Husb
[26]	Robins	4.7	1.0	0.87	2	2+	H/Yeo
[28]	Howse	3.0	0.4	2.25	2/1	2	Husb
[29]	Hall	0.1		1.75	4	?	H/Yeo
[30]	Cattell		0.6		1	?	Husb
[31]	Kynd	Left					Husb
[32]	Rede	0.2	0.4	0.5	2	2	Husb

[34]	Watts	1.6	4.0	0.1c	1	1+	H/Yeo
[50]	Coldwell	6.2			2	3+	Gent
[60]	Suffolk			1.87	2	?	Husb

Cropredy had thirteen husbandmen who employed staff as well as relations, and four others relied entirely upon their family. This was a great deal more than in Gloucestershire [Thirsk J]. Out of the thirteen who had staff: four had only occasional staff, three employed one or more, four had two or more and two farms had five or more each year. This meant that six out of the seventeen, or one in three husbandmen employed more than two servants during the eight list years. Two other farms were not active during most of the eight years [31 & 35].

The above chart shows the strength of the staff, family and couples who run a farm sometimes with parents active, sometimes as a widow alone. The yeomen only appear in the 1630's apart from Vaughan and Hall, but even William Hall was more a yeoman than a gentleman, especially when he first arrived, though the leases soon begin to describe him as one. Widows took their status from their deceased husbands. Although the yardlands fluctuate these are approximately the right amount for 1614-1624.

Analysis of staff for 1613 - 1619 and 1624.

Site	Surname	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617	1618	1619	1624	Totals
		m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	
	Husbandmen									
[4]	French		.....1							1
[6]	Hall	4....3	3....3	3....3	3....3	3....3	2....3	3....3	3....4	49
[9]	Howse					1		1	1	3
[14]	Lumberd	2	1	2	2	2....1	1....1	1....1		14
[15]	Toms		1	1	1					3
[16]	Hunt	2....1	2....1	2....1	1....1	2....1	2....2	3	2....1	24
[24]	Pratt	1	1	1....1	1	1....1				7
[25]	Gybbs	1	.....1	1	1....1	.....1	1	1....1	.....2	11
[26]	Robins	3....2	3....2	3....2	3....2	3....2	3....2	2....1	3....2	38
[28]	Howse	1....2		1....1		1....1	2....2	2....1	1....1	16
[32]	Rede			.....1		.....1				2
[34]	Watts					1	1	1	1....1	5
[60]	Suffolk		1	1		1				3
	Totals - male	14	12	15	12	15	12	14	11	105
	Totals - female	.....8.	.....8	.....9	.....7	....11	....10	.....7	....11	.....71
	Sub - totals	22	20	24	19	26	22	21	22	176
	Gentlemen									
[8]	Woodrose N.		1....3	3....3	4....3	3....2	2....3	1....3	.....3	34
[8]	Woodrose	3....2	.....3	.....3	.....4	.....2	.....2	.....3	.....3	25
[21]	Holloway	4....3	3....3	3....3	4....3	4....3	..(6).	..(6).		(450
[50]	Coldwell	4....3	3....2	4....3	5....2	4....3	4....2	3....5	4....2	53
	Totals - male	11	7	10	13	11	9	7	4	72
	Totals - female	.....8	....11	....12	....12	....10	....10	....14	.....8	85
	Sub totals	19	18	22	25	21	19	21	12	157

Site	Surname	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617	1618	1619	1624	Total
------	---------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	-------

		m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	m....f	
	Yeoman									
[23]	Vaughan		.....1	.....1	.....1			.....1	.....1	5
	Tradesmen									
[1]	Palmer	.....1						1....2		4
[5]	Hunt	1....1	1....1	1....1	.....1	.....1	1	1		10
[13]	Densey		1	1	1	1	1	.....1		6
[13]	Wyatt	1	1....2	.....2	.....2	.....1	.....1	.....2	.....2	14
[39]	Tanner	.....1	1....1	1....1	1	.....1	.....1	.....1		9
[51]	Cross	.....1	1....1	1....1	1....1	1....1	1	.....1	1....1	13
[57]	Carter/Hill	1	.....1	.....1	.....1				1	5
	Totals- male	3	5	4	3	2	3	2	2	24
	Totals- female	.....4	.....6	.....6	.....5	.....4	.....2	.....7	.....3	....37
	Sub totals	...7...	..11..	..10..	...8..	...6..	...5..	...9..	...5..	..61..
	Yearly totals-m	28	24	29	28	28	24	23	17	201
	Yearly totals-f	....20	....26	....28	....25	....25	....22	....29	....23	.198.
	Grand totals									
	for all groups	..48..	..50..	..57..	..53..	..53..	..46..	..52..	..40..	.399.

The numbers employed by the year in Cropredy's households (a third of the town) fluctuated so that in 1624 they were down to forty, but at their highest in 1615 when fiftyseven were recorded. All these were over the age of eighteen. These numbers do not include family acting as staff, or those under sixteen. The backhouse boys and young maids are invisible as are the daily adult staff coming to the house and farm and employed as day labourers.

A few of the remaining years of the Reverend Holloway's records give the wages for his staff. A rare survival. These begin in 1613:

[c25/7 f24v]

"a note of my servantes
wages in the yer from
mych 1613 to my. 1614

In primis tho stevens my

man by the yere _____xls
Item wam to[?] my man _____xls
mychaell my man _____ iij£ vjs viijd [added]
Item peter my man [c.o.] ______ls
Item baker [c.o] my mayd ______xxs viijd
Item bess hyren ______xxs [?]xxijs
Item ano. bostocke ______xxs
summa _____ix£ xvjs 8d
all payd quarterly to
this tyme the 24th of June
onely resteth to my
sheperd unpayd for this
quarteradge at mydsomer."

[c25/2 f6]

"my servantes wages payd at mych/1614

In primis to Tho stephens my man _____xs
Item to wam my shepherd ______xxs
Item to bess hyernes _____vs
Item to katuran my mayd _____vjs viijd
Item to ane bostocke _____vs
Item to peter my man _____x iijs

[c25/2 f11]

my servants wages from mych
1614 to mych 1615

In primis my man Tho stephens by the yere
is to have in money _____xls
& one shepes keping in my gronds
Item my shepherd Wam is to have a yere

3 shepes wynteringe & in money _____ xls
Item mychaell sabsan _____ iij£ vjs viijd
Item my mydes bess hyerns _____ xxs
Item constance [Joane c.o] my mayd _____ xxiijs _4d [xxxs c.o]
Item elisabeth stacy in money _____ xxiijs iiijd
& a skyrte smocke." (Fig.6.1)

[part of f10] "mychaell 1615"
"Item to my man Tho _____ xxvs
Item to my mayds _____ xxs..."
[c25/2 f14v]

"servants for their wages now
beginne at saynt mych 1616

In primis my man Wam gardner by the
yere _____ iij£ vjs viijd
Item my boy wam toms by the yere a
payre of shoves and in money _____ xxs
Item my shepherd man hired in money
by the yere _____ xxxs
Item more six shepe wynteringe at my
charges but he to fynd them comons
Item my man Robert by the yere _____ xls

my maydes
elisabeth hyrens _____ xxvjs viiijd
frances my mayde _____ xxvjs viiijd
anne taperto _____ xxiijs iiijd
Item more a payre of shoves.

servants payd at o'r ladie day 1617

In primis my shepherd payd _____ vijs vjd

Item Robert payd for the halfe yere _____xvs
Item my boy toms for halfe yere _____ vs
Item wam gardner _____xvjs iijd
Item elizabeth hyrens _____----_vjs viijd
Item my mayde frances _____vjs viijd
Item my mayde Joane [pd]for showes_____xxd
at o'r lady day but a payre of showes paid for _____ xxd" (Fig.6.2)

Servants for your wages was
 begun at present year 1616
 In present my under your garden by
 year a ----- night by night
 In my by your found by the year a
 payre of 1000 and in month 200
 In my by your found in month
 by the year a -----
 In more by the year a -----
 payre of 1000 and in month 200
 In my by your found in month
 by the year a -----

Elizabeth your -----
 present my under -----
 a new capote -----
 In more a payre of 1000
 Servants for your wages was
 begun at present year 1616
 In present my under your garden by
 year a ----- night by night
 In my by your found by the year a
 payre of 1000 and in month 200
 In my by your found in month
 by the year a -----
 In more by the year a -----
 payre of 1000 and in month 200
 In my by your found in month
 by the year a -----

The senior husband, when father and son were both married and working the land, was master of the family in that household, until the son paid the next entry fine to a new lease and a deed was made stating the position, obligations and maintenance of both parties for the welfare of all the dependants on that tenement. Chambers were allocated and the senior father held on to some assets. He might then give way to his son as master. The head of a household was technically able to make decisions without reference to other members, especially his wife who with all other women had a different role to play, but always at his command. The master's boundaries were set by the church and manor courts, failure to comply brought a fine. One example survives (p224) when the number of cows each could keep was observed by all but one of the twentytwo households. That one would have to answer to the rest at the manor court. They did not however reveal his name.

Croptredy women would have had little independence in a paternalistic society. Many believed that all women were evil and only men were good. Women were nearer the devil so that priests found it necessary to guide them from corrupting christian men. In earlier centuries this was done charitably bringing them into the church, but the fear of women's power given by the devil could lead in Europe to an innocent woman being branded as a witch and ostracised from society, or even death. A society in which they lived on the very fringe. In Elizabeth's reign English women with the power of healing and knowledge of herbs were not condemned outright, after all the majority still believed in magic and certainly in the supernatural. There were more women using plants to heal others than men. Folk medicine stretched back into the distant past. Those who had the gift often acted as the local midwife. Spinsters and widows could rely on such work to remain independent, although this was not encouraged by men if they were still young. Spinsters were also under someone else's roof. They might be blamed for bad storms, harvest failures and any sudden deaths. Worse would come if they were outspoken, for then they might be accused of having sex with the devil.

Women, servants and children had no rights at law for their fathers, husbands or masters were taken to court for any theft committed by any one of them. Most husbands were expected to govern and lead their wives. However when the witch hunts began the law had to be changed for as it stood both the man and his wife were liable to be prosecuted together and this was how in 1604 King James, who feared the power of women, changed the law making witchcraft a criminal offence if it could be proved to have been harmful. From then on it was possible for women to be criminals (in the eyes of men) separate from their masters.

Wills and inventories proved at the church court at Croptredy seldom mention the women's christian names, but there were a few exceptions. Most were referred to as widow or goodwife. Mary Hopkins of Great Bourton had been a widow for three years. Before marriage she was a Stevens marrying George in 1594. After he died in 1631 Mary kept on farming and was called Mary in her inventory. A strong character perhaps? Elizabeth Holloway in 1623 calls all her daughters by name for clarity, not as wife of their husbands. The grand daughters as children of her daughters were also given their christian names though admittedly she does not give the daughter-in-laws name when the children's father was her son Gamaliell.

Documents dealing with men as head of the household would not need to mention his wife by name for she was as one with him. Invisible in the Easter lists the registers were fortunately there to reveal their names. Only in 1624 do three widows who were heads of households have their christian names on the list: Ann Watts [34] late wife of Arthur, Alyse Howse [28] and Mrs Elizabeth Coldwell of [50]. The other wives were just that, wives. The first name coming up the Long Causeway on Holloway's 1613 list was:

Thos devotio ux ijd
his daughter ijd [c25/7 f1]

Here lived Thomas and his wife [uxor] whose name was Em [3], with "his daughter" who is also not named for it was quite sufficient for the purpose of the list to be just the "daughter" of Thomas. Their family tree shows that Thomas had married Em Whyting [14], a Cropredy "gal" from the Green. She was born before the Holloways arrived. Devotions christened their third daughter Em in 1594. Because of the registers both women can be named. The baptisms, marriages and burials throw more light upon the family (p417). Em junior never married, but as she saved her money and legacies, increasing it by lending it to others she must make a will. If she had married her property would have passed to the husband and unless he died first she would not make a will. By 1658 her savings out on bond came to £52-15s. She lived in her own furnished chamber (possibly in George's household) which brought her assets to a total of £77-18s-8d. A large amount to leave. Samuel King may have written her will which was not proved for some years. Was there a query or quarrel amongst her relations, or just confusion due to the collapse of the church courts? It should be mentioned that Em had two unusual items: a pewter chamber pot so was she disabled in some way? The other was "one hood, fase guard and pillion cloth 6s-8d." Here was a woman able to get about on her brother's horse. Where did she ride to and who was riding with her? A spinster living in her bachelor brother's house, seemingly more in control of her situation than most, but unable due to the customs of the day to live outside a household. In this case her brother was the head, but he in turn required an assistant to run the house while he attended to the land and if she was a powerful woman and ran an efficient hearth and garden, Em may have had more influence than most, but how exceptional was she?

Single women leave so few records and Em's will is rare amongst the Cropredy archives. Daughters were trained for marriage. They had to learn to be good housewives, being taught first by their mothers and then by mistresses, while away learning the art of running a house as maid servants, or for many as outdoor servants. A few girls were apprenticed to a trade. Only gentlewomen learnt embroidery, music and dancing to please their future husbands, and even fewer learnt languages. Scholarship was not for them. Some fathers might allow girls to learn to read at the local petty school, but there was no access to the grammar and few learnt to write, or render up accounts (p152). Sir Thomas More around 1530 had advocated with the Renaissance Humanists that learning could agree equally with both sexes and many women did learn several languages from then until the 1560's. The emphasis in this patriarchal society was for women to be attractive, soberly dressed

wives, not given to chatting, in fact they may not speak unless spoken to in the presence of their husband, their master. Men excused their tyranny by pointing out that Eve's downfall meant they were the weaker sex, an easy prey for the devil.

Women were told to obey their husbands and yet at the same time all were to honour their parents. This must at times have caused confusion. The church had always insisted that a daughter must agree to marry a groom chosen for her, yet what happened if she disobeyed her parents?

Just occasionally through the writings of brave women of that time (more so from 1640-1660) comes a glimmer of what some women thought. They believed they were made from the same mould as men and god had made them both equal. One pointed out that Eve's sin was not as great as that of the men who crucified Christ. They refuted the notion that they had no soul and they wished to follow their own consciences as far as it was allowed under a queen who also governed the church. Yet there was no option once married, but to obey the husband and be a comfort to him and their children. The fortunate ones found affection and contentment in marriage. There was no doubt that many partnerships came about, even if they had not chosen each other. Those who had made a mutual contract in front of witnesses had at least taken the step themselves. A strong personality might turn the situation somehow to her advantage, though if the wife could not enjoy her prison she had silently to learn to endure it. Without education and without expectation, ridiculed by men as a creature of low intelligence, who had never had a chance to stretch it, was it any wonder many became irritable, and objects of pity. Powerful women might dominate a weaker husband and there was no doubt they existed. The second Mrs Gorstelow at Prescote manor, who had brought money into the household, also brought a shrill tongue and was not discouraged from venting her frustration against her long suffering husband in their quiet backwater. Had her first husband been more a partner allowing her to help organise his drapers business in London? How many in Cropredy managed to secure a kindly husband, a knowledge of the bible, a friendly mother-in-law, a busy and useful life before widowhood allowed her to stretch her talents to keep the household going? Women who published their poems during the interregnum (seldom before due to the church's hold over the press), speak of being a servant, or rather a slave with no authority, no liberty and no personal belongings.

The husband was allowed by law to do what he liked with his wife's dowry, though not to sell land without her consent which must go towards their children's future legacies. It has already been mentioned that custom insisted he leave a third to his widow. (This was apparently not done in all areas). Her stock, plate and household goods all become his. Those who could afford it made sure their daughters were provided for and a jointure was drawn up. This meant amongst the gentry at least that the girl's father must provide a dowry for the groom's father who then undertook to pay a yearly sum to the wife if she became a widow. Sometimes land in another parish was involved to provide for her widowhood. If Cropredy men took ill while the children were young then husbandmen and craftsmen being tenants mostly settled the younger children fairly, leaving the task to the wife or eldest son. Thomas Holloway left his daughters bonds for their marriage portion, expecting that if the husband died first the wives would have some money to fall back on for themselves and the children. John Hunt in 1587 refers

back to "certaine artycles under my hand and seal dated 7th Oct" 1583 in which he had given his "natural daughter Elizabeth" £20. He adds that if she "die of childbede of this child which she now goeth with..." then her husband Robert Burbridge shall have no more than he has already received.

Those women who were taught to read and write obviously lived in a kinder family atmosphere. A place which had a petty school may have meant more sisters were able to be taught by their brothers at home. The church wardens who made few presentments may confine them to scolds.

Such women were taken before the church court. Barbara Jackson from Bourton went too far and was presented in 1621 "for a common scold and sower of discord" (p27). Her punishment may have been a cold immersion in a cucking-stool in the Cherwell. Few women were put in the stocks for drunkenness as men were. Perhaps the husband paid a fine and spared himself the shame as well as his wife. Women either kept a low profile, or there were natural healers living in neighbouring parishes, for Cropredy women escaped the consequences of the long reign of persecution of women. The church made sure that healers were registered by making it necessary for all midwives to be licenced before a bishop (p123). (One woman had been presented but has not been researched).

Calvin had insisted that women had souls though not all men believed this during our period. Protestants were beginning to encourage women to follow their own consciences. After 1640 there were other men who at last could make themselves heard and they printed their belief that women should have rights and that there were no witches. Unfortunately witch trials went on through the century.

The bible was full of instructions on wifely and children's duties, but on the whole the bible did not help women, even though in Genesis chapter one verse twentyseven it says "Male and female created he them." Them. The church ignored this. The bible was used for all enquiries into church matters and state politics as well as all family matters, but in it women are repeatedly spoken of as inferior to men. The few exceptions in the old testament having been ironed out in translations. In church the homilies on marriage were regularly read out. This stressed that women must submit to their husbands and that they must remain modest and virtuous. From a tiny infant until burial all their training was towards obeying father or husband. Yet protestants wanted santification of marriage in which the man and wife would help and comfort each other bringing the partnership away from the catholic one of a wife's sin and old superstitions. Encouragement to read the bible within the home and to extend their role in educating the children. We've seen how fathers cared for their sons and daughters, but how did they really feel about their wives? Is there any evidence in the wills to lighten this emphasis on women as second class citizens? The situation was perhaps not as gloomy as it sounds.

Affection or Indifference?

From the married man's care of his wife and children can we say that their affection for each other was more than just a duty?

Out of thirtyone wills written for men (a quarter of which were craftsmen the rest farmers) twentyseven mention their wives by name and Thomas Gybbs [25] goes further and calls her "my loving wife Elizabeth." Thomas Holloway sometimes referred to his "weiffe" or called her "Elizabeth my wife." Mr Arthur Coldwell [50] also had a "loving wife Elizabeth." The remaining four (one craftman three farmers) engaging a scribe to write them a will refer to their married partner as "my wife." John Wilmer who died in 1655 called Marie "my faithfull and loveing wife" [8].

In 1547 a betrothal had already legally bound John Orlege and Joan together for life (p122). John the father of William had lost his first wife and had been able to find again his ideal woman. Unfortunately he fell ill and wrote in his will of 1547: "To Joan Gybbs my wiff that should have bynne iij£ for the greate love that was betwyxt us two." John died that day and their love lay shattered. Worse poor Joan gave birth to a baby girl just nine months later who was buried the following day.

Such loves did take place and many ended not in tears, but in long marriages, like Thomas and Em Devotions. In 1630 at the other end of one such marriage Thomas Gudden of Great Bourton left his son to "plough, tile, sowe and bring home to his mothers third parte as well as he doth his own" [M.S.Wills Pec. 31/4/10]. He must not neglect her. Not all marriages were arranged by parents especially if there was no land to be gained by the union, or settlements made.

One father was very anxious about his daughter Elizabeth Robins [26] who was seventeen. In 1603 Robert charged her "to be advised by my wife and the overseers ...in her marriage." Had she shown a desire for someone unsuitable? She does not in the end get married in Cropredy as expected, but in Horley. Was this father more than usually determined to get his way with suitable matches for the children. This is an isolated example, but we do not know how many other children gave in to parental pressure being married before their father died. The church insisted the children must not marry against their wishes, but they would need the protection of their own family on many future occasions and especially if widowed. A child brought up in a particularly strict family would be conditioned to obey, unless her love for an "unsuitable" groom proved stronger. Sons could hold on and marry after the death of a strict father, but thereby shortening his own family life with his children. The start of all such hopes and the care for each other throughout life until death took one of them, comes through with Robert and Dyonice Woodrose [8]. Robert calls her his "beloved wife" leaving matters to her discretion and making her the sole executrix (p167). He had of course already divided his property with the eldest son who shares their house. She mentions Robert twice in her will for the distribution of his precious bed and belongings and still calls him her "well beloved and loving husband" seven years after he had died. Her daughter-in-law's marriage does not have such affection on the surface, nor does

the widow mention Nicholas in her will (but this was nothing unusual), and Martha may have had some problems we shall never know about living under the same roof as their loving Dyonice, her mother-in-law.

What a difference in tone from Robert's will to that of Ralph Nuberry who had the manor before them [8]. He had ten children and his second wife had two of her own from a previous marriage. She has half the farm with the stepson John, but must remain a widow, or else give up her marriage goods. He tells us what these were: "the featherbed which I had with her at my marredge unto her and also I gave her a bolster, a coverlett, 2 pillowes, a payre of shets, 2 blankettes and some bedsteade which I had with her." In the inventory this gift was valued at £2-3s-4d and mentioned as the bedstead given to his wife. Least she think of departing with her own children and not undertaking the huge task left to her and the eldest son, two overseers were to "carry and drive away and dispose to the best preferment of my said children" all the goods. They were to pay the legacies and send them out adequately provided for, plus their £10. In all there were seven boys and two girls, an unborn child and her own two children. The last two must be grateful for their legacies, a sum of 13s-4d each.

Twenty husbands trusted entirely in their wife with no conditions attached (from 1592 to 1641). These were first wives whose loyalty to their own children would not be questioned. Seven had reached a stage when the eldest son was old enough to share. Twentyeight husbands leave provision for children for they were still of an age to need attention and help. Two leave provision for step-children, they too were entitled to the step-father's attention to their welfare, possibly a condition of marriage. Only five in Cropredy (1578 [8], 1587 [16], 1592 [28], 1609 [24], 1619 [21]) were stipulating conditions about remarriage and Thomas Hall of Bourton left all to his wife to bring up the children, providing she stayed a widow.

If she remarried then only "the third accordinge to the course of the countie" went to her the other two thirds the overseers would use to rear the children [M.S.Wills Pec.41/1/39: 1605]. It must be pointed out that he did not take away the customary third if she remarried. Thomas Holloway [21] thinking of his last two children's dowries left part of their share to his wife "soe longe as she liveth and keepeth her selfe sole and unmarried" she may have the profits from leases made in her son Thomas's name and also the use of the silver plate if she pleases and her half of the household goods.

In 1559 a husband who foresaw problems for his wife and settled firmly in her favour was John Sherman of Bourton who made Alys his wife sole executrix "I will my wyfe to have anything concerninge my will and testament without any trouble of my son John or any other in his name or for him and all covenants made before betwixt him and my wife and if he will not so do the said John to have no parte of my goodes but by the oversight of my overseers" [MS. Will Oxon 183: 250].

Most of the family possessions went to the children as soon as their widowed mother, or stepmother remarried, which was necessary when the goods were part of their legacy to start their own households. Was there a clause in the contracts for second marriages that the new wives knew their position right from the start? John Pratt [24] took particular care to

safeguard the children from his first marriage. John Hunt [16] did the same. If his second wife remarried she lost the lease and half the goods she shared with the eldest son. The only one at first marriage to do this was Richard Howse [28]. Even so he only asked the overseers to see the children had their legacies within a year after her marriage, nothing about withdrawing her widow's third, but Alese never did remarry managing very adequately on her own and thereby bettering her sons inheritance which she could not have done after remarriage. Besides she had a good two and a half storey stone house and a farm run with the help of her uncle. A father's anxiety about the eldest son's inheritance, who was by local custom allowed half the lease while younger siblings were looked after and later two thirds of the lease while the widow lived, might come from tales of a son's problems when a stepfather had control. Other second husbands might not farm well reducing the fertility and leaving poor stock as he could not pass it down to his own son. Nehemiah Haslewood as the second husband was an exception and did manage to gain the lease on the Green [14] (p534). A dying husband might be jealous of a second marriage, but his landlord could encourage remarriage to ensure the land was farmed by a man.

In his eightieth year William Lyllee [29] made his will. Here was one case of a man who could read and write, once attending and witnessing wills, but now too poorly to do more than sign with a mark (without the other information he would have gone down as one of the illiterate). Two of their sons had died and the third had married and left. Of their four daughters Joane Lucas [2] and Elizabeth Hall [29] stayed in Cropredy with John and Elizabeth Hall living with the Lyllees. William held back enough land and stock to feed himself and his wife and occasionally took on another cow common. In his will he made his son-in-law Thomas French of Grindon executor perhaps to save any argument between mother and daughter. So far all seemed reasonable, but his bequest to his wife (whose name was Ann but not given), was seemingly a trifle harsh in tone if the "worst" is taken to mean the nastiest instead of I am sure the second best: "my best cove, my worst bed in the chamber where I usually lye without woolebed, the best coverlett, one blankett, two paire of sheets, one boulster and one pillow. I give her more, one pott, the lesser of the two, one kettle, two coffers which were her owne, two platters and one brasse candlesticke."

He added 2 drink barrels and 2 loomes or vats. So he had been practical and made sure she still cooked and kept a cow and presumably there was her share of barley, rye, wheat and pease in the barn as well as hay for the cow. Note those items which they still regard as having been hers after fiftysix years of marriage! So Ann had always retained some hold on the family possessions which is an important insight into their family life when her husband recognised the articles as her contribution.

In Cropredy several widows appear to carry the respect of their husbands to "breed up and educate" the children, and Thomas Toms in 1607 [15] allowed "that Johan my wife shall enjoy that moytie in my tenement as also that half yardland there unto belonging for and during the yeares of my lease to runne yf she so longe shall live." He wanted her to be executrix and take what benefit from the hovels and scaffolds "as her need shall require" and being used to caring for the stock she would know

exactly how much to set aside and leave the rest for their son William, who had the other half yardland. In spite of the fact that the children were over eighteen Johan had more than her third.

All the evidence points to a careful consideration of all the assets and problems that the wife would face and which she would already be aware of, to prevent hardship coming to their children. New research is tending to move away from the theory that people of this period were cold towards their families, for the opposite seems to be true. Nowhere did there appear to be a couple acting just for themselves. If they were harsh it lies hidden. Whipping children into compliance to prevent them from eternal damnation may have been done only in their love for them, but there is no real evidence in Cropredy even though apprentices and scholars could be whipped. The manorial courts, or their neighbours would surely have protested, if the head of the household had neglected his responsibility leaving the town to foot the bill. True caring was when Robert Woodrose left all to his loving wife (having seen to their other children by then). John Russell cared for his grandson, but only with the help and charge of his wife whom he trusted to accomplish this. The size of their houses, the possessions they placed there for their wives and children, the careful allocation of fair shares to them all and the occasional sign of endearment and desire to be buried next to their loved ones "as near my beloved and loving husband..." These were just outward expressions which the rest never wrote down expressing them only within the family, yet the wills emphasise the amount of care and attention to detail given by those who still had time to do so even during a sudden illness.

One necessity was the expense made in paying entry fines to enter the lives of their wife and a child onto the copyhold and paying the manor court fees for their copy of the deed. Could not a little be for the love of their companion and partner in life as well as a wish for the descendants to continue to enjoy the benefits of the cottage? The younger the wife and entering the youngest of the children also extended their time. A death needed a heriot as well as a new entry fine and must be saved for in advance by the son or daughter.

The poorer members of the town may have seen much less of their children after fourteen, but their marriages may have been of their own choosing. Children from these families received their legacies after the death of both parents.

Age and Length of Marriage.

A desire to live in a house or cottage of their own could seldom be granted. Out of thirtyseven baptised in Cropredy who succeeded to a site only nine married with both parents dead.

This did not guarantee the sole use of the property if there were younger siblings, for the executor being their brother must take on the responsibility of their legacies and possible marriages. He may never lose the burden of being asked to help sisters and brothers on several occasions, even after they had set up households of their own.

In their larger houses Woodroses [8], Robins [26] and French [4] could split up the property and allocate a hearth to each division of the family. Both might still be part of the same household as Robins and French were, but in Woodrose's case the vicar drew a half line indicating two sections of that house with two heads of household. Some married late because the parents had still to raise the younger children's legacies. The father could not delay this for too long without endangering the length of the son's marriage. Those who delayed into their thirties while waiting for a lease elsewhere, or through the rebuilding programme raised the average age, balancing out those who had the opportunity to marry earlier.

Cropredy apparently lies within the normal average age of marriage. In 1562 the Statute of Artificers prevented very early marriages by setting the age for marriage at twentyone in the country and twentyfour in the larger towns. Nearly a third of the husbandmen married under twentyfive, two out of six of the craftsmen, but no labourer was able to marry young out of ten. Denzie as blacksmith had inherited the copyhold of [13] from his grandfather and could set up his household. Watts [27] must also have qualified as a weaver for he took over after his father died, marrying within three years. Labourers needed to be out to service for a much longer period seldom having a copyhold life on a property. Those who married at twentynine or over were ten husbandmen, half the artisans and five out of the eight labourers.

The average age at marriage of thirtyseven men baptised at Cropredy were as follows:

- 9 married when both parents were dead at the average age of 28.33
- 3 married while both parents lived at the average age of 29.33
- 8 married when only father was alive at the average of 28.37
- 14 married when only mother was alive at the average age of 29.57
- 3 married when their stepmother was alive at the average age of 29.

[The following farmers were used to calculate the average age: [3] T. Devotion 24, [4] Thos, John and Thos French at 22, 21 and 26. [9] Wm and Sol. Howse at 39 and 45. [12] Handley at 31. [14] Ed Lumberds at 28 and 25. [15] Wm Toms at 31. [16] Just and John Hunt at 35 and 25. [23] T. Vaughan at 26. [25] T. and Wm Gybbs at 35 and 22. [26] R. Robins at 23. [28] R. and Thos Howse at 32 and 27. [29] Lyllee at 23. [31] R. Kynd at c20. [32] Wm and Rich. Rede at 35 and 30. [34] A. Watts at 28. These twentythree farmers were married at the average age of 28.6.

The following craftsmen were used: [5] Ant. and R. Hunt at 33 and 28. [13] T. Denzie at 21. [27] T. Watts at 24. [37] T. Breedon at 39 and [46] Ed. Whyte at 33. These six craftsmen married at the average age of 29.6.

The following labourers lived at: [10] Wm and Henry Adkins at 36 and 26. [11] R. Page at 33. [33] J. Truss at 29. [36] V. Huxeley at 31. [46] John Whyte at 25. [47] John and R. Bryan at 29 and 26. These eight labourers married at the average age of 29.37].

There were more baptisms in the farming families upon which to work out the age of marriage than in craftsmen who arrived in the late sixteenth century. The thirtyseven were made up of twentythree farmers in group one, six craftsmen in group two and eight labourers in group three:

Group	Parents alive	Parents dead	Father only	Mother only	Step-mother	Total
ONE	6	3	4	8	2	23
TWO	2		1	3		6
THREE	1		3	3	1	8

Who had control in the households with three generations, rather depended upon personalities, second marriages of parents and the ability of the son's new wife to come under her mother-in-law's regime with a good grace. Even into this century there are wives living in pastoral areas who began their married life in a home which gave them no separate sitting room. All they had was their bedchamber. This quite frequently led to the daughter-in-law keeping very quiet and following the routine without protest. Nursing the in-laws and often other siblings or uncles and aunts of the husband could not be avoided as they had some family claim to the household. They brought up their own children, sleeping them in the cockloft. During the depression they must take in summer visitors to sleep in the main chambers and give them the use of the sitting room. All the time still nursing the elderly until the house finally became their own. None of the furnishings ever belonged to the wives for the property had been handed down from father to son for generations. Though the landlord had ceased to allow the occupiers their copyrights and in their own house built by their ancestors they had become tenants, until the estates were finally sold. These conditions were part of the local pattern and not regarded as unusual.

A great many Cropredy marriages stopped abruptly in the first ten years due to the death of the mother in childbirth, then the number of deaths dropped, but rose again in the third decade of marriage, leaving the few remaining couples who enjoyed a long marriage.

While grandparents were available they had a good chance of helping the mother to train the young. Both mothers and daughters would help the old before the teenagers had to go into service leaving mother with servants. Other grandchildren of Dyonice [8] came to the Brasenose farm [8] to help her in addition to her two maids (p521).

When William and Anne Lyllee [28] were married he was an orphan of twentythree. Together they survived fiftysix years of marriage. John and Annes Gybbs [25] had fortytwo years as man and wife. Annes lived on for seven more years. Thomas Toms also began marriage at twentyfive with Johan and for forty years they were together [15]. Richard and Annis Page in their cottage, survived a late marriage at thirtythree, and for forty years they dwelt on the Long Causey [11] to die in 1640. Thomas and Em Devotion [3] both twentyfour at marriage and born in Cropredy lived together for forty years, Em dying three

years later. John Clyfton and Abishag had thirtyfive years in their farm cottage [7]. A long term of employment on one farm which may be the reason for calling the close after the Clyfton's.

Who Took Over the Lease?

Did the surviving eldest always inherit the farm or cottage? Out of sixty households about twentyone change hands following a death especially in copyhold cottages. Leases were not always renewed.

In the remaining thirtynine the eldest surviving son took over from parents on twentyfive properties. Eight daughter's husbands and six other sons had the rest. Also staying and waiting were seven sons and six girls. Four other girls marry and stay in Cropredy. This meant that just over a sixth of the girls were able to stay. The majority of eldest sons did inherit at Cropredy. Exceptions were Vaughan's [23] youngest son staying on, or next door at [24] where the eldest daughter's husband succeeded, or where the eldest son went to university and the youngest son would have taken over only he died, and a married daughter stayed [26]. At Whytes house the eldest son's wife died leaving two small children and their father vanishes leaving the second brother to the copyhold [46]. Down the street Normans [48] had no son, a daughter inherits and shares the house with the second sister and her husband. The local custom was for the eldest to inherit on farms, but cottagers may enter different children as "lives" on the copyhold and the eldest son was not always the next in line, it could be one of the daughters or even a grandchild [13].

Edward Bokingham [55] had not entered his eldest son as a life on the copyhold, but a younger daughter who married the schoolmaster Rede. Their family holding passed to a son and then a grand-daughter. Huxeley [36] also enters a daughter, and the eldest son, who was thirtyfour when his father died, had long since departed. Was it not possible for the third generation to enter a son? When Elizabeth nee Huxeley's second husband died the family appear not to be able to renew the copyhold and after nearly a hundred years the smallholding changes hands. Truss's [33] smallholding on the B. Manor passed to the two youngest children. His grandmother had hung onto her lifehold until 1609/10 and John was by then seventeen (p411). Maybe he had replaced his grandma on the copyhold as the most likely one to live the longest, unfortunately he died a bachelor aged fortythree and the copyhold goes to Bloxhams.

Gybbs to Tomkins [25], Robins to Blagrave [26], Lyllee to Hall [29] are some of the family names on a farm which change on the marriage of a daughter, while Sutton to Langley [42], Norman to Hudson then Sabin [48], Cox to Arisse [49] and Bokingham to Rede [55] were names of craftsmen who had been entered on the same copyhold following a marriage. Sometimes that married daughter would be the one at home to take care of a bachelor brother [3], an ill sister [42], or an ailing mother. Was this what happened at Lyllees [29] and Mrs Watts [27], so that on any site in Cropredy one of the lives on the copyhold must care for the neediest in each generation.

There was always movement of people to and from Cropredy. Only one child could inherit the lease. The eldest sons of husbandmen left and returned from their various apprenticeships or servants years, but the younger members of the family had no place in the town unless they married one of the leaseholders. How long would a family keep in touch with married siblings once the parents died? Some would have a wide knowledge of surrounding parishes and could probably give the descent of several families who used the same markets.

Mrs Gybbs' [25] mother came from West Adderbury to end her days in Cropredy just as Mrs Holloway's [21] mother, Mrs Gardner came from Thorpe Mandeville, but again we cannot know if the grandchildren had walked over to see the grandparents at all. Only Dyonice and Martha Woodrose mention nieces or grandchildren staying in the house. Evidence of relations supporting each other only comes out when a bachelor helps siblings, nieces and nephews, such as Fremund Denzie who helped Alese Howse [28], or Thomas Howse [9] who remembered them in his will. This Thomas had no doubt been available as an unmarried uncle who remained working the farm with first his step-father and then his eldest brother who was the shepherd.

A new bay was apparently built at the north end of the farm to house the various members of the extended family (p524). John French who left his lease to his nephew Anthony Hall [6] was another who without children of his own, thought of his brother's younger sons. Martha Woodhouse [8] in 1639 remembers her nieces in her will.

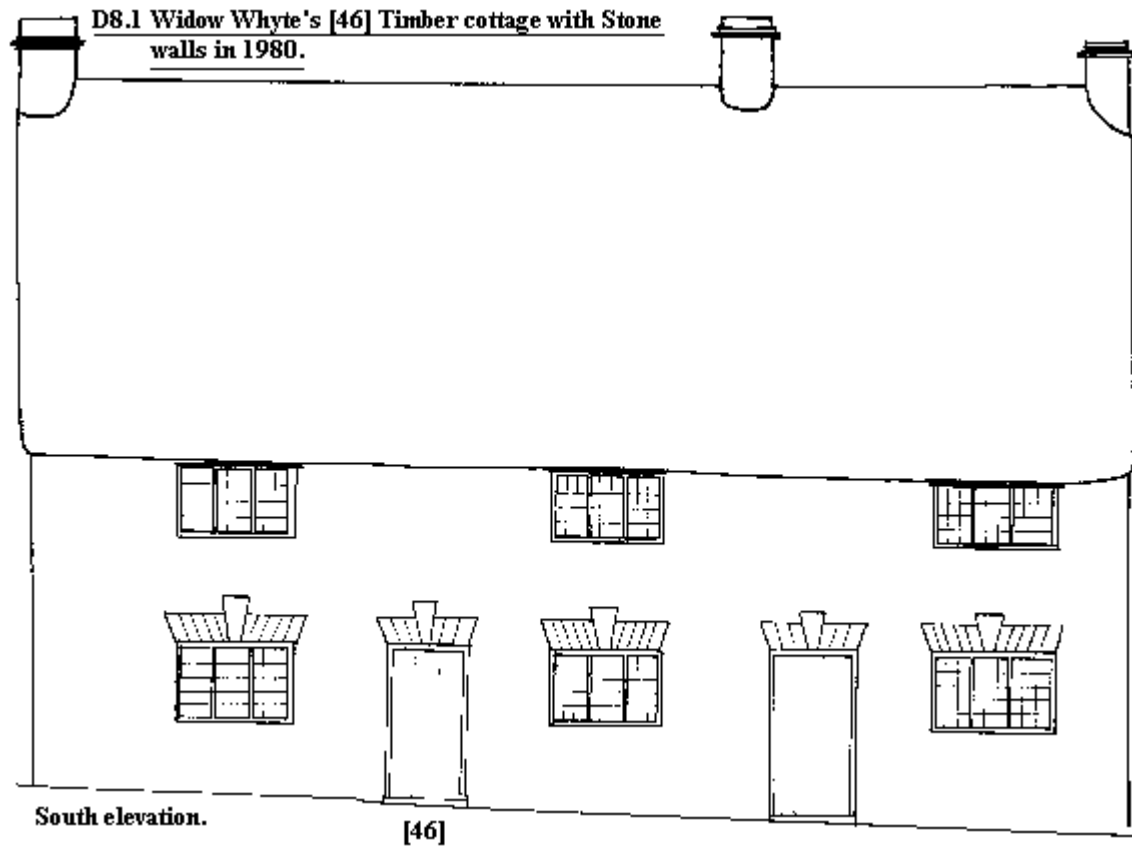
The wills are the only place which tell us about the wider family, their kinsmen. Arthur Coldwell [50] spread his silver around the family which included sisters and their children, many godchildren related or not, many more "cozens," "sons of my nephew" and "cozens" who were really nephews being sons of his brother. Was he able to do this because he only had one son?

The town was run by men who were seldom related to each other. Only a third of them had relations in one of the other sixty properties and three quarters of these were daughters, sisters or cousins marrying a Cropredy man. Very few of those taking the burden of the town affairs on their shoulders had a close relation to work with.

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8. Widows as Heads of Households



Widow Whyte's [46] Timber cottage with Stone walls in 1980.

Widowhood was often a chance for the mother to use other talents as she took over the household. A widow's position as mistress of the household was so different to all her former experiences that many might be loathe to give it up and accept an offer of marriage. Unfortunately having property was a snare to many women and they might be forced to accept marriages of convenience, though there was increasing pressure to present any husband at the church courts who went outside the marriage for love. Towards the middle of our period the emphasis within a strict protestant family was towards a mutual partnership.

When the father died leaving a widow the children had at least one parent to care for them. From the wills there were fourteen wives at Cropredy acting as the sole executrix who had full charge of the children under eighteen. Only three of these remarry [9, 14, 40]. Five other widows had a son over eighteen, but also younger children to bring up, and were joint executors with the eldest son on half the farm, and if her son and family were already catered for, then the customary third. Thomas French [4] took charge when his son John died leaving the young Elizabeth a widow who seems unable to cope, or at least was not given the chance. Her son Thomas was later to write in his will:

My wife [Mary] shall "afford hir [Elizabeth] comfortable maytenance and in case shee shall dislike within the yeare then to have £10 payde hir by my executors, my mother bitaking himself to some friends whome shee please."

Elizabeth was not one of the most fortunate of women. She was born a Hall and may have been visiting next door [6] when she met John. They were married soon after. First her husband and then her married son died young, but Elizabeth decided to stay on in her own chamber with the use of the kitchen which had a hearth (p504). Other older widow's sons in Cropredy were charged with their mothers welfare. Thomas [25] was to keep and provide his mother Agnes Gybbs "in meat and drink and all necessities fyttinge her estate." In the six wills where the wife had died five sons and one daughter were made executors. One daughter did have brothers, but Jane Sutton had the copyhold and a duty to care for her sister Anne [42].

Six older men left their widow in control, but unfortunately we do not know what other documents may have been made concerning their children. Was it because the wives were elderly and all legacies paid off? Or had the marriage partnership been one where the wife was allowed to be a reasoning adult capable of directing her own actions (1607 [15], 1630 [18], 1631 [8], 1634 [43], 1637 [15] & 1640 [2])?

Not all are in charge for the whole length of their widowhood, for often the eldest boy married and was allowed to take over, though not always straight away. The year the sons were married is given on the chart below. The mother might still have the hearth and a third of the farm. Alyse Devotion had a son, who was married in 1591, farming with her for over three years. The next column gives the number of years the mother lived in the house as a widow, followed by her name:

Site	Years a widow	Son married	Years as a widow	Name of widow
[3]	1582 to 1594	1591	12	Alyse Devotion
[3]	1631 to 1634		3	Em Devotion
[4]	1602 to 1637	1624*	35	Elizabeth French
[4]	1632 to 1674		c42	Mary French
[8]	1625 to 1634	c1612	9	Dyonice Woodrose
[8]	1627 to 1639	*(i)	12	Martha Woodrose
[9]	1559 to 1577		18	Elizabeth Howes
[9]	1600 to 1603		3	Margery Howse
[9]	&1629 to 1643	1632	12	Margery Broughton
[14]	1564/5 to 1567		2	Alyce Lumberd
[14]	&1584 to 1613	c1593	29	Alyce Whyting
[23]	1600 to 1610/14?		c10	Ann Vaughan
[25]	1562 to 1577	1575	15	Alyce Gybbs
[25]	1617 to 1624	1610	7	Agnes Gybbs
[25]	1629 to 1636		7	Elizabeth Gybbs
[25]	c1643 to 1655		?	Joyce Gybbs
[26]	1559 to 1579		20	Johan Robins
[26]	1603 to 1627	1611	24	Joanne Robins
[28]	1550 to ?	1581	?	Ayllys Howes
[28]	1592 to 1609		17	Alese Howse
[28]	1617 to 1650	1640	33	Alyce Howse
[31]	1592 to 1597	c1594	5	Alyce Kynd
[32]	1577 to 1584	1579	9	Margery Rede
[33]	1574 to 1609	1583	35	Constance Wilson
[34]	1602 to 1623	1616	21	Anne Watts
[34]	1624 to 1626		2	Anne Watts
[34]	&1633/4 to ?	1647	?	Anne Hall

*: Father-in-law was Master until 1617 so only Mistress from that year until 1624 when son marries.

*(i): Lease to nephew John Wilmer in 1637.

A few widows, as the above table shows, rose to the occasion carrying on into their fifties until an arrangement was made with their son, though some died still farming. Elizabeth Howes [9] kept the farm going for eighteen years bringing up two sons.

She died in 1577 in possession of her land, stock, fire and table. In 1579 Widow Johan Robins [26] to her annoyance found herself often sick. Her son Richard had been married and lived elsewhere. For twenty years Johan had hung onto her stock, her control of the hall fire and the table while her lease lasted. Her part of the house consisted of a hall, chamber, nether (below the hall) house and kitchen. Up to 1577 Johan had the Wydow Elizabeth Gybbs [25] either next door, or at least in the town, also managing to hang onto her farm, in spite of the fact that her eldest son had been married for two years. Did these three women, their marriages casualties of the 1550's and 1560's, meet to discuss their farming and family problems? The three farms continue in the family name, so the landlord, presumably having made safe guards, was satisfied with their administration.

Were they ever allowed to partake in the church affairs, or did the men of the town have to take up their share, willingly or grudgingly? The next Joanne Robins, left a young widow in 1603, also farmed for twentyfour years. Although not all that time in full control she was still able to keep farming her third.

Thomas Devotion's widow Grace [3] married John Smythe and Thomas's son George became known as George Smith alias Devotion or Dyer. George married in 1564 and when he died eighteen years later his Alyse took on more land and carried on for twelve years still in full control even after her son Thomas Devotion [3] and Em Whyting [14] had of necessity to marry. Years later as a widow herself Em firmly carries on supporting herself and her family on half the farm into her mid-sixties, by which time her son George was thirtyseven.

Widow Toms [15] was older and manages only two years, but still kept her fire and some stock for a while. She had been more fortunate than Anne Watts [34] down Creampot, who for twentyone years after her husband died had the rearing of their seven children, born over ten years. Perhaps from sheer exhaustion Anne needed the help of Richard Hall.

On the corner of Creampot Lane lived the Kynd's [Kindes] [31]. John died in 1592 and his Wydow Alyce managed to carry on through five years of dreadful harvests and near starvation in poorer families. Widow Alyce's inventory shows how goods after a crisis drop in value. The appraisers were being realistic as few had money to buy. Alyce's inventory follows her husband's line by line. Her table, bench and forms were now worth only 3s, a fall from 12s. Even wear and tear would not reduce them so. Other items in her hall were halved in value and a cupboard once 13s was now but 6s-8d. Two feather beds, family heirlooms, once £1 were now 15s. Even the standing bed and two bedsteads fell from 10s to 6s. During this period Alyce had to replace her cart. Alyce Kynd had not needed in her small household to sell items to survive, and her stock was reared, corn sown and harvested so that even if the value of her goods had plummeted according to the assessors, their usefulness had not, and she like many others had pulled through the worst years. Unfortunately only the chamber and hall are mentioned though there would appear to be other rooms. Was her married son using them?

Alese Howse [28], a much younger widow in Creampot, lost her husband Recharde in the same year as Alyce Kynd and she carried on farming with the help of her old bachelor uncle, Fremund Densy (p185). Both were to die in the epidemic of 1609. Fremund may have come to help after Recharde died, but let him not take all the credit, for Alese ran a tidy place increasing her goods.

Young widows had a doubly difficult task, for not only had they to build up and carry on the farm or the business, but single handed they had to raise the legacies. One great advantage if they stayed unmarried was of course the family was not still growing. There was no reason why with a man to do the ploughing, the husbandry could not be organised by a strong mother. Most were used to field work and had learnt what to demand of a man servant to keep it going and few could not manage a long hard day. Widows of craftsmen, if their husband had not taught them his skills, must employ a journeyman. Children were brought up to help as soon as they were able as part of their home apprenticeship. Marrying older men in their thirties certainly carried more risks of being left as widows. To these mothers fell the education and bringing up of the children. All the skills the father should have taught them the mothers had to see they were accomplished. Most obviously succeed for their families like the Howses [28] go on for at least three more generations. Women proved that a farm could keep producing under their administration with the help of staff, but minus a Master.

A lot depended upon the length of their lease, the number of yardlands, her skills as manager and the weather as to how they increased the value of their moveable estate. Most important of all the mother passed on a farm or trade and kept a roof over her head for as long as required. Many epidemics upset the family pattern. The 1550's left many widows on their own and the following generation married earlier. The 1609 fever brought several changes on the farms. Within a year the average age of heads of households plummeted as the next generation were able to marry, though some only with their mother as the head of the household.

When, as in 1609, the fevers spread rapidly from house to house, it would almost seem that one husbandman had no sooner been called in to help witness a will, or the making of an inventory than he too was calling for neighbours to come in as he had been taken ill. In this year it was not just the elderly at risk, but the husbandmen still in their prime. It was not just the poorest who were reduced by under nourishment, but fevers catching everyone including the wealthiest townsmen. The parish clerk's father William Rede [32], when he too caught the "fever" and before he died, managed to make a will passing on exact instructions for the division of his household and the care of his younger son and second wife (p118).

The generation before 1570 whose fathers died young were able to marry in their early twenties so that any rebuilding had to be done during their marriage. After the 1570's a father's death might force a rebuilding prior to a son's marriage at the change of lease, or a father would begin rebuilding when the children reached adulthood. The eldest sons would then have to put off marriage into their thirties. Six of those who married young women then died early on in the marriage and left the

widows to bring up the family. One third of the husbandmen who married late in the 1570's and 1580's appear to build prior to marriage.

No.	1570	75	80	85	90	95	1600	05	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45
6								*								
5							*					*	*			
4						*					*			*	*	
3	*	*		*	*				*							*
2										*						
1			*													

The number of widows in control of their hearths on 22 farms.

What happened to their young widows? Most would manage to cope alone, a few would choose to remarry. Over several years there were at least three widows managing their farms. After 1592 this rose to four and in the first decade of the new century five then six widows took the chair in their halls. This dropped to three then two in the second decade, rising in the 1620's to four then five, a sixth of the farms. The winter of 1622/3 was bad, but the worst years were yet to come, though nothing to do with house building delaying marriages, for the 1630's began badly. In 1630 the price of wheat had risen and the demand for barley to make bread caused a scarcity. The local magistrates seeing a crisis arising prohibited the making of malt. By 1631 the market was still hampered by fixed prices and the husbandmen were holding onto the corn waiting for the price to rise. The winter of 1634/5 was such a terrible one that the poor everywhere came near to perishing. Cropredy registers reveal that 1631 and 1634 produced two dreadful epidemics made worse by the market prices.

The strain took a toll on artisans, small holders, husbandmen and a yeomen seemingly irrespective of age or wealth, leaving five farming widows then four in the third and fourth decade. Husbandmen being outdoor workers would in a wet season after a poor harvest be forced to carry on worrying and working in dreadful conditions often without adequate food until he dropped from exhaustion. Apparently boys and men were more vulnerable to disease than women. The loss of a father certainly put their children at a disadvantage and there were always a few one parent families in Cropredy due to sudden death (p126).

Step-mothers and Complicated Families.

The term "step" was not often added to mother or father. The new wife or husband might be called mother or father by their stepchildren. Remarriage was not lightly entered into by a widow or widower with a family. The clash with children could spoil the second marriage, especially if more children arrived and upset the older family. In a few cases children may be left with

older relations before the new marriage, but with the paternal grandparents already living in the house it had to be a maternal grandparent who was approached. Widow Elizabeth French [4] preferred to stay on with the help of her father-in-law, rather than give her children a step-father, for then she would have had to leave Cropredy and the new stone buildings. There were sometimes economical reasons why remarriage was undertaken. Support for old age was one, or if a very young mother needed help with the children (p104). Orledge had found someone else to love and contracted to marry again for men had nothing to lose in the way of property (p104).

We saw that a man who lost his first wife generally tried to remarry to make sure there was a woman to control the running of the household. In the Pratt/Howse household this led to three families under one roof. Some families became so complicated with step-mothers and fathers remarrying that children needed all the help they could get. An entry on a copyhold soon after they were born was one way to protect one child and some daughters then inherited and not the sons. The second wife on such a property was left with little. In Church Lane Richard Howse [24] had retired onto half a yardland leaving his son-in-law Pratt the rest of the two yardlands. John Pratt having married Elizabeth Howse, the eldest daughter, whose name was on their copyhold lease. Her step-mother Grace Howes [24] nee French [4] had on the death of her husband Richard in 1600/1 to give way to the Pratts. Then Elizabeth Pratt died and her husband John took over the widow's half yardland and Grace went to live with a step-daughter, Mrs Alyce Thompson nee Howse [44]. Unfortunately John and Alyce Thompson leave the town in 1614 and again the goodwife has to move. This time back to Church Lane to her daughter Ann Vaughan nee Howse [23] the wife of Thomas, who lived right next to her late husband's farm. Did Grace pay off her husband's legacies totalling around £10 and a whole "land of barlie" plus a further two strikes of barley before she left the farm and why had the French's not made some provision for Grace before she married the widower? Her late husband had trusted her enough "to take my goods and pay my debts and bring my bodie honestly to ye ground," but who would do the same for her?

After Grace left her marital home the widower John Pratt married Margaret and more children arrived (p557). He died suddenly in 1609 leaving his widow to run the farm, which she did with the help of a Thomas Webb. John left legacies for his four children and the unborn baby.

He included the vicar's maintenance clause (though only the brief version) that they remain at home until "they may be honestly be by service provided." If she remarries then the children's payment must be seen to first, otherwise when they are twentyone. Rebecca and John from his first marriage must have £16 at twentyone and twentytwo years old. The two from the second £13-6s-8d each, and "the child my wife now goeth with all," twenty marks. He had full confidence in her and left a personal estate of over £100. Here was an example of the farm using all the profits to go towards providing for the children. John had recently re-entered the lease which was worth £40 for the remainder of the years. It was seven years before widow Margaret married William Howse from Creampot [28]. A condition of marriage may have been to settle the legacies for Margaret's three children and her two surviving step-children. Margaret and William added two more children to the family.

A bride whose father had made a covenant with the groom and his father prior to their marriage, as Elizabeth Batchelor and Thomas Gybbs (1575-1629) [25] had done, gave her the security of the leased land and the house should she be left a widow. This was even more essential before a second marriage if Grace Howse's position was to be avoided. Richard Terry [13], weaver, in 1603 reveals a jointure made by Ursula Farmer's father when he married the widow Elizabeth Russell nee Farmer at the blacksmiths (a copyhold cottage on the Brasenose estate): "Whereas at the marriage of my nowe said wife I did enter Bonds unto Mr Richard Ffarmer my brother to leave her in worth of goodes and money the sum of £100 which I do hope my estate will performe upon the honest and carefull regarde of the performing of my goods...any surplus I doe give to my daughter for her portion and legacy...and desiring my wife in her loving regarde to take the government and education of her...as my trust is in her ...and provide her as her owne childe." Elizabeth seemed to acquire other people's children for her previous husband John Russell had died in 1600 and left her with the education of his grandson Thomas Densy "until he maie honestlie be putt to an apprentice" with a blacksmith.

Problems arose when a man was left a widower with young children, he might remarry as John Pratt had, but only after first safeguarding his first family. John Wilmer, gentleman, [8] who had already settled the children from his first marriage, writes in his will "whereas I have upon marriage with Marie my faithful and loving [second] wife settled all these my freehold landes whereof I was seized at the time of marriage in Joynture to my said wife for her life with the remainders over to the heirs of my bodie lawfully of her begotten..." He left her the Indenture which was with Mr John Sadler her father and brother Mr William Sadler. One bond of £800 had been entered into with the Sadlers with the condition "to give and devise my College lease on the farme in Cropredy unto my said wife or some of her younger children" [PCC 250 414 Aylett].

Arrangements such as Terry and Wilmer had made for their second wives and her possible children were not possible for most husbandmen, but some arrangements in the form of a covenant, especially if she was younger, had to be made to satisfy the wife's relations. Rede [32] left instructions for his two sons by his first wife that Richard must take care of William and his second wife Susan who must have "one half of all my goods." Did this exclude the lease? He had "certain artycles made betwixt Thomas Tomes her father and me before the tyme of my near weding unto her...she to provide for Joane Reade my daughter." The son was sole executor. Susan and Joane do not appear to stay, once Joane is sixteen. It was not just the second wife who might suffer, the children from the first marriage were at risk from a new marriage. The College manor records made sure that the Redes [32] in a later generation gave a brother and four sisters the sole use of the chamber over the kitchen during the duration of the lease [Hurst 158].

Most second wives and second husbands appear to have a limited time on the lease and their children could not inherit in the case of Whyting [14], Broughton [9] and Wilson [33], the exception being the Haslewoods who take up the lease [14] (p534). The craftsmen's widows had a much more difficult task for most had little more than a cow common and a bit of land to feed themselves, though the mercer's widow [39] may have carried on with the shop and few acres before remarrying, for there

were four surviving Tanner children to see to (p409). Only one Tanner signs the 1641 protestation returns, but none of that name grace the baptism register for a few centuries. Across the street Widow Anes Watts [27] kept her two looms. She shared with her son until she died (p452).

Thomas Elderson's [38] second wife brought up the son and daughter of his first marriage and now they were still at home and must take care of her. "If she disliked the maytenance which shalbe allowed and provided for her by my said executors" then she shall have £5 one year "next after her dislike." Her full board was to be provided by the carpenter son Thomas and his sister. What did his son and daughter really feel about their step-mother? In 1601 Agnes Palmer as a second wife was left "her maintenance of meat, drinke, lodginge with apparell" by her late miller husband off his estate so that "shee shall have weekly such decent and honest allowance as may be seene her estate and calling yf my lease of Bolte Mill continue." He wanted to make sure the Palmers would not be let down, but again what were her feelings about her status? [Other second wives lived at 16, 32, 36]. Few of these widows ever had the chance to run the farm or business.

Mixed Households.

Occasionally a young couple [19] went to care for an elderly man taking on their farm or trade (p429). Very few who were newly married managed to start as a nuclear unit in spite of the fact that the vicar of Banbury, the Reverend William Whately, found that sharing a house was the source of a great deal of trouble in families. On three years in the lists there are examples of couples squeezing into an already full cottage. Pettyfers with Clyftons into a two bay cottage [7], Breedons in Bryans [47] open hall cottage, and Fishers into Matchams [18] three bay cottage. An Act of 1589 tried to forbid this practice, but even with a penalty of ten shillings a month it was obviously a dead letter, for there must have been a reason why it had to be tolerated. After the death of a parent when the family home was taken over by the inheriting son any married younger siblings must move out, except at Woodroses [8] who had room, which may be why the Breedon's moved from Creampot to another parish (p483).

Sons had to wait if their mother had remarried. Stepfathers holding the lease during the sons minority would have their names in the terriers for a short period, then the family name reappears as the son takes up the next lease. The names on terriers show the changes as stepfathers give way to sons with craftsmen like Bostocks and Pratt [41], or husbandmen such as Lumberd and Whytinge [14], Howse and Broughton [9] and Devotion and Smyth [3].

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9. Children

Children are not easy to find in records. Apart from their baptism in Cropredy the majority do not surface again, unless in the vicar's Easter lists when they reach eighteen, or else at marriage. As children they were part of their father's household and could not be taxed or made to pay tithes. The fatherless children had more chances if he left a will and a mother to care for them. The poorer children might become a charge on the parish, or like the Haddocks [17] be forced to leave once the father was no longer working for the farmer who sublet them the cottage. They may have gone to their mother's parish. Children in Holloway's time are not recorded as backhouse boys or young maids in any other house except his own, yet we know children were out earning a wage. Apprenticeship could begin early, but mostly from fourteen upwards. Pupils after petty school became serious students from the age of eight, using it as part of an apprenticeship to their life's work.

In inventories children's goods are merged with the head of the household. Even their clothes are never given for they own nothing except it be put out to interest on their behalf. A few of the wills have fortunately left some details. Rechar Howse and his sister Margaret [28] we saw had stock, but the son's childhood stopped with the death of his father (p71). Just a few children were left items of furniture and more rarely a workbox or a cushion, but never a tool like a spinning wheel. A daughter would not want to be reminded that she might have to remain a spinster.

It has been said that childhood was grim for this period. Masters worked apprentices for long, hard hours with few comforts. The evidence may be strong for this as powerful men could always terrorise a helpless child. A few children may have been left to "run free," but the protestant fear of original sin and the devil ruining their will, gave parents a determination to make their children obedient. Many masters must have treated their apprentices fairly and parents would tell their children to treat them with respect (p132). The type of advice given for the perhaps unruly George Tom's upbringing came from only one local will (p131).

Overseers of the Poor forced to take their turn in administrating the paupers in their parish might expect even a three year old child to begin making some contribution towards their keep. Cropredy relied upon donations, but a poor rate was later to become a necessity. In a rural area like Cropredy with only a few without land or a cow, the poor were a few orphans, the elderly and the sick.

Parents with a small-holding would require work from each child according to his age. Collecting only goods that were absolutely necessary for the stock, or for gaining a corn harvest and processing the products, governed mens lives from their first job as corn scarecrow or minder of stock. Their children, without being allowed to question their father, were not "slaves" for parents were giving them essential lessons in survival, learning tasks as an apprentice at home before becoming servants to equip themselves for their own house -holds. Meanwhile their contribution or absence was of the utmost importance to the

survival of their own family. To be released for education meant a sacrifice to the whole household, but they did send a younger and more rarely the eldest boy to school. At first those who could attend school and reach a sufficiently high attainment could find work away from the land. As more attended school these posts naturally became scarcer and the pressure to excel would fall harder on the boy.

Very few girls attended the petty schools and none went to the grammar at Williamscoote in the sixteenth century nor the seventeenth. If the father was a day labourer with a little land then the family had the cow and most of the strips of arable to tend, besides collecting fuel and earning what they could from spinning, or taking on temporary work. The more skills a child could learn the easier their life would be. Always was this fear of a child slipping further down towards poverty and for his own good he must obey the head of the household.

The future environment for children began even before the marriage of their parents and was subject to which king or queen was on the throne. It depended on whether a catholic governed the country or a protestant acted as supreme head of the church in England. A proposal of marriage was more binding before 1590 than the marriage itself and it was only after the protestants began to preach on the sanctification of marriage in the late sixteenth century that the presentments for sexual relationships prior to marriage were increased in the church courts (p27).

The majority of couples in Cropredy had their children after marriage. In spite of the threat of being presented and punished at the church courts some continued with the custom of believing the marriage contract gave them the right to premarital relationships as John Orlege and Joan had done (p104). Once a marriage was arranged at a spousal it meant the couple might meet without a chaperone. An exchange of vows before witnesses was legally binding even without a clergyman. There were obviously occasions when a couple had fallen in love and their marriage was to be blessed with children rather abruptly. In a sample of twentyfour marriages one in eight had a baby within the next four months. Altogether fourteen had their first child within twelve months and the remaining couples had theirs during the following three years. Over the country as a whole "about a fifth of all brides were pregnant by the time they got married in church" [Ingram Martin *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England 1570-1640* p157. 1987 Cambridge University Press].

In 1604 a canon insisted marriages took place between the hours of 8 am and 12 noon after three successive readings of the banns in church. A clergyman must be present at the wedding and any bride under twentyone needed her parents consent. The catholics had insisted upon a clergyman being present as early as 1563.

It could be that the Cropredy churchwardens knowing that the couple did marry left well alone, not wishing to draw attention to them. If the apparitor of the church court heard of such children conceived, or born out of wedlock then the churchwardens would have to present the parents. In spite of this up to the 1630's not all were touched by the disgrace of having to do public

penance in the church. The three in the sample escaped. Up to the 1630's the full penance was not expected providing the couple confessed in private to the minister, yet other offences still required a church penance. Those who were caught in the mesh were those whose partner vanished leaving the girl to pay the price. In 1576 a statute had been passed which allowed the Justices to order the parents to maintain their children and at the same time order them to be punished. Legislation was finally achieved by 1610, and after this the woman could be confined to a house of correction for having a bastard child which was chargeable on the parish. This was after Annes Truss and Judyth Robins had been presented "for incontynency [and] have penytently performed the penaunce in the parishe church of Cropredy..." (p27). The atmosphere can be felt. Annes' child Dorothy Truss [33] was baptised on the 4th of June 1606 and Annes was presented on the 13th of February following. By 1613 Annes was in Ireland and her daughter with her grandfather (p85). Did she ever return?

Judyth Robins disappeared [Banbury Peculiar 159 vol X. O.R.Soc. Houlbrooke R.A. *The English Family 1450-1700*. Longman 1984. p82/3]. It was noticed that no Cropredy man was presented for these offences, although he could be.

In 1609 the two Bourton churchwardens were vigilant in proving bastardy and made sure additional notes were added to the record of baptism. Two Bourton children after being baptised had "begotten in fornication on the body of his wife" written below. Admittedly one couple were only married less than a fortnight before. The other couple had married elsewhere. Neither appear to be presented at the church court so perhaps they had paid a fine instead.

The Revd William Whately of Banbury advised mutual understanding over the creation of children, and for couples to offer prayers and thanksgiving together [Whately W. *A Bride-Bush* 1617 p44]. Some believed that the wife's womb had a will of its own, so that she was entirely at its mercy. Men suggested reasons for the ailments of the womb, but none listened to a woman's verdict which from experience differed from physicians still practicing ancient Roman remedies. The catholics had tended to praise chastity, but the protestants felt a woman must enjoy the act of creation in order to conceive. What we do not know is to what extent the fear of childbirth worried the young mothers. Women may have thought it defying nature to try and prevent a conception, or even to want to space their children, but women must have worried about the dangers. John Hunt [16] was afraid for his daughter who was pregnant "if god gyve her life, but yf she dye of childbede..." but he goes no further as the will was not the place to express his fears.

Women made potions from herbs to help the poor as well as being licenced as midwives. In 1726 Bridget Kirby from Cropredy was granted just such a licence:

"You shall swear you will faithfully and truly execute the Office of Midwife in those places where you shall be licenced and authorized, you shall afford your help as well to the Poor for charity as to the rich for reward, you shall not deliver any privately or clandestinely to conceal the Birth of the Child." Any suspicion of an unmarried mother then she must

not help her until the name of the father was revealed and then the church court must be informed. "Soe help you God and the contents of this Booke" [Archd. papers, Oxon, c.156, f25].

When a couple had their first child would it be the wife's policy to keep on breast feeding to hopefully delay the next pregnancy? How much depended on the husband's attitude and their knowledge of such matters? On a tight income did they try to space out the children? If every boy and girl were to be carefully provided for to the best of the parent's ability, then the eldest would not be able to take over before the youngest had been settled either into an apprenticeship or with stock, goods and money whichever was going to be provided at eighteen or over. Poor years and sudden death could upset the whole process, but widows were expected to be able to carry on providing until all had left and the eldest son was then about the age of twentyeight or nine (p108). Ideally the family had only about eleven years from the birth of the eldest son to the last child's arrival if the latter was to reach eighteen before the eldest found a wife. Good intentions to follow ideal customs might fail due to extra long marriages, epidemics cutting others short, and early marriages of the eldest son. Too many children meant depriving them of essential attention. It was exhausting to have too many children over a long period, but more so to have them in a very short period, carrying and breast feeding until the mother was dangerously weakened and possibly dying.

Would the mother try and avoid being at the end of a pregnancy when the cow was dry, greens finished and no fresh eggs?

Her health if poor would naturally lessen the chance of the babies survival until the summer months brought in a better diet for the feeding mother. A baby carried through the summer might be stronger at birth but then have to contend with the winter ahead. Surely a husbandman or shepherd who set great store in the breeding of good stock and setting aside more fodder for the expectant animal, would realise the importance of keeping back a cow to provide a late autumn supply of milk for the feeding mother?

Did Parents Space out the Birth of their Children?

The spacing of all the children baptised at Cropredy can be worked out by using the family trees provided in Part 4. A few examples are given here: Dorothy Vaughan at [23] was four and a half months pregnant when she married Ralph Wells and moved into her father's cottage next door [22]. Dorothy was then twentyfour years old. She presumably fed the first and second babies for over a year each, but died two years after the third was born, possibly from childbirth. Dorothy was then only thirty years old.

William Watts [27], weaver, and his wife Annes nee Lumberd had seven children over nineteen years and the youngest were not settled when Thomas the eldest son married. They were spaced from thirtytwo to fortyseven month intervals which gave Annes a chance to breast feed the babies for over two years. In contrast Thomas and Alyce Howse next door had five children

born over eight years and only the two youngest could have been fed for more than a year for they came at 11, 14, 15, 21 and 25 month intervals. Each baby must still be at the breast when she again became pregnant. The father Thomas was only thirtyfive when he died in 1617 [28].

Rychard Rede [32] and his wife Anne Bartlett had two children, the first after three years and the second three years later. They were married for thirtyone years even though Rychard was thirty when he married Anne. Next door at Truss's [33] John and his wife Alice Steele produced their first child just three months after they were married in 1582. We do not know if they had a legally binding marriage contract before the church wedding. All their six children had at least nine months and at most fifteen months of breast feeding. The Truss's were married for thirteen years, but then Alice died and John married Isabell Lumberd who brought up the children. Alice Hunt married Valentyne Huxeley [36] and she could have fed the first two babies for fifteen months and then after the third was born there was a gap of over three years before the fourth child arrived in June. Alice did not survive. Valentyne married Jane Watkins the following April for he needed a full time mother for the children while he was out tending the flock of sheep.

Edmund Tanner's [39] first wife Isabell Lamprie bore him no children over thirtyone years, then exactly three months after Isabell was buried this mercer, now in his mid-fifties, married Constance Tustin. Edmund must have been proud of their three daughters, though one died, but what joy when two sons followed. Edmund junior was born in 1622 after seven years of marriage. The length of time his wife was able to feed them increased from eleven to fourteen months and then nearly two years. In 1630 after fifteen years together he died in his early seventies leaving her with five children who were soon to gain a stepfather. Sadly their mother was not long for this world. Once again proving that late marriages severely lowered the children's prospects of a good start (p115).

Long gaps between children might mean a baby lost, or the family were ill fed and struggling to feed those they had by keeping the youngest breast fed. Starvation however was not the case for the gaps in Nicholas and Martha Woodrose's [8] children for they farmed three and then four yardlands.

The main problem with looking at a town with only sixty households was the smallness of the sample especially for the large spread out families. When a man married earlier than twentynine as Thomas Devotion and John Hunt do, their families of nine children were spread out over twentyfour and twentysix years which could have upset the next generation's chances especially in the difficult 1620's and 1630's. As the eldest son George Devotion (1597-) never married he carried on caring for his siblings. Although John Hunt was able to marry at twentyfive, after his father died, he was left with the responsibility of paying the legacies to his five siblings (all under twentyone). In spite of this his wife Elizabeth, who was unusually three years older than him, gave birth to nine children over the next twentysix years. Each baby being able to breast feed for up to two years or

more as there were 30:42:61:41:38:28:29:31:32 months between births (there could have been a miscarriage between the second and third. The rest survived).

Thomas Sutton [42] in two marriages over twentyone years had seven children, Rawlins [45] in two marriages had eleven children over twentyeight years and the Whytes [46] next door had nine over eighteen years. Only the Hunt family remained of the larger families. For generations the Hunt's had leased one of the top farms using all their skills to keep ahead. Younger sons also strove to get a glazier and plumbing business going and succeeded. This allowed them to stay on in Cropredy.

By spacing the children they appear to manage with four or five at home. Was there instilled in all women a sense of failure if few sons, or worse, no children arrived or survived? In the Gybbs [25] family a tendency to conceive twins who died left the poor mother almost constantly pregnant in the desire for a surviving son (p563). Theirs was one of the wealthiest farms, but a wet nurse would hardly have been entertained and that was not likely to be the cause in this rural town of babies dying.

The holdings could not always support all the relations. The eldest must go out to work, or else endanger the survival of the younger children. Craftsmen might need to send them out on poor harvest years, but labourers without land needed to turn the children out much earlier. Those with a cow were certainly marginally better off. The Normans and Hudsons [48] do not appear to rush all the children away even though a large family with the help of only one cow would be difficult to feed. They crush into one timber cottage and give board and lodging to several relations (p381). By putting first Anne Norman on the copyhold and then her niece, Mary Hudson (ten years younger than the eldest child William) it gave her mother Elizabeth and aunt Anne time to grow old, before Mary would marry. At that point an entry fine would be payable for the husband to secure his entitlement to the copyhold in the event of Mary's early demise.

Widowers we saw often marry again to have someone to bring up the children. Ralph Wells was unusual in remaining a widower and taking on the raising of his children. Second families and step mothers could be more traumatic for children and commoner than divorce to-day (p117). The College Manor court would honour the first families rights, but any upsets amongst the siblings the father would have to sort out.

Children in Single and Step Parent Families.

The whole town was searched to see which households, who appear in the vicar's lists, had children with only one of their own parents alive, or both dead. In the sixty households mentioned in the 1613-24 lists twentyseven had lost at least one parent: In 16 out of 27 the fathers died leaving children 14 and under. In 9 out of 27 the mothers died leaving children 14 and under. In 2 other families out of the 27 both parents had died.

After the death of the sixteen fathers only five of their widows remarried leaving the rest bringing up their children in Cropredy. Of the widowed fathers six remarried, but two decided not to and the third left. It was more complicated than that in some households such as the Howse/Pratt/Howse family [24]. The siblings came from two mothers and two fathers as first the widower then the widow remarried (p556). A sixth of all families had a step-father and a quarter of all households had a single parent (thirteen), or other relative (three) bringing up the family. The twentyseven households have been divided into two groups, because of the huge increase in these families at the turn of the century. There were thirtythree children affected in 1603, but never more than seventeen in the second group from parents mentioned in the lists.

The first group was taken from 1595 to 1609 and the second group from 1610 to 1630. In the first group there were three step-fathers and five step-mothers looking after the children and in six of these families step siblings arrived. Six widows and two widowers remained single parents.

In the second period up to 1630 one father left leaving grandma to rear the children, one remarried providing a step-mother and two widows also remarried. A brother and a married sister provided support in two parentless households and the rest were five widows who did not remarry. Nine fathers died in each group. Seven mothers in group one, but only four in the second. Although almost the same number of each sex remarried there were more women not remarrying (eleven to two) than men due to the higher death rate of their husbands.

Numbers of children 14 and under with one or both parents dead, 1596 to 1609.

1595	96	97	98	99	1600	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09
12	15	15	14	19	21	20	30	33	30	25	26	27	25	15

Numbers of children aged 14 and under with one or both parents dead, 1610 to 1630.

1610	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
13	12	10	14	14	13	13	17	14	14	11	10	8	7	6	5	4	7	7	8	15

Between 1610 and 1629 fewer parents died, but the numbers rose again from 1630 leaving fifteen or more children from three families. Whatever happened their chances in life were severely reduced and their relations, or parish authorities might apprentice them to someone outside their town. Starting out to work at a reasonable age of fourteen or over diminished with each parent lost. One parent families must rely upon the older children's help with the younger children, but most children fulfilled this duty at some time in their young lives.

Born to Leave.

How many of those born in Cropredy must leave? A list was made of every household touched by the Easter lists. The time from the first to the last baptism of their children was found and the total given of known children from the registers and wills. Several queries arose over particular individuals, not all left at once and single adults might stay on and on. The numbers who left and those who died are sometimes confused by absent burials and lack of wills for some households.

How many of those born in Cropredy had to leave and how many stayed?

Site No.	Surname	Born between	Total Born	No. who Migrate	No. who Died	Father's work	No. who Stayed
[1]	Palmer	1609-1633	12	7m... 5f		Miller	
[2]	Lucas	?1613-?	2	.....1f		Carpenter	1m
[3]	Devotion	1591-1615	9	2m...2f	2	Husb.	2m ..1f
[4]	French	1590-1601	4	.....3f		Husb.	1m
[5]	Hunt	1603-1612	5	2m....2f		Weaver	1m
[6]	Hall					Gent.	
[7]	Clyfton	1615-1623	4	1m....2f	1	Labr.(farm Cott)	
[8]	Woodrose	1613-1623	7	3m....3f	1	Gent.	
[9]	Howse	1587-1598	5	.....1f		Husb.	2m 2f
[10]	AtkinsW.	1617-1623	3	.....2f		Labr.?	1m
[11]	Page	1601-1606	3	.....1f		Labr.?	2m
[12]	Hanley	1608-1610				Husb.	LEFT
[13a]	Densey	1612-1632	8	4m....3f		Smith	1m
[13b]	Wyatt	c1595-1625	c10?	1m....4f	1	Farrier	4m
[14]	Lumberd	1593-1611	8	3m....3f	1	Husb.	1m
[15]	Toms	1594-1608		1m....4f	2	Husb.	1m
[16]	Hunt	1612-1638	9	4m....3f		Husb.	2m
[17]	Haddock	1608-1615	3			Labr.	LEFT
[18]	Matcham	1601-1609	5	3m....2f		Tailor	
[19]	Bayley	1613-1618	2			Labr.	LEFT

[20]	Hill		?		1+	Baker	1m
[21]	Holloway	1572-1601	12	3m....4f	4	Vicar	.....1f
[22]	Wells	1598-1601	3	1m....2f		?	
[23]	Vaughan	1611-1619	5	2m....2f	1	Yeoman	
[24]	Pratt/Howse	1596-1618	8	4m....2f	1+	Husb.	.....1f
[25]	Gybbs	1614-1628	9	3m....3f	2	Husb.	1m
[26]	Robins	1612-1619	4	1m	2	Yeoman	.....1f
[27]	Watts	1591-1610	7	1m....3f	2	Weaver	1m....1f
[28]	Howse	1610-1616	5	2m....2f		Husb.	1m
[29]	Lyllee	1569-1583	7	1m....2f	2	Husb.	.....2f
	Hall	1608-1610+	3	.....2f		Yeoman	.....1f
[30]	Cattell	?				Husb.	
[31]	Kynd	1598-1609	6		1	Husb.	LEFT
[32]	Rede	1614-1617	2	.....1f		Husb.	1m
[33]	Truss	1582-1592	6?	1m....1f	1	Shepherd	1m....2f
[34]	Watts	1588-1598	7	2m....1f		Husb.	(1622- 4 die)
[35]	Hentlowe					(Batchelor)	
[36]	Huxeley	1612-1624	6	3m....2f		Shepherd	.....1f
[37]	Breeden	1616-1628	4	2m....2f		?	
	Breeden	1620-1633	5	2m....2f		?	1m
[38]	Elderson	1585-1595	4		2	Carpenter	1m....1f
[39]	Tanner	1616-1628	6	1m....2f	2	Mercer	1m
[40]	Ladd	?	1+			?	
[41]	Bostocke	1615-1626	4	1m....2f		Leather ?	1m
[42]	Sutton	1584-1605	8	2m....2f	2	Tailor	.....2f
[43]	Fendrie	?	3+				
[44]	Allen	1613-1624	6	.....4f	1	Husb.	?1m
[45]	Rawlins	1591-1619	11	3m	3 + 4?	Corvisor	1m
[46]	Whyte	1608-1614	2	?		?	
	Whyte	1619-1625	3	1m....1f		?	1m
[47]	Bryan	1609-1619	7	2m....3f	1	?	1m
[48]	Hudson	1619-1633	7	2m....1f	1	Thatcher ?	2m....1f
[49]	Cox	1583-1594	6	1m....4f		?	.....1f

[50]	Coldwell					Gent.	
[51]	Cross	1590-1606	5+	2m....2f		Miller	1m
[52]	Thompson	1612-1619?	3	1m....2f		?	
[53]	Mallins	1594-1604	4	.....2f	1	?	.....1f
[54]	Evans	1594-1604	5	2m....2f		Herdsman	.....1f
[55]	Bokingham	1586-1595	6	3m.....2f		?	.....1f
[56]	Hyrens	1592 -1597	2		1	?	.....1f
[57]	Carter	1614-1620	3	.....2f		Collarmaker	1m
[58]	Hill	1608-1621	7	2m....5f		Butcher	
[59]	Palmer	1595-1621	8	2m....2f	2	Labr.	2m
[60]	Suffolk	1608-1620	5	1m....2f	1	Husb.	1m
	Totals			90m.116f	41 + 6		40m..22f

In the families mentioned in the lists twentyeight of their children die under five years and thirteen more died before they reached fifteen years. Two more were registered in the burial book between fifteen and twentyone and four more in their twenties. Two hundred and eightyseven could have survived out of a total (registered and mentioned in wills) of three hundred and thirtyfour. Some however had to be left out of the above table due to problems for example when children who had no burial were left out of wills.

The families span from 1572 to 1633 and of their daughters a hundred and sixteen leave, both single and married. Ninety sons departed. Sixtytwo children remain, of these thirtyone stay to become head of the household (twentyfour elder sons, seven younger sons). Eight daughters marry and their husbands become the head of the household. Seven bachelors remain waiting to marry a widow? Five daughters were fortunate enough to marry a Cropredy townsman, who was not a relation. Three spinsters remain, Anne Sutton was one because she was not allowed to marry, Anne Norman had a life on the copyhold and Alyce Elderson may also have had her rights to stay. A fourth Em Devotion returned and remained in her brother's household. Of the thirtytwo girls who became eighteen either just before, or during the eight years of the lists fifteen were at home for one or two years, then three married and left. Seven spent three or four years, one managed five and four had six years at home. Three paid seven Easter oblations and two were at home all the time.

Four families left Cropredy. Handley's [12] and Kynd's [31] left their farms for reasons unknown, except it is possible they could no longer renew their lease. Had Richard Kynd been excommunicated from the church? The Haddock's [17] could not stay in a tide cottage once the father had died or left. Bayley's [19] may have moved on from a cottage to a leasehold farm in another parish. After 1624 it is very difficult to establish who remained in the town. Three single females may remain intermittently and four other males stay to sign the 1641 list, but we do not know for how long they stay at any one time.

Neither do we know of the percentage of households from which children would be only too glad to escape, never to return, or the reverse where parents gave them a warm welcome home.

Out of every six children born it was possible that: just under one would die, four would leave and just over one stayed permanently.

Using the registers is the only way to find out approximately how many children lived in Cropredy. Between 1614 and 1624 they increased from about eightyeight to around a hundred and thirtytwo living in the town.

Below are the figures of children taken from the registers and calculated to be on the twentytwo farms in 1624 (remembering that those over eleven years might work away for a few years, though many return), and all would still be the parent's responsibility:

0-5 years of age	1 boy	6 girls	= 7	
6-11	10 boys	8 girls	= 18	Total = 25
12-17(if at home)	10 boys	8 girls	= 18	

Even if the twelve to seventeen year olds had left home to train on a similar farm in another parish, it is just as likely the Cropredy farms also gave board and training to a similar number up to sixteen, and paid wages to those who were seventeen, making the total very uncertain. Children up to eleven may work for others, but returned home at night. Others would be attending the Williamscothe School and staying at home until they left for an apprenticeship like Walter Gorstelow, or to university as the Holloways did. One vital aim for parents who sacrificed assets to allow a child to be educated was to prevent the landless from slipping down the ladder. Ffoulkes Green at Coldwells and Manasses Plivey at Hentlows must have been encouraged by parents somewhere in their past. Both go on to lease land away from their original town. As far as we know no husbandman's son between 1570 and 1640 went on to the Inns of Court. This was reserved for sons of gentry and rich merchants who could afford the fees of £40 a year. Only Martha Woodrose's cousin John Wilmer had attended the Inns from elsewhere before coming to Cropredy [8] in 1637 (p54).

Thirty craftsmens families found in the registers:

0-5 years of age	11 boys	13 girls	= 24	
6-11.....	12 boys	11 girls	= 23	Total = 47
12-17(if at home)	6 boys	12 girls	= 18	

The labourers had fewer children in their families:

0-5 years of age		2 girls	= 2	
6-11.....	1 boy	2 girls	= 3	Total = 5
12-17(if at home)	2 boys		= 2	

The average size of the households during the eight years of the lists, if the children are included are: Farms 6.6. Craftsmen an average of 4 and Labourers 3. Any information for specific children can be seen in the family reconstitutions in Part 4.

Maintenance, Education and Apprenticeship.

When the vicar attended to write a will, a clause concerning the children's maintenance would be included such as "the daughters to be kept in meat, drink and apparell until honestly provided for in decent and orderly service at the charge of my executor."

In 1605 William Gill of Bourton left 20 shillings a year to bring up his daughter Margaret. Presumably the girl also contributed to her upkeep [MS.Will Pec. 39/3/5]. Parents whose child was to be apprenticed to a trade would need to find a suitable household with if possible similar attitudes to rearing children. Apprenticeship was usually for seven years or more from the age of fourteen. The boys were not servants, but part of the family and their parents had often to pay a fee. The masters might be asked to discipline the boy as many came from an equally tough background. Apprentices were dressed by the new master to reflect his station in life and ideally when the term of years was finished the master craftsman had to provide clothes suitable for the young man to work as a journeymen (p133).

If both the Hunt [16] parents had survived we should no doubt have seen their family coming to and fro through the list years taking turns in helping as the Gybbs [26], Watts [34] and Howses [9 & 28] did, but although the Hunt girls were old enough they do not appear in the Easter oblations and so were not at home working to provide their own maintenance. Such homes had passed to the next generation. Justinian Hunt asked that "my said daughters maye together be kept uppon this my livinge att the charges wholly of my executor in meat drinke and apparrell until they maybe honestly provided for in decente and orderly service, wch my desire ys they may be soe provided wth what speede as maye be... to every of my daughters a convenient coffer wch I gave unto them." They had to leave Cropredy to find employment elsewhere, like Joyce and Joane Watts [27], but "with what speede" surely depended on the economical state of the market, the harvests and the brother's ability to cope, as well as his young wife's tolerance.

Thomas Howse [28] wrote his will in 1614 and expressed a wish that his wife Alyce "shall maytayne and keep my children with sufficient meate, drinke apparell and scolinge untill such tyme as they shall be able to gete their livings or be putt to prentice."

When a widower had not the time or the inclination to remarry, he had to appoint a guardian and make arrangements for their apprenticeship in his will. It would seem John Toms in 1558 was worried about one son's behaviour and to secure his obedience to his future master, Toms made stern warnings in his will. He may advocate a hard time for George, but he does not mention whipping him into submission, instead he uses his future inheritance as a more powerful threat. "I will Nicholas Gardner to have George Tomes my sone to do him service for the space of vj yeres and to have with hym ij shepe and a calfe of vij wekes olde, a brasse pott, a pewter platter, a table and a forme and so the said Nicholas to be delivered to the sayd George Tomes the value of the same stufte againe at the end of vj yeres which is praysed by certain honest men and if he will not be ruled by his masters his master shall kepe this stufte awaye from him and the sayd George Tomes to have none of hit."

His other son Thomas was to go to Thomas Gardner for six years. He had two sheep, "a platter, a kettell" and the same conditions applied, but a little less fierce being: "upon his masters gentillnes and favor." He then added " I bequeath to Thomas ij borrdes to make him a table." Without a wife to see to this what else could he do? Testators nearly always name someone to be an overseer and occasionally wish one to act as a guardian (p159).

Russells [13] in 1601 passed over to the vicar £6-13s-4d. "The same yearlie to be put forth for his best profitt until Thomas Denzie accomplish the age of twenty years. My wife take care at her charge of the education of Thomas Denzie until he maie honestlie be putt to an apprentice by the discretion of Thomas Holloway, whom I make govenor, or guardian over him." He left 3s-4d for the vicar.

A statute of 1563 limited apprenticeships to sons of 40s freeholders. How then did Cropredy boys get placed? Had all those who wanted their younger sons to have a trade been forced to purchase freehold land somewhere just to give them this help? Wyatt the blacksmith could very well have done this. The law may have been ignored if demand for apprentices exceeded the supply of those with landowning fathers.

A few families found the money to apprentice their sons to a trade after having had a few years at Williamscothe school. Girls lost out on education and could afford to wait for their legacies if not allowed the choice of a trade apprenticeship. It was not surprising therefore that a man who believed in boys' education, such as Thomas Wyatt [31], left the girls until their coming of age or marriage and then gave them £10 (possibly in two stages for he leaves Margaret £4 to add to a previous £6) and concentrated in his will on the remaining sons portions for their apprenticeships. Robert and Thomas when fifteen were to receive their £10 first, followed by Michael when he was twelve. This left Elizabeth to wait four years and Isabell their last child

to receive hers when she was twenty. The two older sons may already have had their money portion and were now left tools and possessions by their father.

Walter Gorstelow born at Prescote manor in 1604 was a sixteen year old apprentice in London when his father wrote to counsel him about his duty to god and master. He must apply himself willingly and discharge his duty faithfully. By this time his father Richard was dying of a slow "gentle sickness" which apparently often made him weep. He was not afraid of death, but welcomed it. On the 12th of April 1621 he died aged sixtythree leaving the eldest son Richard to take over. Here was another man who delayed his first marriage until he was thirtynine and their children went on arriving into his fifties ending with twins and the death of his first wife Anne. Richard had an enclosed farm, but for some reason, perhaps his large family, he fell into debt. His second marriage when aged fiftyfive was not a good one, though it brought in a very necessary £1,000. Walter comments "it falls out often that the richest wives are not for the best, I have heard him traduced, reproached, contumeiously used and more such dirt thrown at him, from a person, that of all others should not have done it in wisdom or duty, yet he hath born it not provoking again..." bearing it as his cross. He asked the children to pray for their step-mother. All the boys having been to school, may have recorded their impressions of childhood, but only Walter's remains. Walter spent part of his life writing a book in which he tried to bring together the opposing parties in the civil war. Dashing into print as soon as the clergy were no longer able to censor the press [Gorstelow W. *Charls Stuart and Oliver Cromwel United* 1655 p204-8]. It would be difficult under these circumstances for Mr Gorstelow to leave the children by his first wife much in the way of legacies. He had tried to provide them with a second mother, but made a poor choice. His financial problems however may have vanished or been eased, allowing Walter to be apprenticed and all the boys to attend school.

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10. Schoolmasters and Schools



The former Williamscote Grammar School in 1980.

Cropredy had a school in 1524 for an apprenticeship indenture was made between William Butteler of Byfield and William Luddys of Cropredy, schoolmaster. The apprenticeship was for eight years and the master was to teach his craft which is called "schomacars craft" to pay him a penny a quarter, to provide him "with mete and drynck cloth both olyn [woollen] lynyll, hosyn and sehone [shoes]," and in the last year to give him 26s-8d and "all manner of raynment made new to hys bake of ys maysters cost and charge." The apprentice is to serve his master, keep his secrets and "nothyr to use Tavornys, Cardys, dyse" or any other unlawful games. This was witnessed by Randall Herdley [Handley ?12], Roffe Hurst [?52] and Ricd Herdley [MS. ch Oxon. 3225].

We do not know how many scholars the master managed to teach for without a well endowed special building it would seem that education came and went. The Williamscothe school having both these assets was secure for several generations, only closing in 1857. Other ways of locating schoolmasters was through their teaching licence. These may specify the master could run a petty school, to teach writing, reading and accompting, or latin grammar. However sometimes not even the churchwardens knew where the school masters had obtained their licences, and obviously had no wish to disturb them from teaching their children though some masters proved troublesome and these had to be included in the church wardens presentments. Some evidence was found in wills of students who went on to university and Dr. Thomas Loveday's article in the *Cake and Cockhorse* Vol.2 No.3. 1963.

The Redes as Schoolmasters and Parish Clerks

Many years of silence cover a period when there must have been a petty school to prepare Cropredy boys to enter the Williamscothe grammar. Then at the church court of around 1608 an entry reads "We have tow men teach children the one is Mr Deane teachinge the free schole at Wanscott [Williamscothe], the other our clerke William reade, both are of honest conversation, but how they observe the catechesinge of ther schollers we do not presently know, but hear they do" [Oxon. Archd. papers Oxon b 52.161]. Schoolmasters also had to be licenced by the ordinary of the Peculiar church court. There he had to be "found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching as for sober and honest conversation and also for right understanding of god's true religion..." [canon 77].

The Rede family took over the Carter's farm [32] when Richard Rede married Margery Carter (p599). Their son William married in 1578 when he was thirtythree. William never received an education and neither did his eldest son Richard who was to succeed to the holding. The second son William was sent to Williamscothe school and although he attended during a gap in the Calcott register (so that we do not know how old he was when they accepted him as a pupil, or how long he stayed), William had enough education to become the teacher at the Cropredy elementary school. Schoolmasters earned very little and his father allowed him a chamber at home, no doubt in return for help on the land. His father left instructions (his brother

Richard to find William meat, drink and a chamber) which extended his time at home until the lease expired in 1614. Where did he teach the children if not in the church porch?

At thirty he was made the parish clerk which gave him a little land, in lieu of wages, to grow his own food on. It must have helped to support a wife for he began to court Alice Bokingham [55] and on the 20th of April 1620 they were married "bewixt the houres of ix of the Clocke in the forenoon and a Leaven by Mr Edward Brouncker, vicar."

At around this time the vicar lived at Ladbroke and had not put in a curate for Cropredy. William would be fully aware he had no licence to take the service, but was not prepared to leave Sundays without one. He was certainly confident enough in his own abilities to manage not only the Sunday services, but the holy days as well. Had his education come to a halt and left him with higher ambitions? Preachers without a church were around in ever increasing numbers and some who preached without a licence were forced to be very careful where and to whom they spoke for fear of being summoned before a church court. The Archbishops also feared the layman's heresy and were ever watchful of such practices as taking services which William had done. He was presented in 1620 by the church wardens "for readinge devine servis upon Sundayes and holy dayes having not his letters or orders" [Oxon. Archd. papers, Oxon b.52. 181]. William had not managed to obtain an M.A. and therefore could not have a licence to preach. He was presented for taking the services sometime between the death of Thomas Holloway in November and his marriage to Alice in April.

William and Alice's son Edward Rede (1624-1691) became a manservant to "the Right Honourable North Chief Justis to his Majesties Court of Common Pleas." Edward also took over the parish clerks work, which changed during the interregnum.

"For as much as it appears unto mee by a Certifficate under the hand of the minister, major part of the inhabitants of the Parish of Cropredy in the county of Oxford who are chargeable towards the reliefe of the Poore of the Parish of Cropredy aforsd that Edward Reade of Cropredy.. chosen by them to be **Register** of the Parish Poor, therefore by virtue of an Act of Parliament of the twenty fourth of August 1653 made concerning marriages of the Registering thereof and hereby authorise to sd Edward Reade to so register of the parish of Cropredy.. and have sworne the sd Edward to exercise the sd office... 15 day of May 1654." By the appointment of Justis Tho. Appletree [MS. dd par Cropredy (Register III) 1654-1719].

Meanwhile Edward's father William may have encouraged his own brother Richard [32] to send their second son William (1656-) to school and it became a family tradition to allow the sons to attend Williamsote. This enabled Edward Rede to train his cousin William to eventually become the parish clerk, while the elder son Richard took on the farm. The tradition of education allowed Richard's son Richard (1668-1717) to go on to Oxford and be apprenticed to a barber chirurgion, as a side line to farming.

The Redes developed a reputation for writing wills. The first schoolmaster adding scribe after his name. They remained in Cropredy, principally because in the earlier generations they married late and had only one or two sons. The need to leave being unnecessary for the boys, but the daughters had to go.

Walter Calcott.

The fortunes of the younger sons might have been quite different, but for the fact that Walter Calcott, a Merchant of the Staple by 1568, was able to purchase the Williamscothe Manor. When Calais was lost to the French in 1558, the English wool staplers moved first to Middelburg and then to Bruges, but they never regained their earlier importance. The cloth trade was increasingly taking over and many staplers returned to build permanent residences in the Cotswolds.

Their sheep farms producing the best products possible for their trade. Walter Calcott found Williamscothe manor in 1559.

The rising price of grain could have influenced Walter Calcott's urge to become a land owner, with sheep and corn going together in north Oxfordshire. Williamscothe Manor which was sold to him by Mr William Babington, had many advantages besides good land. Through the hamlet of Williamscothe came the Banbury Lane from Northampton and Daventry down towards Banbury, where Walter's father was a burgess. The house site was a few hundred feet from the ancient highway, facing south across the valley, over the land he eventually enclosed. Walter Calcott had found an area more independent than a market town, even though Banbury justices, market charters and rules did affect the outcome of his business.

Walter could not immediately enclose the land, but once he had secured his strips in one area around the house then he set about enclosing it. This took place before 1582. Walter was apparently very keen on mounds which must be set with hedges and trees all round his fields. Dykes and hedges of the "middle" period, and not "late" as many of Wardington's are, surrounded his closes (p18). These included a straight ditch and hedge at the bottom of the arable furlong below the Ladyswalk and another on the western boundary beside the bridle path to Lower Cropredy mill (Fig 10.2 p136).

Calcott upset the Bourton parishioners by tightening up the meadow dole rules and appointing a new Dolster [VCH p219]. The excellence of his own flock was vital to him and could only be achieved by keeping his flock separate. We will never know what hardship the exchange of land and enclosure caused the original tenants who had to exchange part of their yardland strips possibly in their families cultivation for generations.

Many years later in Chambres lifetime Dr. Brouncker noted that one close now called Mr Palmer's ground in "Wilscott" had "heretofore [been] taken out of the common field by" Mr Calcott as well as "the new closes [in] Wilscott" [c25/10 f4 & f2].

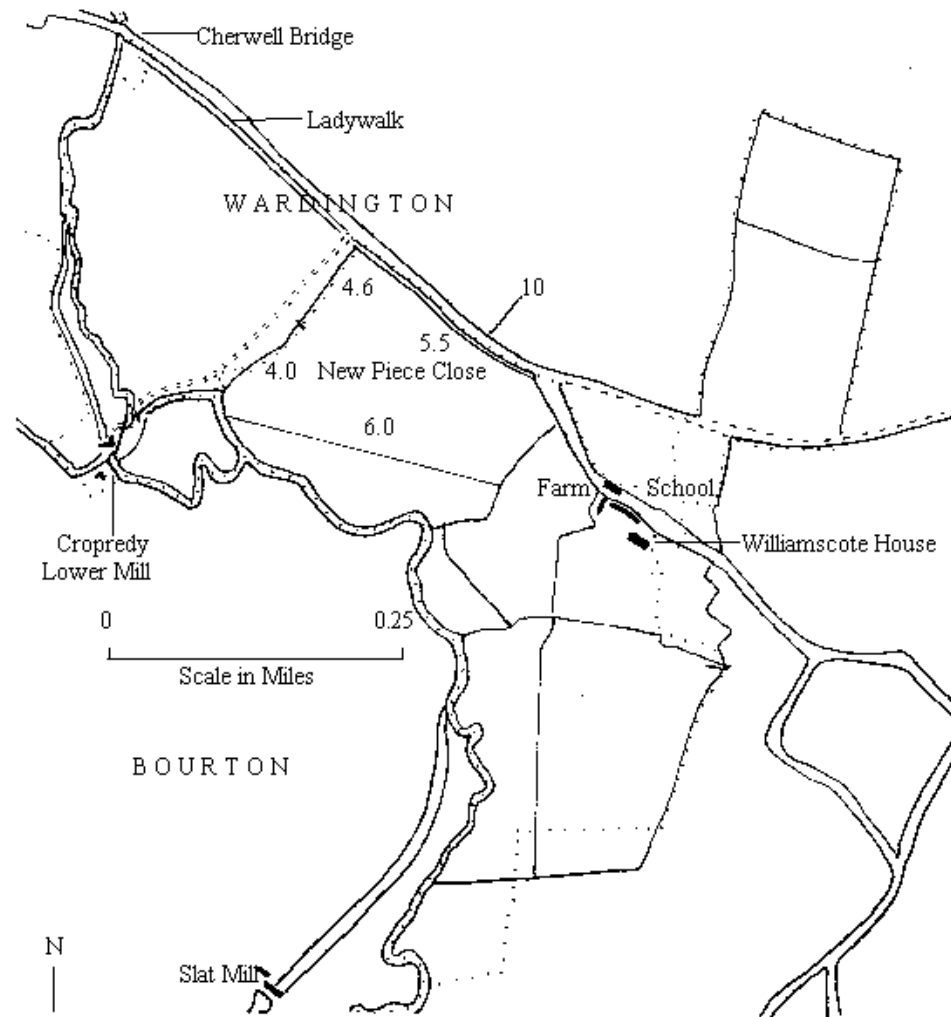
The Ladywalk had a double hedge and bank coming down the south side of the Williamscombe Road to the Cherwell bridge and was presumed to be made for Walter Calcott and Alice to walk down to Saint Mary's church. One matter he organised was the taking of his manor into Cropredy so that Williamscombe-in-Cropredy worshipped in the mother church at Cropredy where the vicar lived and preached his weekly sermon, rather than attend Wardington which had a non preaching curate. At some point in time the owners of Prescote had two thirds of St Fremund's chapel and Williamscombe was allowed the remaining third .

After the school was built pupils from Cropredy would cross the river bridge and walk up Williamscombe Road. The river Cherwell has a habit of flooding the valley and to enable the boys to arrive dryly shod they were allowed to use the foot bridge over the road dyke onto the raised Ladywalk between the "oldest" road hedge (ten species per thirty yards in the 1980's) and a second " middle" hedge which had been newly planted by Calcott on the field side. In the top field the walk was built upon the arable headland and again a "middle" hedge added on the field side (Fig 10.2 p136). A foot scraper beside the school door does suggest that this sort of detail was important to a meticulous man like Walter (note p156).

Walter Calcott's father was Richard, a Hook Norton man. There is a legend that Richard's singing ability so pleased the vicar Sir John Gibbons, around 1517, that he allowed him to farm half his Glebe land. Walter who was the eldest son may have attended the St John's Hospital school in Banbury, before being apprenticed to a wool merchant. Walter married Alice Wade also of Hooky. Their daughter Judith (d 1585) married George Chambre of Petton, Shropshire. The Chambres called both their sons Calcott, sending the youngest to school and on to university.

He became a puritan clergyman. When the eldest Calcott who had inherited the manor from his grandfather died, the younger Calcott took over the farm. At the time of the 1615 Easter lists he and his wife Lucy nee Gobert had two men and two maids at the manor house, but they may not have been in residence (pp35 & 142).

D10.2 Williamscote in Cropredy: Late 16c. Enclosure.



New Piece Close: Average number of species per 90 ft. 8 - 10 = Oldest Hedge.
6 - 7 = Early Hedge.
4 - 5 = Middle Hedge.

Williamscote -in-Cropredy: Late 16c. Enclosure.

Walter Calcott had aspirations of becoming a gentleman and when the herald visited Oxfordshire Calcott must have had his family history ready hoping it would enable him to purchase a coat of arms, which it did [along with 4,000 others granted between 1560 and 1640. Pallister D.M. *The Age of Elizabeth* p82]. For the bay window in the hall chamber Walter ordered coloured glass showing the three arms of the staple merchants and dated 1568. Over the front door Walter put one of the earliest date stones with his new arms, which weathered badly being on the northern aspect.

In the burial register they wrote "Mr Walter Calcott," and a wall memorial complete with arms was put up in Saint Fremund's chapel when he died in 1582: "Give praise to god/ For Walter Calcot and Ales his wife/ Lord of Williamscothe, without any strife,/ who is buried..[?]. her life." The stone was placed near their seat. Royce described the arms: "Or [gold] and gules [blood red] on a chief arg, three coots sable [black]: crest a demi-lion rampant, or" [Royce p49].

Walter Calcott's Williamscothe house was built in stone with a thatched roof. A gentleman's residence with all the latest improvements of the time using local materials. He added the farmstead to the north west setting it back from the house (a new refinement). At some time a massive wall was built alongside the road. As the house was further down the slope this had the advantage of giving them more than usual privacy. Trees were planted to eventually hide the hamlet. Being wealthy he could order the fine south windows over looking his land towards the river. He built an oriel window on the north side, but this collapsed two hundred years later. Instead of the newer spine beams he kept to the earlier medieval floor supports and added a moulded ceiling. So as not to disturb the ceiling the chimney was built onto the outside of the eastern gable wall. He preferred the early type of hollow sectioned mullions for his windows, which are rare in the Banbury region (Had he reused the main ceiling timbers from an earlier building, or stone walled a timber house?).

A Grammar School.

The promoting of education was obviously very important to this ambitious man. It was also fashionable to endow a school. His will made a determined effort to immortalise his name, though as a member of the Woolstaple had he not already achieved a sufficient reward? The new industrious protestants were not doing good works on earth to achieve everlasting life, because they already considered themselves one of the elect company anyway, but they sincerely believed in working hard.

The school he ordered in the same beautiful local stone. The rows of coursed rubble on the long building being complimented by the spacing of the windows and twin doors on the south face (Fig. 10.1 p133 showing the master's house, two doors and part of the school). Both gable ends were imposing, with the gable coping that once edged the thatch, but they lacked kneelers. There were two four light school windows surrounded by cut stone and each had plain square drip moulds above the stone mullions. The glazed windows having presumably rectangular leads in the local fashion. The pair of high windows reached almost to the original thatch. The school's eastern gable window was higher still and also of four lights. Above this

was another two light casement. Both had square drip moulds. These gave an excellent light to the school room and were aided by another lighting the gallery on the north side. The whole room, if originally undivided, was sixteen feet wide and thirtytwo feet long. The gallery (was this always there?) being at present ten feet wide at the west end. The chimney was placed outside on the rear wall and the lord's children had their seats next to the fireplace.

A pair of doors set next to each other provided the entrances. The school had the slightly wider door to the right of the house entrance. Both doors were surrounded by ashlar stone and had a rise of two stone steps. The very necessary foot scraper already mentioned being built into an arch in the wall to the right of the doors. Considering the state of the cowsey roads this was a very essential piece of equipment. Over the doors is a square label with drip moulds. Also above the doors Calcott put another coat of arms dated 1574.

This one has weathered better being on the south side and was one of the few date stones to be put up on the original building that has survived in Cropredy.

The master's front door led straight into the hall with the fireplace beside the perfect winding stairs. This went up to his lodging chamber, and on again to a cockloft for the few boarders. Each inner room measuring just under sixteen by fourteen feet. The lodging chamber had a fireplace for the master to retire to away from his students. The two main rooms being lit at the front by stone mullion casements each of three lights and again with a drip mould. They were placed one above the other. The stairs and chimney form a feature on the western gable by projecting outwards. The stairs having two small square lights with ashlar surround. One still retains the ancient glass. The cockloft had a one light window. The chimney lost its early top which has been replaced with blue bricks and the thatch by Welsh slates. The Lord of the manor paid for the maintenance of the building. It was expensive to run a house without a few arable acres or some access to commons. This was compounded for the masters were bachelors and had to employ help. The advantages for men of being married were very apparent to all at that time. The school masters must keep the lodgings in good order and their boundary mounds in repair and fell no tree which of course would belong to Calcott's House just along the road, out of earshot of the scholars. The dunces stool no longer stands near the cobbles leading from the two doors to the queen's highway and opposite the entrance to Walter's fine stone farm buildings surrounding the cobbled yard.

Walter Calcott having completed the school set up a trust with eight trustees and had an Indenture recorded in Chancery on the 14th of August 1575. When only two trustees remained they must elect six more from substantial and honest persons. They were granted an annuity of £13 to issue from land on Calcott's manor and all must go towards paying for a schoolmaster. The Lord of the manor retaining the right to choose and dismiss the master. To safeguard the quality of the teaching he stipulated that an M.A. from Oxford must come yearly to inspect the school and any master found insufficient would be dismissed. This was taken very seriously and William Wilson schoolmaster was removed. The master he required

must be an honest, discreet and learned man. It was to prove very hard to fulfil as the value of the £13 fell and became in itself insufficient. At first with the increase in graduates there would be no shortage of applicants for the post. Endowments made sure of this while they kept their value. The Taylors who purchased the manor and their descendants the Lovedays continued to pay the charge of £13 on their land. There appeared to be no others who championed education for the husbandmen and craftsmen, since there had been a change in attitude towards such people rising in status, some saying, towards the end of the sixteenth century, that too many small schools were in danger of producing more of the "poorer sort" than there would be positions for. Husbandmen's and craftsmen's sons who graduated were not who the gentry wanted their sons to compete with for jobs. Another reason was that in many parishes, though not at Williamscote, the gentry were taking up the places for their sons as the costs of higher education soared beyond the reach of one or two yardlanders. Husbandmen's sons tended now to stay on in the parish rather than seeking higher education. Harrison in 1587 believed that by using the Lot system of choosing scholars it prevented the gentry from crowding out the lesser parishioners. It certainly worked in the 1610 group put up for the drawing by Lot from Cropredy. That year they put up two craftsmen's sons, Sutton the tailor's boy and Rawlins the shoemaker's son, as well as Evans the herd's boy and vicar Holloway's youngest son. All of whom were called Thomas and baptised by Thomas Holloway.

Providing a house for the schoolmaster was of course an added attraction. The clergymen straight from university were however hardly in a position to marry any gentlewoman they hoped would help them with a future vicarage. So bachelors did not stay long. To provide additional income masters could take in four boarders providing they did not impose on the teaching of the forty scholars and the Lord's children.

In the hall house he would need a servant maid to cook the boarders' meals and serve them at the table near the fire. She must also have kept the school clean. The maid could hardly sleep there in an all male household and arrived daily. Did the master buy enough coal at 10s a load for the two fires, or did the farm opposite allow him firewood? He had no land to grow his corn and must purchase this, but there was a little land for vegetables on the north side.

"Calcott's Boke of Williamscote School."

The one thing Walter Calcott wanted the master to take particular care of was the register book. He called it "*Calcott's boke of Williamscote School.*" On f1 is written:

"Thys boke ys ordayned by me Walter Calcott the xxx daye in merche 1575 for to wrytt in from tyme to tyme the scollers and also the blanks within this peculyer accordynge to my orders I have made: And lykewysse all other scollers that shall come to this scole And after theyre names to wrytt theyre contyneuance of tyme. Lyke as I trust to wrytt parte thereof my self etc. per me Walter Calcott.

Memorandum: I the sayd Walter Calcott have nombred the hole some of leves in this boke which is 428: for this ende that yf there be any leffe cut out by any master from tyme to tyme the sayd master to paye for every such leffe too pens to the pore mens box at Croppredye.

The order of the masters quyttances receyved by me Henry taylford scole master of Wylliamscott of Mr Walter Calcutt for the quarter endinge at Mydsomer 1575 the some of three pounds fyve shyllings.

By me henrye taylford."

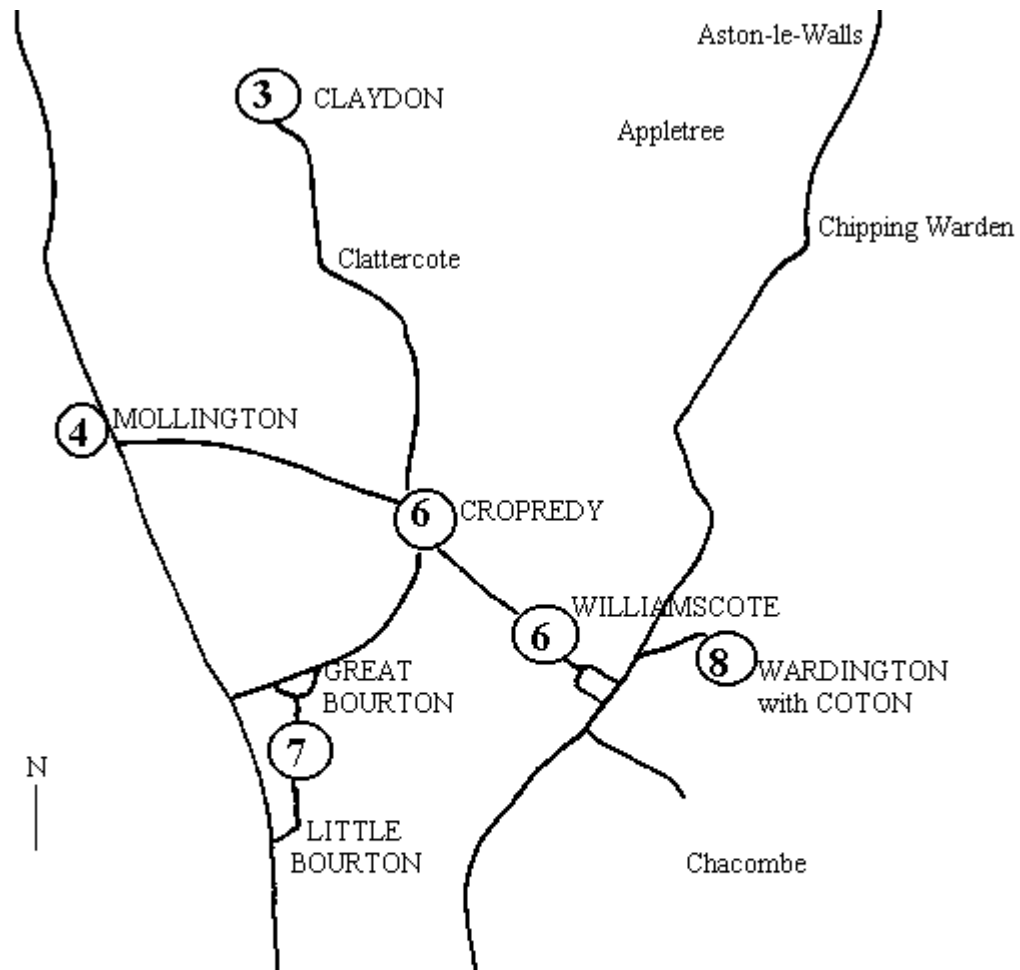
The book did not always remain a register for some of the leaves were later used as a household recipe book.

Some of the masters were not destined to stay very long for as soon as they had a chance of being inducted into a church of their own they handed in their notice. The first three masters who taught between 1574 and 1581 were Taylford of Gloucester Hall, Henry Ward and Mr Hook. Why William Wilson was dismissed we do not know, but in 1590 the pupils had the misfortune to have a change of master. Other known masters were Smith who replaced Wilson, Moreton, Rogers, Dean, Bowen, Palmer and John Ditchfield. The Revd Ditchfield was there in 1665 [MS. Wood D 11 fol 173 Bodly]. In 1701/2 he left an annuity of £2 to pay for two poor scholars rising out of a piece of land in Williamscothe which included a hopyard measuring 42 ft by 33 ft [MS. ch. Oxon 4747]. Ditchfield moved to a vicarage at Wing in Berkshire.

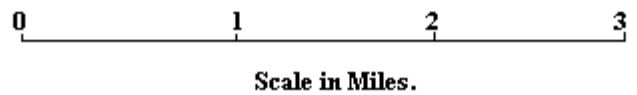
George Chambres gave the school a bell which was hung in a roof turret at the eastern end of the roof and inscribed: "Oxon/ Georg Chambre of Williamskot/ 1588." The bell measures fourteen inches in diameter, eleven in height from the lip to the crown and was cast by Robert Newcombe III and Bartholomew Atton [Sharpe F. *The Church Bells of Oxfordshire* O.R.S. (xxviii 1949) p107].

It was last seen in this position in 1877 before being transferred to the Cropredy and Bourton school where it remains. This bell daily called the forty pupils into Williamscothe from the surrounding parishes for Walter had allocated pupil places to each town in the ecclesiastical parish of Cropredy.

The first six of the Lord's naming, six from **Williamscothe**, eight from **Wardington and Coton**, six from **Cropredy**, seven from the **Bourtons**, four from **Mollington** and three from **Claydon**



D10.3 The Allocation of Pupil Places.



The Allocation of Pupil Places

All these were to be educated free for it was a school for educating the public. If there were not enough students from any town then another in the Cropredy peculiar could take up the place, or if still insufficient boys from an adjoining parish. Any children of persons who "might dispend £5" of yearly freehold should be exempted from the right of drawing lots. Their children might be admitted on paying a reasonable stipend to the master, which the four boarders did, but again the master could take no more private pupils than he could reasonably teach.

One rule to be followed was the age of the scholars. They should be at least eight years of age and none should tarry there above eighteen years. The Holloway boys came earlier, so they must have been early achievers. The room was airy enough for forty plus boys who would not be too overcrowded.

If boys were not ready to enter into grammar, they should be occupied in writing until they were ready to join the grammar group. This included Latin which formed the backbone of the syllabus. Milton, who would have preferred to have been taught in the vernacular, called it "gerund grinding" for the method of teaching was by memorising and then repetition. The teachers who were expected to have sound morals had to teach "matters spiritual" as well as latin until the pupil was ready to enter university. Not all boys stayed the full number of years. Unfortunately the masters neglected to keep the register up to date, making it difficult to know how long each boy stayed. Many did go on to join the ever increasing number of scholars, from the hundred and thirtysix schools built in Queen Elizabeth's reign, who went up to Oxford or Cambridge. Those who thought that by educating the poorer sort they would help to combat the former popish ideas and promote protestant teaching, may only have succeeded in bringing in those protestants encouraged by their fathers.

For the few who managed to enter Oxford and Cambridge a further seven years took them to a B.A. and M.A. The student progressed through a set series of subjects designed primarily to train them for the ministry. Once at the College they were assigned to a tutor. The poorer scholars acting as servants to the gentlemen commoners.

Between the 1570's and the 1630's the poorer students who arrived from the grammars could have been sons of husbandmen, skilled craftsmen, or yeomen, then with costs rising the new freemen's sons from Wardington began to take up all the available places. The husbandmen's sons fell at university from being over half to a third by the 1630's and down again to 1% by the 1800's [Spufford M. *Contrasting Communities* 1979 Cambridge Univ. Press p171]. A lack of opportunities together with the deterioration of teaching due to a low endowment may have slowed down the number from Cropredy to reach the University.

Scholars must have had some education to be put forward to be drawn by lot whenever a vacancy arose. Before William Rede's time were they taught by a curate in the church porch, or the chancel and did another Rede take over after William died?

In 1615 George Watt's instructed his executor "do keepe and maynteyne my children at Schoole every of them till such tyme as they can reade 'englishe' and write yf they do defaulte in any one of them then they to give them when the defaulte ys £10 a peece." Did this represent the burden of education or loss of the child's labours, or else was the sum required to grant them an apprenticeship elsewhere? This Bourton man's children had a bible and one of Greenham's works [PCC 126]. His widow would send them to Rede's school unless Bourton had their own petty school at that time.

The vicar Thomas Holloway sent all his sons to school for they needed an M.A. before finding a parish. How though did the other parents decide they could spare a son? Each boy must arrive at school as early as 5am or perhaps 6am in winter, taking with him his breakfast and lunch, for they did not return until 5 or 6 at night. There was no question of such a son taking any share in the household routine. If he stayed only a few years as many would, did this help him to earn more and manage better during his life, even though he missed essential home training in the farm or trade? Those who appreciated their own schooling sent one of their sons, though many who went to the grammar were amongst those who left the parish (p143). At least two thirds of known pupils were leaving, later this changed as positions became scarce.

On to College.

The Holloway boys who survived went on to Brasenose College to become clergymen and so did Palmer [1] and one of Mansell the miller's sons. Joseph Palmer returned to lease the new windmill from Calcott Chambres in Flax furlong on the Coton side of the Banbury Lane. He also kept on the Lower Cropredy mill (p468). In 1621 Calcott decided to buy some of the land King James was selling in Ireland and he borrowed money. Already by 1602 Calcott had sold his father's Wardington manor and by 1616 the Claydon manor. He had taken out a loan from his father-in-law John Gobert of Coventry in 1618. How did the Irish purchase help him? He had over stretched his borrowings and after his wife's father died in 1624 her family began to demand that the loan be paid back. By 1633 he had had to sell Williamscothe house to Edward Taylor. Meanwhile in 1619 Mr and Mrs Chambres were living for a time with Joseph Palmer in his House at the Lower Cropredy Mill [1]. Both Palmer and Chambres had gone on to university and it would appear that they had formed a friendship.

The miller at Bourton's Slat mill was Robert Mansell. They had two sons Edward Mansell (1605-) and Nehemiah (1609-). Both were sent to the school. Edward went on to university and was King Charles 1's chaplain during the siege of Oxford. He was captured while taking a walk and taken into custody at Abingdon where he died in captivity. The younger boy Nehemiah returned to be a miller and to farm in Cropredy [35].

Dr.Thomas Loveday mentions in his article on Williamscothe school [*Cake & Cockhorse* vol 2 No 3, Jan 1963 pp40-8] that Peter Alybon (1560-1629) was educated at the school, but he was only just in time to receive three years before going in 1578 to Magdalen Hall, Oxford where he took his B.A. in 1581 and his M.A. in 1585. Peter Alybon was a puritan who like Thomas

Gubbins of Wardington appears to have greatly disliked lax curates following older catholic ways. John Colman another Wardington boy attended and entered Brasenose College in 1606. Of the two paying scholars, William and Erasmus, sons of Sir Tobias Chauncy of Edgecote, William became Sheriff of Northants dying aged seventyone in 1644 [Baker. Northants p 494]. Thomas Robins (1612-1662) [26] of Cropredy went on to Oxford and Cambridge and is buried in Saint Mary's churchyard, Cropredy [Grave 248] (p166).

Which boys went to school?

In Walter Calcott's book the names of scholars were listed with the parish they came from, though there are many gaps. Due to the clause about being chosen by lot, not all the boys put forward by their parents would receive a place. If a boy stayed from eight to when they went to college at fifteen or over, then Cropredy could put forward less than one a year. In later years some must have finished at an earlier age releasing their places.

When the registers were checked for the first pupils several years were missing. One gap from 1555 to October 1563 was particularly annoying as this meant some of the first scholars who were over the age of twelve in 1575 are difficult to place in families. The register from the 18th of October 1563 to the 20th of November 1569 was used to check the remaining Cropredy and Bourton pupils. They record fiftynine boys and thirtynine girls christened, over those incomplete and often out of order entries. Of these at least eleven boys were buried and three girls. The girls of course are not connected with the school, but added to show the numbers who survived (In this sample one in six boys died, but only one in thirteen girls. This makes 140 per 1,000, 10 less than Laslett, but the records are not good over this period. They improve once the Holloways arrive).

Twenty of the first batch of scholars represented two out of every five available boys which is an incredibly high proportion, for a town consisting of husbandmen and craftsmen. Their places were available at once and extra places were taken up from other towns who were without a petty school.

Only the boys which can be placed on Cropredy sites are given in the chart below. The site number is their fathers, or one which the student was to lease later in life. Their fathers status is given, the year of baptism (if known) and whether they stayed or left (again if known). They were all free scholars except those marked H who hired a place.

Site	Name	Father	Baptism	Stayed	Left
	1575				
[26]	Thomas Robins	Husb.	1564		yes
[8]	William Nuberry	Husb.	1566		yes
[14]	Richard Lumberd	Husb.			yes
[41]	John Bostocke	Trade		?	
[1]	William Palmer	Miller			yes
[14]	Edward Lumberd	Husb.	1564		yes
[1]	Thomas Palmer (H)	Miller	?1569	?	
[4]	John French	Husb.	1569	yes	
	Ffoulke Grene (H)	worked for Coldwell [50]			
	1576				
[16]	Symon Hunt	?			yes
[35]	William Hentlowe	Husb.			yes
[35]	Thomas Hentlowe	Husb.			yes
?[3]	Aleyzander Devotion	Husb.			yes
[26]	John Robins	Husb.	1570		yes
	1579				
[21]	Randell Holloway (H)	Vicar	1574	died @ 21	
[21]	George Holloway (H)	Vicar	1572		
[8]	Anthony Nuberry(H)*	Husb.	1571		yes
[1]	Thomas Palmer Jnr (H)				
	1580				
[36]	Richard Hucksley	Shepherd	1575		yes

	1582				
[44]	Charles Allen	Husb.		yes	
[?60]	Richard Armett	Husb.	1576		yes
	GAP 1583-1597				
	1598				
[16]	John Hunt	Husb.	1585	yes	
[24]	Richard Howse	Husb.	1586	yes	
[34]	Arthur Watts	Husb.	1588	yes	
[51]	Richard Cross	Miller		yes	
[49]	William Cox	Trade	1588		yes
[36]	John Huxley	Shepherd	1590		yes
[34]	Richard Watts	Husb.	1589		yes
[34]	William Watts	Husb.	1591	Yes died @ 31	
	1599				
[21]	Gamaliell Hollowaye	Vicar	1584		yes
	1600				
[28]	Thomas Howse	Husb.	1589	yes	
[38]	Thomas Elderson	Carpenter	1592	yes	
[27]	Thomas Watts	Weaver	1594	yes	
	1604				
[45]	Christopher Rawlyns	Shoemaker	1593		yes
[37]	George Breedon	Trade?			yes
[31]	John Kynd	Husb.	c1597		yes
[44]	Richard Tompson	Husb.	1597		yes
[16]	John Hunt	Husb.	1599	yes	
	GAP 1605-1609				

	1610				
[42]	Thomas Sutton	Tailor	1602		yes
[21]	Thomas Holloway (H)	Vicar	1601		yes
[45]	Thomas Rawlins	Shoemaker	1601		yes
[54]	Thomas Evans	Herdsman	1601	yes	
[14]	Edward Lumberd	Husb.	1602	yes	
	GAP 1611-1616				
	1617				
[24]	Thomas Pratt	Husb.	1608		yes
[28]	Richard Howse	Husb.	1610	yes	
[47]	Baptist Bryan	Labourer	1609		yes
[12]	Thomas Gorstelow	Husb.			
	GAP 1618-1624				
	1625				
[47]	Baptist Bryan	(still at School)			
[32]	William Read	Husb.	1613	yes	
[44]	Arthur Allen	Husb.	1618		yes
[23]	William Vaughan	Yeoman	1613		yes
[51]	John Cross	Miller	1617		yes

* Andrew in baptism register and father's will.

The Register.

The Calcott register began in 1575 by giving each town a page and then confusing it by adding 1576 to the same page. Mollington and Claydon released places to other parishes, so Cropredy and Bourton took up their lots. "There will be iij scollers more here in Cropredy by reason Cleydon had none redye att this drawinge and one more ys in Mollenton bye the same meanes" [f2]. A "newe drawynge" was made and several names added in 1576.

The "scollers by hyre" who must pay the master's fee were added to each town's page. Walter Calcott as the Lord also added some he had named as part of the ten Lord's scholars. After entering all the boys on their own town's page the entries move on to the adjacent parishes outside the ecclesiastical parish of Cropredy making a list for Chipping Warden written as "Chyppn Werden." Two boys on this folio were "scollers comyng." However some on this page eventually appear on other lists and certainly they did not all come from "Chippy" or "Esgeskott" [Edgecote] where Thomas Palmer is said to come from.

The Ellyett family lived next to the chapel in Great Bourton. The parents of a John Ellyett tried every way they could to get him into the school, for he turns up on several pages. In Cropredy's list he appears twice, being a "hyer scoller" as well as on the free list [f2]. Why was he not on Bourton's list? His next appearance is on the Chipping Warden page [f5b], then he is heading the Cropredy list of 1578 as a free scoller [f6b]. If this John was the son of John and Julian he died in 1581. They did not send the next two sons.

At this point Walter Calcott, or the school master, had chosen far too many students, so that a new order began on the 15th of February 1580 "As is ffree scollers accordynge to my order." First the boys put forward for the drawing of lots: fifteen for Cropredy and three extra places from Claydon. John Ellyett was again at the head of the list of boys followed by seven chosen for Cropredy of which only six are numbered "summa syxe scollers," and someone has added the seventh. Ellyett was not chosen [f7b].

The lists of boys do not always tally up. Having taken the allotted eight, four are added and two of the chosen had not even been put up to be drawn. Where did they spring from? One John Spyre is put on many lists, as Ellyett was, and became a hired scholar for his last year. In spite of Mr Calcott saying none must tarry after eighteen, one of the "scholemaster's schollers" (whose father Mr Timcock had the most yardlands in Wardington and whose brother married a Holloway) was there as a "xx yer old." William Timcock stayed for four years leaving in 1582 [f10]. Christopher and Nicholas Timcock brothers of William, also attended the school. John Odill of Mollington may have waited until he was nineteen for a chance to attend. The lack of places may explain the late start and age at leaving.

In 1604 someone wrote "Petytes [pupils] at thys tyme founde in" Williamsote are two: Gabriel and Richard Garner [f14]. Had the pupils begun to fall off? Or were they just checking the elementary school to see who was coming up to apply for being drawn by lot? Places not taken up were offered to other parishes so that students from Chacombe and Edgecote took up Mollington and Claydon places.

Presumably these two Cropredy parishes had none on the waiting list, being over three miles away which was quite a distance for a child to come for such a long day, even so a few did reach the school.

"The Election for the Scoole of Williamscote upon Trinity monday being the 16th of June 1617" [f18]. On this day there were six for Cropredy, six for Bourton and four for Wardington and none for Mollington and Claydon. Were these the boys chosen and ready to fill the vacant places? Or just those entered to be drawn, because one of them Baptist Bryan [47] was again on the list for 1625. Had he gained a place when he was eight in 1617, and had eight years of education, or been forced to wait until sixteen to enter school? Was his father one of the early baptists? If so he would want his son to have the advantage of a full education.

Some of the hired boys' parents were not necessarily all gentlemen. There was Anthony Nuberry [8] whose father was a husbandmen, and a labourer's son Thomas Palmer [59]. The Gorstelows from Prescote and Mollington who were gentlemen like the Chaunceys as well as the vicar's four sons all paid until a free place was available.

The Wardington children definitely have more free children attending, for they take any spare lot going. They vary from half yardlanders to those who had over three. Because it was possible to discover in which part of the parish of Wardington and Coton the various families lived in, it was found that more of the pupils in 1610 lived at the Nether end of Wardington town [Tithe book c25/5 for 1614-16].

Few boys are mentioned as scholars twice, though some have "gon" after their name as Mr Walter Calcott required. Thomas Walys and Thomas Palmer were there for 1575, but gone by 1582. There is no other way of telling how long each scholar was at the school. The lists of new applicants to be chosen by lot were only sometimes followed by a note saying which scholars were drawn. As the years went by good intentions lapsed and the masters forgot to enter new names and no-one was marked gone. The last entries appear to have fewer names, but we do not know how many scholars the school already had which had not been entered on their first year due to these gaps.

Sometimes a boy was allowed to have the place of a boy who was "comying," or "untyll he cometh." Were these paying students taking on a vacancy of a free place for a term? Or had a boy fallen ill, or been taken off to help with the farm due to a crisis there? This happened throughout the Cropredy and Bourton school log books in the second half of the nineteenth century and it must have been even harder to release sons for education in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Randell Hollowaye was only born in 1574 and yet he was at the school as a hired scholar in 1579 and obviously not yet the required age of eight [f6b]. His brother George was only seven and must have taken Randell to school. These two do get a second mention in 1582 when George was ten and Randell eight. In this year they help fill two places after six Cropredy boys had left and been declared as "gon." The Holloway brothers were now both free scholars and would rejoin the class well advanced in their studies. William Barnsley had done the same with his brother Thomas. Annoyingly a gap follows, but we know Randell went on to enter Brasenose College where he received his B.A. at the age of twenty. The poor young man so

soon to be ordained fell ill and after making a will died. His father recorded the burial of this son from his first marriage writing that he was only twentyone and five months (p154). Randell left £5 worth of books and his lease of part of the parsonage of Cropredy which he had shared with his brother Gamaliel. It took Gamaliel three years to get his B.A. at the age of twenty and a further three years for his M.A. (1607). The only record of him in the school register was for 1599 when he was already fifteen [f 12b].

Thomas Holloway junior went on to Oxford. His father mentions that he was there in 1619 (p551). Nothing more is known about George. He was not in his father's or step-mother's wills.

After some Schooling.

All the Cropredy boys were extracted from the school register from the beginning up to 1625, and sorted into households which proved that education had been encouraged in many farms and cottages, sometimes for several generations (p134). Thomas Palmer [59] who ran a milk business and did labouring work did not advance far, but the usefulness of being able to write meant he could take up collections of tithes for the vicar, and other tasks as well, such as accompanying the school master to write a neighbouring tailor's will [18].

The school register gaps mean several families escape our list, but other evidence produced households in which a member could write or left a bible. Valentyne Huxley's [36] father, a shepherd, sent his eldest and youngest son to Williamscoote, but Valentyne did not go. However if two went to the petty school and learnt to read then this middle son surely went that far as well? William Rede [32] attended a petty school about the same time as Valentyne could have, and so did many others, who were not so fortunate in the drawing of the grammar school lots. Huxley did not sign his will, but this does not mean he could not read or write. The other two Huxley boys leave Cropredy so their brother Valentyne gains the copyhold which he was surely entered upon as a child. In 1650 Valentyne had his widowed daughter at home with her children John and Elizabeth Overy. Their grandfather leaves them 40s each, perhaps enabling John to attend the school in 1656 like his great uncles.

Truss [33] another shepherd does not go up to Williamscoote, but he too had the copyhold and left a bible. The Lucas's [2] family of carpenters, both father and son can write, but they are not in the Calcott register due to the gaps, or did they come from Wroxton and receive some education from there? Richard Hunt [5], weaver, signed wills and must have had some tuition. He could have attended the school joining his two friends Richard Handley [12] and Richard Kynd [31], both of whom could write, but also attended during a gap in Calcott's book. Of the three only the weaver remained to die in Cropredy. Amongst the poorer tradesmen to witness a will with his signature was the whitbaker John Hill of Church Lane.

Around 1613/14 the church was tightening up on the parishioners' morals which led to an increase in presentments at the church court. It must have annoyed a great many people that they were unable to express themselves openly, so that journeymen travelling the country would have to be very careful when passing on their views of a freer type of religion. Those who were unable to swear allegiance at the church court because of their strong convictions were then excommunicated, and priests would be imprisoned. Many Catholics, especially since the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, had to remain hidden, often in a widow's household disguised as a servant. Teenage pupils and young men, would be bound to pick up broadsheets from the market stalls and read it to themselves, but secretly to others for gatherings or conventions in households were forbidden to any except the immediate family. In the sixteenth century there was a steady increase in religious propaganda as more printed material became available. Much of this would eventually reach any reader eager to learn. It gave an alternative view to Holloway's sermons, a curate's reading of the homilies, or William Whately's market sermons [Spufford M. *Contrasting Communities* 1974 Cambridge Univ. Press. Dr. Thomas Loveday's introduction, notes and transcript of the register printed in *Cake and Cockhorse* 1963. Vol.2 no. 3. and Cropredy Charity records].

Literacy in Cropredy.

There was a habit of listening and learning the history of their area from their father or grandparents in front of the fire, or from the local inn. The language of their forefathers came down the generations with little change. It expressed their thinking, gave voice to their deepest thoughts so that they aired their philosophies tutored well from the past. Learning well from observing and personal experience they inherited a very descriptive language. The oral history so important to everyone in the town was now being extended or changed by the written word.

Were the bibles valued by the appraisers of inventories just the authorised versions, which were available by 1611? The Geneva bible's marginal notes were anti-authoritarian and banned in Archbishop Laud's time (1633-1645) so that pocket editions were smuggled in from Holland. The householder would hardly show one to an appraiser, even if a friend, though people would be aware of their existence in a close knit group of readers, for the pocket Geneva bible encouraged thinking and discussion amongst trusted neighbours [Hill C. *The English Bible* p29/30]. A bible valued at 5s would be an authorised edition. Once more bibles had been printed, the price began to drop and it became central to their learning. Magistrates referred to the bible as a text book, clergy needed it to teach and husbandmen used it to back up their commands. For the period 1570 to 1640 the influence of the bible increased as more learnt to read and more families purchased one. The importance of the bible must be emphasised. It was the ultimate authority not only for politicians and clergy, but the head of the household. A Samuel Hieron wrote before he died in 1617 that the bible gave the master "direction for his apparel, his speech, his diet, his company, his disports, his labour, his buying and selling..." [Sermons of Master Samuel Hieron, pub. posthumously in 1624. p72-3. cf Hill C. *The English Bible* 1993. Penguin Press].

Bibles in inventories and wills had obviously been in the possession of the deceased for some time. They first began to appear when weaver Watts [27] died in 1616, and John Hentlowe [35] in 1617. Others like John Sheeler [50] had one in 1619 plus a small psalm book, Edward Bokingham had three or four books worth 12d (chapbooks?) in 1625, Robert Woodrose [8] left his grandson, who was later ordained, "all my books" in 1625, Edmond Tanner [39] had a bible and common prayer book in 1630, Richard Hall [34] had a bible and Truss [33] owned two bibles next door in 1634. Edward Lumberd [14] left a bible in 1635. We know that a Robert Cleaver from London left his master's wife, Joyce Hall [6] who could read, £5 and "all my books at London" in 1639 and Huxeley [36] left a Great Bible in 1651 to his brother William (could it possibly be the large edition of 1536?). For those who could read, but had no bible at home there was always the bible chained to the eagle lectern, once it could be safely raised from the river and reinstated in the church. Cropredy had an above average number of references to bibles. This may mean that the town had several families whose master was a strict protestant.

Fortyfour out of the sixty house sites between 1575 and 1640 are known to have had someone in the household who could write, and therefore read, which was a high proportion for a rural area. At least a quarter of these houses had either a bible, or a prayerbook. A few had both. If the appraisers who went round, describing the goods for the scribe sitting at the table, could not read then most books became "lumber," or were left amongst "all other implements there." The bible would however be recognised and written down. On one occassion at Rawlins [45], Ambrose Holbech and Charles Allen [44] who were both well educated, could have read the title, yet they only record "one bible and one other book" 3s-4d. Plenty remains invisible from the past when it might be expected to have been revealed especially expensive books, though not the tuppenny chapbook, or the penny ballad sheet.

Bibles and prayer books were not the only books in Cropredy. The "other book" which Rawlin's left to his son Thomas was a collection of Smith's Sermons. Could this be the Henry Smith whose book was published in 1592? Mr John Wyatt [31] farrier and vet had a library of books for his work. Charles Allen [44] who had attended Calcott's school left a "box of implements & certayne books" worth eleven shillings. Was he once apprenticed to a land surveyor? For many years before their wills were written these men were reading and using their knowledge not only as part of their work, but surely in discussions and other meeting places when they were about their business?

While the Cropredy husbandmen were educating their sons, the craftsmen were equally keen. Thomas Wyatt may not have been able to sign his will, but he was determined to send his sons to school, and judging by their signatures, books and grave rhymes they were benefiting from his persistence. His eldest son William who moved into Suffolk's house [60] had a small library of books. These he left to his grandson John Watts and grand daughter Elizabeth. Had she too been to elementary school? They included *The Great Bible*, Isaac Ambros words, Dr. Sutton's works, *Reconciled to the Bible*, *Practice of Piety* and *Moses Unveiled* which he left to John. *The Margent Bible*, Mr Wheatley's book upon Geneses, Henry Smith *Sermons*, Mr Thastack's works, Jeremiah Batingin's Works and *The Great Assizes* went to Elizabeth. The total value in 1671 was £2. Books explaining the bible and popular sermons increased during the interregnum as censorship was abandoned.

William Rede, schoolmaster, left old Bokingham's house [55] to his son and moved up Hello to live at Palmer's cottage [59], which was next door to William Wyatt, with his library. William Wyatt's father Thomas had moved up to Creampot [31], next to the Rede's farm [32], at about the same time as the schoolmaster left to get married, but both families had a keen interest in the welfare of horses and forwarding education. The schoolmaster was asked to write Thomas Wyatt's will not Ambrose Holbech. One of William Wyatt's books already mentioned was written by the Banbury puritan William Wheatley (1583-1639). This Banbury vicar had attended William Perkin's lectures at Cambridge and wrote many works expressing his own (often original) advanced views. A keen sabbath man he had long services which earned him the nickname of the "Roaring boy of Banbury." This vicar was presented by William Osborne at the church court in 1607 for not praying for bishops before the sermon. For "not reading divine service nor administring the sacrament of Baptisme." He also administered the communion to such as would not kneel and preached against the "Ceremonyes" [Oxon. Archd. Papers, Oxon b 52. 15]. The year before William Osborne had written to Lloyd because he was threatened with dismissal for not "Catachising on the Sabaothes" [b52. 11]. A battle between the bishop's men and the puritans was causing stong rifts within the congregations. How many others in Cropredy followed Wheatley? Holloway had his congregation's approval in 1619 when they described him as an orderly man who preacheth twice on Sundays. Where had his opponents gone, the younger mockers of puritan's and the old traditionalist's? [Oxon. Archd. papers, Oxon b.52. 39].

John Wyatt [31], farrier, son of Thomas and Ursula and brother of William [60], mentioned "my anvill and all my tooles instruments druggs, dyles, powders, medicines and all other materials whatsoever pertayning to my Erude. Together with my whole study of Books." He died in 1669. Had he been writing for farriers and horsemen or just poems? John's eldest son John also became a farrier and farmer. The family moving to the largest A. Manor farm [50], leaving Sarah the widowed mother living on at the farriers house [31] in Creampot Lane. John II left two dressers holding twentyeight books worth £1-5s and land in trust for his wife to maintain and educate his children.

Almanacs after 1640 could include astrology without interference from the clergy and at twopence each they sold faster than bibles. When the A manor landlord wanted them to send anything from Cropredy he suggested "Send it by the first oportunity of this carrier and his weeks and when you know anyone your alminack will direct, for they never alter their weeks" [Additional MS. 71962 p186].

Ballads once acquired might wait for a reader to teach the household the words. The tune would be picked up and rapidly spread. Those who wished to promote their godly beliefs used the ballad as one way of reaching the humbler reader. This began as early as the 1550's. Later in the century the puritans used them. In 1595 Nicholas Brownde wrote "In the shops of Artificers, and cottages of poore husbandmen...you shall sooner see one of these newe Ballades, which are made only to keepe them occupied...then any of the Psalms, and may perceive them to be cunninger in singing the one, then the other. And indeed...the singing of ballades is very lately renewed...so that in every Fair and Market almost you shall have one or two singing of ballades" [Brownde N. *The Doctrine of the Sabbath* 1595 London p242, in Spufford M. *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* p11 1981 Cambridge Univ. Press].

Penmanship.

There are households of which we have few records, yet we know that Clyfton [7] and Ffendrie [43] used a mark which was their normal signature, because they were both still working, and not too ill to witness in their usual manner. Most adults in the first part of our period had missed out by being too old when the school opened, or because there was only room for two out of every five boys in the first draw, and less after that when pupils stayed on longer to reach university filling up the places. George Devotion signs his leases with a mark throughout a long period on his farm at the south end of the Long Causeway [3]. He was still at first amongst the majority in the town, though this was changing fast. George may not have felt too hampered by it, but his family fail to achieve a higher status. Sister Em may have been the exception (p102). Even those who had the advantages of petty schooling might not keep up the use of writing and only a grammar school would give enough confidence to tackle will writing, or even writing down a whole terrier. They would leave such matters to the better educated who remained in Cropredy.

At the manor house next door [8] several of the Nuberry children are sent to school, possibly prior to going away to an apprenticeship which would require writing, accounting and an understanding of latin. The eldest son John was not put through school for he was at home learning husbandry, but he fails to take over the lease and may have moved on to Wardington. All the Woodroses who live at the farm after the Nuberry's may be able to write, and yet no child is recorded as having been sent to the Williamscothe school. Would they have a tutor? Robert Woodrose wrote his will and his daughter-in-law Martha is unusually witnessing Mr Arthur Coldwell's will [50], and much later one of his staff. Martha may have been used to visiting Mrs Coldwell at their manor house. Was she there one day in 1617 when Arthur Coldwell produced the will to be witnessed? He was either well prepared or else ill at that time and then recovered so that it was two years before he died. Many years later Martha wrote her own will in a very feminine style, which was witnessed by the Revd Harris of Hanwell. Robert Whettell, a member of staff first for Coldwells then Cartwrights [50] and later for Lakey's, obviously knew the Harris family at the vicarage, for he came from Hanwell. Could it have been Mr Harris who mentioned Martha's skill to Robert when he came over to visit him on his sick bed, or was Martha visiting the household and asked to write his will as he lay ill in the servants chamber. Did Martha lean over to hear his wishes and then retire to a table to write them down and for this act of kindness caught whatever ailed him and joined him in the churchyard nine days later (pp163 & 183)?

Those families which had received some education were known to call at each others houses. A regular visitor to Woodrose's house could have been the miller Joseph Palmer M.A. [1]. Another in their circle was William Hall from across the Causeway [6]. At the vicarage the Holloways approve of the Gorstelow family which had a branch in several parishes and sent sons to the school prior to being apprenticed to a master. Timcocks of Wardington, Clarsons of Horley, Robins of Cropredy all form suitable families interested in education for the Holloway girls to marry into. Another was Ambrose Holbech, a lawyer, who became involved in the town affairs (Was Ambrose the first to change over from writing a "vij" to "seven" or "7s" in inventories? This change from Roman numerals to £-s-d was not always complete. In Allens inventory it moves from "vijen" to seven, but the final totals are back to being written as "xs" instead of "10s").

Thomas Holloway must have been busy writing at his desk or standish for part of every day. A standish was a desk with compartments for inks and quills. Powdered gum, sandrac, blotting paper or sandpaper were also necessary. Some of his parchments for official documents would be nearby. These had an oily surface and had to be prepared by rubbing in sandrac. If a mistake was made he could use his penknife to erase it, sprinkle pounce on the patch and regain a smooth surface by rubbing the area with either a dog's tooth or an agate.

We know that Elizabeth Holloway and her daughters could write. Would the vicar and Elizabeth teach the girls or a curate? Could the petty school take a few girls with the boys? Anne Watts and her husband Richard [34] both write and may have been like the Rose's [60] acquaintances of the Coldwell's. Mr Arthur Coldwell [50] added his signature to deeds, but only twice acts as witness to a will, once to Rychard Watts and once to Wam Rose, for they were his neighbours. Rose's house was just

across the churchyard and Watts down his farm track in Creampot lane. Arthur joined the vicar when Watts needed his will witnessed. Rychard Watts [34] asked his wife Anne to "take the care and education of my said children until... honestly provided for." Afterwards the three men whom the widow Anne chooses to take the inventory could all write and it would seem they mixed with all sections of townsmen: William Watt, weaver [27] (was he any relation?), Tanner the mercer [39], and Lyllee the husbandman [28]. The Watts three eldest sons had already managed to get to the school before their father died, but the gaps in the Calcott book make it impossible to see if George their last son was a scholar. Whether the wife taught Elizabeth, Joane and Annes and whether it altered the kind of work they would do afterwards we do not know. Arthur as the eldest marries at twentynine. Richard stayed home until he was twentyeight then leaves. William never left home dying aged thirtytwo in the 1622/3 fever while still a bachelor. George was home for four out of the eight years on the Easter lists, and was around in 1634 (p592-4). What apprenticeship had they undergone after school?

Richard Hall who managed the farm for Arthur's widow (also Anne Watts) was able to write as indeed was his neighbour John Hentlowe, who attended the school with his two elder brothers [35]. Also at Hentlowes lived Manasses who may have written Truss's will [33] ten years after he had moved to Banbury. This was confirmation of how people remained in touch. William Shotswell [1a] also came up to add his signature to Truss's will. Did they all belong to a group? Manasses Plyvie and his wife lodged in the farm house [35] and stayed on for two years after John Hentlowe died. Who employed him? A large number of old pupils were apprenticed to people like Coldwell with his large farm, mill and other ventures and yet John Hentlow does not farm. Prescote manor had taken on the land and John continues to live there presumably having a life interest in the house.

Plyvie goes on to farm at Williamscode (then Banbury) and like Foulke Grene who had worked for Coldwells, leased enclosed land on the Williamscode-in-Cropredy farm from Calcott Chambres or Taylors.

Poets.

Who was it amongst the Wyatts who wrote the verses on their tombs copying Samuel? "Samuel King a loyall/ Subject & Souldier/ Faithfull to his/ Late Majesty King Charles the First," during the battle of Cropredy bridge, was also apparently something of a poet. He survived the battle, but was buried on March 7th 1658 aged only fortyfour. With a fellow pupil Thomas Wyatt had he begun a tradition of writing local verse which became established amongst a few of the past Williamscode scholars, as they sat waiting for their horses to be shod, or doctored by the Wyatts? Writing verses for gravestones or sweethearts was very much in fashion. Those who could not compose their own must seek out someone like Samuel, and for a fee have a verse written for them [Russell C. *The Crisis of Parliaments* p176. 1971 Oxford Univ. Press]. How much more would a family pay for a rhyming verse on a tomb? Was it a Wyatt who wrote Samuel King's, or did he leave one for his own stone?:

"Not Mares alone but Mercury their parts
Challeng'd in him famous for Armes & arts.
Fewe knewe his worth they doe that well did know it,
Proclaimed him souldier and a Gallent Poet" [Grave 291, under the East window].

John Wyatt I, farrier, who died the 30th day of June 1669 was the son of Thomas and Ursula (p595). He once had a stone in the churchyard (which has gone or fallen and been covered by grass), written in capitals according to the Revd D. Royce in 1880[Royce p28]:

"SHOULD MEN FORBEAR, DUMB BRUTES WOULD YET DESCRIBE
THE FAMOUS FARRIERS WORTH OF CROPPED
THOUGH WYATTS DEAD, HE LIVES IN SKILL AND FAME,
HEIRS OF HIS PRACTICE ETERNIZE HIS NAME."

His son John Wyatt II, farrier, grandson of Thomas died much too soon on the 7th of September 1676, leaving his son John III a young farrier to carry on. A large ledger tomb was put up with blacksmith tools carved on the side [Grave 313]:

"If brutes could speak
Horses would Poets be,
And hither bring
A dole full Elegie
But though two Wyatts
Now are dead and gone
Yet all their Art and skill
Lives in young John."

Young John III died and Job Wyatt moved into their farm [50] (p614).

Thomas Wyatt moved down to Brasenose manor farm [8] after first farming at Cattell's [30] farm next to the farriers in Creampot lane. Once near the damper river and moat air, Thomas and Mary lost at least three children. One stone, later moved to the edge of the path to face the church porch, has a marvellous carving of two of their little girls in long dresses complete with necklaces, who died in 1685 and 1687 [Grave 132]. Their brother Thomas died in 1682 and the family bard wrote this:

"Like bards of prey [not birds as Royce copied]
Death snatch'd away
This harmless dove
Whose soule [s]o pure
is now secure
in heavon Above" [Grave 277].

Using Writing Skills.

Prepared sheep parchments were specially finished and could be purchased at the market, if not from the tanner. Ink was made from the black bark of the blackthorn tree, or oak galls. Writing skills were used to express grief, write letters instructing bailiffs, making presentments, issuing citations, wills and inventories, terriers, rates and account books.

When Thomas Holloway added those unnecessary, but very meaningful "five months" to his son's age in the burial register, he was expressing his extreme sadness over the loss of yet another child from his first marriage. They mourned a child as keenly then as any would today. It was hard to console themselves for his loss and the strain on finances that education up to a B.A. would have made on a family, especially with two more to follow, and so many daughters to provide dowries for. Materially as well as emotionally Thomas would be affected at losing a well loved member of their family.

In 1684 Sir William sent word to his bailiff that "my deare child ffrancis Boothby is dead and buried so that I am under great trouble." "The great affliction I am in for the death of my son ffrancis Boothby who was buried Easter day is too just an excuse and yealds not any apology," for cancelling a visit to Cropredy. Again in 1688 "Since my last [letter] my deare sonne James is dead so that we are in great affliction" [Additional MS. 71960 & 3 p208 & p1]. The loss of children surely affected them all. Gentlemen who could write would still employ a clerk and have him keep a copy of all the letters sent out in a book. The A manor landlord, Sir William Boothby, did just that enabling us to still read them.

Apart from such tragic circumstances Boothby had been able to send letters to his bailiff John Wyatt who was capable of carrying out his instructions. John was highly thought of for his specialised knowledge of horses and to become the bailiff must also have earned the respect of the landlord. In our period the owner of the A manor lived in Clattercote immediatedly to the north of Cropredy's civil parish. They came to the church on Sundays and unlike the Principal and scholars of Brasenose College who owned the B manor they could arrive unannounced at any time on his or her horse to oversee their estate, collect any unpaid rent and find fault immediately with repairs or poor husbandry. Their presence on rent days expecting prompt payment was in their favour compared with later in the century when the absent landlords, educated gentlemen, increasingly managed their affairs by letters, leaving the onus of collecting rents to the tenant of the A manor farm, unless they brought in

an outsider, as they did sometimes from Mollington. Living at a distance meant the Boothby's must send frequent instructions especially if they desired preparations prior to a visit. Unfortunately for them the next generation of husbandmen did not always respond and Sir William used this fairly new means of issuing instructions to blast away at John Wyatt's successors, his sons John and then Job Wyatt, for the slow collecting of his rents. Boothby had only allowed John's sons into the manor farm [50] "in Respect to memory of/ his dead father," though he charged a high rent [Additional MS. 71961 p240].

The two manor courts must always employ a scribe to write agreements on parchment. The estates still had to write copyhold indentures, bonds and terms of leases. At first tenants only signed with a cross, but more and more written work was required for the landlord's terriers and also for parish affairs. Terriers required the assistance of neighbours who must go out and help describe their land. Until several could write in the town the early ones must have been difficult to complete, although husbandmen would be able to verbally explain with complete precision the place, direction and neighbouring tenants for each of their strips. By the middle of the seventeenth century only a few husbandmen use a mark and many by the look of the terriers write their own, using the local spelling for all the place names (p288). Although spelling was still erratic, most of the words were written with a true Cropredy sound and are very important in conveying the Oxfordshire dialect of that period.

In 1653 and 1655 the B manor terriers survive with signatures. Apparently the tenants could choose neighbours to witness the description of their land from both the manors. Their hand writing is often difficult, and Mansell who attended the grammar before he farmed Hentlowes [35] down Creampot spoke and wrote with a broad accent. The two who were asked to help the most were James and John Bostock, father and son of the leather shop and possible alehouse [41]. By 1653 James's writing is getting shaky, but then he must have been born around 1587. His son would have gone to the Williamsote school in 1623 if a place was available. When John Blgrave married Elizabeth Robins in 1635 he came to live in Cropredy and after twenty years or so he was always present when a signature was required on a terrier. He had first to learn the distribution of all the strips and who farmed them. A few others help, such as his neighbours from the upper end of the town: Howes [28], many of the Wyatt men who went to school from [31], the "Creampot Redes" next door [32], and the "Round Bottom Redes" [55], and Watts from the bottom of Creampot Lane [34]. Thomas Gorstelow who went to school from Bourton came down to Handleys [12] and helped with the terriers. Hunts who went to school in the 1650's were carrying on their parents traditions of being available when required. Samuel King the soldier poet was able to help and Edward Pratt from Church Lane [24]. Nehemiah Gardner, born in Bourton, [39] who married Tanner's widow and Lordin who took over Lyllees [29] may not have been to school, but it did not apparently prevent them from having the terrier read out, or from accompanying various husbandmen round the land. Perhaps an outsider had fewer family quarrels to consider. Solomon Howes [9] who had learnt a beautiful script when he attended school in the 1640's wrote one of the surviving hearth tax accounts (p623). His neighbour John Allen [6] was one of the first gentlemen to take an active part around 1670. Each generation were able to find enough able scribes from amongst their fellow townsmen (p161).

Holbech as a lawyer was involved with the work of the church court, sometimes organising the administration of oaths and witnessing bonds. His son went on, according to his memorial in Mollington church, to become very eminent in the law, particularly in the art of conveyancing which he practised with great integrity. Ambrose Holbech had sent a note to Martha Woodrose when her husband died with a copy of the oath she would have to swear on the bible when exhibiting the inventory "of all ...his goods...credits and debts...And if here after any more shall come to your knowledge you shall add ye same unto this Inventorie... Soe helpe you god and ye contents of this booke."

Oaths, which went beyond the trust in a man's word as his bond, were coming more and more into the life of the townsmen. Churchwardens must present on oath and yet the rules coming down from the bishops were not always the same as the neighbourly customs and accepted behaviour. These were rarely abused in Cropredy and many found swearing an oath at the church court so loathsome and conflicting with their feelings of honour, that it upset their peace of mind. Increasingly an oath must be sworn putting a man in a difficult position. For example they must swear that all the goods had been declared. What about their hidden Geneva bibles, the items undervalued to help a poor widow with a lot of children, or the missing horse and cow?

There had been some advantages in old customs using a tally stick, the shaking of hands before witnesses when lending money to a trusted neighbour without a written bond, or the agreement on a sale of stock completed by a hand slap and the return of some "lucky" coin. Now the mercer and the blacksmith kept Shop Books and wrote in debts and crossed out those paid, leaving just the desperate debts, a witness in black and white which would not go away. Those hanging onto the past would grumble, but times were changing and some petty schools taught children to cast up accounts which was a tremendous advantage to all who lent or borrowed money. The husbandmen who had to record the new church and poor rates could not have managed without learning how to cast up an "accmpt" accurately.

Credit had always been given. The baker could leave a loaf and notch a double piece of wood so that each knew how much the customer owed. Some would advance seed corn and collect their dues at harvest time. In many ways it was essential to help their neighbours. It did not always matter that a man could neither read nor write for his father would have taught them how to barter goods, to understand the ways of gaining credit and paying these debts. He would teach his sons how to value his own goods, to realise their worth at market and how to pay the rent. It was only when coins were in short supply, or he had nothing to barter with that the men must borrow money on a bond, or more drastically trade himself for a wage.

[Note on Lady walk/Madam's walk: Marianne Loveday (1832-1918) mentions in her Family History that her grand-mother Anne Taylor-Loder who married Dr John Loveday in 1777 "made the lower walk in line with the old ones, raising it higher than the Causeway, which was on the other side of the road [hedge?], and planting a hedge on each side of the walk, thus still further ensuring the safety of the children in times of flood." This information about Madam's walk was kindly given by Mrs S.

Markham. Note: There appears to be no physical evidence of a raised walk to the north of the road. Could Marianne Loveday have meant "on the other side of the" hedge and not the road?].

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11. The Need for Wills

Heads of household cared for immediate relations by giving them a roof over their heads and their wills showed concern for their own. The responsibility for the family must be passed on to the one they trusted most, by making them executors. Gentlemen, yeomen, husbandmen, day-labourers and servants, made wills proving they had some personal estate that they could pass on to help care for their bereaved children, father, mother or grand children. Not all wills written or spoken survived. The cost of proving them could be higher than the moveable goods, but if several pressed for possession then the issue had to be solved in the church court, even if they were below the legal amount for making an inventory.

Out of the fiftysix heads of household alive in Cropredy in 1624 thirty made wills or had inventories taken. Four left Cropredy and twentytwo wills are missing (if made). Only three widows left wills. Of the rest three remarry, one left and thirtyone women did not make a will that survived. Based on the published Oxon Inventories it has been suggested that a quarter were too poor to make a will. The majority were not poorly housed, but unable to earn more than their day to day needs. There were bound to be some at the end of their lives, but many of these Cropredy townsmen and women had not been able to avoid making earlier legal documents transferring leases, or possessions, after which they occupy a chamber with less than five pounds of goods, or money in their purse. To avoid any further expense for the family their estate was now too low to warrant proving any will.

Edward Lumberd [14] had to make both, because he continued to farm. At the time of making his will he was in "p'fect health and memory." He made it to enable his widowed daughter-in-law's second husband to enter the lease. Other early wills were made when a former bailiff wishes to marry a widow [34], or the testator was being extra cautious, perhaps after being ill. These were the fortunate families for those who had been excommunicated were not allowed to make a will. They died intestate like Cattell [30] and a relation had to take out an administration bond and agree to settle their affairs.

Only 7% made a will from two to six years in advance. Another 7% nearly left it too late and had to speak their will before witnesses. The rest relied upon there still being time at the end, and of course some died too soon. The advantage of leaving it to the last few days was they were then dealing with the immediate circumstances affecting the household. Death was a swift enemy rapidly changing the situation. 27% made wills as close as three days before burial, 19% within a week, 11% within a month and 15% within three months. Of the seventyseven surviving wills we know the burial date for only fiftytwo and it was from these that the percentages were taken.

Wills written by the Vicar and Others.

The most important record of a lifetime came at the very end of their lives. Wills were usually left until the testator was totally unable to sit at a table with a quill and ink laboriously writing out, even with the aid of a formulary book, instructions to whoever they wished to take over the responsibility of being head of the household. Instead it was easier to send for the vicar, who could add his prayers and write the will.

He would arrive with another able townsman, such as William Rose [60] the grazier [Rose went four times with the vicar to 1,8,16,23].

For over fortyfive years the Reverend Thomas Holloway was involved with the making of at least thirtythree wills and inventories, five of which were proved in London. Thomas was repeatedly asked not only to act as the scribe or witness to the making of the will, but also to be an overseer, guardian, or trustee of the land. There were other educated townsmen, but no doubt a hierarchy existed. He received fees for doing this. In all the local wills that have survived between 1577 and 1617 for Cropredy Holloway was absent on only ten occasions. The wills the vicar wrote for parishioners were longer than those his parish clerk, William Rede [32] made, yet Thomas could be brief using a short preamble for his mother-in-law. Thomas followed a general format and may have used a formulary book though he appears willing to change the wording to suit various clients.

William Hall and Ambrose Holbech took over from the vicar when he gave up the task and between them they wrote another twenty [Holbech attended at sites 14,25x2,26x2,34,45 plus three more]. Not all gentlemen are offered large amounts for their pains. Norman [48] left only 6d for Mr Richard Cartwright [50].

John Hunt [16] was approached to witness wills by both Palmers [59], shepherd Truss [33], Fendrie [43] as well as his immediate neighbours and the Gybbs [25]. One old pupil who seldom went to write a will was Edward Lumberd [14], though he did act as overseer for a relation William Watts [27] and Sutton [42], and possibly to witness in the writing of their wills, as well as his step-sister's mother-in-law Alyce Devotion's will [3]. His neighbour from across the Green, Justinian Hunt's [16] son John, came to ask him to use his expertise to help list the deceased's goods and his father had previously asked him to act as overseer.

Many families kept entirely to their own level in society. William Hall [6] was only asked for help by husbandmen upwards [3,4,14,21,29,35] although he wrote a very neat inventory. The exception was Lyllee [29] who asked Thomas Elderson, carpenter [38] to be one of his overseers (Lyllee's passage entrance was opposite Elderson's house and barn). Broughton [9] was asked three times, but always by tradesmen [38,42,51]. The poorer townsmen sought out Thomas Palmer [59], Edmond Tanner [39] and weaver Hunt [5], while Sutton [42] invited Broughton, Tanner and Lumberd ignoring the wealthier Gybbs [25] and Robins [26] across the High Street. Gybbs [25] asked in Vaughan [23] Holbech [21] and John Hunt [16] as loving neighbours, but they themselves were not asked to act as witnesses for others, but only to help value the contents of five houses.

The schoolmaster William Rede born down Creampot lane [32], seldom went to husbandmen except as witness for the Toms [15], relations by marriage. He does however attend his old neighbour Richard Hall [34] at the bottom of Creampot. William also went to a former neighbour Thomas Wyatt's [31] to write his will. On another occasion he went round to the tailor's, Thomas Matcham in Church Lane [18]. Although the tailor appears to add his own codicil he may have required some guidance for the rest. William wrote a fair copy, sloping his words to the right and showing a tendency to hurry. His wills are easier to read than the vicar Holloway's, but lacked the penmanship shown by some of the gentlemen who would have more time.

James Ladd [40] was one of those possibly working for Kynd's [31] who were called in to witness a hurried will. Women are often available when most men would be out of reach on the land, and they would sign with a mark, or from their signatures we find that the town had several women who could sign their name and were probably able to read.

Those who left a signature were Ann Watts senior [34], Anne Palmer [1], Joyce Vaughan [23] Joyce Hall [6], Joanne Holloway and her mother Elizabeth [21], Ellen Palmer, Anne Gorstelow [Prescote] and Martha Woodrose [8]. William Hall's mother Joyce also witnessed a will.

We will finish with Charles Allen who had sufficient status to be allowed to witness a Gybbs [25], a Robins [26] as well as Halls [34] wills. His two immediate neighbours, Rawlins to the south and Tanner to the west required him to help appraise their personal estates. There were others, but why had this young man related by marriage to Coldwell, who could enter any household, not been able to go higher in his education?

Overseers.

While the vicar was at the house the dying man or woman might ask him to act as overseer to make sure the executor fulfilled his wishes. Thomas agreed to this on twentyone occasions between 1578 and 1617. Nineteen of these were for husbandmen or their widows, the remaining two being a shepherd and a miller [at the following properties: 4x2,6x2,8,9,13x2, 15x2,16x2,24,26x2,28x2,33,35,51,60]. He received for his pains as little as 6d or as much as 10s, according to the wealth of the family.

Overseers were often elected to offer help and advice to the widow [60]. After Holloway people asked for Ambrose Holbech or other suitable Cropredy men. Was this a chance to summon up the help of relatives? Apparently not for they seldom do which avoided family confrontations. Like the choice of witnesses and scribes respect for a particular person's status, religious views, or being a comfortable neighbour drew them together to help each other out. We have very little evidence of the relations who emigrated to towns or other parishes coming back to help, offering to take care of nephews or nieces other than the lists, or the odd will reference in French, Coldwell and Woodrose's wills, though Fremund Densy [28] was able to play the full uncle's role with his nephews.

Amongst the eleven most popular overseers were John Hunt [9,14,15,24 x2,25 x2,33,43, 59 x2], and Tanner [26 x2,27,28,42,55]. The Robins family act for Howse, twice for Watts the weavers [27], once for Elderson the carpenter [38], and mother-in-law Elizabeth Holloway [21].

Inventories.

The apparitor would watch for funerals and post a notice on the church door, so that the executors would prove the will and exhibit an inventory at the next Church Court. The apparitor earned his livelihood from the court and was very mindful of his fees (p26). Half the inventories that were taken were delayed until a convenient time could be arranged. Only one was made in July, a month usually too busy for such obligations as inventory making.

[8 were made within a week, 11 within a fortnight, 22 within 31 days and the rest before the next court. 2 inventories were made the same day as the funeral: John Kendel [13?] in June 1596 and Justinian Hunt [16] 6th of April 1609. 7 inventories were taken the day after burial: Eliz. Gybbs [25] Jany 1576/7, Eliz. Howse [9] May 1577, Alyce Devotion [3] March 1593/4, John Cross [51] Dec 1614, John Truss [33] Feby 1613/14, Wam Lyllee [29] Aug. 1623 and Edwd

Bokingham [55] May 1625 [W.G.Hoskins wrote in *Old Devon* : "On the following day [after burial] as was customary, an inventory was made..."p 49].

The obligation to produce an inventory was fulfilled in the form of a bond, half of which was still in latin. The executors or administrators appointed when no will was made, entered into the bond at the time they exhibited an inventory or else they back date the inventory to be the same as the bond. This means that some inventory dates are not quite what they seem, but we have only that date to work on. Besides who was there at Justinian Hunt's funeral to issue a bond? For at the end of his funeral feast an inventory was taken with unseemly haste. The reason can only have been that it had to be written up and exhibited four days later at the church court. Most courts were held twice a year, in the spring and autumn, either April or May, September or October. Rarely did they hold a court in June, but when so many died in 1631 they may have had to hold an extra court.

For inventories two or more appraisers would be called in, depending rather upon who you were and what position your family held in the town. The family paid them a fee and purchased the ink and parchment. Inventories were another way of helping each other and inviting in the neighbour of your choice. Gentlemen whom cottagers were not obliged to give fealty to, were not asked around to help with a will or an inventory. There was bound to be some grievances against the richer members of the town, especially as the gap between the cottagers and the wealthy increased. Smaller copyholders had to pay a far higher proportion of their income in tithes than the wealthier citizens and their discontent must have grown through the difficult sixteen thirties into the forties especially with a Royalist vicar appointed in 1642.

Going back to inventories in the last part of the sixteenth century, one of the strangers who came into the town already able to write was Edmond Tanner, the mercer. He kept in touch with the Clarsons of Horley. The Revd John Clarson had married Hester Holloway [21] of Cropredy (p547). Edmond Tanner [39] may never have written a will, but did witness three and acted as overseer when asked, one of whom was the widow Robins [26]. Tanner could do "accompts" and was invaluable at inventories and was called out to at least fourteen, not only to farms around him and down Creampot, but also to craftsmen. He went to Suttons [42], Coxs [47] and Bokinghams [55], but not Eldersons [38] next door.

William Lyllee [29] may have been a grazier like William Rose [60]. Lyllee had been brought up by a shepherd father who tended sheep in the enclosed fields of Prescote, and had been taught to value stock. Lyllee went to help value stock at all but one of the farms in Creampot: Howse, Kynds, Truss, Watts and Hentlowes, but not Redes. Neither Tanner nor Lyllee were

asked to go to Gybbs [25] in the High Street. Twice shepherds, Clyfton [7] and Huxeley [36], were called in to value a neighbour's flock.

The miller and husbandman Henry Broughton married the widow Margery Howse [9] and they sent her son Thomas to school. Both adults could read and write and Henry was in some demand to value household effects, but not for local husbandmen as his "old" Cropredian neighbour Richard Handley [12] did, but to newcomers: a miller, a collarmaker, a tailor and a carpenter as well as for Widow Wood [56] in Hello. Had Broughton when he was a church warden in 1608 upset the educated majority whom he had to present at court? Amongst them were Vaughan [23] and Thompson [44] who were his wife's relations. The presented group ranged from Mr Arthur Coldwell [50] down to a "cotenger" Toby Kely from Bourton (p30). Or was he too new to be asked by the older Cropredy families? Perhaps he was too industrious and seized the main chance, for the Howse family on the Long Causeway [9] were at that time not poor and had freehold land elsewhere (p74).

Richard Hunt [5], weaver who married Marian Howse, helped with three wills and an inventory. Although Richard Hall [34] was well educated he married late on in life and therefore was not master of a household and had no town status before 1627. He was only called in to be overseer to his friend and neighbour Truss [33]. His much younger wife Anne Hall witnesses the shepherd's will with her mark.

The Robins [26] and Hunts [16] became more and more in demand and by the time the third generation produced another Robert Robins and John Hunt they had achieved a good reputation for valuing effects and stock.

A list has been made of some of those who helped with wills and inventories:

Site	Name	Attended Inv.	Nos. of wills attended
[21]	Holloway	11	22
[60]	Rose	9	4
[39]	Tanner	14	3
[16]	Hunt	20	7 [2 generations]
[6]	Hall	12	9
[9]	Broughton	11	0
[21]	Holbech	13	10
[15]	Toms	4	5
[26]	Robins	16	3 [2 generations]
[29]	Lyllee	8	1
[14]	Lumberd	8	0
[50]	Coldwell	2	1
[50]	Cartwright	5	1
[44]	Allen	3	4
[4]	French	4	3
[1]	Palmer	4	3
[25]	Gybbs	5	0

"Whole in Mynde."

The testator must be sane and so a clause had to say they were thanks be to god. "I Elizabeth Howes wedow which was the wyffe of Thomas ... sicke in body and whole in mynde..." and Johan Robins in 1579 who was "off tymes vexed with sickness of bodie And now being perfect of mynd..." Huxeley "being weake" aged seventytwo [36], Fremund Denzie in his eighties [28], or as he says "being nowe greatly aged and callinge to mind the soden frailtye of man." His neighbour Lyllee was also in perfect health, but old and no doubt watched anxiously by relatives in case he died without a will, though he lived on for three more years [29]. Women left in control may like Ellen Rose [60] in 1611 "being greatly in age but p'fect in remembrance" also give thanks to god as was the custom and call to mind "the uncerten lyfe of man." Dyonice Woodrose "being aged and weake" was also over eighty [8]. Martha Woodrose who was younger wrote her own will "being all this time in good health praised be to god, but not knowing how soon or how suddenly it may please the lord to call me home" [8].

Of two others who wrote their own wills Robert Woodrose was in good health, and Thomas Holloway felt "infirm."

"From Angels and Saints" to "Living eternally amongst the Elect."

Preambles to wills are the only source Cropredy has for discovering the slow changes taking place during Vicar Holloway's time. The catholic belief that they will ascend to heaven to be with the angels and saints. The protestant belief which Thomas must have preached about Sunday after Sunday that they left their souls in the hands of almighty god hoping and having full assurance by faith to have pardon and forgiveness of all their sins by the blood shedding (or death and passion) of Jesus Christ. The miller John Palmer in 1602 chose such a preamble to his will. Others such as Richard Norman [48] who had his will written by Mr Richard Cartwright [50] had a different approach which followed more puritan lines leaving his soul in the hands of "almightie god my maker, Jesus Christ my Redeemer and the Holy Ghost and comforter who although they be three distinct persons yet but one true god coequall and coeternall."

If the elect protestants following Calvin believed that only God knew whether a man was predestined to salvation or not, William Perkins a Cambridge Puritan maintained that "every man to whom the gospel is revealed, is bound to believe in his own election, justification, santification and glorification, in, and by, Christ." [Perkins W. *Discourse of Conscience*" ed Thomas F. Merrill p19. 1966. From Russell C. *The Crisis of Parliaments* "p168]. Archbishop Laud turned the tide in the middle of the 1630's and favoured the Arminians who were trying to deny or at least reduce the Calvin doctrine of predestination. They

believed man's salvation depended on what man himself did and by this they were seen to be heading back towards catholicism. The Arminians began in Holland and King James regarded them as enemies of God and yet by the 1630's they had the support of King Charles who appointed Laud as bishop of London and then archbishop of Canterbury. Laud then controlled the censorship of the London press. The Cambridge press had already swung to support the Arminians. The puritan's had to watch as their gains and hopes receded and they were once again having to be more careful of their opinions.

As the end of the previous century approached most testators hoped to be "saved" and "stedfastly" believed they would be saved by the "blood shedding" of Jesus. The vicar went back to "death and passion". Wills with different scribes like Matcham's [18], Sutton's [43] both tailors and Watt's [27] the weaver bring the "Redeemer" clause of the puritans into their opening paragraph as Richard Norman had. Some were still remembering the pre-reformation church and others had moved onto a more disciplined church. The confidently elect christians, eagerly set about working hard to achieve in their life time and often succeeded in improving their status, which would not please the less fortunate or the ungodly that they tried to reform. They would however all be listening to Holloway's sermons, unless they departed early from church. King Charles I remarked that "people are governed by the Pulpit more than the sword in times of peace." In the decade before the battle of Cropredy Bridge Archbishop Laud was always ready to stop the licence of those who preached openly along lines not specified by their bishops.

In 1619 Sheeler, the young shepherd, "calling to mind the manifold blessings of Almighty God bestowed upon me in this world" had one of the few wills where the testator may have perhaps suggested the format he wanted.

Thomas Holloway wrote in his own will, when he was dying of the same fever perhaps as his neighbour Coldwell and the shepherd Sheeler, that he had "hopes for full assurance of faith to have pardon and forgiveness of all my sinnes only by the passion of Jesus Christ." Thomas's wife Elizabeth was totally sure she was about to "live eternally amongst the elect servants of Jesus Christ." She was proclaiming belief in predestination and Cropredy's next vicar Dr Brouncker was there to witness this. Why then did he heartily dislike Calcott Chambres, clerk, who had inherited Williamscoote house, calling him a "puritan" and using it as a term of abuse (p35)? Arthur Coldwell [50] was one who must have approved of Chambres for he had witnessed one of his deeds [MS.dd Loveday c4/6] with Joseph Palmer, clerk and miller of Mose Mill [1]. Coldwell also made an effort to fund those who had applied for help to become self supporting again (p173).

Some in the congregation wanted more discipline in the church and a chance to elect their own elders. They were hard working self disciplined men and women who wished to alter the church courts so that churchmen could run them and not lay lawyers who earned a living from it. They wanted to set a higher moral tone and keep a holy sabbath.

One such may have been William Rose, grazier, [60] who went with the vicar to witness wills. He was a religious man, keeping his marriage as a partnership and did not domineer his wife in the paternalistic way the majority thought was their right as head of a household. William knew that Christ in his great mercy "hath pardoned my sins and offences and by faith in him assured me of my salvation." He was one of the early Cropredy puritans. He hoped his wife Ellen "maie and will paie and discharge all due debts by me to be paide and that she maie the better doe and performe the same and releive herself I desire her to take the advice of Thomas Holloway, clerke, Arthur Coldwell [50], gentleman, William Hall [6] and Richard Gorstelow [Prescote manor]." He does not call the last two either yeomen or gentlemen leaving their status unsaid.

Not all wills take a definite line and some appear to mix up former catholic will formulas and the current protestant form. These may have referred back to copies of old family wills. Arthur Coldwell had employed Robert Whettell who later continued to work for Mr Cartwright at [50]. Robert was a Hanwell man and wished the Revd Harris of that town to preach his sermon. He speaks of Angels and Saints as his catholic grandfather would have done, yet Harris was surely one of the puritan ministers? When Martha Woodrose wrote her will the Revd Robert Harris came over to be a witness and later she wrote Whettell's (p151).

The Hanwell vicar became involved with Cropredy when their own vicar Brouncker resided in Ladbroke putting in a non-preaching curate. Having become used to sermons, which puritans were very keen to encourage, this was a singular blow (p36).

Preaching for nearly fifty years Thomas Holloway must have greatly influenced those parishioners who appreciated his sermons. The parish was one of the few places which had become used to regular Sunday and funeral sermons. His sons followed his example, for with no land to inherit they must go into the church. When Thomas Holloway died in 1619 he had a son at school, one away at university and one already ordained. Joanne the youngest Holloway daughter was to marry Ambrose Holbech who took over the will writing from her father. A generation later their daughter Elizabeth Holbech married Timothy Harris, Banbury's town clerk and son of the vicar of Hanwell, both puritan towns. The new Mrs Elizabeth Harris's mother-in-law had been born a Wheatley, and was sister to the famous puritan vicar of Banbury (1610-39), who had once

preached the market sermons, listened to by many from the surrounding rural parishes [Banbury Historical Society Volume 15 pp 272 & 309 edited by J.S.W. Gibson & E.R.C. Brinkworth].

In Cropredy some were bound to resent the church and especially when their tithes were no longer used to help their poor. Yet none were reported for not attending church. Many knew their bibles enough to use them in their speech and the skillful used quotes with double meanings to avoid making a treasonable statement. There were several kinds of belief alongside each other and from top to bottom different strengths so that no generalisation of the protestant faith will do. The extreme right and left. The middle and the indifferent. Those who followed their bishops guidance to the letter allowed it to dictate their religion and politics for the two could not be separated. A law abiding citizen paying tithes and never missing church, whether going voluntarily or by compulsion obeyed most orders. Others went because it cost a great deal not to go from fines imposed by the church courts. They could keep a low profile.

People complained of interference by their English church courts which prevented them from working on holy days, governed their private life and if accused of anything they must clear their own name (p27). Some of the poor who had never been convinced could neither pay the fines nor rise higher in life having to keep either a labouring job or leave to become a vagrant whenever work was scarce. A very few like Lord the fuller held up the payment of their tithes on purpose and so worked a protest against the ministers which were not of their choice. There were some who hated anyone who had come in contact, or been trained by clergy which meant all scholars. They wanted lay preachers and being able to meet freely together and although the law outlawed such conventions, journeymen travelling the country had increasingly begun to meet the illegal lay preachers and some of these towards 1640 were women. Beyond these were those who would dismiss all bishops and have lay elders elected by the parish. They were often very presbyterian in outlook and required a holy sabbath, and a full working week by reducing all the holidays on saint days. They stamped out the traditional festivals and customs (p37), still very necessary to a great many parishioners who enjoyed the ale and dancing and wished them to continue, but the puritan outlook had won. Many of the wealthier members of the parish had favoured ales providing the cost of the ale had been spread over the whole parish, but they were too few and their influence insufficient.

Religious phrases in wills which were of a set format cannot entirely convince us of a testator's point of view, except they could have chosen others, but some might have been overawed by the will writer and taken his advice. There may have been no conscious division amongst those who attended the compulsory services, and yet attitudes and disagreements must have taken place. Unfortunately by the 1630's the bishops were following Archbishop Laud (1633-45) and managing to discourage

any preacher paid for by the congregation. For they were being told to suppress any individualism and especially preachers who strayed from the recommended line.

One thing the hierarchy could not stop was the persons freedom to pay for burial inside the church. Something that would hardly concern many today, but the parishioners used tombs to express grief and also to declare the qualities of the deceased to the world. It had become permissible to put length of marriage on memorials and if the wife had a coat of arms it too was included to show what an honourable marriage had been made. Their mutual love for each other being expressed on some brass memorials, but none of these, except part of Walter and Alis Calcotts, which Royce saw a century ago, now remain. Had there been any destruction of older church tombs in Edward VIth's time? The lack of rich landlords in the town may have left room for less ornate inscriptions. Was Calcott leaving one in the south chapel as a visual reminder for the family to pray for him? Without months mind and obit masses (p41), memorials would begin to take on more importance.

Those of the gentry, like Cropredy's A manor owner Lady Judith Corbet living in Clattercote, would be expected to leave such a tomb stone after being buried in the church, but none survived. Sculptured tombs were of course very expensive and soon replaced by written memorials. The purpose of the old tomb was to plead for prayers for the departed soul which had been suppressed by the protestants. By the 1630's when Cropredy graves began to appear in the churchyard many of the townsmen could read. Gradually "poems" appeared on the back which mentioned the frailty of life and gave warnings to passers by. The most important function though was to help the bereaved by assuring them of a future life with the dear departed. Who then left memorials or expressed a wish to be buried inside the church?

To be Buried in Saint Mary's Church or Churchyard .

Thomas Lee of Clattercote died in 1572. He owned the A manor of Cropredy before the Corbets (p13). His mother Elizabeth was already buried in the church and he wished to be buried near her and a "toome or stone" put up in memory of his mother and himself by Marie "my well beloved wife" [PCC 23 Draper]. No sign of this remains.

Thomas Holloway wrote on the 29th of October 1619 only fifteen days before he was buried-

"My bodie I will maybe buried in the upper part of the Chancell, not fare from the vestry doore, and not to be kept but shortly after my departure to be buried and my funeral I will to bee at some convenient tyme within a fortnight or longer after my buriall."

Was this very unusual, or because the bishop would have to be notified and certain dignitaries be summoned? Often a death is closely followed by a burial preventing the coffin from standing in the house for too long especially in the summer. He fails to mention the first Mrs Holloway's grave, but his second wife desires to be "buried in the Chauncell...near adjoining to the place where my husband lyeth." Thomas gave "towards the repayre of the Chancell in Cropredy in respect of my bodye there to be layd" 6s-8d. He left no instructions for a tomb stone.

Where did his parishioners choose to be buried, before the time when it became more seemly to leave it to the executors? From Bourton seven were buried inside Cropredy church between 1588 and 1634 [Wm Hall yeoman in 1588, Geo Gardner in 1591, Thos Plant yeoman in 1594, Thos Smyth husbandman in 1611, Elizabeth Gardner of Lt.Bourton in 1614, Nicholas Plant yeoman in 1617 and Thos Gill yeoman in 1634]. Elizabeth Gardner's instructions were for "her body"... "to be layd in the parish church of Cropredy near to her seat end" [MS. Will Pec. 39/3/18]. No stone memorial here either. Her estate was worth £9-10s while Thomas Smyth's was £145. She died of old age, but he was still farming.

Cropredy had six buried in the church between 1570 and 1640 that we know of and only two called themselves yeomen. Ralph Nuberry, a husbandman [8] could afford to, but it may have been his position as the Colleges main tenant that inspired this wish. In 1595 John French [6] "wished to be buried in a convenient place in the church." Anthony Hall in 1598 [6] had the same wish. In 1611 the church wardens finally received 3s-4d from William Hall for his brother Anthony's grave in the church [c25/3 f50v]. Was it the farming of the rectorial tithes that gave French [6] and Hall [6] this claim to being buried inside and were they obliged to help keep the chancel in repair?

Robert Robins a husbandman [26] decided in 1603 to be buried inside the church. He left a young widow Joanne who by 1627 having farmed with her son throughout her long widowhood, wished to "be buried... as neare to the seate where I use to sit as the place will give leave."

She must have fallen ill, having given up attending church, but over the years she had managed without her husband and makes no reference to him, unless she could not bear to think of what Robert's remains had become. Widow Joanne's only son Robert Robins having married a daughter from the vicarage, Anne Holloway, and become a yeoman, leaves the choice of where to bury him to his wife. Thomas their clerical son and his wife Elizabeth had ledger tombs outside: "A son of the church, a subject of the Kings and charitable to the poore, was here buried December 30th 1662" [Royce p51. Graves 247,248].

There was one more buried within the church before 1640 whom we must not forget. Edward Lumberd [14] was not sure where he might live after the remarriage of his daughter-in-law, yet he kept on farming for two more years in Cropredy. They buried him in the church in 1635. With him ended that branch of the Lumberds, husbandmen, living on the Green. Afterwards the Haslewoods were ploughing his strips and making hay on his meads and "leas."

Only two of the stones have survived, one in the south chapel "the body of Richard Gorstelowe gent.." buried in 1621 aged 63 and in the north chapel the almost lost "Joyce Hall, late/ wife of William Hall, Gent.." of Springfield [6] who died in 1662. Those inside the church have nearly all lost their memorials for this period, while outside the woolwinder's much simpler stone still struggles to grow lichens. Burials and memorials in the churchyard were entering upon the rector's freehold and needed permission. The vicar had the hay rights and grazing for his horse. This could have discouraged parishioners from applying for permission to put up memorials. The stopping of church ales in the church yard must have helped for before that there were perhaps fears for the safety of a memorial which may have been well founded. Timber memorials have long gone so that the people too have vanished, especially when their families could no longer have a yearly mass for their souls which were paid for in advance. Stone memorials for tenants of stone houses were seen to be the answer. Fiftythree remain from 1650 to 1699, others now missing were headstones and footstones which went to floor a bay at Redes house [32] and paths more recently at the vicarage [21] and clearly other places took some from time to time. Lack of space moved headstones to edge the church path, so that even these were none too safe. Those families whose memorials remain were the Wyatts who have eleven, Holloways four, Mansell the millers four, and Robins three.

Landmarks in the churchyard were used to pinpoint their family plot in the absence of any surviving wooden memorial. In 1605 Thomas Hall wished to be "nighe unto the yeaw tree" [MS.Will Pec. 41/1/39] and in 1622 Joane Townsend wanted to be "Buried and layed..neare unto the ewe tree" [MS. Will Pec. 52/3/38]. Both lived in Bourton and by 1633 Thomas Gardner yeoman of Little Bourton manor wanted to "be buried in the churchyard...about foure yards from the Chancell dore, southward" [PCC 164 Russell 102].

The epidemic of 1631 had carried off man and wife in several houses. In Bourton the Cleredge family put up the first stone which has weathered the centuries. "Christopher Clarage and his wife" (Joyce's name omitted), "were buried the last day of April" [Grave 173]. They had been married for twentyeight years and he was a husbandman, dealer and woolwinder living in Great Bourton. Their stone having been moved now faces the gate leading to Hello.

In 1619 Mr Coldwell [50] of the A manor farm wishes only to be buried in the churchyard to be "near to my sister and my good Mrs Calthropp."

We can be sure his wishes were granted, for he left a widow whose staff stayed on year after year, and remained with her as a widow to help run the farm and carry out Arthur's last requests. No memorial survives.

Robert Woodrose left his place of burial in 1625 to the discretion of Dyonice which was now the way of marriages that had been a loving partnership, or the wife was a very obedient and "good" wife. She chose the churchyard and her affection shows through in her will when she brings up Robert's name at the disposal of his possessions. Her wish when her time came was to be buried as "near my well beloved and loving husband as possible." Her eldest son Nicholas who died three years after Robert wanted to be buried "neare unto my father." A close family and one which may have made family pilgrimages to the plot. Although Dyonice was buried in 1634 no memorial remains. Martha, Nicholas's much younger wife, having dutifully brought up and sent out into the world their large family, refrained from mentioning her burial place, except it was to be in whichever "place it pleases the lord to call me away." She died in Cropredy with several others in 1639. By then her nephew John Wilmer had been leasing and living in part of the manor [8] for two years, with his family (p552). John would have buried aunt Martha in the family plot. He and his wife Marie called their last son Luther Wilmer in 1650. Were they followers of Luther, or had this become a family name?

When the vicar was the scribe he first settled with the testator their final resting place and then started down a list of bequests needed to run their church and town. Only the former rate payers who were also leasers of land would leave such bequests. Did a husbandman with several yardlands contribute according to the land he held? A kind of customary tariff?

Three transcripts from Thomas Holloway's Easter Oblations.

<p>"Cropredy oblations at ester 1617 Tho devotio....ux.....ijd ----- Rych Lucas....ux.....ijd ----- wyd french.....ijd anne french.....ijd ----- anthony hunt.....ijd Rychard hunt..ux.....ijd his mayde.....ijd ----- Wam hale.....ux Clement allen Rychard hall.....xvid his man.....I then payd his man.....the rent of 3 mayds.....xijd ----- Jho clyfton.....ux ----- Mr Woodrusse.ux 2 mayds.....vjd.... " [c25/7 f22v](p2)</p>	<p>"Cropr. [1618] Rychard hall Wyddow watts [tear] arthur watts...ux wam somerfield.....ijd wam watts.....ijd joane watts.....ijd ane watts.....ijd ----- manasses plyvy..ux.....ijd ----- Vallentyne hucksly.ux...ijd Wyd hucksly.....ijd ----- Rych brenden...ux.....ijd Jhon brenden...ux.....ijd wam brenden.....ijd ----- Tho elderson..ux.....ijd Tho elderson.....ijd alyce elderson.....ijd ----- edmund tanner..ux.....ijd judyth olyver.....ijd..." [c25/8 f8] (p70)</p>	
<p>"Cropredy ob. 1617 Thomas freny ..ux.....ijd ----- Charles allen..ux.....ijd ----- Walter Rawlins..ux....ijd Christopher Rawlins.ijd -----</p>	<p>wydow whyte edward whyte.....ijd Justinian whyte...ijd her daughter.....ijd ----- Rch Bryan..ux.....ijd Rch norman..ux.....ijd Elith norman.....ijd alyce norman.....ijd</p>	<p>Tho cox..ux.....ijd his daughter.....ijd Mr coldwell..ux.. ___whettell.....xij d fowlke grene.....ijd" [c25/7 f24] (p100)</p>

12. Bequests

Bequests in catholic times were part and parcel with good works and indulgences, but after the Reformation the towns purse strings were tugged in several directions to repair the church, bells, highways, bridges and the poor. In 1312 the then bishop of Lincoln had granted twenty days of indulgence to anyone contributing towards the upkeep of the Cherwell bridge. These useful donations had been stopped.

The surviving wills of the 1546 to 51 period, when the protestant King Edward VI was on the throne, ignored the new ruling of no more intercession for souls in purgatory and leaving money for altar and rood lights. They were still asking "the blessed Mother Saynte Marie and all the holly companye in heaven" to care for their souls. Once Queen Mary was on the throne the catholic form was again allowed which the next group of surviving wills used from 1556 to 1558, after which the opening words were changed leaving out Angels and Saints, the high altar and rood lights for intercession and even money for the bells which were soon mostly forgotten. In August 1558 William Vallens [?23] was one of the last to leave a catholic will in which he left strict instructions with his wife Agnes to have "at my buriall v tapers and my wyffe to kepe dirige and masse for my soule and all christian soules till xij months day as Agnes think best" (p41). Agnes as a fellow member of their lay fraternity would indeed know the right way to go about saving his soul, he had no need to worry. She poor woman would not gain such comfort if that was her wish. Just Richard Lumberd in 1563 gave 4d to the high altar for forgotten tithes, four years after the altar should have been replaced by a table. Any forgotten tithes being by then covered by a mortuary. A catholic priest would use the dead person's name as they were lowered into the grave, protestants were now using the third person. The naming of ancestors stopped and the processions round the church and town. Robert Robins, who died just after Queen Mary, knew that a new processions book was wanted and so he left money for one. He also left a shilling for the bells when tuppence or fourpence was more usual. Was he the last of the catholic Robins?

During Queen Mary's reign five out of eighteen mention a sepulchre light and rood lights. Not all the bequests for lighting candles went to the lay fraternities. Churchwardens kept the altar lights going as well as the Easter sepulchres.

Gillian Walser [35] left 6d towards the new mass book in May 1558. Had they still not bought one six years into her reign, or was there still a debt after purchase? Gillian died just as the bell land money was returned (p42), so perhaps they tolled the bell for her. William Densy from Bourton the following March left 3s-4d towards "the byeinge of a Masse Booke". By this time

Elizabeth was on the throne and a different book was required. Did he mean a catholic "mass" book or were they using an old term for the new protestant service book?

Church Repairs and The Bells.

The repairs to the church, was one which Thomas would most certainly remind them about, though the nave was not his concern only the chancel. Before vicar Holloway's time twelve out of seventeen of the testators whose wills were proved at the Cropredy church court, felt obliged to leave something towards the upkeep of the church and twentyseven from 1578 up to 1641.

John French [6] and Anthony Hall [6] as lay impropiators leave 6s-8d and £2 in their PCC wills. The church courts, after presentations about church fabric had to point out that repairs were very necessary. Prices were rising and Ambrose Holbech who attended to the writing of wills after Thomas Holloway, may have been able to suggest a further nine bequests from 1s up to 10s. The Woodroses and other wealthier men often ignore the fabric, but perhaps they had contributed a great deal in their lifetime. Cottagers like Watts the weaver [27] and Sutton the tailor [42] were not at the time of death contributing to the highways or the poor, and they too left out such bequests. Cross the miller who leased a little land considered only the poor [51].

The Bells were remembered in most of the early wills, but only five from 1578 to 1609 [1,4,9,12,14,15,25,26,32,35] and again all had land. The churchwardens noted in 1619 that "the bell ys usually for the most parte tolled when any are passinge owte of this life, neyther have we any Ringinge at all in tyme of comon prayers," the later being a "popish" practise had been stopped, except when bells all over Britain rang out for some specific event like the birth of the Royal son, the future Charles II. For the curfew bell see page 57.

The Highways at "Ower End of the Towne."

Far more important to their families everyday comfort was money to repair potholes and ruts in the townships highways. Every household leasing land had to contribute time. By 1562 each must contribute at least six days a year. When the farmers had provided a man and horse as their share they would co-ordinate with the neighbours to scrape with shovels and help load the carts. Those with the most land supplying a team and cart to take away the scrapings to put on the fields and take back the stones gathered from the fields to fill in the pot holes.

There were names for all the roads (see maps in Part 4). Those which led to a particular place or from one town to another were called **Causeways**. Cropredy had two causeways, the Long Causeway leaving the Green southwards to Bourton and the Bridge Causeway leaving the Green eastwards towards the Cherwell bridge. They were nicknamed cowsey or causeys. The Long Causeway was also referred to as "The Town of Cropredy," and Elizabeth Lumberd [14] mentions in 1558 the "Kyngs cawsseis ways." The oldest roads had all needed a ditch to take the surplus water, but the Causeways were often raised well above the deep ditch.

The **Streets** which gave access to the fronts of the houses were kept as free as possible from the passage of cows. Church Steet was able to do this, but the High Street had to wait. Stone pavements were used to keep the walker above the mire along one side of the street.

The **Lanes** were used to bring the cows home from the Open Common Fields and the Oxhay common. The cattle could pass down Backside to the Green, but to reach Creampot Lane they used to pass along the High Street. The problem of keeping cows off the Street was solved when they cut a new lane from Backside to Creampot between the Robins [26] farmsite and the Watts [27]. The first will to mention this was Thomas Robin's in 1557. He calls it Newes Streete Lane. The lane was narrow and had no ditch and at some point a raised stone pavement was built above the mire so that it was now a lane for cows and yet needed a raised walk like a street, even though this short lane had no front doors opening onto it. Was this the derivation of the word "Newes Streete Lane?" Robin's left "a strike of barlie" in 1603 still using the old name for Newscut Lane.

The houses in Creampot Lane had to put up with the mire and drained it with the help of a ditch. Once Church Lane was built up on the south side and encroached over a possible ancient ditch on the north side, it too needed a raised stone path, but there was a long delay and it was not there in our period. Church Lane remained a lane and the church was approached via Church Street by the Robins [26], Howse [28] and others. Which way did the Nuberry's [8] and Woodroses walk to church? They had the choice of walking up Hello or via the Green and along Church Lane.

In the early wills twentytwo remember to leave 2d or 4d, a strike (half a bushel) or even a quarter of barley (eight bushels) for the causeways, and fourteen remember the long bridge over the Cherwell, and the sow foot bridge next to the sowburge ford at the gateway into Bourton. Another ford was on the Clattercote boundary. At the other entrances into Cropredy the fords had been replaced by bridges which varied in size from packhorse width up to single cart width. Robins left 4d for "Brod narrow bridge." Was this the Brodimoor stone bridge on the Prescote boundary? The Boddington Way crossed the tiny

Bootham's bridge as it passed from Ewe Furlong into the green lane through Clattercote (p195). There were at least four bridges over High Furlong brook built in stone with small arches and Prescote's stone bridge north of Cropredy's upper mill were all part of the town's responsibility.

William Carter, father-in-law to Richard Rede [32], farming from Creampot left money "towards the mendynge of the causey from my house towards the church" as well as the long bridge and the Long Causeway in 1550. We saw the Robins trying to keep Newstreet Lane clear, but where was William Vallens thinking of when he talks of "mentence of the cowes causey waye" 4d, unless it was Church Lane? Gillian Walser at the bottom of Creampot lane [35] is a little clearer "the causewayes towards ower end of the towne halfe a stryke of malte." Thomas Howse [9], who may have used his team time and again, less selfishly gives the quarter of barley to pay for "the highwayes whose most nede is" (p695 for Will dates and references).

Up to nine in Holloway's time specify where the highway repairs must be done. In 1595 French [6] left £2 for the two causeways and when his executors failed through the death of one of them to pay the highways request, the widow Rose was presented for negligence at the church court in 1608 [Oxon c157 p322 & Oxon Archd. papers b52. 162]. In 1600/1 John Russell [13] left 1s for the causeway from his house to the bridge. After this the bridge seems forgotten. Each house or cottage must keep the highway clean and unfouled in front of their property. While being responsible for all the roads, leaseholders were naturally especially concerned with those leading from their house to the church. The Robins [26] wills now add "The causeway from my house towards the church" or "the churchway from the house where I dwell to the churchyard of Cropredy" 2s in 1627. The Robins were crossing the High Street and going between Bostockes [41] and Tanners [39] before turning the corner towards the north church gate at the top of Church Street. Alese Howse [28] is more specific "towards the mendine of the causeway goinge to the church near Edward tanners house" 6d. Alese would set out down the narrow passage between their farmyard wall and Lyllee's [29] house to reach Creampot Lane. Turning right then left at the crossroads Alese then followed the Robin's route. Her uncle Fremund Densy [28] left 1s to mend the causeway "towards the church" which could be either way. Presumably the neighbours knew which way he preferred as Church Lane would be unavoidably "cowsey" from the three farms on the north side?

Widow Toms [15] and Thomas French [4] leave money to be spent against or near their houses 6d and 2s. Justinian Hunt [16] left his "to the repaire of the Causeway going towards the Town fence Crosse" 1s. The Hunts overlooked the Green and no doubt suffered from the passage of cattle and sheep as well as any through traffic. He also reminds us that the Cross was not on Hunt's side of the Green any more, but next to the town's protective ring hedge and bank. This hedge saved the arable

from any roaming stock on the north and west sides. The river and souburge providing the town's south and eastern boundaries.

Ellen Rose's [60] bequest was for "the amendinge of the causeway or passages near my house next the churchgate" 6d. She lived at the house along the south wall of the churchyard and her passage is of course Hello, or perhaps she called it Hellhole with Palmers five cows coming to his barn next door and John Suffolks mares coming up that narrow way to her stables. It was likely that the communal well in Hello was regarded as a holywell in catholic times, but had now been shortened to Hello? There are other explanations coming from the origin of the name (p527).

Lastly John Hentlowe [35], whose mother had been a Walser, lived perhaps all his life in her farm at the bottom of Creampot. He left 3s-4d rather than malt as his grandmother had done, for now the farm was sublet to another. Maybe he felt the rush of muddy water coming down to the pond. The ditch on the south side of his farm took the water from the pond to the mill. Hentlowes' had to negotiate not a pleasant Creampot, but more a muddy pot-hole surface amidst a thick wet cowsey sludge, and the name was some kind of ancient joke.

Thomas Holloway left nothing to the highways, or to church repairs. The church except for the chancel might not be his concern, but surely the highways were as a farmer? The highway bequests finish by 1627 so they may then have been allowed by the Justice to collect a rate.

Church fabric and highways were a constant drain upon resources, but keeping "the common cheste" full was up to all the twentytwo or more husbandmen who had not themselves fallen upon hard times. While all husbands took good care of their households this was an additional responsibility to remember in their wills for the vicar no longer shared the small tithes with the poor.

"To the poor ffolkes xxs" John Gybbs in 1557.

The town had a "pore mens box" also called "the common cheste," which had three locks like the parish chest. They called their poor the "decent" sort. The widows and widowers who are frequently mentioned in these pages, whose essential partner in life had been torn from them, leaving them to battle alone and needing some assistance from their good neighbours. In 1601 William Howse, husbandman [9] gave 2s-6d and Fremund Densy [28] in 1609 gave 3s-4d"among the poore in Croppedie to be distributed by the discretion of my overseers where the most neede is." The vicar was one of the overseers and the

other was Richard Howse [24]. Shepherd Truss left 20s which his overseers were to divide as they think fit according to their several necessities. Widow Robins insisted that the poor must inhabit the town, in other words no strangers were to be helped at the expense of the local poor. Who amongst them had been doing this so that the widow felt she must declare her intent?

Many cared even more for the poor in their midst than the state of the lanes, especially as the puritans began to help the submissive deserving cases, though they might ignore others. Robert and Dyonice [8] each leave £2. Fortythree out of ninety wills proved in both courts up to 1641 leave bequests for the poor. Some had made a habit of helping the poor giving more than the recognised amount, but at the same time reserving the right to organise the distribution of the gifts and favouring some at the expense of others.

The new poor rates were disliked by those who preferred to organise their own giving, such as the Gorstelows. Walter wrote briefly that his father was a very religious man, kind and charitable. "To the poor he often gave flesh, bread and corn, his man, I know, he sent amongst them." Walter himself recalls leaving his home at Prescote manor carrying a written note in one hand and a purse in the other, to distribute one or two shillings in Cropredy [Gorstelow W. p207]. Those like John French husbandman [6] in 1595 who ignored the other bequests were more than generous to the poor. John may have been involved in the relief of the poor for he appears to appreciate how much each town around had to spend on their poor and leaves various amounts accordingly. Bourton Magna 2s, Mollington 2s-6d, "Cleaydon" 2s, Williamsote 2s, Wardington 5s, Chipping Warden 5s, and "Edgcott" 2s. Thomas Gregory of Bourton Parva 6d. Was he the only one in that small hamlet? Could it have been worked out at 6d per poor inhabitant meaning the money he gave was revealing the number of the poorest parishioners that year? It was a summer when they desperately awaited a harvest which was not going to come. French's boundaries here stretch as far as Chipping Warden and Edgecote outside the ecclesiastical parish (This also happened with the pupils who were able to take up spare places). Had the French's relations in these parishes?

Some specify to every poor house 4d (1578), to the poorest (1609), to every poor house 1d (1587), or 2d to every poor cottager (1604), others leave "strykes of barlie," "two dosen of bread to be distributed att my decease," others a sum such as 1s, 2s, or in the PCC wills £1 or £2. The shepherd Sheeler particularly asked his brother "to bestow twelve shillings upon the poore of Cropredy at my burial." Thomas Holloway gave among the poor to be distributed at his funeral service (not his earlier burial), "twenty dozen of bread." They would come from the whole ecclesiastical parish to the funeral, especially the poor who by tradition received bread. The rest would come to pay tribute, but also to hear the sermon.

Arthur Coldwell [50], a gentleman, makes a statement in his bequests which was the line puritan's were taking in various parts of the country [Underdown D. *Fire from Heaven* 1993]. Arthur wrote "I give to the poor of Cropredy twenty nobles to be employed for a yere in [one] person for their relief for ever." This £6-14s was to ensure the future livelihood of a townsman who was out of work, so that he would remain independent of the parish purse. This real regard for the poorer members of society was coupled with the desire to make them once again hardworking, sober and respectful members of the community. Perhaps a family fallen on hard times and now on the parish, but obviously with no relatives from whom he could beg help. Did Mr Coldwell wish to provide someone with a means to learn a trade, to perhaps purchase stock, or pay an entry fine for a parcel of land? This would clear the town elders of a responsibility and at the same time create an industrious member of the community. Mr Coldwell also left in that January of 1617/18 gifts to the following parishes: Bortons 20s, Wardington and Williamsote 20s, "Cleadon" 10s, "Banburie" 40s and Northampton town £10. The cost of the poor was rising.

Mothers from other parishes who died in Cropredy left money for their former towns, such as Mrs Gardner the widowed mother of Elizabeth Holloway, who remembered Thorp and Culworth in 1609. Mrs Batchelor staying with her daughter at Gybbs [25] remembers West Adderbury in 1628.

Richard Hall left 3s-4d to Cropredy to be distributed in bread and the same for Bourton. Thomas Browne [58] whittaw (pp 474,183) left the poor 2s-6d in Cropredy and the same for Wardington in 1579. Apart from Thomas Browne all were known to be leasing land and were expected to help the poor, although Thomas may well have had half a yardland which escaped the slim number of records and this is the clue.

Were Thomas Browne and his employer John Pare early puritans? John considered his worldly goods to have been lent him during his life on earth, which many puritans believed.

"The Disposing of that portion of Worldly Goods"

"As touching the disposinge of thys worldly goods wch yt hath pleased god to lende me." John Pare 1610 [58]. Pare's attitude was a very early one for Cropredy. By the 1620's and 30's the idea that goods were lent during a life time in his service was repeated by Elizabeth Holloway [21], Joanne Robins [26], Woodrose [8], Tanner [39] and Richard Hall [34] in the period when Ambrose Holbech was acting as a scribe for their wills. Had they all increased their worldly goods for the benefit of their families?

Cropredy had no large property owners within the town anxious to keep their land intact by passing all to the eldest at the expense of the younger children. When the owner of the A manor Lady Corbet lived at Clattercote she left the estate to Henry Boothby her third son by a former marriage. After which it passed to the eldest son. Siblings had little chance of marriage amongst the wealthier landowners unless their parents gave them portions of a sufficient size to keep up their former status in life. This was altered once a strict settlement (post 1650) began to operate which made it necessary to help each child.

Less was expected from husbandmen and artisans who were tenants and yet the heads of each household in Cropredy already took great care to distribute legacies to all their children. Married sons and daughters already catered for often received a love token of a shilling or more. Husbandmen's wives who had no jointure made at their marriage settlement, received the customary half if children were still to be settled, or a third when they had all come of age. Bourton manor did the same. Other parishes might follow different customs, but if a man died intestate then the local church court saw to it that the widow had a third and the children the rest until they were settled, except for those already catered for in deeds.

Artisans mostly considered the whole family, but husbandmen (twentyfive out of thirtynine) had to pass the farm lease to the eldest son. Trade did not follow this rule and cottage copyholds often went to younger siblings and so hopefully extended the lifehold on the property. Cropredy had copyholds for usually three lives. All of whom had been entered at the manor court. The evidence has to come from wills and family reconstitution which shows the line of descent occupying the property. The artisan's widow must find some means of supporting herself and the family, unless the son or daughter who took on the copyhold took care of her.

Towards the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a wider range of legacies are left by husbandmen, but it becomes more difficult to compare farms with cottages when fewer and fewer of the elderly cottagers manage to leave a will.

Making wills and receiving legacies often brought about the need for other signed documents. Legatees had a duty to make an acquittance for their goods. One annoyed mother, Johan Robins [26], who had previously failed to get one, explained in her will of 1578 why she made a detailed list of goods for her son Richard (p566). If this married son again fails to make an "acquittance" at the receiving thereof both his legacy that was given him by his father's will which he hath received "of me" and also for "this the whiche I his mother dothe geve hyme" then his refusal to do so meant his sister Margaret, who was the executrix was to allow him only £2.

Other documents were made under the testators hand and seal declaring their intent. John Hunt on the 7th of October 1583 made certain articles about the giving of £20 to his natural daughter Elizabeth before making his will. Robert Woodrose [8], a gentleman wrote in his will "And concerning my lands, tenements ... in London I suppose it is needles for me to give them or make mencon of them in this place because I have already conveyed them in wrighting unto my two sons Edward and David ...after the decease of my wife." At least he recorded his land which otherwise would have remained invisible. The majority of tenants who have land elsewhere had no need to mention it in a will.

Ages at which Legacies were paid.

The wills usually reveal the varied ages at which their offspring would receive legacies and some of the problems their executors could have had in meeting the requirements. During our period an eighth of the legacies were to be given at eighteen years while half preferred twentyone or marriage. In many poorer families the final division of possessions, or money, may come after the death of one of the parents, but only if the remaining widow had enough to live on, the majority having to wait until she too had died. Of course some large families, like Nicholas and Martha Woodrose [8], had to have the legacies staggered as they reached adulthood to make it easier for the widow.

Sixteen was not often considered a reasonable age to be left goods, although boys and girls were old enough then to receive communion and boy servants became men. Three instances stand out: first, as a widower John Sherman of Bourton left six children so he suggests that whoever shall have "the keyynge of the children to occupye it [a quartern of land] tyll they dooe come to twelve yeres of age." At twelve they would go out to service one by one leaving the eldest son who was the executor, to the use of the land. This brother looking after his sisters would pay each a legacy when they were sixteen. A second in 1632 was Thomas French's [4] legacy of £6 which was to be paid him at sixteen, and a third in 1640 when Solomon Howse [9] leaves maintenance only up to sixteen and then his infant Mary may have "one bedstead now standing in the chamber over the hall, 1 woolbed, 2 blanketts, 2 bolsters, 1 hilling, 1 coverlett, likewyse 1 great cupboard now standing in the lower chamber, also 1 brass pott, 4 kettles and 1 large pewter platter." Up to then his wife may have the household stuff, brass and pewter.

Apprenticeship was one good reason for an earlier payment. Another was when the widow had decided to remarry, in which case she must first pay the legacies. The overseers appointed by her late husband made sure they were all correctly paid off. The majority must continue out at service until twentyone before receiving their legacy, but not all could be paid for many

years after that. "All the legacyes there in given unto my grandchildren shalbe imployed by my executors and the parents of my grandchildren for their best use and benefit untill they shall accomplish the severall ages of one and twentie yeares," sums up the general custom and responsibilities of all concerned.

Legacies of Stock, Corn and Goods.

Elizabeth Lumberd [14] who died in 1558 made a will in June, leaving her sons and daughter corn, malt, wood and stock. A great deal of thought had gone into the distribution of the farm's assets, but here we will reduce it somewhat:

As executor Robert was to have 4 stryke of corn and 4 of malt as well as 2 loads of wood. His cow or heifer with a calf was to be delivered on Holyrood day.

Son John may have 6 sheep and a quarter of malt, a young horse and the old bound cart and a heifer.

Son William 6 sheep, 4 stryke of corn and 4 of malt and a heifer, and daughter Gillian 6 sheep and certain itemised household goods.

To testators like Elizabeth dividing up the household goods was exceedingly complicated. There were several items of importance.

First the **Cows** : Nearly every Cropredian had parents who owned at least one cow, for many this was their most precious possession. Her welfare came even before the family and this was right for their welfare in turn depended on the cow. Thomas Holloway left his wife beasts, but then mentions that she already owned ten (p92). He wanted recognition to be made of her "rights" to her own stock which the law allowed her husband to take full control of, as wives had no claim to their stock once they were married, so the Holloways may have been very unusual. This was a good thirty years before George Fox's wife kept full control of her inheritance. Such actions could lead to taunts of the husband being a Puritan, or after our period a Ranter or Quaker.

Owning stock was an important reason for making a will. It was a great surprise to find only nine people [Lucas [2], Toms [15], Holloway [21], Robins [26], Howse [28], Lyllee [29], Truss [33], Coldwell [50] and Palmers [59] (from 1579 to 1640)] leave a cow as a legacy.

Secondly **Horses**: Testators seldom mention horses in wills. In Bourton those who paid a colt tithe obviously owned mares, but even they may die not owning a horse (p255). How could they avoid loosing a valuable mare to the landlord especially a

horse they had become particularly fond of and which they would wish to keep breeding from. Was it possible to hastily sell this beast to a son when illness struck? Or could the son "own" the team once he took over the ploughing as part of his legacy? The few horses which appear in wills must be only those which had a low value? William Vaughan [23] left a colt and young horse to a son and Widow Toms [15] also left her mare to a son. Rede's [32] left a black one. Considering how many horses there must have been we should expect the team to be high on the list, but only the odd reference is made. Hugh Page left the whole team for a two and a half yardland farm, to William in 1547, with "the carte, geares, the plough and all belonging to it". The son was still a minor which may be why they had not already passed the team on before his father died. Surely horses should go automatically with the residue to the widow, or son to work the land?

Thirdly **Sheep** : If well cared for and disease free sheep produced a steadily rising return. Many grandchildren inherited one or two, and one father left six to each child. Gybbs [25] thought of his two godsons, Hall [34] his two stepchildren. All these children's guardians would try and find commons for grazing to increase this legacy. Truss [33] could add ten to his sister Ellen's [19] and forty sheep and twenty lambs to his brother-in-law Tustain who shared the smallholding [33]. Others who left sheep were Robins [26] in 1603 and 1627, Toms [15] in 1607 and Lyllee [29] in 1623. Nine year old Thomas Nuberry [8] already had five sheep when his father died in 1578. These were to be "put forth to his better use" and delivered up to him when he was seventeen. Fifteen year old Henry's ewe and lamb were also to be put forth. Nuberry added "and what shepe my son Andrew [aged 8] now hath being knowne by my Shep to be delivered to the overseers also to be put forth for his best use." The eldest daughter who was nearly twenty and the five year old Margery by his second wife, must have "one ewe shepe each." William aged twelve had no sheep, but then his father had sent him to school. Andrew who was later drawn by lot to attend school was even more fortunate than William. George Watts of Bourton's children were to choose a ewe and lamb of the best and keep it winter and summer on their eldest brother's yardland and three quarters he had from Elkington in Bourton [M.S.Wills Pec. 47/1/1].

Fourthly **Household Effects**: Elderly widows with time to arrange for the disposal of their moveable estate go to great lengths to describe their belongings. Widow Johan Robins left such a lot of detail that some of her effects deserve to be mentioned (p566). Johan hung onto all her possessions and then allowed Richard sufficient goods to set him up as a husbandman. When the wife has half the household goods, the last to be still at home may receive her bedstead, sheets, blankets, coffers, table, benches, "cubbord" and a new kettle as Isabell Toms did [15]. Grandmothers having settled their daughters portion concentrate on settling beds and bedding on grandchildren, or money to godchildren.

In 1616 French [4] left his three grandchildren their dowries. First Anne born in 1590 was to have twenty markes [£13-6s-8d] when she was twentyeight. The second girl in three years time when Joyce was twentyfive and Mary in four years when she would be twenty. They each had two pairs of sheets, a tablecloth, two table napkins, two platters, a brass pot and a bedstead not of the best for that was for their brother the main heir. Between them they would share a christening sheet and one "face cloath" for riding out. Their grandfather had taken on the financial burden of bringing up the children since their father died, even though their mother lived in the house, for she had no money of her own.

Increasing the household linen was a valuable way to help children set up house. How many spun and spun, taking their results round to the weaver and bringing back a sheet to stow away in the coffer? Flax must have been grown, but no one put it in an inventory, though we know some grew hemp as this was recorded. It was not just the daughters who needed linen. Robert Robins [26] desires his wife Joanne in 1603 to see that "Robert my sonne may have certaine payres of sheets, tablecloaths and table napkins as shee by her wisdom shall think fitt and his need therin shall require."

Fifth was **Corn** : Corn though perishable was part of the moveable estate. The older wills often mention "strykes of barlie," maslin or bread corn as Johan had done, for the repair of the highways, the poor, the church and relations. Widow Toms [15] tells us that William Bessen in Wardington had the care of her son William's children and she leaves a bushel of barley and another of maslin to help feed them. When William Lyllee knew he was dying the barley and maslin set aside in the barn for his share of food was obviously not now required and could be spared for a relative.

Sixth was **Timber** : As children approached marriage some parents liked to get in planks of timber to have a table made or even a bedstead. If death came quickly then they left these planks as part of the child's legacy. In 1579 Johan Robins [26] left her niece Elnar Kench, daughter of Richard, "a borde to make hir a coffer." Others left "timber to make a bedsted" which must come from a tall tree. In 1601 William Howse [9] left to all his other children "a plank to make them a Table with all." John Hunt [16] in 1587 wanted his daughter to have "Tymber to make her a bedsted and also a coverlett," and Vaughan [23] left his son Thomas in 1599 "my sawed timber for a bedsted." In 1558 Henri Sherman of Bourton left to Willm Leydbroke... "the tyre of my Iron bound carte and timber to make him a plowe and a bedstede," and Thomas Gyll left to Richard "tymber to make hym a plough with all," in 1557. [183:256R, 183: 257v].

The value of five table bords and seven other bords in widow Elizabeth Gybb's [?25] kitchen in 1577 was 17s and in 1612 Thomas Smyth of Bourton had "ladders and iij peaces of woode lyninge by they sawpitte" worth xs. The only saw-pit mentioned, but quite by chance [M.S.Wills Pec. 51/1/2].

Seventh came **Tools** : Tradesmen must consider the parting of their tools and these are described with their cottages in Part 4. Artisans had to be very careful with their widows portion making sure there was sufficient for her to fall back on in a crisis. Could their tools be a means of allowing her to hold onto the business?

Lastly **Money**: Husbandmen and their wives were occasionally left money by relatives to hold in trust for their children. One widow worried over her son John who, although he was thirtyseven, was not apparently responsible enough to take care of his legacy. Mrs Arnett had been a widow for twentythree years and she left John a legacy in 1607, but in the care of overseers. An uncle in Staffordshire had given him forty shillings and to this his mother added a further twenty. Here was one reason for delaying payment of a legacy. "I will [it] maybe payed unto hym by the discretion of my overseers"(her cousin and Thomas Holloway) "as shalbe thought best in husbandry to use yt and that yt may rather be put forthe for some yerelie preferment untill he do marrye, growe aged, lame or sickley and thereby greater occasion to use it." He could have a blanket and pair of sheets meanwhile. Her two sons Richard and William she had already given "as my poor abilitye could allowe." The Revd Thomas Holloway and his wife Elizabeth both witness the will with Charles Allen, Richard Arnett's fellow pupil from the Williamscothe grammar. Widow Arnett left with four surviving sons and a baby daughter had had a struggle which had kept her in some way, now unknown, in contact with the vicarage. She cannot be traced to any property, so was she living with a relative at [60], or working at the vicarage?

The Reverend Thomas Holloway, gentleman [21] made sure that money secured in bonds as well as other income would be made over to each of his children. All but the last two had been catered for when he fell ill in 1619. Thomas junior was at Oxford and Joanne still at home. Their father had made an agreement with an older son Gamaliell who had the living of Kislingbury to use the tithes he had purchased from a Mr Adkins to pay £50 to his son Thomas over the next seven years. Joanne also had "bonds and writings for money that are taken in her name" which he hoped she may peacebly enjoy. He also desired his wife "to better my daughter Joannes porcion, as god shall enable her." In the margin Holloway wrote "whereas John Symett oweth a debt by bond to my sonne Thomas I doe will my daughter Joanne maye have to her use," as well as £40 he hoped Thomas "maye suffer my daughter to receive [from] the benefitts of that bond."

In 1631 Thomas Devotion [3] was forced to speak his will in a hurry. He desired each child to have 40s at marriage, but three years later his widow Em had obviously given the matter a great deal of thought and increased it to £7 perhaps to take into account their unpaid work at home, making it payable over the following three years. By then her three single daughters for whom no suitable husbands had been found were Em, Ursula and Ann aged fortythree, thirtytwo and twentyfour. As George the eldest son did not marry he made it possible for his spinster sisters to come and go from the home, perhaps taking it in turn to look after him and at the same time guarding or increasing their legacies if that was necessary.

In 1600 William Howse [9] wanted each child to have £6-13s-8d at twentyone years, which would allow his widow to pay these on the following years, 1608, 10, 13, 14 and 19, so easing her burden. This being all the farm profit available while the eldest waited to get married. It did not work out as planned.

Widow Margery Howse accepted an offer of marriage and Henry Broughton took over the farm. Henry an educated man had been connected with Moss Mill which the late William Howse had been leasing. They were married and the eldest son remained a bachelor until after Henry's death. Would Henry have had to settle the legacies prior to marriage?

One family in the High Street [26] increased their legacies over the generations for they married well, purchased land in Wardington, and educated their children. In 1603 the Robins family left legacies of £20 to be given at twenty years of age, or marriage. The two who had already been catered for when they married had a token £1. The wife and son were made joint executors. He could also have the "best yron bound cart as long as his mother and he occupy together," which they did. His young third (or fourth) wife, Joanne nee Cox lived on for a further twentyfour years. The son Robert married the vicar's daughter and increases the family wealth (or his wife Anne Holloway had brought with her a large dowry and land), so that by 1634 he is able to leave his seventeen year old daughter Elizabeth £100. Their nineteen year old Thomas still at university was to have two parts of a house and land to share with his mother at Wardington. The youngest Robert aged only twelve had the rest with his mother, but he died before taking up the farm which meant that the only daughter Elizabeth who married John Blagrove were the ones who took over the tenancy of the family farm in Cropredy [26].

Many executors had to delay payment of legacies. It must have been hard to wait until their thirties rather than twentyone as Ann Toms and other children did, though it could be that they had had no acceptable marriage proposals. It was almost a privilege to marry and depended on more than a prospective suitor for there had to be the future promise of a vacant property. The fortunate might move in with the "stranger" who required help in old age and in return for this they received a

tenancy [19] (p429). The tailor Matcham [18] had not chosen to set his remaining assets at the children's disposal until he neared his death and even then they must wait. Matcham was adamant they must not charge his wife Gillian for anything. Thomas and the girls were twentyfour, twentysix and twentyeight, and the two younger boys, Edward and John, would not receive their £2 until twentytwo and twentyfour and possibly not then if Gillian their mother was still alive and unmarried.

Children came back to work at home while their legacy was being accrued in their interest, partly out of their free labour. Until they married they could be working at home or be under a master or mistress elsewhere, but never living as single people in a household of their own, unless a son lost his parents and then failed to marry as George Devotion did [3]. Without a house or a forthcoming marriage they were not yet in need of their legacy. Not all widows remarried. Alese Howse [28] remained a widow and when she died during an epidemic seventeen years later the four bachelor sons had not yet had their money. They were surely adding to their future by staying at home without wages, though increasing their own stock. Alese then doubled their legacies to £10.

The widower Justinian Hunt [16] when he died in 1609 had not begun to settle any of the children's legacies. Neither had he sent them from home. Early departure seldom happened in Cropredy during the list years, except after the death of a widowed parent. Justinian Hunt died leaving a young family, but without a mother to leave a later will we have nothing to tell us what happened to the children. Justinian had married late, but fortunately had a well stocked farm. He wished his son to pay off just one legacy a year. Three of the nine children died, so he has five legacies to find. William must come first, his £10 would be when he was twentytwo in 1613 . Alyce was twenty when her father died and she must wait until twentyfive, Jane would be twentyfive in 1615, Mary twentyone in 1617, and Joyce nineteen in 1618 would have the last payment. A total of £50 was a lot to pay, but shows what some children did receive, to help with apprenticeships, marriage, or to gain entry to a lease elsewhere. This was thought at first to be especially hard as John had married and had two children of his own by then, but perhaps he had no more for his own use than he would have had if both his parents were still alive. This represented the profit from half the farm normally needed to raise and send forth the family.

In 1616 William Watts, weaver [27] left his wife and son equal joint executors for his son must carry on the business. He does not mention the married daughter still living at home, because she would have had her dowry. The two other girls aged eighteen and fifteen were to receive £5 at twentyone or marriage. William who was only ten would have £5 plus a boy's dowry of a table and frame. After 1616 there was a fall in the price of wool and a rise in the price of corn. Fortunately the weavers household finances were helped by their few acres of corn and a cow common, but it was not a convenient time for that family

to pay off legacies. The widow Anes had been unable to pay any before she fell ill in 1622 and felt it necessary to add more to the legacies from her half of the copyhold which had been her income to provide the day to day expenses as well as the children's future legacies. Now her son must use it to settle them. The cloth trade was by then in disarray and many weavers suffered from insufficient orders. Would Thomas make enough to pay the legacies when he had already married at the early age of twentyfour soon after finishing his apprenticeship? If anyone tries to find the two unmarried Watts daughters in the lists after they reach the age of eighteen, they will find they have vanished. The more fortunate eldest, Mrs Ann Shotswell left home in 1618, and remained in Cropredy (p452). The expense of boarding the other two girls might prove too much. Possibly they found work at Banbury's hiring fair if their mother or brother had no contacts.

Just once in a while brothers must care for a married sister: "My sons Richard and Christopher shall plowe a quartern lande for my sonne [-in-law] John Denzey and razey all manner of ramiages belonging to it for the space of four years after my decease" instructed John Cleredge of Great Bourton in his will of 1609 [PCC 114 f80]. Instructions in wills to help a daughter like this could not be written for them alone as Ales was now the "property" of John Denzey. Just occasionally when the son-in-law displeased the father he would make sure the husband could not spend the legacy by having it put into a trust.

The eldest sons whose legacy was the farmhouse or cottage lease was more likely to keep up family traditions. Staying in the home parish made life that much easier. Their family would be in the registers kept in the ancient coffer belonging to Saint Mary's church. The eldest son's descendants had one great advantage over the siblings who had been forced to migrate, for they were able to find their ancestors living in one parish for a greater length of time. Cropredy was a settled town, the maximum number of houses which the land could feed had been taken up and leased out unlike the forest communities in the nearby Stratford-upon-Avon area. Cropredy had no under used common land where the homeless could squat and set up a trade. The woodland and pasture parishes had many people who were less settled and whose descendants could not hope to achieve a long line of records in any one place. Even so few in Cropredy stayed over a hundred years on leased land, but two or three generations was quite sufficient to build up a knowledge of who to trust.

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13. Trust and Borrowing

"Talk of usury...now perfectly practised by every Christian, and so commonly that he is accounted but a fool that doth lend his money for nothing" [Harrison].

Up to the end of our period money was put out in bonds. They put money by for an entry fine on a new lease, a bond for a marriage jointure, or any number of commitments that would require saving up for. Loaning it to people they could trust outside the family and borrowing more either by word of mouth with witnesses, or by a sealed contract called a speciality. The appraisers wrote on John Sheeler's inventory: "that [which] was owing unto him upon two bonds" £5-4s and "that [which] was owing him that he had no bond for but only witness" £8. John the shepherd's inventory shows his savings which he had lent out until he was ready to take up a lease (p90).

The whole process of borrowing and lending was extremely complex, but a man with debts had been trusted and if he had lived no doubt he would have repaid them and borrowed and lent again. The majority with a surplus might owe money and lend at the same time. The payment of a sum allowed other loans to be repaid. It could be that when a man or his wife lived in one or more parishes during their youth or training, they kept up with friends made at that time, extending that vital range of contacts they could trust.

Stephen Cross of Bourton died in 1611 owing £16-12s-6d to six people of which three lived in Chacombe and one in Woodend. There were eight people owing him a total of £21-8s-2d: two in Chacombe, two in Cropredy, three in Bourton and the last a Robert Hollway owed him £1-0s-5d and Stephen wrote "I owe him 5s for haye" [PCC 116 Wingfield 103]. His neighbour George Watts died in 1615 owing money to twelve people totalling more than £200 as he was buying land, yet he was at the same time owed well over this amount. The more he owed the more others seemed to borrow from him and he would need to know his credits and debits down to the fourth part of a penny [PCC 126 Rudd 69].

Not all debts mentioned were upon bonds, some were the day to day debts occurring in a household. John Sherman of Little Bourton made a will in 1559 detailing these worrying sums: "William Truss wyffe owith me iijs iiijd of wch I forgette her v grotes [a silver coin worth four pence] so that she do paye that willingly to my wife or ellys to paye the sole iijs iiijd. Ric Clarydge owithe me xxd or ells a shepe worthe xxd. John Molle owithe me vjd. Olde grenewodde of Cledon owithe me iiijd for rents." Was Grenewodde in a cottage and this was his quarterly rent? Richard Cleredge was a drover [183 251r].

Other debts turn out to be money due to craftsmen for work done. John Russell [13] blacksmith had done 10s worth of work for the church which the two towns of Cropredy and Bourton still owed even after his death. Three years later Bourton parish still had not paid their half of the bill. The debt was now due to Richard Terry [13], weaver, who had married the widow Elizabeth Russell. They had only been married a short time when in 1603 Richard made his will: "and where as I owe unto the towne of Bourton 3s-9d for the will of William Hall deceased in regard that the townsmen do remitt my executor that debt then I doe forgive them the 5s otherways myself to receive the one. And they to pay the other."

In Richard Terry's will are good examples of both specialty debts and "also in my house £10 debts by booke." Those who live in Cropredy and Bourton to whom he lent money by specialty were:

"Henry Newbery [8] by bond £11 there of I do remit 10s".

George Griffen by bond £10.

Thomas Cherry of Bourton by bond £4

Debts "Without specialtie":

Thomas Watts £3

Edward Bokingham £30 and 3 shillings [55],

John Pare 40 shillings [collarmaker of 58]

William ffarmer 30 shillings

Edward Lambert 40 shillings [14]

"In my house £10 debts by booke":

Mr Woodrose 9 shillings [8]*

Christopher Spencer 4 shillings [7]

Richard Hudby 14 shillings

Justinian Hunt 8 shillings [16]

"William Atkins oweth to him for 2 sheepe 12s" [10].

* This is evidence that Woodrose had connections in Cropredy four years before he leases the Manor Farm [8]. If some of these debts were for stock then perhaps others were for work done or purchases.

John French [4] who died in 1602 owed John Hall £5 [29] and Elizabeth Hentlowe £8 [35]. Elizabeth's brother John Hentlowe had also lent out money and had £30 of debts by specialties still owing when he died in 1617. Robert Robins in 1631 had "money due to the testator from severall p'sons: £58," which are unfortunately not named and neither were John Truss the shepherd's who had let out £12 by "specialties" to several people.

A few at the end of their long farming life had to help out with the grandchildren due to a protracted illness, or a sudden death of the heir. They might have to realise some of their assets by leasing out half the land to pay off debts, and to bring up the family as Grandfather French [4] did. Over the fifteen years he would have cleared his son's debts but had again to borrow as he grew older, nevertheless Thomas French left good legacies to each grandchild. He wished his grandson Thomas as his executor to clear a £20 debt by tilling or setting the leased yardland with the help of the overseers: the vicar, "my cosen William Hall" [6], George Gibbs of Chipping Warden and John Hall [29] who were to advise Thomas on how they "shall think meet for the speedy payment of these debts".

Thomas Densy [13] after being apprenticed out by his grandfather's widow Elizabeth Russell eventually took over the tenancy of his Gramp's forge [13]. Thomas in his turn helped his mother-in-law Ellen Bicke, bringing her to live with them and looking after her savings. "A debt" of £4-9s-6d "owed nyed unto ye deceased bye ye executor" Thomas.

Put Forth for The Best Profit.

Some money was put forth yearly for the best profit. Many testators expecting overseers or executors to carry out the increasing of assets for the children. John Cross in 1613 asked the "overseers to imploye their several legacies to their best preferments as they in wisdom shall think best." Fremund Denzie did the same. The two tailors Sutton [42] and Matcham [18] who were both in their late fifties, and the carpenter Lucas [2] about sixty, have no money owing to anyone. Matcham has managed to have "one bond of seaven pounds with the Consideration," and Lucas had owing to him bonded money worth £8-1s. In 1616 the weaver Watts [27] dying in his early fifties, had one bond of 40s which William Toms oweth. Toms then in his late forties had taken over his parent's farm on the Green [15] (as the eldest brother Richard had died). William Toms owed the late Watts a favour, and Watt's daughter and husband, Mr & Mrs Shotswell moved down to Toms cottage. This could

be another way of sorting out obligations. The weaver Watts who had lived through the dreadful 1590's may like the Cox's [49] in Church Street have been forced to receive pewter in lieu of payment.

Robert Whettell who worked for the tenant of the A manor farm [50] left £20 which had been lent to his brother George who lived in London. The rest of his savings of around fifty pounds he distributes to various close relatives, but for some reason included £4 to his present master Mr Lakey. The Lakeys were related to Martha Woodrose of the B manor farm [8] and it was Martha who wrote Robert's Whettell's will. Perhaps for that service he left Elizabeth her daughter 10s (p151). Here was a labourer still a bachelor who had "banked" his savings, now using his bonds to help relations. Robert had no need to borrow.

Any craftsman who worked for others, even in their third stage in life as Thomas Browne [58] did, placed their money out on bonds. Widower Browne's family had been settled and he came to Cropredy to be near his daughter whose husband William Carter was also a collarmaker [57]. The Carters lived below the church in Pare's yard off Round Bottom and Thomas Browne moved into Pare's [58] servant's chamber in the late 1570's. He left 40s in the hands of his master John Pare and £11 and one noble with a Banbury mercer Edmond Wickham.

Having bonds and debts required a will if they were not to be lost or go unpaid. One of those whose relatives may have asked them to sort out their money by speaking their last wishes before witnesses, was the unfortunate John Gulliver of Bourton, a collarmaker, who made a nuncupative will in 1642. He "beleived as he sayd his life was but short for that he was persuaded he had melted his grease within his body, did the Saturday night before Trinity Sunday last send for some of his neighbours and friends and to them declare that his will was that his tenement and freeland... at Leamington in Warwickshire his wife [Ann] should have duringe her life. And also his freeholt at Borton...until his child [William] come to the age of" twentyone. A trusted craftsman worth £109 of which £43 was out on a bond to George Gardner. He owed more than he had out on bond and his wife must repay £51. A bible was found with their household goods [MS. Will Pec.39/3/38].

Trading in a Small Way.

It was a different kind of situation when your whole business ran on credit. Edmond Tanner who had the mercer's shop [39] only favoured short term credit. The vicar had to advance the money against his parish clerk's next quarterly wage and also his curate, Mr Man of Mollington, to satisfy the mercer's demands. The debts due by the Tanner's "Shopp booke" in 1630 were slight compared to others: "Due from severall persons for wares as appeth by the shoppbook" £1-8s-4d (p405).

The Palmers were small business people whose shop book had many unpaid debts. Although described as a labourer in his will he had received some education at Williamscote school and possibly had a milk and butter round supplemented by contract or day labouring. In 1631 he has £1-18s in ready money and £4 lent to "my brother Richard Smith of Shotteswell," but there were also £5 of desperate debts. This was the year of high grain prices due to the failure of the rye harvest, and a great many were struggling to survive on very little food. Then a fatal illness arrived at William Hill's the whitbakers house, one of the poorest men in Cropredy. There were however others who had money, who also died. The Palmers may have been allowing small debts to be run up by not collecting the money from his desperate neighbours. Their own family had food and money when the illness struck them, so were fitter than most, yet four in the family die (p447-9). His son manages to collect some of the money back while carrying on the business and supporting his siblings, helped by the remaining Aunt and his sister Ann. He too runs into illness in July 1634 and the "debts desperate" were there, but now down to £1-15s, or could these be fresh debts? This would have been enough to purchase a cow. Thomas had also managed to put away £4-2s in cash. Thomas's death could have been from a multitude of causes, but the fact that several die does seem to indicate another contagious disease.

As some were not renowned for prompt payment then those tradesmen who could not write must rely on a tally stick per customer. If employers hired a day labourer then a tally of days worked was understood by both. All could "keep tally." Some no doubt brought a strike or peck of corn to the collarmaker to settle a repaired collar, or to the blacksmith who sharpened the plough. The vicar to safeguard his tithes kept long and detailed lists so that he never charged twice, and although we will never know the hardship and resentment it must have caused the poor, Thomas Holloway over the fortyfive years he lived in Cropredy, may have managed to bring in his tithes in kind without too much trouble. He employed Thomas Palmer to collect in the cottagers common tithes for their cow, and discharged his own payment of 5d (p232). Book keeping was one of Thomas Holloway's main strengths. He knew to the quarter of a penny how much was owed him and by whom. Yet he did not consider it worthwhile to press for non payment of tithes at the church court (p29).

Ready Money.

If a man had few pence in his purse it might mean he had reached old age, but not always. Coins at the beginning of our period were always hard to come by for there was never enough to go round. Elizabeth Howse [9] in 1578 had "her purse and girdle" valued at 2s-2d and yet she farmed a yardland. A year earlier Elizabeth Gybbs [25] left no money at all. These two had inventories valued at £23-13s-10d and £47-12s-6d.

Another reason why those leaving wills in the late sixteenth century kept little money at hand was because it was subject to devaluation. In the second decade of the seventeenth century there was still nothing unusual when a man had under a pound in his purse as John Cross the miller did in 1614. Those who had been about to enter upon land, or with wages paid up in full as they lay dying were like Sheeler whose purse held £5-6s-4d in 1619. It was not until the end of the 1620's and into the 1630's that the amount of money found in their personal estates began to increase from a few pounds to ten and over, except for those like Edward Lumberd senior who had settled his affairs and had no need to save for a lease. All these lived on the A.Manor:

- [26] Widow Robins in 1627 had £45,
- [25] Widow Batchelor £15 a year later,
- [39] Tanner in 1630 had £23,
- [14] Lumberd Jnr. in 1631 had £15-6s,
- [26] Robins in 1631 had £20,
- [34] Richard Hall in 1634 had £15-13s and
- [31] Thomas Wyatt in 1635 had 16s-4s, but
- [14] Lumberd Snr. had only£5-10s in 1635.

Some estates demanded a bond as security every time a new lease was entered into. On the B Manor, apart for one in 1556 made by French for Springfield [6], none were entered on the lease before 1657 when one was required for the B manor farm [8]. Three others were demanded in 1659 [3, 32 & 35] and a fifth was asked for in 1668 [6], which meant the College had begun this practice well after our period. We do not know how big the entry fine was at this stage, but the tenants must put money by every year to renew the lease. Then the whole process began again over the next generation.

Some grocers issued their own coins as Mrs King [47?] did at Cropredy just after our period. Others used bonds when "good English money" was scarce. Those lacking coins must always barter. We do not know if this was a careful frugality or just that ready money was often unavailable, once they reached old age.

In spite of a serious cash flow very few died with several debts owing, for they could generally sort things out while ill, but sudden death left this to the wife or son. This happened to Richard Howse [24] in 1600 and he left his wife Grace "to take my goods and pay my debts," and his cousin also Richard Howse [28] who died aged fortythree still owing "Freman Densy the

sum of £14 " in 1592. Shortage of good English money to pay for materials was one reason why personal loans were made for rebuilding or setting up a farm. Had Rechard Howes [28] married late after rebuilding his house in stone, or because his widowed mother passed on the debts incurred from when his father Rychard moved into the new stone house? Alese's uncle Fremund Densy from whom they had borrowed £14 was an elderly bachelor who came down to Cropredy to live with his niece (p115) and so he had few overheads. This Bourton man ran his sheep with hers and continued to lend money and assist relations. Fremund, as a maternal uncle could not benefit from Alese's estate if she died first, and was able to help his nephews whom he called "my kinsmen." Fremund made his will in June dying in the September soon after Alese. He had obviously been training her eldest son Thomas Howse [28] and made him executor. For the widow Howse's four boys he left William 30s, John 30s, Richard 40s (as another godson) and Thomas as executor "the rest of my goods unbequeathed." "My desyer is that my overseers doe putt yt forthe for the best preferment of the sayd children" so Thomas must hand over the four legacies to the overseers, Thomas Holloway [21] and William Lyllee [29], according to the wish of old Fremund. The three sons of William Densy of Bourton also received £5: 30s to Thomas, 30s to John, and £2 for Fremund his godson. His other kinsman "Richard Lovell doth owe unto me iij£ and odde money that I lent him. I doe will that at some convenient time wthin twoe yeares after my decease he payeth unto my executor three pounds... the rest I forgive yt him." The remainder was not in the inventory, so must have been paid. Parents were to put it out to profit with any other money a minor had, usually on a witnessed bond.

Other debts were sometimes for marriage gifts which were being paid in instalments. Vaughan owed £4 to his daughters husband Ralph Wells. Was this why they were housed in his cottage next door, or had his daughter moved in with his shepherd? William Vaughan, yeoman [23] may have neglected to pay his daughter's whole dowry, or he employed his son-in-law Ralph Wells [22], to help on his farm, and the £4 debt to Ralph was for back wages? He also owed the blacksmith 8s and had not yet paid the legacy "to his children by george Gardner's gyft" £1. However if he had attended the proving of Gardner's will at the Cropredy church court in 1591 he may have been mortified by the wording. "I give unto the children of William Vaughan which he had by this woman"(p555). Now his son George as executor must pay these debts.

Money was beginning to be thought of as a commodity to be used, but still some hung onto any silvercoins they had, rather as their fathers had collected pewter. Not all the "money" in circulation could be easily turned into hard cash when money was lent out and borrowed upon bonds. Across the High Street from Vaughans, Thomas Gybbs [25] in 1629 died a wealthy man by Cropredy standards. He was in his middle fifties and had made his money work for him by lending it out. Gybbs was not alone

in charging interest, but did others forego to ask his help with a will because of his powerful status? The money owed to him was in the hands of the following:

Richard Sabyn of Gt Bourton at St John Baptist next £20-11s.

From William Howse £1-6s-8d [Which William?].

From Thomas Denzy £2-3s-2d [13].

From Richard Bachelor £8-2s-0d [Wife's relation].

From John Cross without specialty £1-12s-0d [relation of Richard, miller 51?].

These could have been from the sale of corn and stock except for the largest sum, which may be for Sabyn's land and buildings, or even an entry into his new lease.

Next door Robert Robins [26] was now a yeoman. He was caught by the 1631 fever when he was only fortythree. Robert was certainly not short of money, for he was owed £58. Because Robins had purchased land he considered himself a yeoman and Gybbs who had no freehold remained a husbandman.

No-one whose will was proved at Cropredy church court before or after Gybbs and Robins (whose moveable estates were assessed at £220 and £343) left such high amounts in the period 1570 to 1640. Nor had any others at the time of their death had so much money out on loan until twenty years later when the spinster Em Dyer alias Devotion [3] had £57-5s (p102). Not all were able to put their money out to advantage for although John Hall [29] was a yeoman he left little to show for his life work except £10 in bonds and the remainder of his flock when he died in 1640. He had not had the advantages that gentlemen like the vicar obviously had to increase their profits.

Gold and silver were in very short supply and Thomas Holloway increased the shortage for he had apparently a hundred pounds "in my house at the writinge hereof as my wieffe and my daughter knoweth. I doe give the said hundred pounds unto Thomas my sonne." He also had bonds "taken in my sonne Thomas his name." The older children had all been settled, presumably as generously as Thomas.

Traders like the millers rarely died owing money, but John Palmer did in 1605. Unfortunately we do not know who the three men were. Mr Dodding who was owed £10, Mr Shorte £2 and Mr Pemberton 14s. A William Palmer was also owed £6. Milling

could be profitable as John Cross at the upper mill had a total of £31-6s-6d owed to him in 1613. This was just under half his estate. John must have cleared any debts before he died.

The Cost of Dying.

First a **heriot** was due to the landlord. Rychard Howse left to his son Recharde two horses "the Best after the Lords." Or the best cow or her value. Secondly the vicar was owed a **mortuary** in case the deceased had forgotten to pay tithes. In 1529 mortuaries were fixed by an Act, so that a personal estate less than £30 was exempt. "From £30 to £40 the rate was 3s-4d to 6s-8d, over £ 40 they owed 10s-6d" [Tate W.E. The Parish Chest p69. 1974 Cambridge Univ. Press]. Dr Brouncker wrote down some of the mortuaries owed to him from 1619 to 1626 amongst which were three people who left wills, but no surviving inventories:

.."a mortuary from Mr Coldwell croprede 9s-8d...
...Recd Mrs [Dorothie] Clark 10s
For Mrs [Elizabeth] Holloway 10s..." [c25/10 f3].

In Cropredy one family leave an account which itemizes the costs following the death of the head of a household. William Cattell/ Cathell [30] may have been unable to make a will being still excommunicated from the church, so that the sister had to take out letters of administration and make an "accompt" in 1635. Dying was an expensive business. The cost of Cattell's has been summarized to show the fees and debts to be paid:

.....4s -0d for the funeral.
£1 -1s-6d fees for obtaining letters of Administration.
£4 -0s-0d due to Landlady Lady Corbett [of Clattercote].
£1 -0s-8d debt due to Wm Suffolk [60].
£1 -0s-0d debt due to Goodwife House [28].
£1 -0s-0d debt due to -?- of Cropredy.
£1 -0s-0d debt due to Samuel Lord , a fuller [1a]
.....10s-0d due to Dr Brouncker, vicar [the Mortuary]
.....13s-4d debt due to John Wyatt, a farrier [31].
.....3s-4d due to Dr Brouncker [for a yardland tithe]
£4 -0s-0d [not granted] "for ye bored or dyett of 2 of ye sd / dedded ['s] sisters."
.....12s-0d owed to this Accomptant.

.....10s-0d .."expended in necessary charges in getting ye goods/
.....of ye sd decsd appraised or valued & concerning/
.....ye In[vent]ery of ye decsd goods & for charges/
.....otherwise expended in travelling to Oxon/ to render this Accompt."
£2 -0s-0d "to ye Lady Corbett more for a heriot."
£1- 7s-4d allowance for all manner of charges & fees about ye/ passing of this Accompt.

£16-6s-2d

The inventory totalled £45-15s-2d and the Judge did allow Gillian Cattell's two sisters Anne and Mary £8 each and the rest to Gillian, after the bills were paid. Whether the estate would raise £45 was always a problem and Gillian must stay to sell the contents of the farm and house at her own expense. We do not know where Cattells came from or where they went to.

Inventories may give a total of the deceased's moveable estate, but left out freehold land and any transactions already completed with married children. It could cost the executors a considerable sum chasing up desperate debts and travelling to London to prove a will. When finally goods were divided up the widow might be left with barely a third and possibly minus her much needed stock.

Keeping a Safe Balance with Their Assets.

As a widower who had settled most of his affairs and who would not be entering upon a new lease, Lumberd [14] had no need to put money away on bonds. From his will Edward Lumberd had only 7s owed to him by his son-in-law Abel, but in his inventory he has £5-10s of ready money, to pay his way. Here was a man still farming over a yardland in his early 70's on part of the holding, with a crop worth £30 in the barn, five cows, two mares and seventythree sheep worth £30. We can hardly put him amongst the inactive, yet in spite of the value of his goods and stock he has not apparently reached the yeomanry status he purports to be. William Hall [6] classes him as a husbandman as his ancestors had been. Edward had kept a good balance of his assets in working stock and land while still able. He had dealt with all his children except his youngest son and unlike his ancestor William in 1549 did not have to leave the "resydue" to the children "that they may be hable to defende themselves."

In the middle stage of life when more land was leased this would increase the stock and naturally brought in more corn, so the house possessions would be proportionally less as the land leased increased. Nevertheless it is worth looking at a dozen sites to see how they balanced their estates in a mixed farming area. It was also a means of safe guarding portions for their children by making sure the stock, corn and working farm equipment always exceeded their household possessions. The search was at first confined to those, who unlike Lumberd, were still farming with a growing family when death suddenly overtook them. Would those who had kept the household goods to below a third have weathered the poor years better or not? French [4], a husbandman, had 36% in household goods the same as Woodrose [8] who as a gentleman was more likely to manage a poor year with assets in London and 11 acres in Hertfordshire. His predecessor Nuberry [8] as a husbandman had played it safer with just 20% in the house and 54% in stock to Woodrose's 36%, but although Woodrose's stock was worth £92 he lacked sheep. Nuberry had 19 couples as well as 81 other sheep and he was rearing beef. When Nuberry died in 1578 the corn was valued at £26 on his 4 yardlands. He died suddenly leaving a large family and an active farm producing a surplus of corn and stock which would continue to provide for them. Woodrose's children were left in a similar fashion, but although French's father died young he left a much smaller family. The two families of French and Woodrose do not last into the eighteenth century, but neither did poor Nuberry's family renew once the lease ran out. It might take a good wife, several yardlands and reasonable harvests to rise above the father's death, if the outgoings continued as before. Toms [15] were always frugal and lasted right into the nineteenth century. They kept down to 16% inside.

Was their long stay due to the fact Toms delayed rebuilding in stone for a hundred years, so that when their nintynine years were up they were able to transfer to Hill Farm after the Enclosure of the Open Common Fields?

All but four of the following inventories were made between 1628 and 1635 [8,15,16,28]*. They reveal the balance between possessions, stock, corn and farm equipment. The testators were not all in the middle stage in life, but died farming:

Site	Surname	Date	Total	% Stock	%Crop	%House	% money/Lease /Equipment
[3]	Devotion	1631	£27-1s-4d	44	24	24	8
[15*]	Toms	1607	£37-14s-2d	37	47	16	
[3]	Devotion	1634	£44-2s-2d	36	34	26	4

[4]	French	1632	£87-16s-2d	38	19	36	7
[14]	Lumberd	1635	£97-6s-1d	32	31	32	5
[28*]	A.Howse	1609	£124-1s-8d	29	24	21	26
[33]	Truss	1634	£128	77	5	6	12
[8*]	Nuberry	1578	£166-14s-2d	54	16	20	10
[8]	Woodrose	1628	£181-6s-6d	36	23	36	6
[34]	Hall	1634	£196	48	28	11	11
[25]	Gybbs	1629	£220	29	19	13	39
[16*]	Hunt	1609	£272	23	24	11	33
[26]	Robins	1631	£344	34	17	23	26

Devotions aged sixty four and sixty six [3] had a quarter of their estate inside, but the widow also increased the stock by 1634 and had more corn than her husband partly due to a better harvest. Yet her percentage of stock to the overall total is less than her husbands, 44% and 36%. Her corn at 34% was 10% more than his, but his equipment was double hers. Lumberds had 32% in the house, 32% stock and 31% corn so that his corn was higher than French and Woodroses. Gybbs [25] was a low 13% in the house, but having 27% in money and 12% in equipment his stock 29% and corn 19% were obviously lower than Lumberds. Having twice the personal estate Gybb's extra yardland gave him more stock, corn and assets and with these he could go on increasing at a faster rate than Lumberd. It would seem that it was not the percentages which were important, but the more obvious one of how much corn and stock they could now produce which was in excess of their necessities. Once surplus stock and corn could be translated into money, or bonds for legacies it changed the attitude towards purchasing moveable goods previously acquired for legacies.

Gybbs [25] had increased the stock to six dairy cows and two heifers worth £18 and a flock of eighty sheep at £24 as well as his team with three colts at £20. His corn was valued at £41 in April, whereas Robins [26] on slightly more land had £61 worth of corn and £120 in stock (thirteen cattle, a hundred sheep and seven horses in the stable in May), but still managed 23% in the house in addition to money and bonds, 22%, worth £78. Richard Hall [34] who was at least fiftyfour when he officially took over the Watts farm by marrying the young widow, continued to dwell in a household where goods never rose above

essentials. They had just 11% inside which was almost as low as the shepherd Truss [33] next door who left only 6% of his goods inside, though Truss's sister had all the cooking equipment. Hall's stock were worth £94 (48%) and Truss's £80 (77%), but whereas Richard Hall had land and £55 (28%) worth of crop, Truss had only £7 (5%) on his small holding. Hall had to safeguard the farm to give back the lease to his stepson Richard Watts, whose descendants carry on for some time.

Dying before the children had been settled may affect successive generations. One who died in 1609 was Justinian Hunt [16] who appeared to have stocked his house with everything that he could procure. He died aged sixtyone still farming and it was with some surprise that the contents of the household represented just an eighth of his high total of £272. His stock was worth £62 in April and his corn £66. He died a widower who had not married until he was thirtyfive. The other to die that year was widow Alese Howse [28] who left £124 and of this 21% was inside, £36 in stock and £30 in crops. Justinian had the advantage over Alese of having at least another yardland, and Alese was sharing her sheep commons with uncle Fremund so that when she had increased the farm estate Alese and her sons had done exceedingly well.

In marked contrast to the majority of the husbandmen was Wyatt now in his sixties. He carried on a combination of farming and trade and had half his goods in the house, about £27 of stock and £20 of corn. In spite of this poor balance his family business more than made up for his possessions. The family did not disappear, but reached out into several Cropredy farms. The sons were educated and thought highly of by the Boothby landlord for their horse knowledge, though they fell out in the 1680's as most of the tenants did including Alese Howse's grandson Richard [28] and the Watts [34].

The traders who died in the 1630's were we saw the old whitbaker who had given up his cow and was left with only inside goods. His family continued to live in Cropredy in their copyhold cottage. Matcham and his son were the first and the last generations to live in Church Lane and yet he had managed to leave a little money, £2 of stock about £1-10s of crop and £3-5s in the house out of over £14. The problem was the small allocation of land which meant he could not increase his stock, nor plough more than "Matcham's piece." James Ladd [40] a labourer who died in 1631 had goods and tools totalling £4. Tanner [39] had £40 of inside goods, £12 of crop and £14 of stock and his shop held £9 in goods for sale. This meant his household stuff was more than half, but once again his business offset the rise in living standards, though through the death of both parents the Tanners disappear, the widows second husband taking over the lease.

The amount of household goods cannot decide whether a family overspent and jeopardized the next generation, for goods were useful articles and all worthy of being part of children's dowries. If a head of household died before settling these

carefully gathered belongings, then their percentage of possessions would rise and so lower the stock and corn percentages. Hall, Toms, Gybbs, Truss and Hunt, had not over reached themselves. Their savings now went into bonds and they kept some ready money in the house against the next lease renewal, or better still let it out on bonds. In the second and third decade of the seventeenth century the tendency was to have a higher value on their equipment which cost more to purchase.

When the personal estate had already been shared amongst the children, except those items necessary for day to day living for themselves and the cow on a small amount of land, then these parents inventories are obviously going to show a different balance to one they could have had if they had died several years earlier still in full control. What they did have were vital copyhold rights, or a share in the lease and a roof over their head and access to a hearth. Once they gave up the last strips of land and their stock then the few articles left were their garments and chamber furniture having disposed of the rest. These had reached a stage which could be termed as poverty stricken as they were almost drained of all assets, but they still might live in a three bay, two and a half storey house. The final blow was when sickness meant they could no longer use their rights to pasture a cow or grow their corn. Now was a time to ponder over their bedding and clothes. To prevent any awkwardness developing they took time to stipulate for whom each particular piece of clothing was to go to. This is dealt with more fully in the chapter on apparel in Part 5. Many such gifts would be in return for loving favours shown them through their difficult last days. If they leave any out it does not mean a lack of regard, for their full share may already have been bestowed. Now was the time for remembering godchildren and grandchildren who they may have agreed to sponsor. The children would have the godparent's Christian name to carry on into the future.

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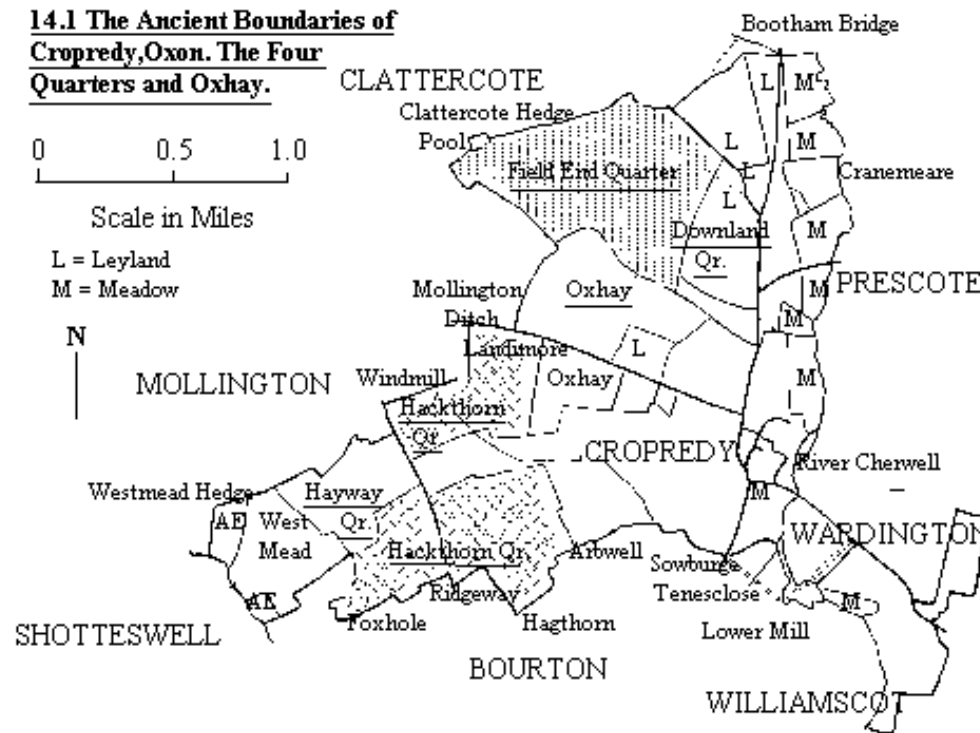
THE TOWN OF CROPREDY 1570 - 1640

Part III

14. The Boundary and Land
15. Meadows and Greensward
16. The Cattle
17. Horses
18. The Flock
19. Pigs, Poultry and Gardens
20. Arable Land
21. Seed Time to Harvest
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14. The Boundary and Land

The very strength of the town of Cropredy came from their fifty six yardlands. Yearly the husbandmen inspected the parish boundaries and regulated the growing of their crops, meadows, greensward and commons. The vicar kept a close eye upon the stock, especially the cows, sheep, pigs and poultry leaving rare documents as he collected in his small tithes from the milch cows to sheeps wool. His own accounts are full of interest from sowing the seed to harvesting the corn.



The Ancient Boundaries of Cropredy, Oxon. - The Four Quarters and Oxhay.

The ancient boundaries of Cropredy "... begin at a certain place called Clatercotehey. And so on by a certain hedge called Clatercote diche to a bridge called Bootam; and so on by a rivulet called Cranemeare to le Southbridge; and so on by Arbewell

lake to a certain place called Haghorne; and so on by a Way called Ridgeway to le Foxhole and so on to the brook called Shotteswell Broke; and so by the hedge called West Meade to the field called Mollington; and so on by the said hedge to a way called Brodewaye; and so on by a way called Ridgwaye to Londymere; and so on to a place called Clatercote haye, where they begin containing iij miles" 6 Edward VI [Royce p3].

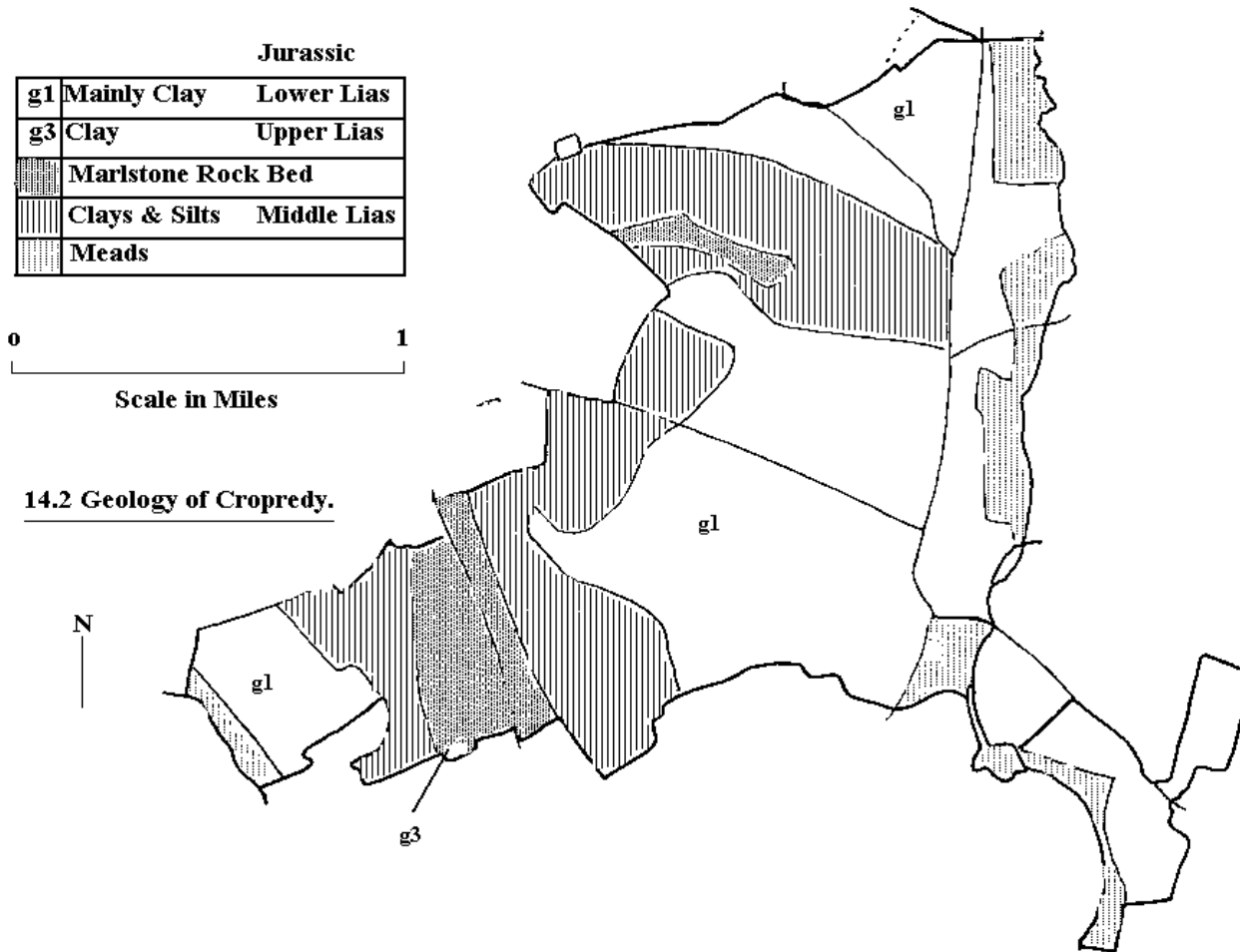
The type of soil, the underlying rocks, the clefts and watercourses played an important part in the development of the township. They influenced the way it could be used to support the growing population who must use the resources at their disposal to the full. By the 1570's only a third had enough land to support their family with sufficient surplus to pay their way. The extra corn and cheese went to feed the families of the agricultural crafts necessary to keep the full time husbandmen in business. The craftsmen who had a little land produced no surplus to sell and so must rely upon their skills with leather, wood, wool or milling. The environment that might encourage some to make a success could render life so hard to others that they were forced to sell themselves for wages beyond the natural years of the apprentice. The few who rose above them all with their skills at shepherding were helped by the mixed agriculture of the area. It was a trading township, the centre of a triangle at the tip of north Oxfordshire. Cropredy's craftsmen could provide skills for other hamlets around.

The land and its boundaries had to be well looked after and maintained which brought about the manorial rules necessary for farming as tenants in common. To ensure that all was well the tenants had a yearly procession to beat the bounds (p28), but there has never been a right of way for the general public around this boundary.

The ancient description of the boundaries belonging to Cropredy town was probably taught to every boy who helped to beat the bounds. The above description began in the north west corner at "Clatercote haye". Was the "hey" from the dance of the boys as they received their first beating to ensure they would never forget the exact position of the boundary stones? Or from the celebrations at the start of the heyday by the spring feeding the pool? This stretch of water fed the stream which filled the ditch to form the northern boundary as it flowed east. Long before our period it had become known as "the leper's pool." Over the boundary in Clattercote parish the Gilbertine Priory of St. Leonard had opened a hospital for lepers. Their patients came up for their exercise on the paved walk surrounding the pool [VCH p195].

The vicar's party followed the hedge above the "Clatercote diche" flowing eastwards until they reached a ford, where Moorstone Lane left Cropredy parish, and on down to Bootham's bridge, except for some sixteenth century alterations at Washlands (later Elbow Ham) (p219). The stream meets two other brooks to become the Cranemeare, or High Furlong brook,

flowing south through valuable meadows to join the river Cherwell by the town of Cropredy. The boundary followed the centre of the brook which forms the eastern parish boundary with Prescote and the river part of the boundary with Wardington, as it flows down to the south east corner of Cropredy. Williamscoote-in-Cropredy lies further east, while down the Cherwell to the south east were once three detached pieces of Cropredy's meadowland.



Geology of Cropredy.

Cropredy had two mills where in 1607 the weary thirsty beaters of the bounds were denied their drink (p29). The upper mill by the town and the lower mill on the parish boundary where it returns westwards looping round the mill and back up the west bank of the mill pound to join the Sowburge as it enters this Pound. Tenseclose hedge along the Sowburge separates Bourton parish and the south boundary of the B manor farm [8] [burge from the manor or burgh]. The causeway coming down from Bourton entered Cropredy by the Sowburge ford onto Cropredy's Long Causeway. For walkers there was a small footbridge on the western side of the ford. The boundary continues on up the brook through the clay soils, giving the beaters either a cleggy walk in a wet season, or rough and hard underfoot in a dry one. On the western edge of Marsh meadow the brook is joined by a second one coming down from the Goggs across Cropredy's South Field in the Hayway Quarter. They were now alongside the Arb well [Harble] furlong and shortly would arrive in the Hackthorn Quarter west of Arb well "lake" (Fig. 14.4).

The soil changes as they enter the Hackthorn Quarter at the four hundred foot level, to silt and clayland over the middle lias, and from this level a line of springs arise. The Sowburge sprang from the Arb well at the head of a small dell. Westwards lies the haghthorn described more politely by Nehemiah Mansell (a Bourton man who came to farm in Cropredy [35]), as Ladyhorne. The name came from the ancient wood hawthorns planted, or left over from former woods, as boundary markers. On the better drained soil the conditions improved and they continued as before alongside the growing corn until the boundary reaches a track. This they follow northwards as the outer parish ring keeps to the extreme edge of the once wider ridgeway along the western hedge of the Upper Haghthorn Furlong. Just before the northern headland the boundary turned west running with the furrows across flatter Eastside Broadway, which lay over marlstone rock, and on to the Ridgeway (Figs 14.4 & 14.5).

The boundary turns north with the traffic then west through the hedge onto the flat Over Broadway Furlong. Here the boundary appears to have been taken piecemeal from former woodland on the flat land above the scarp face. It meanders, now hedgeless, partly across a field farmed from Bourton to a smaller steep field whose hedges contained ancient woodhawthorns, crab and hazel. Two hawthorns and one huge crab stood out as ancient markers when the ring hedge looped round, up and then down to a spring (the crab blew down in 1974 and the hedges vanished in 1980). Again the stream dividing the parishes emerges just above the four hundred foot line, near the foxholes and ancient badger sets (Cropredy parish boundaries were fixed by an Act of Parliament in 1774, but unfortunately this part of the definitive boundary, which included the ancient badger set has been removed). The scenery changes from corn, or fallow, to the closed off meadows with the hay nearly ready as they descend in single file to three hundred feet and follow the stream with the "Burton hylle hedge" beyond. The late spring growth making this procession's progress particularly hard going, especially once they turned north along the meandering Shotteswell brook.

Just before the brook were several ancient enclosures [A.E.]. The south west mead's eastern hedge was one of the Oldest (with over 8 species) in the parish, but lost in 1983. It contained ash, oak, elm and a rare black Italian poplar. There were also plenty of hazel, maple, blackthorn, hawthorn and elder. The Shotteswell brook hedge contained more oaks, alders, willows and ash trees, as well as the following shrubs: elder, blackthorn, purging buckthorn, spindles, both types of hawthorn and dogwood (p18). The parish boundary curved round the ancient meads, briefly meeting the Warwickshire county boundary and leaving it again to its meanders. The party of singing choir boys and elders now ascended eastwards next to the "Westmead hedge" and out into the steeper arable Copthorn Furlong before reaching the flatter edge of the furlong called "The Windmill Beyond Broadway Furlong." The westmead hedge was typical of the area containing wood hawthorns, blackthorns, elm, ash and oak, with the addition of maple, hazel, rose and elder. Some of the maples had become trees. Had the hazel spread from coppices in Copthorn Furlong?

The parish boundary was not able to cross the Broadway in a straight line. The verge had been used for generations of drovers taking stock to market so that markers could not be placed. It must have been a difficult decision to establish the exact line the parish boundary was to take once the road hedges were ready to plant. The party would have tales to tell of the arguments over the allocation of the land. In the end a reasonable plough length would decide the length and width of the strips and the final amount to place in each parish for Mollington, Bourton and Cropredy all had land on both sides of the ridge. Cropredy's boundary went first south away from the present hedge, east then north again with the traffic, almost to the top of the hill where they met the exit onto the highway of an old ridgeway track. This had come from Landimore following arable headings. Mollington's windmill was bound to be looked at as it stood on the highest point, but there is evidence of Cropredy also having one on the homeward side of the highway. Bourton millers followed the trend and built a windmill in their parish on the ridge as the demand for flour grew.

The boundary enters the Hackthorn Quarter on the homeward side of the ridgeway at the north end of the Upper and Lower Windmill Furlongs. At Landimore an Early hedge of six species goes north to meet the Oxhay Road and again hazels and wood hawthorns are present. This furlong had been in existence prior to the only A manor terrier of 1548 which indicates that the Over and Nether Landimore belonged entirely to the A manor demesne farm [50]. The boundary line descends by the Landimore north hedge as far as an ancient crab tree, where it crosses the Way from Cropredy to Mollington to enter the dry Oxhay pasture called Ballards which had first a hedge and then just a ditch (Fig 14.6). Here once more the vicar and his party had descended to the spring line and the constant supply of water kept the Mollington cattle from mixing with those on the Oxhay cow pastures. The now piped ditch runs down to join a stream which uses a fault line to separate the Oxhay Pasture

from the Field End Quarter of the North Field (Fig 14.3). Up the boundary stream going westwards is one of the loveliest of hedges. Here hazels abound, a sign of former coppicing. Plenty of wood hawthorns, crabs, some blackthorn, dogwood, elder, rose and sallow as well as elm, willow, ash and oak trees make up the hedge and just one sycamore which has crept in. The hedge passes Raven's well, where the stream emerges, and continues along the boundary as it curves northwards to the pool. It contains some maple and wayfaring trees which have not yet spread into the south boundary. Back at the start the whole outer ring fence measured apparently "four miles." In actual fact it was nearer ten even without Williamscoote in Cropredy, the Astmead or detached meadows. The husbandmen may not in actual fact have begun and ended here for although a day's ploughing was no more than ten miles, there were some amongst them who did not need the extra mileage to walk to and from this point.

The Open Common Fields.

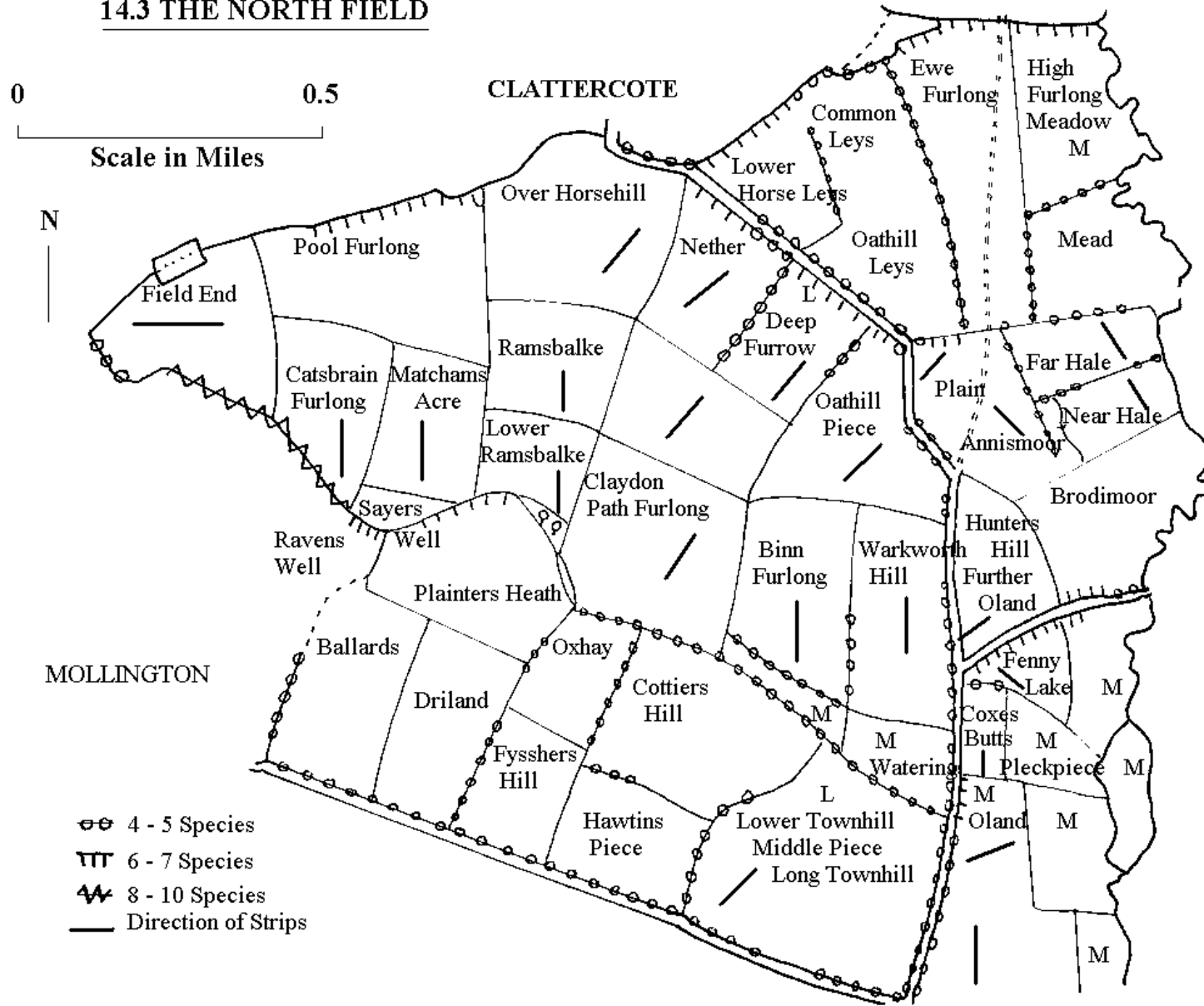
There are very few Open Field systems left in Britain. On these all the farmers had their land in strips scattered throughout the Open Field. One called The Vile has been kept at Rhossili in south west Wales. It provides a valuable source of physical evidence to learn about Open Field farming, especially when some of the present day farmers use words to describe parts of the system which were used in sixteenth century Cropredy. An "Open Field" is a term used to describe a system of farming an area of land in which a husbandman's stock were not allowed to graze the fallow. In Cropredy they used a different term, for on their "Open Common Field" all tenants had rights of commonage to graze the stubble. Both types of system could like Rhossili separate their strips from their neighbours by a "lansher." This landshare consisted of a narrow ridge of grass. It could be that Cropredy did not have any such ridge, or baulk, between the strips although Wardington did (p290). In our period the vicar and townsmen spelt "common" with only one "m," the second "m" being added much later [The Enclosure Award of 1775 following the 1774 "Act for dividing and inclosing certain Open Common Fields Pastures and Waste Grounds called Cropredy Field and Ast Mead" p1].

Cropredy had two Open Common Fields. The North and the South. One was used to grow their crops while the other must lie fallow, though by the 1570's peas were always planted upon a portion of each tenant's fallow. The communal use of all the land in the parish was a very old one, though the actual starting date cannot be found. A Court of parishioners under the bailiff's command, undertook the complex running of the land once the reorganisation of the available arable and pasture had begun. The community had their prime target as one of survival and on this basis their method of ploughing the land in the best way possible was in the interest of them all. Cropredy's soil varied and while some was naturally well drained the rest had

to rely on the method of ploughing up into ridges, leaving a furrow between to carry off excess water. All this occurred after the breast plough was discarded for an ox drawn plough and naturally more could be achieved by a team of eight oxen. Sharing a team was the only way for the smaller husbandmen and land was cultivated across an area with several teams until a reasonable amount of land had been ploughed over a number of days. This ploughed land could in theory have been divided up according to the number of oxen each man contributed, minus the Lord of the manor's share which they had ploughed as part of their tenancy agreement. After the final ploughing the whole prepared area was planted and shut off before going on to the next furlong. The two huge arable fields were divided up into these furlongs. The arable section looks in more detail at the division of the ploughed furlong strips (p287). Initially they may have drawn lots for their arable strips, furlong by furlong, but later they all knew who were the tenants of the strips next to their own, for these "known" strips had become permanently fixed to a parcel and the majority remained with the lease of a particular homestead. In the demesnes terrier for the A manor in 1548 no neighbouring tenants were given and these strips could at that time have still been allocated by lot?

The community had to have pasture for their sheep and cows as the fallow could not provide enough grass. So precious was their meadow land that it had always been kept free of the plough, with only the aftermath grazed by the stock. We will see that the Oxhay common provided some greensward, but the husbandmen following the manor court decision had begun to enclose certain former arable areas for permanent leyland. This process had hardly begun when the 1552 survey was made.

14.3 THE NORTH FIELD



The North Field.

The North Field.

The North Field had been divided into the Downland and Field End Quarters (Fig. 14.1). The Downland took up the land to the north of the town with Oxhay and Field End to the west and the A manor meadows alongside High Furlong brook to the east. Northwards towards Clattercote parish all the flatter land was enclosed greensward (leyland). The use of streams descending from the springs had formed convenient parish boundaries. The Oxhay brook flowing eastwards also provided suitable pasture areas, but left the Downland Quarter with less arable.

Oathill in Downland, Deepfallow and Horsehill furlongs in Field End lay above a slight ridge where the clay and silt lands changed to clayland. The area below becoming yet more greensward: "shooting into Clattercote ford" on the south side of the road.

At the town end of the Moorstone Way to Claydon were Townhill to the west and Moorstone and Oland to the east. The land directly north of the town fence has been referred to as both the Old land as well as the Moorstone furlong with more of Oland beyond in Fenny lake and Hunter's Hill. Oland Middle and Further Furlongs reach up to Annismore Furlong at the start of the Boddington Way. Oland runs east to west in the terriers and the land by the town lies south to north, which favours the references to Moorstone being next to the town and not on Warkworth hill were later records place it.

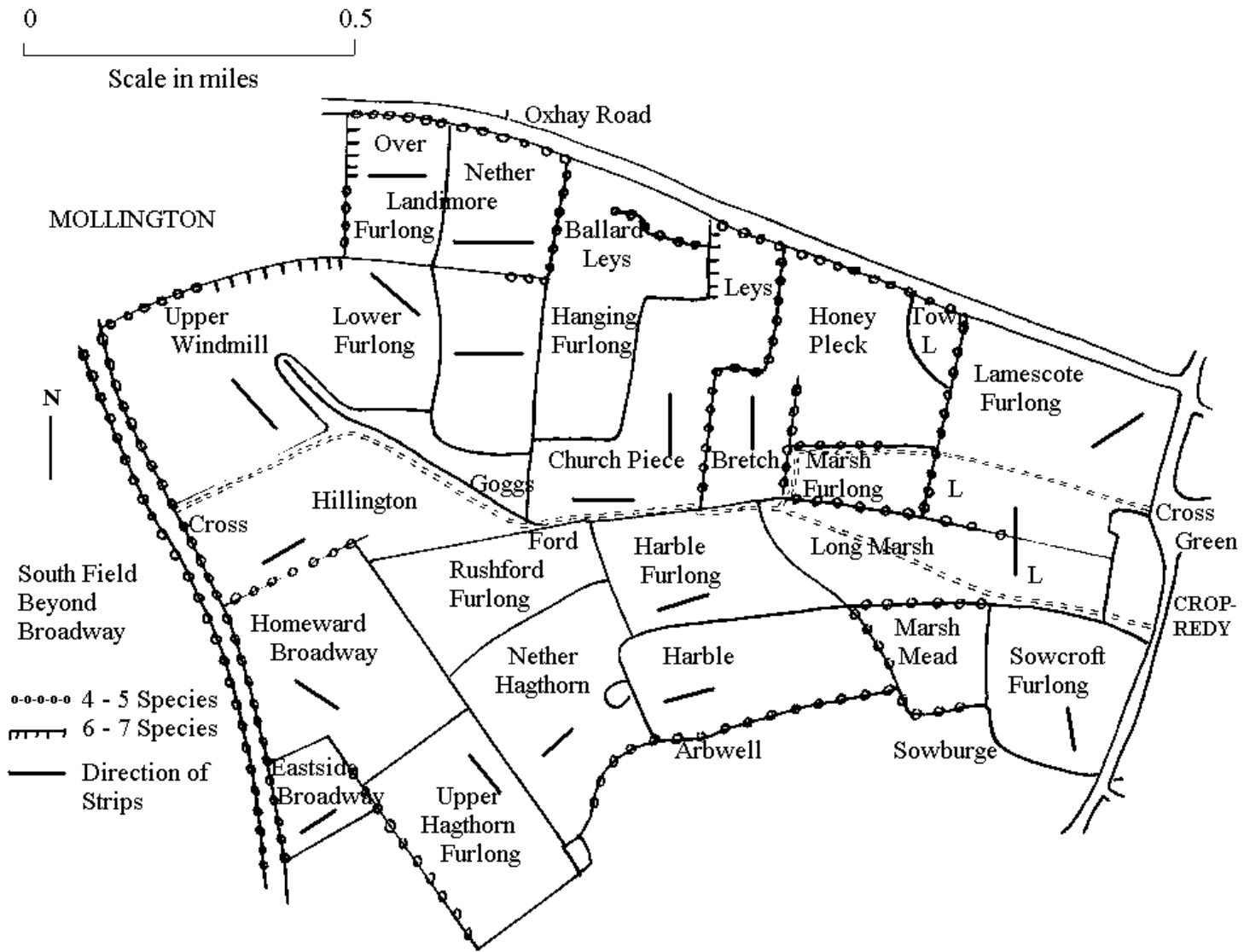
It was quite a bitty Quarter made up of many areas crossed by hedged roads and bordered by dyked meadows. Brodimoor Lane, which goes east from Moorstone Way, was encroached on the north verge and a Late hedge planted. The Middle hedge on the south side next to Fenny Lake and the Coxes Butts all have four to five species. Coxes north hedge was actually planted over the furrows which could mean it was enclosed in our period and became leyland. Was this the little piece to the west of the meads which could apparently be used by copyholders? Across the Moorstone Way from the Butts was the seventeenth century Water meadow between the fault and the stream. This small valley began at Oxhay lake increasing in width eastwards down to the road and across the south end of Cox's Butts to Pleck piece, and on to Drimoor, an island on the High Furlong brook where it divided and joined the Oxhay stream as they flowed southwards.

The Warkworth hill faces south on the western side of Moorstone Way. It had two furlongs, Binn and one which is now called Moorstone. Running across them is another underlying land ridge, but more definite than the one where the ridge returns westwards below Deep Furrow. This is the fault line from Farnborough coming round the south edge of Field End, dividing the

good arable land from the Oxhay common until the valley widens. The fault turned at the Moorstone Way towards Claydon following the eastern edge of the road as the clays and silts again gave way to the clays of Hunter's Hill. The fault line left the road at the corner near the bottom of Oathill Piece to run westwards above the new leyland as a distinct ridge across Downland and Field End Quarter.

Field End Quarter besides having the best clay and silt land had no roads cutting through it. The land rising to four hundred feet, with a great deal facing south. Most of the furlongs ran from north to south except for the Field End and New Poole. The area had hardly any inner hedges just boundaries on three sides. The fourth was the edge of the Downland Quarter which had no hedge growing along it. On the modern map Field End appears to have straight edged fields, but on the ground they curve to follow the original ridge and furrow, suggesting Chamberlin who was the first tenant of Cropredy Lawn farm had been content to follow his landlord's instructions to retain the proportions of the old furlongs as new fields. They kept the old drainage made by the plough with the high ridges and the wate furrow between. The landlord stipulated that many of the furlongs must be turned to pasture after 1775, which fossilised the curved ridges. Pool, Catsbrain, Horsehill, Ramsbalke and Deep Furrow were not to be ploughed. Hawthorn hedges were planted with elms along the old furlong edges which preserved the shape of the old ploughlands. The presence of timber ensured their survival until Dutch elm disease killed the trees. In the Downland Quarter, Annismore and Oathill were both kept for grazing and elms planted in the south hedge of Oathill alongside the drift road to the stonepit and Lambert's Barn.

14.4 The South Field 1.



The South Field 1.

The quality of land in Field End was noticed by Chamberlin who was one of the commissioners, and also a surveyor who conducted the survey for the 1774 Act of Enclosure for Cropredy, and several neighbouring parishes. He had ample opportunity to study the soils, aspect and advantages of the Lawn site which he was soon to lease. The Boothby's A. manor having the largest Cropredy estate would naturally acquire the choicest farmland. In a Survey of 1754 this land rated as high as ten shillings for every Cropredy acre. Once enclosed it would eventually bring in an even higher rent. There were at least two springs and plenty of watering for pasture land. In the south part of the Quarter lie some Marlstone rock beds near the fault line. This was conveniently near the centre of Chamberlin's new farm and stone was quarried for his house and farmyard.

Cropredy Lawn's records also bring out the value of other land they acquire. They had purchased Ballards and Driland, the two highest and driest plots on the Oxhay, across the intervening Plainters Heath. The Heath, Chamberlin soon found needed considerable taming. On the edge of the Drilands, where the soil changed, he found a suitable clay to make bricks for his second round of farm buildings [Hants R.O. Cope's of Hanwell papers].

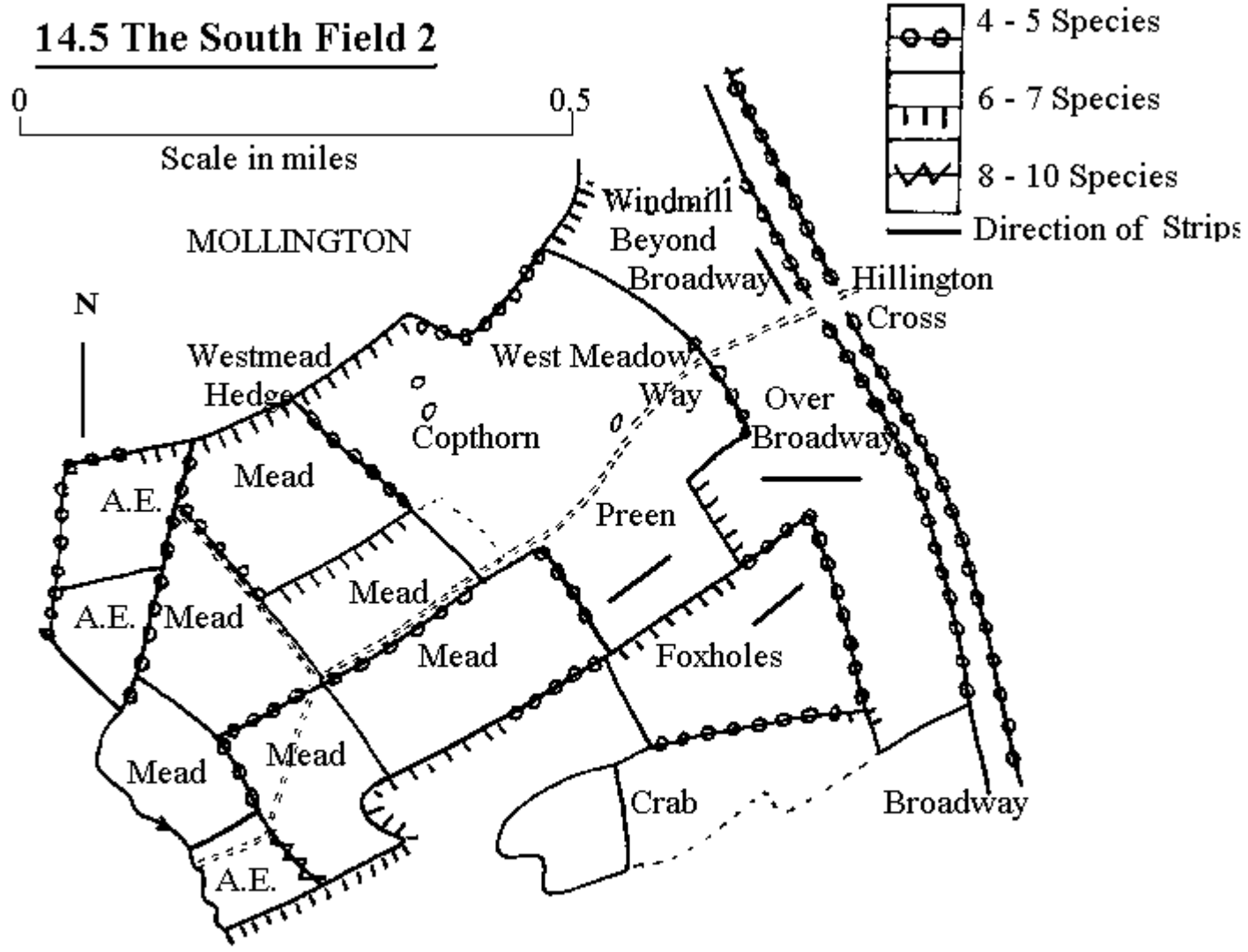
On the other side of the Oxhay Hill Lane in South Oxhay, Brickhill took its name from Anker's post enclosure brickyard. When Anker's needed more room they took in the verge (p18) as they had done on Brodimoor Lane and Hunter's Hill in the Downland Quarter.

The South Field.

The arable part of the South Field was divided into the Hayway and Hackthorn Quarters (Fig.14.1). The furlongs in the Hayway ran from west to east, except for Bretch Furlong and an area at the east end of Church Piece taken from the Oxhay. Most of the Hayway lies on clayland from Hillington Cross on the Broadway down to the town Cross on the Green. The rest lay to the west of the ridge. The Hackthorn Quarter was on the highest land over clays and silts, except along the ridge top which had a marlstone rock bed. At some point in time the parish needed to use the flat verges of the highway and around five hundred years ago they hedged the Broadway verge leaving a narrower road. The Middle hedges can be seen to curve with the arable furlongs which can be one of the indicators of an older highway. Both Quarters had this extra land taken in from the verge, including part of the Upper Windmill Furlong in the north part of the Hackthorn Quarter. Local information can remember nothing of a Cropredy mill, only Mollington's and yet during Holloway's time it is known that he failed to collect tithes from the

new windmills. The 1609 terrier refers to the Windmill Furlong. Were they built following the narrowing of the once excessively wide highway?

The West Meadow Way or Hayway started from the Cross on Cropredy Green coming up the Hayway furlongs to the Hillington Cross before passing over the Broadway and on down to the Western Meadows. As the Hayway left the Green and passed under Lamescote furlong it must once have entered the Oxhay and crossed it without hinderance up to the Rushford and the south side of the Hillington Goggs stream. Once part of the Oxhay was taken under the plough, the track must pass north of Marsh furlong, which in 1548 was "shooting unto the same Way," and then turn south to the headlands of Bretch and Little Church Piece joining the Belser track (otherwise by following the present footpath it had to cross Bretch's ridge and furrows, cutting across the eastern Church Piece and only gaining a "sydlyng" next to the B manor Church Piece, before turning south on the heading to reach the ford below Rushford Furlong). The Belser or Smallway left the Long Causeway opposite the B manor farm [8] up Clyfton's [7] close coming up alongside ("hayding to the same") the Long Marsh Furlong on the south heading of Marsh Furlong to Bretch and Church Piece all heading into the brook. This stream cutting across the Hayway arose from the Ryngstone spring to pass through a "sydling" into the Hillington Goggs and down between the Church Piece and Harble passing round below that furlong to the parish boundary along the western side of Marsh Meadow. The stream was realigned during the reorganisation at the junction of Bretch, Marsh Furlong and the Harble (Fig.1.5 p19).



The South Field 2.

The Hackthorn was made up of three sections. The north and the south on the Homeward side of the ridge being separated by the Hayway valley. Landimore and the Windmill Furlongs in the north and in the south the Homeward Broadway, Rushford, Over Hagthorn and Nether Hagthorn Furlongs all above the spring line. The third part of the Hackthorn Quarter was across the Broadway and consisted of Over Broadway and the two Foxhole Furlongs. The Hayway taking up the rest of the higher land beyond the Broadway consisting of the old verge over marlstone and the steeper Preen and Copthorn Furlongs with their clay and silts of the middle lias. These had small pockets of rough land, especially in Copthorn which could not be cultivated. Preens lower headings on the four hundred contour line was marked by the Western Meadows hedge, but Copthorns butt into a flat "sydling" and at the same time give the inverted "s" shape to the West meadow Way. A watering hollow remains on the north side of the Way.

According to a deed of 1322/3 thirtysix acres were reserved for the landlord the Bishop of Lincoln who had his cow pasture in the upper West Meadow [BNC Hurst 10]. The rest of the Meadows were divided amongst the tenants.

In 1322/3 the B Manor let 3 acres of arable land in the South Field upon "ateporne" [Preen] reaching in length from the western "cowland of the Bishop of Lincoln's to the Royal Way and the Way Br[o]adway" at Hillington Cross. This Royal way from Brackley to Warwick had a choice of routes. The West Meadow Way, presumably before the Bretch was taken from the Oxhay pasture, across the south Oxhay up to Hillington Cross and then on through Cropredy meadows over the Shotteswell brook and up to the Warwick road, or take the Oxhay Road and reach the Warwick road via Mollington. As far as the parish was concerned the Oxhay Road, which could be more conveniently hedged to keep driven stock off their land, would surely be considered the better route. It must have been settled in the twelfth or thirteenth centurys during the population explosion when arable was so desperately needed to feed the people. The name of "Royal Way" lingered on as "Turnpikes" were to do later.

The Oxhay.

The Oxhay pasture anciently considered as part of the South Field when rents were due, took up a central position in the parish. The Oxhay Road to Mollington from Cropredy divided the "comon" (as Holloway called it) in half. The North section was further divided into two. The portion alongside the road which belonged to the A. manor demesne farm was known from west to east as Ballard's, Driland, Fysshers Hill and Hawtin's Piece. The portion alongside the stream, consisted first of Plainter's

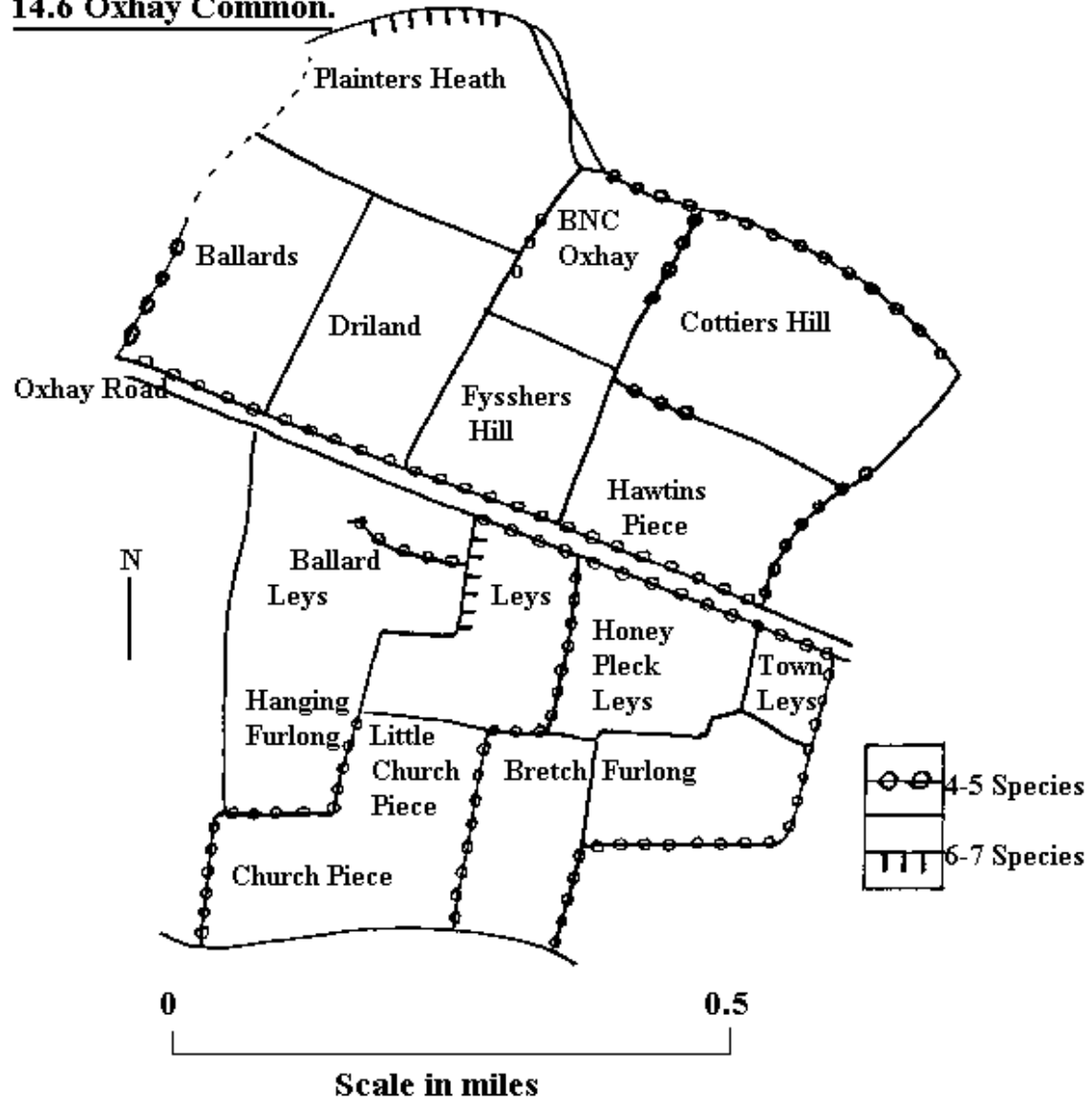
Heath which was allocated to yardlanders, then the B. manor had North Oxhay, leaving the remainder for the Cottiers. This may always have been in three clear cut areas, and left in three distinct fields after the 1775 Enclosure Award (Fig. 14.6).

The Oxhay's had two well drained areas called the Baulands [Ballards] and Driland which were both above four hundred feet on the clay and silts. The rest is all on the lower clays. There is some evidence of internal hedging which would have helped to separate off the grazing. Plainter's next to the stream in the north-west corner was an area of heathland. This is interesting as heaths generally refer to open dry land where heather and undershrubs grow, though if neglected they will revert to woodland [Rackham Oliver *The History of the Countryside* 1987 p282-3].

We do not know just how the South part of Oxhay below the road was allocated, but again it could have been in two portions. The road edge as pasture, but the south portion reaching down to the Hayway track and beyond being ploughed up at some earlier reorganisation. Changes to Cropredy's Open Common Field system might arise from a population explosion leading to the ploughing up of some of the Oxhay pasture to feed the extra mouths, or from the need to raise productivity following a sale of one of the manors when the landlord expected more income to arise from the land. The first arable expansion onto former pasture land occurred before 1300, possibly after a rise in deaths from starvation. The second when the Lees of Clattercote took over the A manor, they sought to improve production from the small township so that the grain harvests, and therefore rents, could be increased. Was it in the 1570's when the former Oxhay "pieces" came out of the common Oxhay pasture, to be attached to three farms: the B manor [8], Toms [14] and Hunts [16] as well as some land for the parish clerks, or had this come much earlier in the thirteenth century? In which case when did these "pieces" become attached to two of the three farms which had encroached upon the Green? Perhaps at the same time as a Bishop of Lincoln enclosed his two Parsonage closes taken from the Green, below the church. There is still so much to discover about the land changes up to our period.

We have now been right round the boundary and looked at the four Quarters of the parish and the central Oxhay. In the town itself each farm had a close charged at a high rent per acre. The farmsteads built on these closes will be looked at in Part 4.

14.6 Oxhay Common.



Oxhay Common.

The parish was divided into three types of communal land. First the most expensive, the meadowland, which was subdivided again into those meadows belonging entirely to the demesne farms of the A and B manors which were not communal, and the rest which after the hay had been taken, became common pasture for tenant and lord alike, under the same grazing regulations. Each yardland being allocated one acre of meadow land.

The second was the Oxhay pasture which was subject to the landlord's jurisdiction, but he had to provide pasture for his tenants and especially his cottagers who were allocated "The Cottiers Hill." Long before the 1570's areas of the South Oxhay, like Bretch, had been taken from the Lord's demesne into cultivation and were then under the same rules as the arable for grazing after the harvest. The rest of the ley areas had also been reallocated as they had been attached to leased parcels of land. In the 1570's more of the North Oxhay was split off for leyland and would then become subject to the manorial court rules which applied to all the tenant's leyland. The "waste" lands [including the verges] remained in the hands of the lord until the Enclosure Award when an unusual clause was added:

"We the said Commissioners do hereby...appoint the grass and herbage growing & arising upon all and every the before mentioned Public & Private Roads to the use and benefit of the several & respective Owners and Proprietors of the lands and grounds through and over which the same are laid out and their ...heirs and assigns" [1775 Enclosure Award p27v].

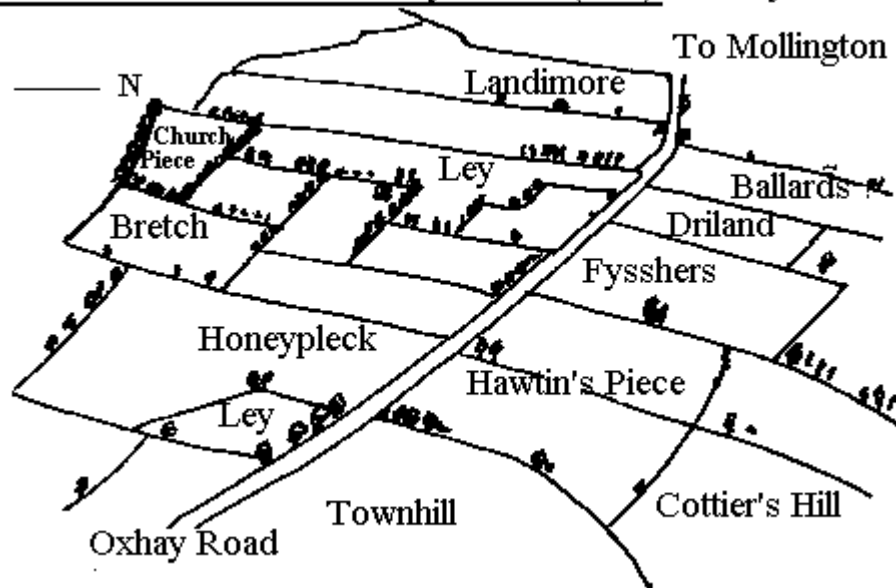
The Green and Lanes in the town remained with the Lord of the A Manor until transferred to the Brasenose College in 1788, after which the College allowed various encroachments to take place and took quit rents for the land enclosed off the verge.

The third area of communal land was the North and South arable Fields divided up into strips and let in half yardland parcels scattered amongst the furlongs. Once the harvest had been gathered and taken home, the herdsman and then the shepherd could bring in the town herd and flock. All had equal rights in proportion to their yardlands.

In 1570 the whole parish was well supplied with water to make waterings for stock and wells for the husbandmen. The meadowing was improved by good water dykes with the double purpose of draining water away from arable furrows, so that they could farm back of the water. The ridge and furrows did help to drain the higher land, but the wet clays needed more than this and although plenty of alterations were made near Marsh furlong it remained true to its name and was put back to grazing. Some of the wet boggy areas were eventually drained into ponds, or lakes were opened out from the streams for waterings at Arbwell, Rushford, Oxhay and at a grove between Over Horse Furlong and new Poole furlong, where a small

spinney and pond remain. The [leper's] Pool was made from the Clattercote stream long before the 1609 terrier for it took up some of the Cropredy farmers land and they had "hades" in Ewe furlong by the Boddington Way, to compensate for the loss. In High Furlong Far mead "two layes by the watering, Rede south" [BNC:552], shows that cattle waterings were made in the brook bank, unless someone had made an expensively constructed water meadow.

14.7 Aerial view across the Oxhay Common(1973).Courtesy of P.Baker.



Aerial view across the Oxhay common (1973).

The records have left a little extra information about timber.

Timber.

Husbandmen must ask their landlord for any timber they required for house and farmyard repairs especially when they needed new roof rafters (p12). Yearly they must plant three or six trees according to the terms of the lease. This timber was not theirs to touch. It belonged to the estate. When a tree was felled on one of their closes, or a hedge they were responsible for, then only the tops belonged to the tenant. The difference between timber from trees and wood from a coppice, or hedge would be evident to all.

Ash was needed for hurdles, hay cribs and handles for axe, pick and hammer. The carpenter and wheelwright needed not only ash, but elm for carts and ploughs. Rakes used willow and ladders required it for staves which would not turn slippery. Hazel wood was used for forks, hawthorn for flails and alders for the blacksmith's charcoal. Oak being durable was much in demand, but the hardest to obtain in sufficient quantities, and requested for house posts, wide timber floor boards, tables, ladder legs and gate posts.

Pollarding willows into a wide flat crown to give the most poles was done at eight feet from the ground, out of reach of grazing stock. Willow was used at the wheelwrights for brake blocks. The cooper needed it for his tubs and barrels. Willow was required for kitchenware which was constantly in water. The millers used it for the waterwheel's slats. The shepherd's hurdles and willow baskets all needed rods from a pollarded willow. Osiers along the river banks, or in special beds needed care in their growth and so did all coppices until well grown, to prevent spoil from rabbits, brambles and weeds.

Coppice wood of hazel, ash, or small oaks could have been grown by Devotions [3] in his "Coppus" opposite his house, but only on a very small scale. Hedge wood was carefully harvested and saved in nearly everyone's yard or backside. There were so many needs for wood and timber that patience had to be exercised. Recycling took place whenever possible.

Occasionally the timber was specified. Wyatt's [31] left to his son Robert in 1635 "a hundred of Elme boards by measure." Unfortunately the appraisers then valued them with "the hovels wood & boards" giving a lump sum of £7-10s. Truss [33] left "old wood and oake bords" in 1634. Hunt [16] in 1587 left Elizabeth his daughter "Tymber to make her a bedsted" and the neighbours found "the tymber and the Bords that is in the grasse yarde" worth £2-10s. Widow Howse [28] left "certain plough and cart timbers" and then a real valuation of "Three hundred [feet] of Boards xvs."

In the yards could be found "two bord and wood to mak a ladder" [23], "seven bords" and "certain bed timber" 5s [34], "A Lofte over the kilne house...Eight boards and a planke.." and in the rickyard "sawed bords and other harrow timber iij£ xs," plus "two woodpiles of wood wth other timber and offell wood viij£" [16]. Alese Howse [28] also left in her yard "a woodpile wth other certayne wood, a hovell wth halme upon it and other od wood about yard" £8. This was no doubt taking up a great deal of room, but a very valuable commodity as the only source of fuel gained by careful harvesting from the land and not paid for like coal.

The weaver Watts [27] had "in the Chamber over ye hall iij Boards ijs iiijd".. "in the Chamber over the shoppe...in the same roome Certayne loose boards..." whose value was lost in the other items. The "timber in the Barne & Boards" had their own value of £3-10s. French's [4] kept three iron wedges to split the wood about the yard. In 1617 they had two hovels with wood and boards and other timber in the barn. William Lyllee [29] kept his two iron wedges to the end being very useful tools. Once partitions and lofts were completed on the tenant's property, they turned their attention to saving timber for legacies. A few households had boards ready to make the next generation's furniture. Hudson [48] left five new boards for the children's legacies, but others who died without being able to make such arrangements had only fuel for the fire. An unexpected deadly fever left Palmer [59] with only "certayne wood and furze..." on their yard in 1631 and it was the same for his son in 1634.

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15. Meadows and Greensward

The Meadows.

The West Meadow was an area of just under a hundred acres with ancient enclosures next to the brook (Fig. 14.5). All the meadow lands were hedged off from the arable above. Some were Early hedges and then later on they divided the area up with Middle hedges including the twentysix acres of Dole mead. The Astmead /Astmore was an old enclosure of twenty acres (p213).

The Reverend Thomas Holloway left two lists of the farmers who had an acre of dole mead for every yardland they leased. After the first list made around 1579, he adds "This note... above wrytten is/ to be pay'd unto the parson of cropredye/ yerely every mans as here is noted in/ respect of the tythe hay of astmore." The pay included the West Meadow as well as Astmore. As they owed a penny an acre it gives us a useful list of the number of yardlands each husbandman was farming, but leaves out the two manor farms. Thomas began at the top of the town which was unusual [In brackets are the house numbers used in this book]:

"Rychard hentelowe	vd	[35]
Rychard hanwell	jd ob	[34]
Constanc[e] Willson	jd.....	[33]
Willia[m] Rede	ijd	[32]
Jhon Kinde.....	ijd	[31]
Rycharde howse	ijd	[28]
Willia[m] lile.....	ijd ob	[29]
Roberte Robins	ijd ob	[26]
Jhon gebes	ijd.....	[25]
Rycharde howse.....	vd.....	[24]
Jhon hunte.....	ijjd ob.....	[16]
Umpprye sumerpert	ijd	[15]
Thomas whittinge.....	ijjd	[14]
Rycharde hanlye.....	jd	[12]

Willia[m] howse..... iijd[9]
 Jhon frence seniereijd ob..... [6]
 Gorge devotion..... ijd ob..... [3]
 Christpher butlere..... jd[30]
 Willia[m] vahaneijd..... [23]
 Jhon frence junioreiijd..... [4]" ...[c25/2 fol.1b] [ob=half a penny]

The list was without a date. The following events occurred which would affect the tenants making it either 1578 or 79, unless Robins took over the lease when his mother became ill:

- i) Robert Robins [26] had just succeeded to the whole farm on the death of his mother. She was buried in February 1578/9.
- ii) Henry Rose [60] died in March 1577/8 and had not yet been replaced by his son on part of Wm Lyllee's farm [29].

iii) William Rede [32] succeeded to his lease in March 1577/8.

The above list does not tell whether the meads were in the West Meadow or the Astmead. Fortunately the vicar adds more in 1587 and 1588, when he mentions another payment the meadow users owe to him. First a custom tied up with these meadows:

"decimo augusti 1587
 Mem.Upon the eveninge that west
 meddow ys cutt downe the dolsters
 wth the neybour's comi[n]ge unto the
 cross at or nere Edward hunts house
 there do the farmers of the parsonadge
 of Croperdy pay to the dolsters in
 money by the name of reringe money

The Hayway left the Cross on the Green going up the South Field to the Hillington Cross and on to the West Meadows (Figs. 14.5 & 14.6). The Cross on the Green stood according to the vicar near Edward Hunt's house. Here we have a problem for Edward managed to be born at a time when there is a gap in the registers. Did he belong to the Hunt family [16] who lived on the eastern side of the Green? If he did then the Cross was moved from below the churchyard at the back of Hunt's yard, or else it stood once on the other side of the Green at the front of their farm. In either case the Cross was moved to the western verge at the start of the Hayway. There is no doubt that by 1609 when Justinian Hunt [16] left money to repair the causeway going towards the Town fence Cross, it then stood on the western verge of the Green as it did in 1775. Not long after that the Cobbs purchased the close allocated out of the once Open Common Field to Haslewood's farm [14] and they encroached a large part of the verge into the close, so that the Cross was now in his field. A line of ancient elms which once marked the western edge of the Green were also taken into the field. Two elms can be seen on a photograph of the Cross taken from an old postcard of about 1908.

The ancient stone preaching cross has suffered over the centuries and water running down the shaft has softened the stone leaving a cup with a broken shaft or spoon [Cup and Saucer]. The square base has weathered badly and the former decorations which divided up the square to form an octagonal have become plain chamfered stops without any faces.

The words in the quoted extract from 1587 [fol. 1bv] (Fig. 15.1) are very interesting. Meads were often dole meadows being shared amongst the husbandmen. The word dolster being used for anyone who had been allocated one of these strips of meadow and because they had a duty of paying a toll to the poor according to the number of their strips, this charitable (though small) distribution transferred the name from the donor to the receiver. By now Holloway's use of the word "towne" rather than village will be more acceptable to our ears.

By the time the vicar wrote this they may already have been thinking about having a poor rate. The tithes allotted to the lay impropiator and the vicar no longer going to help out the poor. 1586 to 1588 were dreadful years of near starvation after disastrous harvests, and in this middle year the vicar was no doubt witnessing a great deal of distress in the area. He may have recorded this one custom lest any in future should forget it. The meadow users had payments to make at Easter, during May and again in August.

The next list for 1588 has more details [c25/2 fol.3]. This time Thomas begins at the more usual south end of the town. Notice there are some changes in tenants. Lyllee and Rose are sharing [29] and Rychard Watts was at Rychard Hanwells [34], who

may be ill. John Truss was Constance Wilson's son by her first marriage and so entitled to succeed [33]. The husbandmen's yardlands came to 46.5 and the A manor [50] who could have 6 yardlands (but sublet 3 to other tenants) plus the B. manor's [8] 4, brings the total up to 56.5 yardlands (Note: The 1578/9 list (p209) included land from the A manor demesne giving a total of 49 yardlands leaving [50] with 3.5 and [8] again with 4 yardlands).

"Aprill 8 1588, regine elizabeth 30

This money followinge ys by the farmers of the parsonage of/
croprede yerly to be receved of ye townsmen their dwellings/
for ther tyth haye in our west meddow and in astmore/
after the rate of a penie an acre at ester/.

In primis Wydow delier [Devotion alias Dier] for 2 acres _____ _ijd[3]
Tho ffrench on acre in west meddow, & an acre in astmore _____ ijd.....[4]
Jhon ffrench 3 acres in west medow & an acre in astmore _____ iiijd[6]
Wam howse 2 acres in We, half an acre in Ast _____ ijdob..... [9]
Rychard handley one acre in Astmore _____ jd[12]
Wyddow Whytinge 2 acres in we one acre, & an eard in Ast _____ ijdqr.....[14]
Vmphree somerford one acre & a halfe in We, & halfe an
acre & a eard in Ast _____ ijdqr[15]
Justinian hunt 2 acres & a halfe in We one acre in Ast _____ ijdob..... [16]
Wam Vaughan one acre in We, and one acre in Ast _____ _ _ ijd..... [23]
Jhon gybs halfe an acre in West, one acre halfe in Ast _____ ijd[25]
Rychard howse senior 2 acres in We, 2 acres & halfe in ast _____ iiijdob[24]
Robert robins 2 acres West & halfe an acre in ast _____ ijdob.... [26]
Wam lylee one acre and halfe [added] and an yeard _____ jdob.... [29]
Wam rose halfe an acre in West _____ ob.....[60]
Rychard howse Junior 2 acres in ast _____ ijd..... [28]
Rychard hentlow 3 acres in West, one eard, & halfe

an acre & a yerd in ast _____ iiijdob/qr[35]
 Christopher butler an acre in Ast _____ jd[30]
 Richard watts halfe an acre in We, & halfe an acre and a eard in
 ast _____ jdqr..... [34]
 Jhon kind an acre in West, and halfe an acre and
 a eard in ast _____ jdob/qr [31]
 Wam rede an acre in West and an acre in Ast/ & a eard _____ ijd/qr.....[32]
 Jhon truss one acre in West meadow _____ jd..... [33]

Somma totalis iijs xjd ob
 Of acres forte & six and halfe
 & an eard, I say xlvj halfe & a yerde"

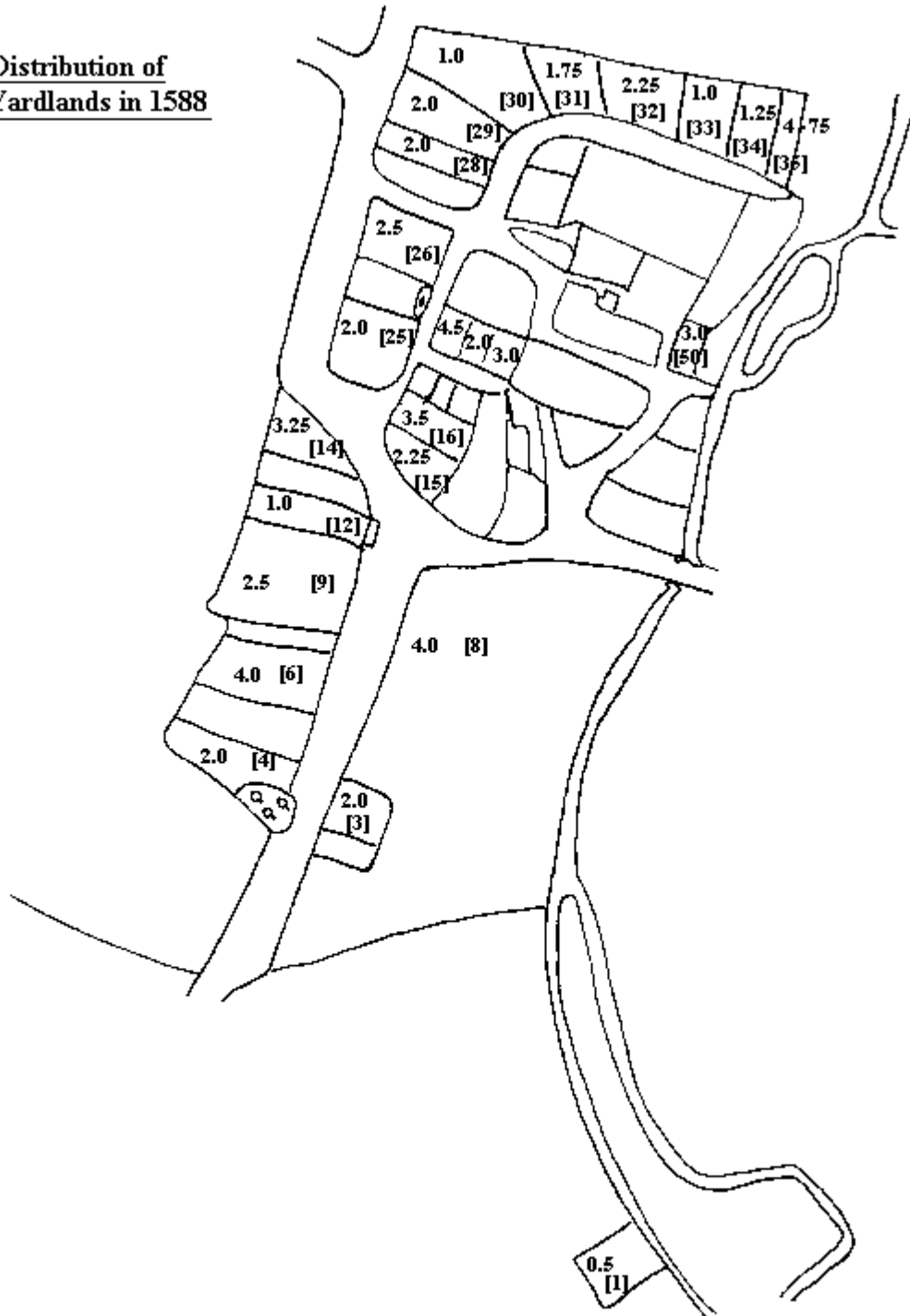
[eards = roods. Yerd = 3 roods. qr = a quarter of a penny, the old farthing. cf Glossary (p716)]

All the meadows which were not fixed mead strips belonging to a set parcel, must be allocated yearly by lot. In Cropredy these were known as "The Lotted Acres" of the West Mead and were distributed by some kind of "ball" on which were scribed various signs. One person drew the lots and indicated the strips in turn, as they were drawn. Presumably each household who had meadow rights had a sign attached to their farm, which had been scribed onto the crab apples, or whatever was used. Each tenant perhaps marking their strip as they were called to it. The College terriers give examples from 1704 onwards from three farms. They always kept the same sign.

Redes [32] had a lotted acre "marked with a double cross." Springfield [6] had "two lotted acres marked with the shorry" [a length of timber?] and one marked with "the horse shoe and calkin" [A calkin was the prominent part of either extremity of a horseshoe, bent downwards and brought to a point, to prevent the horse from slipping] [BNC: 554].

Devotion's farm which was taken over by the Wilkes family [3] had two acres "in ye Squar an lott pitt." In 1741 it is again described as being "marked with ye Squire and pitt" [A square with a dot in the middle?]. This was not necessarily Devotion's own mark as his Astmead one is different and may come from an extra half yardland parcel rather than a College one belonging to his homestall [BNC:552].

**D15.2 Distribution of
Yardlands in 1588**

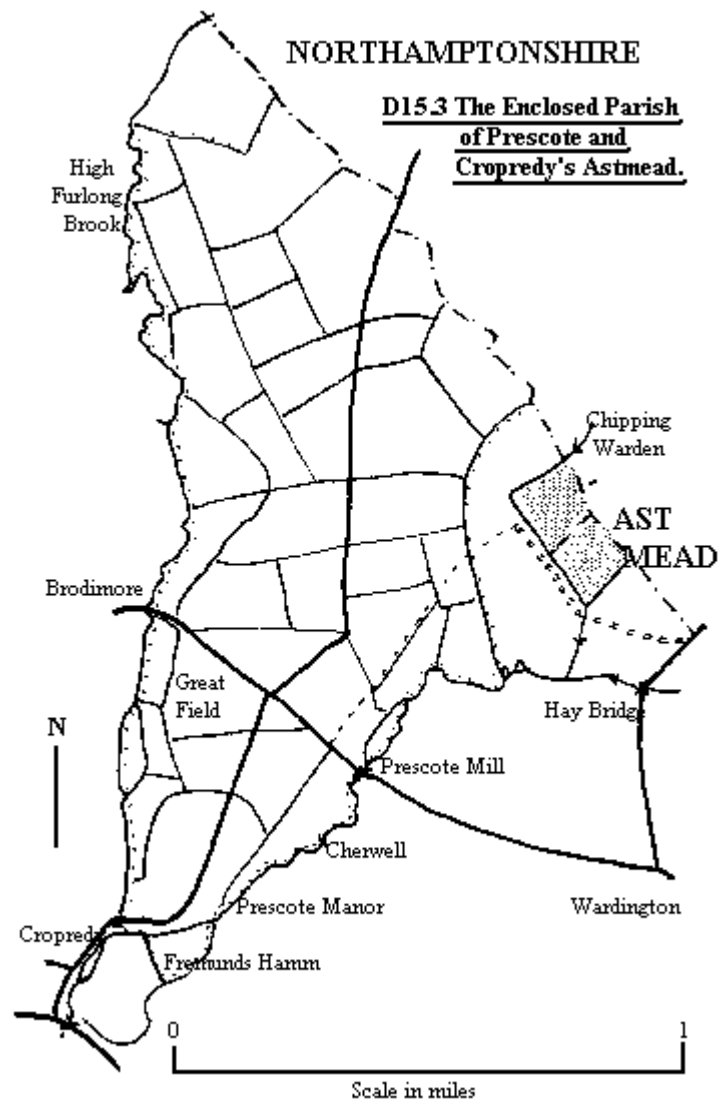


Distribution of Yardlands in 1588.

Between 1704 and 1710 some of the Lotted meadows were not doled out, but allocated to a particular farm year after year and were then called the "Known lotted acres" [BNC:523]. Mansel [35] had in 1710 "one known acre" in the "doale" meadow. All were still valued at 4 shillings an acre.

The Astmead or Astmore.

The Astmead's twenty acres lay outside the parish to the east on the Northamptonshire boundary. This was inconveniently far away. The hay had to travel back along the Banbury Lane, from the Chipping Warden side of the river Cherwell as it passes to the north of Wardington. Soon after crossing the river at Hay Bridge they turned west towards Prescote (now a bridleway) and over another Cherwell bridge to the south of Prescote mill. On then westwards towards Brodimore to the cross roads in the middle of the Great Field. Here the carts turned southwards down towards Gorstelows who leased the Prescote manor. This road is now under the turf or plough having been moved nearer the meadow hedge. The journey was about two and a quarter miles, and a long way to bring the hay compared with the West Meads which were one and three quarter miles from the town. This was just the return journey. What a nightmare in a damp poor summer. The shape of the parish made these journeys long, but everyone had the same problems and there appeared to be a fair distribution of meadows throughout the period from the 1570's up to 1775.



The Enclosed Parish of Prescote and Cropredy's Astmead.

The Astmead or Astmore had been divided into two meads. The straight north eastern edge was a county boundary hedge and bank, at just under four hundred feet. A stream flowing first south west then south east and finally south to the Cherwell, may possibly have been diverted to form two of the boundaries. The land was highly valued at ten shillings an acre, even though it was a long way to go and turn the hay. When walking there the tenants would use the Prescote footpath to Chippy which runs straight across the Astmead.

In 1588 sixteen tenants are listed as having "lotts in Ast," but the vicar neglects to say where a few had their strips. These also began as "lotted doale" meadows, but by 1710 they had changed to Lotted and Known ground.

In 1669 Devotion's [3] Astmore portion was "Half a yerd by lott and marked wth two scotches." A sign like "11" was written down on the 1741 terrier. In 1704 they had a "yeard" and "the eight part of one acre there in the two scothes lott." Were these marked on a piece of timber and the others "scotched" in the same way? Right up to 1769 came the mention of "the eight part of one aker in Asmore loted marke with two 11 scotthes" [BNC:552 & 554]. The word "scotch" continues to this day in children's hopscotch which they mark out on the ground in squares using straight scotches. The yerd was another way of writing three roods equal to three quarters of an acre. In 1743 Mansell [35] had three yerds in Asmore's "known ground. Wilks north [3]." This reminds us that not all the strips ran down hill, though the rest of his half an acre and half quarter in the lotted grounds did. Perhaps it was an error, because the meadow was set at an angle of north-west and south-east [BNC:552]?

Town Meadows.

In the terriers Mansell [35] and the B. Manor farm [8] mention some of the meadow land near the town. The advantages for their farms were enormous. The Mansells were millers at Slat mill in Bourton, and one son came to live in Cropredy when Hentlows fell vacant. The Hentlows gave up farming, but had remained as sub-tenants to the Gorstelows of Prescote manor by continuing to live at their old farmhouse. The homestall lay at the bottom of Creampot by Bullmoor, part of the excellent meadows alongside High Furlong [Cranemore] brook. Mansells were leasing this in 1688 [BNC: 552]:

"... one little meadow called by the name of Little Bullmore conteynge about one acre of land bounded on the Eastside with the brooke Cranemore, on the west and south wth great Bullmore And wth the meadow called Ladymore on the

North. And hath a cartway through the overend of the said Great Bullmore to goe as often as need and occassion requireth."

The B Manor farm [8] had all the meadows south of the Green to the east of the Long Causeway. The meadows were bounded by the Sowburge on the south, the Cherwell to the east and to the north by the Bridge Causeway. These are mentioned in fourteenth century deeds, but by different names, changing with the years, perhaps by dialect or spelling. In 1509 the meadows were called "Wortherchere Close, Morevinn Meadow, Littel Meadow and Mitchel Meadow" [BNC Hurst 88] In 1704 Thomas Wyatt, a Cropredy man whose grand -father was Thomas the Blacksmith, called them:

"The Broad meadow about four acres

The Little meadow about two acres

Browns Close about one acre and a rude

Ye Barne Close and orchard about one acre

The Pigeon Close and Hogyard about one acre and a rude"... [BNC:554] (Fig.31.5 p514).

The surveyor fifty years later did not use the customary acre as the Wyatts did, but the Statute acre and he brought the acreage up from 9a 2r to 12a 1r. The worst news was the rent per acre stayed the same, at £1 10s per annum. This increased the rent for the same meadows by £4 10s. In the survey the revaluation was made to all the College tenants' land, so that once again we find a legal increase coming in almost by the back door [BNC Valuation Book One 1754]. There was apparently nothing the leasehold tenants could do about it.

The A Manor farm [50] had two closes to the north of the demesne farm. One was called Berry close, derived also from being part of the burgh or manor (p197). Their other large close was Calves close. North of the town alongside High Furlong brook were meadows that could have been part of the A manor demesne or their tenants.

The Leas and their hay.

The vicarage had a yardland in Claydon which was let out and from that the tenant expected in 1694 [MS. dd par Cropredy c26 f3] to have the following loads of hay from their leas:

"Leas in the Hay 13 or 16

A great piece of grass at Nearlong - 2 loads of hay

11 hades in Broad furlong - 2 loads of hay

In Horstone - 2 loads of hay

In Ryehill - 2 load of hay

In Vicars piece 2 loads, if ye leas are taken in then six loads..

In the Hamm 1 load."

This hay went into ricks as part of the winter feed for four cows and two horses and sometimes the twenty sheep for his tenant.

The vicarage land in Bourton is not given, but in Mollington he had 14 leas giving him hay for about a yardland. In Wardington where the glebe consisted of two yardlands there were twentyfour leas plus the mead for the tenant. In Cropredy there were only two acres of arable and a piece of mead worth "six mens math in west meddow." A math is a mowing, or the product from one mowing. One man was expected to be able to mow one acre a day. In Thomas Holloways time he did however also get another load of hay yearly from the Parsonage close opposite the vicarage [21]. There must have been more for Thomas believed his glebe amounted to three quarters of a yardland (p309). There was also hay coming in from the two yardlands he leased. This was recorded in his account book for 1587-1617 [c25/2]. The vicar and his sons lease land and halve the produce. To store this he made partitions in his Hay house and Straw house, which may have been in the parsonage close. The hay of the churchyard belonged to the vicar and he was able to let his horse graze the aftermath there. The stable and a barn had been built on the south side of the churchyard. In 1587 the vicar had twelve "lodes of hay" for his part, from the two yardlands. In the accounts a few more years are given:

[f2] xiiij gates of hay in 1588

[f2v] 18 lodes in 1589 and 12 lodes in 1590

[f3v] "hay to my pte" 20 lodes in 1592
and xiiij or pte lodes for 1605.

1592 was an exceptional year so that 12 or 13 loads, as his share would be, was a more normal hay crop. What he does not say is how many loads would be needed to fill the hay shed and how much he must make into a rick. An average stagg of hay in the west country weighed 5 tons, brought from the meads half a ton at a time on a sledge or slide car. Did Cropredy use "gates" towed by a horse up from the meadows using a shaft called a thill, with a hurdle on the top for the hay? Or else they used hand barrows, carried by two people. These were made from two parallel lengths of wood, joined by a number of cross pieces on which the hay was laid. Rather as a hurdle or gate would carry an ailing heavy sheep back home. The fortunate used a cart.

In 1693 a statute was made regulating the sale of hay. A truss (bundle) of Dry hay should weigh 56 lbs, but between June and August a truss of New hay should weigh 60 lbs while the load consisted of 38 trusses. A truss of straw weighed only 36lbs {Hartley D. *The Land of England* p324}

The inventories tell us whether the farms had their hay inside a building, or outside on a "hovel" or scaffold, though there are too few inventories to give a real value to the hay. John Cross [51] a miller stored hay in any available loft, but the quantity is still missing:

"a hovell with haye xiiij s iiijd/
a scaffold wth haye over ye stable & haye/
over ye malte house xiiij s iiijd" in December 1613.

In November 1592 Kynd [31] had hay worth 53s-4d for a farm of just under two yardlands. By the month of March 1598 his wife Alice's hay was worth 16s to see the stock through to May the third when they went out. Tanner [40] in September had brought in hay valued at £3 in 1630 for only half a yardland. Had the price gone up? It was no use looking to the lower mill. In October 1602 Palmer [1] had hay worth 55s from his half yardland in Cropredy, but his parcel contained mostly leyland and meadow for his corn came from the miller's tolls. Watts [34] I suspect farmed only the two yardlands he had in Cropredy and from these in August 1602 he had £8 of hay from the greensward third of his land.

Watt's next door neighbour, the shepherd John Truss [33] had the care of his grand daughter Dorothy in 1614 whose mother Annes was in Ireland. Wishing to ensure the welfare of Dorothy he leaves the responsibility with his son John by asking him to use "the profitts of one acre of land" from the hay "as much as the custome of the tenance can possible alowe thereof." He himself leaves in February only 10s of hay for two beasts, one calf and twentyseven sheep, apparently some hay could be sold to feed and educate a child and still leave enough to support Truss's married daughter Elizabeth's stock, her family and her shepherd brother John. It is quite certain Truss does not lease two yardlands, but he must have had some "leas" somewhere. By February 1634 his son, also a shepherd, left a rick of hay which was valued alongside a hovel of peas and straw worth £4-3-4d. The product of how much land?

Next door Richard Hall [34] left in March 1634 "heay & strawe in the yard" worth £3-6s-8d, on a farm of over two yardlands (The quantity of land being worked out from the eight cows and two heifers p224). Gybbs [25] in May 1629 had "heay in the barne £1-10s" left over from the winter. In Allen's [44] hay house he left hay, corn and peas worth 30s in January 1632.

On the smaller farms like Suffolk's [60] it is surprising to find he had "one hovell of heay" in October 1628 worth £6, which he would have required for his three horses. How did he acquire that amount? His neighbour Wood a cottager whose wife Judeth made butter and cheese, had less than 10s worth of hay in September 1624 for the wintering of their precious cow. The tailor Matcham [18] had a cow and hay valued together at 40s in December 1630. There is so much information no longer available and needs varied with the invisible amount of parcels sublet, but it is evident that only stock above their lands quota was sold off before the winter. Each cow or calf, each horse or colt, required enough hay to last them through the winter and in addition they needed to feed "pease haulm," chaff and straw. By increasing the leys they must have managed to create a surplus, to allow them to get through the winter. Where did they have this greensward which made up such an important part of their husbandry?

Greensward Land.

In 1629 the practice of having permanent grass might have been condemned by Blith, but by then Cropredy had had at least sixty years of permanent leys without leaving any record of reseeding. The only local reference was in the next parish of Bourton. In 1614 Holloway wrote that Thomas Cherry "sold xiiij [sheep]...the rest deadd" [c25/4 f3v] and in 1615 "shepe [tithe to be paid] next [year] all fylles new layd." [f6]. The fossilized ridge and furrows from ancient plough land were still passing under Middle hedges around leyland until very recently (Fig.1.5 p19 at B). New headlands would have been created

within the leyland enclosures when the land was reseeded. This would suggest the pasture had been kept undisturbed in some instances for four hundred years?

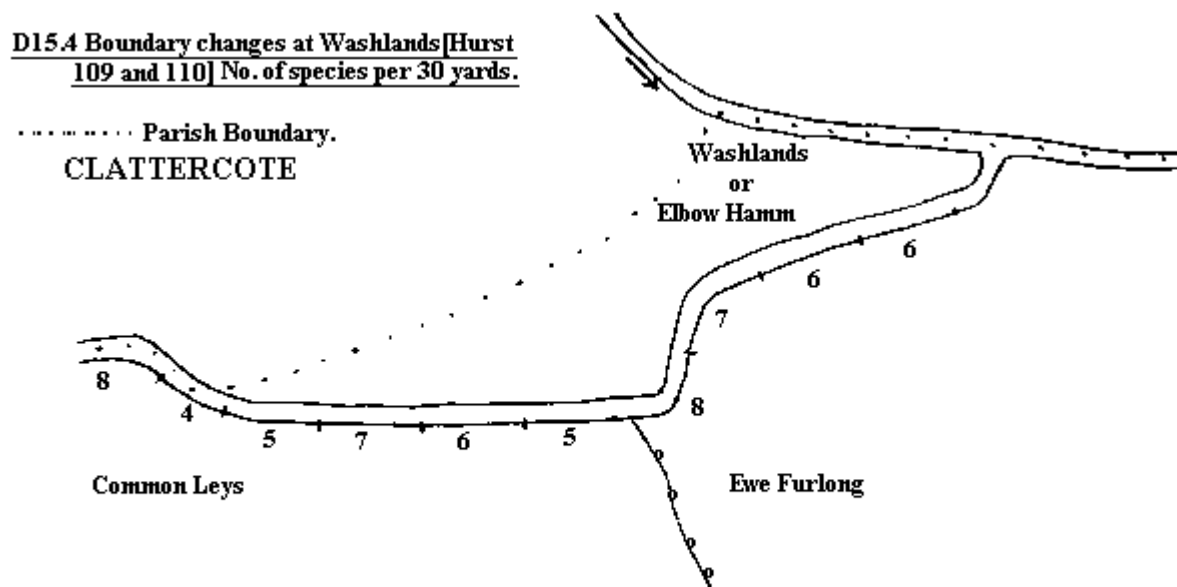
In Cropredy there were two leys to the acre. Most of the leys were for hay and grazing on the aftermath. For the rest of the summer the cattle were allowed to graze on the fallow land and then the harvest stubble. If some of the tenants greensward was on arable headings then they would lose out on grass during the fallow year. This must have been a real loss until they solved the problem by allowing each tenant sufficient enclosed leyland. Those in the Open Common Field were unavoidably exposed if they were on baulks and sideleys, used for the ploughmen to reach their strip as well as the plough teams using them as headlands. The farmer had to tether milch cows and mares if he wanted to use these and the times when they could be grazed were limited. Tethered stock also needed a boy to attend them.

On the B. manor each tenant had just over a third of their land as Greensward (p296). Throughout the terriers beginning in 1609 each of their leys appeared in the same area. When had they enclosed some of their leyland? In the rare A manor 1548 demesne terrier for the South Field there are no leys recorded in their Little Belser and yet in the B manor's terriers leys had been set there by 1609. The 1552 survey also shows that the yardlands did not have a third of pasture as they did after the 1570's. Somewhere in between a programme of improving the area of pasture land had been instigated .

The best example of Greensward is in the Downland Quarter enclosures to the north of the Moorstone Way to Clattercote. Here the Lower Horse Leys, Common Leys and Oathill Leys were all behind Middle hedges. The parish boundary with Clattercote being to the north, the road to the south and as it was a triangle the Ewe Furlong hedge to the east. This was later called Wyatt's hedge. Part of the area between the late eighteenth century canal and Ewe Furlong hedge has remained as greensward ever since and still shows the ridge and furrows of old ploughland. The flat land would be older leyland, or woodland especially where wood hawthorns are found in the hedges (Fig. 15.5).

In 1566 a deed of exchange in the area of Oathill Leys was made between Lee and Brasenose College. Thomas Lee who rented Clattercote had recently become the owner of Cropredy A. manor. He managed to get the College to agree to an exchange of a parcel of "Hades of mead and pasture ground in Croprede on the furlong called Robertshill, shooting from certain meerstones there pitched and sett down to the ground of Thomas Lee in Clatcote, estimated to be three quarters of an acre, for 30 years" [BNC: Hurst 109 & 110] (Fig.15.4). In fair exchange the College leased a piece of mead called Washlands, measuring a yerd [3r]. There is a kink in the east hedge of Washlands (to the east of the canal) where the stream has been

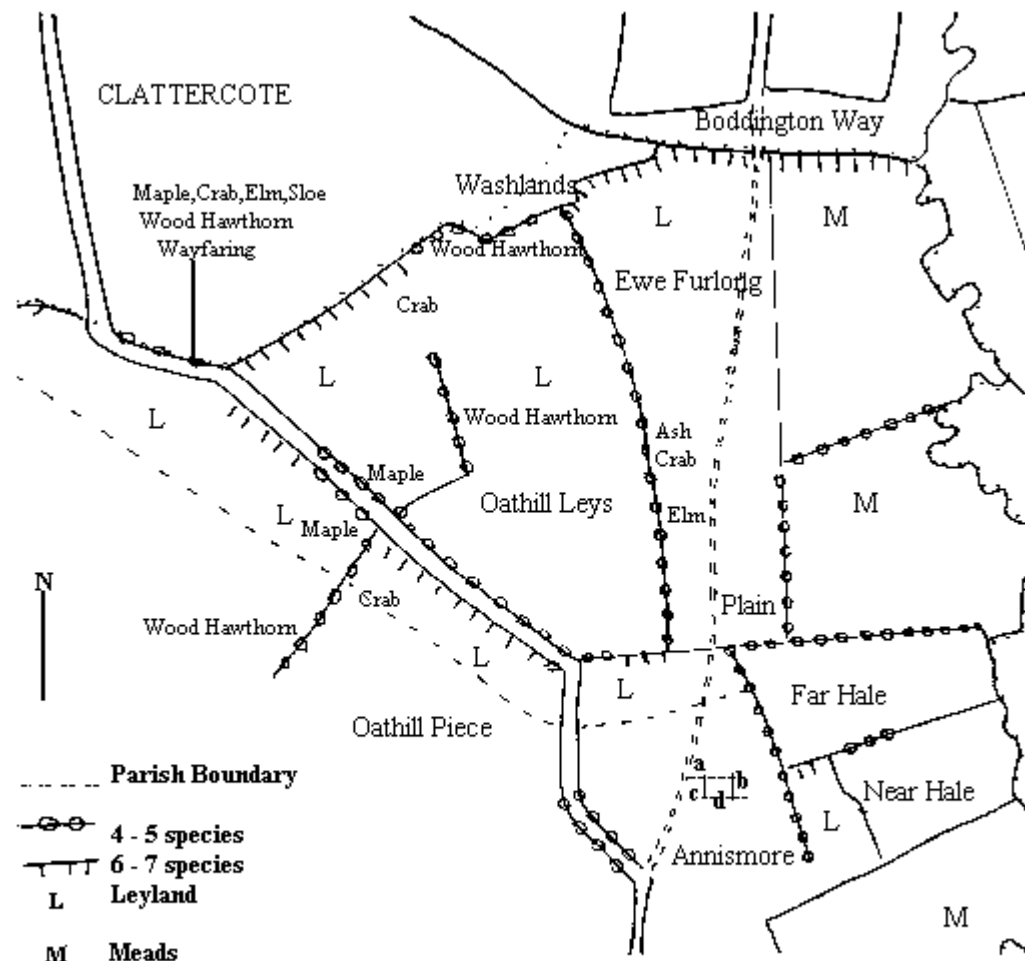
dyked to drain Washlands. The Early hedge goes north to another stream coming across Clattercote, making it certain that this was proof of a very old improvement. The most interesting point from this exchange was the fact that the Roberts hill already had a meadow by the stream and pasture land on the slightly higher ground. It was noted that the name of Robert's hill changed to Oat hill from the oats which grew so well on the hill's strips. Robert's hill leys would also gradually change to Oathill leys. All of the early enclosed leyland, north of the road which included the Horse, Common and Roberthill leyland area are now within the Oathill farm, for the commissioners used the leyland boundaries when they set aside the fortyeight acres for Elkington's portion in the 1775 Enclosure Award.



Boundary changes in Washlands [Hurst 109 and 110]. Number of species per 30 yards.

Ewe furlong to the east of Oathill was crossed by the Boddington Way. It had meadow dykes and hedge to the east and Annismore's hedge and ditch to the south. Wyatt's hedge to the west and the northern hedge was the parish boundary. Many of the tenants from both manors had leys in this furlong (Fig.15.5).

Annismore arable furlong was also divided in two by the Boddington Way before it reached Ewe furlong. There was a flat piece of leyland (about 100 ' north to south) at the north end of the Annismore Furlong on either side of the Boddington Way. Between the flat land and the arable to the west of the Way were five strips of ridged leyland running west taking up around 230' of land. The hedged boundary, south of these five raised leys (between the later canal which sliced through the strips and the Boddington Way) may once have been of hawthorn with elm trees. The hedge was removed leaving a huge elm tree behind to become a casualty of disease.



D15.5 Early Hedges from former Woodlands? Middle Hedges for Leylands and Meads. 1882 Map. Hedge Survey.

Early Hedges from former Woodlands? Middle Hedges for Leyland and Meads.

There is an interesting area in Annismore to the east of the Boddington Way. Before the ditching of the lower land this may have been too wet to cultivate. Most of the land is flat but raised above some channels. A headland south of the elm tree stump stops at the Way. Directly opposite to the east runs a hollow (a) approximately 12' across which runs for about a 100'

eastwards to a junction. This second hollow runs north and south (b) and measures about 10' across with a small bank to the east. The south branch of hollow (b) stopping after 25' when it meets (d). Going back to the first hollow (a) 36' from (b), a 10' wide branch (c) leaves at a rightangle for 25' before turning east again (d). This hollow (d) meets the north south line (b) to enclose a raised flat area approximately 36' x 25.' The southern hollow (d) continues on eastwards, but does not quite reach the deep dykes and hedge between Hale and Annismore. To the south the arable part of Annismore lies on slightly higher ground.

If this is the plain it was bounded on the north by Ewe Furlong, to the east by Hale's realigned ditch and the Way to the west. In this area of Annismore Devotion had a "yerd by lott marked wth two scotches." Could it be that when the deeper dyke was made it left this ditch arrangement redundant? Would they have created a water meadow which then had controlled hollows to drain it off? It bore no resemblance to the Waterings nearer the town which were properly constructed to give an early bite to the grass. Neither did it look right for the site of a moated property being very exposed so far from the town. The drovers who used the Way may have impounded their stock in the tiny 36' x 25' area, or did they have a hut there at a sufficient distance from Banbury market to drive the cattle in the next day?

One piece of land in this area was nicknamed the Penny Plot. It could not be the raised platform for surely this was a round area? In a terrier of 1687 "The sixth p'te of a plott in the plaine in Eastland called Penny Plott. Eastland south the longe furlong in the Plaine North" [BNC: 552]. In 1669 Rede [32] had "one little plaine in Eastlande changeing with george/ devotion every year." Devotion [3] also had "the 7th pte of a plott in East [land] and ye furlong in ye plaine north." If Eastland was south of the Plain, Ewe Furlong was parallel to it.

East of Annismore were two old enclosed pieces of land called Far and Near Hale, which being above the flood area had been anciently ploughed. Later still it became leyland with the old inverted "s" ridges and furrows preserved under the grass. The drainage ditch to the west of Near Hale follows this old curve and separates a small flat area of leyland between Annismore and the Hales which could still be seen surrounded by ditches in the 1980's. An Early hedge to the north of the leyland had an average of seven species and one section contained ash, blackthorn, crab, elm, hawthorn, purging buckthorn, rose and willow (this section has very recently become a casualty to wide machines). The western hedge and straightened ditch has only 4.5 species like many other Middle mead hedges.

Five College Farms.

Terriers for the the five B manor farms reveal the distribution of the husbandman's leyland strips.

Devotion's [3] farmstead had 9a 0r 20p of greensward spread over both the North and the South Fields. If all his leys were behind hedges, he was lucky, or perhaps as the tenant of one of the smaller farms he needed it to survive. There were 3a in West Mead hill and in the North Field three leys in Upper [Over] Horsehill, which may be the only open leyland there, but on the other hand the hedge may have been lost when the railway cut right through leaving two tiny "pikelets" on either side. He had 3.5a in Ewefurlong, the rest in Eastland and the Astmead. His yardland came to 26a 1r 20p including his half acre "coppus" and a grassyard behind the house (p415).

Mansel [35] had two yardlands totalling 71a 1r which had more acres per yardland than Devotion's (p295). The Greensward came to a third, for in the South Field he had 10a 2r and in the North 14a 1r. The North leys were in Over and Nether Horsehill, Common Leys, Ewefurlong and Eastland, all hedged except perhaps Over Horsehill. He was not so fortunate in the South, for three leys were by the track called Belser (Fig.1.5 p19). Mansel had another ley further up Hayway on a sideley in Hillington, but at least it was on the way to his seven leys and three lotted acres in the West Mead. Sometimes leys had to be shared, or just the aftermath, and the tenants must arrange this. Mansel had to share four of his leys. It was obviously not possible to divide up the land without sharing these remnants.

Rede [32] had 41a 1r 20p in 1754 [Valuation Book] on exactly the same strips as the farm had more than a hundred years before. How had his one yardland increased to this size? His greensward was 5a 3r in the South and 9a 3r 20p in the North Fields. In the South three were open to arable, one at Sowcroft next to the Long Causeway, another in Little Belser and one in Hillington sideley. Fortunately he also had five leys and a yerd in West Mead, besides his lotted acre. In the North all were in an enclosed area: two leys at Clattercote Gate, five in the Lower Horsehill and Common Leys area and seven and a half in Ewefurlong, with the rest in Astmead.

Springfield [6] as a larger holding farmed two and a half yardlands made up of 75a 2r in 1754. Briefly they had three lotted acres in West and one in Astmead. In the South Field only the 2a 2r in the West Mead were enclosed all the rest were open: two leys and a yerd in Sowcroft, two leys in Belser, a yerd in the Marshes and a ley in Church furlong. In the North Field the 11a were distributed in Over Horsehill, Ewefurlong, Eastland Playne, and the Playne. In 1754 the farm still had 11a in the North Field at 10s an acre, and 5a in the South at 4s an acre, but in the West Mead 3a of lotted mead had risen to five shillings an acre after they had been revalued.

The B Manor farm [8] had one of the largest herds at one time. We have already seen their meads, but they needed some pasture on their four yardlands. In 1754 their surveyed acres totalled 149a 1r: the greensward in the North came to 14a 2r and in the South 17a, which with the twelve meadow acres came to just under a third of the farm. There were extra acres in the South Field. A plot of common land by Oxhay brook, which had the Cottiers Hill to the east, was made up of twentyone leys and a "hadeley," presumably all in lieu of collecting the B Manor rents and acting as bailiff. The field now measures 12.4 acres with Middle hedges to east and west. The rest of their leys were two in Sowercroft, three yerds shooting into Bourton's Theale, three yerds in Belser, a sideley shooting into Arble, and another in Hillington Goggs next to the Hayway. The last two in West Mead were enclosed. The other ten acres of mead were next to the farmstead and for their own private use. Apart from two leys and two butts in upper Horsehill, they had 5a in Eastland, 1a in Ewefurlong, 5a 3r in Common Leys and Oathill area and 3r in Pleck piece. Pleck was by the Oxhay brook to the north of Moor meadow. The rest in that mead must have belonged to the A Manor.

It would seem from the above B. manor examples that the larger farms did not take all the best leyland as each yardland had a reasonable share of opened and enclosed land.

The leyland near Clattercote boundary was a mile from the town, but with the shape of the parish and the town placed half way between the two areas of Open Common Field, it was easier to have land at a distance for summer hay, than for winter ploughing and hoeing. The only leys near to the farmsteads were on the abandoned arable furlongs in the water logged area around Marsh furlong and Little Belser. Cultivating these clays without extensive drainage might have led to a solid pan of earth below the surface, further increasing the waterlogging. This would have been the first to come out of cultivation when the pressure on land eased. Some of the A manor cottagers had their leys just half a mile from the town in the Oxhay's Honeypleck and Hawtin's Piece on either side of the Oxhay Road (Fig.15.6).

A few A manor tenants' leys were found in a deed of 1681 [4950 Bodleian]. These had been allocated to a group of properties built for craftsmen in the late sixteenth century (p455). Odd inventory references reveal a little extra information. The rest is gleaned from terriers when A manor tenants were named as farming the adjacent strip to a college tenant.

This was most helpful when the strips remained constant to a particular farm. The extra half yardland parcels from the A manor demesne let by the year cannot be checked.

Nehemiah Gardener [39] a later resident at Tanner's (p408) appears in the 1681 deed with one cow common and land attached to the A manor property. A total of 3a 2r of leyland with 5a 2r of arable, one of the largest amounts of land attached to a smallholding, though a few cottagers leased extra half yardland parcels. The holding had land in Elbow Ham (Washlands) along the Clattercote boundary, which Lee exchanged with the College (p219). After it had been joined to the rest of Lee's land he could then let it to his tenants.

The B manor estate had small amounts of land for the copyholders, but far too little to keep their stock on without obtaining commons or land from other tenants, except for the blacksmiths [13], Matcham [18] and Bokingham [55]. The land allocated varied from the smith's six acres with three commons to Lucas's [2] one cow common and an orchard of one rood (Ch.27).

Smaller copyholds were thought to be of little use in encouraging farming enterprises as a second skill, yet many started farming on these small amounts. When John Gardner lived in [19] he had managed to farm some of his aunt's land, and the blacksmith family of Wyatt's rose from one of the three cottages [13] to become husbandmen and finally gentlemen, but many had to remain as butchers, bakers, tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, glaziers or wheelwrights. They were joined by younger brothers of husbandmen when their father apprenticed them to a craft.

The leyland which was so necessary to provide the cows' food throughout the year was not replaced by just the ability to graze a cow with the herd at certain times of the year on communal land. Many of these cottagers would have to find ways and means to supplement their cows' food.

Commons.

The main function of the Oxhay was to provide grazing for the oxen which had been the power source of the parish, but we do not know how long this went on for. The Oxhay was let to the husbandmen once the lord's farm had sufficient for their cattle. What of the cottagers? By law they must allow all tenants' sufficient pasture and grant the cottagers, who had no other land, an area to graze a cow and to collect furze for their fire. The Cottiers Hill, Honeypleck and Hawtin's Piece may all have been part of the Oxhay where the cottagers had rights. The footpath up to the Field End Quarter passed through the Cottier's Hill. All rights of stone, minerals and hunting over the pasture belonged to the landlord or his bailiff. The Oxhay common was not an open heath, free for all to roam in, but for different types of tenants who had specific areas of the common, where they were tenants together (Fig.14.6 p206).

In 1681 a deed showed that the leys made from Hawtins and Honeypleck on which tenants had "a cottage of bushes" or "a lay of furze ground" were for their rights of firebote coming from "all the furzes bushes and thorns from time to time coming grown or arising out of all these leyes." In the 1775 Enclosure Award the commissioners dealing with the enclosure of the Oxhay and the customary rights of firebote state that the

"poor residing within the township of Cropredy... had for some years then last past used and exercised the Liberty of cutting Furze or other fuel growing within and upon a certain piece or parcel of ground called the Common Bush leys being part of a quantity of land and ground called Oxheys... to be spent and consumed by them in the nature of Firebote in their dwelling houses within the Township of Cropredy" [Enclosure Award p18].

It had already been partly enclosed before the late sixteenth century and because the North Oxhay was never ploughed, the hedges would have crept out onto the pasture to be used as firewood before being cut back and laid. The cost of a share of this pasture, which included other rights of grazing on the fallow, was recorded as eight shillings a year to be paid with the rent. Only Cropredy tenants could set stock there and before 1575 each was allowed a cow and a breeder per cottage common. In Claydon a husbandman's yardland was valued at £10 plus £2-8s for four commons per annum. The two horse commons were extra costing 13s-4d, but the sheep commons were of such little value none was given.

In 1575 Wardington and Cropredy decided to change their customs. In the Brasenose muniments room amongst the Cropredy records catalogued by Mr Hurst, is a document he mistakenly dated 1490. Without the work done by Mr Hurst towards making

available the College estate records, it would not have been possible to extract the only available information about the Open Common Fields. His slip of the pen is all too easy to do. The real year was 1590. This can be arrived at by checking the five signatures on the document. We know that Justinian Hunt only farmed from 1588 and that John Russell the blacksmith died in 1601. The other farmers' names appear on two of the vicar's lists of 1578/9 and 1588. The record refers to a change in custom that took place approximately fifteen years before in 1575, at a time when the new A Manor landlord was reorganising his estate. One important point this raises is the fact that Open Common Field farming could be subject to change and improvements. Here they are trying to get a good balance between stock and arable. They must cater for the increase in horse teams by reducing the commons for oxen. Reducing cattle when there was a growing demand for more cheese could only be entertained if by improving the cows' grazing and hay the milk would increase. These milch cows must be better fed on improved pasture, in less crowded conditions, though no longer competing with the working oxen. The horse needed a better diet than oxen to produce the power required. For a long time there had been no waste land to expand into and this meant the tenants must reorganise the allocation of their commons, by reducing the number set aside for cows and allowing enough for the horses. To confuse matters the horse "joined" the cows and they all came under the one heading of "beasts" in the vicar's tithe accounts.

"They saye theire auntient coustome is and time out of mynd of man hath bine to keep 5 bease and 42 sheipe for every yardland and one beast and a breeder for evereye auntient cottage and not above tyed or untyed within the comon about 15 years ago they agreed to diminish one cow for every yardland and the breeder for the cottage to improve the pasturage. The rule has been attended to except by one individual.

signed by Justinian Hunt [16]
Thomas Frenche [4]
John Gybbes [25]
John Russell [13b]
Edward Lumbarde" [14] [B.N.C.Hurst 80].

The settlement of the new rule had been agreed by all but one, and he apparently broke it. His name was tactfully not given. This ruling greatly reduced the Cropredy herd.

They diminished the stocking rights to balance the loss of commons now turned to permanent leys, as well as the small amount of arable allotted to smallholders. Had this been taken from the husbandmen? Devotion's [3] terrier of 1669 mentions a second reduction to three cows per yardland and in 1676 Springfield's [6] terrier confirms this [BNC:552]. Better grazing and careful breeding should produce larger cows who in turn would require more grass. Had the number of cows begun to drop before this, not because they needed less milk, but because their pasture expansion had taken up too much arable? At the same time all over Britain stock was dropping in numbers as other parishes made the adjustment to their stints (limiting their rights of pasture), but by 1700 stock was again rising, except at Cropredy which had still not reached a good balance. Corn became more important than stock yet there was a limit to expansion until they planted roots on the fallow (p308).

How did the cottagers' manage to rear their own heifers to continue their own stock? If they could no longer rear the bull calves, how would they get commons for the heifer? In later centuries some tradesmen had cows on loan, but no evidence has arisen, unless the missing cows in inventories were due to having a loaned cow on their commons? By 1717 the cottagers once again had a "comon of pasture for 1 cow and a bullock called a breeder" [BNC:Court Roll. Hurst 184].

Cottagers used to keep the same line of cows from generation to generation, rearing perhaps a female calf every three years, rather than taking it to market, and selling the rest in the intermediate years. When the cow grew too old then she had to go, but the heifer left at home would be a direct descendant. I was told of one such line of cows existing in a partially Open Field parish until 1995, and indeed watched them returning each night to the cowstall off the common. The grandfather over a hundred years ago brought to his marriage, at the wife's small copyhold farm of thirty acres, a calf and an apple tree [Curtesy of Mrs O. Williams]. This way of renewing your stock is of course within the pocket of the cottager from the smallest cottage with common rights and access to leyland. The cow was the backbone of the town's economy. The B. Manor cottages in Church Lane had cowhouses, but insufficient land, except for Matchams [18]. How would they manage unless some husbandmen allowed them some leyland in return for help, or sublet them an extra common?

Most cows in the town had names and when a cow was looked after in close contact with the family they were well cared for. It was their most valuable possession. Cottage commons belong to Common Rights not the cottage building. The landlord granted the use of the rights to the tenant and that person had the benefit of them, though sometimes they had to sublet their cow commons. The copyholder paid the vicar's tithe not the cottage. In 1775 the cottagers were to lose the remaining cow common and leyland often for an inadequate amount of land, but in most cases on the A manor for none at all. In 1775 the College copyholders were given small parcels of land mainly insufficient to keep a cow though most of the plots were

already enclosed and they had no need to fence them. The Poor were awarded 4a 1r 28p, on a new close called the Poor's Ground, in lieu of their rights of firebote. It was to be leased out at a set rent by the trustees who would then purchase coal from the profits for the town's poor. Although this replaced ancient rights the distribution became a charity with all the stigma attached to handouts. In between the years of 1570 to 1640 covered by this book each tenant would have some access to gather fuel on their part of the Oxhay.

16. The Cattle

Cows.

Once the husbandmen had reasonable access to leys and meads with a reduced herd would they find it sufficient to keep the remainder well fed and still be able to make butter or cheese? Did they sell off the best summer fed calves at market and keep back the less valuable to rear from? Or would they buy in new cows in calf, or already calved and in milk? The Bourton husbandmen kept and reared many of their own calves to yearlings and on to heifers. How many could they support? There is no evidence of the vicar collecting tithes from autumn selling of excess cows, which means each had sufficient feed and accommodation to winter them.

The number of cows once allowed on Cropredy's 56.5 yardlands and the thirtysix "cottages commons" with rights for two beasts gave a town herd of around three hundred and fifty head of cattle. After the new 1575 ruling the herd was down to about two hundred and sixty. From the arable point of view this represented a lot of lost manure. Replacing oxen by horses could have caused a shortage of hay and a need for more commons, as horses had no rights of commonage. In fact horses had few rights being late comers and without customs to deal with them. They had to use beast commons and had been taking over some of the cow stints. The vicar occasionally included horses with the cows to pay their beast tithes, but there is no proof that on other lists the beasts were always cows. Perhaps in that way the oxen's rights were just taken over by the horse. Bourton had also reduced their quota to four cows per yardland. Claydon managed things quite differently. They needed to keep up their cheese production as well as corn and kept three horses, five cows and forty sheep per yardland. In Wardington the husbandmen may have regarded arable as more important than cheese and allowed five horse commons, two breeders in winter and thirty sheep per yardland. Both these parishes had sorted out a horse quota. Only Bourton and Cropredy had solved their rights using the same quota, possibly worked out as they walked away from Saint Mary's church service each week. Needs and solutions varied under similar land conditions. It would be interesting to follow up the milch cows, butter and cheese in Claydon and Wardington. Twenty miles away at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire they also had a mixed pasture area, but with different stints. The husbandmen could keep twelve cows, sixty sheep and three horses on a yardland. The yard land measured 28 acres. Their three Field system had less arable, growing mainly rye and oats [Alcock N.W. *Stoneleigh Villagers 1597-1650* p5/6. University of Warwick: Open Studies 1975].

The vicar uses Lammas day for the collection of money due to him from the town cattle. Lammas day on the old calander was the 1st of August. In 1681 the A. manor's owner Mr Boothby allowed the kyne from Holyrood to Lammas "to goe depasture and feed and to be received and taken in all and every the common fields and comonable places of Cropredy..." Cropredy fallow commons were open from May the 3rd, Holyrood day, until Lammas. Sometimes a testator left a calf as a legacy and mentions Holyrood day as a suitable delivery day so that it could join the herd [E. Lumberd 1558 (pp 175/6)].

The vicar wrote in his personal accounts [c25/2 f8] the names of those he had let his beast commons to at "hollorode " 1615. No other year has been saved to record what he did with them before and after that season. Thomas Holloway was leasing an extra two yardlands with his sons and therefore had eight extra beast commons. He did not always need these and sublet them to some of his fellow townsmen.

The beast commons mentioned by the vicar are definitely not ones belonging to cottagers [c25/3 for 1614]. There were a few cottagers with no common rights and in many households there were extra couples who needed a cow. They could only have one if a farmer could spare a beast common. We know the vicar and Arthur Coldwell [50] did this, but have no idea how many other husbandmen set some of their cow quota. The tithe books for husbandmen cannot help as Cropredy's is missing. Bourton has a milch, sheep and colt tithe book, but can we be sure the vicar collected from the real tenant or the subtenant? Cottagers we know could get extra commons as Palmer [59], who had no yardland, owned five cows at the time of his death in 1631. In the cottagers commons list he had two. The vicar set him one in 1615 and other farmers were allowing him two more which meant the family could follow a trade of butter and cheese making. In the Holloway farm accounts Thomas wrote [c25/2 f8]:

"Beasts comons lett at hollorode/ 1615/

1. In primis Wam Corbett one lett and the money payd on o[u]r lady day _____ xs [35]
& he must pay the herd.
2. Item to charles allen I must pay the herd Recd _____ xs [44]
3. Item to wam shoteswell _____ xs [27]
4. Item to Thomas pallmer he to pay the herd Recd ___ __xs [59]
5. Jho. clyfton to pay the herd _____ [7]

6. Wam lylee to pay the heard Recd then of ... _____xs [29]
Mr hall 2 beass comons he to pay the
herde & the money receved _____xxs."[?29]

Who were these people who needed an extra cow common and where did they live?

Wam Corbett [35] had married in 1610 the youngest daughter of Richard Hentlow from the last farm down Creampot. They lived there with Doretee's brother John (p604). Her father had farmed five yardlands, but now the land was sublet and a few couples were living in the house. While the Corbett's were saving for a lease they had already started their family as two daughters were baptised in Cropredy. They left in 1617, but meanwhile a house cow was essential. Also in the house was Manasses Plivie, an educated man, his wife and first son, and another couple so that there were seven adults and three children to feed.

Charles Allen [44] (p610) had a cottage with haybarn attached and already had a common, but they required another as he began to climb the farming ladder. Their maid, Ann Bostocke was an extra adult to feed, she came to them in 1615 from the vicarage (p88).

William Shotswell [27] (p470) married Annes (born in 1591), the eldest daughter of William Watts the weaver and took up lodgings in his father-in-law's cottage at the corner of Newstreet Lane and Creampot. They married in 1612 and must begin to support themselves by having a cow. Movement up the ladder and down to retirement was very dependent on local opportunities and keeping community assets like cow commons for townsmen only.

Thomas Palmer [59] (p447) could be either from the miller's family, or the labourer's of Hellhole. I think the later to be correct. Thomas married Ellen Mosely in 1584 and they had three sons and two daughters. The eldest appears in the Easter lists. One job he did in 1614 was to collect in the "cotengers tithes" at Lammass time. They needed commons for five cows.

John Clyfton [7] (p495) lived in the shepherd's cottage belonging to the manor farm [8] with his wife Abishag nee Ryuxe whom he married in 1608. A son, Joseph, had just been born and extra money was put towards a cow, but why did he fail to pay the vicar?

This evidence tells us something that few other sources can. The couples in Cropredy (if they were not labourers) did not wait for an empty cottage before marrying, or for their father to die or vacate the property. Married couples under another's roof, or the less well off in a farm cottage, must take every chance to increase their income by having a spare common for the summer. Nuclear families were a luxury Cropredy had no space to indulge. Only severe epidemics had enabled their ancestors to have fewer in the house. Once the population began again to slowly rise then a housing shortage returned. They had to start using the system to gain a foothold on the agricultural ladder to survive and support themselves.

Two of these couples were starting their life together and only the longer married Palmers, Allens and Clyftons had their own place, yet this did not prevent the young couples from starting a family and increasing their meagre income. The sixth man **William Lyllee** [29] was in his seventies sharing the house with a married daughter Elizabeth and her husband John Hall. When he died he still had control over some of his land. It is not sure why he took up this extra common unless his wife had increased her butter or cheese making.

The last two commons were set to **Mr Hall**. Was this John Hall [29] or William Hall [6]? I do not think it was Richard Hall [34] and Wm Hall already had ten cows. Holloway did not add another number in the margin of folio 8 after Lyllee's which could mean Mr Hall lived in the same property and was the son-in-law John Hall (p584).

Why did they all "pay the herd" except Charles Allen? Could Allen acting as a bailiff be collecting the A manor rents for Mr Coldwell and at the same time be making arrangements with the man responsible for the herd? The herdsman was Arthur Evans of Round Bottom [54]. The vicar was collecting 10s per beast common and the subtenant paid the herd's fee. Out of the vicar's 10s the landlord received 8s for rent.

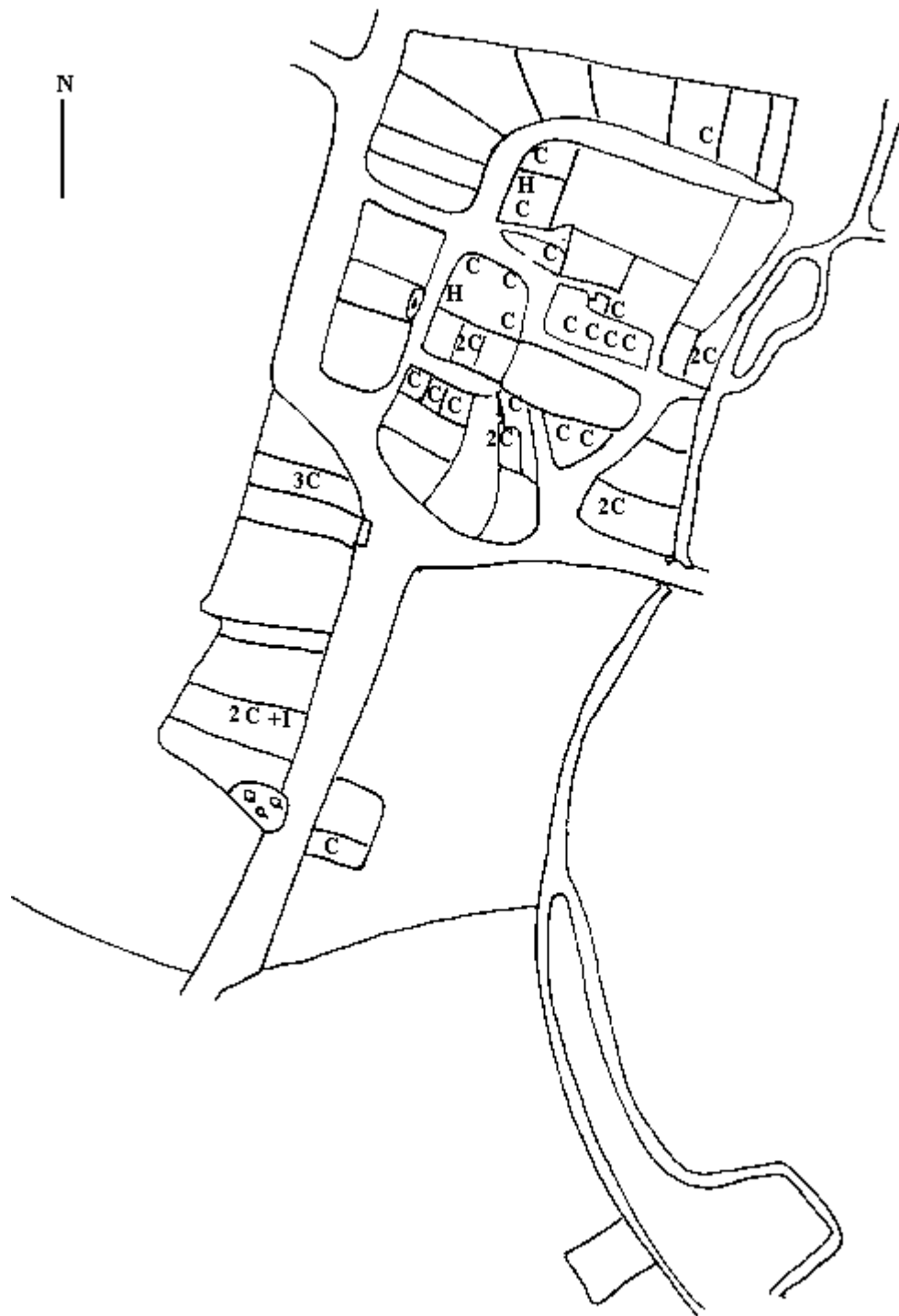
Local information about the land and every householder's rights would be available to all their neighbours and the subject of great interest to every townsman. The distribution of strips, meads and leys down to their common rights were remembered and needed for the making of terriers. From the parish boundary right to the centre, all matters had to be known and any disputes taken to the Manorial Court where fines were paid by those who either neglected their duties, or trespassed on others' land and rights. Tithe payments, mostly resented, were especially known down to the nearest farthing. Many had fantastic memories, but now the school had educated several of the younger parishioners, and a few families were able to reach for a pen if they kept any farm accounts. In the second decade of the seventeenth century the vicar in his late sixties was writing memos to himself, but no wonder when he had not only the Cropredy herd, but the Bourtons, Prescote,

Wardington, Mollington and Claydon's to collect. The Bourton tithe book which has survived shows the enormous amount of detail required to collect small amounts of money [c25/4].

Part of Thomas Holloway's income was derived from titheable stock so he required the details of all market sales brought by his servant, and no doubt discussed the sales with whoever he met. To collect in a few coppers here and a few there (very occasionally paid in silver [c25/7 f20]), Thomas must know exactly the number of each parishioner's titheable stock. From the husbandman's point of view tithes would be seen as a huge drain on his annual turnover for they were taken not from clear profit, but from their total production and so relentlessly the months followed each other setting their individual tasks and payments. Once begun the work could become the man's master and often a cruel one in times of disease in stock or corn.

Cottager's Cows.

D16.1 Cottager's Commons 1614.



Cottager's Commons 1614.

The vicar's collection of "cotengers" tithes is given in full for 1614, and the changes in the amounts paid, or the occupier have been extracted for 1615. The brackets again indicate the position of the cottage in the town [c25/3 f1v, f2, f3v]:

Vicar's No. Cottager:1614Site No.1615

"Cotengers 1614

1. Wam Lucas a cow iijd [2]Jho. Lucas... ijd ob
2. Rychard hunt 2 beast iijjd [5]ijjd ob
and a new mylch cow also mylchTho densy. iijjd
3. Thomas Wyatt 3 cotages viijjd [13]..... iijjd ob
4. Tho matcham -ijjd ob [18]..... ijd
5. Wam bagly - iijd [19]..... ijd
6. Wam Watts - iijd [27].....ijjd ob
7. Jho truss 2 beast one of his [33]
another of Suttons horse vd [42]
8. Vallentyne hucksly -ijjd [36]ijjd
9. Rychard bredens horse [37] Thomasijjd
Vaugham payeth for [23]
10. Tho elderson -iijjd [38].....ijjd
11. edmond Tanner one ofijjd ob
his owne another hyred vd [39]Wam Tusten ijd
12. James ladd -ijjd [40]widow ladd...ijjd
13. christopher pratt -iijjd [41].....ijjd ob
14. Tho feney -ijjd ob [43]
15. Charles allen -ijjd ob [44]jd ob
16. wydow whyte [46] Richarddensy payd for
hunt payd for [5]
17. Rychard Bryan -iijjd [47]ijjd
18. Rychard norman -iijjd [48]ijjd
19. Tho cox [49] feney musthary hill payd

- pay for pyd -ijd ob
20. Rychard cross 2 cotages vd [51]densy payd for
21. edward bokinga. 2iijd
cotages - iijjd [55]
22. Wam carter [57] - Tho Vaghan
is to pay [23]
23. henry hill [58] he payes forijd ob
Wam hills comons vd [20]
24. Jho suffolk -iijd [60] -
25. Thomas pallmer 2iijjd
cotages wch I gave
him for collectinge the
money wch is - vd [59]
26. Thomas Vaghan [23] 2 cotages.....2 cotages vd
of his owne & for Wam
carters pyd - vijd [58].

The cotengers tythes
is vjs vijd" [c25/3 f1v, f2].

On the four years which remain of the vicar's Cropredy tithes cottagers had often to let out their commons and it shows how frequently the right was sublet over the four years [c25/3]. Edmond Tanner [39] had one of his own and another "hyred" in 1614. Did this mean he had hired just the cow common, or the cow as well [f1v]? John Truss [33] had two beasts, one of his own and the other was Thomas Sutton [42] the tailor's horse common. Another year Sutton's daughter Jane has a cow on this horse common. This is one of the examples of a horse and cow common being one and the same. Sutton leased a half yardland parcel and after Jane married William Langley he also leased land and had a horse common. Thomas Vaughan [23], yeoman, had Richard Breendon's [37] horse common and William Carter's [58] cow common as well as two of his own. Richard Hunt [5], a weaver, had his own and Widow Whyte's [46]. An elderly Thomas Cox [49] lets his to Thomas Fenny [43] at the top of Church Street. Henry Hill [58] a butcher who lived next to William Carter the collarmaker had the whitbaker William Hill's [20] cottage common. Thomas Densy the blacksmith [13] had other cottager's commons in 1615. In 1614 Wyatt

showed his future inclination to have more than anyone else, by having three while still just a craftsman, though farming was beginning to dominate his life and he was on a rising spiral, possibly with the blacksmithing and veterinary money helping him buy into leased parcels. In 1615 Wyatt paid 4.5d and in 1616 had "2 new mylch/ one fore vjd deob." [f3v & 5]. In 1617 he had to pay vijd ob [f6v]. Did he have three in 1616 paying 5d for the milking cows and 1.5d for the cow not yet in calf?

The vicar had paid Thomas Palmer to go round and collect these tithes by cancelling his own. Thomas Palmer obviously knew what was due. He followed the vicar's lists which worked round the town on the usual route. The problem of the actual amounts they owed is not always solved on the four lists available. Many paid 3d one year 2d the next which was right, and others paid twopence halfpenny every year. Huxeley paid three years 2d and one 3d. Wyatt's may give the reason, for sometimes a cottager's cow had not had a calf and so remained a foremylch? Or should we take note of Wam Tymes below who had a cow in milk, but no calf? The Bourton cottagers pay 2, 2.5d and 3d per cow in 1614 [c25/4 f5]. Toby Kely (who left the church early p30) paid 5d for two cows on both years while Margery Sabean only paid 2d [f8v]. The explanation may be found in Wam Tymes payments:

"Wam tymes 2 new / mylch beass --vd/
and one cow new mylch / wthowte calfe ijd/[c25/4 f4v].

Was this the answer? A cottager paying an extra halfpenny if the calf survived. Cottagers did not pay a calf tithe of eightpence for every calf born, or a live calf for every ten born. The diminishing of the cottager's breeder meant they could not rear a bull calf, so was the extra halfpenny for a female calf? Was the cottager's tithe for their cow common based on their use of the land, or in lieu of milk?

In Bourton "Edward Shepherd ...fowre new mylch beass ---xd" was a cottager paying 2.5d a beast, but Thomas Gardner, who was a husbandman with two yardlands only paid 2d a beast "Thos gardner"/ [paid for] "8 new mylch beass"[and the vicar adds] "for the/ mylke receved --xvjd" [c25/4 f2v,f8].

The Tithe on Husbandmen's Milch Cows and Calves.

Generally cattle bred for milking or ploughing were tithe free except for the payment of a calf. Cropredy was one of the parishes which ended up owing a milk tithe, but could they have agreed to pay a milch tithe instead as Thos Gardner had [c25/4 f8]? To pay a milk tithe meant taking a tenth of all their milk over the six summer months to the vicar. The three days of milk were payable in Glamorgan on the last Monday in May and the following five months. Or they could choose to take a cheese instead [Emery F.V. *West Glamorgan Farming* 1580-1620].

Whatever the local customs were, they all needed a shelter near the farm close for housing the calves, if they were to survive. Did the vicar still need a tithe for a calf that died after a few weeks?

There is a collection of folios put together for the two Cropredy manor farms, the millers and cottagers cow commons [c25/3], but none like Bouton's which gave such conflicting payments. A few had "2 beass bought iij d" tithe at 2d each and "George Watts viij beass --xvjd" which appeared straight forward. How are we to interpret Henry Hall's of Bourton "xv beass wherof 3 fore mylch/ 4 heifers --- ijs iij d" adding a penny for a colt [c25/4 f3]? There were two possible solutions as to how they arrived at the tithe of 27d:

8 cows at 2.5d....	= 20d	OR...	8 cows at 2d.....	= 16d
4 heifers at 1d.....	= 4d	.....	4 heifers at 2d.....	= 8d
3 fore mylch at 1d=	3d.....	.....	3 foremylch at 1d =	3d
.....				
.....27d.....		.....27d		

Did the vicar receive a tithe of twenty pence for the eight cows? Having the largest farm in Great Bourton the Halls were able to rear their own followers. They had three cows too young to be in calf. If these foremylch were charged at a penny each, and the four heifers who had had no more than one calf were also rated at a penny this brought the total to twentyseven pence. The other solution was to take the older cows and four heifers together as twelve cows rated at twopence each and the three foremylch still at a penny, then the same total is arrived at. Which was right? The second corresponds to more of the payments than the first, but then William Gardner's foremylch cost him 1.5 pence. "Wm gardner 7 [which were] 4 new / 3 foremylch--xijd ob" [c25/4 f12]. Gardner paid 2d for each new cow and the foremylch 1.5 each.

"george hopkins fyve / new mylch wherof one / was bought & one cast /---xjd ob." The dead calf loosing the vicar half a pence [c25/4 f4v]? There must be a missing clue which would clear this little problem up.

The largest Cropredy herd recorded in a May inventory was bound to be on a farm which leased the most yardlands. In 1578 Nuberry left on the 4 yardland Brasenose Manor farm [8]:

"xiv besse yonge and oldxix£ vjs viijd
vijj weanyng calvesij£ xiijs iiijd ...
xj younge besse..... xij£"

Widow Nuberry ran the farm with her son, but after twenty years the son had to leave. The Woodroses arrived in the first decade of the seventeenth century. After a few years Robert and his son split up the land and by 1614 Nicholas paid tithes [c25/3 f1v] (Fig.16.20):

D16.2 Woodrose's [8] Tithes [c25/3 f1v].

The image shows a handwritten manuscript snippet with two entries. The first entry is for 'Mr Woodrose' and the second is for 'Robert Woodrose'. The text is written in a cursive script with some numbers and words. The entries are separated by a horizontal line. The first entry includes the number '12' and the second entry includes the number '2/8'.

Woodroses [8] Tithes[c25/3 f1v].

"It. Mr Nicholas Woodruss
for beast 12-----ijs
he hath 7 calves s[ol]d then
I must have a tyth calf
It. a dovehouse-----xijd
the tyth calfe payd---vs

It. Mr Robert Woodruss
4 new mylch beast-----xd
It. for his garden-----iiijd."

Nicholas had twelve beasts on his three yardlands leaving his father Robert one yardland which could support "4 new mylch beast...xd" [f1v]. In this tithe book from 1614 to 1619 the father and son kept between fourteen and seventeen cows on those four yardlands. Not all their cows had produced their calves by lammas day. In 1616 they had "13 kyne where of six wth calves"[f4v], and that year his father was down to only two "mylch beass" from his allowed four. After each calf was born the vicar was due an eightpenny tithe, but they could refrain from paying until as late as the tenth calf. That calf, worth about 6s-8d, was then delivered to the vicar. Over six years the record shows Nicholas paid four tithe calves, having had forty out of a possible seventytwo calves from his herd of twelve. Robert for some reason never gave the vicar a tithe calf. In 1614 Nicholas sold off seven calves, which meant they were not rearing beef at the expense of cheese making. Why then were so few calves born?

On the A manor Mr Coldwell [50] paid a tithe on twelve beasts. In 1614 the vicar adds "I had a tyth calfe against ester which was abov one [h]e had not reconed" [c25/3 f1v]. Arthur paid a tithe calf every year having had ten calves survive from the twelve cows, a very high rate. In 1615 Thomas Holloway had sold back a tithe calf to Mr Coldwell for 6s-8d, which confirmed he had had ten calves. The vicar realised that Coldwell's farm had rights for more cows having over three yardlands and not wishing to loose any tithe he jotted this down:

"Remember mr coldwell may kepe/ more 3 or 4 beass of wch must pay/ to whom he letteth them at holerode/ day"[c 25/3 f7]. Here is proof of the vicar checking all the commons to see who had them from farmers. It also proves that subtenants must pay tithes.

There were three millers in Holloway's book. Palmer [1] at the Lower Cropredy mill who kept four beasts in 1615 and three in 1616 and Robert Lord [1a] who kept a milch cow on Palmer's land. The last was Mansell at the next mill down river from Palmer's. Some years Mansell had three milch cows at Slat mill and on other years four.

Thomas kept a note in his Bourton book of all the calves born. In 1616 Andrew Hall, who had taken over from his father Henry, paid a tithe calf to Holloway, but apparently "oweth for another when/ yt falleth" [c25/4 f13v]. It was very necessary to know if it had prematurely "cast," died, been purchased with a cow, or a cow bought without the calf and whether a husbandman sold or kept them. William Tymes we already saw had bought a cow "without calfe." Two other examples from Bourton were [c25/4 fols. 5 & 18]:

"Jhon lovell syx new mylch
one fore mylch wherof but
4 calves-----xijd." [He lost one out of five]
"Wyddow townsend viij
new mylch wherof 2
cast & so six calves
waytinge to the next
yere the beass -----xvjd" [She lost two out of eight]

In Bourton Widow Smyth was employing Thomas Tayler. We can follow her entries from 1615 to 1619 as the vicar kept a detailed tithe record for every calf [c25/4]:

[f10v] "wydow Smyth 3 calves /1615
Item 4 in anno 1616/
The tyth w[a]yteth unto ano. 1617."
[f13v] "Memo Thomas Taylor for/

wyddow smyth had in anno/
 1616 before lamas 7 calves/
 & had after lamas 3 calves/
 before the 20 of march &/
 uppon the 20 of march he then/
 payd for the tyth beinge a/
 dri[vi]nge tythe & payd me for/
 a tythe calfe --vjs viijd./
 all wch was before our lady/
 day 1617 so that I must/
 accompt what calves more/
 from the 20 of march he hathe/
 untyll lammas then followinge/
 so forward to a dringe tythe."
 [f16] "wydow smyth one tythe/
 calfe sold --vjs viijd/
 & ods not accompted for."
 [f18] 1617 "wydow smyth fyve new/
 mylch one fore mylch -- xjd ob."
 [f19v] "a tythe calf/ sold -- vjs viijd."
 [f20] "a tythe calf at ten/ sold -- vjs vjd."
 [f21v] 1618 "six new/ mylch, one fore mylch/
 a colte --xviijd."
 [f23v] 1619 "wyddow smyth and Tho tayler/
 syx beass -- xjd [c.o.] (not payd) /
 The calves are syx and/ to another yere."

As every calf was noted it formed a tenth of the "driving tithe." The vicar might be paid his tithe after only seven or eight had been born. Those who took a calf before ten had been born needed some money in return. A calf was presented before witnesses and Thomas wrote down that he had returned the excess amount. "My gyfte of xxd to mr gardner/ were in the

presence of James/ bachler the tyth calfe but eight./1619" [c25/4 f26]. Holloway returned 1s-8d which was 4d too much. Was this the "gyfte"?

Thomas kept an ongoing record of the calves each husbandman owned and drove it forward to the following year as he did with Widow Smyths. Driving tithes were written up in several ways:

"Wyteth unto" [waiting unto the next year],
"There are fyve [or whatever owed] calves on end untyll anno 1617,"
"5 ods" [according to the number over after a tithe calf paid]
"To another yere."

When Thomas wrote down surnames he often used only lower case letters. Not long before Thomas died he wrote down all the Bourton tithe calves he had had for 1619 and noted that Thomas Plant, James bachler, Thomas hytchman, Rychard gardner and Thomas gill had all paid a tithe calf, which he had sold at 6s and 8d each. The driving tythes for 1620 were:

1. Imprimis Thomas Cherrys/---[?] calves
2. wyddow smyth 6 calves
3. wyddow townsend 5 calves
4. george hopkins 5 calves
5. Thomas hall of lyttell borton 6 calves
6. Wam hall had 7 but one of Great roxston/ so 6 calves
7. wyddow watts 5 calves
8. Jhon lovell 7 calves but one dyed/ so 6 calves
9. wyddow gardner 6 calves" [c25/4 f26].

Using the number of calves paid for should give an approximate size of the Bourton herd, though it will not give the cows which lost a calf:

Date	Tithed cows	Calves tithed	from cows
1614	220	12	120
1615	227	15	150
1616	213	9	90
1617	237	22	220
1618	180	19	190
1619	221	10	100
	Total	87	

The total of 87 tithe calves from the 870 calves born must be reduced by an unknown number of calves given early before ten had actually been produced, and some "gift" money paid back. In 1618 more calves were paid for than milch cows tithed. Quite a few died. Other stock to fill the quotas were brought into the parish as milking cows without their calf, which had been sold on separately. In 1619 Thomas Holloway summed up his yearly profits from beast and calves, not including the tithes given as money, for Bourton as "calves 15 - xljs viijd" [c25/4 f25v], which is irritatingly five more than listed. Using the number of yardlands multiplied by four gave around 240 cows, which was not reached on any of the years according to the vicar's paid up tithes. Was this the same at Cropredy? We know that Lucas [2] had cows in Wroxton and had to pay a tithe to the vicar of that parish.

The vicar had to sell most of the calves to give him an income, but a few he "kylled in my house." He wrote "I dyd spent yt in house," or "wch I kylled against myd lent Sunday" on the 28th of March 1617. "Kyled in my house/ one whytsen eve." Several he sold back, or locally to Harry Hill [58] the butcher (p475). Who else ate veal?

The farmers sometimes went to pay tithes with a neighbour to act as witness. Others like George Hopkins of Bourton sent his wife and servant Anne Tomkins. The vicar gave Mrs Hopkins 4d and Anne 1d (p85). Was this good luck money or a portion of the money he saved sending a calf to market, whenever he was paid in cash?

Only a few paid tithes on store cattle. Marie Fox of Bourton paid 1.5d in 1617 for one [c25/4 f18]. It would seem the cow commons were kept mainly for the milch cow. Nuberry had bullocks [8] and Hunts [16] had a bullock shed and stored sides of beef in the house. The parish bulls were practically invisible in the records. In Bourton they mention: Thomas Gardner of Little Bourton "he had bull" [c25/4 f5v] and Thomas Smyth of Bourton had "viiij bease wth A Breeder --xviiij£" in 1612 [MS. Will Pec. 51/1/2]. Bulls escaped the payment of a tithe. Would they belong to the whole of the town and graze the aftermath on the Bullmore a meadow which bordered on the Hentlowe's farm [35]. Who other than "Evan's the herd" would be responsible for changing the bulls? Vaughan had a small bull calf and Woodrose's [8] in 1628 had two bulls. At the end of the sixteenth century beef began to increase in price until it was more profitable than hides.

Those without Cows?

In ninety Cropredy inventories only sixtytwo mention cows, though some of the elderly who had given up their cow had kept an interest in sheep or poultry. The twentyeight included ten widows, a spinster, a retired gentleman, yeoman and husbandman, a shepherd still a servant, a student, two labourers, another old servant, and three artisans who left no record of their particular craft. Other craftsmen who are entered as paying cow common tithes to Thomas Holloway had ceased to own a cow. They were two collarmakers, a weaver and a baker. Rawlins may have turned the cowshed into his workshop [45]. Many bachelors had not reached the cow ownership stage, and those who had retired or reduced their assets made up the rest of the cowless inventories. This did not mean they necessarily lived in a household which had no cow, just that some other member of the family had the rights of commonage. Taking care of a house cow is work for a reasonably fit person [woman] who can get out and about seven days of the week, unless they can afford to delegate the task to a younger member of the household. In their lifetime almost every child, servant and married couple had contact with cows. On settling into a farm or cottage where they were allowed common rights they continued that close contact until they decided to allow the next generation to have the common rights and that person had to have their name on the copyhold, unless they sublet for money and lost the milk, butter or cheese. Some could never let go, old William Lyllee [29] kept on one cow and even took on a second in 1615 (p229).

After the heriot was catered for the testator had to distribute the rest, either to his wife, son or daughter. Those children who had stock out on trust could add to them as the Howse's [28] son and daughter would have done on their widowed mother's land. What Rychard Howse left to his son Rechard in 1550 has already been quoted on (p71). His daughter Margaret was to have "another cowe to make with them she already hath in kyne and syxe shepe or their wooll to make with them that she

hath halfe a score... off shepe to be delyvered at Martymasse next comynge..." with many other household items. He left them in trust as part of her future dowry. All this widow Ayllys must attend to. Rechard and Margaret would, like so many other husbandmen's children, arrive at marriage complete with cows. Unless the father died before their childrens marriage the cows would have been given up to the son or daughter long before any will was made. George Watts of Bourton left a cow or 40s to his two youngest at twelve years. Their day would begin with the women and other children outside in the cowhouse or close, milking the cow or herd.

To leave two cows as one man did in 1595, or else £2 each to buy a cow, was a substantial legacy. Toms and Lyllee still kept a cow although elderly. Lyllee living for some years after making a will had to add a codicil to make sure his son-in-law John Lucas [2] had the black cow. Toms [15] left his cow to his daughter Isabell. Lucas, the carpenter, left two cows at Wroxton and one at home (p239). In his will Truss the bachelor shepherd left cows to his brother-in-law William Tustin whose wife had no doubt been attending to their needs, and two to his sister Ellen Bagley who began her married life in Church Lane [19]. Palmer's [59] cows were part of the family business and he left a cow to sister Ann and one to aunt Marian.

Herdsmen.

Walter Rose, in his book *The Village Carpenter*, wrote that before the enclosures "the cows grazed with the common herd, and my father's earliest remembrance is of opening the gate for them on their return at the close of day" [Cambridge Univ. Press].

The cows returned home to be tethered in the cowhouse or hovel each evening, where they were to be milked for the second time. The herdsman, at one time Arthur Evans, having tended them during the day, on the various fallow or communal pasture areas. Fresh fallow land was free from dangerous parasites after a years rest under corn. There was also a variety of plants supplying the cows needs as long as they were not over stocking. Over two hundred and fifty could have been returning to the town along Backside. The milch cows for the five farms with an entrance onto Backside had never had a problem of easily finding their gate. These belonged to Cattells [30], Lyllees [29], Howses [28], Robins [26] and Gybbs [25] (chs. 35 & 34). The A. manor's herd coming with the rest of Creampots, so that at least fortyeight would leave Backside to go along Newstreet Lane to the top of Creampot. Coldwell's [50] might then separate off and go straight ahead towards Allen's [44] to enter the farm yard. There were around thirtytwo belonging to Lumberd, Toms and Hunt [14-16] for the three farms around the Green (ch.32). The thirty or so for Church Lane which included the vicar's and the four cottager's cows must leave the

Green past Hunt's [16] (ch.33). There were still a further eighty or more to pass down the Long Causeway (ch.31). These might use the back path to Bourton, turning off to their closes or down Belser, to save fouling "The Town of Cropredy."

The lanes after all this traffic would grow more desperate daily, until whoever was responsible took his turn to get them scraped. Anyone who has used a narrow rough lane without cattle knows the weather causes enough problems, but these are rendered almost impassable when only fifty head of cattle pass daily along it. Soon the six inch mire increases to nine or ten and even a mild storm makes it hard to get through without struggling and splashing along. Cropredy's verges away from the town were wide long before the Parliamentary Enclosures stipulated wide roads, for they had Middle hedges (p18). Width was very necessary to spread the damage and allow the carts a choice of surfaces.

The herdsman would charge for the branding of the cows. Evan's next door neighbour, the cottager Edward Bokingham, kept a brandiron in the bolting house [55], or was this part of his cooking equipment? Those cows which were well known to their owners acquired names, and most oxen had them, like horses. In his will of 1609 John Cleredge of Great Bourton gave the names of his cows: Browning, Backe, One Eye, Darby and Young Buck. He had another in Woodford which had no name and was a "black hereford cow". Did he mean a heifer, or was this really a Hereford? He described his last one as "a starred herfar," which could mean the white face of a Hereford cow, so perhaps it was not a slip. Seven years before they had had another red "starred" cow. There were many others who named their stock. Vaghan [23] in 1599 left "my black cow which I call Rose" to Ann his wife. Named or not they must all bear the owner's mark.

It would seem that most were black or red. In 1579 Robins [26] had one red calf and one black cow. In 1627 Edward Shepherd of Bourton had a "black cow I bought at Hanwell" and a red heifer. Palmer [59], who collected the "cotengers" tithes, had in 1634 a black cow which "I bought of Truss" [33], he also had two others and a calf, not distinguished by colour. In the cottager's tithe lists Lucas [2] had kept one cow in Cropredy. His wife's father William Lyllee [29] left him a black cow in 1623. In 1640 he left to his own son William two cows he had in Wroxton "the one a whipp sawe/ and the other a temarto sawe" (So far no explanation has been found for a whipp sawe and a temarto sawe. A sawe is a saying and a temarto sawe could be a pseudo saying, but what has this to do with his cows?). The carpenter still had one in Cropredy which his wife would need. Only Rede [32] calls his heifer brown in 1609.

Toms [15] who wrote his will in 1607 mentioned "the marked cow I bought at Daventry." If not bought in Cropredy, or a nearby parish, sales were conducted at markets, so that most cows came into the town via a fair or local market. One or two

were paid for by a legacy which had to be put forth to increase on Hollerood day. A cautious testator would leave £2 for a cow to be purchased, in case there were not enough cows left after the heriot was paid to the landlord.

Markets and Dealers.

The cattle markets mentioned were held at Banbury four miles away, Southam ten to the north, Warwick seventeen to the west and Bicester seventeen to the south. Daventry thirteen miles to the north east was more for sheep, though Toms mentions his purchase of a cow there. The vicar used the services of John Cleredge's son Christopher. Of the two Cleredge brothers, Richard and Christopher, one lived in their father's old house and the other next door. This we know from the vicar's Easter lists. John whose father had had a copyhold until 1552 from the bishop obtained land in 1576 which was once part of the episcopal estate and Christopher in 1612 had a moiety from Cope's of Hanwell [VCH p178]. Christopher had a maid for four out of the eight years and Richard had a maid on three of these years, so they were not poor. They had also received an education at Williamsote school along with many others. "Christopher clerydge wyndere," wrote the vicar [c25/4 f15], for he served as the wool winder (p263), and also took Thomas Holloway's lambs and cattle to market as a dealer, or by contract. The vicar allowing between one and two shillings for the journey. Gentlemen used dealers, but husbandmen would be loathe to spend the profit on paying the dealers expenses, though many had no alternative.

"The 20 lambs sold by christopher
*cleredge to andrew hall [of Gt. Bourton]
clerydge payd for the 2 tythe
in respect of his ryding to
warwyck to Buy my beass
but -----iiijjs
memo he oweth me for 20 cows
sold as also to my selfe
xij sherroggs not pyd"..... [c25/4 f10].

Was Christopher owing Holloway a tithe for twenty cows from the parish which had been sold, or had there been twenty cows belonging to the vicar which he had driven to market and sold? A drover was one of the most trusted men so he had to have a good reputation.

There was a network of drovers roads and green lanes. The Boddington Way was used to connect Cropredy with the Welsh Road. It passed out of Ewe Furlong over Bootham bridge into Clattercote's green lane and on through Claydon to meet the

Welsh Road at Appletree. Turning west they could reach the market of Southam which was on the Welsh Road. In wetter weather they might take the higher ridge road. To reach Daventry the Cropredy cattle went via Williamscothe to the Banbury Lane and on through Wardington, again meeting the Welsh Road. Or they could go southwards to Banbury market.

Value.

It is difficult to obtain the value of a good cow. Not all assessors could give similar prices, even in the same year. Nothing is known about the cows condition or age. In spite of this examples have been taken from some of the sixtytwo inventories and Russell's will, which mentions the sale of two beasts Denzie sold for four pounds and odd money:

Month	Name	Site	Stock in Inventory	Value
2/1577	Rede	[32]	One herford and yerlynge calfe	£2-3s-0d
5/1578	Wd Howse	[9]	ij kyne	£7
2/1578	Robins	[26]	ij beasts i heyffer ij	
			...yearlynge calves	£4
11/1583	Wallsall	[13]	a cow	£1-3s-4d
10/1587	Hunt	[16]	xij beests yonge and oulde	£14
			...ij wenyng calves	£1-6s-8d
9/1592	Howse	[28]	vij beases	£9
11/1592	Kynd	[31]	an old cow ij small heikefed	£3-?
			...ij weaning calves	.....12s
3/1593	Wd Devotion	[3]	a cow	£1-10s
3/1599	Vaghan	[23]	ij bease a small bull	
			...& j wayning calfe	£5
..1600	Russell	[13]	two bease [will]	£4+
2/1601	R.Howse	[24]	three bease	£3

			...an yearling calfe	.....10s
10/1602	Palmer	[1]	ij bease	£4
8/1602	Watts	[34]	eight bease & iij calves	£11
12/1603	Robins	[26]	x Bease one yearling (+stalls)	£15
4/1609	Hunt	[16]	seven Beasse two yearlinge	
			...calves & a weanning Calfe	£20
5/1609	Wd Howse	[28]	six Beast	£12
9/1609	Pratt	[24]	four beast & one heighfer	£7..?
			...twoe calves	£1-10s
12/1614	Cross	[51]	one cow	.....10s
			...ij breeders	£1-6s-8d
2/1616	French	[4]	2 Beast & a Caulfe	£5
3/1616	Watts	[27]	one cove & a calfe	£3
8/1623	Lyllee	[29]	two beasts	£4-4s
9/1624	Wood	[56]	one Cowe	.....10s
5/1628	Woodrose	[8]	tenn Cowes two bulls and	
			...three yeare old heyfers	£27-13s-4d
10/1628	Suffolk	[60]	two heifers & steare	£3
5/1629	Gibbs	[25]	six Cowes & two heyfers	£18
3/1631	Lumberd	[14]	5: beast	£15-3s-4d
5/1631	Devotion	[3]	fower bease & a heaifer	£7
6/1631	Robins	[26]	13 cowes & heyfers & 2 calves	£40
4/1632	French	[4]	7 beastes 1 heifer 2 calves	£18-10s
2/1634	Truss	[33]	two beasts one heifer & two	

			...yearlinge Calves	£10
3/1634	Hall	[34]	8 coves 2 heifers & 4 calves	£24-6s-8d
3/1634	Norman	[48]	one Cowe	£2-6s-8d
10/1634	Wd Devotion	[3]	too beasse	£6
2/1635	Cattell	[30]	three lithel Cowes and a hefer	£6-6s-8d
4/1635	Wyatt	[31]	three beasts	£8
12/1640	Lucas	[2]	one Cowe	£3-6s-8d
3/1641	S.Howse	[9]	fower beasts & a Calf	£14-13-4d

Gibbs, Robins, Hall and Howse had seen a great increase in the value of their stock, for prices had been rising steadily since the mid-sixteenth century. Hunt in 1587 had sixteen head of cattle worth £15-6s-8d. Robins in 1631 had fifteen head of stock worth £40. Both these farmers would appear to have prospered in their generation through their farming. In 1631 we can compare Lumberds five cows which were twice the value of Thomas Devotions. Thomas's cows had not risen in value since his mother's prize cow in 1593 was worth 30s, but widow Em's had doubled and were surely in calf in October 1634? One of miller Cross's was worth only 10s. He also had two breeders worth 13s-4d. In the summer of 1632 the profit from Widow Jone Taylor's cow was only 13s-4d according to her Coton inventory [M.S.Wills Pec.52/4/10]. It is unfortunate that we have no details of individual cows. At Kibworth Dr Howell found that a good cow could be worth 20s in 1550, in 1600 about 40s and by 1630 about 50s [Howell C. *Land, Family and Inheritance in Transition* p 112. 1983 Camb.Univ. P.].

With four cows allowed for every yardland the testators total stock gave some indication of the amount of land they were leasing when they died. On the other hand the amount of land could also point to the number of stalls the homestall required for winter housing.

Cowpens and Cowhouses.

The climate in the Midlands always meant some winter protection for the stock had to be provided, either in an open cowpen or a closed cowshed. Around the cowpen they had open hovels whose wooden "scaffolds" were really loft floors. A thatch was sometimes made of haulm or straw for use late in the winter. Furze and wood intended for other uses the following summer

when the stock were out on the fallow was often used as roofing on a hovel. Cow pens for winter keeping of stock must go back a long way. The yards were high banked and planted around with a hedge or fence on top. A wooden stockade was often called a "hedge" so that when Denzie of Bourton left "a cowpen hedge" they may have been referring to a wooden fence, or else it could already have been planted with hawthorns to save renewing the more expensive wooden fence. In the same year Thomas Plant, yeoman of Bourton, had an upper yard, a nether yard as well as a cowpen with a hovel and a cowhouse with a scaffold over [MSS Wills Pec. 36/3/5 & 48/1/10]. In Cropredy John Hunt's [16] appraisers found in 1587:

"two huffevells in the cowpene
with fures halme & wood/_____ iij£ vjs viiijd
an hovell in the Back yarde
Bordes sawed & a carte Bodye a payre of muckcart drawgs/
plowe timber & carte timber a scaffold over the stalls & a/
hovell in the Courte.... _____ iv£
a scaffold over the coults house & the scaffold over
the bullock house _____ vjs viiijd."

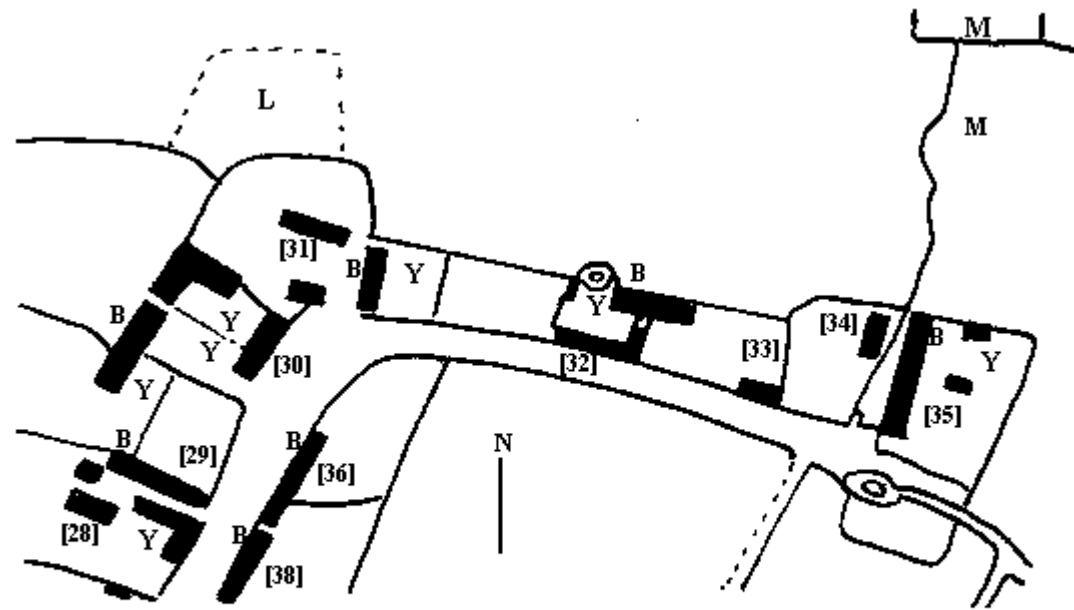
In April of 1609 his son Justinian Hunt left the same cowpen:

"One hovel wth hallme in the inward Court_____ xxvjs viijd
A hovel wth halme in the Cowpen wth standers
ffor beasse and flockes _____ xls
A second hovell In the cowpen wth wood and flaggetts
upon yt _____ xxxs iijd
In the Rickyard A worke hovell wth a garner there/
Standing wth working tooles and plough timber/
And divers other goods- _____ v£
A second longe hovell wth wood hey corne Barleye
And Pease upon yt _____ v£.."

This appeared to be a very full site. The household needs were catered for as well as the stock. The barn having an "Inward Court" behind and the kitchen a backyard with a "Dea house" and kiln (Fig.32.3 p543).

The house survey tried to discover the position of the farm yards, using maps for the redeveloped sites. Cattell's [30] was still there to the west of the house in 1973 and Lyllee's [29] next door must originally have used the middle portion of the close to pen their cows, to the north of their house. Howses [28] site had a farmyard at the Creampot Lane end of the close in 1774. The Robins [26] and Gybbes [25] found ample room to the west of their farmhouses. Huxeley [36] with his long-houses could keep the cows they needed in one bay of the barn [36], and use the grass yard to the rear as a winter pen when necessary. To the west of Howse's farm [9] there is the shape of a building shown on the Enclosure map. There was a track between Solomon Howse's farm and the one to the north [12] connecting their farmyards to the South Field. This was mentioned when the Howse's had added a northern wing right up to this access on the boundary (p527). The manor farm [8] opposite had a cattle pen to the west of the house and so did Springfield [6] across the Long Causeway. On the college map [Clennell B 14. 1/29b] the yards are marked with a cross, perhaps representing a central drainage hole leading to a cess pit? Devotion's [3] is shown on Fig 26.9 p 419. The rest of the farms with their farmyards are looked at in more detail in Part 4.

In the oldest closes they had more room for a cowpen, but they still built a cowhouse for milking and housing cows inside for part of the winter. There seems adequate provision for most which may have avoided the raw job of milking outside for the wife or milk maid. The only doubtful ones are those in Church Lane, but as they had only a small close it was even more essential to provide sheltered accommodation. Richard Howse [24] had required a cowhouse for five beasts plus calves before he died, but when he had five yardlands how had he housed them on his small site?



D163 Creampot Lane Farmyards.

Reconstruction from BNC.29A.

L = Leyland M = Mead
 B = Barn Y = Yard

Creampot Lane Farmyards.

The stone cowhouse might be built separately, or they used one of the bays in the barn. Over this hay was stored, and some would surely leave out a section of the board floor to allow hay to be pushed down into the manger below. Gybbs [25] cowhouse had "one scaffold one fleake cowe stall," and in Robins [26] cowhouse there were ten "Bease one yearling & bease stalls." Alese Howse [28] had "the scaffold over the beaste and the horse with Rackes, maungers and beastes stall," and Kynd [31] had a cowhouse before 1592. Bokingham's [55] cowhouse, which had one standing, was attached to the four bay barn.

Not all cowhouses were light airy places for the lofts were low and few had wind holes, only some had muck holes to throw out the manure from time to time. If the door was of the stable type, the upper half could be kept back, otherwise the air was

exchanged only on the lifting of the wooden latch. Inside the new stone cowhouses the stalls were built to accommodate much slimmer cows than the modern beasts:

- Cowstalls in late medieval times were 2 foot 3 inches apart.
- By 1734 they needed stalls to be 2 foot 6 inches apart.
- By the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the stalls were 3 foot wide.
- [Dr E.William *Traditional Farm Buildings* p179].

The B manor terriers mention cowhouses. Devotions [3] was at the north end of his long building. The high hay door in the north gable being easily reached from the cart so that the hay could be forked into the one bay loft over the cowstalls. In a fifteen and a half foot wide building there was room for five stalls. This was more than he needed and one end would be reserved as a loose box for calves. Springfield [6] had a separate stone and thatched cowhouse of about four bays. Here was room for cows and fodder. The Manor farm [8] had a cowhouse of three bays, also stone walled and thatched, which was situated on the yards north wall fairly near the house allowing drainage into the close behind and on down to the moat below. At Hentlows farm [35] they had only a one bay cow house which was insufficient when he had five yardlands. A hundred years later it was included in their seven bays with the stables, carthouse and pigsties. Rede's terrier taken in 1669 for his farm further up Creampot Lane [32] also had a one bay cowhouse amongst eight bays of buildings. In 1588 that farm was renting two and three quarter yardlands with commons for eleven cows, which could not possibly fit in this one bay. They must have erected a wooden hovel or leased some buildings elsewhere in Cropredy. By 1669 the farm had only one College yardland which went with the site, and no extras, so that their four cows were adequately housed in the small cowhouse. This brings us to the point that from one year to another the farmers' needs could change. The household would grow and then diminish. The parcels of land which went with the holding stayed the same and so did their landlord's buildings. To feed the increased household more land would hopefully become vacant for them to pay the entry fine on and lease until they no longer required it, or the lease ran out. It was expensive to erect temporary buildings, but essential to accommodate stock in the winter, so making wooden hovels with temporary rooves in the cowpen was one solution. Land that was leased could be given up, without too much loss, whereas freehold land could not.

"Soile... Muck."

"With thy servant compound / to carry thy muck-hilles on they barley ground/ One aker wel compast is worth akers three/ at harvest thy barne shall declare it to thee" [Tusser].

How would they cope with a reduction in the manure? The old balance was greatly altered by increasing leyland and decreasing the arable. The greensward was a permanent feature, not taken out for a few years, but put behind hedges where possible. Yet such grass too needed manure, which could only be supplied by the sheep following the cows. The farmyard manure being saved largely for the barley with a little over for the wheat.

On one yardland the four cows and a pair of horses wintered in a strawed building, or yard with a hovel, were going to have to produce enough manure for nine acres of barley and three of wheat (p305). To produce manure equalling at least three quarters the weight of their feed, four cows needed 15 to 20 lbs of hay, or 20 lbs of mixed barley straw and peas haulm a day. This might produce just under four tons of manure over eight months. From one pair of horses it might be expected that they would produce nearly six tons between them. To this was added the household soils, pig's waste, the old thatch, the wood ashes and food waste. At a very rough estimate there may be only nine plus tons to go out on the nine barley acres and one for the wheat, relying on the residue from the pea roots and sheep to complete the manuring of the land.

There was obviously never enough manure and the winter stock pile was carefully collected from the cowshed and the larger cowpens. The Hunt's well strawed yard was surely the best way for them to collect this manure which the whole family must help to load up into a muck cart. For barley this needed to be done at the end of winter before ploughing the land. The manure was taken to each strip in turn and the fact that the lands were in different parts of the parish was not such a disadvantage when there was no need to split a load between strips. Once on the field the dung was deposited in small heaps five or six paces apart so that they could be spread. Again the women helped if there were not enough men. Smallholdings used all the family. Any muck for the wheat went on in October. The time taken up by the carts travelling to outlying lands was the same for most tenants.

There were muck, or dung carts as some called them at Hanwells [34], Kynds [31], Palmers [1], Howse [28], Devotion [3] and French [4]. There were others, but they did not specify the types of cart the family owned (ch.22). For those who had no muckcart two pannier baskets on the back of a beast would have to be used, or else it was possible to drag it all out on a one horse "sled."

The "muck" or "soile" somehow escaped the appraisers notice before 1628. Why did it suddenly become acceptable to mention it? The first time in Puritan Banbury was in June 1640. When an inventory was taken after the time the dung heap had been transferred to the Open Common Field there was obviously little to be found in the yard, but the value of the prepared strip of

land would rise: Hall's [35] inventory was in March, Gybbs and Woodrose in May and Tanner's in September all from the summer period. Suffolk [60] had the household and stable midden valued at 5s in October meaning there were ten loads ready to go on the land at 6d a load. Often the valuable "soils" were in danger of being rain washed down the town ditches to the meadows beyond, unless they had started to collect the effluent in a pit?

The sheep grazing would be carefully monitored to see fair play as they worked across the fallow field. Sheep were there of course not only to control the weeds before they seeded, but to add their essential manure. They also trod and firmed the earth sometimes poached by heavy harvest carts. In some parishes sheep were allowed to graze only on the fallow before it was planted with spring peas and followed by wheat.

The first mention of lime did not occur in Cropredy until October 1670 [c25 f4v]. They must surely have used it before this as other parts of Britain had already proved the value of lime. Merrick noted that by 1578 Glamorganshire had "of late yeares, since the knowledge of lyminge was found, there groweth more plentye of grayne." On Gower limestone had been quarried from outcrops of limestone and cliffs as early as the 1550's and sent by boat from Port Eynon and other bays to north Devon. The limestone was burnt in "a kill-place." [Penrice Estate M.S. 6527. Emery F.V. "West Glamorgan Farming c1580-1620." *The National Library of Wales Journal* p399]. Once ready the lime was mixed with earth to form a marl and spread on the land. All over Britain where lime was used they built their own kilns. Like malt kilns in Cropredy they were all called "kills" [It was not only lime that went in boats. On the return journey many Devonshire people came over to south Wales to live, bringing with them the sixteenth century agricultural words, many of which are used in connection with the Open Field system still being used in Rhossili. It is one way that explanations for strange words in the Cropredy inventories can be found. Local information from other parishes can be very useful, even at this distance].

Scaffolds and Hovels.

A scaffold is a wooden frame for a platform, standing upon either staddle stones to form a rick, or over stalls to form the loft. The boards making the loft, or rick base were not necessarily solid, or fixed down like a permanent floor. In 1578 one scaffold was worth 6s [8]. Eight "bords" valued at 5s -3d may have formed another loft floor. Throughout the inventories scaffolds appear in outbuildings put there by the tenant and therefore must feature in the list of moveable possessions. We saw above John Hunt had them over each of his stock houses (p314). Other husbandmen naturally did the same. Kynd's [31], Vaughan [23], Toms [15], and Truss [33] had all improved their stables by adding these boards to form lofts. Truss's [33] in 1614 had

one over the beasts which was worth 10s. Howse [9] had cow standards and nine boards, but we will never know if they formed a loft or not.

"They shaffouldes over the carte howse boardes/ and rafters ...xxxs" This was noted by the neighbours at the late Thomas Smyth of Bourton in 1612. Thomas Wallis of Bourton had a scribe write in his will of 1614: "The hovell which standeth on the stones"[M.S.Wills Pec. 51/1/2 & 54/1/48]. Before 1600 the word "hovell" appears to include the wooden building as well as the lofts. Robins [26] having "v hovells with holme and straw upon them" worth £4. The "hovell" having been built by Robins (as the tenant) and not just the scaffold inside.

Rickyards.

The most convenient rickyards were made behind the barn, but also near to the cowpen and stable. Rede's [32] could only be placed to the west of the yard away from the buildings, according to their 1669 terrier [BNC:552], due to the shape of the site (Fig.36.3 p602). Nuberry and Woodrose [8] who farmed the B manor farm, and should have had one of the better laid out farms, had the rickyard behind the barn to the south. This was probably surrounded by elms on at least three sides and especially along the west hedge by the Long Causeway ditch. Rickyards if possible were on land higher than the barn which made it easier to take the corn inside to be threshed. On this site they also had to take into consideration that it must be well above the meadows which were subject to floods. Nuberry's stables had ready access to the hay ricks through a small passage between the barn gable and the stable, but for the cowsheds away in the other yard (Fig.31.3 p512) near the dairy, it was inconveniently far away. They could have reserved one of the barn bays for the milking and feeding, but this would give the dairy maid a difficult journey across the cobbled yard to the courtyard and on into the dairy carrying her full pails. Easy working of the yards and buildings was not altogether possible with piecemeal improvements.

Rickyards were a late development and may have arrived in Cropredy with the need to stack the peas in ricks. Any extra hay produced by the newly enclosed leys could also be made into ricks. Rickyards had to be in a separate area, but near the barns and with more luck than management near the beast stalls. Apparently in some areas ricks were a later nineteenth century invention, but Oxfordshire had them in the sixteenth century.

Peas were nearly always in ricks, and widow Gybbs had "A Rycke of pese" in 1577 which was worth £2 in January, while waiting to be threshed. When Widow Robins [26] in 1577 mentions "i hovell & ij old stackes vs.. a litle skaffold" she too had a

rick. Before 1609 Justinian Hunt's barn space became inadequate after leasing extra land so he had corn on his second long hovel's scaffold keeping the crop as safe as possible from rats. The scaffold would be supported by the staddle stones underneath. Because a staddle stone is shaped like a mushroom it prevents the vermin from passing from the stem to the overhanging top stone which in turn was supporting the scaffold frame. Being raised from the ground also helped the air to circulate beneath the rick and prevent the rising damp from spoiling the stack. Pigs and hens would no doubt shelter and forage beneath if not kept out. Cropredy rickyards were nearly all screened from the wind by elm trees and perhaps the barn on one side. The three Church Lane farms [21,23,24] had elm trees along the north boundary next to the Suttons [42] and Fenny [43] copyholds.

Within recent times Sussex made round wheat ricks. They measured twentyone feet in diameter and were made up of twenty cart loads. An oblong oat rick measuring twentyfour feet by fifteen and took twenty loads to build [Bob Copper *A Song for Every Season* 1956 p148]. A Cropredy [26] wheat rick in 1720 was valued at £26 -13s or 150 bushels [MS. Wills Pec.33/5/25].

One very good reason for building hay ricks was the danger of fire, for if it was inside under the thatched barn without sufficient ventilation, it could overheat and ignite. A damp summer and the impossibility of drying the hay properly before it had to come off the meadow which was required for grazing, meant it was safer in small thatched ricks outside. It had to be thatched, but once protected would not heat up so rapidly and be prone to spoiling mildews as in would in a closed loft. No stock will eat bad hay.

A good cow was not giving much more than a gallon per day. A few, as the seventeenth century progressed, might produce a little more. Their feed of straw, pea haulme and hay for the six or more winter months came from the products of two acres [Thirsk J. ed. *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England and Wales. 1500-1906.* 1967. Cambridge University Press]. Devotion [3] had straw from 2a of wheat, 6a of barley and 3r of oats. There was also 6r of peas haulm as well as hay and pasturing from 10a of leys and mead (p299). They had no alternative but to make this stretch to feed and bed four cows and two horses.

Houses were built, or adapted, with the products of the cow in mind, so the barn and rickyard to hold their feed was very important. The husbandmen's cheese chambers and dairies are mentioned on (pp 660-4) with a diagram to show the houses

where butter and cheese equipment were found, but only those whose inventories were exhibited in Cropredy and have survived (Fig. 40.1 p662].

D164 "Lamas Tythes"
for Beasts 1618
[c25/4 f21v].

Lamas Tythes for
Beasts 1618
Wann full of bray of
a tyff with all erpe
of your 3 murely
pda a
pwydow water of
thy log beap of
tyffed shoy of 2 men
thy log and a fufed byt
- Chmas molo 3 more molo
Gru rolte (3) p p p p p
Wydow p molo p molo
molo p molo p molo
a rolte of p molo
Chmas p molo of molo
molo and few of p p
p p of molo a rolte p p
Wann p molo 2 men p

"Lamas Tythes" for Beasts 1618 [c25/4 f21v].

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17. Horses

Documentary evidence for horses like other stock cannot be calculated from inventories alone. When compared with such records as Thomas Holloway's colt tithes, it is evident that many husbandmen had kept breeding mares, but had none when they died. The number of horses required to plough a yardland varies according to the type of land and the strength of the horse and their equipment. Two pairs of horses could plough a hundred acres at the turn of this century, when they would have been powerful shire horses with good collars to help take the strain [local information]. It was not quite the same in the sixteenth century. In the less favoured areas, such as Aberarth in Ceredigion, the land was already enclosed and had been divided up into 30 acre farms, later known as two horse holdings. Cropredy was in a mixed farming area and the land required two horses for the average yardland which was equal to 32 acres.

In Cropredy we will see below that an average yardland had 21.5 acres of arable and 10.5 of greensward (p296). A pair of horses would be under the control of one horseman, but if a gentleman had the tenancy he must employ a carter and boy for every team of two or four horses. Most yardlands had strips on varying types of soil and tenants might have to employ a team of four on the heavier clay lands near the town. A two yardland farm would already have four or more horses. Once the number of yardlands for a farm is known, then the horses and stable staff, including lads learning the trade can be roughly calculated. Larger farms would add a jobbing horse. At two horses a yardland Cropredy's fiftysix yardlands would require over a hundred and twelve horses. Enough to keep the farrier very busy and the collar and harness maker in full employment. However it was noted that Wardington allowed five horses per yardland and Claydon three, but the number of oxen still working is unknown throughout Cropredy's ecclesiastical parish.

The ploughing day would start off to the fine sight of the teams setting out for the North or South Field to a particular furlong. The men would always be in sight of several other teams and pausing at the headlands could pass a comment or two. Artistic standards would be high and the pleasure of achievement on a fine sunny autumn day would surely bring out the traditional ploughing songs echoing across the land. On wet days with the sticky clay mounting under their feet and sacks keeping off the worst of the weather it may have been necessary to sing to keep up their efforts. The wettest days or evenings would find the smithy full of horses and men, taking the chance to air their views, or to listen to the latest news while the smith sharpened their shares or finished shoeing their horses. One subject of conversation would be breeding or obtaining good horses so essential to the survival of their farms. A Horse Market was held every Thursday at Banbury and horse fairs twice a year were recorded in 1606 [Banbury charter 1607/8 B.H.S. Vol.15 , p99. LR 2/196 f181 Vett p59].

Horse teams were already taking over the ploughing long before the 1570's, yet some still hung onto their teams of oxen. The arguments for and against horses must still have rung around the anvil, though there was less danger of the army seizing a strong cart horse in the peaceful days of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Horses required better hay and pasture to graze than oxen. A horse however is a fussy feeder and will leave manured patches to seed and weeds to grow, which other stock would clean off. How did the new ruling help to enrich their pastures if they kept them in permanent leys, unless it was by rotating the stock?

Where horses were used for ploughing instead of oxen it was considered a fairly rich agricultural area. There must have been enough corn over for the horses. Oxen were cheaper to feed, but a horse would work harder and get more done, though the carter had longer hours tending to their needs. Horses must be baited and groomed for two hours before they left the stable at 6.30 am, for they did not of course chew their cud as the cows did. Around 2.30 pm their carter would be heading back to the stable, where he spent further hours attending to their needs. The horse teams over the season achieved a greater acreage, even on the worst lands.

One of the first to leave an inventory mentioning horses was Elizabeth Gybbes who in 1577 had six kyne for one and a half yardlands and to work the land "iv horses and one mare" worth £9-6s-8d. Rede [32] buried in November 1577 left three mares one horse and a colt in the stable valued at £7-16s. Next came Elizabeth Howes [9] whose inventory was taken on the 14th of May 1578. With her yardland lease worth £5 the stock and equipment formed 4/5th of her estate. Here they confirm that two horses could manage a yardland:

"iiij kyne vij£
ij horses..... iij£ xiijs iiijd
one carte & a plough iij£
ij hoggs xs"

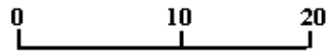
Only two ox-bullocks [51] are mentioned in the inventories. Horses had to work the farmland, but were only mentioned when the head of the household died suddenly while still farming, for then they appear in the stable. A husbandman confined to bed for any length of time saw to it that the horses were passed to the son who was doing the ploughing. It was unfortunate for Hew Page [?12] that the son was still a minor and the team must become part of the declared estate. Those who had already passed on their team to a son managed to die without having to think of their favourite mare passing to the landlord for a

heriot, though he would still have to pay the value of a beast in cash. Denzey, French, Toms, Truss and John Hall [13,4,15,33,29] were amongst those who had passed the stables over to others and must therefore have given up ploughing.

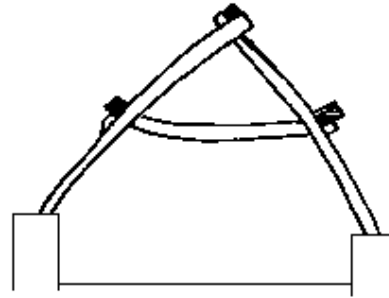
Stables.

Most of the farms which had inventories mention the stable or the colt house at some time, but the records do not cover every homestall. Horses had to have accommodation and may have taken over the ox-stable, but they required a higher loft and much more substantial wooden stalls which were set at five or six feet apart. According to the inventories many tenants had put in mangers across the width of the stall. Over the hay racks and stalls were scaffolds of loose boards for the hay which could be pushed down into the racks. When the scaffolds are not mentioned they may have been left by the former tenant, and become the property of the landlord. Ventilation may have been better for horses than cows and their doors were wider, but again in two sections. Possibly stone stables had a wooden shuttered wind hole at the front. Many had sloping floors to a manure passage. Built into the wall would be a doorless "cupboard" for a candle. Harness was hung from wooden pegs on the wall. A muck shovel, a corn chest and very little else was recorded in their stables.

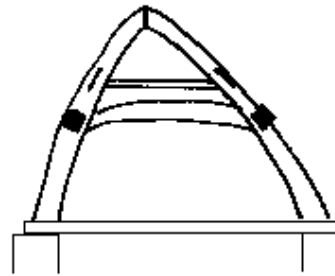
D17.1 Manor Farm Stable [8] in 1976.



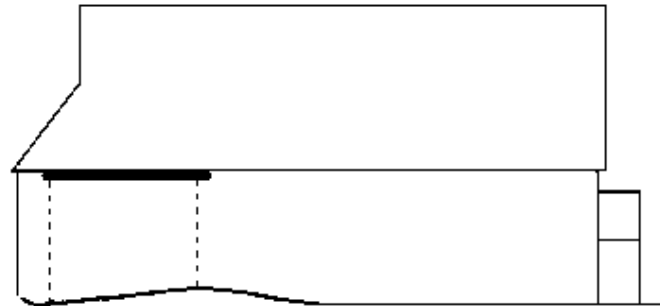
Scale in feet



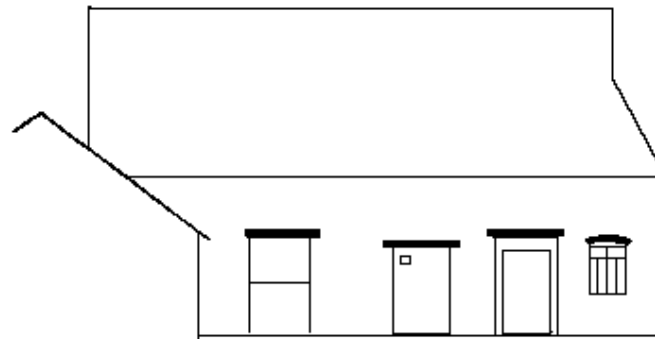
Stable A



Gatehouse B



West Elevation



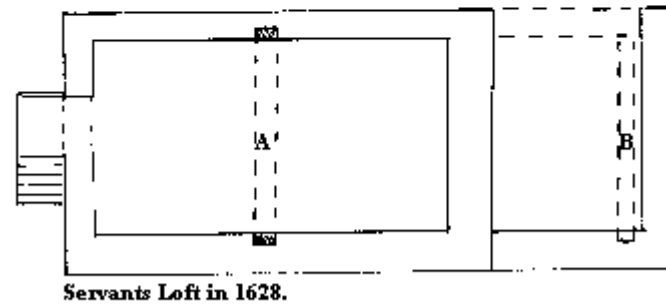
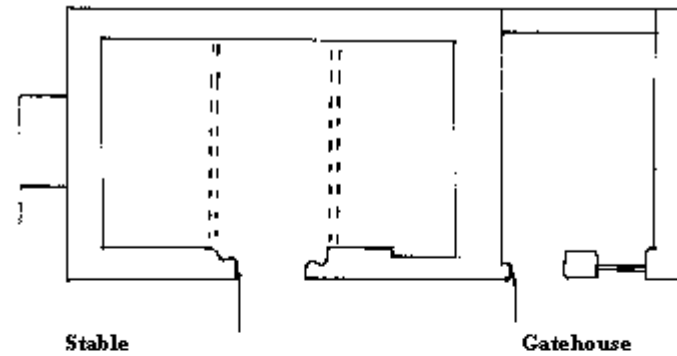
East Elevation

Manor Farm Stable [8] in 1976.

In the stable some chaff would at first be kept in sacks and the corn in the wooden chest, or garner. The husbandman would carefully measure out the daily ration taken from the corn bin. That way it was kept safe from vermin and none was wasted. As farms grew in size chaff houses were made within the stable or nearby. In 1612 Smyth of Bourton had "they skaffouldes over they stable. A manger a racke. A chafe howse in they sayd stable wth over layers" 13s-4d [M.S.Wills Pec. 51/1/2]. To keep the husks from the threshed grain Robins [26] had a chaff house built between 1603 and 1631.

The horse required a good bait to keep them in prime working condition. Some fed them on six stone of feed a week. This meant keeping back a little for Sunday. Oats mixed with beans (if grown) were carefully measured out and wheat chaff added. As chaff was very dusty from the threshing floor, it had first to be shaken in a sieve to remove the dust. Hay was teased into the rack. Water was provided at the horse trough in the yard. The same Thomas Smyth of Bourton having "a stone troffe to water cattell standing by they wells," written possibly by Christopher Cleredge who had an eye for such details. Robins[26] in 1631 had a horse "troe" and so did the Redes [32]. "Troes" being made of stone to last (p672). In some farms the granary was made on a close boarded floor over the stable, though some objected to the ammonia fumes and kept it either in a chamber in the dry farm house, or even in the attic.

Brasenose Manor Farm [8] had a three bay stable and gatehouse built by the farm entrance and bridge over the causeway ditch. A drawing was made of the remains of this stable in 1976 with some details from the roof, before the building was altered to make a dwelling. Other bayes to the north had long since been lost (Figs. 17.1 and 17.2).



0 10
Scale Feet

D17.2 Plan of Stable [8].

Plan of Stable [8]

After the gateway was walled up, an extra stable was created out of it and a new approach made to the north of the old gatehouse. A steel truss was found to support the main stable roof having replaced a tie beam [roof truss A] when a new tightly fitting floor for a granary was put in. Truss A was supported by the walls and the principals crossed at the apex to hold the ridge pole. The collar was half lapped, but not jointed to the principals and the roof had through purlins with added supports beneath. A block of wood supported the base of the west principal. The northern truss [B] over the gatehouse still had a tie beam placed above the floor level. The collar was jointed into the principal rafters which met at the apex. Two slits were cut into the principals, now empty, but the purlins in situ were butting into principals. In one building two entirely

different roof supports. The northern gable end had also been altered to take a loft door and light at the apex. This was not a traditional method of finishing off a gable end in Cropredy (Fig.17.1). Stables were mentioned on the farm sites of [3,8,15,16,23-26,28,30-32,34,39] and colthouses at [16,25,34].

The Husbandmen's Horses.

Thirtyfour townsmen who had other stock left no horses, but thirtytwo died still owning them. The larger farms naturally left more horses. Three [8,16,26] had seven or more in the stable. Other husbandmen left four or more [9,24,26,28,31,34].

An early stone and thatched stable at the Brasenose Manor farm [8], shown above, had in the stable loft over the horses two staff beds and all "the bedding upon them" in 1578. Under the servants' chamber Nuberry kept

"syx horse lockes, iij paire of fetters....
"vij horses and mares _____xij£
viiij horse harnes ij paire of harrowe geers ij paire/
of thill geers and ij cass saddells _____ xs
A brydell _____ vjd
ij waytrees _____ iiijd
v younge horse and mares _____vij£."

In the hall house were two "saddells" worth 13s. This was for a four yardland farm requiring at least four pairs of horses. What did the other main farms have?

In 1603 on a two and a half yardland farm Robins [26] left

"in the stable
v drawing horses & mares ij colts
and a weaning Colt wth furniture for/ ye horses xv£"

John Pratt [24], Justinian Hunt and Widow Alese Howse all die from the same epidemic of 1609. In May Alese Howse [28] had on her two yardland farm

"ffoure payre of horse geares with loggers ffetters...
the Scaffold over the beasse and horses with
Rackes maungers & beases stalls_____ xiijs iiijd...
foure horses_____x£."

John Pratt: "one hovel one lofte within the stable the/
racke manger and layers_____ xxvjs viijd...
the teame and geares _____v£...
the horse lockes fetters loggers."

A shaped fetter was for tethering a horse by the leg, which they must do if they were grazing (even when attended by a boy) on one of the leys, sidlings or headings amongst the sown corn. Widow Robins [26] in 1579 had two horse loggers, two pair of fetters and a horse lock worth 1s-4d.

If Alese Howse had four horses worth ten pounds, Pratts [24] may have had a team of two as they were valued at five pounds.

Justinian Hunt [16] had four horses and mares and a yearling colt worth £10, "the horse geares, rackes mangers" and three cartropes worth 46s-8d. He had dropped down from three to two yardlands (according to his cows and horses), allowing his son to have a yardland.

Devotion [3] as a yardlander, but leasing extra half yard parcels, had two cart horses and their furniture worth the small sum of 50s in 1631.

Hanwell [34] in 1592 had "four horses & mares £5."

Kynd [31] the same year had a team worth £4, and two lockes and two fetters worth 1s-8d. His wife Alice still had a team six years later in 1598. They farmed one and three quarter yardlands in 1588.

Watts [34] in 1602 had four horses worth £5-11s-8d.

Thomas Gybbs [25] had five horses and three colts worth £20 in 1629. He had eight beasts for two yardlands and needed an extra horse. Were they breeding for sale from the mares?

As the seventeenth century advances the price of a horse rises. In Kibworth, Leicestershire Dr Howell found that good mares in 1550 might be worth 15s, by 1600 they had doubled in price and by 1630 were around 70s [Howell C. *Land, Family and Inheritance in Transition*. 1983 Cambridge Univ. Press p112].

In Cropredy the millers needed at least one horse each, but the Shotswells [1a] had two horse commons in 1681. The mercer [39] could afford one for his land and trade, whereas the tailor's common, mentioned in 1614, had been sublet to Truss [33] possibly due to ill health or poverty. Breeden [37] also paid a tithe for a horse common, but his trade is missing. The collarmaker and butcher's site [57/58] have one horse common and Rede's farm [32] had access to three cow commons formerly four horse commons in their 1669 terrier. For four generations Redes have been breeding horses and then Richard having just taken over the farm appears to have changed from horses to cows. The younger widows kept on farming, but the older ones who had retired to their chamber were without horses and required help with their provisions. Shepherds seldom leave a horse, though they could have afforded one.

Value and Quality.

The early wills of the mid-sixteenth century give no clue as to the value of the horses for their inventories are missing. In a will of 1551 Rychard Howse [28] left two of his horses, the best after the landlord had had his heriot, to his son Rechar. He could have them when he was ten years old. When he too died in 1592 he left "4 hors" worth £6. Above we have already quoted some appraisers valuations, but what of the horses quality? To a careful appraiser who kept a good stable of horses nothing would annoy him more than poorly looked after stock. If the horses were old and in poor condition due to negligence, or poverty this may come out in the general overall description of the personal estate. To gain the value of younger stock is very difficult for like the cows no clues are given about their real condition, or usefulness, except they avoided any derogatory label. No-one kept an old barren cow. Occasionally "old" or "blind" describes the farmer's horse. Suffolk [60] and Cattell [30] both had these. Suffolk's [60] poor stock were only valued at "one white horse 6s-3d, one old blind mare 5s and one old blind dun horse 18s-4d." Untill they went for slaughter someone was bound to have an elderly horse.

Horse Commons and Colt Tithes.

Horse commons were not part of the Open Common Field customs. These had to be altered to cater for them. Bourton and Cropredy ran their commons in a similar fashion as far as the records can tell us and when in 1619 a James Bachler of Bourton owed a tithe for his eight new mylch cows Holloway adds "wherof one a horse and a colte..." [c25/4 f25]. He had elected to give up an oxen common for a horse. A few horse commons are recorded, but the name of "beast" covered first oxen and milch cows and later horse and cows when the farmer was paying his tithe. Cropredy has no surviving colt lists or tithe book for beasts, except for the two manor farms and mills and out of these only Mr Coldwell [50] leasing the A manor farm and upper mill had an entry for a colt.

Little Bourton had seven farmers and Great Bourton about thirtythree. They farmed from a half yardland up to two and a half. Occasionally a farmer leased more. Many owned land which is spoken of in their wills. They were farming with horses. Over a period of six years, 1614-19, thirtytwo farmers had to pay colt tithes [c25/4].

Twelve had one colt each.

Nine had two colts.

Six had three colts.

Richard Hitchman and John Lawrence had four each.

Thomas Cherry had five.

George Gorstelow had six and

George Gardner had nine colts.

George Gardner's will and inventory prove the point that reliance cannot be placed on these documents to gather stock levels, especially for horses. George may have had the most colts in the Bourton tithe book, but just a few years later in 1626 he owns none of the horses on his farm. He had already stopped ploughing. With ten sons of which at least seven survive he had several legacies to set up and part of a team would be a valuable contribution. Nathaniel his eldest was able to supply him with his needs. One son Nehemiah married Constance Tanner the mercer's widow at Cropredy [39]. George's wealth lay in property. His two and a half yardlands which he had purchased included "Croes House and the Close" in Great Bourton, but these only come out in his will and would not be included in the £37 valuation of his moveable estate. He had kept "some bease and a weaning calfe" worth £10 and his corn, malt, peas and hay were in the cowhouse worth £5-10s in March [MS. Will

Pec.39/3/38]. The point here is the lack of mares and colts. The similar lack in Cropredy cannot be because the farmer never had any. On the other hand several still had horses when they died, though we can tell they were still working their holding and had in fact died suddenly. One of these from Bourton was Thomas Sabin who died in 1620 leaving "mares and colts, being the one half of the teame prised at" £6 [MS.Will Pec.51/1/26]. He paid no colt tithe in 1618 or 1619 to account for these colts. Did some escape the vicar's knowledge? Or were they newly purchased?

From 1614 to 1619 there were seventysix colts born in Bourton and noted by Thomas Holloway who then received a penny tithe. If we had had to rely upon the wills and inventories which were checked for the thirtytwo people who paid these tithes then the information would be quite different. We have just seen that George Gardner, a yeoman left no traces of horses in 1626. Thomas Cherry who had five colts in the six years also left none and as the list was gone through it was discovered only five out of thirtytwo who had had them between 1614 and 1619 died still owning horses.

Of these five Gorstelow left four horses and mares worth £8 in 1624. He had paid for six colts in the tithe book. Thomas Gudden "all my team" three horses and gear including a plough and other implements were valued at £10 in 1630. He had paid for one colt. Thomas's father had left in 1597 a horse, mare and colt worth £5-6s and now Thomas left the team to his son. George Hopkins left a mare and a colt in 1631. He had paid for one colt. Richard Hitchman who had one mare worth £3 in 1640 had previously paid for four colts. Robert Mansell of Slat mill had paid for a colt in 1616 and left five horses in his will. This was a very small proportion of husbandmen out of the thirtytwo who had been active. Wills and inventories can only, it must be repeated, be relied upon when the farmer dies suddenly in full possession of his team so it is worth looking at a few made in Bourton between 1557 and 1610, prior to the vicar's lists [MSS. Wills Pec.39/3/33, 39/4/10, 39/2/19, 41/3/18, & 41/3/48] .

Thomas Gyll in 1557 left to his daughter Elizabeth "my best iron bounde carte and to Jone my wyffe and Elisabeth... my sole teeme as it is nowe" (Had he already divided up the horses?) Jone and Elizabeth were made joint executors [Wills p695].

In 1574 Johannis Sherman of Little Bourton left to William "my whole teeme, my cartes my ploughes my harrows and all furniture there unto belonging"[MS.Wills Pec.50/5/4].

Before 1588 the husbandman with the most yardlands had been William Hall of Great Bourton who left to Henry "one horse or mare by the discretion of my overseers," and two iron bound carts went to his daughters. His inventory mentions a saddle and

bridle worth 3s-4d and seven horses, mares or colts worth £13. Henry had one colt in 1614 and two in 1615 [MS. Wills Pec. 54/1/48].

In 1605 William Gill left two mares and a gelding and four pair of horse gears valued at £5-10s, but no colts. These helped to farm about 1.25 yardlands (They had 5 beasts). Thomas his son paid a colt penny in 1616, 18 and 19, but no inventory survives for his 1634 will [MS.Wills Pec. 39/3/5].

Another member of the Hall family, Thomas of Great Bourton, left in 1606 three horses, mares or geldings, one filly and two colts worth £3 [MS.Wills Pec. 41/1/39] on a three beast farm. A penny was paid by this family for colts in 1615 and 1617.

Lastly Robert Mole died in 1610 possessing three mares and a gelding with furniture worth £9-10s [MS.Wills Pec. 41/1/21], on a two beast holding. His son paid two penny tithes, one in 1618 the other in 1619.

We have no names for the horses left in Cropredy wills, but once again John Cleredge of Bourton leaves named stock. Hob and Short, went to one son Richard while Dendale and the mare went to Christopher [PCC 114]. We find Christopher paying a colt tithe in 1619.

One farm in Cropredy required an extra team [21]. This rare record was found in Thomas Holloway's accounts which he shared with his sons

"Item 2 men with teme for harvest charges ---xls" [c25/2 f 1a] in 1587.

Harness and Collar Makers.

The harness makers had arrived making it possible for the horses to have collars. These allowed them to take heavier loads and safeguarded their pressure points from damage. Heavier ploughs could now be used and production naturally went up. One of the collarmakers was a John Pare [58] (d 1610) who lived between Hello and Round Bottom. He was followed by the Carters who once worked for him. Gardners, also harnessmakers, bought the upper mill [51], but possibly only after it ceased to mill corn. In 1614 the miller John Cross [51] had a pair of "pannyers" for his old gelding. This was the customary way to move small amounts of corn or flour. Saddles are rarely mentioned and bridles even less for these would be included with the horse gears as were most fetters and "lockes." In 1588 "a saddle and a bridle" worth 3s-4d did appear in William Hall of

Bourton's inventory [M.S.Will Pec.54/1/48]. Another was John Gardner's for in 1691 he left a saddle, bridle, boots and spurs worth ten shillings, as well as bow and arrows valued at 2s-6d. Woodrose [8] had in the stables two saddles, but Nuberry kept his in the chamber.

Toms [15] had two pair of old geares and two old collars for his one yardland farm, but the son must have had the horses for their stable with the scaffold and two mangers was "empty" in 1607. One of Tom's horses he had already left to his eldest son Richard or else he could have £2 in money. William Toms had made his will in January, but the inventory was not taken until June and the stable then contained £7 of corn, while his hay and straw were in the barn (p540). When his son returned from the field with the horse and cart he would have the use of the buildings, having taken on the lease. The appraisers would not value the sons' own possessions.

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18. The Flock

"He that hath both sheep, swine and hive,
Sleep he, wake he, he may thrive" [Fitzherbert early 16c].

Apart from the legacies of sheep left in wills and the sheep valued in inventories the most useful records are once again Thomas Holloway's Bourton tithe book [c25/4], and some entries in the cottagers book for Cropredy [c25/3]. Each year at Holyrood day the Holloways received a penny a sheep, and half that for every lamb sold. The vicar had kept a record of who had the commons and followed closely the sale of sheep. He was also entitled to every tenth surviving lamb. At shearing time the vicar collected his wool tithe so that from his folios it was possible to calculate the approximate size of the Bourton flock. The vicar adds a little more in his own farm accounts and once again the inventories supply the rest.

For years wool from Oxfordshire had supplied the broad cloths market, but if the market was even slightly depressed then not so many would gamble on leasing extra commons over the following winter. Once each parish kept their commons only for parishioners, but in Bourton there was a tendency in the second decade of the seventeenth century for excess commons on a farm to be set to neighbouring shepherds, even the summer ones. Sometimes some of the enclosed fields around Cropredy, in Prescote, Clattercote and Williamsote, could also be leased, when the owners or tenants reduced their own stocks and sublet the pastures.

As Cropredy had 46.5 yardlands not in manorial tenancy it would be expected that their quota of sixteen summer sheep per yardland would provide a town flock of seven hundred and fortyfour in summer and double that in winter. Woodrose [8] and Coldwell's [50] four and three yardlands allowed summer flocks of sixtyfour and fortyeight, but they did not take it all up themselves. There was also the three extra yardlands set by Coldwell's. Other parishes, mentioned already, had different quotas:

Wardington could keep 26 sheep to the yardland [c25/5 f1].

Claydon had 20 sheep commons per yardland.

Bourton had 28 sheep per yardland, but did not use them all.

Sheep were kept mainly for their wool. They did not want to create a surplus of lambs when they were limited to a quota and the meat market was not as flourishing as it was to become later. The castrated male lambs, **wethers**, were grown on to become two year old **sherroggs** which were kept for their wool. At four years they went for mutton with the older ewes, called barren crones, now that their best wool producing years were over. **Ewe lambs** were not shorn until the following June and they were then grown on for another year. As two year old ewes they became **hoggerells** worth about 6s-8d. Before every Holyrood day those hoggerells which were in lamb for the first time would be getting particular attention. The even larger number of sherroggs which were kept primarily for their wool and secondly to manure and firm the fallows, made up the flock with the older in-lamb ewes. In the vicar's close his shepherd would be busy with the feet and checking the condition of all his flock.

It would not be easy in an Open Common Field situation to achieve top quality sheep, but when good shepherds, like Huxley [36] and Truss [33] could be encouraged to stay with sound housing, then the sheep had a better chance of survival. The flock were hurdled at night acre by acre while they manured and firmed the ground. Would there be enough nights to get round the whole of the fallow field? Or would they be split into several flocks? When the owner could afford to have his sheep on the aftermath of the hay following the cows, or on an early bite on his meadows before they were shut up for hay, then those sheep would benefit and produce three pound fleeces. This of course affected the quality of the wool. Too luxuriant and the quality declined. Too hard and the wool coarsened. Oxfordshire wool had achieved a good price when it used to be sold to the staplers for export, before the clothiers had taken up the market, so they were grazing them on "short commons." Oxfordshire Down sheep were not the only ones to have a short staple. Glamorgan Down sheep produced a short fine wool during the sixteenth century worth twice that of the longer haired Vale wool, but demands were changing.

When the "New-Draperies" came in, the Oxfordshire wool famed for weaving into broad cloth was not as suitable for the new worsteds which took wool from the longer fleeces. This was combed not carded and no fulling was required (p687). Broad cloth had been around for several centuries and was popular as a lightweight warm cloth. An even lighter material was now being produced with a mixture of wools. The sales dictated a change in the husbandmen and shepherd's attitudes and approach to breeds of sheep. The staplers who had once been able to demand a certain quality of wool for the export trade to be woven abroad now had to compete with the clothiers who demanded wool to suit their English cloth, which they then exported. It mattered little to James I who paid his taxes, staplers or clothiers, as both contributed to his income. When in 1617 foreign buyers needed more wool for their own clothiers rather than cloth then the export of wool was stopped. Unfortunately the clothiers did not take up all grades of wool and some areas then had a glut. Some of the staplers, who were

often sheep farmers as well, went to the clothiers direct and began to act as middlemen or "broggers" to make a new link between the clothiers and the sheep breeders. The smaller sheep farmers might have to sell out. Sumptuary laws were made to try and promote the wearing of wool amongst the better off and funeral attire had to be in wool. At first little notice was taken of this and the wool market continued to decline.

Thomas Holloway like other parishioners could keep sixteen sheep in summer and thirtytwo in winter for every yardland in Cropredy since 1575 [BNC: Hurst 80] (p224). The sheep commons in Cropredy, two hundred years later were apparently of little value. The vicar managed to lease, or purchase sheep commons elsewhere which enabled him to speculate in sheep. The wool market only falling two years before his death in 1619.

Holloway's year began in May [c25/2]:

[f9v] "a note of my shepe before my shepherd
Wam at his goinge to westcott the 4th
of maij 1615 [14 c.o.]
In primis my older shepe syx score &
tow [fyve c.o.] more 3 old ewes went owte of
my gronds, Item more 3 sherroggs bought
the 3 of maij off Jhon gorstelows shepherd
whereof 2 were whyte the thyrd
a Blacke so in all of that sorte
syx score & [eleven c.o] eight
of hoggerels three score & twelve
so in all sorts 200
pastured at woskott one
fawks comons (Fig. 18.1).

18

9 a wolkyn in fere before my sheperd
wom al þe goode in wepþolt of þe
of may wolkyn

In þe mynne of þe wolkyn þe fere
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Item branded in my gronds the 16 of maij 1615

of old shepe of all sorts three score eight

Item of lambes three score fowre

my man hath tow over ewe & a lambe

also french a lambe

Item of my old shepe one dead."

On the 4th of May 1615 [f9v] the Holloways had two hundred sheep going off to another parishes' enclosed fields or commons which had become available due to the change in the demands for local wool. The old flocks were decreasing (p264) and commons were being set to those who could breed sheep with longer fleeces for the "new draperies." Holloway's shepherd William set off with two hundred to go to Westcott. How many of the older sheep going there could be expected to lamb and if so why move them so late in pregnancy? Or had none of them been to the ram? Like many Welsh flocks one black sheep was put with them for luck. The older sheep "of all sorts" being anything above a two year old and some when older having no doubt foot problems rendering them unfit for road travel. The lambs going out on the 16th of May were last years ewelambs still not shorn. Sixtyfour were going on the fallow, but they would not be near the tup until the end of November (or November 1616) to lamb the following summer. It looks as though each flock was under the special care of a particular shepherd for the vicar combines his with French who may have been his son-in-law Robin's [26] shepherd. In part payment French was to have a lamb. He ends with the comment that one old sheep was dead. To have only one sheep die shows they had had a disease free year and the shepherds were highly skilled. Another task of a good shepherd was to constantly check each and every sheep in a hot and humid summer when maggots can so easily spoil a fleece and undermine a sheep until they died. Rubbed and torn fleeces would naturally down grade the wool.

Branding and Ordering Out.

Another shepherd was there to take care of the Holloway's Cropredy flock branded on the 16th of May. Traditionally sheep were branded by a complicated numbering system on the ear, though Thomas wrote "yet not eared in my parish" [c25/4 f14]. Did he mean the outsider was not yet branded in Cropredy or Bourton with the owner's mark, rather than the sheep were not given an ear clip? Others made a small brand mark with tar on the fleece. Justinian Hunt [16] left in 1609 "a pitch pan [and] two shipbrands" in the "deahouse." When the sheep were on the fallow did the shepherd get round to branding each

husbandman's new born lambs at night as they grazed in the pens? If he failed how would the owners be able to claim their lambs?

Purchasing Sheep.

Not all the sheep in the vicar's flocks would have come from his own ewes. In April 1616 Holloway purchased sheep from Banbury market as well as from Bourton and Cropredy husbandmen. He wrote up the details in May [c25/2 f11v] giving their prices and came to the astonishing figure of over £45. Thomas appears to buy some from his daughter's mother-in-law the Widow Robins [26] whom he refers to as "my sister," and some from his son-in-law Robins [26]. Tymcokes was another son-in-law who farmed the Holloway's Glebe in Wardington. The other purchases were from the woolwinder and dealer Christopher Cleredge of Great Bourton and his brother Rychard. Another who sold him sheep was a Rychard Toms born perhaps at Cropredy [15] and moved to Wardington. The first one in the list was Thomas French [4] from the Long Causeway, or maybe one of the neighbouring French families. When buying in locally the vicar would have been well informed about the health of the flocks and reputation of their shepherds [c25/2].

[f11v] "a Remembraunce of my sheepe bought
against maij day 1616
In primis of Thomas french ten hoggrells
payd _____ iiij£ xvjs
Item christopher claridge xij sherroggs
payd _____ vj£ vjs
Item my syster Robins six sherroggs
payd _____ iij£ iiijs
Item my sonne Robins xij sherroggs
payd _____ vj£ viijs

Item the 11th of aprill xxj shepe bought at
bambury by thomas french wch were
xx hoggrells & one -?- store wether _____xj£ iijs
Item 2 hoggrells at Rychard cleregdes

the same day _____ -_ xiijs iiijd
Item of Rychard Tomes 3 sherroggs _____ xxviijs vjd
Item of my sonne Tymcoks 20 sherroggs _____ _xj£ xs."

A summary of these would appear as follows:

The "hoggrells" were 2 at 6s-8d ..each
..... 10 at 9s-7d ..each
..... 20 at 10s-7d each = 32 hoggerells.
The sherroggs were 3 at ..9s-6d each
.....12 at 10s-6d each
.....18 at 10s-8d each
..... 20 at 11s-6d each = 53 sherroggs.
..... -----
..... 85 for £45-6s-10d

Why was Thomas Holloway buying so many in? Had he increased his leased land? There appeared no evidence in the arable section of his farm accounts, slender as they are. The hoggerells coming in so close to the lambing season were surely bought for their wool and not as in-lamb ewes. They were allowed to grow to their full size before going to the ram. In which case these would not lamb until their third season and perhaps the Westcott flock did likewise. He had to purchase them by May day when everyone's flock was calculated against the summer commons they had or could acquire.

Once the flocks went out onto the fallow they were not brought in again until middle or late June when they were washed in the river Cherwell ready for the wool to raise again for shearing. There must have been pools made in the river for washing sheep. Thomas Tusser allowed two days only to elapse between washing and shearing. The wash removed the lanoline which took several days to come up again into the fleece. The grease made the clipping easier and the later practice of leaving the sheep for two weeks was to help the shearer's task, so why did they in the sixteenth century recommend only two days? Could it be the shorter wool which would frizz out again quicker than the long haired variety?

"Wash sheep - for the better- where water doth run,
And let him go cleanly and dry in the sun:
Then shear him, and spare not, at two days an end,
the sooner the better his corps will amend" [Tusser].

One unpleasant task was dagging the rear end of the sheep to render the wool as clean as possible before they were washed or sold.

Shearing.

On shearing day the husbandman's flock, and perhaps a few neighbour's sheep, were penned ready near the barn. The shearers gather to work standing on the barn doors laid down over the threshing floor. After a sheep was shorn the fleece must be rolled up. Taken to a nearby clean surface they were laid wool side down. The flanks were folded to the centre forming a long shape. This was then rolled from britch to neck very firmly. Holding the fleece with one hand the other drew out a long piece of neck wool and this, still attached, was twisted and wrapped round the fleece and the end tucked in. Each fleece was put in a heap in a clean area ready for weighing before being packed into the wool sacks hung along the inner side of the barn walls.

There are no definite costs for shearing. It could come to 3s per hundred shorn plus the fleece winding a further 1s-8d. In addition all had to be fed. If neighbours went to help each other then shearing may not have been costed and the family taken care of the fleeces, while others caught the sheep on the understanding that they went the rounds that were traditionally attached to their farm group? Only when wool was to be graded and sown into the wool sack by the official "wynder" would a charge be made. It is not clear what the vicar was paying for when on "St Mychael's" day 1615 he gave "to the wollwynder" 8s-6d [c25/2 f10].

Shearing took place from around the 21st of June onwards according to the payments. Mr Coldwell's [50] were not all done at once [c25/3 f5v] "woll wayd my selfe to/ have three pond and foote/ the tythe to me the 21 of/ June was xv ponds.../mr coldwell hath certen/ shepe at Kadvomore as/ yet not shorne - my tyth/ is payd this 4 of august 1617/ and yt was fyve ponds &/ three quarters..." (Note it was taken to the Vicarage [21] by "foote.")

Shearing Tithes.

In medieval times the fleeces weighed around 1.4 lbs but had risen to 1.9 by the 1550's [Thirsk 1967]. The Bourtons between 1614 and 1619 still have some at rock bottom. In 1617 when there were sixteen rather than the average twelve owners of sheep the fleeces start at 1.8 lbs and move through 2.0 up to 2.5 the average weight, to 3 lbs. In Cropredy Woodrose's fleeces were 3 lbs and so were Mr Coldwell's. Both had their own enclosed meadows and could feed up their young sheep to a better size, or like the vicar buy stock and improve the size and value of each fleece. A 3 lb fleece was a high quality one. Few flocks had sheep large enough to produce one this size. It was convenient when one weighed the right amount for then the tithe fleece was easier to carry back to the vicarage. Several bulky fleeces could make an awkward burden to carry far. Before any could leave the barn they had to be weighed by the woolwinder.

The long arm of the beam scales would be hung by a rope from a barn beam. This was attached to the middle of the long arm which had a scale hung from each end. The two scales consisted of flat square pieces of wood suspended on four ropes hanging from the arm ends. The whole beam scale must be carefully balanced and was tested by the woolwinders weights at the start of each shearing. A few people in Cropredy had various weights such as an accurate stone weighing 7 or 14 lbs. Lumberd's [14] had a toddstone which weighed 28 lbs. Rychard Watts [34] left in 1602 "the toddstone and other wayghts" 18d. Could he with his interest in education have been the traditional winder and sealer of the wool sack in Cropredy? Just as Christopher Cleredge became in Bourton? The winder also had 4, 2 and 1 lb weights. Once the beam was set the fleeces were weighed on one side, known as the "woll" and the other the "wayghts." The fleeces were written down in todods, which were equal to 28 lbs. If the fleeces were to be sold straight away then the buyer would keep a record of the todods in his book. All husbandmen would make a tally of their todods. Fleeces could not of course be split and when those on the scale went over 28 lbs then a shout would go up indicating how much over they weighed. For example "2 to the wool" and a 2 lb weight was left under the wool scale to add to the next todd. If the fleeces fell short by say a pound then the cry was "1 to the wayghts." All this was added beside each todd in the book.

On the Reverend Holloway's tithe days most townsmen would be expected to come to the vicarage, or church porch, but when it was time to collect tithe fleeces it was better to send one of his men, either Thomas Stephens or William Gardner, to the shearing barn. Holloway may have sent his man out with a horse and paniers when William collected the wool tithe from Jhon Ward of Bourton on the 4th of July 1617, but in 1619 the man could easily walk back for "Thomas my man brought from/

lyttell borton the 9th of Julij of tyth woll xj" pound [c25/4 f24v]. This was small due to the fact that they were now setting the commons out and each tithe had to be bargained for from the subtenants.

At first no way was found to interpret the vicar's method of calculating the wool due to him. Sometimes the vicar wrote down the size of the flock and the amount of wool collected which gave the average size of that farmer's fleece, but not how he had arrived at that amount. There had to be an easy way to work out what was due to the vicar from each shearing. Not all the owners, or shepherds were going to come round to the vicarage to pay their wool dues as Mr Coldwell did, though he had only to walk up Church Street and across the churchyard. The Bourton book was searched without success until it was eventually realised that Thomas Holloway had given the method in the entries for the Woodroses [8] in the Cropredy book [c25/3] which showed it could be worked out.

The first entry [f3] explained how they were collected from Woodrose's barn on the 28th of June 1615 when Holloway received tithe wool from "fower score sheep." "I had six/ fleces wch wayd xx pond &/ taken by my man thomas as/ they lay in the heape." Stephens had reached down and picked up six fleeces which at over 3 lbs each must have made them the best that day, but how did he know how many fleeces to pick up? How was it calculated? Three years later Holloway added more information: "mr wodruff xvj fleces tyth/ one flece wayinge 3 pound" [f7]. Woodrose only had 16 sheep that year and the vicar's tithe was equal to one fleece. Immediately it will be noticed that this was not a tenth of the total wool.

On the 17th of July 1617 the vicar wrote down one way tithe calculations could be made. "Mr nycholus woodrose had/ six todds of woll & xij ponds/ wch by wayght the three pts/ cominge to me is xij l [lbs] halfe" [c25/3 f6]. The tithe was not a whole tenth for wool, but just three parts of one. That year Woodrose had 180 lbs of wool, according to the man who had weighed them on the scales. He had booked him in at 6 todds and 12 lbs.

To find 3 quarters of his tenth first divide 40 (a tenth x 4) into 180lbs to give 4.5 lbs. Multiply this by 3 (parts) to get 13.5 lbs which is what the man could collect. Obviously suitable fleeces would have to be picked from the heap and weighed to the nearest pound. When both the flock size and the wool total is given in the Bourton tithe book then it can be calculated how often it was the husbandman who had to loose a little wool to the weights, and how often the vicar. Mostly it was less than a pound either way and over the six years remaining of Holloway's folios it evened out.

Sometimes the vicar only gives his portion of the wool, but the husbandman's wool crop was found by reversing the calculations and dividing Holloways portion (For example by dividing Woodrose's 13.5 lbs tithe by 3 parts it gave 4.5 lbs which must then be multiplied by 40 to give Woodrose's wool crop of 180 lbs). When Holloway supplies both pieces of information then naturally the average fleece size can be found. We know Woodrose's was 3 lbs and that this meant he had shorn approximately sixty sheep. He could have had many more, but he had set the rest of his commons to young shepherds. In 1618 Woodrose's shearing only produced sixteen fleeces and the vicar had for his tithe only one [c25/3 f7]. Nicholas had reduced his flock due to a fall in the sale of wool. Mr Coldwell's flock on the other hand appears to increase up to his death in 1619. He had 66 in 1617, about 135 the following year and around 146 his last year. Nicholas Woodrose's wool rose from 264 lbs in 1615 to 372 lbs in 1616, but then dropped to 180 lbs and down to only 48 lbs in 1618. This was the trend in Bourton, though the collapse came a year later than Woodrose's. Bourton had yearly twelve or thirteen parishioners paying tithes except in 1617 when sixteen paid, possibly because the price of sheep dropped and they joined the rising spiral just at its collapse. In the Bourton's tithe book [c25/4] wool was paid from approximately 450 shorn sheep in 1614, 490 in 1615, 480 in 1616, 560 in 1617, 300 in 1618 and 195 in 1619. This was calculated from several entries when both the wool tithe and flock number were given, or from the tithe working out the wool and then from previously better informed years finding their average fleece weight and using it to get an approximate flock size. It is shown as a rough guide only and with the realisation that lambs are not included in the wool clip.

The details given in the Bourton tithe book of their stock would be better appreciated if a town appraisal could be made of their husbandmen's farms and land. Briefly one of the largest farms had fleeces weighing 2.5 lbs in Henry Hall's day, but his son Andrew increases his flock to 140 in 1617 and his fleece size to 3 lbs. His flock then dropped down to only 30 sheep in 1618. Nycholas Plant had 50 sheep in 1615 and unlike many others his began to decrease sooner, 42, 32, 30, until he had only 9 in 1619. One of the only husbandmen increasing his stock was Christopher Cleredge the dealer who may have been caught speculating after a slow market. He started in 1614 with 9 sheep and had a flock of 28 the following year. In 1616 Thomas gave him back his tithe, but recorded 30 for 1617, about 47 in 1618 then down to 39 in 1619. A great deal more needs to be known about each family to discover what other reasons they had for not using up all their sheep commons.

Can we detect the start of the reduction in the numbers of sheep and the fall in the wool clip going to the vicar? What a pity the next, but absent, vicar did not continue making extensive notes. All he mentions is Williamsote farm letting some of their enclosed pastures when the Calcott Chambres were in crisis due to a property purchase. Or with other owners of large flocks had he lost heavily? The various Acts of Parliament keeping back the export of wool to encourage the cloth industry may have

coincided with the increase in sales of sheep for mutton. The flock could not be reduced too drastically just because the price of wool had fallen, for they needed the sheep's manure in the preparation of the land for a good corn crop the following year.

Tythe woll in borton
A.C.B

*

10² y⁶ 6 1/2 g^o x p^o l^o r^o s^o f^o b^o r^o
 f^o d^o a^o t^o b^o r^o p^o u^o n^o d^o i^o n^o u^o l^o l^o
 g^o s^o u^o d^o b^o u^o t^o h^o e^o p^o u^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o

21 a^o u^o d^o v^o s^o p^o u^o l^o l^o r^o o^o t^o p^o r^o o^o
 w^o y^o e^o t^o b^o o^o f^o o^o d^o a^o t^o 20
 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o 21 p^o o^o n^o d^o
 v^o a^o n^o p^o u^o l^o l^o r^o o^o p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o 25

9 w^o y^o e^o t^o p^o r^o o^o f^o y^o l^o l^o 52 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o
 9 f^o o^o r^o v^o e^o f^o y^o l^o l^o 8 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o
 9 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o 9 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o
 4 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o f^o o^o r^o v^o e^o f^o o^o d^o a^o t^o 6
 4 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o 19 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o

2. a^o s^o v^o a^o r^o e^o d^o p^o r^o o^o f^o y^o l^o l^o 15 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o
 f^o y^o l^o l^o 2 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o
 f^o o^o n^o d^o a^o t^o h^o e^o p^o u^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o 2 p^o o^o n^o d^o f^o y^o l^o l^o

— c^o s^o e^o p^o i^o t^o f^o l^o l^o l^o r^o o^o f^o y^o l^o l^o w^o l^o
 i^o s^o o^o n^o e^o f^o o^o d^o a^o t^o 27 t

"Tythe woll in borton 1616" [c25/4 f11].

Occasionally the vicar accepted money in lieu of wool, such as the 9d a pound he took from John Wyatt. In 1617 he collected 14s and the rest in wool, all from Bourton, which when he sold it brought him in a further £7-14s.

The vicar, or his man, did not always divide and multiply to get the correct tithe instead they applied the second method. Thomas could use his knowledge of the flock's fleece size to work out the wool tithe and he wrote "I allow the fourthe/ parte." This produced the same when as in the first method Holloway took "by wayght the three pts/ cominge to me." The first had used the wool winder's weights to work out the wool due to him. The second method needed only a simple calculation. John Ward had 80 sheep and "the/ tyth 8 [that is in this case a tenth] but I allow the fowrthe/ parte so I had six fleces but/ not wayed" [c25/4 f16v]. Checked by the first method this was correct.

Other arrangements were made with Rychard Atkins of Bourton (p273). Rychard had nintysix sheep from "Mychaelmas" to May day 1617. "I am agreed to take in every 30, 2 tyth, so I must have six fleces" this "Somer" which was not the usual method of waiting until they were shorn, weighing the wool and calculating the tithe, because this tithe was only for the winter.

When the staplers had first become responsible for the collection of wool taxes on exported wool they insisted on a standard and quality so that in 1473 an Act of Parliament actually forbade the wool winder from selling wool. His responsibility was to grade and pack wool into wool sacks, sew them up and state the county of origin. These were for export and the huge wool **sacks** weighed around three hundred and sixtyfour pounds [7lbs = 1 clove. 4 cloves = 1 todd. 6 todods & half = 1 wey (182 lbs). 2 weys = 1 **sack**. 240 lbs =1 pack].

No Cropredy clip came to this amount and when we find shepherds who stored their fleeces in the wool sacks they cannot have been for the staplers, but in smaller sacks for the home market. By 1570, and more so in the early seventeenth century, the clothiers required more and more home produced wool and did not want it to leave the country. There was also the needs of the families themselves as they naturally held back the amount essential for their household. Even if his wool clip was small the sacks once sewn up were awkward to handle. The buyers took the wool to their destination by packhorse, but if the wool had not yet been sold, then the sacks had to be carried from the barn to the house. In the long houses the entry door was wide enough for a cow or a wool sack. The cow turned left into the barn, the sack went right into the hall. A dry wooden floor was needed, so up the newel stairs it had to be heaved and pushed into a convenient chamber, though some must surely have taken up a few boards and hoisted it up between the joists, or opened the gable cockloft shutters and hoisted the sacks

straight up to the dry floor under the thatch. Robins, Gybbs, Lumberds and Huxeleys each had such a gable window in their two and a half storey houses, which was a good reason to provide a cockloft. A few had wool in the house at the time of their death:

In 1603 Robins [26] had 5 todd £ 6 *
1620 Sheeler had 3 todods 2 lb:..... £ 3-7s
1627 Wd Robins 1 todd £ 1-3s
1629 Gybbs [25] had 6 todd £ 6-18s
1634 Cattell [30] wool £ 1
1634 Truss [33] had wool & furniture worth .. £24

* Robin's was "by estimacon" not by weight.

In John Truss's low chamber he had "one bedsteed/ one presse & certaine woolle." His room was next to the hall and must have had boards to raise the wool off the floor. The wool sack would have taken up a considerable portion of the chamber. Truss's furniture would not add up to very much and so the remainder of the £24 came from the value of his wool. This could be roughly calculated at around fourteen todods if at 3 lbs a fleece, or twelve todods if 2.5 lbs from one hundred and thirtysix sheep, but the ewelambs would not have been shorn their first year. It was fortunate that he did not mind the strong smell of sheep wool in his sleeping chamber.

By 1631 Robins [26] had made a wool house in the south end of the house, but when the inventory was taken on the 11th of June there were no fleeces to store as the flock had not been shorn. The hundred sheep plus their wool were worth £45. His mother who had fifteen sheep when her inventory was taken in January 1627 had not sold her wool, so perhaps it was needed for the household. When Gybbs [25] had six todods sold between April 14th and the 9th of May 1629 it brought in £6-18s. At 23s a todd this was the same price as his neighbour's the Robins. The price was lower than 1603, but higher than John Wyatts in 1615 when it fetched 21s a todd (9d a lb). Sheeler's was also valued at 9d a pound in 1620. In spite of the downward trend in flocks the wool price for Oxfordshire seemed at first to be reasonably high, but only as long as the market for broad cloth remained, once that fell the local sheep owners and weavers supporting that market were in trouble.

When sheep were killed at home the wool on the skin was sold as fell wool and packed in separate wool sacks. In February John Truss had "certaine sheepe skins" in the house waiting for a fell monger, or did the whitawers of Round Bottom cure them [57/58] (p474)? Thomas Gybbbs [25] also had ten in May 1629.

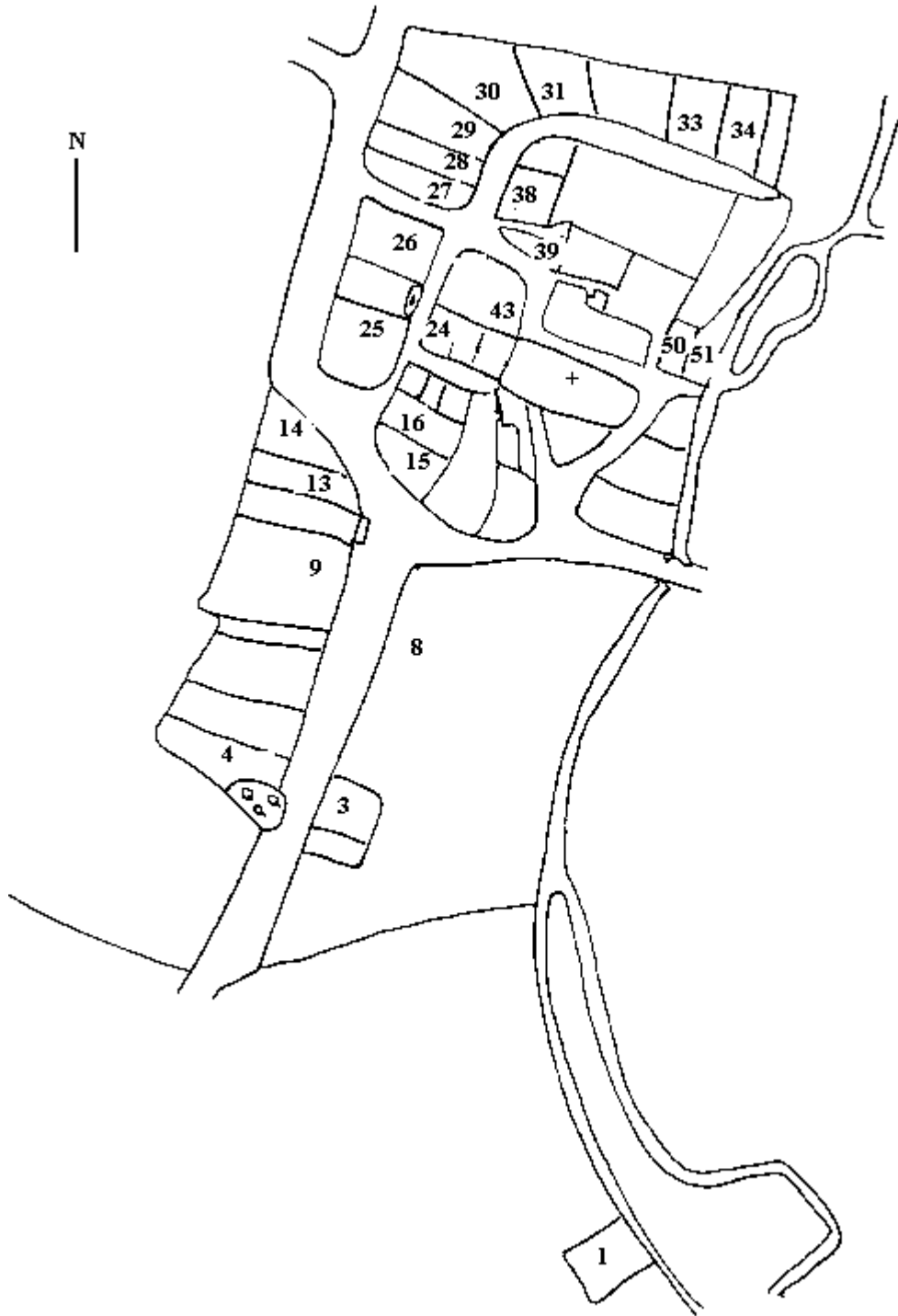
Sheep fat was used for greasing the carts and as a lubricant at the mill. It was profitable to send some tallow to the chandler who added a flax wick. The housewife might retain a portion to make her own candles. The tallow was very necessary to waterproof the boots.

The shepherd might have waxed his linen smock using beeswax from one of the town's hives to make it waterproof. To prevent their hands from chaffing the shepherd and townsmen used lanolin. First they took some wool from around the ewes udders and neck. This was washed in cold water and placed under some wooden slats in a pot to boil. After skimming off the grease the cold liquid was strained through a linen cloth into a bladder, or pot, which kept the lanolin ready for use. The linen was then used for bandages having being soaked in the healing lanolin.

Size of Flocks.

It was discovered that Cropredy flocks varied in size and not always according to the quota for their yardlands. As flocks were reduced it left commons available for letting. In the inventories between 1570 and 1641 just under a half left sheep. We saw that at Bourton the numbers in a flock varied during the six year period covered by the tithe book, that many gave up their flock before they died and that former shepherds and craftsmen had managed to lease some sheep commons. Two Cropredy labourers (so called) left sheep. Gulliver 4 [41] and Truss [33] senior 27. Tanner [39] the mercer had 6, Wallsall [13] the blacksmith had 18 and Wyatt [31] the farrier had 33. Elderson [38] the carpenter had 7, Watts [27] the weaver 3 and Fendrie [43] 6. There were six widows who hung onto their flocks mostly for legacies, but also for their wool and profit. Elizabeth Gybbbs [25] had 13, Johan Robins [26] 7, Johan Toms [15] 20, Alese Howse [28] 36 (her uncle having his flock on the farm as well), Joanne Robins [26] in 1627 had 15 and Em Devotion [3] 16 in 1634. These were the small flocks taken to another farm, in the case of the cottagers, to be shorn. The main flocks still did not add up to the numbers permitted.

D18.3 Sheep in Tenants Inventories.



Sheep in Tenants Inventories.

From the winter inventories it was discovered that:

- 6 people left 1-7 sheep
- 5 left8 +on a quarter + yardland
- 8 left 16 + on a half + yardland
- 4 left..... 32 +..... on one + yardland
- 1 left 73 on two + yardlands
- 3 left 96,116,120on under 3 yardlands
- 2 left 136,160

From the summer inventories it was discovered that:

- 3 left 1-7 on a quarter yardland
- 4 left 16 + on one yardland
- 2 left 32 + on two yardlands
- 1 left 48on three yardlands
- 2 left 80,96
- 1 left 100

Only half the inventories had sheep and out of these the average flock size was for sixteen in summer and thirtytwo in winter which fitted the quota for one yardland. This of course does not take into account the large flocks of over a hundred, or the smaller ones. The majority kept to their quota, or leased it out. The surplus was taken up by active farmers, who except for sudden fevers sweeping the country were not caught with excess sheep. Thirsk found that in the Midlands 55% of peasants had sheep. Most had less than three and rarely more than nine [Thirsk J. ed *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England and Wales* p665. 1967 Cambridge University Press]. Not all the households in Cropredy kept sheep in their lifetime, others who had kept a small flock, left none when they died in old age, having already given them as legacies to their children, or sold them. Without the tithe book the true percentage for Cropredy cannot now be found.

The larger the flock the less it was related to the size of the farm, especially if a shepherd owned them. Tenants with over two and a half yardlands often had less, because they had set the surplus commons to sons or shepherds. Justinian Hunt owed his father John the wool and profits from ten sheep. John wanted his wife Gillian to have the lambs from the sheep and three todods of wool in 1587. The number of sheep and their value was given in the following cases:

Year	Owner	Site	Number	Month	Value
1614	S.Howse	[9]	160	March	£70
1634	J.Truss	[33]	136	Feby.	£45-6s-8d
1634	R.Hall	[34]	120	March	£40
1587	Jn.Hunt	[16]	116	Oct.*	£19-6s-8d
1631	R.Robins	[26]	100	June 11th	£45
1578	R.Nuberry	[8]	99	May	£36-0s-7d
1603	R.Robins	[26]	96	Sept.*	£25
1629	T.Gybbs	[25]	80	May	£24
1635	E.Lumberd	[14]	73	Oct.	
1609	Just.Hunt	[16]	63	April	£24
1606	Jn.Palmer	[1?]	61	May	£23-10s-8d

* Their sheep had been shorn in June. The wool was therefore sold or valued separately.

Robert Robins had nintysix sheep in 1603 worth £25 plus the addition of £6 of wool, giving their real value of £31. These unshorn sheep averaged out at 6s-6d. In 1631 unshorn sheep had risen to 10s-3d each, but may have included the lamb worth between 2s-6d and 3s. Devotion's sheep in 1631 were less than 3s-6d each. It naturally depended on the age, size and quality of the sheep and fleece. The two starred totals in the table above were for sheep shorn the previous June. Those taken before the middle of June included the wool.

Sheep from Holyrood to Martinmas.

The movement of sheep followed a yearly pattern. At the beginning of May before Holyrood day the flocks were gathered in the home closes to be sorted out ready for lambing and going out onto the fallow.

At Midsummer Thomas Holloway was busy we saw collecting in wool. At Lammas, the first of August, he sent round for cottagers' cow tithes and noticed where the sheep were grazing. In 1618 he observed that Mr Pallmer [1] had let William Hall his sheep commons for the past four years, and that "he layd them not wth shepe more than from lammas to martelmas but sold them at that tyme." The vicar only received 4s for four years on the 18th of May but adds "this yere 1618 he is at cominge/ home of shepe to pay me after/ lamas day"[c25/3 f7v]. Sometimes at Holyrood day the vicar deferred payment until Lammas day. "I was to have/ a tyth lambe of george/ gardener in anno 1618/ and having this yere ten/ lambs he kepeth my lambs/ untyll lamas that borton/ shepe come home and then/ I am to chuse the best/ lambs he hath in discharge/ of both the lambs for/ thes 2 yeres past" [c25/2 f23]. Others were also to "accompt for at Lamas." Where were the sheep for the three months from Lammas to Martinmas? In other parishes the sheep went out onto the meadows for the aftermath and this must have happened at Cropredy.

Holloway's next busy sheep day was observing on Saint Martinmas day how many sheep were going out on the commons for the winter grazing and Holloway would expect a tithe from the sheep sold from the Cropredy flocks. His own shepherd was busy preparing Thomas's flock. Several older and barren sheep were to be sold off for mutton and if the vicar was doing that then so were several others in the parish. In his farm accounts he made the following entry in November 1615 [c25/2 f9v]:

"Item shepe sold owte of the fields in noveber 1615.. 140
Item more of lambs in my gronds.. 20"

Thomas was still taking up many more commons than the land gave him. From whom was he leasing more? He had sent sixtynine ewes out and sixtysix lambs, some of which must have been born the previous year. He still had twenty lambs left so some of the ewes were also sold. Unless the flock back from Fawks common were sold off? The vicar continues:

"Mem. old shepe before my shepeherd in the fields of
all sorts wth tow rames branded in my sonne
Robins eard the 27 of november are six

score & syx shepe I say 126, besydes a shepe
of my shepeherds."

Sheep coming off the meadows at the beginning of November, where they had been since Lammas time could now move to fallow land at Martinmas, the 11th of November. Because the rams only entered the flock on the 27th of November it meant lambing began at Holyrood time. Two rams might just be alright, but why branded to Robert Robins, husband of his daughter Anne, unless he was still taking charge of the vicar's Cropredy flock? Could this flock be part of his daughter's dowry? Robins were able to lease about two and a half yardlands and needed to employ their own shepherd, two male servants and three maids for the joint household. There were a hundred sheep for Robins' shepherd to look after. The quality of the wool depended on his ability. Sheep feeding had to be regulated to suit the type of sheep and the time of year in their breeding cycle. This not only affected the lambs, but also the condition of the ewe's fleece. Caring for the flock under the Open Common Field system grazing was an art in itself and often took up twentyfour hours during lambing, even with a boy to help.

Some sheep were apparently pastured on the Astmore [Astmead] (p213) for the vicar received "of Rychard Toms/ for 43 shepe pastured in/ astmore from saynt Thomas/ day 1616 unto Mathias day then followinge -ijs-vjd/ *But I used to take a penny/ a shepe in my love I take/ not so much of him" [c25/3 f5v].

Winter Sheep Commons.

Thomas Holloway had to go up to Bourton and he wrote that George Gorstelow had acted as his witness. George and his mother-in-law, Widow Townsend, had set to Thomas Moules, a shepherd from Wroxton, some commons from Martinmas 1615 to the following March. Holloway wrote that they had been in "my parish" for sixteen weeks up to the 3rd of March and he therefore owed 72 pence for old sheep plus thirty others and a penny each for other ewes and a halfpenny for hoggerells. Altogether Moules paid him 8s with George Gorstelow present and no doubt the vicar then witnessed the payment of rent to George. The Gorstelow's of Bourton had more land for his own wool clip reached 120 pounds the previous year and 150 in 1616, but then dropped to 50 in 1617.

The Open Common Field was having to adapt to the state of the wool market. Not all landlords gave the farmer permission to sublet commons, but freeholders at Bourton and the B manor farm [8] at Cropredy had allowed younger sons and shepherds

to take up vacant ones. Shepherds specialising in just sheep were perhaps better able than a busy husbandman to make them pay by improving the quality of the flock and growing what the clothiers wanted.

While Holloway was busy calculating the previous year's lambs he was collecting in tithes from the winter commons. Over the winter a few of the shepherds who had insufficient land of their own had apparently taken on surplus commons and one of these was the smallholder John Truss [33](p413). He leased commons just as young Edward Gybbs did who still lived at home [25], while John Wyatt in Bourton took up what he could. Woodroses with their four yardlands let out commons on a regular basis as their flock was small. For the winter of 1613 they leased a hundred commons to John Wyatt. From Martinmas 1616 to Holyrood day 1617 Edward Gybbs [25] had thirtytwo winter hoggrell's commons from Woodroses and owed the vicar two florins tithe and so 4s was paid on the last day of April. In 1618 Woodrose again let to John Truss eighty commons for the winter and Thomas Holloway wrote "he had lyvinge 54. I/recd of him the xjth/ of februarye for that/ he had 50 comons of / wam toms I had but" 3s 4d [c25/3 f1, 6 & 7v].

Just occasionally Thomas waved part of a sheep tithe "I gave him [John] in my love vj back" [c25/4 f19]. John Ward in 1617 had sold sixty sheep and paid the vicar 5s. Why did the vicar need to give him back sixpence when he paid the correct amount?

Some winters took their toll so that the tithe was severely reduced, but at what cost to the poor owner? In 1614 several sheep died at Bourton. Thomas Cherry kept nine lambs and sold fourteen "the rest deadd." Thomas Gudden on his three quarter yardland "had 26 sheep/ he lade his comons But all dyed/ 3 excepted wch he sold" even so the vicar still collected a 3d tithe from him, but took nothing for his cows. The next year when Thomas Cherry had apparently been resowing the fields with grass he had not been able to stock them. This was one of the only mentions of the reseeding of a pasture (although Gudden had "lade" his). Bourton was an Open Common Field system, but there were already several enclosures to the west of the Broadway. Perhaps that was where Thomas Cherry was expected to have sheep the following year: "shepe next [year when] all fylles new layd" [c25/4 f6]. There were other places where they could lease good enclosed pasture from Michaelmas to May day. In 1616 several Bourton farmers leased Calcott Chambre's enclosed land in Williamscothe and Thomas Cherry took the chance to have ten couples grazing there [c25/7 f25v].

Holloway made a note on a separate folio now attached to the 1613 Easter oblations book [c25/7]: "The accompts for such tythes/ as I am to receive owte of/ the new close at willscott from/ mychaell 1616 untyll maij/ day 1617" [f25v].

This was followed by seventyfive sheep couples (ewe and lamb) who had grazed the enclosed field for an unspecified number of weeks. These belonged to Wam Baker, Thomas Gubben, Wam Plant, Thomas Cherry, all husbandmen and Robert Mansell, miller, from Bourton. The note went on to name twentyone sheep couples who had been there for a month owned by Edward Shepeherd, Thomas Blackwell, Rychard Tymes and Jhon Hall and Nycholas Plant's eight "barren shepe a fortnyght/ Jho qryry vx bar[ren] shepe a moneth/ Jhon lovell 6 bar. for a weeke/ Rych atkins 8 coples a fortnight." Would the beasts which followed from November to the 25th of March have been with the sheep? These were given as Mansell's eight, Baker's five beasts, a mare and a colt and Gubben's four beasts and sheep. Holloway finished the paragraph with "In conclusion I have/ vallwed my tythes unto/ them in love for that wynter/ tyth but xs" [c25/7 f25v].

Not all sheep stayed in one place for the whole winter letting, it was healthier to move them, once they were in lamb to another cleaner pasture. In 1616 some of the Little Bourton commons were let to Hanwell and Shotteswell shepherds. "Jhon Rundele a shepeherd/ wyntered in borton fels [fields]/...76 shepe whereof/ he had xj lambs before going forth of the fold wch was/ the 10th of march." Jho Bowers had "seven/ score shepe, ewes /60, & he had them into shottewell folde aboute/ shrove tuesday" [c25/4 f13].

The entries for John Wyatt's give some idea of the amounts he paid to the vicar for all the sheep tithes and although John underpays by 6s-8d the payment of 22s still seems a large contribution. If this was just a tenth of his earnings before rent and outgoings then it would appear a large slice of his possible £14. Thomas Holloway as vicar tried to collect in all his dues and when he sold some of his tithe lambs Thomas records sales of around 2s-6d each and even 3s in 1615. These had grazed at the tithe payers expense throughout the year, but why were they not given up soon after they were weaned rather than the following year? Could they have weaned them by August?

John Wyatt in 1615 had eighty commons belonging to Henry Hall and twenty off Atkins, both from Great Bourton. At least thirty of his lambs survive and the three he had to part with fetched 7s. As the summer quota of sheep was half that of the winter John first sold twentyone and owed the vicar a penny each paying 1s-9d. He then sold another twenty off Atkins land and paid 1s-8d to the vicarage. John still owed the vicar for the four score on Henry Hall's commons, but the entry states they were not paid for. After shearing his flock of around eightyfive he produced 210 lbs of wool (nearly 2.5 a fleece) which gave a tithe of 15.75 lbs in six fleeces to the vicar or else their value in money. This was owed on Mid -summer's day, but perhaps John had not sold it for he delays payment of 11s-6d until the 21st of August by then at a lower price per todd. Two years later [c25/4 f16v] Holloway writes "Jhon Wyatt was wth/ me one mydsomer day/ & sayth he had but seven/ shepe all wynter

the/ tyth to be pyd xijd." Was this Thomas Wyatt's [31] son John learning to farm while apprenticed as a farrier? If so he had already received quite a lengthy school education and was very knowledgeable about horses (p150).

Over the winter sheep would need feeding especially in the snow. Some hay was made with the flock in mind and several inventories mention sheep racks. Truss had eight sheep racks as well as old hurdles. Hunts in 1587 had "shipprackes", and a score of new hurdles worth £1. Only French's [4] had a sheep house in Cropredy, and they had six sheep racks and other implements worth 10s in 1617. Up the road at Nuberrys [8] in 1578 there was a hovel, sheep racks and two roles valued at £1-5s.

Lamb Tithes.

From Bourton's lamb tithes we know that they had the following number of lambs still in the town each May, though they vary enormously from year to year. In 1614 they had 210 thereby owing the vicar 21 lambs. 280 in 1615, 150 in 1616, 550 in 1617, 210 in 1618 and in 1619 just 160 lambs. Over these six years the vicar received 156 lambs, or money in lieu. When there were a few lambs over then they paid "ods."

In 1616 "andrew hall 30 lambs/ solde---ixs/" The vicar had received three lambs and sold them for 3s each which was a good price. "christopher clerydge solde/ him [Hall] 20 ewes 20 lambs/ wch lumbs christopher clerydge/ is to pay for/" The dealer had sold Andrew Hall these lambs and he did pay the vicar two lambs [c25/4 f10]. Andrew took over his father Henry's farm. In 1617 "andrew hall 76 lambs/ tythe 7 lumbs sold/ Jhon Robins his sheperd/ ten lambs one tythe/ sold & pyd in all ---ixs." Together they gave the vicar 19s instead of the lambs [c25/4 f15]. These transactions the vicar wrote down with the money or lambs he received and those he sold off. He also made a note of the penny due per sheep for all those the husbandmen had sold. In c25/4 f15 there is a memorandum to remind him of a transaction:

"Christopher clerydge wyndere/ 53 shepe ewes sold wth lumbs/ 9 & 12 weather shepe/ lumbs more xxj 3 tythe sold/ for---vijs vjd./ for the shepe sold---xxjd/ wherof I gave to him in/ my love ---xiijd." There are very few references to male castrated lambs. The "weathers" if not sent off young for the meat market went on to be called sherroggs grown for their wool.

Shepherds.

Many shepherds died more prosperous than the husbandmen of their day. Truss, a bachelor, had one of the largest flocks in Cropredy valued at 6s-8d each. He lived down Creampot at [33] next to his good neighbour Hall. Could this shepherd have tended both their flocks? Banbury shepherds did not leave large flocks of their own and had not been as fortunate as those who died in Cropredy and Bourton between 1570 and 1640. We have seen how young shepherds could winter their flocks and live in good houses as Huxeley [36] and Truss [33] did (ch.26). Coldwell [50] called his shepherds by their names, or employed them as man servants. They usually stayed on for several years. Few called their man a shepherd so perhaps shepherding at this stage was part of their overall training and only a few like Solomon Howse [9], Truss and Huxeley had become professional shepherds. When Sheeler was dying he did however consider himself a shepherd and he worked for Arthur Coldwell [50]. Sheeler left thirteen sheep worth £6. John Clyfton [7] and his wife Abishag who had the B. manor [8] cottage worked on that farm for most of their married lives and that must surely show how good they were. His skills would have been essential to maintain the flock to a fleece weight of 3 lbs and yet by 1618 the flock had fallen to sixteen due to the wool crisis.

Those who mention their shepherd in the Easter lists were: Lumberd [14] Hunt [16], Gybbs [25] and Robins [26], but not on every year, sometimes the man's name was given, or just man servant. If a son was at that stage he would train under a competent shepherd and then take over the task as Solomon Howse had done. The vicar tells us that Robert Robins had a shepherd called French and William Tustain who had married Truss's sister and come to live in their household had spent 1613 and 1614 working at Robins, possibly as a shepherd.

Edward Shepherd of Little Bourton, another shepherd, had left twentynine sheep and ten lambs in August 1627 worth £10. He had "shippicks" and a "stafehocke." Altogether his estate was over £50. In his will he left to Thomas Taylor "in consideracon of the sum of fowerteene shillings which I owe him, two of my best lambes which I have at Ladbroke to be delivered him at Lady day next." All his Bourton godchildren received "one sheepe a peice." So although the Bourton commons were often let, here was a shepherd with sheep at Ladbroke where the vicar lived. Was there any connection? Thomas Taylor, shepherd, and his wife worked for widow Smyth of Bourton.

Solomon Howse [9] had a pitch pan, brand and trevice as well as nine boards, hay and sheep racks. Palmer in 1606 left a pitch pan and brand, the signs of a shepherd. Truss [33] was another with a pitch pan which looks as though these three used hot tar and a brand to identify their sheep rather than ear snips. Scythes, and rakes for hay making as well as pitch forks to load the racks and make the ricks were as essential as their sheep hook, payring knife and sheep shears. If there were no

local hurdle makers then shepherds might have to make their own. If tools were not made by the shepherd himself, then they would be locally produced. A shepherd had a leather satchel called a scrip to carry their equipment around, but a horse and cart would have to be borrowed to get in the hay. None of the shepherds sheep dogs are given, in fact the impression would be of a dogless town which could not be true. It could be that there were too many dogs and they had no value? Perhaps dog owners were not asked to pay a tithe after every tenth puppy, because the puppy was not an asset to the vicar like lambs and calves, but would be an embarrassment. This may be one of the reasons why they have so few records. On the other hand the shepherd's dogs like the oxen were working animals and possibly exempt from paying a tithe?

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19. Pigs, Poultry and Gardens

Tithes "for the mills, besides warren, apples, fowls, eggs, pigges, chicken, as in other places" wrote the Revd Edward Brouncker in 1619 [c25/10 f2v].

All the farm's best products went to the market, wheat, malt, butter, cheese, poultry, eggs, young calves and some lambs, leaving behind a store pig, soft cheeses, vegetables and fruit with the lesser corn for bread. Therefore pigs were an essential part of the household economy. Only a few appear to have had sows so we have to presume the rest bought in their stores. Eighteen households had bacon hanging in flitches and over a third of the sites have stores, hogs, pigs or swine. The vicar's pig tithe books must be missing for only the odd reference that had escaped to another folio remain, but why did the vicar note in 1617 that John Densy of Bourton had "a pig sold him 12d" [c25/4 f18]? Easier to understand that Gybbs [25] who had four store hoggs worth £1-13-4d in May 1629 and seven flitches in the kitchen sent a pig to the vicar, who duly entered it into the poultry book: "Thos Gibbs a pygg" [c25/6 3v]. In 1616 Robert Mansell the miller has to give up two pigs, or pay their value of 2s-6d [c25/3 f4v].

Several had salting "troes" in the house for the pigs carcase must be salted down in a strong trough. Outside the pigs whey or barley grains needed a very heavy pig "thro." Many escape a mention so perhaps a trough was built into a yard wall of the hog houses? Robins [26] had "4 hogg troes," Richard Hanwell [34] was mentioned as having "hogg troves" and Pratts [24] owned "two hogge troves ijs." Widow Kynd's [31] were worth 2s-6d.

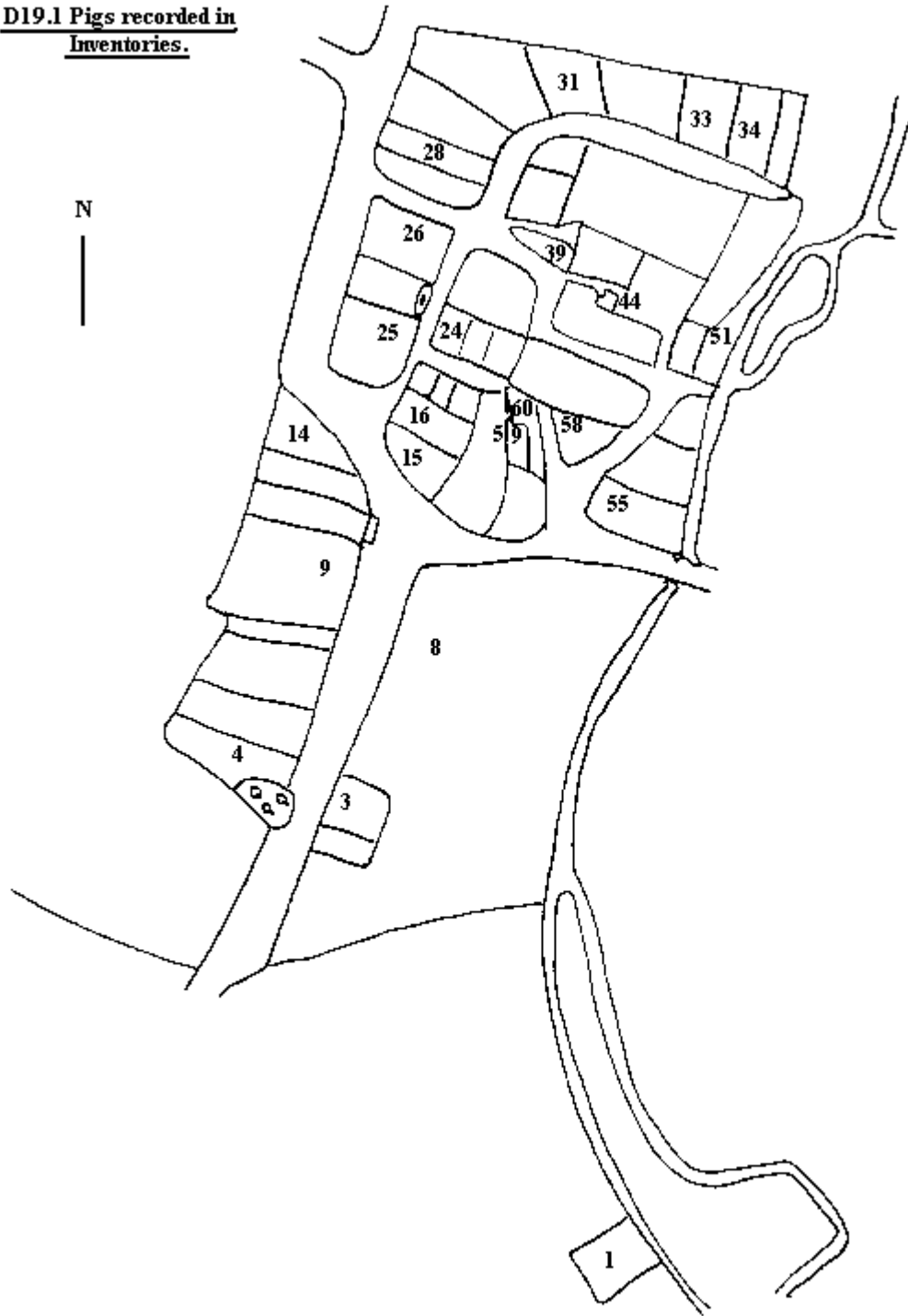
Nuberry [8] had their pigs in an enclosure to the north of the house. In May 1578 there were eight live hogs and nine young stores as well as 10s worth of "bacon in the Roffe" of the kitchen. Years later Woodrose at the same farm still had eight hogs, one pig and one sow. It was again May and inside Martha had four flitches worth 13s-4d. Robins [26] hung his in the cheese chamber, but French's [4] were still in the kitchen chimney (27s), either in a special smoke cupboard, or open to the wood smoke from the fire. Having preserved his flitches Solomon Howse [9] kept them in the chamber over the hall with the cheese, butter and apples.

It was only possible to feed a quantity of hogs if there was enough whey from the cheese or butter making to help fatten them up. Poorer husbandmen would save most of the whey for the family to drink, as their malt went as part of the rent. The rest of the barley could not be used for ale as it was required to make barley bread lightened with a little wheat flour. Their pigs

therefore had less whey and fattening brewing grains than a farmer with more land. Most households had pigs at some stage and twentythree had them when they died. Their widows continued to rear them having seen to them when their husbands were alive. If a craftsman had some land with a cow or two, then he could afford to feed a pig. Palmers [59] having a small herd kept swine. There was always a problem of containing them in an Open Common Field situation. Youngsters taking them out to forage had to be careful they did not get into a neighbour's close, orchard, or the vicar's churchyard (p448).

There were seventeen inventories in which other stock were kept, but the pig was absent and twentyone who had no stock whatsoever. Occasionally a pig appears in a will: "My Eldest sowe" was left to John Truss [33] by his father in 1614.

D19.1 Pigs recorded in Inventories.



Pigs recorded in Inventories.

Month	Name	Site	Stock in inventory	Value
1/1577	Gybbs	[25]	viiij young store swyne	...xviiijs
5/1577	Howse	[9]	ij hogges	.....XS
5/1578	Nuberry	[8]	viiij hogges ix yonge stores	3£
2/1578/9	Robins	[26]	a sowe 4 weanyge pyggs	....viiijs
10/1587	Hunt	[16]	fyve hoggs and three stores	1£....XS
9/1592	R.Howse	[28]	iiij hogs & v stores	....xlvijs..viiijd
11/1592	J. Kynd	[31]	a hog & a sowe	.....xvjs
			iiij store pigges	.....vs...iiijd
3/1593/4	Devotion	[3]	a hog & a pig	.....XS
12/1595	Smyth	[51]	one sowe	....xiijs...iiijd
3/1598/9	A.Kynd	[31]	a sowe & a store...	.....vs
2/1600/1	R.Howse	[24]	ij store Pigs	.....XS
11/1601	W.Howse	[9]	iiij hogs	.xxxiijs...iiijd
10/1602	Palmer	[1]	a store Pig and a hog trough	.....vs
12/1603	Robins	[26]	vij Swine	...xxiijs...iiijd
5/1606	Palmer	[1]	three store pigges	....xvjs
6/1607	Toms	[15]	iiij Pigs	.....iijs
1/1608/9	Wd Toms	[15]	...a store pigg	
4/1609	Hunt	[16]	the swine	.....iijs...iiijd
5/1609	Howse	[28]	nine Swine	.....?js

9/1609	Pratt	[24]	one sowe wth pigges one hogge	
			and three stores	.xxxiijs..iiijd
1/1609/10	Pare	[58]	a lyttell pigg	.....xviijd
12/1613	Cross	[51]	one ffat hog	....xxvs
2/1617/8	French	[4]	one swine	...xviijs
5/1625	Bokingham	[55]	one Pigge	.....vijs
5/1628	Woodrose	[8]	eight hogges	4£
10/1628	Suffolk	[60]	one sowe and one pigge	....xvjs..viijd
5/1629	Gybbs	[25]	fower store hoggs	1£ xiijs..iiijd
9/1630	Tanner	[39]	one sowe and two pigges	1£
3/1631/2	Lumberd	[14]	3 hogs	1£
5/1631	Devotion	[3]	one pigg hogg	.....vjs
6/1631	Robins	[26]	seven hoggs & one sowe	
			...& piggs	4£
1/1632/3	Allen	[44]	...one pigg	
4/1632	French	[4]	Hoggs...(& poultry)	(2£)
3/1634/5	Hall	[34]	fower store hogges	2£
2/1634	Trusse	[33]	two hogges	2£....xs
10/1634	Devotion	[3]	two hogges	.....xiijs..iiijd
6/1634	Palmer	[59]	...a pigge	
4/1635	Wyatt	[31]	two hogges	1£
10/1635	Lumberd	[14]	three hogges	1£....xs

5/1637	Toms	[15]	one pygge	
3/1641	Howse	[9]	two hoggs...	

Poultry.

" My [tithe] eggs sold in anno/ 1613 in all was But xxijs id ob" [c25/7 f5v].

The price of eggs has been used to measure the standard of living in a market area. Their value was known to closely follow the rise and fall of prices. Unfortunately Thomas Holloway fails to give us the number of tithe eggs he sent to the market.

The vicar's small tithes from poultry were, the Reverend Edward Brouncker wrote, the same "as in other places." However not many parishes left detailed evidence of sixteenth century small tithes. One reference was discovered on Gower. Apparently anyone keeping poultry must give two eggs for every cock, drake or turkey cock and one egg for every hen, duck or turkey hen, on Good Friday. The vicar's poultry tithes at Cropredy were due on New Years day (March the 25th) and the eggs at Easter. The quantities owed are vague even when a hen was given in lieu of eggs. Thomas wrote down who had given them to him on folios kept for his own information [c25/6]. The poultry tithe record includes households who no longer kept poultry when they died. Unfortunately ten households who left no inventory were also missing from the tithe book including Hall [6] who must have had poultry. Lucas [2] was one of those who did not pay a poultry tithe and they had a flock not a feather mattress. They may have been one of the few who never had hens. A third of the town had kept poultry right up to their death. It looks as though nearly all households were able to keep some hens, but these were given up in prolonged illness, or passed on to younger members of the household.

Poultry were found in far more inventories than other stock and three had only poultry. They sold eggs, raised chickens to sell at point of lay, or replaced their own. Pullets were sold as already laying, cocks were reared to sell for breeding, or for eating and the excess number of male chicks as capons for the table. The end fate for the good and bad layers was a useful addition to the pot. No feather went to waste (p647). For all those households who had hens they became an important item for the women to take to market. The fact that the vicar had from Cropredy alone seventyeight hens, two chickens, four pullets, fortyseven capons, thirtyseven cocks and five geese, often in lieu of eggs from 1611 to 1619, means that there were a great many cockerels announcing the dawn and hens broadcasting the laying of an egg, in this seventeenth century town. In 1615 his total from Cropredy, Bourton and Wardington came to a hundred and seven birds and in 1617 he had a hundred and

eighteen. In 1619 Thomas wrote "for henes sold xxxvijs." How many hung in the vicarage nether house to feed his household [c25/6 fols.7v,9v & 12]?

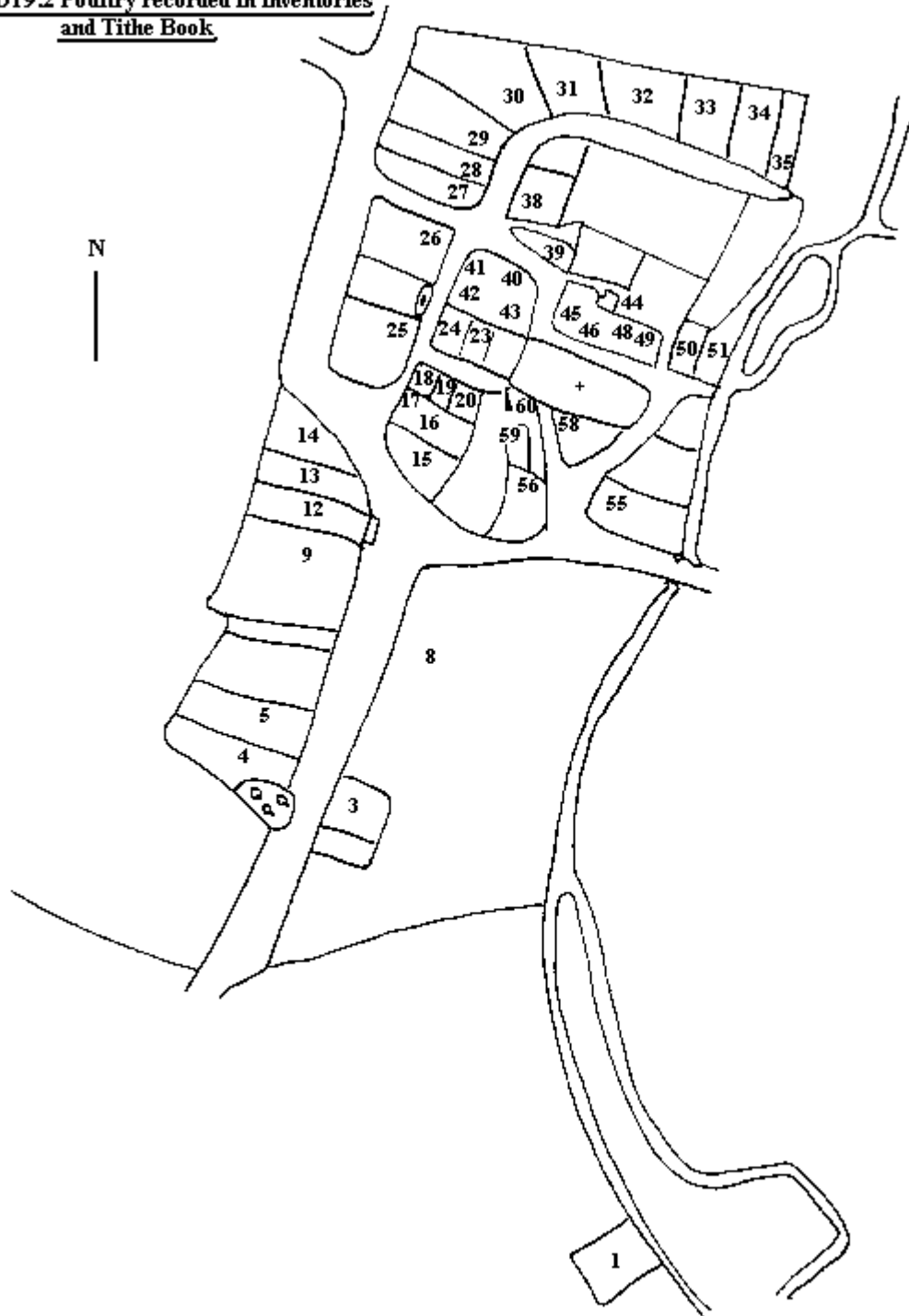
In 1625 two hens and one cock were valued at 1s -4d. In 1628 two hens were worth 10d and in 1634 six hens and one cock were equal to 3s, making a hen worth 5d and a cock 6d.

The Nuberrys [8] used to breed turkeys. From Wardington a John Nuberry gave two capons in 1612 and then a turkey for three years running. These were not the large American turkeys, but the smaller guinea fowl from Turkey. By 1628 Nicholas Woodrose [8] left a turkey cock and hen worth 2s-6d. John Cross [51] at the upper mill had five turkeys worth 7s-6d in 1614. A valuable bird.

Ducks could use the moat and Nuberrys [8] had fourteen "duxes" and a drake. They also had two geese, a gander and thirteen goslings worth 5s-4d. Apart from their valuable quills to use as pens, painting brushes and flight feathers for arrows, geese were able with tarred feet to be driven to a local market, or up to London. The second of the three inventories mentioning geese was Johan Robins [26] who had one cock, three hens and two geese in 1579.

The last was Redes [32] who had three geese one cock and eight hens worth 3s-4d in 1577. Until quite recently geese were still raised in special pens under the scullery work surface, for free roaming geese would find what they considered a safe place, but often fell prey to the fox. Tanner [39] is the only one to provide a tithe goose. He gave five between 1611 and 1617, one of which was a "fat gose." None appear in his inventory.

D19.2 Poultry recorded in Inventories
and Tithe Book



Poultry recorded in Inventories and Tithe Book.

Geese made excellent guard dogs setting up a fearful noise at the approach of strangers. They also appreciated a pond. Redes had one in the yard and Tanner had one in his close on the corner of their lane with Creampot. Gybbs and Robins had the parish Hobb's pool between them on the High Street and Nuberry's geese and ducks could use the moat. Hentlowes [35] and Hall [6] who each had a nearby pond fail to record geese.

Hen houses escape a mention if there were no moveable objects stored in them. Geese and turkeys would require quite large boxes within a hen house to keep them comfortable, when all the poultry were shut up at night. In one of the two hen houses recorded weaver Watt's [27] was large enough to store his ladder. Up at Bourton Thomas Smyth had "under they henn roaste A stone sesterne" [MS. Will Pec.51/1/2]. If the valuable water cistern (13s-4d) had not been kept under the hen roost it would not have been mentioned. Few people would store anything in an occupied poultry house which meant the appraisers ignored them. Kynds, Redes and Watts [31,32,34] down Creampot all had hen pens. Rede's had theirs in the hall. Presumably ready to go outside when in use. Only a few would raise chickens in the house, unless foxes were about.

An unusual item appears in the poultry tithe book: Isaac Rychardson sent a dozen of larks [c25/6 f12], which reminds us that many birds were considered an essential addition to the diet, especially after a poor harvest.

Ale and Wine: Tithes or Presents?

A few records of ale, wine and "sacke" were entered into the Poultry book. James Bostocke [41] gave the vicar a bottle of wine and in 1615 he took round a bottle of "sacke" [c25/6 f4v & f6]. Thomas Densey, the blacksmith of the later Brasen Nose Inn site [13] also sent a bottle of wine in 1612 [f3v] and Elizabeth Bostocke who was working for Wyatt's [13] sent a pot of ale. This surely indicates they were paying a tithe on ale and wine they sold? Or was it in lieu of some other tithe, by arrangement with the vicar? Young Woodrose [8] contributed a bottle of sack in 1615. Mr Palmer gave him "a bottell of clarett wyne" in 1619 [f12] which would be used as communion wine. Presumably these last two were not tithes on sales for not all would have a licence to sell? Edward Bodinton (a man unknown to Wardington or Cropredy registers) presented a bottle of muscadet in 1619 [f12].

Rabbits.

Rabbits were called conys in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. They had become part of the wealthier man's diet. Thomas Holloway had at least two suppliers in Cropredy. Robins [26] in 1612 gave two and his neighbour across the High Street James Bostocke [41] gave the vicar a pair in 1613, with the bottle of wine, and two years later another cony. Wardington sent thirteen, but only two came from Bourton. What was the rabbit population at that time? Were these from a warren, or descendants of escapees? Rabbits had already become a nuisance in some areas though they were still more than half a day's wage for a craftsman being worth 7d around 1600.

Doves.

In 1509 the B manor's dove house [8] was mentioned in a lease [BNC: Hurst 88]. A hundred years later Woodrose [8] had a "little dovecote" built of stone and covered with "slat and tyle." Tiles were seldom recorded in Cropredy and these must have been specially obtained being essential to the construction of this particular building, or were they left over from the south wing (p515). No doves were given to the vicar from the two manor farms, but in 1615 Woodrose paid the vicar a shilling tithe for the dovecote (p234) which meant the expected profits were around 10s a year [c25/3 f1v]. Part of the value lay in the rich manures which were highly prized, but their other uses came from the constant supply of food for the table, produced largely at the expense of the other tenants' crops.

The little dove house of one bay was on the north side of the cattle yard , probably at the west end. It was next to the malt house and kiln and backing onto Dovehouse [Pigeon] Close (p512). The dovecote may always have been next to the malthouse for later the close behind was called the Malthouse Close. There are no other records of pigeons for only manor farms could have a dovecote. The position of the A manor's dovecote has been lost.

Bees.

Few hives appear in the inventories and honey being perishable is not mentioned. A honey tithe should have been paid at Christmas, but no record remains. The Holloways [21] would be bound to have their own hives to obtain honey for sweetening. It was necessary when preserving fruit in conserves and making jam for the winter. Their cook would also want some to preserve the hams. Elizabeth would need it to help make up her household medicines and if her hands were roughened by work, honey would be used in a cream to soften them. Wounds were covered with a linen cloth dipped in soft

warm wax or lanolin. Her young maids must have a beeswax polish to keep the furniture shining and if any liquids were required to stand for months they must be securely stoppered up with the help of some wax. Fenny [43], her neighbour, might add some beeswax to harden his candles. Down Hello [58] the saddlers required the wax to waterproof their leather and so did the Church Street [45, 46 & 49] leather workers making the ploughman's boots and hedger's gloves, unless they used mutton fat. Those who were able kept a hive. Their bees had the Cherwell meadows below as well as the town orchards, trees and flowers around each close, all within a mile radius.

In 1559 John Sherman of Little Bourton had eight hives of bees to give to his children. One each to John and Katherine, and two to William, Jullian and Besse [183 250v 151r]. In 1597 part of a hive belonging to widow Hurst who lived in Round Bottom [52] was recorded. Empty hives were also assessed at Woodroses [8]. At least three more are mentioned in Bourton inventories. John Cleredge had six "stocks" [hives] in 1609 and he leaves them to his two sons along with all the horses and cows [PCC 114]. Robert Moles left four in 1610 which were worth 15s and the three at Thomas Smyth's in 1611 (who did not have a son to inherit them) had a value of 20s . At Monkeytree House [36] in 1703 a Thomas Batchelor, shepherd, left an acorn hive [MSS. Wills Pec. 41/1/21, 51/1/2, 33/4/55].

Skep hives made of straw could be easily moved. When the colony grew too large they would swarm and hopefully be caught and moved to a spare hive, so increasing the stock. To collect the honey the hives chosen might have to be destroyed unless the beekeeper could devise a way of saving the colony. They were not as easy to control as the modern ones and some say they were more subject to disease. Nevertheless skep hives were produced and used for centuries very efficiently and the honey the bees provided was part of the diet. It could be that the whole family took charge of these important colonies, as few die owning bee hives having already passed them on before they died. The making of new hives may have been a task on an autumn evening for the poorer family, otherwise they could be purchased from a skep-maker. All the tools would be home produced from bones or wood. The needle being made from the drum stick of a goose and later a turkey. Part of a cow horn was used to make a ring to ensure each coil of straw was of the same thickness.

The vicar could claim his tenth from the sale of a hive and did so when Thomas Atkins sold one in 1614. The vicar received 2s-4d [c25/4 f2]. This meant the hive was worth 15s-4d, but Robert Lord's [1a] certainly was not. He sold one in 1614 for 5s and the vicar claimed 6d . In 1617 Robert Mansell sold "4 hyves" for 34s and the vicar was paid a tithe of 3s-4d [c25/3 fols.1 &7]. After taking on an occupied hive the new "owner" would find a way of doing their former bee-keeper a service. Some sales must have been for a new empty hive or more than one. The Mansells of Slat mill and the Lord family who were fulling at

Cropredy Lower mill, both had ideal places to keep bees amongst the old meadows. Did someone in their families make and sell skeps, which led to the payment of a tithe?

In 1631 Robins [26] died leaving eight stocks of bees and someone had had to go out and tell the bees of his death. The daughter took over the farm and so the bees had to be passed to a son-in-law and not quietly to a son. They were worth £2-5s which shows the value of this useful side line. Robins' appraisers include the bees which makes them a little more than Robert Lord's new empty hives. Did Robins keep them in his orchard facing east, or in the wall of one of his buildings? Most hives needed some sort of protection and apart from a hackle, rather like a tall Welsh hat made of straw and fastened over the skep, the best shelter was specially built with a stand for the hive having three sides and a roof, but open to the front. Or else special boles, like alcoves in the wall just big enough to take a hive. Apart from the necessity of keeping the bees cool in summer they needed to be warm in winter and always dry. To keep bees and obtain honey needed the skill and experience passed on from generation to generation.

The earliest skeps could have been made of woven willow or hazel, but straw or rush hives were also made. It depended on the type of farming. Rye straw was popular in the north and areas like Cropredy where it was still grown, but wheat straw may have taken over as more was planted. In wetter areas the field rush would be gathered in the summer and used successfully. Bees prefer to live in a sphere shaped hive which allows them the maximum amount of warmth. In 1609 the Reverend Charles Butler recommended a seventeen inch high hive with a middle diameter of fifteen and thirteen inches at the skirt. To find the inside volume it was said to be large enough when able to hold three pecks of grain. The top would collapse with the combined weight of bees and combs, so a cop (a round piece of wood about one inch thick) with a central hole into which the top end of a willow or hazel rod split into four could be fixed. The bottom four ends had to reach down the hive to the third or fourth coil from the base and there they were sharpened and made to pierce the sides, but forming a tension that would keep the cop in position to support the weight and prevent the top of the hive collapsing inwards.

The coils of straw or rushes were bound tightly with brambles gathered at the end of autumn and prepared by stripping and then splitting and after soaking stropped to tender them with a strong piece of wood. The pith had first been scraped out.

The skeps were covered by hackles of straw to protect them from the weather. The straw had woven bands to form a skirt and once over the skep a gart, or band, was placed to help hold the hackles and provide something to anchor the guy ropes to. Charles Butler wrote that it needed to be removed "now and then" to "meet with mice, moths, spiders, earwigs etc" to see

what damage the mice had made and to air the hive "on a warm and windy day after much wet." Damp hives were dangerous to the bees' health. The hazel, willow, straw and reed hives had to be daubed to make them waterproof. In 1609 Butler gave his recipe for doing this. "Cow cloome tempered with gravelly dust, or sand, [lime] or ashes." The best was "neats" dung [from any working animal] for this was "good against the gnawing of mice. With this cloome close up the skirts and brackes of your hives that there be no way into them." G.Markham adds that a cross-bar was put in the hive and that "the mortar be at least 3 in thick close to the stone [as it rested in the alcove] so that the least air may not come in." "Cloome" or cloam from the stable was also used to make good strong floors. [Butler Charles *The Feminine Monarchie* 1609 and Markham G. *The Nature Ordering and Preserving of Bees* 1614 and Alston Frank *Skeps* 1987].

Gardens.

"The widow car/ter [of Claydon?] payd for tythe of her garden & orchard/" 2s-11d a quarter. "Wilscot hath cottengers & they payd my predessor/ Apples & there fruites of there gardens"Revd Brouncker [c25/10 f2].

"In March and in April from morning till night
In sowing and seeding good huswives delight.
To have her a garden, or other like spot,
To trim up the house and to furnish the pot" Tusser.

A husbandman with a wide close had plenty of room for his yards and garden. Those on narrower sites might have them behind and to one side as Watts [34] did.

A backyard could be the kitchen garden laid out in a formal square of four triangular plots with paths between. Herbs and shrubs such as lavender, hyssop, thrift, germander and box were useful to the household and could double up as rough surfaces to spread out the drying linen. Some had a woodyard leading to the orchard where certain stock could graze. A large vegetable garden might have to be beyond the rickyard, cattle yards and orchard, but the most convenient place was near the house. The three farms in Church Lane were denied space and must use what they had less freely. The vicar did have the churchyard and close opposite to use for grazing and this may have left room for some vegetables behind the house. Some had walls dividing the yards with thatched tops to preserve the stone, or double hedges.

In such gardens as Gorstelow's of Prescote manor the formal garden included part of the surrounding moat and was enclosed by a good stone wall. Inside were groves and walks presumed to have been there since Prescote was some kind of religious house. Here Richard Gorstelow used to walk in the privacy of the garden to help his agitation brought on by trying to keep the peace with his second wife [Gorstelow W. *Charls Stuart and Oliver Cromwel United* . 1655].

Sabins who followed Normans into their Church Street cottage [48] were known as gardeners and there may have been work for them at Prescote. The estate was owned by the Danvers of Chelsea who had laid out a London (and Prescote?) garden in the Italian style by the end of the sixteenth century, though Walter Gorstelow's believed their garden layout came from the distant past. Even so the walks, groves and vegetable garden all required gardeners who must have lived in Cropredy.

Only the Woodroses [8] have a surviving tithe record for their garden, but as the rest of the husbandmen's tithe book has been lost it does not mean they had no gardens. While ploughed land owed a tithe to the rector (or in Cropredy's case the lay impropriator), the gardens which would usually be tilled by a spade owed tithe to the vicar, even if some of it could be ploughed [Tate W.E. p138]. Robert Woodrose the father and Nicholas the son each had their own plot inside the moat as well as their orchard. Nicholas paid the smallest tithe of fourpence and Robert who had the larger plot a shilling. By 1617 Nicholas's was increased to 8d. Just before November 1619 the vicar's records stop. He had not received the garden tithes, although the rest had come in. Perhaps the custom was to wait and see how their harvest was first and the payment was then due on St. Thomas's day [c25/3 fols.1v,3,4v,6 & 8].

The gardens would be producing onions, leeks, cabbage, kidney beans, parsnips, carrots (towards the end of our period), beetroots (a fairly new vegetable), cucumbers, lettuce and radishes as well as the essential herbs needed for cooking. To feed the large Holloway household Elizabeth would need help in the garden. In April 1613 Thomas Elderson [38] was in the vicarage doing the garden or some carpentry out there [c25/7 f5v]. It was not a cheap means of gaining food for in 1656 one and a half pounds of best onion seed cost 5s [P.R.O. S.P.46/100 fol 242F]. Once a garden was started then seeds must be collected and exchanged with other gardeners [Vegetables and herbs from Henry Lyte's *Niewe Herball* 1578 and John Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sole* 1629].

Herb gardens were necessary for the making of potions and medicines. Herbs were for salads, meat cooking and hanging up in the house. Tusser listed herbs all suitable for strewing amongst the rushes on the hall floor. Basil, baulm, camomile, costmary, cowslip and paggles, daisies of all sorts, sweet fennel, germander, hysop, lavender, lavender spike, lavender cotten,

marjoram, mint, mandeline, pennyroyal, roses of all sorts, red mints, sage, tansy, violets and winter savory [Tusser: *Points of Good Husbandry* 1557]. Others add rosemary, saffron and thyme and probably many more which were then grown locally. There were books available for the minority. One was William Bulliein's *Bulwark of Defence* against all sickness printed in 1562. Later on Culpepper's books helped for the first time to take the mystery out of the medical world. He set about translating the latin texts, so that at last readers with no knowledge of latin could learn about the various properties of the plants and the cures they could effect.

Many cottage gardens were seen by foreign visitors to be a riot of colour. They might have the popular pinks, carnations, sweet williams, hollyhocks, cowslips, marigolds, daffodils, poppies, snapdragon, lily of the valley, paeonies and pansies to fill up the corners, and for those with the best scents they would beg a "strip" from a neighbours plants. Useful plants such as violets and roses were needed for strewing, scent and cooking. Rose water was sprinkled over floors and furniture as well as faces, hair and hands. Anything to keep at bay evil smells thought to bring illness.

Orchards played an essential part in the diet by producing apples and wardens [cooking pears]. The vicar received tithes from the orchards which he recorded in the poultry book. Thomas Gorstelow [12] sent up apples to the vicarage in 1617, as well as a hen. Widow Whyte [46] twice gives the vicar produce from her orchard whose trees still remained, or had been replaced, down the years until two hundred years later Mary Smith mentions apples stored in the attic which was once widow Whytes [46] house. Approximate sites of old orchards are given on site plans in Part 4.

The millers [51] had an orchard in the close behind. At the top of Church Street the Bostockes [41] and Suttons [42] had orchards and across the High Street Gybbs [25] and Robins [26] both had part of their close planted with apple trees. Cooking apples were still there before 1914 and part of that ground is now under Orchard View. Eldersons [38] could also rely upon apples to see them through the winter which were taken up to the cockloft, as his neighbour the Huxeley's [36] would be doing. Growing pear trees up the gable end, or on the front and rear elevations surely started after the rebuilding in stone. Huxeley had at least two if not four pear trees growing against the house and barn. He had room to plant an orchard to the north of the cart entrance tucked into the bend on Creampot Lane. The Carters of Round Bottom [57] had a small orchard, but Bokingham's [55] on the opposite side of the Lane had room for a much larger one. Down the Long Causeway Gorstelows [12], Howse [9], Woodrose [8] and Lucas [2] are amongst those who were mentioned in Holloway's books. The Hall's [6] and their neighbours had room and necessity to grow them as well, but did not pay a tithe on the few remaining years of the book.

Solomon Howse [9] had apples in 1641, while Kendall the thatcher in 1596 had three stryke of apples and one of the Palmers in 1602 had 5s-4d worth of apples.

On the 4th of May 1637 Dr Brouncker was still living away from Cropredy and had allowed Mrs Chauncy the grazing of the churchyard and "I have given her the orcharde/ [with] the fruits for this summer" [c25/4 f31]. Where exactly was Holloway's orchard?

Planting and growing hops along a hedgerow spread rapidly from 1556 to the end of the sixteenth century. Before 1556 they were imported.

Summary.

Cropredy's husbandmen had made a fresh agreement in the 1570's and balanced their crops and stock as well as possible. The fixed amount they could sow and the quota of stock per yardland would have made any variations near impossible in this mixed farming community, unless they found extra land to lease. Although flock sizes did vary in other neighbouring parishes, cattle seldom could. None could go into intensive beef rearing with just a third of their land down to grass. Only the two manor farms brought their stock up to twelve or sixteen, simply because they usually had the most yardlands. Large flocks of sheep we found mostly under shepherds, but others like the vicar, did speculate in sheep even in an Open Common Field situation, though nothing like the large flocks to be found in more pastoral regions, or on enclosed manors. The corn and stock in their personal estate was found quite naturally to rise with each yardland taken on and only Truss the shepherd had a high stock percentage of 77% and a low 5% of corn. In 13, the Trust and Borrowing chapter, there is a chart giving the totals of thirteen inventories to show the percentages of stock, corn and household possessions in Cropredy (p189).

In some parishes with good arable, but away from convenient markets the balance between stock and corn varied enormously from Cropredy. They grew just enough for their household and perhaps to pay the rent and tithe. If we once again compare with south Gower (for their records were in English and not Welsh) it was found they kept more cattle and sheep, but although their cheese and quality of wool were in the same class as Cropredy the value of their stock was much lower. David Beynon lived in the next parish to Rhossili.

Robin Robins in 1603 [26]	David Beynon of Llanddewi 1603
Inventory: £156-5s	Inventory £89
.....£ - s - d	.....£ - s - d
11 cows.....15	10 cows.....10.
	4 oxen.....5 .6..8
	<u>Rest = 9.....2 .6..8</u>
	<u>23 head of stock:.....£17.13 .4.</u>
96 sheep .....£25	150 sheep.....£28.15..0
+ wool.....6	
5 horses, 2 colts....15	5 horses.....4 ..3..4
7 swine.....1...3...4	8 pigs.....13..0
Poultry .....6...8	Poultry.....2..0
Total stock 40%....£62.10...0	Total stock 57%.....£51...6..4
.....crop 15% ....£23...6...8	.....corn 7%.....£6..13..4
.....house 24% ...£37..10..0	.....house 12%.....£11...3..4
Equipment	
Lease.....21%	Missing.....24%

Although we do not know the quality of the stock set against each other it would seem that if David Beynon had Banbury and Warwick markets close at hand he might have had an estate worth almost £50 more than he died with [Emery F.V. "West Glamorgan farming circa 1580-1620." *The National Library of Wales Journal* p392 ff for David Beynon's stock].

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20. Arable Land

The many advantages of the Open Common Field System have not as far as I know been vigorously put forward by any Croptredy tenants, yet in the 1570's the new landlord seems to have appreciated it. At any point in time the manor court could get together and reshuffle the balance between pasture and arable should that be deemed necessary. He must take into account that the rules they made to work the land had to be by common consent, or else they would not achieve their object. This could of course make further changes difficult and halt any progress until perhaps the next generation took over, although it has already been mentioned that once a balance was altered in favour of milch cows for cheese then new beef rearing tenants would not buy into a lease.

Those who followed the type of farming going on in Croptredy could make a living. Up to twentyfour husbandmen and a few smallholders were farming the same Open Common Fields and surviving. They would try and lease more land when the family was growing, but release it in time for the next generation. It cannot be proved that any one family was allowed to take extra land at the expense of others. Only Hentlowe and R.Howse had five yardlands, but the next generation was not able to do the same, the extra land had gone to others. It took a lot of effort to save up for the next twentyone year lease for each yardland. Once land was enclosed and a farm had groups of fields, the good and bad were not so fairly distributed. How much easier to take on or discard a balanced half yardland parcel of strips according to the size of the household. Also by having strips of land any new tenant could be catered for without too much disturbance to others.

Croptredy husbandmen did not need to adapt to the up and down husbandry system spreading through the country, as already they had found a way to achieve a fairly adequate greensward acreage and the worst leyland within the south arable areas were already kept to an unavoidable minimum. The parish was in a mixed farming area for hundreds of years and the Open Common Field could emphasise arable or pasture by a delicate balancing to suit the husbandmen. Each and every tenant being of similar status into the early seventeenth century. After which a rising number of gentry, and husbandmen becoming yeomen with land elsewhere began to change the makeup of the group of tenants who must see to the day to day life of the town in the absence of a resident vicar or landowner. Could the reason behind their increasing wealth be the expansion of the larger towns demanding more bread coupled with the increase in the price of wheat ?

Corn.

"The corne towards/ Borton that yere 1613" [c25/2 f4].

We pass from the manuring of the land by sheep and the spreading of yard manures, to the cultivation of the soil by ploughing. The team pulling the plough, guided by the ploughman produced the tilth over which the seed would be broadcast by hand. George Dyer-als-Devotion [3] described his "Earable ground" in a terrier of 1669. He was using a word which combined the "ear" from earth with "arare" the plough. Sometimes they would speak of needing five earths to clean the fallow land of weeds, to leave it ready to manure and plant with barley seed [Tusser].

Terriers which have been used to find the distribution of leyland can also reveal how the arable land was distributed amongst the tenants. Different conclusions have been made from the method of rotating the strips, either by Furlongs, Quarters or the two Fields. The following is still very much open to discussion, but a start had to be made somewhere.

The arable land in Cropredy was situated in two large Open Common Fields. In some parishes having two fields did not necessarily mean one year for crop, one year for fallow as it did in Cropredy. Quartering the fields to allow a four year rotation was possible. Some parishes in other counties rotated by Furlongs, but to find out what the neighbouring parishes did in North Oxfordshire we must await their parish studies. Cropredy had already divided the land into Quarters, though they do not provide the solution to the planting of crops. Each field was also divided up into furlongs, and every furlong into strips. Was it possible to discover how a few of the tenant's parcels of land were distributed?

All the tenants lands were scattered over the two fields with their strips usually in separate furlongs. When several half yardland parcels had been leased then some tenants were bound to have more than one strip to a furlong. A half yardland parcel was too small to have a land in every furlong and yet Devotion with two parcels had two or three in a few furlongs and none in others. Had the College reorganised when they took possession of the estate? Once a strip had been allocated it would appear from the series of terriers (1609-1769) to remain constantly belonging to that parcel and place. There are exceptions when tenants did have two strips making up an acre, though when this had occurred is seldom known. Generally it would appear that the only thing to change over the years were the names of the tenants leasing the neighbouring strips, by which the location was identified. Tenants of the same farmstead's follow each other in their leasing of that parcel, and it was thought they could only belong to that property's lease. Some former demesne parcels however had been detached from the A

manor farm and these were available for the tenants from both manors. It is possible that even these parcels retained their original collection of strips.

A new leaseholder would need six or more reliable neighbours to show him the two fields, and to help him note down a list of his strips. He must then write up a fair copy and have it witnessed by the townsmen before (if on the B. manor) conveying it to the Brasenose College as part of the tenancy agreement. One badly presented terrier was obviously not acceptable to the Bursar. The tenant of [35] explains:

"The Tarriar witch was Presented before was mistaken by a friend holm was intrupted in my absense for that was but a copy of this witch/ I had taken as naybores had showed me the land: for I had lefter order so this to a senter when/ .. the mistake. I was very sorry intending for to come over my [self] with this but/ was prevented..NehemiahMansell 1653" [BNC:552].

William Hall wrote the oldest surviving College terrier in 1609 for Springfield's [6] two and a half yardlands. It described the direction of each strip he leased and gave the names of the neighbours farming on both sides of his allotted strips in the south arable field:

"Imprimis three lands above smaleway, Edward Lumberd on the east side and John Pratt on the west side..."[BNC:558] [Lumberd and Pratt being occupiers of farms 14 & 24]. The list went on for a few pages until both the North and South Field's arable and leyland belonging to Hall's five parcels of land had been described.

In 1655 Springfield's neighbours to that particular land were now "Nehemiah Haslewood east and Edmond Pratt on the west side" [BNC:558]. From other records we know that Lumberd's widow had married Nehemiah Haslewood and that they now farmed "Lumberds" [14] next to the blacksmith's. John Pratt [24] had been replaced by his son Edmond on the corner of Church Lane and the High Street. The mention of others in this way has proved very useful in tracing descendants and leaseholders for farms on the A manor which has only one surviving terrier.

The B. manor terriers show that each half yardland parcel had its strips spread evenly between the two fields, except for the manor farm itself, which had several collections of strips called pieces. None of the other tenants on this manor had the privilege of blocks of strips. Was this demesne land belonging to the B manor exchanged when the manor was first split up (p8)? By 1609 the two fields had been halved to give Cropredy four Quarters. Hayway and the Hackthorn in the South Field,

Field End and Downland in the North Field. Again we do not know when this took place. It could have been in the 1570's, or in an earlier reorganisation. Without manor rolls the date has to remain a mystery. Other parishes with written accounts of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries had already begun to change from two to three fields, and a few to four. Not all the later Cropredy surveys mention Quarters, for the rent was always based upon the amount of land they had in the North and South Fields as well as the advantages for that particular tenement. The early terriers ignore the Quarters and use the furlongs. A terrier made in 1548 for the A manor demesne land on the South Field of Cropredy included Lamecot, Marsh, Long Marsh, Harble, Nether and Over [Hag]thorn, Rushford, Hanging, Nether and Over Londymer Furlongs as well as Ballard Leys above Hanging Furlong and a few other butts and leys. At that time Marsh and Long Marsh appear to be still mainly arable (Fig.1.5 p19).

Not all parishes appear to have gone from a basic two field to a four Quarter system as Cropredy and neighbours had, though this change did not do away with the North and South Fields in Cropredy. Both terms appear in the later terriers. Keeping to alternate years for planting the North or South Fields was a long established custom and any rotation had to fit into this while it still operated. Why then did they bother to Quarter them? The vicar and others appear to plant all the corn in one field and have the newer crop of peas taking up some of the fallow in the other.

Bourton had also divided their two fields into Quarters. They had a Mill Quarter [near their new windmill on Broadway], Hills Quarter [by the Slack over the Broadway], Langland Quarter [partly between the water mills] and a Swans Quarter [east of Little Good Farm]. The greensward was on the Hill's called the "Upper side" and in Langland on the East Side [Curtesy of Mr B. Cannon of Bourton's farm deeds].

Wardington and Claydon had also changed to Quarters. Was there any reason why parishes in this immediate area should have favoured Quarters? Was it the influence of the Ecclesiastical parish to which they all once belonged, or something to do with the fact that the Bishop's Estate had taken over an even earlier estate which covered a large part of North Oxfordshire? Some other four field systems appear in South Warwickshire, but mostly that county moved to three with other Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire parishes.

One reason why the majority of parishes in the Midlands changed to a three field system was because it was easier to rotate the crops from winter corn to spring corn to fallow. With four Quarters you might expect fallow, barley, peas then wheat.

Cropredy hovered between two and four. To change from two to three or more required a soil good enough to stand the extra strain of decreasing the fallow periods.

Cropredy was known to have good agricultural land, but over cultivation without adequate manures may have led to some decrease in harvest loads until more advanced methods arrived. On the other hand some tenants may have been able to sow more bushels to the acre in an attempt to increase the harvest loads. Others, with their team of horses replacing the slower oxen and ploughing more land in a day, may have achieved a weed free tilth with the maximum number of cultivations and so won the race by skill and effort, keeping ahead of the rubbish ever waiting to compete with their crops, and finally bring home good yields from each acre.

The shape of the parish with the land running westwards and northwards from the town made a three part field system impossible. It was well balanced into two fields with the Oxhay in between. Had it taken the place of an earlier estate of scattered farms? Could they have reused former field divisions by turning them into furlongs?

Every part of the two Fields' furlongs followed the direction of the best drainage. An ideal furlong would be 220 yards long and made up of strips shaped in an inverted "S." This came about by the team of oxen pulling over to turn onto the headland at the top of the furlong, before ploughing down to a headland below. 220 yards was a sufficient length for the team to work before turning them onto the heading. Not all the land was suitable for complete furlongs.

The system could have evolved as the Orwins suggest solely out of necessity [Orwin C.S. and C.S. *The Open Fields*. 1938 Oxford University Press]. The tillers of the soil having but one main consideration, to feed their families and to survive into the following year. They must use the oxen team and their plough to the best advantage. This was seen when the oxen team set out early to the days ploughing. By noon they must return for food and rest if they were to accomplish the same amount the next day. On different soils and slopes a days yoking might cause a slight variation in the size of the piece of "land." In Cropredy two lands equal a "Customary acre." This was larger than the "Standard acre." The ploughman would have toiled over ten miles up and down his "land" before again entering the ox stable.

One half yardlander could not possess a full oxen team of up to eight, so they joined together and several teams would be out ploughing on the same furlong. Tenants had also to do the landlords portion. Once the furlong was harrowed, sown and rolled, with the headlands left as leys or ploughed up, the furlong was closed off. The following plough day the teams would be in

their next furlong. Sometime before 1609 their arable strips had become set in the furlongs (no longer being allocated yearly, if this had ever been done in Cropredy).

A furlong width was therefore made up of so many lands all of inverted "S" shaped ridges. The ridge height and width were governed by the type of soil and slope and the need to drain surplus water away. The very first ploughman would have taken a rod and calculated the height and number of ridges to achieve the best result. Between the ridges were "V" shaped furrows made by closing the soil towards each ridge. The water could escape down this "drain." Broadway Furlong on the highest land over marlstone rock is flat but well drained so the ridges were flatter and possibly wider ("Broad" after the name of the roadway, or because lower ridges spread out the amount the plough team could cover in a day, leaving a wider acre cultivated. Hall [6] had "broad acres" in this furlong).

One important question arises. Did Cropredy have baulks between the strips? There is no documentary evidence and none on the ground, yet Wardington did (p199). The vicar wrote in 1671 that Wardington "are to leave their baulks in the field 3 foot wide, wch they doe not and / their hades 9 foot wide" [M.S. dd par Cropredy c25 p48v]. This would alter the width of two lands making up an acre allowing them only 30' per strip.

The method of setting out the ploughed ridge and furrows is so important to the whole foundation of the Open Common Field system that it needs someone far more competent to do so than myself. Bob Copper wrote in *A Song for Every Season* [William Heineman Ltd 1971 p97]

"Luke used to cut the goad to a length of 8' 3" so that he could measure and mark out the land for ploughing. The old single - furrow plough turned a furrow approximately nine inches wide so that in a "went"- which was once up the field and back again- they would plough eighteen inches. Two wents covered a yard and eleven wents a rod- that is five and a half yards, which was twice the length of the goad. So if, for instance, your field was forty rod long you had to plough four rods wide to make up the acre and four rods could be measured by marking out eight goad-lengths. Every man had to plough an acre a day so that would mean, for example, forty-four wents on a field forty rod or 220 yards long. The ploughman ...had to trudge over ten miles behind his plough every day."

Every year the first furrow was ploughed each time on the crest of the old ridge. First opening the top by turning the slice to the right and then turning back down the same cut to deepen it so that again the slice fell to the ploughman's right, but of

course away from the first cut. The third furrow slice was made by coming back up the same side so that the slice half closed the opening and the fourth slice on the way down shut the top of the ridge and made sure that the soil beneath was cultivated. The plough then continuing round a set number of times until the plough came to the water furrow. Having closed the ridge on both sides the next ridge was begun.

The tenants' strips in each of the furlongs were called in Cropredy "Ridges" or "Lands". In February 1579 Johan Robin's [26] winter corne had been sown on sixteen "redges". In December 1603 the same farm had twenty "lands of maslen sowed in the ffeild worth" £5. In places the lie of a hill prevented a long furlong, or some was left over and the soil was set out in shorter strips called Butts. The husbandmen used the same terms when setting out their terriers, describing a strip as "a butt, a land, a yerd or an aker" according to size. The assessers for the inventories from 1570 to 1640, being tenants, naturally use the same land divisions when referring to the planted crops. The vicar in his accounts had similar values, but a different spelling, word or pronunciation, calling them "eards," half an acre/ land, "yerd," or acre [c25/2 f3].

- A Butt was 1 Rood, so 4 Butts made a customary Acre.
- A Land was 2 Roods, so 2 Lands made up a customary Acre.
- A Yerd was 3 Roods.

These are only average measurements, for over the years a strip's boundary might loose, or gain a fraction from a neighbouring strip with no landshares between them. Water played a part in removing soil from strips and the upper headlands by taking it down the furrows to the bottom headland. The strips would gradually increase or diminish and the original size of a butt or land could change, though surveying the land was only just being done on the bigger estates. Even so the division of land had to have a name and an approximate customary measurement. The type of soil was the cause of many "small" lands on the clay areas.

Higher up on better drained soil a land could, if space allowed, be nearer a customary half acre or more.

Strips or plots smaller than a rood were usually only found in the town, the best examples came in the Enclosure Award, for this had every property's acres, roods or perches set out. A cottager's town site might for example measure thirtytwo perches as the sixteenth century Edmund Tanner's [39] plot did in 1775.

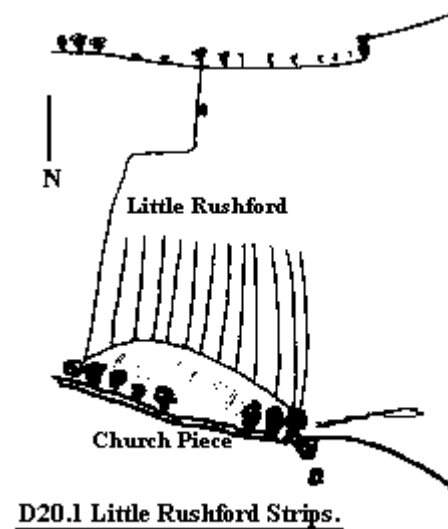
Parish measurements vary in the size of the acre from the amount the team could do on heavy soils compared with light land. The problem is also increased by all communities using the same words, but giving them different values. The "yardland" is a prime example of this.

In Leicestershire W.G.Hoskins found that "A land was roughly equivalent to a quarter of an acre" [*Provincial England*. 1965 p156]. Cropredy's quarter acre was called a butt while half an acre was a land. Two lands were approximately 4 poles in width and 40 poles in length [22 x 220 yards or 1 x 10 chains] and can still be seen in some other parishes in Britain where single acres exist within early enclosure hedges. There are still hundreds left, but yearly more loose their boundaries and few have been researched on the ground. It was not surprising that these acres varied in size. On the flat Open Field Vile at Rhossili the customary acre is much larger than a standard acre. In marked contrast to the open land on the Vile there is an enclosed field called Top Mead equal to 0.95 of a standard acre. This is 4 poles in width and nearly 40 in length. With straight banks it may early have been made into a meadow with a stream along one side. At Tyrhos farm in Aberarth, Ceredigion, another early enclosed field with two inverted "S" shaped hedge banks, which was two lands in width, measured 1.27 standard acres. The surrounding land may have been cultivated since a ceremonial Neolithic axe was lost by the spring at the head of the stream. The means by which we measure land and building go back in time to man's need to divide up areas and construct some dwellings.

The English rod or pole measures 16 feet 6 inches. It has been suggested that this measurement had been in use for many centuries. At least as long as the first cultivation of the land with the aid of a beast. Did it lengthen as the size of feet increased for the approximate length was found by placing sixteen men's feet in a straight line? The resulting pole or rod was to later span across four oxen. It also became the measure for the ox stables and ploughman's house. The rod could be used in the construction of ground plans for any building. The land and buildings were not haphazardly set out, but calculated into units. It was the same with the whole framework of agricultural processes. Their rod was an essential tool to work out the size of the carts. The oxen's goad being half the length of the rod for the setting out the ploughman's ridges and furrows as Luke did. The rod was then required when a man's strips were measured and became an essential tool for the new surveyor's working for the landlords.

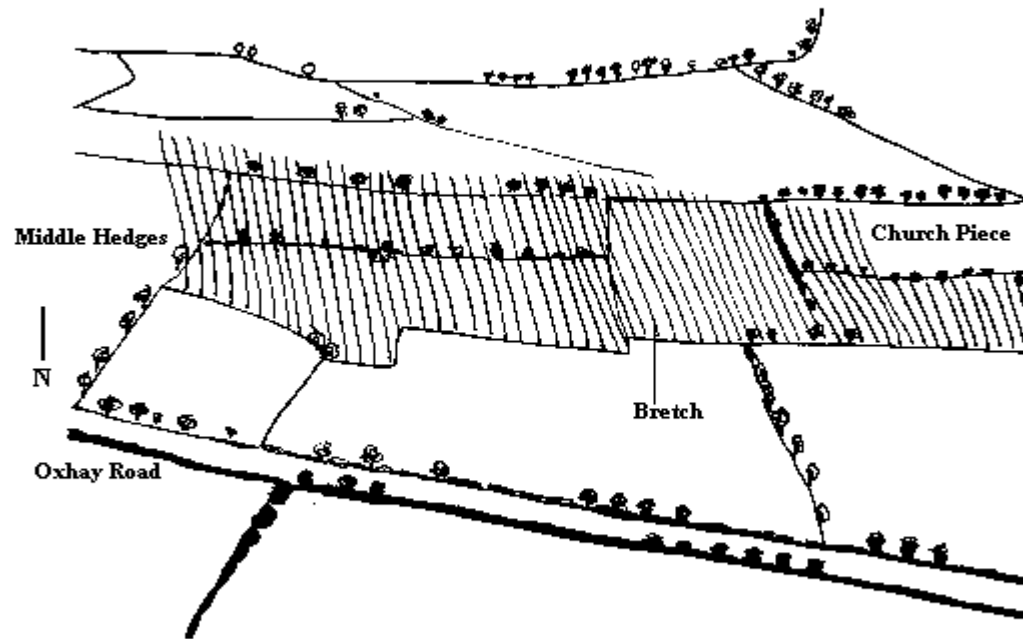
Strips could still be found on the ground in some parts of Cropredy parish. Aerial photographs showed how hedges had been planted over them. A few were Middle hedges much older than those of the Later post-enclosure hedges. Two areas were explored from the public footpath and with permission round the edges of each field.

Little Rushford's strips in the South Field ran northwards down towards Church Piece (Fig. 14.4). Two of the prominent ridges measured a chain from water furrow to water furrow. The ridges were high and the width here was thirtythree feet from furrow to furrow. The whole of Little Rushford measured six chains in width, but due to a severe slope at the north end varied from five to seven chains in length. Little Rushford had been taken out of the larger Rushford Furlong.



Little Rushford Strips.

The second area taken from the South Oxhay was called Bretch. It had only a slight drainage slope. We can tell this was much later in its formation because it was taken piecemeal from the old south Oxhay, but it was again disturbed at another reorganisation by the realignment of the brook which then cut across the south end of the ridges, instead of having a heading-cum-driftway alongside the old meandering brook (p19 & Fig.20.4 on p299). Bretch had two ridges to the chain so this also had two lands to the acre if ten chains in length. The ridges were expected to be wider and flatter than Rushford's, but again measured thirtythree feet from furrow to furrow, making them half a chain per ridge. Bretch was one of those areas to acquire Middle hedges planted when reverting to pasture land and so fossilising for over three hundred years the eighteen ridges found across nine chains. The plough has since returned.



Marsh and Bretch Furlongs.

Not all the Bretch was returned to pasture for some (now called Little Church at the east end of Church Piece) continued to be called Bretch in the terriers. Church Piece itself was kept under the plough. At the eastern end of Bretch in Marsh Furlong some former arable was kept as leyland shooting into Honey Pleck. The direction of all the Bretch strips mentioned in the terriers was confirmed on the ground and by Mr P Baker's aerial photographs taken in August 1973.

The acre continued to be used for all calculations, from the quantities of manure ideally to be set out in heaps from a muck cart and then spread, to the exact quantities of seed necessary for sowing. Was it possible to find out the number of bushels sown per acre in Cropredy? The vicar like all the farmers knew this as it would be common knowledge, but difficult to discover now. Each year before bringing in the harvest, he would walk around his crop and know from past experience how many loads of corn he hoped to get per acre. The vicar knew how much his cart load, or "gate," would bring in. The volumes had been worked out long ago, but nowhere does he record the number of wheat sheaves the cart could hold, the amount of loose or sheaved barley, or the volume of a peas "gate." The vicar calculating the quantity these would hopefully thresh out to on an average year, would plan his storage accordingly. He brought his loads into the barn, which had been built with the known average yield per yardland, for the corn must be kept under the barn's thatch, with ideally only the peas in the rickyard. Everything had to be as organised as possible. Abiding by customs and regulations may have seemed inhibiting, but they worked to a set pattern keyed into the lands, carts, and their barns, providing all the necessary skills were diligently applied. If some failed to obey the customs then bye-laws were made at the manor court and fines inflicted on those who by their negligence disrupted other tenant's husbandry. The planting and stock rules, the care of the headlands, the communal hedges and ditches needed attention at the correct time, or else pay a fine. Everyone was obliged to work without infringing upon another man's rights. Failure was bad enough from outside causes, such as a run of bad harvests, but careless farming soon spelt ruin on such thin margins.

A sheep's worst enemy is another sheep, yet they cannot often survive on their own away from the flock. A tenant causing trouble in Open Common Field farming upset his neighbours, which he could ill afford to do when the system only worked if the tenants farmed together. It may be that strangers were not welcome in case they disagreed with the system, and landlords might write to their bailiff to "Pray harken out a good gentele Tenant" known to everyone before they took up the lease, except perhaps for a gentleman who would employ local men. The main branch of each husbandman's family stayed as long as possible and certainly longer than other occupations, until either the line died out, or they were no longer allowed to renew the lease. In 1683 the Cropredy bailiff for the A manor was told "you must use some sharpness/ Else no good will be done with these tenants" [Add. MSS 71960 p97] when pushing for overdue and back rents in difficult times, and at the end of their long lease.

Appraisers listing the deceased man's goods were well able to appreciate the value of the tilth, sown acres and harvested corn. If each yardland had a set crop pattern then the crop value was easily arrived at. Every farmer would be well aware of their neighbours' ability and farming skills, and the value of the crop in the market.

The survival of Thomas Holloway's rare folios form the basis for a closer look at the remains of the arable part of the farming system in Cropredy, though his farm accounts give rise to many more questions than answers. Five of these will be looked at in the next section using the available sources and regretting the lack of manorial court records which had put together the Open Common Field management customs, rules and fines.

- 1. How many acres per yardland could be planted yearly?
- 2. How many seeds did he save, or purchase to plant them (p309)?
- 3. How many bushels did he plant per acre (p312)?
- 4. How many loads per acre could he produce per year (p315)?
- 5. What would a load yield when threshed (p335)?

Cropredy Yardlands.

The yardland is a unit of land in the Open Common Field, it is not a definite number of acres. A yardland cannot have a fixed acreage, being made up of two halfyardland parcels of strips containing good and indifferent soils. Originally one halfyardland ought to have been able to produce the required crop with sufficient stock to support the tenant and his family. An increase in population had to reduce the stock and increase the crops. Later still most needed two half yardland parcels to rear a family and pay the rent unless they had a craft as well.

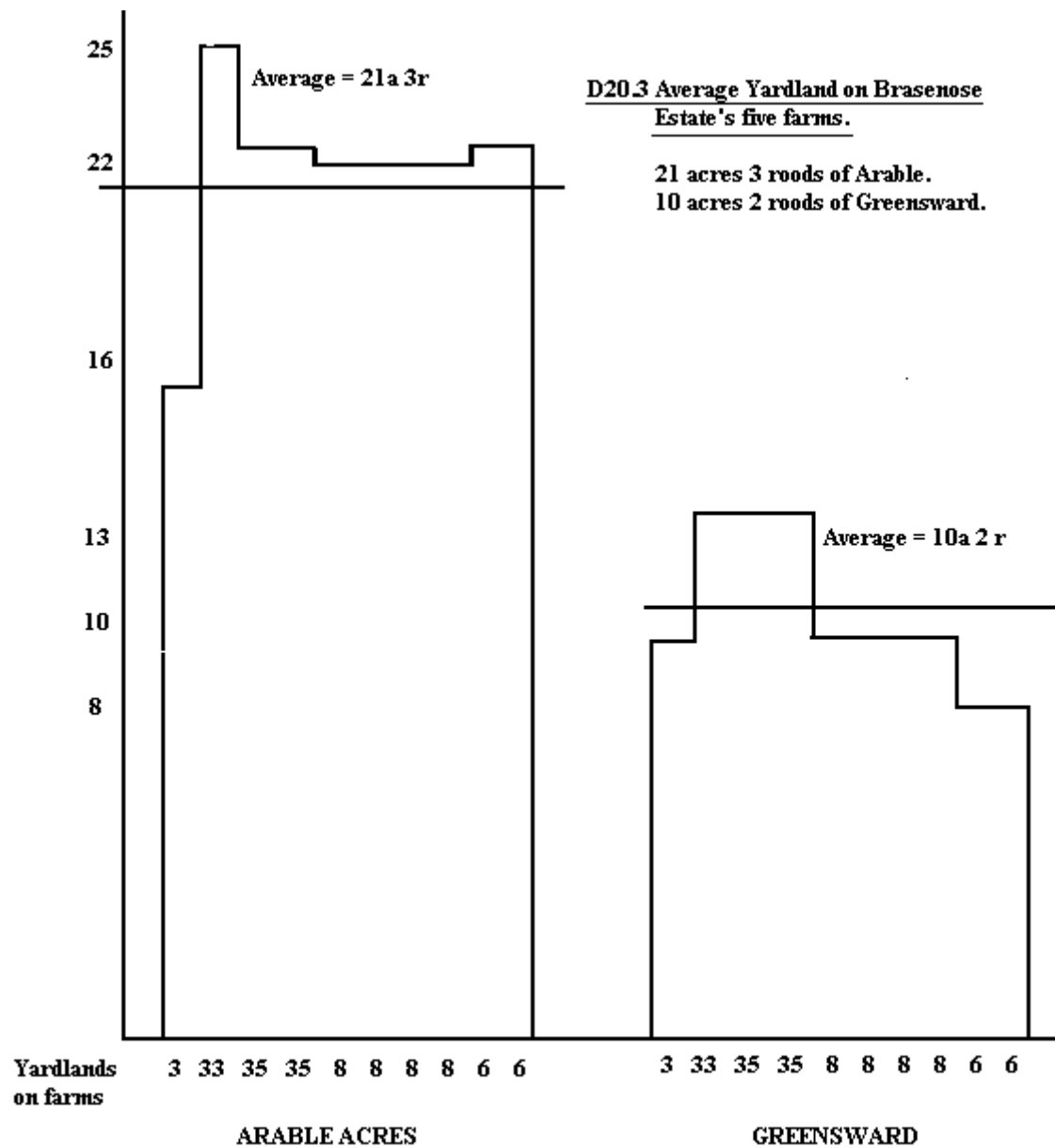
In 1754 a survey using standard acres was made for the B. manor properties. The old customary acres had been on the generous side. This was to the disadvantage of the tenant, whose rent was in some instances, but not all, now increased to the new higher acreage level. Strangely the main increases came in the meadowland, but there were other irregularities which had grown up over the centuries. We shall see how the parcels of half yardlands differed in size. The arable and greensward acres varied with every parcel, though usually keeping the correct balance. From five of the B. manor properties a diagram was made to show the average amount of arable and leyland they had per yardland (Fig.20.3.p296). The College let ten and a half yardlands and the **Average** yardland from their total acreage was twentyone acres three roods for arable and ten acres two roods for greensward which included their meadow land, making an average of thirtytwo acres one rood per yardland. Only the meads were fixed at an acre per yardland, except for the two manor farms which had extra meadows.

There is a figure given in the Enclosure Award of the number of acres in Cropredy. The 1,697 acres included the roads, town and old enclosures. Divided by fifty-six this gave a yardland of thirty-two acres one rood which was the same as the average from the B manor's ten yardlands, though some lost out from the acres taken up by the roads.

The North Field being let on the B. manor at 10 shillings an acre was obviously better land than the South Field at only 4 shillings per acre. Another reason for inequality of acreage totals may be the fact that a balance of lands for rotation in each of the Quarters was more important than exact yardlands size. Using the survey of 1754 for the standard acreage leased to that tenant, and adding the name of the former 1614 tenant plus our site number, it can be shown how many acres belonged to their yardlands:

- [3] Devotions/Wilkes had 26a 1r 20p for 1 yardland.
- [6] Halls/ Springfield had75a 2r .0p for 2.5 yardlands.
- [8] Woodroses/ B.Manor farm had.... 149a 1r..0p for 4 yardlands.
- [32] Redes/ Elkington had 41a 1r 20p for 1 yardland.
- [35] Hentlowes/ Mansells had 71a 1r ..0p for 2 yardlands.

The above acreages for the different farms show how they varied from under twenty-seven acres to forty-one acres for one yardland. Devotion's [3] was in effect a three-quarter yardland and Rede's [33] had nearly a quarter extra. Hentlowe's [35] had more than the average acreage. Springfield [6] had the right arable but was found upon examination to be short of 2a 3r of greensward per yardland.



Average Yardland on Brasenose Estate's five farms.

Each yardland divided the three parts of their land between the North and the South Fields. One arable third in the North Field, another in the South Field, and a third of greensward split between the two. From the first terrier of 1609 right up to 1775 the distribution of land remained constant. The small yardlands were basically unchanged by the 1754 appraisal, but it did affect the larger farms:

Arable:Pre 1609 to 1753:1754:

- [3]..... **North:** 8a 1r.... **South:** 8a.**North:** 8a 1r... **South:**... 8a
- [6]26a 1r 27a 1r.30a29a 2r
- [8]42a 3r + 16a42a 1r..... 60a44a 2r
- [32].....13a 2r11a 2r..... 13a11a 1r
- [35]21a 1r 23a 1r..... 24a21a

The slight differences between the two fields was not impossible to cope with. The Manor farm [8] on their four yardlands had the correct amount of greensward when the meads were added in, but the distribution of land for this farm had been changed and their strips gathered into pieces, probably at the expense of the other B manor tenants. They had an extra sixteen acres in the North Field which upset the balance. This could be any one of their three pieces, all of which were on the best land. Townhill Piece consisted of a group of thirtytwo lands equal to 16a, and was the one most likely to be the bailiff's perk being close to the town. The farm's other four "pieces" were found to be one to each Quarter with common baulks or a Highway on both sides, so that they were in effect self contained lots, though not enclosed. Their land when fallow had to be grazed by the whole herd or flock. The four pieces were found firstly in the Downland Quarter of the North Field as thirtyfour "Rudges" in Oathill Piece. The second in Field End Quarter had nineteen lands in Sarewell Furlong. In the South Field there were sixteen lands (later with another strip added) in Church Piece part of the Hayway Quarter, and another twentytwo lands in Beyond Broadway Furlong, in the Hackthorn Quarter. There were for this farm many advantages to attract a good tenant, but he must still abide by the manorial rules. One disadvantage was the lack of the newly enclosed leyland, though the aftermath on his own meadows would help his stock enormously and they had a piece in North Oxhay which could have been enclosed for grazing, but we do not know its quality as a pasture (p205).

If all the sixteen acres of an average parcel of half a yardland had been left as arable it would have allowed the land to be divided into units of four. These could fit into any rotation, be it eight in each Open Common Field or four in each Quarter, down to two acres made up of eight roods, or four lands. By 1575 every average parcel had a third in pasture equal to two

and a half acres, leaving just over five and a half arable acres in each field. These were difficult figures to balance. At the same time the husbandmen wished to grow wheat on the Barley field and had started to use part of the Fallow field to grow some peas. This was possible as the peas crop was beneficial to the corn which followed. In some inventories it was discovered they planted peas to the same acreage as wheat, reducing the fallow acreage resting for next year's barley. This would be fairly easy to organise if their arable was still in multiples of four, but how did they rotate land on half yardlands when their portion of the Barley field was for example eleven lands? How much barley, wheat and peas could be grown and still make sure that a strict rotation was possible, presuming the manor court did specify the rotation? Secondly how to accommodate all the farmer's wheat or peas in one or more furlongs? The Manor Court might declare a particular furlong for peas, but would Jo Blogs have a land in there? One year they might have the furlongs in Hackthorn for peas and in the third year use Hayway, taking advantage of the Quartering. As they seldom planted half barley and half wheat this was too simple. Barley was still the main corn crop. When barley first had to give up some land for wheat, one acre of wheat to four and a half of barley was a possible sowing. That is two lands of wheat to nine of barley. We will come back to this problem (p306).

On some very wet autumn's the wheat and rye may never be sown and extra barley must be planted in spring. One recorded year was 1574 when the weather was so bad the rye could not be planted in the autumn and the husbandmen in Myddle, Shropshire, left the land fallow to be planted the following spring with barley. [Hey D. *An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudor and Stuarts*. Leicester U.P. 1974, p49].

By the 1570's if there was still a need to take out more strips per parcel for leyland then it was reasonable to propose taking a butt from each Quarter, or a land, and reworking out the rotation, whatever that was based on. Any yardland with extra acres could have more barley and wheat, provided it could be fitted in. Those on "small" or "large" yardlands had to work out where to reduce or add to each Quarter to get as good a balance as possible. Although this balance appears to be definitely worked out by Quarters, it was not sown exactly by them. It would seem reasonable to presume that because they had Quarters, they must have been important in achieving the rotation correctly to provide the maximum gain from the fallowing? The earliest will reference to the Quarters came when John Truss made one on the 22nd of May 1632. He apparently had corn in Oland Quarter which was otherwise called the Downland Quarter.

From the terriers it was possible to locate in the North and South Fields where some of the B manor yardlanders had their butts, lands, yerds and acres, so it was realised they could be used to show how fairly their lands were distributed and help

with the problem of how the farmers were able to balance their crops within the system. Also to speculate on their possible rotations.

The five main B. manor farms were looked at again and divided up into half yardland parcels. The fact that the land was in butts, lands, and acres all parts of the same unit system of four made the possible combinations fairly easy for the farmer to arrange, providing they had strips in the right furlongs. Average half yardland parcels were worked out hoping to show how much the tenants with more acres per yardland and those with less, had in their Quarters for each parcel and to see if it was possible to rotate them. It will be noted how perfect Springfield's [6] looks. Each column represents one half yardland parcel:

Quarter	Devotion [3]	Springfield [6]	B.N.Manor [8]	Rede[32]	Hentlowe [34]
Hayway	2a.....2a.1r	3a.....3a	2a 2r.....2a.2r	3a.....3a.1r	3a 1r.....3a.1r
Hackthorn	2a.....1a.3r	3a.....3a	2a 2r.....2a 3r	2a 1r..3a	2a 2r.....2a 3r
Field End	2a 1r..2a 1r	3a.....3a	2a 3r.....2a 3r	3a 2r..3a 1r	2a 2r.....2a 2r
Downland	2a.....1a 3r	3a.....3a	2a 2r.....2a 3r	3a 1r..3a 2r	2a 3r.....2a 3r

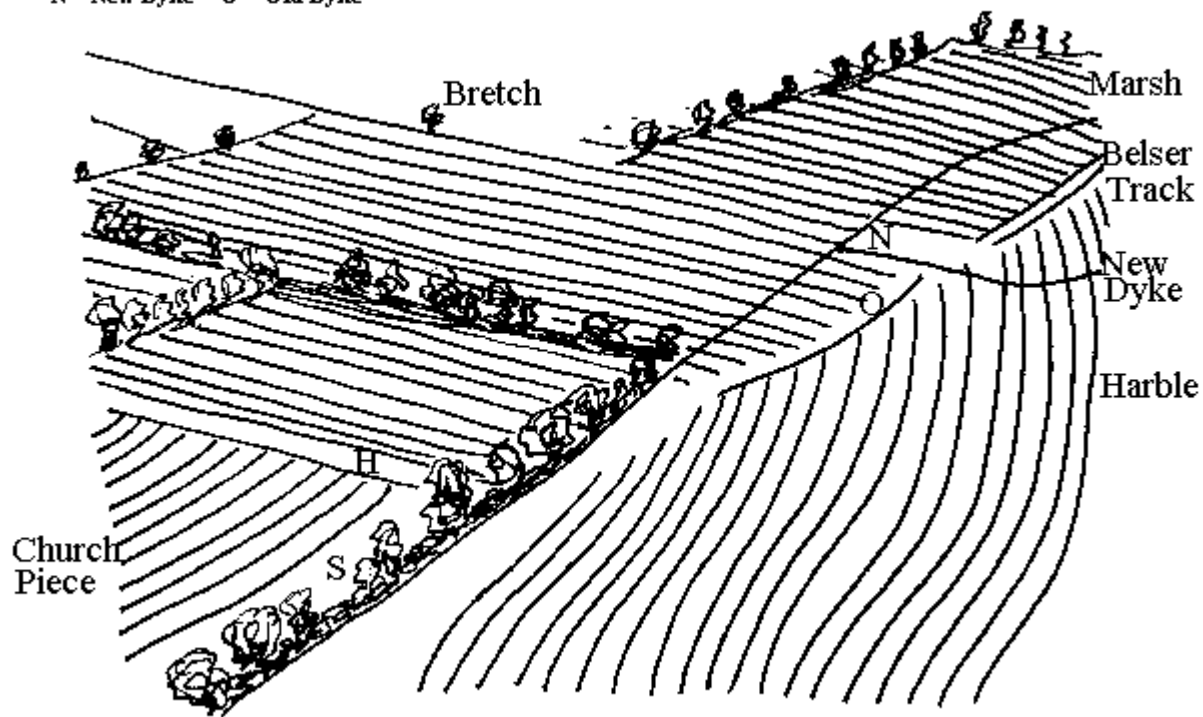
Three of the four Quarters, Hayway, Hackthorn and Downland were about the same size, but Field End was at least fifty arable acres short, though our sample does not show this. A few acres had been taken from Field End to increase the New Pool. This was perhaps compensated for by having fewer leylands amongst the furlongs. Without a complete terrier, or map of each Quarter and an intimate knowledge of the land, **before** it was extensively drained and limed, we cannot recreate the condition and former quality of each half acre strip and so discover how it was organised to achieve a fair distribution of good soil. The poorer, difficult or most distant arable land, once the Quarter system began to operate, would be turned back to leyland. Advantage had always been taken of all pieces of land too small to plough, for the terriers mention leyland such as odd shaped "sydlyngs" which had become permanent pasture. Church Piece had a "sydyng" by the brook which was not a heading but ran alongside the plough strips (ridge and furrows) and was used for the West Meadow Way (Fig.20.4).

D20.4 Reconstruction of Ridge and Furrows.

From P.Baker's 1973 photograph.

H = Heading S = Sydling
N = New Dyke O = Old Dyke

N ———



Reconstruction of Ridge and Furrows.

In passing it was noticed that some of the furlongs gradually change their name as the seventeenth century advances into the eighteenth. This changing of furlong names confuses the reading of Springfield's series. On this farm they do change some strips, and leave some out in the middle of the series. It was thought to be an error during a change in tenancy. Or else this error was caused by being a transcript of earlier ones and someone had accidentally left out a section. The final terriers revert to the old distribution.

The other available evidence for arable land came in inventories, but again these were only of use if the farmer had died suddenly in full possession of his farm. Either with the winter crops sown, for partial information, or all the crops sown, or just harvested, when they were at their most informative. For inventories taken in between times the wheat, barley and peas would have been threshed, malted or partly sown and the quantities in the barn would not reflect the farmer's total crop. This narrowed the useful inventories down to a handful.

Two Brasenose college farms will be looked at to find the distribution of their land and their crops, Hall's of Springfield [6] without the help of an inventory and Devotion's [3] using one. These can be compared with Tom's a tenant on the A. manor [15].

Devotion's Farm [3].

Devotion's farm was on the east side of the Long Causeway. Their one yardland was described in a set of terriers which had remained constant over the years. One made by a later tenant Wilkes in 1755 [BNC:552] showed just how the arable from the two parcels taken together were divided between the Quarters:

Hayway Quarter4a 1r.

Hackthorn Quarter. 3a 3r.

Downland Quarter. .3a 3r.

Field End Quarter4a 2r.

This gave him16a 1r of arable land.

Devotion's farm had, we presume, in the days of just North and South Fields seventeen pieces amounting to 8 acres of land in each Field. We might imagine the Devotions planting their main corn crop on an "uneven" year, like 1613, in the South Field for the vicar writes "the corne towards Borton that yere" [c25/2 f4], or on the "even" years in the North Field when the barley tilth was towards Clattercote. Because of the inventories we can again check up on Devotions in May 1631 when Thomas died while still farming, but remembering the winter wheat and rye were planted the previous October and November 1630 and was therefore an "even" year, although not all the peas, oats and barley had been sown before the even year ended on the 25th March 1630/31. The tilth therefore was towards Clattercote. When Devotion's were appraised in May their lands had been sown as follows:

"Fower lands of wheat .. [2a]
xij lands of barley..... [6a]
iij butts of oats[3r]
vj butts of pease."[6r]

This produced more questions than answers. Why was he not containing his crops strictly to the Quarters? How had he distributed his seeds to gain this complicated puzzle? If he did this then so must other husbandmen. Can we presume that the code of sowing was therefore not rigid, that there was room for some individual juggling within the customs? Not so, for after searching more inventories it was found he was following a set sowing per yardland size.

What are the facts? The inventory says he had planted sixteen lands and nine butts, leaving twelve lands fallow, although all his spring sown barley, peas and oats would fit neatly into the Field End and Downland strips, this was not the practice. Devotion had apparently to keep the winter wheat in the barley field and sow the peas in the fallow field. Yet the barley field would not be sown until spring and till then was it not used as fallow? Was this a reason to divide the two Fields into Quarters setting one to wheat and rye the other resting until the last ploughing.

In the autumn Devotion had planted four lands of wheat which would include some rye (as the vicar's did), in one Winter Quarter of the North Field. Depending upon which Quarter was being used for wheat he would have 1a 3r, if the wheat was in Downland, or 2a 2r if in Field End left for his spring sowing of 6 acres of barley . After planting the whole of the barley Quarter in spring, they then used up the unsown lands in the wheat Quarter, for the rest of the barley. The wheat and barley following the peas and fallow land of the previous year. He had sufficient room to cater for the corn of "all sorts" in the North Field except for the horse's oats, which being a "new" corn had to go with the peas. In the South Field that year his Peas Quarter had only 3 roods of oats and 6 roods of peas leaving the remainder as extra fallow. Over the years the only way that more crops could be grown to increase the feed for the stock was to reduce the fallow. Peas was the first step and by 1700 Cropredy had added vetches. Root crops were eventually to reduce or replace the fallow. Peas took up about a hundred and fiftysix acres a year and if vetches took the same and extra roots were added then the yearly produce would grow and would finally be able, within the Open Common Field system, to feed more stock and people per yardland. In some areas which had a thinner soil layer this would not have been possible as the ground had more need of a fallow period.

In 1534 Fitzherbert mentioned the rotation of crops "in some places they sowe theyr wheate upon theyr pees stubble... and that is used where they make falowe in a fyelde every fourthe yere." We have presumed that Devotion followed fallow by barley then peas, wheat and fallow again, as in Fitzherbert's time.

As crops did not fit the Quarters they could not be perfectly rotated. Cropredy may have continued to keep the winter and spring corn in one field, planting 20% wheat and rye and 60% barley on that year's tilth and putting the last 20%, peas, on the fallow.

As the climate does not always favour good wheat bread which would keep and not go mouldy, wheat was grown more as a gamble, which if it did well paid the rent. Husbandmen who could afford it had some wheat mixed with rye for their bread rather than a flat all barley loaf, or a peas and barley mixture, and they continued to run the risk, and planted wheat.

On the uneven year following the burial of Thomas Devotion his widow and son would be planting their corn towards Bourton. The barley needed the best tilth possible and so was following the fallow. To get a good tilth and knock the weeds back Tusser recommended four ploughings of the fallow. First fallow ploughing in April, weather permitting, a shallow one in May before the possible dry weather set in, so that weeds were all buried before they seeded. In July another ploughing was necessary to keep farming in front of the rubbish, and if time a fourth. Eventually he would be planting the following spring when the manure had been ploughed in, the tilth harrowed, but waiting until the soil was warm enough to germinate the barley before sowing. If Devotion's son followed a third of his father's barley with peas he would sow them with the other tenants in whichever Furlong the rotation had come to, for example in Deep Furrow which was in Field End Quarter. Devotion had from his two parcels making up his yardland three separate lands in Deep Furrow which left the whole of his Downland Quarter fallow with the rest (not taken up by peas) in Field End.

Tenants must have set aside specified furlongs for each crop. This idea can be explained by drawing out a chart, for when it was worked out land by land it was found Devotion had about eight groups of strips which could be rotated. Each Quarter having two groups possibly one from each half yardland parcel. Had there been a limited amount of interchange of the lands? Originally one half parcel would not have three lands in one furlong, but two at the most. For convenience they would work out the best arrangement to suit the rotation to make sure that each section was fallowed at least three times every eight years. Or had Devotion been able to keep the two parcels separate rotating each every four years? Once set the rotation drove round and round in the same order. By 1600 if a husbandman had acquired other strips in an extra parcel he could not

shuffle them now if two strips appeared in one furlong for the strips were permanently set, or "known," and no longer distributed by "lot" (p213). A situation where a farm had had a steady two yardlands since before the arable "lots" changed to "known" might have adjacent strips in a furlong, or even a piece which could mean that there had been an opportunity to exchange after the last drawing of "lots," or when the estate changed hands. Those who acquired the lease of a half yardland parcel over and above the farm's usual acreage would have the new land scattered and unrelated to their permanent land. Later the extra parcel might go to another husbandman. This shows up in terriers where most strips are isolated, but occasionally two or more strips lie together, like those distributed after the hedging of the Broadway, or from different parcels and sometimes a separate strip appears in the same furlong, but not adjacent. This meant parcels kept their strips as it was not practical to exchange lands for this upset the system. Every tenant knew who had what in the region of their strips, which was essential if the Open Common Fields were to function without paperwork. Even when terriers were demanded by the landlords, it was safer to keep the distribution of lands the same, so that everyone knew to which farmstead the land belonged.

If a **Peas** crop is followed alternately in the South and the North Field then it will be noticed how it could be sown by moving down one each even year to a new land and then down every odd year to cover every sowing season for eight years before returning again to the first land. In Chapter 14 (Figs: 14.3,14.4,14.5) there are maps showing the positions of the furlongs in the North and South Fields.

P= peas, F= fallow, W= wheat and B= barley. E = Even O = Odd.

Devotion's			E	O	E	O	E	O	E	O
SOUTH FIELD		Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hayway Quarter										
i) Broadway	3 lands									
...Preen	1 land	2a 1r	P	W	F	B	F	B	F	B
...Cophthorn	1 butt									
ii)Southcroft	3 lands									

..Landimore	1 land	2a	F	B	P	W	F	B	F	B
<u>SOUTH FIELD</u>			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hackthorn Quarter										
i) Rushford	1 butt									
...Nether Foxhole	1 land									
...Upper Foxhole	2 lands	1a 3r	F	B	F	B	P	W	F	B
ii)Far Broadway	2 lands									
...Upper Windmill	2 lands	2a	F	B	F	B	F	B	P	W
<u>NORTH FIELD</u>										
Downland Quarter										
i)Upper Oland	3 lands									
...Nether Oland	1 butt	1a 3r	W	F	B	F	B	F	B	P
ii)Nether Oland	2 lands									
...Further Oland	2 lands	2a	B	P	W	F	B	F	B	F
Field End Quarter										
i)Deep Furrow	3 lands									
...Horsehill	1 land									
...Field End	1 butt	2a 1r	B	F	B	P	W	F	B	F
ii)Shooting Forthway	2 lands									
...Catsbrain	1 land									
	1 yerd	2a 1r	B	F	B	F	B	P	W	F

This diagram shows a possible cropping rotation on Devotion's [3] Farm over eight years. The arable was 16 acres 1 rood and the greensward which was definitely not rotated with it, was in separate permanent leys equal to ten acres [BNC:terrier 552. 1755]. Yet this seems a long method as rotations were generally confined to four or six years not eight. What other rotations were possible?

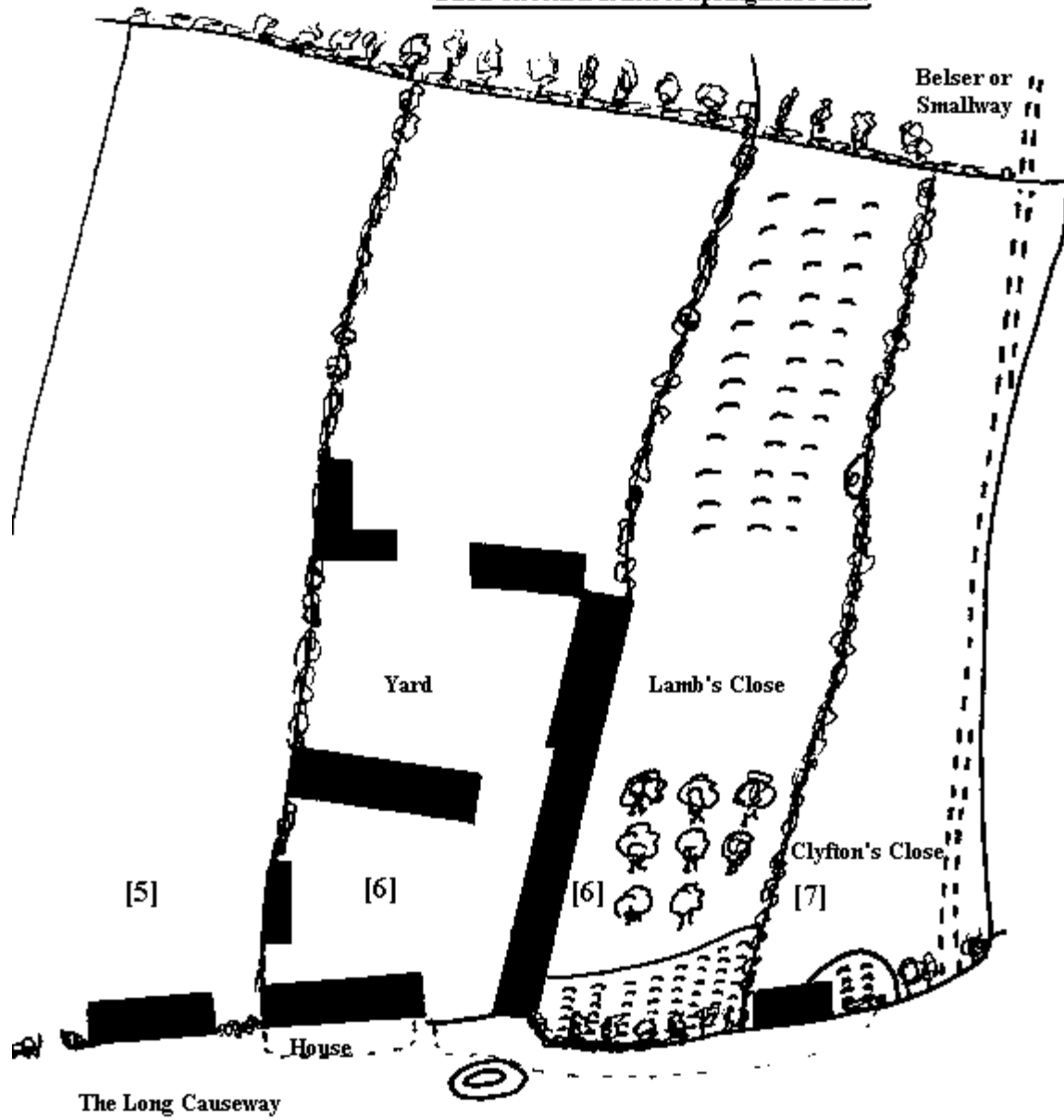
Springfield Farm [6].

There is another way of looking at the division of land in the furlongs. Hall's at Springfield's [6] was checked as their land was the nearest in size to the Revd Holloway's and can be used to help unravel the vicar's farm accounts better, for in those lie the greatest amount of information for Cropredy. Springfield had two and a half yardlands which were made up of five parcels. The vicar already had three quarters of a yardland, something like Devotions in size perhaps plus two yardlands from other farmers in the town.

William Hall [6] was the tenant of 75 acres 2 roods. He wrote them all down for a terrier in 1609 [BNC:558] giving the size and direction of each strip and adding both the neighbouring tenants (p288) (Later terriers mentioned only one neighbour). "An aker on Windmill hill Thomas Devotion [3] next on both sides. A land on the same furlong William Lilly [29] next on the eastside and Thomas Howse [28] on the west side" [Our site numbers]. The land here was being ploughed from north to south. This sloped down towards the West Meadow Way/ Hayway track leading up to Hillington Cross at the head of the valley.

After checking all Hall's land it was found that each parcel had kept a balance of lands and could be readily planted with crops in rotation. What the diagram on page 406 cannot do is show the positions in the furlong and what advantages or disadvantages they actually had. All the lands are grouped together for the chart. As Springfield had five parcels many furlongs had several strips, but are written out in butts equal to a quarter of each acre or one rood (r), and half a land..

Penny furlong and Jeyholes were alternate names for two of the furlongs on the homeward side of Broadway. In Broadway William had four lands and six acres giving a flat piece taken from the verge. Chapter 14 has maps showing the position of the furlongs and (Fig. 20.5) shows a reconstruction plan of Springfield Farm [6].



Reconstruction of Springfield Farm [6].

Estimated Distribution of Parcels

SOUTH FIELD							
	Total	1	2	3	4	5	
In Hayway Quarter							
Smaleway	3 lands	2r		2r	2r		
Abwell	1 aker					4r	
Bretch	1 aker		4r				
Penny	1 aker	4r					
	1 yerd			3r			
Illington	4 lands	2r	2r		2r	2r	
Jeyhol	1 yerd			3r			
Way	1 yerd	3r					
Cophorn	2 akers				4r	4r	
	4 lands	2r	2r		2r	2r	
Preen	2 akers		4r	4r			
	1 land				2r		
	Total	3a 1r	3a	3a	3a	3a	=15a 1r
In Hackthorn Quarter							
Windmill	3 akers	4r	4r	4r			
	6 lands	2r	2r	2r	4r	2r	

Foxholes	4 lands	2r	2r	2r		2r	
Broadway	4 lands	2r	2r			4r	
	6 akers	4r	4r	4r	8r	4r	
	Total	3a 2r	3a 2r	3a	3a	3a	=16a
NORTH FIELD							
Downland Quarter							
Townhill	6 lands	4r	2r	2r	2r	2r	
Fennylake	5 butts	1r	1r	1r	1r	1r	
Oland	6 lands	2r	2r	2r	2r	4r	
Anismore	5 lands	2r	2r	2r	2r	2r	
Binfurlong	3 lands	2r	2r		2r		
	1 butt			1r			
Deep Furrow	3 lands		2r		2r	2r	
Shooting Forthway	1 land	2r					
	1 aker			4r			
	Total	3a	3a	3a....	2a 3r	2a 3r	=14a 2r
	Total	1	2	3	4	5	
Field End Quarter							
Binn up	3 lands	2r	2r	2r			
Overberrin	6 lands	2r	2r	2r	2r	4r	
	1 aker				3r		
Ramsbalke	3 lands	2r	2r	2r			

Horsehill	4 akers		4r	4r	4r	4r	
Catsbrain	2 akers	4r				4r	
Newpoole	1 yerd				3r		
	2 lands		2r	2r			
	Total	2a 2r	3a....	3a....	3a....	3a....	=14a 2r
						Total	=60a 1r

Diagram to show division of land by half yardland parcels for Springfield [6] and their balanced Quarters [BNC: 558.Terrier 1609].

As farms had been merged together they had grown to this size permanently. If Springfield or other farms required extra land an application to the bailiff on the A manor was made to try and secure another lease, or take on one of his neighbours. Sometimes a husbandman must sublet a yardland to another townsman and use the rent to pay off legacies, or perhaps the grandfather was bringing up his deceased son's family and he could no longer farm all the land himself. Grandfather French [4] had sublet one yardland to the Holloways [21], until his grandson was old enough, or free from paying out legacies and able to farm it. If no extra parcels could be found they made do with what they had, but the wealthier began to purchase land in other parishes.

What other opportunities did they have within the system? In the early seventeenth century Berkshire farmers sent wheat to London. To do this they must have increased their wheat at the expense of barley. Could Cropredy farmers do the same? Was there any other means beside packhorse to the navigable part of the river Cherwell and Thames? Or was the distance prohibitive? We shall see the vicar planted more than others, so were the cropping quotas capable of being stretched?

If Springfield used the same eight year rotation that Devotion might have done, what quantities was he able to plant? Devotion had but 2a per half yardland parcel for each Quarter, but Springfield was fortunate and had nearly 3a per Quarter for each half yardland, giving him an average total of 15 acres. Devotion planted only half his wheat Quarter and it was possible for the following to be sown using the two farms as a guide:

	0.5 Yardland	1 Yardland	2 Yardlands	2.5 Yardlands
Devotion [3]	1a Wheat	2a Wheat		
	3a Barley	6a Barley		
Springfield [6]	1a 2r Wheat	3a Wheat	6a Wheat	7a 2r Wheat
	4a 2r Barley	9a Barley	18a Barley	22a 2r Barley

Was Springfield able to alter the seven and a half acres of wheat and twentytwo and a half of barley to ten wheat and twenty barley? If peas and wheat still kept the same acreage as each other then the peas/oats could go to ten and the fallow drop with the barley to twenty.

An attempt was made to find the minimum amount of winter corn sown on those farms, whose information has been kept, by adding their sowings and dividing their yardland arable by eight.

		Wheat	Barley	Peas/Oats	Fallow	Ydlands.
[3]	Devotion	2a	6a	2a	6a	1 small
[6]	Springfield	7a 2r	22a 2r	7a 2r	22a 1r	2.5
[8]	B Manor	10+*	31a+	10a+	31a+	4
[32]	Rede	3a	8a 2r	3a 2r	10a	1 large
[35]	Hentlowe	6a 2r	17a	5a**	16a	2
[15]	Toms 1696	10a	16a 2r	10a	16a 2r	2.5
[21]	Vicar 1613	12a	20a 3r	12a 1r	20a 2r	2.5 ***

* The farm had the extra 16 acres in Townhill.

** A parcel lacked acreage and some adjustments had to be made.

*** Vicar's land on page 414.

Tom's inventory of 1696 was used to study the wheat quantities, to compare the increase in wheat, to see if the vicar was as progressive in his farming as others of his era and to compare them with Toms eighty years later.

William Tom's farm [15].

Fortunately the inventories were made by local men who had the state of the market at their finger tips. They knew the worth of the sown crops in the field, the current price of wheat, barley and peas and when to sell their malt. Some did not sell, unless desperate, until May the following year when the market prices rose. If however there was a shortage they may be forced into selling by the authorities. The vicar's dates for selling corn are given below.

William Toms was a husbandman farming two and a half yardlands on the A manor. His family had been living on the Green since at least 1590 when his father took over from Somerfords, but the family had been in Cropredy since before the registers began in 1538. William was at least the fifth generation and his descendants continued to farm well into the last century, when Dyer Toms used to take a pride in having a huge row of ricks stretching down Hill Farm driveway from the Oxhay Road crab tree on the boundary to the threshing barn. A sign to others that he need not thresh at once to pay the Michaelmas rent. In 1696 William had begun to have wheat ricks out behind his farm on the Green although most of the town's wheat was still stored in barns. In April that year he had £11 of wheat left in a rick. Having grown more than his barn was built to store they had no alternative but to make use of the rickyard.

Some of William's barley had been converted into malt and they valued this at £12-15s. If the local price was about 25s-6d a quarter that year, he had ten quarters left. Malt was a better product to send by pack horse being more valuable in weight than barley.

His eight cows were just calving so cheese making would have begun in the dairy. His son must sell some of his produce to pay the Lady Day rent, vicar's dues, the herdsman and other outgoings.

In the barn was some corn waiting to be threshed and the remainder of his pulses. He had £7 of hay over so the stock had not gone wanting. His horses and mares were worth £16 and his equipment which included waggons, carts, ploughs and harrows they valued at £33-16s.

Out in the fields Toms neighbours record his leys and grass:

West Meadow leys and grass in the meadows £3-19s-0d
Efurlong grass £3-12s-0d
Oland hades grass £2-10s-0d
The rest of ye grass in the field£3- 0s -0d.

He must have had around 18 acres of greensward which was valued here at 10s an acre for the North Field, but although the West Mead rent had risen to 5s an acre we do not know how many meads the Toms were leasing above their allotted 2.5 acres for 2.5 yardlands .

Toms' arable is interesting. "Wheat in feild £16... Barley and pulse £43." The appraisers quote his sown crops at the current market price for corn in the field. The wheat at 32s to the acre meant Toms has exactly 10 acres sown with different varieties of wheat and rye. Had he still the same balance of peas as wheat that his grandfather had? The peas that year were worth £1 an acre in the field and barley £2. Toms' were valued together at £43. If the peas matched the wheat and had 10 acres at £10, it left £33 for barley which at £2 the acre comes to a sown acreage of 16a 2r. The fallow presumably still matched the barley for they do not mention vetches [MS. Will Pec. 53/2/26].

The wheat had increased at the expense of barley, now down to 16a 2r. Wheat had risen in price and could reach London in the flat bottomed boats and packhorses, but was the population large enough by 1696 to make demands on Banbury and still allow for profit?

Parliament had had to raise the limit over which no corn could be sent to the ports if it was likely to cause a dearth in this country. As the price of wheat rose steadily, so the Acts of 1593, 1604, 1623 and 1660 kept pace with it. They brought the limit up from 20s a quarter, via 26s 8d, 32s to 40s, which shows how the price of wheat encouraged extra planting when it appeared to be forever spiralling upwards and could increase the revenues of all husbandmen who could afford to sell some corn.

Summary.

W.G.Hoskins found in sixteenth century inventories that farming was flexible. "This flexibility of the open-field system, giving individual farmers considerably more scope for initiative than is commonly believed cannot be emphasised too strongly."

If the husbandmen farming the Open Common Field in Cropredy planted by furlong as Hoskins discovered they did in Leicestershire where "Barley was sown in the same field as wheat and rye, so that the furlong system of rotation apparently applied to one field," then there was no need for the careful keeping of the parcels in their Quarter divisions [*Age of Plunder* p 78. 1976 Longman], except for the fact one was autumn sown and one spring. In Cropredy we have seen they were using a Two Field System and taking half yardland parcels to establish sowing quotas. The Quarter divisions were definitely useful in the distribution of the parcels. The evidence found the Two Field System, the four Quarters, the rotation of furlongs within the Quarters, and the smallest units on which the whole was built (strips of varying sizes such as butts, lands or acres) were capable of being joined or broken down into small rotatable units possibly on a four or eight year rotation. If furlongs alone had been the governing factor at Cropredy what would have happened when some farmers had more land in some particular furlongs and none in others? With new material it may still be found that Leicestershire and Cropredy had a lot in common, but at present a great deal of study still needs to be done on Quarters not completely rotated due to uneven cropping, and land parcel distribution in other local Oxfordshire parishes such as Bourton or Wardington.

Did the vicar, whom we come to in the next chapter, already farm like the Toms family and grow wheat to sell in increasing amounts? Was it by skill as managers, or entirely by changing their crop quotas that they were able to increase their wheat at the expense of barley? Communal decisions made these quotas, but could some "hitch" part of the fallow to grow more peas one year followed by wheat the next? If every Tom, Dick and Harry did this to please the market demands surely the whole system of rotation would eventually lose the benefits of fallow land with its important communal grazing and not just barley, and so eventually decrease their yields? Until vetches and roots became part of the general cultivation in Cropredy to enable them to plant all the fallow it does not seem possible that more than a few planted extra wheat. We turn next to the Vicar's sowing records to discover how much the farmers could grow.

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21. Seed Time to Harvest

Purchasing seeds.

Cropredy's arable yardlands needed new seed for planting. How much seed did they require to sow an acre? Different soils and climates obviously led to a variety of sowing quantities throughout Britain. What our ancestors had to put by to provide the next harvest is still something of an unknown quantity in some areas. Not all seed could come from the same parish for it was well known that by buying in at least half their seed from neighbouring towns, or from a known source at the market, they could perhaps increase output, or prevent a repeat of disease. Would some try and increase their yields with better, more expensive varieties of seed corn, perhaps planted at more bushels to the acre than the local custom?

The Reverend's farm accounts note the seed purchased and sown. Like many husbandmen who could afford it the vicar had put in a bid to lease extra land with his sons and so needed more seed. Following the harvest the new farming year began immediately, for some wheat and rye must be threshed to sell as seed corn. The women and children were needed to help riddle the corn and pick out the best seeds. It must then be dressed with urine or lime to help protect it from vermin. The winter corn crop was sown on the prepared ground while the plough continued to prepare land for a January and February planting of peas. Barley must be ready by March to be followed by a last sowing of peas.

The vicar's accounts [c25/2 for 1587-1617] which unfortunately have several missing years, mention in 1614 how much land he was cultivating. One yardland was leased from John Hunt of the Green [16] and another from Thomas French at the south end of the Long Causeway [4]. These he added to his own three quarters of a yardland which would appear to be a generous one as he treats it like a yardland, yet other records find it less than Devotions [c26]. John Hunt was newly married. He had three more of his four sibling's legacies to pay off at £10 a time over the next four years, as well as continuing to provide their maintenance, so he was subletting their half of the farm to raise the money. Thomas French [4] was seventy and still responsible for four grandchildren and their mother. His grandson farmed the remaining yardland and the vicar's rent for the second provided some of their income.

By 1620 Dr Brouncker needed the Revd Holloway's accounts to give him information on local practices. He may have deliberately saved 1614, which had an average harvest for barley, but a poor wheat year. Holloway had also left a list of the rye and wheat strikes he bought in for seed.

Thomas either purchased the seed from the market himself, or sent his man. It required two trips to Daventry with a pack horse or two, to buy the following:

[f5v] "Corne bought for my seeding
anno 1614
In primis bought from daventry
the 29 of September of Ry ix stryks wch
cost 3s a stryke_____ xxvijs
Item that day of christopher cleredge of
Ry fowere stryks_____ xijs
Item of a [? man of eden] the 30 of september
2 stryks_____ vjs
Item from daventry the 12 of october
of maslen 3 stryks_____ xs
Item of lammas wheate 3 stryks_____. xijs vjd
Item of pendall wheate 3 stryks_____. xijs iijd
Item of whyte wheate 2 stryks_____ viijs
Item of whyte wheate the 20 of october of
Tho bayly of chadson 2 stryks_____ viijs" (Fig.21.1).

Records put the combined wheat and rye down as maslin, winter corn, or just wheat. Here the vicar was buying in 15 strike of rye and 3 strike of mixed wheat and rye calling it maslin, and 10 strike of different wheats to be sown on their own. With the wheat he could have planted a yerd (3r) of Lammas wheat, a yerd of Pendall wheat and two lands of white wheat. In actual sowing however he used one of the three strikes of good wheat to mix with rye as he harvested the wheat from only 1a 3r. Perhaps he made up the rest of the wheat from his own corn, or exchanged with another. The winter seed corn was home by the 20th of October giving them time for an early start to the sowing of wheat and rye. On the following year they required 24 bushels (48 strikes) of wheat and while at the market they took the opportunity to buy in their seed barley and all home by the 10th of October.

In the above folio extract [f5v] and another of wheat threshed in Hall's barn [f7v], five types of wheat are mentioned. Wheat was grown best on the manured richer clays or heavy loams. Certain varieties became associated with various areas for their success there. The soil, climate and method of cultivation naturally affected the development of the plant. Thomas mentions first an old favourite the lammas wheat. Was this an early ripener for it was offered up at the lammas mass? In 1614 lammas wheat fetched 4s-2d a strike which was 2d a strike more than "white" wheat and Pendall wheat came between them commanding 4s-1d a strike. To confuse things most wheats were known as a white grain, but "white" wheat ripened earlier than other varieties and it could be planted with rye, otherwise as Tusser warned planting rye and wheat in the same strip could mean the rye "shed as it stand" waiting for the wheat. White wheat was of course distinguished from the red which was a hardier variety being grown on poorer soils. In other areas red wheat did not realize the same price as white on the market. Unfortunately Thomas fails to record its value. Millcorn appears to be the least valuable and sold at 3s-1d on January the 29th 1615/16. Wheat of an unknown variety sold that month for 4s-4d.

While acquiring enough wheat in 1615 Thomas had we mentioned also purchased 10 quarters of barley (80 bushels). Here he is buying all but 3 bushels of the 83 required [f8v] (p313). Were these purchased from the Gubbey [Gubbins] family of Wardington and the Wottons of Sulgrave because they were exchanging seed corn with neighbouring parishes? Before purchasing corn in bulk it must surely be sampled and then delivered by cart. Holloway himself sends away several small sack loads, presumably by packhorse, to Banbury, Southam and Warwick (p338).

[f11] "Mem. bought six quarter of barley of thomas gubbey
the 10th of october 1615 wch cost _____ vijij£
Item more of barley I bought of edward wotton

4 quarter wch cost _____ iij£ xs viijd
..... somma xij£ xs viijd"

The costs per quarter vary with Gubbey's at £1-6s-8d and Wotton's only £1-2s-8d. Unfortunately no named variety is given or the reason why he pays 1s-8d a strike for one and only 1s-5d a strike for the other. We have to assume Wotton's was a lesser variety. In Leicestershire the barley sold for 15s a quarter in 1614 when the yields were between 14.3 and 16 bushels an acre [Howell C. *Land, Family & Inheritance in Transition*. p278. 1983. Cambridge University Press].

The Strikes (Bushels) required for each Cropredy Acre.

As Cropredy was using their own customary acre which if larger than the statute acre would take more bushels of seed corn and achieve a higher number of bushels per "acre" once the grain was threshed. Seeds were also smaller than the modern varieties. A bushel was measured by volume not weight so the number of seeds would vary from year to year (Bushels : Appendix. 2 p699). Barley could be planted as low as 3 bushels to the acre as they did in parts of Leicestershire where a higher sowing would mean a rank growth and fewer tillers which were required to produce the maximum ears from each plant. In 1534 Fitzherbert sowed 4 bushels to the acre in Derbyshire [Howell C. p151. Fitzherbert; Bodl. Douce xx3 (2) f10]. Holloway never actually uses the term bushel preferring to call it "two stryks" instead. He refers to corn in quantity as so many quarters, which was the customary way to record sixteen strikes.

The seed was home, the land ploughed and ready for the hand sowing of the seed as soon as conditions were right. In 1615 when the tilth was towards Bourton Thomas writes down how much seed he had needed to sow the strips on his two and three quarter yardlands:

The barley tilth towards borton

my wynter corne of wheate &
maslen was three quarters
my pease seede was almost seven quarters
my barley seede ten quarter & six stryks

So the seede in all sorts together
was twenty quarters for
anno 1615" (Fig.21.2).

With the above quantities the vicar has supplied the strikes required for a calculation to be made of how much was approximately needed for each strip of land in the South Field and for the lands planted with peas in the North Field. Although Holloway has recorded the seeds he used to sow the wheat, barley and peas on this particular year of 1615, he does not give the number of strips he actually had. For 1616 when the tilth was in the North Field he provided the number of half acre strips (lands), but this time the quantity sown was different. This means the only two examples we have differ in the quantity of seed, but it is still necessary to make a general rule for planting. Holloway uses strikes and quarters throughout (2 strikes = 1 bushel. 8 bushels = 1 quarter).

- Wheat/maslin just over 2 strikes a land= 4 strikes plus to an acre.
- Peas 2, 3 or 4 strikes a land= 4, 6 or 8 strikes to the acre.
- Barley 2 or 4 strikes a land=4 or 8 strikes to the acre.
- Oats 4 strikes a land= 8 strikes to the acre.

Using the seeding given above, which Holloway provided in 1615 [f8v], it could be used to find the number of lands he might plant. The exact amount needed to sow his acreage with peas was 6 quarters 2 strike, so if planted at 8 strikes to the acre he had sufficient for exactly 12a 1r (which might be made up of 24 lands and 1 butt). For the record Thomas eased them up to a round number of "almost seven quarters," but for the actual planting he would expect them to be dibbed in or broadcast fairly accurately. If only 4 strikes were planted to the acre he could have planted twice the acreage available, leaving us sure he used the more generous amount of 8 strikes (4 bushels). Perhaps the extra peas were to fill in the gaps made by rodents

taking the seed, or pigeons belonging to the manor dovehouse. The following year he apparently used 6 strikes to the acre which could plant 18 acres, but was this too great an acreage for the North Field in 1615 as he still had to leave room for the barley-fallow?

Thomas needed 10 quarters and 6 strikes of barley and at 8 strikes (4 bushels) to the acre could plant 20a 3r, which must be correct as a smaller sowing of 4 strikes to the acre would need more acres than he had.

The average amount of seed for the winter corn (which included all the pure wheat and wheat sown with rye as maslin), was 4 strikes (2 bushels) to the acre. Holloway's 3 quarters (48 strike) would cover 12 acres which balanced his sowing of peas.

Holloway it is now suggested had planted in 1615

Winter corn at 4 strikes an acre

Barley at 8 strikes an acre

Peas at 8 strikes an acre

The arable he could plant came to 45 acres out of his 65.5 which was similar to an average three yardlands. His greensward at approximately 31 acres would include 3 acres of meadow. This gave him around 96 acres to farm. With this information and the working out of the seed broadcast on the lands it could be that the Holloways distributed their 20 quarters of seed as follows

12 acres of winter corn and

20a 3r of barley in the South Field.

12a 1r of peas and

20a 2r fallow in the North Field.

In 1615 on just under 3 yardlands the Holloways' had planted 4 acres of wheat to every 7 of barley. The peas were taking up part of the fallow field which would be used the following year for a similar acreage of wheat, while the barley followed the previous year's fallow.

We have now been "given" the approximate arable acreage of one tenant, the quantity of seed that had to be saved, or sold to buy in fresh, and the strikes the vicar was sowing per acre. However it was not quite as easy as that. The following year Thomas wrote down the number of strips (lands) he planted in the North Field and the number of pea lands he planted in the South fallow Field, which gave rise to the two different sowing quantities mentioned above. The two Fields varied in quality and possible size of strips.

[f12v] "My maslyn sowed in anno 1616 w[ere]
in lands 17 seede 3 quarters
Item of wheate in landes 7 in seed 7 stryks
Item pease in lands sowed 28 and the
seede was fyve quarters 2 stryks
Item barley in lands...[blank]."

The winter corn again took up 12 acres . The seed would be broadcast over the 1615 pea lands. Unfortunately the vicar left out the entry for barley. The sowing was as follows

Maslin on 17 lands (8.5a) took 48 strikes at just under 6 strike an acre, and the
Wheat on 7 lands (3.5a) took 7 strikes at 2 strike an acre.
Peas on 28 lands (14a) took 82 strikes at 6 strike an acre.

If the total seed for maslin and wheat had again been combined, as he did in the 1615 record, then the 12 acres of winter corn were planted at just over 4 strike an acre. However in 1616 he separated the information to mention that he had sowed 7 lands with pure wheat using the low amount of only one strike per land. This was we saw half of the sowing required for the rest of the winter corn the previous year. The rye might require more seed or it could be the North Field having better soil took less seed?

The peas had to be planted on the fallow and that year their land was in the South Field but here the vicar planted only 6 strikes of peas per acre though in 1615 he had planted about 8 strikes per land. Which year was the unusual one? Or did the two Fields require different amounts? The soil varied enormously so that the Brasenose College charged ten shillings an acre for lands in the North Field, but only four shillings per acre in the South Field. The vicar's sowing quantities for the North Field

were used to try and discover how many quarters of seed Thomas Devotion's [3] crops, which he left in 1630/31, had needed. The tilth was again towards Clattercote and the winter corn was at the lower rate of sowing:

..8 strikes of wheat for.2a.
48 strikes of barley for 6a.
.9 strikes of peas for ...1a 2r.
.6 strikes of oats for3r.

Using the vicar's quantities Thomas Devotion's seed of all sorts came to 4 quarters 4 strikes for one small yardland in contrast to the vicar's 20 quarters on nearly three yardlands. The yardlands being uneven it cannot be said that the vicar's sowing of four acres of wheat per yardland with a quarter of seed meant every one of the 56 yardlands could do the same and Devotion makes it clear he could not plant more than two acres on his small yardland.

As many of the sixty households could no longer grow all their own corn, the husbandmen must grow more and more to sell (p342). The poorer purchasers required barley and peas, and if they could afford it, rye or maslin. They would be keeping an eye on the harvest, and contributing their help as a matter of routine. Cottagers' had a right to glean once the last stook had left the field. The abundance, or dearth of the harvest would affect them in the price they would be paying for their bread corn over the next twelve months.

The inventories had very little information about the crops. The peas we know were sown in the spring. The different varieties were sown in their own strips. Some must be planted by January or February and others after the barley. Smallholdings may have used children to help dib in the peas in straight lines. The seeds being planted in the bottom of a furrow. 8 strikes per acre were needed if 24 peas were dibbed in for every 36 inches and only 6 strikes per acre if planted at 18 for every 36 inches. Those who wanted the peas for cattle harvested them before the peas were ready and dried them in small field stacks for ten days. They must once have carried them back on gates or hurdles and Thomas still wrote of loads or "gates" coming home. Some pea ricks are mentioned in the inventories. These were threshed out in the open because of the thick black clouds of dust they produced. Only the vicar [21], Robins [26] and Rede [32] mention a peas barn and their buildings did not require a threshing bay. The peas produced a very poor return, but three things were in their favour. First peas could be grown on fallow land and improve the ground for wheat. Secondly their haulm was often essential to get cattle through the winter, and lastly peas were necessary for the smaller husbandmen's own family for their pea and barley "bread."

The only inventory which has details for peas and barley seed was Richard Hall's [34]. He died the first week in January and the inventory was taken on the 18th of March 1634/5. The relatives had not yet begun to plant his late peas or barley, having still to sow 5 quarters of peas, and 6 quarters 2 strike of seed barley. The barley was worth 23s a quarter. At 8 strikes an acre they would plant 10 acres of peas and 12 acres of barley. Here the barley appears to be short by about 8 acres.

It is certain that all the farmers planted peas, but what about the third spring crop of oats required for the working horse? In which furlong would they go? They must have planted oats, as Devotion did in the rotating Peas Quarter. Oathill Piece (once Robert's Hill) was taken up by the B. manor and was not available for other tenants. Oats and rye are both hidden by being labelled "corn." The appraisers might record: Corn and hay £26, or Corn and hay £40. Hay would be about a quarter to a third of their crops, but even knowing the approximate value of the corn does not give the kind or variety used.

Before going onto the loads each acre produced there was one exception to generous planting found in a will. In Great Bourton, where they farmed similar land, a John Ellyott left "John Leeke my servant a Butt to sow Barlie on this yeare and a strike of barlie to sow itt wt all" [M.S.Wills Pec.37/3/8]. That was in December 1595 after three poor harvests and, though they did not of course know it, there were three more to come. Wheat rose from a high 56s in 1594 to 92s a Quarter in 1597. Rye was dreadfully scarce and although some was imported into the country the cottagers would have to make a kind of bread from barley and peas. Ellyott departed in the middle of a dreadful shortage. As a husbandman his own family would have had some food, but he was worrying about his servant's chances if he left the household. Whatever his thoughts were it was a most unusual bequest. Was a strike sufficient to plant a butt being only 4 strikes to the acre when the vicar was using 8? It may be that in famine years a thin sowing could not be avoided, but was bound to produce a poorer harvest, though it would hopefully produce sufficient for one man (p89).

It has been said that the fortunate harvesters brought back the equivalent of only four small grains of wheat for every one planted. Thomas Holloway's wheat and maslin may have had a poor return. In 1607 he had a poor wheat year, yielding eight loads of maslin, but only one of wheat to bring into the barn. In 1613 the maslin again cropped eight loads, but the wheat being only half a load [c25/2 f4]. In 1614 the maslin was again eight and the wheat rose to two loads. This was ten loads from 12 acres [f4v]. None of the three given years yielded a great return. By keeping some wheat separate from rye it could be sold at a higher price, and the lesser wheats used to produce maslin. We do not know how much rye was actually planted on its own for no separate rye loads are given.

An acre of barley could produce one and a half loads per acre on an average year. Most yardlanders planted between 6 to 9 acres of barley hoping to get nine to fourteen loads per yardland. Peas produced little per acre, but in 1614 the vicar brought in six loads from about 12 acres. This was better in 1607 when they had thirteen loads of peas or just over one per acre [c25/2 fols 4 & 4v].

Fitting the Loads into the Barns.

If the vicar records all the strikes threshed out of his barley loads on the average 1614 harvest then we will be nearer the answer to the question of how much each acre produced. The number of sheaves of corn to fit on a load varied with the length of the straw. On poorly manured ground, or wet land, the straw would be shorter. Sheaves were shorter in northern and wetter western areas. When the crop was mowed, rather than reaped, then the mowers cut near the ground. If, which is unlikely, the wheat, oats and barley were all mown and the corn had all been tied up in sheaves ready to load, then the wheat had the smallest number of sheaves per future strikes (average 18), the oats would have perhaps four more and the barley about six more (average 24, though barley was usually kept loose). A load of threshed barley therefore produced fewer strikes than a load of wheat and a lot more straw (p332).

After a low yield in 1613 Thomas found his harvest of 1614 producing eight more loads of barley to store. He found room at Hall's [6] barn for eighteen loads of barley and ten of winter corn. Thomas must bear in mind the capacity of his carts for the three different crops and then recall the distance the various strips were from the barns to organise the staff accordingly. All the work must dovetail together. Everyone would be out helping and every cart called into service, so the vicarage would need to supply enough equipment to gather three yardlands. If the vicar had a carter to each waggon and a boy to lead, he still needed one or two men to load and then another to stack the barn. This was when craftsmen were asked to help. Perhaps some cottages were traditionally attached to a particular farm and would expect help in return. They might ask the husbandman for the loan of a cart or help to plough up a strip, as they did in Ceredigion until recently.

These rare records do provide a unique glimpse of his harvest and the list below is a gem. Taken slowly it conjures up a vivid picture of carts trundling slowly down from the Field, over the Green and up Church Lane before swinging round into his barn, or into the parsonage close opposite. Some had to clack clack clackety clack down to Hall's barn which faced south and had the gable end towards the Long Causeway [6] (Fig.20.5 p303). One of the Holloway's would be in attendance ordering the

loads into the barn bays: [f4v] "A Remembraunce of all sorts/ of my corne erded in anno/ 1614 then havinge a yerdland/ of Jhon Hunts a yerdland of/ Tho french & three quarters of/ my owne in all 2 yerdlands 3 qrs.

VycaredgeIn primis of barly in
barne the vycaredge barne
..... then erded xij loades
..... Item more one load

Halls barne..... In primis of maslen fyve loads
.....Item more of maslen 3 loades
..... Item ther of wheate 2 loades 2 [?]thraves
.....Item ther of barly 5 loads
.....Item more 3 loads

Pease barne..... Item of barly 4 loades
.....Item ther more 3 loades
.....Item ther more the 15 of
.....september 2 loads
Of the Reeke....Item ther six gates

.....of barly 30 loads
.....of maslen eight
.....of wheate tow" (Fig.21.3).

Thomas's last three lines are the total of that years' produce from his leased yardlands. Did he set it out clearly for a purpose? It provided a good reference point for later harvests, and Holloway was still teaching his youngest son about farming. The

barley had three loads from 2 acres and the winter corn 2 loads from 2a 1r. The peas figure is again below average. The six gates of peas had to go onto a rick (Reeke), while the barley went into the peas barn.

The 40 loads given above were coming from the vicar's leased land during August and September 1614 produced from the following acreage. The rectorial tenth had already gone to the lay impropiator:

- 12 loads of barley from 8a.1 load of barley from..... 3r
- .5 loads of maslin from 6a 1r .. 3 loads of maslin from 3a 3r
- .2 loads of wheat from 2a 1r.... 5 loads of barley from 3a 2r
- 3 loads of barley from 2a4 loads of barley from 2a 3r
- 3 loads of barley from 2a2 loads of barley from 1a 2r
- Total.(barley& wheat)20a 2r.Total.(barley & maslin)12a 1r

The barley coming from 20a 2r was being "erded" into the barns during the summer of 1614. It had been planted over the winter of 1613/14 towards Bourton when the vicar could plant 45 arable acres. They finished the barley with the last load on the 15th of September. The vicar reached for his quill and ink and brought his records up to date.

In the fourteenth century Bennett found that wheat on average yielded 8 bushels (16 strikes) an acre, oats 10 bushels and barley about 13 bushels [Bennett H.S. *Life on the English Manor* p87-89]. How many bushels were Holloway's and the townsmen's acres producing on these two years? In May 1614 Leicestershire expected barley to yield 14 to 16 bushels an acre. Cropredy, if the same, was carrying about 28 to 32 bushels every three loads at an average of ten bushels a load. Could this be anywhere near the right quantity? The vicar added more information from the parsonage barn loads helping us to work out the average yield of a barley acre. We still need to know the capacity of the barns and then study the threshing to reveal the actual bushels produced. This helps to understand the reasons behind so much of the agricultural processes in Cropredy: the size of the parcels, the number of bays in a barn and the yield necessary to pay the outgoings and still allow the family to survive.

The Parsonage Barn.

Having just entered up the corn from his leased land Thomas goes on to mention corn in the Parsonage tithe barn. A vicar of Cropredy was not entitled to any rectorial corn which was stored in that barn, unless they had purchased the right to farm the rectorial tithes. Thomas was rector of a second parish, but he had already bargained with the Hampton Poyle parishioners to be given money instead of one load out of every ten harvested. This brought him in £23-13s-4d [f9] (Appendix 5 p709). However those rectorial tithes of Hampton Poyle had nothing to do with Cropredy's tithe barn.

The Bishop of Lincoln had formerly been the rector who put in a vicar to look after the ecclesiastical parish of Cropredy. As rector he had required a barn to hold the great tithes until sold. By Holloway's time the rectorial tenths which included hay, corn and peas, had been separated from the church and sold to lay impropriators who farmed out their rights. The Halls [6] collected one moiety of £50 and by 1614 it would seem Thomas Holloway had purchased the right to collect the other moiety of £40. In his will Holloway leaves "the tythes of the Parsonage of Cropredye with the profitts as it is nowe used, shalbe, and ever remaine duringe the yeares after my wifes decease, or daye of marriage to my son Thomas Holloway."

The vicar wrote down all the corn he had going into the Parsonage barn from his moiety of the tithes in 1614:

[f5] "Tyth corne in parsonage barne
...of barly 28 loads 1614
...of maslen 4
...of wheate halfe a loade
Note the end of the parsonage barne
for my parte to kepe contayneth
yerely twenty loades of barly
the rest is layde of barly in the
other end wth the maslen &
comonly in barly yerely 30 loads."

Here the vicar and Hall are sharing the barn. It was obviously not a narrow 16 foot wide building for that would mean numerous bays to accommodate the huge load. Thomas has shown that for every yardland in 1614 ten loads of barley were

The smaller the farm the greater the need for an all purpose barn which could shelter cows and a horse if necessary for outbuildings were expensive and took up valuable space in the grass yard or close. A cart had to be borrowed and this must have easy access, be unloaded fast and quickly returned to field or owner. The position of the large double doors depended on the relationship of the barn to the lane outside. At Huxeley's [36] the cart swung round into the rear yard to the large double doors and left the same way, backing out when empty into the yard. Elderson [38] had to bring the cart straight in off the lane and back out again. The horse in this barn leaving by the winnow door into the rear yard. Huxeley's winnow door, opposite the cart doors, faced the Lane (until Bachelor built the barn in front p397).

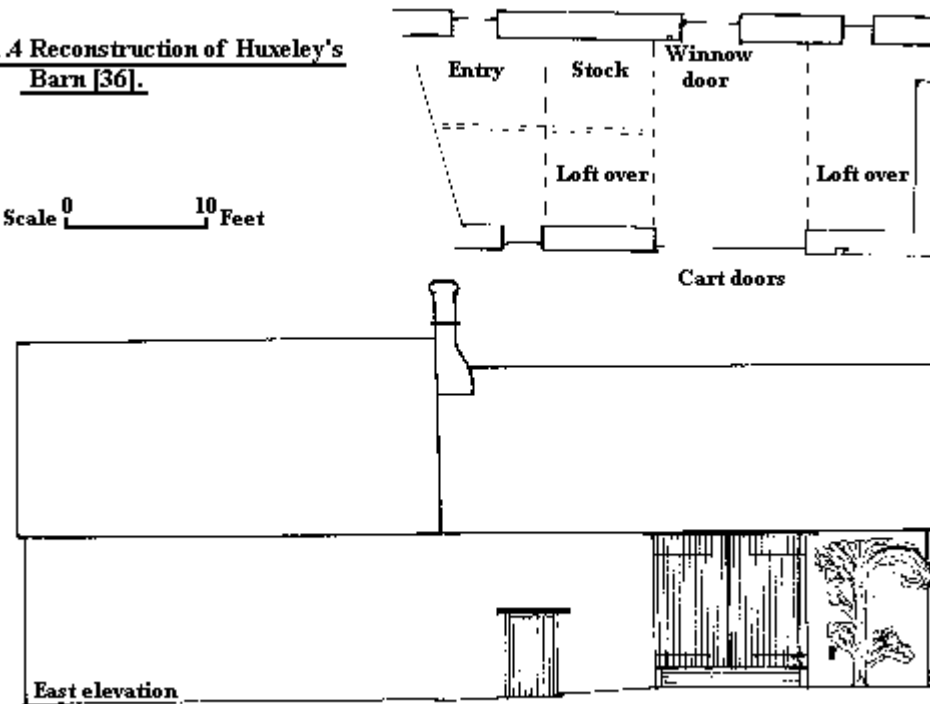
To know the size and average number of harvest loads per acre was important when building a barn for any tenant's holding. If they leased other land then the extra accommodation to hold it over winter was the responsibility of the occupier. Local knowledge would provide the number of bays required once the size of the particular yardland was known. It would be presumed the rector's tenth and corn to pay the rent would not require storage.

The builders of Cropredy's stone barns were at first all using thatched rooves and these could like the houses be supported on principals spanning an internal width of 15.5 to 16 feet. Thatch being lighter than the stone slate used in the Cotswolds. The spacing of the roof trusses could be as narrow as 8 or as wide as 11 or 12 feet which formed the bays. The barn bay with the cart door had to be 12 feet wide. Huxeley's [36] now blocked doorway was wide enough, but the inside measurement of the barn was only 28 feet in length so that the bays were 8: 12: 8. There were a few like Robins [26] who built a wider barley barn to limit the number of bays required. The central bay of a small barn was also the threshing area. All threshing bays were kept open to the roof to allow room for the flails.

In some barns carts could leave by a second cart doorway with two shorter doors, for once the load had been stacked inside, the exit was only as high as the horse and cart needed to clear the lintel. Others had only the horse or winnow door and while the horse was led out the cart had to be pushed out backwards. The heavy cart doors were hung well above the floor. Three or more boards were placed across the entrance to keep out the poultry while they were threshing. These boards which slotted into a frame were kept in place when the barn doors were shut. Once the barn was empty in June then the cart doors were unhinged and put down to shear the sheep on. In some cart doors a smaller man door was made to save opening the large heavy door once the corn was inside.

D21.4 Reconstruction of Huxeley's
Barn [36].

Scale 0 10 Feet



Reconstruction of Huxeley's Barn [36].

How much could a local bay hold? Richard Sowtham of Banbury, yeoman, left in September 1597 three "bayes of barlie" worth £30 [MS will Pec.50/5/18: Wills and Inventories BHS Vol 13 :42]. The price was high because the harvest of 1596 had been very poor sending up the price to 50s a quarter. This meant that each bay held 4 quarters. In February 1626/7 an inventory mentions a bay and a half of barley worth £13 which came to just under 7 quarters when barley was around 38s a quarter [MS.Will Pec.45/1/25: Wills & Inv. BHS Vol. 14 :278]. Although the width of every barn is not known few barns that were not storing tithe corn were larger than 16 feet wide inside with the figure of 4 quarters per bay being confirmed by their threshed loads.

How many loads produced this amount? The vicar in his threshing accounts below (Ch. 23) had at least 32 quarters of barley from 28 loads. Can this formula be used for barley?

- 28 loads gave 32 quarters to fit into 8 bays.
- 14 loads gave 16 quarters to fit into 4 bays.
- ..7 loads gave 8 quarters to fit into 2 bays.
- 3.5 loads gave 4 quarters to fit into 1 bay.

Cropredy's remaining barns were measured. The seventeenth century terriers on the B manor gave the number of bays for the stone and thatched barns. Hall [6] had a barn of four bays which had the stable in a fifth bay and perhaps a loft over for corn as there was also a five bay hay barn. Such a loft was however far from ideal due to the rising ammonia fumes. The barn would be divided into three bays for storage and one for threshing [BNC:552]. The vicar put eight loads of barley needing two wide bays into Hall's barn and then added some wheat. How could ten loads of wheat fit into the last bay, unless there was extra loft space? How much room did wheat take up? It has been stated above that barley took up an extra quarter of cart space, but that still left at least half again of wheat to store, though it depended on the length of the straw and winter corn had a poor return that year. The wheat has not yet been satisfactorily sorted out.

The B manor farm [8] had a seven bay barn which was still not large enough for a four yardland holding. Lacking at least four out of the necessary ten barley bays they would have to put them in the rickyard behind the barn on the south side. Where was the wheat to go?

Devotion [3] had four bays with three for storage. His six acres of barley might bring in nine loads on an average year and the wheat four loads. With the 3r of oats his barn ought to hold it all. Outside to the east in his grass yard he would make a peas rick with the three or four gates of peas, but store as much hay as possible in the lofts over the cow and stable bays.

Rede [32] had a corn barn of three bays which was inadequate for the crop of perhaps eight loads of maslin/wheat and around eighteen of barley when they leased extra land in 1578. There could be as much as eighteen gates of peas to go in the peas house and rick. Before the homestall was reduced to make a smallholding in the close to the east, the farm had had a range of buildings along the edge of the North Field. By 1570 only half belonged to Rede for the Truss family [33] were given the buildings standing in their close. When leasing extra land the Redes would have to make ricks on staddle stones in their

rickyard to the west, or put up an extra building. Failing this they could try to rent space (as the vicar did) in another farm's barn. They could of course have put some of the wheat into the peas barn.

At the bottom of Creampot Lane Hentlowes [35] had once leased five yardlands. Their stone barn had five bays allowing four to store barley. It was sixteen feet wide inside with eleven foot wide bays. Like all the other barns of this size the walls were twelve feet high. Hentlowes had an eastern barn door for carts to enter from the yard (pp605-8). Again where did he store the surplus? Either the crops had increased or they relied on their rickyard.

On the A manor Robins [26] had built a barn with twelve feet wide bays to a depth of twenty feet (p567). This was to hold barley from twenty acres, which on average meant twentyeight loads. They had besides the large barley barn a smaller wheat one as well as the peas barn. In 1720 the wheat spilt 20 bushels into the peas barn from the wheat rick which was valued at 150 bushels [M.S.Wills Pec. 33/5/25 J.Blackamore]. The threshed wheat from each acre had produced 15 bushels 1 strike, less 1 bushel 1 strike to the lay impropiator. The tenant that year bringing home 14 bushels from each acre, but in how many loads? Barley could never be brought straight home. First it must be stoked and allowed to stand over three Sundays. The church bells having been rung thrice they ordered it home loose on the cart.

Farmers put a lad onto a carthorse and they rode round and round under the barn roof to press down the loads. The horse, securely strapped, was brought to the ground with the aid of a hoist and rope over the transverse roof beam.

If Huxeley's [36] had to give up a bay to the cows and horse the bay left would store only 3.5 loads, threshing out to 4 quarters of barley. The straw going straight to bed and feed the stock. The walls were 12 feet high, but storage went right up into the steep thatched roof. Storage for Huxeley's small bay barn could be compared with others: Barns with:-

- A small **bay** 16' x 8'c3.5 loads.
- A medium **bay** 16' x 11'... c4.5 loads.
- Robins **bay** 20' x 12'c6+ loads.
- The tithe barn had to accommodate at least 7 loads per **bay**.

Thomas Holloway [21] had he tells us a "Vycareedge barn" into which he orders thirteen loads. His tenancy was for a large three quarters of a yardland and on this he would grow two to four acres of wheat and six or seven acres of barley giving

thirteen to eighteen loads. His thirteen loads in 1614 would fit into three bays of a four bay barn like Devotions [3]. This barn had and needed the threshing floor.

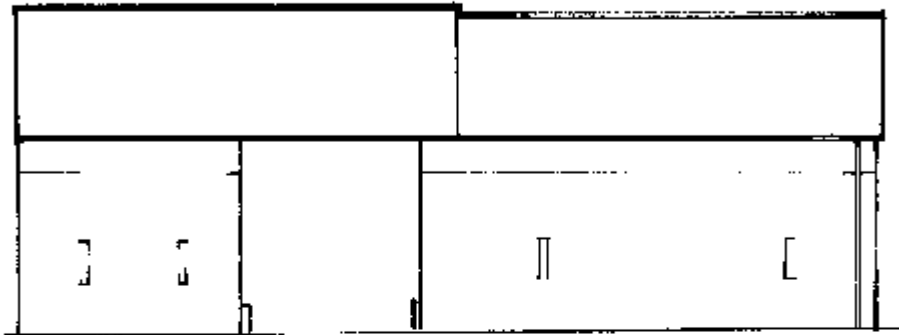
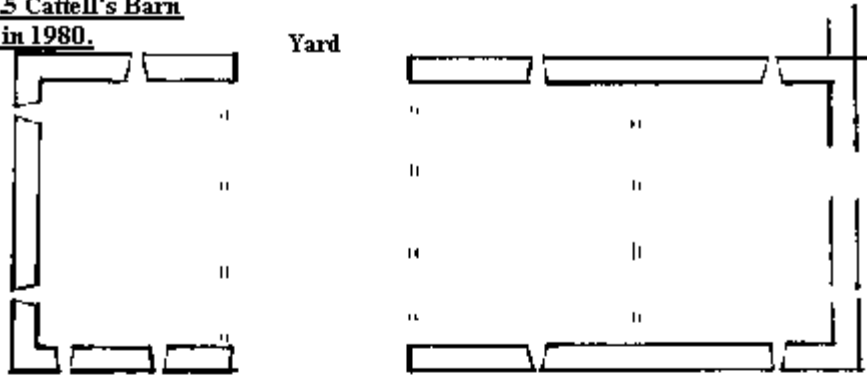
The vicar also had the peas barn into which he put nine loads of barley and six of peas in 1614. It therefore had at least three bays. How could they use this building for corn which needed threshing? Thomas had apparently to take it elsewhere: "Barly threshed oute of my pease barne in wynter 1614" [f12], whereas he mentions that barley was threshed in the parsonage barn. Did they complete the filling of the peas barn from upper loft doors? The whole crop did not have to go into the barns of course if the rent was sent off first.

Cattell's [30] four bay barn has since had the walls raised and a new roof. Figure 21.5 shows the ventilation slits and the barn as it was in 1980. The north gable upper loft door could be fed from a standing cart which would then enter the stable yard to turn (Fig.34.4).

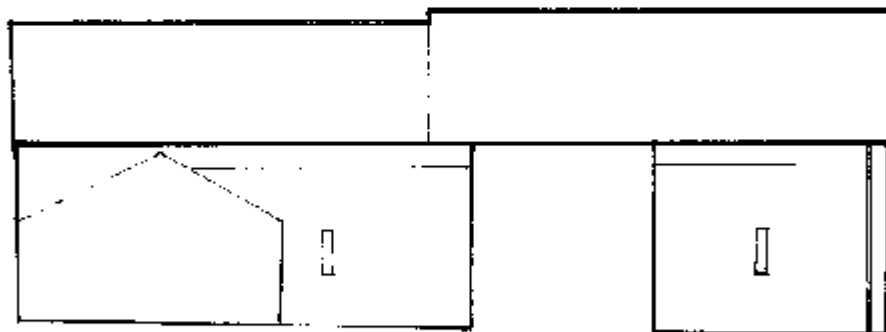
Before going onto the threshing and winnowing chapter the carts and equipment had to be mentioned.

D21.5 Cattell's Barn
[30] in 1980.

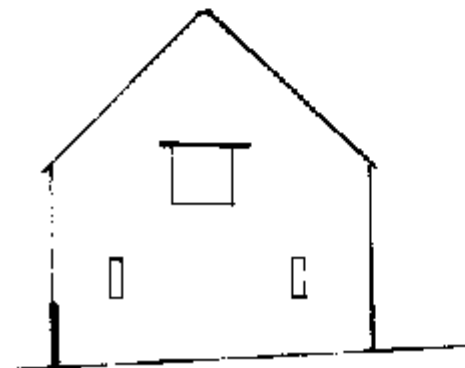
Yard



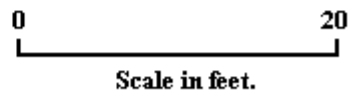
West elevation



East elevation



North gable



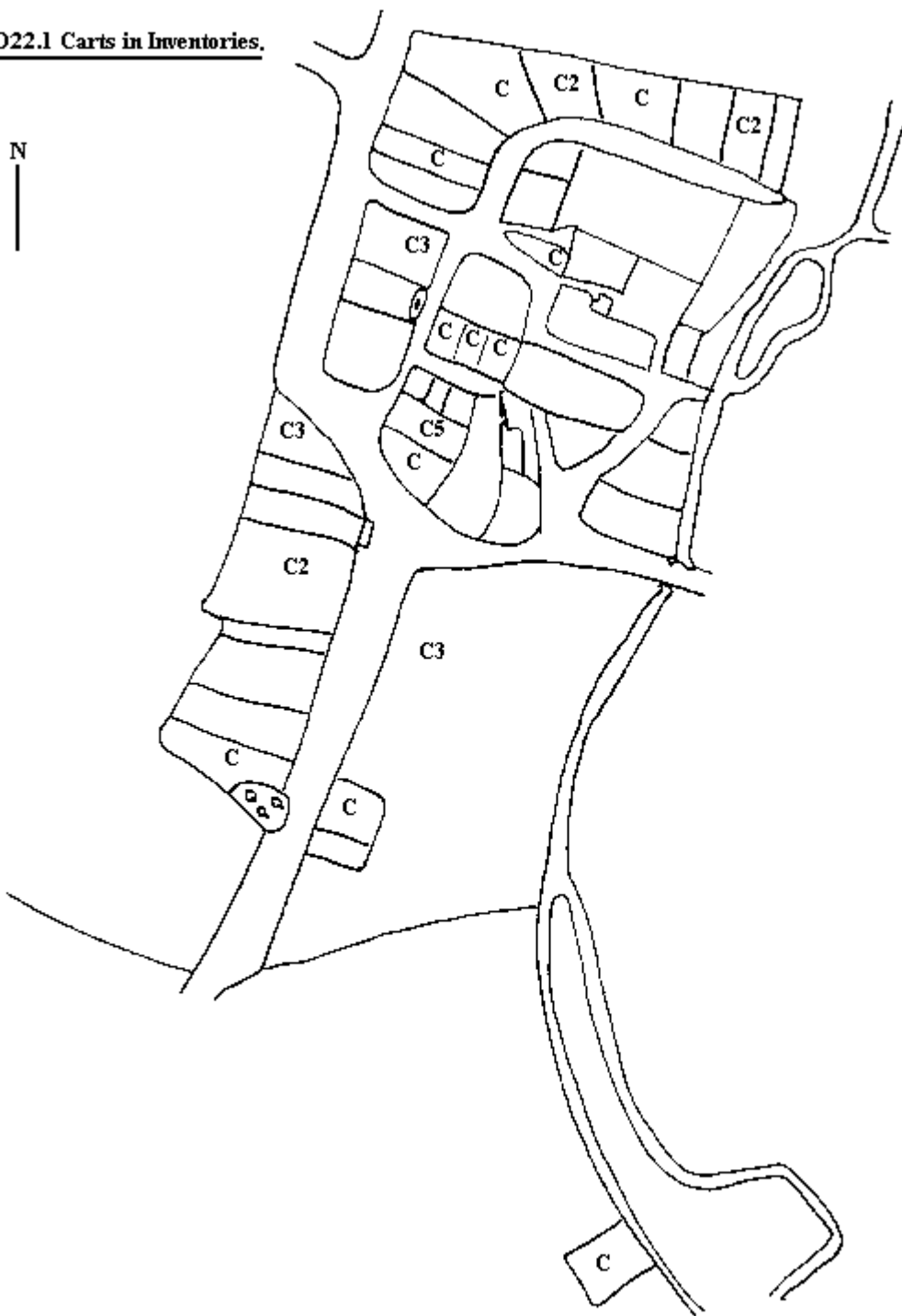
Cattell's Barn [30] in 1980.

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22. Carts

D22.1 Carts in Inventories.



Carts in Inventories.

22. Carts

Husbandmen occupied themselves..."in making a thousand pretie things of wood - such as are platters, Trenchers, spindles, Bathing Tubs, Dishes and other things requisite for household store...as Harrowes, Rakes and handles for tools, he shall repair his teames Yokes, Ploughs and all other Instruments necessarie for cattle going to cart or plough, to the end that all may be in good order when they goe to labour" Gervase Markham (1568?-1637).

In 1557 Thomas Robyns gave to Richard his son "a paire of new wheeles for to be bounde at holy roode daye in Maye next commyng and a plough and all the yron that longith thereto" [183 253r, 253v]. Robyns cart had a pair of wheels, not four, and this was the type of cart that continued to be made throughout our period between 1570 and 1640. Only four ironbound waggons were mentioned.

Those husbandmen fortunate enough to pass on the farm to their son and continue to live a while longer, were unlikely to leave a cart in one of the yard hovels. Neither would any mention of one appear in their wills or inventories. Sudden illness while in full command produced only twentyfour inventories in which carts and implements of husbandry were amongst their personal estate. Fit men farmed into their seventies, hanging onto at least a third of the lease and allowing the married son or son-in-law two thirds. They may have continued farming having found no reason to cease providing for themselves and their wife, while it was still possible to do so. Sudden death found them still in possession of their carts and ploughs. Two left carts in their seventies, six in their sixties, two in their fifties, seven in their forties, one was only thirtyfour and six had ages which escaped the Cropredy records.

Those whose executors proved their will in London at the Court of Canterbury, lost their inventory and unless the will gave details all knowledge of their equipment has gone. These included the Vicar [21], Mr Coldwell [50], Mr Hall [6] and Hentlowe [35] and all these must have had carts being some of the wealthier tenants. William Lyllee [29] who was nearly eighty kept half his land letting the other half and possibly the cart to his son-in-law, John Hall. Inventories might also be made like the one Thomas Gybb's [25] appraisers drew up which valued all his husbandry implements at £10.

Richard Lumberd in 1563 left to his son Edward [14] his iij yron bounde carts or "ells xxxiijs-iijd wch he will," giving the cost of each cart as 11s. To Richard his second son he left the "plowe yron and paire of harrows and carte bodye" worth 8s.

Robert Hunt in 1564 left "to John my eldest son the carte and the carte geres the plough geres..." and by 1587 the Hunts [16] possessed:

"three Iron Bondes Carts" £5

"ffour harrows two plowes furnyshed" £1

On the same farm in 1609 Hunt's son Justinian left:

"Three Iron Bounde carts & one Barne Cart" £6

"ffive Harrowes and ffive ploughes" £1"

Robert Robins [26] in 1603 left to his son Robert "My best yron bound cart"... "as long as his mother and he doe occupy together." This was mentioned in the inventory:

"ij yronbound carts not preising that
cart wch belongeth to Robert Robins ij
Ploughes iij harrowes ij Roles one
Side leap ij ladders and certaine Cart
and plow tymber, certaine bords
wth other implements" -----..-- £9

Nuberry [8] in 1578 had for his four yardland farm:

"iij Iron bonde cartes a carte whole bonde wth Iron/
ij carte bodyes iij plowes...." etc£6
other things £6

Widow Em Devotion's [3] Iron tools and cart for one yardland up to 1634 were:

"one Cart one plowe a payre of
harrose an Iron barre wth cetayne
old Iron forkes and rakes and
other small ymplements/ of husbandrie" £1- 6s- 8d

In September of 1612 Thomas Smyth of Bourton whose useful inventory has helped on many occasions also left carts, ploughs, harrows, and one sledge worth £5-10s [MS. Will Pec.51/1/2]. That type of horse drawn sledge remained on into this century in the hilly pastures of the Brecon Beacons and many other areas [Evan Thomas Williams born near Brecon recalled one]. In Oxfordshire they still had their uses even when most farms could afford a cart. A sledge could carry about 5 cwt, but none would carry a ton. Ten loads going to make up a rick of five tons, known as a stagg of hay. On Gower a sledge load of hay was worth 6d around 1600. Each quarter acre yielded on average 2s worth of hay, making sixteen sledge loads per acre [Emery F.V. p29]. Were these loads also called "gates?" A hurdle put across a sledge or pair of thrill poles would make a "gate." A thrill was a shaft, either a straight or curved pole, used on either side of the horse to form the base of a sledge. One "thill" appears in the inventories.

Hay was piled high on a cart and end gates raised the load. Wheat, rye and barley must be carried with care across the bumpy headlands and lanes to avoid the loss of grain, so the cart had to be close boarded and have solid sides and was not loaded as high as for hay.

A waggon bed stood four feet from the ground and to clear the barn door lintels the load had to be less than eight feet high. An Oxfordshire waggon was eleven feet long and where the sides widen out at least six foot seven inches wide. The floor was in two sections with the front measuring five foot nine inches by four foot three inches, and the rear section five foot three inches long. Carts and waggons needed shelter chiefly from the sun, but also from the rain and winds. Their hovil would face north so that the sun's rays did not dry out the wood.

Ploughs, Harrows, Roles and Essential tools.

Twenty inventories mention ploughs, but only half give the number on the farm: Six had one plough. Three had two. Two had three and Hunts five.

Twentytwo farms had harrows and five had a pair of roles. There does not seem to be any mention of iron harrows so presumably they only had wooden ones, and these were nearly always in pairs, except for two husbandmen who had three and Hunts five. Hanwell in 1592 was still in possession of his "old plow and harrows vjs viijd." A horse rake was mentioned in 1641.

Up to 1601 William Howse [9] had "edge tooles and yron ware" xls. The edge tool made by the blacksmith could be sharpened and was more useful than the blunter wooden tools made by the carpenter, or the husbandman himself. About the same time John Palmer at the lower mill was using a grindstone for his tools to work on the mill coggs and owned "twoe ploughs and harrows." Up in Bourton the Hall family had iron coulters for in 1588 William left 2 "plowes with the shares, curters and plow timber and 4 harrowes" worth 26s-8d [MS. Will Pec. 41/1/12].

There are obviously a great many tools which the appraisers skim over and call other "trumpery," "thrash," or just other implements there, but Wallis of Bourton made implements to last. He had a small industry turning out necessary metal tools and could afford to stock pile against the harvest season. A list of these are given on page 600.

The majority of the husbandmen's tools were replicas of their ancestors equipment. Their hoe, spade, axe or billhook were all there in Chaucer's time. The Romans used hatchets and axes and their carpenters had malletts, chisels and hammers as well as the pedal lathe. Two thirds of the named pike or pitchfork come before 1600. After that they called them shippikes. Had the design changed or just the appraiser coming from elsewhere? Dungforks were recorded throughout the period.

The inventories show the following:

In a no. of Inventories.	Number of Tools occurring.	Example of Sites and Quantity
10	32 pike/pitch forkes	[8] had 7
11	16 dungforks	[4] had 4
7	9 shippickes	[16] had 3
11	17 iron or shiprakes	[25] had 5
8	8 shovels	
11	12 axes	[31] had 2
14	19 hatchets	[55] had 3
6	6 bills	

8	16 scythes	[16] had 5
1	3 reeping hooks	[26] in 1578
3	6 staffs	[4] had 4
8	8 spades	
3	3 mattocks	

Smyth [51] the miller and Hudson [48] had tenant saws and augers. Hudson who also had a thacking rake appears to be a thatcher and so did Kendall who had an awl, thacking rake, hammer and a pair of syssers. Bokingham [55] had an auger, spokeshave, grindstone and a wheelbarrow (p434). Russell [13] the blacksmith had three grindstones in his special building behind the smithie [A list of tools appears in the General Index p754].

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22. Threshing and Winnowing

"Serve rye-straw out first, then wheat-straw and pease,
Then oat-straw and barley, then hay if ye please:
But serve them with hay, while the straw stover last,
They will eat no more straw, they had rather to fast!"
[Thomas Tusser: *His Good Points of Husbandry* ed. by D.Hartley].

Farmers were advised to first thresh the straw least favoured by the cattle, which was wheat, but to do this meant selling at the bottom of the market. In Cropredy if rye straw was long enough it would be kept from the stock and used for thatching. The remains going for bee skeps, baskets and truckle beds. In some parts of the country a long straw was left behind after harvesting the grain and then later on the straw and weeds were cut for stover straw. No mention of this practise has yet been found in the area around Cropredy.

The small-holder's rye was kept for bread, less the amount reserved for exchanging seed. Thomas appears to thresh wheat and rye for seed, or sale, to get cash to buy in, and then reserve the rest for later. Of course if there was a dearth then farmers were ordered by the Justices to bring corn to the market soon after the harvest was in. Barley was threshed whenever they decided to send some to the malt house on the bigger farms, and for barley bread with a little wheat and rye on the smaller holdings. The threshed barley had first to have the awns removed with a hummell stick and then the straw was fed direct to the cattle, or was stored on the vicarage farm in their straw shed. The peas being threshed out of doors as and when required.

Wet days found them inside threshing the corn. The threshing bay of the barn had a special stone, or close boarded floor. Once threshed the grain was winnowed to separate out the chaff and dust. Those who had large barns could regulate the draught by positioning the two opposing doors. The smaller barns had to use the winnow door. Small holders used their winnowing sheet outside in a windy spot. Once winnowed the grain was stored behind a board in the opposite bay to the unthreshed barley. In at least eleven inventories winnow cloths are mentioned, some doing service as window blinds, and older ones used as covers on their bedsteads. They were found at [1] in 1602. [8] had 4 in 1578, Kendall one in 1596, [13] 1 in 1582, [16] 3 in 1587, but 2 in 1609, [18] 1 in 1630, [32] 3 in 1577, [39] 2 in 1630, [47] 1 in 1578 and [51] 2 in 1598.

The smaller yardlanders must thresh to pay the rent, for the College demanded malt and wheat as part of their Michaelmas rent (p339). Contract workers were brought in to thresh if there was insufficient staff to cope on the larger farms. Usually it was expected that a man was kept at the threshing, although some must be saved for work on wet days. The vicar only mentions one payment when they employed John Bryan [47] to help with the threshing, although some days they thresh a huge amount which surely needed extra help. One man working full out could thresh around five or six bushels a day. The vicar and his son paid their share of 6d each for wheat and 5d each for barley to John Bryan [c25/2 f1a]. These payments show that when a load of barley and wheat were threshed it was cheaper to get barley threshed than wheat. However wheat being a heavier corn produced more bushels per load than barley. A bushel container was measuring by volume not weight, so that depending upon the size of the grain the average 4 bushels of oats weighed 12 stone, 4 bushels of barley weighed 16 stone and 4 bushels of wheat 18 stone. Corn could be kept in four bushel sacks for taking by packhorse to market. The very heaviest grains from each crop would fall at the thresher's feet. If they saved this corn for seed, or to sell, it would raise the quality of their corn.

The flails would be thudding soon after the harvest. At the vicarage they were threshing earlier in 1589 and 1590 than his other recorded years, though a great deal was either not written up or lost. With the remaining folios we know that in 1590 his staff had threshed 12 quarters of barley on November 10th. In December 1589 he threshes 5 quarters of barley on the 2nd, 3 quarters of peas, 6 strike of "mylcorne" and 3 strike of "otes" on the 10th. Most of these earlier references find Thomas having the barley in first and some peas as required, followed by maslin from February onwards, but there is no definite pattern. In 1590 they needed 4 quarters of maslin on December the 8th, but in 1588 Holloway had reserved the threshing of this crop until the 27th of April. In 1614 they began as early as the 22nd of October to thresh 4 quarters 6 strike of barley, and this could have been sold for seed, made into malt, or sold in Banbury for bread at the low price of 2s a strike.

To gain some idea of the recorded quantities threshed over the months a summary has been made of [c25/2 f1a &f1av], divided into quarters, bushells and strikes, followed by the vicar's total for each crop, which he wrote as quarters, bushells and strikes. In 1587 they threshed "betwixt" them:

Dec.9th:..... 14qrs.....3s of barley
.....1qr .4bof pese
Jan.8th:6qrs 4bof barley
Jan.19th:..... 9qrs 7b 1s .of barley

Jan.22nd:..... 2qrs5s .of pese
..... 7s .of otes
Feb.4th:..... 4qrs 4bof pese
Mar.1st:13qrsof barley
Mar.12th:..... 3s .of wheat
Maij 18th:..... 2qrs5s .of barley
Maij 29th:.....5s .of wheat
..... 3qrsof maslen
July 29th:10s of maslen
Aug.10th:..... 5s of maslen

[f.1av] "of maslen more threshed wch was left beinge then old in anno 1588 betwixt us xij quarternes & a halfe" [Written in the summer of 1588 for the previous season of 1587/88]. 1587 was the first year he had leased these extra parcels [Not his first year as vicar].

"Mem. the whole accompt of barley betwixt
us the ffyrst yere of my entraunce
wch was in anno 1587 Regine Eliz 29
was fforte ffyve quarternes three stryke
I sa[y] xlv quarterns, 3 strykes"
"Item pese in the whole betwixt us
was in the same yere seven quarternes
& a stryke I say vij quarterns one stryke

Item otes the same yere one quarterne

Item of wheate betwixt us the same yere one quarterne

Item of maslyne in the whole betwixt us the same
yere was eightene quarterns three strykes ...[I say xvij c.o.]

I say xvij quartern iij stryke

Mem.the whole quarterns of all manner of grayne the ffyrst yere
was three score twelve quarters & a halfe in anno 1587" [c25/2 f1av].

The above is Thomas Holloway's record of his produce for 1587. The barley, peas, oats, wheat and the maslin, a mixture of wheat and rye. His totals do not quite agree with his threshing records. First the barley he adds up to 45 qrs comes to just under 46 qrs which was near enough. He says the peas produced only 7 qrs so he had left out some of these from his "accompt." They then "gain" some wheat. The wheat total being 19 qrs 3s from a similar acreage to the peas.

In that year of 1587 when his produce came to over 72 quarters the country had corn harvests of 25% above average. The Holloways do not unfortunately record their number of cart loads coming in from the fields, but they did harvest 19 qrs of maslin from 12 acres which gave an excellent 12 bushels an acre [Bennett M.K. "British wheat yields per acre for seven centuries." *Economic History Review* 111. 1935 p12-29} Peas had a poor season for they had threshed out less than 5 bushels per acre which was hardly worth planting at 4 bushels except for the need for cattle fodder and maybe the servant's pottage.

No Holloway records survive for the disastrous years of 1594 to 1597, or for the better ones of 1598 to 1606. We join him again in 1607 which was below average before moving on to 1613 which had a poor harvest. The price of wheat in 1614 was 41s-8d a quarter or 5s-2d a bushel. It dropped to 38s-8d in 1615.

Once again 1614 has the clearest records with the vicar giving each barn's threshing days. The Holloway's staff go down to the rented barn at Hall's [6], which may have to be threshed first to clear the bays for the next Quarter day. By the 22nd of November his men had threshed 3 qrs 2s of maslin and some wheat kept separately, perhaps to sell for seed. The threshers returned to Hall's barn in December [f7v]:

"Corne in hall's barne
of all sortes 1614

In primis of maslen threshed & wynowed
untyll the 22 of november was 3 quarters

2 strykes
Item of Redd wheate 2 stryks
Item of whyte wheate 3 strykes halfe
Item whyte wheate more before the [sic]
the 17 of december fyve stryks halfe
Item wheate uppo the remove one stryke halfe
Item at the same tyme the fyst of march of
maslen uppo the remove a stryke.

...barly in halls barne unto this/ day 1614
In primis 2 quarters
Item the 22 of november 2 quarters vj stryks" [c25/2 f7v].

They are distinguishing here only between the best and the poorer wheats by calling them red or white. Each variety had been sown on the best type of soil for that wheat amongst the strips they farmed.

When threshing the maslin for bread corn they kept it separate from the pure wheat grains. Once it was threshed and winnowed it went into a cornbin. This was tight boarded with a lid to keep out vermin. Wooden bins or partitions with some sort of cover separated the different grains, but as the barn did not belong to the vicar nothing could be stored here. When the last grains had been removed then the barn must be swept up and made ready for Mr Hall to repossess it. In all they only record 4 quarters from this barn, from 8 loads of maslin and 2 loads 2 strike of wheat, which means regrettably we cannot work out what his winter crop produced. Had the missing loads contained Holloway's own rectorial tithes owed to Hall, or some of the winter corn tithes collected by Thomas and Hall from the other tenants?

The vicar records the threshing from the parsonage barn far more accurately for he had to answer to the lay impropiator the results of threshing out twentyeight loads of barley in their tithe barn. They threshed the loads in there on three days:

December the 28th 15 quarters 8 strikes
March the 8th13 quarters.
March the 9th 4 quarters 8 strikes

28 loads gave33 quarters [32 according to Holloway].

This now gives us the number of strikes (19) threshed out of every barley load in 1614. It will be remembered that by providing a little information about the barns this solution has already been handed out (p318). The problem when trying to find the missing link is that each section requires the answer before it has been found. The other two barns were recorded on [c25/2 f6v]:

"Barly threshed owte of my [note the owte]
pease barne in wynter 1614

In primis wynowed the fyrst of march
tow quarters halfe
Item more the [seven c.o.] 7 of march syx quarters."

This is obviously incomplete for the Holloways had stored 13 quarters in there. Thomas then goes on to mention:

"Item in my vycarege barne the fower of
march wynowed fower quarters
Item more in the vycarege barne the 9 of march
wynowed 3 quarters 5 stryks
Item more there the 5 of aprill three quarters 3 strykes."

From the 1st to the 9th of March the threshers went from the parsonage barn to the vicar's barn. He recorded a frantic period of threshing that March, tidying up the barn for Mr Hall [6] and threshing corn out of the peas barn on the first, though we do not know which barn the corn was threshed in. On the 4th they move back to the vicarage barn and across to collect more from the peas barn on the 7th. The parsonage barn resounds to the flails banging out in rythmn on the 8th and 9th finishing off in the vicarage barn. What was the hurry? He cannot have required all that for planting the spring barley, their own malt, or even for rent so he must have been selling it for seed or sending it to be malted for sale. Unfortunately none of Thomas's remaining folios record what he did with it. The straw alone must have filled the straw barn, which was one reason to keep on

the move from barn to barn while the men and women tied up sheaves of straw and stacked them to clear the threshing floor for more flailing or winnowing. That March they processed 32 quarters 6 bushels and 1 strike over five days of actual threshing. All must be moved on for the vicar could not keep threshed barley in his garner for the rest of the summer.

The given threshing totals from the barns are not sufficient to clear them. In the vicarage barn 10 qrs 4b from 13 loads was too low so where had the rest gone? As the parsonage barn corn was threshed out to 9b 1s per load, the vicarage barn should have produced over 15 qrs. The Hall barn's 8 loads would give 9 qrs 5b, and from the peas barns' 9 loads would give 10 qrs, so that from the 30 loads would come approximately on that particular year 35 qrs 5b of barley not just under 33 quarters. Had the missing quarters paid for the extra day labourers brought in to thresh the barley?

Sale of corn.

"Corn is allways ready money" [1688: Add. MS. 71962 p120].

When corn was plentiful, the price dropped and more must leave the barn, to cover the rent. A poor year took the price up and it was hoped there was enough for home and rent, but always enough to fill their purses against the next entry fine, marriage or stock replacement. A dreadful harvest emptied the purse, the garners and soon the barn. The A manor landlord in 1688, quoted above, generally had his rent from corn, but on occasions stock must first be sold to save the tenant from expulsion (p342).

London's demands for more wheat and malt may not have reached Banbury by 1640, although the city population had more than doubled during our period. Husbandmen were still using their local markets. Wheat commanding the highest price could absorb the local transport costs and still make a profit. Barley was more profitable as malt which increased its sale value.

Emergency procedures could be put into operation when corn was so scarce the poor were in danger of protesting. The Justices could set the price of a bushel of barley, wheat, rye and oats, to prevent it going beyond the purses of the labourers. Some of the market preachers stressed the need to keep the price of corn within the pocket of the poor. It would be helpful if more information was known about the effect this had on Cropredy husbandmen. Did the Justices act and if so did any of the farmer's grain stores come under scrutiny? The only evidence we have is the date of the sale of the Holloway's corn in autumn following acute shortage.

All corn or malt must go to the market except for the little sold to local day labourers who did not receive enough corn in lieu of wages, or to craftsmen for whom it was inconvenient to travel to market to purchase some. The vicar fortunately does record some sales to local people, who were his neighbours, and presumably all husbandmen did the same? At the market the poor had to be allowed to buy before the dealers. We do not know from Holloway's accounts if he actually took the corn himself to market. As a gentleman it would be expected he sent his man, except when he wished to purchase seed corn.

The vicar wrote down sales of maslin soon after the harvest of 1614 [f7], as there was a shortage of bread corn since the deficient 1613 harvest. He sent some maslin to "ba[n]bury" to sell at a low price of 2s 11d a strike:

"a Remebraunce of my
corne sold anno 1614
In primus one saynte luks day at ba[n]bury
sold 3 stryks of maslen at ijs xjd the
stryke_____ viijs ixd
Item more sold of maslen the 20 of october
[halfe a quar. c.o.] seven stryks for ijs
ixd the stryke_____ xixs iijd
Item more one stryke_____ ijs .xd
Item 2 strykes of maslen sold_____ . vs vjd
Item halfe a quarter of maslen
sold the 3 of november_____ xjs
Item more 2 stryks_____ vs xd
Item Rychard hunt 2 stryks_____ . vjs
Item Rychard hunt a stryke_____ iijs ijd

Item sold at wedgebury xij stryks of malte
at iijs a stryke the xij th of June 1615_____ xxxvjs
Item sold 4 strykes of mylcorne the 13 of Julij_____ .. xs vjd
Item sold 2 stryks of wheate the same day_____ vijs
Item sold at sowtham the xvj th of Julij six stryks

of myllcorne ijs xd a stryke_____ xvijs [c25/2 f7].

The "halfe a quarter" of maslin sold the 3 of November for 11s (1s 3d a strike) was less than half that sold to Richard Hunt [5], weaver on the Long Causeway. Richard was the other rectorial tenant. Would he help the vicar with his harvest and the vicar in return supply him with seed or bread corn? Maslin sank from 2s 11d to 2s-9d by the 20th of October then continued upwards so that Richard was paying for two at 3s a strike and a third at 3s-2d. There are no records of the Hunts weaver having arable strips, but they could have leased some surely from a relative like Justinian [16]. Otherwise they made bread from the vicar's corn. This corn compares with the seed Thomas bought in for which he paid 3s a strike for rye, 3s 4d a strike for maslin and 4s for white wheat in October, but all good quality seed corn (p309). Hunt was purchasing at a time when husbandmen were out sowing their winter corn.

Thomas may give the dates for these sales because of the price, and to remember from whom and where he purchased seed and sold seed to, which was important, if he was to avoid repeating the transaction another year. Yet he also moved corn that was not included in any of his threshing records which may be why the maslin threshed and winnowed in Hall's barn does not add up to the number of loads taken and stored there, so that some unthreshed corn may have gone for rent. Or was this the corn that kept his house fed? Thomas did leave a folio mentioning barley going to be malted for home brewing (p668).

In the summer of 1615 [f7] Holloway sells the rest of the wheat, millcorns and malts which were presumably surplus at Wedgebury and Southam. On the last day wheat fetched 3s 6d and millcorn 2s 10d a strike, so there was little benefit that year of hanging on for a better price, but just to clear the garners for the new corn soon to come in. He sold some malt at 3s a strike in June.

The sales for autumn 1615 began with half a quarter of wheat sold for 16s. The previous year we saw that 3 strike of maslin had been sold at a similar price of 2s a strike on St Luke's day and it was presumed this might be because of a dearth in 1613 (p336). Though the harvest of wheat in 1614 had been barely enough to regain the seed the price should have gone up. So why was the first sale of wheat in 1615 at such a low price? Had the authorities ordered it? Then suddenly two weeks later wheat rose sharply doubling in price. It remained at 4s from October through to March, then by the 21st went up 6d. It finally reached 5 shillings on June 21st, which was higher than the previous summer. Later in 1618 and 1619 wheat prices fell and then the bumper harvest of 1620 forced prices so low, sales stopped. This was then followed by two poor harvests. The value

of corn can be realised by Widow Wallis's sown winter corn. Alice Wallis the blacksmith's widow of Bourton left in November 1622 one half of 2 lands, 2 yerds and one butt planted with winter corn worth 33s-4d which was just over 6s a butt, or 24s an acre. The seed must have risen very high indeed that year [MS.Will Pec.54/2/28].

In the winter of 1615/16 maslin remained steady at 3s-4d into March. Millcorn was lower, at 3s-2d, but little was sold from the vicarage.

Barley stayed down at under 1s-8d, usually nearer 1s-6d a strike. Malt brought in higher sales, but of course some of the bushel was lost in malting and the maltster needed paying. A quarter of barley weighed 448 lbs, but a quarter of malt weighed 336 lbs. This loss was equal to two bushels out of eight as one average barley bushel weighed 56 lbs. The price of malt in 1615/16 was 3s up to 3s-6d a strike.

The list of sales was longer for the year of 1615 to 1616 [fols.10v,11,11v]. Corn was sold to Holloway's neighbours. First to John Suffolk [60] who lived at the top of Hello. John bought a strike of malt at 3s 4d and 2 strike of wheat for 8s. Perhaps the wheat was for planting one land. 14 years before in 1600 [f12] John Suffolk had sold to the vicar 6 strike of peas at 1s-6d a strike, which the Holloways may have had for seed, and a second lot of 3 qrs "payd before hand" wrote Holloway and "more at the same price..." but it was not, for he bought it at half the price. Although no month is given this was surely a great bargain. If John had grown peas then he must also have been growing wheat, as all the farmers did to balance their rotation of crops, but the exchange is puzzling for it was the produce of perhaps two yardlands yet at that time Suffolk had no land being as yet unmarried. At a later date he took on William Rose's half yardland from the widow Ellen, and indeed had their house, so perhaps John was a relative, or had taken care of them on the understanding he was to get the lease. Meanwhile he appears to be in the business of buying and selling.

Charles Allen [44], who lived behind Church Street on part of Coldwell's [50] farm, purchased a strike of maslin at 2d over the current price, paying out 3s-6d on November the 18th 1615. Here was a man working for Coldwell's [50], who may have wanted fresh seed. A strike would however plant only one butt. We do not know how many strips he was allowed to cultivate for his own family.

Another man who resided near the Holloways was the whitbaker William Hill. He lived opposite them in a College copyhold cottage [20]. On the 20th of April 1616 Thomas sold him 3 strike of wheat for 13s 6d and eight days later 3 more strike at the

same high price. In June William paid an even higher amount of 15s for another 3 strike. The following winter again saw the baker purchasing, this time 2 strike "at ten groats a stryke" which came to 6s-8d [f.12v] [A goat was then worth 4d, so 9 groats would be 3s (15p)].

We have been looking at the sales in the better recorded years of the second decade, but there are two torn, part folios in which the markets of "sowtham and bambury" appear, just under thirty years before in 1587 and 1588. Holloway also recorded his local sales. One of the purchasers was William Rose [60] who died in 1602. Was he a merchant as well as a grazier? Another buyer was "Jho edde of Bloxam," but what he sold him has been lost [f 1c]. Thomas Holloway sold malt in 1588 to "goodwyfe" Mosely and "goodwyfe" Kinge both of Wardington. Had they each turned to brewing, opening an ale house under their own roof, to pay the rent? [f.1cv]:

"to goodwyfe mosely sold 2 quarternes of malt/
to pyd at mychaellmas next-----xxs/"...
"to goodwyfe mosely 2 quarters of malt/
sold to pay at saint Thomas day -----xxijs viijd/"
"to goodwyfe Kinge halfe a quarterne..."

The 1588 list then switches to sales of maslin. First Thomas records an exchange of some maslin for oats with "Somerpor" who had Toms' farm [15] on the Green. William Rose [60] bought one strike for 1s-1d. The price rose sharply to 2s by March and up another 1d by the 12th of April. Another neighbour "goodwyfe wodd" was sold a strike of maslin in April for 2s. A third customer for the maslin was William Atkins [Adkins] who bought a strike in March and another in April. William was buying in only just enough maslin to make bread for two at 6d a week, yet they had five children already and the next baby just about due. Their stone and thatched cottage [10] was next to the Pages at the north end of the Long Causeway. Adkins (p497) kept this cottage, or another when the two cottages were merged with infills to make Cope's Row. We do not know what trade the Adkins followed. Other lists of sales up to 1614 have been lost.

Corn Markets.

The long list of sales show which markets the vicar uses. He sent millcorn to Southam, ten miles to the north, on the 25th of January 1615/16, and barley there in June. A quarter of barley went to Banbury, four miles to the south, on February 16th.

Their sales at Warwick, seventeen miles to the west, were the most important sending over at first eight bushels, then twelve on five occasions: Feb 18th, April 6th, 13th, 20th, and 28th. Each four bushel sack of barley, weighing sixteen stone, lay flat on the packhorse's back. Although the road from Brackley to Warwick passes through Cropredy it seems a long way to go except that the countryside there was more pastoral, and barley for malting, or bread would fetch a reasonable price. Was Holloway sending his corn to Warwick with Christopher Cleredge the woolwinder, dealer and farmer of Great Bourton as he had earlier sent his stock? Or was his own man able to do this?

Expenses.

Every penny saved is one towards a profit being made.

How large a household could a yardland support? Adult males required a quarter each of barley and peas per annum for bread and pottage, so that only some of the larger farms were able to use their barley for malt. The yardlanders needed most of their barley for bread, adding a small quantity of rye, wheat or a mixture of these two to help it rise a little. Rye added taste, though on its own made a good flat bread which took a longer time to prepare and produce. Peas were a necessary addition to the diet for pottage and sometimes used for a "bread," but because it was so fractious they made a "cake" using barley [Howell C. Land, *Family & Inheritance in Transition*]. Eating two to three pounds of barley bread could provide adequate calories a day, with the addition of butter, soft cheese, home grown onions, garlic or leeks as well as ample greens from the garden (p284). All that was lacking was salted herrings or protein from some local meat. Their own cheese and bacon came from the holding, though only just as it may have to pay the rent, if all else failed.

What did the harvest have to pay for? The out goings were many. First the lay impropiator who farmed the great tithes had their rectorial tenth of corn, if not straight from the field at least by Martinmas. Secondly outgoings were paid to the vicar which included an annual tithe of 6s-8d on every yardland, as well as tithes on cows, calves, sheep, wool, poultry, eggs and fruit. They must also give their 2d each year for their Easter oblations and pay their meadow dues.

Twice yearly the rent must be found. By an Act of 18 Elizabeth [1576] a third of the old rent had now to be paid in kind by the B manor tenants. Those that had to send malt to the College paid dearly for it as the following four tenants found.

In 1540 the B manor farm [8] had a hundred and forty-nine acres at a rent of £ 5-3s-4d. By 1586 their rent was down to £ 3-15s-6d, but in addition they must now send 1 bushel of good wheat and 7 quarters 3 bushels 1 peck of malt, and this made a

much stiffer rent. The Brasenose College certainly gained at the expense of the tenant. For example in 1615 the malt alone was worth £23-12s and the wheat 8s. A total of £27-15s-6d, or just over 3s-8d an acre, but remember they were fortunate in having the valuable meadows.

In 1609 Hall [6] on seventyfive and a half acres paid £1-3s-4d rent plus 4 bushels of wheat and 1 quarter 5 bushels of malt. This could have cost him in 1615 £1-12s plus £ 5-4s, a total of £7-19s-4d. A rent of about 2s-3d an acre.

Devotion [3] on twentysix acres had a rent of 8s-8d, 2 bushels 1 peck of wheat and 4 bushels of malt. This was for a small yardland and meant he paid over all 2s-3d an acre.

Hentlowe's [35] sub-tenant on seventyone acres paid £ 1-1s rent, 3 bushels of wheat and 1 quarter 2 bushels of malt worth £6-5s in 1615. This was only 1s-9d an acre, but like the other tenants several acres could not produce and the productive part of the farm upon which the rent was paid came from the corn field which meant those acres took all the costs of the outgoings. In Devotion's case this meant each barley and wheat acre must raise 7s-3d per acre for the rent alone in 1615.

Robins [26] in 1603 had when he died four years left of his lease of two yardlands worth £16 which was of course £2 a year per yardland from his original entry fine. He also leased another half yardland parcel for he had two extra cows.

Leases were mentioned in only twentyseven wills between 1578 and 1634. William Shirley of Bourton who died in 1602 had nine years left of his cottage lease which worked out at 5s-6d a year, though he would still be owing a yearly rent on top [M.S.Wills Pec. 50/5/24]. If the lease had been entered quite recently and the fine paid, then this was an item to include in the inventory. Tenements with only a few years left might leave more money in their purse, or out on loan ready for the renewal of the lease. Entry fines could be increased if the house had added advantages such as being a two and a half storey building, leasing a larger than average close, or extra meadowing. As properties improved, often at the tenant's cost, then the wealthier men paid higher entry fees and entered upon a former husbandman's farm. This happened at the B manor farm [8] and Springfield [6].

Every copyhold tenant must pay an entry fine and on the death of one of the three lives enrolled on the lease a heriot was due. If after fourteen years no-one had died an extra heriot had to be paid to the landlord. The best beast was often taken for the heriot or else its value in money.

The parish was soon to have a Poor Rate and a Church Rate in place of Church Ales. There was also the constant drain on the purse keeping the buildings in repair. Endlessly they thatched the roof with their own straw, though old thatch went out for manure. Apart from keeping buildings in repair the tenants had to keep their own home close walls stockproof and other hedges in the parish allotted to them. The landlord owned all the trees (p207) supplying wood for major repairs. The tenants keeping the stock of trees going by replenishing the mounds yearly. Eight small ashes might be required for a small barn roof repair and the manor bailiff would select the appropriate size. They must keep all the ditches flowing and attend to the waterings. Time and effort must go on the parish roads and the vestry attended to, all of which meant a longer and more exhausting day.

How much did the A. Manor tenants pay? The land was presumably valued at the same rate, but they do not appear to pay in kind. This meant on some years the tenants could benefit more than their neighbours from rising prices. The College husbandmen leased extra land from the A. Manor whenever the chance arose and on that land they could make the extra money. Many had land in other parishes and let it out. The vicar let a yardland of his glebe in Claydon for £10 a year in 1670.

After a few years of dearth then the husbandmen may have been forced to under sow their land, especially the smaller farms. Even with endless weeding and manuring, as much as they were able, their farm might take years to recover. They knew the thin margins and strove to rise above the bread line by sheer hard work, and hopefully a multitude of good seasons.

Crop Valuations.

The farmers of Cropredy, like anywhere else, would if asked be able to put an estimate on the value of the crop growing in their fields. In September 1592 Recharde Howse's [28] crop on the ground was worth £10 for his one and a half yardlands. In 1587 the crop of three yardlands just gathered had been worth £20 or £6-13s-4d per yardland. The five years had made no difference to the price so this appears to be a standard value rather than a true value. It may have been based on the rent per acre, though that was not the case on the B manor, which we saw varied. It could be said that the neighbours were not using their market judgement, but conforming to a traditional figure which took no notice of the market's yearly fluctuations. Unless the time of year was all important? They themselves were well aware of the real value which so depended upon the weather, the state of the market as well as the husbandman's skills at farming, yet this was not called for here. They were expected to honestly appraise the moveable goods, especially the stock in a just and careful way (under oath) so that if necessary the goods could be sold at around that price. Below are some of the valuations of their neighbours' crops:

Crops from a few Cropredy Inventories 1577-1631.

Farm	Name	Date	Reference	Value	Comments	Ydland
[25]	Gybbs	Jany. 1577	One cropp of corn	£4	c 10 Qrs	1
			A Rycke of pese	£2	c 4 Qrs	
[32]	Rede	Feby. 1577	The cropp of corn	£4	c 10 Qrs	1
[8]	Nuberry	May !578	Crop of corn & grass	£26-13s-4d		4
[26]	Robins	Feby. 1579	Corne & peese	£7		
			Crop of winter corne			
			Sowen being 16 redges	£2-13s-4d		2.5
[16]	Hunt	Oct. 1587	Crop of 3 yardlands	£20		3
[35]	Hanwell	Nov.1592	Crop in barn & sowell	£6-13s-4d		c1
[28]	Howse	Sept. 1592	Crop on the ground	£10		c1.5
[35]	Watts	Aug. 1602	Corn crop in the field	£20		2
[26]	Robins	Dec. 1604	20 lands of maslin	£5	c 10 acres	2.5
[14]	Toms	June 1607	Crop of one yardland	£10		1
[14]	Toms	Oct.1609	Her pt. of 7 ridges of	£1	@ 5s-6d an acre	
			wheat sowed...			
[15]	Hunt	April 1609	18 strike of mault	£4-10s-9d	@ 10s a strike	
			Crop in the field	£50		c3.25
[8]	Woodrose	May 1628	Corn on the ground	£40		4
[26]	Robins	June 1631	Corne on the ground	£40		c3.5

The Brasenose College had their rent we saw partly paid in kind, but this was not to the advantage of the tenant, except it saved them the difficulty of acquiring coinage. As far as we know the A manor continued to pay customary rents. All might appear well on the outside, but the struggle to provide enough to keep the stock fed, to pay the bills, the legacies, the entry fines, all went on regardless of the convenience of the new stone building with their new fireplaces, separate chambers and dairies, for these did not pay the rent and all the other outgoings. Finding money to meet expenses often proved very difficult, especially at the start or end of their farming life. The absent landlords only wanted the rent paid. The cause of nonpayment was of no interest to them. There was no excuse for delay once the harvest had been safely gathered. In 1688 their landlord, Sir William Boothby, grew very angry at the slowness of his rent payments from Cropredy. "My tenants at Cropredy have less reason than most others, who live upon grasing and cannot sell their stock for what they bought them in and some out of the principal stock (this falls heavy). But my tenants in Oxfordshire have not this to say for them, Corne is all ways ready money." He wanted a set rent day and all to pay, "for I had rather my land lie fallow than my tenants eate them out, and not the rent paid to doe me service at the time I expect them and must have them to supply my occasions" [Add. MS. 71962 p120: Dec 2nd 1688 letter to Mr Osbourn].

There is one other problem that greatly affected all husbandmen and smallholders and that was their loss from corn spoilt by rats and pigeons or other vermin eating the freshly sown crops. At the end of the seventeenth century there survives a book of church wardens' accounts showing they paid for the collection of sparrow heads and urchins (hedgehogs), but why not rats or mice? Rats not only brought disease to people, but also to stock. They contaminated the corn, the hay and anything else they touched. By keeping their garners in the servant's sleeping chamber they hoped to keep the rats from spoiling it. The staddle stones acting as the base for ricks also prevented rats climbing up, but they still stole eggs and polluted the ditches. Dogs must have been used to check the pests, but neither dogs (p274), nor cats are in any of the Cropredy records.

Not all the townsmen had land to help pay the rent. Out of the sixty households in 1624

- Twentyfour households had a yardland or more which varied in size.
- Fifteen cottagers had access to arable land from 2 butts up to half a yardland (there ...could be more cottagers than this with arable).
- Eight more cottagers had some leyland, but possibly no arable.
- Six cottagers had a cow common.
- Four cottagers had no arable, but may lease a sublet common.
- Three more seemed to have neither common, ley land or arable.

Who was growing the extra corn for them to buy? We have seen there were 56 yardlands which would have once fed the entire population of Cropredy. Now there were only twentyfour households and sometimes less devoting their entire energies to husbandry. Their first yardland must feed at least six people in the household. The second and perhaps third yardland's crops (after outgoings had been paid off) were sold and bought by the nonfarming townsmen. It was of course not quite as simple as that. The smaller yardlanders were on a marginal existence with many outgoings draining what they did manage to harvest, even Rede who could grow corn on 11.5 acres had to rear horses to gain extra resources. Both Rede and Devotion had improved the situation by growing peas for themselves and the stock, but still the fact remained that after paying the rent there was little over for others. That left those with one and a half or more yardlands to produce enough grain and cheese. The corn for the landlord whether sold by the tenant to pay his rent, or by the landlord at the market would of course have gone to feed the population of Cropredy. Now there were only twentyfour households and sometimes less devoting their entire energies to husbandry. Their first yardland must feed at least six people in the household. The second and perhaps third yardland's crops (after outgoings had been paid off) were sold and bought by the nonfarming townsmen. It was of course not quite as simple as that. The smaller yardlanders were on a marginal existence with many outgoings draining what they did manage to harvest, even Rede who could grow corn on 11.5 acres had to rear horses to gain extra resources. Both Rede and Devotion had improved the situation by growing peas for themselves and the stock, but still the fact remained that after paying the rent there was little over for others. That left those with one and a half or more yardlands to produce enough grain and cheese. The corn for the landlord whether sold by the tenant to pay his rent, or by the landlord at the market would of course have gone to feed the population along with the tithe corn sold.

With no owner occupiers all the townsmen had rents to find which makes it all the more remarkable that they were still able to help build such sound dwellings, many of which are around us today. Part 4 introduces us to these families in their new homes.

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THE TOWN OF CROPREDY 1570 - 1640

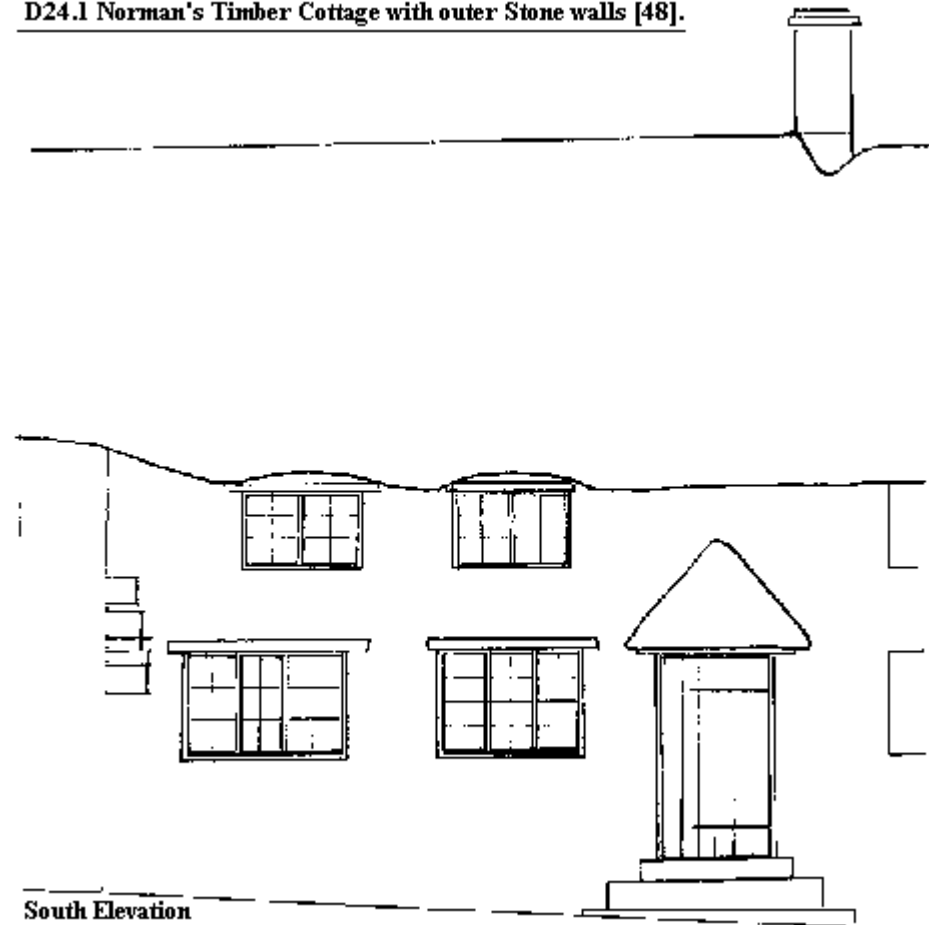
Part IV

Part four looks at the sixty sites whether a timber cottage, a longhouse type smallholding, a copyhold cottage or a farm on the A and B manors. A few properties have ground plans and elevations to aid the description. No map was found before 1775 so the small sketch maps have had to rely upon descriptive aids from terriers, deeds and the Holloway records. The sites were paced out on the ground as well as the buildings when permission was given to try and make the maps as accurate as possible. The family "trees" have been made from the parish registers, wills, grave memorials, deeds, terriers and letters from descendants. A great deal of information can be gained by reconstituting the families who occupied the sites, especially when it is possible to use the buildings and records to place people within the parish rather than isolating the family away from the home, work and community which helped to shape their lives. In Part IV we can visit the houses and cottages to meet the people.

24. Rebuilding in Stone
25. Timber Houses
26. Long House Types
27. Brasenose Trade Cottages
28. Craftsmen's Cottages
29. Group Three Properties
30. The Husbandmen's Farms & their Cottages
31. Farms on the Long Causeway
32. Three Farms on the Green
33. Three Farms in Church Lane
34. Two High Street Farms
35. The First Three Farms in Creampot
36. Four Farms down Creampot Lane
37. The Last Three Farms

24. Rebuilding in Stone

D24.1 Norman's Timber Cottage with outer Stone walls [48].



Norman's Timber cottage with outer Stone walls [48].

"A METHOD of Censuring, or passing one's judgement on a Building (that is already compleated or finished) as to it Commodiousness Firmness, and Delightfulness, which are the Principal Qualities in a good Fabricken."

[Neve R. From *The City and Country Purchaser* 1736 p xiv David & Charles 1969].

Cropredy is a township of medium and small sized houses which were built in the traditional manner. They continued to develop over the centuries according to the needs of the occupiers. Each household rebuilding, adapting and improving their timber houses with the aid of local craftsmen in the vernacular style. By the 1570's, when stone rather than timber was used to rebuild, the husbandman and craftsman must have had very definite ideas on how the new material would be able to add to their status, their comforts and provide a dwelling to last through the centuries like the church. This was a costly investment for a tenant requiring several profitable years, unless the landlord was purchasing the stone and the tenant providing the cartage, inner partitions and roofing straw.

Freeholders in other parishes had managed to rebuild, some before and others after Queen Elizabeth's reign. In Cropredy low rents and higher prices for their surplus goods had made this possible to begin with, but the rest of the money might have to be borrowed. The time was right for rebuilding all along the limestone ridge. William Harrison had noticed by 1587 that in the Jurassic region timber buildings were not being replaced. Instead they used the locally quarried stone, which was an oolitic limestone of the middle lias. This ferruginous material produced a brown, almost honey coloured stone. The salt in the stone dissolves and then crystallizes giving a hard enough surface to reject the rain helping the buildings to last through the next four hundred years. As the stone matures it gives out a sunny quality which pleases the eye and few people are immune to their beauty. Each house has its own attraction due to the unique combination of the mason's skill and the demands made on him by the tenants business requirements. The craftsmen did not read instruction manuals which later spread throughout Britain, but relied on the tuition given by a master craftsman. In this way traditional techniques for dealing with local customs, needs and materials brought about the vernacular buildings for each area.

The stone was quarried near by and brought most probably in special box carts hired for the purpose rather than the harvest carts. The stone was cut when damp into regular blocks. Each row having it's own height giving coursed rows of stone all with

continuous horizontal joints. The quoin stones, often of a better finish, were used to give the height of two or three rows which butted up to them at the corners. Joints were pointed with a lime mortar.

The sites chosen to rebuild on were governed by the past history of the town. The arable land came right to the edge of the town boundaries. The only place to rebuild had to be on the original closes, sometimes called crofts or tofts. The few new sites being taken from the meadow edges, the Green and the A manor's Berry Close. Land in every part of the two manors had been allocated for centuries preventing a massive rebuilding at a different location. Water had been found in most closes. The position of their wells must surely have influenced the site of the stone building in every croft.

What did each of the occupiers choose to do? Pull down their timber dwelling, build behind it, or encase the timber house with a stone outer shell? There was seldom room in the grass cattle yard, or close, at the rear to take the husbandman's new building, though Howse [28] managed it. The close would already have a barn, open cattle hovels, an oxen or horse stable and other buildings in timber, which could not be disturbed all at once and still continue to run the farm. Only one building could be upset at a time. Would they decide to remove one or two timber bays to start with? Where would they live while recycling the roof timbers and beams into the new stone building?

Discussion would reveal the common need of a hall bay with a chimney, enabling them to have an extra chamber above. The builder must therefore provide a space for the stairs, or a cottage ladder. A second bay would be planned for a sleeping chamber with the buttery behind on the ground floor and one or two chambers above. If more space was required an extra floor gave one or two cocklofts. The entrance was all important. Either into a cottage hall or in a larger building into an entry passage. This would be between the hall and the barn in the old buildings. The husbandmen would wish perhaps to remove the barn to a separate site and make another nether bay below the entry, adding a second chimney. The smallholder would hang onto the barn, at the landlord's insistence for this used less stone and the passage doubled up as entrance to the upper hall end and the business side for cows, carpenter's shop or mercer's with their barn beyond.

Once the decisions had been made about the position of the rooms, then the size and balance of the windows on the front elevation were decided. As the house was rectangular and seldom deeper than 16 feet inside, the windows to light each room would be at the front. There were many houses and cottages whose main entrance was directly onto the highway as they built right on the edge of their plot. Openings needed to take the width of a man and his load, or the width of an animal and in the barn the cart plus the load.

The husbandmen, shepherds, mercers and carpenters were expecting more of their new building than a single storey and loft. They had visions of a two or three bay house with walls supporting a roof over the two, or two and a half storey dwelling. At the very least there was to be for the cottager a one cell building with ample room for an upper chamber.

The front elevations were not generally treated to carved drip moulds, though an early property like Howse [28] had them as well as the later Williamscothe school built in 1574. Instead they had plain oak lintels carefully chamfered over the three light casement windows. Not until the 1690's did some decide to alter the size of the windows. The upper chambers might have only two light casements. Cockloft windows on the gable end had one or two lights. There are a few stone mullions left at [8 & 28].

Five properties which did not make the main entrance in the front elevation were Sutton the tailors [42], Toms [15], Allens [44], Hudsons [19] and Hills [20]. In Toms, Allens and Hills the front door opened beside the fireplace and in Suttons and Hudsons opposite the chimney. Three had doors in the south gable, Hills entered through the west gable and Hudsons the east gable.

The husbandmen and craftsmen built as large a building as they were able. Cottagers had to be content with one or two, but rarely three bay accommodation, with the hall acting as an all purpose room, except for sleeping. Just three cottages had yet to build in a partition to form a separate chamber, so that Sutton's [42] and Ladd's [40] still have a bed in the hall.

All the new stone buildings appear from survey evidence to have had a chimney (p623). The few who had two chimneys, providing a nether chamber, or a kitchen, seldom took the cooking out of the hall until later (p671).

The occupiers were all tenants and only on the A manor did a few build in well cut ashlar stone which required very little mortar. This avoided irregular surfaces and improved the finish by having almost invisible joints. The rest had a rougher cut stone which needed more mortar. Some ashlar on the B manor was used for later alterations and the tenants who came after Nuberry [8] used it to improve the B manor house.

The thickness of the oldest walls could be up to 30" or more at the base, but by the end of the sixteenth century most were only 22" thick. In some a slight internal batter reduced the thickness as the walls rose to the eaves. At the change over from timber to stone did [6], [46], and [50] keep their wide stone bases, once supporting the outer timber walls?

The housewright, or stonemason, built according to ground rules which regulated the design and brought the practical needs of the house into the essential proportions which also gave the aesthetic finish so pleasing to many today. Apprentice masons were verbally taught to use a measuring rod to form the diameter of a circle. A square was made outside the circle and extended, by using the rod as a diagonal, into a rectangle. The circle, square and diagonals were their method of regulating the buildings both on the ground and for the elevations.

The timber frame supported the roof in the older timber buildings. Stone walls added later were not all required to support the roof, but kept out the cold and the rain, while keeping in the heat. If the timber buildings were to be replaced, then the new stone walls must support the roof structure designed for thatch. The heavy stone slates were not often used in Cropredy. Gybb's site [25] had an outbuilding with a slate roof, the vicarage [21] had some slate in 1786 and the tenants at [28] may have replaced the thatch with stone slate. The stone house roof timbers were placed at around 12' intervals thus forming bays of building 12' in width. Obviously as their depth was from 15' to 16' most rooms, if not subdivided, were under 12' by 16' in the first wave of rebuilding, except for the one cell cottages.

The discovery of the existence of labourers' or craftsmen's timber cottages encased within later stone walls was quite a shock. Did they once look like a terrace of cottages still to be seen in Stratford-Upon-Avon just a few miles to the west? The survival of timber buildings inside later stone walls means we can study the plans of a cottage before the rebuilding took place. Each bay was about 7' in width. The hall which took up two bays was open to the roof. In the third bay a small sleeping chamber known as the low chamber was situated at the front and a 5' wide store room, or buttery, was usually behind it. A ladder led up from one of the transverse beams. Two of these beams supported the flat joists for the upper chamber floor. The lower stud partitions were jointed to the undersides of the beam. Above the beams the joists for the upper chamber projected out over the hall of their own cottage and also over the neighbour's hall (ch.25).

This plan may have been fairly standard in humbler dwellings, either in single cottages or in a row, but the basic design was not abandoned. The whole problem of how best to light the rooms they required, the height of the ceilings, the position of the stairs, may all have been governed by the materials and strength required for the weight of the roof, after the change from transverse to spine beams and inner stone walls to take the strain. Having made in the plan a sufficient number of bays to accommodate all the extended family, then the front elevation could be balanced to achieve a good finish. The main improvement in the new buildings was the chimney which made it possible to have an extra upper chamber. With a fresh start the spine beams were able to support the upper floor all on one level. A short spine beam might have a join in the parlour

[36]. It was here on the beams and exposed joists that they allowed the traditional chamfering of the wood, and indulged in carved stops, though some confined themselves to just two by the important inglenook. Where a previous timber building acquired a chimney, but retained the inner structure with the transverse beams, then a chamber over the once open hall was supported by two wall plates and a spine beam, or by just the spine beam raising the hall chamber floor sometimes a good four inches or more above the old upper chamber. Examples were found in the Red Lion Inn and next door [49 & 48].

The smallest stone cottages began as one up and one down with a chimney [42 & 56]. Larger cottages consisted of a hall, lower chamber and two upper chambers with a barn allowing room for stock and crop. Cropredy had at least seven properties built with the house and barn under one roof. This plan is usually found in western pastoral areas and it came as a surprise to find we were living in one [36] in an Open Common Field area, but the emphasis had always been more towards mixed farming rather than mainly arable. In Cropredy not only did a few craftsmen have this type of building, but probably one or two of the now demolished farms as well. Some had a three bay barn and one had space for only two bays. Long houses saved on stone and also reduced the overall spread of the necessary house and barn on a limited site. They were built for Truss [33] and Huxley [36] shepherds, Elderson the carpenter [38], possibly Tanner the mercer [39], Allen the bailiff for the A Manor farm [44], Devotion [3] and Howse [9] both husbandmen and two larger farms Toms [15] and Hunts [16].

Another type of building was a cottage separated from a barn bay by a covered way open at the rear, but perhaps gated at the front. This entrance could double as a threshing bay or act as an open cow hovel in winter. This may have happened at [19 and 20] in Church Lane. Devotion's [3] gatehouse was part of the long building between the house and barn.

An advancement on the longhouse plan was to keep the house entirely separate from the barn, but still have a bay below the hall. They entered into a cross passage or entry which usually had an exit into the yard behind, with the majority of the passages still situated behind the inner hall chimney wall. It was possible to change the plan and reverse the hall and chamber bays [26 & 30] so that the hall chimney was not backing onto the passage. This made it easier to put in a second chimney below the passage in a nether chamber, sometimes called the chamber below the entry which was not underneath, but referred to a lesser room to the all important master's hall. The entry had a narrow chamber over, which often became a servant's room when the malt garner was stored there. These passages are mentioned in the inventories of Robins [26], Springfield [6], Lumberds [14], Cattells [30] and the upper mill [51]. Pratts [24] which no longer exists may have belonged to this group.

Two external doors opposite each other at the "foot" of the hall had come from the former screen passage separating the hall from the service rooms and route to the kitchen. It also took some of the traffic out of the hall which must pass through the house to the yard behind. The Brasenose manor farm [8] had no need of such a passage when they had already crossed the farm yard, situated as it was above the old moat once surrounding the house. The main entrance was all they required, for they put the windows facing the river Cherwell. Toms [15] looked over the farmyard and had access through that yard, though strangers and guests entered by the south gable entrance and no passage was made. Coldwells [50] may also have avoided a rear door as their farmyard was away from the house under the direction of their bailiff. Truss [33] had a garden to the rear and plenty of access to the yard from the close and therefore had no rear door, except for the barn. Howse [28] had moved up from their farmyard and provided a courtyard at the front. This released them from having a straight through passage and their former screen may not have been repositioned in the new house taking up space already reduced by the hall chimney. Elderson and Huxeley [38 & 36] in their new longhouse-type dwellings both needed a through passage for stock and man and this was provided. In the small timber cottages [47-49] the screen may have kept the smoke from the open hearth from entering the chamber and buttery doors which opened off the hall, or helped to control the draughts around the central fire, rather than forming a screen passage.

A 1702 inventory for the Brasenose Inn [13] mentions an entry passage, but in 1613 it was still a smithy and two cottages. One stone cottage had been developed by Russell (who died in 1600) leaving lofts to his parlour, kitchen, buttery and shop. Although his cottage may have been only one and a half storeys the internal floors and partitions were the responsibility of the tenant and Russell thought he should include them in his will (p438).

Small dwellings with one or two bays might have a lobby next to the door. Hill's [20] cottage inventory also mentions an entry passage, but this I believe ran across the bay instead of through the house. The entrance might open into a bay partly used as a chamber and buttery, but in Hill's case they entered the hall bay, so that a narrow passage was made to reach his lower chamber. This passage would double up as a partial store or, as many small Welsh cottages do to-day, be used for boots and outer garments. Baffle entry plans may only have occurred when later renovations moved the front door from the cross passage into the hall [36]. Huxeley's old entry passage could then be made entirely into the kitchen by incorporating the small dairy and nether house, in the first bay of the barn (p399). At Elderson's [36] old house they moved the passage into the parlour bay reducing the chamber to a "Little Room." Earlier masons tried to avoid this for the new entrance upset the symmetry of the front elevation. Brasenose manor [8] did not appear to have any cross passage and the older timber cottages in Church Street had theirs added later [46, 47 & 49].

Which sites kept a ladder or built a staircase? The new stone houses from the late 1570's onwards included a staircase in most instances, but just a few old cottages kept the ladder and this may indicate a late alteration from timber to stone. In some areas like Wiston Magna in Leicestershire stairs were rare and most timber houses retained their ladders as Cropredy did in Church Street as well as Allens [44] and Toms [15]. The last two had gable entrances beside a late chimney, with the ladder on the opposite gable to the late chimney at Allen's and in the buttery at Toms' [Hoskins W. G. *Provincial England* p290/1. 1965 MacMillan & Co Ltd].

The ideal place to put the stairs was in the rectangle beside the inglenook. This wall was further taken up by the door between the entry and the hall when the chimney backed onto the passage. The winder stairs had treads to a central newel post and so took up the minimum amount of space. One inventory that mentioned the chamber at the stairhead was Lumberd's [14]. On the upper floor the chambers led off one another. The use they made of the upper rooms for malt, cheese and wool appears in Part 5. A good dry place was next to the new chimney over the hall. In a few cottages a cupboard was made near the chimney not only upstairs for dry goods, but by the fireplace for the salt [36]. Elderson's [39] and Howse's [28] cocklofts were reached by a ladder, but Huxeleys and others had stairs rising to the dry cockloft used for the men, apples and cheese.

When designing a chimney gable to include, or ignore, the stairs they found different solutions to the positioning of the oven. Truss's [33] oven in the chimney inglenook was designed to be there from the beginning, but being within the gable wall with the hearth central, they had to leave out the stairs. Surely this made it one of the earliest ovens? The chimney supports the roof and acts as a division between house and byre. It would be difficult to place this and other similar ovens at a later date than the chimney itself. Huxeley's [36] rear house wall behind the chimney stack shows part of the oven wall (at the slight angle of the barn meeting the house p395). The oven protruded into the wide entry passage. Tanner's [39] projected beyond the front wall to form a rounded extension with a tiny thatched roof. This left room for the newel stairs beyond the chimney.

Cattells [30] had two fireplaces so the one not having to give way to the stairs was placed centrally on the north wall of the hall and away from the passage. The hall chimney had an oven and could have had a brewing furnace as well (p586). Nuberry's [8] definitely had both at the Brasenose manor farm (p517). Before 1663 that house had gained seven fireplaces. Their main chimney was a splendid affair with at least three or four fireplaces. This chimney stack was retained and may have come from an earlier addition to the timber building. The hall had the north side of the chimney breast and on one side was a brewing furnace and on the other the oven. The great chamber over the hall had an early tudor fireplace. To the south on the ground floor was the parlour flue and above it a parlour chamber fireplace. Built into this stack was a stone staircase, or at

least the wall was constructed to support stair treads for by 1627 the stairs went on up to a garret, not a cockloft as in other households.

How many carpenters in the late sixteenth century thought like Neve that "Stairs ought to be regulated in proportion to the quality of the Building." They needed light to avoid "casualty of slips and falls," as well as space overhead for "Good ventilation, because a man spends much breath in mounting" [Neve p245 Written in 1703, but using experience from the late seventeenth century]. There was not always an outer wall to provide this light, but a few gable end chimneys did provide this improvement [26 & 44].

Most of the winder stairs had nine steps. It rather depended on the height of the ceiling. Neve wanted the threads not less than three feet wide, which is wider than many newels in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The rise to be not more than 7" or 8" at the most, and the step itself not less than 9" or 10" which is difficult with the twist. His ideals were reached in stairs which later replaced a ladder at [44]. Here there was a perfect twist and rise. Unfortunately it was removed as "unsafe" during alterations.

Robin's house [26] had a stairs 32" wide which predates Neve's ideals, but Whyte's house [46], when modernised with stone had a much wider newel staircase reaching up to the cockloft and lit by a gable window and rear lower window, following the ideas current in Neve's lifetime. Some of the earliest stairs were surely those in stone like the one mentioned at Nuberry's [8], three others were found at Coldwell's [50], Howse [28] and Gorstelows [Prescote manor]. The last had stone stairs rising beside the kitchen chimney and another flight down to their cellars in a 1621 inventory.

Masters and mistresses who moved upstairs from the parlour would still retain their bedsteads with their testers and curtains until "seelings" were made. On Gower in West Glamorgan they solved the nuisance of dust and droppings from the thatch by plaiting mats to fit under the rafters. Another method was to hang calico up as a false ceiling. Downstairs common ceilings became fashionable between the joists, now set on their narrow edge and not flat as they were in the early timber cottages down Church Street. Later hanging ceilings were made hiding the joists. Some tenants added the ceilings and they then appear in inventories. Before plaster ceilings were made the under surface of the upper chamber floor might be white washed to lighten the room below. Not all floor boards were very wide, though there were some houses with floors of good oak planks [28]. These would have been acquired at great cost when new (due to lack of timber in Cropredy), or less so if many were rescued from former dwellings. Otherwise they had elm floor boards for new buildings like Huxeley's [36].

Would they buy expensive stone for window mullions, or use slightly cheaper oak? This would affect the tenant's purse. Each bay would have just one window on the ground floor and a second for the upper floor. Oxfordshire was the second richest county when the Cotswold wool brought in high prices to the growers, but in the northern tip of the county the sheep commons were not so valuable and none of Cropredy's houses, apart from Calcott's Williams-cote-in-Cropredy house, had been built entirely from the profits of wool.

The first windows to replace the sliding or hinged shutters appear to have been made with a stone frame and uprights. These were two, three or four light mullion windows. Stone mullions associated with richer dwellings are to be found only in houses. The rest may have suffered from stone which weathered badly and been replaced in time by casement, transomed or much later with sash windows all in wood. The examples which remain are either of better stone at [8] and Williams-cote School, or low down and too insignificant to replace at [28]. Their importance lies in the date of the window improvements from mullions to wooden transoms [8], or wider casements [26] which could increase the width of an original wooden one, but not a stone casement. If the windows were originally in stone why change them so soon to wooden mullions? Was it not more likely that those with stone mullions were the earliest to build their houses in stone and that those who built between 1580 and 1640 in Cropredy never had any stone mullions? Without stone mullions and drip moulds the lintels were made from plain pairs of parallel oak lintels with chamfered edges (double due to the thickness of the walls) and these ran on at least 6 to 9 inches into the wall. All glassless sliding wooden windows have gone, even to farm buildings. These window holes may have had shutters some of which were retained.

Earlier stone houses reused the old transverse beams resting them on the window lintels. By the 1580's all dwellings may have had windows with oak frames and mullions. If the window was part of the original design in these large stone buildings they had to take account of the transfer of the roof load from the frame of the timber house to the outer stone walls. No longer could windows be fitted between wall posts, but were placed centrally to each bay. The transverse beams were replaced by spine beams after 1570 and did not reappear until around 1700. The modern glazier thought some of the present three light frames in Whytes [46] house, refaced in stone at the end of the seventeenth century, had come from the former timber building. Once again the transverse beams "balanced" upon the casement lintels and had been recycled along with the windows, but with the added improvement of the latest stone lintels covering up the older wooden lintels (p359).

The lesser houses used wooden lintels which were always chamfered and the frames moulded. The two or three lights having iron casements and leaded rectangular panes. The middle lights opened outwards. To prevent entry through the open light a

bar was fixed to the frame. Early windows had 18" centres, but later ones were given 24". Old windows such as Wyatt's who tenanted Cattells [30] acquired upright handles. Wrought iron work for window catches were of the common type at [36], but Whytes [46] had good examples and the manor farm [8] acquired a few fine sculptured catches. Glazing was not now as expensive, and having only one window to each room they need to provide glass for only four or five per house if the cockloft window was glazed rather than just shuttered. Glass was an extra which tenants put in at their own expense and usually took away with them. To prevent this a law was passed in 1579 to make such glass the landlord's once it was installed. Bourton people appeared to ignore this and there are two inventories at least which value the glass as the tenant's, or had they purchased their properties and so confused the appraisers? In William Hall's of 1588/9 "Itm all the glas in the windowes 10s," [50p] and Thomas Plant's of 1594/5 "all the glase windoes" [MSS. Wills Pec.41/1/12: 48/1/10]. Many Bourton men owned their houses whereas Cropredy men were all tenants. In Cropredy none was mentioned after the Act was passed, but this cannot mean there was no glass just that it was no longer legally a tenant's moveable object and therefore not obliged to be valued.

Oiled linen, canvas stretched over a frame, or panels of horn had been sufficient in the past to provide some light. Harrison described how they were held in a "wicker or fine rifts of oak chequer wise." Clear glass was difficult to make so that the oldest windows had a mottled glass. The lead reacted with the chemicals in the glass spreading yellow and violet rainbows across the surface, which was never flat. The combined effect is to reflect the light and distort the view through the glass. The panes proved difficult to clean, but Rose like many thought they had a "particular beauty" [The effect of lead on glass from Walter Rose p8 of *Good Neighbours*. Cambridge Univ. Press]. Walter Calcott at Williamscoote House put in some coloured glass to represent his coat of arms (p136).

The husbandmen and craftsmen nearly all rebuilt in stone and so did some of the labourers except for those in Church Street who waited another hundred years before stoning their copyhold cottages. In many areas in Britain labourer's cottages are no longer to be found from the sixteenth century, but in Cropredy there are still some standing. Apart from Church Street there were several inventories of labourers who lived in very adequate houses. Shepherds as they grew older became day labourers and their wills declare them as such. These are not the very poor, though they paid no church rates. All cottagers could end up as labourers through age or illness, but those labourers who had once held a position and managed to hang onto their copyhold had the advantage of the cottage, some stock and a small measure of independance for they were their own masters at home as head of a household. All this was of enormous advantage when compared with the landless worker who had few if any rights. There were at least six farm labourer's cottages (ch.30).

Cropredy cottagers were fortunate in the late sixteenth century to be well housed in stone dwellings with bays at least 15' or 16' deep by 12' wide, similar to the larger houses, but with one exception, the much altered middle cottage in Church Lane [19]. The timber cottage bays were much narrower but not as shallow as Plantation cottage which was built over a hundred years later with an internal depth of 13 feet.

The types of dwellings built by the tenants for three copyhold lives, or the landlord who contributed the stone and roof timber and the tenant the thatch, floors, partitions, windows and glass will all be looked at in turn. Those tenants on a long lease added wings with the landlord's help, though any major alterations just to suit the tenant must be made by him. In Bourton freeholders added a few lean-to's which crop up in inventories as a place to store firewood. William Shirley left in 1602 two such "lean-twos" and Richard Hitchman had "lean toes" by 1635 [MSS. Wills Pec. 50/5/24. 41/3/48]. The two Cropredy manors may have discouraged them for none are mentioned.

Once a tenant had paid for three lives it behoved him to maintain the property and keep saving to enter fresh lives for their descendants. Copyholders had the security of tenure while their life was on the copy of the lease in the manor court records. Once one of their lives died and the heriot had been paid then a son, a daughter, a new spouse, or grandchild was entered at the next court, to prolong the tenure into another generation. The cost of entry could have prevented wage earners from stoning the outside walls of a timber cottage.

The constant overlapping of generations in houses and cottages might encourage the tenant to increase the number of chambers. Many never had any privacy as the stairs led to the first upper chamber and on to the "hithermost" without a landing, with its protective partitions. Only much later were some stairs transferred to the back wall so as not to interrupt the front elevation of windows lighting the upper chambers and a passage was made along the back wall. Later occupiers of [36] had to make their landing at the front because the stairs were by the front entrance. A new window would then have to be made at the rear of the hall chamber. Separate parlour bay entrances for the elderly were impossible, unless they used the nether chamber below the entry passage which was often set aside for relatives [4]. Widow Robins [26] living at the nether end hung onto the chambers and stores in that bay. Separate chambers for staff were being made amongst those rising up from the husbandmen class.

Tenants had put in floors, partitions and doors, as Russell had at the blacksmiths [13], which were passed down as standards in wills, but in reality they belonged to the landlord once the tenant died. Edward Shepherd had put in "stayres, flowers

[floors], transoms and beams" which the appraisers did not know "whether they be the landlords or the tenants" and valued the lot at 30s in 1632. George Hopkins also added his own interior woodwork. By 1634 he had the use of the Bourton chapel and in there he stored corn as well as his wood. Had he added his floors, partitions and doors to the dwelling half of the church [MS. Will Pec. 41/3/18]? Howse [28] had either recycled the beams, floors, partitions as well as an old door jam, which had chamfers ending in tudor stops, or else it was made especially for this new house and helps to establish the house as being one of the first to be rebuilt?

Trying to pinpoint the actual date of the rebuilding cannot unfortunately come from documents. The manorial records which could have given permission for such upheavals are missing. Instead the family history must be looked into; their work, dates of marriage and size of families needing legacies must all be checked. One piece of information often missing is ownership of freehold land elsewhere providing legacies for the family. In the end nothing can replace a good vernacular architect armed with the available history of the family who will eventually achieve an approximate date.

Date stones are found only on a few buildings and each one, with the exception of Walter Calcott's at Williamscothe (pp 136 & 138), indicates a later updating of an earlier stone dwelling. Prescote manor in 1691 set the fashion, followed by Wyatt [8] and Blagrove [26] a descendant of Robins. They are of no use in Cropredy for most houses are older than the date stone. At the time of rebuilding there was no need to add one except for a public building like the school. Only later generations who wished to add their names to alterations had a date stone made for the family who may have risen in status since the house was first built.

In north Oxfordshire during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century when the town of Cropredy was largely rebuilt the majority of the leaseholders and their families spent a great deal of their time out in the fields cultivating their own wheat, rye, peas and barley as well as cutting hay for their beasts. Their houses were functional places with no money wasted on extras. The care of their stock might govern the final choice of plan. The cow was such an important part of the household's economy that she had an honoured place under the roof in many parts of the country, so that the Cropredy A manor landlord might have built the new type of long-houses with the welfare of the cow in mind.

Living outside so much means the cottage and barn, or farm house and buildings were viewed in a different light from how they are to-day. It was much more a welcoming shelter after rain, wind, cold, heat, or exhaustion from the daily toil. It must be solid, windproof and have a hearth to cook some of their food on. Inside the house space had to be made to keep the corn

dry, room to make butter, cheese and to brew their ale. Space to sort wool for spinning, washing and dyeing to make their apparel, not forgetting the flax and the hemp for their linen and ropes. Most of their possessions were necessary ones. The main item of furniture and the most used, for they needed it during the long dark night, was of course the bedstead, the most valuable part of a dowry after the cow and next to the brass kettles and cooking pot to cook the daily food in.

Houses and cottages were not for day long living in, shutting out the world by closing and locking the front door. Most living in the timber buildings in Church Street in the 1570's would have the door standing open, unless the weather was driving in, besides being neighbourly this helped the smoke from their open fire to escape through the vent in the thatch . If they shut that door then the rear door was open instead. Only those with a chimney could afford to shut the door "churlishly" against their neighbours as they say in Scotland, and move the entrance door from the hall to an entry passage [Sinclair Colin *Thatched Houses of the Old Highland* 1953 pp34/35].

Could we tell if we walked around the streets and lanes of Cropredy in that period just what was hidden behind their doors? Would their apparel give us a clue? Could we suggest their households wealth by taking a look at the way their farms were run, or by counting their cows coming home? We may still take a look into the homes which left inventories as these allow us to enter and follow the appraisers around as they made a list of the moveable possessions. Failing that we could stand back and count their chimneys. We have seen above that in 1614 a third of the town were husbandmen, another third cottagers with a little arable land and that the rest may only have a cow common and leyland yet look at the fine rebuilt stone and thatch dwellings and it becomes apparent that the craftsman and labourer were equally well housed, though with less chambers. Even without drip moulds, kneelers and fine ashlar walls, the whole town had reason to be pleased with the new buildings for they were dry and healthy. There was less crowding, more space for the various eternal chores. Everyone had taken a step upwards so it could have given them a feeling of pride. Cropredy was the central town in north Oxfordshire after Banbury. No longer a rural backwater for their sons could go to school. At the same time agricultural customs and traditions formed the backbone to their very existence needing a peasant's alertness with skills necessary for their very survival. They taught their children the art of such survival, especially those who must leave the town.

The townsmen would know who was who in Cropredy families, sometimes going back generations. The newcomers might already be known when they came from nearby parishes. How long did they remain for example "the Wardington shoemakers" at Swetman's [49]? Without the extensive knowledge of kith and kin that the Cropredians possessed we are missing out on a

great deal of their everyday knowledge and conversation. The following pages therefore bring in the families as well as their houses.

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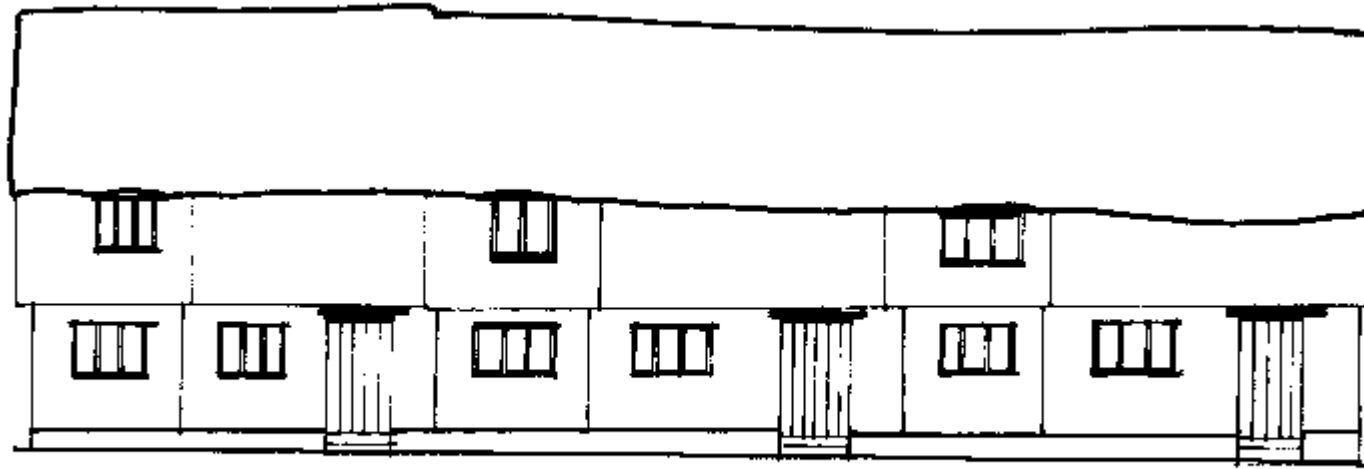
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25. Timber Houses

Medieval buildings were traditionally built of timber grown in the parish and thatched with local straw. The cost of building and repairing them came from cartage of new wood, diverting straw from the stock to the roof and employing carpenters and thatchers to carry out the work. The old thatch impregnated with soot would be used for manure. The owner of the land provided the timber which had usually been planted by previous occupiers as part of their tenancy agreement. Labourers having no close in which to plant trees must be provided with replacement timbers from the estate.

The manor courts fined any tenant who neglected their dwelling and could delay entry for the next copyhold life, if the house was not in good order. Having been entered on the copyhold the tenant would agree that "at their own cost and charges shall and will, well and sufficiently repire sustaine thatch and amend all the hereby" premises.

What set of circumstances had prevented some from being pulled down and rebuilt? Timber had been scarce in north Oxfordshire for a long time, but it could be obtained from the managed woods to the east. Cropredy itself had insufficient seasoned timber per year for the sixty households, though small wood from the hedges and closes were allocated to tenants in turn. Yet would building in stone take a great deal more to finance than constant repairs to the present housing stock? Cropredy parish lay very close to some of the best building stone in Britain. Would the landlords invest for the future and could their tenants afford their part of the bargain? During the sixteenth century the income from a yardland had risen until by the 1550's it was double that of 100 years before. Many had put aside a little surplus and gradually improved the families' wealth, although the early 1570's saw a great drop in income, it was not for long, and soon began to rise again and kept on rising, but by then the college rents had risen and so had the cost of farming. There were some wage earners in the population who could not benefit from this sale of surplus to the market and those in Church Street may well have been amongst them.



D25.1 Reconstruction of Timber Cottages [47-49]

Reconstruction of Timber Cottages [47-49].

We do know that the residents of the timber row in this Street declined to rebuild, keeping their dwellings up in the old manner. They delayed alterations until a much later date and so kept the old timber structure which has survived in parts until to-day. Was there a reason?

First their security of tenure was looked at. Did the tenants fear to spend in case they lost the cottage? A check was made on all those who occupied the row through the centuries and it was discovered they were held by the same families and their descendants, so that was not the explanation, unless by not spending they had not over reached themselves (It was however noticed that other tenants in the town whose families stayed for generations had built in stone). The timber building must have been in good repair and the difficulties of building a stone front when the upper floors overlapped their neighbour's hall presented at first too great a problem. Stone walls were still averaging a width of 22 inches and two such inner partitions in a cottage measuring only 22 feet in length was too much to sacrifice.

It was wondered if those entirely without land refrained from rebuilding. Before the vicar's accounts were repaired and the names of each cottager became known, it was not possible to establish who definitely had ancient common rights attached to their cottage. From the lists and tithe accounts of the early seventeenth century it can now be established that most in Church

Street paid the tithe, and had at least one cow. In the college's later terriers the names of the occupiers appear having leyland alongside the college tenants, as they had to gather hay for the cow. What cannot be established is whether they had enough arable to grow sufficient barley, rye and peas to keep the family and cow throughout the year. The inventories do not mention any. None had rights to keep any other stock except the cow and poultry, and certainly not sheep. The only "crop" appeared in one inventory for Cox [49] who was growing hemp in his yard. As the price of food rose they could not gain by selling any surplus, and could only miss out in years of shortage. Other day labourers (often retired shepherds) who died in Cropredy had sheep which were kept as a way of investing spare money. There are dangers in classifying the tenants all as labourers, for many who died as day-labourers had sunk from other related agricultural occupations, due to old age, injury or failing health. Wages which were set by the Justices during severe fluctuations in the cost of food, were never high enough to cover extras other than tithes, rent and minor repairs, because being employers themselves it was in the Justices' interests to keep wages as low as possible. In spite of this they still managed to have reasonable furniture and comforts in their inventories, for each family had used all their various skills to remain alive. The fact that they hung on for several generations speaks highly of their ability to survive, though never allowing them enough to rebuild.

The survival of labourers' dwellings is rare. This row has retained evidence to show that although at the lower end of the parish's income groups, their late medieval cottages were not squalid hovels, health traps, or entirely without the basic necessities of life. They lived in good quality buildings. The cottages were part of the Bishop of Lincoln's estate and right next to their demesne farm [50], before it was surrendered to the Crown in 1547. The Bishop who had originally financed them would have received the rents as an estate asset. The oak roof timbers were put there by skilled craftsmen and sound enough to last for centuries. Possibly they were originally built to house the manorial married staff, or associated tradesmen (the threshers, thatchers, carpenters, victuallers and gardeners), and at the end of the sixteenth century were not considered in need of renewal. The positive outcome of enquiries so far, would point to long term tenants with basic rights of commonage to keep one cow, but living on a set wage, or craft, and supported by their family enterprises. They were housed in adequate cottages each with access to a well. When did they eventually decide to build outer stone walls? To try and answer this every opportunity was taken to study the cottages during recent renovations. Several owners kindly allowed notes to be made whenever alterations took place in this street (and throughout the parish. Without such help this chapter and indeed the book might never have been started). Whyte's [46] and Bryan's [47] were measured over a period of baby sittings. The findings from these visits are followed by a general glance at the sites. Almost every family left some traces of their occupancy in documents, such as their inventories, which reveal the contents of their rooms and show they were far more comfortable than

many labourers in other parts of Britain. Gradually the families manage to apprentice their sons, or arrange suitable marriages for a daughter to a craftsman and their circumstances seem to improve.

This is however rushing on too fast. The only way the fabric will unravel to reveal the past is to unpick it slowly from the top to the bottom. Starting with Red Lion Street (the present name for Church Street) and using the past to interpret the visible clues still there today.

(1-12) Red Lion Street. (Figure 25.2)

Red Lion Street still has the four oldest cottages (numbered to-day as 3, 6,7 and 8, but called [46-49] in this book) with some additional infilling (4, 5 and 9). At the east end is the early rebuilt manor house (10/11) and the infilled gap (12) leading to the millyard .

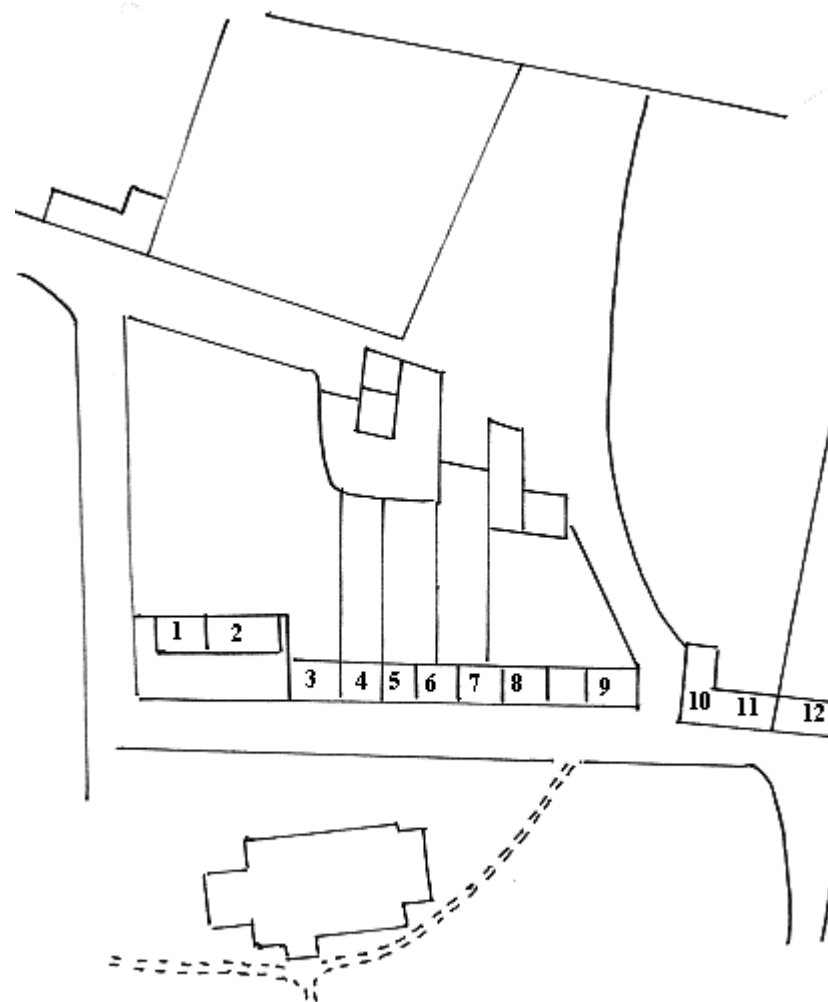
The tenant of the A manor demesne farm (10/11) leased the five cottages which went with the estate. Coldwell and then Cartwright had both risen to being gentlemen and needed a bailiff to manage the farm as well as other staff for the estate, who either lived in the farmhouse (10/11), or else had married quarters in the cottages. The bailiff's cottage [44] was behind Red Lion Street at the western approach to the farm. When the manorial rights were transferred to the Green [15], the bailiff's cottage became the farm house to the old manor yard.

The four other timber cottages now hidden behind stone facades were all in the street facing the church. Number 3 at the top would have had a fine two and a half medieval west gable. This may be why the manor court only allowed Rawlins [45] to build on the small plot at the top of the street as long as his stone dwelling (1) did not obliterate this view of Church Street from the top. Rawlins' cottage and a later one built in his garden were set at the back of the site behind Whyte's (3) splendid timber gable end. The Pitham's (2) arriving before 1669 lived in the second cottage.

Walking down the street Whyte's (3) has now changed beyond recognition into an equally fine Hornton stone dwelling, with the addition of (4). The coursed stone rows above the stone plinth on the south elevation are set off by the stone lintels seen in only four other Cropredy properties. Two were on the B. manor estate, first on Springfield's kitchen [6] and the second at the Brasenose Inn [13]. On the A manor a stone mason's cottage had encroached upon the Bridge Causeway verge in the late seventeenth century [Plantations]. The mason may have been the first to use this type of lintel and was then followed by Toms' farm [15] on the Green which was receiving the landlord's attention in the 1680's. If we place "The Whyte House's"

[46] new lintels at the end of the seventeenth century with those of the Inn's [13], that might be an approximate date for the stoning of [46], though there are contrary opinions.

Whyte's (3), or the next occupiers the Neal's, had extended into their 15' garden which fronted the street (4). The stone mason was required to build only the ground floor, matching the lintels and six rows above. When (4) was altered recently Mr S. Cherry thought the upper half of the gable end of (3) had been exposed to the elements at some time, before (4) had an upper floor to match (3). The gable between (3 & 4) had no mortar between the joints on the ground floor showing it had not been exposed to the elements, but was once intended as an inside wall to the new extension built on the garden at the same time as the house was treated to new stone walls. The upper floor to the extension was surely a mid-nineteenth century development. The east gable had a brick chimney next to the winder stairs leading up to the front chamber which still has a Victorian fireplace.



D25.2 Red Lion Street 1-12.

Red Lion Street 1-12.

By stoning the cottage (3) the old timber west gable had to be lost, but a good stone chimney was made with a fine newel staircase in the Neve tradition (p352) which included a small stairs window and a two light window high in the gable to light

the cockloft and stairs. A pear tree has been added to set off the gable. Room for this work had fortunately been left by the new cottage at (2).

Number 6 may have actually needed to extend into their 15' wide garden entrance at the side before the Neal's, but did they use timber or stone? If the latter it would have looked odd in a timber row prior to the rest having stone. The Bryan's (6) were an old Cropredian family and the widow had allowed their neighbours William and Ann Hudson to move into their cottage, while she moved into an extension in the 1650's. We do not know exactly when (4) and (5) were built, but to start with neither had a chimney. It is likely (5) was a timber built extra bay to sleep Mrs Elizabeth Bryan (died 1656). When the stone extension was built, now (4), it butted up to (5) whose earlier west gable must still have been in timber. To build their upper floors did (4 & 5) then replaced their boundary wall with bricks?

The Watts took over the copyhold after the next Elizabeth Bryan wife of Robert left Cropredy and her temporary tenants, "old Mole" and William Hudson, had gone. This was the only cottage of the four which changed hands outside the family. The Watts' remained for three generations. They ran a tailor's business and kept a grocer's shop. In 1776 two brothers kept the trade going for their widowed mother, who though still the tenant retired into (5). John a bachelor purchases the single storey plot in 1776 in which his widowed mother now lived and his married brother Thomas purchased (6). Thomas died I am sure without altering too much of the medieval inner arrangement, but what we need to know is did Watts or Bryan's stone the walls? The Bryan's may not have been able to re-enter their cottage copyhold if they had to help finance the addition of stone walls as part of the repairs clause. This rather leaves the outer facing to be taken on by the Watts' family later in the century. The thinner stone walls could place them well after our period to the late seventeenth century. When the stone walling was done it looks as though the opportunity was made to move the front door to a central position. The clue here came from the awkwardness of the door with the low-chamber wall, and the fact that this was made into a shop. Thomas, the tailor and grocer, was a man who had garnished his apparel with a silver buckle and silk handkerchief, and yet his wife had to apply to the overseers of the poor in 1789 to be allowed to carry on as a grocer, for Thomas had left the shop board to his younger brother William. Once again the cottage changed hands. John Watts had never married and Thomas had no children baptised in Cropredy.

The cottage (6) was next lived in by a Syresham couple John and Mary Biddle whose son John (1811-77) was definitely connected with several new brick walls in Cropredy. He or his father could well have started the trend of providing brick chimneys and brick partitions (substantial but not as space consuming as a stone wall), between the cottages of 4/5, 5/6,

6/7, and 7/8. Could these have coincided with the new public fire brigades taking over from voluntary fire insurance engines? Red Lion Street was particularly vulnerable. By 1804 the Insurance policies for the thatched houses with timber party walls would be much higher than those with brick or stone walls.

It looks as though (7) (which was the home of the Norman's and Hudson's until in 1670 Mary nee Hudson's husband John Sabin entered upon the copyhold), was the first to stone their timber dwelling. In passing the front of their cottage it will be noticed that they had quoin stones and that (6) and (8) butt into these definite straight edges of stone (Fig.24.1). Looking back at (5) it was not tied into (4) and had more in common with (6). This we saw was born out by the records. It was understandable that (7) being the middle cottage with no room to expand into the garden as (6) and (8) were doing must make the most of that space over the hall and bring across another half loft using the stone walls and wall plates to hold the floor (p369). With no room to increase their front elevation (7) had less stone to purchase. Being gardeners who were used to being careful about details Sabins would have appreciated the quoin stones being on their front wall. This may prove theirs was the first to have a stone wall. Once again the registers were checked and they revealed that John Sabin died soon after William Hudson moved next door (6). The widow could hardly restore the cottage so was it left to Richard the son when he came to enter his wife or son onto the copyhold? This brings the addition of stone walls into the 1680's, or later, and makes it too late for Bryan's at (6), and after Cox's daughter had died at (8). Cox's grand daughter Elizabeth Arise married Robert Swetman of Wardington. By 1685 having become a widow her nineteen year old son, also Robert, was allowed to carry on the business. During this decade Richard Sabin (7) may have had time to stone his walls, once Norman's cottage [48] (Fig.24.1 p346).

Number 8, now the Red Lion Inn, had definitely doubled the size of their dwelling by 1741 which was the end of the Swetman's era. When the widow Elizabeth Swetman's son wanted to take over in 1685, he had to satisfy an enquiry instigated by the landlord, because of an Act of Settlement. Sir William Boothby wrote to his bailiff "If Rob: Sweetman be my Tenant and that my Tenants & the Towne do agree to have them placed in the towne, so that I may not heere after be blamed by any: I do give my consent to what you desire upon conditions. Else not." [Letter book: p287 Add. MSS 71961]. Robert not only worked as a victualler, but was a shoemaker as well, and most likely the builder of the extra wing. Swetman was married by 1691 but unfortunately he had no son, only four surviving daughters. Did he train them to help brew? In the buttery were the brewing vessels and he also possessed a furnace grate. His need to use coal may have decided the matter of putting in a chimney. If he had permission to lodge travellers he needed more space for his shop and upper lodging rooms. The competition from the newly expanded Brasenose Inn [13] whose new tenant arrived in 1694, may have stimulated building at

Swetman's, unless he had already developed his cottage. Both inns took turns to have the annual dinner before the church court. Swetman expanded eastwards into 22' of the garden. He built in stone and refaced the older timber dwelling to match. They moved the entrance to below the old eastern timber gable making room for a brick fireplace in the old hall, now called the new dwelling house, over which he could add an extra chamber. In the nineteenth century the Smith's extended eastwards to make another stone dwelling on the remaining 28' of the garden to house one of the family shoemakers. This was eventually sold to the Co-op (9).

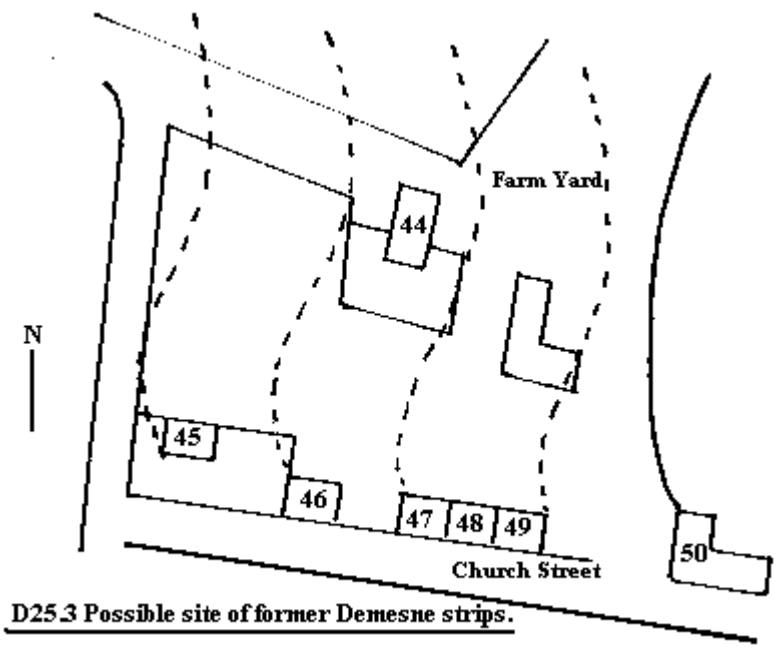
In 1775 the Boothby family sold five cottages to Samuel Smith who resold them on to John Chamberlin, who allowed the various tenants to purchase their cottages. At this stage John Bourton had [44], William Neal [46], Widow Watts [47], William Cole [48] and William Smith [49]. The infills attached to (3) and (6) had not in 1775 acquired separate tenancies, but (5) and (6) were parted at the sale by Chamberlin in 1776. William Neal died in 1795 aged 91 and it was either his son George (d. 1801), or Richard then farming at Mixbury (d 1820), who sold (3 & 4) to the cordwainer Smiths who were in residence long before 1822. Number 8 was purchased by another William Smith who had taken out a licence for his house following the tradition of that site. William had moved in 1758 from being Neal's tenant (or life on the copyhold) at (3) to (8) when his sister and her husband died leaving a houseful of orphans at the inn. Smith's being cordwainers could have moved into (3) while the Neals were at Mixbury. They have connections with the house (3) right into this century.

That is one possible explanation for the varying applications of coursed stone rows. Although a great deal of the above suggestions fell into place only after owners kindly allowed measurements to be made (for which I cannot thank them enough for their unfailing good humour and for never once showing their frustration at the nuisance caused), it does underline the initial signals the row was making to reveal the important evidence so carefully hidden by later occupiers, that part of Red Lion Street had once been timber and thatched dwellings. It was hoped there might be more clues within the buildings themselves.

Leaving Red Lion Street we now move back in time to when it was called Church Street to use the site numbers found in this book.

The Four Church Street Cottages [46-49].

While half the oldest farm sites face east this row faces south across the ancient sunken street to the churchyard wall. The street itself is narrow and unable to expand with the cottages right against the footpath. Cox's at the bottom cottage [49] had their garden next to the Jitty, which was the southern entrance to the A manor's [50] farmyard. Norman's [48] being the middle one of the three cottages had a long strip of garden leading to a northern gate into the farm yard below Allen's the A manor bailiff's plot. Allen's [44] small garden was to block any rear exit for Bryans [47], the last of the group of three. The gap separating this row of three and the top cottage was divided between number [46] and [47] equally for a street entrance into their gardens. The occupier's of [46 & 47] used up all the garden entrances when they made their ground floor extensions. Whytes [46] had a close stretching right back to the western approach into the A manor farmyard, which was also Allen's entrance. There was a track to the north of Allen's cottage for the cows to reach the farmyard [50's] if they came straight from Newstreet Lane, past Tanner's [39] instead of going round by Creampot. It could be that Allen's cottage and two bay barn would not fit into the gap on Church Street and the Bishop's manor court allowed the occupier to build at the north end of the 30' strip allotted to that tenement. Later arrangements being made to allocate the Church Street end to neighbouring tenements [46] and [47] (Fig. 25.4).

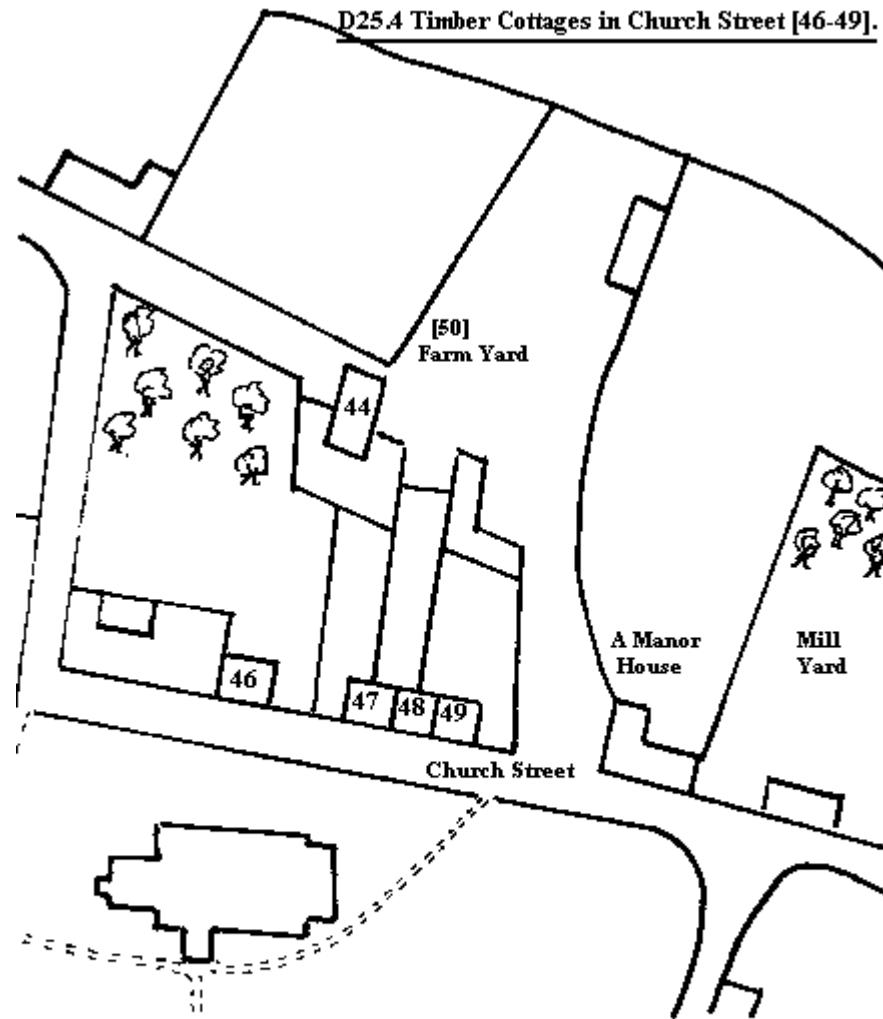


D25.3 Possible site of former Demesne strips.

Possible site of former Demesne strips.

It was noticed that Whyte's [46] and the gap were equal to almost two lands width. The three other cottages took up 66' or just over two lands. The whole street was made up of units taking up two lands equal to an acre. Had there been any Open Common Field farming undertaken in this former demesne close prior to building? Even the Manor house [50] was set out using these measurements.

D25.4 Timber Cottages in Church Street [46-49].



Timber cottages in Church Street [46-49].

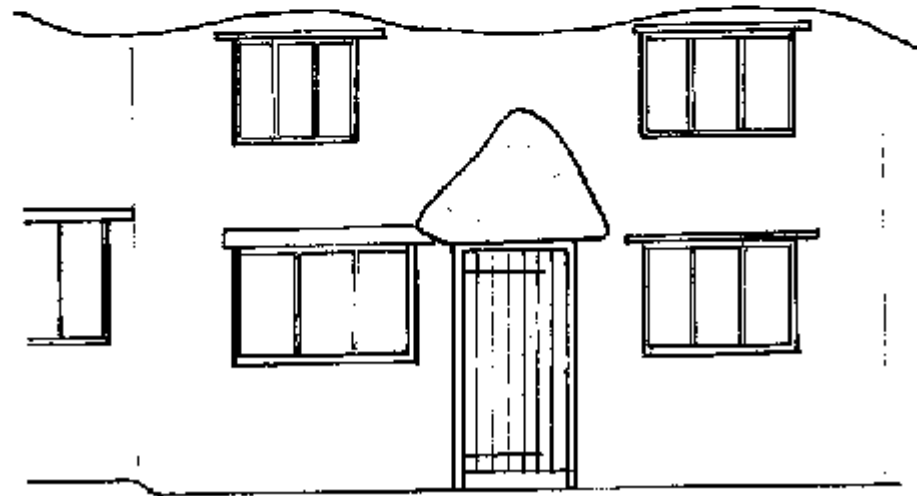
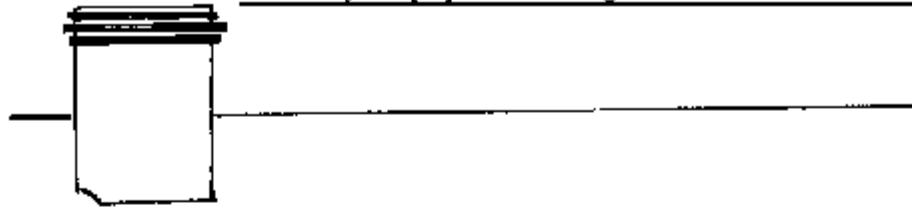
Bryan's [47] seventeenth century extension across their garden entrance left them with no alternative but to gain an entrance via Norman's [48] garden. In 1671 we saw Richard Bryan's widow Elizabeth had allowed William Hudson to use her cottage. At Hudson's (once grand father Norman's) cottage [48] lived John Sabin who had married William Hudson's sister Mary, so perhaps an arrangement was made convenient to them all. If for nothing else the cow had to be brought into the garden somehow and the human waste and manure taken out to the fields. Whytes had a well later shared with No.4, but did the new No.5 share with Bryan's? The three narrow cottages [47-49] each had their own well.

Cox's [49] garden ended at the wide Jitty entrance. Their close measured 70' by the street, but only 40' at the north end and was 90' from the street to Coldwell's [50] farm yard buildings. Cox's garden encroached round behind the back of Norman's [48] hall, but left room for access to their well. Norman's in turn encroached behind Bryan's hall. This often meant that rear elevations in cottages were rarely provided with window holes, just a door for access and ventilation (and some stone cottages had no rear door if they had a chimney). When did they divide off the gardens? Each had started with their own private entrance, but the Norman's were the losers when it came to space for their cow. Could they house it at Coldwell's yard? Watts purchased [47] (5 & 6) in 1776, but like all the A manor cottages they lost their common rights for pasturing a cow. After this they had only to use their garden exit across Sabin's [48] garden to remove night soils. While still tenants Joseph Watts kept a cow which had to come and go through [48]. His son John paid the vicar tithes for three cottage commons, for somehow a new tithe had been attached to (5). He had also been paying for his mother's, or Thomas's at (6) and Sabin's at (7) which meant John had looked after three cows. It was very hard for these cottages to lose the right to pasture the cows after the Enclosure of the Open Common Fields [MSS. dd Par Cropredy c 26,27]. At Whytes [46] they still had a rear access through the orchard and had more room than any if they were tenants of the whole close behind Rawlins' cottage [45].

Behind the stone walls the cottages show that basic plans were repeated through the centuries. The top cottage where the Whyte's lived was 30' wide. There could have been plans to make a second similar cottage next door because a further 30' of land was left undeveloped before the row of three began. Bryan's, Norman's and Cox's were smaller being only 22' wide. All had an internal depth of just over 15'. The plan of all four cottages was based on one low chamber with an upper chamber directly above. Because the hearths in the halls had no chimnies they were open to the roof. The bottom three had roof trusses at seven foot intervals and Whyte's up the street also had two inner roof trusses dividing the roof space into three, but with an extra eight feet of roof to support. Being two and a half stories high meant two bays could be used as a cockloft. The lower three cottages were only one and a half storeys high with the upper chamber ceiling rising above the collar in the roof.

From the documentary evidence and structural clues each cottage had an open hearth in the hall whose smoke went out through the roof. The hall fire left smoke traces on the roof timbers at [48]. The halls took up two thirds of the ground floor in the smaller cottages giving an almost square living area. A small lower chamber with a narrow buttery behind filled the third bay. These were partitioned off from the hall. Above, reached by a ladder from the lower chamber, was a bedroom running from front to back. These too were partitioned off from the open halls on either side. The three cottages [47-49] had the hall on the right and the lower chamber on the left. It was noticed that the upper floors jetty out over the halls, their own and the neighbours next door. Smoke was kept from these rooms by infilling the stud partitions as high as eighteen inches above the collar with wattle and daub. Lath and plaster ceilings must have prevented the smoke from blowing down into the upper chamber. Later when chimneys were added low doorways were broken through upstairs partitions for the new chambers over the halls. At that point winder stairs were built to reach the upper floor and the ladder hole through the ceiling filled in. All this was confirmed during alterations at [48] and [49]. [47] was a much more difficult property and at first severely delayed the solutions to many problems, so thorough had Biddle's improvements been. Biddle's alterations just have to be mentioned first to reach down beyond them.

D25.5 Bryan's [47] Timber Cottage with Stone Walls in 1980.



Bryan's [47] Timber Cottage with Stone walls in 1980.

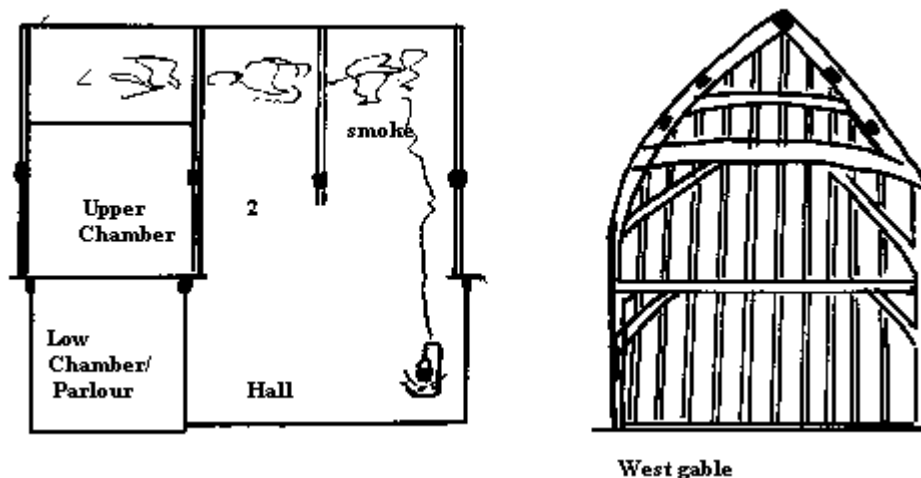
Moving to [47] (6), the top cottage in the row of three, the entrance is now in the centre of the building leading to the parlour chamber on the left and the hall on the right. Extensive nineteenth century alterations were made. The earlier ground floor extension (5) across the garden entrance was given an upper floor. The joint brick wall between the present (5) and (6) meant (6) [47] lost out on space in the parlour, but kept it in the buttery. The brick wall gave them the opportunity to have two new Victorian fireplaces in each of the old chambers. The older hall fireplace if built for the Watts may have been the second chimney in the row. It was built into the hall's rear stone wall, and included an oven. The hall chimney may have become a necessity when customers to the shop opened the front door when the back door was also open to clear smoke from the old open hearth. This in turn may have encouraged them to move the front door from the hall and to make the central entry or screen passage to solve the smoke problem, before building the chimney. The stairs which replaced the ladder took up the space previously used as the buttery. The upper chamber was in turn reduced by the stairs, protruding chimney and encroaching brick wall, so that it was now too narrow to be usable while the inner tiebeam remained. They cut it having transferred the weight of the roof to the stone outer walls. The hall spine beam which supported the floor above then rested on the new brick wall they shared with [48], and on a post in the old parlour/passage wall from the front door.

The tie beam above the hall must also have been cut and cannot now be seen. In its place the upper hall chamber also has a spine beam. The upper floor was rearranged between the two chambers, the old one giving up space at the back for landing and stairs. It is interesting that the stairs area projects one foot more towards (5) than the chamber and this may be because both the buttery and the landing had one-light windows right by the neighbour's wall, which were kept, or because the two properties were under one lease, or ownership of one family (Fig.25.5).

The oldest remnants were in the buttery area of (6) [47] for here some flat joists can be seen. The old upper chamber once had an upper jetty on the western garden side (5) and the landing area wall would represent the original upper part of the western wall. This whole cottage replaced the three principals and tie beam trusses of the old timber cottage to new spine beams and the four walls. Much more was saved at Norman's, the middle cottage.

Norman's [48] (7).

D25.6 Sections through Norman's [48] Cottage.

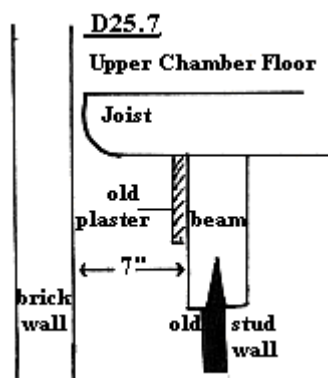


Sections through Norman's [48] Cottage.

Other indications that later tenants in Norman's cottage could have added the first stone wall were the wall plates and the retention of early features (p361). The records go back to Norman's marriage in 1585. Until 1634 old Richard Norman, still kept his right to the open cooking hearth, even though his single and married daughters lived under the same roof. Up to 1634 he had the general use of the hall, the buttery and the lower chamber, but not his son-in-laws upper chamber which is not mentioned until Thomas Hudson's inventory was made three years later. Thomas had by then a share in the hall, milk house (buttery) and kept on the upper chamber. His sister-in-law Anne Norman slept in her late father's lower chamber, which was not therefore mentioned in the second inventory. She had the cow, left for her keep by her father along with all his goods and chattels, thereby ensuring that her married sister and husband acknowledged her right, as one of the lives on the copyhold, to stay on under the family roof. This was not a new arrangement. It began in 1618 when Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, had married Thomas Hudson. In the 1624 Easter list Richard Norman, now a widower, his daughter Anne, the married couple with three new sons and another baby due, according to the registers, had been joined by Marie Hudson. Whether she was Thomas's mother or sister we do not know. This made five adults and three children. Altogether six of the seven children who survived live here, making three generations all under Grandpa Norman's thatched roof. The upper floor measured 8' x 15'2." The low chamber 7' 6" x 10' deep with the 4'8" wide buttery at the back. The hall measuring 15' x 14.'

The knowledge gained from the inventories was more puzzling when the crowded conditions at [48] were thought about. Why did they not build in a chimney and add a spine beam and gain an extra bedroom? Was this the old question of lack of money, lack of response from the landlord, or just something to do with the upper chambers overlapping the hall. Not just their own but also the next door's [49] upper chamber?

In the 1970's repairs were going on at [48] and the builder kindly allowed me to check the lower chamber wall next to [47]. This room was again looked at with new owners in the 1980's. They added their interpretations and we did a tour into the roof with a knowledgeable visitor.

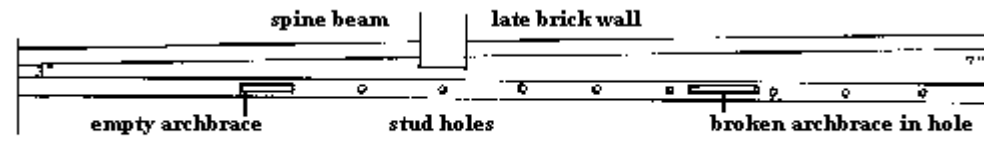


[47/48] Dividing wall.

On the first visit to the downstairs chamber the neighbouring wall with [47] had the plaster off exposing a wall of under-fired bricks, laid without any half bricks and about 6" thick, including a thick plaster. This brick wall at the rear was 7" away from [48's] transverse beam, though only 3" by the front stone wall. The original shared stud partition wall would have been under [48's] transverse beam. A piece of wood only about a foot up from the floor ran from an old timber post at the front wall along the brick wall to the rear. Had this been moved from the base of the stud partition? Number (6)[47] had their later hall spine beam resting in the brick wall between [47 & 48].

The timber post was exciting evidence of the earlier timber wall. This three and a half inch wide post curved inwards with an arch-brace to support the narrow transverse beam (9"x 4") upon which lay the flat upper floor joists. The post had two wooden pegs at the top, part of the joint with the beam. Only the [47] side of this timber support was chamfered, for this was

once visible in their hall, while Norman's [48] had no need of decoration in the low chamber. The upright posts or studs, were interfilled with a wattle and daub.

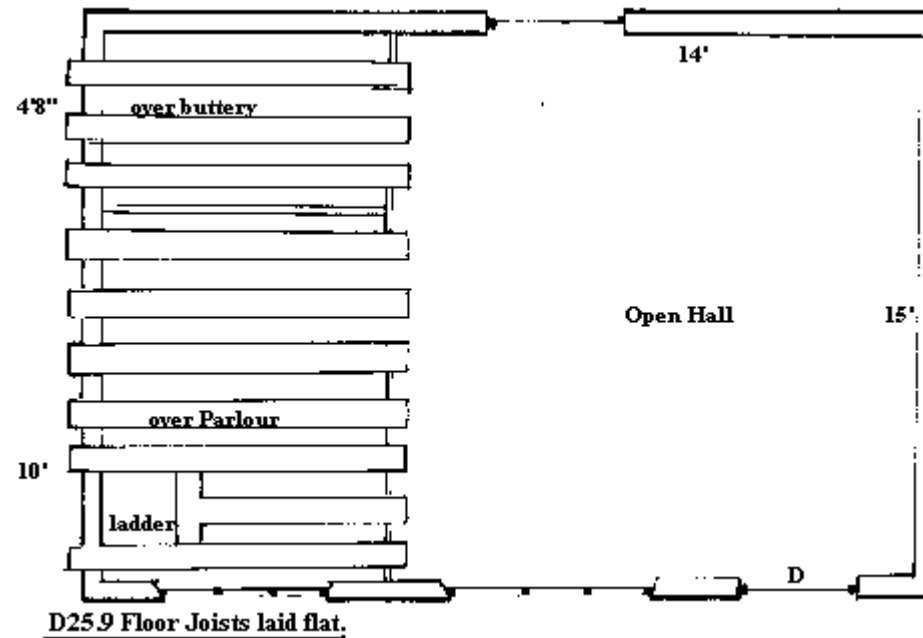


D25.8 Underside of beam showing stud holes.

Underside of beam showing stud holes

Evidence of the stud partition was found in the underside of the transverse beam for there were eight oval holes about 2" across and spaced on average at 14" apart from the center of the holes, which tapered to 3.5" deep. One hole had a broken off stave protruding from the beam, a remnant of an old upright post. 40" in from the front wall was an empty oblong (9"x 1.5").

A second longer one (12.5" x 1.5") was 45" from the back wall. In this was the remains of a broken off piece of the arch brace which had supported the beam and the reason for the oblong holes. This was not a recycled piece of old cart, but evidence of an old timber cottage wall.



Floor Joists laid flat

The upper floor's supporting joists varied, being 7" to 9" wide by 4.5." All were laid flat, a sign of an old medieval floor. By the 1570's the method of flooring was changed by turning the joists on their side or having square ones. [47] and [49] both had some remaining flat joists in the buttery area. In [48] a second chimney had been built on the rear wall of the buttery in the sleeping bay which meant the removal of the buttery/ chamber wall. Two of the old joists had gone and been replaced by new ones. The rest of the joists over the low chamber remained. The joists jetty out towards Bryan's [47] and each of the joist ends had been rounded and were obviously once meant to be seen in their hall. The fact that the upper chambers were also wider than the lower ones proves they jugged out beyond the transverse beams, even when other evidence has been lost. The removed hanging ceiling at [48] showed that once it had been insulated above with chaff. Although the jetty reduced the noise of a flat joisted floor, nothing was quiet in the low chamber with children over head, a hall on either side behind a stud wall and neighbouring children playing in the street. The transverse beam when all uncovered, revealed the remains of a plaster wall covering, put there for the benefit of No. 6 [47]. The studs were filled with wattle (usually hazel) and daub. If timbers move or shrink according to the weather, then chinks of light might gain access on the outer stud walls, or

neighbouring partitions. This gave an unwanted natural ventilation in winter, or smoke from next door's hall, and would be hastily repaired.

To reach the upper chamber a ladder was made in front of the arch brace at the south end of the western stud partition at the junction with the street wall of the lower chamber. The second joist from the front wall stopped short and a "T" shaped piece fixed to allow access. Having the ladder in this room meant there was nowhere anyone could retreat to on the ground floor for some privacy. It was not until the stairs were built in the hall that any could be obtained.

There was very little room to build more substantial partitions between the three smaller cottages. The added problem of the upper story with the jetty meant the brick wall was going to lose space for [47]. The upper chamber stud walls were all built below the huge tie beams and the projecting joists. By projecting beyond the transverse beam all the joints in the joists were spaced out so that the timbers were not weakened. The upper wall being further along the joist than the lower supporting beam.

The upper chamber window at [48] had two lights (once wooden slats) and like all the main windows in the row, faced south onto the street. The east and west stud partition walls made use of the tie beams now partially exposed. Below the east tie-beam the plaster remained, covering the wattle and daub between the posts. The tie beam towards No.6 [47] was 15" to 18" thick and 57" from the floor. It had two supporting arch braces.

The rear one came from a post, being pegged to that and into the tie beam at a joint 44" from the rear wall. The arch brace was 8" wide. The height of the chamber ceiling was 7' 1".

The east partition acted as a smoke barrier from the space above their own hall. This has a tie beam which had been partially cut into when a low doorway was made to reach the later chamber over the hall.

The large roof rafters still exposed at Norman's were all black from the old open fire. The first upper chamber was mostly protected by carrying on the stud partition right up to the thatch, but some soot still reached the western gable truss and a ceiling was still necessary and placed above the collar.

The roof principals crossed allowing a square ridge pole to support the rafters. The purlins were large and square and attention was drawn to the rear one which had a scarf joint half way between the two main inner roof trusses. The joint was fixed with long wooden pegs and incorporated a half joint. The purlins butted into the principal trusses.

The owner pointed out the two inner trusses which had huge collars. The second one over the hall which had an extra support had a hollow along the top of the old collar and stave holes below to take a partition. Had the hall been partially built over up to this truss (across the middle bay 2 on Fig.25.6 p366) before being completely built across? Was this the reason for the lateral wall plates, because it was an early addition? This was not mentioned in either of the inventories, though it would have helped to provide one more very narrow chamber. The last bay would then have been kept as a smoke bay. Some timber cottages had a small canopy over the fire preventing down draughts and encouraging the smoke to exit via the smoke bay. In later years a few stone cottages in Ceredigion even made wattle chimneys in the crog loft to carry the smoke to a wooden chimney on the same principal.

Once the chimney was built the last bay was used to increase the size of the hall chamber. It was noted that the ceiling joists in the eastern part of the hall chamber were quite different and widely spaced. The added brick chimney and brick wall with [49] went right up into the roof. This had for some reason been plastered possibly because once a chimney was made a ceiling to keep out smoke was no longer required. The plaster was not maintained once the last piece of ceiling was put up. The tie beam in the partition wall with [49] jutted out about 3" to 4" and so did the plastered brick wall in the position of the older stud one and so remained proud up to the late ceiling.

There was a 7" step up from the original upper chamber floor to the hall chamber whose floor was supported on two lateral wall plates and a champhered spine beam with stops. At the parlour end the spine beam had a supporting post. As the third tie beam crossed low over the new hall chamber (giving only 48" headroom), they cut it and put an extra collar at ceiling level.

Cox's [49] (8)

In 1617 Cox [49] had an over chamber, a nether buttery and a low chamber next to the hall. The structural evidence at Cox's was once similar in the chamber bay to Norman's. The low chamber now has a brick wall with [48], which replaced the original dividing stud wall. The brick wall was not keyed into the front stone one, so the alterations were undertaken at two separate

times. As [48] had their brick chimney and winder stairs tied into this 4.5 inch brick wall, it looks as though [48] instigated that alteration.

Cox's buttery/low chamber wall has recently been replaced. The low chamber had long since become the bar parlour. The bar parlour/hall wooden wall was taken out to extend the main bar room into the inner parlour. Only the front post and a remnant of beam remain. The hall, once it had a brick chimney built onto the east gable at the street end, had a spine beam from the chimney to a post by the parlour's 30" wide doorway, again similar to [48]. Scratches from the old latch remain on the support post.

The buttery was turned into the cellar stairs when the cellar was built under an extension at the back. Fortunately the upper chamber floor joists which were laid flat still project from the buttery area. The ends are rounded like those at [48]. They vary in width from 6" to 7". The spaces between them are very unequal.

Upstairs the 3" and 4" square studs which were recently exposed in the upper chamber east wall are about 13" apart. There is only one arch brace from the rear post left. A doorway was cut by the front wall into the added hall chamber. When alterations were made this was filled in and another one made centrally.

All the evidence showed that the old inner walls were made of square 3" and 4" studs spaced at around 13" or 14" intervals. Arch braces curved from supports to the upper beam into which the studs were securely fixed. At the base of these partitions the studs needed a second 4" wide beam over the joists. Was the same arrangement made on the exposed outer walls? The window holes came between two upright studs, but these do not fit into the pattern, except perhaps at Cox's upper chamber window which still has the older type of glazing. The three light casement window had 4" oak mullions separating the 13" lights. Large lintels and window hole surrounds often showed on the front elevation as part of the overall design.

The main entrance into the hall at [49] may always have been in the east gable (once conveniently opposite the A manor's side entrance), or at the front for better control of the open hearth smoke, and moved when the chimney was put in (On Fig. 25.1 it is presumed it was at the front to form part of a repeat pattern with the three cottages' south elevation facing the street). Once the open hearth was lost then the upper hall floor could be built over a spine beam. In this spine beam are the holes from a partition that divided the hall into a front dwelling house and a new rear hallway leading to the eastern passage

door. Between 1685 and 1694 the Swetman's updated the property. In 1741 Robert Swetman's executors had to have an inventory made when his will was proved at the Ecclesiastical Court at Cropredy. It showed they now had the following rooms:

The best room [Upper chamber?]

The little room with bacon in it [at the top of the stairs?].

The room over the dwelling house [hall chamber]

Chamber over the shop [new wing to the east]

Six barrells in the ale buttery & the small drink buttery vessels [buttery]

The farther room [parlour/ low chamber]

The dwelling house [old hall]

The shop with tools [new wing to the east] [M.S.Will Pec. 52/2/6].

Swetman's new bay was similar in size to his original cottage and transverse beams were again in fashion. A tie beam truss was supported by the stone walls which took the weight of the roof. The new front entrance now opened into a cross passage. The west wall of this being the old timber gable wall of [49], traces of which can be seen behind the chimney. Winder stairs (since gone) were built in the new wing which led up to a landing, a little front chamber and a full size one over the shop. The "little" one, so called because it filled only half the bay (8` x 10` 4") as the stairs took up the rest at the rear.

It was also over the new entry and therefore one of the customary places to store bacon and malt. This room has a good panelled partition on the landing side and two tiebeams on the east and west.

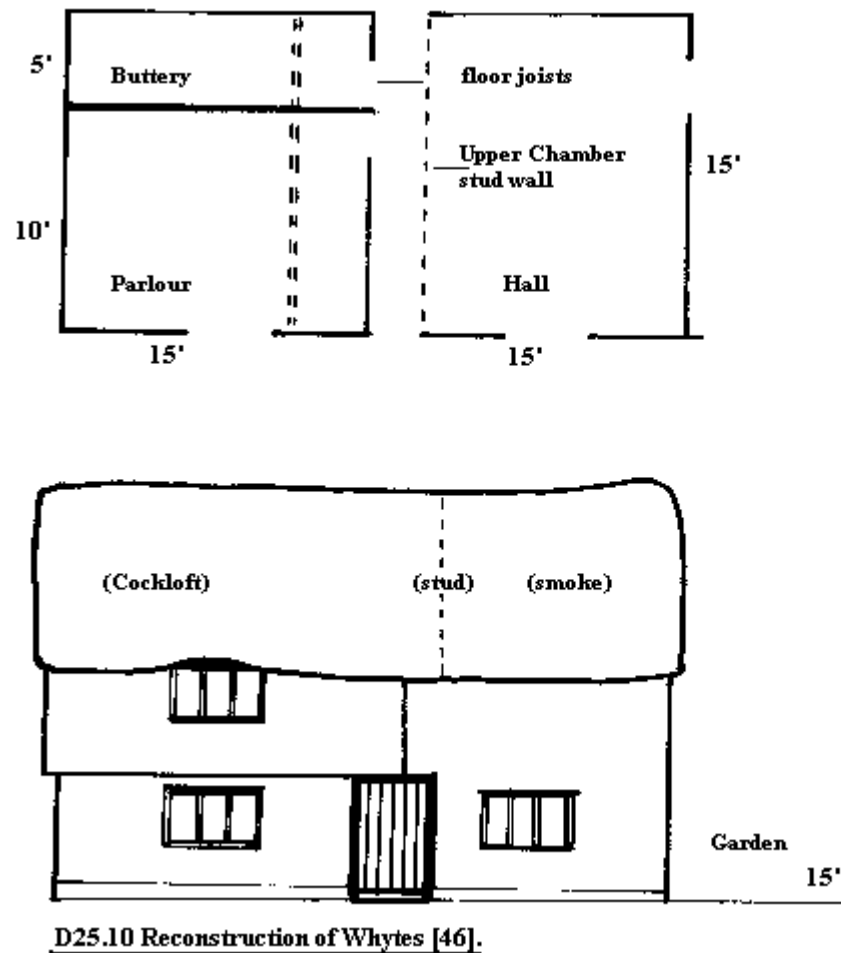
At [49] after the sale of the property to Smiths in 1776 they built the rear stone wing, behind the buttery, which had a cellar underneath. Tiles were used on the roof rather than a thatch. Could the nineteenth century wing behind the shoeshop have used part of the cowshed? Two walls were of brick and the east one of stone all under a slate roof, for by then slate could come by canal. Below the shoeshop to the east another stone building was built with a slate roof for the cordwainer William Smith. This was worth £80 in 1814. Smith's and Swetman's shops seriously depleted the garden. The farm entrance was now entirely from the west past [44] as the A manor farmhouse [50] had been made into cottages. William Smith's cottage (9) was to become the Cropredy Co-op in 1873 when a William Lambert was the shoemaker. He sold it to the Banbury Co-op in 1895.

The three lower cottages [47-49] each arrived at a different solution when building a chimney and altering their gable walls with the neighbours. It was not possible to build chimneys onto the front wall as these were right against the pavement. At the back they were hidden almost from view, but two very tall stone and brick chimneys have been kept behind [47 and 48]. [48]'s being a second chimney in the chamber bay. Those chimneys built between the cottages would be visible emerging from the roof. Swetman needing to warm his customers, had an early brick chimney. The last to solve the problem was next door at [48] perhaps waiting for the brick wall, unless the buttery was sacrificed to make the parlour chimney into the stone wall at the back, which needed a very tall chimney to clear the thatch. Bricks became readily available from Anker's brick yard where he used the skills of the canal brickmakers who arrived sometime after 1775. A complete rebuilding was seen to be quite out of the question when the tenants were responsible for the upkeep of the fabric. If Swetman's obtained permission to stone the walls from the landlord then so could Neal's [46] and Watts [47]. How much of the stone walling came out of the tenant's pocket? Was it a condition to improve as part of the entrance onto the copyhold of a new life, or a new family? It was evident that no landlord updated the whole row at one operation for the fronts were all replaced at different times. No stone mason started at the top and worked down the row. Every mason would find it a problem to make a straight edge to the cottage he was fronting when the inner wall position varied between floors. The tenant in "Norman's cottage" [48] was the only one who managed this (p362).

When were the wooden windows glazed and were the window sizes altered with the renovations? Most early timber cottages had opening slats or shutters. We must presume each chamber and the hall had some form of lighting from the front. Whyte's [46] went some way to answering the problem.

In 1982 Mr E.J.Swingler, glazier, who carried out the repairs and replacements for (3) and (4), remarked that a little of the very early glass remained in the front windows and came from the late 15th, 16th and 18th centuries. The frames he thought were Elizabethan and had been resited with the rebuilding of the front walls in stone. Repeatedly over the years the frames had sunk unevenly and been repaired. Some of (4)'s had been made from a softer wood than oak, so needed new windows to match (3)'s. A pre 1640 handle remained at a rear upper window. Were the original windows as large as three light casements and surely the open hall did not have an upstairs window?

Whyte's [46] (3)



Reconstruction of Whytes [46]

Whyte's house [46] being 30' wide had room for a wider low chamber/parlour and hall. A transverse beam in the downstairs chamber and a tie beam in the upper chamber supported the floor and roof trusses. The upper chamber jettys out 30" into the hall over the later through passage. The roof space was divided into three bays. The first two formed the cockloft which had a

stud partition to keep out the smoke from the hall fire, traces of which can be seen in the later floored third bay once open to the hall. The buttery was to the rear of the low chamber and both would have had doors onto the hall. Once the walls were stoned the role of the hall changed and the chamber became the dwelling house with a new gable chimney and remained so right up to the Smith's time. It was described by Mary Smith who was born in the house in 1822. "The dwelling house... with its carpetless stone floor and bedrooms and large attics, which last served in after years for additional bedrooms, or store rooms for apples" [Mary Smith *School Mistress and Nonconformist*. p3 The Wordsworth Press] In the 1960's the floor was taken up and the room height improved to 7' 1". The upper chamber remaining the old height of 6' 4" and the cockloft up into the roof.

The outer walls were replaced with stone (Fig.8.1 p112). Not only the front and the back, like the rest of the row, but also the two gables. The western one included the inglenook fireplace and winder stairs up to the loft. In the eastern gable a doorway was made from the rear of the former hall to the new ground floor extension (4). The door was later filled in. The old hall became the cordwainer's shop, which remained so into the nineteenth century, with a room behind. A cross passage was built to the back door. The shop chamber was supported by a spine beam resting on a 4" square post, incorporated into the passage wall. The beam was mostly hidden by a hanging ceiling. The passage stud partition was replaced by a brick one at the end of the last century being cemented into the outer stone wall, perhaps not long after Cropredy first began to use cement. The rear room in that bay also had a brick wall. The inglenook in the dwelling house having no oven they built one into the brick extension behind the dwelling house with access through the old buttery. This left just a "cupboard" between the beam and the passage wall. The kitchen extension connected the house with the older stone cowshed.

A single extension (4) had been built across the side garden (pp 359,360). In the nineteenth century an upper storey was added to both (4 and 5). The wall between (4) and (5) was a brick one with a winder staircase and chimney breast attached. Upstairs (4) had a Victorian fireplace built into the front cottage room. The landing bedroom was divided off by a partition. The front room had five ceiling joists which were squared, but the landing ceiling had six round joists. The tie beam passed above the partition door. The old collar, which was pegged to the principals had bowed and a second had been nailed above it. Three of the purlins were laid flat on the backs of the principals. These principals crossed at the apex and were pegged to support a square ridge pole. The rafters below the bottom purlin were rough split posts. There were fewer between the purlins, while the top rafters were much straighter. No cockloft was made over (4). Downstairs the cross passage was a later addition being laid onto the brick floor. A small out-kitchen had been added with a flat roof, now raised and slated. The roof over (3 and 4) has always been thatched.

The Residents living in Church Street Timber Cottages

Each copyhold cottage begins with the family reconstitution made from all available documents. Symbols used are as follows:

bp and bur = baptised or buried at Cropredy if not otherwise stated.

G = Gravestone in Cropredy churchyard from 1631 onwards.

Any names with a mark eg * will have been legatees to the person whose will has the same symbol. References for Cropredy wills and inventories (1547-1640) are on pages 966-972.

Cropredy wills after that date and all Bourtons wills are added to the text.

Following each family tree are two extracts from the vicar's Easter Oblations lists. These are to show who lived in that particular household over the age of eighteen on those two years. As eight list years have survived an average of all the people living in that particular household was taken. This includes the children using the registers and wills (p130). The information has been given for each of the sixty households.

Whytes and Neals of Church Street [46].

JOHN WHYTE m ELIZABETH Gosset
 bur 30 Nov. 1609 m 26 Oct. 1578 [c66 in 1624]
 ? Leather worker Not buried at Cropredy

WAM bp 9.9 1579	ELLEN 13 May 1581	FABEAN 6 Feb 1583/4	EDWARD 27 Mar 1585	ALICE 18 Feb 1587/8	THOS 11.11 1590	KATE 12.10 1593	JANE 21.5 1596	JUST 16.8 1597
mGRACE bur 9.6 1613	mWalter Bayly 5.9.14	bur 2.5 1584	bur 13.10 1662	at home 1613-24				at home 1615-24
		Occupation?						
		m (1) ANNE Brice						
		12 Oct. 1618						
		bur 26 Dec 1629		m(2) CICELIE RAWLINS [45]				
				18 Oct 1634				

THOMAS bp 1 Nov 1619	JOHN bp 24 Feb 1621/2 bur 31 Mar. 1693 "Labourer" at death	ANNE 10 July 1625
		m ELIZABETH
		bur 28 Oct. 1702

JOANE 1647	JAMES 1649	JOHN 1651	THOMAS 1653-1738	WILLIAM 1655	MARY 1660	HANNAH 11.2.62/3 At [46]	m John Neal 4 Oct. 1696
		m ELIZABETH		NEALS			

THOMAS 1697	JOHN 1699	ANNE 1702	WILLIAM NEAL 1 Oct 1704
		m Elizabeth	d 1795 aged 91
		G438 [46]	m MARY Watts 18.10.1733 d 1768 G283
NEALS 10 children			

(1st) THOMAS whose Gt Gdson Wm Neal worked with Rd Sumner up to 1923 [18]	(8) GEORGE 1744-1801 G437 d @ Mixbury	(10) RICHARD 1751-1820 G436 PCC Farmer @ Mixbury.
---	--	---

1614: wydow whyte ijd	1624: widdowe white ijd
wam whyte ijd	Justinian white ijd
ed whyte ijd	Alice white ijd
alyce whyte ijd	Edward white et uxor ijd
her daughter ijd	
[Kateren or Jane?]	

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 5.12.

The Whytes first enter the records in 1578 when John married Elizabeth Gosset. They remain for three generations. In later years this was a cordwainer's cottage and although the Whytes have relations who were glovers and there is a family of Whytes who were shoemakers in Banbury the connections are slim. The house was large enough to be a craftsman's rather than a labourer's and yet many shoemakers through no fault of their own descended into old age like John (1622-93) who "received the weekly collection" and his wife Elizabeth who died a "poor" widow. By the fourth generation, when the rebuild fits in, John's youngest child Hannah had the copyhold and married John Neal who became the sexton. It was not until their son moved up in the world that they could afford to repair the house. This was too late for the structural evidence. Had John Neal been entered onto the copyhold only on condition they altered the cottage walls around the timber structure with the landlord contributing the stone? Misfortune which can come to anyone could be set in motion through borrowing sums of money to improve buildings which would not necessarily increase their income. Fresh evidence is badly needed for the Neal's ancestors.

John Whyte and Elizabeth who began the Cropredy branch of the Whyte family had five sons and four daughters over a period of eighteen years. The first two babies were fed for little more than a year before Elizabeth was again pregnant. The third baby Fabean died aged three months, and ten months later her fourth, Edward, was born. Elizabeth was still young at this time, but after Edward she could perhaps be more demanding in the need to care for the children by extending their nursing time. In 1584 when Fabean had died food was expensive and they appear to be lacking sufficient land for all their barley or rye bread, though they did have the cow. The fourth baby was born in another difficult season. Elizabeth somehow managed to regulate the spacing of the next four children, so that Edward, Alice, Thomas and Kateren were all given two years of mothering before she again became pregnant. Jane the youngest daughter was only fifteen months old when her system lapsed and the last baby Justinian was born. Over eighteen years of child rearing with several toddlers constantly around to care for, Elizabeth still managed to raise eight of them.

Not all the children could live at home all the time. The parents would have the downstairs chamber which took up the western bay with the buttery behind. It was possible to partition the upper chamber into two rooms. A ladder would take them on up into the apple store and extra sleeping space for older girls?

The tenants of [50] must have accepted them as having some kind of trade. John Whyte the head of the household was the same generation as John Bryan [47] next door. Both fell victim to the epidemic which spread round the town in 1609 and

1610, causing many families to lose the breadwinner. John could not have been much more than sixty. As a widow Elizabeth steps firmly into the position of mistress although William being married could have taken on the business. Justinian the youngest remained at home and appears on the lists from 1615 to 24. Had Elizabeth been unable to grant them any legacies? Were they apprenticed to their father and then carried on working in the hall, for this could have been the only place to make the shop. Thomas left early. Of the girls Ellen marries and departs, Kateren or Jane were there on one of the eight years and Alice is there over several years. By 1624 she is thirtysix and destined to help her mother with no more thoughts of marriage, or finding work elsewhere.

It was the eldest son William's misfortune to lose his young wife Grace and have only daughters. When Grace died four months after their second daughter was born who did William get to nurse the baby? Next door Elizabeth Bryan was nursing a baby just a couple of weeks older, would she be able to help? William stayed on for two more years and then he and the children leave the Cropredy records. While the family had been giving house room to William in one chamber was Alice in with her mother? Edward in the men's chamber still could not think of marriage and remained at home working. After William's departure and possible arrangements over giving up any of his rights as eldest son to Edward, he was at last able to marry Anne in 1618 when he was thirtythree. They would sleep in the upstairs chamber. Eventually they take over the cottage, though his name does not head the family in the lists while his mother held onto her position as mistress. What would her daughter-in-law Anne feel? She manages to space the three children allowing them plenty of time before expecting the next. Was this Elizabeth's influence over Edward? Or the general lack of privacy in a three generation household?

By 1624 the family is down to five adults and two young boys, but still headed by Widow Whyte. Edward and Anne's third and last child, Anne, was born in 1625. They were difficult years anyway for a trade supporting several adults. If they were forced to work for a wage then life would be even harder.

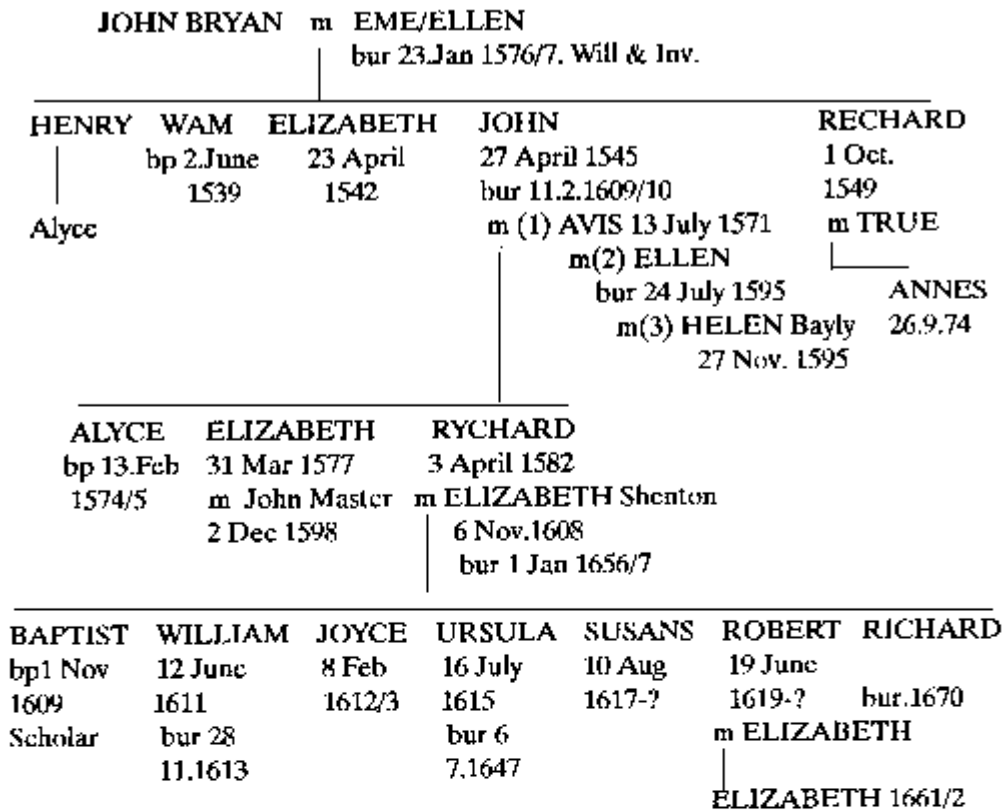
In Widow Whytes time their greatest asset was the cottage, the cow and the vegetable garden besides a little arable and leyland. There was an orchard of apple and wardenes to the north of the cottage (p284). They would have stored these in the cockloft carrying them up the two ladders. The garden was dug for essential vegetables and kept manured by their house cow.

What caused Widow Elizabeth to give up her home after nearly fifty years? Was it when Edward's wife Anne died, or when he married again? Whatever the reason she must have gone to live with another of her children as she was not buried in Cropredy. Edward's wife Anne was buried the day after Christmas 1629. He was left with three children aged ten, seven and

four. Walter Rawlins [45] next door died in 1628 leaving his second wife Cicelie with four children three girls and a boy born between 1610 and 1619. The Whytes and Rawlins had lived next door to each other for nearly forty years. On the 18th of October 1634 Cicelie marries "Edmond" (Edward) Whyte (p480). Perhaps all the younger children then lived at Whytes.

By 1647 Edward's second son John had married Elizabeth and their seven children began to fill their grandfather's house. Edward died aged seventy seven before Hannah was born. A three generation household almost continuously since 1608. John Neal who was to marry Hannah was the sexton and now lived conveniently opposite a church gate. Hannah was paid for scrubbing the lectern and heating the irons when the leads on the church roof were done. They die poor. Their son William (1704-1795) was also a labourer, but on moving to Mixbury, became a farmer. In 1775 a George Neal purchased the property. He was the eighth child of William and brother to Richard, a Mixbury farmer. Both had lived in that village, but had connections with this property by their father and were buried at Cropredy (Graves 436 and 437).

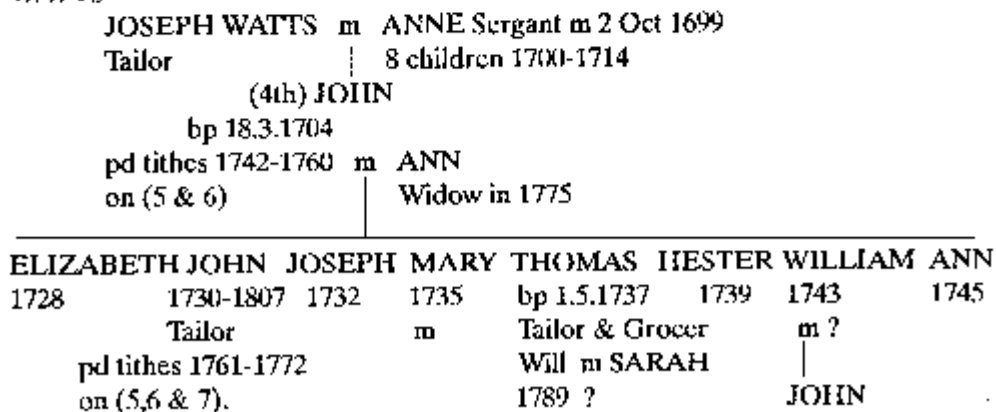
Bryans and Watts of Church Street [47]



1614: Rych Bryan vz ijd 1624: Richard Bryan et uxor ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 4.87.

WATTS



The Bryan family had a copyhold cottage in the 1552 survey and surely lived then at [47], a cottage on the demense lands. "John Bryan 1 cott. rent iiijs" [Edward V1 1552. Royce 1880 p16]. There was little room for a cow shed with hay loft, but a hovel of some sort had to be built for the cow. As far as we know Eme left no fittings

or standards that must be mentioned by her appraisers, so all must belong to her landlord. Their leys were in Honeypleck and Hawtin Piece part of the Oxhay.

John and Eme had four children baptised between 1539 and 1549, but then due to register gaps the family are "lost." Em left a long will which was unfortunately damaged. This could no doubt have told us a great deal, besides the missing children. It did mean that Thomas Holloway had enough patience to humour an old lady with her infinite attention to detail. Thinking it over as she perhaps lay in bed, tells us that indeed, though sick in body her mind was still very clear and active. When the Revd Holloway [21] and Mr Rose [60] called after her death to make an inventory, they were very careful to ignore all and everything outside her one tiny lower chamber. In any case her cow and hearth equipment had already been passed on to her son to keep her in board and lodgings. The married son John, his first wife Ellen and two daughters aged two and three, used the hall, buttery and upper chamber.

John Bryan was once mentioned in the vicar's farm accounts contracted to thresh the corn (p331). John must have had some strong attraction to be able to marry for the third time at fifty. He was to enjoy his first grandson Baptist as a small baby shortly before he died aged sixtyfive. In the winter of 1609/10 he caught the illness which had taken his neighbour John Whyte [46]. His widow Helen must have left for no burial is recorded and she was not in the lists. John's son Richard had not long been married to Elizabeth Shenton and their children came faster than Elizabeth Whyte's [46]. The first two, Baptist and William, had just over a year of nursing. The third had longer, but only because William died and no doubt it was hard for the mother to allow her baby Joyce to be weaned and any thought of a fourth pregnancy was put off for a while. Ursula the next baby fed longer, but the fifth and sixth had less attention at just over fourteen months. What a strain to be constantly pregnant or feeding from 1609 for over eleven years and producing seven children. These details are mentioned partly because their house conditions were good enough to raise large families. At the same time it was vital to keep up with their work while raising several older children, hauling all their water in pails from the well, coping with dung heaps for all waste, managing the cow, helping with their land, spinning and sewing and yet some still lived long enough to see their grandchildren occupy the same house as Whytes did, though not by John Bryan's first wife for she died before her mother-in-law Eme.

Richard and Elizabeth Bryan may have had connections with people who were to become known as Baptists to call a son by that name. They encouraged him as the eldest to attend the Williamscoote grammar and this must have helped to set him up elsewhere. His background was no deterrent (p138). Perhaps to help contribute to the household budget and replace his

wages, the family took in three Breedon adults and possibly their children in 1619. The next year they had gone. It could have been an emergency of course from fire or loss of a tenancy.

The third generation allowed Robert/Richard the youngest to continue the copyhold. He and Elizabeth have only one child registered and after Richard died Elizabeth was soon to go, perhaps marrying again?

Normans, Hudsons and Sabins of Church Street [48].

RICHARD NORMAN bur 5.Mar.1633/4 Will * & Inv 1634	m	ALYCE Sabean 14.Sept.1585 ? bur Feb.1619/20				
ANNE/ALYCE *Exor bp 29 May 1586 bur 27 Jan 1644/5 aged 58 Spinster Copyhold [48]		ELIZABETH* 10 April 1589 bur 1647 or 48/9 m THOMAS HUDSON 4 May 1618 Inv: 19 April 1637 bur 1 Nov. 1636				
HUDSONS:						
WILLM bp 7 Feb. 1618/9 1691 m Anne Sabin 1649 Left [48] to go to [47]	THOMAS 3 April 1621	EDWARD 2 Feb. 1622/3	ISABELL 23 Jan. 1624/5 bur 30 6.1627	ELIZ'TH 30 Sept. 1627 [48] 1670	MARY 8 Nov 1629 m JOHN SABIN 20 Nov.1656 at Banbury. Died by 1672	JOHN 12 May 1633-1685 m Mary
			SABINS:			
	RICHARD 1657 m Mary Rosse 1686	MARY 1659	ANNE 1662-77	JOHN 1666 [48]	ELIZABETH 1670	
MARY 1687	RICHARD 1689 Gardener Parish Clerk	WILLIAM 1690	JOHN 1694. m Elizabeth Gardner Gardener. P.Clerk			
1614: Rych norman vx eliz norman alyce norman	vx ijđ ijđ ijđ	1624: Richard Norman Thomas Hudson et uxor Marie Hudson Anne Norman	ijđ ijđ ijđ ijđ.			

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 4.12.

An extract from Richard Norman's inventory taken on the 28th of March 1634 revealed:

"His weareinge Apparrell 6s 8d/
one table & frame & one table/ board & one bench & board one skrine/
[crossing out] one paire of potthooks/ & lincks one Iron pott one paire/
of bellowes one spitt & all other/ implements in the hall 10s/
one cubbord fower old kettles/ one little brasse pott & pewter dishes/
one chafinge dysh & all other odd/ things in the buttery 15s/..."

In this cottage Richard Norman and his wife Alyce lived together for thirtyfive years. They had only two daughters and Anne the eldest was entered onto the copyhold. In their two bay hall which measured 15' x 14' they had an open fire with "one paire of potthooks/ and links." There was a pair of bellows to draw up the fire and a spit to roast the meat in front of it. The links to hold the pot over the fire would come down from the roof. A stone edge to the central hearth would contain the fire on all sides. The iron pot could cook a complete meal and one of Alyce's kettles kept over the fire would be used for water. Richard had a table and frame and another table board and the bench on which they had four old cushions. Richard Norman had put up a "skreene," or inherited it, for it either kept the draughts from the front door blowing smoke round the hall, or might help to control the draught round the fire. There were two inner doors under the upper floor which jettied out. One to their bed chamber and the other to the narrow buttery. A screen in front of these two doors could help to hold back the smoke from the lower chamber when the door opened. In the buttery Alyce had a "cubbard" and kept her "fower kettles/, one little brasse pot and pewter dishes." They had a brass chafing dish, usually found in more affluent households which was used to keep food warm by putting hot ashes in it from the fire (p630). This passed to the youngest daughter for it appears in her husband's inventory. For carrying water Alyce had a "pale." She also had one old looune [an open vessel], one vat three old coffers and a tub. There was also a stone weight, perhaps used as a cheese "press."

The bed with adequate bedding squeezed into the 7'6" wide chamber, backing up to the buttery wall, leaving room for the upper chamber to be reached by the ladder at the foot of the bed, but little space for an old coffer in which they kept their clothes and a cupboard "and all other od implemts there" valued at £1. Once the youngest daughter is married the upper chamber belonged to the Hudsons.

The hall was lit by a candle, for like the Cox's next door [49] they had two candlesticks, and did not have to rely entirely on homemade rush lights which gave a poor quality glow. Hudsons kept the boulting hutch (used to sift flour and store a small amount) in the upper chamber away from vermin, or due to a lack of space elsewhere because the buttery was used to make

butter, or soft summer cheeses. Also in the upper chamber was the most important item, the Hudson's bedstead, with the furniture belonging to it. Nothing was said in the inventories of the children's bed, so this may be one household where straw mattresses (of no value) were laid on the upper chamber floor. Four coffers held all their possessions. Sheets and blankets were there, but not as many as next door [49]. Hudsons also had a chair, stools and a form which had not belonged to Richard Norman. Like the Cox's they had two barrels in the buttery. Whether for ale or butter is not mentioned.

Richard Norman may have been a thatcher and had Tom Hudson working for him when Tom met and married their youngest daughter Elizabeth. Richard has connections of some sort with Richard Cartwright, gentleman [50] and Richard Gorstelow of Prescote manor. They came to help him write his will. This was an exceptional event for gentlemen to come into a cottage to write a will, other than the vicar, and even more strange that Ambrose Holbech came over from Mollington to join them and yet Richard Norman left only £5-19s-10d. Under what obligation were they to come? Was he a part time thatcher and gardener in Gorstelow's grounds, as others later in this cottage were? Could his special skills be known far and wide?

In 1727 the Sabin family still lived in the cottage [48]. The father Richard and son John renewed their lease for twentyfive years [Loose paper within Add. MS 71960].

Sir William Boothby of Warwick leased to Richard and John Sabin of Cropredy, both gardeners , " a cottage and land in the occupation of Richard Sabin... all that ...dwelling house gardens ... cow comon and two cottages of bushes" in Oxhay. The rent was 15 shillings per annum. They must pay quarterly and add a couple of pullets. Tenants had at their own proper cost and charges to "sufficiently repire sustaine the cottage and amend" the premises. The landlord allowing such timber as "they shall think fitt for the doing thereof." The entry fine was £2-2s [1727]. Many leases had not changed since Richard Norman was the tenant. John Sabin was also farming a land in Landimore as well as having a ley in Hawtin's Piece.

The Sabin's lease mentioned the thatch was the tenant's responsibility, but with only one land to provide the straw for feeding and bedding the cow, little could be spared. The straw may have to be bought and carted at some cost to the household. Thatching could be expensive unless they were indeed in the trade. From Thomas Hudson's inventory his tools suggest he was one so surely he taught his children and they passed down some of the skills required, to allow them to do it themselves. Thomas had a ladder in the upper chamber, which was not the fixed one for getting into the upper room belonging to the landlord, but more likely to have been for thatching and pushed in through the upper window to be stored in the longest room,

and so preserve it. He also had a thatching rake, tenon saw, spade and shovel besides three augers [augers]. Another thatcher was Kendall who died in 1596. He had an awl, a pair of "syssers" as well as a hammer and "thacking" rake [13].

Richard Norman may have had only £5-19s -10d, but with a home he'd lived in for so long and his family around him catering for his welfare, he was wealthier than many. Better than his spinster daughter Anne/Alyce who although she was able to live her life at home, may have had no dowry, though she did have a life on the copyhold, and later on helped her widowed sister Elizabeth to bring up her children, until they left home or were married. When Thomas Hudson married Elizabeth Norman he had moved into her family home and they never move on. For the Hudsons's first eighteen months her parents had the lower chamber and then following the death of her mother Alyce their father Richard retained the use of the small room for fourteen more years. If the Hudson's had the upper chamber where did Anne/Alyce sleep? After nineteen years of marriage and with six of their seven children still alive Thomas Hudson the thatcher died. Their eldest son William who was by then seventeen must already have been at work and was either able with his brother Thomas aged fifteen to take on some thatching, or leave to earn a living elsewhere. Most unusually three of their children live on in Cropredy. It is another good example of a three generation family in an older timber house following the custom of caring for your own whenever possible. Thomas Hudson's eldest son William, who married Anne Sabin, didn't inherit the cottage, but lived next door at Bryan's, leaving room for his sister Mary who had married John Sabin. John died in 1671 and Mary was left with two sons and three daughters to bring up. Her eldest Richard kept on the Sabin's copyhold and there they stay for three generations.

Would John Sabin, the gardener, work at Prescote Manor's walled garden? Sir John Danvers (born 1585) who inherited Prescote Manor was at Brasenose College and then at Lincoln's Inn. He was well read and scholarly, with a "fancy for gardens and architecture." He lived in Chelsea letting out Prescote, but had he encouraged a fine garden there? His tenant was Richard Gorstelow senior who had walked amongst the glades in the walled garden, according to his son Walter (p283).

Coxs, Arisse's, Swetman's and Garretts of Church Street [49]

WILLIAM COX m ANNE

|	THOMAS	m	MARGARET
	bp 20 Sept.1546		hur.6 Jan.1623/4
	bur. 4 April 1617		
	Labourer Inv. [49]		

MARY	URSULA	ALYCE	WILLIAM	JOANE	SARA
bur 5 Oct 1660	bp15 Dec.	3 June	21 April	24 Oct.	14 May
m 8 May 1620	1583	1586	1588	1590	1594
	PETER ARISSE		Scholar		
	bur 6 Nov.1658 [49]				

|	ELIZABETH	m	ROBERT SWETMAN
	bp 5 Oct 1628		d before 1685
	bur 15.4.1705		

RICHARD	ELIZABETH	MARY	ROBERT	ELLENOR
1654	1658	1660	b.1.3.1666/7	1670
			bur 25.10.1741	
			Cordwainer	
			Victualler m MARGARET	
			Will Inv. | bur 27 Dec 1739	

MARGARET	ELIZABETH	ANNE	ELEANOR	ELEANOR
1691-1710	1695-1727	1699-1740	d 1704	1706-1731
	m Joseph Garrett			
	| 1719 Wardington			
	| 7 children			

|	(1st) JOHN GARRETT
	bp 21 Aug 1720 Wardington
	bur 28 July 1754 Cropredy
	Victualler m ANN Smith (sister to William Smith of [46])
	| 1 Oct 1741
	| bur 5 April 1759 Licenced 1754-57
	6 children

An extract from the inventory of Thomas Coxe was taken by Edmond Tanner [39], Robert Robins [26] and William Reade [32] senior, on the 11th of June 1617 and exhibited on the 14th.

"All his wearing Apparell----- 13s -4d/
In the over Chamber One Beddstedd 2 Coffers/ "(etc) 26s/
"Eight payre of sheetes ffive napkins 2 payre of/
pillowbeares And 2 towells & 2 Table Cloathes ----£3- 8s/
Three Blankettes a Twilie Cloath & a coverlid ----- 15s/
Twelve skenes of Linnen yearne ----- 4s/
In the Chamber one bed wth ffurniture/
to the same 2 Coffers" (etc) -----26s/
"In a nether Buttreye 2 Barrells 2 wheeles" (etc) ---- 13s- 4d..." Total £11- 9s.

Thomas's father William Cox was a labourer who died in 1563, so the Cox's were not new to the town. After Thomas died in 1617, when he was seventyone, his wife kept going for six more years with the help of her grown up daughters. Mary was home for two years out of five and Joane aged twentytwo also arrives home for two of the eight years covered by the vicar's Easter lists. The Cox family had two wheels for the women to spin their linen yarn. Twelve "skenes" of which were worth 4 shillings when the father died. The yarn was stored in the upper chamber along with the bed and two coffers which held eight pairs of sheets, two napkins, two pairs of pillowbeares, two towels and two tablecloths. In the buttery below were the ten pewter platters and two barrels. Their brass was worth thirty shillings. The lower parlour with the door next to the buttery entrance held, like the other two cottages in the row, a double bed and somehow two coffers as well as the ladder to the upper room. This house had a larger number of sheets and pewter platters than cottagers would normally possess and the third highest total for brass and pewter in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Was Cox a victualler as far back as 1617 taking in travellers?

The widow Margaret kept house until 1623 when with several others in the town she too died. The daughter Mary who had been entered upon the copyhold had married Peter Arisse in 1620 and they must have been helping with the business. After nearly forty years of running the place old age overtook them and they were to die in poverty. Peter in 1658 and Mary in 1660. This does not mean they did not prosper at first, only that old age meant an inability to earn for Mary was at least seventyeight if she had been the eldest Cox daughter. Mary and Peter baptised only Elizabeth Arisse, on the 5th of October

1628, and no other children. Elizabeth married the shoemaker Robert Swetman. Their son Robert and his wife Margaret were able to help Robert's widowed mother to extend and alter the cottage (p370).

The Swetman's were originally from Wardington and their eldest grand daughter married Joseph Garret of that parish. One of the Garret boys must have been apprenticed to his grandfather Swetman, or taken into his care for Robert made his will in August 1741 before his grandson was married. Margaret Swetman had died in 1739 and the four daughters must already have left Cropredy. Robert left to John "all my implements belonging to my trade of shoemaking." John was to become his sole executor at twentyone. He had only been married a few weeks when he became the tenant.

John Garret had married Ann Smith, sister to William Smith, cordwainer (who had taken over the Whyte/Neal cottage) [46]. John and Ann have six children, but then the family luck ran out. John died aged thirtyfour and his wife five years later. The parish apprenticed the two surviving boys. One moved to Robert Goldbys to become a stone mason in 1763. Ann's brother William Smith became the tenant and took out the licence "at the house wherein he now dwells." It became known as The Red Lion in 1786 [Victuallers Recognisances 1753-1821 Vol Qs D/V 1-4 in O.A]. They had noticed that William had moved down to the Garrets house, "wherein he now dwells." In due course William became too old to attend the licensing court and sends his youngest daughter's husband, John Lambert. A note to the Cropredy vicar states "In consideration of Smith's great age and ill state of health his house was continued for his life, but not to be licensed for his son in law, John Lambert." They wanted to suppress at least one public house. In the end William Hemming's [39] "House was put down" and he had to close it while the Red Lion remained [MS. dd par Cropredy c40 folio (a)]. So the property came down from father to son, daughter, grand daughter or brother and on continuously "in the family" until the first decade of this century.

The street began to move steadily into trade. A cordwainers row almost, but also the home later of tailors, masons, blacksmiths and coal-merchants, not to mention Lambert the wheelwright who was a parish clerk for sixty years. Thomas Lambert ran the Red Lion after his brother died, until he too was buried in 1901. The last of a long line to live there who still had family connections with William Cox by blood, or marriage.

The size of the families might fluctuate, but the majority had parents to care for, once they could no longer work. There was no tradition of elderly couples or single men or women living alone, except for Widow Hyrens [56] in the early 1600's and Miss Carter [57] in 1681. Neither was there an alms house, so the cottagers must make room for three generations, older siblings and sometimes even lodgers. Cox's had one of the smallest households in the record. On the other hand it behoved the one

who had a life on the copyhold to come home frequently to help, or was it their entitlement? While reconstituting many of the families for Church Street it was noticed that the eldest son was not necessarily the one to inherit as daughters were often chosen. The fortunate one continued to live under the ancestral roof. Into the cottage the families squeezed many who had a right to be there. Did this policy of struggling against all odds to hang onto the lease, make them just a little conservative about change? What was good for grandma was surely good enough for them. It took an outsider marrying into the family to boost the purse and progress to stone walls and soot free rooms.

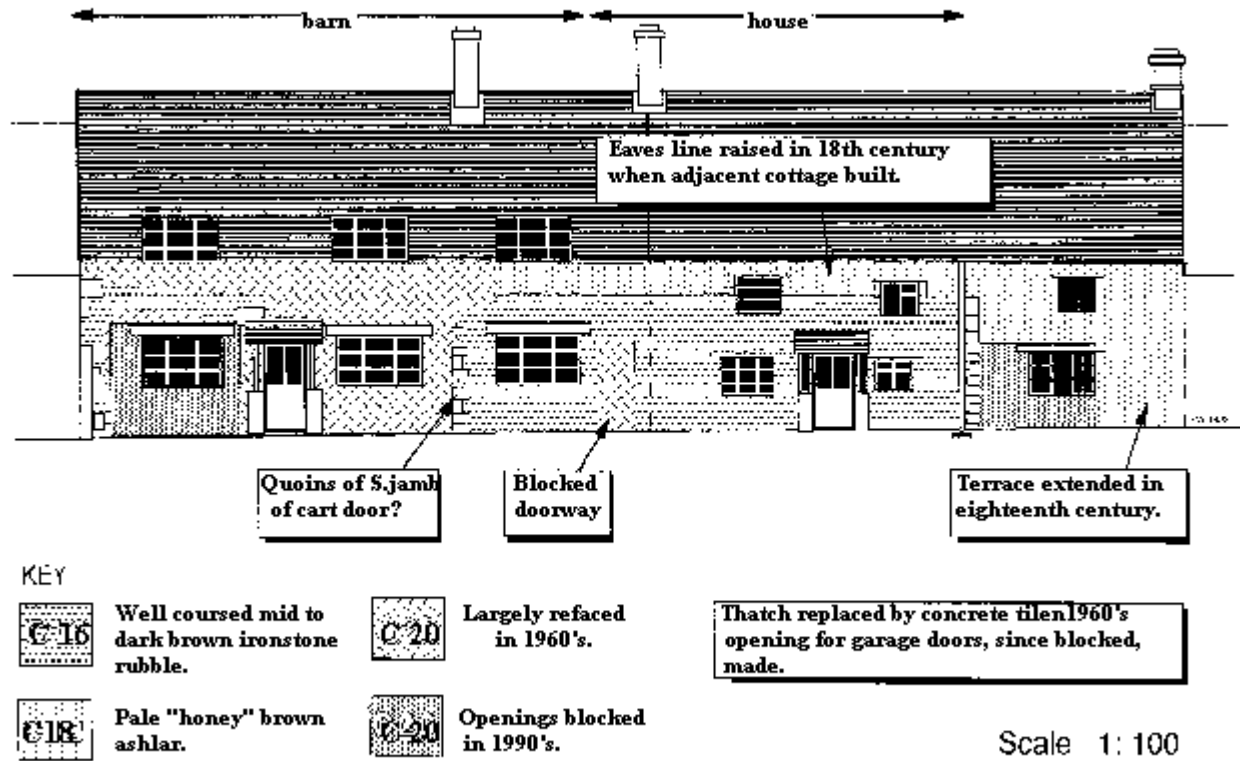
Householders were as secure in their timber cottages as husbandmen in their new stone houses. They were just as keen to improve their material image and allow one of the younger sons an opportunity to advance through education. After all only one could inherit the farm or cottage. In Holloway's time Baptist Bryan had the chance to reach college providing enough money could be raised. These open hall cottages still had some advantages over a one cell stone building like Suttons [42] on the High Street for although they all had one reasonable upper chamber, the timber cottages also had a small lower chamber and eventually a possible half chamber over the hall. Norman's hall was used for sitting, eating, preparing and cooking as well as all the numerous daily tasks the women had to undertake. Sutton's had to conduct the tailoring trade (except when working at the customer's house) in the same room as well as accommodate a bed. Watts the tailors [47] had the shop in the low chamber, but they did have the advantage of their extension. The long-house-types in the next chapter had a stairs from the hall, which prevented the lower chamber becoming a passage to the upper floor. Once a chimney was made there was then no smoke to worry about getting into the chambers, which was the obvious reason why they could not have the ladder to the upper chamber in the hall. In larger houses the preparing was done in another room, but they still kept the newel stairs next to the main hall fire. The Church Street cottages had no option but to leave the addition of a stairs to a later century.

We have seen how family reconstitution can often explain how a tenant acquired the right to be in a property. That registers are not the only source of information to use with local wills, sometimes an educated vicar like Thomas Holloway made lists in a methodical manner. He also encouraged bright young boys from all types of households to attend the free grammar school at Williamscoote.

In the next chapter we will look at the adaptation of the traditional long-house which included a barn under the same roof. These new buildings were an improvement on the old dwelling. They must have surely influenced the lives of the occupiers, giving them a confidence to continue with an old and established form of peasant life while living on an ideal smallholding.

26. Long House Types

D26.1 An Oxfordshire Long House type [38] by S. Wass.



An Oxfordshire Long House Type [38] by S. Wass

"The house and cow-house were then under the same thatched roof with no break in the ridge-line and there was no door into the dwelling-house other than the door which served the cow-house feeding-walk positive proof of the long-house character..." [Iorwerth C.Peate 1964 Folk Life vol 11 pp78,79].

Timber long-houses have been built in the British Isles for many centuries coming over originally from Northern Europe. They were all built with the intention of the stock and hearth being under the same roof, with one entry door common to man and beast.

The new age of rebuilding in stone along the limestone belt produced a break away from the traditional timber dwellings. Husbandmen on larger homestalls were able to rebuild their houses detached from the cattle yards and their surrounding hovels, cowsheds, stables and barn. This may have been the intention of the majority, but the width and depth of some closes and insufficient land attached to the holding prevented them from carrying it out, instead they rebuilt in the long-house fashion in stone. Several of these, though not all, have survived to this day, because of their adequate accommodation. Unfortunately many of the detached farms and possibly some long-houses, because of land reorganisation, have been altered beyond recognition, or have long since vanished. To confuse the issue it is possible that at least three of the rebuilt sixteenth century farms were using the long-house plan, even though they had a reasonably large close. One was built by the French [4] family on the west side of the town which faced south with their barn to the left of their entry. Another built by William Lyllee [29] faced south onto a passage. Hunts [16] who faced west across the Green probably had their barn attached at the north end but in this case the house and byre were not sharing the one entry passage as there was room for a separate farm entrance.

The great problem with trying to understand the sequence of events on a farm site is the lack of records, the rebuilding, the reshaping of this or that bay, a complete recycle of the house and farm buildings to suit another trade, or being turned into a row of cottages.

What does become very apparent is that no building, whether new, rebuilt or adapted, could be looked at without first asking how they had used past buildings and customs to fit in with the type of work the family intended to earn their living by. Was it totally by husbandry, or a true peasant mixture of crafts and agricultural skills, or perhaps a mixture of the family's contribution and day labouring, or full time employment such as shepherding.

It may seem unnecessary to keep filling the pages with long family "trees" and details from wills and inventories, but with manorial records largely missing, what else have we to use to try and understand not just the fabric of the buildings, but also the people, complete with their possessions? With those inventories which now speak about ghost houses, it helps to find the site they come from and fill the missing gaps to complete the picture of the whole town instead of just relying on those whose structural fragments still remain.

Many newcomers entered the craftsmen's holdings, built in stone like the farmers, but not all built in the long-house way. Cropredy had around sixty households and probably at least nine were old fashioned enough to join the farm buildings to the dwelling house.

Apparently in Sussex only one in sixtythree did this [Harvey N. *A History of Farm Buildings in England and Wales* 2nd ed. 1984 p 56].

One example of a house-cum-byre property is Huxeley's now Monkeytree House [36] in Creampot Lane, which has stood the centuries well to still proclaim the craftsmanship, the adaptability and the spaciousness of the accommodation. It was built not for a yeoman, nor a husbandman, but for a shepherd, whose son Valentyne ended his days as a labourer. A day labourer, yet well versed in the art of shepherding and maintaining a household run on peasant lines. He remained independent to the last. His daughter proving his will in London due to the suppression of the local church court, during the interregnum.

The long-house type of building had the advantage of providing accommodation for a craftsman and his small holding. It could become totally agricultural, or return to the original croft for an artisan. In this way the owners, or tenants could survive a crisis which hit half their income, whereas a larger farm in very difficult years may have nothing to fall back on. In such times the farmsteads often began to fall into ruin, much to the annoyance of the landlord in the 1680's who gave them notice to quit. This could work the other way. The husbandman doing well would take up other spare half yardland parcels of land and increase his income, allowing the place to be extensively altered to reflect their new station in life. The husbandmen and artisans who helped to rebuild in the sixteenth century and continued to prosper found in the seventeenth century, their sons becoming yeomen and their grandsons gentlemen. These descendants were the ones who placed date stones on their improved dwellings. They were the status symbols for the latest gentlemen. A century later following the Enclosure Award of 1775, two left the village farms to rebuild in the middle of their reallocated land. The old farm and barns were then made into cottages which had no land. This also happened to the long-houses, although two [36 and 39] did escape and remained to

stand today as one property. Truss's [33] became first five then four cottages, Elderson's barn [38] was made into three new dwellings, and Devotions [3] farm was turned into six cottages.

What evidence do we have that these long-house-types were constructed in such good substantial stone and thatch from 1570's onwards, when this has not yet been recognised from any national survey? Raymond B. Wood-Jones in his *Traditional Domestic Architecture in the Banbury region* failed to find any, and Anthony Quiney in his 1990 book on the *Traditional Buildings of England* did not find husbandmen and craftsmen of this period and region building long-houses when space was limited. The answer surely lies in the lack of detailed parish surveys which combined with local records should reveal far more than a general study. North Oxfordshire did not become such a rich area that all the small holders' properties and land were likely to be bought out and erased over the centuries, through early enclosures, or wealthy freeholders.

It has long been thought that in the Midlands and Lowland areas to the east, long-houses ceased to feature in the rebuilding in stone. Only in the upland pastoral areas of Britain were they continuing to build them moving the tradition further west as the centuries advanced, right up to the nineteenth. How then did they reappear, or continue, in this small town in north Oxfordshire? Was the reason the type of agriculture which was mainly mixed farming? In different parishes around Cropredy yardlanders were allowed to keep three, four or five cows according to the custom of the manor they were in, and this meant they needed at least a good barn for corn, hay and cow-stalls.

Mixed farming always required more buildings than purely pastoral. The fallow land could only take perhaps the store cattle and sheep over winter. The oxen, milch cows and calves needed a closed house, or an open hovel with a pen, to get through the winter. Husbandmen had sufficient arable land to produce enough straw for an open cattle yard. A smallholder on a few lands had only sufficient straw to bed stock inside (there was no bracken substitute). In other areas they had the stock out on rough pasture and seldom housed them apart from yards, except on the higher farms which had a greater need for a barn. Cropredy's greensward on clayland was easily poached by cattle in a wet season. The custom was to keep them off. Smallholders would not allow their cow to graze their few strips of leyland until after the hay had been taken, which was why they needed an all purpose building to take their one cow, food for a few sheep and other produce. Judging by the mill races and medieval tithe barns mentioned in documents the area has always grown plenty of corn, while the ready market for butter and cheese at Banbury made it possible for husbandman and cottager alike to survive on this dual economy. The advantages outweighed the disadvantages for one strip took up a day's ploughing, seeding or harrowing. Working for others at 5d a day in summer or 4d in winter (1593) became a necessity only with old age and loss of their flock.

In Cropredy a third of the tenants had copyhold leases. These were husbandmen rather than yeomen. They included lesser husbandmen with one yardland. Just under two thirds were artisans with a quarter yardland, or only four acres, but mostly less, and yet they managed to lease these surprisingly large and well built long-houses. Several properties were built to this design on the A manor and the landlord's books kept them in a separate group from the older farmsites, so that in 1681 they were released from the estate into the hands of the tenant. This was only a hundred years after they had been built. Did the landlord think they would be a better asset to his estate built in this way? He had surely set out with a definite plan to update his estate in the best possible way, building good substantial properties. Why then did his descendant get rid of them? A great deal of research into the landlords of the A manor still needs to be done if only more records could be located. Had this happened in any other parishes? A survey in several parishes could help to discover if the landlords were the original influence, or the type of business carried out on the sites.

The B manor records are kept in the muniment room at the Brasenose College. No direct evidence has been found for the way the farms and smallholdings were funded. Their two long-houses [3 and 33] lasted through the centuries as manorial property until [33] was sold off after they had been made into farm cottages in the nineteenth century, but they were later brought back by the college. They had been converted into cottages sometime after the Enclosure of the Open Common Fields due to the failure of the smallholdings. William Bloxham at Truss's [33] old site, was granted the lease of a plot of land which he would have to fence, but he appears not to hold onto it. The tenants could not by then lease extra land when the family expanded, or worse if they had some, dare not release it when the family unit was small again. Once all the land was permantly allocated to farms then the way of life, once possible on a Cropredy long-house site with their common rights, as well as leyland strips, became for some untenable (more tradesmen had by then entered the old farms at [14, 15 and 16] as well as Church Street). They had also ceased to have a second trade. First one then the other gave up.

Yet in two of the three A manor long-houses which were purchased in 1681, we shall see that some kind of business continued to be undertaken along with the use of a very small amount of land.

It could be questioned why, when the general trend was to depart from the stock and hearth being so close, did some insist on building in the old way. Peasantry throughout the centuries had obviously chosen to dwell in this type of accommodation for the success of the structure was repeated over and over again. Craftsmen appreciated the closeness of the household to their livelihood with the convenient and safe storage of everything under one roof. It had proved essential during difficult times when one entry door was easily guarded, and small wooden window holes could not be entered. All felt safe too in

severe weather to be in one area indoors. From the central open hearth they had only to cross the entry passage to reach the cow stalls. Craftsmen brought up on farms would appreciate the traditional design which was easily and economically adaptable to their requirements. One bay could be used as a carpenter's woodstore, or a mercer's shop and they did not have to have only a three bay barn, it could be two, four or more. However it was planned and built the principal was the same: one common entry and a continuous wall at the front and the rear. Not all had the barn and house roof at the same height, because at least three had cocklofts over the first floor chambers. It was the change in roof level that takes them into a new category. The new adapted long-houses in Cropredy were still built as true vernacular buildings each "stone walled and thacked." They did however add an inner stone gable to divide the hall house from the byre, but on some of the larger farms the unmarried servants still lived close to the animals by sleeping over the stable (p91). The different demands reveal the various layers in the community.

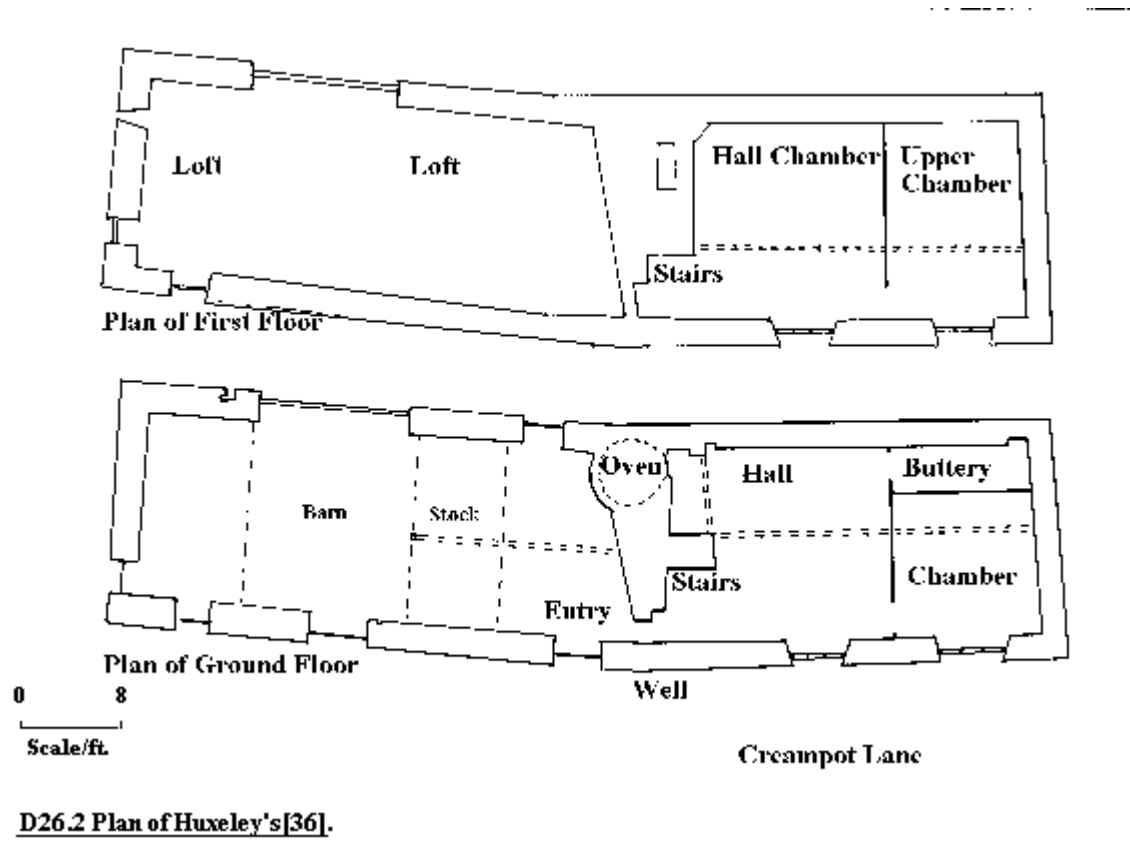
The Entry.

All the Cropredy long house types had their main entrance at the front. They led into an entry passage and for some very strong reason the dwelling house was always off to the right and the barn or cowshed to the left. Why? Was it local custom or superstition? In other places they reversed this, but not in Cropredy. When they stoned the floors of the house they stopped at the passage and the byre had earthen floors though we do not know for certain when stone floors arrived. The inglenook chimneys were laid directly onto a specially prepared clay base since uncovered in Robins nether chamber [26]. There is an expression "the head of the floor" which could refer to the house end, usually the upper end, because it was traditionally above the byre floor, and the place for the head of the household to sit at his table. Examples can be found in Welsh long-houses where the dwelling house was at least a step up from the cow byre. Yet in this parish a few were actually built a step or two lower than the cow's quarters.

How had this come about? The later sites, created from the 1570's onwards, all had to face west or south. The descending line of the lanes in the town is from north to south. The rest leave this main route to descend eastwards. Those on the sloping ground, however slight, had the disadvantage of the dwelling house being several inches below the cattle. All the smallholders had their barn on the north or west of the house with the result that Huxeley's barn [36] was eighteen inches at least higher than their hall and Truss's [33] was twentyfour. Elderson's [38], Devotion's [3] and Tanner's [39] were on flatter land. Why could they not reverse the position of house and barn? It meant that a large drainage pit must be dug near the barn [36] with some means of reaching the ditch flowing down Creampot Lane.

The Roof and Plan.

Truss's and Devotions had only one and a half storeys for their house and barn, but Huxeleys, Eldersons and Tanners fail the real long house roof test, because none of them have the same roof level right across the house and barn, due to cocklofts. If this disqualifies them from being true long-houses there was a good reason for advancing and improving on the type of plan by extending upwards on the dwelling house end. These three new properties built on land taken from the demesne farm close all had a limited depth to their sites of around a hundred feet. This could have been deliberate, because smallholders did not require a large cattle yard and room for numerous hovels out the back. They did require adequate space to house their cow or cows and store and thresh their grain as well as find room for the hay. A good substantial, all purpose barn capable of holding stock and crop had been the answer for centuries and was still proving viable in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. They would not want a separate store for wool and threshed corn if they took them up into the dry cockloft.



Plan of Huxeleys [36]

It rather looks as though the three with cocklofts were from the same inspiration, but adapted to each new tenants requirements. If the housewright concerned with the redevelopment of Cropredy had the backing of the landlord to produce buildings which were an asset to the estate, and at the same time provide what the craftsmen, shepherds and mercers needed, then updating the design and advancing it up to two and a half storeys at the house end and into a good stone one and a half storey barn at the other, they could still have the favoured common entrance and add the chimney to back onto the passage. This needed only three gables instead of the four required when farm buildings were separated from the house. Huxeley's at Monkeytree had their two cart doors at the back and Elderson had them at the front. Opposite the cart entrance they each had a winnow door. The usefulness of the two or three bay farm building has been proved, whether combining it

with a carpenter's workroom, or the mercers shop. All and everything coming in through the one common entrance door as of old.

Can this be still called a long-house? Or is it just a descendant of the model? A long-house type.

The Walls.

Stone had the great advantage of being able to increase the height and yet remain within the price range of moderate, though still rare dwellings. None used ashlar stone as a few of the farms did on the A. Manor. The coursed rubble rows have weathered well, since they were laid by the stone masons, providing the roof was kept in repair. The inner gable, which not only supported the roof and backed onto the cross passage, made a better division to divide the upper and lower parts of the property, than a timber one. It proved to be a very convenient wall to place the chimney and oven, when the hall house was always the first room to be approached from the entry. The wide cross passage could be used as a nethermost service room and later a kitchen, though few took advantage of this. The bay beyond the hall being reserved for the parents' lodging room, soon to be called the chamber and later still the parlour. As in the timber cottages in Church Street the buttery was situated behind the chamber. The leap forward from the older long house was the chimney taking away the smoke. When did they replace the wooden slatted "windows" for casements? The oak framed windows in [36] eventually had three lights with wrought iron casements, hinges and handles. Outside a quadrant held the opening middle light and a bar prevented entry through the open window. Not all favoured the new low ceiling to the hall with the heat coming only from one angle. A central fire had at least allowed everyone a position "round" the fire. It may have smoked, but it burnt slowly. With the new inglenooks a draught whirled in and up the chimney causing the wood to burn quicker, and cool the legs of the residents, but once the chimney was warm they rarely blew smoke back into the room. On one side of the hearth at [36] an oven was built into the chimney, projecting a little behind. A smoke cupboard for the bacon could be added if burning wood.

Each of the new houses had four front windows regularly arranged with two on the ground floor and two above. This has led to the idea that they were of later construction. The hall, chamber, hall chamber and upper chamber each had a window facing the road, leaving the buttery sometimes windowless at the rear. Those with cocklofts had gable end windows. A smokefree, well ventilated and warm building, under a good thatch could now be obtained whether or not the cattle byre shared the same roof. They would each hang a door in the stone inner wall, between the hall and the byre, to physically separate the two ends.

There were further advantages of using a hall, chamber and buttery design in a long-house. Perhaps like the Church Street cottages many had been brought up in a house which had an upper chamber only in the bay away from the open fire. Now they could have a hall chamber as well as an upper chamber. The winder staircase might go up either from between the inglenook and the door to the entry passage, or beyond the door into the hall against the rear wall. On the first floor it went on, in Huxeleys house [36], to wind up to the cockloft. Here an elm floor could be used for dry storage or sleeping. As the population grew and there were no more sites available to build on, the inventories reveal that use was made in Cropredy of cocklofts for sleeping areas, which may have been rare in other rural regions. The collars, forming part of the roof truss, were not very high and interrupted the floor space, and at first there was often no ceiling. Having a cockloft did however provide the first floor chambers with a ceiling.

There were at Huxeleys [36] four possible sleeping chambers which was an improvement on only one downstairs chamber and loft when there were three generations under the thatch. The hall could be kept as the dwelling house for cooking and eating by being free of any beds. Mrs Huxeley senior retired to the downstairs chamber when she gave up the cooking hearth to Valentyne's wife. The rest of the family slept in the upper chambers.

The Tenants.

The landlord had encouraged into the town tenants from other parishes. Each must have been able to pay the entry fine for three lives. It is now possible to trace the families in the long-houses from their first appearance in the Cropredy records. Those on the A manor were at first the only people who escaped the general reconstitution of the families and it was feared that the past occupiers of Monkeytree house [36] were never going to be traced back beyond the 1841 census. It was only after the vicar's Easter lists had been repaired that the Huxeley's, the Elderson's in the smallholding to the south, and the Tanners just round the corner were found to live there. On the B manor the records had already established the Truss's down Creampot Lane and the Devotions alias Dyer at the bottom end of the Long Causeway. Both of these college tenants were born in Cropredy. Thomas Huxeley was married at Wardington, a part of the Ecclesiastical parish of Cropredy, and Edmond Tanner appears to have connections with Horley a village to the west. Many of the long-house tenants stayed for three generations on the A manor and for many more on the College estate as the copyhold properties usually allowed three lives to be entered on the indenture which could be both parents and a child. Entering a new life after the death of one of the three had to be paid for by an entry fine and an inspection on the state of the building, so that tenants had to keep up their repairs. This type of property must have suited them and helped some to survive, even to prosper as Truss did [33], and then a few

would work by contract as they grew older. The Eldersons lived at [38] from 1584 to 1661. The failure of the son to produce an heir caused a change in tenancy. The Huxeleys' son passed his goods to his widowed daughter who was then able to remarry even though she was thirtyeight. The family had Monkeytree House [36] from 1574 to 1668 (p396). Truss's [33] were here in 1553 and five generations lived down Creampot until 1671. Devotions [3] were in Cropredy when the registers began in 1538 and after five generations passed the farm to a nephew.

The Buildings and their occupiers.

1) Huxeley's the Shepherds at Monkeytree House [36].

THOMAS HUKESLIE		m (1) ANN or AGNES		m (2) AGNES	
[36]		Nov 1572/3 at Wardington		d.? 1628	
		bur 22 Jan 1587/8			
RICHARD		ANNES	VALENTYNE	ISABELL	JHON
bp10 Feb.	27 Nov.	12 Feb.1578/9	9 July	6 June 1590	
1574/5	1576	21 Feb.1651/2	1581	pupil	
pupil		Shepherd		m J.Carter	
		m(1) ALYCE Hunt			
PCC will		7 June 1610		m(2) JANE Watkins	
[36]		bur23 July 1620		12 April 1621	
ALYCE		ELIZABETH	THOMAS	JOHN	WILLIAM
bp21.11.	24 Feb.	16 Feb.	18.6.	14 April	20 Jan.
1612	1614/5	1616/7	1620	1622	1623/4
[36]		bur 6.11.20			
m (1) --May/Overy		decd by 1650.			
		m (2) William Pinfold		m 15 Nov. 1652	
		bur. 14 Nov. 1668			
John	Elizabeth	Nathaniel	Sarah	William	
pupil		1655	1657	born 5 Oct 1658	
				when his mother was 43.	

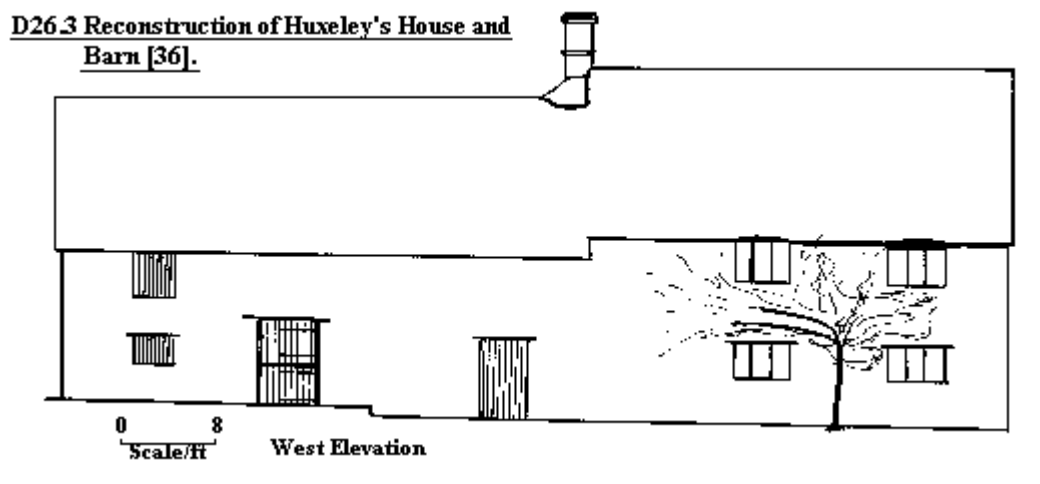
1614: valentyne hucksly vx ijd 1624: Valentin Huxlie et uxor ijd
 wyd hucksly ijd the widdowe Huxlie ijd.

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.75.

Sometimes written as Hukeslie, Hucksly, Huxley or Huxeley.

Shepherds in Cropredy often leave larger amounts in their inventories than husbandmen (p79). They gradually acquired over the years quite sizeable flocks. This necessitated finding spare commons for sheep in other parishes. We do not know who Huxeleys worked for, though they could have been in charge of the town flock. Two of Thomas's children could attend school which meant in his more prosperous days the family could afford to release them from helping with the household purse. What brought the Huxeleys to Cropredy from Wardington, if it wasn't the prospect of the smallholding and the offer of work? Good shepherds were essential for the welfare of the town's sheep which were an investment for the future.

The site was 200' wide and 100' deep narrowing at the south end and rounded on the north by the Lane turning the corner. The property was built on a slight bend for it followed Creampot Lane as it began to curve, showing the Lane was there long before this building. The house was 34' in front and 32' at the rear. The barn ridge measuring 40' from the chimney to the north barn gable. The outer gable wall being 20' wide. Inside the house was just under 16' deep. The barn inside measured 15' 5."

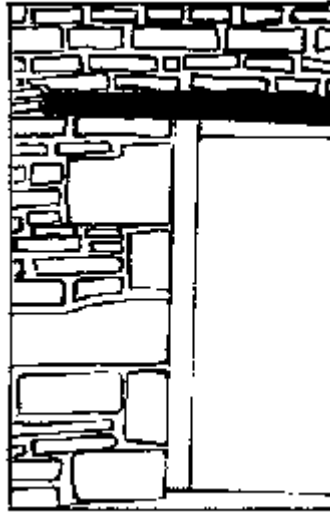


Reconstruction of Huxeley's House and Barn [36].

The house and barn could not lie in a straight line and the two rectangles of the house and barn meet the middle gable at an angle, leaving a wedge shape inside. This was used to advantage in the entry passage. The door at the front was 3' wide and 5.5' from the inner chimney wall. The rear yard door was 3.5' wide and had only 3' towards the chimney wall. The oven used

to project into the entry passage at the narrow end, which is revealed in the large quoin stones near the rear entry door. From the spine beam to the now absent oven wall were ancient hooks and room for shelves put up for the first tiny dairy. The entry partition by the cow stalls did not reach, or leave a mark on the spine beam which supported a loft. Over the stock the beam was left rough, but chamfered over the entry passage.

D26.4 Rear Entry.



Rear Entry.

From the rear grassyard the 12' wide barn doors opened out to reveal the threshing floor. Opposite the cart door in the centre of the bay was a winnow door. The cowstalls had a wind hole on the rear eastern wall lighting the south bay before the stalls were moved to the north bay. We know the north bay had two openings, an upper hay door and a lower wind hole on the west wall. There would have been some kind of drainage to prevent the waste water from reaching the house below. There had to be provision for this on the north side. An early sump was known to have been filled in under the yard.

Huxeley's inventory did not survive. What would Thomas have required of his buildings? Apart from his cow and sheep he must store his hay and corn, though he might have had to exchange labour for these.

The barn seemed large for this small enterprise and more must have been envisaged. As a local man was he trained in caring for sheep only on the Open Common Field system? Or did he take advantage of enclosed land in the neighbouring parishes for his own expanding flock? Huxeleys had commons for one cow which meant she could join the herdsman when on the fallow. They also had the following leyland which was granted to the property:

1 ley in Hawtins Piece in the Netherfurlong. 2 Leyes in Overfurlong. 1 ley in Honeypleck furlong. 1 Ley in the same from the Highway downward. All these ran east and west on part of the Oxhay common.

What family accommodation did they need? Had Thomas an apprentice in mind and a large family when the cockloft was added? Did he bring in his tods of wool and carry them up there to await a good price? They would be drier up on the cockloft wooden floors and hopefully free from vermin. The size and weight may have forced him in later years to use the downstairs chamber. The stairs were essential providing they were wide enough to manoeuvre such an awkward sack.

Both Thomas and his son Valentyne lose their first wives and marry again, but only Thomas's first wife of that generation was buried at Cropredy in January 1588. Where did Thomas disappear to? Ann and Thomas had four children, two boys and two girls, and except for the eldest she was able to nurse each one for at least two years. Thomas married again and Agnes joined the family after their marriage in her own parish. She was a widow in the lists of 1613 and had her chamber and maintenance in the house of her stepson. Agnes was still with Valentyne in 1624, by which time her own son John who had been a pupil at Williamscothe had long since left home. Valentyne was thirtyone when he married Alyce Hunt and fortytwo when Jane Watkins married him in 1621. Valentyne's first marriage had been with Agnes in the house. There were again four children by the first marriage. Alyce died three days after their fourth was baptised in June 1620. Her first three babies had been given well over a year's nursing, but who would rear this baby boy? He survived until November and was then buried on the seventh. After a decent interval Valentyne marries again and two more children arrive, this time baby William has just over a year of nursing.

It was his second daughter Elizabeth who succeeds to the copyhold so she must have been entered onto the roll. Her father was born in 1579 and worked outside all his life for as an old man of seventytwo the register records that on the 21st of February "Valintin Huxley" was buried "who died suddenly in the fields." Elizabeth had his will proved in London. Did she travel down there by coach or ride side saddle, and who accompanied her?

The family believed in education as two sons were pupils at Williamscode school. Was it a strict puritanical family, or one where discussion of the bible reading was allowed? Why did the second child gain the copyhold? Was she entered late on after becoming a widow? None of the children are married at the church until Elizabeth's second marriage to a shepherd, William Pinfold, perhaps in her father's employ, or having taken over his work?

The Huxeleys managed to live in Cropredy for almost a hundred years. They were not native to the town, but took advantage of the school being built to educate sons who would have to leave Cropredy, so that Valentyne was the only one with his daughter to remain. They cared for the step-mother who had brought Valentyne up which meant that first Alyce and then Jane must share the hearth with her. His widowed daughter Elizabeth was able to marry having her last child at fortythree. Having again become a widow at fiftyfive she vanishes with the children.

The property was sold to Thomas Batchelor in 1681. Could the tenants only have the lease for three generations and is this why the sons left?

Very few properties can be studied as well as the one you live in. Especially noticeable are the alterations done to the building which every new tenant or owner continues to do right down to the present day. Between 1681 and 1683 a barn was built in front of the property by the Batchelors. It was not quite parallel to the original barn being farther away at the south end, but was almost as long and rather crowded the front. Thomas Batchelor was a shepherd who came down from Bourton as a tenant on the small-holding before 1681. Having acquired the property he built the front three bay stone barn with a low thatch roof. The middle bay had double doors opening onto the road. After building the barn he finally settled with the bailiff to pay a quit rent for the encroachment, but not before the landlord of the A manor threatened action if he left it standing. Thomas died in 1703.

The Hunts who had lived at [37] were the next to move in. They converted the front barn into a useful blacksmith shop, using possibly the south and middle bay. After the Bortons who followed the Hunts, ceased to be blacksmiths they took down the south bay and all evidence of the chimney vanished. The middle bay continued to hold horses who came to be shod, but where was the fire?

They kept the bottom half of the barn's south bay wall by the road and capped it with stone. The new south gable wall to the old middle bay they put up in brick backed with stone and raised the roof to include a loft under a slate roof. The loft floor was

over a spine beam, and reached by a wall ladder. There were two windows of different periods, the eastern being the oldest. Down below apart from the rings to hold the horses there was also in the floor a post hole as though the place had once been divided to make two stalls. The floor in the farrier's shop when it became a coach house had two stone tracks from front to back for the wheels, but brick over the rest. This included a gulley taking water from the outside rear downspout and drain through the wall and along the coach house floor to the front drain. The water went into Creampot's brick culvert. The downpipes were lead. Local information remembered that an anvil stood outside the two farrier's doors before Edward Borton died in 1900 [Colin Shirley's letter].

The north bay had been two stalls with a crude loft above. The dirt floor was never stoned. A harness room was squeezed between the north window and stable door. Later this was turned into a closet which emptied into a yard sump made for the drainage from the barn stable and cowstalls? The closet's wooden seat and lid remained into the 1990s, but the sump was filled in. A far older toilet had been built in stone under a slate roof at the bottom of the garden, behind the yew trees. In the rear wall, retained as the garden boundary, was a small candle niche.

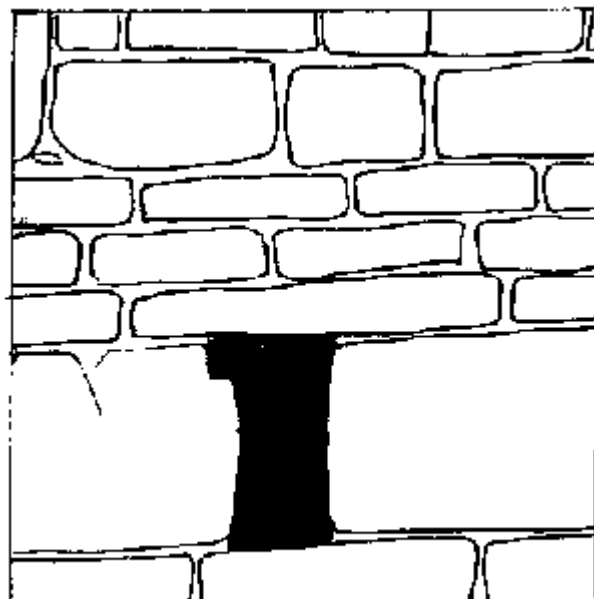
The outside brickwork to windows and wall corners in Batchelor's north bay stable are mid to late nineteenth century when the thatch was replaced. The roof was a slightly different height before alterations in the 1970's, but the wooden lining was kept under the slates.

Following the Hunts came other blacksmiths from Chipping Warden around 1839. The last of this family of Bortons was Edward, a vet, who with his father made great improvements to the house. One of these surely was to move the front entrance.

In the main barn only the north bay was retained for stock. The cart door entrance was filled in leaving a window and a cow door by the long straight join once holding the cart door hinges. There was an older door in the north west corner onto the north yard. The north bay had a brick floor laid in a square pattern, and may have been a replacement for an earlier cobble floor. Next to the north gable was a brick manure passage with a gulley to take the water away, except by the north door where for the width of the smallest of the three stalls the brick had not replaced the earlier cobbled stone floor. The cobbles were placed parallel to the gable, whereas the brick passage was laid at right angles to the cobbles. The larger rectangle of bricks may have been divided into two stalls, for a wooden post hole had since been filled with concrete as well as the central drains leading to the yard pit. The bricks were laid in four triangles pointing at the drain. The smaller stall opposite the north

door took up less than a third of the total width of 15.5ft. The brick pattern ended at the middle bay where an older stone cobble floor ran parallel with the rear and front walls. The cobbles were interrupted by the later washroom wall. The washroom doubled as the vets surgery and with the front lobby took up most of the old threshing bay.

An old pear tree had been trained up the eastern outside wall of the north bay. Possibly one of four [two only remain]. Behind the tree, low down, is a curious L-shaped hole built into the original wall with large shaped stones. This is a cool place. Was it used to stand milk in?



D26.5 Hole in Wall.

Hole in Wall

Bortons had substantially altered the place, repairing, re-novating and recycling. They were not afraid to use the cheaper brick rather than stone to do their repairs. With time this mellowed and always they used Cropredy bricks, so it was all undertaken long before the late 1870's when bricks were brought in from other brickyards. Edward had plenty of buildings to spread into. It was ideal to keep it on for a trade combined with farming. Borton's did acquire other properties in Creampot and bought the

demesne field behind called Calves Close. They took over, or built, the Calves Close hovel and moved the cows away from the barn. A brick wall was built at the end of the garden, from the old stone toilet behind the yew trees to the gate into the Calves Close. Edward Borton had horses and pigs on the premises. The original building was of a reasonable size and construction to attract a business up to 1900.

Most long-houses were eventually modernised and the common entrance discarded. Rather than break an entry between the front windows and disturb the balance of the whole elevation, a new entrance was made on the hall side of the inner chimney gable, emerging by the newel stairs at [36]. These then had to be resited. A straight steep staircase was built behind a wall in the hall against the parlour wall. The door at the bottom of the stairs led into the buttery.

One reason this was left until the mid-nineteenth century was the now inconvenient position of the drinking well. It was lined with stone and surely sunk in Huxeley's time, but was right in front of the proposed new doorway. With the original entrance the well had actually been in a good situation. Was this when another well was sunk in the corner of the north yard by the orchard? Perhaps at the same time as the new brick pig sties and hog feed house with its furnace to boil the pigs' smelly gruel. The front well received a stout wooden cover and a new stone flag path was directed from the gate to the new front entrance which had two tall, but narrow doors.

The parlour acquired a brick chimney which also took a flue from a grate in the chamber above. A wooden floor was built into the parlour though stone flags remained elsewhere. The rough spine beam with a metal plate over a join was encased in wood.

As the dairy had become the kitchen a lean-to was made behind the buttery and at some time a door had to be broken through the wall to join it to the buttery. The lean-to had an entrance from the garden.

The hall has a window seat under a late three casement window on the back wall. The position of an old salt cupboard can be seen in the wall between the fireplace and this rear window.

Upstairs a way was made through the stone inner gable by the cockloft stairs to reach the new kitchen chamber. This old loft had a wall recess at the front (but no hay hatch unless this was at the rear replaced by the window). By most doorways they made candle shelves inset into the stone wall. Another wall shelf stood just inside the hall on the front wall to light the front half of the hall. Yet another by the barn winnow door could later be used to hold a light for the vet's lobby. After the cart doors

were removed and the threshing bay no longer required, a candle shelf with half a stone arch, was placed by the eastern cow door. Above that someone added a hay door. The loft had always had ventilation slits, though one was lost when a north hay door was made.

When a new dairy had been built behind the buttery, the kitchen could take in the entry passage and old dairy space in the first bay of the barn. This meant lowering part of the floor, though it still rises a step up from the hall house. A brick wall was built up to the newly raised and slated roof and was used to hold a chimney. This was put in the rear half of the bay east of the spine beam and took two fireplaces. One for the kitchen range and the other for the new kitchen chamber. A windowless cockloft over the chamber could only be reached by a ladder from the barn. Cropredy bricks were used to narrow the old back doorway, and also to make the former front entry door into a window. The stone kitchen sink was placed near this front window on brick pillars.

Below the rear kitchen chamber window part of the wall had to be rebuilt in stone. Local bricks were used above the chamber window to raise the roof. A window seat was made under the three light window which had metal casements and leaded panes. The inside has Victorian surrounds. The old dairy had had few joists supporting the small loft above, so that extra joists were needed. At the front part of the bay the joists were all new and chamfered. There are signs here of a recent hanging ceiling. The joists supported a good elm floor for the bedroom above.

Having used one bay at the nether end of the barn to make the kitchen the middle threshing bay was now turned into a wash house which doubled as the vet's surgery. A bench for dealing with animals was placed in there near the copper. In the kitchen was a cupboard with several compartments for Edward Borton's medicines. To hold the loft over the wash-house a transverse beam was put up. This went over a new three light window which faced the recently walled garden. The wall between the front lobby and the wash house was built in brick with some rows made of wood. The double entrance doors to the lobby matched the front double doors. They replaced the winnow door.

The feel of Huxeley's homestall when completely empty, even though it has been considerably altered over the years, was of a satisfactory building. One where the soundness of the walls and compactness of the site gave off a comfortable aura. There was no doubt that the house quietly dominated the family, but left nothing unpleasant, quite the opposite in fact. All that was missing were the sheep, the smell of new made hay and the warm breath of cows stalled for the winter with the squish squish as their milk entered the wooden pails.

The summer sun still rose beyond the yew trees and set between Howses [28] tall building and Cattell's barn [30] opposite.

Monkeytree House was only one of the three long-houses they built on the edge of the A manor demesne close. Next door the landlords had allowed Breedons [37] smallholding to be attached to the south end of Huxeleys (p483). Between Breedons and Eldersons long-house was a space to allow access to their close behind.

2) Eldersons the Carpenters of Creampot Lane [38]

<p>THOMAS ELDERSON m (1) ALYCE Wallis Carpenter bur 22 Feb 1624/5 Will * & Inv</p>	<p>6 June 1584 bur 3 Nov 1596 with a child (p402) m (2) AVIS Tymes * 4 Feb. 1597/8 bur 25 Jan 1633/4</p>		
<hr/>			
<p>THOMAS *Exor bp23 Dec.1585 bur8 Nov 1661 pupil Carpenter Will & Inv [37/4/18] m ELIZABETH Hill bur 21 Nov.1661</p>	<p>ANNES 19.2.1587/8 bur24.9.1598</p>	<p>ALYCE*Exor 15.10.1590 bur24.1.1631/2 At home</p>	<p>MARGARETE 21.12.1595 bur1.3.1596/7 aged 15 months</p>
<p>1614: Tho elderson vx ijd Tho elderson ijd alyce elderson ijd</p>	<p>1624: Thomas Elderson et uxor ijd Thomas Elderson ijd Alice Elderson ijd.</p>		

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 4.0.

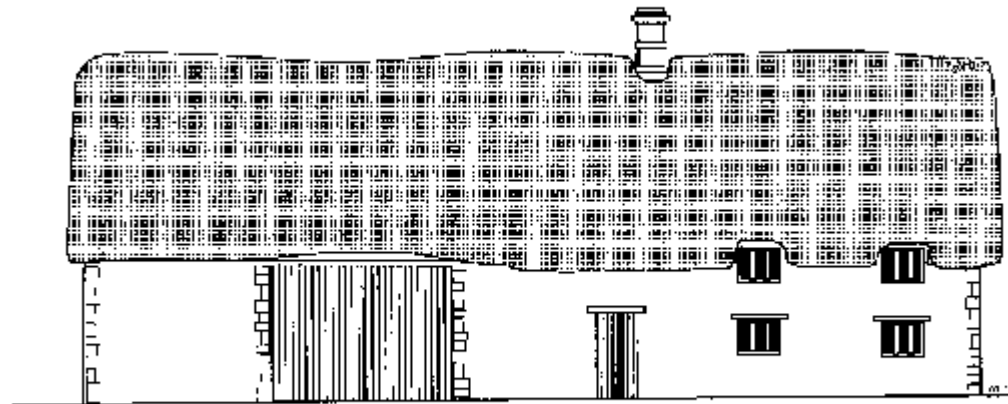
The second long house type was built on the edge of the demesne close between Huxeley's and Tanner's. The tenant had a close and yard at the rear approximately a hundred square feet in size. Their barn was 34 feet long and attached to the house which was 24 feet.

If Elderson's was a type of longhouse then the entry door would be into the south bay of the barn, behind the fireplace on the inner gable. In his hall the stone chimney, which may have had an oven for he had furze in the yard, backed onto the entry passage. The house had four front windows and in the cockloft a south gable window.

Stephen Wass the present owner of the house kindly inspected the front elevation of the original three bay barn and house. There appears to be "sufficient stonework to locate the blocked cart doorway and the entry door and to suggest by careful analysis of the fabric that it was in fact all of one build" (Figs. 26.1 & 26.6). Mr Handley's plan of the cottages made out of the three bay barn confirms that the middle cottage front wall was of brick and the two outer ones of stone. The rear barn wall was all stone with a winnow door approximately four and a half feet wide in the middle of the threshing bay. The cart doors at the front having been replaced by one of the Biddle's brick cottages (p361).

The cottage made from the stone barn next to Elderson's house had a door at the front and rear in the correct position for a former entrance. Both doors were filled in during later alterations.

D26.6 An Oxfordshire Long House type [38] by S.Wass.



Reconstruction c. 1620

Scale 1:100

An Oxfordshire Long House Type [38] by S. Wass

The three bay barn was partly used as a carpenter's shop. Walter Rose describes just such a combination of cows and carpentry in his book *The Village Carpenter* [Cambridge Univ. Press p12]:

"A dwarf partition of rough boards prevented the chips... from mingling with the hay, the odour of which contrasted agreeably with the fragrance of the wood. No one thought or suggested that cow-keeping and carpentry were other than allied callings."

The north bay housed Elderson's three beasts with a hay loft over. The middle bay had a 14' wide threshing floor and was therefore open to the thatch. The tall double doors opened onto Creampot Lane and the winnow door onto the rear yard to let out the cart horse. The south bay as the carpenter's workshop also stored the "bords," but had to leave room for the entry passage behind the chimney. The carpentry tools were worth £2 in 1625, and in 1661 consisted of two saws, two axes and other small tools.

There is again some doubt that the Elderson's place was a true long house, being more a long-house-type, for he had improved the accommodation by raising the house roof to include an extra floor. The chimney enabled two chambers with ceilings to be made on the first floor. The newel stairs led up to the upper chambers, but the cockloft had only a ladder. At the same time they retained the cow byre within easy reach of the cooking fire. Although they now sat round the table, rather than the fire, they went off to bed in comfortable chambers, and not lofts.

The hall had the usual furniture, the table with form and chair as well as the women's spinning wheel in 1625. The precious pewter of nine dishes, spoons and two salts were worth 9s possibly displayed on a shelf, while the two brass pots and two kettles would be by the inglenook fireplace. The parlour held two bedsteads. Instead of a buttery in this bay there was a boulding house in which they kept the cheese press and salting trough indicating the family made cheese and kept a pig for meat.

Over this bay was an upper chamber where the cheese was stored on a rack and two more spinning wheels for the women to supplement the carpenter's wages. There were some goods stored in the hall chamber belonging to Thomas senior, but as this must have been Thomas junior's chamber no mention is made of the bedding. They continued to use the ladder to reach the cockloft where a century later corn and malt were stored. [Plan on p57 in Wass S. *The Amateur Archaeologist*. 1992 Batsford].

Thomas had taken his turn as a church warden and sidesman. To do this he was leasing a parcel of strips equal to half a yardland (p27). He left three cows in February so they had no need to sell one before winter (though there is no evidence of this practice in Cropredy). Two of the cows could only be kept while he leased the extra parcel of land. The third went with the smallholding's own cow common. Those rights gave him leyland, but no arable for peas, barley, rye and wheat, which was why they needed the half yardland for there were four adults in the house (1624). His son carried on leasing extra land to have three cows, making cheese and feeding his pigs on whey. The corn provided flour and a little ale and the tail ends provided for their poultry. Their well in the yard was conveniently near the back door.

In 1681 the site had land in Oxhay which was no doubt the same as Elderson's a hundred years before when the reorganisation took place:

"Comon and comon pasture for one cow to goe depasture and feed.

One ley in Hawtin's piece shooting east and west.

One other ley in Honey Pleck furlong.

Two half leys in the same.

Part of another ley in the same."

The Eldersons were not wealthy for they would be paid at the standard rate for carpenters. Thomas senior had a few sheep which made a good investment, but had no chance to greatly increase his flock on only half a yardland. In 1617 he apparently sold five lambs [c25/3], but he is not recorded as having done that again in Holloway's remaining folios. The women spun wool and hemp and may have made candles for sale. Thomas has the occasional gardening job for the vicar, or was he repairing some building in the garden? Judging by his clothes they were fairly frugal and his son was the same (p680). Being carpenters they had a joined bedstead, the pride of the household. Neither leave more than £20, yet they survived on that one site for nearly a century.

Thomas Elderson married in 1584 and Alyce nee Wallis bore him four children before she died, closely followed by her fifteen month old baby Margarete four months later. This was during the years of acute shortage of grain and the number of those buried increased. One strange occurrence. Into Alyce's grave went an unnamed baby. Alyce would have had a coffin made by her husband. Was he approached by the child's father William Brockwell, a stranger, to bury the poor child? "Ales Elderson wife of Thomas & at that time was buried in the same grave a child of Wyllam Brockwell," in November 1596. A William and

Alice Brockyvee baptised a son Marten on the 30th of January 1595/6, a month after Elderson's daughter Margarete. Was Mrs Elderson feeding them both? A host of questions arise none of which can be answered. The Justices stepped in too late when the wages were insufficient to cope with the high price of flour. It might have been impossible for the Brockwell's to pay for a coffin and then the sexton's fees.

The Huxeleys, Eldersons and Tanners all have the misfortune to lose a wife and needed to marry again. Thomas Elderson married Avis Tymes in 1597/8 fifteen months after Alyce died and then his ten year old daughter Annes also died.

Three family members in three years. There were no more Elderson children baptised. The two survivors were Thomas (1585-1661), a carpenter, and Alyce (1590-1632) who remained a spinster. During the years covered by the lists Alyce lived in Cropredy and may never have left, spinning away amongst all her other tasks, day after day with her stepmother. Thomas her brother had gone to school and his knowledge of adding and preparing accounts would help him when he was apprenticed to be a carpenter with his father. How did the younger Thomas use his ability to write? Did he extend his skills beyond helping with wills, parish and carpentry accounts?

Before he died Thomas senior made a will. "My will is that Avis my wief shall have sufficient meate drinke lodginge apparell washinge and wrinking [?] dureinge her naturall life to be provided and allowed her in the house where I doe now dwell by my executors...and if it happen that my said wief doe or shall at any tyme wthin one quarter of one yeare next after my decease dislike the maytenance wch shalbe allowed and provided for her by my said executors then my will further is and I doe give and bequeath unto Avis my said wief the some of five pounds to be paid her by my said executors within one whole yeare next after her dislike." Her stepchildren Thomas and Alyce were the executors and the father left them the rest of his personal estate. One problem with a smallholding is that the tenancy cannot be divided into thirds as farm land could. The extra parcels they lease have nothing to do with the property. This meant the second wife's position was more precarious than most. If no marriage settlement had been made (which were sometimes revoked by a will) then the husband must make it quite clear in the will that his widow must be cared for. Avis does stay and another nine years went by before she died.

Thomas junior had been thirteen when his father remarried and was thirtynine when his father died. He was obviously considered to be the head of the household. Thomas was still a bachelor throughout the list years, but he left as executrix his wife Elizabeth. Although Thomas could write he did not sign his will having become too ill. His wife calls in Elizabeth Howse

who witnesses it with an E.H. Thomas's other executor was a relation of his wife's, Thomas Hill of Little Bourton. They had no children christened in Cropredy.

After Eldersons came Thomas Elkington and Richard Watts combining the purchase with William Paris alias Taylor in 1681. William died the following year, leaving his share to a Richard Paris. Richard died worth £478-17s and in his PCC inventory, taken in 1695, the barn was missing and the property had been split up. In the house were the following rooms. A garret storing malt and corn, a hall chamber and little room on the first floor. The stairs reducing the upper parlour bay into another small room. They had a hall, buttery and little room on the ground floor. The new entrance and passage having to be squeezed into the parlour slicing it in half, making it into the "little room." Down the late passage at the end of the nineteenth century went Johnny Smith and his donkey to reach the yard behind. Mr Smith was to turn the little room into a post office.

In the deeds the north and south stone bays of the barn had after 1851 been made into two cottages "out of a barn" by William Smith and his son George [37]. To the north of the building a twentyfour foot gap to the garden close and yards behind was infilled with two thatched cottages. This left only the middle threshing bay behind the two cart doors to be built up by John Biddle of Church Street [47]. He used a flemish bond design of light stretchers and burnt headers [The late Mrs Gertrude Mold confirmed that the 1908 postcard showing the patterned bricks was correct. Her parents had leased Elderson's house during the first world war]. J.Biddle sold the middle barn cottage in 1864 to Mr George Smith for £65 [Deed in Cropredy Chapel].

Sumners living at the wheelwrights and building business [18] and Neals at [37], purchased the whole row between them. (Sumners 1-3 Neals 4-10). Although it was Chapel Row after 1881, it was also known locally as Neal's Row.

3) Edmund Tanner and the Mercer's shop [39].

EDMUND TANNER		m (1) ISABELL Lamprey					
Mercer		2 July 1584					
		bur. 23 Aug.1615 (no chd)					
		m (2) CONSTANCE Tustin * Exor					
bur 6 Sept 1630		23 Nov.1615					
Will* & Inv.				Widow m Neh. Gardner 20.4.1634			
				bur.11.3.1635/6		Nchemiah	
						[39]	
SARA*	HANNA	ELIZABETH*	EDMOND*	JOHN *	HANNA *	m Elizabeth	
bp8.12	16. 8	20.9.1620	26.10	16.4.1625	8.3.27/8		
1616	1618		1622		bur 25.2.31/2		
	died		m ELIZABETH				
			| 1645			Samuel	
			RICHARD			Gardner	
			8.Sept 1649			2 Nov.1645	

1614: Edmond Tanner vx ijd 1624: Edmonde Tanner et uxor ijd
his mayde ijd
his man ijd.

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.37.

Due to the extensive alterations and the loss of part of the western end it cannot be positively stated that Tanner's was definitely a long house type, but it was still built as a smallholding and the business side of the property was taken from the barn end. If this had three bays then the mercer's shop was next to the entry and the middle bay made into the first recorded brewhouse for Cropredy, while the third bay vanished for an entrance into the yard. The property was built facing south and had more farm land belonging to it than Huxeleys or Eldersons. The plot was also taken off the same A manor demesne close. Edmund arrived in 1584, the same year Elderson was married and ten years after the Huxeleys. Did he replace an earlier shop or was this a new business? Tanners brew house was a great advantage when the rest of the town were still using the hall, or the rarer kitchen chimney. Had they decided to brew for the smaller cottages for they had nine barrels in the buttery? One of his most important buildings was the kill [kiln] house where the barley could be malted. It would also be another means of increasing his revenues by malting barley for others.

How far did the mercer's trade extend to? He bought on credit, but having to pay this off to purchase more he would not wish to extend too much to his own customers. This was confirmed by his lack of trade debts, showing he did indeed supply very little credit in his shop. He asked the vicar to pay off Mr Man's (a curate) debts and those incurred by Wam Reade the parish clerk. The Revd Thomas Holloway wrote [c25/2 fols. 13 & 13v]:

"Item payde to edmond tanner for the
debtes of mr man the vth of october to b[e]
repayd uppo. his wages at saynt Thomas day xs."

"Item payd to wam Reade for his debts the
3 of october wch he must repay me at saynt
Thomas day next _____vs."

The debts due in Tanners shop book in 1630 were slight compared to others. "Due from severall persons for wares as appeth by the shoppe book" £1-8s-4d. Edmund died with £23 of ready money in his purse which was not a high amount in the 1630's. It was natural for a testator who lay dangerously ill to call in his bonds to pay off the debts. Margaret King had a grocers shop, but she was not able to control the credit as carefully as Tanner had. When she died in 1683 there were £40-9s-8d of desperate debts and £30 of good debts owing. This was again a period when there was an acute shortage of "good English money" and the landlord's letters complain bitterly of arrears (p342). Mrs King's shop had also carried far more stock which came to £62. Did she live at Bryan's cottage [47] in Church Street for a short period before the Watts family of tailors came (p361)?

The first shops often used window boards as counters. Bakers, butchers and shoemakers opened only on the days they were not selling their wares at Banbury market. Tanner had a shop door and an inside counter. Mercers were principally sellers of silk and textiles, but in Cropredy his customers may have only brought more serviceable materials. Possibly bolts of material which Watt's [27] and Hunt's [5] woollen looms could not supply. On his counter he sold spills, candles, starch, sopetar, pitch and all other mercery wares. The goods he had in stock were worth £9.

Many mercers began life as licenced pedlars or roundsmen. Pedlars needed to be strong young men able to carry a heavy pack. Many would purchase their stock in London and once an area had been developed they could afford a packhorse and perhaps later a second horse. Setting up house in a town and putting up a stall at the local market showed they were

prospering. They took nonperishable goods out to their customers. Pins, needles and thread being essential to the housewife. In the pack were trimmings of lace, leather laces, strong leather points, and various colourful garnishes. Clothes without buttons required tapes with points and these were essential items from the labourer to the vicar, especially when a gross of braid silk buttons were worth seven shillings at a mercers shop in Banbury belonging to John Vivers [MS.Will Pec.53/5/6: 1637]. Silk for the gentlemen and holland, cambrics and lawns for the women to sew. Ribbons for the girls, gloves, stomachers and girding for the men. Jewellery in the form of bracelets and brooches. A few if they were also chapmen would add the cheaper bibles and chapbooks. The last being too low in value to be found in the inventories. Had Edmund Tanner started out as a pedlar to earn his shop? Even though he sold tapes there was still a pedlar visiting Cropredy, because Thomas Holloway mentions both Edmund and a pedlar. It is not always clear from whom Thomas made the purchase. Did the pedlar sell wholesale to Tanner, or had Tanner to go and collect goods himself? If Tanner no longer went out to customers did he employ someone like James Ladd [40] to work as his pedlar?

There were two references to silver buttons given to the vicar by William Shotswell and the tithe was "a garnish/ of gowd buttons" so they were made in Cropredy during the second decade of the seventeenth century [c25/6 f4v].

In 1619 another tithe from "Wam Shotswell a garnish/ of sylver buttons for gowd [?]" [c25/6 f10]. Was he making them for Tanner to sell, or taking them to Banbury?

[c25/6 5v] [torn page] 2 poyneth -iij*s* iiij*d*/[] of pynes -xvjd/
for a gross of roundman/ yeicester laces - ijs ijd/
somas viijs vd/

"more bought from edmond/ tanner of poynts laces &/
gyrdelings wch... viij*d*"

[f7v] "Charges against/ new yrs day anno/ 1617/
In primo a paire of coro/nation tape tagged payd/
to edmond tanner xix*d*,
Item for a gross of thredd poynts/ to a pedlar..xx*d*
Item a second pare of corination/ lace...xix*d*

Item 2 dosen of grene gyrding /....ijs iiijd
Item more 3 yerds/iijd
Item a dosen of coronation gyrding/....xiiijd
Item 2 dosen 3 yerds of gyrdinge of/
coronation.....ijs viijd
a gross of thread poynts to [---] xxijd
Item half a gross from a pedlar xd"

[17ultv] "...of leather laces/ iiijd
Item more of leather laces/ halfe a gross..xd
Item leather poynts (halfe a gross)/..xd
Item half a pare more/ for gyrdinge...xxijd"

New year presents:

[f16v] "memo That Tho gardner of/ lyttell borton sent me a/
fayn payre of gloves to / whom I send a garnishe/
of gent lasses for a/ handkerchefe.
Item sent my sonne clerson a/ dosen of sylke poynts/
to his wife vjd.
Item to my sone gorstelow who/
sent me a cloke[?] & sent him/ a dosen sylke poyt-."

They were exchanging gifts for the New Year on March the 25th. Silk used to be for the nobility, but by this time other lesser gentlemen had items of silk clothing. The Thomas Gardner of Little Bourton mentioned above lived in the manor farm, though there was another family of Gardners, sons of Richard. Thomas Holloway mentions too his son-in-law the Reverend John Clarson, vicar of Horley, who had married his daughter Hester whom he calls Clarson's " wife" and sends her 6d. Elizabeth Holloway another daughter who married Leonard Gorstelow (p547) was sent nothing by her father.

D26.7Tanner's House and possible barn.

In Edmund Tanner's inventory of September 1630 the following rooms are mentioned:

Hall (4)Chamber over the hall
Plor (6)Chamber over the plor & dairy house
Buttery (2)..... Chamber over the butry
Dairyhouse (5)
Bruehouse (1)..... Mill house
Stable & cow houseKill [kiln] house
The Shopp (7)Roome over the shopp

Tanner's property had lost the third bay of the barn to allow an entrance into the yard behind. Tanner made the byre and other farm buildings to the west of the yard. The connection with the long house type was now reduced to the extra work areas attached to the south facing house. Again there was an entry passage (3 on Fig.26.7), four front windows to the house and a cockloft window high in the eastern gable. On the photograph showing the property when it still had stone walls under a thatch, the only door was into the passage. There were also two extra upper windows for an Over the Entry chamber and a Shop chamber. These upper windows had the thatch coming well down over the casements. Both these chambers could have a higher ceiling for there was no cockloft above them. The stone wall at the rear of the building belonged to both the house and the shop end.

The Tanners used coal in the hall fireplace and for this he had installed a grate (p625). Edmund's inventory was taken in September and he had already collected his first load of fuel. They had two lots of fire equipment, one for the hall, the other for the brewhouse. His wife used wood and coal for a cooking fire, but furze to heat the oven which projected southwards, beyond the front building line, between the hall window and the entry door.

This brought the inglenook forward and gave room for the possible site of the newel stairs beyond the fireplace, reversing Huxeley's plan. Did this mean the parlour door was next to the dairy door rather than further forward?

After entering the house, the shop was to the left and beyond that the buttery in the same bay with a door by the exit to the backyard. The hall was to the right and reached at the end of the entry beyond the chimney which backed onto the passage.

Tanners chamber-parlour was still the main bedroom with an extra table to retire to from the hall. They had a set of curtains and a valance for the four poster as well as plenty of bedding. Here is a case where the warming pan may have been purchased to keep Isabell's bed aired. Upstairs in a store room they had a light wicker chair which could have been used to carry a sick person about. They also had a chamber pot, which could again mean illness in the household. As Tanners had eighteen pairs of sheets, did they have lodgers, or a particularly industrious first wife, who spent her childless days spinning? He had the only hanging press, a word which still lingers locally for a wardrobe. After 1616 the maids slept in the hall chamber with the children by Tanner's second wife Constance. The parlour and dairy chambers were kept free for stores, implements, blankets and wool, and in the smaller rear store, the corn and three important spinning wheels. Constance had "milke pans, creame potts, shelves, one cheese rack, cheese vats and cheese" worth £7 in the dairy below. Her cheese press was in the kill house. What was the "hmmy" press used for, unless to crush the awns from the barley getting it ready for the kiln house?

In the yard were other farm buildings including a barn. We cannot tell from the order the inventory is taken whether the stable or cow house were part of the lost byre next to the brewhouse, or a separate building. In the stable he had a mare which would be needed to collect and deliver his mercer's goods as well as forming part of a plough team. Besides managing the shop they might need help on their quarter yard land. It was possible that on most years they could do everything themselves with perhaps a day labourer, or a youngster under eighteen. The lists show that they also had adult staff, either a maid or a man living in, but not every year.

In 1681 there was land attached to this property [Bodly: Box 4939-4959. Deed 4950]:

In the **South Field**: 4a 2r of arable and 1a 2r of leys:

2 lands in Bottome of Breach furlong shooting into Oxhay...

[with Lambscote furlong on the east side]

2 lands in the furlong at Arboyle stone [Arbwell] [42] S, [23] N

2 butts in furlong above the furlong against the hill [25] N, [4] S

4 butts in upper Hagthorn furlong [50] S, [15] N

4 butts in upper Landimore [8] S, [4] N

3 leyes in Hanging Leyes [26] N & S

In the **North Field**: 1a of arable and 2r of ley land:

Half the hadland that hades the Netherfurlong in Towne Hill [41]W
2 lands in furlong against the Hill [23] W [4] E
One ley by Elbow Ham [Washlands] [43?] N [16] S

In **Oxhay** 1a 1r of leyland:

1 ley in Netherfurlong in Hawtins piece
1 ley in Honey Pleck [?] N [52] S
Half a ley in Honeypleck [?] N [36] S.
Common for one cow.

The names of those farming the strips alongside have been replaced with site numbers used in this book. They had a third of the land as leyland which was normal, but the crunch came with the grossly uneven distribution of arable between the two fields allowing no rotation unless they used peas as the fallow and cropped yearly (ch.20).

Edward Tanner had received some education. He was called out to help with at least three wills, fourteen inventories (p161) and asked six times to be an overseer including once for Suttons [42] and twice for the Robins [26] (p159).

His first wife had no surviving children and she died after a long marriage of thirtyone years. How had they coped with this lack of children? Isabell was a Lamprey some of whom were also mercers. Her sister Anne married Thomas Fenny [43] and lived at the top of Church Street by the north gate into the churchyard. One of the Fenny's children was called Isabell, perhaps after her aunt. Edmond was in his fifties when he decided after only three months as a widower to marry Constance Tustin in November 1615. At last he was able to have children for six arrive over the next twelve years. Three daughters and two sons survived, but the Tanners like the Huxeleys and Eldersons do not remain in the town registers into the next century.

Edmund Tanner left £5 to each of his five children. He had no freehold land and had apparently not entered any survivors onto the copyhold. His goods were shared amongst them. Constance would have the seven years left of the lease. These legacies were to be paid over to the overseers if his widow remarried. He expected the two boys to be bound apprentices. They could inherit at twentyone, but the girls at eighteen or marriage. The girls had the eighteen napkins to share and all five had two pairs of sheets and a coverlet or blanket. The eldest boy having a pair of yellow blankets. The feather bed went to Edmond, and the other two beds (mattresses) to two daughters. Having then run out of mattresses, John had one coffer and the malt

mill and Hannah two pewter platters and a porringer. This left the greatest brass pot and another pot to the boys, and the greatest brass kettle and two others to the girls. "My great chest" must go to the eldest daughter. As executrix the wife had the rest which included the main bedstead. John Clarson, clerk, and Edmunds brother-in-law John Goodwyn both of Horley, were appointed as overseers.

They had been married for fifteen years and Edmond must have been around seventy when he died. His youngest girl was buried two years later. Constance remained a widow for four years and then married Nehemiah Gardner who was only twenty-nine years old. Their marriage lasted for two years then Constance died leaving the children aged eleven, fourteen, sixteen, and twenty. Nehemiah lived on and married again, a marriage which lasted for thirty years and produced Samuel in 1645. In 1673 the Gardners still pay the cow tithe, but William Toms, who may have been a maltster, is also connected with the place from 1677. In 1681 it was sold to William Toms. Was that when the Gardners moved, or had they already departed to another site? William Toms had only one daughter Rebekah. After she had married William Faux there began the three generations of William Faux's to own this homestead. In 1761 they sold to Hemmings, a carpenter, who ran it as the Rose and Crown. He fell ill and had to give up the business and retire to his cottage built on the corner of Tanner's [39] old plot. He attached it to the extra bay that had been built at the south end of Elderson's [38].

The homestead returned to being a place of business for carpenters, butchers, bakers and grocers as it began, but the farming side became increasingly important as it passed through the family from Checkleys to Allitts and on to Lamberts.

This house has never been divided up into cottages, but a massive overhaul was undertaken with the renewal of the front wall and roof in Lambert's time. The close was however split up in 1763 when Hemmings sold the western part next to the pond to Edward Shirley the wheelwright. Two cottages were built on the close, behind which the first chapel was built by 1822. In 1881 the second chapel took up the wheelwrights end of the close.

What kind of people had these properties? Many have had an education, or encouraged at least one child to school. Some could not write as well as Edmund Tanner, but they have bibles which they or someone in the house could read. It was a period of reading and absorbing the teachings of the bible. The bible being constantly searched for answers to questions relating to family discipline, dress, finance, politics and neighbourly conduct and those who could read had many advantages from using this knowledge. John Truss, shepherd, had two bibles at his home down Creampot Lane.

4) The Truss family of Shepherds in Creampot Lane [33].

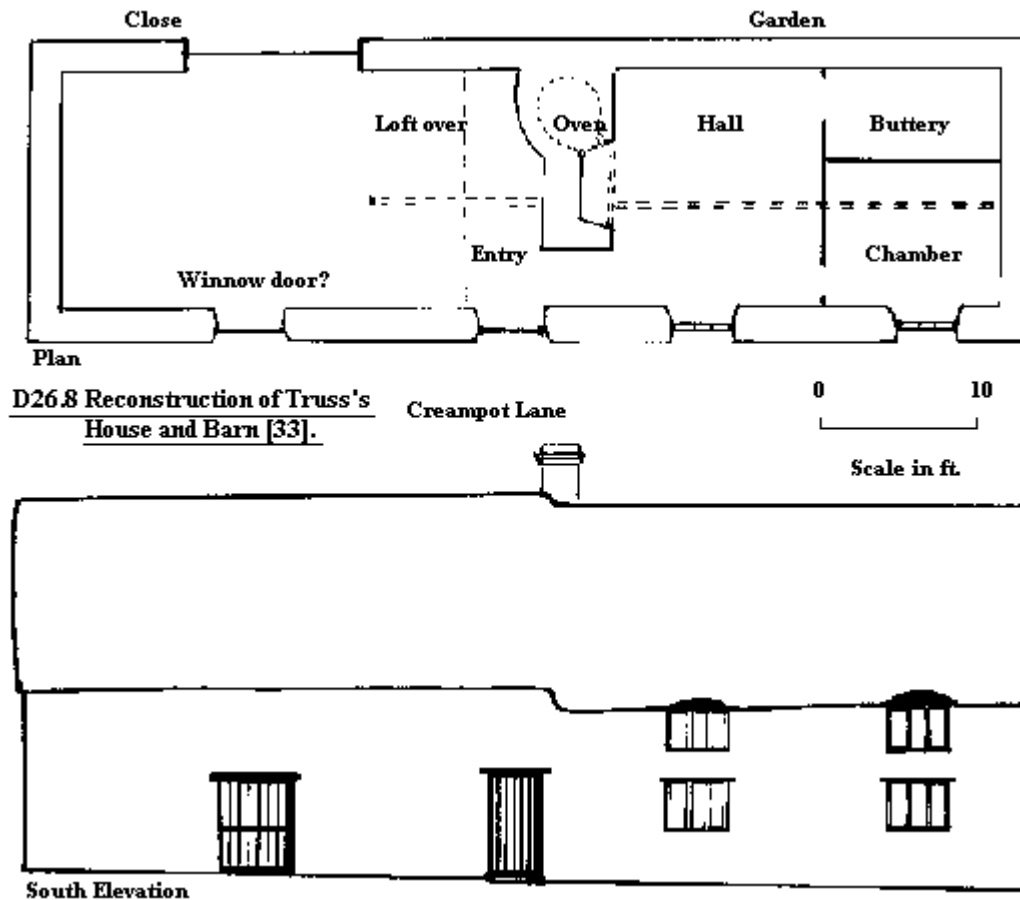
WILLIAM TRUSS 1 yardland bur. 9 Nov.1567		m	CONSTANS Smythe 3 July 1547 bur 9.2.1609/10			widow m HENRY Wilson bur 25 Aug 1574
MARGERY bp30 April 1548	MARY 7 Oct 1550		JOHN 13 Nov.1553 bur 22.Feb. 1613/4 Labourer m (1) ALICE Steele 11 March 1582 bur.15 Jan.1595/6 (2) ISABELL Lambert 1 Oct. 1599 bur 22 Nov. 1613			HUGHE 2.7.1569
ROBERT bp19.6.1582 bur5.Nov. 1597	ELLEN (ALICE)* 21.June 1584 m Bayley + 12.11 1612 [19] son Wam*	ANNES* 13 Feb. 1585/6 sp. Dorothy* 4.6.1606	WILLIAM* + 28.Feb. 1587/8 bur17.3. 1643/4	ELIZABETH* 11 Jan. 1589/90 m W.Tustin + [33] c 8 children	JHON* 26 Jan.1591/2 bur17.1.1633/4 Shepherd Will + & Inv. [33].	
1614: Eliz Truss		ijd	1624: William Tustin et uxor John Trusse		ijd ijd.	

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.79.

John Truss (1553-1614), the son of William, was possibly the first or second occupier of this small-holding. Behind the house was a close of half an acre. In the north west corner of the close Truss's had four more bays of building, used partly as a stable, under a long joint roof with Redes [32] next door (Fig.36.2 p598). It may be this older building was once part of the timber house built right up against the arable land. Truss's close had been split off from Rede's just as Devotion's [3] was

once part of the B. Manor meadow land [8]. The new stone house and barn had been built in the southeast corner of their close, right next to the road with the garden plot behind. John's mother Constance had remarried in the 1560's and his step-father Henry Wilson had leased the smallholding plus one yardland. After Henry died in 1574 widow Wilson carried on farming and was still doing so in 1578 (p209), although John was now twentyfive.

In 1588 John had taken over for he appears on the vicar's list (p212). He had been twentynine when he married Alice Steele and they were to be together for thirtytwo years. They had three sons and three daughters, three of whom were able to remain in Cropredy. Ellen having married William Bayley moved to Church Lane [19]. The youngest son and daughter remain on the smallholding, but were left with the responsibility of bringing up Dorothy the illegitimate child of the second daughter Annes, who had gone to live in Ireland.



D26.8 Reconstruction of Truss's House and Barn [33]. Creampot Lane

Reconstruction of Truss's House and Barn [33].

The Truss [33] family had a one and a half storey house and barn with a road frontage of 62 feet. The property was all one build and again one common entrance door. The three bay barn to the left of the entry and the hall to the right. The site sloped so that the entry passage floor would have been twentyfour inches below the west barn gable. The drainage could have gone onto the road and into the ditch flowing down the lane. Like Huxeley's, Elderson's and Tanner's houses the pattern of the four windows was repeated on the front elevation lighting the hall house, inner chamber, and two upstairs chambers. The

buttery behind the chamber had no window, in fact there may have been no windows at all on the north wall, nor a door at the end of the entry passage, only the double cart doors into the barn.

Two inventories were left for this property:

John Truss February 1614.....	John Truss February 1633/4
Hall house	Hall
Chamber	
Buttrey	
Chamber where hee did lodge	Low Chamber
Chamber above	
The chamber above the Entry	Upper Roome

In 1614 when John was sixtyone and not long a widower he asked the vicar to help write his will. Two weeks later he died. John was anxious to make sure his grand daughter Dorothey was provided for (p217). John Truss's goods were assessed the day after his funeral. Richard Hall [34], Edward Tanner [39] and William Lyllee [29] were asked to come round to make an inventory. They began in the byre finding two beasts and a calf with twentyseven sheep. Over the cows John had built a scaffold for hay. The eldest of two sows recorded in his will was somehow overlooked. They moved through to the hall house with its stone floor. Truss's still held onto the trestle table, and although they are one of the few to lack a chair there is a bench, a form and stools. The chimney fireplace with an oven on one side had all the necessary equipment including a spit to roast the meat. The "coffer wherein I usually putt cheese" was downstairs in the "chamber where hee did lodge." The cowperery ware they used for making butter, cheese and brewing. The pewter ware kept for visitors and special occasions when the wooden utensils were put away. "Eight Pewter dyshes, five Saucers, four poringers & three/ pewter Cupps, on[e] quart Potte" [the last four items being unusual], one "Salt and two candlestikes" worth £1. This collection was well above the average and the brass and pewter were the second highest in the nine inventories for the second decade of the seventeenth century. The brass which included the kettles and pans passed to Elizabeth. Like Hurst's [53] in Round Bottom only eight other inventories had more than their four bedsteads. The bedding was probably adequate for them and Truss had two presses, a new piece of furniture for Cropredy. He left the "grettest of the two" to his youngest son, John. Either up a ladder from the hall, or a newel stairs were two more chambers. The east chamber over the parents had the cheese rack for the turning of cheeses made by

the women in the family. The appraisers descended to the hall and then climbed a second ladder up to the chamber over the entry and there found "certayne corne" and "certayne small Bedes."

Both shepherds, father and son, are described as labourers, working on another tenants farm for a wage, though still managing their own smallholding. In 1614 before John senior died he had paid a 5d tithe for two commons to the vicar. One of these was Sutton's horse common, though he had no horse in his inventory. In the Easter lists son John (1591/2-1633/4) was serving his apprenticeship as a shepherd on Robert Robins farm [26] until 1617. By the following year he was working from home. He manages to lease commons from Woodroses (p271), while letting his own cow common be used by his sister Elizabeth and later by her husband William Tustain who had moved into the Truss household.

John Truss junior was apparently a good friend to Richard Hall, at the Watt's farm next door, who had a large flock. Did he become their shepherd, or did they share an interest in sheep? Truss senior had twentyseven sheep in 1614 and his son was to increase his own flock to a hundred and thirtysix, one of the largest in Cropredy.

The copyhold land belonging to this site remained with it constantly, passing down from Truss to Truss [33]. In a 1668 terrier the strips (2a 3r) belonging to them were in

The **South Field**: One land in Jayhole [Hillington in the Hayway Quarter]

One butt in Over Copthorn [across the Broadway]

The **North Field**: "On the other side by fielde...One hadelay and its felow att shuting fordway" [towards Clattercote ford on the south side of the lane] [BNC:552].

In 1704 this was called: "Two lays in Oathill" [below Oathill Piece] and one acre in West Meadow marked with "the horse shooe and calkin" and a common for one beast" [BNC:554] (p212). The arable land in the South Field could only be planted on uneven years. According to Truss's will of 1632 he had leased half a parcel and planted 3a 1r in the North Field.

John's inventory was taken on the 5th of February 1633/4. He had increased his leased pasture to feed the hundred and thirtysix sheep which in February would still be in lamb. He had eight sheep racks to feed his sheep during bad weather. Once it was believed that shepherds on the Open Common Field system did not feed hay to their sheep in winter for all the sheep ran together. However a shepherd was quite capable of placing hurdles, which he owned, to feed his own flock or else remove them to a rented enclosed field. He knew of enclosed land to let in Prescote, Williamscoote and Clattercote which were all

bordering on Cropredy parish. From time to time a record mentions Cropredy tenants leasing them. His will refers to "sheepe at Bylton," but where was that? John junior remained a bachelor and his married sister and family of eight children, lived with him at the family home. John went on increasing his flock while he could obtain land. The tools for his trade included a pitch pan, a sack and pitching forks.

In the barn John had two cows, a heifer coming up and two yearling calves. Just before he died he sold one black cow to Palmer who kept three cows. Was this a small Welsh black? There were two hoggs fattening in the yard. John's will mentions a very important point. He leaves his brother William not only his two cows, but also forty sheep and twenty lambs. A flock which will remain on the site as William, or his son, takes over the lease. Most important of all though are the ten butts of barley out of the Oland Quarter [Downland] and three of wheat. This was the first mention of the Quarters.

In the room over the entry they still stored their wheat and kept the malt for brewing made from the barley which was not needed for bread. He also grew peas, probably 3 butts to equal his wheat. Out in their backside was a rick of hay.

His father's press, the hall table (now with a frame) and the greatest of the two benches were valued as belonging to John. He had slept in his father's lower chamber. The two upper chambers belong to his sister's family and are not viewed for his inventory. The hearth has been handed over to Elizabeth which meant there was no reference to any of the pewter, brass or fire equipment.

Taken alone this would indicate a house with only three rooms and no fireplace. Fortunately his father's inventory had covered the whole house.

Although John does not appear to write he could read. He was one of several who read their bibles and as he had two in his possession perhaps one was a pocket one. Remember he was asked to see that Dorothy was educated, an unusual request for a girl, but perhaps to safeguard her future. He was well able to cope with finances lending out his surplus money. He died at fortyfour the ninth richest Cropredy man in the surviving inventories from 1570 to 1640. He was worth £128. He was buried less than ten days after his neighbour Richard Hall [34]. What fever had they caught?

After the Truss's came William Bloxam who married another Elizabeth Truss. They farm for three generations leasing extra parcels of land. The fourth generation had to surrender in 1788 for the Enclosure of the fields made leasing strips of land out of the question. The fourth William Bloxham moved to Claydon.

The front of the house was altered by Spicers before 1833 to make five cottages. These were reduced to four when the College again took over the property. They made the two west end cottages into one for the blacksmith family of Kings, famous for their ringing of handbells. The original entry now opened into a 10' wide middle cottage. The original hall house and parlour each acquired a new front door. Possibly the parlour cottage had to have the window moved to allow for a doorway as this bay was only about 11' wide. New chimneys were added. Each had a modern window with an arched brick lintel replacing the old wooden lintels at the house end. They were now stone cottages under a thatch roof with small garden plots at the rear and a shared toilet at the top of the garden. A row of brick woodsheds under a slate roof were put up in the close to the west of the barn. Until the college tap appeared the farm well was used. Each of the cottage doors had a drain in front for the household's waste water. This led into the Creampot Lane culvert.

The other longhouse type belonging to the college was a small farm on the Long Causeway [3]. To introduce the Devotions is an extract from widow Em Devotion's [3] inventory which was taken by John Claridge and John Hunt on the 5th and exhibited on the 6th of October 1634. The total came to £44 -2s -2d (Em's carts and tools can be found on page 439).

"All her wearing Apparell -----£2 10s/
 In the hall a table and forme and/ two benches a chayre two little benches----- 5s/
 in the low chamber a bedstid a Cubbord/ a chest a forme" (etc)----- 10s/
 "in the dayryain buttrees too churnes/ a cheesepresse too shelves three kivers/
 one cobole too barreles milk vessell and/ a bolting huch a wollin wheele." £1/
 "in the Chamber over the hall too beds/stides one Coffe too barreles a kiver/
 and sertayne Corne and Cheese"-----£2/
 "eyght payre of sheets halfe a doz of nap/kines to table Cloath too toweles and/
 other small linnen -----£2- 3s 4d
 the brasse and pewter -----£2- 2s 6d
 too beasse-----£6/
 one mare and Colt----- £4 -3s- 4d
 sixteen sheepe-----£5- 6s- 8d
 too hogges----- 13s- 4d
 the pultrye----- 8s- 0d
 the Crophe of haye and Corne----- - £15- 6s- 8d"

5) Devotions Husbandmen on the Long Causeway [3]

THOMAS DEVOTION m GRACE = John Smithe
 bur. 21 April 1551 | m 20 Nov 1553

GEORGE WILLIAM PETER HARRY ANNES
 pre 1538? bp 9 Nov. 17 July 17 Apl. 11 Oct.
 bur28.6.82 1540 1543 1546 1549
 Husbandman bur5.10.54

m ALYSE
 2 Oct 1564
 [3] bur 4 Mar.1593/4
 Will+ & Inv.

THOMAS DEVVYS alias DEVOTION alias DYER WILLIAM
 bp16.6.67 + m EM Whiting [14] m?
 bur12.4.1631 | bp 4.3.67/8 |
 Husbandman m 8 May 1591 2 daug +
 [3] bur 14.7.1634
 Will ^ & Inv. Will* & Inv.

ALYCE ELIZABETH EM GEORGE WILLIAM THOMAS URSULA JOHN ANNE
 bp7 July 5 Feb 21.6 30 Jan. 4 Nov. 26 Apl. 28 May 18.3 22.4
 1591 1592/3 1594 1596/7 1599 1603 1606 1608/9 1615
 bur4.3 bur 5.4. bur10. Husb. ? m? Home?24 ? ?
 1593/4 1595 4.1658 * ^ bach * ^ < * ^ ^ * ^ * ^
 * ^ sp [3] <
 Will < & Inv. |
 Home1613 THOS WAM MARTHA GEORGE HENRY
 1615,16,19 < < < < m Kath <
 Wilkes 1669

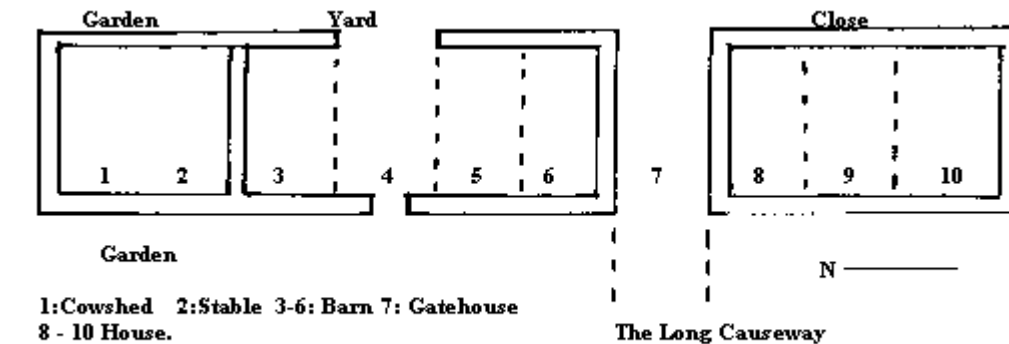
1614: Tho devotion vx ijd 1624: Thomas devotion et uxor ijd
 Alice devotion [c.o.] ijd
 ursula devotion ijd.

The average for the household for the 8 listed years was 5.0.

This house really belongs with the rest of the husbandmen, but the information from the College records makes it worth while to put it with the long house types where it also belongs.

The Devotion's [3] long-house was situated on the Brasenose estate on the edge of their Manor farm meadows. The grass yard and orchard, of just over an acre, were barely above the flood line, surrounded by a mound and fence in which the tenant must plant trees every year. In 1766 this still applied and the orchard and rickyard hedge contained twentyfour elms, twentytwo ashes and fifteen elm and ash weavers. Over the road the small farm had half an acre of "Coppus" whose hedge contained thirtyseven elms, nine ashes and eighteen elm and ash weavers. There are no records to say what kind of underwood was being coppiced, but hazel was always in demand. Alyse left iron wedges and a hatchet, their tools for tree felling and coppice work (Fig.26.10 p419).

The long-house was about a hundred and twentyfour feet from gable to gable, which was an unusual length. Each bay would measure 11.6' with 2 or 3 inner walls and two gable end walls. The first college terrier [BNC:552] to survive for this site, described a house of four bays, a barn of four bays, a stable and cowhouse of two bays. All stone walls and thatched. In 1704 the house is described as "The dwelling house and buttery three bays. Barne and gatehouse five bays. Stable and Cowhouse two bays" [BNC:554]. The gatehouse being now included with the barn and not the house as before. The barn's four bays and gatehouse may have had three tie-beams and two barn inner gable walls to support the roof? The last two bays for horses and cattle were divided by a wooden partition. With the deep Causeway ditch a bridge would be necessary to reach the gateway and the barn's double doors opening onto the yard. The gate also serving to keep driven stock going to market out of Devotion's yard. Which of the four bays would they use for the cart doors and threshing bay?



D26.9 Reconstruction of Devotion's House and Barn [3].

Reconstruction of Devotion's House and Barn [3].

With only one farm entrance the full harvest cart must enter under a high gatehouse lintel because of the loads swinging round to at least bay (4) to the barn's double doors. After unloading they would reverse out and leave by the gatehouse (7) for another load. There are no references to a gatehouse loft, but why did they need the gatehouse in the first place? It is not mentioned in the early inventories as nothing belonging to the tenant was kept there. Was the house planned to be separate from the barn? It was more likely, due to the nether bay in the house that the barn once had two doors and (8) was then part of the huge barn. Or was it conceived as two joined smallholdings so that (1 and 2) were the other house?

Only the Brasenose properties went in for gatehouses (though Hunt's [16] on the A manor could have had one) and this may have been something to do with whoever was responsible at the College for development of the estate. It would be interesting to check if another manor on the College estate also had gatehouses. Besides Devotion's they had one next door at the manor farm [8], though this was part of the stable and more an entrance to the walled farmyard. In Church Lane the present old Bakery [19] also had a gatehouse with a later chamber over (p428).

The two inventories reveal the following rooms:

Thomas Devotion May 1631.....	Em Devotion October 1634
Neather Chamber	Low Chamber
Hall.....	Hall
Chamber over ye Hall	Chamber over the hall
Boulting house.....	Dayryain buttree

The house had a hall and a low chamber off it where the parents still slept. There was also a combined buttery and dairy. In 1631 they mention a nether chamber which was usually below the hall, but was it the same room as the low chamber? Upstairs there would be two chambers, though only the one over the hall was recorded. George the eldest son would have settled in an upper chamber and this would not be mentioned. The corn was stored upstairs as well as the hard cheeses put to mature on racks. The well was to the rear of the house.

The house and barn were built almost against the causeway ditch, presumably the highest and driest part of the acre. The property was demolished in 1898 and a new row built behind the original. Local knowledge had the two best cottages made from the house at the southern end (bays 7- 10). Presumably there were two more cottages taken out of the barn and two small one bay dwellings out of the stable and cowhouse at the northern end. The six cottages were made out of the smallholding before the 1850's and the better off tenants had the house end, one of them having the old hall inglenook fireplace. This was paying a hearth tax in the 1660's for the tenant was still a husbandman paying rates. The whole land in 1754 was revalued at £13-12s-10d for the 26.5 acres. After Enclosure this went down to 20.5 acres, but by 1810 they had barely 13 acres.

Devotions were sometimes called Diers sometimes Devvys or other various spellings. Who were Thomas Devotion's ancestors? His grandfather, another Thomas, had married Grace and they had at least five children, four boys and a girl by 1549. The eldest George was born before 1538. Their father died in 1551 and his widow remarried two years later. Her husband John Smythe managed the land during the minority of George, but the lease was in Grace's hands. She had it as a sub-tenant to Richard Leashe a Berkshire yeoman. He had taken out the lease in 1574 and could have been responsible for the rebuilding, but we do not know. Grace (why not her son George?) must keep the house in repair and the mounds and fences. The lease ran for twentyone years.

Grace's son George married Alyse in 1564. They had at least two sons, Thomas in 1567 and William. George was farming two and a half yardlands in 1578 and after he died in 1582 his widow Alyse continued on two yardlands. Like many widows she managed with the help of her fifteen year old son. He courted Em Whitinge on the Green and they were married in 1591 (p532), rather young for Cropredy, while his mother still farmed. Thomas was twentyfour and Em twentythree and this allowed them time to have nine well spaced children.

Alyse Devotion died in March 1594 leaving to William's "gyles" her clothes, and the rest to Thomas. Her inventory was taken a fortnight later by John Russell [13], Thos French [4] and Edward Lumbert [14]. She had a half share of some goods, but had kept the kitchen utensils, her cow, a pig and hog fed from her cheese or butter whey, three hens and a cock. In March two small lands of maslin were hers besides half the barn corn worth 13s-3d.

Alyse had still been helping to farm and had not retreated to being in her room entirely. Why was she not on a third part of the farm instead of a half, as her son already had three girls to feed? By then the farm was down to one yardland.

The following year the two eldest girls died leaving the third daughter Em as the eldest. In the eight years covered by the Easter lists Em junior was at home for four of them and when her sister Ursula was nineteen she too was at home. The brothers George, William, and Thomas are away gaining experience for they were over eighteen. The holding could not support them all. In 1614 Thomas was fortyseven and Em fortysix, yet she was apparently expecting Anne their last child, twenty four years after their first was born (or could it mean that the last child, Anne, was really Em junior's daughter?). No adult staff were employed to help, just various members of the family, probably taking it in turn.

Thomas Devotion died aged sixtyfour. His inventory taken in 1631 adds only a few more details about the house. The nether chamber had one bed and upstairs were two more. All the cooking was done on the hall fire and the churn, cheese press, barrels and kivers went into his boulding house. His widow Em farmed on with George, but he did not become the tenant in his own right while his mother was alive. Em's "wollen wheel" had not been on Thomas's inventory although there was 10s of yarn and wool in the farmhouse.

This time Em's harvest was in and as George had not married and no marriage contract had had to be made, dividing up the land, it was all assessed as hers. George was thirtyfour when his father died and thirtyseven when his mother died leaving him

to pay the legacies to all the children at their marriage. His mother had increased the legacies (p179). George remained a bachelor and the three surviving girls may have remained spinsters.

Thomas and Em's third son Thomas married and had at least five children in another parish, according to his sister Em's will made in 1662. One of her nephews, George, who called himself a yeoman, married Katherine Wilkes of Wardington in 1669. Theirs was a short marriage for by 1673 he made a will asking her to take over his estate. It was one of Katherine's relations a Thomas Wilkes who with his wife Ann had the small Cropredy farm [3] from 1678. The Wilkes were still tenants a hundred years later when the land was enclosed. The property being described as three houses and a close. The land belonging to the holding had now shrunk and become too small to farm separately. The College added it to Springfield Farm [6] and the long building was turned into six cottages. These were found by the architect W.E.Mills to be beyond repair in 1898 [BNC. 217]:

"The cottage with the best accommodation, namely that at the end, furthest from the village, is in a dangerous state, and if the roof timbers were removed the greater part of the front and back walls would fall outwards.

"The outer walls of all the cottages are very much out of the perpendicular, caused mainly by the sinking of the roof timbers....None of the cottages have more than two Bedrooms, and one possesses only one and a fair sized landing, which is used as a bedroom.

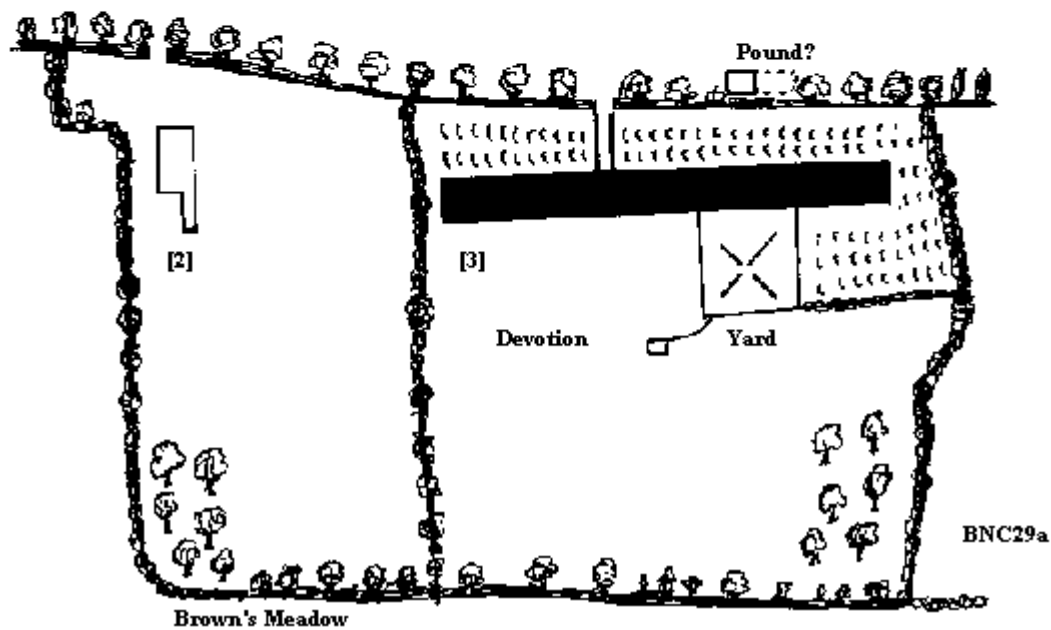
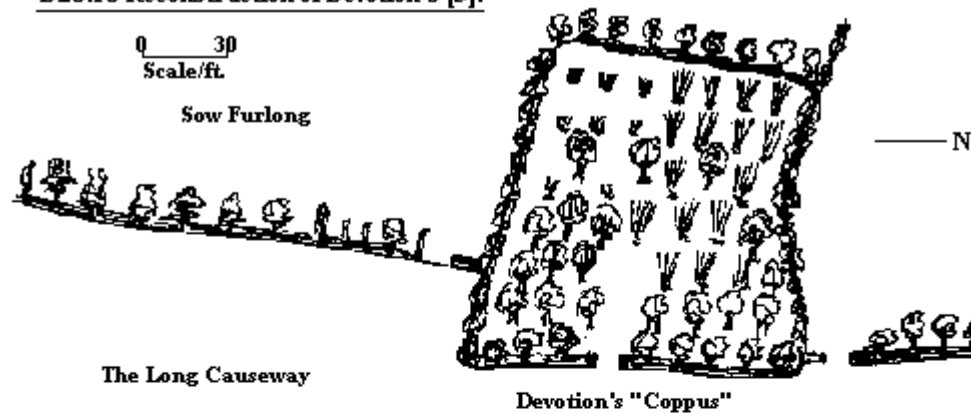
"The floors are all very much worn and uneven, and the ceilings exceptionally low.

"The walls are damp, and the living room floor is about a foot below ground level...They are evidently wanted, but I feel sure they have had their day...there is no alternative but to pull them down.."

The Devotions house lasted three hundred years. Houses that become cottages are the first to suffer from lack of repairs. The rents barely covered the outlay.

While most husbandmen could thatch, or employ a thatcher to keep the roof watertight and prevent the timbers rotting, various records show that landlords or sub-landlords put repairs off until to-morrow. Truss's house and barn, once they were turned into cottages suffered the same fate. With perhaps no extra land in Cropredy, though Wilkes had connections in Wardington, the farm's produce would hardly keep up with inflation in the early nineteenth century. The coppice across the Long Causeway was taken into Springfield's garden and all the valuable underwood vanished.

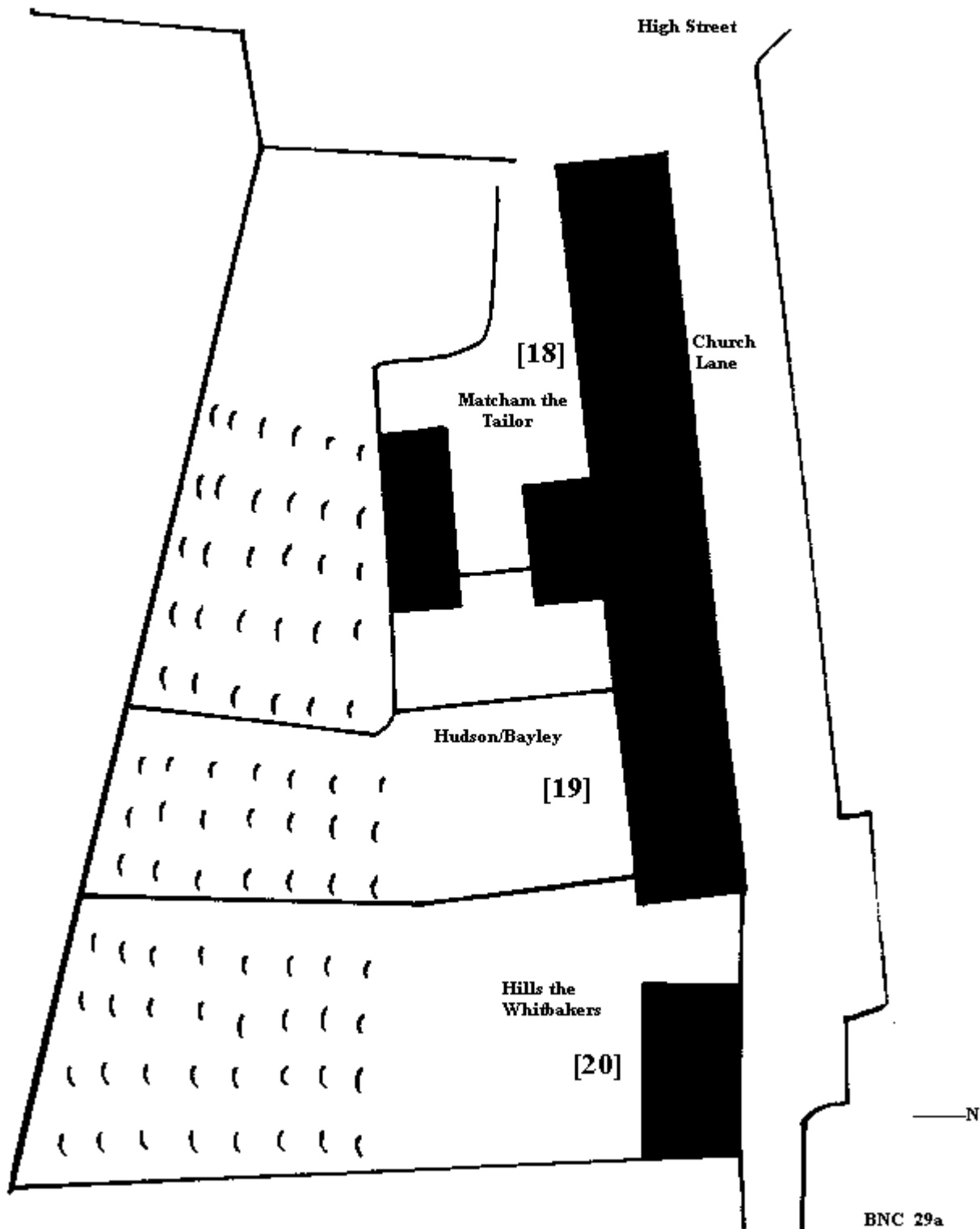
D26.10 Reconstruction of Devotion's [3].



Reconstruction of Devotion's [3].

27. Brasenose Trade Cottages

D27.1 Plan of Brasenose Cottages in Church Lane [18-20].



Plan of Brasenose Cottages in Church Lane [18-20]

Copyhold commons attached to particular cottages on the Brasenose estate are recorded in a terrier of around 1704. Would it be possible to trace these cottages back to the time when they were built in stone? M.W. Barley found no properties which would certainly have ranked as cottages surviving from a date earlier than 1700 [*The English farmhouse and Cottage* 1961 p76]. A cottage could be of one to three bays and a husbandman's two, three or more. Difficult to define. A cottage without at least half a yardland in Cropredy did not contribute to the poor rate, but a cottage leasing a half yardland parcel was eligible. It would appear the land, not the cottage, was the basis for paying rates. Some of the tenants leasing land in 1663 were on the hearth tax list in spite of being only cottagers. R.B. Wood-Jones did not find many artisan's or labourer's cottages for the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, but on the whole his work concentrated on yeomen's dwellings in the Banbury area, and Cropredy was mainly a town of husbandmen and artisans. His attention was however caught by the one cell cottage [42] which was about to be demolished, having been left to run down for several years [Wood-Jones: Fig.52 p179]. Plant's and Boddington's husbandmen's cottages were described from Great Bourton, but the lesser cottages belonging to the College he passed by. Partly I suspect because the remaining ones have suffered from massive alterations over the years, and better yeoman dwellings still remained in other parishes, and partly because in the 1950's documentary evidence was not so easily available. This is not a criticism, nor do I wish to detract from the tremendous value the *Traditional Domestic Architecture in the Banbury Region* has been as the main authority for the house survey. The vicar's tithe books and Easter lists had not been repaired and family reconstitution could not be done for a complete area, nor wills and inventories searched all round Banbury for these have to be left to local societies to collect. Even when they have all been transcribed the problems of attaching inventories to existing buildings is often frustratingly difficult, and would have failed in Cropredy without the help of the Holloway documents.

The terriers made between 1667 and 1670 for the larger College properties all declared them stone built and thatched. What of the cottages? Had they been built prior to the College survey of 1704? One of the reasons for putting forward the theory that the tenant had helped to fund the rebuilding was the fact that their rents remained the same before and after the new stone cottages had been built. Or did the Brasenose college contribute the stone and raise the entry fine when rents were set by custom? The entry fines were certainly rising. Once the few court records belonging to the B manor were found they revealed the presence of certain copyhold cottages who paid a set rent and that the rents belonging to particular cottages were a great help to pick out and take individual cottages back in time. These can be traced back through the families into our period to meet up with the vicar's lists.

Two cottages in Church Lane paid 6s-8d [19 & 20] and Matchams [18] paid 10s. Redes having two cottage commons paid 13s-4d [55] and the blacksmith with three cottages as much as 16s [13]. Lucas [2] paid only 4s and Truss 8s [33]. Devotions [3] since 1566 fell into the farming group.

Having discovered the rent, any reference connected to it brought forward the name of the copyholder. Of the two which paid 6s-8d the Hills remained constant tenants right down to 1717. All changes on the second 6s-8d cottage copyhold could safely be attributed to the cottage next door [19].

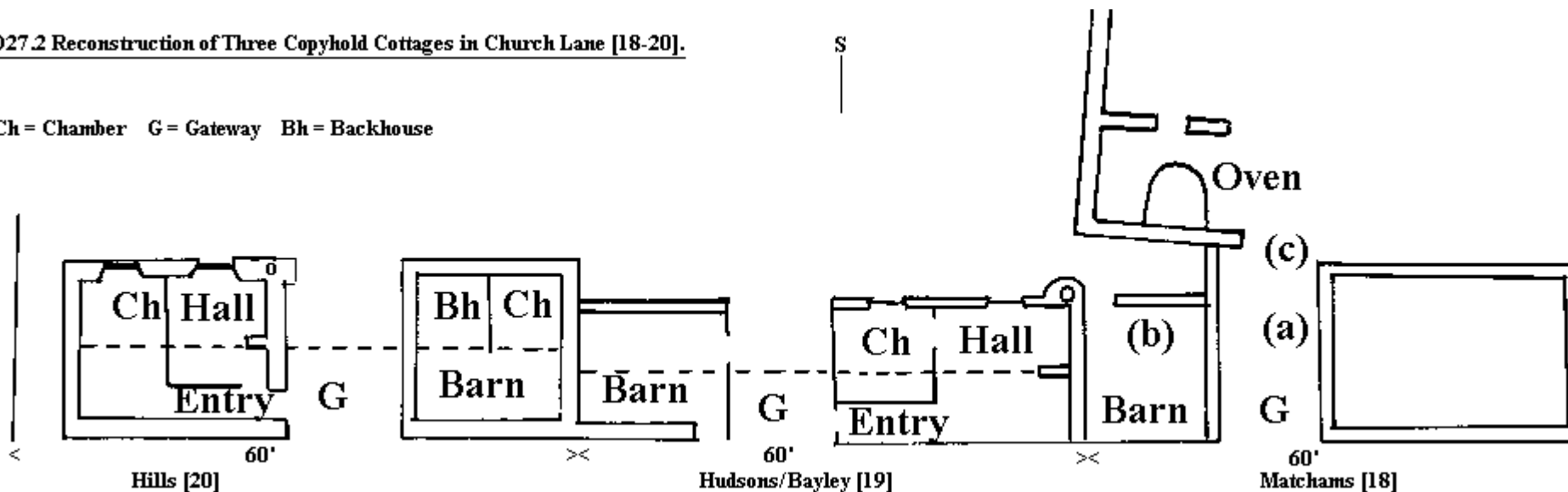
How, some are sure to be asking, can the presence of the family prove the cottage was built in stone? The seemingly impossible task of locating wills and their inventories to properties when manorial records are as scant as Cropredy's, can often render both sets of information quite useless in answering that question. However with the family reconstitution stretching as far back as the Easter lists, we have already seen they can be plotted house by house, albeit very slowly and tediously. Having placed each family at one of the sixty Cropredy properties, all those who were left from the shared registers ought to live in Great or Little Bourton and must be put on one side. Several other tithe lists were used to confirm the findings as well as a patient and time consuming search on the ground for collaborating evidence, which was and still is vanishing at a very fast rate. Having finally placed inventories to a site, they were then searched for evidence of hearths, fire equipment and hall chimneys (ch.38) and finally the house survey was used to weigh up the evidence. Difficulties still arose especially when cottages over the years have been altered. All the reconstructions of these early buildings must be treated as suggestions only. They became necessary to try and interpret the documentary evidence.

It might be that the smaller cottages stood more chance of a longer survival rate on the Brasenose estate than the A. Manor, because after enclosure of the Open Common Fields the A manor landlord had to sell off cottages in the town. This will have to be asked again after sifting through the evidence. Farm tenants were able to purchase the A manor properties to house their married staff. On the College estate some of the cottagers remained, but others were unable to do the necessary, but increasingly expensive repairs before being allowed re-entry. Or was it the lack of sufficient cow pastures and no parcels of land to lease which had once kept them more independent and able to renew their copyholds? After 1775 the College did sell the smallholding near the river [55] to the Oxford Canal Company who promptly rebuilt in brick. By 1872 all copyhold cottages were sold off to the tenants [BNC:217]. Devotion's old farm was turned into cottages (p418). The middle cottage [19] in Church Lane had been drastically altered in 1814, and after 1872 Lamberts practically rebuilt Matcham's [18], by then three cottages, into two and a half storey dwellings. It had changed from being Matcham's the tailors to Lamprey's the mercers to

becoming Lambert's the wheelwrights. The third one [20] had the roof raised in this century and many years later a complete internal rebuild. Hill's barn was sold to next door [19] where John Allitt, butcher, baker and farmer lived before moving to Home Farm [39]. At first he had the one bay barn as a butcher's shop and then for a Sunday School before the vestry commissioned the fine Church Rooms designed by the Banbury architect W.E.Mills before he moved to Oxford.

D27.2 Reconstruction of Three Copyhold Cottages in Church Lane [18-20].

Ch = Chamber G = Gateway Bh = Backhouse



Reconstruction of Three Copyhold Cottages in Church Lane [18-20]

Were these properties originally built to specifications insisted upon by the College? Truss's and Devotions had something in common, and the three in Church Lane would have begun with similar needs. Hill's [20] and Hudson's [19] may have been designed to have a very small barn linked by an open gateway which would serve to shelter equipment, the cow, or provide an area to thresh grain. At Matcham's [18] the Church Lane entrance into his yard could have been through a 13' gateway (a) beside a 15' barn (b) (Fig. 27.2). At some point prior to 1704 the 15'(b) had gone to [19] and become their third house bay. Matcham's site had a three bay barn built on the eastern side of his yard with a 7' entrance (c) from the gatehouse. A huge stone oven was housed inside the barn with the remainder taken up by a manger. The whole building overlapped behind [19]'s third bay (b). Once again the parcels of land seem to originate from 60' wide plots. In Church Lane these B manor cottages may each have started off with a whole plot. By 1775 this had changed (Fig. 27.1).

Unfortunately as Matcham's [18] has been partially rebuilt, even the original position of the hall and fireplace have been lost. Hill's [20] fireplace was thought at first to be on the eastern gable, but the upper floor window took up too much space. Then a photograph taken from the rear in the late nineteenth century, before the thatch was replaced, was discovered and this shows the chimney at the west end. A second photograph taken after the roof had been slated clearly reveals an older position of the hall or entry front window. This if central to the room was further east than at present due to the stone chimney taking up space in that bay. Local knowledge placed the entrance in the west wall at the street side of the chimney. This makes it difficult to understand how the entry described in the inventory was positioned (p351). They began their appraisal for William Hill's estate in the barn, crossed the possible gatehouse to the hall house which had the spits and pothangers and then went through a door out of the entry into "the chamber next to the entrye" with the usual bed, coffer and linen. A ladder or newel stairs took them up to the chamber over the hall. There was no mention of the chamber over the chamber which would have been his married son's room. The chimney must include a baker's oven possibly projecting back into the gateway. Where then did they put the newel stairs, remembered by the undertakers for their very awkwardness? The only place left was between the entry door and the inglenook.

Cottages on the whole tended to be built right against the edge of the road on the College manor, except for Lucas's [2]. Those in Church Lane being flush with the Lane which was very slightly convex. There was only room for "a slip of ground behind" [BNC:620]. At [19] this measured only 21 perch. Bokingham's [55] on a larger site was also hard pressed against the west edge to give the maximum space for an orchard and close. The blacksmith's cottages [13] were set right next to the road. One faced the river and the second had the gable end to the front using only one corner of the close while the smithy across beyond the entrance took up the south east corner with the stables behind. The barn had the north side of the yard. Truss's [33] was also built right by the verge. It would seem that although the cottages had different amounts of land they all, except Lucas [2], had some barn accommodation.

In Church Lane all three had a cow common. Hill's [20] and Hudson/Bayley's [19] who paid a rent of 6s-8d and "a herriot when it happened," had no arable land. The fine for entry to [19] in 1703 was 20s. At the Court Baron held at the Brasenose Manor farm [8] in about 1671 "came the owner of a cottage [18] and two acres and renewed her holding for self and son by leave of the court." The rent was 10s and she was "to perform the old suit and service." Widow Matcham swore fealty and was again admitted. To be readmitted the customary tenants had first to surrender their holding using the symbol of a rod or twig, and then, once the entry fine was paid and the oath sworn they could again take up the rod and be given their half of the copy duplicated in the manorial roll. Their tenancy was then renewed.

The reason the tailor's rent was more than his neighbours' was because he had more land. Matcham's acre piece in Sarewell furlong being part of the North Field and in the South Field they had two butts which were in the Middle Copthorne furlong.

Rents were still fixed in 1820 [BNC:873]. The tenant having to do repairs and keep the whole in good order. Checkleys had neglected theirs at [19] so that in 1812 the bursar noted it "consists of a house in ruins." The bursar "positively refused to listen to any treaty for renewal, till the buildings are rebuilt. Checkleys then requested to be allowed to diminish his buildings in length and to increase them in height, to this I consented" [BNC:620. 1814]. Six months later, the roof raised, a new brick front and inner gable (with extra fireplaces?), Checkley was allowed to pay his entry fine and put in a tenant. He reused the stone for the rear walls reducing them to no more than 18" thick. How far into the road had Checkley's once protruded, for even with a thinner brick wall at the front, the inner measurements were only 13' deep after his renovations? Next door at Hill's [20] their two house bays had an internal depth of 15'9" with 22" walls. Had Checkley diminished the width rather than the length? The extra bay (b) was taken from [18] for a scullery and attached to the middle cottage, but there was no access from the scullery to the hall. Could this have been in exchange for a piece of garden behind [19] before 1775 (Fig. 27.1)?

An earlier inspection visit in May 1766 found the bursar at Lamprey's [18] and Langley's [20]. Lamprey had allowed the three bay barn on the east side of the yard to fall out of repair. The bursar reported "ye Rafters all decayed and the thatch off. Lamprey promised to put on new rafters and thatch it immediately" [BNC:458]. No doubt being nervous of what would happen if he did not. Had there been a storm for his neighbour's barn [20] also needed attention? The bursar had written: "Langley's cottage. A small Barn wanting a new roof and I have marked 8 small ashes for it - in ye garden and left standing 3 ash weavers and 2 elm" weavers [BNC:458]. In his small garden of 22 perch they had to use the boundaries to plant ash and elms for future roof rafters. From building evidence and photographs the thatch on their cottages and barns came down to within eight feet of the ground. They were steep and the upper chambers were well into the roof.

While the A manor reorganised allowing cottagers some leyland, the B manor had not increased their lesser tenants' land. They were well below, or quite without the four acres recommended by the later act of 1589.

Absolutely essential was access to water. Some had good drinking water and others had wells which were only used for washing. The Church Lane cottages each had a well near their south wall. Matcham's [18] was not used for drinking when Lambert's were in residence. They went over to the deep well opposite [23], which was an old one lined with stone and producing excellent water.

An extract from William Hill's inventory taken and exhibited on the 5th of August 1631:

..."In the Chamber next to the entrye

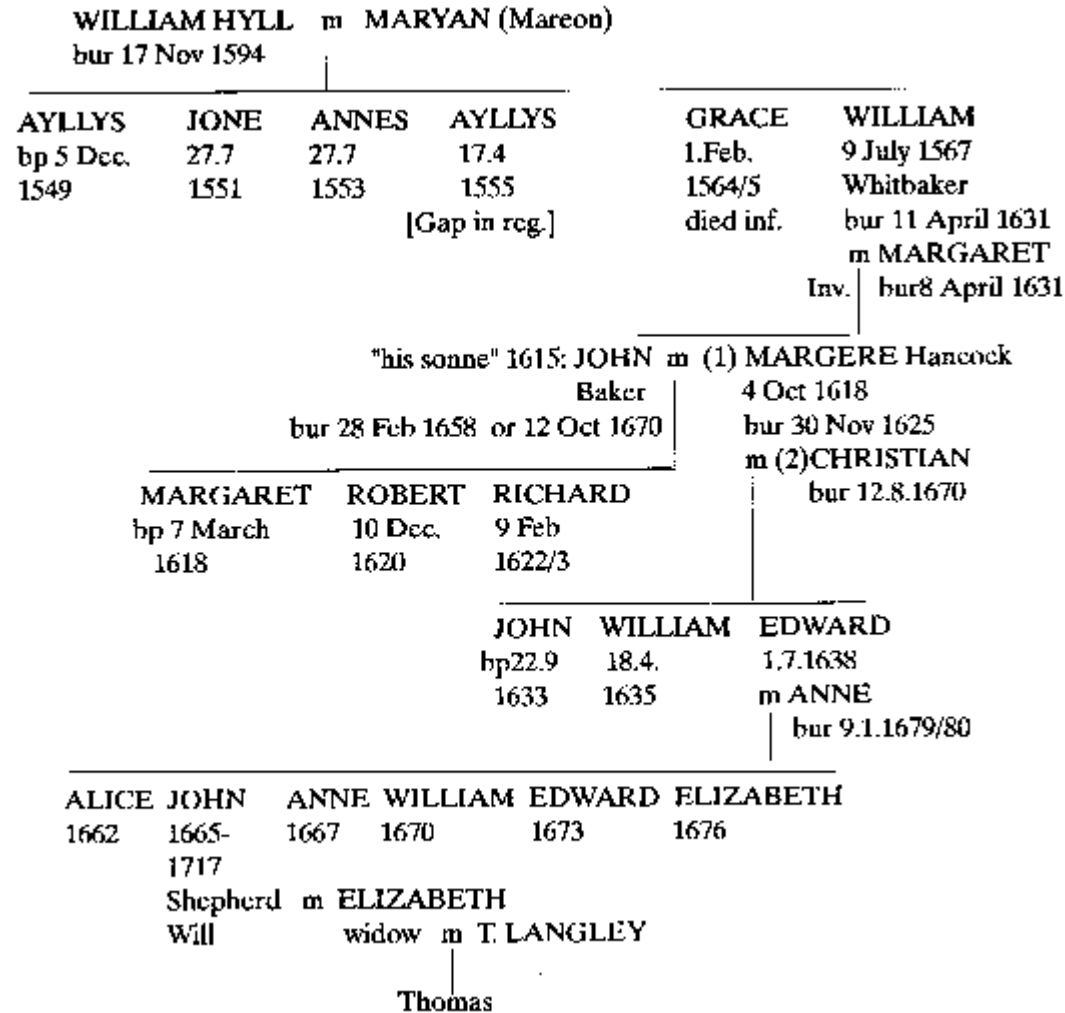
One Bedsteade and furniture to it -----xiijs iiijd/

Two coffers and other cowperware -----vs/

The Linnen -----vjs/"

..." His Wearing Clothes ----- vjs viijd/" Total 3£ -14s -4d.

The Tenants



Hills the Whitbakers of [20] Church Lane

1614: wam hill uz ijd..!624: John Hill et uxor.... ijd
William Hill et uxor ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 2.87.

An undated terrier of around 1704 [BNC: 554] states "John Hills Tarry of one cottage"... "The dwelling house two Bays./ The Barne one bay" [altered to one from two?] "all stone walls and thacked/ and one Little Garden Plott."

The cottage was one and a half storys high. The church rooms have since taken up the barn's 20' and some of the gatehouse's 14'. The western front entrance has also been moved to the north elevation onto Church Lane.

Inside the barn Hill's had two small chambers and possibly a cow stall with loft over the whole bay. The outside measurements of Hill's cottage were 25' 9" by 19' 9" deep. The barn and gate house taking up approximately another 34'. A small passage down between the Parsonage Close opposite the vicarage and Hill's eastern gable end brought the garden to just over 60' wide by 115' to 120' long. Once the barn was lost the garden was reduced in width for the land behind belonged to the middle cottage.

The son had already taken over the bakery so William Hill had one of the lowest inventory totals of £3-14s-4d. William and Margaret had died from some fever sweeping the town. To have ignored them and declined to make an inventory because of their poverty would have been unthinkable, yet did their very presence in a house where fever had killed two people put the appraiser's lives in jeopardy? One of those John Hill asked to come was John Stacey [35] whose relation Thomas had died the day before. William Brasse the wayfarer seems to be a possible suspect for the outbreak of the 1631 fever which spread through Cropredy (p448). Fortunately neither of the two appraisers, nor John Hill appear in the burial register soon after. The Stacey's had only been married for a couple of years and they had taken over Hentlowes [35] house down Creampot Lane.

William was a whitbaker and learnt his trade from his father William. His son John, grandsons John and Edward and great grandson John son of Edward carried on as tenants of the copyhold. The last John became a shepherd. The Hills had security of tenure, dry stone walls and providing the roof was well cared for each generation was allowed to enter the next life and remain there. They did have one problem as the growth of ovens built in with the stone chimneys increased in the late sixteenth century. This made it more than necessary to find outwork on the farms and so Hill earned the title of labourer, especially as by then his son was the baker. The father had had to sell his only remaining asset, his labour for a wage, and was thereby declared a pauper. William Hill's inventory was taken on the 5th of August 1631 (The date given for when this inventory was exhibited was also the day it was made (p160). Were both dates accurate?):

In the Back

In the Chamber next the Back house

In the Hall house

In the Chamber next to the entrye

In the Chamber over the Hall

In the hall their fire tools included a spit and their cooking kettle and pots were of brass. They even had 4s worth of pewter. The room had an expensive "cubbert" worth 10s. Was this just large, or was it carved and a precious heirloom? In addition to the usual table there were two forms and one chair. They did not need to sleep in the hall, because they had their bed in the second bay with their son above, keeping the hall chamber as a store for an old bed and three spinning wheels. Or were these William's belongings and as his grandchildren's beds did not belong to him they were not written down? The women might earn some money spinning, but providing enough for their own clothes had obviously become a problem as the whitbaker's wearing apparel was worth only 6s-8d. It could have been even less if that very small amount included Margaret's as well for she had died three days before him.

Where did they make the bread which was cooked in the oven? Was it across the covered way in the back house made inside the barn for there they had a "bolting which" for their flour and two kivers used for making the dough which were worth 4s.

In the "Chamber next the Back house" Hill's had another storage "cubbert" and one coffer. Was this where they stood the bread to cool, or was that the purpose of the hall's expensive "cubbert?" The lower half of the barn had been made into a preparation and storage place and as there was no mention of a shop, or even a shop board no room had to be set aside for one, just a cupboard.

William was a man without a cow when he died aged sixtyfour, having passed on the responsibility to John and his second wife Christian who had John's three children to provide for. William need no longer set the cow commons to Henry Hill [58] as Holloway's tithe book recorded (p231). On two occasions in the Poultry book William gave the vicar two hens so he had once kept poultry. Before he died his son must have taken over the cock and hens.

Hills [20] lived opposite the vicarage [21] and sometimes purchased corn from the Holloways as they had no arable strips of their own. Did they buy it unthreshed and take it into the gatehouse to thresh and winnow prior to going down to the miller with a bushel of corn whenever they were going to bake the next day?

William and his wife Margaret did not baptise John at Cropredy which may mean William had worked elsewhere, only to return when his own parents passed the business on. In the lists we find John at home in 1615 which meant he was by then over eighteen. By 1631 John was in his thirties and doing most, if not all, of the baking. What other contract work did they do to supplement their income besides helping with hay and corn harvests?

The Hill family [20] it was discovered stretched back to William and Maryan whose five girls were baptised between 1549 and 1564 and then the family was completed in 1567 by a son William, the next tenant, and so on down to 1717. At that particular Court Baron held in Cropredy Elizabeth Hill, widow of John, re-entered the copyhold with two lives. In 1721 she married again and Thomas Langley entered his life and their son Thomas's on the copyhold.

The south side of Church Lane began with the vicar's stable and barn in the churchyard, then the hedge of the Parsonage close and the three copyhold cottages tenanted by Hills, Hudson/Bayley and Matchams. At the end of their gardens the three cottages butted into the orchard at the rear of Hunt's [16]. Only Matcham's garden could poach the verge at the edge of the Green acquiring 7 perch by the nineteenth century. Every inch of land could be put to good use.

Hudsons and Bayleys of [19] Church Lane.

WILLIAM HUDSON m JOANE
 Gone by 1617 | bur 21 April 1611
 ANNE bp 23 June 1593

WILLIAM BAYLEY (BAGLEY) m ELLEN (Alice) Trusse
 | bp 21 June 1584 [33] (p410)
m 12 Nov. 1612
 WILLIAM JOHN
 bp12 Sept. 5 Nov.
 1613 1618
 Left by 1624

RICHARD ANDREWS m ELIZABETH MALINS [53]

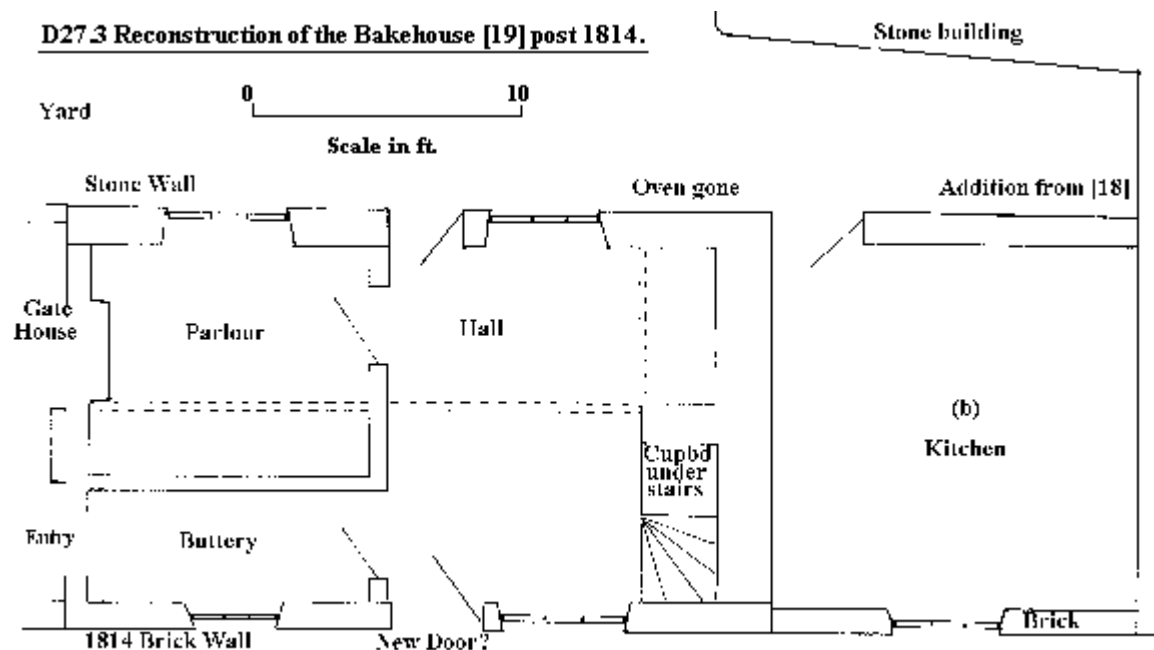
married 25 July 1616

1614: wam bagly ux ijd...1624: Richard Andrewes et uxor ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 2.75.

"The dwelling hous three bays/ barne and Gatehouse Two bays/ all stone walls and Thacked./ One Little Gardinge Plott"
 [BNC:554. c1704].

D27.3 Reconstruction of the Bakehouse [19] post 1814.



Reconstruction of the Bakehouse [19] post 1814

Hudson/ Bayley's barn at [19] was attached to Hills, but it lacked the depth being only 13' inside. They kept part of the stone gatehouse but surely rebuilt the rear stone wall of the house in 1814. By then brick was coming into fashion and Checkleys rebuilt the front in brick. Two of the house bays had the thatch roof raised, but the third bay (b) remained a single storey scullery kept as an outhouse with no entrance into the hall. The newel stairs and the inglenook took up the whole 13'. Even the oven must project southwards. The original entry was again from the gateway, but after a brick wall replaced the old inner gable the entrance was moved to the front and the old entry became the buttery with the chamber behind in the east bay, leaving the hall to the middle bay. By doing this the buttery was to the front of the house. It is not always possible to see which was the dominant front wall. Was the brick elevation the important one after 1814, but before that the stone elevation facing the small garden? After the alterations the hall had not only a new front door, but a rear door to reach the kitchen. The hall and lower chamber had their three light casement windows facing south? The two upper chambers had similar windows with the thatch coming down around them. The ladder or newel stairs led up to the hall chamber and an innermost chamber

beyond. A new chamber was made over the gatehouse in 1814. Could the three fireplaces have been added then to this chamber as well as the parlour and innermost chamber?

If so this was an early record for a cottage. To reach each bedroom they must still pass through a chamber to reach the next. The Allitts [19] who followed the Checkleys had a flour loft over the bakehouse in the barn. There was a through way to the loft from the bedrooms to get to the dough kiver first thing on dark mornings.

The barn and gatehouse measured 30' and the cottage another 30', with the scullery/ kitchen (b) crossing in front of half of Matcham's [18] barn adding another 15'. Across [19]'s yard on the south side there was a second stone barn and behind that part of Matcham's garden.

The various families for this property can be followed in the few Brasenose court records back to 1654. John Gardner's son Roger had it in 1775 and his father had entered it by marrying the only daughter of Richard and Francis Elkington. Both were described as labourers, having not then taken on a farm lease, or had given one up? It was discovered that Francis had been married before to Justinian Hunt and when he died in 1650 aged only twentyfive her marriage to Richard Elkington had given Richard access to the copyhold [Dew C4: Bodly & PCC 11/212]. Marrying an only daughter, or a widow, being one recognised way of obtaining a copyhold cottage. Another was to take over the care of a couple or elderly person who gave up the copyhold to be looked after. To go further back across a gap to the Easter lists the occupiers were established by the two neighbours and show that Hudsons and Bayley moved out and Andrews took on the copyhold all between 1613 and 1624. For some reason this cottage, most unusually, did not have a family coming down the centuries which may be due to the type of trade followed by the occupiers. Elkington and Gardner both had elder brothers, or relations who prospered, but younger brothers were less fortunate. It was hard for them to keep up with the same group they were born into. Such a cottage as this was ideal to begin their way up into a leasehold farm, or a trade.

Living at [19] were William and Joane Hudson who only baptised one daughter Anne in 1593. Anne must have left Cropredy for when the Bayleys married in 1612 they took on the care of William Hudson for Joane had died in 1611. William Bayley and his Cropredy wife, Ellin (or Alice) Truss from Creampot [33], were able to do so only because William Hudson had no surviving lives to enter on the copyhold. Baileys would "buy" their way in, and pay the entry fine and reward the widower by giving him the downstairs chamber, and his meat, drink and heat by the fire. Hudson's name was not entered in the Easter list of 1617 and yet no burial entry appears. Why did he leave? Had he become too ill for Ellin to manage? Or quite simply they buried him

with other ancestors in another parish, but away from his wife? Bayley's have the cow common after Hudson in the tithe accounts from 1614 -17. The young couple had poultry, giving the vicar a cock in 1615. They stay for seven years until some opportunity came their way and they moved, or the lease ran out.

Very seldom do women get left stock after they are married for it would go automatically to their husband, yet Ellin's brother John Truss [33], the shepherd, left her ten sheep when he died. Was she by then a widow, or was this another instance of a woman having her own stock as Mrs Holloway [21] did? Wherever the Bayleys had moved to they would have to lease enough sheep commons to graze them.

The next list of 1624 gives the occupiers as Richard Andrew and his new wife Elizabeth Mallins. Elizabeth was then aged thirty, a Cropredy girl from Round Bottom [53] (p473).

The Hills [20] as whitbakers in the sixteenth century had their oven in their house. The bakers of Church Lane in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries lived at [19], but there was also an ancient outside stone oven at the third property [18].

Matcham the tailor of [18] Church Lane

THOMAS MATCHAM m GILLIAN (Julian) Hunt
 Tailor m 14 June 1600
 bur 5 Dec 1629
 Will* & Inv

ANNE*	DORITHIE*	THOMAS*	JOHN*	EDWARD*
bp5 Apl. 1601	29 Jan. 1602/3	30 March 1605	11 Jan. 1606/7	15 Feb. 1608/9
Births at: intervals	1yr	18mth	13mth	16mth
				in Cropredy 1641. mJULIANA

1614: Tho matcham ux ijd1624: Thomas matcham et uxor ijd
wam fysher ...ux.ijd.....[Dorithie c.o.]
Anne matcham.....ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 5.62.

" Tarry of one cottage./ Two lands in middle Sarewell furland on the North side [Field] Wilkes [3] west / Two butts in middle Copthorn on the South side[Field] Wilkes south./
The Dwelling house three bays/ Barne and outhouses three bays/ All stone walls and thacked/ One little garden Plott"
[BNC:554 c1704].

An extract given below was taken from Matcham's inventory. Made by Thos Palmer and Richard Hunt on the 26th of December 1629 and exhibited on the 12th of April. The total came to £13 -9s -4d:

"...one bedsted three payre of sheets and one od/
sheete two blanketts and one winnow cloath----- xs/
one more bedsteed and one Coffe and/
one boltinge which ..(etc) in the house ----- xs/
one Table and fframe and one forme & stooles- ---- iijjs/
one floore of olde boards and one scaffold ----- viijs iiijd/
one great brasse kettle and one little one and one/
pott two platters and sawcers spoones and dishes xiijs iijd/
one barrell one payre of Cobberds six hens/
and one Cocke -----iijjs/..."

The Matcham's three bay cottage was once about 30' long with 28' between his house and [19]'s gable end. If the 28' gap was used for a barn and gateway then the whole Lane was designed as one piece. A second barn situated behind the front row on Church lane was measured in the 1970's. This had a 26' long south wall with an inside width of 11'6". It appears to be the remains of an old stone barn used as a stable at the east end and later made into a bakery. Later still it had a brewing furnace. An old 7' wide doorway was blocked to the north. A door and window faced west onto the yard and two blocked windows once faced southwards. Lambert's [18] filled the original garden belonging to their close with the wheelwright and building business. The three cottage dwellings made out of the house needed a place for a toilet, pigsty and washing lines in the small garden plot taken from the middle cottage [19]. Figure 27. 1 shows how complicated this site has become over the years when compared with a modern map.

The Matchams first appear in 1600 when Thomas married Gillian Hunt. The descent of this cottage passes from the younger son Edward and his widow to the Lampreys in the late 1670's. When Edward Matcham was tenant he may have set the land to neighbours.

Cropredy had a tailor on each estate, although a population of around three hundred could hardly support both of them and their families. Matcham had the advantage of a three bay house and stone farm buildings which Sutton lacked, but Thomas Matcham did have the disadvantage of a small yard and garden without an orchard. How far did Matcham's ride extend? Which big houses gave him work? His clothes bear witness to a better living than his other neighbours, being valued at £1. Thomas could write, but he called in the schoolmaster William Rede to write his will. He then added his own memorandum instructing his children to pay all expenses to save his wife the cost of proving the will.

Matcham had the security of being able to farm his small holding so that in the barn and house at the time of his death there were barley and peas worth 30s. A great deal from two lands in Middle Sarewell on Field End which were equal to an acre, and his peas in two butts in the South Field that year. For some reason the Sarewell land became known as Matcham's acre. How did it keep his surname? Cropredy Lawn Farm may now stand on his patch. In the South Field over the Broadway on Middle Cophorn's sloping scarp Matcham planted two butts of peas. The cow added her contribution to the family budget. He kept poultry, but from 1611 to 1619 he does not pay tithes on them. In the yard he would have hovels of wood for the winter cooking. Unfortunately they do not mention how his hall and chamber were placed, or the upper chambers. We know he had a chimney by his utensils and must expect the College to have built his cottage in stone to have attracted a tailor whose business was successful enough to support, as it turned out, five children and two adults and still manage to put money by. There was £7 out on bond, with the consideration. This was one way of safeguarding an entry fine, or heriot to be paid at the death of a life on the copyhold, but in this case it was for legacies after the death of the mother. Thomas and Gillian had been together for twenty-nine years and he was concerned for her welfare after his death.

This family spread out their children by a year or more. Dorothea, John and Edward gaining the most attention. Five children within nine years for a woman who no doubt was helping with the stock and land, and may often have been alone when her husband had to board at a house where he was taking, or fulfilling orders. All their children were still alive in 1629 according to their father's will. The youngest Edward was then twenty, but none had had their legacies. To the girls he left £2 each and for the boys £1.

The Matcham cottage and business passed to Edward the youngest. Perhaps in this case he waited to see which was most likely to survive and the most able with a needle before they went to the expense of entering his life on the court roll. Matcham left Edward an ell of canvas and a "newe jerkin forke." "He the said Edward paying for the jerkin." A cloak was left to Dorothe and the rest of his wearing apparel to John. That little matter of Edward having to pay for the forke for his garment, could he have been making it during his time working with his father? Edward was still in Cropredy in 1641 [Protestation Returns], but was it Edward's widow Juliana who appeared at court to renew for herself and son in 1671? In the copyhold record Juliana is called the "owner" for she could sell her rights to the cottage, with the College's permission [Hurst 137]. Each "life" entered upon the Roll was an asset which had its own value. The Matchams died, or surrendered to Lampreys who had arrived by 1684. Before 1731 they were once again allowed to keep a cow and bullock, or breeder [Hurst 207]. This stint on the common was exchanged for a close of land in 1775.

Bokingshams and Reads of Round Bottom [55]

EDWARD BOKINGHAM m MARRION bur 18 May 1625 Labourer Will made 1621* Inv. made 1625	Alehouse Keeper bur 9 March 1618/19
--	--

EDWARD* bp 31 July 1586 left	MARGERETE* 18 April 1588 left all alive in 1621*	GABRIEL* 29 Sept 1589 left	ALICE* no baptism record? bur 20 Aug 1669 Home 1614-19 m Wm READ [32] 1581-1659 m 20 April 1620 Schoolmaster, Parish Clerk bur 18 Sept 1659	ANNE* 15 April 1595 m E.Gibbs[25] 16.2.1625/6
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MARY READ bp 9 Sept 1621	EDWARD READ bp 16 Jan 1624/5 [55] d. 31 Jan 1691/2 Grave 222, Cropredy Servt to Rt Hon Sir Ffrancis North Parish Clerk: Register 4.8.1653 Labourer m ALICE Will + Purchased Hamm by mill = [X]
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EDWARD + Exor born 10 July 1655 bp. 10. Aug 1655 bur 20 Dec. 1721 Will 1722 ^ [55] m ELIZABETH [X] bur 22 July 1716	WILLIAM b. 14.9.1660 bp 23.9.1660 bur 27.8.1672	RICHARD bp 27.5.1665
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MARY ^ 1692 m S.Goode Grave 223 To Mollington	EDWARD ^ Exor 1693	ELIZABETH ^ 1694 [MSdd par Crop c26]	ALICE 1696 m Rich. Dunn [X became known as Dunn's Hamm]	ANNE ^ m Joanes
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1614: edward bokingham uz ijd....1624: Edward Bokingham ijd
.....his daughter.....ijd.....Anne Bokingham....ijd
.....his daughter.....ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.12

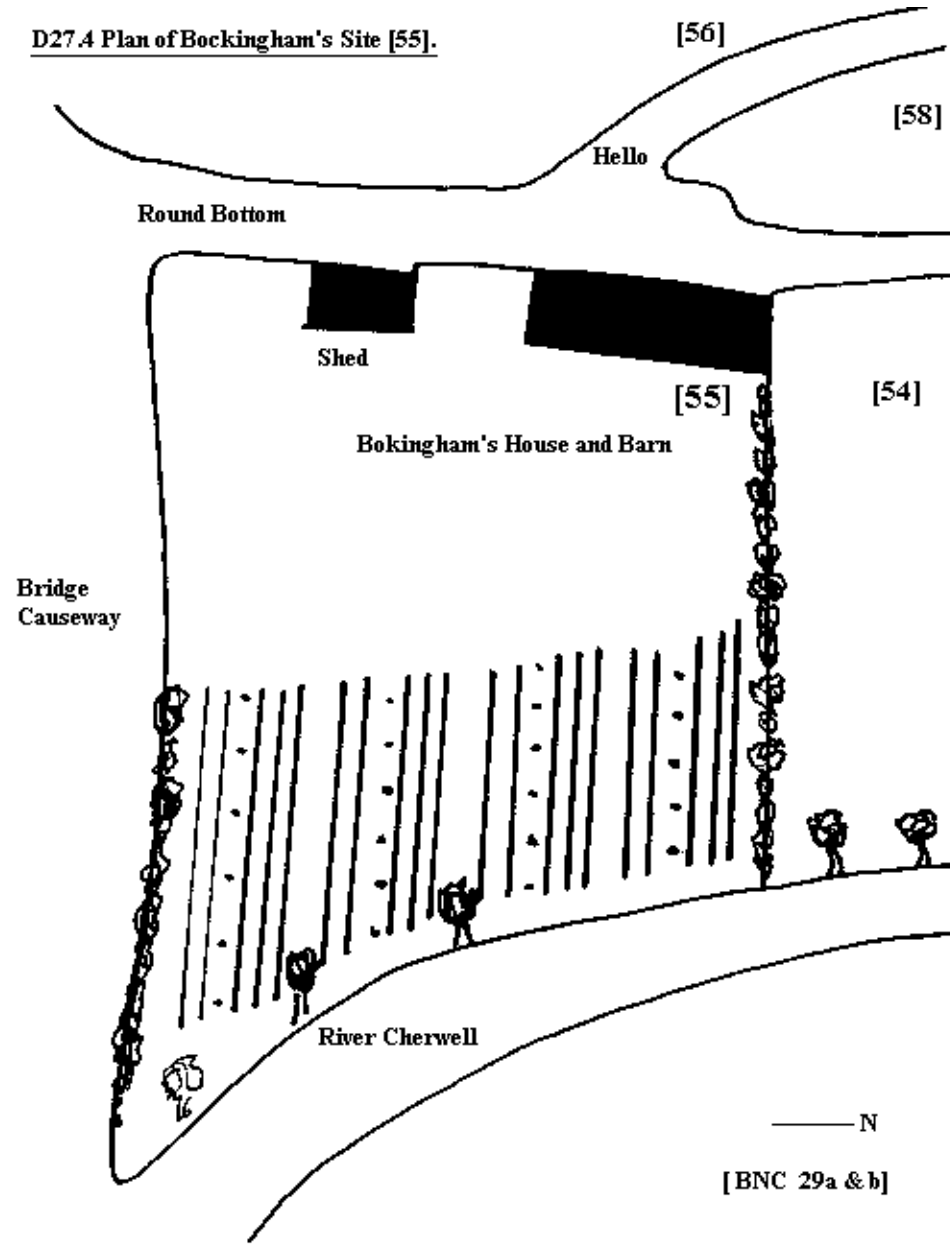
"Tarry of Two cottages./ Two butts in waterfurrow on the North side Read south/ Two butts in Illington furland on the South side Job Watts north./

The dwelling house three bays stone walls, and thacked/ barne and outhouses four bays and thacked orchard and/ backside about half an acre/" [BNC: 554 c1704].

Edward Bokingham's house and barn faced east and west. It was built right on the edge of the close opposite the entrance to Hello, with the last bay of the barn curving slightly with the lane. Alongside Round Bottom and next to the present house can still be seen remains of old stone walls. An inventory of Edward's goods was taken in May 1625:

Barn and Cowhouse Deahouse
Hall [Fire] Boltinge house
Chamber [2 beds] Chamber over Chamber

D27.4 Plan of Bokingham's Site [55].



Plan of Bokingham's site [55]

If the house and barn had been built in the long-house manner the three bay house was at the south end with the western entrance between the hall and nether bay.

In 1625 the appraisers began at the north end with the cowhouse where the carter could use the gable end to throw hay through a high door into Bokingham's loft as Edward had provided a scaffold over the beasts to take his hay. Up there he also stored his three ladders. Perhaps made by him and used as part of his carpentry business? The three bay barn would have the cart doors in the middle bay, but being May it was almost empty of corn, barely a bushel left. Passing on to the door which would lead from the barn into the nether bay they entered the working end of the house. Here Edward's late wife Marrion had all her brewing vessels in the deahouse. They do not say if the central chimney had been built with a back flue to take the copper. Part of this nether bay had a loft over but was never made into a chamber as Huxeley's was, because the whole property was rebuilt when the canal came. All they kept "over the deahouse [were] Certaine olde Boards & other od Implements" 3s-4d. The bay was divided, but apparently not by a partition, for "in the said deahouse one Iron Bar three shippickes one Axe three Hatchetts one Dungforke/ two Iron Rakes two sawes two old sithes two Augors a spooke shave one mattocke with three/ Leaden waights with certeine olde Iron---xs/ one hand barrowes one wheele barrowe--- xijd." Edward's workshop was for the smallholding and carpentry business as well as a store room for his tools.

Sacks were made with the carrier in mind, be it man or barrow. The top of the sack might have two handles, tied according to the contents. A man could use the handles to swing the sack onto his shoulders. Heavy sacks went on the hand barrow for two men to carry, while the wheel saved a man's labour. The size of the sack was limited by the width of the woven cloth, the weight the rounded side seams could hold and the local size of the bushel (p699).

Edward could no longer keep up his old trade and had become a labourer to someone else. Day labourers still had to provide their own tools and equipment. Were his wheel and hand barrows once used with his "leaden waights" for building and was he now engaged by one of the other carpenters? The site was ideal for a wheelwright's being on the Bridge Causeway and near the river for water when the tyres were put on the cart wheels, though even if he made his own barrow, it does not prove he was the missing wheelwright. The Eldersons [38], carpenters, also had a pond close by on Tanner's plot [39].

The appraisers all move on to the hall which had the chimney. Here Marrion would have served her ale to the customers. At the first Church court for 1616/17 held at Cropredy someone wrote a memorandum that on the 23rd of March, a sabbath "last past John Ethersey was in the house of Joane Buckingham drinkinge in tyme of devin prayer he being a church warden his wif

and tapster and ostler ded fetch him hom this I do of myself." This memorandum had been presented at the court and left unsigned. They had Mrs Bokingham's name wrong, but this was not unusual for she is one of the very few who they called by a christian name. Did she not warrant the respect of being Mrs Bokingham? The note mentions a tapster and ostler signifying an inn where horses were stabled and cared for by the ostler. Edward was carrying out at least one of these occupations as no extra staff are mentioned. Marrion died in the spring of 1619, leaving her daughters to carry on. Had they been taught to brew ale? Edward was still there to help, but the two sons seem to have left. The daughters had their spinning wheels to help supplement their purse, or to put by sheets for a dowry.

The appraisers possibly sat at the table and started with the equipment round the inglenook, beginning with the three little brass kettles. There were four brasen candlesticks for lighting the hall when customers came. By the hearth they had a skimmer, frying pan, gridiron and the pothangers with the pothooks. Unusually they included a "payre of sheeres sixe dishes/ two wodden Platters & one Ladle."

His pewter was equivalent to the price of a good ewe, but the five platters, five saucers, six spoons, one dozen trenchers and one salt were no longer top quality. The pewter had no doubt been much used and perhaps slightly battered from feeding the customers who had sat round the table on two benches, a chair and two stools.

The master Edward had begun to loft over the hall house and his boards had to go onto the list, but so far all he kept up there was "one drye Tub." His married daughter, Mrs Alice Rede/Read would have one of the upper chambers. In spite of his tools, or because he worked hard elsewhere as a carpenter and helped his wife when at home, the lower chamber still has a ladder to reach the new upper floors. In the south bay he had made an upper chamber and that had the beginnings of a cockloft which could be lit by a gable window. Up there he had an old coffer and his "lanthorne." The bolting house may have been in the usual buttery area, behind their bedchamber. A hundred years later there was a hall house, parlour and buttery as well as a nether house (the former brewhouse and dairy?). Bokingham's grandson Edward Read died in 1691 and his appraisers mention a new chamber and the chamber at the stairhead. All the ground floor rooms had chambers over except the nether house and the cockloft was now called a garret [MS. Will Pec. 50/3/33].

The smallholding by the Cherwell bridge had been partly taken from meadowland. The Bokingham's boundaries were formed by the river Cherwell on the east, the Bridge Causeway on the south, Round Bottom on the west and possibly the close belonging to Evan [54] the herdsman to the north. Bokingham's was a larger site and had two cottage commons attached.

The close having half a customary acre included the orchard and backside. This was under estimated for by 1775 it measured 1a 1r 2p, though over the years some further encroachments onto the verge could have taken place.

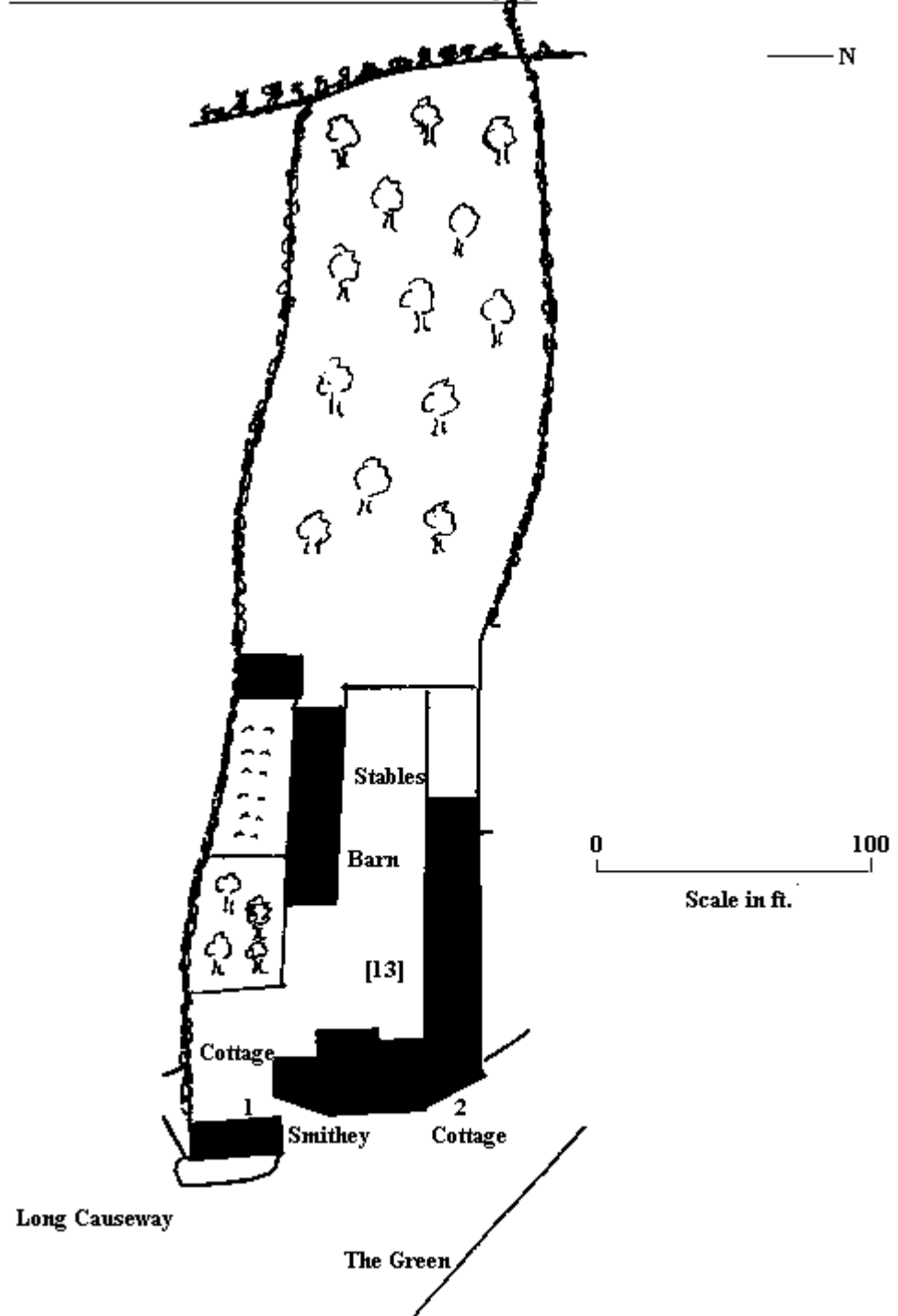
They had no ley land apart from their meadow close, but being next to the river could they get some hay from it? When Edward Bokingham died he had planted all his arable land, leaving none fallow. There were two butts of barley and two of peas. These in May were worth 30s. This was unusual for though peas could be used to replace fallow (p300), how did he manage to stop the stock entitled to graze the fallow from eating his peas? Had his arable land in the further Watering (off the Moorstone Road to Claydon) already been enclosed, being at the narrow western end of the tiny valley? Butts were often awkward pieces of land. Could he put hurdles across the end as an expensive solution to keep out stock grazing the fallow until a hedge grew up? His two crops were both planted in the spring. The two butts in Hillington furlong in the South Field may have been more difficult to protect. The cow commons had been set probably to his daughter when Edward became a widower though he kept the pig which would soon demolish the whey and barley grains from their brewing, but would still need some food grown in the garden to help fatten it up. In the house two flitchins of bacon had been hung up. The family were fortunate to have enough space to cultivate a garden to provide vegetables for the household.

Edward and Marrion's family records begin in 1586 with two sons and three daughters. One daughter Alice married the schoolmaster William Rede who was also the parish clerk (pp134,160) and Redes/Reads began a line of descent that only ended when his great grand daughter married Samuel Goode of Mollington and they let the place to a Toms who was a maltster from across Round Bottom [57]. Did this mean they still had customers drinking their ale throughout Reads time here? Could a schoolmaster's wife run an alehouse up to 1775? The College then sold the site to the Oxford Navigation Company and Simcox built the Navigation Inn and wharf there, but the canal split the close in half.

William Rede and Alice Bokingham were married in 1624, but out of all the inhabitants they alone, with the vicarage household are not on the lists. Was this because as parish clerk he was exempt from Easter oblations? They had in fact moved into [55] and then around the time their son marries the couple move up Hello to Palmer's cottage [59] where they appear on the 1659 rental. William died that year. The widow paid a tax on two hearths in 1663, which meant they had been leasing at least half a yardland and must pay rates and taxes. Their son Edward had been made the "Register" on the 4th of August 1653 during the interregnum (p134). He was a servant to Sir Francis North. Although called a labourer in his will, for he received wages, he did manage to purchase the two river "hamms" down by the Lower Mill, which were passed down to the

Dunns. He also trained a cousin, from Creampot Lane [32], to become a parish clerk.

D27.5 Reconstruction of the Brasenose Inn site [13].



Reconstruction of the Brasenose Inn site [13] 29a.

Russell and Denzie at the Blacksmith's [13]

WILLIAM DENZIE m ? [of Bourton] _____ **FREMUND** died at Cropredy 1609

RICHARD DENZIE m **CATHERINE** [28]
 Will 1559

JOHN RUSSELL m (1) Margery Gubbin
 bur28.4.1600: PCC Will * m28.10.1554 bur10.6.88
 Blacksmith [13] (2) **ELIZABETH**
 Farmer* ^

THOMAS m _____ **WILLIAM** m **ANNE** Russell widow
 _____ **ELIZABETH** 1539/40 m13 Sept 1584 m(ii)**R.TERRY**
ALESE Bourton bur 14.3.1596/7 Weaver
 bp.27.12.1563 m Richd bur15.9.1604
 Howse [28] 1581 PCC Will ^
 _____ m (iii)**R.Smith**
JOHN * **RYCHARD** **THOMAS*** **FREMUND***
 bp15.11 13.1.87/8 15.6.89 26.4.1592 20.5.1606
 1585 Blacksmith left Cropredy
 {13} m **BARBARA** Bick 1610
CROPREDY | of Great Tew.

RICHARD **WILLIAM** **ANNE** **WINIFREDE** **THOMAS** **JOHN** **FOULKE** **ELIZA**
 bp8.11.1612 9.6.1616 13.9 29.10.20 1 Feb. 2.4. 23.8. 29.4.
 bur18.11.1685 1618 1623/4 1626 1629 1632
Blacksmith to Barbados m-Claydon
 m Anne Will 1674 m ?
 [13] _____ Elizabeth m Colonel
 Alleyne
ANNE **RICHARD** **JOHN** **WILLIAM** **JOHN** **THOMAS**
 bp24.4 13.10.1639 28.11 7.7.44 13.11. 24.6.48
 1638 bur 18.11.1685 1641 pupil 1646 Blacksmith
 C.W. Blk.smith Will 1717 m Anne d 1709
 Will & Inv Cropredy | _____
 Moved to Mollington THOMAS + 4chd
 d 1747 m **HANNAH**
 Cropredy Blacksmith |
 [Site of smithy?] 1701-1722 |
 (13 chd of which 9 died).

1614: .Thos densy ux.....ijd....1624: Thomas denzie et uxor ijd

.....wam hunt.....ijd.....Edward Blakeslie.....ijd
.....-----.....Bridget Hickman.....ijd
.....Jhon wyatt.....ijd
.....Tho wyatt.....ijd
.....Anne Bryan.....ijd
.....wam wyatt.....ijd
.....elizabeth bostock ijd..Thomas Wyatt's family tree is on page 823.

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 4.0

Denzie, Densy, Densy are just three of the various spellings of that surname (The spellings used will generally follow those found in the different records).

One shop or "smythes forge" together with two cottages were once in the occupation of Harry Walsler, labourer, who had married Annes Russell in 1545 [Hurst 113]. Was she a widow because in 1572 the tenancy was granted by the College to John Russell, a blacksmith? Walsers had been in Cropredy since at least 1545 farming down Creampot [35]. Harry used the smith's land for his cow and eighteen sheep, but had no corn at his death in 1583 having no doubt passed half the copyhold to the blacksmith. John Russell's lease was for two cottages and a "smythes forge" for twentyone years at an annual rent of 16s. This was made up of 6s-8d per cottage and 2s-8d for the forge.

As there were two cottages John Russell had been able to set up house in his own two bay cottage leaving the other one for Walsler. He spent time and money putting in the wooden windows and interior, which would have been the tenant's responsibility, the College supplying the stone for the walls and three chimneys, one per cottage and the third for the forge.

Two bays was small for an artisan and they would have had to choose the best use for the room with the fire. They did without the hall, the chimney like Palmer's [59] being used in either the kitchen or the parlour. As one of the first parlours to be mentioned it may already have been used for eating and entertaining with all sleeping confined to the first floor? The buttery perhaps in the usual place at the back of the parlour bay. John Russell, having no son, left his business to his daughter's son Thomas Denzie (born in 1589) who later appears as a blacksmith in the vicar's lists. John's "will is that whereas I have certain loftes about my tenement as namelie one in my parlor, a second over my kytchen, a third over my

butterye, that is the cock loft there and a fowerth over my shop," with the transoms, beams and boards to remain unto Thomas after his wife's decease. "Also that house standings standing [sic] upon postes, commonlie called my grindinge house in my backside" to Thomas.

All repairs were the tenant's responsibility and they must plant three elms and three ashes yearly on their close mounds for the College to decide what timber they were entitled to. Any other timber the tenant must buy in and so the tenant regarded any floor, partitions, doors or windows built in as theirs, though this was not by then true for it belonged to the landlord if it had become a fixture. At first they would make everything removable and not permanent "standards." "Bords" appearing rather than a floor or a partition.

The stone walls of the southern cottage were of coursed horizontal rows with wooden lintels. Some blocked windows can be seen in the south gable. This was 20' 4" deep and the first bay fronting the road 14' 9." At this point the wall has a sharp angle so that the south gable corner is six feet further west than the rest of the cottages front elevation. Did this follow an old boundary or was the next bay an infill to reach the second cottage wall? To complicate matters Russell appears to have his chimney in the "infill" bay. The "infill" is of ashlar build to match the second cottage's gable end. This looks as though the late seventeenth century alterations refaced the front, but left the angled first bay in coursed rubble. The infill, or Russell's second bay, measures 20' 10," and the second cottage gable end was 17' 10" wide. Lintels in the better walls have an ashlar keystone similar to the late improvements at Whytes House [46] (p359).

Transom windows were made for Prescote manor and Brasenose manor [8] and another for the Inn's upper south gable window [13] which was put in after Ankers took over the copyhold in 1694. They were victuallers not smiths and would have to licence the premises as an Inn. It could be that the blacksmiths had been brewing and selling ale earlier than this.

The roof was covering a one and a half storey cottage, and the walls were about twelve and a half feet high. Only in Anker's time did the garrets appear. This Inn needs extensive drawings and minute attention paid to all the details to discover a more accurate constructional history of this very interesting property. Access to the brewery plans and alterations were understandably not given.

Russell's three copyhold cottages had the most land and it allowed them to keep three cows. Presumably the blacksmith had the land and the other tenant was in his employ. Rather like Pares [58] and Carters [57] on their site. Bokinghams [55] was

once a double cottage unit having two commons, which could have allowed for a master and his married staff? Were the Ladds [40] once attached to Bostocks [41] or Tanners [39]?

In 1639 when Richard Denzie the younger was born, a three life term was made for Richard senior, his wife Anne and their son Richard, "three lives successively did hold one cottage, a close and a shopp formerly used and now reputed as three cottages... and for eight butts and a quarter yardland of arable and now pasture in all the fields of Cropredy for three cows and three heifers (called breeders) with their respective appurtances.." [MS.dd Dew c4] [Heifers called breeders?].

The next description, which had changed, came from about 1704. "The dwelling house four bays, barne and stables and straw house Eight bays. The shopp two bays stone wall & thacked. One little orchard and a Little Close Adjoyning to the bridge Lane about three Rude" [BNC:554]. Bridge close was made up of the verge from the Bridge Causeway no longer needed to reach the ford. This considerably narrowed the bottom end of the Green. Their other land was described as:

.....North Side Arable

One but in hither Oland Arnold North

One Land in Binfurlong Arnold West

One Land in Ramsbaulk furland Arnold East

One Land in Ramsbaulk furland Job Watts West -----= 2a 1r arable

One Land at Sarewell piece Thomas Wyatt West----- 2r leys

One Ley in Eafurland Maunsell North.

.....South Side Arable

One yeard in Sowcroft Maunsell East

Two Lands crossing Hagthorne path Maunsell South

One Land in nether Windmill hill Maunsell West -----=2a 3r arable

One Land in Church piece Tho: Wyatt South & North -----2r leys

One Ley in Little Belser Arnold South.

Except for Job Watts' of [34] all the land was next to other College strips [Arnold at [6], Wyatt at [8] and Maunsell at [35]]. It was part of an old parcel like Matcham's and Bokingham's. Truss's also came from the Rede's [32] ancient parcels.

The two cottages had been united as early as the end of Densey's time when it had four bays. His son Richard was taxed on three hearths, but these had been there right back in Russell's time. Walser certainly had his pair of "cobberds," two pot hooks and hangers indicating he had a hearth.

Blacksmiths, like Wyatts who lived in the second cottage, were promoters of chimneys not belonging to the open hearth traditionalists.

A little more is known about the family. John Russell married Margery Gubbyn in 1554 and one daughter Anne survived and married William Denzie of Great Bourton. They had four sons. It was the third son Thomas born in 1589, who was to be apprenticed as a blacksmith. When Margery died in 1588 John Russell married again, this time to a much younger girl. He was around sixty and Elizabeth nee Farmer may have been under thirty. In 1601 Elizabeth was a widow in charge of Thomas Densey, her late husband's grandson, with the vicar as his guardian. Elizabeth lived on in one cottage and let the second cottage to Wyatts the farriers and they may have taken on Thomas as their apprentice. The third cottage continued as the smithy. The College records have many gaps especially for copyhold cottages and only the blacksmiths go back to 1572 though no evidence could be found of how the copyhold passed to the Denseys from the court, or other records until Russell's PCC will of 1601 was found in the Public Record Office [Info. kindly sent by J.S.W. Gibson].

Goodwife Russell was now in possession of a valuable copyhold and her father and brother insist on a £100 security bond for Elizabeth when Richard Terry asks her to marry him (p118). Richard's first wife had been Alice Denzie whose mother was one of the Bourton Gills. Richard Terry, weaver, was much nearer widow Russell's age. He brought his daughter Katherine down to Cropredy. The weaver had received an education before being apprenticed and appears to run a successful business. Terrys are in various records until he died in 1604.

The forge was run by Thomas Wyatt with his Bourton wife Christain Plant until she died (p595). The Easter list of 1613 records the residents of the two cottages. Thomas Densey now a married blacksmith was employing William Hunt. Thomas Wyatt also has a man to help, or his second son John who was a farrier. In most towns the blacksmith and farrier were separate trades. Thomas Wyatt's son was called a farrier and Densey's were definitely blacksmiths, so did Thomas Wyatt have to employ a blacksmith before Thomas Densey was old enough to take over?

By this time Thomas Wyatt had remarried. His second wife Ursula nee Farmer could be a close relative of the widow Elizabeth Terry. Goodwife Terry had a third chance to marry and left Cropredy with her new husband Richard Smith in 1606. No children are registered from her three marriages. The Wyatts move to Creampot Lane [31] to enter upon a farm lease and the Densseys as the real tenants of the site stay on.

In the Poultry tithe accounts Wyatt gave over twelve hens and cocks to the vicar. Densy gave an extra item in 1612: "Thodensy a bottell of wyne" [c25/6 f3v]. Was this a gift or a tithe from an ale house selling wine and other drinks in the parlour, and was that why they had the kitchen as the main cooking place?

Thomas Densy and his wife Barbara had five sons and three daughters. Richard their eldest and his wife Anne had five sons and a daughter. The family continued to work at the smithy for Richard and Thomas, two of their sons, became blacksmiths. Eventually Thomas married and left for Mollington leaving Richard in Cropredy. He took his turn as churchwarden for he had enough land to pay the rates, and no doubt played an important roll as blacksmith. Richard failed to gather any wealth dying penniless in 1686. Working over a hot fire was thirsty work and his customers may have drunk ale with him while they were waiting and entering into the discussions?

No licence has been found and it was not until 1697 that the vicar records the tithe for "ye Brazen Nose" 3s-4d. The site is repeatedly charged this tithe and can be traced forward through the vicar's records [c25-26]. In the 1699 Manor Court record are the words: "which is changed into the Brasenose" making it appear quite recent, or was that just the name [MS.dd par Dew c4]? In the late seventeenth century church accounts the cost of the twice annual dinners eaten before "ye spiritual court" are sometimes held at the Brazen Nose [13] run by the Ankers who arrived in 1694 and sometimes at Swetman's [49] in Church Street. In vicar Holloway's time the Church Court was still held in the church [The missing church accounts were returned to the Oxfordshire Archives after VCH X was published].

On wet days blacksmiths saw an increase in the number of horses turning up to be shod. On frosty days they became even busier as coulter were brought to be sharpened and the older townsmen lingered in the heat from the forge. A centre for heated debate led many blacksmiths to become ale house keepers, and they built stables for traveller's horses if they stayed overnight. Allitts of Little Bourton, wheelwrights, were doing the same several generations later. Bokingshams [55] could have begun their ale house in the same way. Blacksmithing and lodging travellers was denied to Alice Wallis of Bourton according to the will of her late husband Thomas who had died in 1614. They had farmed a little land and Alice made cheese and brewed

but the smithy was left to his kinsman Thomas. Other craftsmen with the right wife taught her the trade to safeguard the family business, but perhaps Alice with her educated kinsmen preferred to allow the business to go to a master blacksmith. The smithy judging by the stock of tools ready for sale could have supplied a wide area with metal harrows, shovels and forks. Local husbandmen who had money to spare were saved the work of making their own wooden ones. In his blacksmith's shop, which would be similar to Cropredy's, he had "beams skales and wayghts" and a huge leather bellows to keep the fire hot which John Densy and two others considered was worth the large sum of 23s-8d.

"5 Harrowes, tynd & 2 untyned 6s 8d
 19 shovles and spades with Irons 10s
 26 bare shovles and spades 4s
 11 forks readie tynd 5s 6d
 40 forke stayles 8s
 44 undrested.....3s 4d
 17 planninge tooles 5s
 Edge tooles praysed 13s 4d
 10 cart stroks and 20 nailes 22s 6d
 1 share and other smale ware 10s
 In rough irone praysed 4s 6d
 1 payre of Bellowes 23s 8d
 The Beams, skales and wayhts
 1 vice and other small tooles in
 the shop £3
 3 grinstons and Trough and spindles.30s..." [MS. Will Pec. 54/1/48].

There were no records of the type of equipment produced at the Cropredy forge. Wyatts specialised in shoeing horses, but Densy could have made and sharpened the ploughs and made many of the above items or repaired them. **Lucas Carpenters of the Long Causeway [2].**

WILLIAM LUCAS	m ?	Wam Lyllee	m Ann				
d 1613		[29] Will*					
buried where?		1623					

JOHN	m	JOANNE Lyllee [29]					
Carpenter		bp 16 Sept 1578					
bur 10 Dec 1639		m 26 Oct 1612					
Will + & Inv.		bur 30 May 1641					

WILLIAM * +		SARA					
bp 25 Sept 1613		bp 9 June 1622					
bur 12 Aug 1659							
Carpenter							
m (1) MARY Read							
1 May 1642							
		(2) SUSANNA Mathues					
JOHN	m	6 Oct 1650					
bp 20 Feb 1642/3		bur 14 Feb 1700/1					
Carpenter							
m ELIZABETH	WILLIAM	ELIZABETH	JOHNATHAN MATHU				
bur.17 Nov	6 June	12 March	b13.4.55				
1686 w. of Jn.	1651	1652	bp 30.Oct.				
	bur12.8.1659		bur 30.9.59				

WILLIAM	JOHN	MARY	EDWARD	ELIZABETH	CHARLS	THOMAS	ANN
1667	1668-	1670	1672	1673	1678-	1680	1682
	1729		bur 31.8.1674		1732		
		m DOROTHY Smith					
		19 June 1690					
		bur 4 May 1719					
		no children baptised.					

1614: Jh Lucas ux ijd.....1614: John Lucas et uxor ijd.

The average in the household in the 8 listed years was 2.5.

William Harrison thought our carpenters were preferred to those of all other nations [1587. F.J Fumivall ed 1877 pp 233-42].

The Lucas's who were industrious and successful carpenters may have come from Wroxton. John appears first in 1612 at his marriage to thirtyfour year old Joane Lyllee of Creampot Lane [29]. We do not know which of the two Lucas's recorded in 1613 was the first tenant in Cropredy, John or his father William? The three bay cottage and shop were under one roof with a little orchard measuring about one rood (Fig.26.10 p419).

In 1766 "The cottage adjoining to Wilkes [3] farm" close still had three bays. In our period Devotion's [3] had Wilke's farm and close on the north side of Lucas's, but on the east and south were the Nuberry's/Woodrose's [8] meadows behind a bank and ditch. The Long Causeway to the west would need a bridge over the ditch. No land was allocated to Lucas in the manor records. There was only commonage for one cow, but they needed barley, peas and hay and had to lease some land from the A manor, or sublet from other tenants. In John's will he left their son William two cows "which I have at [W]Roxton." These were extra to the one he was allowed to keep in Cropredy. Had he any family connections in Wroxton besides Henry Coleman his cousin who he asked to be overseer? The carpentry trade kept this family going for several generations and certainly leaving an estate worth £22-4s-4d was very reasonable considering the size of the copyhold. The two Wroxton cows were not in the total, only the Cropredy cow worth £3-6s-8d. An excellent beast. John had continued to lease some land for there in December 1639 he had barley, peas and hay worth 30s. Prices had continued to rise and this could have come from less acreage than Matchams or Bokinghams though the price would vary by the month. It would appear that the appraisers decided on a round figure somewhat lower than the actual value. The inventory made in December 1639 showed the following rooms:

HallChamber over the HallShop
ButteryChamber over the butterie

The stone and thatched house faced south or north. Could this be because the site was not very wide? The house could have been built on the only piece of high land on the close, well above flood level. The hall which took up one bay had two tables one chair and two stools. The buttery which apparently took up the whole of the second bay was used for the preparation of

the milk having three barrels a churn and cheese implements. The Lucas's were using it as a kitchen as the Palmers [59] did (p447). They have a chimney, but as the kettles, pot hooks, utensils and three platters worth £1 are separately itemised after the rooms, they make it impossible to locate the position of the hearth. Over the hall and buttery were the sleeping quarters. In the hall chamber they had one "joyned bedsted," four coffers, one flockbed, one "throme cloath," three blankets, four pairs of sheets worth £2. Being a carpenter John could make their joined bedstead. The other chamber over the buttery had an old bedstead for William their son who guarded the malt garner worth 6s-8d. The shop took up the third bay where his carpentry tools were valued at 13s-4d. They unfortunately give no details of individual tools. Even at Little Bourton when Edward Gregory, a carpenter, died in 1622 they only itemise his "2 wedges and a holdfast" worth 1s-6d.

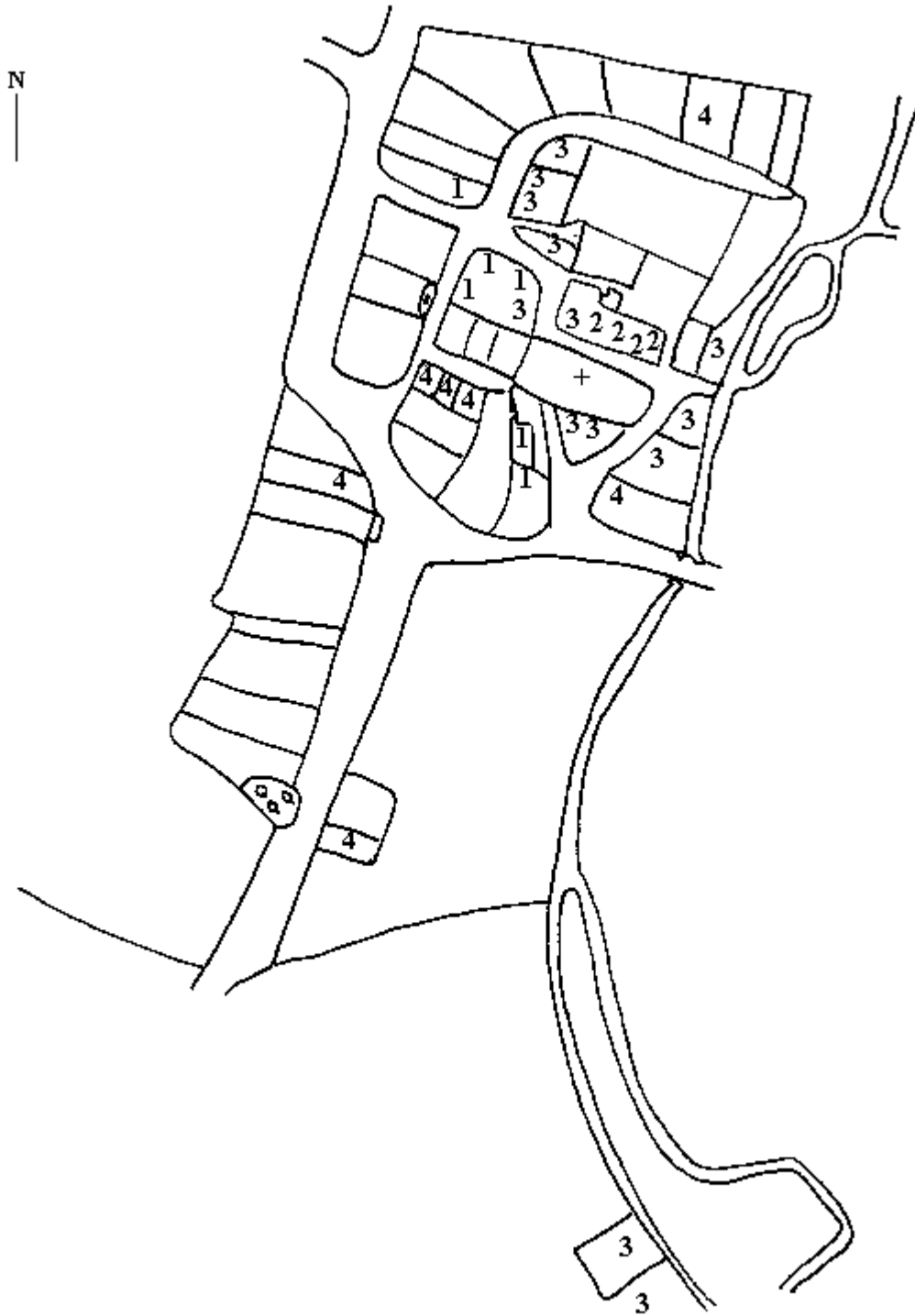
Here was another artisan who could lend money to the value of £8-1s, and have 30s of ready money in the house. John's apparel was worth £2 which could mean they mixed with some husbandmen. He made his sixtythree year old wife executrix, asking his "cosen Henry Colman of Roxton" to help her "to sell and dispose of such things as she is willing to have solde." John having been to school could sign his will. Joane died in 1641 and their twentynine year old son William married his first wife Mary Read the following summer. William and Mary had one son John who eventually took over the trade for his was the name they entered on the copyhold. As a widower William married Susanna Mathues in 1650 and four more children arrive, but only Elizabeth may have reached adulthood. John (1642/3-1686) was married by twentyfive and he and Elizabeth had eight children, five of which were boys.

The step-mother Susanna lived on and died fourteen years after her step-son's wife Elizabeth. John (1668-1729) married Dorothy Smith in 1690 and they carried on the business. No children were baptised. A William and Ann Lucas had come from "Wrockston" in 1723 and their daughter Mary was baptised in Cropredy the same year. They do not appear to stay, but over the centuries the Lucas's had kept in touch with their relatives in Wroxton. Did his younger brother Charls take over, and who carried on into the 1760's?

During those early years when the connections with Wroxton were so strong how did they manage to find time to go over and visit. Sunday was not free until after the afternoon church service, to which Holloway added a sermon, had finished. There were still the cows to be milked when they were returned from grazing. Would grandparents come and stay, or children go on long visits, taken across perhaps one summer evening?

Once the station was built with an entrance opposite Lucas's close his former site was used to stable horses while the owners went off on the train. The building must have fallen into ruin and later on the close was returned to Browns meadow from which it had been taken.

D27.6 The Four Groups of Cropredy Cottages.



The Four Groups of Cropredy Cottages

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28. Craftsmen's Cottages

The remaining cottages were all on the largest manor. The owners of the A manor had divided their Cropredy estate into three groups before 1570 thereby creating a widows entitlement to a third of the property and the sons two thirds. The farm sites remain on their third (Fig.1.3, p11) but the two mills and some of the cottages do not always stay in the same group.

There is little evidence, unless it comes from wills, or a deed of 1681, to show what land was attached to these cottages. The Enclosure Award cannot help because, except for Group three which were sold off in 1681, the rest were divorced from their land. The ancient rights of access to a cow common being replaced in 1775 by a piece of land called the Poors Ground (p225).

In **Group One** most of the cottages were near the church. To the south of the church, possibly on land once part of the Green, were: Palmers at [59] and Hyrens at [56], both on the west side of Hello. In the upper town all within yards of each other were the Watts [27] alongside Newstreet Lane and on an "island" between the top of Church Street and the High Street were three other cottages tenanted by Ladd [40], Bostock [41] and Sutton [42].

The **Group Two** cottages have already been described in Chapter 25. The timber cottages in Church Street were part of the A manor farm [50], but sold off in 1776. The upper mill which was once part of this group was sold off in 1681.

When extra small holdings were added, or recreated after 1570, there were at least twelve, if not more, stone cottages newly built or replacing an earlier dwelling on the A Manor. These form **Group Three** which included houses attached to the upper and lower Cropredy mills. As the mill expanded in the seventeenth century Shotswell's [1a] stone house was built near the lower mill and Palmer's House [1]. Several properties were added near the church, and if the map (Fig.27.6) is looked at it will be noticed that all the A manor cottages were within a short distance from the church on sites unsuitable for farms, with the exception of [60] below the church. Squeezed between Hello and Round Bottom were the collarmakers Pare and Carter [58 & 57] who had their business below the church. At the east end of the churchyard, but across Round Bottom and just above the river Cherwells high flood level were four sites on a triangle of land. Three went to the larger manor [52-54] and one to the College [55]. All had their close reaching to the river bank. The north one was very small but Bokingham's at the south end had the advantage of the wide base of the triangle. The first two cottages were built under one roof and later made into one good property with two hearths [52 & 53]. Evans [54] on the middle site did not last. To the north of the church at the top of Church Street was the small cottage belonging to Rawlins [45], and Fennys [43] across the street to the rear of the vicarage. On the edge of the A manor demesne close were four properties, three long house types [36, 38 & 39] dealt with in Chapter 26, and Breedon's [37]. All this group appear in the 1681 deed and afterwards in the tithe records. In 1775 their tithes were not redeemed for they had insufficient land to do so, and the vicar's tithe books continued to record them paying their dues.

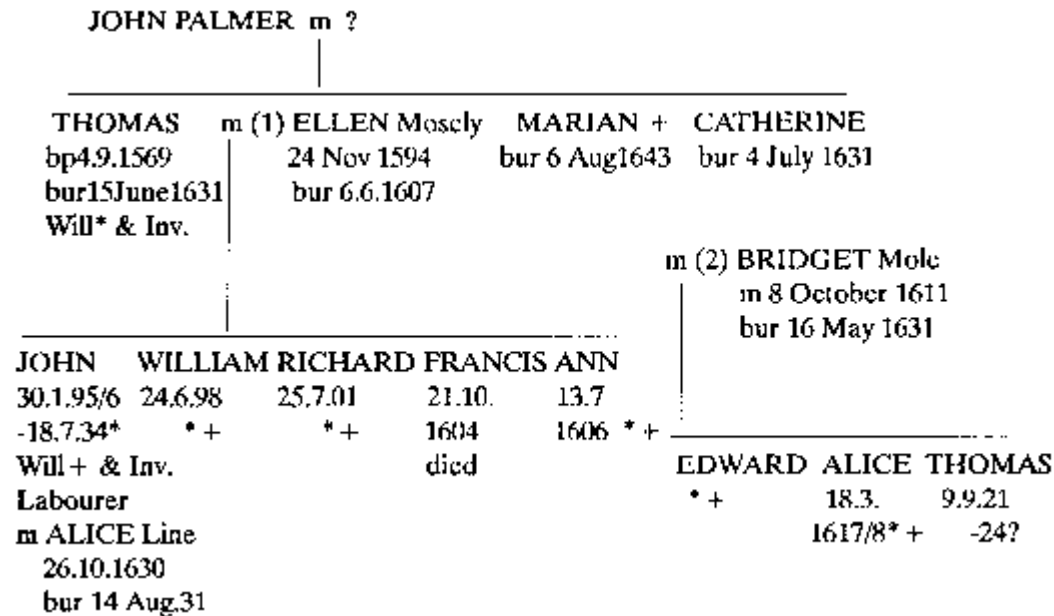
None of Group one have survived. All of Group two have remained, except the mill which moved into Group three. Group three had a better chance when the owners were occupiers, but even here owners could be bought out. The three [52-54] to the east of Round Bottom suffered from the arrival of the canal and Fenny's was merged into the vicarage's new vegetable garden in 1814. Palmers and Hyrens from Group one being alongside the new vicarage were also demolished about the same time. Suffolks [60] farm suffered the same fate and vanished under vicar Ballard's trees.

Eleven of the twelve late sixteenth century newcomers to Cropredy had a cow common and some ley land and a little arable as Huxeley, Tanner and Elderson did (ch. 26). All this was allocated before the 1589 Act requiring four acres to each new cottage. Few cottages in Cropredy could boast of four acres attached to their copyhold. Land must be found by the tenant. This was to cause great hardship when little or no land was available after the 1775 Enclosure Award.

A few artisans' cottages in Cropredy were bigger than Vaughan's of Church Lane [23]. He described himself as a yeoman and being farmers had to go with the farm properties. On the A manor if the cottage did not have any timber features, or was not a long-house-type they have had to be looked at cottage by cottage in one of the three groups mentioned above. A **fourth Group** was made up of the B. manor cottages which fell into a natural group of their own and have already been dealt with in Chapter 27.

Tenants in Group One

Palmers of Hello [59]

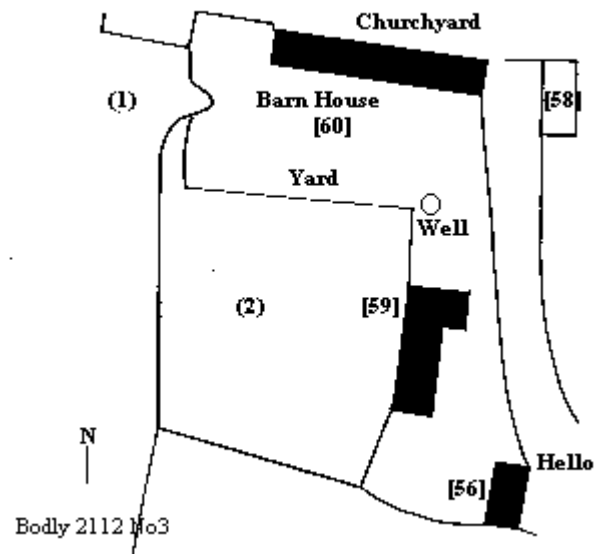


1614: Thos pallmer ux ijd....1624: Thomas Palmer et uxor ijd
maryan pallmer..ijd.....Richard Palmer.....ijd
Marrian Palmer.....ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.5.

Thomas Palmer was one of the fortunate sons who was drawn by lot to attend the school. There were two sets of Palmers both of whom were millers and each had families in which the younger sons must go out and make some sort of a living other than milling. The Thomas Palmer who lived in Hello had not been apprenticed to a miller. He may have had a milk business and yet he was called a labourer, so he obviously worked for others as well. They lived below the churchyard. Between their house and the church was the homestall [60] which the Rose's had left to John Suffolk. Below Palmer's house was the smaller cottage and cowshed belonging first to the Hyrens and then the Woods. The three properties being built on the former Green. A curve in the western boundary of Suffolk's yard was for some reason also accessible to the Parsonage Close (1) as well as the smaller field next to Palmers (2). Could this represent a watering and did Palmer's or Suffolk's lease the second close (2)?

D28.1 Three Properties in Hello.



Three Properties in Hello.

To the east across Hello passage lived the Pares [58] and Carters [57], both collarmakers. Hello was never very wide and came off Round Bottom up to a church gate (G) and stile (S). The stile which was to the east of the gate was later replaced by a stone wall. The eastern side of Hello at the church end acquired a length of brick wall some time after 1800. Look for the initials I. B. for John Borton.

The Palmers [59] lived in a stone two and a half storey cottage with a barn attached. It lay tucked along the back of the narrow site with the well situated between [60] and Palmer's north wall, possibly serving the three properties. The cottage consisted of a hall where they ate and a kitchen which not only had the chimney and stairs, but was the hub of their business. Russells [13] and Lucas [2] also reversed the rooms in this way. Here they not only cooked and brewed, but used it as the milk house. The kitchen cannot have been large for one coffer, a bolting hutch, a "dough cimer," two old tubs and an "otemele" basket for bread making are stored in the chamber over the kitchen (p671). They had once all slept in the two upper chambers. A truckle bed being kept under the standing bed in the Hall Chamber. Thomas had added cocklofts for storage, or for the children's beds when Aunts had to come home to look after them. Over the stairs they found room for their precious malt mill. There were two inventories left for this site:

Thomas Palmer: October 1631John Palmer: June 1634
Halle Hall
Citchin Kitchen
Chamber over Citchin..... Chamber over kitchen
Chamber over the hall..... Chamber over the hall
Over the stayres
Tooe cockloftes

The family was quite large. Thomas and Ellen nee Mosely had three boys and two girls from 1594 up to her death in 1607. The first three children were spaced at over three year intervals giving them a good start. The fifth baby Ann came quicker giving the baby Francis only a year's nursing. Ann did not have even that for her mother Ellen died when she was eleven months old. Five children in thirteen years of marriage.

The aunts Marian and Catherine kept the house going for four more years. They had either been called back to help, or remained there working from home. They were still around in 1631 so they could have been taking it in turns to work away and then return to Cropredy. Their brother Thomas was to marry again in 1611 and Bridget Mole gave birth to three children. Six of Thomas's children survived to be mentioned in the wills. The household was not a nuclear one for they needed the care the aunts gave to the children and in return they kept their rights to live in the family home. The eldest son John had a life on the copyhold.

Very much part of this extended family were the three cows at one time increased to five. Did Palmer have other contacts with the "cotengers" by taking their milk into his milk house to make butter or cheese? In 1631 they had five cows and a calf, a mare and poultry. What other tasks besides collecting "cotengers" tithes were Thomas and John called upon to do? The women when not labouring did their spinning on both woollen and linen wheels, but whether just for themselves or for profit is not known. The home brewing, butter making and possible delivering of their milk and produce would also be their work. The Palmers had a mare, but no mention of a vehicle, though they could still hire themselves out with a horse for various tasks about the town from ploughing to delivering.

Pigs were looked after by the children. These would be partly raised on the whey from butter making. One batch of hogs seized the opportunity to escape up Hello to forage in the churchyard. This caused an outcry for apart from the fact that even if the vicarage horse was not grazing there, it could have been closed off for hay. The grave stones had not then begun to cover the grassed yard. Besides if the pigs had not been ringed they could have caused great distress to a family whose relation had been recently buried, so the church wardens had no alternative, but to present the Palmers and William Plant for

a similar offence at the Church Court in 1621. Although they kept pigs the Palmers have no salting trough or bacon in the house, so these must be for sale. Like most households there were hens roaming around their own grass yard as well as the younger children. There appears to have been no chance of sending another scholar to Williamscoate after attending a petty school, but the eldest John must have been taught to do the milk books for like his father he had desperate debts owing to him in his book.

In 1631 an epidemic swept through the towns of Cropredy and Bourton so that seventeen people died from May to August. It appears to have started in Cropredy at William Hill's in Church Lane [20]. The whitbaker and his wife were poor. First his wife died followed by the baker, indeed the week they died eight people were buried. Had the disease come to his cottage from William Brasse a wayfaring person from county "Durram" coming to beg a loaf? Brasse died just twenty days before Hill's wife. Also to die was Thomas Devotion the husbandman [3] and the woolwinder and dealer Christopher Cleredge with his wife from Bourton, both buried in one grave (p166). Had they met William Brasse on the road or caught it at the market? Sixteen days after the Cleredge's burial Robert Robins [26], yeoman, was seeing to the writing of his own will and his burial was soon followed by George Hopkins, another yeoman of Bourton, who lived next to Bourton's old chapel. Within a month Bridget Palmer [59] the milk producer's wife died, followed four weeks later by her husband Thomas and after twenty days his sister Catherine.

This was bad enough, but then his thirtyfive year old son John, who ten months previously had at last married Alice, lost his young bride. Had Alice Palmer died in childbirth lowered by nursing the sick, or had the disease infected her too? They buried Alice six weeks after Aunt Catherine [59]. Others died including Charles Allen [44] who had witnessed Robins' will and then died without making one himself. Would no-one risk coming to write it down, or had he had an accident, nothing to do with the fever? We shall never unfortunately know, but there must always have been the fear of a spreading fever.

In the young widower John Palmer 's inventory he had a christening sheet not part of his father's estate. Had John's sisters and aunts thrilled at the prospect of John's Alice having a baby, made the sheet in preparation, only to lose Alice? He was left to bring up his two younger sisters obeying his father's last wish "I desire my sonne John to bee good unto them for their bringing up as god shall inable him." Sister Alice being only fourteen. His other sister Anne and remaining aunt Marian ran the house and helped with the cows. They were a fairly strict religious family judging by their opinion that goods were "lent them by god." This had been their neighbour William Rose's [60] opinion and many puritans like him. John was not to stay long in this world for in 1634 yet another wave of illness took many more townsmen. In July John had called in two neighbours, William Carter from across Hello and John Orton, a butcher now living at Pares old house [57 & 58]. Palmer left the house to the next brother, William, and the cows to the two women. Although Alice is now seventeen he asks William to take charge of

the two youngest for "the better breeding and bringing up of these two lesser children." John was not a rich dresser he owned clothes worth £1. Between them his parents had apparel worth £1-10s-6d which was a modest, but decent amount.

Hyrens and Wood cottagers in Hello [56].

WILLIAM HYRENS bur 21 Aug 1597	m	URSULA bur 12 Sept 1616
ELIZABETH bp 13.9.1592 [worked at vicarage]	JHON bp 23.5.1597 bur 3.12.1612	
WILLIAM WOOD [at 15 then 56] "kild by michance" bur 15 Aug. 1624	m	JUDETH Robins 23 Sept 1611 bur 3 May 1642 Inventory.

1614: Wyd Hyeren ijd....1614: William Woode et uxor ijd.

The average in the household in the 8 listed years was 1.37.

Below Palmers on the same small plot of land was a one cell cottage where the Hyrens and then the Woods lived [56]. We know very little about the Hyrens. No inventory was made and widow Hyrens fails to pay a cow tithe to the vicar in the only remaining folios from 1614 to 1617.

Ursula Hyrens was left a widow in August 1597 after three poor harvests. William may have been out helping with the new harvest when he became ill and died. Their daughter Elizabeth was five and their son John only three months old. Widow Ursula manages to keep on the copyhold and must have found some day labouring to maintain them all (p81). When Elizabeth was old enough she would work as an unpaid maid with her food found until able to take on a yearly contract and live in. This would help her mother especially when she worked at the vicarage, close enough for her to visit (p 88). John too would go out to work, but he died when he was fifteen. Ursula would be in her late forties when she was buried in 1616.

William and Judith Wood who had worked for the Toms [15] could now move to Widow Hyren's [56] in Hello. The cottage had a hall chimney allowing them to burn coal and have a chamber over the hall. The chimney was their greatest asset after the cow. Their milch cow must have had some sort of shelter, most likely built of timber with a haulm roof standing in their tiny yard.

As a widow Judith Woods had asked Ambrose Holbech, Robert Robins and Henry Broughton to come and make an inventory on the 29th of September 1624. They began in the hall (p640) and then moved up the ladder or stairs to find "In the Chamber:"

"One bedsted one truckle/ bedsted wth all the beddinge/
thereupon and three other/ blanketts two Coverletts and/ two pillowes " £3.

"five chests six napkins 2/ pillowbeares one towell six paire/
of sheets and one tablecloth"/ £2

"one Cover two wheeles and/ all other implemts in the same/ Roome" 10s/

" butter and Cheese 6s -8d/." [Going outside they found:]

"heay and bords 10s/ wood in the streete 6s/
one Cowe £1 -10s/"

The whole coming to "£11 - 10s -4d."

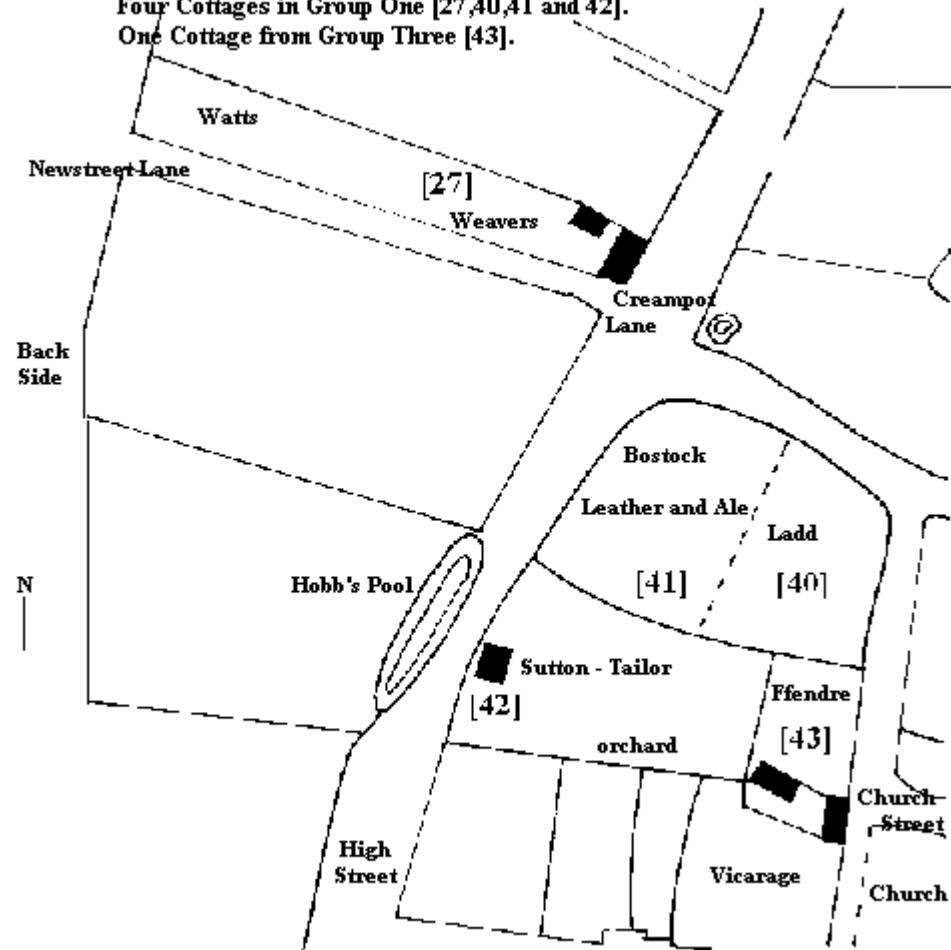
William Wood was buried in August 1624 and someone added to the entry in the register "kiled by michance." He had left in front of his house in Hello "wood in the streete." Something which could bring a fine at the Manor Court. He had not finished moving it to make the winter wood pile when some kind of fatal accident ocured. In the Hall the furniture came to £1, some of which would be in a small partitioned area serving as a buttery. His pewter and spoon came to 13s 4d and all the brass and earthen pots were valued at a £1. In the chamber above they had a bed and bedding well above average (p645). They stored their clothes and goods in five chests. The Woods used the hall like the majority in the town as the central room for all day time living, but unlike the larger cottages they had to make do with a very small space for all the household chores and storage. At night they closed the lids to cover the windowhole or glazed casements, and sat by the remains of the cooking fire. The wife had two spinning wheels and was able to earn a little. If the widow managed to keep her cow then her butter and cheese making would continue providing she still found enough hay. What else could the widow turn to? For eighteen years Goodwife Wood had to provide for herself by earning a wage and thereby becoming a servant and classed as a pauper up to her death.

Leaving Hello and moving now to the five cottages to the west of the church where the Watts [27], Ladds [40], Bostocks [41], Suttons [42] and Ffendies [43] lived. Before visiting the weaver Watts family the townswomen would go into the weavers shop to take the spun wool from their sheep. After a reasonable interval they would return for their blanket or cloth.

D28.2 Plan to show the sites of Five Cottages on the A Manor.

Four Cottages in Group One [27,40,41 and 42].

One Cottage from Group Three [43].



Plan to show the sites of Five Cottages on the A manor.

On the 28th of March 1616 Widow Anes Watts [27] asked Edward Lumbert, Robert Robins and Robert Crowleye to come and take an inventory seven days after she had buried her husband William. Anes exhibited it at the church court on the 4th of April. The total came to £51 -11s -4d. The inventory mentions the weaver's shop which was below the shop chamber:

..."In the Chamber over the Shoppe a garter Loom iiijs/ [In the shop]
 ffower woolinge loomes with all other things/
 thereto belonging to the same..." £16.

Watts weavers at the corner of Newstreet and Creampot Lanes [27].

WILLIAM WATTS		m	ANES Lumbert [Lumberd]			
Weaver			17 Nov 1588			
bur 20.3.1615/6			bur 3 Dec 1621. *Exor.			
Will* & Inv.			Will+ & Inv.			
ANNES	THOMAS	JOYCE*	JOANE*	ELIZABETH	WILLIAM*	JOSEPH
bp 29.7	26.2.94/5	20.5	17.4.	23.12.03	28.11.07	23.11
1592+	+ Ex.* Ex.	1598+	1601	bur 3.10.07	+	1610-16
m W.Shotswell Weaver						
| 29 Nov 1612						
JOANE +		m (1) FRANCIS Cleydon 6.7.1619				
(p470)		bur 29 Aug 1628		m (2) HESTER Cherye 20 Nov 1628		
				bur 18 Dec 1672		
WAM HANNA	THOS	ELIZABETH				
bp23.4	11.5.1622	13.3	30.4.26			
1620		1623/4		JOHN	MARY	ELIZABETH
				bp13.9	24.2	12.3.1637
				1629	35/6	14.11.1640
						5.7
				bur15 Nov.1700		1643
				Weaver	m ELIZABETH	
				Will Inv.	| 3 weaver sons (8 chd)	
					[55/3/19]	

1614: wam watts ux.....ijd....1624: Thomas Watts et uxor ijd
wam shotteswell ux ijd
Tho watts.....ijd.

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 4.62.

At the corner of Creampot and Newstreet Lane [now Newscut] lived the weaving family of Watts. Their close was long and narrow stretching back along side Newstreet Lane to Backside. Their south boundary next to the Lane had a stone wall by the house, yard and barn and then an Early hedge which contained some hazels.

Had the whole area of the Lane and Watts' close once been a farmstead? Now too narrow because of the Lane for a husbandman it was ideal for a farming artisan and was unusually large for a small-holding. They had five lands of arable and two leys of greensward as well as three and a half furze grounds in the Oxhay common, and pasture for one cow [1742:MS. Will Pec.56/1/31]. This all came to around five acres and was very necessary for their survival. It provided part of the barley and peas diet for the house, and peas haulm, straw and hay for the cow and calf, three sheep and a sow. As their barn appears to have faced southwards across their yard how did a borrowed cart get to it, unless they came in from Backside and down their orchard to the yard. Even then there was insufficient space to get into the barn and out the other side.

Obviously some sensible arrangement would have been made. The narrowness of Newstreet Lane would not allow them to turn a cart in at a gate nearer the yard. The peas and hay could go into a rick near the barn for this had to double as a cowhouse. Out beyond the barn and small rickyard the small remaining piece of the close should grow some vegetables: onions, cabbages, leeks and a little fruit besides hazels, grown for spars as well as nuts. Very few mention a hen house as these reverted to the landlord as his standards. William must therefore have purchased the wood for this himself, or used left over pieces from the house partitions, though they have no hens at the time the inventory was taken. As expected they have a wool stuffed mattress not a feather one, for shredded warp ends were more readily available, though in fact all warp ends should be left on the length of woven material if the yarns had been provided by the customer.

The stone cottage stood right against the boundary facing east. It was three bays in length and two and a half storeys high. William having added the cockloft. Was the shop at the south end or in the north bay? It seems most likely judging by the remaining Cropredy buildings that if the entrance was on the front elevation and the chimney central that the shop would be at the nether end (the south bay) to the left of the entrance and the hall and downstairs chamber on the right in the two northern bays. They also had a buttery behind the chamber. There were windows facing Creampot, but also one in the weaving shop facing the yard and another facing the "street," which could refer to Newstreet by being on the south gable end. William's inventory was made on the 28th day of March 1616:

Hall

Buttreye

Chamber

Over Chamber [2 beds]
Cockloft
Chamber over ye hall
Chamber over the shoppe
Barne

The appraisers put the hearth equipment as a separate item, but as the hall had a chamber over, the chimney had to be in the hall. In 1616 there were three upper chambers. The hall one being occupied by the eldest married daughter Annes, her husband William Shotswell and their daughter Joane, so that the furniture in there would not belong to the weaver, though he did own four of the boards. These could indicate a partial screen made near the stairs to give the young couple some privacy from Thomas aged twenty and eleven year old William. Over the boys' chamber was a cockloft for storage. In their room were two beds with furniture to the same and five coffers for the nine pairs of sheets, two tablecloths and a pair of "pillobeares". Had the second daughter Joyce gone out to service? There was a garter loom in the shop chamber, but all the weaving materials and equipment were put with the four "woolinge" looms in the shop below at a total value of £16. Two looms were positioned next to the street and two next to the yard. This information was revealed in a later will. How was the weaving shop lit? Usually weavers shops had high windows and they used an upper floor, but here they had the shop on the ground floor.

The Watts had managed to acquire some belongings which were still rare in many husbandmen's households. They had a hall "skreen," cushions and a large collection of pewter which would be on display. These consisted of sixteen platters two salts and three brasen candlesticks worth 26s-8d. The Watts used their wooden dishes and spoons, like nearly everyone else below gentlemen status. There was a grate in the fireplace and a pair of andirons. March was too early to hire a cart to go and collect any more coal so they were relying on their oven furze and wood still out in the yard and worth a £1. William had not finished adding to the house partitions and cocklofts, though he could be intending to have furniture made for each child, for stored in the barn were timber and boards worth £3-10s.

The name of Watts first appeared in Cropredy in 1588 when William married Anes Lumberd. They had four girls and three boys, of which five survive, over a long well spaced out period of twentytwo years. The Watts in spite of the slump in the weaving trade do remain in the town for several generations, though never again so prosperous. Later sons may have sold the looms and leased them back as trade grew slack and money short. William had left large legacies for his wife and son to pay. When the eldest son Thomas wanted to marry Mr and Mrs Shotswell had to leave. The newly married son could then have the vacated hall chamber while the mother kept on the lower chamber. Widow Anes (or Ann) would keep on weaving for she had a

share of a loom. Her wearing apparel was worth 30s and she obviously had the advantage of being able to spin, weave and tailor her own clothes. A piece of cloth worth 9s had been put by before she died. One unmarried daughter inherited her apparel. Although Ann was buried the day after her will was made it was not apparently proved for three years, or was this the copier's error? Ann was not old being only in her 50's and she still feels very responsible for all her children asking Edward Lumberd (perhaps a brother) and Robert Robins next door to act as overseers to make sure they get their legacies.

The importance of these family details is that they show how a weaver was able to keep on his daughter and her husband while training his eldest son to become a weaver and still being responsible for younger children. The young couple did not have to leave when the first child arrived, but only after the father died and the weaving son must set up a home. Mrs Anes Watts could of course have been ill and needing help? It also shows that young parents lived in various houses as lodgers well into marriage and the arrival of their family.

By the 1620's their son would be in the middle of a breakdown in the local wool market. The competition disrupting their whole lifestyle. After Enclosure the Watts may have purchased their house. This same stone house was passed to the Eagles by a Watts. It was then pulled down and a nineteenth century brick building put up in the former yard.

Ladd, Bostocke and Suttons [40-42].

The A Manor had several smallholdings in the upper end of the town four of which have since gone. Three were in Group one, but Ffendries (Fenny's)[43] a later arrival was in Group three. The smallest and perhaps the most difficult to place is Ladd's. By comparing all the Easter and tithe lists which the vicar makes he appears to take four of these properties always in the same position to each other, even when listed in the reverse order, so that they may have been in a square on the present Chapel Green. Starting usually at the top right hand corner directly opposite Tanner's [39] is the most likely place for Ladd's [40] cottage. In the top left hand corner to the west of Ladd's lived the Bostockes/Pratts [41]. Below them in the left hand bottom corner were the Suttons [42] (once known locally as Lambert's cottage) and to their east in the bottom right hand corner lived the Fenny's [43] (p481). Sutton's and Fenny's wells remained until recently, but what of the other two? Sutton's cottage was only pulled down for two new bungalows in the 1950's.

Fenny's was demolished by the Revd Ballard in 1814 (p482). Those cottages rebuilt with hearths and upper hall chambers as early as this had stone walls. Each had a corner plot on the close. Suttons having the largest area containing some fruit trees and vegetables. By 1775 this was called a nursery garden. These ancient cottage sites were allowed a cow common by the landlord when the tenant took over the copyhold. Bostockes had leyland in Oxhay Honeypleck, and so did Suttons who also had half an acre of mead in Astmore, which meant he was leasing an extra parcel of land. Fenny had two arable lands in

Arbwell [Harble] in the South Field next to Bostockes and three butts in the North Field in Ramsbalke furlong again by Bostockes. An acre in Yea [Ewe] furlong and in Oxhay two other leys and two half leys in the Hawtins and Honeypleck furlongs, as well as commonage for one cow (ch.14 for maps). They all kept a cow at some time according to the remains of the vicar's Cropredy tithe folios [c25/3]:

In 1614 James Ladd [40] paid a 2d tithe for one cow to the vicar, Christopher Pratt [41] 3d (Pratt had married widow Bostocke), John Truss [33] had Sutton's [42] horse common and Thomas Fenny [43] paid for one cow.

In 1615 widow Ladd paid 2d, Pratt paid 2.5d and Fenny had his own common as well as Coxes [49] and Breedons [37].

In 1616 James Ladd a 2d tithe, Pratt 2d, Jane Sutton a cow 2d and Fenny 5d for two cows.

In 1617 James Ladd again paid 2d, Pratt 3d and Jane 2d. Fenny's amount was not entered.

In these extracts the Suttons use their horse common either for a cow or a horse, but their half yardland parcel allowed them two extra cows, so Jane may have set it after the death of her father. Fenny's fluctuates from three down to none, did he work for the vicar, or just fail to pay?

The other tithe book [c25/6] from 1611 to 1619 gave a few details of poultry, conys [rabbits], apples, candles and drink: Pratt gave apples from his orchard in 1611 and a cock in 1612. Thomas Sutton a hen and a candle, Fenny a cock and on four years a "Pond of candle." James Bostocke sent a bottle of wine and two conys one year, and on another a bottle of sack and a cony. Some must breed rabbits for skin and food, but only three offer rabbits to the vicar and so far no warren reference has emerged. How many rabbit skins could the Bostockes use in their work? Did they make warm fur hats, gloves or moleskin articles? They also appear to have licenced premises. The four references to candles from Fenny have caused him to be thought of as the candlemaker, though with no other evidence and if Fenny was the candlemaker he did not appear to keep bees to obtain some wax for the candles. Sutton and Elderson also gave candles for the church.

Ladd, labourer [40].

JAMES LADD	m	(1) KATEREN Robins	22 Jan. 1595/6
bur. by 1615	|	bur 2 May 1602	
		m (2) JOANE Robins	7 Feb. 1602/3
JOAN	JAMES	bur 14 Nov 1606	
Home in	c20 years by 1616	m (3) ALICE Guddin	28 Jan. 1607/8
1616 &	Labourer m by Easter 1617	bur 12 Mar 1617/8	
1624	bur 19 Aug 1630		
	Inv.		

1614: alyce ladd ijd....1624: James L[add et]uxor ijd
.....Joane La[dd].....ijd.

James Ladd [40] senior was still alive with his third wife in the above cow common tithe extract for 1614, but it is the widow who pays the following year. James aged twenty is able to marry for he now has his late father's copyhold. The following year his step-mother Alice also died leaving the young couple and his sister Joane to the whole of the cottage. His father could have worked at Kynd's [31] for he was asked to witness John Kynd's will in 1592. William Berry who also worked at Kynd's had his will witnessed by James Ladd. Berry left this James 3s-4d [38 Windlebank. PCC 1608] (p591).

James junior appears to be the only son in spite of his father's three marriages. He does not baptise any children yet he attends the church and pays his Easter dues, so had not felt too poor to ignore the church with all the penalties for doing so. James Ladd's inventory taken in September 1630 mentions a Hall [fire] and a Chamber [1 bed]. The Suttons [42] and Ladds [40] are the only cottages to keep a fully furnished bed in the hall, for they had no downstairs chamber where the majority of parents still had their bedstead. Possibly too the standing bed was too big for the upper chamber in a one and a half storey cottage. There was no question of sleeping on just palliasses on the floor for the houses were properly, even if frugally, furnished. James Ladd's old bed lay upstairs with two coffers. Here was no hovel, but a reasonably equiped cottage with a little pewter to stave off starvation if necessary. When he died they had no cow. Where had this gone? Sold when ill to pay the landlord's rent, or his heriot?

His clothes were of the poorest sort being only worth 5s. Yet he and his new young wife had a hearth under a stone chimney and furzes so they had an oven too. She cooked with three kettles and a brass pot. They inherited or purchased twelve pieces of pewter worth 7s and these were their treasures. They also had the only mention of "Ticknall" ware valued at 5s. These were earthen ware goods coming probably from Ticknall in Derbyshire. Did he take these goods and sell them from house to house? If Ladd was a pedlar and these were part of his pedlars pack, was he working for Tanner the mercer, now too respectable to be travelling his goods about the countryside? Ladd was called a labourer so he must have been getting a wage from someone, but he had other skills for there were tools in his house, which included two hatchets, one axe, one bill and one stocking axe for a hedger and woodman.

If the Ladds did work for others, as well as their main employer, James may just have been helping out when Kynd was taken ill. Ladd's were not in the husbandmen's neighbourhood group, for they were their employers. One thing the lists cannot give is where the independent labourers found their day work and consequently we do not know how many were employed in Cropredy on a day to day basis. Did Edmond Tanner who lived opposite James Ladd, go down with the same contagious complaint as the young man? James was buried twenty days before the mercer. Edmond could have gone over to see the

patient either as a neighbour or employer and caught the illness. Others do this. Wyatt [31] and Cattell [30] next door neighbours both dying within two months of each other. Truss [33] and Hall [34] in less than a fortnight the year before. Mrs Sutton died three weeks before her husband tailor Sutton [42] who was buried just six weeks before weaver Watts [27], across the High Street. There are several more cases of diseases apparently passing to next door neighbours, or suffering the same bad drains? Or just pure coincidence?

Bostocke leather worker and ale house [41].

WILLIAM BOSTOCKE m = (1) ANNE Gullyver = (2) CHRISTOPHER PRATT
 bur 29 Sept 1595 | 9 Sept 1587 m 20 Nov 1601
 | [Gone by 1624]

JAMES SYMON ANNE JHON
 bp12.11.1587 7.12.89 2.11.92 9.8.95
 bur14.10.1656 m N.Dunckley bur 16.2.97/8
 Leathershop 17.7.1615 agcd 23
 m JOYCE
 | bur 7 Nov 1644

JOHN ISABELL ANNE WILLIAM
 bp7.11.1615 19.8.1620 14.3.23/4 2.4.1626
 bur 20.5.1675 m E.Lenards
 Leathershop 4.9.1651
 Will* & Inv. agcd 31
 m (1) SUSANNA
 | bur 6.8.1650
 | m(2) ANNE* Exor.
 JOYCE* MARY* |
 bp31.12 7.3 JAMES* JOHN*
 1642 1646/7 b18.2.57/8 In will
 m Stiles* bp 25 Feb.

1614: christer pratt ux ijd....1624: James B[ostoc]ke et uxor ijd
cow ijd ob
James bostocke.ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.75.

Anne Gullyver who became the wife of William Bostocke could have been related to the collarmakers of Bourton. They were married on the 9th of September 1587 in her parish church at Cropredy. Two of their children survive, but not their father who died in the terrible year of 1595. Had their half yardland crop of rye failed? Poor Anne was left literally holding the baby son, barely two months old. The infant did not reach his third birthday. Anne remained a widow for six years and must have been able to keep the business going for the copyhold remains theirs. When she accepts Christopher Pratt as her second husband her eldest was fourteen and surely apprenticed to their leather trade. Her daughter Anne was nine and no doubt beginning to earn her keep. Widow Anne was again married in Cropredy church. Although Christopher Pratt was paying the cow tithe for the current beast grazing their orchard would he have been entered onto the copyhold? Perhaps Pratt worked in the shop while Anne carried on seeing to the brewing and selling? In 1615 her son James married Joyce. He was entitled to do this as he was twentyeight and due to take over from his step-father.

For over five years the parents stay on making it a three generation household. By 1624 they had gone. No wills or inventories have been found to explain where they went to.

James had received some education from about 1592 onwards. He was called upon to help make terriers which he duly witnessed. By 1653 aged only sixtythree his writing had become very shaky. His son John also went to school and he too left his signature on the B. manor terriers from 1653 onwards. John was farming the vicar's glebe so he knew his way around the parish. The glebe land produced their barley, maslin and peas. They still kept the essential family cow and pig. Would they have the grazing of the churchyard and the Parsonage Close with the stable and barns attached to the Glebe? Some of the arable land belonging to their cottage was in Arbwells [Harble] and they had one ley in Town Hill.

Only by going forward in time to John Bostocke's will of 1675 can we see the size of the cottage at that time. John left his two sons all "the goods that is in and belongeth to my shopp and all the leather that is forth and dressings." The rooms consisted of the Inward Low Room, the Outward Low Room, the Shop and Buttery. Upstairs were the Upper Room, the Middle Chamber and the Heithermost Chamber [MS. Will Pec. 3/3/28]. A three bay cottage which cannot be taken any further back in time because any earlier inventories that were made failed to survive. The landlord owned the house and out houses and if his tenants had not added any new standings, or mangers during their tenancy, there was no need to mention the farm hovels in their inventories. No other evidence has been found for these four properties giving details of their timber cowstalls and hay lofts, which they surely had to have.

John (1615-1675) of the third generation married while his parents were alive and his brother William was still only sixteen. John was by then twentyseven. His mother died first having been married for thirty years. His father James lived on in a chamber for another nine years during which he was able to observe his four grandchildren arriving and growing up. He died

aged sixtynine. Did John's sister Isabell also have houseroom until she married at thirtyone? The Bostockes were still there right up to 1716. They owed the vicar a shilling every year for their cottage cow tithe and so were mentioned in all the tithe records that have survived [c25 &26].

Sutton, tailor of High Street [42].

THOMAS SUTTON m (1) MARIE Beverley 10 June 1583 Tailor bur 27 Sept 1588 bur 1 Feb 1615/16 Will* & Inv.			(2) m MARYE Beale 9 Oct.1589 bur 8 Jan 1615/16		
<hr/> RYCHARD ARTHUR ? GEORGE bp 13. 13.11.85 27.12.87 1583/4 bur4.2.86/7 bur7.10.95 at [14] 1613			<hr/> JANE* ANNES* THOMAS* ELIZABETH* MARIE* bp20.12.92 8.2.95/96 8.4.1602 4.8.1605 m.1617 stayed[42] pupil maid[50] WILLIAM LANGLEY[42]		

1614: Tho sutton uxijd....1624: William Langlie et uxor ijd
his daughter.....ijd.....Anne Sutton.....ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.87

To the south of the Bostockes lived the Suttons [42], until their cottage passed to the Langleys when William married Jane Sutton. This was the smaller of the two tailors' premises and one which suffered from a lack of a good strong stone barn. Thomas had no space in his one cell cottage to provide him with a separate tailor's shop. He must travel out to his customers, making up his home orders in the small windowed cottage after a day on the land, or waiting for a wet day, but by then surrounded by household chores. Thomas does not manage to acquire the finer clothes Matcham and the Watts did for his working apparel was more suitable out in the fields. Thomas Sutton had leased a half yardland parcel and needed his horse as part of a plough team and to deliver the finished articles he had produced, or lend himself out on contract work that required a horse, much as Palmers [59] would do.

Adaptability for himself and his wife were essential. A necessary part in the survival of the whole town, for at this time labour had to be brought in and housed with the husbandmen's family, while at the same time there was a lack of permanent leases and opportunities for the younger members of their family wishing to marry. Yet we repeatedly see single adults returning home and managing to find some work while living under their parents' roof. Separate accommodation was unheard of for bachelors unless they were left the lease like George Devotion [3]. All like Watts' [27] eldest daughter must start in chambers in a house, where someone else was master or mistress, either with their own family or like the Bayleys [19] looking after someone, until a vacant lease came along. To wait would put them beyond a reasonable age to get married (p108). Jane Sutton was able to marry William Langley and stay on due to the early death of her parents. The Langleys continued to lease land which meant they paid rates and could take turns being church wardens or sidesmen. They also had to pay the hearth tax in 1663, but if they had kept to the eighth part of a yardland allotted to the cottage they would have escaped payments on their hearth.

Their cottage was measured by R.B.Wood-Jones as it lay empty. He placed it with the labourers' landless cottages mostly built in the eighteenth century. We have been fortunate enough to find enough records to trace the building back beyond the hearth tax Langleys paid in 1663, to the tailor Thomas Sutton living there in Thomas Holloway's time [Wood-Jones *Traditional Domestic Architecture of the Banbury Region*. Drawing on Fig.52 p178].

Cottages in Cropredy seldom had fine ashlar details and this early frugal cottage was lived in from the late sixteenth century. The stones were laid in coursed rubble rows with no ashlar quoins or drip moulds. Wooden lintels being far commoner in Cropredy where all paid rents. Like the majority on the A Manor estate the chimney was built into a gable supporting the roof. This northern wall also had a round projecting oven on the north east corner where the thatch swept down covering it in a fine curling sweep. A number of inventories mention the furze needed to heat these ovens, though furze could be used on the open hearth as Normans did [48], or taken to the baker who would use it to bake their bread.

The original four windows on the east elevation were small and later on one was made for the buttery on the west wall. None were larger than two lights. The winder stairs had a small one light window left when the other windows were blocked in and newer larger windows made. This stair window like those of Rawlins [45] and the school masters at Williamscothe have something in common: an attention to minor details rather than grand display, which was none the less important to the craftsmen who built them.

The outside measurements of the cottage were 23' by 19,' a little smaller than Rawlins [45]. The stairs and chimney took up the whole of the gable wall, again like Rawlins. The hall and lobby entrance were lit by the east windows. The buttery was remembered locally as being a wooden partitioned area, but could have been a replacement of an earlier wattle and daub one

and was certainly not there in Sutton's time. The only uncharacteristic feature are the transverse beams which unless this was pre 1570 makes it look as though a new higher floor was put in by Bortons when the cottage had the windows enlarged? Did he also add the gable window for the upper chamber at the south end and the west window facing the High Street for the stairs chamber? Originally Suttons faced east into the close with no west facing hall window. The entrance was on the south side. Was there a back farm entrance for the Church Lane farms passing south of Suttons as far as Fenny's plot? This would provide access into Suttons, but bring the mess up the High Street past Gybbs' front entrance. By the time Bortons replaced the east windows to face west in the nineteenth century the Hobb's Pool had been filled in to make a cottager's garden and they now looked across to Anker's walled garden [25].

Many craftsmen were bound to be connected to a particular farm when extra help was needed. This made all the difference in saving a crop. In return the farms would lend them a cart, a plough team or whatever they could. Lumberd took on Sutton's eldest son Richard before he went on to be a servant in another parish. If only the rest of the lists had been kept to show who helped on the farms. There were usually between twentytwo and twentyfour husbandmen and about thirtyfour cottagers to spread throughout the parish and even with their family helping it was hardly enough to go round.

Thomas Sutton arrived in June 1583 when he married Marie Beverley. They had three boys, Richard, Arthur and George but Arthur died aged two followed shortly after by his mother leaving a one year old George. Marie's life like that of many young wives was tragically short. Thomas remarried a year later, for with two sons to cope with he could not get around his "Ride" unless he employed a maid. Thomas's second wife, Mary Beale, gave birth to four girls (though no-one recorded the baptism of Marie) and another son all between 1592 and 1605 so that the family was spread out over twenty years. Mary's eldest girl Joane, or Jane, as she was later called, was entered upon the copyhold. Thomas Sutton in 1616 left "To all my children" naming Jane, Anne, Marie, Elizabeth and Thomas. He left out the eldest Richard who must have died away from home. To the remaining five he left bedding and linen equally and his daughter Anne "shall have a convenient Roome in my house at the charge of my executor, Jane. She the said Anne Sutton keeping herselfe sole and unmarried." What affliction did the poor girl have? Thomas was allowed to attend the grammar, perhaps because his father understood the value of an education which he had lacked, and was a pupil when his parents died. Elizabeth goes out to be a maid at Widow Coldwell's [50]. The staff in that household tended to stay on for more than the usual year. By 1627 Elizabeth was at blacksmith Densseys [13] because she was left "one plain band and an olde paire of bodyes" by Ellen Bicke (p707). Jane and Anne stayed in Cropredy, but we do not yet know where Elizabeth and Thomas went to live. Thomas senior caught whatever fever took the life of his wife Mary and within twentyfour days he too was buried.

It was the 29th of March 1616 when Jane called in Henry Broughton [9], Edward Lumberd [14], Edward Tanner [39] and Robert Robins [26], all educated men to make an inventory:

"In the hall vij pr of/ sheets & vj napkins"---50s/
 "the Cubbord & the Pewter"-----24s/
 "one bed & furniture to/ the same "-----26s 8d/
 "the table & bench one/
 forme and chayre & iij coffers"-----7s/
 "all his appell"-----20s/
 "all the brasse"----- 8s/
 "one whele & Cowpy Ware"-----8s/...The total came to £16 -17s.

This extract does not include the upper chamber.

A large standing double bed took up a fair portion of the one downstairs room which measured 16' by 15' 6" (and smaller when the buttery was eventually partitioned off). Mary had had a pothook, "cobberds," spit and fire shovel by the brass cooking pots. There was a "cubbord" (open like a dresser) to hold the pewter. They had all the essential furniture. If the tailor used the table where did Mary stand her wooden utensils for baking and cooking? The girls would be spinning in turn in one corner and against the rough stone walls were two "shippicks" and a rake worth 16d. Upstairs they stored the corn for flour and a little malt for brewing worth 30s. A heifer produced her calf after Thomas was buried which was worth £2. What kind of shed did they have? No mention of the hens which they had had in 1612. Had they been needed to make chicken broth for the sick parents? There was fortunately £5 left of the lease. The Suttons had been in Cropredy for thirtythree years so if the lease of a parcel of land was for twentyone years had Jane twelve left? The youngest was only ten and Jane had to cope for eighteen months with the whole responsibility.

Half a yardland's produce might be worth up to £3 and her father had half that in 1616, but by then his winter corn had been sown and the barley would be needed for seeding. Would Jane be able to do the work outside on the land as well as inside? Women were often out hoeing day after day, but someone would surely do her ploughing.

Having a copyhold cottage was her greatest asset and when she married William Langley it was understood that Anne was to remain with them. Could Anne help when the hay in the Astmead needed turning? Or could she be left? Hay in their Oxhay leys must also be cut, turned and carried for the cow or horse. Helping others to be helped in turn. For the first two years of the Langley's marriage William does not appear in the lists. Had he obligations to fulfill elsewhere?

The cottage faced east across the vegetable garden and fruit trees. The south boundary with Vaughan's [23] and Pratt's [24] had elm trees planted in the banks giving perhaps unwanted shade over her vegetables, though shelter from the south

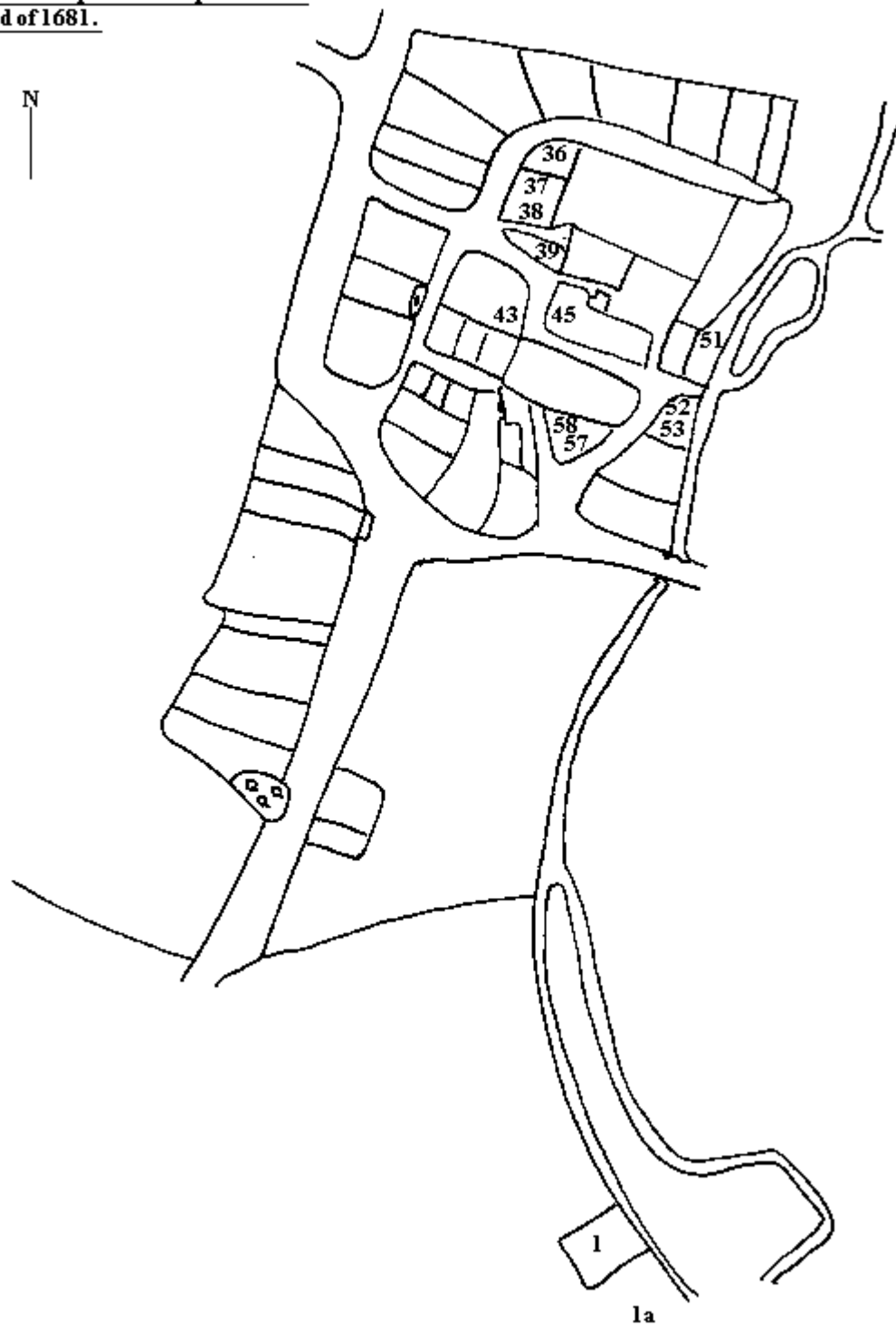
westerlies for her fruit trees. A great deal of garden work, but another source of income. Were her ricks near the trees and sheltered by the cottage, or convenient to the cowstall with a standing over it for hay? In which case they would have planted a hedge with elms in the Bostocke and Sutton boundary, and alongside the High Street (the ancestors of the elm sucklings still by the pavement today?). The well to water house and cow was right by the cottage. Across her plot Jane could look over to Fenny's [43] garden which was much smaller and oddly shaped.

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28. Group Three Properties

D29.1 Group Three Properties in a Deed of 1681.



Group Three Properties in a Deed of 1681

A deed was made in 1681 which concerned twelve of the properties built in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and an extra one called Shotswell's House near the Lower Mill [Bodly 4950]. All these continued to pay tithes after 1775. They could not be redeemed with the other properties still left on the A manor estate having been sold off the estate in 1681. Three of the long house types [36, 38 & 39] are in chapter 26. After looking first at the new windmills we begin with the two water mills [1 & 51]. The cottages in this group will be visited starting in Round Bottom. It will be noticed that they were all on marginal land from the former Green below the church, meadow land above the river and the edge of the demesne property. Fenny's [43] seems to take in the east end of Suttons, but awkwardly tucked into the corner of the vicarage.

The New Windmills.

In the area covered by the ecclesiastical parish at least five or six new windmills were built during the Reverend Thomas Holloway's time.

Williamscote had one by the Daventry road belonging to Chambres of Williamscote manor, who leased it to the Palmers [1] living at Cropredy's lower mill. He charged a £200 entry fee and a yearly rent of £3. The deed was witnessed by Arthur Coldwell [50] on the 20th of October 1617 [MS. dd Loveday c4/6].

Wardington built a most unusual windmill, it was on top of their watermill.

Bourton took advantage of their highest land along the ridgeway to build their windmill. It became known as the Windmill Quarter. As Bourton's Slat water mill was often flooded the millers built a windmill near Cropredy Lower mill [Bourton House grounds] which later shared the same miller for all three.

Cropredy was said to have built a windmill on the Cropredy side of the Broadway almost opposite the new Mollington Windmill, both taking advantage of the highest land. Or was there only one on the Mollington side? Brouncker wrote around 1620 that "The windmills lately builded the vicar forborne to take" any tithe. "From each watermill useale 4 in the parish/ I have two stricke of millcorne a quarter/ they plead custome for it" [c25/10 f4]. Brouncker somehow won these tithes from the millers "I am to have all other tythes for the mills besides" the fruits and small tithes [f2v].

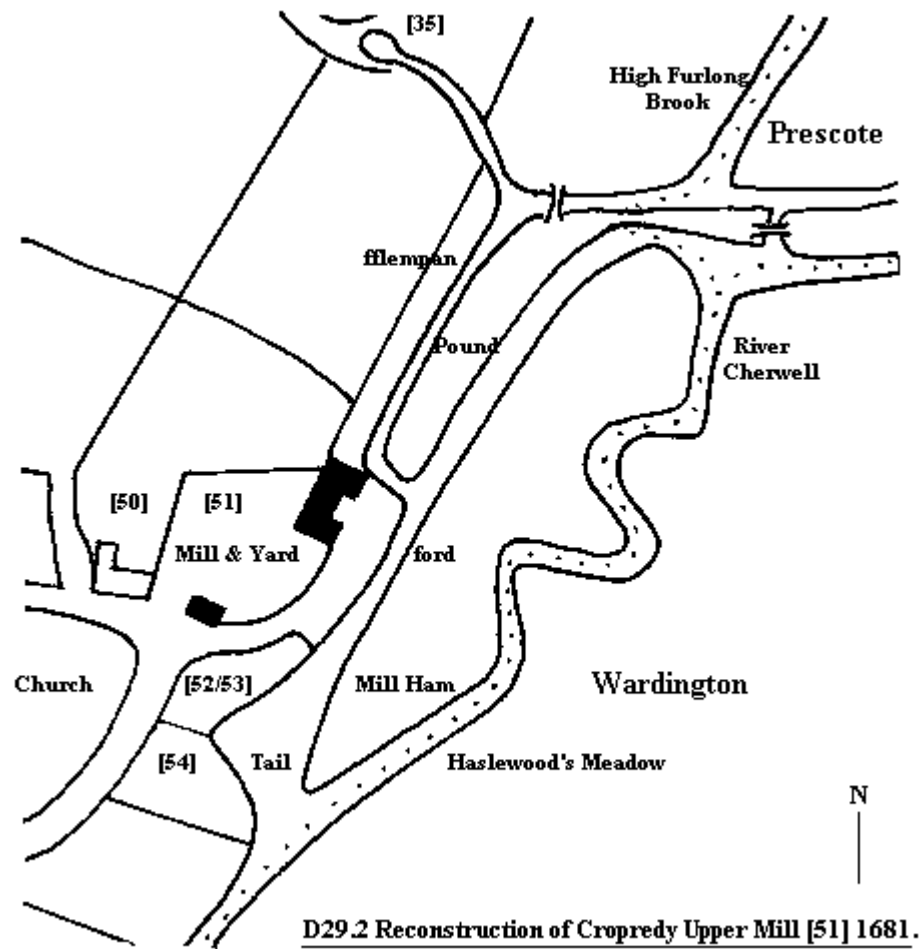
The Upper and Lower Cropredy Water Mills.

The two ancient water mills were built before 1086. The Bishops of Lincoln only surrendering them in 1547. In 1572 they were owned as part of the A manor by Thomas Lee's widow who lived at Clattercote. A hundred years later in 1681 the A manor sold off the Upper mill, but kept on the Lower mill.

The centre of the river Cherwell had been used as a parish boundary and the lower mill cut which had to be made on higher ground was also used to take the returning parish boundary. This allowed Cropredy to have an extra mill, for the bottom mill was on a narrow strip of land jutting towards Bourton, instead of the boundary turning west at the lasher.

The river had five water mills over a short stretch and although evenly spaced out to achieve the maximum head of water to turn the wheels, difficulties arose in years of drought. In wet seasons Cropredy's lower mill never suffered from flooding which were such a problem at Bourton's Slat mill. All water mills had a programme to fit in with the mills above and below, each storing water in their pound to release through their sluice to activate the mill wheel.

The upper mill at Cropredy [51] took advantage of the water from High Furlong brook coming into the fflempen which was a narrow channel to the north of the mill. It was also boosted by the stream coming down Creampot Lane. The channel crossed to the mill pound just above the mill house. The fflempen was possibly a man made shallow waterway which could be held back to give a sudden flush of power when most needed. The mill's lasher was made near the entrance of the High Furlong brook 's overflow into the river. Recently the Cherwell river bed was filled in and the lasher removed leaving just the mill cut alongside Prescote drive. Between the cut and the river was the miller's ham. They reached this by a ford through the mill cut opposite the miller's house on the Bank. When the canal was planned the mill tail pond was filled in. The mill, millhouse and cottages [51-54] were pulled down. Three cottages were built just north of the filled in tail pond to replace them. The Bank on which the mill house stood can still be seen.



Reconstruction of Cropredy Upper Mill [51] 1681

The mill pound for the lower mill as well as the Cherwell river have both been kept, although the height of the lasher has been changed. A connection between the river and the mill tail was lost perhaps when the mill was rebuilt next to the canal after 1818.

Townsmen took their corn down very old ways leading to the mills. A mill lane came down from the Williamscombe hill to the Lower mill and met another mill lane from Cropredy's Long Causeway.

The miller tested their flour between a finger and thumb after a short trial run. From this he should know the type of corn, its temperature, moisture content, whether it was freshly threshed or had been stored. All this information was necessary to gauge his milling to ensure the maximum profit to him.

No corn was stored at the mill as the miller would finish each customer's sack, bag it after taking his toll and return the flour to the waiting customer. The corn miller took six quarts from a bushel of ground wheat or barley and eight quarts for oats. Increasing his income meant attracting townsmen away from other mills, a difficult task if the neighbours were efficient, though a good site helped some, especially those who had access to a windmill as well. An organised customer rota would be understood and everyone would anxiously watch the height of the water. Because of the size of the toll many millers were unpopular. Cropredy millers were keeping hens and pigs, but in some areas these were banned [Dorothy Hartley: *The Land of England*. Book Club Associates 1947 p188].

If the family of Lords were using the mill power to full cloth as well as grinding corn, had the parish begun to send more corn away than previously, or had the windmills captured a lot of the trade? Cross [51] may have been still grinding corn after the Smythes family of millers left, but by 1681 the upper mill was sold to a collarmaker. Was this because it was difficult to get their landlords to finance repairs? The millstones were very costly, for they came from Derbyshire or France. The stones needed the constant attention of a millwright who might recut them as often as every four weeks. He used an adze to keep the sharp straight edge which cut the corn. The shallow grooves in between allowed the ground flour to leave the mill stone. Replacements of millstones for under tenants, as Cross and Lord were, could have caused much anxiety. Cross's lease was in the hands of Mr Coldwell of the A manor farm [50], but at least he too would have corn to grind. Coldwell's widow Elizabeth passed the tenancy to Richard Gorstelow of Prescote who already leased the Prescote mill. Did this help to take away trade from Cropredy's mill?

The two mill houses were built in stone. Smythes upper mill [51] house and Palmers at the lower mill [1] were both mentioned in the sixteenth century, but Shotswells [1a] may only have been built in the first quarter of the seventeenth, unless Robert Lord built it.

Palmers, millers of the Lower Cropredy Mill [1]

<p>JOHN PALMER m JOANE Carpenter Miller bur 26 April 1605 Inventory</p>	<p>27 Jan 1579 bur 12 April 1614</p>	<p>John Dodd of Feige, Cheshire</p>
<p>SARA 1581</p>	<p>Mr JOSEPH m 19 Dec 1582 bur at Cropredy 17 Jan 1645/6 Memorial in Ecton Church Miller & Clerk</p>	<p>ANNE Dodd born 17 Sept 1589 died 24 Feb 1662/3 at Ecton</p>

HANNAH JOHN ELIAS DOT. SARA ZACH. MARY NATH. ELIZ. TIM. THOS. JOB
 born 8.Oct 18.11 26.8 12.4 4.4. 13.1 3.12 5.9. 5.11. 17.2. 24.4 28.6
 1609 1612 1615 1617 1619 1620/1 1623 1625 1626 1627/8 1630 1633

Cambridge
 M.A. Archdeacon of Northampton 1665-1679
 & Rector of Ecton 1640-1679
 died 9 Dec 1679
 [Ecton Church]
 m BRIDGET Catesby of Ecton Hall (daug. of Clifton)
 born 5 Feb. 1626/7
 died 19 March 1680/1

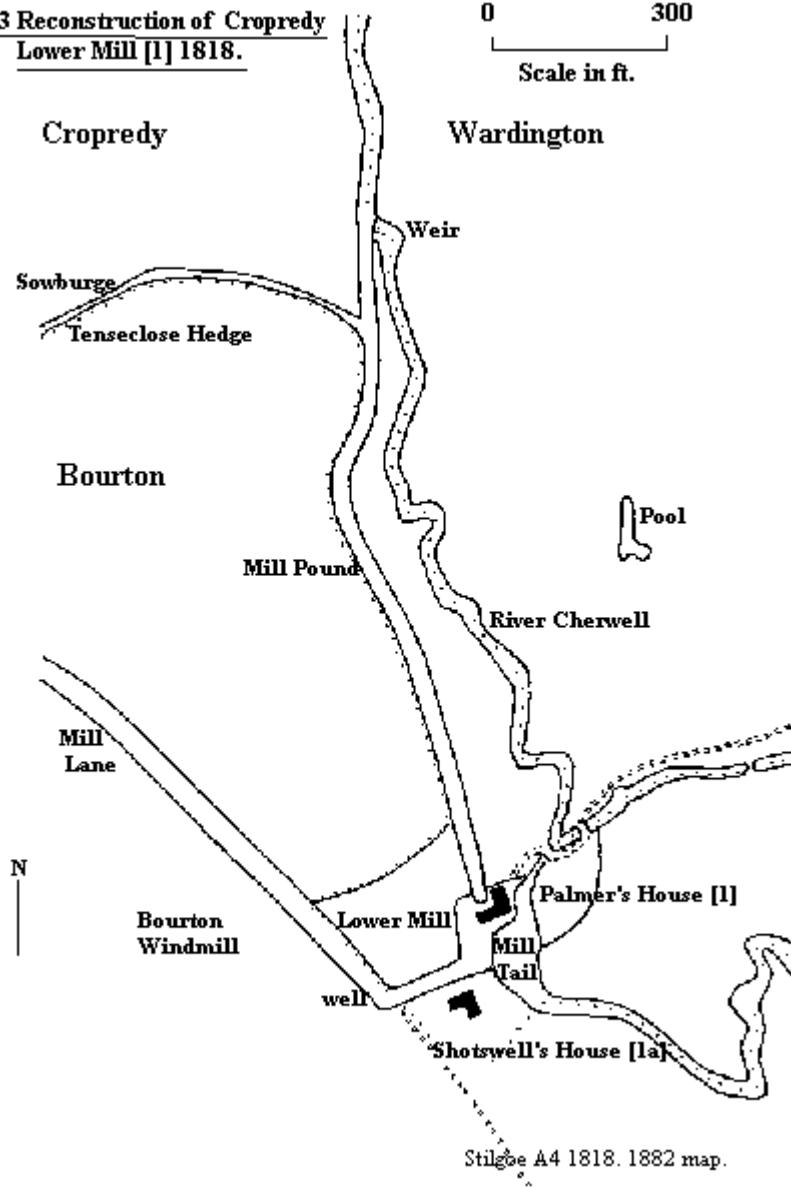
ANNA	ANNE	MARY	SUSANNA	JOHN	SARA	THOMAS	GEORGE
8.Oct 1648	2.9.49 d31.4.70	25.3.51	18.9.53 d26.4.10	19.7.56 Rector 1680-88 d21.11.88	30.5.1658 m William Taylor of Wilscot House.	30.12.60 Rector 1689-1715 d3.10.1715	22.11.63 son Rector 1720-31

[R.Mann's letter: 4.8.1980]

1614: Mr pallmer ux.....ijd....1624: Mr Joseph Palmer et uxor ijd
.....wam pallmer.....ijd.....Anne dadlie.....ijd
.....his mayde.....ijd
.....Robert Lord ux. ijd.....Robert Lord et uxor.....ijd
.....his sonne.....jd.....Samuell Lord.....ijd
.....Abigaell Lorde.....ijd

**D29.3 Reconstruction of Cropredy
Lower Mill [1] 1818.**

0 300
Scale in ft.



Reconstruction of Cropredy Lower Mill [1] 1818

Down at the Lower Mill "Palmer's" house was built right next to the mill. It was still known by that name a hundred years later though they had been gone some time. "Shotswell" House was an L-shaped house and barn, built on the south side of the Mill Lane on a small plot in the southwest corner of the parish boundary. The house was demolished for the canal and replaced in brick across the lane on the edge of the canal brickyard. In the nineteenth century Hadlands used this new building for a stable and cottage. Robert Lord lived at the mill before Shotswell, but his entry in the Easter oblations had no line between his and Palmers so he may have resided at The Palmers. Lord, as the fuller, had managed the mill in Joseph Palmer's time. He ground corn as well as using waterpower to full the town's cloth for which he could be paid a set fee. His son also appears to live actually in Palmer's old house for Samuel Lord was taxed on two chimneys in 1663 while the miller Parsons, who presumably lived in Shotswell's house, had only one.

None leave a good inventory though Allen a later miller had two bays on the south side of the main chimney for his hall and parlour, possibly in Palmer's original house. In the south bay there was a buttery behind the parlour. To the left of the entry was a kitchen which also had a chimney. Upstairs in this one and a half storey building there were at least two chambers. The building was destined to end its days as a cow byre after being destroyed in the mill fire of 1905.

In 1681 there was a "way" which must be kept to the lower mill. To the north was a messuage now occupied jointly by a Shotswell and a Timms. Also belonging to the millers was a half yard land and two pieces which had been set to others with the Fflatt (Slat). They could keep two horses, eight sheep and one and a half cows. Half a cow surely indicates they had a cow common shared with someone else. In winter they could keep sixteen sheep. Back in Palmer's time he paid for four beasts in the tithe book [c25/4] from 1615 to 1619. He also gave the vicar a bottle of claret for the communion wine in 1619 which was recorded in the poultry book [c25/6 f12].

Palmer did not appear to have much equipment for the mill. These were some of the items in the list: "three kivers and an old tub for ye mill worth 12s. Certain loose boards 8s." "A stryke, a gallon, a dysh, payle" 1s-4d. "Windells for ye mill" 1s. Certain old iron 8s. "A box, millpecks" 1s-4d. A ladder, old saw 5s. Wood behind the mill 6s. "A leap" 12s. The main equipment belonged to the landlord.

Master Joseph Palmer was one of only two children registered at Cropredy. He was born in 1582, the son of the miller John and his wife Joane. He had attended school and in one lease of 1617 is called a clerk so presumably he went on to Oxford or Cambridge and having become a clergyman returned as a gentleman miller, putting in Robert Lord to attend to the mill.

Millers or their assistant must be available at all times leaving it only to attend church. The Palmers came from Cheshire and when Joseph was twenty seven he married Anne Dodd a twenty year old Cheshire girl. Joseph and Anne Palmer's family beginning with Hannah in 1609 had reached twelve by 1633. Five girls and the rest boys. The second child John was sent to school and he went on to Cambridge university. He was to become the rector of Ecton from 1640 to 1679 and the archdeacon of Northampton from 1665. Here was a family which kept up with relations. John's daughter Sara came back to Cropredy and married William Taylor of Williamscothe house [I am grateful to Ralph Mann for the Ecton information].

Joseph Palmer, clerk and miller at Cropredy died on the 16th of January 1645/6 and was buried the next day. Anne took her family to Ecton to her son John's house. The family through John's sons continued to be Rectors there right down to 1731/2. An elaborate monument to the Palmer's was put up in the church which contributed to their family tree.

While Palmers lived in Cropredy they visited the Woodrose's [8], Hall's [6] and Coldwell's [50]. Joseph was not found leaving the church with the others because he could have been helping with the service. On the other hand it was most likely at his mill that the suggestion was made at the Rogation processions that the vicar should read prayers rather than demand a drink according to the custom (p29). Joseph was twentyfour at the time, not long out of university and still a bachelor.

The lower mill tithe had been computed to 12s-8d a year up to 1613. Were Lord's profits then in the region of over £6? The following year the tithe was increased to 16s. Mr Palmer attending when the tithe agreement was reached. Could the profits have risen to £8 with the extra revenues from fulling cloth?

ROBERT LORD	m	JOANE		
Fuller	|			
<hr/>				
SAMUEL	BENJAMIN	REBEKAH	JOB	THEOPHILUS
14.7.1607		27.5.1610	27.12.1612	24.6.1616

Robert may be related to the Banbury fullers. This family recorded at Cropredy was from Robert's second marriage for in 1615 one son is already eighteen and yet Joane's children were only baptised from 1607 to 1616. They were a religious family if their biblical names are anything to go by: Benjamin, Rebekah, Job and Theophilus. How did he differ from Holloway's protestant faith?

Robert Lord did not like to pay his tithes at all, making sure it was paid only at the last minute. Even when Lord sold a hive for 5s the vicar was due 6d. The garden to the north and one to the west of the mill was well away from the town bees and had plenty of pollen amongst Calcott's new hawthorn hedges and trees. They also had the advantage of all the flowers then growing in the meadows, an ideal place for his bees.

The Lords lived near, or with the Palmers [1]. At the latter end of Thomas Holloway's time the vicar recorded that a "Fulling mill & windmill lately built, no fee taken" [c25/10 f6]. The water was reasonably sufficient and the fullers catered for Cropredy, the Bourtons and possibly Wardington. The short wool produced by the sheep was suitable for fulling. There were two weavers in Cropredy and more in the surrounding towns. In Northamptonshire the longer haired sheep wool was not fullled and was used for worsteds, a strong warm, but lighter cloth and quite different from the heavier felted broad cloth. At first the felting was done by stamping on the cloth with their feet turning the warp and weft into a heavy cloth. Later they took it to the mill where hammers driven by the mill stream beat it until warp and weft were one and resembled a felt.

Elizabeth Cleredge of Great Bourton mentions in her will "A gowne cloth...that is at the fullers" [PCC 20 July 1607]. The vicar notes [c25/3 f7] "Recd of Robert Lord/ the 6 of September 1617/ when he brought home/ my wyfes clothe, for tow/ quarters before past/----viijs/ so at mychall next he/ will owe me iijs." As he mixed up the two accounts (his tithe due from the mill and his wife's household costs), we do not know how much Robert Lord charged for fulling, only that he carried the finished article up to the vicarage on his way to pay the agreed quarterly tithe. Who had paid for this fulling mill?

Shotswells [1a].

WILLIAM SHOTSWELL	m	ANNES Watts [27]
Shotwell House [1a]		bp 29 July 1592
Lower Mill		m29 Nov.1612

JOANE	WILLIAM	ROBERT	ELIZABETH	ELLIN	JOHN
bp1.6.1617	6.4.1619	31.3.21	3.8.23	17.2.28/9	6.10.33
[born at [27]	born at [15]	bur20.10			
	m ALICE	1622			

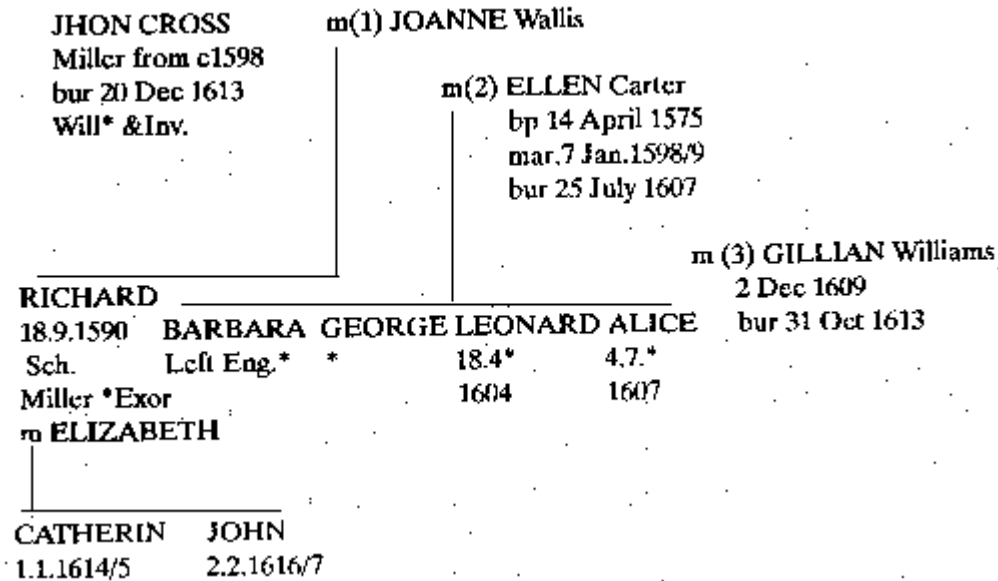
The Shotswells began married life at Watts the weavers [27] (p.453) where William supplied the vicar with silver buttons. This was a tithe payment and William was therefore making these expensive buttons which he either marketed, or sold to the

merciers (p405). William and Annes Shotswell had their first child at Watts house in 1617. After moving during the early part of 1619 to William Toms' cottage on the Green [15], William their second child arrives. Toms' cottage dwellers were during Wood's tenancy included in with the Toms' household, but Shotswell's were definitely kept separate. There was a gap from 1616 after Wood's moved to Hyrens' old cottage [56] until 1619 when Shotswell's moved in.

Annes was twenty when she married. They waited for nearly two years before Annes became pregnant. Then on moving down to the Green to make way for her brother to marry, the Shotswell's had only a year between one birth and the next pregnancy, but the third child Robert died and after that the three last children were well spaced out. The sixth child coming twentyone years after marriage when Annes was fortyone. We do not know when they actually moved down to the mill, but it would have helped the family to live in a larger dwelling. They may have built the house which came to be known as "Shotswell's House" by the Lower Cropredy Mill [1a]. Nothing further is known about them.

Smythe and Cross, millers at the Upper Mill [51].

THOMAS SMYTHE	m		
Miller [51]			
<hr/>			
FABEAN	m	URSULA Buben?	
Miller		1 Dec 1578	
bur 20 Oct 1595		left by ?1598	
Inv.			
<hr/>			
ELIZABETH ALICE	ALBONNE	MATTHEW	
bp 8.11.1579	2.6.82	1.10.84	21.2.87/8
		bur 8.11.84	
Family left.....			



1614: Richard cross ux.....ijd.....1624: Richard Cross et uxor..ijd
James his manijd.....John Hierns et uxor.....ijd
his mayde.....ijd

The average for the household for the 8 listed years was 5.75.

In 1552 the upper mill had been run by the miller Thomas Smythe. He had one messuage, half a yardland, one water mill and one close called Mylne Holme containing one acre. His son Fabean followed him in 1578 with his wife Ursula. This could have been one time when the new house was built in stone. They had three surviving children having lost their other son Albonne. Smythe died in difficult times. The 1590's saw three terrible harvests from 1593 to 1595 and taking the flour toll must have caused great hardship and been increasingly unpleasant for the Smythes and unpopular with the townsmen. Their own family, like many others, would be suffering from scarcity. Then the epidemic struck and Fabean died leaving children aged eight, thirteen and sixteen. The widow departed after two more dreadful harvests having to give way to John Cross, or else she came to some agreement. An inventory was made in 1595 of Fabian's house and mill:

Haule
 Buttery

Butterye loft
Nether howsen
Over chamber by the entry
Nether chamber by the entry
The mill

The entry passage may have gone behind the hall chimney with the nether chamber to the left of the entrance, but where was the "nether howsen"?

There was only one upper chamber mentioned and a loft over the mill. The rest of the upper chambers may have housed John Cross and his growing family for he already lived at the mill. In Smythe's hall he had "a forme under the window" noted along with five other forms "unto" his long table. This exceptional comment may have been because of the unusual number, or their positioning. Most windows had seats and did not need a form as well. His oven appears in Cross's inventory, because it happened to have wood drying on the top. Someone in the household had needed a dagger, a bow and six arrows worth 6s-8d. Had he served in the militia, or been forced to purchase them to save his family if there should be a food riot?

The barn was by the entrance into the mill yard from Church Street. This would have had double doors facing south and either north doors onto the yard, or a winnow door. One bay may have housed the beasts. In the close at the north end of the house he kept wood and furzes and a great deal more in the "nether howsen." Part of the close had a wall while the rest may have consisted of "rayles" and posts. Fabean Smythe left behind in 1595 the longest list of miller's tools:

It. In the mill thre augers, a handsawe
a drawenge knife, one Jennet ads and
a wimble -----iiijs
It. A hatchet, and a sythe -----ijs
It. one lathe and fiftye coggs and rownes and
two peire of Trindle heades -----iiijs
It. Theales & pales over the mill dore -----ijs
It. two theales and two sydes of a crabtre
for coggs and Rownds -----ijs vjd

It. a strike & xij milpikes and a box -----iijs vjd
 It. two greate hewinge stocks, an old chest
 a lenen peces for [----] for[---]
 mill whele -----ijs vjd
 It. the tole tubb, an Iron Crowe and two
 little tubbs, and foure theales on the
 lofte -----iijs

One thing missing is his very necessary fat (either goose or mutton) to lubricate the gears. The mill had a room over as well as a loft according to the above inventory. The theals were planks of wood and the toll tub his measure to receive payment in flour.

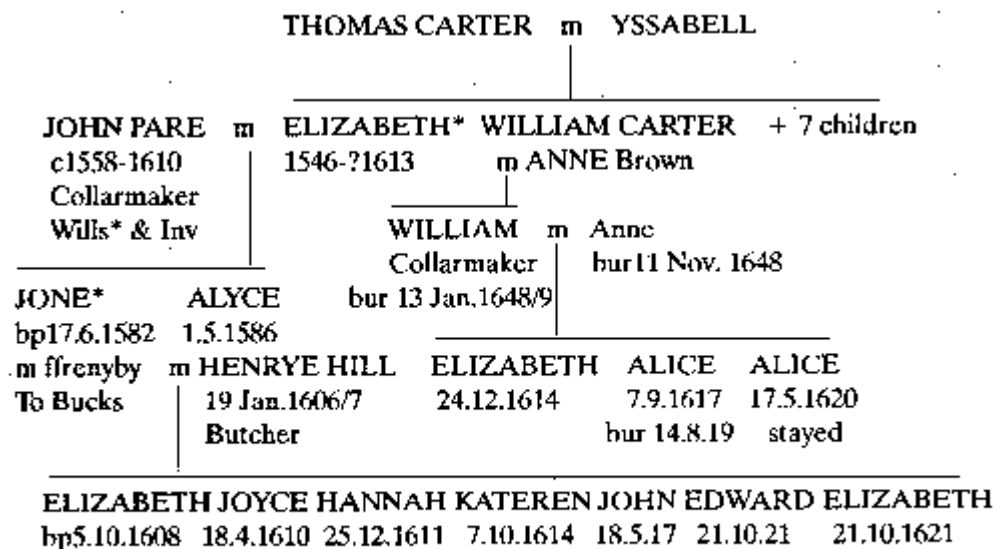
Fabean had oxen to pull the plough and these would be kept in the oxen "stable." Cross kept a horse. Some of Cross's hay was stored in a "standing" or loft. The three cows having stalls in the barn, or an open cattle yard with a hovel whose roof would be made from peas haulm, furze, or straw. The barley was on a scaffold and there were hay and pea hovels [ricks on standing stones]. Cross was one of the few who had turkeys. His five turkeys were worth 7s-6d (p.278). When John Cross's son Richard became miller he sublet the cow common to Densey [13] in 1615. Had the three cows his father owned gone as heriots and legacies? Having three cows meant he had been farming half a yardland as well as using his cow common. After that first year Richard settles down and again pays the cow common tithe.

John Cross had married three times. First to Joanne Wallis, then to Ellen Carter (1575-1607) whom he married in 1599, and lastly to Gillian Williams in 1609. Gillian had no children of her own and died just before her husband in 1613. The eldest son, Richard, who had received some education before his apprenticeship, had a responsibility beyond his twentythree years, for he must run the mill and bring up the younger children. Leonard was nine and Alice seven. Richard needed a partner and soon marries Elizabeth. They add a daughter and son to the household within four years. We do not know what happened to them. The registers and wills fail to carry us down the line of millers partly due to the collapse of the church court and lack of wills.

Most millers had help either from sons, relations, or by hiring a servant for the year. Richard has a man and a maid up to 1617, then a man in 1618, and a maid the following year when their baby son John arrives. In 1619 they managed without

any adult servants and then the record stops. The mill ceases to make a profit at the latter end of the century and was sold to the Gardner family of collarmakers.

Pares and Carters collarmakers and Hills butchers [58 & 57].



.....all left by 1634.....

1614: henry hill ux....ijd....1624: Henry Hill et uxor.....ijd
for two besst ..vd.....the widow Hill.....ijd
wam carter ux..ijd.....William Carter et uxor.....ijd
his man.....ijd.....his man Edward Morten..ijd

The average for the household on this site for the 8 listed years was 5.19.

Banbury had at least fifty leather workers, yet there was still enough trade north of Banbury to allow two collarmakers and some cordwainers in Cropredy.

When Pare needed a will writing he asked Leonard Gorstelow to act as scribe and so was one of the first to use phrases containing "Merits and passion" and "Saviour and Redeemer." The group who use this were the Palmers across Hello [59], the weaver Watts [27], Sutton [42], Matcham [18] and Lumberd [14]. All fairly religious families. Many of these ardent protestants worked hard and prospered.

Across the Hello passage from Palmer [59] were two properties. Here the whitawers, collarmakers and butchers lived. Each of these must keep to his own trade. A tanner could not use the cured hides to make shoes and neither could a butcher tan the hides from his animals.

Until very recently a long stone building stood to the south of the churchyard which could have been a cottage and separate barn, or in the late sixteenth century a long house type all under one thatched roof [57]. (A hundred years later two women had cottages here: Miss Alice Carter and Widow Mary Sabin). The cottage built right against the churchyard wall was about 32' in length and the barn a further 43.' The barn would need cow stalls and room for the collarmaker's shop and warehouse. The eastern cottage's upper chamber at one time acquired a three light window in the end bay's north wall facing the church. The top of the wall under the thatch stood 8' above the grave yard at the east end, but at the west barn end it was only 6.' Inside there was an inner stone wall dividing the cottage from the barn, but where was their chimney?

Next to Hello was a stone and thatched house lived in by the Pares [58]. They had a three bay house with two chimneys. John Pare's goods were seen in January 1609/10. The following rooms being occupied by John and Elizabeth:

- Hall [fire]
- Kychen [fire]
- The Chamber [2 beds]
- Servant's chamber [1 bed]
- Warehouse

In Pare's hall the chimney utensils included kettles and pots. The kitchen had a "fyer grate" which they used to roast meat on the spit. In the chamber were two beds and in the buttery three barrels. The servant's chamber would have been on the upper floor after the hall and chamber were lofted over. The rest of the chambers could have been allotted to John Pare's daughter Alyce who had married the butcher Henry Hill.

The whitawers business was to tan the hides by soaking them in their two "lyme vats" using a solution of alum and salt instead of the tannin from oak-bark which required a source of power not available, until Gardners took over the upper mill. The two lime vats were worth 4s and in Pare's warehouse he left five half hides and one whole hide worth 13s, two collars and three halters 3s-6d. The hides were left to soak in the vat, hair side down. The hair was shed into the vat when the soaking inflated the hair cells. After the hides were lifted out, the hair and lime could be removed and sold for plastering. The bleached hides needed scraping to remove the fat and after rinsing each was dressed according to its future use. The river was near enough to obtain water, though it is not known if they had a path down to the Cherwell between Bokingham's [55] and Evan's [54] properties. Once the Oxford canal cut through Evan's close a track was allowed to the canal for the occupiers of [57] and [58], which may have followed an older right of way.

William Carter, a collarmaker, lived in the cottage [57] and his twin sister Elizabeth who married John Pare in 1578 moved into the house [58]. John Pare was then about twentyone having the full responsibility of the business, but perhaps advised by William Carter. William married the daughter of Thomas Brown, the whitawer, who came to work at Pares. By then he was a widower and lived in the servant's chamber. He died in his master's house in 1580.

The Pares had two daughters. The eldest Joan married and moved to Buckingham. She inherited the land Pare's had in Eaden, Northamptonshire. Alyce stays and brings her husband Henry Hill to live in her father's house. After John Pare died the widow Elizabeth moved over to the cottage to look after her nephew William Carter for his parents were no longer there. Young William Carter married Anne and two daughters survive, then after the parents die in 1648 one daughter remains alone which was most unusual. Had her father taught her the art of collar and harness repairs so that she could earn a living? Women could not be apprenticed, but many must have helped their fathers and learnt enough to carry on the business. Back in 1624 the list shows that William Carter employed a man which he may have done on other years (p96). He must have found plenty of work even though other trades were managing in 1624 without help due to the hard times.

Henry Hill and Alyce employed an assistant in 1613, 14 and 24 and Alyce Hill had a maid when the four young girls were infants. They were followed by a son and either an Edward or an Elizabeth who completed their family of six spread over thirteen years. (The register repeated three baptisms altering the name of two of the children, so that one baby was either an Edward, an Elizabeth, or they were twins following the Carter gene?).

John Pare when he died had a "lyttell pig," but no cow. Hill after taking over Pare's copyhold leased an extra cow common from William Hill the whitbaker in Church Lane [20] for he needed two cows for his growing family and business. Why then did William Carter let his cow common to Thomas Vaughan in 1614 and not to Hills? That year Henry Hill had his own and the use of William Hill's [20]. In 1615 Henry had only one cow, but two in 1616. In 1617 he managed to rent Cross's from the mill. He was also buying calves, either for suckling, or killing them for meat and perhaps selling the calf leather to Carters. He purchased four young Bourton tithe calves from the vicar. The first two were recorded in 1616. That year he has two of his own cows suckling calves. The last two calves were bought in other years. The four cost him 8s, 7s-6d, 7s, and 8s. No-one else left a record so we do not know who supplied them throughout each year. The rest of the town's calves could have gone to the market where the fell mongers dealt in hides.

The site in 1681 still had two lands and a sideling in the South Field's Landimore furlong, and in the North Field one land at Morestone and a sideling near the [Fenny] lake. Their leys consisted of two leys and a butt in Oxhay and commons to pasture one cow, one horse and four sheep in summer and eight in winter. This was equal to about an eighth of a yardland. The Hill family were followed by the Ortons who were also butchers. In 1634 John Orton had already arrived for he stepped across Hello to witness John Palmer's will [59]. Why had the family of Hills left?

Thompsons, Mallins and Evans of Round Bottom [52-54].

[52] GEORGE TOMPSON m KATEREN
 bur 9 Jan 1650/1 | bur 5 July 1648

ANNA WAM ? GEORGE
 bp 11.4.1612 22.8.1614 16.1.1619/20

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 2.75.

? m DENYS HURST [53]
 bur 28.3 1597 Will* & Inv.

[53] JHON MALLINS m ALYCE Hurst PAUL HURST*
 bur 10 May 1606 | m 11 Nov 1593
 bur 16 Dec 1621

ELIZABETH AN DORETHE SARA
 bp 13.10.1594 bp 3.4.1597 6.8.1600 15.2.1603/4
 m 25.7.1616 [In lists aged bur 8.6.1609
 Richard 16 or else
 Andrews born in 1595]
 [19]

NICOLAS ANDREWS
 bp 12 Sept 1621-1668 to Williamscoote

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.5.

[54] ARTHUR EVANS m ELLEN
 Neatherd | bur 13 Nov 1630

ELIZABETH ANNA ANTHONY THOMAS ALES
 bp 9.8.1594 2.7.1596 20.4.1599 5.7.1601 24.11.1604
 bur 1.4.1620 Sch.

1614: george thompson ux...ijd....1624: George Tompson et uxor...ijd

wydow mullens.....ijd.....?William Plante et uxor.....ijd
her daughter.....ijd
her daughter.....ijd.....
Arthur Evans et uxor.....ijd
arthur evans.....Thomas Evans.....ijd
his sister.....Alice Evans.....ijd

Below the churchyard across Round Bottom, at the east end of the town were the three cottages [52-54]. They were squeezed between the mill's tail pond, the river Cherwell and Round Bottom, possibly a piece of land formerly used for grazing as it had a pond. The first two were semi detached stone and thatched buildings. Each had two bays with a hearth and upper floor. The southern cottage of the two having a cockloft next to the gable end. There were barns and cowstalls to the pair of cottages, but their position is unknown. Both had a cow common and the following leys were shared between them: Five leys in Hawtin's Piece, and one ley and two half leys in Honeypleck. This worked out to about one and three quarter acres for each cow's hay. The second cottage appears to have two lands for barley and two for peas. In the 1660's Robert Wyatt managed to lease them both for his house and chandler's shop. He was followed by Edward Mole a husbandman. In the eighteenth century came the Fletchers, then Richard Taylor's family had the cottages from 1730 until they were sold to John Chamberlin in 1775. As the proposed canal route came through the properties the Oxford Canal company purchased and then demolished them both. It was in the chandler's rear garden that a multitude of bones were found from either a butcher's business, or from an extended part of the churchyard?

Each cottage had a hall, parlour and buttery. In the first lived George Thompson [52] and Kateren who remained there until they died in the interregnum so no will survived. None of their three children born between 1612 and 1619, take it over.

Next door at [53] had lived the Hursts. The only record which has survived from our era was widow Denys Hurst's will and inventory. Denys left her son Paul everything "Willing him to regard any his brothers and sisters in gyving at any time what he should think [fit] and convenyent." The vicar may have been the scribe and a William Hurst witnessed it. She was buried a fortnight later and the family asked John Pare [58] and Edward Bokingham [55] to come and make an inventory with William Burnslie. They found the following on the 13th of April:

"..her Apparell -----xiijs
 the Pewter and Brass -----xiijs
 a Pen wth. all the treene vessells-----iijs iiijd
 v payre of sheets a tablecloath &/a towell -----xxs
 ij Hilling ij Blancketts a bolster/
 & ij Pillowes -----xxs
 iiij Bedsteds ij formes & othr Boards -----xijs
 Hemp, yarne & othr old things-----iiijs
 a table ij formes two loomes a Bulting Hutch/
 a kiver & othr old things -----viijs
 The wood about the ground wth part/
 of one Hive -----xvs
 wood bought att Handwell -----vijs
 ij lands of barlie & ij of pease -----xxs
summa vj£ xvijs iiijd"
 Exhibited 22 September 1597.

The Hursts had plenty of "bedsteads" for the whole family if they were all double beds. Each had sheets and one to spare, but of course by this time the family would have grown up and nearly all departed. Living with Denys was her married daughter Alyce, son-in-law John Mallins and two grand daughters. Paul allowed them to remain in the cottage after their mother Denys Hurst died. Three of the Mallin's four girls survive. After twelve years of marriage Alyce's husband John died in 1606. Alyce is left struggling to manage and either employs someone to carry on whatever trade they had, or takes in a lodger, possibly to help her with the land. The eldest daughter Elizabeth aged twentytwo married Richard Andrews who had been living in the house. The Andrews remain until Alyce dies, just after the grandson Nicholas Andrews was born. The young couple must then look for other accommodation, although the cottage may have been vacant in 1624. Once again couples overlap an older generation and any convenient accommodation has to do to start with. The Andrews entered the cottage in Church Lane [19] with their son Nicholas, who was to become a yeoman in Williamsote. Richard may have been leasing land somewhere to help his trade?

Between Mallins and Bokingshams lived the Evans' [54] whose cottage vanished long before the canal came and cut through his close leaving a narrow paddock on either side. This is not really in Group three for no mention was made of this cottage in 1681. By 1775 Richard Grisold [6] leased the close, then called Bridge Close, stretching from Round Bottom to the river bank.

Arthur Evans is called a neatherd and had the responsibility for the cows of the town (p.238). He married Ellen and three girls and two boys were born. He allowed Thomas the youngest to attend the school. Between 1613 and 1624 his household consisted of the parents, a daughter and Arthur's sister until 1617. Another Evans appears in 1618 called Allen. In 1624 Thomas, now twentythree, is back as well as Alice a twenty year old daughter. Repeatedly comes this question "What work did young adults find locally?" Surely it was mostly on the husbandmen's farms as day servants, but what did the educated ones do? Their homes were open to them into their thirties, even after a brother or sister had taken over, but of course it did depend upon the new wife and whether there was room to house them. Some paid employment was essential, unless they were replacing a servant and working in the family business. A marriage contract was often delayed, or unfortunately for some girls never contracted.

Rawlins, Corvisor and Shoemaker of Church Street [45].

WALTER RAWLINS m (1) BRIDGET Corvisor, Shoemaker bur 4 Aug 1608 Bur 11 Aug 1628 Will* & Inv.							m(2) CICELIE Carter 19 Nov 1609 widow m Edward Whyte [46] 18 Oct 1634	
JHON CHRIS. WAM. RICH. THOS. GAMAL. WALTER 16.8. 2.9. 30.7. 13.12. 25.4. 14.9. 1.3.1605/6 1592 1593 1596 1598 1601 1603 *-3.4.39 Sch -1655 -24.4 Sch *Sch Sch 1602 *Exor							JOYCE ELIZ. JOHN ANNE 22.7.10 16.3.13/14 19.16 27.11.19 Not in will.....	

1614: Walter rawlins ux ijd1624: Walter Rawlins et uxor ijd
Christopher rawlins ijdChristopher Rawlins.... ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 5.25.

Rawlins' homestall had a little piece of garden between the cottage and Whyte's timber house [46]. By 1669 Richard Pitham who followed the Rawlins had erected another cottage on the garden. Both were at the rear of the plot allowing the timber gable of Whytes to be seen (p.369). Their well, a stone lined one, was in front of Rawlins' cottage (Figs. 25.2/3).

They had one cow common

One ley in Nether Furlong in Hawtins Piece.

One plott of bushes in Over Furlong in Hawtin's Piece.

One ley in Nether Furlong.

One other plott in Nether Furlong in Honey Pleck Bretch Furlong south [Bodly 4950].

Although Rawlins had this cow common he never paid a tithe on it (according to the remaining records), so it must have been set to another with the land, though surely not the wood supply from the plot of bushes in Hawtin's Piece, which were essential for his fire and oven. The cottage had no arable at all and he does not appear to lease any, relying upon his trade as a shoemaker and corvisor (a corvisor may be an early name for a cordwainer).

Like most townsmen they had hens and in 1611 the vicar receives from him a cock, and later on two pairs of capons. None appear in his inventory and the bedding neglects to mention the feather pillows they could have produced. Rawlins had a lathe, stools and tools worth 4s and he kept leather in the house worth 10s, all for the making and repairing of shoes. These were in a shop which can only have been at the west end, perhaps a small extension that Walter had made. In which case it was no wonder there was no room for the cow.

Their cottage was a small one having only two bays. Built in rows of coursed rubble stone under a thatched roof, it has somehow survived into this century. The front elevation measured 25' and the east gable 19' so that the inside was c19' long by 15' 6" deep. This was similar in size to Hills [20]. Two small one light windows lit the newel stairs leading to the first upper chamber. The upper floor was divided into two by the middle roof truss. Each chamber had a two light casement window facing south towards the church. The opening light did not open for the whole of the window for the upper part of the window was fixed. Unfortunately these old windows were replaced. The inglenook fireplace and stairs took up the eastern gable, but there was still room for the oven which projected eastwards into the tiny garden. The present entrance is beside the stairs. A

spine beam holds the joists for the upper chambers. A buttery had been made out of the hall next to the western gable and it could be they once had a small inside entry from a west door. This went into the shoemakers shop which took up the place of the cow barn, unless there was another hovel taken down when the second cottage was built in the garden. The hall had a window at the front and possibly a small rear window. These would have had shutters to begin with and a front window seat in the hall for the table.

The second cottage having been built by 1669 was later extended until all the gap between the two buildings was filled. This left Rawlins' cottage without any lights to the stairs and the oven then jutted into the second cottage's extension.

To the cottage in 1628 came Anne Fenny [43] and Joane Holbech. Walter Rawlins had asked them to witness his will which Joane's husband Ambrose was writing. The Holbechs had lived across the road at the vicarage [21] in the absence of Dr Brouncker, but had recently moved to Mollington. Joane was the youngest Holloway daughter and had known Walter Rawlins all her life. Although Mrs Fenny could not write she was probably a friend of the family having watched four of the sons from Walter's family grow up and develop their skills as young scholars at the Williamscothe school. Two sons remain in Cropredy to eventually sign the 1641 Protestation return. Christopher and Thomas had no land to inherit, but neither did their schooling cause them to leave the town. Who had they been apprenticed to? Christopher in the vicar's lists was at home, possibly helping his father with his cordwainer's trade.

Walter married twice, first Bridget in 1590, then Cecilie Carter in 1609 and these two wives over a space of twentyeight years produced a large family of first seven boys, and then three girls and a boy. Three only of the first seven appear in the will. The step-mother would have her work cut out to maintain a good home in such a small space especially when her own children began to arrive. They must all have slept upstairs in the two old bedsteads worth 16s. Their six pairs of sheets were apparently coarse. The hall was for cooking, eating and sitting. The wives using the pot hook for their iron pot and two kettles. They also had a brass pan and two little posnets. In their buttery they kept three barrels one pail, one cover and three tubs.

In 1613 Cecilie the second wife had an educated step-son at home and possibly two other stepsons as well, the thirteen year old Thomas a pupil at Williamscothe and the nine year old Walter. This at a time when she was either pregnant or feeding her own second baby. Three other sons of the first marriage may have visited. By 1619 Cecilie's son and third daughter had arrived. As her four children were left out of the will what had Cecilie agreed to before she was married? Had she promised to allow goods to go to the first family and the rest to herself, but leaving out her own children who when she became a widow

were aged between nine and eighteen? Her relations may have provided for her children knowing they would have no legacies. In 1628 Walter leaves "Sisley" his wife "the rest of my goods" which included the main cooking pots and five pieces of pewter. Her spinning wheel was worth 1s -3d. In 1634 she marries the widower Edward Whyte next door [46] (p.376).

Christopher as the eldest surviving son was executor and had a cooking kettle, hall table and form as well as "the bedsted bed and beddinge where on he now lyeth," a coffer and two pair of sheets in his chamber (where then did the other children sleep?). Son Thomas, one of the scholars, has the book of Smith Sermons, and his brother Walter a coffer. No mention that a son could have the implements in the shop or the leather in the house. Did this all go to Christopher as the next life on the copyhold, or was Cecilie and any other son trained to accomplish repairs? Christopher gained the cottage when Cecilie moves next door in 1634. He was by then fortyone and had twentyone years on his own for he appears to die a bachelor.

Walter Rawlin's apparel was valued at 10s. Altogether without stock and corn he is worth only £5-2s-7d and yet he not only sent children to school, but Walter had obviously managed to provide enough income from his craft to bring up a houseful of children and still survive. Rawlins may have been taught to read and his Bible and sermons were important to him.

Local legend believes the mason who built the church lived here. The cottage which has a spine beam is several centuries later than the church, so perhaps the stone mason lived on this site, but in an earlier timber cottage?

Ffendrie of Church Street [43].

THOMAS FFENDRIE	m	ANNE Lamprey
No burial record.		25 Nov 1599
Will* & Inv. 1636		*Exor

HESTER	ISABELL	?MARY
bp10.10.1600	In will*	
m John Cherye		
15 Nov 1621		

1614: Tho fenny ux ijd1624: Thomas ffenye et uxor ijd
.....Marye ffenye..... ijd

Two lands shooting into Arbwel [S.Field]
Three butts in Ramsbalke [N.Field]
Two leys of grasse shooting east there into Yea Furlong.
one Cow common
One ley in nether Furlong in Hawtins Piece.
One ley in Honeypleck Furlong.
Half a ley in Honeypleck Furlong the over end.
Half a ley or butt in Honeypleck Furlong [Bodly: 4950].

D29.4 **Reconstruction of Ffendrie's Site.**

Fenny/ Feney/ ffenarie had a cottage tucked into the vicar's square of land, with an angled north boundary into a close which could have belonged to his cottage. By 1814 the close and cottage had been separated and the cottage and yard which measured only 10 perch sold to the vicar. The Revd. Ballard then recycled the stone (and lined it with Crompton brick) into his huge garden wall, straightening the boundary at the same time. Fenny's frontage was mostly onto the church yard and the rest facing down Church Street, which is why the corner of the tall stone wall now projects beyond the north church gate as it took in part of Fenny's old house. It is possible that Fenny's was only a one cell building, but being longer on the east side and not as deep on the north gable he could have had two bays, though in his inventory the hall and over chamber are all that are mentioned. Having a chamber over the hall allowed him a chimney. There is no mention of a buttery, or chamber over in a second bay. In fact the salting trough was in the hall as well as the cowperery ware and woollen spinning wheel.

It could be the second bay was his barn to store the crop from the cottage's 4.25 acres which came in eleven separate pieces.

They had also leased an extra parcel of land for in October 1636 Fenny left corn, peas and hay worth £2-10s, the product of just under half a yardland. The land which went with the cottage (an eighth of a yardland) was discovered in the 1681 deed. It revealed he had only 1.75 acres of arable to 2.5 acres of leyland as well as one cow common, showing the balance of ley to

arable was unusual. Across the yard was another building perhaps for the stock. Fenny left two cows and six sheep worth £7 which made up a third of his estate. The inventory gives no clues as to the nature of his craft, but he is not called a labourer. The only clue as to a possible employment was the position of Fenny's cottage which was close to the churchyard and vicarage. Had he acted as the vicar's bailiff? They were also paying the vicar tithe candles. Would he making enough to owe a tithe?

Fenny was yet another Thomas. The town had plenty and nick names must have been quite common. In 1599 he married Anne Lamprey, sister to George, and Isabell who married Edmond Tanner [39]. They appear to have at least three Fenny girls, but only Hester was baptised at Cropredy. Was this his second marriage? Isabell (surely called after Anne Fenny's sister Isabell Tanner) was not baptised at Cropredy and they must have taken her elsewhere. Why did they baptise her in another church and if so where?

The cow was again essential to their economy and they manage to have two right up to his death in 1636 when Thomas may well have turned sixty. He has had some of his barley malted and Anne had equipment to brew following the same household tasks that her neighbours undertook inside and outside as well as caring for the cows, milking and cheese making. Inside they had ample bedding with seven pairs of sheets. There was also a clothes press, two coffers and three boxes. Their collection of pewter included four platters and was worth the price of a good ewe. They sat at a table which had a frame, not an old trestle, and there were benches to sit on. There was an open "cubberd" for the pewter and a "screne" for the door which may have opened directly into the hall. The screen could of course have come from an older timber cottage. His apparel was in the G bracket (p685) and ten shillings more than the tailor Sutton's next door. Working on the land required tough clothing and left them with a modest wardrobe.

When Fenny wishes to make a will Joyce Vaughan, the seventeen year old twin from [23] came to witness it with John Hunt [16]. Thomas had still to settle Isabell's dowry and it is worth quoting to show what his wife must be sure to give her. It was his last wish to see her fairly provided for.

Isabell was to have "the elder cowe of my two beaste, a coverlid the best I have, two payre of sheets, a payre of blankets, two bolsters, a payre of pylloes, a woolbed the best, a pylloebase, halfe a dozen of table napkins, a table cloth, one woolin wheele and a coffer, one great platter & a kettle. I give unto my sayd daughter the bedsted that I now ly upon my wife having

the use of it during her life." His wife was to have the rest and he elected her sole executrix. Without a son the name vanishes after only one generation.

When this site was purchased by the Reverend Ballard in 1814 for his vegetable garden he may have had all traces of Fenny's old cottage dug up and removed. The site has not so far been searched for signs of any old foundations, but there was an outline sketch of the house and yard kept with the vicarage papers [Bodly 2112 No.3. 1814 (now in Oxfordshire Archives)].

Breedens of Creampot Lane [37].

RICHARD BREEDEN		m TRUE Bryden					
died pre 1613		| ? bur 6 Mar 1623/4					
ANNES RICHARD THOMAS		WILLIAM		JHON THOMAS		TRU	
bp26.9.74 5.4.1576 4.6.1580		10.9.81		12.5.85 25.4.89		m Richd	
[1613-19] bur14.8.80		mELIZABETH		m (1) bur 1590		White	
m? no chd?		Harman		BRIDGETT		[46]?	
		1619		bur 20.3.1620/1			
						m(2) JOANE	
EDMOND ELIZ. ELIZ. WILLIAM GEORGE		14.9.1633					
bp11.2.20/1 31.3 13.2. 15.3.28/9		m ANNE JOANE RICHARD ANNE THOMAS					
1622 '24/5		5 chd		12.1. 3.4.1618 3.10.19 3.6.1628			
m Matthew?				1616/7 m Eliz. 2 chd.			

1614: Rych bredden vx ijd1624:William Breedon et uxor ijd
Jho bredden..... ijd
Tru bredden.....ijd.

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 3.99.

The last cottage to be sold from Group three had been added to the south gable end of Huxeleys house [36], though it did not block the south gable window lighting Huxeley's cockloft. It must have been added soon after the Huxeleys arrived. Elderson's and Huxeley's were not quite in line and Breedens was either built further forward, or this was altered at a later rebuilding of

the front wall? The first floor was not tied into Huxeley's and therefore added after it. The transverse beam was supported on the outer stone walls and two pillars. The roof may have had a tie beam by Huxeley's gable. Had there been an earlier timber building replaced by Breeden's?

Breeden's had three bays, one of which was eventually used as a wheelwright's and blacksmith's shop and later turned into a bakehouse. Still later a cordwainer's shop was built behind the house. Between Elderson's [38] and Breeden's [37] they left a wide entrance to the back yard and close.

The property was without arable and leyland which again seems to prove it was an extra building put up around 1574. They did have a cow common, but any land had to be found by the occupiers. Richard and True Breeden had five sons (two died) and two daughters, but none left an inventory, or knowledge of their trade. Breedens were followed by Truss the molecatcher's son in 1669. A branch of the Hunt's family who were shepherds and blacksmiths followed before buying the property next door [36]. It remained as a smithy up to 1812 when Thomas Andrews lived there. Andrews sold to Robinsons the bakers, who sold out in 1829 to William Smith the cordwainer. Smith had had to leave the family home in Church Street [46] as other relations succeeded to the property. William made two bays of the property into his house, raising the roof and replacing the thatch with slate. He altered the entrance making a passage and put a fireplace in the front room.

His office was made out of the old narrow parlour to the right, which also had the newel staircase. He was a postman and relieving officer (The house was not a post house or post office for the first post office used "Elderson's" front parlour [38]). The Smiths made a second cottage out of the third bay and across a passage built two new thatch cottages, taking in the farm entrance. Access to the rear garden was now by foot along a passage.

The house was associated with some of the first Wesleyans. Smiths were followed by the Neals who called it Fernleigh. They had purchased all but the first three cottages of the row. Mary Smith, school-mistress and non-conformist tells in her autobiography of escaping up into the attic to read her books purchased at a sale by her father William. There by the light of the little lattice window she read books far in advance of her years. Mary left the little we know of this house and the cottage where she was born [46] in her book. Told perhaps to console herself in the harsh (according to Mary) north country where she went to work. {Smith M. *The Autobiography of Mary Smith*. Bemrose & Sons, London p3}.

Breedens arrived in 1574. Richard and True had a daughter followed by three surviving sons and a second daughter: Annes, Richard, William, John and Tru. By 1613 goodwife True Breedon was still living with the eldest son Richard at home, but she left during 1614. Over the following years as the sons marry they return home, presumably having married after their apprenticeship and journeyman period had been completed. In 1619 Richard and wife, John and his wife Bridget, together with William and his wife Elizabeth (who were married that year in Banbury) were all working in Cropredy and somehow sharing the one cottage. If only we knew what their trade was. Then Richard died and his sister-in-law Bridget, the wife of John was also buried. John left Cropredy for a while, but had remarried by 1628 when Joane gave birth to Thomas in Cropredy. In the 1624 list only William and his family remained. None of the sons had married young. John was thirtyone and William thirtyeight. Had they haggled over whose name was on the copyhold? Or did their business mean long hours at their "shop"? Richard was mentioned in the cottagers' cow tithes book letting the common to Vaughan [23], using it himself, giving it up and letting to Fenny [43] when the record stops. The family material is so slight, but William and Elizabeth's youngest son George did stay on, marrying Anne who was possibly the last to hold the copyhold. Once again the lease fell out after just under a hundred years. It was sold to Thomas Truss [Trise] the younger. In "Elderson's" [38] lived Richard Watts who in 1662/3 married Hanna Trusse. Were these relations of the rich young shepherd who had once lived at [33]?

A Summary of what happened to the A manor Cottages.

Group One :

None survived. Watts [27] was rebuilt. Ladds [40] and Bostockes [41] gone. Suttons [42] lasted into the 1950's. Hyrens [56] and Palmers [59] lost to the vicarage garden in 1814.

Group Two :

Allens [44], Whytes [46], Bryans [47], Normans [48] and Coxes [49] all managed to survive.

Group Three :

All sold in 1681. The mill houses [1a and 51] lost to the canal. Palmer's [1] to Hadland's rebuilding the mill and house in 1818. Huxeleys [36], Breedens [37], Eldersons [38] and Tanners [39] have survived. Ffendries [43] lost to the vicarage walled

garden in 1814. Rawlins [45] remains. The two cottages [52 and 53] lost to the canal were rebuilt as Riverside Cottages. Carters [57] lost in the 1990's. Pares [58] rebuilt to face south after 1700?

Evans [54] whose group has been lost may have gone not long after our period.

Rectorial Cottage : Hunts the Weavers [5].

ROBERD HUNT	m	ALYS			
Will * 1565?		* Exor			
Weaver					
<hr/>					
JOHN* ANNES* THOMAS* RICHARD* MARGERIE* EDWARD*		ANTHONY*			
m JONE		m Margaret			bp16.11.1540
[16]		Howse 1553			bur 28.11.18
		[16]		m ELIZABETH	
				Wallis 1573	
				d.before 1613	
				Weaver [5]	
<hr/>					
RICHARD	THOMAS	ALICE AN	WILLIAM	GEORGE	JHON
bp13.10.1574	16.10.76	2.4.79	18.9.81	10.10.84	23.2.87/8
-1646				bur13 Feb.07/8	25 May.08
Weaver [5]					13 Feb.07/8
m MARIE Howse					
18 Jany 1602/3					
bur 4 Jan 1646/7					
<hr/>					
JHON	WILLIAM	ANN	ABIGAIL	SOLOMON	
bp15.10	5.10.06	12.2.1608	15.4.10	28.10.12	
1603			m ?Robert		
16.8.1647			Harris		
Weaver					
Inv.					

1614: anthony huntijd1624: Richard Hunt et uxor ijd
Rychard hunt vx ijd
anthony allabon ijd

.....eliza his mayd ijd.

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 5.37.

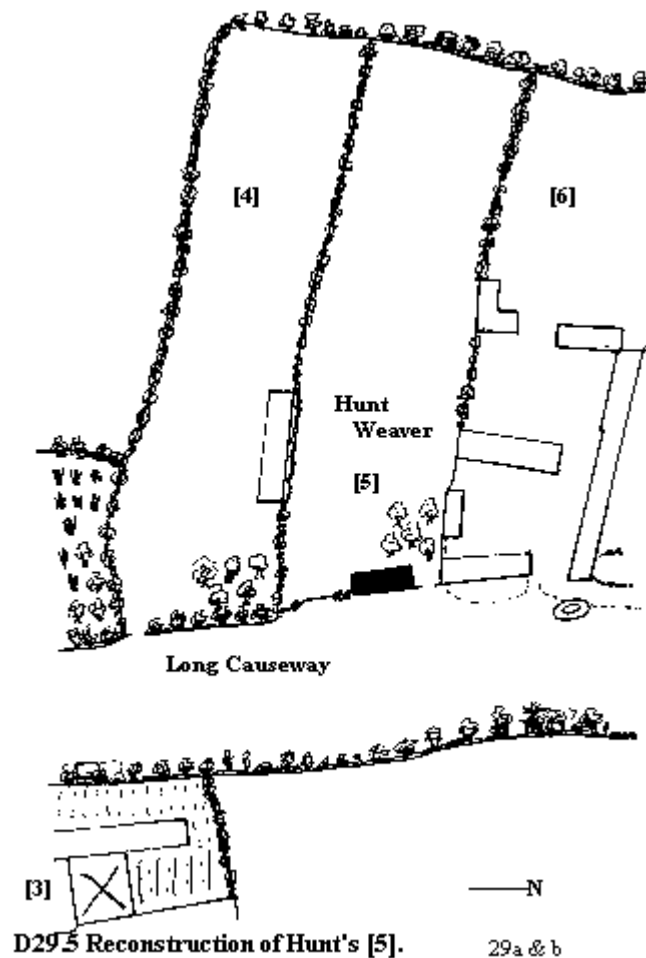
One other tradesman lived in Cropredy between the French's [4] and the Halls [6]. Anthony Hunt [5] was a weaver and lived in a cottage which had land on part of a lay impropiator's rectorial tithes estate. The tithes had been split and "farmed" out for collection from the field, where every tenth cart load of corn was payable as a great tithe to William Hall [6], or one of the Holloway's [21] (p709).

Anthony Hunt born in 1540 died aged seventyeight after a life of farming and weaving. He had been able to take a part in the town affairs for he leased a parcel of land. He married Elizabeth Wallis who could be a member of the blacksmith family of Great Bourton. Anthony's eldest brother lived on the Green [16]. Anthony could not write but he helped to witness the French [4] wills, on two separate occasions. He was twice asked to help with inventories.

In his day hardly anyone at their end of the town could write, but he made sure his son Richard attended the new school. This meant he had the chance to continue witnessing wills and helping with inventories, though he may never have been called upon to write any. Richard being the eldest was able to stay and weave in Cropredy. He married Marie Howse in 1602/3 and his father was around to see the grandchildren, three sons and two girls born. We do not know when or where Anthony's wife Elizabeth was buried. Had she been there in March 1608 when the family tragically lost three sons John aged seventeen, George aged twentyone, and William aged twentythree? William and John were buried on the same day followed two months later by George. The registers at Cropredy very rarely give the reason for death, and how or why this triple tragedy befell this family is not known.

In 1619 Richard had "his man" to help, but none in 1624. There was a severe crisis in the weaving industry in the 1620s. In 1618 he had had Jhon Rocke with him as well as his father, then Anthony died that year aged seventytwo. No wills or inventories survive from the 1618 court. Richard and Marie nee Howse's youngest son was christened Solomon, a name which occurs in the Howse family living three doors away at [9]. Had the bachelor shepherd Solomon acted as godfather to the boy? Richard died in 1646 and left his eldest son John weaving, but he died the following year still a bachelor and there does not appear to be any more Hunts weaving from this property.

Eventually their house became a barn. Did this mean it had been a three bay property, two for the house and one for the workshop? They faced the Long Causeway and had a close behind. After 1775 the close was exchanged with other land, and the part once taken up by the house and backside became part of Springfield Farm's garden [6], while the rest of the close returned to farmland (Figs 29.5 &.31.1).



Reconstruction of Hunt's [5].

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30. The Husbandmen's Farms & Their Cottages

There are so many different ways to look at the types of houses that the husbandmen built. Everyone will be aware of the regional differences in building materials and design whenever they leave the motorways and travel through small towns and villages. Along the Cotswold belt the buildings change from the expensive wool merchants' ashlar stone dwellings with stone slate roofs, up through the smaller grey lime stones to the larger goldern marlstones around Banbury. These marlstones were quarried and taken to Cropredy and neighbouring parishes and have given the region a distinct beauty all of its own. Further north along the limestone belt the texture changes, but fine buildings built for most of the parishioners can be found in township after township, though many have been swamped by the universal modern bricks and concrete tiles.

In Cropredy the new stone properties were being built for husbandmen, craftsmen and labourers at a time when yeomen in other parishes might be the only ones starting to rebuild. Husbandmen may build a smaller place, but still required enough farm buildings and yards as any yeoman. The basic plans were very adaptable and many would take the best from the former timber buildings. What kind of structural groups could they be divided up into?

Site	Ashlar/ Rubble	No.of Stories	Aspect	Barn Attached	Barn Detached	Passage Entry	Gable Entry	Layout unsure
[3]	Rubble	1.5	W	*		?*		
[4]	?	?1.5	S	?*		*		*
[6]	Rubble	2.5	E		*	*		
[8]	Rubble	2.5	E		*			
[9]	Rubble	1.5	E	*				
[12]	?	1.5	?E					*
[14]	Ashlar	2.5	E		*	*		
[15]	Rubble 17c	1.5	E	*			*	
[16]	Rubble	1.5	W	*		*		

[21]	?	?	S		*			*
[23]	Rubble 17c	1.5	S	*				
[24]	?	?	?S		*			*
[25]	Rubble	2.5	E	*		*		
[26]	Rubble	2.5	E		*	*		
[28]	Ashlar	3.5	N		*			
[29]	Rubble	1.5	S	*				*
[30]	Rubble	1.5	E	*		*		
[31]	Ashlar	2.5	S		*			*
[32]	Rubble	1.5	S		*			
[33]	Rubble	1.5	S	*		*		
[34]	Ashlar	2.5	?		*	?*		*
[35]	Rubble	2.5	E	*		?*		*
[44]	Rubble 17c	1.5	W	*			*	
[50]	Rubble	2.5	S	*		?*		*
[60]	Rubble	1.5	S	*		?*		*
.4	Ashlar	13=1.5	10=E.3=W	12	9	8	2	10
17	Rubble	.9=2.5	10=S.1=N	+?1	+?1	+?5		

Vaughans [23], yeomen, leased two cottages, but also some land which brought the number of farms up from twentyfour to twentyfive. It has already been mentioned at the start of this section that masons, if remaining in one area, built using regional materials with as much as possible coming from the parish. Inevitably houses and cottages followed the local masons'

style with the tenants' needs dictating the differences in individual properties. Some required two and a half storeys while others remained content to use the roof space for the only upper floor.

The need to face all houses towards the road was ignored by French [4], Howse [28], Lyllee [29], Hanwell [34] and Hentlow [35] when they rebuilt in stone. Narrow sites like [34 & 35] had little alternative, but the other three did not have this excuse. The site itself sometimes influenced the direction the house faced. On the main farms ten faced east, one north, ten south and three definitely faced west ([8]'s door to the west, windows to the east).

Ten of the twentyfour husbandmen built a separate barn from the house. Cattell's had a building attached, but not in the manner of a long house type. Thirteen saved a gable wall and built the barn attached to their new house.

We have already seen that some artisans had a long house (ch. 26), but it was more unusual for husbandmen to continue to build in this way. When it came to the main entrance door opening into an entry passage at least nine definitely did this and possibly three more on the twentyfive farms. Hampshire may have abandoned cross passages by the 1550's with the building of hall chimneys, but just over a third of the Cropredy farmhouses favoured the entry passage and rear exit as a way of reaching the back yard. Hall [6], Lumberd [14], Robins [26] and Cattell [30] had a fireplace backing onto the passage with the chimney jointed into the front wall. This meant the entrance to that room had to be beyond the chimney.

Two of the three farming tenants in timber buildings who delayed stoning their walls were [15] and [44] and both were entered via the south gable next to the late chimney.

Was this a township where the landlord was about to improve his estate by a massive building operation leading to increased entry fines? The house would never be freehold, only copyhold for three lives, so that here there were no incentives for tenants to indulge in exterior embellishments.

It was important to find out which manor the site belonged to. The College (B manor), or the Lee's larger Clattercote estate (A manor) which had been divided into three groups. The College ones were all known and could be found first. Having located one of the remaining tenants in the vicar's Easter Oblation lists, it was then necessary to discover into which of the three A manor groups that property belonged. One list for 1659 has been saved which gives all the farms [Boothby's letter book: Add. MS. 71960 p129]. The B Manor estate has been added to the tabulated 1659 rental so that the whole town is represented. To bring it back into Holloway's time the tenants are given for 1614 by using his Easter list for that year:

Site	No. of Messuages	Yardlands in1659	Tenant in1659	Tenant in 1614
	1st Part of the A.Manor :			Cottagers in []
[4]	1	2.5	Thos.Wright	French
[28]	1	2	Rich.Howes	Howes
[16]	1	2.5	Thos.Hunt	Hunt
[14]	1	3	N.Haslewood	Lumberd
[60]+[53]	2	1	Wm Wyatt	Suffolk
			& Wm Read	[Palmer]
[30]	1	0.5	Wd Wyatt	Cattell
[52]&[53]	1	0.5	Rob.Wyatt	[2 cotts]
[1]	1	0.5	[Mrs Palmer]	[Palmers]
	2 Water mills & a fulling mill			
	2nd Part of the A.Manor:			
[31]	1	2	Jn.Wyatt	Kynd
[50]	1 & Berry Close	3	Mr Cartwright	Coldwell
[25]	1	2	N.Tompkins	Gybbs
[24]	1	2	Ed.Pratt	Pratt
[9]	1	2	Thos. Howes	Howes
[15]	1	2	Wd Toms	Toms
[51]	Mill & Holme by Towne			[Cross]
	3rd Part of the A Manor:			

[26]	1	3	Mr Blgrave	Robins
[12]	1	1.5	T.Gorstelow	late Handleys
[29]	1	1	Sam Lorden	Lyllee
[34]	1	2.5	R.Watts	Watts/Hall
[57]&[58]	2 cotts	0.5	[Orton/ ..Langley]	[Hill/Carter]
[23]	2 cotts	0.5	T. Vaughan	Vaughan
	The Brasenose Manor:			1614
[3]	1	1		Devotion
[6]	1	2.5		Wm Hall
[8]	1	4		Woodrose
[32]	1	1		Rede
[35]	1	2		(sublet?)

The above list can be compared with the two meadow lists for 1578 and 1588 which reveal how much land the tenants had leased (pages 262 & 265).

Ashlar Stone.

Four husbandmen who had ashlar walls on at least the front elevation were Lumberd [14], Howse [28], Kynd/Wyatt [31] and Watts [34]. If Richard Howse [28] was one of the earliest to rebuild in stone, he chose to face the north elevation of his three and a half storey house in ashlar stone with two four light stone mullion windows on either side of the front entrance. On the south rear elevation he had at least two small windows one of which was a two light splay mullion window for a chamber. The south and gable walls were in coursed rubble rows of Horton stone.

Of the incomers who may have begun to rebuild in ashlar stone the earliest to arrive was Kynd [31]. Their house in the inventories was not large and it may have remained modest until Thomas Wyatt became the tenant in the 1620's and made several additions.

At the bottom of Creampot Lane the Watts had taken over the Hanwell's farm [34]. Hanwells had suffered through various epidemics and it is possible that Richard Watts took on the farm with the understanding Richard Hanwell remained the chief tenant. Richard Watts and Ann were married in about 1587/8 and if any rebuilding was done on this narrow site it would surely have been done before their marriage. The building faced east/west and the type of stone used was mentioned over three hundred years later when the College, which by then owned the property, recycled the "ashlar stone" for two tied cottages built between the barn next to the road and the old house which had long fallen into disrepair.

The last site was Edward Lumberd's [14]. His widowed mother had remarried a Thomas Whytinge who would have no interest in rebuilding as the house could not go to his only daughter Em. Edward was to care for the old lady, once again widowed, until she was around eighty. Thomas Whytinge died in 1584 and Edward did not marry for eight years. Was it during this period that he was able to rebuild on the Green, but facing towards the Cherwell bridge?

The B manor farm [8], Springfield's [6] east wall and the Brasenose Inn [13] have some later walls in ashlar. Extensions or additional buildings often used a larger ashlar stone.

The Brasenose College may have kept a tighter control over rebuilding for their funds were there to educate scholars, not to encourage superior construction of walls. This may account for the College tenants not using ashlar until a hundred years later in renovations. The two estates may have used different plans and had separate masons, but their cottage design may have preceded the A. Manor? Or could it be argued that the Brasenose College charged higher rents and their tenants could afford less? This is rather contradicted by the fact that Hentlowe's [35] and the B. Manor farm [8] had leased more land than any other husbandman during the height of the building period. Cottagers could surely not find the money for the entire building, but if the landlords purchased the stone they would have to raise the entry fine. Owners had lost out during the more profitable years with tenants on fixed rents so that the only way to raise their income from such Copyholds was to improve the buildings and then charge higher entry fees. The problem must have been talked about for a College Act was passed which allowed part of the rent to be in kind. This favoured the Brasenose College as landlords who may not have been able to provide enough materials to gain such an increase in rental and still finance the College. There is an opinion that landlords

rebuilt the cottages [M.W.Barley 1500-1750], but what about the larger college farmhouses? The tenants may have contributed the largest portion of the cost and entered upon a nintynine year lease?

Who Rebuilt their homes and when?

There would be insufficient stonemasons available for everyone to begin building in the 1570's. Perhaps it could be worked out where the stone masons were working over the town? The smallholders we followed into long house types and craftsmen with new surnames can be plotted onto a chart, but it was more difficult with Cropredians already tilling the land. The marriage dates of husbandmen might be one indication. Knowing that each household was at a different stage in the family cycle, did the son on taking up the lease begin by altering the house before he married? Or did he first have to pay off many legacies to his siblings? Were either of the parents still alive and on a third of the farm land? In which case he had to house them in return for taking over their lease. It would seem many had improved the family property between two inventories, though the parents' inventory may not show the whole house, and obviously the alterations had been done before the head of the household lay dying of old age. On the other hand when a man's unmarried heir or successor was nearing thirty the parents might agree to allow rebuilding before he found a wife. This is what may have happened at Rede's and Hanwell/Watts. There were seldom more than two or three married yearly in the town, but even just two or three a year would stretch over a twenty to thirty year period. On some years the masons may have put up at least three new dwellings replacing former timber ones, although apart from the timber row a few buildings must have been in such good order it would have been folly to dismantle them [15, 23 & 44]. The majority had new stone houses before the middle of the 1590's, though additions and alterations went on throughout the following years.

Two of the most difficult to date on the A manor are Coldwell's [50], the A manor farm in Church Street and Howse's [28] on the west side of Creampot Lane. They could be the oldest. Springfield [6] on the Long Causeway may also have been rebuilt before 1570. The B manor farm [8] had some early stone walls, but a complete rebuild at any one time was apparently not made. Each had evidence of an earlier building practice than the rest. Could they have been inspired by the rebuilding of others in the neighbourhood and led the way, before the 1570's? Howse had kept transverse beams, but had built a grand three and a half storey house further back on the site leaving perhaps some of the older buildings nearer the road to form two sides of his yard?

Apart from looking at the buildings themselves [which still need a great deal of investigation] it is possible to go back to the beginning of our period and note the appearance of a family in Cropredy, or the registration of a marriage, or baptism, to indicate a building might have been completed to a habitable stage to house the new family.

In 1574 both the Huxeleys and Breedons arrived [36 and 37] to be followed by Kynds at [31].

Two years later Richard Handley [12] married.

William Howse next door [9] took over in 1577 when his mother died, though he was not to marry until he was forty. Was he too busy rebuilding?

A cottage on the verge next to Pages [11] was needed for the Adkins [10], when William married Elizabeth in 1578.

In 1576 Robert Robins [26] had lost his third wife and was about to enter into another marriage in the following January. Could that have been the time to rebuild?

The two mill houses may have taken up the stone masons next for Smythe married Ursula in 1578 [51] and "Palmer's" house [1] may have been built over the next few years?

In 1582 John Truss [33] married. Suttons [42] came in 1583, while in 1584 Elderson and Tanner arrive [38 & 39].

Down on the Green Justinian Hunt [16] may have been waiting to get married, though his father was still alive. They were sharing the work on the land and Justinian must have wanted to get the stone walls completed on the house. Justinian was at least thirtysix when his own eldest son was born. Had the delay been to help pay off the cost of rebuilding? On the 1774 map his long house and barn were as near to the edge of the Green as they could go. Numerous outbuildings were made around a court yard and cowpen, yet in spite of the expense they still died with plenty of possessions, for Hunts liked to set the fashion in indoor goods.

Two College copyhold cottages may have been started in 1586, Bagleys [19] and Bokingham's [55] and on the following year Bostockes [41] on the A manor.

A College farm down Creampot in 1588 [35] and weaver Watts on the A manor [27] could also have been building.

Several have been left out of this conjecture, but the vicar [21] must be included. Thomas Holloway had to run a farm and was the first vicar of Cropredy to have been allowed to marry. That was in 1571 while still studying for his M.A. Thomas may have been the curate when his eldest son George was baptised at Cropredy. They would have found the bachelor accommodation totally unsuitable. When did the Holloways begin to rebuild? Was it when he became the vicar in 1573? With the large Ecclesiastical parish of Cropredy to run as well as the need to cater for a growing family with a reasonable staff, they required a new stone and thatched vicarage, but who would pay for it?

The Importance of the Properties to a general study.

The lists of 1613 to 1624 made it possible to use most of the wills and inventories. They helped when each individual farm site was looked at. Husbandmen required their houses to be sufficiently large enough to cater not only for the immediate family of husband, wife and increasing number of carefully spaced children, but also the grandparents who usually passed on two thirds of the land to the next generation. Redes departed from this custom due to a marriage agreement and left half to the wife, even though the children were old enough to have had their legacies. On the B manor usually the lease was kept for the widow and other children until the youngest was eighteen. The local custom appears to make sure the family are not turned out by an elder brother inheriting before their needs were catered for. Siblings must have houseroom in one of the chambers. It has already been mentioned that if a widower died then it was the son who took over the care and education of the younger children [16]. Most households must have aimed to get the youngest away before the eldest married, but this was not always achieved. Space must be made to provide for them wherever possible.

The main farms in Cropredy, apart from the two manor farms were situated on the west side on older closes. Later farms were built on the north side of Creampot Lane and Church Lane. Altogether they fluctuated between twentytwo and twentyfive families. The A manor having all the farms down the west side except for Springfield [6] and all three in Church Lane. Creampot was divided evenly between the two manor estates. An extra College farm [3] was built above the edge of the meadows to the south of their manor farm [8].

The two manor farms had the best sites. The A. Manor [50] had a large close behind and several meadows while the B. Manor [8] had a moated site amidst their meadows. This was anciently part of the older A manor.

Along the west side of the town were the most important farms each with a good yard: Howse [28], Lyllee [29] and Cattell [30] appear to have the best sites at the north end while Robins [26] and Gybbs [25] had the central position with Backside keeping the stock to the rear of the dwelling. Below the Green the farms lacked a good rear entrance, making do with access on fallow years only? Of these Springfield [6] was important enough to survive. The three next to the Green may not have appreciated the position, but none the less Lumberd [14] and Hunt [16] appear to have had good farm dwellings and both were important farms while the Toms family only left the Green to move up to Cropredy Hill farm in 1789.

Courtyards or paved areas were in front at Nuberry's [8] and Howse [28] and behind at Halls [6] and Hunts [16]. Devotion [3] and Huxeleys [36] each had a grass yard. Most had a backside or yard by the dairy or kitchen and except for hens they kept the stock out. Cattle yards were very necessary and might have open hovels, wooden buildings, or new stone cowsheds, stables, barns and walls positioned to shelter the yard. Two yards were ideal leaving a cattle yard surrounded by a wall and a stable yard for exercising the animals [30]. Manure heaps at that time were left exposed to the elements often in the centre of a yard. Those who had a sloping yard would get rid of the excess water.

The survival of the Stone Homestalls.

Nine of the farms have gone, or been rebuilt. Eight of the nine had left inventories [4,9,12,16,24,29,34,60].

Why did some farms survive and others not? Was it the size of the close? Newer ones were definitely more cramped. The aggravation caused by a cowsey approach may have been one cause of the loss of farms in Church Lane. After the Enclosure of the Open Common Fields the College preferred to keep their farms in the township and had managed to get a great deal of their land attached to their farmsteads. On the A manor many farms were joined together. At the top of Creampot Howse's old farm had extended as far as Cattell's [28-30]. This meant [30] became cottages. Other farmhouses were turned into cottages when the house was rebuilt amongst the new parcels of land. Though why in the process the old French, Gorstelow and Howse [4, 12 and 24] farms vanish is not easy to find out. Howse and Redes [9 and 32] as well as Vaughans in Church Lane [23] remain as cottages. Had it become too impossible for small farms to compete, that the merging continued? The old homestead being redeveloped as a business site, or becoming just plain domestic? Again it is necessary to turn to the families occupying the sites.

It is usual to begin any survey with the manor farms, but these were not owner occupied any more than the rest of the farms and all the following properties will be looked at in the same order as Holloway used, except for Devotions [3] which fitted better in the chapter about Long house types (p. 415). First the cottages attached to farms often allocated to the shepherd.

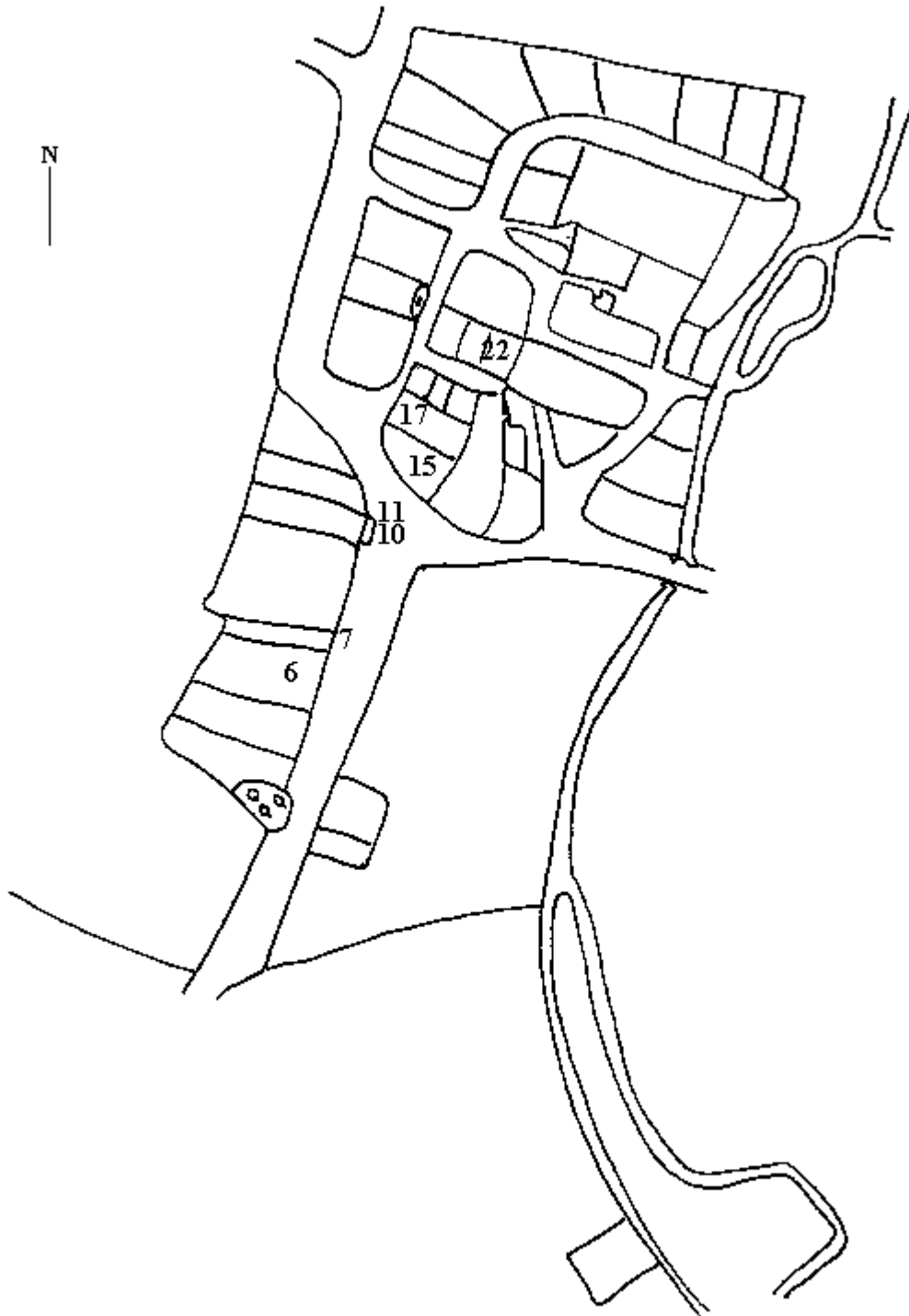
Cottages attached to Farms.

During the period 1570 to 1600 good shepherds were hard to find and it became necessary to give them a cottage to enable them to marry and settle down.

There were six or seven cottagers without the permanent right of a common. Their employer might have taken over the right leaving them to find one for themselves. Labourers worked long hours and their wives would be expected to work as well. The advantage of being married was they did not have to live under the master's roof, having already passed through that stage (p.64). The cottage enabled them to start a family. Due to their lack of arable strips to grow corn would their employer pay them partly in kind? Their children had no rights to the cottage. Their parents could stay only so long as they worked for the farmer.

Cottages attached to Farms

D30.1 Cottages attached to Farms.



Springfield's cottage at [6a].

The employees dwelling in Springfield's one bay cottage had less room than most for it also housed the kiln. No permanent names are associated with this building and it may only have housed the man who worked the kiln, for Halls include all their servants together, as though they slept in the servants' chambers. In the terrier of 1669 this cottage did have the right to a common [BNC:552].

Spencers and Clyfton's on the Long Causeway [7].

The B manor farm [8] opposite Springfield had a permanent cottage listed separately from the farm buildings (Fig.20.4 p303). It was sited to the north of Springfield [6] across the Long Causeway from [8].

There were four families mentioned over the list years and these overlap, which meant the two bay cottage housed both families:

- 1) CHRISTOPHER SPENCER m MARGERIE
 Left by Easter 1615
-
- JOHN DAVIDE JUDETH MARY THOMAS
 28.6.01 11.12.03 1.1.05/6 3.4.08 16.9.10
- 2) JOHN SPENCER m MARIE Barnes
 Left by 1615 27 Oct 1608 [The same day as Clyftons]
-
- HENRY ELIZABETH
 24.9.1609 22.12.1611
- 3) JHON PETYVER m ALICE Vaughan 28 April 1605
 At [7] in 1615 then gone.
- 4) JOHN CLYFTON m ABISHIAG Ryuxc 27 Oct 1608
 ?Shepherd Maid at Woodroses
 bur 4 April 1646 bur 30 Dec 1650
-
- JOSEPH RICHARD SARA MARIE
 16.4.1615 21.9.17 23.7.20 3.6.1623
 bur 25.1.21/2

1614: christopher spencer vx ijd1624: John Clifton et uxor ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 4.37.

Woodrose's [8] farm cottage was across the Long Causeway. It had two bays and was stone walled and thatched. In 1604 Christopher Spencer owed the weaver R.Terry [13] 4s. It was just an isolated bill. Credit must have been extended to many farm workers when wages were paid quarterly.

The Spencers lived here for at least ten years leaving in 1614. The Clyftons then returned to Cropredy to take their place.

John Clyfton is thought to have been a shepherd and his wife Abishag Mrs Dyonice's maid. Abishag Ryuxe/Rylye could have come with the Woodroses and after marrying John in October 1608 they leave, but return to the half vacant cottage. At least

one son and two daughters of theirs survive. As Dyonice Woodrose grew old Abishag and Marian Palmer [59] appear to be her closest maids. They were left 20s and 10s in her will (p88).

Farm labourers' families could not live in their employer's house and it was rare in the Cropredy records for their children to take on a copyhold life in one of these cottages. This meant none had three generations under one roof. That did not mean they had the luxury of two bays to themselves. Spencers or Clyftons have to manage alongside another family or couple. How did a small 24' by 16' ground floor, divided into two rooms with a loft over, accommodate four adults and five plus children in 1614? Compared with the rest of Cropredy's stone dwellings this was very crowded. Only Norman's [48] in Church Street lived with an average of 4.12 under their roof.

The cottage should have its own cottage common according to a terrier of 1670, and the vicar usually writes John Clyfton's name on the cottage commons lists from 1614 to 1619, but no money was paid by John. Did the Woodroses pay the tithe, or did they merge all the commons for their own use? Clyfton did find another one and leased it for his cow (p.229).

Thomas French's widow Mary in 1632 [4] employed a William Clyfton to help work her land. The rest of this couple's family vanish, even though they worked for the farm for a long period.

The present surgery was built on Clyfton's Close (still called that on a 1780 estate map), and the Belser track goes westwards inside the northern boundary. They had a vegetable garden around the back and side of the cottage which was right on the verge, presumably facing east. Later on part of the verge was taken into the close which means the cottage was further westwards than the present boundary, and in line with Springfield farmhouse [6].

East Elevation of Adkin's Cottage [10] after 1789

D30.2 East Elevation of Adkin's Cottage [10] after 1789.



Adkins and Pages on the Long Causeway [10 & 11]

WILLIAM ATKINS (later ADKINS) m ELIZABETH Lyttelford
 bur 16.12.1630 | m 2 May 1579
 bur 13 April 1614

WILLIAM THOS bp23.8.1579 20.7.1638 mANNE Chuttle 19.10.15 bur 4.4 1649 [10]	CHRISTIAN RYCHD 30.3.80 mClement Fox 12.10.14 bp 25.11.92	* 6.1.82/3 mRichd Tasker 2.1.14/5	FRANCES ANNE 23.8.84 mNich.Ward 9.5.1609	ELIZABETH 28.3.85/6 17.4.88/9 3.1.89/90 JHON ALYCE 9.2.91/2 Home in1615
Lived at widow Fox's, Gt.Bourton				
THOS ELIZ JOSIAS MARY EMA SARAH RICHD JOHN WAM bp9.7. 9.8 6.1 20.1. 7.11. 22.7 22.11.29 2.12.32 22.2. 1615 1617 19/20 1621/2 1624 1627/8 1634/5 mJudith				

HENRY JOYCE MARGERIE
 bp7.12.17 3.3.21/2 13.7.23
 -1694
 m(1) ELIZABETH Hill, 24 Oct 1643, bur 8 oct 1651
 m (2) MAGDALEN Meades, 21 March 1651/2
 bur 1 May 1681

ANNE 1652 -1670	ELIZABETH 1655 d.	WILLIAM 1657-1743 m MARY	ELIZABETH 1661	HESTER 1666
MARY 1688	ANNE 1690/1	JOHN 1696-98		

* Still written in the Easter list of 1615 as Christy Adkins three months after her marriage. Were they living there, or was the payment in lieu of the months up to her marriage? From this may we conclude that the mention of a person paying did not necessarily mean they were in residence at the time, but had been home for the majority of the twelve months? Or had he written down the wrong daughter?

1614: wam atkins1624: William Adkins Senr
.....his daughterWilliam Adkins et uxor ijd
.....Manasses Plinie et uxor ijd

The average in that household for the 8 listed years was 3.25.

William's wife Elizabeth died and a daughter took over until the eldest son married. Alyce had gone by the following Easter. A brother returned for three years making five adults in the cottage in 1615 and baby Henry was born in 1617. Grandpa William Atkins (spelt like that by the vicar, but also spelt as Adkins after the Revd Holloway's time), was the father of nine children. When the vicar wrote his last Easter lists William and Thomas two of the sons had both married. They baptised their children in Cropredy church and it looked as though they both shared the cottage. However apart from one year the vicar's lists also show that the Thomas Atkins who was married to Clement Fox in 1614 was living at widow Fox's in Great Bourton from 1615 to 1624 and may eventually have become the tenant as widow Fox had no sons? There was still apparently room for Manasses Plivie and his wife who came to lodge with Atkins in 1624 having left their place at Hentlowes [35] down Creampot Lane after the death of John Hentlowe and a change in tenant.

The two cottages [10 & 11] built in front of Handley/Gorstelow's [12] could have been built on the verge for married farmworkers. As the tenants had no commons of their own it seems unlikely they were built for two craftsmen. Yet the family must have managed to enter lives on the copyhold to have remained for so long, so what occupation did they have?

Adkins and Page lived in their cottages for over a hundred years and therefore differed from the others in this group. Unfortunately none of them left a will. Their possessions must have been insufficient to require one, or none had managed to put any money away. These two families without land have left little apart from register entries behind and yet William Adkins headed the only cottage family to continue right down into the twentieth century.

The verges have been whittled away over the centuries. As the Green passed eastwards across the end of the Long Causeway it would be to the advantage of those moving stock through the parish to have a gate across the Long Causeway. When the two cottages had been built they took up a large part of the gap. The animal pound was either opposite Adkins' cottage or by Devotions [3]. If it was by Adkins it would reduce the gap to the width of about two gates. A new piece from the verge was encroached before 1774 for a third cottage put up on the south side of Adkins' garden. After 1775 more verge was added to

1614: Rychard Page vx ijd1624: Richard Page et uxor ijd
.....Thomas Pageijd

The average in that household for the 8 listed years was 3.5.

Richard's (1567-1640) two sons William and Thomas were the last two boys from the Page family to be born in Cropredy. Thomas was thirtyfour when his father died. None of his ancestors had married young enough, or lived long enough to be grandparents. So they were able to be a nuclear family.

Richard Page's forebears had been farming probably in Handleys farm [12]. Certainly they were in the town in 1552 when a William Page was leasing land. His father Hew Page who died in 1547 had three cows and the landlord took the fourth, so he had farmed a yardland. He left his "hole teame the carte and the carte geres and the plough geres and all other belonging to them," to his son William. Jone was to have £2. The other three children a cow each and Alice the youngest also had a "fether bed" [Wills Oxon 179. 266]. Their farm building has fallen down and gone. The farm land and close had by 1775 been transferred to the farm built by the Robins [26] family. The Pages had moved into the stone cottage in front. Page's cottage became a garden and now has a new house built on it, next to the Brasenose Inn [13].

Toms Cottage [15a].

Toms' [15] farm cottage was built in the farm yard. In the Easter lists first Woods then Shotswells lived here. It must have been part of the range of building stretching behind the barn along the north side of their farmyard. The cottage when stoned may have measured 15' by 19' inside the 22" walls. This would give a two bay cottage which faced south onto the yard. In the Toms' inventories no mention was made of the cottage for of course they let it unfurnished. Without the vicar's lists this cottage would not have been discovered (Fig.32.2).

Haddock's on the Green [17].

EDWARD HADDOCK	m	ELIZABETH
died ?1617		wyddow by 1618
No burial		
<hr/>		
CHARLES	JOHN	ELIZABETH
bp16.3.1607/8	9.3.1610/11	2.7.1615

1614: edward haddocke vx ijd1624: widdowe Haddocke. ijd
.....Henrye Smith et uxor ijd

The average in that household for the 8 listed years was 3.6.

Haddock's [17] could have been a farm cottage for Hunt's farm [16] as the cottage was on their close (Fig.32.2). On the vicar's lists the Haddocks came between Hunts [16] and Matchams [18]. Hunts had a large farm and would require a resident shepherd. The cottage was built in stone to the north of the farmhouse and certainly had no cottage commons. It appears to compliment the gable wing at the south end of the Hunt's long house. It could have been a two bay cottage with an upper chamber. This had a newel stairs, but of what period is not known. None of the family were buried at Cropredy and the widow has to move away. Edward's last Cropredy record was for Easter 1617. After the early demise or disappearance of her husband, widow Elizabeth takes in Mary Robins for 1618 and 19 and in 1624 Henry Smith is living in the cottage though who employs him if not Hunts? No doubt the children were backhouse servants on the farm for the few years they lived on in Cropredy.

Wells of Church Lane [22].

RAPHE WELLS bur 4 July 1634	m	DOROTHY VAUGHAN bp 27 Sept 1573 m 31 August 1597 bur 13 Nov 1603			
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; vertical-align: top;"> ANNE bp 16:1:1597/8 Home 1615-18 & 1624 </td> <td style="width: 33%; vertical-align: top;"> ELIZABETH bp17:11:1599 Home 1619 </td> <td style="width: 33%; vertical-align: top;"> GEORGE bp18:10:1601 </td> </tr> </table>			ANNE bp 16:1:1597/8 Home 1615-18 & 1624	ELIZABETH bp17:11:1599 Home 1619	GEORGE bp18:10:1601
ANNE bp 16:1:1597/8 Home 1615-18 & 1624	ELIZABETH bp17:11:1599 Home 1619	GEORGE bp18:10:1601			

1614: Ralphe wells ijd..... 1624: Raph wells ijd
Anne wells ijd.

The average for that household on the 8 listed years was 2.

This family had a place of their own. Another rare nuclear family because Dorothy's people lived next door and Wells was a newcomer to the town.

Ralph Wells' [22] cottage shared the same roof as Vaughans farm. If it was the married quarters it had been given over to his son-in-law. Was Ralph an independent, though poor man, or working for Vaughan's because his father-in-law has the common which may anciently have been available for the tenant. Dorothy was pregnant at twentyfour and married Ralph Wells. The churchwardens did not present them for the early arrival of baby Anne. If their nuptials had been celebrated then their betrothal ceremony would be seen as a legal pledge for marriage (p.122). They were together for six years over which time three children were born. Then the family lost their mother and were brought up by the father (p124).The daughter Anne Wells is the only one receiving communion before she was eighteen. Her responsibilities of helping with the two younger children and her father may have made her older than her years. Would she be able to gain work next door at the vicarage, or on her grandparents place? How well did the Vaughans know their neighbours, the Holloways? They had left the church during the sermon and had refused to present those who worked on saints' days (p.31).

What happens to the three children? Their grandfather a yeoman, with only a little land in Cropredy, had not mentioned his grand daughter Anne. The other two arrived later. William Vaughan owes Ralph Wells £4 and he leaves him goods in his will.

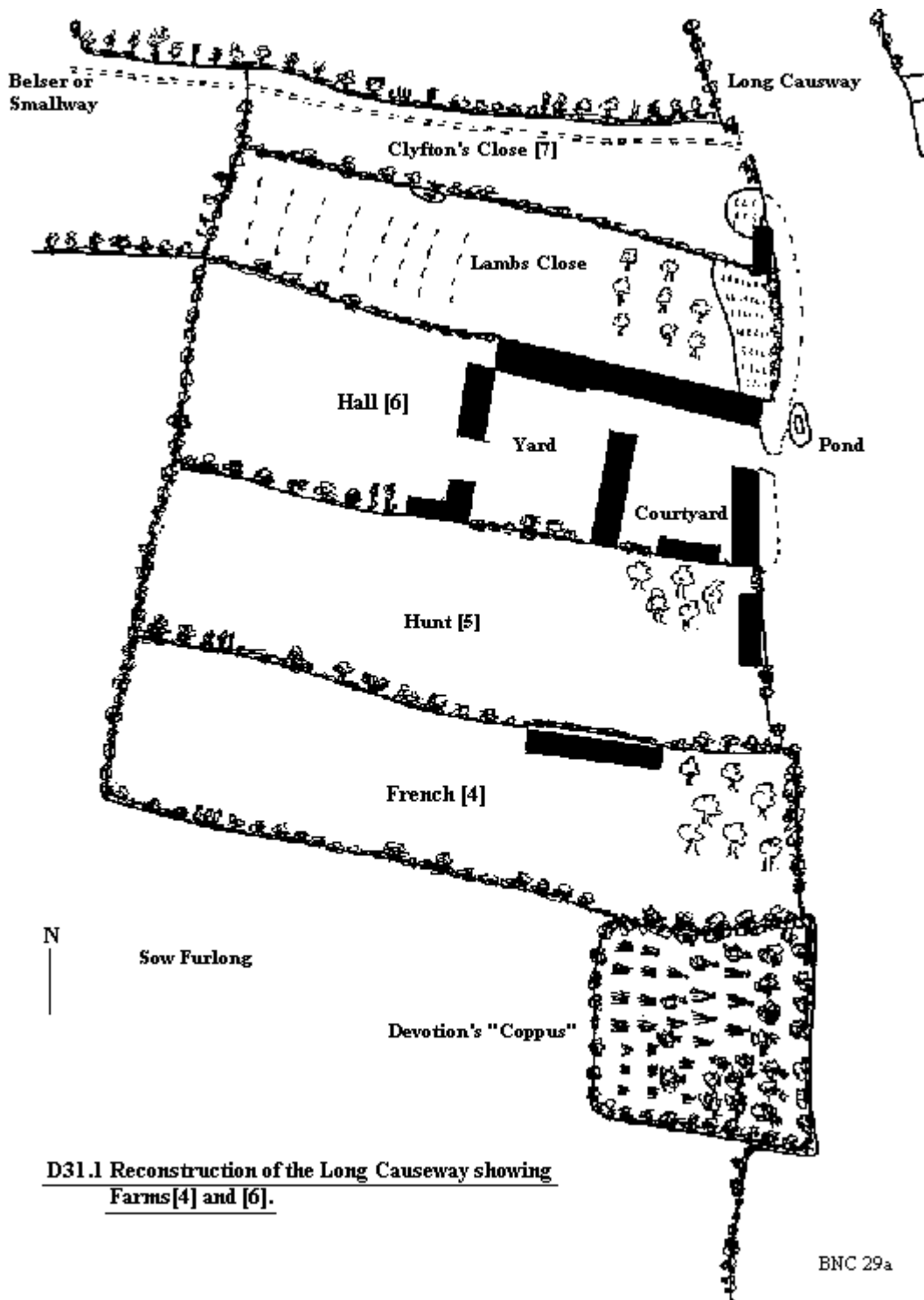
The end cottage measured about 15 feet deep by 22 feet long inside and was divided into an open hall without a chimney, a parlour with buttery behind and an upper chamber above reached by a ladder. The entrance door came into the hall and a rear exit slightly to the west of centre gave them access to a narrow garden at the rear. If the walls had already been stoned they still had not put in a chimney for the stone under the plaster behind the later newel stairs showed traces of soot from an open hearth. The chimney was not built with the original walls either. Once that improvement was made then the tie beam and roof truss was replaced with an A frame and a spine beam which supported the two upper chambers giving a floor all on one level. The cottage was narrower than many being externally only nineteen feet across the gable end by twentyfour along the front. The internal party wall with Vaughans had a stud partition under and above an early tie beam.

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31. Farms on the Long Causeway [4,6,8,9 &12]

Reconstruction of the Long Causeway showing Farms [4] and [6].



D31.1 Reconstruction of the Long Causeway showing Farms [4] and [6].

The French Family [4].

<p>JOHN FRENCH Husbandman bur 30.3.1580 Will ^ & Inv.[4]</p>	m	<p>JONE ^ bur 5 April 1587 Will < & Inv.</p>									
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>WILLIAM bp18.10.1540 died</p> </td> <td style="width: 25%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>GRACE 15.11.42 m Richard Howse[24]</p> </td> <td style="width: 25%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>THOMAS ^ < Exor bp 18.9.44 bur 17 Feb.1616/17 Husbandman m aged 23 Will* & Inv [4]</p> </td> <td style="width: 25%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>PETER ANNES 13.1.47/8 8.8.1549 m ELIZABETH bur 4 Sept 1569?</p> </td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2"></td> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p>JOHN bp 8.9.1567 ?died</p> </td> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p>JOHN bp 16 April 1569 bur 20 Aug 1602 Scholar in 1576 m at 21 Husbandman m ELIZABETH Halle Will + [4] m 18 May 1590 bur 23 Jan 1637* + ></p> </td> </tr> </table>				<p>WILLIAM bp18.10.1540 died</p>	<p>GRACE 15.11.42 m Richard Howse[24]</p>	<p>THOMAS ^ < Exor bp 18.9.44 bur 17 Feb.1616/17 Husbandman m aged 23 Will* & Inv [4]</p>	<p>PETER ANNES 13.1.47/8 8.8.1549 m ELIZABETH bur 4 Sept 1569?</p>			<p>JOHN bp 8.9.1567 ?died</p>	<p>JOHN bp 16 April 1569 bur 20 Aug 1602 Scholar in 1576 m at 21 Husbandman m ELIZABETH Halle Will + [4] m 18 May 1590 bur 23 Jan 1637* + ></p>
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<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>ANNES* bp 15.8.1590 Home1614-19</p> </td> <td style="width: 25%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>JOYCE* 2.10.1594</p> </td> <td style="width: 25%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>THOMAS *Exor 5.3.97/8 bur 23.3.31/2 Husbandman m MARY [4] m at 26 Will > [4]</p> </td> <td style="width: 25%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>MARY* 29.3.1601 m by 1624 > Exor alive in 1674</p> </td> </tr> </table>				<p>ANNES* bp 15.8.1590 Home1614-19</p>	<p>JOYCE* 2.10.1594</p>	<p>THOMAS *Exor 5.3.97/8 bur 23.3.31/2 Husbandman m MARY [4] m at 26 Will > [4]</p>	<p>MARY* 29.3.1601 m by 1624 > Exor alive in 1674</p>				
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<p>SARA bp29.4.1627</p>	<p>HANNA 20.12.1629</p>	<p>DORCAS 23.9.1632</p>									

1614: Tho fench..... ijd1624: Thomas french et uxor ..ijd
.....Tho frenchijdElizabeth french..... ijd
.....eliz frenchijd
.....anne french..... ijd
.....jone his mayd. ...ijd.

The average for that household on the 8 listed years was 3.3.

John French had decided to give up farming after forty years of married life "according unto the sale made over by the sayd John unto Thomas French his sonne the tenth of August...1579." A month later he made his will. He had tidied up his affairs. He and his wife had a chamber in the new stone house and £20 to see them through, with a further annuity of £5 due in four years time. He died the following March, but Jone lived on for a further seven years, by which time her grandson was eighteen. For over a hundred years four generations of French lived on this site, but only John and Jone were able to farm together for a long period. The last three generations lost first the mother and then the last two generations the fathers, all of whom married in their early twenties, but still left behind a young family.

Jone French departed this life in 1587. She had already given over the lease to Thomas so that her inventory has only her apparel (p704) her bedding and six pewter dishes "good and badd 2s-7d," yet she lived in reasonable comfort and certainly her four "petycots" and gowns worth £3 indicate that she was well dressed.

Thomas the eldest surviving son had married Elizabeth when he was twentythree, but may have lost his wife two years later, a few months after their surviving second son John was born, so that Grandma Jone would have helped to bring him up. John attended school in 1576 and could then have been of great service to his father who was very involved in town affairs, but had never been taught to write.

French's were related to John French at Springfield [6] and the Halls of Priors Marston. Young Elizabeth Hall must have come over to stay with uncle John at Springfield in the late autumn and been introduced to her cousin next door but one [4]. Twenty year old John French junior and Elizabeth become more than just acquainted. As yet he had no assets working perhaps as his father's shepherd. In the following May a marriage was hastily arranged and Elizabeth joins the French household [4]. Baby Annes arrives in August to be followed by two sisters and brother Thomas. The young couple are together for only twelve

years. John's was a sudden illness which caught them unprepared and while he was dying they came to hear him speak his will by "word of mouth only." Unfortunately John owed two lots of money which came to £13. His twenty ewes with lambs, clothes, "shotinge bow & shaftes," plus £2 could not quite cover this. He had no alternative, but to leave Elizabeth "his poere wife and children" to his father's care. Once again a senior is left looking after relations. It was during the last years that it can be proved that even with the pressures of work Thomas employed no adult male servant, and a maid only twice.

Did Elizabeth when she arrived improve the furnishings of the household, or had John spent more on them than his savings? Having been widowed young and totally without assets she never remarried. She had no farm of her own, for the tenancy passed from her father-in-law to her son Thomas, so Elizabeth may have been dependent all her life on the French's. In her father-in-law Thomas's will the scribe wrote: "My will and desire is yt their mother my daughter in law Elizabeth ffrench may have hir portion of meat drink & apparell during hir naturall life at the cost & charge of my executor." He provided legacies for her children and left Thomas, then barely twenty, in charge. "Whereas I stande indebted unto several persons about the valewe of xxtie pounds my desire is that my executor doe till or sett that yardland wch I have by lease for years accordinge as my overseers shall thinke meete for the speedy payment of these debts." Attached to this farm were two and a half yardlands, one of which was "a lease of one yardland of the demeases " worth £15 upon which the older man had farmed? Leaving one and a half for the rest of the family which could still support the small household by farming only what they required and setting the rest. They were no strangers to subletting as they had let a yardland go to the Revd Thomas Holloway [21] over several years to help finance the French household. How often did husbandmen lease an extra yardland or sublet one belonging to the farm? How much could they make over and above the yearly rent of a yardland and entry fine?

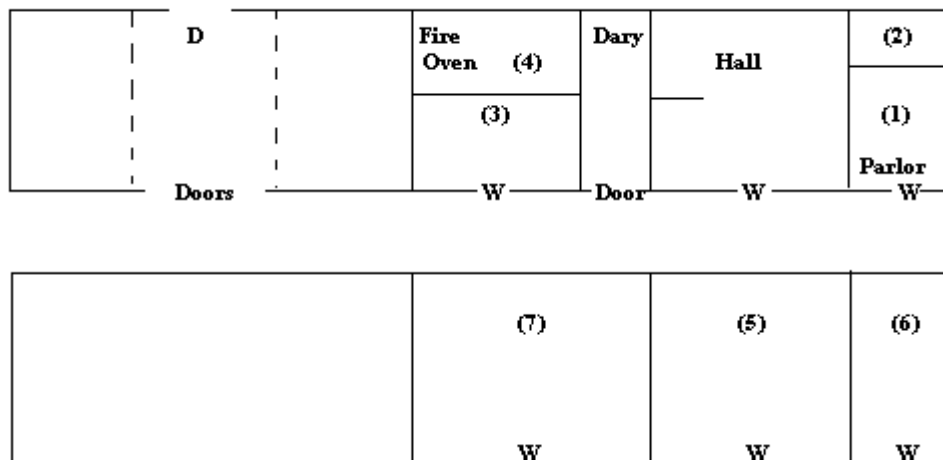
Thomas not only cleared the debts and his sisters legacies, but after marrying he was able to further improve the furnishings. This house gained a considerable number of comforts over the years from "wainscote" to "joyned bedsteds" which are commented upon below (pp 642, 644). Thomas married Mary when he was not yet twentysix and they had two daughters, then when Mary was again carrying he fell ill and died in 1632. The household still provided for his mother, now in her early sixties. Mary had been married and running the house for only five years, but as a widow without other males in the house she was able to take over the organisation of the farm and dependants. In her late husband's will Thomas had asked Mary to afford her mother-in-law's "comfortable maytenance & in case shee shall dislike within the yeare then to have £10 payde hir by my executress my mother bitaking herself to some friends whome shee please." Not all had been easy during the five years and if she wished to remain Elizabeth must now please Mary. Thomas left over £87 for them. Mary not only managed, after giving birth to her third daughter six months later, but lived on to be still farming half a yardland in 1674. In the end

Elizabeth stayed and was buried at Cropredy in January 1637. Some kind of amicable arrangement must have been made between the two women.

The Farmstead.

A possible Reconstruction of French's House and Barn [4].

D31.2 A possible Reconstruction of French's House and Barn [4].



There are problems with the position of the kitchen and "Dary." W= Window

French February 1617..... French April 1632

- HallHawle
- Chamber below Hall (1)..... Parlor (1)
- Buttery (2)..... Buttery (2)
- Chamber below Entry (3)..... Chamber below the entrie (3)
- Kitchen (4)Kitchen (4)
- Dary House..... Dayrye
- Well house
- Chamber over hall (5).....Chamber over hawle (5)

Chamber over Lower Ch (6).... .Chamber over the butterye (6)
Chamber over kitchen (7).....Chamber over kitchin (7)

The house was approached from the Long Causeway reaching round behind Devotion's "coppus" which jutted into the French close at the south east corner (Fig.31.1). The farm close was long and narrow bordering Hunts the weavers [5] to the north and Sow furlong to the south. There is no mention of a cattle yard, but some provision must have been made to house eight or more cows and calves. They would have had a stable for three or more horses and the rare sheep house mentioned in 1617. The dungcart and long cart also needed a hovel.

The house was surely built in Grandfather Thomas's time and it was drawn on the 1775 map as a long house set against the north boundary facing south so that the three bay barn would be at the west end. There still had to be enough room behind the barn to allow the cart horses to leave the threshing bay. They appear to have had at least three bays making up the house with a central entrance behind the main chimney. In 1632 the entry led into the passage so the wainscotted hall and their sleeping parlour should be off to the right with a buttery behind in which they had six barrels. Both bays had an upper chamber, but only the hall chamber was used for sleeping. To the left of the passage was the chamber-below-the-entry which had two bedsteads in 1617, but only one by 1632. There was also a kitchen chimney, but only mentioned because of the bacon hung in it to be smoked. They had a furnace for brewing in the same chimney (p670). The dairy was either behind the kitchen, or at the end of the passage, there being no need for a rear door onto the boundary. The whole house kept the main bulk of the stores neatly in the buttery chamber. The kitchen chamber having the overflow could also be used as the spinning room where Elizabeth might have been found with her three daughters. By 1632 the three spinning wheels were now downstairs in the chamber below the entry in which Elizabeth may have slept for thirtyfive years until she died in 1637. By then Mary had been a widow for five years and she and her young daughters could move into that end of the house and let off the rest. At that time the three children were aged ten, eight and five. The landlord may have insisted Mary either marry or divide the property. The hall and parlour end became the home of the Wrights, who by 1659 were farming all but half a yardland. Mary had one hearth and the Wrights two by 1663 for there was now a parlour fireplace. Mary never remarried, keeping herself on the reduced acreage. It was not her fault that she had no son to follow on who would take care of her. For fifty years (1567-1617) this farm had housed three generations. Between 1627 and 1637 there was once again a grandparent and grandchildren under the thatch living as one family after which it was not until the Wrights arrived that it changed to being a two household property with two separate families. This was an example of the number of households increasing in the town without increasing the number of sites upon which the properties stood.

Springfield Farm [6].

JOHN FRENCH m ?

Lease of 1556

JOHN FRENCH m ALICE Skey 4 Oct 1574

Husbandman

bur 29.6.1595 John left estate to nephew ANTHONY HALL PCC Will 1595

Edmond Hall of Pryors Marston m ?

Husbandman

ANTHONY PCC Will [6] bur 1.7 1599	WILLIAM HALL Husbandman m 20.12.1596 to (Tenant 1599 3yrs after marriage)	Thomas Elizabeth Joane m John Allen m John French[4] JOYSE Taylor bur 22.11.1662 Will made 1657 bur 24.8.1652 Joyce Hall charity. d. a Gentleman PCC Will 1653 [6]	
---	---	--	--

1614: wam hall ux....1624: Mr William Hall et uxor .ijd
wd alyce taylor|xvjd..... Robert Bull..... ijd
3 servant men|payd rentThomas Jenkins..... ijd
3 servant mayds ..|.xijdWalter Kenwoodijd
Joyce George?..... ijd
Judeth Moselye..... ijd
Alice Hamie ?ijd

The average for that household on the 8 listed years was 8.6.

The Farmstead.

This was the second largest College farm and had one of the earliest descriptions of land which survives, but this did not include any information about the property, that came fifty years later. The following terrier was made in 1669:

Dwelling House four bayes.

Ye new house two bayes.

Back kitchen two bayes.

Mault house two bayes.

One cottage with a kiln house one bay with a cow comons thereto belonging.

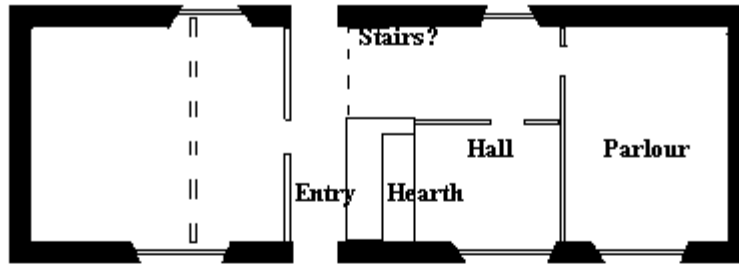
Corn barne and stable five bayes.

Hay barne five bayes.

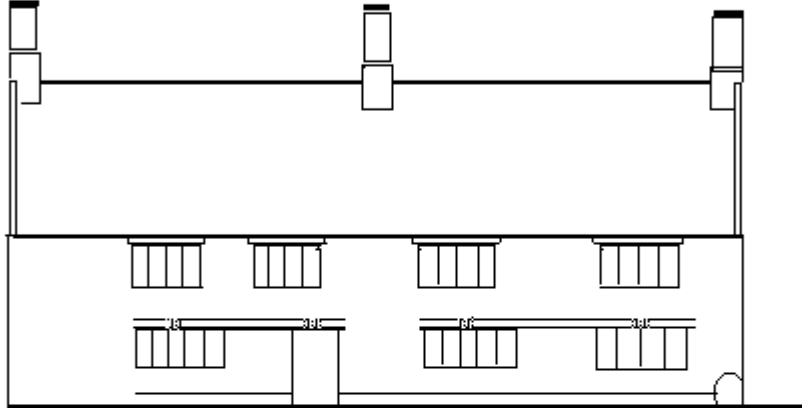
Cowhouse four bayes. All built with stone walls and thatched.

One little close called Lambs Close [BNC:552] (Fig. 31.1).

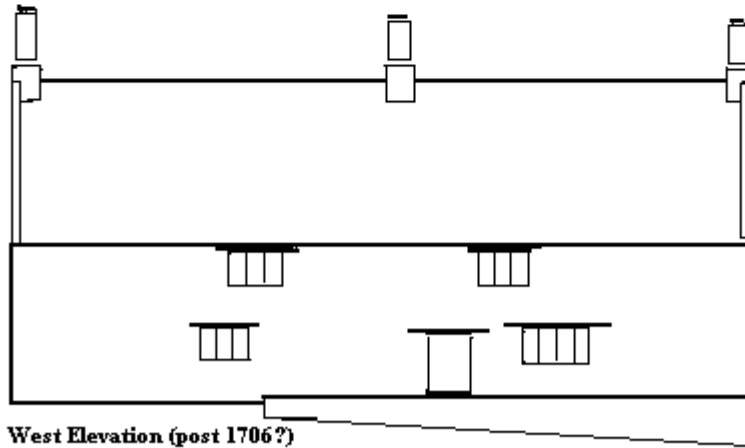
Reconstruction of Springfield Farm [6]



Plan of Ground Floor



East Elevation (post 1706?)



West Elevation (post 1706?)

D31.3 Reconstruction of Springfield Farm [6].

0 10
Scale in ft.

Here was definite proof that Springfield was built in stone by 1669. In 1663 John Allen was taxed on 5 hearths so that any alterations had been well in hand by then. There had recently been two "new" bays added to the house which could only mean the "Dwelling House" of four bays had been built by Halls or their uncle John French.

Because it was tenanted by wealthier husbandmen their wills were proved in London and their inventories have perished. This makes it impossible to say without a very detailed analysis of the building's construction which tenant was responsible for the rebuilding in stone. At present the earliest tenant who left records was John French who signed a thirty year lease for two and a half yardlands in 1556. The rent was 35s per annum and 3s-4d for the cottage. For this he had to provide a £20 bond.

If John had taken an interest in building in stone then at that time the beams would have been transverse (which they are at the south end). His son John French and his wife Alice were married for twentyone years, but leave no trace of any surviving heirs. This John French died in his parlour bed in 1595 and although no inventory survives a small glimpse of his furnishings appears in his will. He had besides his bed and seeling a table with its frame, benches and forms and a "cubberd." Outside were his horse racks, mangers and gears as well as the sheep and beast racks and a "little carte with the tyre belonging to yt." His parsonage lease, which his nephew Anthony Hall later calls his "portions oute of my tenements and tythes in Cropredie," John French left to him and if he died to Anthony's brother William Hall, both of Priors Marston. These were sons of a husbandman, but after the death of Anthony in 1599, William who arrived as a husbandman was buried a gentleman.

William made a small contribution to life in the town while still a husbandman. His wife formerly Joyce Taylor came to Cropredy for their marriage on the 20th of December 1596, which was unusual. William must have been working for his brother or Joyce also had other connections with the French's. After their marriage they left Cropredy and moved off to farm elsewhere and if any children are born it had to be in the three years before Anthony died and they returned to take his place. In the lists a Richard Hall lived at the house in 1617 and 1618 and Eliza Hall in 1619, but as yet their place of birth and relationship to William and Joyce has not been found. In the Easter lists this household had one of the highest number of residents. Other relatives appear in the lists. Was widow Alice Taylor the mother of Joyce? She was there in 1613 and 1614 and then leaves.

With or without relations most years there were three maids and three or four servants attending to the farm. In 1624 there were eight staff making ten in the house. As far as we know this was not a three generation household, there being no baptism entries. Once a yeoman, Robert Cleaver, from Prior's Marston who worked in London had to overstay his visit for he

was taken ill. Why he was there is not given, nor the nature of his work, except that William was employing him. In his hasty will he left his "master" William Hall half the lease of his house in the city of London. To Joyce Hall he left books and £5. Robert did not recover.

When William Hall was dying in 1653 he chose Ambrose Holbech, a lawyer, and his son Ambrose junior to be overseers of his estate. Four years later Joyce Hall wanted to create a charity and having already received help from the Holbechs over her late husband's affairs she asked them to be the trustees for the Joyce Hall charity created by her will of 1657. The Holbech's spent the £80 on two cottages, an orchard and six lands equal to about 2a 1r 3p at Northend. The rent was to be divided yearly between Middleton Cheney and Cropredy for the benefit of the poor. Widow Joyce Hall died the 20th of November 1662.

The Halls were both buried in the north chapel of St.Mary's Cropredy. It is possible Joyce spent her last years at Mollington where the Holbechs had moved to from Cropredy. Joyce and the Taylors both had connections with Middleton Cheney. Some of the questions regarding her background may find their answers there.

Was the reason the French's had been allowed to pass on the property, once they had paid off the mortgage, because of the heavy investment they had made in the rebuilding? Having no children of their own they could pass on the lease to their nephews. If this was an early rebuilding they had recycled the transverse beams and built upon the stone plinth of the former timber house, to create a two and a half storey building.

The Farmhouse.

The roof, thatched until 1904, was supported on two stone gables and an interior chimney wall, with intermediate principal trusses. The hall chimney which backed onto the entrance passage had the largest and oldest fireplace in the building. The only exposed transverse beam on the ground floor had no stops, but was chamfered. This lies in the south bay to the left of the entrance and was either a lower chamber or kitchen area, later extended southwards to add a chimney? The Allens who followed the Halls had a back kitchen facing south across the courtyard. The Grisolds who arrive in 1706 may have agreed with the College to rebuild the kitchen adding a fine dairy in the basement. The lintels are similar to earlier alterations made by the Eagles family found in the new stables made out of Lyllee's old barn at [29], and over the granary door at Gybb's old farm [25]. A local mason may have been responsible for others at [13, 15 & 46].

The hall had to be provided with a spine beam for the earlier timber hall would be open to the roof, whereas the northern parlour and south "kitchen" bays would already have had chambers supported on transverse beams and could be recycled from the previous timber house in the 1560's? The parlour bay has the beam covered by a hanging ceiling. The floor here is also lower than the rest of the house (similar to the timber row chamber bay). The older stone floors were replaced by wooden ones in this century and later on the College agreed to supply airbricks to ventilate them.

The rear elevation facing the courtyard has smaller stones and oak lintels. The east facing front elevation with its larger ashlar stone, appears to have been altered when the windows were enlarged. The ashlar stone has larger joints than most and to the right of the front entrance the stone is much darker than on the left side. Also the foundation rows are over two feet thick, compared to the twentytwo inch rear wall, or the twentythree inch front wall above the foundations. On the east elevation this wide foundation stops at the south side of the old southern bay front window. Was the whole elevation done in two phases and the building lengthened southwards in lighter stone? The eastern windows have stone lintels without a projecting central key stone. The Wyatts of Creampot [31] who enlarged Kynd's house in the 1620's, and the cottage put up in Rawlins' garden [45] before 1669, both have similar lintels. Wyatt's had used ashlar on the front elevation which was reused in the nineteenth century alterations (Could the style have originated in the 1620's, or was this a much later alteration on older stone properties and in this case altered after the Grisold's arrival in 1706?).

The south bay and the parlour bay front windows each have a sixteenth century upright handle with which to close the open casement. This corresponds with the early transverse beams, but both could have been recycled. There are several catches outside to hold open the windows.

The south gable shows the base of the front elevation to be thirtyone inches lower than the rear wall. Both gables had cockloft windows each of two lights, but only the south chamber had a gable window on the first floor, the north parlour chamber window being a modern addition. Altogether there were six chambers for sleeping and storage. The staff using the cocklofts and the family the parlour, hall, entry and kitchen chambers. Their newel stairs have been replaced and their position lost unless they were on the rear wall in the hall bay with the entry door into the hall between the stairs and the chimney? This is the evidence from the present house, but returning to the terrier it is obvious that the house was then much larger. Today there are four bays and a kitchen behind with no sign of " ye new house two bayes".

In 1669 the entry passage led to a rear door opening onto the courtyard which had a flat stone path through the cobbled area to reach the dairy. The two bay back kitchen was on the north side of the courtyard. The two bay malt house and one bay cottage with kiln once in this yard have both gone. In later years when a horse was needed to turn the churn they laid a circle of stones in the yard.

The farmyard had one long range running from the Causeway verge westwards, along the north edge of the close. The cattle yard was behind the house courtyard and the cowhouse may have been the building providing the dividing wall. Lamb's close to the north, behind the barn range was from a strip of land following the shape of former ploughed furrows. This is interesting for it could be that [4,5,6 & 7] were on newer sites taken from arable land. There was a vegetable garden next to the road and an orchard behind on the Enclosure map.

The house was built right on the edge of the Causeway verge and remained so until Grisolds encroached eleven by eightyeight yards in 1791 [BNC:552]. By then Hunt's property [5] had become part of their garden. The stone properties on the sites of Hunt's, Hall's, Clyfton's, Howse's, Handley's and Denzey's appear to have been in a reasonably straight line, once fronting the Long Causeway [5,6,7,9,12,13]. In front of Handley's were the two verge cottages [10 and 11] for Adkins and Page. The rest of the verge remained common to all tenants prior to the new encroachments allowed by the Lord of the manor in the late eighteenth century. Across the Long Causeway from Springfield Farm [6] lies the Brasenose Manor Farm [8] (Fig. 31.5).

Brasenose Manor Farm [8].

The Farmstead.

From 1540 a clause appears in the Brasenose Manor Farm leases, requiring them to "Twice a year find honest lodging, horsemeat and mans meat for the Principal or scholars who are on visitation for two nyghts and one daye, being not above six persons" [Hurst 103]. This was the biannual visit to check the farm, to attend the Manorial Court, to order repairs and to receive the rents and arrears. Before each Manorial Court Robert and Nicholas Woodrose, being the chief tenants would have to notify the others on that manor. In 1614 these were Devotion [3], Hall [6], Rede [32], Hentlowe [35] husbandmen and the cottagers Lucas [2], Denzey and Wyatt [13], Matcham, Bagley and Hill [18-20], Truss [33] and Bokingham [55]. It was one condition of being a tenant to attend these courts, the other was to make a terrier. In the College archives is a terrier for 1670 [BNC:552] and at last a description of the property:

"Dwelling House 4 bayes, 2 bayes stone and thatched and 2 bayes part of them stone and part of them wood, some part covered with slat and some part with tyle.

The Buttery 1 baye, stone and thatched.

The Kitchen and Dary House 3 bayes stone and thatched.

The stables 3 bayes stone and thatched.

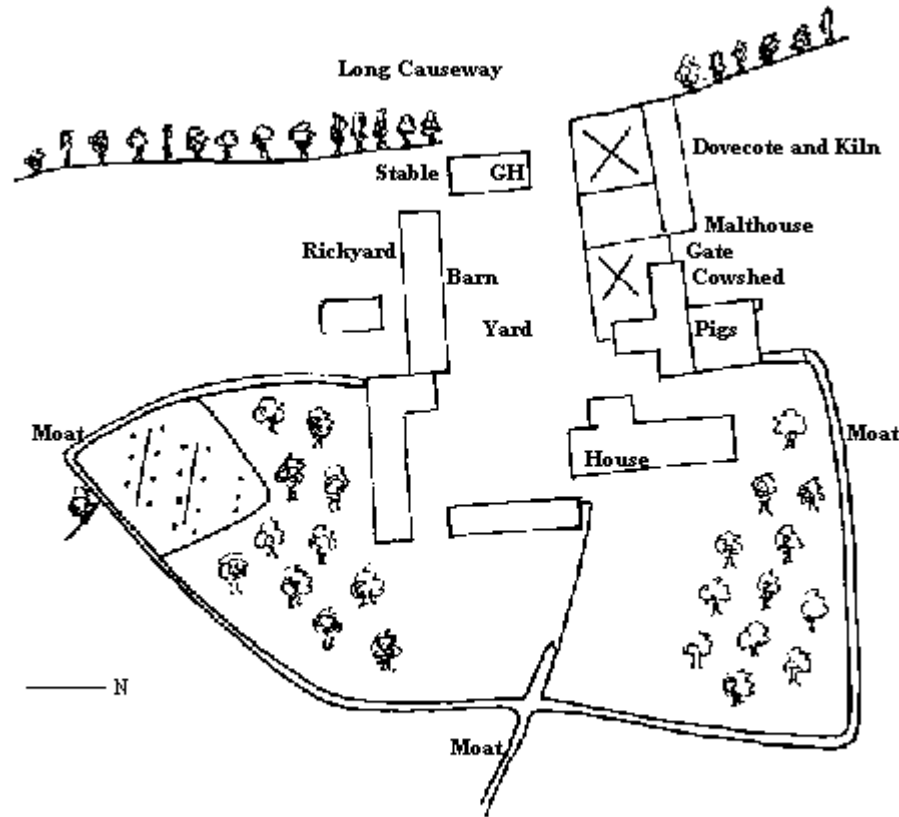
The barn seven bayes stone and thatched.

The sowhouse 1 bay part wood and part stone and thatched.

A little dove house slat and tyle [In 1731 Malthouse & Dovecote 4 bays. BNC 552].

A cottage house 2 bays stone and thatched with a cowes common."

Reconstruction of Woodrose's Farm [8] in 1774.



D31.4 Reconstruction of Woodrose's Farm [8] in 1774.

BNC 29a

The B. manor farmstead was split off from the A manor before the twelfth century [The descent of the manor is given in the V.C.H. Volume X p 163]. This manor was conveyed to the Brasenose College in 1524. The homestall had been built above the flood level and at some point surrounded by a moat. The meadow lay on three sides and their boundaries were formed by the river Cherwell, the Sowburge, the ditched Long Causeway and the Bridge Causeway on the east, south, west and north. By the 1570's the farm yards would have had stone walls protected by thatch.

The house was approached over a bridge spanning the Long Causeway's eastern ditch and under the gatehouse into the southern yard. At an unknown date a raised stone slab path followed the north wall between the two main yards sloping down from the gatehouse towards the parlour end of the house and left into the cobbled court yard and western house entrance. This slope began steeply by the road and then dropped about eighteen inches towards the house. The south yard had the stables and gatehouse (GH) range by the road and on the south side a seven bay range consisting of a stone barn with hovels attached. At some period a raised cobble causeway in front of the stables helped to keep their feet above the muddy yard. Behind the barn again on the southern side was a rickyard protected by a hedge and elm trees. This was reached by a passage in the southwest corner of the yard between the stable and the barn range. The carts would need a bridge to reach the western gate into the rickyard from the Long Causeway. The carts either supplying the ricks on their staddle stones and standing frame or entering the south door of the barn. Once empty they left by the north door turning up the yard to the farm gateway and so back to the stooks in the harvest field.

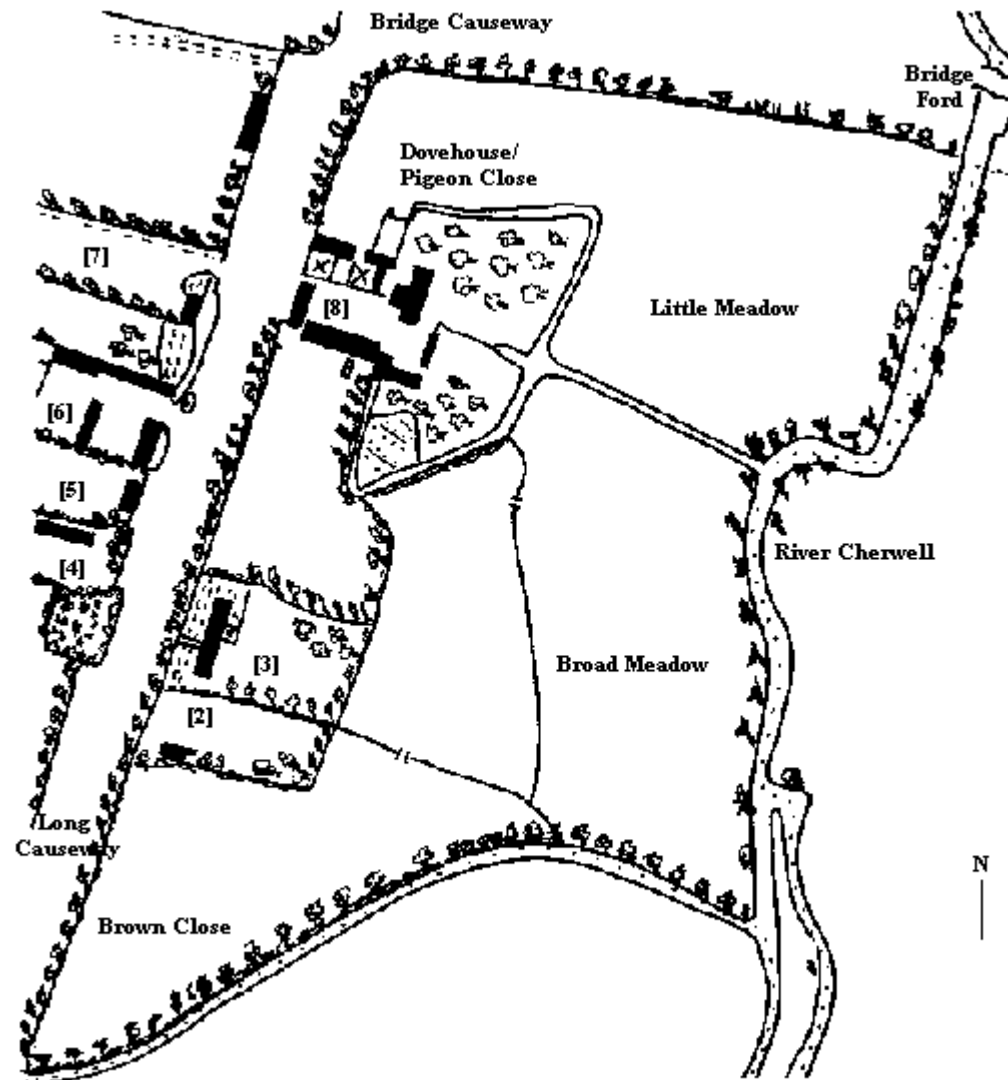
The stable was measured in June 1977 and it was discovered that the gatehouse entrance had been blocked and turned into an extra stable (Figs. 17.1/2 pp. 251 & 252), while the northern bay had gone and the space provided the new entrance.

The north yard served as a cattle pen with eventually two buildings along the north side separated by a double field gate. The cowhouse must have been nearest the house leaving the three bay malthouse and another bay for the kiln at the western end. The one bay dove house (first mentioned in 1509) being the furthest bay from the house. One reason for thinking the kiln also was at the far end, safely away from the thatched house roof, was the existence of a small vent in the north wall which would draw air in to feed the fire. This was nineteen feet from the corner of the building. The malthouse with the kiln and dove house was sixtyfour feet long. A later open hovel calf house, or cart shed had replaced the north entrance using the gable ends of the malthouse and cowhouse. This remained open on the north side. The cowhouse for twelve or more cows would be conveniently near the house and the bay for pigs opening onto the pig enclosure to the north was near the dairy for their whey. Between this cattle yard and the long house, with the original timber barn at the north end, was the cobbled court yard. In fine weather the Manorial Court could be held here in front of the entrance, or in wet weather at the church?

The moat had a channel leading down to the river and was surely used to breed fish. Within the moated area were two gardens and two orchards. The gardens kept the house supplied with vegetables. Mr Robert Woodrose having the largest garden and his son the smaller area. (When the Enclosure Award map was made for the college only the southern garden was plotted onto the map). The several pigs and hogs which supplied their bacon and pork were housed inside an enclosure in

Dovehouse/Pigeon close to the north of the cattleyard. The Woodroses had beef from their cattle and mutton or lamb from the sheep, as well as pigeon pie.

Reconstruction of Meadows belonging to the Brasenose manor Farm [8].



Ford D31.5 Reconstruction of Meadows belonging to the Brasenose Farm [8]. BNC 29a & 554

Even the fact that the property was still partly moated and had been of some importance did not encourage the Nuberrys, who farmed before Woodroses, to risk major alterations. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the College was demanding that tenants keep up their repairs, though whether to the outbuildings, or the house is not clear.

If the moat once passed to the west of the house, it was later filled in and made into the cobbled court yard. The two yards, rickyard and dovehouse close were to the west of the longhouse and would be above the flood level. Upon reaching the cobbled yard the main house entrance was through a double door and down a step into the hall. The old door was just under four feet wide and made in two unequal parts. The whole was firmly closed inside by a wooden bar. A wool sack would have no difficulty passing through and the manorial tenants would enter the hall suitably impressed by the extra width. It was set in a thirtytwo inch thick stone wall. The second door facing the same cobbled yard could if it once belonged to the barn have been a winnow door. It was later the entrance into a kitchen and dairy so that the door was conveniently near the cowhouse.

Two inventories survive and the rooms are given here in the order the appraisers went round. They left out Dyonice Woodrose's parlour bay, but included the shared "Garratt":

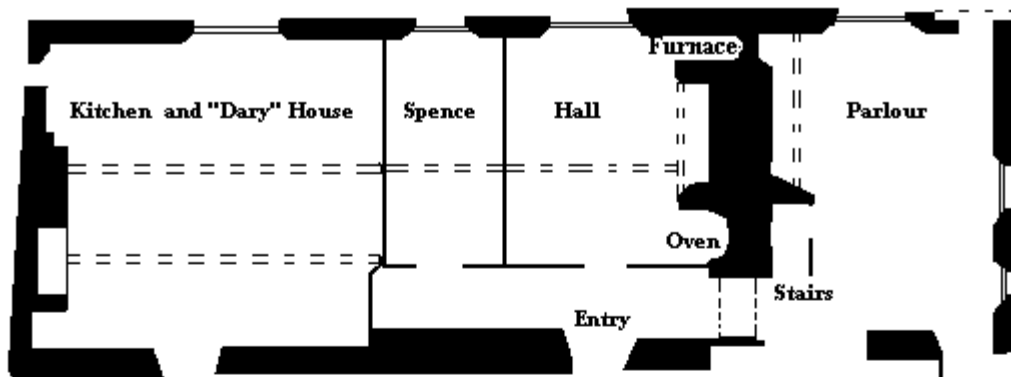
Nuberry May 1578	Woodrose May 1628
Chamber	Hall
Parler	Butterrye
Hall	Kitchen
Spence	Dayry house
Kitchen	Cheese chamber
Boltynge house	Boultinge house
Dary house	Chamber over Boultinge House
	Chamber over butterrye
	Maide Chamber
	Garratt
	Clossetts
	Great Chamber
	Chamber over Stable

When the house was first lived in it would have been constructed in timber. The thick western stone wall of the hall was an early improvement possibly when the huge stone chimney was built. The east wall is a later construction. They did not add a stone wall to separate the house from the old barn which by Nuberry's time had been taken into the house. This formed the kitchen and the old timber outer walls were eventually rebuilt in stone. The kitchen and dairy House had a floor area of twentyone feet by twentyfive which required two spine beams to support the later upper floor and these had acquired two supporting posts. The western beam was chamfered at the north end. A massive central fireplace on the north gable was suitable for a kitchen though it had rather a low bessemer. This kitchen was mentioned in Nuberry's time, but not the chamber over, for he had bacon hanging in the roof. A late bedroom fireplace on the western side of the kitchen chimney breast was made when the upper chamber was added. It left a space for a three light window.

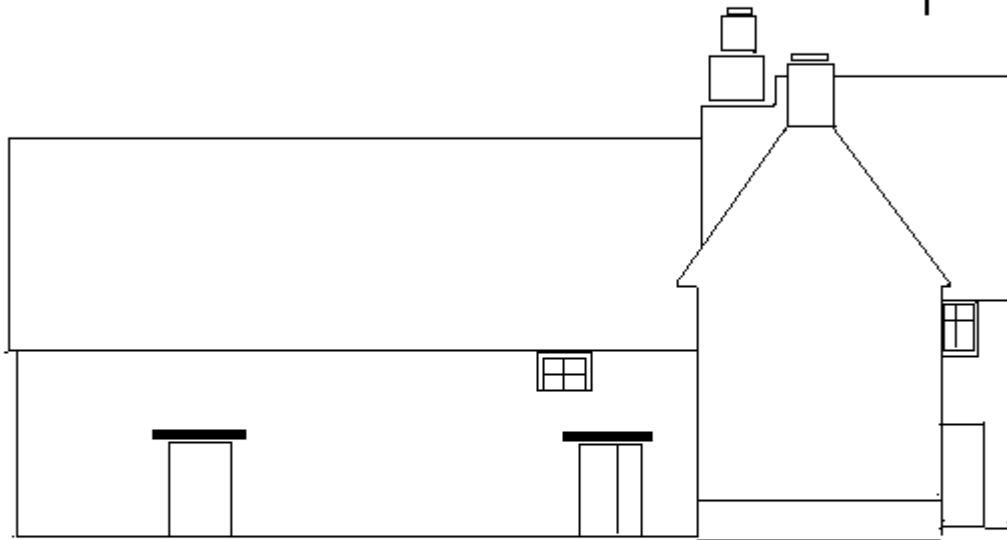
The dairy had an old six light wooden casement with a shutter that lifted up on the inside. Did this replace the cart door entrance to the timber barn? There are two levels to the floor. A lower "passage" runs north to south along the western wall.

This building was much wider than the newer stone buildings. The number of bays given in 1670 conflicts with the present evidence. In the seventeenth century they describe first a one bay buttery or spence and a three bay "Kitchen and Dairy House" both stone walled and thatched. The buttery must have been between the hall and the dairy. The hall had two spine beams like the kitchen and dairy due to the depth of the building. Under the west beam the hall had a partition to close off the entry passage running alongside the western outer stone wall. This connected the kitchen with the dwelling house at the south end. In that same terrier of 1670 the dwelling house was of four bays. The two eastern bays of the dwelling house became the parlour which had a spine beam. It was built partly of stone and partly of wood "some part covered with slat and some part with tyle." This parlour shared the main chimney stack which had a flight of stone stairs right up to the garret long before the Wyatts made alterations a century later.

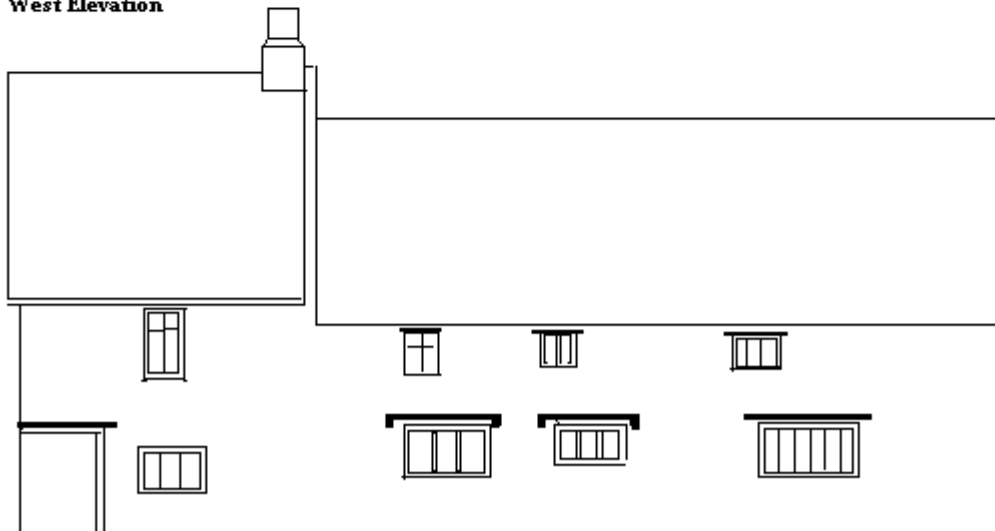
Reconstruction of Brasenose Manor Farm [8].



Plan



West Elevation



East Elevation

0 10

Scale in ft.

D31.6 Reconstruction of Brasenose Manor farm [8].

It was perhaps when the Woodroses arrived that the hall section of the house was given a new upper floor while the roof was being repaired? The two spine beams were necessary to support the twenty foot wide floor above. The eastern beam in the hall which was saved has a chamfered stop. The hall itself may have been only thirteen feet long with the narrow seven foot wide spence/buttery at the lower end. All inner partitions being made of wood. The eastern stone wall had a four light stone mullion window and the spence a three light window, both with drip moulds on the outer wall which are rare survivals in Cropredy for they were never replaced by oak mullions which happened at Howses [28]. The opening casements have been altered to take a later hinge for a side hung casement.

The huge main chimney was probably built outside the original south wall of the hall and the fire itself centrally positioned with the oven to the right and a brewing copper to the left (p352). The chimney made it possible to have a chamber fireplace above. To reach this upper room from the parlour bay an entrance had to be made through the earlier thick stone southern gable next to the stone staircase and chimney. The stairs would seem to have been constructed to make the parlour at the dwelling house end into a two and a half storey building. The upper part being still in timber made it rather tower like rising above the one and a half storey hall. It was apparently raised to house the staff in a garret. Later in Wyatt's time he altered this to stone to make a large airy garret and change some of the windows. To this he added his date stone of 1693. The evidence for other late seventeenth century improvements are shown in window alterations, following the trend set by Prescote manor in 1691. The parlour end used the first chimney stack and kept the early stone stairs until replaced around 1714 by an improved western part of the dwelling house containing a gate legged stairs. Only a very detailed examination of the stones will reveal how much Wyatt actually rebuilt and to see if he had to begin again from the foundations of the dwelling house.

The parlour had an inglenook at the back of the massive hall chimney and a three light casement above a window seat. The spine beam was chamfered with a stop at the south end and too good to be replaced by Wyatt. The joists were also all chamfered. There were two chambers over the parlour. The eastern one could once have had a fireplace as the floor is infilled with wood where once lay a hearth? Nuberry's family did not need any more than this, but the Woodroses being gentlemen and a two household family needed to repair and expand within the main house.

Once the Great chamber had been built over the hall it needed a fireplace into the main chimney and three windows on the eastern wall. Some of the windows had sixteenth century glass. The roof over the main hall and kitchen had three huge principals giving only four bays. The principals had through purlins and were crossed and cut to take the square ridge pole.

Two wooden pegs held the joint. This high thatch roof needed two large square purlins on either side so that all windows had to be near the floor beneath the lower purlin. A low two light western window over the entrance enabled them to observe any arrivals. Whether the Great Chamber was of two or more bays we do not know. Martha Woodrose took over the Great Chamber from her mother-in-law when Dyonice and her husband Robert moved into the parlour wing. At the north end chambers were eventually made over the boulting house, buttery, dairy and kitchen. The whole house faced east towards the river.

Three of Wyatt's transomed windows acquired elegant window handles made no doubt by his family in the southern fashion. In a College lease of 1668 Thomas Wyatt was described as a farrier [Hurst 161]. His father, brother John and nephew John were all blacksmiths so he would have learnt to use iron for decoration at his father's forge [31].

The Tenants.

RAFFE NUBERRY m (1) **KATHERYN**
 Husbandman bur 12 Dec 1570
 Bur 5 Apl 1578
 Will* & Inv. [8]

m (2) **MARGERETE***

ANNES JOHN HENRY WILLIAM THOMAS ANDREW
 * *Exor bp 21.10. 10.8.66* 13.6.69* 7.12.1570*
 Tenant 1563*
 1586-93
 [8 m **FRANCIS**

MARGERYE NICHOLAS RYCHD
 bp 5.7.1573* 31.5.1575* 13.10.76*

SIMON bp 13.2.1585/6

ROBERT WOODROSE m **DYONICE**
 Gentleman bur 7 March 1633/4
 Tenant 1606 PCC Will > 1634
 bur 19 May 1625 + Exor.
 PCC Will + [8]

NICHOLAS	URSULA	JUDITH	ELIZABETH	GRYZELL	WILLIAM	DAVID
bur 5.5.27	m 18.4.09	m 29.8.09	m 28.11.98	m 31.7.07	m >	> Exor
Gent. +	John	Nich.	Samson	Thomas	Elizabeth	+
Will <	Elcocke	Elcoke	Sheffield	Westwood		m Anne >
[8]						

STEPHEN dau **EDWARD**
 bp 6.1.1612/3 m Wilkes +
 Robert

m **MARTHA** < Ex.
 bur 29.4.39
 [8] PCC Will ^

SAMUEL	DAVID	ELIZABETH	THOMAS	MARTHA	MARY
bp 5.2.13/4 ^	15.11.15 ^	3.8.17	6.9.1618	4.7.1623	< +
+ mother	+	< + Exor ^	bur 4.3.27/8	< +	Exor ^
called Mary		sp in 1652		m T. Carter ^	

JOHN WILMER m (1) ?
 Of Inner Court London
 d. 1655 PCC Will
 [8]

6 children m (2) **MARY**
 Attorney W. Bagley manages farm
 from 1657. Mary left around 1668

GEORGE	BRIDGET	THOMAS	WILLIAM	CARTWRITE	LUTHER
bp 8.12.1641	3.2.1642/3	2.3.44/5	28.5.48	24.6.1649	4.8.1650

1614: mr woodrose ux..... ijd1624:Mr Robert Woodrose et uxor..... ijd
3 [co] myds 2 myd..... iiijd..... Elizabeth ffilpott..... ijd
a maydijjdMarye Huntt..... ijd
mr nycholas woodrose ux ..ijjdMartha Wilkesijjd
2 maydesiiijjdMr Nich. Woodrose et uxorijjd
a maydijjdMary Rope..... ijd
a manijjdMargaret Sheeler..... ijd
Sara Robins ijd

The average for that household on the 8 listed years was 7.12.

The Nuberry's had farmed the four yardlands themselves being husbandmen. Ralph and his first wife Katheryn came in the early 1560s and when she died he married Margerete a widow with two children. Ralph left seven sons and two daughters, aged from two years up to sixteen. The only light touch to this seemingly stern husbandman is when he leaves his second daughter six cushions from London (p621). Had this five year old lost her heart to the pretty coloured cushions? Most of his legacies are in money. His second wife has over £100 to collect and pay out. She must see that all the children were "set up and away." Yet Ralph almost begrudged her the gifts he gave her at their wedding (p105). He considered everything he had was needed to set up his children in their future homes.

Being the second largest farm it should have more than catered for their needs, but instead of a working head of household, as Ralph had been, there was only a young lad and a struggling widow. Margerete already had her hands full with a large household of stepchildren. These her late husband had instructed her to bring up on the living until able and honestly provided for so that they might survive. This was the duty of all parents, but doubly hard when so many of them were not your own. Ralph had also paid attention to his clothes and may have instilled similar aspirations for fine clothes in his sons. They would jealously covet the superior possessions which their father had plainly left to them. At the latter end of his life Ralph had perhaps needed the chamberpot which appears for the first time in this Cropredy household. How long was he ill for? He did leave plenty of stock to be carrying on with, but by April there was not as much corn left over on the farm as expected from four yardlands produce, so a great deal must be sold yearly, perhaps as malt.

John Nuberry and his stepmother each had half the farmland, although in 1586 when John is twentyfour he cannot take out a new lease, but must be an under tenant to Oliver Withington M.D. of Oxford and when that gentleman dies, to his widow Susan and son William, until John leaves and the Woodroses arrived. In 1586 John Nuberry had to agree that if he was one month in arrears of rent he would forfeit five marks for every week. All B manor tenants had to do all the repairs, though the College found their timber. The fences must be kept and the hedges on mounds "pleshed" [laid] and trees planted. Although the lease was for twentyone years it fell through before that. John's parents were buried in the church at Cropredy, but the rest departed elsewhere when the youngest was around fifteen. In 1593 the College was alarmed at the general air of neglect. This was not surprising when the widow and son had struggled through several lean years and more to come. As Nuberrys leave the widow Susan Withington and her son William gain the leasehold. The place was described as being in some decay. Most likely the thatch had not been attended to and was causing major problems with the "damps" getting in [Hurst:11.33].

The Woodroses were in the town much earlier than their first 1606 lease of the manor farm. They may have farmed for Withingtons. Robert left a camp bed with a green canopy curtain. A most unusual item. Could he have been travelling before he came very late in the day, with his family of educated children, to settle on the farm (p646)?

Nuberry had once had a well stocked farm with three iron bound carts and a position amongst his fellow husbandmen being the main B manor tenant. The arrival of the educated Woodroses brought a much higher standard of living into the house, previously seen only at the Cropredy vicarage.

Robert and Dyonice Woodrose had their large family of ten or more living there and several were married at Cropredy church. From 1613 up to 1632 this was a three generation farm. In 1613 the eldest son Nicholas arrived home and the following year he had three of the yardlands and his father one. Dyonice gave up the Great Chamber, but left some furniture in there and retired to her parlour. One of the two chambers over the parlour was apparently still called Robert's chamber by Dyonice years after he had died. Her daughter-in-law Martha went up to the Great Chamber where she had her sewing box and all her comfortable furnishings. As well as this chamber Nicholas and Martha had the use of the hall and the new chambers over the dairy and kitchen.

When the house was divided into two each had their own staff. In the parlour garret slept some of the maids and this is mentioned in 1627. Other staff were housed over the stables. In 1616 there were eleven servants sleeping in who worked inside and on the farm. Other years they employed and boarded only six between them. [Robert in 1614 and the following list

years had 3,3,4,2,2,3,3 and Nicholas had 4,6,7,5,5,4,3] In addition the Woodroses had the two bay cottage [7] across the road where their shepherd lived (p495). The wife had been Dyonice's maid and after marriage may have returned to work for them bringing the adult staff up to anything between eight and thirteen. Other back house boys and maids could be employed who lived at home, and would not appear in the lists. As they were a three generation family it is not surprising that they had an average of over seven living in the house.

The parlour end would be used for the visitors in Nuberry's time as well as Woodroses. The tenants had to provide lodging for the College officials coming for their view of the manor. With two manors it would seem the running of the Open Common Fields must have been dealt with in the older A manor court for the few remaining College court records deal with renewals of copyholds, property repairs, allocating timber and collecting in back rents.

Dyonice could entertain the College people in some style. She had silver spoons, silver pearled bowls, plain ones and plenty of pewter both great and small to lay on her fine tablecloths, complete with napkins. The table and room being lit by candles. The visitors would not fear damp beds as the A manor landlord did sixty years later, for the chamber they slept in would have a fire. Draughts would not reach the sleeper behind the best bedstead curtains hung from the tester. There was also a valance and over the feather mattress a pair of expensive sheets, blankets and hillings. Out of her press would come Dyonice's wrought "silke grogran gowne" and if it was possible she would descend elegantly down the stone newel stairs into the parlour.

When her husband Robert, as a gentleman, took over from the Withingtons he did not farm it himself, but had the right staff to do the work. They had a little property elsewhere, but surely the farm being of four yardlands was their main source of income.

Robert had a small library and may have had definite views which the townsmen came to know about. When a large number of the congregation left the church early at morning and evening service it was Robert who answered for them all at the church court in 1609 (p31). Protestant services if they had long sermons went on for much longer than the catholic mass. In spite of his education he was not called upon to help write wills and neither was his son Nicholas, but then it was a town of husbandmen and cottagers who worked for their living and so formed allegiances amongst themselves (ch.5). Did the Woodroses keep aloof? The Palmers [1] were rising through sheer hard work and education back up the ladder, as well as the Halls [6] and these two families had apparently enough status to associate with the Woodroses.

Robert and Dyonice were a loving couple (pp105/167). Robert died in 1625 then in his eighties, but eight years before he had been called "old" by Thomas Holloway who was his near contemporary in age. He was using "old" instead of senior. Nicholas their eldest son must have been born about 1570. At first Nicholas's wife is referred to as Mary, but later known as Martha. On the lease of 1614 Martha who witnesses it was called "His now wife." Was she then a second wife? If so why in her will did she refer to all the children as my son or my daughter unless at that time they did not use the word "step" son. One thing is certain the vicar of Banbury the Reverend William Whately would not have approved of the joint household, the shared dairy house and the brewing equipment. Dyonice also kept her second best bedstead with curtains and valances, featherbed, bedding and furniture belonging to it standing in their great chamber, which she did not give to Nicholas. Her pair of "engraven andirons with a capp, panne, shovell and tongs" left to her son David, were also in the great chamber fireplace. Dyonice fails to mention Martha in her will and ignores all the grand children under the same roof referring only to a favoured few. Not one silver spoon is left to her beloved son Nicholas's children. There could be an explanation for this in lost agreements which had already given the younger couple possessions at their marriage.

Robert left books and linens to his grandson Robert Wilkes who was studying at Gloucester Hall Oxford for his M.A. Young Wilke's sister and cousin were at Cropredy living in one of their grandmother's chambers, perhaps being taught by her or earning their dowrys to be left to them by Dyonice.

When Dyonice made her will she must have been in her late eighties. She lived in her parlour cared for by two maids and with two grandchildren (not Martha's) dancing attendance. There was plenty of time to work out just what and to whom she would leave her "beloved" late husband's goods.

Martha wrote her will, but she does not give the impression that her marriage had been as loving as that of her parents-in-law. Martha's late husband was not mentioned attached to any piece of furniture as Dyonice had done with Roberts, although the will appears to have been written in Martha's own hand. This was very unusual and shows she enjoyed writing and conducting her own affairs and was well able to do so, perhaps encouraged by her cousin John Wilmer who had come to run the farm two years before she died. Hers was the least solemn of all the wills. There were gifts of appreciation and money to buy a ring as a token of her love for them. To her brother-in-law David who was the residual legatee of Dyonice's personal estate she gave 10s, for a ring "of my love in treating them all to accepte of a widow." Had he left the shared goods for her while she remained in Cropredy and allowed her to run the farm even though David was joint executor with her of Nicholas's will? Another sign that her late husband's trust in her had not been a total one, perhaps because she was a lot younger than

him, or simply that David had rights in the property. David may also have acted as a buffer between Martha and the rest of the Woodroses which Martha had appreciated.

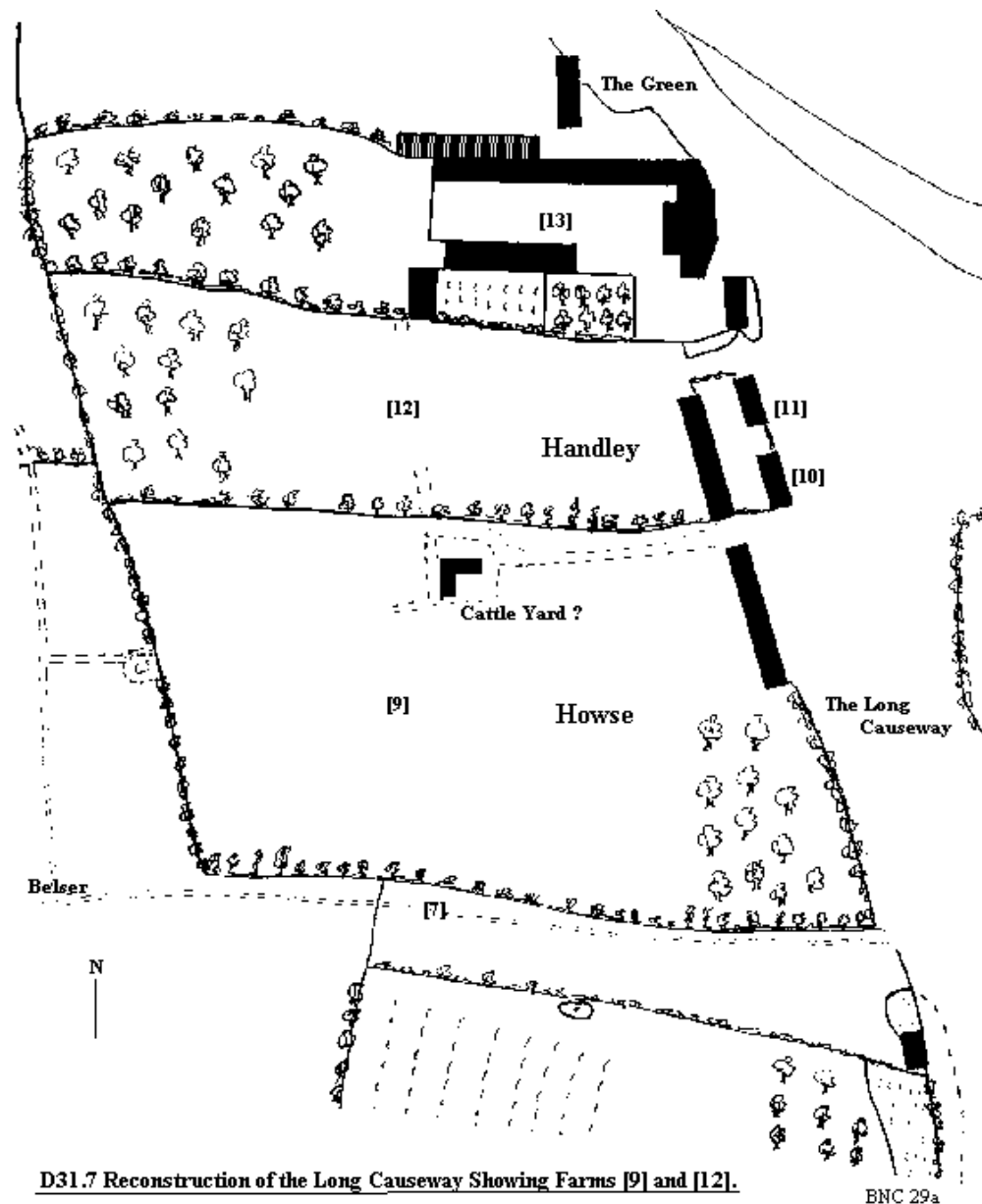
Nicholas died aged about sixty when their last child was only five years old, making Martha in her mid forties at the latest. Nine years later she was unable to renew the lease being now in her fifties and no child had taken on the lease. Martha's cousin, John Wilmer, who had been educated and attended the Inner Court had lost his first wife and had already made settlements for that family and then married again. This couple, John and Mary Wilmer, arrived in 1637 and Martha may have moved into the parlour end. Soon the house was ringing with six young Wilmers and once again a loving and faithful wife whose husband was one of the industrious protestants and acknowledged that he had been blessed with "these goods." He was not a follower of Calvin as they called their youngest son Luther. By this time puritans were coming under the archbishop's and many Armenians disapproval, but in the Banbury area the return to former church practices were regarded with horror as being papist, one of the reasons people were soon forced to take sides.

Martha's will gives the impression that Wilmer's family and John Lackey's three girls, were comforts to her and the family. Elizabeth Lackey she calls "my loving neece" and gave her "my greene taffatie workebox." Martha was yet another widow who had been left with the family to educate and send out into the world. Her eldest was only fourteen. Nicholas had been a well dressed man and no doubt left a tradition that appearances mattered. Their possessions had risen from Nuberry's 20% of their whole personal estate to Nicholas Woodrose's 36%. They had less stock on the land, but more corn. How often did Martha manage to retire to the Great Chamber with the three girls to sit sewing together, teaching them to embroider and make fine tapestry cushions for their future homes? One daughter, Elizabeth, stayed on with the Wilmers perhaps as a help with the children for John Wilmer remembers her in his will.

For Martha the household napery alone must have required careful and loving attention so that it would not spoil before being passed onto the children (pp 634 & 177). One benefit of being young ladies, they were spared the chore of constantly spinning. Spinning was not discouraged in all gentlemen's households, many did learn, but Woodroses have no linen or woollen wheel. Did they instead learn to read and write at their mother's knee? Would uncles take over the boys and see them properly educated? None were set to learn husbandry, but neither do they appear at the Williamscote school, so presumably they were either tutored at home or sent elsewhere to school.

The Woodroses let the lease pass to the Wilmers. Mary Wilmer's father John Sadler had been very careful to ensure she would be well catered for if her husband died first. This was just as well for in 1655 John died leaving yet another widow to farm the 4 yardlands. Being a gentlewoman she appoints her attorney William Bagley in 1657 to oversee the farm until her departure around 1668. Thomas Wyatt, a farrier and farmer, then took up the lease. Had he already been acting as bailiff?

Reconstruction of the Long Causeway showing Farms [9] and [12]



D31.7 Reconstruction of the Long Causeway Showing Farms [9] and [12].

BNC 29a

Howse's on the Long Causeway [9].

The farm entrance from the Long Causeway was onto a farm track to the north of the house, which may have been shared by their neighbours the Handleys [12]. To bring the cows into the cattle yard at the western end of the close meant they had to leave the Green by the Cross and with others on the Long Causeway follow a hollow between the butts of ridge and furrow which kept them away from the softer boggy area near the town boundary ditch and bank. First they passed Lumberd's close, then the smithy close and Handley's before turning east to reach a flat piece by their own close. If the cows had been in the South Field coming down the Smallway or Belser, then Howse and Handley's cattle would leave the herd at their western entrances. Some kind of bridge would have been very necessary to enter the close. Howse had a sunken track made by stock over several hundreds of years coming home to the cattle yard. The yard would have been surrounded by high banks and no doubt hedged on top. This had a large cow hovel for winter shelter (p243), and over it a standing for hay. The yard would be next to the hollow way leading to the west boundary and the ditch running north and south once part of an older town boundary. Traces of ridge and furrow lie to the west of this line inside the western hedge and steep bank [Thames Valley Arch. Services] which was a late town boundary but with the six species of an Early hedge [Hedge Survey].

By March 1641 Solomon Howse's farmhouse had been extended to give a new firehouse for brother Thomas and their widowed mother revealed in an inventory of 1690:

Howse March 1641	Howse January 1690	Chamber over Dary House
Hall	Chamber over Firehouse.....	Chamber over Hall
Dayry & Buttry.....	Chamber over the kill [kiln].....	Dary house
Upper Lodging Chamber.....	Further room over kill.....	Hall house
Chamber over Hall	Hithermost roome.....	Fire house

The farmhouse and barn were built under one roof, but without a common entrance passage. The property faced east and west. When the land was reallocated the property was made into six stone cottages out of the three bay house and three bay barn. The property was in line with the other Long Causeway dwellings. In 1690 Howse farm had chambers over the firehouse, hall and dairy house. There was a chimney in the hall and another in the firehouse. A kiln for malting barley had the necessary chamber over, but it had become a store for wood and hemp. A "Further" room on the ground floor was used to keep wood and coal while in a "Hithermost" room there was space for a malt mill, bolting hutch [tub] and salting trough. The back yard

provided the entrance to the barn's cart doors, the stable and cart hovel. The three bay barn was at the southern end of the longhouse. The thatched roof over the barn was lower than the house. The cart doors were in the middle bay on the west side of the barn, with a winnow door opposite, while the main entrance to the house was on the east side. There was no evidence when the cottages were looked at after a fire and just before they were demolished of a central passage. The stone middle gable did not appear to have a chimney and the hall must have originally been at the north end like Robins' [26], before the bachelor Thomas Howse [9] built the third bay with the firehouse at the north end. The chamber and buttery may have been in the inner bay. Solomon and Catherin's chimney and fire equipment were in the hall and they stored the cheese, apples, bacon and butter in the chamber over the hall. The barrels went into the buttery.

Howse's on the Long Causeway [9]

THOMAS HOWSE Husbandman Will + 1559 [9]	m	ELIZABETH Pery from Middleton Cheney 17 Jan 1546/7 bur 13 May 1577 + Exor Will* & Inv.
---	---	--

WILLIAM + Exor bp 21 Oct 1547 bur 18 Oct 1600 Husbandman [9] Will & Inv	RICHARD + bp 6 Sept 1549 * Exor	ELIZABETH AYLLYS + + * 12.Mar. 1552/3*
--	--	--

Will & Inv	m	MARGERY bur 30 Nov. 1643 [9] as a widow Margery m Henry Broughton He was bur. 14 April 1629
------------	---	---

SOLOMON < bp 3.4.1588 bur 7.3.1640/1 Shepherd [9] m CATHERIN Will Pratt [9] Inv. bp 22 Mar 1606 > m 10 May 1632 [9]	THOMAS < 29.3.1590 23.11.1657 Yeoman [9] PCC Will \	ELIZABETH < 3.5.1592 d 1638 m Josias Bowman \ 23.1.15/6	JOANE < 3.4.1594 Home in 1624	JOYCE < 27.5.1598 6.11.1638 m Usbie Burnham \ 8 children
---	--	---	---	--

ANNE bp 30.9.1632 bur 14.10.32 "begotten in fornication" but no court record.	ANNE 7.9.1634 \	SOLOMON 21.5.1636 bur 3 Dec 1690 Will & Inv Sale of goods [42/1/38] [9]	THOMAS 28.9.1640 m JOANE bur 4 Feb 1717
---	------------------------------	---	--

THOMAS 1665	SOLOMON 1666	KATHERIN 1668	WILL. 1670 Tailor m ELIZABETH d Hannah m 1739 James Southam 1708-1749 2 chd Lived Lt. Bourton	BRIDGET 1672	ELIZTH 1673	SARAH 1675 m
-----------------------	------------------------	-------------------------	--	------------------------	-----------------------	---------------------------

JOYCE JOHANNA
 1677 m 1680

1614: henry broughton ux ...ijd..... 1624:Henrye Broughton et uxor ...ijd
solomon howseijdSolomon Howseijd
Thos howse..... ijdThomas Howseijd
William Cooke..... ijd
Joyce Howseijd
Joan Howse..... ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 5.5.

The Howse family held three farms in Cropredy [9, 24 & 28]. Solomon's (1588-1641) father William (born 1547) only married when he was forty, even though his parents Thomas and Elizabeth were both dead. His widowed mother having passed away ten years earlier. During the intervening years we can only presume he rebuilt the house. Solomon's grandfather Thomas was farming at [9] in 1552 as one of the demesne tenants. He was listed between John French [4], and Will Page [12]. Thomas was leasing one yardland containing 27 acres of arable and 4.5 acres of meadow, but only half an acre of pasture. Thomas employed a relative William Denze[y], who had then fallen ill and died in March 1558/9. Denzey was a Bourton man, brother to Fremund, who came down to live with his niece Alese Howse [28]. William Denzey left two shillings to Dame Elizabeth and a shilling to their sons William and Richard, and daughter Aylls, but only tuppence to young Elizabeth. The following August only twelve years after he married Elizabeth Pery of Middleton Cheney, Thomas too was making his will, in which he confirmed they had four surviving children, though only three are in the baptism register. For nineteen years widow Elizabeth carried on farming a yardland retaining a pair of horses to do so (p114).

If it was the eldest son William who rebuilt in stone he had needed a barn and cowshed as well as a stable for the produce of three yardlands. His stock included eight beast, a horse and three calves as well as four other horses, a colt and thirty sheep. They had the usual crops for when William died in 1600 he had already planted fourteen "rydges" of maslen. The peas and barley being left for widow Margery to plant in the spring.

William had eventually married Margery in 1587. They had two sons and three daughters all of whom survived. Both their sons, Solomon and Thomas, may have lived all their lives at home. When William died aged fiftythree the youngest daughter was only two. One of the problems of a late marriage. Solomon and Thomas at thirteen and eleven were too young for all the responsibilities, but their mother managed for a while. She was left a lease on the "Mose Mylne" which was worth £10, and

probably still being run by Henry Broughton. It was not long before he married the widow and moved into the farmhouse [9]. Henry ran the farm with Solomon as shepherd and Thomas eventually taking over the ploughing. The three girls appear in some of the Easter lists when it was their turn to be at home.

The upper lodging chamber was used first by William and then by his son Solomon. It had two beds and a cradle. The household became a three generation family soon after Solomon had married his cousin Catherin Pratt [24]. Their child was born four months later in 1632, but no penance was recorded at the church court. Solomon was by then fortyfive and his mother once again a widow, but now living in her own chamber.

The widow Margery had still been alive when her eldest son Solomon took ill and died in 1641. It must have been a great shock for her as a widow in her eighties. Solomon had been married for only eight years. He left a very young widow of twentysix with three small children. Many of his goods are mentioned in Part 5. They had like Alese Howse [28] a dish bench for displaying his sixteen pieces of pewter worth 10s, but his wealth was tied up in his a hundred and sixty sheep worth £70. He also had his share of four beasts and a calf in the cattle yard. Two hogs were on the farm and hens to help feed his own family. This household was not a poor one for they were one of the top ten per cent who were required to pay the King's tax in 1627 (p74). They apparently owned land at Kineton. Solomon left for his only surviving son "my deeds and my chest now standing at my beds feete and my best brass pott and £10" when he reached eighteen.

The deeds being for the land in Kineton? His young wife Catherin must allow her brother-in-law Thomas (who now considered himself a yeoman) to continue farming the land and as he never married he kept the lease going for his nephew Solomon. Even if Catherin was able to do this herself she could not, for here was a family where a brother was available to take over the task. She could hardly remarry either, for Thomas tilled the land.

Widow Margery died in November 1643 and two weeks later Thomas called in William Hall [6], and Richard Cartwright [50]. Her status being shown by the ability to ask these two gentlemen even though her total estate only came to £13 -16s -6d. This highlights the need to study the family as a whole. Margery still lived in the parlour chamber and kept a small portion of land to provide for her necessities, the rest having been passed to her children.

"Her weareing apparell/ & money in her purse £6 -5s/
fower pewter dishes one/ pewter Chamberpott one salte/ and six spoones 10s/

a Brasse possintt & a bottle 3s -4d/
one feather bedd twoe/ bolsters twoe blanketts & / a Coverlidd £2/
Ninetenne thredd sheets/ three tablenapkins & one towell £1 -10s/
Barley maulte & Maslin £3 -5s/
a linnen wheele & other odd implements 2s -6d/
twoe hens 8d/" [MS. Will Pec. 33/2/20].

Her son Thomas had a new room for he wrote in his will "one coffer now standing in the new chamber under the Hellwall windows." Thomas had built the extra bay at the north end right against his shared boundary track with Gorstelows [12], who had taken over Handley's farm (The cottage attached to Elderson's [38] south gable and Palmer's [59] all mention Hellwalls. Had they enlarged their plots by building on the wrong side of their boundary, on the "Hellside" of the wall? In Hello did the name originate from this fault of hellwalling out upon a boundary, referred to in a deed of 1814, and so leave the name of the passag? Or had their water came from a holy well (p172)? Now in the passage where Palmer's [59] once lived you can get an echo by calling Hello).

Thomas also remembered his nieces and nephews in his will. One sister Joyce married Usubie Burnham, who in 1624 was working at the vicarage. All their eight children were christened in Cropredy, but from which property? Thomas Howse died in 1657 when his nephew Solomon was twentyone. It was eight years before Solomon brought his wife Joane to the farm. They were to have nine children.

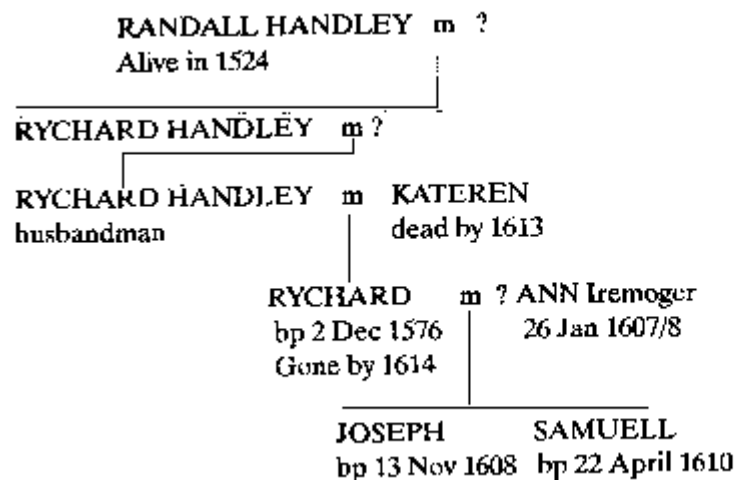
By 1690 this Solomon was to fall heavily in debt. He did have to farm through a difficult period, not helped by cattle problems and the various government solutions. Many other tenants fell into debt, but not as desperately as Howse. An educated man who had a beautifully clear script shown in the 1663 hearth tax. Solomon may have been rather fond of his clothes and over extended his borrowings which exceeded his revenues, so that after his death his poor wife refused to handle his debts. He owed a cousin Ephriam Pratt money and Solomon's goods were sold by Ephriam who never recovered his total loan. This tailor had no education, but organised the sale of Solomon's goods by getting someone to write down every exchange. He lived in Edgcott and yet had to come and oversee the piecemeal sale of items over a long period, stretching from January the 7th until at least April the 11th.

In 1690 they had grown peas, barley, wheat and oats and had £15 of hay. Ephriam Pratt bundled the straw into flayles and made faggots from hedging wood which he sold as kiddes.

"One hundred and half of kiddes 12s" to heat ovens. Chaff and cut straw were sold at four quarters for 3s-2d. Here was mention of a cart and a four wheel waggon, not just the long two wheeled cart as most had had before that. Kettles and feather bolsters are all mixed in with the sale of black sheep or heifers. Five cheeses went for around 2s. Fairly early on the eight pigs and the sow were sold off. Ephriam had to employ several people to help run the farm and see to the unsold stock. After all his efforts the money owing to him which came to £105 was only reduced to £43 15s. A fortune to a tailor. The third son William Howse born in 1670 had been taken on as an apprentice tailor and like the rest of the family had to leave Cropredy.

The property was turned into six cottages after 1775 with brick walls between the bays. The barn doorway receiving an infill of brick. The cottage gardens all had some of the verge formerly part of the Long Causeway.

Handleys and Gorstelows of The Long Causeway [12].



1613: Rycharde Handlyijd1624:Thomas Gorstelowe et uxor... ijd
Rycharde Handly ux.... ijd

The number in the household for the 1 listed year was 5 (including the two children).

A Randall Handley witnessed the Cropredy schoolmaster's apprenticeship document in 1524 so they were an old Cropredy family. Randall signs first and then a Rychard. In the next generation Rychard senior, husband of Kateren, had a yard land in the 1578 list, when William Page was still alive, but not apparently farming. Was this about the time Pages built in front and Handleys farmed the land? Without more manorial records we cannot prove anything. More puzzling was why a family here for over three generations should have joined the Thompsons [44] and Kynds [31] to leave the town between Easter 1613 and the following April. Was it to do with their presentment at the Ecclesiastical Court? Religion and politics were so intertwined that to protest at the decrees issued by the bishops for the King could bring tough sentences upon the head of the family either through the church court or a secular one.

What is now a matter for an individual's conscience could then become a disciplinary matter with dire consequences as the church discipline was increased. Had the three who left been excommunicated and so could not renew their lease? Few dared to indulge in outspokenness. Those who could read and understand the bible would use old and new testament stories to hide their true meaning. Double talk was common and expected, when all education came via a clergy who must obey the bishops, or lose their licence to preach, or even worse their living. Whatever the cause the Handleys departed. Another possibility was the Handley's had used up their three lives on their lease and they were refused another three.

As the Handleys were obviously here before 1524 it was hard to find where they lived when they do not appear in the survey of 1552. Instead William Page son of the late Huw Page had one messuage, one and a half yardlands, half a toft and a piece of land called "le fourge." On the Demesne land William Page had another yardland containing 22 acres of arable and 4 acres of meadow. As he was a minor he has three guardians, one of whom was Thomas Howse next door [9] and another was John French [4]. Hew Page (d1547) was living next to a forge possibly in the building which William his son had to turn into a small dwelling cottage and let the smithy trade pass to the B manor property next door [13]. Why though was it only half a toft or close? Had some gone to Howse [9]? The Page's family tree on page 682.

The farm house and barn would follow the building line of Springfield to the Brasenose Inn. The entrance on the B manor map [29a] shows two cottages on the verge and an entrance to [12] between Pages cottage and the Brasenose smithy [13] in 1774. A third cottage was put up on the verge before 1775 in front of Howse's [9] entrance.

Thomas Gorstelow came down from Bourton and had taken over the lease by 1615. He had relatives in Mollington, Bourton and Prescote and they had risen to being yeomen by 1685. Thomas or his son witnessed some of the college terriers of 1653 and 1669. They had land at Paulerspury, and were taxed on two hearths here in 1663 which meant they must have had an upper floor. We know he married and had a son John, but little else. They may have shared the house for only the hall and kitchen were mentioned, meaning John had married and the young couple had their own quarters. Gorstelow also had an orchard producing enough to warrant a tithe in 1617 [c25/6 f8v]. If the orchard was at the west end of the close it lay over the ridge and furrows. The farmyard would be behind the house and sharing the western cattle entrance with Howse [9]. Their Early town boundary hedge on the west bank had an average of six species three hundred years later. Was this pushing out of the town boundary made in the fourteenth century to accomodate new farms? Halfway across the close runs an old hollow or ditch parallel with the western hedge which may be the limit of their old close for there are remains of some ridge and furrows in the pasture beyond, between the west hedge and the hollow. This early encroachment onto the arable extended southwards over Howse's farm [9]as far as the Belser track coming down the South Field.

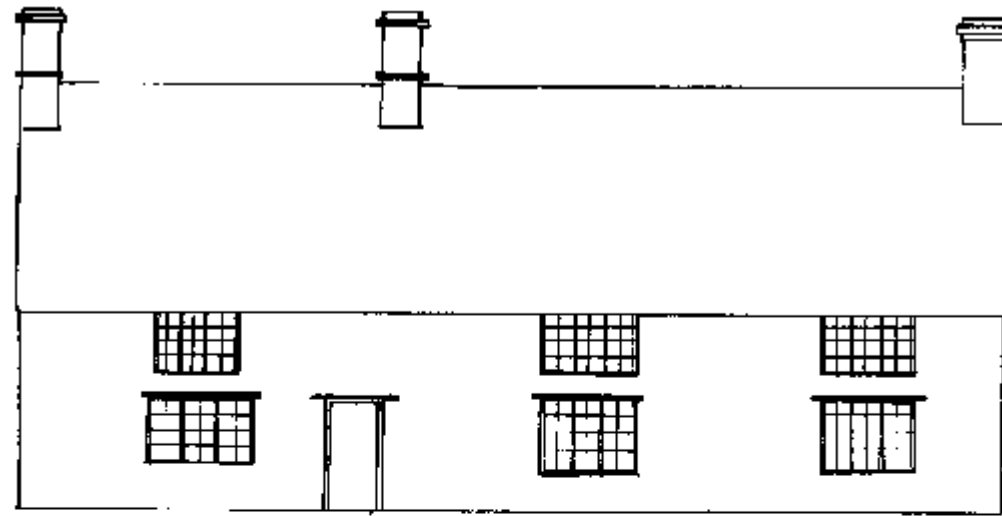
By 1775 the house and farm buildings had vanished and the parcel of land added to another farm [26].

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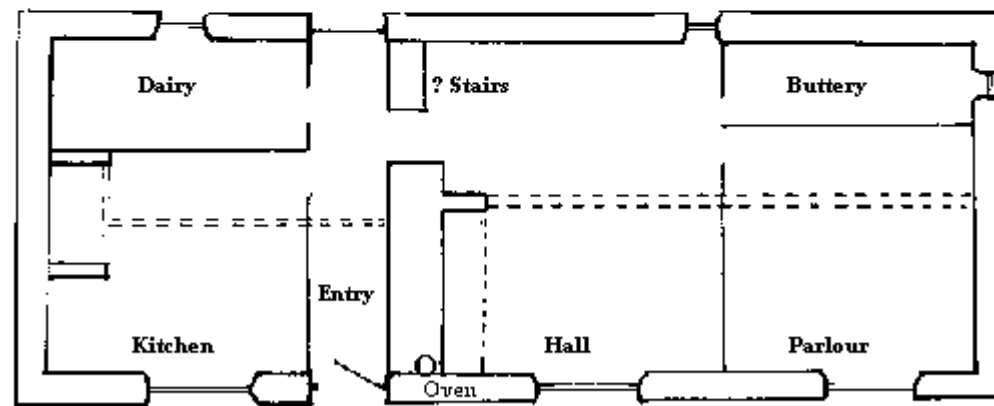
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32. Three Farms on the Green [4,15 and 16]

Reconstruction of Lumberd's House [14]



East Elevation



Plan

0 10
Scale in ft.

D32.1 Reconstruction of Lumberd's House [14].

Whytinge and Lumberds [14].

WILLIAM LUMBERD Husbandman bur 7 Jan 1545/6	m	ANNES c 1496 bur 11 Dec 1545				
		WILLIAM Husbandman bur 1.11.1549? Will *	m	ISABELL/or Elizabeth *Exor Will 1558 + [gap in register]		
RICHARD Husb.* + Exor c1526- Will < bur 14.2.64/5 m ALLYS Strawmer 1 July 1554 < Exor widow [14] bur 14.8.1613		ROBERT m Elizabeth* + Byggyl '56		JOHN WYLLYAM * + < * + <	ANNE m Thos* + * + <	GYLLIAN ELIZABETH 1542-43 Eydon
		ELIZABETH b1564/5		EDWARD b1564/5	JOHN b1564/5	
		m THOS WHYTING 13 June 1567 bur 25. Dec. 1584 Will 1584 [14]				
JOHN RICHARD died <		EDWARD bp14.2.64/5 < bur 30.9.1635/6 Husbandman Will ^ [14]		AGNES c1560 < c1561 <	ALYCE c1561 <	EM bp.4.3.67/8 bur 14.7.34 Will [3]
				m ELIZABETH		m Thomas Devotion m 8.5.1591 [3]
JOANE bp2.5. 16.9. 15.10.02 1593 ^ 1601 -22.1.31 m Bayly died bur 22.1.31 Husbandman Will* [14]		EDWARD ^		ISABELL 10.10.04 28.3.06/7 m Heath ^ -27.9.07	ELIZABETH 17.8.08 1.11.09 -13.11.10	PHILIP 19.1.10/11 at Barford Exor ^
				m ALICE		
				as widow bur 14.9.74	m Nehemiah Haslewood [14] m 19 Dec 1633	
RICHARD ^* bp 8.6.1627		ELIZABETH ^* 2.7.1630		John 23.11.1634	Thomas 5.11.1641	Farmer in Cropredy

1614: edward lumbert uxijd1624: Edward Lumbert et uxor..... ijd
.....his daughterijd..... Edward Lumbert..... ijd
.....alyce lumbertijdIsabell Lumbert..... ijd
.....Jhon his shepherdjd..... Shacherie meedes..... jd.

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 9.62.

The family name had several ways of being spelt: Lumbert, Lambert, but mostly Lumberd in this period.

In 1552 Elizabeth Lambert leased one yardland of 22 acres and 4 acres of meadow. She was the "relict of William Lambert and could lease one messuage, another yardland and half a toft," providing she remained "sole." Her eldest son Richard was able to take over the lease.

When one son is given the bound cart and a young horse, a daughter a heifer, bedding, and pewter and others sheep, how did the widow cope without these things? Some had to delay parting with them, but eventually the overseers would see the children had their inheritance (p159). The Lumberds stretch back into the unknown in Cropredy and all their energies were needed not only to prevent the next generation from slipping down the ladder, but to try and move upwards. Edward Lumberd the only one of three sons to survive to adulthood considered he had risen to yeomanry status when he made his will in 1630. Brought up by his mother and step father he eventually took over his rightful claim to the lease. His sense of possession may well have been very strong.

When Richard, Edward's father, had died his widow Allys was left to rear the four surviving children. She had two most important assets, the farm and her age. Allys may still have been in her early thirties having married an older man. Her third son was Edward and he was allowed to attend school (in Banbury?). After three years Allys married Thomas Whyting and their daughter Em was born nine months later. Thomas was to farm for only eight years leaving Allys again in control and bringing up the children.

When Em Whyting was twentythree she married Thomas Devotion [3] and was one of the few girls who stayed on in the town, though her mother might have thought she was moving down the ladder from a three yardland farm to a one yardland holding. How often were marriages arranged amongst husbandmen's families? Em was from a second marriage and her

stepbrother had not yet married, was she in the way? Such children have fewer claims and none on the tenement. Em did however live near and when Allys grew old Em may have come up the Long Causeway to help with the daily care of her mother. By then Em would be in her 50's.

Edward had the lease after his step-father Thomas died and his mother would continue to use the downstairs chamber. He delayed marriage for eight years. As the Whytings would not have rebuilt in stone it was left to young Lumberd to rebuild sometime we presume between 1584 and 1592. Allys remained a widow for a further twentynine years into her eighties. Their house was now large enough to take three generations each with their own chamber.

Lumberds, Toms [15] and Hunts [16] were all on late sites taken from the Green. Toms delayed their rebuilding, but Hunt's went ahead and rebuilt in stone and Lumberds appear to have done the same.

Lumberds site was just wide enough to allow a timber long house and barn facing east down towards the Cherwell. They chose to have an eastern entrance in their front elevation which allowed the hall to be on the right of the entry passage. Had they kept the timber barn while the house was rebuilt? Neither of the Lumberd inventories mention a kitchen bay which eventually took up one bay of the possible barn space and yet they built an entry passage between the hall and kitchen. If there had been no barn or kitchen bay they could have entered the house through the south gable as Toms did. Yet the house does not appear to have been built in two phases. In which case the passage was necessary to reach the farmyard on this narrow site.

In front of the possible early barn was a forty foot wide piece of land belonging to Lumberds which gave access to the house entrance and old barn or farmyard along the southern boundary with the blacksmiths. The hall and parlour end of the property was right on the verge until this was encroached in 1793 to form a front garden.

One thing the Lumberds had in common with the Toms was a house with a generous inner width of seventeen feet, but unlike the Toms they rebuilt using spine beams throughout.

Two inventories remain which show a shared property:

Edward Lumberd Jnr March 1630/1..... Edward Lumberd October 1635

Hall [hearth]Parlor
Upper ChamberIn the Buttery
.....Chamber over the Plor
.....Chamber at the Stair head

The stone house has generous bays and was kept separate from the barn and stables. It faced the river across the lower end of the Green, or Bridge Causeway, but their close behind the house bordered the south side of the Green as it stretched westwards. The stone house which has ashlar quoins is two and a half storeys high and still thatched. Each of the three bays have a three light casement window on the front elevation, two of which have been enlarged. The upper chamber windows have three lights. The main entrance once opened onto an entry passage behind the hall chimney and there was a rear exit. As the hall chimney was towards the front wall the entrance to the room was further down the passage on the right. In neither of the Lumberd's inventories was there any mention of the nether bay below the entry. This had a kitchen with dairy behind. The kitchen had another chimney backing onto the south gable. The parlour chamber was beyond the hall at the north end and had the buttery behind. To reach them they had to cross the hall unless a passage had been made. They would have had a newel stairs whose position is still not certain, but like Hall's [6] it was most likely against the rear wall in the hall bay. As the chamber at the stairhead appears to be over the buttery then it must have been at the rear. These generally in the sixteenth century took up an area measuring six by three feet with the steps turning round a newel post. The cockloft would have needed a ladder if the stairs only went up as far as the first floor. The walls and spine beams suggest a rebuild after 1570. The gable ends, central chimney and a roof truss support the roof. In 1663 there were two hearths.

The position of the cattle yard and timber farm buildings is uncertain. They were all replaced and the only record comes from the 1775 map which shows a building on the south boundary and the later stone barn which is not on the diagram (Fig.32.2 p538). It faced north and south with double cart doors onto the Green. A smithy was later attached and a late brick range formed a cattle yard to the west of the barn.

Had Edward Lumberd moved to his land in Barford St Michael leaving his married son Edward to farm? It was unusual for the eldest to take the lease and marry when a younger brother was still only seventeen. Somewhere deeds must have been drawn

up. When the young man is taken ill Edward senior returns without his wife for whom there is no burial entry in Cropredy, and carries on farming from the Green until he died in 1635. The blow to the father when Edward junior died must have been great. It also meant the land had passed onto his grandson, but young Richard never did take it on. The two Edwards, father and son, had divided the house up and some of the implements. They shared the buttery, but the hall went to the son who furnished it very elaborately. Father had a bedstead in the parlour where he slept. The chamber at the stairhead was furnished with a bedstead and bedding, perhaps for his relations. Edward senior stored his goods in the parlour chamber. His son having the upper chambers over the hall for the children and staff. This means that the two inventories need to be read together to get most of the house. The south bay was still missing and the cockloft with its window on the north gable. Had Edward senior used the kitchen fire to cook on and then given up his hearth when Nehemiah Haslewood moved in, so that once again the inventory would not reveal the kitchen hearth?

In 1624 Edward senior was in his late fifties and part of a small group of sixteen men who were over fifty. Only about six were actively farming and four were in trade which left six semi retired. There were about thirtynine coming up between thirty and fifty. As most men carried on into their seventies with ever diminishing parcels of land the bulk of the parish's arable had to be ploughed by around twenty Cropredy men over thirty with the help of relations and as many servants as they could afford. The task was daunting with only horse teams and a few oxen teams in the parish. In the early 1630's six of the then twentytwo farms were leased by widows (p116).

Edward junior's marriage lasted for only five years when he either had an accident, or the 1631 fever struck. Alice was left with £24, thirtysix sheep and twentyfour quarters of corn and heavy legacies to pay off. The son had kept fiftyone sheep and when his father died he had increased the flock to seventyfive, but neither of them used up their quota for the three yardlands. Sometimes they have to employ a shepherd. By the 1630's larger sums of "ready money" were found in inventories for the next rent (p184) which explains the £24. Edward junior had eight pieces of pewter "which my father Edward Lumberd did give me" as part of his inheritance. Alice had been under twentyfour at marriage and although her husband died aged thirtyeight Alice was left a widow in her late twenties and could remarry. Her affairs are settled with her father-in-law, but this time neither of her children gain the lease, the holding changes to Haslewoods. Two months before the marriage Edward made his will. A case of an early will being essential after sorting the lease out at the manor court with Alice. Wills were only required to leave legacies and to tie up any loose ends for members of the family left at home. Those of the family already settled by leases or other legal documents might receive a token shilling out of love for them, so Edward did not need to mention Alice in his will, just as Dyonice Woodrose did not mention Martha [8].

Did Nehemiah Haslewood (or Michael as he is sometimes called) pay the two older children off? Their father had left them besides £10 each "a bed and bedding where in I now lie, a cubbord in the hall to brass potes eight peeces of pewter and all other household stuff which my father ...gave me."

Edward senior kept on farming right up to his death in 1635, even though he had to share with the Haslewoods. His own son at Barford could not come to take over the land, that belonged to Alice by her marriage. Although Alice's two younger sons John and Thomas Haslewood, remained in Cropredy as did their descendants, her two older children vanish. One branch of the Lambert family had returned to Cropredy by 1775.

Lumberds shared some of their house goods. How had this come about? Had they come as a shared inheritance or was Edward senior keeping half the value for another son? They shared: "Halfe one turning table & halfe 1 table in the plor, halfe one weighting stone, halfe one paire of pothangles, half a mash fatt, halfe a cheese presse, halfe the horse trough, well buckett and Curb, halfe four stone troughs, half two garners." Edward seems to have put by some of his fire equipment in an upstairs chamber used as his store, perhaps for another of his children, while he had the use of the parlour (p652).

Edward having been sent to school and as a leaseholder had obligations when on town business to offer his writing skills and services as all others did who paid rates. Having moved to his property in Barford Saint Michael or Hempton, he then apparently returned to Cropredy and took up his former life. When he made his will Edward was not over generous. Although he left Isabell Heath his daughter £2 he did not forgive her husband Abel 7s. His executor's overseers get only 2s for their trouble, the poor 3s-4d and the bequest for church repairs was the lowest of nine after 1617. A yeoman would be expected to leave much more, though he could quite naturally have felt the poor rate now covered any obligations towards them. If Edward considered himself a yeoman, William Hall [6] called him a husbandman even though he had acquired property. The land must have been purchased or inherited after 1627 for he was not on the tax list. His apparel valued at £2 was average for a husbandman though his son's had been higher at £3. Edward was obviously never going to let widow Alice run all the farm while he was alive, but by remarrying the whole lease would eventually come to her husband. Edward was to remain in Cropredy for he was buried in the church (p166).

In the years covered by the lists they had a large household averaging a high 9.6 residents. Edward's sister Alyce born about 1561 during a gap in the registers, arrives home around 1613, perhaps to help with their mother, and then stays on until

1616. There may have been room in the chamber at the head of the stairs. She pays her Easter dues for four years, but where did she spend the rest of her life?

Toms on the Green [15].

RICHARD bur4.3.1607/8 + > Exor	WILLIAM + bur 4 May 1637 Husbandman m Will < & Inv [15]	ISABELL + m 1607 JEHAN < Exor buried where?					
SARA 17.12.94 >	ANTHONY 19.12.1596 -3.1.96/7	WILLIAM > bp21.1.1597/8 bur27.11.1650 Husbandman [15] m aged 31 to	ALES 4.10.01 bur. 12.10.01	JHON 5.3.02/3 >	ANN 26.10.05 > £5 <	AVIS 16.4.1608 >	JANE
REBEKAH 21.7.30	HANNA 11.3.31/2*		ELIZABETH m 30 June 1629 bur 11 Oct 1665. Will* Inv 1667 [53/1/57]				
THOS bp7.4.33	ELIZABETH 1.5.1635* mWatts	WILLIAM bp1.4.1638 bur21.4.95 Grave 174 [15] Will + & Inv [53/2/26]	RICHD 9.2.39/40 m(1) JOYCE Wyatt bur 3 Nov 1665	JOHN 16.5.41 Exor* *	NEHEMIAH 30.3.1645	JOSEPH 14.4.1648	
			JOSEPH + 1664-?1721 m Anne				
			WILLIAM bp 12.4.1667 + bur 7.2.1749/50@Exor Yeoman m Will ^ [53/4/28] [15]	ELIZABETH 1671 + m ELIZABETH Blagrove[26] 18 Feb 1698 ^ Exor bur 22 Apl 1750	JOHN 1678 + @@	MARTHA 1680 + @ m Stanton Elizabeth@	
			ELIZABETH 1699 ^ m Thos Elkington 1725	WILLIAM ^ bp 12 Dec 1703 bur17.1.1780/1 m Yeoman Will [15] [53/4/81]	ESTHER m Catharine Tomkins [25]	DYER 1705 ^ m Catharine	MARTHA 1708 + ^ @ m Sam Anker 1731
JOHN TOMS Will* 1558		m ANNES bur 6 Nov 1557					
AGNES Exor	MARY bp 21.4.1540	THOMAS bp 15 Jan 1542/3 * App.to T.Gardner bur 18 May 1607 Husbandman Will + & Inv [15]	KATHERNE m JOHAN + Exor bur 16.10.1608 Will > & Inv.	MARGARET *	GEORGE 29.7.1546* Apprentice to N.Gardner		

WILLIAM	ELIZABETH	REBECCA	ESTHER	JOHN	DYER
1729	1730	1732	1734	1736	1739-1820
	mR.Bourton	mM.Pratt	m Ladd		mELIZABETH Anker
	[16]Biksmith	[1]Miller	Farmer	Hill farm	d1800

WILLIAM		ELIZABETH	MAKTHA	HESTER
1771--1850		1774-1844	1778-1839	1781
Hill Farm	m RACHEL	m W.Hopkins	mS.Anker[25]	mR. Grisold
	| Douglas			

ELIZABETH	DYER	MARY
1810-1885	1812-1878	1816-1896
..... Farmed Hill Farm Cropredy.....		

1614: wam toms uxijd..... 1624: William Shotswell et uxor..... ijd
.....wam woode ux.... ijd..... William Tomes et uxorijd
.....his man..... ijdWilliam Tomesijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 6.

The Toms and their neighbours the Hunts had been in the town since before the registers began, but once again the name was absent from the 1552 survey. Hunts were there next door, but on Toms' site it was possibly George Puller who had one messuage and one yardland late in the tenure of Will Myssendon. Their demesne land consisted of one and a half yardlands containing 2 roods and 6 acres of meadow. William Myssendon had only a married daughter survive him which was why Pullers moved in, though not for long. How had the Toms lost their claim to the Summerfords/Summerfields/Sumerperts who followed the Pullers?

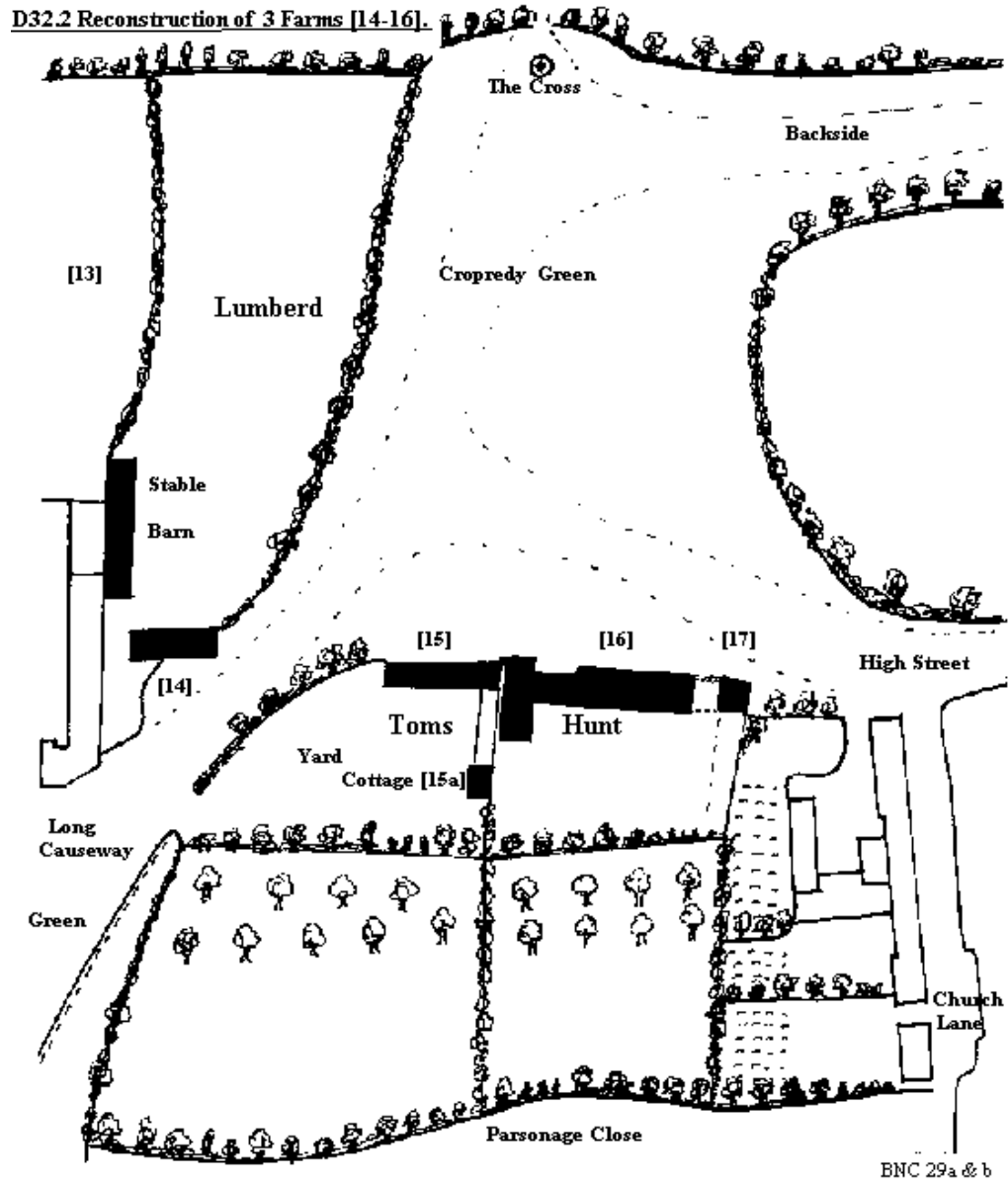
John and Annes Toms had three children baptised, but having both fallen prey to the fevers that beset the town in the 1550's the children were too young to take over and were apprenticed to two husbandmen (p131). Meanwhile the Sommerfords appear to have Puller's land for they had taken on the lease of [15] until the eldest son Thomas Toms returns with his wife Johan to Cropredy. By then all their children had been baptised elsewhere and until that place is found we do not know the size of this family. Although eventually Thomas's eldest son Richard was due to inherit after the death of his father, he too died only a year later. The next son William must now return permanently to take over the Cropredy lease, which was obviously more important than any other he could have found. He had been farming at Chipping Warden with his wife Jehan even though seven of their eight children were baptised in Cropredy. William helped his widowed mother Johan while the children were being cared for by relations in Chippy. Their Cropredy grandmother was possibly too frail to have them in the house on the Green.

In 1608 Granny Johan left provisions in her will to help offset the feeding costs to her kinsman William Bessen of Chipping Warden who was bringing up the young Toms: "one cow and 2 strikes of barley, 2 strike of maslen towards charges to keep my son-in-law [son or stepson] William Tomes his children, now in his keeping, for a tyme longer at the discretion of my overseers." She lived for another ten months. Toms' timber house may have been built on the Green long after the principal farms had their allocated closes.

Like the Hunts next door theirs had been built on the Green below the church. Behind the house their plot extended back for about 240 feet to the Parsonage Close leased by the vicar. That too had been taken off the Green at a time when the Bishop of Lincoln had the A Manor and all Cropredy's rectorial tithes and land.

After the rebuilding in stone began Toms' house must have been considered sufficiently new to remain in timber until the new landlord wished to add a chamber over the Hall for his wife and self to lodge in on their visits from Derbyshire. If this was not the house, then Sir Boothby had added a chamber to the bailiff's farm [50], tenanted by Wyatts. The Boothby family of landlords had moved the bailiff's farm at least twice. It went from Church Street [50] to Toms on the Green and was then transferred in 1788 up to Cropredy Hill Farm. The Brasenose College purchased the manorial rights of the A manor and Hill farm from Boothby's and from then on owned all the manorial rights for the parish of Cropredy.

Reconstruction of Three Farms on the Green [14-16].



The timber house and barn faced east across the farmyard. The only explanation for the buttery being at the west end of the chamber bay was because this was the rear of the house. The yard dominated and apart from the barn entrance which would be for everyday use the main entrance to the property came off the Green as it went south towards the river. The farm gate was opposite the Long Causeway. The Tom's house was entered through the south gable end directly into the hall (Fig. 32.3 p541). The hall had two 7' wide bays open to the roof. The third bay had a low chamber 8' wide by 12' deep and a buttery at the west end 8' wide by 5' deep. The inner timber walls would resemble those in Church Street (ch.25). An upper chamber would have been supported on two transverse beams and reached by a ladder attached to the beam in the buttery. If the hatch into the bedroom was later used for a newel stairs entry into the upper chamber then the ladder was just inside the buttery door. Evidence of the newel post's position was found by the owners during renovations. The newel stairs took up so much of the buttery that it is possible they extended the buttery from the usual 5' to 7' to allow an entrance door from the hall, but had to reduce the lower chamber to do so.

The hall had an open hearth. To the west was a three light window with seat and shutters, but without the present day height, judging by the length of the recycled shutters. In the 1680's the buttery one light window also faced west, but whether the timber cottage had that window is not known.

The upper chamber of the one and a half storey building must have had the ceiling above the collar. The ceiling was necessary as well as a good partition wall above the open hall to keep out the smoke. On the ground floor the low chamber had two doors, one into the hall and one into the nether end of the barn. Two three light casements lit the nether room and low chamber and possibly a two light casement at the east end of the hall.

The house may have only needed the yard end of the nether bay, leaving the rest for cattle. The cart doors into the barn could have been facing the Green in which case the cows entered that way, or else the winnow door was on that side and the cart doors opened out into the yard. No nether chamber was mentioned in the inventories so the loft may have been kept entirely for hay. Once the house was stone walled the new inner stone gable was used as a roof support. From the upper chamber a hatch doorway was made into the barn loft, possibly to speed up access to feed the stock? Otherwise for general storage? This inner gable was built on a clay base which was apparently higher than the stoned front wall. Why was this for surely they added stone to all the walls at the same time?

By the 1680's the walls were already stoned and on the south gable an inglenook chimney was added to the hall, with an upper hall chamber fireplace ordered by the landlord. The ground floor windows on the western wall had specially cut lintels, but without a central keystone. They had moved the important elevation from the east to the west, but kept the south entrance with the new two light window for the hall chamber above. The spine beam to support the hall chamber floor went above the older transverse beam, so that the new floor was higher than the old upper chamber. The newel stairs were built to reach the hall chamber, for a landlord and his wife could hardly be seen climbing a ladder to bed. In the inventory of 1698 it confirms that the stairs had indeed been made for "Goods in ye roomes above stairs " had been valued at £3-3s. Upper chambers were now "rooms" and Toms' ground floor rooms, or "house," were called the parlour, dwelling house and "daryhouse."

Many alterations occurred down the years. The thatch was taken off and the roof raised allowing two new windows to the upper floor facing west. A smaller hall chamber window eventually faced east when a water tank blocked the southern one and a new stairs went straight up from the entrance door, releasing more room in the buttery when the newel stairs were taken out.

A new spine beam was used to support the old upper chamber in the parlour below, later hacked and encased when more head room was wanted. Moving the stairs left a hole and another boarded floor went over the buttery area in the upper chamber. The old upper chamber partition wall was moved southwards to widen the room and it may be at that point that the door opened out rather than into the hall chamber? Moving the partition left a long raised "step" all along the upper chamber side of the wall. Two doors entered this room so it may have been made into two small chambers.

The parlour acquired a chimney built into the stone inner gable wall using bricks on their side so that the chimney breast remained as flat as possible. A kitchen was added eastwards onto the yard, since pulled down and replaced by a south extension. The interior has been modernised and the two upper floors reduced to one level area.

In June 1607 a collection of people came through the door into a hall still open to the roof and with the cooking done on an open hearth. The vicar [21] coming down Church Lane, Justinian Hunt [16] from next door, Edward Lumberd [14] from across the Green and William Lyllee [29] who must come down the High Street to help value the stock. The son William having asked them to come would no doubt show them round. There was a chair for the scribe. The rest had the bench to sit on while writing out a rough inventory. One article mentioned was an iron worth ten shillings. This could be a sword or part of the cooking trivet, usually the later. One table was left to the daughter Isabell and another to young John. Two bedsteads were

crammed into the small lower chamber, with a press and "cubbard," two coffers with sheets and spare bedding. The buttery contained two barrels, "payles" and a cheeserack. Above the buttery in the long upper chamber was a standing bed. Many of these had a high panelled head and foot connected by a wooden or cloth tester which once kept the dust from the thatch off the sleepers, even though Toms' probably had a ceiling.

Outside seven ewes with their lambs have been gathered into the yard. Four little piglets in a pen, small because worth only a shilling each. The stable was "empty" so the horses had already been passed to the son. Three beasts may have been necessary to pull the plough. Four hens, a cock and eight chickens complete the livestock. The cart, plough with its tackle, two harrows and two taywythes [?] stood on one side. In the stable old horse gear and old collars were perhaps waiting the attention of the collarmakers down Round Bottom. The standards were two troughs and two mangers. Their tools consisted of wooden forks, shovel and a dung fork. Toms had their rickyard beyond the backyard and there a scaffold was standing on staddle stones upon which stood in season the precious peas awaiting threshing. Hay if not in the hay lofts was also kept in ricks. When the men looked round they came upon some old hay with straw left over from last year. Toms had moved this into the barn and may have filled one whole loft being worth £7, leaving room for the new crop due into the rickyard. The last of the barley had been malted ready to brew for harvest. The sown yardland was worth £10 which had represented one and a half yardlands in 1592. Being thirsty their attention was drawn to the well in the yard with the bucket, rope and links. Returning into the nether end of the three bay barn they came across the brewing vessels and a kiver. They moved from the kitchen or nether room next to the house through a door into the downstairs chamber. Finally sitting down for refreshments and writing out the list completing it with the women's linen spinning wheel and part of their woollen wheel. Having finished they would leave with the customary payment in their pocket, or a promissory note. Nothing was said about their farm cottage, so if it was occupied the tenants had provided their own furniture. The wishes expressed in Thomas and Johan's wills are mentioned on (pp 107, 637 & 638).

After brother Richard had died and his mother was buried, William had brought his family back to Cropredy: Sara was fourteen, William ten, John five, Ann three and Jane. Two more had been buried, but a third Avis was missing in her granny's will and also in the burial register (unless Avis was Jane?). William and Jehan were married for thirtyfive years, farming for twentyone in Cropredy before dividing the holding up to allow their thirtyone year old son William to marry Elizabeth Sowtham in 1629. Although a grandfather William had not relinquished all his stock for when he died there were two cows and seven sheep in his inventory and he had planted six lands of corn and one of peas. His three leyes of grass waiting to be cut were valued at £3-6s-8d and the stock £5-6s-8d formed the major part of their assets. Jehan had kept her pots, pothooks and

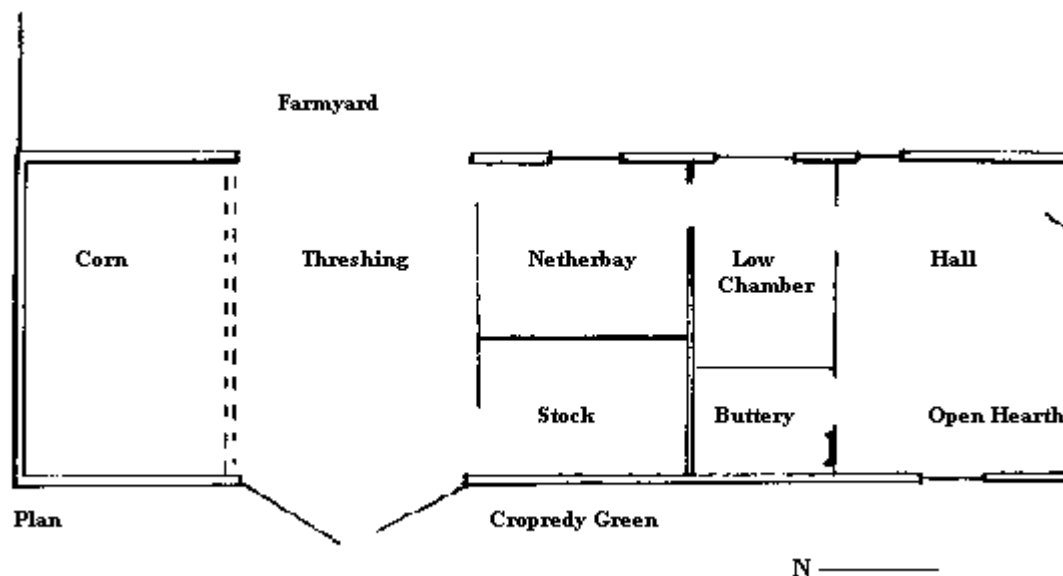
equipment in the shared nether room. They must have slept in the low room where all is "old," not surprisingly for it was a frugal household. The scribe writing "One old bedstid...one old wool bed... an old press," but in spite of this there was adequate bedding. Once her husband had passed away Jehan did not stay in Cropredy to die. Did she and Ann go back to Chipping Warden to live, or to join Sara or Jane?

William Toms and Elizabeth Sowtham's marriage took place eight years before his father died so that another three generation family slept under the one roof. Of their nine children the fifth one, William, was the husbandman next on this farm to be followed in turn by his son and grandson both Williams. The family stays in Cropredy until the nineteenth century when by then they had married into all the local families and the last generation remain unwed, living out their days at Cropredy Hill farm. The Hill farmhouse and yard were built in 1788 and a year later the Toms left the Green to move up there.

Once the husbandmen moved up to Cropredy Hill the old farm on the Green was sold and the barn turned into a dwelling for Kinman's the collarmakers. The stables, cowshed and calf house running back from the barn became Kinman's outhouses, while the original house was taken over by Cook who was a carpenter.

The inside once resembled the cottages described in Church Street, but with the addition of a barn. Later alterations have complicated the building, but the plan can still show the possible size of the timber dwelling.

Reconstruction of Tom's Timber House and Barn [15].



D32.3 Reconstruction of Tom's Timber House and Barn [15].

Hunts on the Green [16].

JOHN HUNT Husbandman bur 17 Sept 1587 Will* & Inv. [16]	m (1) JONE *Exor ? (2) Gillian					
JUSTYNIAN *Exor bp 10.4.1548 bur 6.4.1609 Husbandman [16] Will+ & Inv m ELIZABETH bur 31 Mar 1599	WILLIAM 1.2.1550/51	ELSABETH 8.7.1553 * m Robt B--bridge	ANNES 23.9.1555 *	HENRY *	JOYCE 13.2.96/7 +	?JHON 31.3.1599 d| before 1609
JOANE bp8.11 1584 PCC Will > Sch. [16] Husbandman	JHON + Exor bp21.11.1585 bur2.7.1641	THOMAS 13.8.87	ALYCE 27.2.88/9 +	JOANE 10.10.90 +	WILLIAM 16.8.92 +	MARY + 8.2.1594/5
	m ELIZABETH Gibbins 9 May 1610					FOULKE 31.8.1638
THOS 5.12.12 bur1.9.1670 [16]	JHON 28.6.16	ANNE 11.8.21	JUSTINIAN 23.1.24/5 [PCC.212][19] m Francis Buried where?	RICHD 30.3.28	CATH. 6.8.30	ELIZABETH 23.1.32/3
	m ELIZABETH Freestone m 26 Oct 1640 Gave up farm 1673.					ANTHONIE 8.11.1635
JOHN 23.1.41/2 -1699 Baker m Mary 12 chd [16]	JUSTINIAN 3.3.43/4 -1674 Glazier Will & Inv. Bach.	THOMAS bp2.11.1646 -1691 Glazier Will & Inv mELIZABETH Warren	ANNE 13.7.49 m Kimmel	TIMOTHY 23.11.51 -1720 Weaver Will m (1) Dorcas (2) Elizabeth 6 children	ADDUM 13.4.55 Glazier	

1614: John Hunt ux ..ijd..... 1624: John Hunt et uxor.... ijd
his manijdwiddowe Gibbins..... ijd
his mayd..... ijdJohn Times..... ijd
his shepherd... ijdAlice Gardner..... ijd
John Cosbrookeijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 5.75.

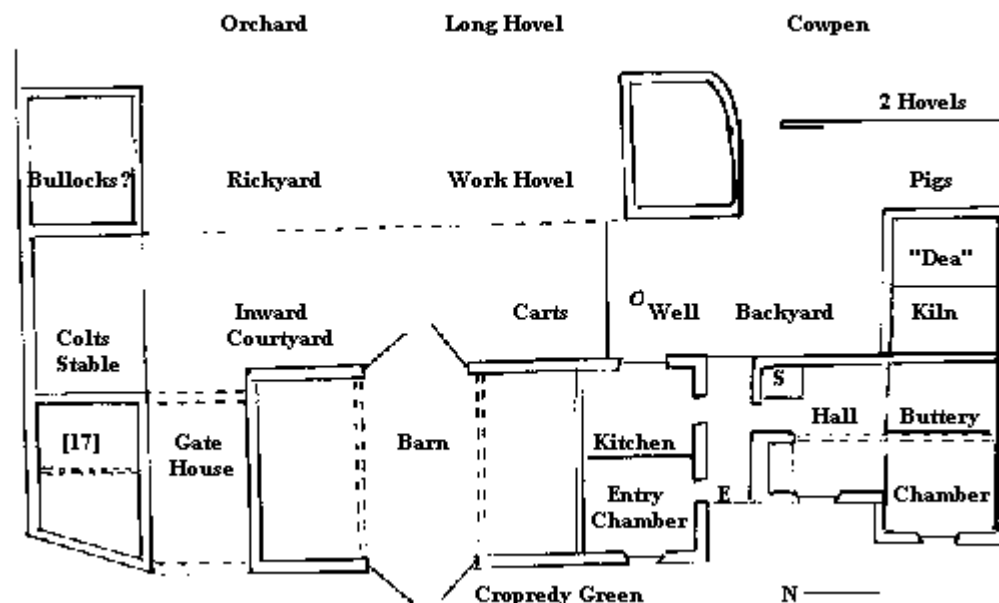
Hunt's house was rebuilt at the west end of their close [16], but Robert Hunt who had taken over William Walker's yardland by 1552 lived on the Green by the Cross (p211). Was Robert the father of John Hunt who died in 1587? John was on the farmers meadow list in 1578 and his son Justinian on the one for 1588. Both farm next to Toms in a house and barn facing west across the Green. Most unusually the landlord of the A manor was asked by John to be one of the overseers of his personal estate. For this service the Right Worshipfull Mr Richard Corbet received the large sum of ten shillings. Hunt's farm was the third largest at that time and they could afford more than most. Justinian born in 1548 was thirtysix before his eldest was born. We can only surmise he had delayed marriage to rebuild their longhouse.

Hunts were not content to remain in a timber dwelling and by 1584 may have moved into the thatched stone house and barn with plenty of farm hovels around the yards. It was rare to have an Inward Court yard and this sounds as though they came in with a flourish, but on the 1775 map the whole of the Green end of their close was built up. Was the gatehouse entrance then at the north end, or did they come through the barn? Two exits were valuable if not essential at harvest time on a busy farm. Did the carts come off the Green into the three bay barn and once empty turn into the inward court and swing round to a gateway to the north of the barn? The gateway could have a loft over for the carts were now empty. The entrance still gives access to the present property built at the rear of the Inward Court in the early 1800's. The Haddock's cottage [17] was situated at the north west corner of the close which meant the Hunt's put in the tenant. The cottage gable end faced onto the Green next to this entrance At the south west corner of the close a further gable end took in the southern bay of the house. Could the Dea House and Kiln house be in the rear extension? This is pure conjecture except for the two sideways cottages rebuilt about a hundred years ago out of Hunt's south bay using the east, west and south stone walls. Part of the Hunt's backyard behind the house being the forerunner of the present cottage gardens.

The plan was made up from the descriptions found on pages 314 to 316 under cowpens and cowhouses. This is just one possible way the site could have been set out:

Reconstruction of Hunt's House, Barn and Yards [16].

D32.4 Reconstruction of Hunt's House, Barn and Yards [16].



In the Inward Court yard the cart hovel with a haulm roof over would not face south (for the sun would dry out the cart timbers), but north and could have formed part of the division between the backyard and the court. The pigs were bound to be near the dairy and the cowpen behind the backyard rather than behind the courtyard as that was taken up by a rickyard. Their ricks needed to be near enough to bring down the corn to the barn for threshing, yet far enough from the house for threshing the peas outside, perhaps in the rear grass yard, to keep the black dusty clouds from the house. A cow hovel with "standers" could be used to separate the backyard from the cowpen, but have entrances for taking water and hay in and bringing out the milk to the dairy. There was also a second hovel which possibly backed onto the rickyard's long hovel, holding wood, hay, corn and barley, or the work hovel in that yard. A large amount of wood was kept in the rick yard. Along the north

side of the rickyard and court yard were the stables and the colt house, with possibly a rear wall of stone. The horses would be let out into the orchard behind the rickyard, leaving the last area for vegetables behind the cowpen? A bullock house was mentioned in 1587, but not with the cowpen hovels. The ploughs and equipment would be reasonably near the carts in the courtyard area.

When Justinian's father, John, died in 1587 only half of the house was given in the inventory for Justinian and his wife Elizabeth, who was not a local girl, lived in the rest. After 1587 John's second wife Gillian would exchange accommodation with her step-son, but she did not stay for long apparently preferring to live elsewhere. Six of Justinian and Elizabeth's nine children survive. The youngest died and was buried with his mother Elizabeth in March 1599 leaving the father to cope with two boys and four girls. Staff had always been needed and he continued to manage in this way until his sudden death ten years later.

Justinian had attended the sick widow Toms next door and shortly after he had to ask the vicar, Thomas Wyatt the blacksmith [13], and the miller Cross [51] to come and witness his own will. An unusual combination of people. After he died the vicar, Hall [6], Broughton [9], Lumberd [14] and Wyatt [13] were able to reveal the size of the house.

Two inventories survive belonging to this site. The rooms are given in the order the appraisers went round:

John Hunt October 1587	Justinian April 1609
Hall	Chamber beneth the Entrye
Upper chamber	Upper Chamber above the same room
Seconde chamber	Hall House
Kytchinge	Kiesin
	Chamber above the hall [S.bay]
	[Butterie]
	Chamber over the butterie
	Chamber above the hall [Over]
	Chamber over the Entrye
	Lofte over the kilne house
	Kilne house

.....Dea house

On the 1775 map the barn and house were of one long building like Huxeleys [36], and if they had followed the custom of having the hall to the right of the entry on the west elevation, then the one chimney could have backed onto the passage.

"Above" the hall and next to the rear buttery was the main chamber in the south bay. The inventory taken by "me Holwaye vicar" and four others definitely says "In the Chamber above the hall." Not "over" as the first floor buttery and entry chambers were written, but "above." Just as the chamber "beneth" the entry was also below the hall house and the master's table. So the master's chamber, in this case, was above the hall in importance. Neither were underneath or overhead, but on the same ground floor, though there could have been a step at the door. At French's in 1617 the main chamber was "below" the hall in importance and might have been a step lower. By 1632 it had become the parlour for sleeping in. Only later did the French's sit in there. The "Chamber Beneth the Entry" at Hunts which could accommodate widows, servants or young couples, was in the nether bay next to the barn. Where exactly was the kitchen? Did it have the rear half of the nether bay behind the entry chamber, so that the window faced east onto the backyard? It was then conveniently near the back entry door with access to the yard, dairy house, kiln and well.

When the appraisers go round Hunt's in 1609 they went first left into the chamber "beneth the Entrye" which had a ladder to reach an upper chamber. On down the passage to beyond the chimney to reach the hall door on the right. The newel stairs fitting into the last three feet? To get to the kitchen they must come back and enter the kitchen door opposite. They again entered the hall (from the kitchen) to reach the south bay by passing across the hall to the master's chamber "above the hall." Behind this chamber was the buttery (which they forgot to name, but the contents recorded belonged to a buttery). It too was entered from the hall just past the stairs. The stairs wound up into the hall chamber. Off this was the childrens chamber which took up the whole bay. The scribe refered to this as the buttery chamber because it was entered directly above the buttery area and so at the rear of the house.

The chimney was confirmed as soon as the hall chamber was mentioned. Hunt's hall chamber was kept as a store and the male servants would pass through it to sleep in the chamber over the entry and at the same time guard the malt garner. The men's chamber does not appear to connect with the loft over the chamber beneath the entry so the Hunts could reserve that loft for the maids. The main elevation was facing the Green to the west, so they needed windows which lit each bay at the front.

There was still room for a three bay barn between the house and the gateway. The barn on the map was larger than the house projecting forward and giving room for an extra bushel or two of corn. Robins [26] had done the same when he built a wider barley barn (p323). Hunt's entrance gate to the yard was between the cottage [17] and the barn but lacked a loft. The property may have deteriorated with the loss of income. Around 1813 a new house was built to the rear of the courtyard, and Hunts place demolished except for the cottage at the north end and the southern wing. What had happened to the Hunt's?

John (1585-1641) and Elizabeth had nine children and eventually passed the farm to Thomas (1612-70), a man who believed in setting all his sons to a useful trade so that they were all able to remain in Cropredy. Their five sons and one daughter born between 1641 and 1655 must have felt keenly the unrest of the times, but also the hopes of those who had been educated and brought up to read, who could now find in print material once suppressed by the clergy. They also had to live through the battle of Cropredy Bridge and the divisions between their neighbours. By the time Thomas's inventory was taken in September 1670 he had fallen behind with the rent, whether through illness or the severity of the times we will never know. The house was the same size, though the rooms below the entry were now called nether rooms. Butter and cheese were still made in the Dea House. No mention now of the kiln and the farm was down to perhaps three quarters of a yardland. Widow Elizabeth left Cropredy in 1673 leaving no clues as to where she went. John (1642-1699) had a bakery on this site. The old hall oven keeping his family in business.

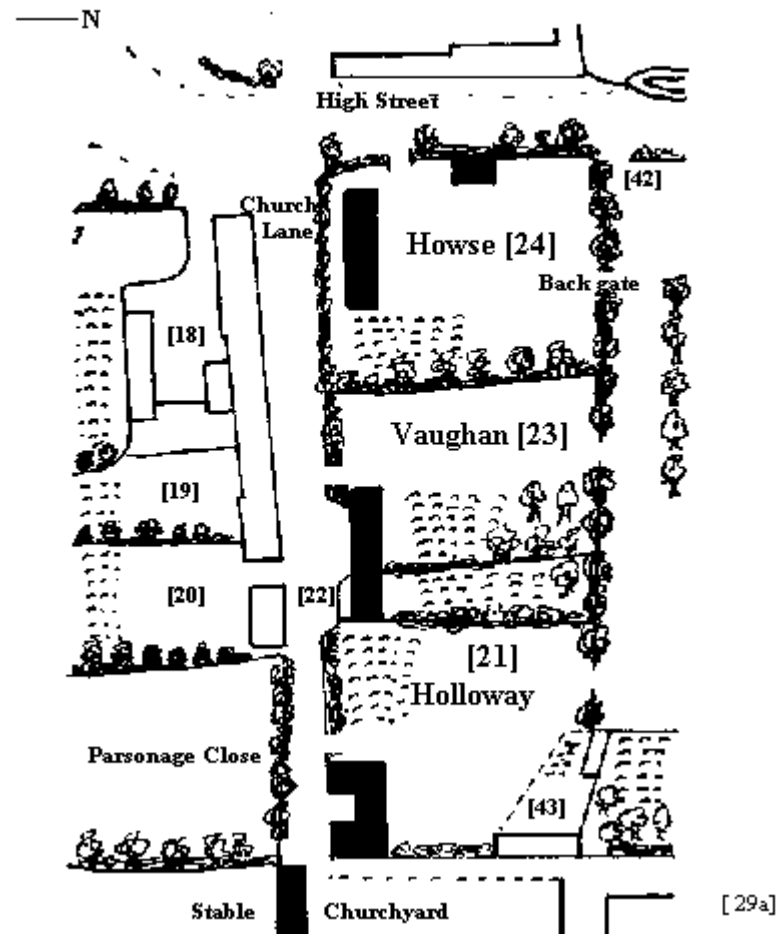
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33. Three Farms in Church Lane [21, 23 and 24]

Reconstruction of Three Farms in Church Lane

D33.1 Reconstruction of Three Farms in Church Lane.



Vicarage [21]

<p>THOMAS HOLLOWAY Vicar from 25/3/1572/3 bur 13 Nov. 1619 Will*</p>	m	(1)	<p>ELIZABETH Briggs 2 November 1571 bur 9 December 1579</p>
<p>GEORGE RANDELL ANNE bp28.8.72-? 1.10.1574 30.7 1578 Sch. B.A. Will ^ bur 27.2.95/6</p>	m	(2)	<p>ELIZABETH Gardner 6 November 1581 bur 26 May 1623 Will + MARIE 11.1.94</p>
<p>DORETE GAMALIELLS RICHD ELIZ. + bp12.9.82+ 19.12.84* + ^ 5.10.86 5.11.87 15.10.90+ 9.8.93+ 10.4.99* + 10.1.1601+ m3.10.03 Rector of m9.9.05 m30.7.10 m30.12.11 m c1620 Oxford Richd Kislingbury Leonard John Robert Ambrose univ.* Timcock M.A Gorstelow Clarson Robins Holbech + Warding- m Philip Swyfte + vicar of [26]+ Cropredy ton | 5.1.1608/9 Horley + 4 chd Mollington 8chd. 2 sons & M.A. chd ^ 5 chd. 3 daug.</p>			

1551 The Crown has advowson of Cropredy until 1589.

1570 April Thomas Holloway B.A. at Oxford [Foster].

1571 Nov.2:Thomas marries Elizabeth Briggs at Cropredy.

1572 Aug. :George son of Thos & Eliz. baptised at Cropredy.

1572/3 Feb.27:Thos Holloway M.A. ordained by Bishop of Glouc. (i) [OASR]

1572 Mar.25:T. Holloway instituted as vicar of Cropredy (ii)[Parker]

[Refs: (i) OASR: North Oxfordshire Archaeological Soc. Annual Report for 1913, 153. (ii)Parker Ref: 111 56. Lans. MS 443 f77. Sources of Refs. kindly supplied by Dr.M.Barratt].

The churchyard, which was next to the new vicarage, had been part of the former vicar's grazing area, possibly since the time when the priest dwelt in the room over the vestry. Their horse had a stable near the west gate with the vicar's three bay barn attached. Part of this building survives though much altered. It will be noticed how it encroaches upon the circle of God's acre

by taking in the south west corner. The churchyard wall was presented for repairs in 1610 (p31). It was made of stone to be kept in repair by all those surrounding the acre. The Vicar was able to lease the Parsonage Close opposite the vicarage upon which he had a straw house and a hay house. The tithe barn may have been in the same close.

When in the late eighteenth century the second vicarage was built they used the Parsonage Close and could have pulled down the tithe barn and hay house. In 1587 the vicar paid his half of the cost of 4000 quickset (hawthorns) which they may have planted on their boundary in the Parsonage Close. Planted as a double row this would have done two of the hedges at a total cost of ten shillings [c25/2 f1].

The Holloway's new stone house had been built alongside the churchyard, but separate from it. There was always a common public way linking Church Street with Church Lane running between the graves and the vicar's garden. The former hedge or wall was swept away in the early nineteenth century, when the Reverend J. Ballard built a huge stone wall lined with warm local bricks. Although no inventory has so far been seen for this particular vicarage property [21] there was bound to be a hall house and in Thomas's will he mentions upper chambers so the vicarage had a hall chimney which allowed a chamber above, in addition to the parlour chamber for the children to sleep in. Their parents would sleep downstairs in the chamber where they, or a later incumbent, added the third fireplace, so that it became a parlour. By 1663 there had definitely been three chimneys. Some had a separate dairy away from the buttery, and as the vicar had a lot of malted barley for brewing they had a furnace in the kitchen. Many still cooked over the hall fire and had their ovens built into that chimney. A few houses of the larger sort, which surely included the vicarage, had an apple store and men's chamber in the cockloft.

In 1786 John Taylor, Carpenter and Surveyor from Banbury, was asked to give an estimate for repairs "wanting to be done on the Vicarage House...in Cropredy."

"To under Build the walls, of the whole House and rebuild the stacks of Chimneys as wants, and Repair the other. To new Rip the slating in the front of the House, and other parts were necessary, and fix and secure and make good the defective Timber of Do. and repair all other Slating and Timber of the Roof, put new gutters and spouts were wanting. To repair the Window Frames, Glaizing, Door Cases, Doors, Timber and Boarded Floors, Stone and brick Do. Stairs, Wainscot, Linings, Lath and Plaistering, Rendering and put new were wanting, in several Rooms, and put proper fastening to all the Doors, and Windows of the House, and paint all proper woodwork. To repair the slating, Tiling, Thatching Roofs. Foundation and other walls, Quartering Boarding Floors Doors and put new were wanting to the Sundry

offices, and Build a new servants Room. To repair the Fence Walls and Paling, gates, and put new Do in various places were the old is decayed, to Repair the well and Pump, and all the other Dilapidations to be made compleat will amount to the sum of £325- 5s- 3d."

In a letter to the Dean he adds that the Parsonage House was "in a very ruinous state... for that all the outside walls are cracked and in danger of falling and the Roof...sunk and the Timbers decayed and all the Floors of the Parlour Chambers and Garretts in bad condition and all the Cielings of Dirt plaistered over with Lime which are broke and near falling down..." He suggests rebuilding the House. This they did in the Parsonage Close and the old one was pulled down [c34 Item a].

The line of three farms [24, 23, & 21] built on the north side of Church Lane were all on sites of about a hundred feet wide by a hundred and twenty deep, though there has since been some encroachment forward from the original building line which the vicarage did at the church end. The three homestalls belonged to the A. manor and faced three copyhold cottages on the smaller Brasenose estate [18-20]. These cottages on the south side of Church Lane only took up 180 feet between them, because they gave way to the Parsonage Close between them and the vicar's stable which may have preceeded them.

In 1619 the Vicarage had to find lodgings for eight members of staff (Thomas left a few records about his staff p97). Only Mr Arthur Coldwell [50] the tenant of the larger demesne farm in Church Street had seven or more staff. The Holloway family went on growing and a large staff were required for inside and on the farm taking on ploughing, sowing, harvesting, threshing and selling as well as the stock which the dealer took to market.

Thomas Holloway was married twice. His first wife Elizabeth nee Briggs died after only eight years. Their two sons, George and Randell both attended school and Randell went on to Oxford where he unfortunately died "being 21 and 5 months" while he was still working for his M.A. George disappears after his appearance in the school register. Anne has no burial record, marriage or any other mention after her baptism and then another Anne was baptised in 1593. Elizabeth their mother died perhaps in childbirth. Nothing is known about this marriage. Thomas was only young and still apparently being supported by his father, though we do not know whether he was a Holloway from Coton or from farther away. Gloucestershire has been suggested because he was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester. Where did Elizabeth live until the house was made ready? Could her parents live locally?

After a two year gap, when Thomas must have relied heavily upon his staff, he again entered into matrimony on the 6th of November 1581 to Elizabeth Gardner from Thorpe Mandeville. They had nine children. Richard and Marie must have died leaving five daughters and two sons to reach adulthood. Was there a Holloway tomb in a nearby parish as they do not bury any young children in Cropredy ? This marriage appears to have been a partnership which set out to make good provision for each surviving child and they were in a position to do so for the Holloways were not poor. Had they inherited money or land to enable them to go on increasing their assets, and to lease extra land? Only a quarter of all clergymen could educate one son up to university and maintain him there. Yet Thomas and Elizabeth send four to school and at least three to university at great cost, but still there was money over for daughters' legacies. Their concern for their children's future lifestyle was obvious in everything they did to secure it. The sons could not inherit anything from the vicarage so Thomas must lease extra land for each son. Randell and possibly George were taught the rudiments of farm management by leasing land "betwixt" them. He would have repeated this with Gamalliel and Thomas junior. Education was important and he sent the boys to school and college to become clergymen. The girls learning to read and write at home.

His second wife Elizabeth nee Gardner was born just a few miles away, and her mother came to be nursed at the vicarage. There is no doubt that the Holloway circle included several local gentry households and the better off husbandmen. Thomas and Elizabeth being godparents not only to grandchildren named after them, but to children in neighbouring families. With five daughters to be married suitable husbands were, fortunately, found in the immediate locality. These included the Gorstelows of Mollington, related to the Prescote and Bourton branches; the clergy family of Clarsons who lived in Horley; the Timcocks in Wardington who were farming the vicar's glebe and Ambrose Holbech, a lawyer, who may have been living at the vicarage. After several years in Cropredy Ambrose and his wife Joanne Holloway moved to Mollington. In the High Street lived Robert Robins [26] who married Anne Holloway. Leonard and Elizabeth Gorstelow, Robert and Anne Robins and John and Hester Clarson all had sons who entered the church.

Further information about this household was found in Thomas's will (see below*). While Thomas was busy writing his own will he was also making agreements with Gamalliel and young Thomas for the latter's portions. He was used to organising and arranging and wrote clear instructions for his early burial. This was to be followed, at a later date, by a funeral, allowing people from afar time to travel to the service.

Thomas having been a preacher for nearly fifty years at Cropredy had perhaps delivered more sermons than most. These were often the high point of the town's week. He had had the responsibility of bringing the parishioners from catholic to protestant

beliefs, while at the same time keeping within the guidelines set by the bishops. Not every parish had the fortune to have a preacher and even if he was long winded, they relied upon him for ideas, guidance, knowledge of the bible and for news of the outside world. His modesty was well known and he wishes to provide his funeral with a sermon to be preached "by some sufficient man to whom I give" 13s-4d. He suggested Mr John Richardson "to preach it if it pleaseth him." The fine pulpit was perhaps carved as a tribute to Holloway for all his sermons (p48).

During his time as vicar several scholars had gone on to become clergymen from Cropredy and at least some of them must have owed their education to his encouragement. Like many others he knew how hard it was for the scholars to buy books. As Huxeley and Woodrose would do later, Thomas left a grandson money to purchase books, or help towards his education.

Thomas and Elizabeth had already found legacies for the eldest four daughters, Dorothy Timcocke, Elizabeth Gorstelow, Hester Clarson and Anne Robins, and not wishing to leave them out of his will he left them an extra 40s each. To Gorstelow and Timcocks his two son-in-laws, who were not to be overseers helping his wife Elizabeth, he left 10s each. Like widow Robins, who was to insist in 1626, he needed an acquittance given to his wife for all legacies received, so he made a condition that they were all to "acknowledge by writing of the receipte there of" after the funeral. This was a new requirement soon to be reduced to the word "receipts." It was typical of Thomas to help Elizabeth with her accounts which must be presented with an inventory. She would have to take evidence of the administration of his affairs to the Archbishop's Court in London. Orderly farm records, careful lists and payments had been kept throughout their marriage all necessary for Thomas's peace of mind. It must have taken up a great deal of his time and the writing often shows he wrote at speed.

Thomas and Elizabeth celebrated their thirtieth wedding anniversary, on the 6th of November. A week later she was in the church burying him. Elizabeth who was a religious woman (believing she was one of God's elect) must now take over the household. Thomas had had every confidence she could manage as the sole executrix, but asked their eldest son Mr Gamaliells Holloway and son-in-law Mr John Clarson, both clergymen, with Mr Richard Gorstelow of Prescote, Mr William Hall [6], both gentlemen, as well as their son-in-law Robert Robins to act as overseers. They would each receive 10s for their pains.

Elizabeth had the two youngest still to bring up although Joanne was now twenty and Thomas who was eighteen still a scholar at Oxford. Providing the widow did not remarry there was sufficient provision for her, which would pass to the last two children.

Note: *Items from the will have been used to illustrate burial in the church (p115), remembering servants (p89), his gold, silver, plate and other possessions (p679) including the brewing leads (p669), his wife's cattle (p176), his last two children's bonds, leases and the passing of his purchased tithes (p178).

Elizabeth lived on for four more years dying in Cropredy, so presumably kept on the vicarage with Dr Brouncker's permission. Did she look after the new curate? She continued to run the farm for her ten cows required at least two and a half yardlands and so they provided her living. The farm produce was also necessary to increase Joanne's portion. Joanne too had cattle and may have had land leased in her name to help provide her dowry. In 1620 Joanne married Ambrose Holbech and continued to live at the vicarage. They move from Church Lane to Mollington only after 1627. Thomas Holloway asked his son Thomas to forgo the benefits of a £50 bond to help Joanne's dowry. Young Thomas had leases taken out in his name as well as £50 his brother Gamaliells had to give him at some time over the next seven years, arising out of the church at Kislingbury in Northamptonshire whose tithes the Holloways had purchased. Gamaliells was vicar of that parish and moved in with his wife Philip nee Swifte [BNC. Ladymoor 30A 1652].

Thomas who had already sent Thomas junior to Oxford with sufficient bedding left him goods in the upper chamber over against the vicarage house (the hall house?) plus the wool in the house and "such sheepe as I would have in the comon fields or in the Parsonage Close at my decease. But provided yf any Ewes be in the fields, that were taken out of my ground, that these shalbe and remayne to my wiffe and returned thither again."

When Elizabeth fell ill she must have been in her early sixties and by then unable to write or even sign her will, but her friend William Hall [6] came with Dr Brouncker to help write and witness it. Most of the assets would now pass to Thomas and Joanne for they had held back when half the household goods had been divided amongst the other married siblings. To six of her seven children she left £6 each. For grandchildren called after her £5 each, to the other grandchildren £3 each and to her god daughter Elizabeth Gorstelow of Prescote manor £2. The children's guardians would invest this until they were married or reached twentyone years. Her stock must have been passed to Thomas for none is mentioned. She favoured Ambrose Holbech to be joint executor with her two sons. Richard Timcocks had recently died and the glebe land been relet, but where would his widow and eight children go? Elizabeth left this daughter, Dorothy Timcocks, twenty marks (£13-6s-8d) and some clothes. Widow Holloway's last wish was to be buried in the chancel next to Thomas and so she was buried in the church on the 26th of May 1623.

Ambrose Holbech (1596-1662) and Joanne were able to carry on living at the vicarage after widow Holloway died until 1627 for the vicar, Edward Brouncker, was residing at Ladbrook. They may have given lodgings to a curate who would not be able to keep up such a house on £10 a year. The Holbechs had four children born at Cropredy: Elizabeth baptised 1 March 1621/2. Hester 14 January 1623/4. Joyce 10 December 1625 and Gamaliells 21 November 1627. Ambrose junior was born at Mollington. Joanne was called back to Cropredy to witness Walter Rawlin's will [45] in 1628 and so left her signature. All the vicar's daughters would have been taught to read and sign their names and may even have advanced further. Her husband Ambrose was always active in the town of Cropredy helping with wills and sometimes writing them. He also helped with inventories though he seldom makes comments about "Joyned" furniture as others do. Perhaps such advancements had become so common in his lifetime as to be not worth a mention anymore? Ambrose was also involved as a lawyer with the church court and it was Holbech who went to call on Martha Woodrose when she had to swear an oath concerning her late husband's estate (p156). The Holbech family continued to live in Mollington. By 1683 their son Ambrose had purchased Farnborough Hall.

Vaughans of Church Lane [23].

WILLIAM VAGHANS bur 17 Mar 1598/9 Yeoman [23] Will* & Inv.	m	(1) AN Brooks m 2 Nov 1572 bur between 1584-1590 * (2) ANN "this woman"	WAM*	JOHN*		
DOROTHY VALENTYNE bp27.9.73 -13.11.03 m Ralph Wells [22]	14.2.74/5 *	GEORGE 23.12.76 *Exor	ELIZABETH 14.2.79/80 *	ALICE 21.3.81/2 *m Jn Pettipber [23] m ANNE Howse PCC Will+ [PROB 11/320]	THOMAS 16.11.84 * bur 27.6.65 bur26.4.1645	MARIE*
ANNE bp 29.9.1611 m20.4.1637 John Haslewood		WILLIAM 1.12.1613 Sch. Exor +	MILLICENT 10.2.15/16 -19.4.26	THOMAS 4.5.1619 twins	JOYCE	

1614: Tho vaghan ux.. ijd1624: Thomas Vaugham et uxorijd
.....wyd vaghanijd[ffoulke Greene..... xijd c.o.]
.....wydd howse..... ijd..... Elizabeth Hancocke..... ijd
.....his mayd.....ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 5.

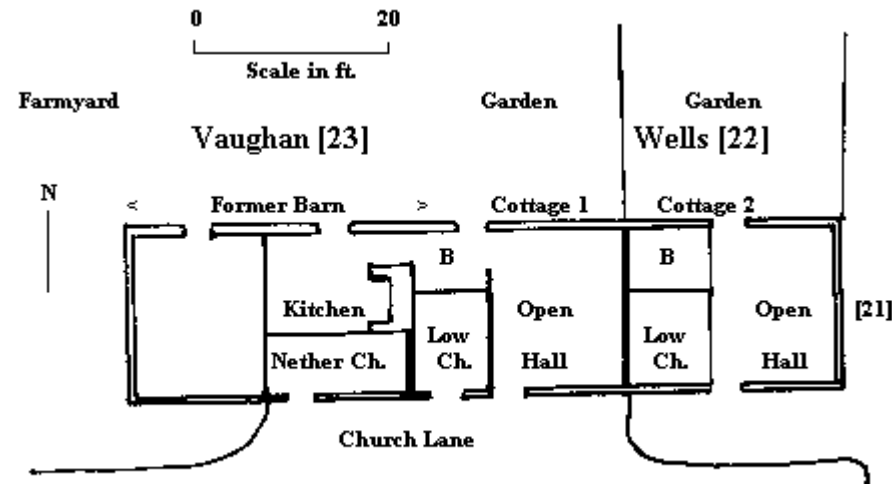
Vaghan, Valance, Vallans, Vaughan and Vaugham could be various spellings of the surname attached to this site, though some may belong to a different family? A William Valance had Gulmore close equal to an acre, a piece of pasture in Landimore again an acre, and one close called Bulmore of three roods, as well as a cottage and half a yardland in 1552. William Vallans left a will in 1558. His wife was Agnes and his brother Thomas. A daughter was buried at Cropredy.

In 1578 the Vaughans leased two yardlands. At that time there were ten husbandmen renting more than two yardlands and ten under that amount, which left the Vaughans as the average husbandmen, except they considered themselves yeomen. We do not know why as William's will did not mention any land elsewhere, though he may have already settled his eldest son Valentyne on it. The second son, George, was to share the lease at Cropredy with widow Ann. However he vanishes and the third son Thomas enters the property. The lease belonging to the site had always been for just half a yardland and two cottages, but Vaughans did manage to lease extra land and turn the cottage into a farm though this did not appear in the landlord's records, for right up to 1775 it was described as "two other cottages and tenements with the barn and hovels and orchard or close adjoining ..." [1775 Enclosure Award].

Living on the north side of Church Lane between the vicarage and Howse's farm, they too had to contend with a small site. The cows could be taken round behind to reach the farm yard, past Sutton's [42] cottage, which was the most desirable route for Church Lane dwellers, but not for the Gybbs [25] on the High Street.

Either way they would leave a nuisance. William needed a stable for the three horses and a colt, a cowhouse for two cows, a bull and a weaning calf and a cart hovel of two bays for their muck cart and long cart. These could take up only part of the land behind the cottage and barn as the rest was needed for a garden. Next door Ralph Wells [22] would also use his tiny backside as a garden. The northern boundary to the three farms was eventually given a stone wall alongside a row of old elm trees which once sheltered the rickyards from the northerly winds.

Plan of Vaughan's and Well's in Church Lane [22 & 23].



D33.2 Plan of Vaughan's and Well's in Church Lane [22 & 23].

The building consisted of a barn and two cottages [23 & 22] about seventy feet long and with a depth of nineteen feet (Wells cottage on page 685). Vaughan's cottage and the innermost half of the barn had only the Lane verge in front whereas all Howse's [24] close and the Vaughan's western bay had enclosed land in front taking in part of the verge (Fig.33.1)[BNC 29b]. The exterior stone walls are twentytwo inches thick and yet they retain some tie beam roof rafters from the earlier timber building. The lower supports are missing and the stone walls now support the remaining beams in Vaughan's cottage.

Two steps led down into Vaughan's barn from the rear yard and there was another step down into the threshing bay which must have had the cart doors on the Lane side, so that a winnow door was required at the rear. The two barn bays were about fourteen feet wide (each made out of two small 7 foot bays of the old timber barn). The threshing bay was taken into the house as a "Neyther House" and kitchen.

In 1599 William Vaghan's inventory revealed the following rooms taken in the order given, though the chamber was not named only the contents:

[Chamber one bed]
Butterie
Children's chamber [1 bedsted]
Hall [open hearth]
Neyther house [1 bedsted]
Kitchen [Fire + mattress]

One of the grandmothers could retire into the nether house providing they did not mind William's equipment in there. He did provide the bedstead. Their own belongings did not have to be recorded:

"...In the neyther house/
Item one bedstedd a lombe a bolting tub/
ij kevers iij syves one board a lanterne/
a strike, half strikexs/
Item ij sacks & ij bagsxvijs/
In the kitchen/
Item a cheese presse ij formes a syeth an hatchett/
an ax a payre of winding bladesiijs vjd/
Item a spitt and a payre of Andirons..... xijd/
Item a coverlett and a mattressevs/..." [plus 11 more lines].

It looks as though the grandmother who slept in the kitchen had brought her own bed, pillows and sheets, but William provided the mattress and an old fashioned duvet, the "coverlett."

William's bed was in a low chamber, like Toms' house, but at the front. He had sufficient bedding and linen worth 46s-6d. The children's chamber was the only upper room over the parents' low chamber. It would have been reached by a ladder. Those children at home had a double bed, but as no mattress was mentioned it would have been filled with straw and worthless.

They did have a blanket and a coverlet, but no pillows which were mostly reserved for adults. Whenever one of the four girls was living at home they would be helping the grandmothers by carding the wool before spinning on the woollen wheel, or making linen thread on the second one. A hatchet, in case of a fire in the thatch, was perhaps kept on a roof collar out of reach of the children? The furniture in their chamber was worth only 6s-2d.

After the property was again improved, another upper chamber could be made over the former open hall where they once ate and sat around an open hearth. A long "iron hangell" hung from a roof beam upon which the pots and kettles were hung. In this cottage they put the chimney wall between the nether end of the barn and the low chamber instead of the hall. The early kitchen chimney being later replaced by a brick chimney stack giving two chimneys made back to back. A spine beam was avoided over the hall to hold the joists for an upper floor and instead an additional transverse beam supported by the stone walls was used as a tie beam for the roof and the upper floor. The floor over the hall was therefore on the same level as the old childrens' chamber, instead of being higher like Toms' [15] (p539). The principal trusses crossed at the apex to hold a ridge pole at least six inches in diameter. Inside Vaughan's cottage measured fifteen feet deep by twentyone in length. The kitchen chimney taking up four feet between the barn and cottage? The low chamber stud partition wall under the old tie beam was retained until the 1980's.

A way was made through the buttery into the nether bay of the barn. The loft over this bay may have remained a farm store. In this century the Hickmans lived in the western cottage made from the bays at the barn end and Dennis Hickman recalled the nether bay's spine beam in the upper chamber which held up neither ceiling nor roof as far as he could tell. This bay had been the barn entrance and open to the roof for threshing. Once Vaughan needed this bay for a kitchen and the nether chamber a loft would be put over, but why the spine beam? What was it strengthening or holding up? Had the barn roof been lower than the cottages?

William Vaughan (d 1598/9) had married An Brokes in 1572 and they baptised six children. There were three more children in his will. His wife An (now Ann) was referred to as "this woman" by George Gardner in his will (p186). Why we can only guess. The last three were not baptised at Cropredy. A widow Vaughan is on the list of 1613 and 1614 and then an Ann Vaughan is buried, though because George had put doubts in our minds we cannot tell if this was the same An nee Brokes who married him in 1572 or a second wife Ann? In 1599 William left her reasonably well provided for. How many wives with the same name as a previous wife are now thought in the reconstitutions to be only one person?

William left in his will small legacies to each of his children. His second son George and his own wife Ann were to have the rest and residue, but first he gave Ann the black cow called Rose, the main "bed with furniture and bedsted whereon I doe lye and my table and frame in my hall." These were not to be shared with George.

The eldest daughter married Ralph Wells and they lived in Vaughan's second cottage [22] (p500). By 1610 the third son Thomas had married Anne Howse from the farm next door [24] and they took over the widow's lease. His mother, widow Ann, remained in the house until her death four years later. Anne nee Howse's own mother, Grace, also came to live with them until she too was buried in 1623. The five Vaughan children had one or two grandmas in residence for twelve years. Thomas lived on through the turbulent civil war period, but still managed to increase his savings. He was able to lend money to several people in the immediate area which meant it was very necessary to make a will explaining who owed him money. This was proved in London.

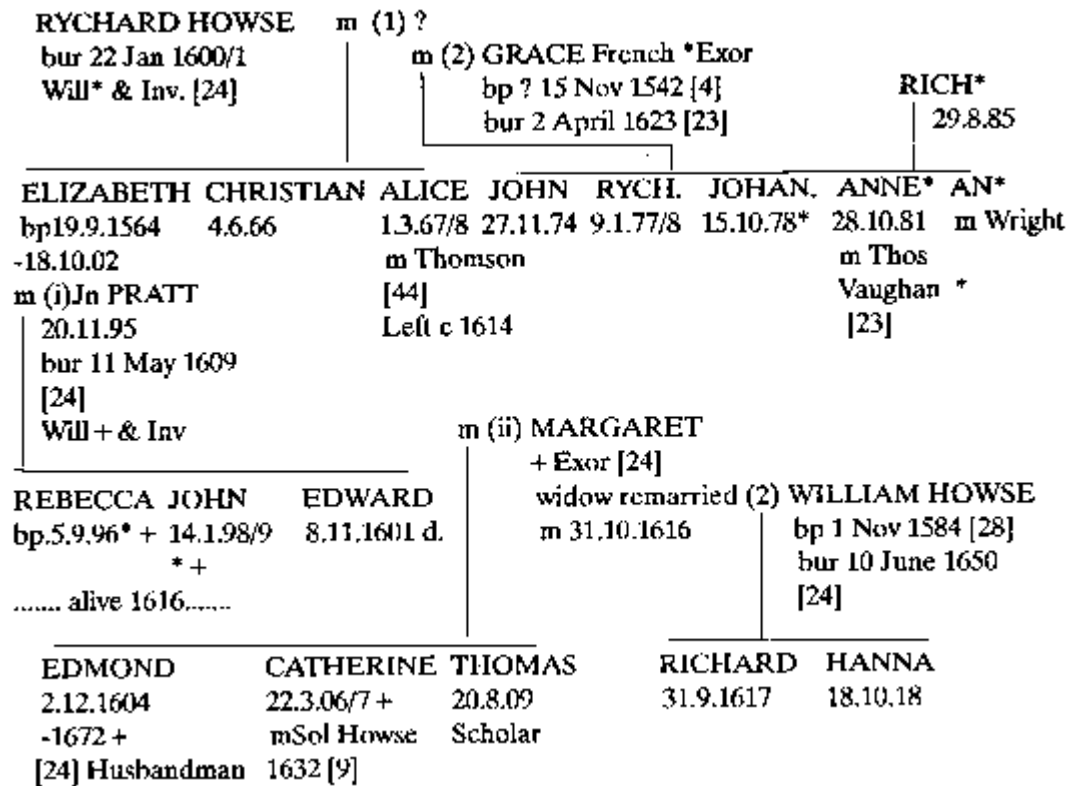
When Thomas Vaughan was a church warden the vicar asked him to search out those who were farming on saint's days, but he fails to do this (p31). Obviously in sympathy with them over the numerous celebrations on saints days that interrupted the harvests especially the hay which could not wait. Most farmers were beginning to prefer a stricter sabbath so that they could hopefully remove many of the saint's days.

When the property was built was it for a trade? Vaughans used it as a farm, but later tenants who had a trade kept it as a smallholding. In 1599 they had two warping hooks to set up a loom and although no other weaving equipment was found, they could have hired some.

William Vaghan's "apparrellxxvjs viijd/
Item a featherbed two blanketts two/
bolsters v payre of sheets a/
coverlett two bordcloathes six/
napkins one Pillowbere one/
vallettxlvjs vjd/
Item v coffers one presse a baskett a flaskettxiiijs/
In the children's chamber/
Item one bedsted one blanket one coverlett/

a linnen wheele a woollen wheele/
ij payre of cards an hatchettvjs ijd/.. "[etc]

Howse, Pratt and Howse in Church Lane [24].



1614: wydow pratt..... ijd1624: William Howse et uxor... ijd
Thomas webb... ijd..... Catherin Pratt ijd
her daughter ijd

The average in that household for the 8 listed years was 5.1

The Howse family of Cropredy had two Rychards [24 & 28]. The lack of registers before 1538 and the gaps in the early ones mean we cannot establish for certainty that John Howse was the father of Rychard [28], and whether this Rychard was the brother of Thomas [9].

A Rychard does appear in the 1578 list farming five yardlands and again in 1588 when he had decreased to four and a half, which was still next to the manorial farms in importance. Howse was farming from the corner site at the west end of Church Lane which was a small one soon to stop farming and become a garden close (It was noted his position in the lists changes from Church lane to between Gybbs [25] and Robins [26], but was this a slip?). Rychard died farming only half a yardland having allowed John Pratt one and a half. There are no terriers for this farm, but Pratt's (1604-1672) strips came alongside many of the College plots and these remain constant to Pratts and then Watts before being merged with the Knobb [25].

Howse was twice married yet his second wife Grace French seems to lack any security of tenure. The eldest daughter Elizabeth from the first marriage must have had her name entered upon the copyhold for when Richard died in 1600 Elizabeth's husband John Pratt took over (p117), even though Grace had to raise the legacies. John Pratt may have been born in Banbury for his mother died at a Banbury inn [Banbury Wills Pt.2 Vol.14:258, p33]. Elizabeth his wife had three children but died perhaps at the birth of a fourth in 1602. John was left with the three surviving children, and within a year had married Margaret, presumably at her own parish church. She bore him three more children, two boys and a girl. Two of her children remain in Cropredy, but Thomas having been to school left. After only six years together John caught the 1609 fever and died. Margaret had a houseful of children, four boys and two girls from thirteen down to three months and had no option but to carry on farming (p118). In 1616 Margaret married William Howse from Creampot Lane [28], who took over the lease. They had two children so that the family now stretched from 1596 to 1618. Edmond, or Edward, was fortysix when his stepfather died. How soon would the children from such a complicated household have to leave Cropredy?

The occupants were related by marriage to French's [4], Thompsons [44], Vaughans next door and Howse at [9 & 28]. Some of these families were educated and amongst those who left the church services early (p30).

The farm building which stood in the small close had gone by 1775, but on that map stood a building at the junction of Church Lane and the High Street with another building facing Gybbs farm [25]. They would have needed a barn to store and thresh the barley. A cowhouse large enough for five beasts plus calves and four times that when he had five yardlands. Mentioned in 1601 are a "hovel, one loft within the stable, the racke and manger" for the team of horses. Outside at the north end of the small close they built the peas rick and the hay stacks protected by the elm trees and hedge. The household kept pigs and poultry, all somehow on the one square close.

The only inventory which mentions rooms was made after John Pratt died in September 1609:

Hall [fire grate]
Nether lodging Chamber [2 bedstids & a cradle]
Upper Chamber [1 bedsteed]
Kitchinge

Inside the house which has only one upper chamber mentioned there was a nether lodging chamber at the "lower" end. The food was cooked in the hall using a grate (in the chimney?), but no record of a hall chamber. They had a kitchen, but no churn or cheese press so they must have concentrated on butter.

In the 1650's Edward Pratt paid a rent of £26 a year for the farmstead's two yardlands, but by 1685 it had passed to Esiah Watts, son of Richard Watts of Creampot [34] [S.S& F Box 47 Bundle E. Oxfordshire Archives].

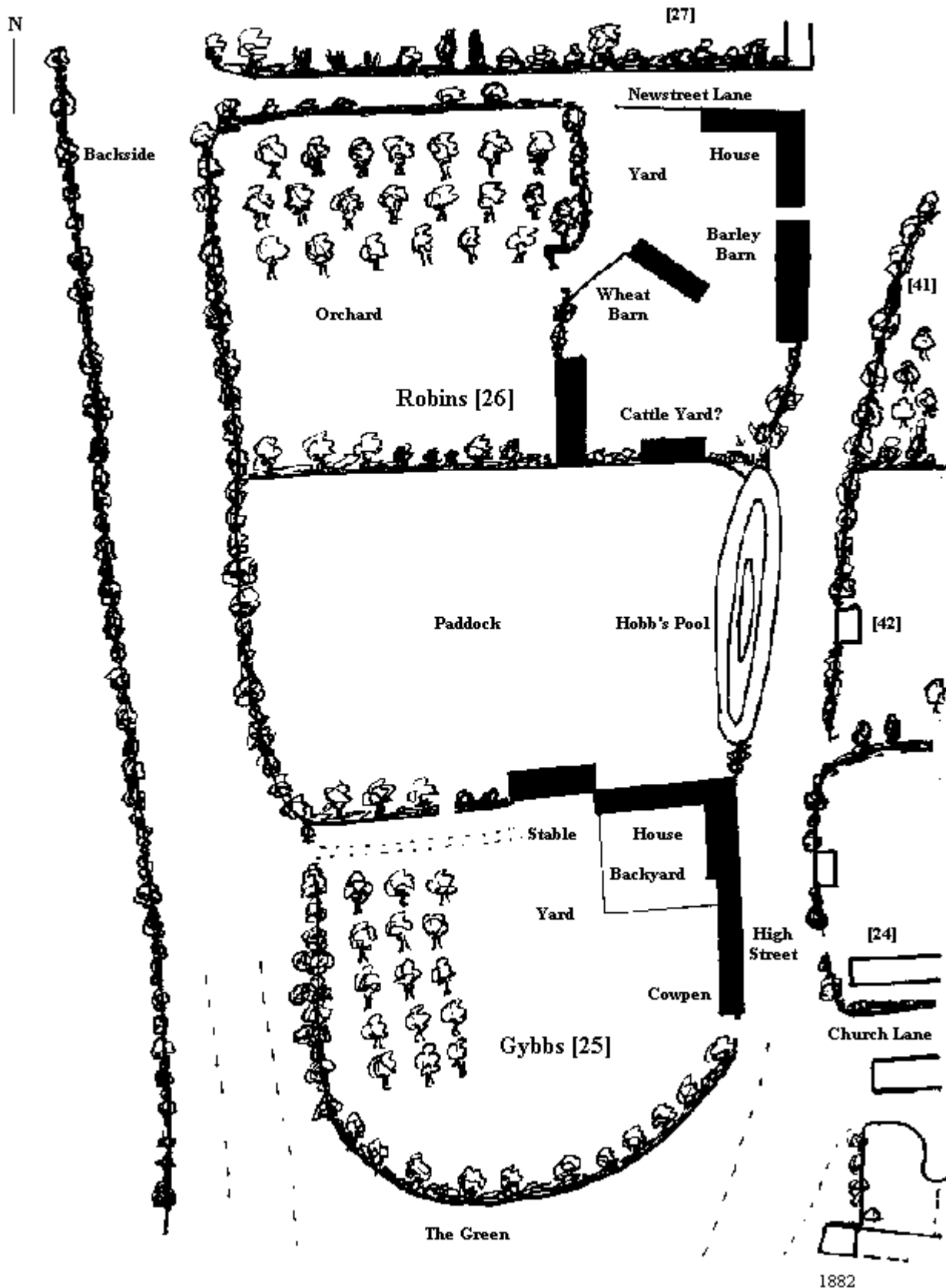
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34. Two High Street Farms [25 and 26]

Reconstruction of Two High Street Farms [25 and 26]

D34.1 Reconstruction of Two High Street Farms [25 and 26].



Gybbs [25]

WILLIAM GYBBS m ELIZABETH
 [?] bur. 1 Jan 1576/7
 Inv. [?]

WILLIAM GYBBS m ALYCE [25]
 Will* 1562 *Exor with son John

MARG.& JOHN bp8.2.1549/50 15.2.49/50 bur 11.2.49/50	MARG.& ELIZ. 25.2.1550/1 bur26.2.50/1 ?	EDW.& AYLLS 4.12.1552 5.12.52 ?	HARRY& DORETHE 18.4.1554 22.4.54 ?
--	---	---------------------------------------	--

JOHN RICHARD
 [gap in register]
 *Exor *
 bur 2.8.17
 Husbandman m ANNES
 Will < [25] bur 1.6.24

JOHN & THOMAS bp 26.3.1615 bur11.11.17	THOMAS <Exor bp 13.4.1575 [25] bur 14.4.1629 Will + & Inv. m Husbandman	RICHARD MARIE EDMOND 23.11.1579 9.10.1583 11.1.1586/7 m Alice Bokingham in 1626
--	---	---

WILLIAM + bp26.1.1613/4 m JOYCE Ginaway 10 Oct 1636 died e4 November 1653 PCC Will > 1655	MICHAEL TIMOTHY ANNES ELIZA ALICE MARK 29.9.17+ 7.11.19 29.1.20/1 16.2.23/4 13.5.26+ 27.4.1628 + < wit. bur 18.12.19 bur14.5.22
---	---

ELIZABETH > Exor JANE > MARY >
 bp27 Dec 1637 23.5.41 16.4.1643
 m NICHOLAS
 TOMPKINS
 [25]

1614: John gybes uz...ijd1624: Thomas Gibbes et uxor... ijd
Thos gybes uz .ijdwiddow Gibbesijd
edward gybes.. ijdEdward Gibbesijd
a mayd..... ijdJohn Scottijd
Anne MoreijdMary Robins my md gave it her

The average in that household for the 8 listed years was 6.16.

The Gybbs family lived on the High Street with a farm entrance onto Backside. This was a prime site on the west side of the town with a front entrance opposite Church lane. Was their old timber house right against the verge and pulled down to rebuild in stone? The property which acquired the name of "The Knobb" had been built just south of a pond called the Hobb's Pool. This stretch of water separated the paddock and the High Street, preventing another farm being made between Gybbs and their neighbours the Robins [26] to the north. Geese and ducks took advantage of the pool and the returning cows would descend to drink. To prevent this New Street Lane was cut through from Backside to the junction of the High Street with Creampot lane.

There were two Gybbs families mentioned in the survey of 1552 for both William and Thomas had a yardland and their own messuage. They each leased a second yardland containing 22 acres and 2 acres of meadow, but still no mention of any leyland. It is not clear which Gybbs was on this site and where the other Gybbs farmed leaving the problem of where exactly widow Elizabeth Gybbs was living when she died in January 1576/7. Neither is it easy with the lack of inventories to establish which generation of Gybbs rebuilt in stone. This was an important site and the man most likely to have been the tenant was John Gybbs who was married in 1575. He unfortunately died in 1617 leaving a will but no inventory. The house has been altered over the years, but a detailed survey of the house ought to reveal some clues.

Ezra Eagles who arrived down from Bourton in about 1699 could have begun to add the stone lintels to windows as he later did to out buildings at [28] around 1709. Robert Eagles took over the Knobb [25] in 1723 where he carried on farming alongside his carrier and chapman business, but may not have had time to make extensive alterations while travelling long distances. This was revealed when he had a fatal accident at Newberry in 1743. Apparently he died from a fall from his waggon. His widow married Daniel Parish who farmed until her son Ezra could take over. Ezra was also a carrier and chapman and it was he who was offered the freehold of the farm. It was not a good time to take on a morgage as the Turnpike tolls and

then the coming of the Oxford canal threatened his profits. His daughter Mary had married Samuel Anker and he was the next owner occupier. Samuel had opened a brickyard on the Oxhay road and it is likely Samuel, or his nephew, altered the front of the house, changed the stairs and rebuilt the farmyard in a combination of brick and stone. His nephew Samuel who had married Martha Toms of Hill farm was the next occupier by which time slate was coming down the canal and replacing Anker's tiles.

The house has a generous inner width of eighteen feet. The east facing main entrance opened onto a passage with a farmyard door at the western end. The hall was to the right with a north gable inglenook fireplace. Below the entry they had a chamber at first without a chimney. Sometime after 1629 the hall was divided to make a sleeping chamber next to the entry passage. An unusual arrangement, but repeated at Robins next door.

At first the hall was much larger and the chamber below the entry would be their parlour. The hall gable had to accommodate the newel stairs in the northwest corner next to the chimney. Was the oven in the other corner? Spine beams ran the length of the building. The spine beam in the Below the Entry chamber was covered in wood as Huxley's [36] had been. As the building was tucked into the north eastern corner of the close the buildings had to bend with the boundary as it narrowed. The rear extension behind the hall was therefore at an angle. The kitchen with a hearth was next to the hall with a dairy behind. It is not clear when the well's pump was placed in the kitchen.

Attached to the south end of the house was a narrower range. It measured fiftythree feet in length and internally had a depth of fourteen feet. The nether bay of this was taken into the house but left at one and a half storeys even though the main house was two and a half storeys high. The rest of this range was used as a cowshed sufficient for fourteen cowstalls. The cowshed had a hay door on the south gable next to the front farm entrance. The roof had apparently very old timbers and the thatch had been replaced with tiles. Behind the cowshed it would be reasonable to expect the cattle yard. The stable yard would be beyond the house and backyard, for the stables were to the west of the house extension and set back by building in the paddock to the north. The west gable of the extension could then have steps up to the granary loft with the dog kennel underneath. It is not clear when these improvements took place. The stables had remnants of an earlier stone slate roof, which only gain a mention at the vicarage [21], Woodroses [8] and possibly at [28], being rare in Cropredy. Anker's rebuilt the western barn using stone lined with brick. They curved the southern range round the farmyard. A late encroachment was the stone and tiled hovel beside the main High Street entrance. It was seen to advantage from Church lane where it once

provided a fitting full stop to the range of buildings descending southwards and set off by the tall Wellingtonia, planted around 1832, in the front garden encroached from the verge.

The Gybbs House.

Old Elizabeth Gybbs in her inventory of 1577 had a hall, chamber and a kitchen with a chimney, but did Elizabeth belong to the Knobb [25]? John (d1617) son of William and Alyce was too young to build or extend the house in the 1560's before his marriage though they could have begun afterwards, or delayed until their children were older. Their son Thomas lived in a large house with a chamber over the hall, parlour and kitchen as well as a milk house.

Thomas Gybb's inventory was taken in May 1629:

Hall [hearth]Barne
Plor [1 bedstead]Colt house [3 colts]
Roome over the plor [1 bed]Cow house [8 cows]
Chamber over the hall [2 beds][stable for 5]
Kitchin [hearth]
Milke House
Chamber over the kitchen [1 bed].

The kitchen fire had been used for roasting meat:

"one saltinge troe six tubbes one/
mashing fatt one leade and doe Coule one boultinge hutch/
two spitts one paire of Cobirons one heare for/
a kill [kiln] seven fleeches of bacon...." £5.

The stairs beside the hall fire had a one light window on the first floor and the north cockloft had a three light casement both on the gable end. The rear elevation may only have acquired casement windows later, but there must always have been the door at the end of the entry passage leading out onto the rear yard. Later on, perhaps in Anker's time, the workforce came in through this door, washing their hands at a bowl set in the sill of the one light window near the door. The waste water went into a bucket in the cupboard below. They could then receive their pay from the desk in the parlour below the entry. It has

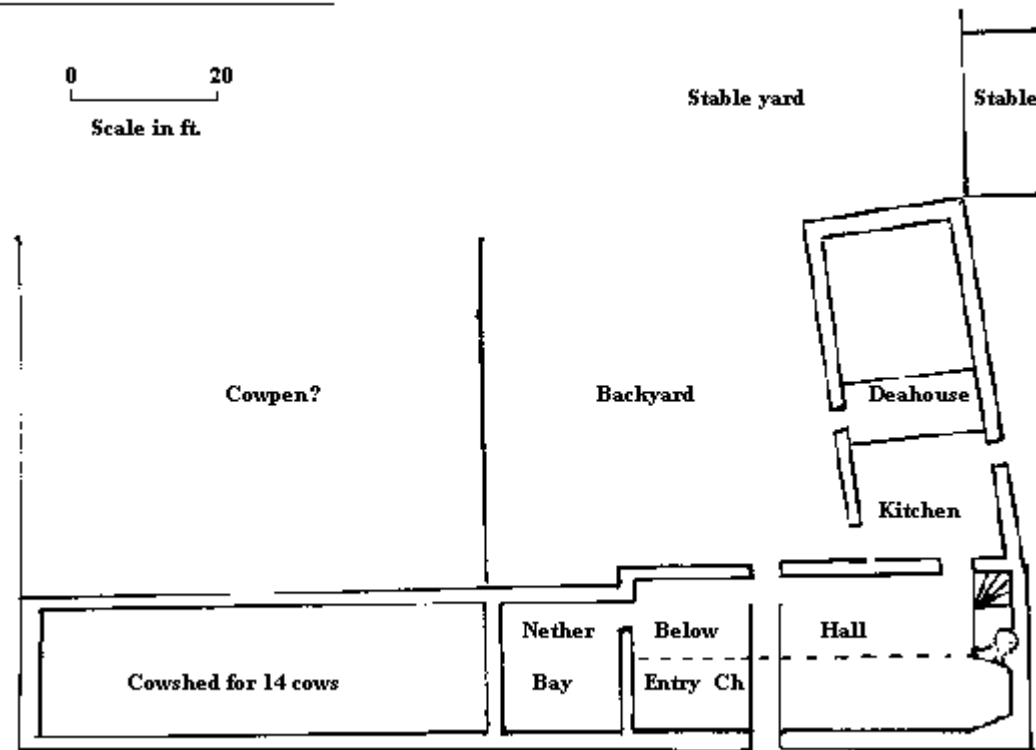
been suggested that the built in corner desk was there in the sixteenth century. It was fixed to the wall, rather like a cupboard. Was this where the Gybbs did their farm accounts and entered up their money out on bonds?

The newel stairs took them up to the reasonably furnished hall and parlour chambers. The rear kitchen also had a chamber over with a door near the stairs. These went on up to a three room cockloft. There was a gable window at each end to light two of the rooms and a third west window was later added for the middle bay. The house had plenty of space for extra chambers and storage of cheese and apples.

In 1629 the barn held corn and hay. The colt house had a scaffold and so did the cowhouse. There must have been a stable as they had five horses and colts. The farm had equipment for two yardlands sown with a corn crop worth £30. Enough had been put by to lend out £33-14s-10d while waiting for the next lease which would require an entry bond.

Plan of Gybbs Farm [25].

D34.2 Plan of Gybb's Farm [25].



The Gybb's still leased the farm's yardland, but took on extra land when they could. On family farms no couple had the privilege of remaining a nuclear family for very long. After William Gybbs death in 1562 his wife Alyce managed to hold the farm for her son John, who married when he was twentyfour. John and Annes would have their own chamber in his mother's house. Alyce had suffered the loss of four sets of twins (and possibly more only there is a gap in the register) and somehow kept going. The twins had been born twelve months, twenty months and then fifteen months apart. Three of the youngest twins have no burial record and were not mentioned in their father's will. Were they buried in one coffin together? Fortunately two further sons survive, but at what cost to the mother? After such a traumatic start she may have found it hard to relinquish

the care of a surviving son to a wife. Widow Alyce was clinging to her hearth, furniture, land and stock (p114), but she was not in a position to rebuild. It would have to be John the surviving son, but although he left a will the inventory has gone (p125). Would John build before 1574 when he married Annes?

John and Annes had three sons and a daughter. Edmund the youngest lived at home helping on the farm and leasing any spare commons he could get. Edmund married a local girl, Alice Bokingham [55], when he was forty and then they must leave Cropredy to set up elsewhere. Their father John went on farming into his mid sixties.

This was confirmed by the Easter lists as the vicar places John with his wife Annes at the head of their household. As a widow Annes hung onto the hearth in the Gybbs family tradition after their son Thomas, by then thirtyfive years of age, was married at Cropredy. Why did Thomas wait until 1610 before he brought Elizabeth Batchelor from the farm in West Adderbury to the family home? They would have had their own chamber, but shared the rest. The young wife was well protected by a marriage covenant (p118), if she was to become a widow, but she entered a house where the older generation were still actively in control.

Thomas and Elizabeth shared with his parents for seven years and the widow lived on for seven more. In 1617 John's will shows a man still the master to the end, though on his death the lease went entirely to his son. As his wife was apparently not entitled to a third of the land he commands his son, then aged fortytwo, to keep his mother Annes in meat and drink and all necessities "fyttinge her estate." Annes would be well cared for in her own chamber and was able to reach her seventies. She may not need to milk a cow, but she surely retained her husband's chair by the hearth. Annes leaves no will, had she become too frail, or could it be because she was without the necessary land, or had she given away all her goods to the children? All the household strength must now come from Elizabeth.

Over fifteen years Elizabeth gave birth to nine children. One of the twins struggled for two years, but after again becoming pregnant it cannot have been easy for Elizabeth to continue to breast feed him. When baby Michael arrived Thomas the twin was thirtytwo months old. Two months later Thomas died and Michael survived, but was presumably still being fed when Timothy was conceived and in due course arrived. Timothy died. Four more pregnancies take their toll on her health. Out of the nine babies the eldest boy William survived and so did Michael, Alice and Mark, but once again the survival rate of four out of nine was one of the poorest in the town. The house was new. The chambers not overcrowded and they do not lack wealth, in fact far from it. Twins can never have been easy, but what did the other three babies succumb to? Elizabeth their mother

led a very busy life for there was a household of six adults to feed and an adult maid only five years out of eight to help them, but even if her duties were at times more than her strength Elizabeth was still able, in spite of her pregnancy, to cope with fresh burdens soon to arrive.

When Elizabeth's mother needed looking after she came with her furniture taking up the late widow Annes Gybbs place and there she stayed, obviously sick enough to make her will on the 3rd of April 1628. Mark, her daughter's youngest son, was baptised a few weeks later on the 27th. In her will Mrs Batchelor left four marks from the profits of her Adderbury farm to two of the grandchildren and the rest to William as the eldest. Young Alice must have the "joyned bedsted," but would it be added to her father Thomas's estate until she married? Unfortunately Thomas took ill the following year and died aged fiftyfour. Again a late marriage leaving more problems for a young, but fortunately capable widow. He left William and Michael, then sixteen and thirteen £30 each and Alice and Mark, then five and one, £20 each. This sum Elizabeth must put aside pound by pound over the next three years. Thomas's estate was worth a high £220, but most of this was essential to the running of their farm. Six years later William married aged twentytwo, though his mother may only be able to allow him a third of the lease until his brother Mark was eighteen. William could still have had the land in West Adderbury, or did he exchange properties with his mother? Elizabeth may have moved back to Adderbury as she was not buried in Cropredy. On the other hand having had a father who made some provision for her prior to marriage Elizabeth might have attracted some attention and remarried even though she was in her late forties when William finally took over at Cropredy.

The family name was not to last, in spite of their success as farmers. William and Joyce had only girls. The eldest, Elizabeth, was allowed to marry at eighteen and it is her husband Nicholas Tompkins who was to run the farm immediately, as Joyce died rather suddenly that year, while visiting her brother-in-law Michael Gybb's house? William's death has been lost. Did he die while away on business?

The Gybbs family shows that the average age of 28.6 for marriage on a Cropredy farm (p108) was all too often ignored on this farm, yet they still managed to live as a three generation household. They were hopefully in reasonable harmony even though each of the widowed mothers held onto their hearth and siblings were given houseroom in return for farming until their marriage, however old they were. With all the family adults around staff could be kept to a minimum. Both mothers and mothers-in-law find a place by the hearth, but the tragic deaths of infants must have sent them, as the custom was, to search the scriptures to see how they were failing. Because their women were younger at marriage three out of the four generations were left with a widow successfully running the farm.

Was it difficult for this family of husbandmen, especially for the younger ones if they worked at home, to find a girl to marry? Most Cropredy girls went away to work and then were able to meet men to whom they were not related. Thomas may have worked for a time in Adderbury, or elsewhere, and so met Elizabeth. Who would try to find them a wife if they had no legacies, land or trade? Easy for those with the lease to inherit, but not so for the younger brothers. They may end up taking a longer period to work for their parents, or the eldest brother to "earn" their own portion before being able to buy into a lease. Not all would marry.

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Robins at the corner of the High Street and Newstreet Lane [26]

RICHARD ROBINS m
Will 1558 *

ROBERT THOMAS m JOHAN Kench 1547
 * Exor Will 1557 bur 12 Feb. 1578/9 Will **
 bur 6 Sept 1603 Bell land
 Husbandman trustee RICHARD m MARGARET **
 [26] ** Bell land |
 Will + & Inv trustee GEORGE **
 m (1) MARGERY bur 28 Nov 1553
 (2) ALLYS Knybbe m 2 July 1554 bur 4 Apr 1555
 m (3) ANNES Pulton m 28 June 1556
 bur 23 Feb 1575
 m (4) JOANNE Cox
 m 4 Jan 1576
 bur 24 Jan 1626
 + Exor [26]
 Will & Inv

dau & s RICHD THOS
 died bp 30.9.50 8.8.53*
 1.5.74*

THOS MARY JOHN ROBERT
 bp 22.9.64 9.9.66 + 1.5.70 7.2.73/4
 Sch. m Symon Sch.
 Hodges
 31.10.1591

MARGARET + ANNE + ALICE + ISABELL ROBERT ELIZABETH + JOANE +
 bp 17.9.78 23.6.81 \ 12.10.83 \ 20.3.85 21.12.88 15.3.90 \ 7.3.95
 m Jn. Hall m Gardner bur 4.5.31 m i) Toms bur 2.9.1603
 11.4.1601 1605 Yeoman + \ Exor ii) White
 Will > & Inv.
 [26] m ANN Holloway m 30 Dec 1611
 bp 9 Aug 1593 > Exor

THOMAS \ > ELIZABETH GAMALIELL ROBERT
 bp 26.11.1612 24.11.1614 13.11.1616 7.8.19
 bur 30.12.1662 d 3.1.1663 bur 18.1.16/17 > Exor
 M.A. Clerk m J. Blgrave
 Wardington 1635 [26]
 m Elizabeth G 179
 Tombstones: G248 & G247

1614: Robert robins uxijd..... 1624: Robert Robins et uxor..... ijd
wyd robinsijd..... widdowe Robinsijd
wam tustenijd..... Richard Hallijd
his man..... ijdIsabell ducketsijd
his shepherdijdThomas devotionijd
his mayd..... ijdRobert Sauleijd
his maydijd..... Elizabeth Alan..... ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 8.5.

[With the four marriages of Robert Robins and the gaps in information for the previous generations the Robins family reconstitution awaits further confirmation].

Robins were tenants in 1552. Richard had one and a half yardlands containing 33 acres of arable and 6 acres of mead. Thomas has a messuage, yardland and one nocat of land equal to 8 acres of arable and one of meadow. Again this lack of pasture until after the reorganisation. Richard and his son Thomas who were sharing the one house [26], were both trustees of the Bell Land in 1557 [Royce 1880]. Just over a year later both had died. The Robins were involved as all husbandmen had to be in the town affairs. From their bequests it would seem they took this role of serving their town very seriously.

Over three generations they changed the way they provided for their children. Traditionally legacies were of stock and goods which in 1558 Richard left to grandchildren. In 1603 his son Robert left money for legacies and the only sheep mentioned went to a god-daughter (a grand gesture when most left them a few pence). The next generation of Robins left money and land to their children.

When Richard made his will in 1558 he followed the custom of leaving the two sons of Robert certain stock and goods which was one way of helping to secure their future status as husbandmen. Richard was then aged eight and Thomas five. Richard was left "a cowe, a bullocke, x shepe, one yron bound cart, a coffer and a payre of shetes, a new bord, ij platters, a candlesticke and the greatest potte." Richard died aged twentyfour and never inherited the lease. To Richard's brother Thomas came a "cowe, a bullocke, x shepe, the best pott save one, a old tyer of a cart, a coffer, ij payre of shetes, ij platters, ij pewter

dysches, ij sawcers, a candellsticke, a coverlett, and the best shete..." Thomas may not have survived for in 1564 another Thomas had been born and baptised by his parents, but on the other hand some families repeated christian names (p135).

The records are confusing and it would appear that Richard's other son Thomas (who was to die before his father) had married Jone [Johan] Kench in 1547. It was widow Johan who carried on actively farming her third of land. Her son Richard did not remain in Cropredy and her brother-in-law Robert became entitled to take over the lease. Was widow Robins living in the High Street [26] where up to 1579 her house had a hall, chamber and kitchen as well as the nether house below the entry? No mention of upper chambers yet, but perhaps her son used these chambers? Johan left her daughter as executrix for she had not yet received her son's acquittance for his father's legacy. If he failed to provide one again then none of the following goods would be his, only £2.

He was to have "on doune mare, a redd heiffer, farrowe pigge, one yonge store, a cocke and iij hens, ij geese, viij strike of bread corne, viij strike of mault, iij bordes, ij biddle steedes [bedsteads], iij paire of sheets, a boulster, a blanckete, a belle helinge, a double winnow sheete, one table, a forme, a stoole, a tableclothe, ij table napkins, one of the great fats, one troffe that standeth in the nether house, ij lombes to put drinke in, one payle, one bright hanginge kettle, one little brass pote, a pewter platter, a pewter dishe, a sawcer, ij porringers, a salt seller and halfe a dowsen of pewter spoones, one coffer, half a hundred of furse bushes, one reasonable lode of woode, one reasonable lode of hey, and one reasonable lode of barley straw."

She spoke to the scribe in August 1578, when the various harvest loads of corn had just been brought in, and then Johan lived on until February. Her inventory revealed the nether house in which six flyches of bacon (worth 10s) were hanging, and yes the heavy trough was still in there waiting for Richard.

Johan's brother-in-law Robert Robins married four times and had four, none, four and then seven children by Margery, Allys (dying in childbirth?), Annes and Joanne. The first four children all died. In the third marriage two boys went to school, one died and a daughter married. The last marriage was to Joanne Cox who bore him six girls and his son Robert. The son was to stay on in Cropredy to take over the lease. Five of Joanne's six daughters survived, and when Alice was aged twenty and Elizabeth aged thirteen, if still at home, would sleep in an upper chamber. Joanne became a widow in her forties and had the use of the southern bay for the next twentyfour years. Her late husband Robert senior had been a husbandman, their son dies

a yeoman and their grandson went to university and became a clergyman, due to the marriage of Robert junior to Anne Holloway, the vicar's daughter.

When Robert died in 1603 he left a two and a half storey house. Had he moved in after Johan died in 1579 and rebuilt in stone? The house faced east across the High Street at the north eastern corner of his close which ran back alongside New Street Lane. The house was sixteen feet deep inside and three bays long. The farm entrance was between the house and the large barley barn, but without a gate house. A loaded cart could pass through to reach the yard and the smaller wheat barn. The large barley barn coming forward a little from the house was four bays long facing the High Street.

By 1631 his son had not only a large barley barn, a smaller wheat barn, but a peas barn in his farmyard (p323). In 1603 there would be a rickyard and cattle pens which were needed for ten, soon rising to thirteen cows, heifers and two calves. By 1631 his son's stable had to house seven horses, mares and colts. A flock of five score sheep were looked after by a shepherd. The hog house was used for fattening seven hogs and a separate sty was required for the sow and her piglets. Poultry were about the yard and several hives for their bees may have been in the orchard to the west. The whole close measured 1a 0r 31p. They had two wells, one for the yard, the other for the house. Or was one for drinking and the other for washing? When Robert died in 1631 he was only fortythree and would have been at the peak of his farming activities.

The Farm house.

The front entrance led into a passage, which had a stone inner gable wall to the left. The second chimney in the "Chamber Next to the Entry" was at the front of the south bay. At the rear of this end bay was a small buttery/lobby with an entrance in the south gable. In widow Joanne Robins' time the end of the passage by the south door was made into her store, or left as her own lobby entrance until her son took over and turned it into the wool house, with the outer door convenient to the farm entrance and yard. The righthand wall of the front entry and passage belonged to the lower chamber which was in an unusual position being reached before the hall. Gybbs' house followed this arrangement. The entry passage had a rear door to the courtyard. There was also the four foot wide stone flagged passage which ran along the rear wall from the south gable entrance to the hall door. The hall was at the north end with a gable fireplace. In the northeast corner the newel stairs went up to the upper chambers and on again to a hall chamber cockloft. The house had spine beams supporting the floor joists. Behind the hall there was a narrow extension for a kitchen and "bolting" house.

The boulding house became the brewhouse. The loft over the kitchen needed a ladder. The kitchen acquired a chimney backing onto the brewhouse probably when Robert married Anne Holloway in 1611. It was first recorded in 1631. The south wall facing across the yard was never tied into the side walls. The kitchen chimney flues were complicated and took in an oven as well as the brewing furnace. Several alterations and improvements were made over the years. Two inventories remain:

Robert Robins 1603	Robert Robins 1631
The Hall [chimney].....	Hall [Fire]
Chamber [2 beds]	Plor [1 "bedstead"]
"In the Chambers over ye Hall".....	Chamber over hall [2 beds]
Innermost Chamber [cheese+]	
The 2 Chamber [2 beds]	
The 3 Chamber: servants [2 beds]	In Men's Chamber [2 beds]
.....	Apple Chamber
.....	Cheese Chamber
In the Chamber next ye Entry [F]	Best Chamber [bed & truckle. F]
Buttery [2 small rooms in 1627]	Buttery & Wool house
Kitchen	Kitchen [F] + loft over
Bolting House	Milk house
.....	Malt house
Barley Barn	
Wheat Barn	
Stable [5 + 2 colts]	Stable & loft
Cowhouse [10 beasts]	Cows [13 + "heyfers" & 2 calves]
.....	Pease house.

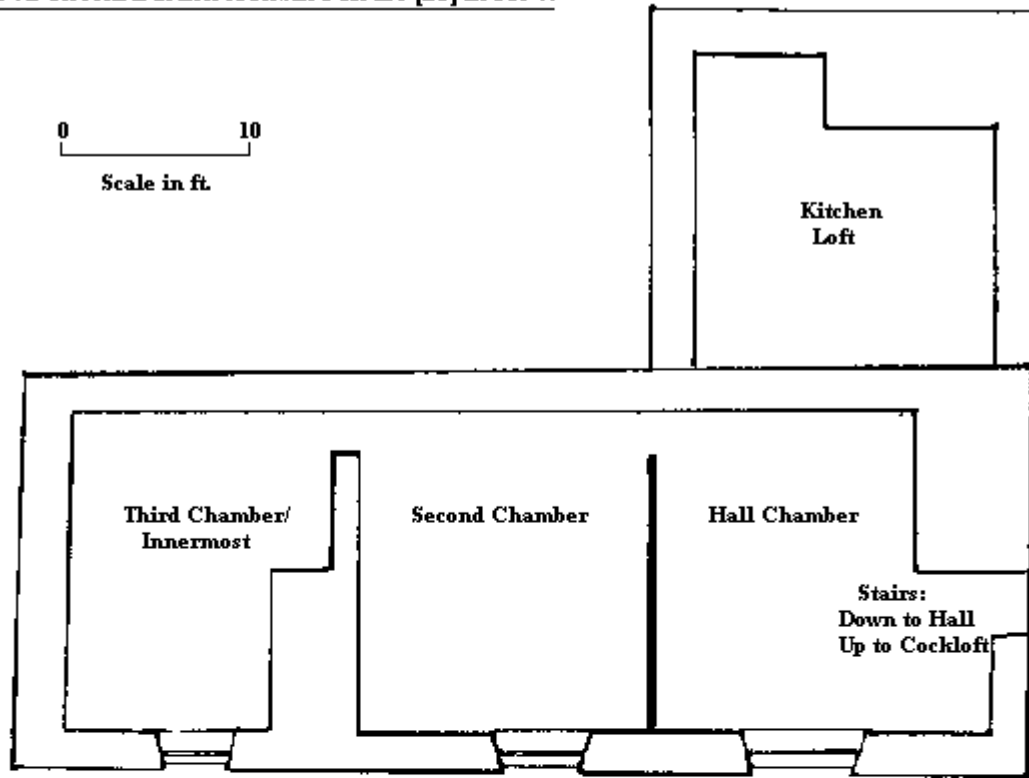
The newel stairs went up to the three upper chambers. Those sleeping in the two inner rooms had to cross the servants' hall chamber with their two small (presumably single) bedsteads. Some of the servants went on up to the cockloft, which was also in the north "hall" bay and had a two light window on the north gable. Widow Joanne made the downstairs room below the entry into her private living room. The chamber over was called the innermost room and had been used for storing the cheese. Joanne changed the use and made it into her bed chamber. Did she have her own stairs, or must she traipse through the rest

of the house? The cheese and apples had to go into the cockloft next to the men servants' chamber. The inner cockloft had a small window low down under the thatch. The floor went under the dividing partition and anyone moving in the store could be heard in the men's room [Local Information]. By 1721 they called the loft the "garrett." This last inventory was similar to the 1631 list and few structural alterations were done except for the windows in 1694. The lintels remained wooden and the casements were widened by extra lights, but not changed to transom windows which were being put in around that time in Cropredy. George and [H]ester Blagrave added a fashionable date stone to commemorate their improvements to the old stone house.

"B" for Blagrave and "G - E" for George and Esther.

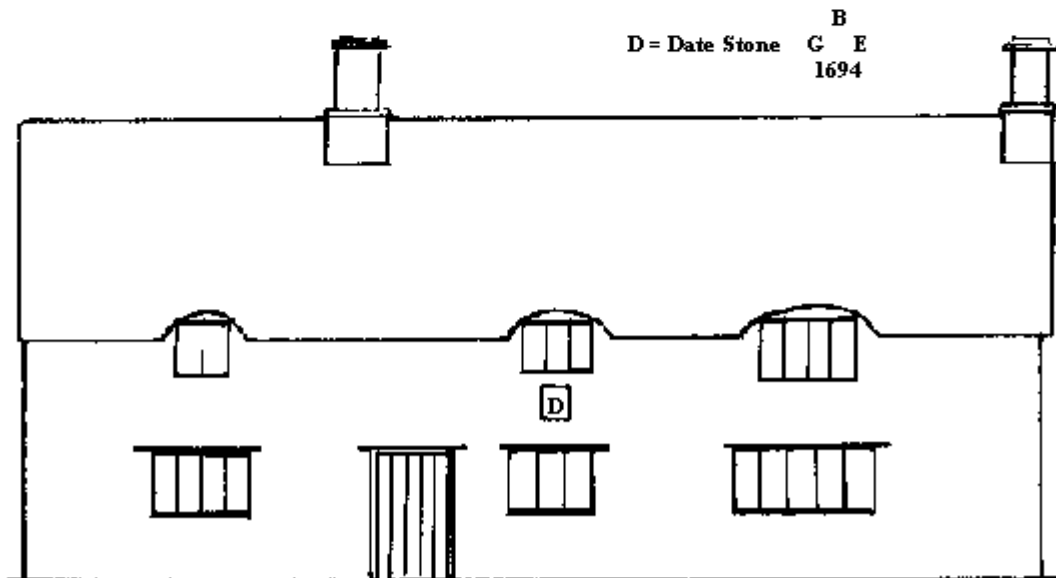
Reconstruction of Robin's House [26] in 1694.

D34.3 Reconstruction of Robin's House [26] in 1694.



First Floor Plan

Robin's House in 1603 with 1694 windows.



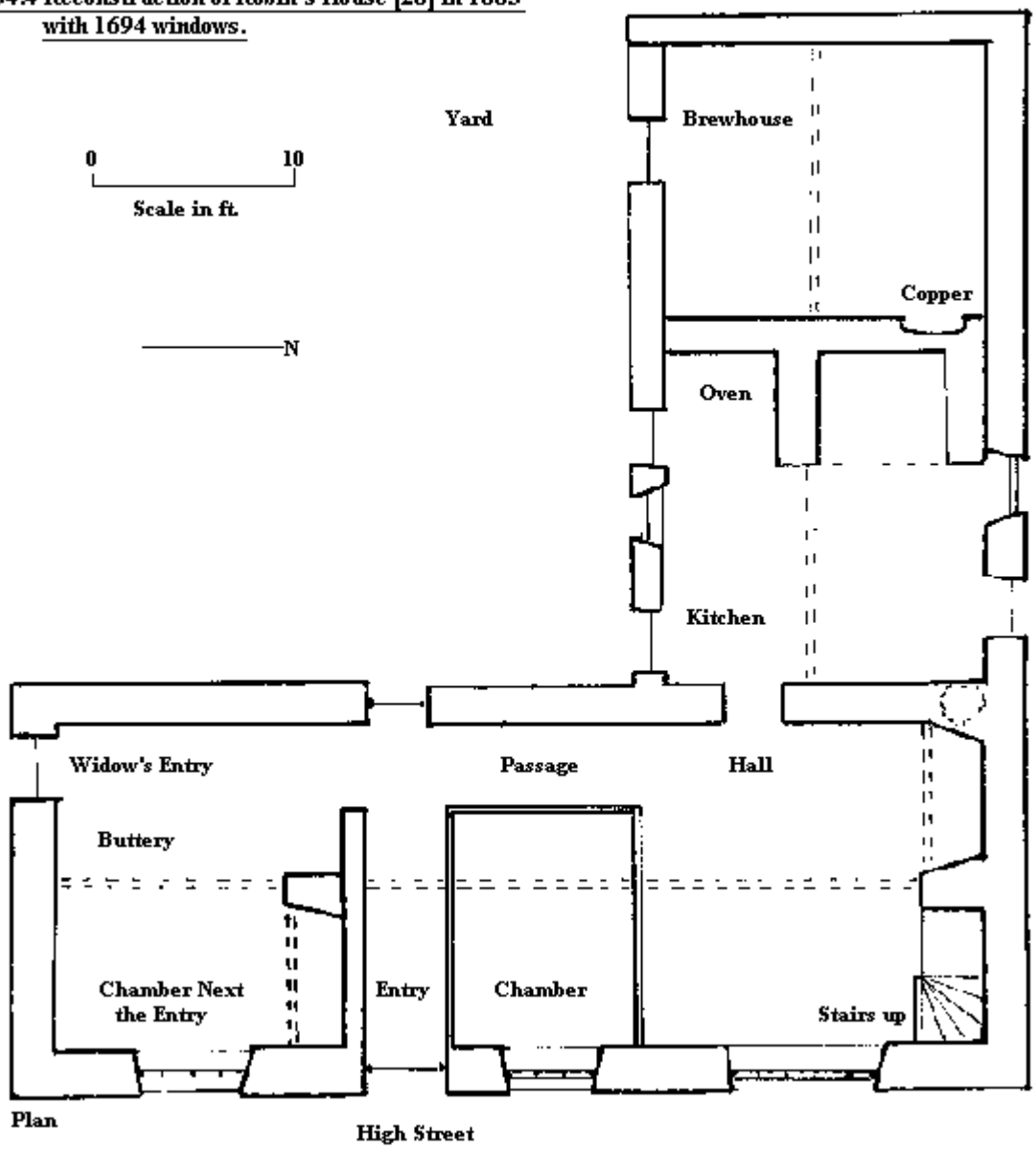
D = Date Stone B
G E
1694

East Elevation

High Street

Reconstruction of Robin's House [26] in 1603 with 1694 windows.

D34.4 Reconstruction of Robin's House [26] in 1603 with 1694 windows.



Robert's (1588-1631) mother Joanne who was a widow for twentyfour years, still kept her third of the farm for sixteen years after her son married. Joanne was a young woman when she married Robert in 1576 and came to live at the Robins' farm. There she remained for fifty years. When his father died Robert junior was only fifteen, but would swiftly become a man working for his mother, or sent to train under another husbandman elsewhere. Had they spoilt the only surviving son amongst five sisters? Why did his father leave him "my best yron bound cart... as long as his mother and he doe occupy together" ? She had every right to use the end bay and continue with half the lease until the children were settled, whereupon Joanne was then allowed to farm the customary third with a small flock of sheep.

By 1627 Joanne had need of a seat in church and no longer had her own mare to ride pillion to market, or travel to see her relations. The saddle she left with her warming-pan to her second daughter Ann Hall. There were more than twelve grandchildren to leave money, goods and sheep to. Apparently Joanne still had assets and paid her share of the town rates judging by her bequests recorded in her will. The scribe may have been Ambrose Holbech, a relation of her daughter-in-law's. Joanne's loans had been called in which meant she had £45 in her purse.

The appraisers did not put Robert junior's cart onto his father's list, which is one of the rare instances that children under eighteen did sometimes have goods of their own, not automatically becoming their fathers. Usually these were held in trust for them. How could the appraisers prove this unless it had been mentioned in a will? When Robert (1588-1631) reached the age of twentythree he asked Thomas Holloway for the hand of his eighteen year old daughter Ann. She came to the Robins' household where her mother-in-law widow Joanne still kept her own hearth and continued to do so until their youngest son was eight years old. Of Robert and Ann's three sons and a daughter only Elizabeth remains in Cropredy when her husband John Blagrove eventually takes over the Robins' lease [26] in about 1635. The eldest son Thomas moved with his mother to Wardington. In 1623 Robert had purchased fiftysix acres of land with a tenement in Wardington, all of which was left to his wife and Thomas. The Robins became a nuclear family for only four years after his mother died, then Robert caught the 1631 epidemic flying round the town and died. Thomas was still at university on his way to becoming a clergyman. Gamaliells, possibly the godson of his mother's brother the Rector of Kislingbury, died an infant. Robert the son they hoped would farm the land died before doing so. One more family which had a satisfactory stone building lost two of the four children.

By the 1630's Robert's clothes and whole estate had moved into a higher class for he considered himself a yeoman. Half his Cropredy assets were in stock and crop, with a quarter in household items and the rest in money. £58 was out on loan and

£20 in his purse. The valuable Wardington property could not of course be counted in the inventory total of £343 for it was not "moveable" property.

Part of the Inventory taken on June 11th 1631 by "Gamaliell Holloway, Clarke, Ambrose Holbech and John Hunt" [From the personal estate of the late Robert Robins].

"... Item the cropp of Corne on the ground..... £40/
Item the soile on the land£1/
.....Cattle/
Impris five score sheepe£45/
Item thirteene coves & heyfers & two calves..... £40/
Item seaven horses mares & colts..... £28/
Item seaven hoggs & one sowe & piggs.....£4/
Itm poultry5s/
Itm money due to the testator from severall p'sons... £58/
Item all other implements lefte unprised
.....& eight stocks of bees£2... 5s/
.....somma tot £343- 19s 4d/"

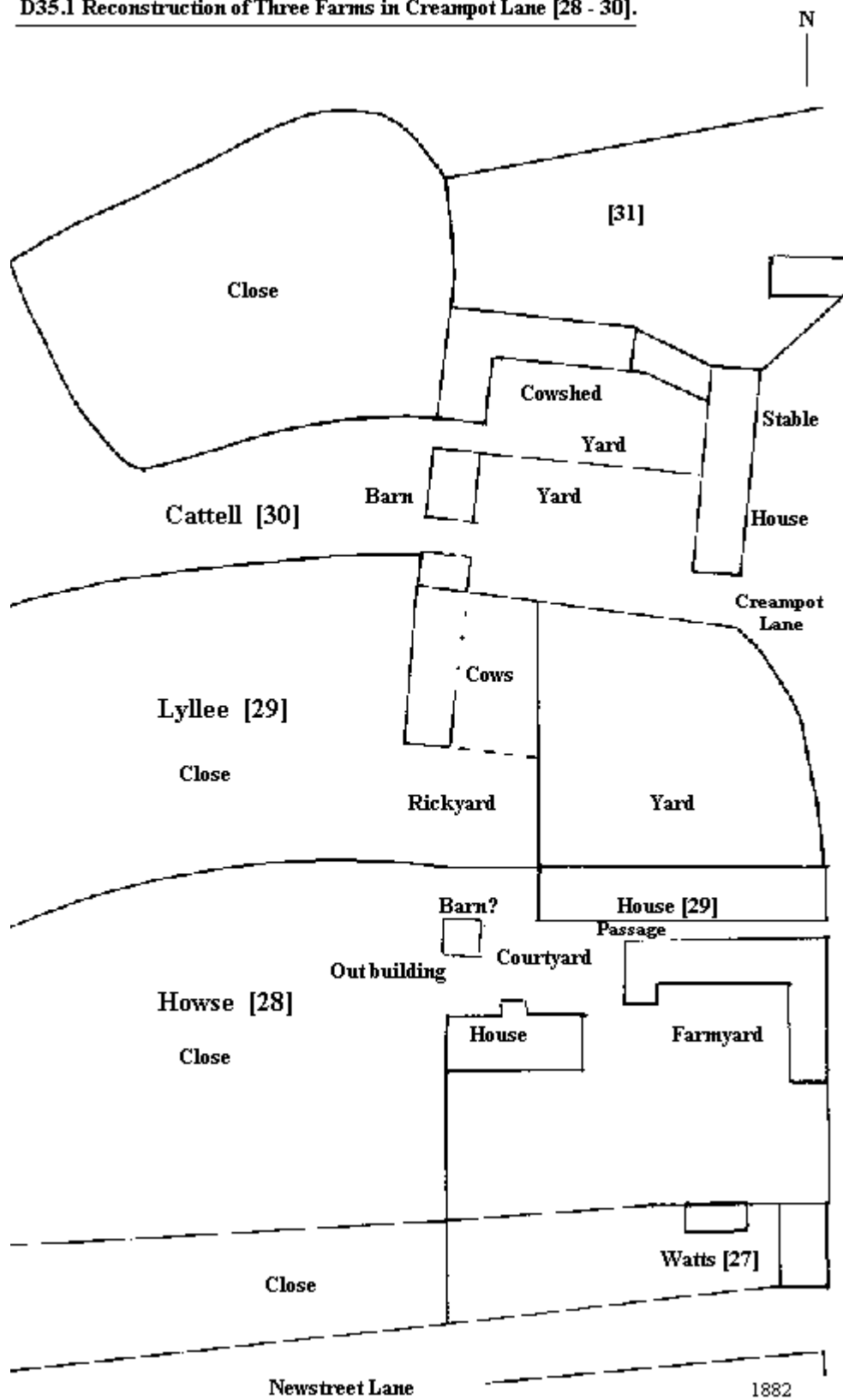
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35. The First Three Farms in Creampot [28-30]

Reconstruction of Three Farms in Creampot Lane [28-30]

D35.1 Reconstruction of Three Farms in Creampot Lane [28 - 30].



The three farms of Howse, Lyllee and Cattell [28-30] may have been laid out in even sized closes running east to west each with a back entrance onto Backside at Kyte's corner. Over the years these three homestalls have undergone alterations that have muddled the sequence of events. The vicar's lists caused some confusion when they appear to conflict with the land records. Howse's [28] site was certainly next to Watts the weaver [27] and yet in the vicar's lists the properties were in the following order: Watts, Lyllee, Howse and then Cattell. One solution fits both records. The entrance to the late Alese Howse's [28] farm in 1613 was up the present passage from the east gate in Creampot Lane passing in front of the south facing Lyllee [29] house which was on the right. By coming to Lyllee's front door first and then proceeding on up to Howse's entrance on the left, it would be reasonable for any scribe to write them in that order. Between Watts' house [27] and the Creampot approach to the Lyllee and Howse properties they had passed the eastern boundary of the Howse close and farmyard.

Lyllee [29] may have deliberately rebuilt in stone by the passage and near the well. Their farm buildings were further west and it would appear his barn was attached to his dwelling, while his cattle yard was behind the house to the north.

Cattell [30] rebuilt facing east with a barn or stable at the north end. There were buildings on three sides of the farmyard giving two sheltered cattle and stable yards. The barn, gateway and cowhouse made up the western range. The house was on the eastern side and another building took up over half the north side beyond the house well.

Part of the verge belonging to Backside was taken into the three closes at the west end and then nearly a hundred years ago a row of trees were planted along the ridge of this ancient town boundary.

Houses of Creampot Lane [28].

The timber farm houses may have had an entry passage dividing the hall from the two service rooms. The head of the household would have required a lodging chamber. This was usually added beyond the hall away from the service area. If the site had been unsuitable then a chamber was made in the nether bay below the hall, which could include a kitchen or dairy. Chambers on the first floor would have been reached by a ladder or early stairs. There would be chambers over the lodging chamber and service rooms, but none over the open hall. Some like Whyte [46] would have a cockloft for storage.

The majority of new stone houses would need to recycle the best timbers from their previous dwelling. This was made easier for Howse by moving their home further up the close away from the farmyard. The names of their former rooms would tend to follow them when the beams and joists were reused. What happened when they needed to enlarge the ground plan? The two

stone gables provided additional wall supports, but did they still follow the former spacing of bays dictated by the previous roof timbers and transverse beams? Howse did not move the transverse beam into a spine position with the joists reaching out to the stone walls and so limiting the depth of the building. Instead they appear to have repeated their former position.

The whole of their new stone elevation on the north side would be carefully planned to give a balance between the windows and front entrance. At Howses [28] the front door was moved away from the hall and a through passage ignored.

There were apparently two stone mullion casement windows each with four lights, on either side of the front entrance. All three having label moulds with dropped and returned ends. The window to the right lighting the hall and the left one for their lodging chamber. The two upper chambers both had three light casement windows. The thatch would come well down towards the chamber windows. The cockloft was lit by a one light window on each gable.

When the house was built the front door opened into the small entrance lobby. The lovely old door was reused when the porch was built, though an even later addition of a northern kitchen wing meant the doors hinges must be changed to allow access to the new kitchen. They secured the original entrance door with a wooden drawbar, which was housed in square sockets on either side of the doorway. Once the porch had been built they moved the old door into the new position. A wainscot hides the socket holes [Curtesy of Tapley's photographs].

Now that the entrance went into part of the house formerly reserved for the old buttery it was curtailed in depth by the existence of the former low chamber renamed the "chamber beneth the entrye," which had a south facing two light stone mullion window.

Entry to the hall on the right from the entrance lobby was through a doorway with Tudor stops on the chamfered upper part of the jam, facing the lobby. The door was in a partition wall between the "chamber beneth the entrye" and the hall. A second door at the far end of the partition may have opened into that chamber. It was wondered if these two doors had been moved at all to fit in with the new plan? There was no need to restore a screen passage as access to the farm yard was not through the house and the buttery had been moved to the eastern bay, next to the lodging chamber.

The door on the left of the entry led into the lodging chamber . They left the lobby up two steps to a raised floor over the new cellar. The buttery also had to take up part of this bay. The stairs to reach the upper floor may have been between the lobby

and the "chamber beneath the entrye," but making use of the step and platform into the eastern bay, before turning in the space opposite the front door. Upstairs there were three chambers and two cocklofts.

The south elevation was not for public display, for it overlooked the close. Only two of the original windows remain. A two light stone flat splay mullion window for the chamber and another for the cellar. The last has a label mould with dropped and returned ends, though one end has been hidden by a later wall. The hall had a small window facing south lost when the south extension was made. There is evidence of an external shutter and an inner opening casement, or another shutter for the south chamber's two light window. The chamber and cellar windows were not replaced with oak mullions when those on the north elevation were put in. Splay mullions had to be cut at the quarry and these were favoured in Bourton, but at a later date. Wood-Jones uses the 1574 datestone belonging to the Williamscothe school for the first appearance of flat splay mullions, but attributing the date to the building of Calcott's Williamscothe house which was in fact built in 1559. This was still later than when the first Rychard and Ayllys Howse were tenants, so had they begun to build before Calcott? [Wood-Jones R.B. *Traditional Domestic Architecture of the Banbury Region* p257].

Dating this house is difficult. The town used transverse beams rather than spine beams in the late seventeenth century alterations. The spine beams came in around the 1570s. Before that they used transverse beams. The second era of using transverse beams is too late for this house which has records long before that. All the joists had full joints which takes them back to the earlier period [Details of building kindly given by J.Tapley. Errors belong to me] .

The house had no spine beams which could have been used to replace the missing hall transverse beam from the open hall of the timber house. Instead they were still able to procure enough beams and joists for the new hall bay and cellar timbers.

At the time of rebuilding in stone this house was exceptional in having three storeys in the east bay, because of the cellar, and two and a half storeys for the rest. This was rare for Cropredy and found only at Coldwell's [50] and Prescote manor. All three also had stone stairs down to their cellars.

For this fine building Howse had only one chimney on the western gable. Was this another indication of an early property? It was not a manor farm like Coldwell's who being a gentleman needed several hearths.

The addition of the porch had to be to a building already established. It was a tall porch reaching up to the roof. No other Cropredy building possessed such an addition. Those in the area which had date stones were built during the uneasy years of

the interregnum. Was this for added protection? Why had a husbandman's dwelling acquired such an expensive addition? Although it faced the front courtyard it was not on general view to the road except across the close to the west. When adding the porch they may have taken the opportunity to reduce the four light mullions downstairs to three to balance the elevation. By having a drip mould on the porch and keeping the stone mullions this was done prior to the late seventeenth century work on windows about the town when many of the older mullion windows had to be replaced. Some of the local stone weathers badly and it could be because Howse was one of the first to rebuild that the next family of tenants, starting on the front of the house, had to replace the stone mullions with oak when other towns were just putting stone mullions in. The north elevation stone windows were replaced with oak splay mullions and oak lintels. The drip moulds were lost except for those over the porch door, cellar and the "chamber beneath the entrye." The two lesser windows being on the unimportant south elevation.

These features must surely put the house into the early transverse beam era before 1570. It also had a plinth on the east wall, but understandable given the weight of that wall. There was yet one other feature which might set back the date. The house having been taken away from the farmyard up the passage to be near the stone lined well was deliberately facing north onto a courtyard and not south as French [4] and Coldwell's [50] were (Few had courtyards for really these were used for holding a manorial court which on this A manor would be held at [50]). Here was a property with several important features which had a wide close to position the new building in, so why face it north and make the house colder than it needed to be? In the 1540's and 1550's there were still many who believed that fevers came from the south and by having few south windows unnecessary sickness could be avoided. Why did the bailiff at the manor farm ignore this? It could only be the position of his house facing onto Church Street which meant he had to face south. At [28] was it something to do with the Howse family suffering from epidemics? There were many who lost their lives in the 1550's including Rychard Howse who died in 1550. Another reason for facing north was it reduced the heat in the hall in summer when cooking was now being done indoors.

The ground floors were either of beaten clay or stone, except over the cellar. The cellar was given a stone floor with a drainage gully at some period. The first floor and cocklofts all had early oak floors, either taken from the timber house, or purchased when the house was built. Due to the shortage of mature timber in the parish most of the new stone houses had to have elm floors if they could not rescue some oak planks from an earlier building, so that having oak even in the cockloft speaks of an early stone building, or a previously large timber house of some importance to supply enough for a storage area, or a wealthy tenant.

Which member of the Howse family who lived on this site could have been responsible?

Howse [28]

JOHN HOWSE
?
RYCHARD HOWSE m AYLLYS
Husbandman *Exor
bur.11.4.1550
Will* 1550 [28]

THOMAS bp29.9.1548 bur21.12.48	RECHARD bp 6 Oct 1549* bur14 July 1592 Husbandman [28] Will + & Inv.	m	ALESE Densy bp 27 Dec 1563 m 11 Sept 1581 @ 18,husb 32. bur10 Apr 1609 + Exor Will\ & Inv. [28]	MARGARET * ?
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THOMAS + Exor bp 23 Dec 1582 bur23 May 1617 Husbandman [28] PCC Will > m11.5.1609 @27,wife 24	m	ALYCE Hitchman bp19.3.1585 died 1650 [28]	WILLIAM + \ bp 1 Nov 1584 bur 10.6.1650 m Margaret Pratt 1616 [24]	RYCHARD + \ 30.9.86 alive1617	JOHN\ 14.9.89 m Elizabeth Hall 1623
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RICHARD > bp 9.4.1610 bur 19 July 1685 Scholar Will ^ [42/1/25] m@35 [28]	m	LIDIAH Gill ^ Exor m 12 May 1646 bur 4 Aug 1692 [28]	THOMAS 29.5.1611 >	EDMOND 1.9.1612 >	ALICE 13.6.1614 >	ANNE 7.7.1616 >
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LIDIA 14.3.46/7 bur16.2 1649/50	ALICE 21.4.49	RICHARD 20.7.51 Farmed[28] to 1683	THOMAS ^ 1.10.53 to Boddington	EDWARD b15.10.55 bp17.11.55	WILLIAM b2.8.58 bp8.8.58	SARAH bp6.10.61 bur21.1.77/8
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1614: Thos howse uxorijd..... 1624: Alice Howse..... ijd
.....wam howse..... ijdEdward Townsende ..ijd
.....? the mayde..... ijd..... Susan wearinge..... ijd

The average in this household for the 8 listed years was 6.5.

Could the house have been one of the first stone properties to be built in the town (ch.13 p185)? In 1547 Bishop Holbech had to release to the Crown his estate in Cropredy in exchange for certain grants [Lincoln Chapter Acts 1547-59 (I.R.S.xv),1-2]. This ended a period of uncertainty when no building would have been under taken by the bishop for King Henry VIIIth and his son Edward VIth had been seizing church estates. Protector Somerset who took over the manor until his fall may have started to improve his estate but then in 1550 it was passed to the Duke of Northumberland [Salop R.O. 322, Book of Courts for Banbury, Cropredy and Wardington]. It could be that the new owners had allowed John Butler of Aston-le-Walls who leased the Cropredy A. manor to act as overseer to the estate [Royce, Cropredy p8]. Once the estate was in private ownership then documents had to be made to divide it into three so that the owners widow would have her customary third. However the following year it was given back to the Crown, though Butler may have continued as the tenant. In a survey made in 1552 it failed to mention widow Ayllys Howse, naming John Howse instead. John Howse had half a yardland and 2 acres of meadow with one messuage, two other yardlands and two tofts. These he had apparently leased since the 19th year of King Henry VIII [Henry was King from 1509 to 1547].

In April 1550 Rychard Howys made a will as he lay "syke in bodie". Four days later his young wife Ayllys was attending his funeral. Howse had leased land from the A manor estate and his widow Ayllys was intitled to her husbands lease to rear the children. Rychard had made no mention of a "John Howse" in his will, but whoever John was they granted him the administration of Rychard's estate, which came to £37-17s-7d. Was this Rychard's father who was sharing the farm and had been farming since 1528? When Rychard married Ayllys deeds would have been made between their parents in case Ayllys was left a widow. There was no need for Rychard to refer to these in his will. Young Recharde was only six months old and there was also a young daughter Margaret to provide for over the next sixteen or more years? John as the tenant would be obliged to take over the finishing of the rebuilding, if it had been started before 1550 in Rychard's time. If young Recharde had begun to rebuild he could not have started before 1578 which brings us into the spine beam era.

There is something fascinating about the three women in this household who so successfully took over the running of the farm. In each of the three generations a widow called Ayllys, Alese and Alyce were left to bring up their families. The very first widow, Grandma Ayllys was possibly the youngest of all to farm from 1550 to about 1580, though her son Rechar had two thirds of the two yardlands by 1578.

Alese/Alyce nee Densy (1563-1609) was the second widow, who at eighteen had married a Rechar fourteen years older than her. He died when she was only twentynine. Alese never remarried according to her late husband's wishes. He may have been jealous of her, or more likely wanted to make sure a son inherited the lease. Thomas their eldest son had been fortunate and attended the Williamscoote school, but it is not certain if she managed to get the others past a petty school education. Alese died in 1609 still young at fortysix when their four sons were aged twentyseven, twentyfive, twentythree and twenty.

Thomas was able, the year after Alese died, to marry twentyfour year old Alyce Hitchman from Bourton. By 1613 they already had two of their six children and as Thomas farmed all the land he would have begun to pay off the £10 legacies due to each of his brothers. William the second brother stayed at home until he married widow Pratt [24] in 1616. He was then thirtytwo (p556).

Another brother Rychard went away, but in 1617 came home to help when his eldest brother Thomas died. The last brother John returned to Cropredy in 1615 when he was twentyseven. Thomas could have been ill and needing help for that year he made his will. There was obviously some panic, but he recovered for a while and soon his wife was expecting their last child. Alyce Hitchman (1585-1650) came from the reasonably wealthy Hitchman family of Bourton and they must have known each other since childhood. They had been married for only nine years when Thomas died. Alyce was the oldest of the three widows at thirtytwo. In her husband's will, which for some reason she proved in London, Thomas had left his five children £10 each following his mother's example. Alyce was instructed to provide "meate, drinke and apparell" as well as "Scolinge untill such tyme as they shall be able to get their livings or be put to apprentice." She sent Richard and his brothers to school as their father wished. This third Alyce had a long way to go as Richard the eldest of her five children was only seven when she was left a widow. Like his uncles before him, Richard was thirtysix before he married. He took care of his mother for her last four years.

Had Thomas built the porch to impress the Hitchmen's of Bourton and was it the Hitchman land between Cropredy lower mill and Slat mill which had taken Alyce to London to prove his will? If Thomas did not build the porch could Richard, their

thirtyfive year old son, have done so just before his marriage in 1646 having first entered onto the lease? This was at a time when others in the district were building a porch.

During all the years the household was in control of a woman their livelihood did not suffer. After farming for over thirty years it was unfortunate that Richard in the fourth generation was in his seventies when rents became hard to raise. The 1680's were difficult years for stock farming, and so it was that they were refused the entry onto another lease and lost the house when it was a master Howse in control, not a widow. The absent landlord is quite determined to take the opportunity to rid his estate of several tenants:

"Hows must if necessity be disposed/ to a better tennant able to manage/ there land and pay there rents..." [1684 Add. MS. 71960 p224]. "I will not permitt anymore/ of the Howes to be Received into that farm/ but if these be able then there is no want of Tenants, and if beggers there are too many all/ ready" [1685 Add. MS. 71961 p240].

Howse's old timber house if it faced Creampot Lane would have been in line with Watts' cottage to the south. In the lawn (over the farmyard area) has appeared a large patch 27' 9" from north to south and coming west from the Lane wall in an oblong parallel to the north boundary and about the width (22') of a range of buildings away from the same north wall. Was this part of the old house foundation or a section of the barn and buildings with a cobbled yard? In 1775 an L-shaped range of buildings existed in the north east corner, backing onto the passage which led up from Creampot between the Howse and Lyllee properties.

The rear entrance into the close and orchard was at the west end coming off Backside. The later drive skirting round the paddock to come to the northern courtyard and entrance into the house. Those on foot leaving or returning by the passage into Creampot Lane. The farmyard remained next to Creampot Lane at the eastern end of the close where Howse needed a barn of at least five bays, a cowshed to house six to eight beasts and a stable for four. In May 1609 Alese had peas and hay still left in her ricks. Also in the yard was a woodpile and other odd wood. Apart from her plough and three harrows there was an iron bound cart as well as a "dunkart." Both the carts needed a north facing shelter shed to be out of the sun. The corn that was out in the field was worth £20, the product of three yardlands.

Howse built using ashlar cut stone on the front elevation and coursed rubble rows on the other three, all under a thatch roof. They had decided to have only two stone gables to support the roof, leaving out a central one. Apparently there was no desire

to attach a barn to the house especially when they had one down in the farmyard. Others were rising in status with a completely separate building away from the yard. They could ignore a plan making a cross passage separating a barn from the house with an inner stone gable which would conveniently take a chimney. Instead they built a chimney with oven on the western gable thereby eventually making that the hall.

The new stone house would require extra and larger casements each with a seat. Shutters were very necessary until glazing was complete and then they were kept for warmth as curtains had not yet come into fashion, or if around elsewhere they were late to arrive in Cropredy. Curtains were mainly hung from the bed tester to shield the occupants from draughts and others in the room.

All the oak transverse beams, joists and floor boards from the timber house must be reused. The old beams could be taken down and reassembled because of their full dovetailed joints, providing the beams were spaced as before. They saved the massive oak transverse beams, but now required four for each floor and one for the cellar. Some of the old oak floor boards were an inch thick and up to twelve inches wide. These would be particularly valuable as replacements could not be found in that width in Cropredy and to buy in would be costly in transport, even if they could be procured. The landlord who provided timber for buildings would stipulate reuse wherever possible. Two inventories mention the rooms in their house:

Alese Howse in May 1609.....Richard Howse in 1685

Lodging Chamber [1bed]Lodgin room
Dea house And ButterieButtery & Spence
Hall [chimney]Hall house
Chamber beneth the Entrye [bed]Buttery chamber
The kitchenHall chamber
.....Nether chamber

The first front door opened to the left across the two steps up to the lodging chamber door. To reach the first floor the stairs must be able to turn upon a central newel post and rise in a space of around three feet by six. The staircase could be facing the door and lit by a north window over the door on the first floor. Was this the way Howse had constructed their first stairs? They appear to have rejected the practice of having the stairs by the inglenook which the B manor farm did [8], while Gybbs [25] and Robins [26] took advantage of the six feet to one side of the chimney breast for a stairs up to their cocklofts. Howse

had other uses for the rest of the space on the gable end. In 1592 Recharde left four hogs and five stores all of which would need preserving by smoke. This would take up valuable space in the chimney hood, but they must also allow space for the brewing furnace. Alese definitely had the hair cloth and malt sieves indicating she was brewing, leaving "eleaven sackes two winno sheetes a hayre cloth xxv/ one strike ffoure maultsives a pecke and a hayre sive iiij" in the house. No other fireplace was mentioned or taxed while a Howse lived on this site. An oven took up the northwestern corner of the inglenook so the furnace had to be to the left of the chimney. It could not be behind as the Robins had done in their kitchen chimney, for this was an outside wall.

Without a cross passage there was still room in the middle bay behind the stairs to have a chamber "beneth" the entrance, that is lower in importance to the entry and hall using the old timber house's "low chamber" partition walls. The chamber would be about 10 feet by 12 feet. Although it had a bed, this was a useful place to store items being next to the hall:

"Ite. foure Kivers two ffatts ffoure Loomes/ three payles and two Meeles" were worth £2 as well as the two spinning wheels and "ffower payre of cards."

Tiny chambers squeezed in to take the bedstead out of the hall, may only have enough room for one double bed. Removing beds from the hall made the preparation of food, eating and keeping company easier without having to take into account an elderly or sick relative in the four poster near the fire.

The lodging chamber and the "Dea house And Butterie" still had to be fitted in. The eastern end of the house which took up two narrow bays measured about sixteen square feet sharing the inner partition wall with the chamber "beneth" the entry. With the cellar below this end, the floor was higher than the western bay. Alese's lodging chamber had a four light stone mullion casement window on the north wall (which was reduced to three when the porch was added). The window was later lost altogether to accommodate an early eighteenth century kitchen wing. When the Eagles were in the process of modernising the house they changed the east elevation so that the room now faced the old farmyard. Two sash windows were made, but at different times, as well as a fireplace. Over the "beneth" the entry chamber was the buttery chamber which must place the buttery next to the lodging chamber?

In 1592 a "binch in the chimney" is mentioned which would not fit into any other part of the one chimney stack except in the hall. Recharde Howse died that year and they may have been sleeping in the western bay for three beds appear to have been

in the same chamber as the chimney. From this can we deduce that for the time being they were all sleeping downstairs using the future hall as a chamber while the second stairs were put in, or upper floors were being improved? Meanwhile the east end must serve as a fireless "hall" for their tables and forms were found in there. In this inventory no fire equipment is given in the hall.

Another explanation could be that the lists for both rooms end with a bench and the "binch in the chimney" had been added to the wrong room for in the inventory the list of goods in the hall ends with "the binche," while the chamber had "the cheyre the stooles and the binch in the chimney" in the final copy of the inventory. Six men were in attendance to produce an inventory and a lot of chatter and ale would have flowed during the making. The finished inventory does not help as it is now in a very damaged state, and not all can be read.

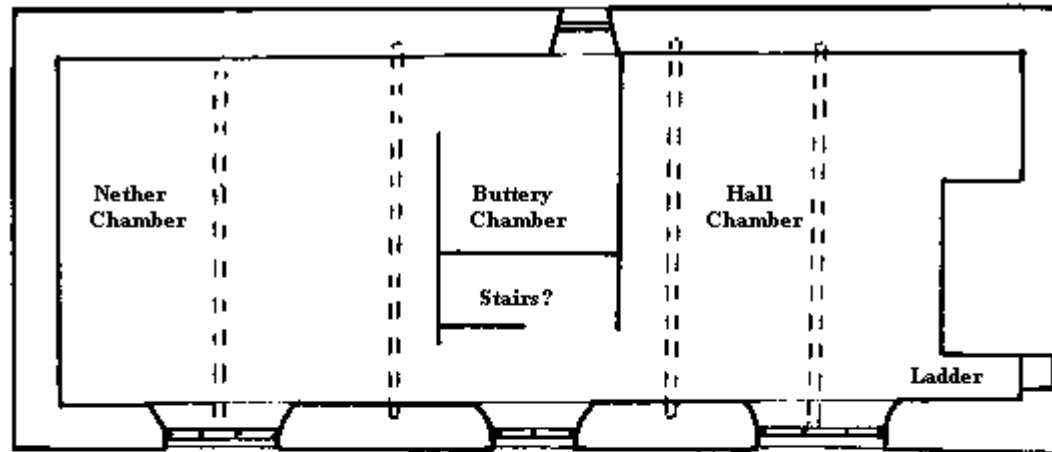
By 1609 Alese had the ground floor sorted out and the "hall" is in the intended western bay with the chimney. The hall being the place for cooking and preparation Alese had seven bacons hanging in there, presumably in the inglenook, being smoked for sale or eventual consumption. Or else hung from a ceiling hooks awaiting the knife. Uncle Fremund Densy may have sat on the bench having been set to watch the bacon joint in the pot hanging over the fire and to prevent it from boiling over.

The position of the kitchen is uncertain. If the outside building was used it did not have a chimney in 1663. In Thomas's time no-one used the small building to house staff for none were given in the lists. Another position for the kitchen could have been on the south side, later taken down when one was built to the north.

The stairs took them up to the three chambers, but the way up to the cockloft was by a ladder next to the chimney breast in the hall chamber. As the chimney stack narrowed it allowed a tiny western window, whose deep sill would provide the climber a place for their candle holder while opening the two foot square trap door, which allowed access to two storage cocklofts. Each loft was lit by a one light gable window. Apples would certainly be stored in the cockloft, but there was no way wool could be hoisted through either the window or ladder hole. They may have kept it on the wooden floor of the lodging chamber as Truss did [33]. The hall and nether chambers had casement windows of three lights which faced north. The nether bay lost the north window once the a kitchen wing was added. The buttery chamber in the middle bay would need a south facing window.

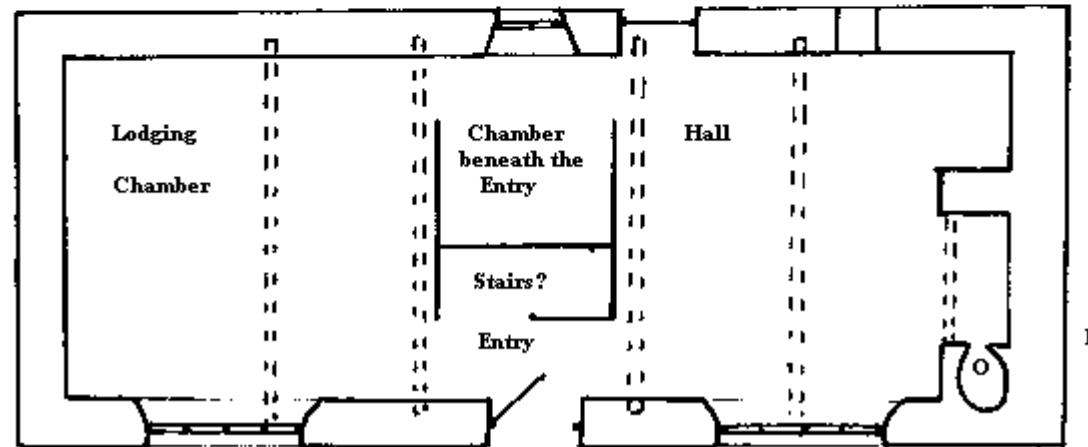
The next tenants were the Eagles and they made extensive alterations during the next hundred years. At the west entrance to the courtyard the Howse had a small building. The south east corner was rounded to protect the carts coming into the courtyard. This was repeated when the later north kitchen wing was made. Imported pine was used for the wing's spine beam. When the Eagles took over Lyllee's [29] land and farm buildings new stables were made out of Lyllee's barn with some ashlar walls and stone lintels similar to Gybb's old farm [25] and Springfield's [6] dairy block. On the 1775 map the Eagles had not yet turned the farmyard end of their own close entirely into a garden. That must have come later. In the first half of the nineteenth century (possibly between 1823 and 1832) the boundary walls alongside Creampot Lane were built in stone and lined with brick. At about this time a south wing was built blocking off the one light window in the original hall.

Reconstruction of Howse's [28] new Stone House.



Plan of First Floor

0 10
Scale in ft.



Ground Floor Plan

D35.2 Reconstruction of Howse's [28] new Stone House.

Lyllees, Halls and Lordens of Creampot Lane [29].

RYCHARD LYLLEE m KATHERINE						
Grazier		bur 29 Sept 1548				
JONE	ELISABETH	WYLLIAM	JOHN			
bp 14.2.	26.11.42	bp 4 Mar 1543/4	d.1540			
1538/9		bur 29 Aug 1623				
		Husbandman	m ANNE 2 July 1567			
		Will & Inv*	m 56 years			
		[29]	gone by 1624			
ANNE WAM	WILLIAM	KATHERINE	JOANE	ELYZABETH	THOMAS	
mWam bp4.11.69	3.4.1570	25.9.73	16.9.78	25.4.1582	13.83/4-95	
Corbet d.(i)	mJoane	m?Thos	m John	bur?		
1607*	Mackins	Pherie	Lucas[2]*	m JOHN HALL 24.11.1607		
	1608	1603	1612	Yeoman. Will 1640*		
		2 daug.		bur 29.8.1639 [29]		
			JOANE*	ANNIS*	DOROTHIE*	
			bp 26.8.1608	4.4.1610	m Thos Jackson	
			bur 6.3.42/3		1635	
(2) SARAH	m SAMUEL	LORDEN (1)			Eliz.* Thomas*	
bur 19.8.59	bur 22.5.58					
PCC Will	PCC Will 1658 +					
1660 >	[29]					
		JOHN	WILLIAM	ELIZABETH	MARY	JOAN
		bp 12.12.30	4.3.31/2	16.11.34	29.5.36	10.3.38/9
		d.	bur 30.9.41	+	(ii) +	+
				"my house and land"		
THOMAS	JOHN	ANNE				
bp 14.9.45	17.3.48/9	30.7.53				
-29.7.59	+ >	+ >				
	In care of HENRY JEFFERY					

(i) Late baptism before death? (ii) "Entered into Burial Register."

1614: wam lylee ux..... ijd..... 1624: John Hall et uxor..... ijd
.....Jhon hall ux.....ijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 4.

Lyllee, Lillie or Lilly are various spellings of Wylliam Lyllee's surname.

The Lyllee's passed the lease down to a son-in-law John Hall who again passed it onto his son-in-law Samuel Lorden. The family lost the tenancy and the land was then divided up. The house did not survive long after the farms were merged. Lyllee's had built a stone house with only one chimney which faced south onto the passage shared with the Howse family.

Relationships between the two households must have been kept up for Wylliam was asked by old Fremund Denzie, who lived with Alese Howse's family, to act as overseer for Alese's four boys.

Wylliam's parents died leaving him able to marry at twentythree so he could not have rebuilt until later on. Wylliam and Anne were to create a record with their long marriage of fiftysix years. Their sons leave to set up elsewhere, but two daughters marry and stay in Cropredy. Joane married John Lucas [2] and lived down the Long Causeway. Elizabeth married John Hall who took up some of Lyllee's land and for sixteen years they would be given an upper chamber at Lyllee's house and share their hearth.

From the 1623 inventory it is possible to prove Wylliam and Anne Lyllee had retained half the land as well as the hearth with their cooking pots still in use, long after the three grand daughters had arrived. Widow Anne was not on the 1624 list, neither does her name appear in the burial register so which of her daughters, Anne Corbet or Katherine Pherie, had taken her in?

Before John Hall himself gives up his land the eldest of their three girls, Joyce, had married Samuel Lorden who took on the lease of the other yardland. Joyce died before her father John Hall and Samuel brings his second wife Sarah to the house. Five of the eight Lorden children survive. Samuel in his will proved in London left land in trust for the three eldest girls by his first wife and money to the others. He signed with a mark, but he could have rushed a last minute will through on his deathbed. As a widow Sarah was helped with the farm by Henry Jeffery and the children are left in his care when she too died eighteen months after her husband in August 1659 [PCC 298 & 179]. After this the B manor terriers, which give the names of the

husbandmen who farmed their neighbouring strips, show that Lyllee's land had been divided between the Reverend Bathurst, Richard Howse [28] and Christopher Bowman.

The lease fell out before Howse's. Was this due to the loss of so many lives on the lease? Wylliam Lyllee built either a decade after the Rychard Howse who died in 1550, or before the second Rechar. The stone building might have reached right to the eastern end of the passage for on the 1775 map there is a building all along Lyllee's side. By then the farm had ceased to have a separate tenant having long been merged with [28]. The place was remodelled into a coal house, wash-house and stables.

An indication of the importance of walking to a neighbour's was shown by the use of passages, which wasted no space, gave some privacy, but could still be reached by a horse if necessary. It also meant in this case that the constant twice daily passage of cows was kept from the immediate frontage. Once again the house was pressed against the boundary as land was so valuable.

Lyllee had built his sixteenth century one and a half storey house and barn in stone with the usual thatch roof. The front elevation faced south onto the seven foot wide passage, which sloped down towards Creampot Lane. The living end was therefore lower than the barn, because of the habit of having the hall to the right of the entry. The whole site has more unsolved questions than hard evidence.

This house was always shared by three generations and the deceased had lived in only part of the house. With a house constantly divided between the generations no inventory would reveal every room, and where they could have been stated none were given in 1623 in Wylliam's half of the house. These rooms have had to be given in brackets:

[In the hall]

"fower pewter platters three/ sawcers one salt and two brase/ Candlesticks 6s/
two potts two kettles one pan/ one Iron grate one paire of/ Cobbirons and one spitt £1-7s/
two hatchetts one bill two Iron/ wedges one brandiron one paire of/ tonges one paire of
bellowes one/ Iron barr, [etc] 7s"

[In their chamber]

"one Joyned bedsted one/ other old bedsted one presse/ and fower coffers £1-3s-4d/

one matterris three old/ Coverletts three old blanketts/ two boulsters one pillowe fower/
 paire of sheets one tablecloth/ one table napkin [etc] £1-10s."
 [In the unnamed buttery] "two payles and one barrell 2s."

Here was an old couple apparently hanging on to land and hearth, letting only half the farm to John and Elizabeth who lived in this same house with their children (p106).

The main stock yard was immediately to the north, but they could have used a winter cowpen with a hovel between the north yard and the western close and orchard which bordered on Backside. A rickyard was usually protected by elms and a bank especially on the north and western side. The barn on this farm protected the south side. The rickyard had to be near, for the threshing, but also adjacent to the 60 foot wide cowpen. The eastern part of the rickyard was to eventually become a stable range measuring about 40 feet in width. The close was 120 feet wide from the Passage to the north boundary with Cattell [30]. The divisions into yards meant each wall, hedge or bank was used by two of the yards.

Lyllee's inventory taken on the 30th of August 1623, the day after he was buried, reveals the following stock and corn in his yards and sown in the Open Common Field:

.....	£... s...d
"...two beasts	4 ...4... 0
nynteen sheepe	3.. 16...0
Eleven sheets of woole	0.. 16.. 0
the Corne and heay in/ the barne...	3.. 13.. 4
the Corne and pease in the/feild	3... 0... 0"

The crop was the product of a yardland, yet he only had two cows. Several years before he had taken on an extra common from the vicar to add to his own. The appraisers were giving a general value to his produce of £6-13s-4d a yardland (p341). John Hall had the rest of the land and stock, but how had they partitioned off the buildings to store corn and hay?

The Lyllees and the Halls needed room to thresh their barley and wheat in the barn and to build ricks of peas and hay. The eight cows allowed on two yardlands needed a two bay cowshed and their four horses to plough the land required a stable. As

early as 1588 the land had had to be split up and half was let to Rose a grazier who lived in Hello [60]. Had the Lyllees not been able to farm the whole amount and when had they been able to take it back?

Lyllees were husbandmen, but the son-in-law Hall considered himself, like others in the 1630's, to be a yeoman and this was not corrected. What had given him this status? The farm passed down through the women, perhaps by some family understanding, but it was never let as a separate unit again for three lives, after Lyllee's family die out.

Cattells of Creampot Lane [30].

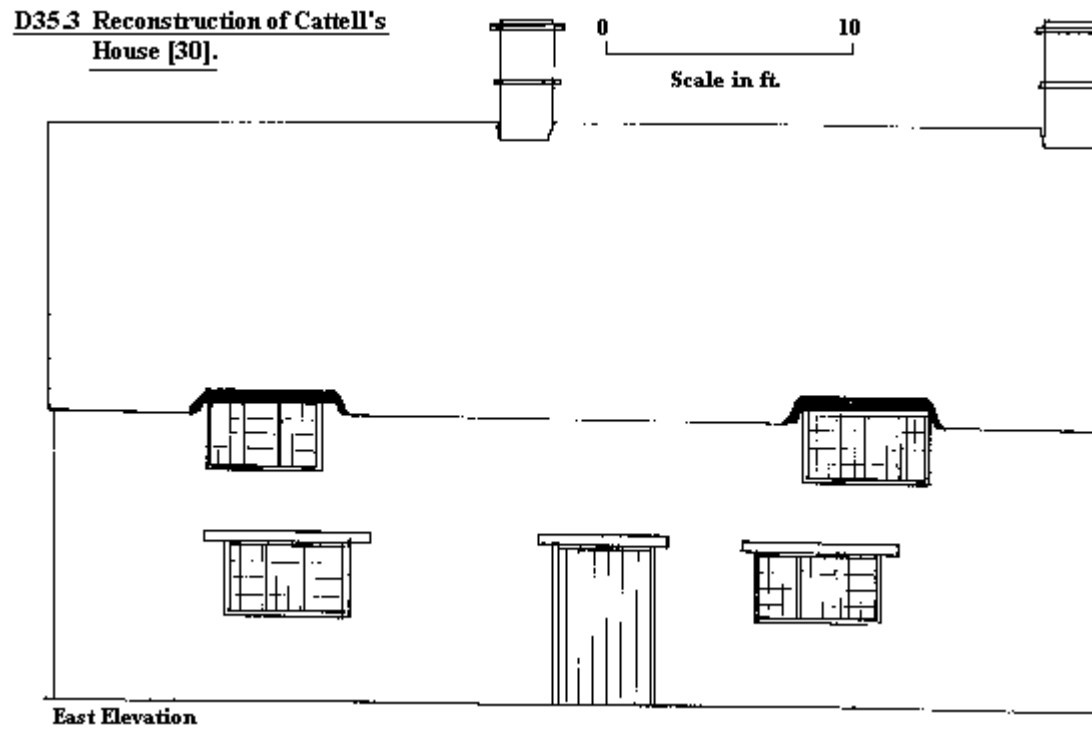
1614: wam Cattell ux..... ijd..... 1624: William Cattell et uxor..... ijd
.....his motherijdAnne Cattellijd
.....George Osborne et uxor... ijd
.....Richard Gibbes..... ijd

The average in the household on the 7 years given was 3.3.

Who farmed this land in 1552? All that can be discovered is that Cattell/Cathell may have followed Christopher Butler onto the land. William Cattell was married, but his wife's name escapes the records. They shelter his mother (also without a name) and three sisters Gillian, Anne and Mary. The Cattell's did not baptise any children at the church arriving with a complete family or having no children at all. The house had two hearths which enabled them to make it into two dwellings. We do not know where they lived before Cropredy, or if George Osborne who lived with them in 1624 had married one of the sisters.

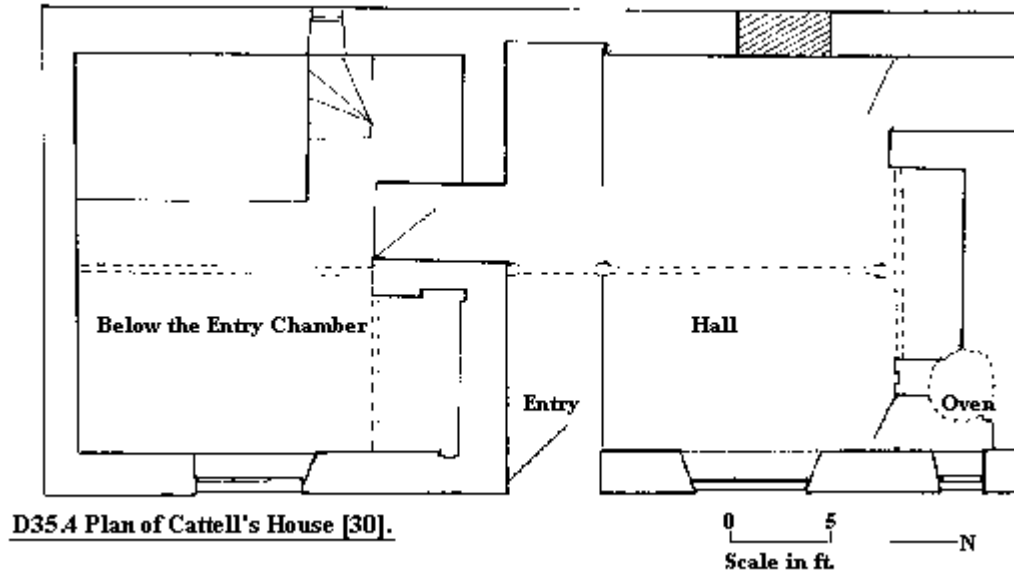
At one time William had served as all husbandmen must do as church warden, but for some reason he was excommunicated. He was fond of listening to sermons, but being still not allowed to receive communion, or even attend the service he was presented at the church court for "frequenting of sermons being an excommunicane person" in March 1620 [Oxon Archd. papers, Oxon b.52: 178 item 4]. Cattell's family suffered because of this. He could not make a will so that his sister Gillian must take out letters of administration to settle his affairs (p187). William was buried on the 20th of February 1634/5 and the family soon depart.

Reconstruction of Cattell's House [30].



After Cattells there is a gap before Thomas Wyatt, son of Thomas [31] next door, took over the lease. Thomas Wyatt did not stay long for he was waiting for the Brasenose manor farm [8] to become vacant, which it did when widow Mary Wilmer left. The Cattell's old farm then required a new tenant.

Plan of Cattell's House [30].



D35.4 Plan of Cattell's House [30].

This one and a half storey farmhouse was on a prime site. An early stone building with a thatched roof. The house faced east onto Creampot Lane and the rear western wall formed the eastern boundary for the yard. This slightly thicker west wall was built in small stones. The south gable wall was replaced in the 1920's. All the windows, except the hall chamber, had three light wooden casements with splay mullions and three by four leaded panes to each light while one of the central lights opened with a metal side hung window. Some still had an ancient upright handle and window catches outside to hold the opening casement. All had wooden lintels. The hall and lower chamber had window seats and shutters [Very recently the hand made blacksmith windows on the eastern elevation needed renewing].

Fortunately a plan of the house and drawings were made prior to the modern renovations. This was one of the first houses surely to have a spine beam. It was chamfered and had stops at the hearth end and by the original passage partition. Even the entry passage had two stops in the same spine beam. The hall fireplace like Truss's [33] and Nuberry's [8] was centrally placed in the inner stone wall. This one had an oven built in on the right hand side. There was room for a copper or brewing furnace to the left, but a way was made to the barn, when this was turned into a nether chamber and a two bay stable. Once

the whole property was turned into farm cottages this space beside the chimney became a cupboard. The second inglenook backing onto the passage was in the south bay, making it a Below the Entry Chamber. The eastern front door gave access to a four foot wide entry passage. Although there was an alcove in the rear wall there was no external evidence of a blocked doorway in the 1970's, and it was used for either the original newel stairs or a second stairs when the house was made into cottages.

If this was the main stairs it made more sense than one in the south bay which took up space in the buttery area. Two doors led off the entry. The first into a hall on the right and the second to the left between the inglenook and the present newel stairs in the south bay. The buttery walls have been renewed and the stairs led up to the two upper chambers (later divided into four). The thatched roof came down lower at the back without any upper windows larger than a one light for the stairs off the entry passage. The present stairs had a light below upper floor level possibly for the old buttery. A door at the bottom shuts off the stairs and at the top and the bottom are two extra steps (to reduce the height of those treads to the newel post?).

The Below the Entry Chamber had an inglenook fireplace whose rear stone wall helped to support the roof. Four such walls in the length of the house and barn was unusual and perhaps a hint of being one of the first to be built. It also had the barn above the hall and not beneath the entrance. Cattell's [30] and Rede's [32] may be the only two like this in Cropredy. The hall end above the passage was also not divided into two bays. This was only a one and a half storey building and yet there were those extra stops giving a finer finish to the beam which would have to be paid for by the tenant. By 1663 Thomas Wyatt had put in another fireplace, either for brewing or as an upper chamber hearth. A buttery was badly needed and not mentioned in 1634 so it may have arrived later. The hall has a blocked doorway to the yard where they had a well. This would have been very useful when all the cooking, and dairy work went on in the hall.

Cattell's hall was simply furnished with his chair and a form. There was also the window seat for others to sit at the table. This had a frame (not a trestle) which was likely to be permanently under the window. There were two shelves for the four pewter plates and wooden ware, but the cupboard in front of the oven could hold many unmentioned wooden articles, unless it was used for smoking bacon? A small salt cupboard was built into the inglenook. They had a pot hanger for their one cooking pot and three kettles. A frying pan completed the hearth equipment for there was no mention of spits or andirons. As the room must double up as their preparation room Cattell's had two churns, a pail for water and two barrels in the hall. There was also a bolting "tube" for the flour. All this came to 32s-8d.

If William Cattell was ill he would have the downstairs chamber. This had a bed, two "quosers" [cushions] and the household linen consisting of five pairs of sheets, six napkins and three tablecloths valued at 30s. For special occasions a cloth would be left on the table. No mention was made of the chamber over, but his mother as a widow had the right to her own bed and bedding and this had nothing to do with her son's inventory.

His three sisters may have also gained two bedsteads or a shared double when their father died, but again not mentioned in the list. However William had in the hall chamber a flock and a wool bed (mattress) which the girls could use. They had two of everything including blankets, coverlets, pillows and bolsters and possibly sheets from downstairs. The sisters minded the garner, now empty of malt and had an extra table, the cheese rack and another "quoser." Somewhere in the house on a dry floor was the sheep wool in sacks worth a £1.

At the north end of the property was a three bay barn or stable which needed, if a barn, a cart door onto the yard. The north bay had vents and a hayloft door high up in the north gable. The only way to get the cart up to this loft was to pull up on their neighbours land to the north [31]. This end of the property became the stable and then cottages. The stone house had been built right on the edge of Creampot Lane with the farmyard behind. Once again a property had taken up the whole of the front end of the close, leaving just room for a wide entrance at the south end. Later on a stone wash house with a slate roof was built on the verge narrowing the entrance.

Cattell did have stables in which he kept a mare and two geldings (one of whom was blind), with a little colt. The horses and their gears were worth £8-6s-8d. Richard Cartwright from the A manor farm [50] wrote three "lethel" cows and a heifer £6-6s-8d. Why were they small? Their twentythree sheep were out in the Open Common Field with the town flock as it was February and were valued at around 5s-6d each. These were not sheep in their prime (p261).

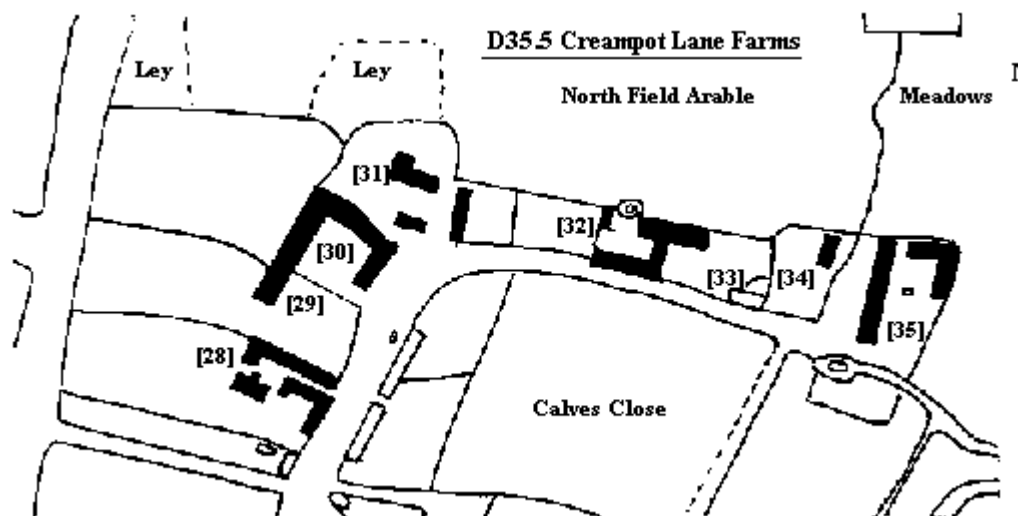
The larger four bay barn (Fig 21.5 p325) on the western range had in it 5 quarters of unthreshed barley and 5 quarters already winnowed which should provide 80 bushels. They still had to sow around 12 acres of barley using a quarter for every two acres. This left four quarters for the household bread, but as William had only planted two wheat lands he had left about two acres which could be planted with barley instead, though this reduced the corn left for the household's consumption by another quarter. 2 quarters of peas threshed and unthreshed were worth £2. These were waiting to be planted in four acres of the fallow field (ch.20). They had £2 worth of hay left in a loft or rick. The rickyard was behind the western range, but there

were eventually enough buildings to keep the corn inside. The six hens and a cock would still take the grain, unless they could be kept out of the barns.

William possessed a long two wheel cart, a plough and other tools such as three forks, a spade a "spoulett" [?] and a "luther" [leather?]. The smaller tools came to 3s-4d. In the yard was the essential wood pile and coals.

After Enclosure Cattell's [30] farm was merged with Howse's old farm [28] and so these three important farm sites became one. Howse's superior building became the main farm house, Lyllee's was turned into out buildings and Cattell's into cottages.

Creampot Lane Farms.



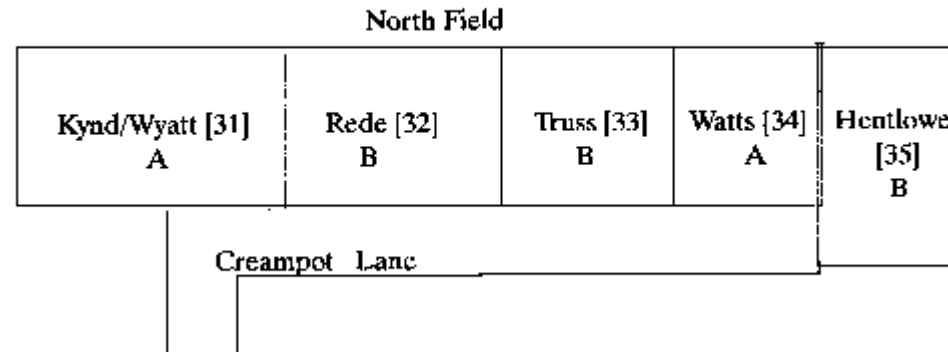
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36. Four Farms down Creampot Lane [31-35]

Diagram of sites in Creampot Lane

D36.1 Diagram of sites in Creampot Lane.



In Creampot there were five properties [31-35] all on the north side of the Lane. The sites were divided between the two manors, Kynd [31] and Hanwell/Watts [34] belonged to the A manor and were rebuilt in ashlar while the B manor built Rede's [32], Truss's [33] and Hentlowe's [35] in coursed rubble. Rede's site had been divided in half to form Truss's small-holding [33], a shepherd's cottage and barn, which took up the eastern part of Rede's plot and has been mentioned in Chapter 26. Kynd's and Redes had wider sites than the two narrower ones [34 & 35] at the bottom of the Lane, just above the meadow line. The creation of these farms could well have occurred when the A manor split off a portion of the estate in the twelfth century. By 1524 this had been left to the Brasenose College.

The B manor may have insisted upon well laid out farm yards during the rebuilding in stone. Redes [32] and Hentlowes [34] both have planned homestalls. On the A manor Kynd's [31] and Hanwell/Watt's [34] yards were at the front of the house and perhaps not so well designed leaving the stone barns to arrive later. The problems of getting the loaded corn carts off the sunken lane into the close, across the yard, or straight into the barn may have increased as the years went by. Were all the yards stoned? Many Cropredy inventories mention grass yards on smallholdings so could this mean others had begun to cobble their yard, or was it only courtyards which were cobbled? The only hazard these two A manor farm yards avoided, which could have caused an unknown danger, was water or effluent from the farm reaching the dwelling house. Rede's pond

was apt, when not being constantly used for stock, to come down the yard and into the lower end of the house. The land sloped down to the Lane in a south easterly direction. Surface water went into an old stream used as the Lane's ditch. This in turn entered Hentlowe's pond and on to a backwater, the Flempan, to pour into the upper mill pound. The northern scullery at Hentlowe's was known to flood in this century. This would surely affect their stone lined well nearby. In the late nineteenth century a college undertenant, Major Slack, rented the house [35] but had to rely upon rainwater from the roof for drinking, leaving the well for washing. The college later provided a water supply for their tenants and a few others.

Behind all the homestalls were the arable strips belonging to the North Field. It would appear the properties were originally built right against the arable headland leaving at that time a wider verge to Creampot Lane. When rebuilding in stone Rede [32] and Truss [33] came forward to the very edge of the lane in line with each other. All the yards and rebuilt stone houses were governed very much by the shape of their site. Kynd's, Rede's and Truss's being south facing, but the bottom two were turned east/west using the length not the breadth of their narrower closes.

Kynd's yard was set in front with the barn eventually forming the eastern range and the stables in front, unless this was added by Wyatt when his forge was placed next to the road. The barn may have had room for two large cart doors. The stock and rickyards being to the east of the barn and next to Rede's rickyard. There was a shallow well just eight feet deep by the south gable of Kynd's barn.

Rede's enclosed cattle yard with the pond was behind the stone house. They rebuilt right beside the road in the corner of the close. The rickyard and orchard were on the west side of the property and in there was a well for all their water. Just as elsewhere in the town they all needed to plant elms round the rickyards and ash, elm and a few oaks in the hedges down Creampot. Rede had a stable of two bays by the house and a cowhouse along the eastern side of the yard. A barn range took up the north side and consisted of a three bay corn barn and a two bay pease house. This northern range extended across into the next close where Truss had the last four bays of barn (p411). The northern range could once have been the former timber longhouse. Truss's stone house and barn were rebuilt next to the road in the southeast corner of his close.

Hanwell/Watts' house being set back must have had the yard to the south and a very narrow part to the west, but at the end of the seventeenth century a three bay barn was built by the lane next to Truss's farmhouse. Had they been content at first to keep on the old timber barn, cowhouse and stable? They mention a colt house in 1634 only because the tenant had provided a manger and rack.

been sent off to be apprenticed, or to gain experience on distant farms. Richard and his wife Joyce have the lease after the death of his mother Alyce. Why had he married so early and then why had his wife, son John and a daughter not been mentioned in his mother's will? Richard in his turn must have had apprentices on his farm. In 1608 William Rede, schoolmaster, was the scribe for a William Berry's will. This was witnessed by Ri. Kinde and James Ladden. Berry, who left the Kynd family forty shillings and James Ladd [40] 3s-4d, may have been serving his apprenticeship on the Kynd's farm for he was not a Cropredy man and his relatives proved his will in London.

Richard joined those who left the Sunday service early in 1608 and was presented at the church court (p30). Mysteries surround Richard, a former scholar at Williamsote, who may have been excommunicated for although he and his wife are written down in the 1613 list for Easter they do not pay their tuppence. At any rate something so annoyed someone that they scratched out his baptism record, but could not do this to the copy already sent to the bishop. Richard appears unable to gain a new lease on the farm and departs with their five or six children sometime after 1613, for the whole household is missed out in 1614. In their last year in Cropredy a Mrs Pole and her daughter, who must have been born by 1595, both pay their tuppence. What were they doing in Cropredy unless they were related to Richard's wife Joyce?

Richard's parents John and Alyce Kynd had arrived in 1574 and baptised him in 1575. Did they rebuild first? Their lease was for two yardlands, dropping a quarter after ten years.

After 1592 widow Alyce Kynd struggled on through appalling harvests. Her inventory was made using her husband's list of 1592 as a guide and so only a little extra information about her house is revealed. They did have a cowhouse, barn and stable. When the inventory was taken on the 9th of March her sown winter corn was worth 40s. She still had enough peas to plant 1a 1r, oats for 2r, barley for 2a 2r coming in all to 4a 1r out of 21a 3r. Alyce could have set some of her land to others, or else Richard and Joyce had already arrived home and taken up the rest of the land, living in an upper chamber. How much land had been sown for winter wheat and rye? Her peas were not going to balance her wheat. Such late winter inventories are fraught with problems. Some barley had been malted for she had a strike in the garner. John's November sown corn had been worth 28s which was more realistic and the spring corn still to be planted was lying waiting to be threshed. Kynd's can be compared with Hanwell's [34].

Hanwell, Watts and Hall of Creampot Lane [34].

Down the Lane at the other ashlar property lived Rychard Hanwell until he died in 1592 the same year as Rechard Howse [28], John Kynd [31], Hanwell's forty year old son Arthur and unmarried daughter Margery. What fever had attacked the lane? The 1588 meadow list reveals Rychard Watts was already farming Hanwell's land. No burial was entered in the Cropredy register for Rychard Hanwell so he may have died away from home, but his possessions in Cropredy had to be appraised and an inventory was taken on the seventeenth of November. Hanwell's had a hall, but again no furniture was itemised chamber by chamber. He still owned four horses and six cattle which would need a cow house, stable and a barn. The corn came from at least a yardland and a half. He shared his house with Rychard Watts who was already married by 1588. Hanwell lived to see three young Watts born at the house, the eldest called after his son Arthur Hanwell, still living at home, but not farming. What the records seldom explain is the instances of children born with learning difficulties, or disabled from birth or accident, who must be kept at home. Only Anne Sutton is mentioned during our period, but there had to be others.

If Kynds had built in stone when they first came why hadn't Hanwells? Was this because they were here a generation before Kynds and living in their timber house and farm buildings, but not having the time, energy or any descendants to make rebuilding worthwhile. They had been farming since the 1540s. In 1552 Rychard Hanwell had one yardland containing 22 acres and 4 acres of meadowing, but without the leyland later attached to the holding. Had Rychard Watts agreed to undertake the task of rebuilding while he was living with them, before he married Anne? If he had managed to enjoy the house it was not for long. In 1602 the seven young Watts lost their father. Again no burial entry and the appraisers left out the rooms in Rychard's inventory. It could be that Hanwell and Watts had business which took them away from Cropredy from time to time?

RYCHARD HANWELL Husbandman Inv. taken 17.11.92	m	MYLSON Walker 4 Nov.1546
ARTHUR bp11.3.1551/2 bur20.2.1591/2		MARGERY bp 19.9.1553 bur 26.7.1592

RYCHARD WATTS Not buried at Cropredy Husbandman Will* & Inv 1602	m	ANNE bur 16 Jan 1623/4 Will+ & Inv. *Exor
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ARTHUR* RYCHARD* WILLIAM* GEORGE* ELIZABETH* JOANNE* ANNES* bp8.9.1588 7.12.89 20.8.91 8.12.92 1.1.93/4 9.11.95 14.1.98/9 bur22.1.23/4 Sch bur 12.10.23 m + < + bur 1.12.23 bur7.11.23 Sch. [34] [34] [34] Husbandman m ANNE Warner [34] Inv. 19 Nov 1616	= (2)	RICHARD HALL m 20.9.1626 bur 8 Jan 1633/4 [34] Will < & Inv Ycoman
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HANNA ELIZABETH JOHN RICHARD bp14.9.17 29.6.19 7.7.21 bp 9:3:22/3 alive bur 25:6:1676 1634 Will > 1676 [55/1/8] Husbandman m MARGARET Mos [34] 27 May 1647 bur 10 Jan 1669
--

RICHARD ISAAH ELIZABETH ANNE > ARTHUR > JOB > JOHN bp5.3.1647/8 22.9.49 7.8.51 > 18.3.52/3 b26.8.55 (ii) b12.10.57 b23.8.1660 Scholar m ANNE bp21.9.55 bp18th.Yeo. m Elizabeth bp2.9.60 9 children (i) 10 children

(i)= Sept.2.1687 "A certificate granted to Isiah Watts of Cropredy for his daughter Anne Watts to be touched of the evil." [2nd Baptism Register] (ii)b = born for the Register now added the date of birth. The charge was a 1s. Burials 4d.

1614: wyd wattes..... ijd..... 1624: Richard Hall..... ijd
Rych hall..... ijdAnne Wattesijd
arth wattes..... ijd..... John Cliffordijd
Rych wattesijdGeorge Wattes ..ijd
will wattes..... ijdAlice Pageijd

.....george wattesijd
.....eliz wattesijd
.....Joane wattes..... ijd

The average in the household on 8 listed years was 6.5.

In **1634** the **Richard Hall /Watt** house had a Hall, Parlour, Buttery, Kitchen, Chamber over Parlour, Cheese Chamber and Men's Chamber.

The townsmen's inventories at the end of the sixteenth century and early 1600's go back to only concentrating on the contents. Fortunately methods of taking inventories improve by 1609. There had been well conducted appraisals before, but the extra effort required vanished in the turmoil of the 1590's. Robins and French went to help with inventories on several occasions, but had no education and it was left to the third person who would be the scribe to include rooms. Later when the majority were able to write the situation improved. Just because the document does not measure up to our present needs does not mean the chambers did not exist. Their halls and chimneys did and they had every chance to go upstairs and check the first floor. When epidemics caused deaths would they understand the risks involved in going round the property when three heads of household had died down the Lane in 1592 and many more in the town in 1601 and 1602? There were too few to call upon and all of them very busy trying to build up their farms again in a period of rising costs. Then another epidemic arrived in 1622/3 and again in 1631 and 1634/5 and by now the appraisers were taking much more notice of the layout of the houses. Down Creampot in 1634 Richard Hall [34] died first, followed by his neighbour John Truss [33]. Thirteen months later William Cattell at [30] and two months after that Tom Wyatt [31] who still had a ten year old son and two teenage daughters, though he must have been at least sixty. Richard Hall cannot have been much younger, but still fully involved.

Wyatt left a well organised house with plenty of home comforts, but Hall, by then a yeoman married into the Watts family, had still only one hearth, but this did not influence the size of estate left by the testators (p76). Hanwell who was semi-retired with the Watts to help him left only £30. Rychard Watts dying ten years later was still in his prime and had three times as much personal estate. Rychard's son Arthur left only half Hanwell's having as yet no lease, while Richard Hall having improved the farm left £196. Hall had more stock and some property in Banbury. Hall may have loaned the Watts money so that he had a secure share in the lease for when the eldest Watt's son Arthur married at the age of twentyeight Arthur did not

automatically get a share of the land. The Hanwell/Watts/Hall household had suffered during many of the fevers which attacked Creampot resident, but the worst was in the winter of 1622/3 (p86). The Watts [34] with Richard Hall had been managing with the help of other members of the family returning for a year. When first one then another took ill did other siblings rush home to help, only to fall ill themselves? Arthur Watts was buried with his mother Anne senior and three adult siblings in the winter of 1623 (pp55 & 684). Had the wool crisis something to do with their condition or were they getting polluted water from above entering their wells? Or had the shallow wells dried up? Others in the town die in 1634 so Creampot Lane drainage might not be the only cause.

Richard Hall was to marry Ann, Arthur's widow, in 1626 and continued to farm the property ready to release it to his stepson another Richard Watts. At no time following grandfather Richard Watts' death in 1602 could the family have rebuilt. It had to have been done while Hanwell was alive. After that they had lived in a good stone and thatched building which was not the cause of their early deaths and besides Rychard Hanwell and Rychard Watts both died and were buried away from Cropredy. If they had other work besides farming were they dealers and woolwinders which brought them into contact with epidemics elsewhere? These two men believed in education and lived in a Lane where many households possessed bibles and encouraged at least one son to go to school. Anne Watts may also have taught her daughters to read (p152). At the top of the Lane the educated Wyatts kept up their farriers' business as well as farming.

Wyatt [31].

Thomas Plant of Bourton

THOMAS WYATT	m (1)	CHRISTIAN Plant	bp 22:8:1566	m 4 Nov.1594	
Farrier			bur 27 May 1603		
[13 then 31]				m (2) URSULA Farmer	
bur 25 Apl 1635				21 Oct 1605	
Will* & Inv.				*Exor	
<hr/>					
WILLIAM ROBERT	EDWARD JOHN	MARGARET THOS	ISABELL	MICHAEL	
c1595*	bp?	bp15.10.06	10:10	29:11.10*	13.8. 24.6.23* 2.10.25*
-30.1.1669	d1672* +	-22.9.13	1608*		1620* mRobert
m(1)Jane	Chandler		Farrier		to[30] Chamberlin
to [60]	m Elynor		to Gent.		Farrier of Warkworth
2 chd.	to [52]		Will+ 1669		to [8]
m (2)Mary	[PCC 331]		m (1) Susan		
Watts			Buried?		
Will & Inv.			m (2) Sara Tame + third goods		
			24 August 1634		
			bur 28 Nov 1682 aged 65 G144		
			Bd Inv. Acct 1683		
<hr/>					
JOHN + ROBERT	RICHARD	SARAH	ELIZABETH	JOB + MARY	FARMER
bp29.6.35	3.9.37	21.6.40	2.9.42+	17.4.47 +	25.1.50/1 9.12.53+ b16.4.57
bur20.9.76	bur27.9.50		mWalker	mHeritage	[50] mSharman bp15.5.57
to [50]	G275				mAnn d.1661
m Mary					Will & Inv. G288
Will					

1624: Thomas wiatt et uxorijd
William wiatt et uxor
Elizabeth Bostockeijd
Ursula Carterijd

Thomas Wyatt, farrier and blacksmith leased the other ashlar built house vacated by the Kynds [31]. They moved up from the smithy [13] on the Green where Thomas had been a subtenant to Densey. The increase in horses produced more work for the farriers and collarmakers than one establishment could cater for. Wyatt may have redeveloped the farm while still in his cottage on the Green and been able to organise a new blacksmith and farrier's shop for the A manor as well as organising the upper rooms and a cockloft in the house.

Two inventories which belong to Wyatt's house [31] mention the rooms. First Thomas who altered the house and then his son:

Thomas Wyatt 1634	John Wyatt 1669 ...[5 hearths in 1663]
Parlour [no bed]	Olde parlour
Hall	Hall
Kitchen [furnace]	Brew house*
Shopp	Shop
Buttrye	Both the butteryes
Darye house	Dayry
Over Buttrye [loft]	Room over Buttery
Parlour chamber [J.bed +T]	Chamber over parlour
Chamber over hall [2 bed +T]	Chamber
Over the Parlour Ch. [loft 2 bed]	Chamber over Chamber
.....	Room over new parlour
J=Joyned. T=Truckle bed	New parlour
.....	Kill house & room over it [kiln]

* John's widow Sarah's inventory mentions the kitchen, but not the brew house in 1683.

Wyatt's "L" shaped house shown on the 1775 map was at an angle to the rectangular property which William Elkington made into three cottages in 1848. There may be only the inglenook, upper fireplace and the rear window next to the chimney left inside. Outside the northern rear wall appears to be older, but when had the ashlar stone been used at the front? The south elevation has a long stone lintel like Springfield Farm [6]. Why had Wyatt's fine building not been looked after? The above list of rooms show that there were at least three then four bays and at one end it was two and a half storeys high. We do not

know if he entered straight into the hall or had an entry lobby or short passage. There was no need for a cross passage when the farm yard was on the front and side.

Thomas's appraisers began in the parlour not the hall, so this was the place they gathered in and wrote the valuations down, perhaps while refreshments were provided. Wyatt used the parlour as a day room and the hall for cooking and eating. There was a "skreen," either to divide the service rooms from the hall, or to shield them from the wind coming in to feed the chimney fire. After working in front of the hot smithy fire all day Wyatt's needed warmth elsewhere about the house, so the bed was one of the first to leave the main downstairs chamber with the earthen, or stone slab floor. Behind the parlour, in the same bay, was a buttery because upstairs in 1669 the buttery chamber was placed next to the one over the parlour. Thomas called it a "loft" not a chamber in 1634. Was the stairs using the chimney stack? The kitchen with the brewing furnace took up part of another bay, but then the appraisers switch to the shop across the yard on the front boundary with the Lane. They still had to return to the buttery which had twelve barrels as well as two half hogshears. The last two items could hold up to fifty gallons between them. No indication is given as to what the rest were for. The dairy was kept for the milk vessels. Being a "darye house" it could be a single storey extension.

Upstairs the parlour chamber had become the best chamber with a "joynd bedsted." A big surprise came with the high value of their bed furnishings as well as the room's actual furniture which included some wainscoting (p642). It came to the astonishingly high figure of £17-10s-4d. Either Thomas or his son John added a bedroom fireplace to keep at bay the winter damp. Did these hefty blacksmiths and farriers suffer from arthritis? Or had their education taught Thomas's sons the comfort of a fire, when at the Williamscoote school as artisan's sons they may have been forced to sit at the back, while the paying scholars and Calcott's pupils sat nearest the fire?

Hall's inventory was taken a year before Wyatts in January 1633/4. Wyatts had spent so much more than Hall's £3-4s-8d which covered everything in his ground floor chamber next to the hall. Although by then Richard Hall and Robins [26] were both thought of as yeomen with land elsewhere, Wyatt was known to be neither a yeoman nor a husbandman by his neighbours, even though his family were catching up on education (p150), land and possessions. Wyatt had also furnished other rooms well for example the hall chamber contents were valued at £5-10s and over the parlour chamber was a cockloft furnished with two beds and partitions valued at £4. Wood-Jones found these cocklofts in yeomen's houses yet here was one made around 1620 in a farrier's farm which now had only one yardland to cultivate, though they managed to lease extra parcels like other farmers, from time to time [Wood-Jones p114]. Wyatt began to collect pewter and brass. His came to £5-6s-

8d which was just under Robins' [26] amount. Were they competitors or neighbours who appreciated each others skills? Few had curtains and rugs, but Thomas Wyatt liked both and also plenty of linen, blankets and "coverlidds." Only Robins and Tanner [39] indulged in more bed linen. Ursula Wyatt had only one coffer for instead she used three chests, two boxes and two cupboards to store their possessions. They were also amongst the better dressed in the town.

Thomas's eldest son William Wyatt had married his first wife Jane and they had two children. His second wife was Mary Watts and they moved to Suffolk's farm [60]. Robert, the chandler, went to Round Bottom [52] and the fourth son John, who was already married, had been trained as a farrier and he inherited the homestead with his mother [31]. Thomas was only fifteen, but he eventually moved into Cattell's next door, before taking on the B manor farm [8]. In the next generation John junior the farrier's eldest son left Creampot and leased the A. manor [50] after Cartwrights. Another son Job took on the A manor when this brother John died. Did the town appreciate the forthcoming talents of the Wyatts? The landlord valued their knowledge about horses, but was angry when John's sons failed to collect in the rents. Thomas Wyatt the blacksmith's grandsons were becoming gentlemen.

Thomas Wyatt left "all the Smithie tooles, the better payre of Bellowes the anvill and all the tooles that are in the shoppe fitt for a smith to worke withall and one Bedsteede that he lyeth on and the bed cloathes that are on it" to his son John, who was living in one of the upper chambers. In the inventory the tools were worth £5- 6s and consisted of "one payre of Bellowes one Anvill two/ vises one Beckhorne three sledges three/ hand hammers three grindstones with Iron/ turnells & fire tonges & pinchers with other implements."

Wyatt left to his son Robert a bedstead in the cockloft. The joined bed and what clothes his mother could spare as well as "one hundred of elm boards by measure."

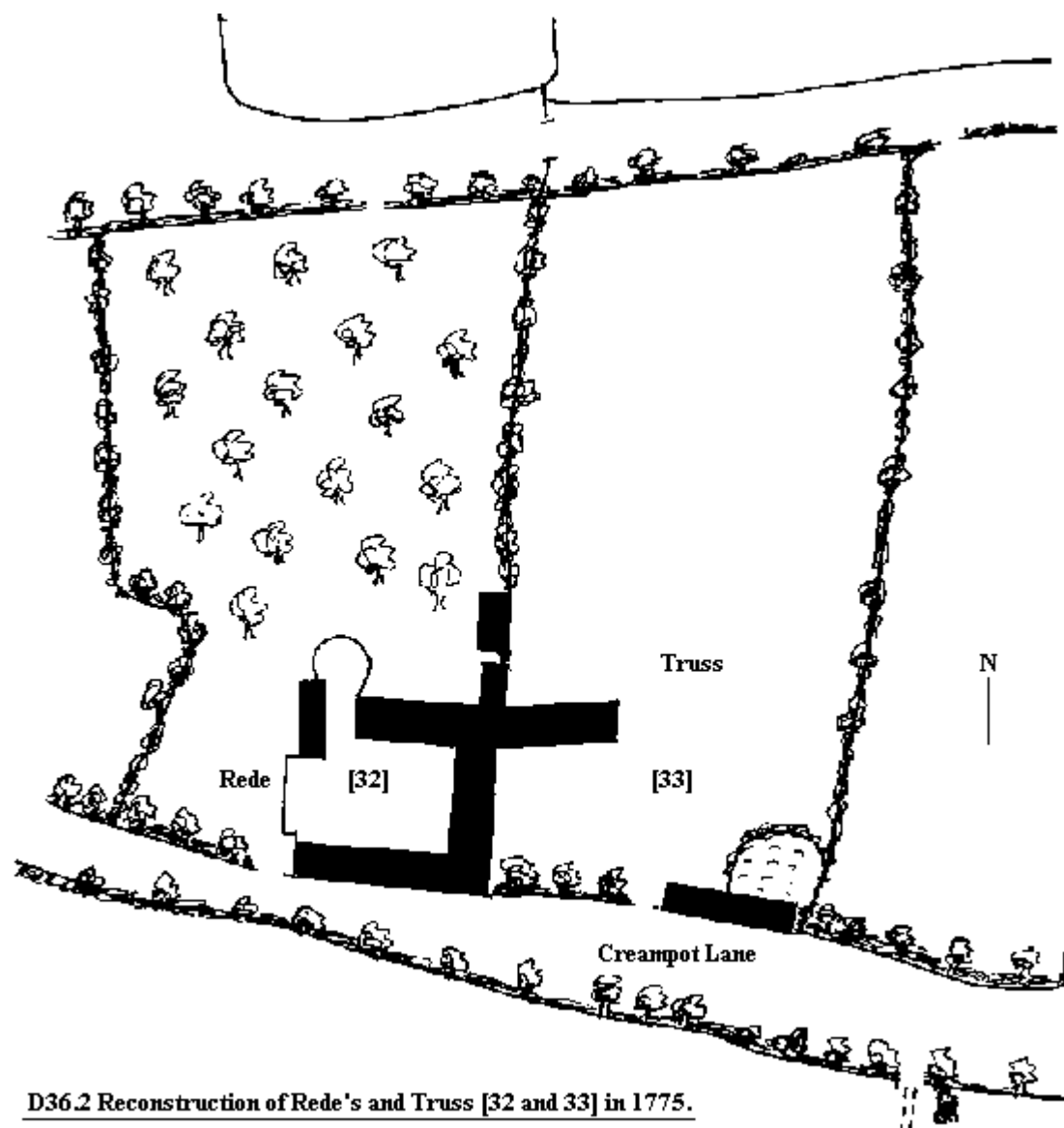
Down Creampot at the other A manor farm Richard Hall may have done little to the house [34], for he had no heir of his own. His step-son Richard Watts would soon take over the lease. The farm remained the Watts family home and Richard Hall's brother-in-law George Watts still continued to return home from time to time. Ann and Richard ate in the hall and slept in the parlour at the south end of the house, maybe only adding the press to hang their clothes in. The room's bed and furniture was above that of the average artisan, excluding Wyatts, but had not reached a very high yeoman standard and was below French's [4] who were still husbandmen (pp 644 & 645).

Over Hall's parlour was another chamber with two beds. Unlike many they kept the stores to one room over the hall called the cheese chamber. The men's chamber having a bed and garners for the malt as well as the spinning wheel which was not for some reason in the women's room, unless the daughters were spinning in there during the winter days under a good window. They grew hemp in the close for spinning, and took as many fleeces to spin as was necessary to keep them all in clothes and blankets. The dairy took up part of the buttery which was behind the parlour. Their barrels having to make room for the milk vessels. A kitchen may have been in the northern most bay, but no entry is given, though if the parlour was at the south end then the entrance was on the west side and it could just be possible, though no proof is given, that the kitchen was to the north of the entrance situated behind the single chimney on an inner gable. The kitchen bay had no loft over.

Once the Boothbys became landlords it seems they helped with repairs, but major rebuilding was for the tenants convenience and had to be done by them? The Halls had a colt house and stabling for five horses. He also had a large flock of a hundred and twenty sheep, well above the land's quota. For the list years the Watt brothers were always coming and going and one was probably responsible for the sheep if not Hall himself with help from shepherd Truss next door? They had an average of 6.5 adults over these eight years and this was a large household. What extra qualifications did all these educated people get and how did it help them to survive and acquire work elsewhere? Had Rychard Watts (died 1602) used his small safe valued at 6s to hold the rents for the landlord? Or did they act as dealers in which case an education would be a great asset to them? This safe was worth more than several coffers and would have had a lock. It was not mentioned in the next three inventories. The next mention of a safe was in Charles Allen's [44] house in 1632. Charles was in a position to collect the A manor rents for Coldwell [50].

Redes of Creampot Lane [32].

Reconstruction of Rede's and Truss [32 and 33] in 1775



D36.2 Reconstruction of Rede's and Truss [32 and 33] in 1775.

<p>WILLIAM CARTER m MARGERY bur13 Aug 1550 | bur 27 Dec 1545 Will * [32]</p>	
<p>RICHARD REDE m MARGERY Carter JOHN 2 daug died Husbandman *Exor | bp31 May 1540 m 4 chd * bur7 Nov 1577 | bur10 Dec 1584 Will & Inv. [32] | [32]</p>	
<p>WILLIAM* + 3chd ELSABETH* ANNES* DENYS CONSTANCE bp5.3.44/5 | 7 May 1548 20 June1550 1.5.54 twins 1.5.54 bur 10.1.1608/9 | bur 30.10.1602 Husbandman Will > m (1) ELYZABETH [32] | m (2) SUSSANNAH Tomes 7 June 1596 > left half the goods</p>	
<p>RYCHARD > Exor WILLIAM > JOANE bp 14 Aug1580 | bp30 mar 1582 15 Dec 1599 bur 6 Sept 1641 | bur 18 Sept 1659 Husbandman [32] | Schoolmaster m ANNE Bartlett Parish Clerk m Alice Bokingham 1620 6 Nov 1610 | [55 & 59] bur14 Dec1647</p>	
<p>WILLIAM ELIZABETH bp 20 Feb 1613/14 | bp 9 Mar 1616/17 bur 17 Feb 1666 Sch. [32] m HANNA</p>	
<p>RICHARD ANNE HANNA ELIZABETH MARY WILLIAM bp25 Aug 1643 1645 1648 1650 1654 1656 Husbandman | Parish Clerk bur 7.3.1682/3 (smallpox) [Add.MSS71960 p15] | m Ann Golby 1685 [32] m (1) ELISABETH Brown 6 children | m(2)KATHRYN | Will & Inv 1710</p>	
<p>RICHARD ELIZABETH JAMES WILLIAM 1668-1717 Inv. 1670 1672 1677</p>	

1614: Rich read uxijd..... 1624: Richard Read et uxorijd
.....wam readijd
.....wydow Read..... ijd

The average in the household on the 8 listed years was 3.25.

Many surnames are spelt one way by Cropredians and another by the vicar. Both Rede and Read appear correct, but only Read survived.

William Carter and Margery his wife farmed down Creampot on their B.Manor farm [32]. William did not manage to leave a fortune when he died in 1550, for as an old man he would have parted with most of his goods and been living off the remainder to leave just £6-19s. His son John already married with four children did not return to take over. Instead William left his son-in-law Richard Rede to be his executor. In 1540 Richard had married Margery junior and gone to live elsewhere, but they returned in the spring of 1545 with at least three daughters to help the Carters. Margery's mother died in December. It could be that Mr Carter also needed help for Richard was by now farming his land in Cropredy. The Rede's son William was born soon after their return and over the next decade four more children were baptised at the church, the last two being twins. Margery's name had been entered on the copyhold and eventually the farm lease was taken over by the Redes, but William Carter stayed on as an under tenant for his five years as a widower.

The Carters must have made some sort of marriage agreement to safeguard their daughter if she should become a widow, for after Richard died in 1577 Margery retained half the lease instead of the customary third as all their children were adults. William as the eldest son had the other half. Margery was instructed by the college to pay her half of the rent to her son for the next six years [Hurst 115].

It was perhaps due to the lie of the land that the southeast corner of the farmyard took the surplus water and the house must take up the higher western end of the roadside range. There were probably six bays of building with a strong inner gable thirtyfour inches thick. The chimney was placed at the front of the west gable and the whole layout and approach to the inside of the house was the opposite way to the majority in the town, unless the original entrance was on the north side? The house was improved and the use of the bays changed around which shows some dissatisfaction with the original layout. Did they start with just the hall and the chamber, waiting for floorboards and partitions to use the two upper chambers? Where was the

entrance? When the house faced south onto the road the two bays acquired window seats under three light casements. Any major alterations had to be paid for by the tenant and repairs must be seen to before another life could be entered on the lease. The farm was a small one, but the family did continue there longer than most, though often as subtenants to a wealthier yeoman from another parish.

In 1577 Richard Rede's house had a:

Chamber [3 bedsteds]

Hall [fire tools]

Kychin

Backesyde [well]

Stable.

In a timber house they would have had a small low chamber and a larger upper chamber, but if they had already rebuilt in stone with the chimney in the hall, the second or third bay here was for the kitchen, besides an old low chamber could not have fitted in three bedsteads. In Rede's stone house there was at first only room for two upper chambers. It is important to notice that already they had the kitchen and stable with the main building which suggests the rebuilding had already taken place.

If in 1577 the rest of the farm buildings were still being changed from timber to stone then Richard's son William could not afford at that point to marry and have a family, even if the College had supplied the stone. William was thirtytwo when his father died and he waited another three years before marrying. If they had already been rebuilt in stone then the profits must go to pay off their expenses, or to add upper floors, partitions and standings in the yard.

Richard had left five candlesticks as well as a rare lantern, worth seven shillings. What did they require such an expensive piece of equipment for? Unless they spent a considerable amount of time out in the stable, or helping others when stock arrived? Richard left no spinning wheels or any other sign of home industry. Their geese had not apparently yielded enough down for coverlets, or the hens feathers for mattresses. Or perhaps these were still sold. They had a sow and may supply others with piglets. The pigs were housed next to the pond, but kept out of it by having their own water trough. The rest of the stock would use the pond. The well for the house had a safety curb. The bulk of his assets were in his horses which took up a third of the £21-18s-6d.

Around the end of 1579 William married Elizabeth and for four years while widow Margery was alive there were three generations for Rychard was born in 1580 and William in 1581. Did young William's uncle Denys, who was a twin, remain in the family or return? He was buried at Cropredy in 1602. The family custom of having Richards and Williams continues for generations. As the younger boy would have no farm he was allowed to attend school. In 1594 as a widower of fifty the father married again and Susannah Toms' father made sure that if she too became a widow she would have half the farm. They had one daughter Joane (p118).

The farm by now was surely all rebuilt, for when they had a series of poor harvests in the 1590's they pulled through even with William still a scholar. He became the school master for the petty school receiving his licence in 1611 after his father had died (p133). William could not marry on such a small income even with the parish clerk's piece of land and a small retainer. He must still farm with his brother until the end of their lease, for their father left instructions in 1609: "I will and my mynd is that Wam Reade my sonne shall have his convenyent meate and drinke and chamber rome at the charges of Rychard my sonne, for and duringe the years of this my lease to come yf he will so accept though he keppinge himselfe sole and unmarried. Also whereas he hath a younge black horse and a brown heiferd now known as his owne goods. I do will that after my decease he follow or otherwise to provyde them so that they may not be chargeable to my executor."

Before looking at how they all fitted into the house there is a description in 1669 giving the number of bays all of which would surely have been provided in the early part of the Rede's tenancy. A reconstruction is made from this description and the two Enclosure maps.

"The dwelling House four bayes
the Corne/ Barne Three bayes
the pease barne two bayes/
the stable two bayes the cowhouse one bay/
one coveyard on the northside the house
one garden/ and rickyard on the west side ye house.
Three coves commins formerly four, fower horse/
commins sixteen sheep commins in sommer and thirtytwo in winter" [BNC:552] 1669.

The house in 1609 had to accommodate the widow and her ten year old daughter in one chamber, William in another and soon Rychard and his young wife Anne Bartlett in a third. The two extra bays at the east end beyond the thick inner wall were used for the kitchen and dairy leaving the old hall as the lower chamber although the cooking fire was in there, and the middle bay with no fireplace for eating. Later the best chamber may have been built over the kitchen and the western bay with the hearth turned into the parlour. Up above by 1717 they had a parlour chamber, the middle chamber and the best chamber, though it is not known whether they ever had any access through that thick inner wall, or whether they must go outside to reach the old hall and parlour from the kitchen.

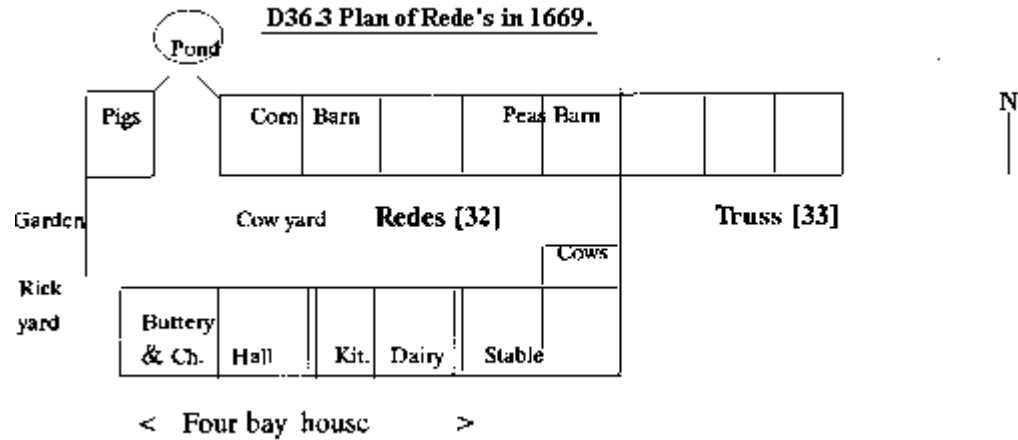
By 1616 Susannah's daughter Joane was old enough to make her way in another house and her mother leaves. William also appears to go being absent from the Easter lists (unless he was writing them, or as clerk was excused payment?). He surfaces in the vicar's accounts for he owed money to Tanner the mercer [39] and it was paid out of his next quarter's money. Once William had married Alice Bokingham, who must have had a life on her parent's copyhold [55], William and Alice could have been living in the Bokingham's house (p436).

The Redes continue to farm down Creampot and all the boys receive an education and some become parish clerks. The last Richard born in 1668 was trained as a barber chirugion. Was he apprenticed to someone in Oxford? He became a sub-tenant, but stayed in Cropredy until he died in 1717.

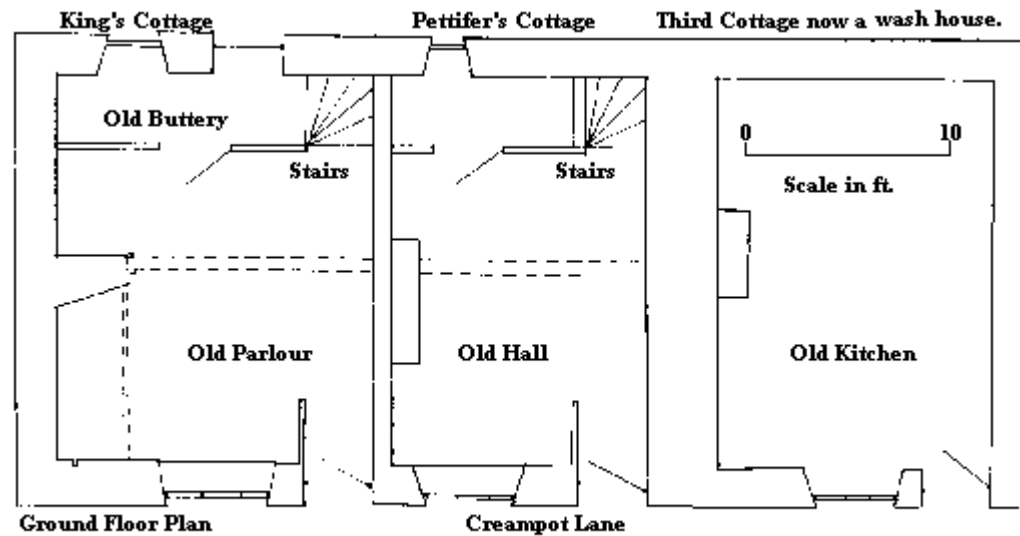
Elkington remodelled the farm house to make two cottages divided by a brick wall and a one room dwelling out of the old kitchen. This later became a wash house for the middle cottage, but there was still no way through the thick wall. The stone dividing wall was 40 feet from the end gable at the eastern corner of the close which allowed room for four narrow bays. The first two had been for the old kitchen and dairy and the last for a two bay stable. The dairy and stable lost their roof and became a walled grass plot with pigsties under the old eastern gable. These sties were for the two larger cottages. All the farmyard buildings once unused began to fall down, or were perhaps recycled to another site, possibly Oathill farm built on an area of enclosed leyland (p219).

How much did this family, keen on education, see of their next door neighbours? All of them respected education from Wyatts down to Hentlowes in Creampot Lane. Thomas Wyatt [31] called in William Rede, after Rede had moved to Round Bottom, to write his will. The Wyatts' and Redes' knowledge of horses must also have drawn them together.

Plan of Rede's in 1669



Three bays of Rede's House [32] as Two Cottages and a Wash house in 1920's



D36.4 Three bays of Rede's House [32] as Two Cottages and a Wash house in 1920's.

King's and Pettifer's Cottages with Wash house in 1920's, once Read's Farmhouse.

D36.5 King's and Pettifer's Cottages with Wash house in 1920's, once Read's Farmhouse.



Hentlowes of Creampot Lane [35].

			William ? WALSER	m	GILLIAN	
			Husbandman		Will* 1558	
<hr/>						
ANNES (2)	m	RICHARD HENTLOWE (1)	m	ELIZABETH	WILLIAM	MARGERIE
bur4.4.88		bur 8.1. 589/90		*		m *
		Husbandman *Exor				
<hr/>						
		ANNES		HARRY [?WILLIAM ?THOMAS]		
		27.2.1550/1		20.7.52* +		Scholars 1576
<hr/>						
JOHN	MARY	RYCHARD	ROBERT	DORETE		
bp9.11.1564	26.7.67	27.2.1575/6	6.6.1579	18.4.1584		
bur.22.2.1616/7				m W.Corbett		
Will + & Inv [35]				9 Oct 1610		
m ?Anne				+ Exor		
bur30.12.1621				at [35] up to 1617		
No children						
<hr/>						
		Anne	Elizabeth	+Other		
		bp12.5.1611	27.3.1614	Children		
<hr/>						
MANASSES PLIVIE	m	ISABELL				
bur 30 Apl 1664		bur 12 Feb 1671 of Wilscoth				
Educated? Bailiff?						
<hr/>						
JOSEPH	ANNE	MARGE	RICHARD	SARAH		
bp24.10.1615	21.2.18/19	24.6.1626	3.5.1629	1.1.1633/4		
Yeoman						
Wardington						
<hr/>						
JOHN STACIE	m	ANNE				
Leased [35]						
<hr/>						
ANNE		ALICE				
bp 13.3.1624/5		24.12.1627				

1614: Jhon hentlow ux.... ijd1624: John Stacie et uxor.....ijd
wam corbett ux..... ijd..... Elizabeth Stacieijd

.....mary hollway..... ijdThomas Stacie.....ijd
.....a mayd..... ijd George macockeijd

The average in the household on the 8 listed years was 4.27.

The bottom farm belonging to the B manor was farmed by widow Gillian Walser until 1558 when it passed to her son-in-law Richard Hentlowe who had married Elizabeth Walser. He too was a sub-tenant, but by 1583 had, like the Rede's, entered a lease for twentyone years. Richard leased two yardlands belonging to the homestall [Hurst 116] and took on three more from the A manor to have the largest farm in the town.

Richard Hentlowe had married twice. His first wife Elizabeth had two children baptised and two others are mentioned as scholars in 1576. Richard again married and Annes gave birth to three sons and two daughters. The youngest daughter Dorete married William Corbett and they lived in one of the chambers. Did she have to care for her brother John Hentlowe? Although John has the house the land is let separately, first to Richard Prescott in 1596, then to Richard Gorstelow of Prescote Manor in 1607. The College gave Richard Prescott permission to demise some part of his house and other commodities to John Hentlowe as specified in an agreement between the two parties. Richard Gorstelow allowed John to keep all the profits which Richard Prescott had previously conferred upon him [Hurst 127 :1607]. This must surely have been because Richard Hentlowe had helped to built the house, or taken out a long lease, and John was unable to work the land. How much revenue was his? John Hentlowe died in 1617 and two years later the staff had gone. John had always had a couple staying, for what reason? When he died he was living in only one chamber. Was he disabled and found extra employment in his ability to read and write? He leaves £45 which was a large amount and out of that he had £30 "debts by specialytes owinge" to him, so he was a small lender of money. He had a bible and two other books worth 8s. John's wife (Anne?) stayed on, but then she too died in 1621. The Stacies had managed to rent the house as Richard Gorstelow junior of Prescote manor needed the land but not the house.

The Hentlowes and other subtenants left no clues in inventories, so that it was not until 1689 that a glimpse can be seen of some of the rooms Hentlowe's might have had. The Mansell's soon began to add improvements to the property. Nehemiah Mansell's 1689 inventory now in the P.R.O. [Prob 4/10691] and Moses Mansell's 1746 inventory at Oxfordshire Archives [MS Wills Pec. 46/4/21] reveal their various additions to this house:

Nehemiah Mansell in 1689Moses Mansell in 1746

Great chamberFirst room
Two little ChambersSecond room
Two GarrittsThird room
Butteryye new rooms
Hall houseye dwelling house
.....Butry
..... Brewhouse
.....Barn

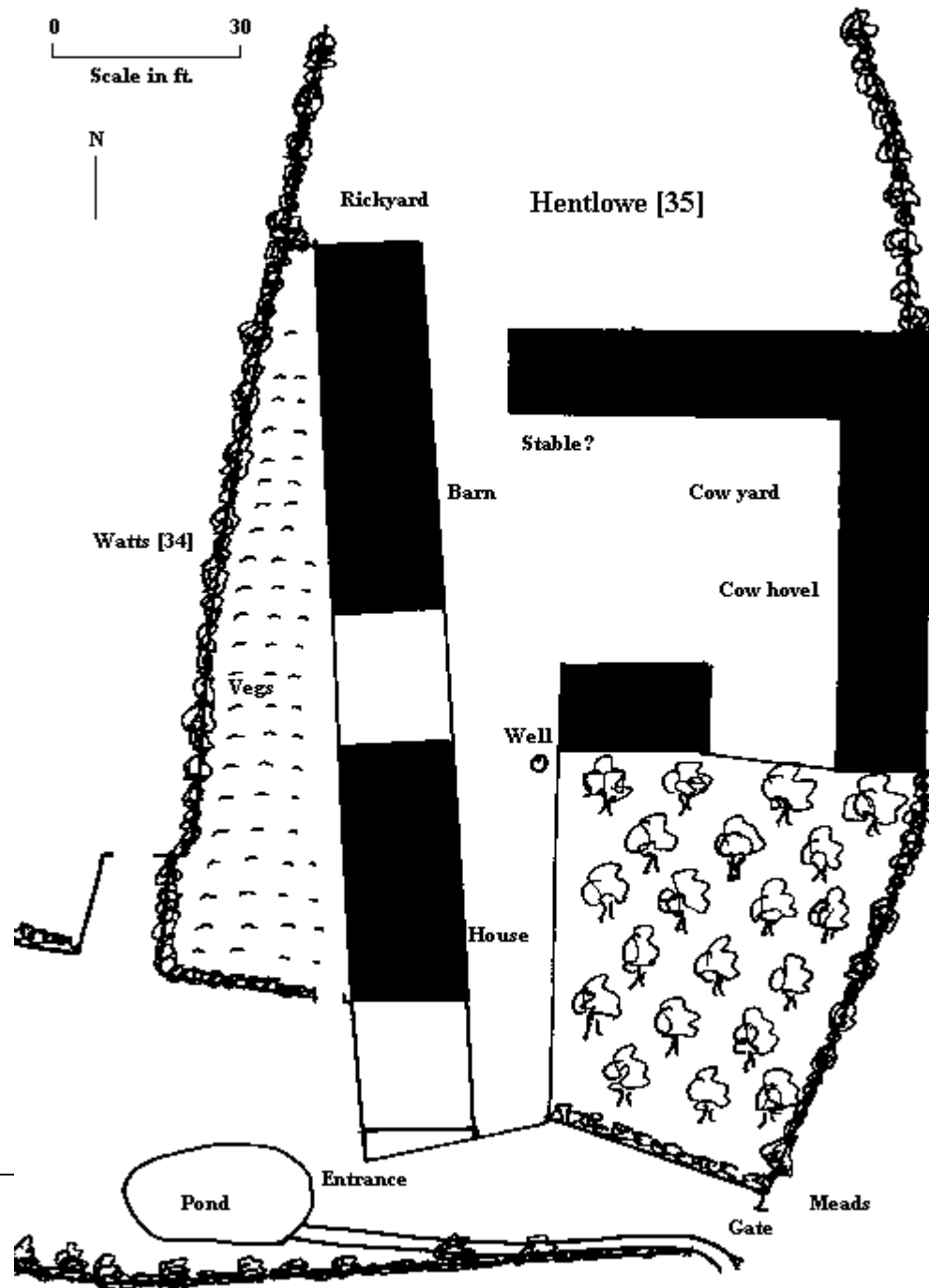
In 1821 the whole property was greatly altered at Thomas Andrew's expense [Valuation Book (3) B.N.C. p84]. He turned the house to face south putting brick outside and lining the front wall with stone. The north wall has many features of an older Mansell building, but Andrews could have recycled the windows. It was left in stone with two, three and four light casements. In 1823 Thomas Andrews started on the yard and tiled the three bay stone barn. Bricks were used in preference to stone only in the new or repaired yard buildings. A closer inspection of the stonework might reveal remains from the earlier periods.

The house had originally faced east across the meadows. They approached the site below the south gable end. The Mansells extended southwards for two extra bays towards the pond. Hentlows may have had only three bays with the usual hall, chamber and perhaps a nether room, but because the barn was to the right of the eastern entrance the design did not follow the general rule followed in Cropredy. Mansells, like Woodroses [8], had added a Great Chamber. In the Mansell terrier for 1674 there is a good description of the site:

"The dwelling House five Bayes Stone walls and thatched.
The barne four bayes Stone Walles and thatched.
The carthouse Stable & Cowhouse & Piggsties seaven Bayes.
The orchard garden & Backside contayneinge about half an acre
Bounded on the Eastward wth great Bullmore on the west wth
Richard Watts his homestall" [BNC:552 in 1674].

Hentlowe's Farm site [35] in 1775.

D36.6 Hentlowe's Farm site [35] in 1775.



The meadows which were also described in the terriers have already been given in chapter 15 page 272. The entrance to the meadows between the Hentlows and the High Furlong Brook went to the south of their property at the bottom of Creampot lane. After the Enclosure of the Open Fields and the building of the Oxford Canal, which came between them and the meadows, an alternative approach had to be made. This went up through the Hentlow's former vegetable plot to the west of the farmhouse and yard [35] and so north to meet a new drift road coming east from the road to Claydon to reach a swing bridge over the canal which gave access to the meadows and Prescote manor beyond High Furlong Brook.

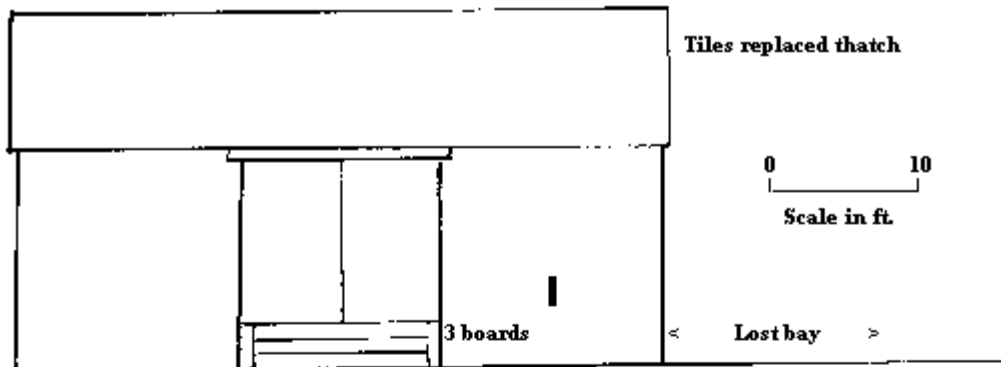
In the sixteenth century the Hentlowe's, at the insistence of the College, would have put up an adequate stone house and made sure the well was by the eastern doorway. They had one inglenook fireplace in the hall. The steep thatch roof of Hentlowe's barn was lowered to take tiles by the Andrews about two hundred and fifty years after Hentlowes. The east and west walls had slits and the north gable had four triangular vents as well as a hay door. The rickyard was probably to the north sheltered by elm trees and hedges. The small shepherd's "cottage" (if that is what it was built for) had the rarer, but later ashlar walls on this manor, a tiny window to the right of the central door and a square 18 inch window on the north wall. This was to become the cowshed or stable with a hay loft door and vents on the west wall. The north east corner of the yard had a stone cattle hovel open to the yard. Originally this was built on the edge of their close backing onto the meadows. In the 1770's the canal was built so close to this hovel that it suffered from the water washing the banks. This was partly the result of everyone needing to build right up to their boundary, using every foot of their land. To the south of the yard was a small orchard and garden whose southern boundary was the small water course which once took Creampot water to the mill pound.

Andrews used the new western approach to the meadows (through the old vegetable garden) to approach the altered barn. Beyond the barn there would be a way across the rickyard to turn back into the yard, now entered from the north instead of the south. The barn was reduced by a bay for now the farm was a pasture not a mixed farm and the barn did not require four bays. With the approach now from the west two double barn doors were made for the middle bay opposite a smaller eastern door which was used for the departing empty cart as it entered the yard. Stock was now of greater importance since all their College land was down to grass. The land allocated to them was in one parcel extending as far as the road to Appletree, to the north of the farm. Andrews therefore needed to improve their cattleyard and update their stone cowhovel as well as creating a better yard cesspit [BNC Letters].

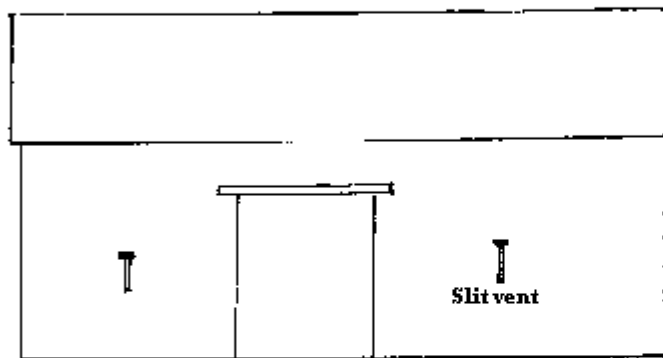
The new western approach allowed the front garden and orchard to be enclosed in a new fashionable brick and partly stone wall on the western side giving privacy to the tenants who sometimes sublet the house as a gentlemen's residence.

The altered Barn and small building in Hentlowe's [35] old farmyard.

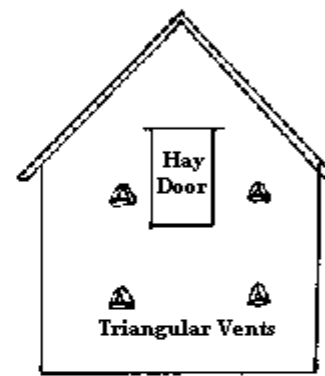
D36.7 The altered Barn and small building in Hentlowe's [35] old farmyard.



West Elevation of the stone barn after 1823.



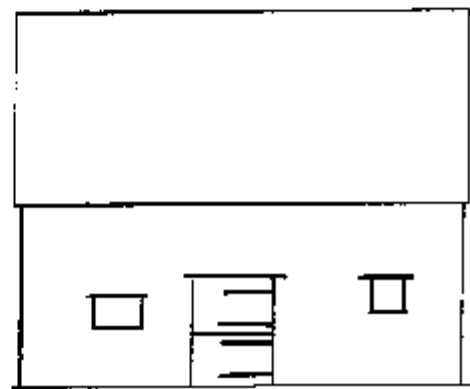
East Elevation with narrower doors.



North gable



Gable End of Ashlar Building



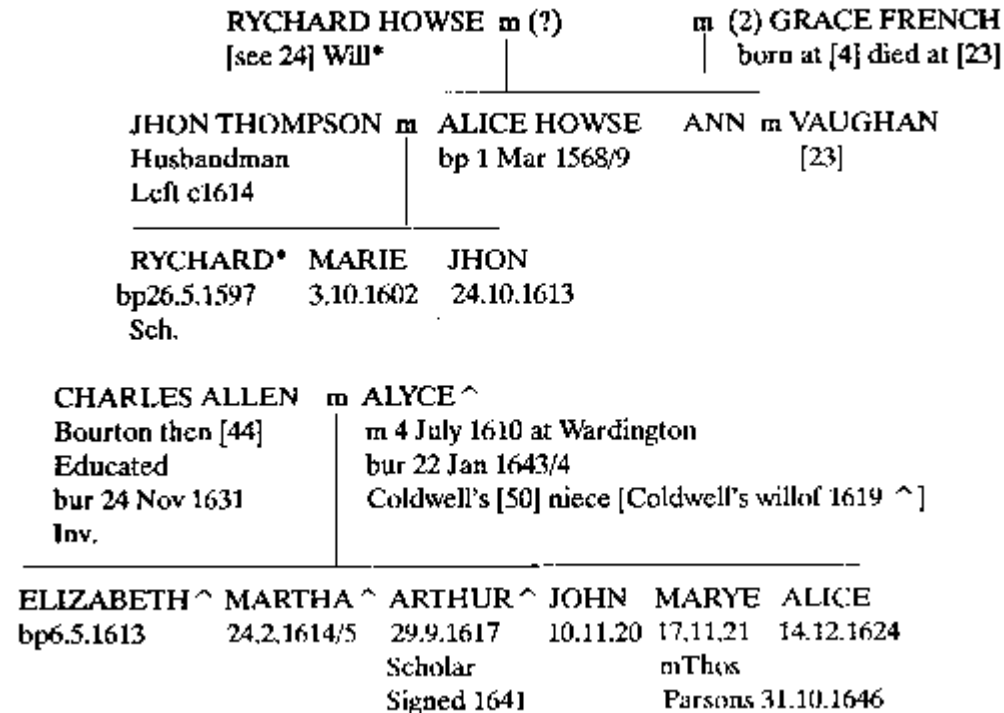
South Elevation

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37. The Last Three Farms [44,50 and 60]

Thompsons and Allens [44].



1614: Jhon tompson ux... ijd1624: Charles Allen et uxorijd

The average in the household on the 8 listed years was 3.12

Jhon and Alice Thompson, followed by Charles and Alyce Allen [44], lived in a cottage which was tucked away behind Church Street at the western entrance to the A manor farm [50].

Jhon Thompson may have been the overseer or bailiff as Arthur Coldwell [50] was a gentleman and required staff to run his farm. The Thompsons like Kynd, Vaughan and others left the church early and were presented at the church court (p30). They

belonged to an educated group of people living in the town. Thompson's son Rychard had been a scholar at Williamsote in 1604. His grandfather Rychard Howse mentioning him in his will. Had he completed his education? It is likely that Jhon Thompson also received some education to keep the farm records. Alice Thompson nee Howse was brought up in Church Lane [24] and her step-mother Grace came to live with them when Alice's sister took over the farm.

Alice had been twentynine when Rychard was born, but surely there had been a delay in the baptising of their youngest Jhon junior, for by then Alice was fortyfive. They baptised him just before they left in 1613 when Jhon senior was nearly fifty. They still had a young family like the Handley's and Kynd's who also left that year, so why did the three families leave? Before they departed Grace who had lived with them for several years moved to live with her own daughter Ann Vaughan [23] and there she stayed until she died.

Charles and Alyce Allen came down from Bourton to work for Coldwells [50], Alyce being Arthur Coldwell's niece. They were married at Wardington before moving to Bourton. Charles had received some schooling and may have gone on to learn how to survey and be a farm bailiff. They had six children, the first three receiving a mention in Coldwell's will. Arthur, their first son, apparently named after his great uncle, was able to go to school. The youngest was only seven when their father Charles caught the 1631 fever and died too quickly to make a will (p448). He had had access to many houses denied to a workman or craftsman and it must have been because of his position on the farm, or because he collected the A manor rents. Alyce lived for twelve more years, but doing what, and who acted as bailiff?

Twentyone year old William Suffolk and his wife Joane left the family farm in Hello [60] after his father died in 1660 and may have come to live and work the A manor farm, but who undertook this work for the thirty years in between? Suffolk's had two boys and four girls before William died leaving Joane with six children under eleven. What would happen to them all?

The Cottage.

The cottage which retained some of the earlier timber features was under the same roof as the hay barn end. It is not certain whether the house and barn together had once been just a large timber cottage even though the two parts were not on the same ground level, and when the walls were stoned they were done at different times. After 1775 the hay barn at the north end was made into a cottage with casement windows. As a timber building the house end had an inside measurement of 21 by 14 feet. The entrance on the south gable stepped down six inches into a hall which would be open to the rafters. The low

chamber was at the front with a small buttery behind. The chamber and buttery partition wall had a wattle and daub infill plastered on the south hall side, but the rough studs were exposed to view from the buttery and low chamber.

The ladder to the upper chamber was in the north east corner of the buttery. This was once fastened to the transverse beam over the north partition. The beam which was four inches square had a slightly curved top. All that remained of the prestairs ladder was one plugged oblong hole and a hook at the east end of the beam [seen in 1974]. When the first stairs were built to replace the ladder they reduced the buttery to a passage. These stairs were built in a perfect square four feet wide and the ten treads met at the newel post. Someone had added a hand rail, but "the stairs had never" it was said, "been the cause of an accident." A cupboard was made underneath. The ladder had entered the upper chamber which was completely enclosed by the outer walls and a north and south partition. A ceiling was necessary to prevent the open fire's smoke getting into the bedchamber. The two light casement window faced west.

Above the later newel stairs the old collar remained at purlin height above the cottage's north timber truss, even after the inner stone gable was built to divide off the barn and cottage. The stone wall continued right up to the apex.

The collar did not touch the stone wall probably because they left the old original north partition and the ceiling over the upper chamber after the stone walls were added. The other old bedroom partition on the south side which had protected the upper chamber from the smokey hall was jointed into a thick collar above and the transverse tie beam beneath.

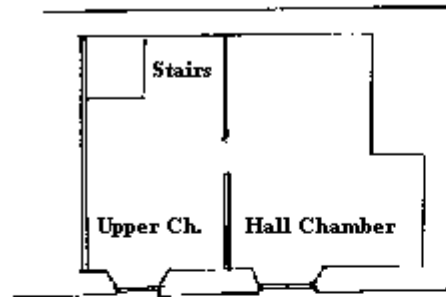
Before Charles Allen died in 1631 the walls had been stoned and a chimney built on the south gable next to the entrance as the Toms' [15] were to do in the 1680's. The walls were twentytwo inches thick in this one and a half storey cottage. With a chimney replacing the open fire a hall chamber could be added. A spine beam supporting the upper oak floor had no stops and was only roughly chamfered.

Thompson's and Allen's Cottage [44].

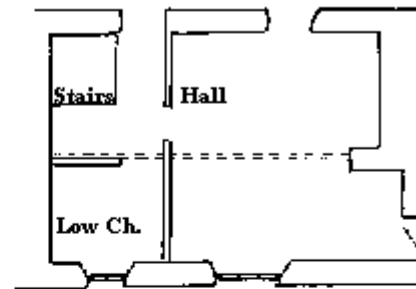
D37.1 Thompson's and Allen's Cottage [44].

0 10

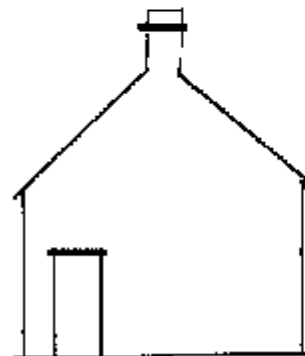
Scale in ft.



Plan of Upper Floor



Plan of Ground Floor



South Gable



West Elevation

Once the hall chimney arrived and a hall chamber floor was added then a doorway was made through the partition with the new door opening into the first upper chamber. The wall studs were still exposed towards the original chamber, and they kept the wattle and daub plaster on the hall chamber side.

The roof rafters between the end plate and the purlins were also on view and some had been replaced. The purlin on the west side took a sharp bend becoming lower in the original upper chamber now the landing bedroom. The principal roof timbers crossed to support the ridge pole. They were pegged.

All the lintels were wooden. In the 1950's the leaded casement windows were replaced. In 1975 the thatched roof was taken off and replaced with slate and the stairs modernised. No doubt the old stairs were removed, rescued and recycled as the architect had called them "unique and very old" [I am grateful to the late Mr Heighton for help with this cottage].

Although it is certain the Charles Allens lived in this property problems arise which cannot be explained for the inventory had the following rooms:

Charles Allen 1632

Hall [Fire]

Plor [2 beds!]

Chamber over ye Hall

Buttery

Kitchen

Heay house.

With a chamber over the hall the chimney had definitely arrived, but how did two beds squeeze into the tiny low parlour chamber? Was the kitchen in a new wing behind? Or had the barn end always had a kitchen? The hay barn once it had been given new stone walls measured 22 feet by 18, which allowed for two bays. The Allen's had their own well in the garden. At the other end of the track (Jitty) through the farmyard lived the Coldwells [50].

Coldwells and Cartwrights A Manor Farm, Church Street [50]

Coldwell's [50]

Mr ARTHUR COLDWELL Gentleman PCC Will * bur 15 Dec 1619	m	Mrs ELIZABETH Still in Church Street in 1624 + 6 staff, Exor *
		WILLIAM* m Lived elsewhere

1614: arthur coldwell ux..... 1624: Mrs Elizabeth Coldwell..... ijd
.....folke greneijdRobert Whettell..... ijd
.....2 maydesiiijd John Jeffesijd
.....2 men..... iijjd Thomas Rawlins..... ijd
.....John Palmerijd
.....[Edward c.o]
.....Elizabeth Smith..... ijd
.....Elizabeth Suttonijd

The average for that household on the 8 listed years was 8.14.

In 1589 Arthur Coldwell leased a third of the demesne farmland on the A manor [Alienation Book 31 Eliz]. Coldwells baptise no children in Cropredy and Arthur's PCC will mentions only one son William. The only clues about relatives came in the wills distribution of a large amount of silver (p679). Some Coldwells came from Wootten, but so far no baptism, or marriage for Arthur and his loving wife Elizabeth have been found only Arthur's burial. He left instructions to be buried not in the church but outside in the churchyard near to his sister and "my good Mrs Calthropp." This explains nothing about the family, only his belief (p166). Elizabeth stayed until her lease expired, but left no evidence of her final home.

Arthur did have ideas about employing the poor (p173) and left money for them in many parishes. He died in December soon after the Reverend Thomas Holloway and his own shepherd. The rest of the two households appear to escape whatever caused them to die.

The Coldwell's lived in the most important house in the town. The manor house which ought to hold the manorial court lacked a courtyard, unless they used the millyard or crossed the street to their gate into the churchyard and held the court in the church.

The A manor farmhouse was between two entrances. To the east was the Church Street gate into the mill yard. To the west of the house was the entrance to their farmyard. A northern extension to the house had been built alongside the way to the farm buildings. This track went on through the farmyard to a field way across to Creampot Lane which brought the cows into the yard, unless they came past Tanners [39] and Allen's [44] cottages. When they came via Creampot they passed through Calves close and then Bury [Berry] Close which was on the north side of the yard. The "Bury" name coming from the closeness to the Manor house, rather than because people were buried there.

Arthur Coldwell set three of their six yardlands to others, but being a gentleman had to have a large staff to farm the land as well as running their household which required plenty of service rooms. The cowshed must cater for twelve cows with their followers and stables for more than six horses. The farm still needed a large barn to hold corn and a rickyard for the peas and hay.

Although Arthur Coldwell put a tenant in the mill he was with the millers who were presented for not allowing drink during the Rogation week perambulations of the boundaries (p29). Their tithes were gathered and recorded with the B manor and the millers, but again with little information. In 1613 Arthur is recorded as having twelve cows, but the flock entries are rather confusing (sheep p262). There are no early inventories for Coldwells and the Cartwrights who followed them left even fewer records. They only farmed one yardland setting two to Wyatts. There was a yearly rent of £8 on Bury and Calves Close which in the 1680's was also set to Wyatts, and from Job Wyatt's inventory it was discovered that this rent equalled the value of the hay it produced [MS. Will Pec. 55/2/31: p54 Boothby Letters Add. MS. 71961].

Coldwell had several members of staff who are named. His bailiff in the cottage by the farmyard [44] would be the most important, but the apprentices he was training came next on his staff: Ffoulke Green who was educated at Williamscoote and

later leased land for himself (p90) stayed for several years. Robert Whettell worked from this house for a long time (p151) and John Jeffs was another probably apprenticed to Coldwell. The Coldwell's were unusual in that they took on some Cropredy boys and girls who might stay on for a second or third year.

The Farmhouse.

It was to this building while it remained the manor farm that the Bishops men came to collect the rents and later on the Boothby landlords. It was therefore in the prime position near the church and upper mill.

The house faced south onto Church Street and across to the churchyard. The Coldwell's front door had a carved tudor rose above the lintel. A small cellar window was near the front steps. They had built a stone and thatched two and a half storey house increased to three storeys over the cellar. The cockloft had elm boards and may have been added when the price of oak was rising. The hall had a spine beam. There are no early details, but the house would be one of the first to receive attention, yet not quite as early as Howse [28] because there were no transverse beams, unless these were replaced at a later alteration. Richard Cartwright who followed left no details of the house either, though he did help with the writing or witnessing of a few wills and must have taken some part in the town affairs. Following them, but after a break, came John Wyatt junior with Mary his wife. John was the son of Mr John and Sarah [31] (p595). John junior died young and his brother Job was allowed to take on the lease of [50]. Both left inventories for their house which had six hearths, but only Job's gave the rooms:

Job Wyatt's inventory March 20th 1686 [55/2/31]:

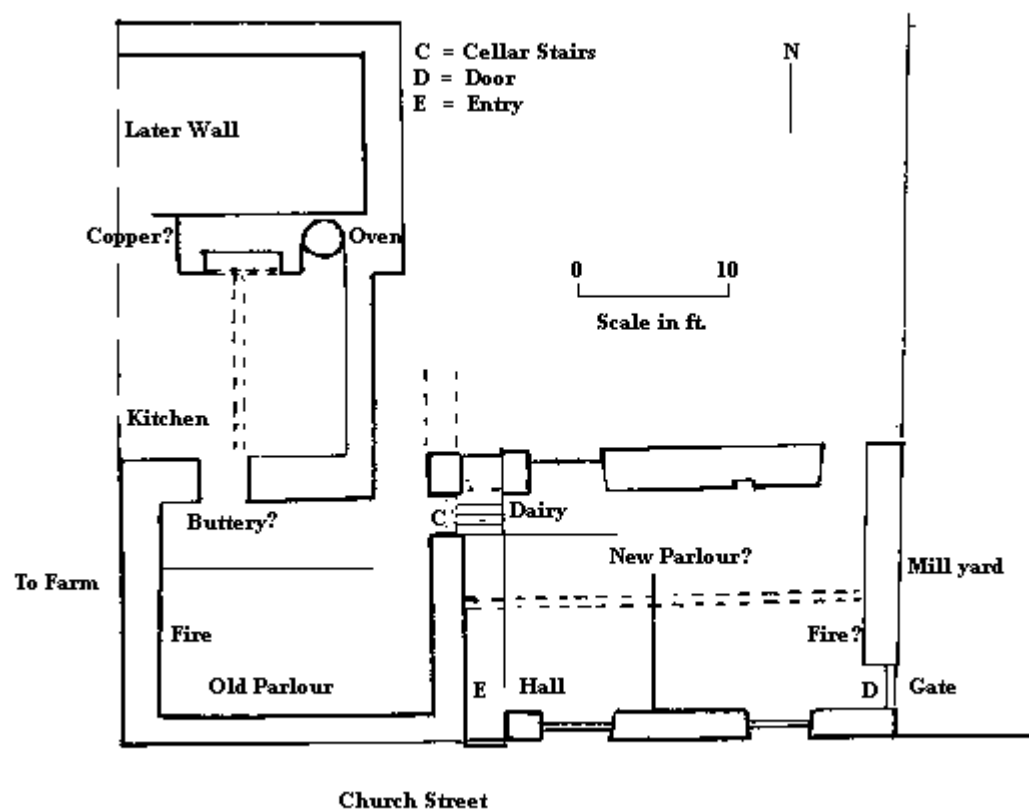
ParlourParlour Chamber
..... Little Chamber
HallHall Chamber
DairyChamber over the Dairy
Buttery
Old ParlourOld Parlour Chamber
Milhouse [Kiln?]
Outward kitchen

If we take the rooms in the order they wrote them down we have to start in the new parlour in the eastern bay, but first they had to enter the house through the entry passage and cross the hall to the new parlour which took up the whole bay. The appraisers would have started in that room retracing their steps across the hall to the passage. The dairy may have been at the rear of the hall bay. They do not mention the cellar down the stone stairs where the house water came from a spring, or the cockloft at the top of the house as neither had goods which must be declared. Passing the cellar door at the end of the entry passage they came to the buttery at the back of the western bay near a doorway to the north wing. At the front was the old parlour with a chimney on the western gable end. In the north wing they found a milhouse (or kiln house) and the outward kitchen. The staff would have continued to bake in the kitchen where an oven existed in an old inglenook on the north gable and for such a big establishment they needed a brewing furnace which could have used the same chimney.

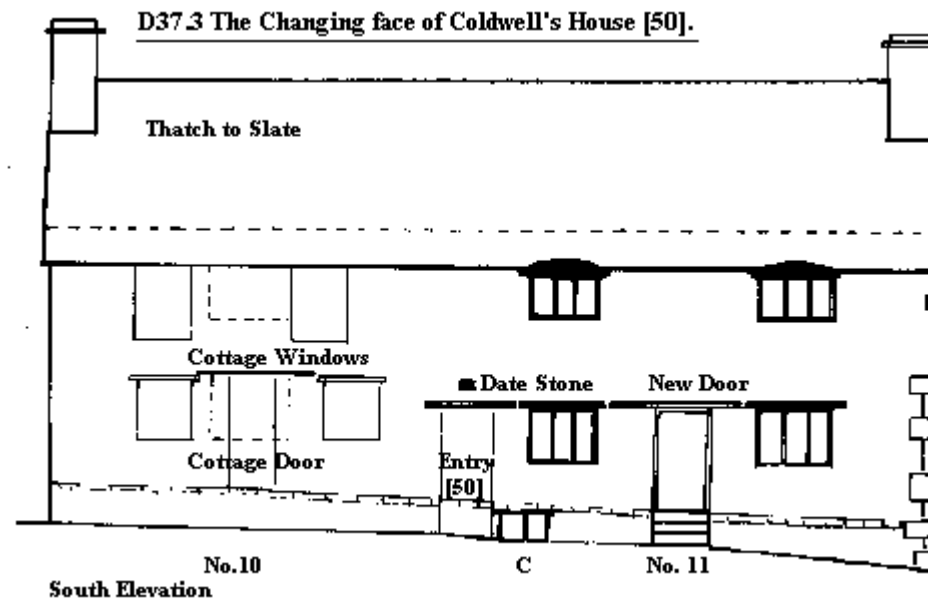
The position of the stairs is lost. Job had kept the new parlour as a dayroom without a bedstead so that upstairs they needed five chambers on the first floor. A parlour chamber, a little chamber to store cheese, a hall chamber in which the malt garner was kept and surely a servant slept here to guard it. The fourth chamber was over the dairy and the fifth above the old parlour. The newel stairs would possibly go on up to the cockloft which helped to house the staff.

Reconstruction of Coldwell's House [50].

D37.2 Reconstruction of Coldwell's House [50].



The Changing face of Coldwell's House [50].



The rear wall to the old parlour and hall has the thickness of an earlier building. The south elevation has seen alterations in most centuries. Did the oak lintels over the casement windows ever replace stone mullions? The main entrance was filled in when two cottages were made at the front and another two out of the northern wing. After the mill was pulled down for the canal a brick and stone house was added across the mill entrance. Steps up to a side door in the eastern gable of the manor house which entered the new parlour in the southeast corner had to be filled in. Recent alterations have turned the western bays and north wing into a house with a new entrance from the Jitty. This no longer leads up to a farmyard though a right of way still runs north to Creampot Lane and west past [44] to the village hall.

Rose and Suffolk in Hello [60].

<p>HENRY ROSE In 1552 survey 2 ydlands & Cott bur 2.3.1577/8 Croprey</p>	m ?	
	|	<p>WILLIAM m ELLEN Yeoman/Grazier bur 7 Aug 1611 bur 15 Oct 1602 Will PCC Will No children baptised at Croprey</p>
<hr/>		
<p>JOHN SUFFOLK Husbandman bur 26 July 1628 Inv. [60]</p>	m	<p>JANE Hall 21 April 1608</p>
<hr/>		
<p>MARRIAN bp10.8.1608</p>	<p>WILLIAM 31.7.1611 bur 8.3.1660/1 [60]</p>	<p>HANNA 7.8.1614</p>
	m	<p>ELIZABETH 30.7.1617 bur 26 July 1628 ELIZABETH Gardner 1.7.1633 bur 24.2.1657/8</p>
<hr/>		
<p>JOHN 12.1.1633/4</p>	<p>ANNE 6.12.1635</p>	<p>WILLIAM bp 1.3.1639/40 bur 4.3.1672/3 To [44]</p>
	m	<p>ELIZABETH bp 13.7.1643 bur 20 May 1644 JOANE</p>
<hr/>		
<p>WILLIAM 1660/1</p>	<p>JANE 1661</p>	<p>REBECAH 1664</p>
	m	<p>ESAU 1666/7</p>
	|	<p>ELIZABETH 1669</p>
	|	<p>HANNAH 1671</p>

1614: Jhon suffolke ux..... ijd..... 1624: John Suffolke et uxor..... ijd
.....his manijd

The average in the household for the 8 listed years was 4.62.

In 1552 Henry Rose leased two yardlands and a cottage, late in the tenure of John Byrds, in Cropredy. In the next generation William Rose was called a yeoman and a grazier, but this must be from an earlier period, or he had grazing land in another parish. In 1588 they were leasing half a yardland from the Lyllee's farm [29]. The position of their house was clarified by Ellen. In her will she left money for "the causeway or passage near my house next to the church gate" (p172). The house which was on the western side of Hello had been built below the churchyard [60]. William and Ellen took no children to be baptised at Saint Mary's church and the Roses mention only godchildren in their wills.

William had had some education and after 1577 was with the vicar witnessing a will on nine occasions over a period of twentytwo years. After his wife proved his own will in London she may have brought in John Suffolk to help run the holding. Whether he was a relative or formed a contract to help her in return for carrying on the lease we do not know.

William considered his "wordly goods" had been his only because God had blessed him with the use of them. William was one of the first of a group of puritans to mention his worldly goods in this way. These he entrusted to the care of his wife Ellen, who would be guided by the vicar (p163). His marriage was more likely to have been a shared partnership. His goods, place of burial and everything else is quietly left in Rose's hands, with no mention of any particular item. Unfortunately having proved his will in London the inventory has not survived. William's will does give the impression that he was an upright industrious and particular person who had risen to yeomanry status. Yet others call him a grazier. Had his stock been cattle or sheep or both?

Jane Hall married John Suffolk in 1608. Together they had the care of Ellen Rose and the farm for her last three years. During that time two of the five Suffolk children were born. The eldest William (1611-1660) farmed with his mother Jane after John died. William was too young to be a dealer, but he married Elizabeth Gardner rather hurriedly when he was twentytwo. Three of their four children survive. William may have stayed on farming, sending their second son William to school for after his father died William (1639-72), then aged twentyone married Joane and moved to the A manor bailiff's cottage [44]. William Wyatt took over the Suffolk's farm, altering and improving it so that in 1663 he was paying for three hearths.

The Roses could have built the stone house which had a hall and kitchen both with chimneys, a milk house and chamber on the ground floor. There would have been three chambers over the lower rooms. By William Wyatt's time the downstairs chamber was called the parlour and the milk house the pantry, the latest name for a buttery. Without a building we cannot say which way this farm faced, but if it was southwards and the barn was to the west, the most likely position for the hall and parlour would be to the east of the entrance and the kitchen next to the barn. Could all that remains of the north wall have been rebuilt or has anything come through from Rose's day? The north wall formed part of the churchyard boundary. Looking at the blocked doorway in that wall (next to the gate into Hello) suggests the "house door" was in the wrong bay. Have any clues survived?

The Reverend Ballard who knocked down the Suffolk's house used the stone for his vicarage garden walls, lining them with brick as he did in his vegetable garden [21]. Could part of the remaining wall have been the north wall of Rose's three bay house (30.5 feet)? The eastern wall next to Hello was rebuilt by Ballard and the south wall and chimneys pulled down. As the barn formed a continuous line with the house could it have been a longhouse? The smallness of the site producing one long building.

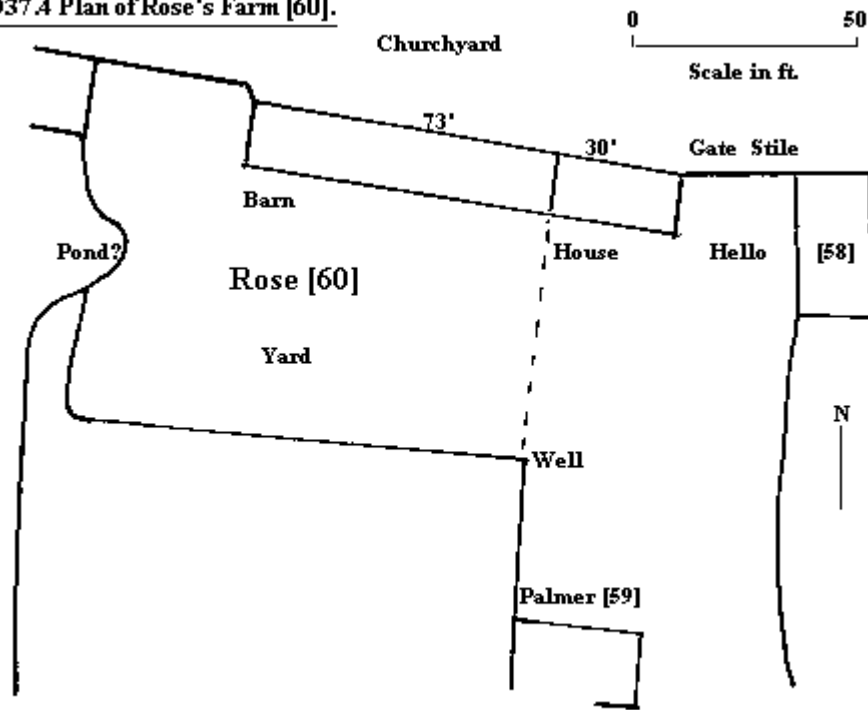
The small farm had their yard reaching westwards towards the Parsonage Close. A strange curvature on the boundary like a pond was shared with the close below Suffolk's so that the two had access to what may once have been a watering, serving both fields and yard. There may of course have been another explanation.

By selling seed corn to the vicar was Suffolk acting as a dealer (p337)? When he died his horses, stock and house contents had shrunk considering he still had an eight year old son. Into the barn and buildings went a crop worth £13-13s-4d in 1628, three horses, two cows and his cart. His widow Jane was left to run the farm but could not act as a dealer.

Wyatt improved the three bay house and may have encroached into the first bay of the barn. He lived as a boy on the Green [13] and then the family moved to Creampot [31] (p595). What did this learned man with his study of books do for a living? Was he working with his farrier brother John? The site is fuller than most with unsolved mysteries. Wyatt's former neighbour from Creampot lane, William Rede the retired schoolmaster, came to live next door at Palmers [59] old cott

Plan of Rose's Farm [60].

D37.4 Plan of Rose's Farm [60].



Having placed the residents in their cottages or farms, further details can still be discovered in the halls, chambers and service rooms which make up Part Five.

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THE TOWN OF CROPREDY 1570 - 1640

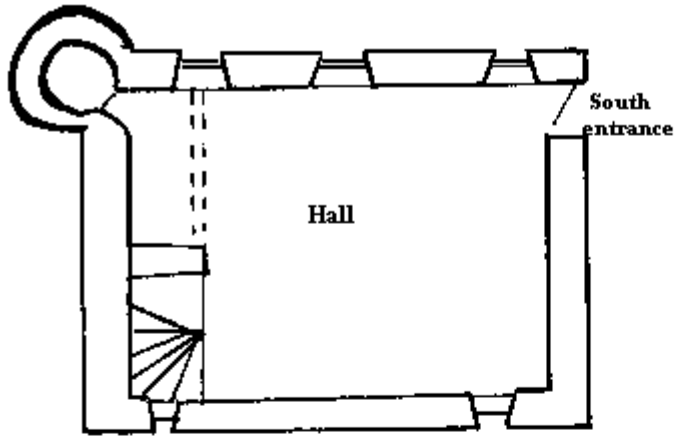
Part V

Details about furniture, furnishings and apparel which would have enriched descriptions of the houses and cottages in Part 4 have instead been gathered together into the following chapters for the Hall, Chambers, Service Rooms and Apparel. It was important to understand which articles were readily available or rare. In Part 4 the average number of adults was given for each property. The size going some way to determining the number of household items required in the preparation of food seen in the halls and service rooms. As the chapters have unfolded the following questions may have been asked. Was this family or that one collecting pewter, brass, stock or land to rise in status, or just to provide for the next generation? We have noticed the amount of land they have, their stock related to this land, whether they are young, achieving and increasing, or paying out family portions, decreasing and becoming poorer due to widowhood or just old age. This comes out in the last chapter when the older townsmen and women leave very little except for their clothes. Which house had the best apparel and can we tell who were the straight laced hardworking puritans from those who could have joined in with the maypole dancers? Their goods may help to strengthen the picture of a busy, reasonably prosperous town just before the civil war broke out on their doorstep.

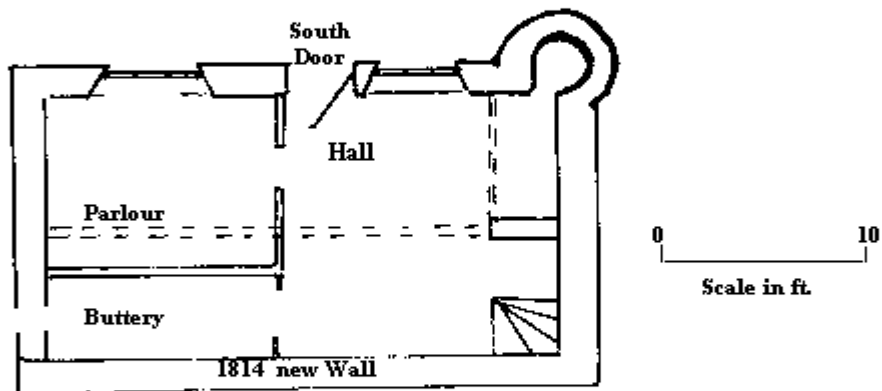
- 38. The Hall
- 39. Chambers
- 40. Service Rooms
- 41. Apparel worn in Cropredy

Reconstruction of Three Halls [42,19 and 33].

D38.1 Reconstruction of Three Halls [42,19 and 33].

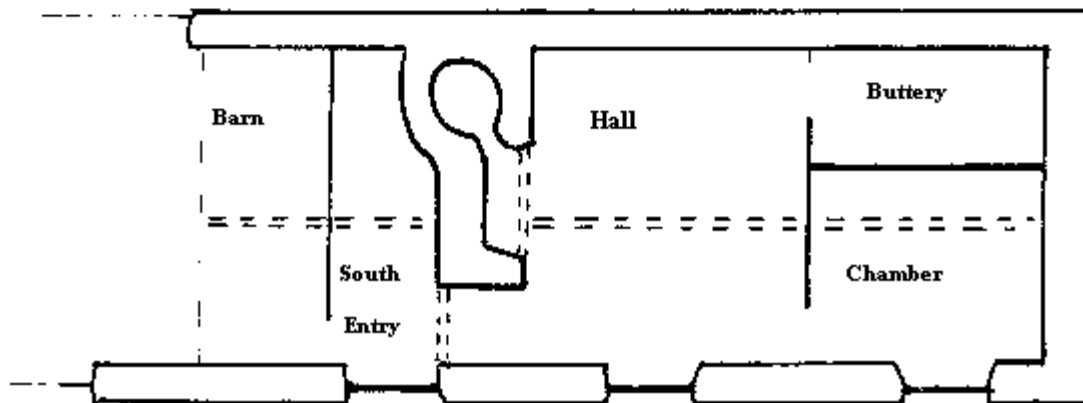


Plan of Sutton's one cell cottage [42].



Plan of Hudson's/ Bayley's cottage [19].

Plan of Truss's Long-house-type [33]



38. The Hall

Thomas Holloway's will "concerning my housholde goods, as namely beddinge, lynnens, bedsteds, tables, formes, stooles, pewter, brasse, iron potts, kettles, coffers, chests, and like accomptable household goods I give the one halfe to my wife, and being divided, shee to make her choyce..."

It is possible through inventories to count almost every sheet and table napkin, as well as their fire equipment which some Cropredy townspeople used and to discover that the majority of husbandmen had the above items and more, as well as many cottagers with little land, but to show this may prove a trifle tedious and long winded.

In the late sixteenth century the smaller households store items all over the cottage, putting them in the bedchamber, over the stairs and when space ran out the tenant constructed a loft. Husbandmen and craftsmen alike had coffers made to protect their few clothes and napery, but many possessions ended up in odd corners due to the lack of cupboards. Outdoor clothes and horse gear were hung up on wooden pegs along with the last season's onions. The few shelves which were put up would hold a display of pewter. These were kept for best, rarely replacing the everyday wooden platters and spoons. Essential wooden vessels known as "cowperly ware," or treen were usually found "about the house." Wooden tools and objects met the eye at every turn. Boards were saved for three or four legged stools, forms, tables, beds and room partitions. Objects such as candle boxes, love spoons or lace bobbins made by the son or master and given as gifts were of such a low value they often went unmentioned in the inventories.

Many Elizabethan women, but by no means all, expressed enthusiasm for all the bright primary colours competing for their attention especially in their apparel. A few added household comforts using materials suitable for their sewing and embroidery needles. Would Nicholas Woodrose [8], or his father bring cushions from London for Martha or Dyonice as Ralph Nuberry had done fifty years earlier for his little daughter Margery (p519)? Having local weavers available many townspeople would prefer to rely on them for cushions, curtains for the bed, blankets and "hillings" as well as sheets and other napery.

The local carpenters may not have been asked to change their style from the plain household furniture to one of over carved chairs, tables and beds. The necessity of passing on all furniture to the next generation would keep the new ornate work to a minimum in husbandry circles. Their goods became family heirlooms and were not replaced by new pieces. Only younger sons

might have to commission more articles, generally from the planks given to them by their father and made up locally before they left Cropredy.

From the records and house survey the hearth was usually in the hall house, the cottager's main room. The families of Cropredy in from the fields sat at the table and remained there to entertain any guests. Everyone in the household was using this hall, but what was it really like?

The hall atmosphere must have altered once the hearth was taken from the middle of the room where it had been the centre of attention. The older generation believed the hearth had been demoted to a secondary position when it was now confined to a deep chimney recess on an outer wall, or backed onto the entry passage. This was much safer in small cottages and farms, but it had changed the whole appearance of the hall and the methods of working. Being too far inland from London, and none in the wealthier bracket, the fireplaces escaped the huge Elizabethan carved overmantels, so that a plain though chamfered timber bressumer formed the lintel which supported the chimneybreast. For the women this warm inglenook was soon to become a more convenient place to stack drying wood and furze. On the other side of the fire stood the pots and kettles needed to boil the water and cook the meal. When wood only was burnt the chimney proved the ideal place to smoke the sides of bacon. They built stone ovens within the chimney which cooked the weekly bread. Wall alcoves to hold the candle safely were usually positioned near doors and the hearth. Those alcoves which had a door were used to store salt. The miller Smyth [51] had a container instead and two salt barrels. The one which contained salt was worth 1s-8d.

Over the fire was the place to hang weapons (above the spit rack), but not everyone could carry weapons. Militia men could, but servants were not allowed to before 1588. Until the local militia were desperately short of men it was thought inadvisable to allow anyone under a gentleman to hold firearms. Yeomen and husbandmen were expected to practice at the Butts with their bows and arrows. Nuberry [8] had in his sleeping chamber "a shotynge bowe and 8 arrowes 3s-4d" and Smyth [51] in 1595 had "a dagger, a bowe and six Arrowes" valued at 6s-8d in the hall and his holberde in the nether chamber off the entry were he may have slept. John Gardner had bows and arrowes worth 2s-6d in Bourton up to 1591 [39/2/13]. In 1599 Vaughan [23] had "a small gun," which could have been a recent addition. Thomas Cleredge of Great Bourton in 1639 left a sword and a "pistill" as well as his "Bibell" [MS.Will Pec.35/1/12]. Nuberry when he wasn't practicing at the Butts had "2 bolyng boles" 1s, but left no knowledge of where he played or with whom.

In Smyths [51] hall was a great "whiche" worth 2s-6d, whose contents were interesting. It no longer sieved flour for he had turned it into a store for yarns and "certerne wool." Had he too begun to full cloth? He did have three other chests and Cross [51] later had seven. A miller would appear to have a lot to put away and chose to do so in his communal room. Woods [56] in their small cottage had no alternative but to make the best use of their only downstairs room. They had five chests in which to store necessary belongings. Occasionally an empty hen pen was stored in the hall, or did it hold the chicks? All kinds of articles were stored in the halls and overflowed, when they had them, into their other rooms.

Relations and neighbours came into the hall so it was here they displayed the best pewter. This was one form of banking for as the children grew up they could be distributed as legacies, rather safer than sheep although stock naturally increased and pewter in famines decreased in value and had to be sold to provide food.

At first the new stone walls went unplastered, though some would be limewashed. The stone, or good hard "clay" floor could be covered in winter with straw, or rushes and herbs in summer. No rugs or carpets, they were kept for the table, cupboard, bed or wall. Upstairs the recycled oak or new elm boards were also left exposed. Were the wooden, or plastered wattle and daub partitions left plain? The underneath of joists holding the upper floor over the hall might be painted, or left until "seelings" arrived. Wooden shutters were closed over the window holes, or glazed lights at dusk, and curtains drawn around the parents' standing bed in their chamber rather than across a window. The exception being at French's [4] where in 1617 they had "one curtin l--d rodd to the windoled."

A few houses may have painted pictures upon the wooden posts, partitions or painted walls, but none have survived except for fragments in the church. Moveable painted cloths which were hung up for decoration did get a mention in inventories (p642). The Reverend Harrison remarked that "The walls of our houses on the inner side...be either hanged with tapestries or Arras work or painted cloths."

Hearth.

The new stone chimneys brought the hearth into an inglenook. Some like Cattells [30] had two hearths. When Robins' [26] house was dismantled the hearth stones had been laid on a hard clay floor. The chimneys were wide and deep which at first allowed the weather to descend into the room. The fires often smoked until the chimney stones warmed up after which some members of the household would sit on the little "side benches," or on the "binch in the chimney." These were mostly wooden

and moveable, but there had been stone ones let into the outer wall if the oven allowed. A fireback was used to reflect some of the heat.

The printed hearth tax returns of 1665 show only thirteen households in Cropredy paying a tax. Two others were discharged from paying due to poverty. They all lived in substantial houses. This small number of hearths conflicted with the house survey evidence and other hearth tax returns were looked at. The 1663 list [PRO: E 179/255/4] had thirtythree households paying the two shilling tax on each hearth which was collected half yearly. It has already been noted that those not paying a church or poor rate were not eligible for the hearth tax as their cottage paid a years rent of less than 20s and they farmed less than half a yardland. Those who had less than £10's worth of chattels also escaped. The fact that the adjoining parish of Bourton had a larger proportion of households paying a hearth tax was because many more had purchased strips of land and therefore paid church rates. This did not mean that Bourton had more chimneys than Cropredy, but that more came into the rate paying bracket.

The constable for 1663 was Solomon Howse [9], a man with an impeccable script. He had written down the names placing the four most important townsmen at the head of the list. He made "a true copy of all those that have already paid for their fire hearths and stoves," including not only the new stone chimneys with their hearths, but also the brewing furnaces. We now know that well over three quarters of the town had hearths and that many cottages with chimneys were excused payment.

The list was written out alongside the 1613-1619 lists of householders. Family reconstitutions were used to bridge as many of the gaps from our period to 1663. The vicar's tithe accounts for 1669 which give the number of yardlands the tenants of Cropredy leased were also added. From this it was plain to see that Solomon Howse had followed the various vicar's written routes round the town which must have been standard procedure for most lists and he had called at only those who leased land. Howse skipped past the farm cottages and the craftsmen's copyhold dwellings, unless they had taken on land like Langley at Sutton's [42]. We could now be certain which properties, even if they had a hearth, would not be eligible for the tax [Appendix 3, p700, has the full tax list for 1663].

[NOTE: It did not clear up why only thirteen appeared two years later. That whole list of 1665 was in fact all mixed up with Wardington and Williamsote names and it was fortunate that other years have survived. Weinstock Maureen ed. *Hearth Tax Returns for Oxfordshire* 1665 (O.R.S. xxi, 1940)].

By looking at the households in 1613-19 against those who had a hearth in 1663 it was soon discovered that plenty of evidence appears in their ancestors' inventories from 1577 to 1630, after which hearth equipment is seldom mentioned. Comparing these valuations with those craftsmen's inventories who would not pay rates it became evident that they too had similar equipment in the hall or kitchen. For those houses and cottages with no inventories we had to rely on the house survey to verify the fact that stone dwellings had an early chimney built into the inner supporting gable. A chimney on a gable end could of course have been added later. Many of the craftsmen in their new stone cottages and the husbandmen in their stone farm houses appear to have had a new chimney. It was found that twentyeight halls had fire tools and six of the twenty kitchens had a hearth.

Ovens built in with the chimney by the landlord were standards to the house and receive very few mentions in tenants' records. Narrow houses or one cell cottages like Suttons [42] had the oven projecting outside, while Huxeley's jutted into the entry passage. Others with a centrally placed hearth had room for an oven and brewing copper on either side [8 & 30].

Coal

There would be far more than twentyeight households with cooking and fire equipment, but unfortunately women never act as appraisers and often all such equipment was put together as "other implements" or in a special section with the brass or pewter. Coal, another indicator of a chimney began to appear in the back yards. In three of Bourton's summer inventories they have fetched loads of coal while the roads were drier. Others took advantage of frozen roads for moving heavy loads. The vicar had no surviving inventory, but left this memo:

"Memo I have promised Mr nycholas/ woodrosse his tythes to pay me/ yerely xxvjs viijd at such tymes/ as cropredy takers do & wth lyke/ exceptions for fetchinge me/ yerely a lode of coales the chargs/ of expenses to be my selfe/ this was promised the 16th of June 1615."

Between getting the hay in and the corn harvest Woodrose [8] cancelled it and a second agreement was made on June the 28th 1615 [c25/3 f2v & 3]. A load of coal was reasonably cheap, though very little at that time was mined and mainly needed for brewing and glass making. The cost to Thomas Holloway and George Gorstelow lay in the time taken up fetching it and supplying the horses and cart for transport. George Gorstelow of Great Bourton had brought back "four lodes of seacoal"

worth 53s-4d by July 1624. How much would he charge for a journey, if his carts collected for others? In areas where no carts were used, packhorses were kept to move the coal. No-one mentions a donkey for carrying goods.

There are two other references to the vicar's coal. The lessees of the rectorial tithes had to provide the vicarage with three loads of coal a year. Thomas in 1612 had it brought in from "Bedworthe or some other convenient place wheare seacoles or pittcoales are to be solde." The vicar obviously did not find three loads sufficient in 1614 when he was intending to do all that malting and brewing which was why he had to negotiate with Woodrose for more. Hall [6] and latterly two of Holloway's sons were the "farmers" of the rectorial tithes so which had the responsibility for the coal carrying? Or could it be Hunt [5] the other rectorial tenant? The next reference in 1630 was when the Reverend Brouncker lived at Ladbrook and did not take any more than two loads (Would the third go to his curate?). In this year the coal came from Wednesbury in Staffordshire [MS. dd Par Cropredy c31 item a, 1612 & 1630]. The term seacole alongside pit coal must mean that the sea, a major means of getting the coal to London, had become attached to coal so that coal collected by cart also came to be called "seacole."

The coal required a **grate** and the first of thirteen appear in 1602 at R. Watts [34], 1603 at Robins [26], and in 1609 at Hunts [16], and Pratts [24]. Up to 1635 the following houses had them: Watts the weaver [27], Cross the miller [51], the mercer Tanner [39], Pare the collarmaker [58] and Wyatt [31] the farrier. Five husbandmen and two gentlemen left coal which needed a grate they had not recorded: French [4], Cattell [30], Suffolk [60], Lyllee [29], Lumberd [14], the vicar [21] and Woodrose [8]. Grates were valued at 2s each. The rest escape a mention of coal not because they did not use it, but had none remaining when the inventory was made. In 1628 Suffolks [60] had "one 3 qrtrus of coale" 10s. Tanner two years later had one and three quarter "lodes," £1, and again five years later Lumberds had coal worth £1.

The only "colehouse" recorded was at Prescote Manor. In April 1621 Gorstelow's kept "coles" worth 30s and other items in that coal house.

Wood

"Let workmen at night bring in wood, or a log
Let none come home empty, but slut and thy dog" Tusser 1580.

Throughout the centuries no-one used a light, or fire unnecessarily and all would save every twig, chip and pole of wood that came their way. The lops and tops from trees could be further supplemented with the trimmings from hedges, but there was

still a shortage. Underwood could be purchased from more fortunate parishes with larger coppice woods than they required, but again the transport costs brought up the price. They kept their furze and fire wood in the yard, or upon a hovel roof. Furze was needed to heat the oven before baking. Cross [51] had kept wood over his oven, perhaps to dry it. Those who smoked their bacon in the chimney must do so with hedge wood.

In 1592 John Kynd [31] had "three lodes of wood" worth 10s. Palmer [59] in 1606 had "hovills, wood and furze" £2. Justinian Hunt [16] had two woodpiles with other timber and "offell" wood valued at £8. The sheer size of those two woodpiles equal in value to a flock of twentyfour ewes! In the cowpen upon a second hovel there was more wood and the "flaggetts" stored on it were worth £1-10s-4d. The Hunt family did a lot of cooking and had three spits to choose from as they catered for their large household. Lucas [2] had old fire wood and so did Fenny [43].

Faggots came in parcels of "kiddes." In 1690 when Solomon Howse [9] died (the constable who wrote such an excellent script for the hearth tax of 1663) he had over reached and left more debts than assets and all had to be sold up. The purchaser would bargain for a price going by quality, bulk, scarcity or just by weight. One parcel of kiddes was valued at 2s-6d and one hundred and half of kiddes came to 12s. A hundred of kiddes 7s, "forty kiddes" 2s-3d and one parcel of thorns 5s. There were also parcels of bushes, and old hedge wood worth 8s. One household alone required more than four hundred of kiddes as well as other hedge wood, but there was only the labour of collecting it at the end of a long day's hedgelaying. Only! In all probability the entire household would be out filling the cart to bring home the toppings. Those without a cart or sledge brought bundles home on their backs. Elderson [38] on his half yardland parcel had collected furze kiddes and stored the bundles in his barn.

Firetools and Cooking Implements.

"One paire of pott hooks & hangles" worth 2s -6d in 1628 at Suffolk's [60].

If a household had a hearth they soon acquired something to hang the pot from. The open hearth had a chain and hook hanging from a roof beam. The pothanger was a piece of iron attached to the chimney from which to hang the pothooks. Thirtyfive pothooks and thirtynine pothangers are recorded, but appraisers at nine of the households ignore the pothook. Seven of the hangers were called ironhangers. Also mentioned were three links or chains suspended from their hangers. The wrought iron pothooks were adjustable and often elaborate in design. The ratchet type arrived first and allowed the hook to be

moved nearer or away from the heat. Later a hook and eye method was used where the hook slotted into various holes on a bar.

Pothangers were found at: [3,4,8,9,13-16,20,23-26,28-34,39,42,43,48, 51,55,56,58,60], and **pot-hooks** at: [2,3,4,8,13-16,23,24-26,28,30-33,43,45,48,55,56,58,60]. To look after the fires there were seventeen **bellows**: [1,4,8,9,15,16,24,26,28,29,31,34,48,56,57], fourteen **tongs**: [4,8,9,16,25,26,28,51] and twenty **fireshovels**: [1,4,8,9x5,16,25,26,28,31,42,57] all of which could be passed down the generations to be recorded again in the next inventory.

Thirtyfive pairs of **andirons and cobirons** were found up to 1632. Andirons were large fire dogs supporting spits for roasting meat in front of the fire. Cobirons (cobberds) were long bars leaning back at an angle so that spits could be fitted over their hooks. Someone had to turn the spit. The women placed a dripping pan underneath to catch the clear fat which was then used to spread on the bread. The **spit** was a long thin bar kept for roasting the meat which was held in position by spikes, or cords. When not in use they placed the bars on a spit rack fastened to the chimney breast. They used goose grease to keep spits from rusting. As andirons stood higher than the grate they allowed the fire to be banked up to give a stronger roasting heat. They also held the grate and supported a fire back which helped to throw the heat forward.

Fifty **spits** were mentioned and belonged to a labourer, nine tradesmen, fifteen husbandmen and one shepherd [4,8,9,13-16,20,23-29,31-34,39,42,48,51,57].

The first surviving inventory for the 1570's belonged to the late widow **Elizabeth Gybbs [25?]** who was buried on the first of **January 1576/7**. The Gybbs had a hearth in a room they called the kitchen:

"...ij spyttts a payre of cobbordsijs .vjd /
a payre of fyretongs a payre of potthocks and/
a payre of pott hangellsxvjd/
a great spyte praysediijjs iiijd/
a Kettell praysedxijd..."

In May of that year "Elyzabeth Howse, wedowe which was the wyffe of Thomas Howse of Cropredy" [9] made a hasty will being buried two days later. Her household used to roast their meat on the "ij Iron spitts and a peare of cobirons iijjs iiijd."

The third Cropredy widow still managing her farm in the 1570's was the Widow Johan Robins [26] who made her will six months before she died in February 1578/9. Her equipment for cooking was in the hall where she had "a spit a paire of cobbards a payre of pothuckles a paire of pothangers...iijz iiijd."

In 1603 her son Robert Robins [26] had in the south chamber below the entry ".. iij spitts ij payre of cobbards..." In the hall were "potthangels potthooks a grediron/ fyre shule, tongs, a fyrefoke and/ a payre of Bellowes iiijz/ an yron grate ijs." Fireforks for toasting bread were seldom mentioned. Robins had a kitchen, but the chimney arrived after his death. When their son was married in 1611 Robert's widow Joanne moved into the south bay of the house leaving the rest to her son Robert and his wife Anne, except her customary third of the lease. In this entry chamber where she sat Joanne had on her hearth "...one fier shovell and tongs and Cobirons..." In 1631 it was revealed that Anne had used the hearth in the hall and Robert had turned his late mother's room into the best chamber keeping a pair of andirons in the hearth. They had added a new chimney in the rear kitchen where Anne and her maid used "...two paire of pott hangles/ one payre of Cobirons one/ fyer shovell & tongs/." A peel was used for taking the bread out of the oven (p665). Here was a household which could choose to use either an old iron pot, or a new brass pot to cook in, a roasting spit for joints or an oven for baking.

Two years earlier their neighbour Thomas Gybbs [25] still had "two spitts one paire of Cobirons" in the rear kitchen. On the hall hearth were "...two paire/ of pott hooks one paire of Cobirons/ one paire of pott linkes one fire shovell one/ paire of tonges..." Another neighbour was Thomas Vaughan [23], whom Gybbs had requested to be one of his three overseers. Vaughan's had a spit and a pair of andirons in the kitchen chimney as early as 1599, but they also had "one payre of potthooks an Iron hangell a greediron and a frying pan iiijz viijd" in the hall. The iron "hangell" coming from a beam in the roof over their open hearth.

In 1617 the French household definitely had two hearths [4]. Thomas had a grate in the hall with bellows, firetongs and a shovel. In the kitchen "2 spitts one brandiron 2 pairs of/ potthucks one paire of Andirons one greed Iron..." definitely denotes a cooking hearth which was confirmed by the mention of bacon in the kitchen chimney. The appraisers found they also had "7 brass potts 4 kettles one/ Brass pan one Chussin dishe one skimer one brass ladle..." with other brass and pewter in the chamber below the entry. Was this a third hearth, or an alternative store to the kitchen, in spite of it being a sleeping chamber?

Of the tradesmen Edmund Tanner's [39] second wife Constance had hung onto his older ironwork pot for one of the appraisers Ambrose Holbech wrote under a heading of Ironware: "One iron pott two paire of pott/ hangles, one grate, two paire of/ Andirons spitts and all other im/ plements of iron ..." £1-15s. Just one more of the many hearths we could visit was at the Upper Mill. Cross [51] had in his hall "a payre of Andyrans a fyre grate a payre/ of tongs a payre of potthangers and an olde/ payre of fetters & a payre of pothokes" 4s. Gillian kept their spits, cobirons, kettles, pots and other cooking utensils tidily in the buttery when not in use.

Kettles, Pots and Pans.

The most important pieces of fire equipment were the brass kettles, pots and pans, all now beginning to replace the iron cooking pots, though Tanners, miller Smyth [51] and Woodrose [8], still had iron pots in their possession. They found that the greater heat from coal used on the chimney grates burnt through the iron pots. Normans, with their open wood fire, could keep the traditional iron pot and equipment: "...one paire of potthooks/ & lincks one Iron pott one paire/ of bellowes one spitt..." up to the time Richard died in March 1634. Thomas Wyatt of Creampot [31] who died a year later would, being a blacksmith, repair his ironware consisting of "one Iron pott/ three spitts and Iron hangings/ one Irongrate...", but his wife Ursula was also using five brass kettles and three brass pots.

As early as 1577 Elizabeth Gybbs managed without a kettle having "iij bras pots and ij bras pans and a little possonit xls," but amongst the Cropredy inventories of our period there were sixtythree brass kettles. These were prize possessions and left frequently in wills, long before the 1550's, especially to daughters or grand daughters. Their kettles and pots vary in size and quality. Great ones and little ones, the best, the second best and the worst. After writing down the main brass at Allens [44] they considered one was special. "One kettle more xs." Others like Suffolks [60] which were separately valued are helpful. "one brasse pot 0-7-0/ one little kettle 0-6-0/ one brasse pann 0-3-0." When brass was given in a lump sum for a household [1,9,20,27,33, 42,49,52,56] then only a mention in their will can reveal the size or value of some items. One of these was William Howse [9] who left Solomon "my greatest brass pot." His total brass was worth £3 in 1601. Six years later at Toms [15] on the Green the appraisers found "the biggest kettle wth handles vs/ iij kettles more..." A year later the collarmaker John Pare [58] left "2 brass potts & four kettells xvjs."

Cropredy kettles:

1 kettle: Gulliver [41], Kendall [13?], Howse [24], Suffolk [60]

2: Rede [32], Nuberry [8], Vaughan [23], Lyllee [29], Watts [34], Elderson [38], Robins [26], Rawlins [45], Gybbs [25], Matcham [18], Allen [44], Toms [15], Hudson [48], Howse [9], Lucas [2], Hunt [16].

3: Fenny [43], Wyatt [31], Hall [34], Ladd [40], Batchelor [25], Woodrose [8], Bokingham [55], Palmer [1], Robbins [26], Gybbs [25].

4: Toms [15], Pare [58], Cross [51], French [4], Lumberd [14], Norman [48], Lumberd [14].

5: Tanner [39], Hunt [16], Toms [15], Kynd [31], Hunt [16].

6: Robins [26], Howse [28].

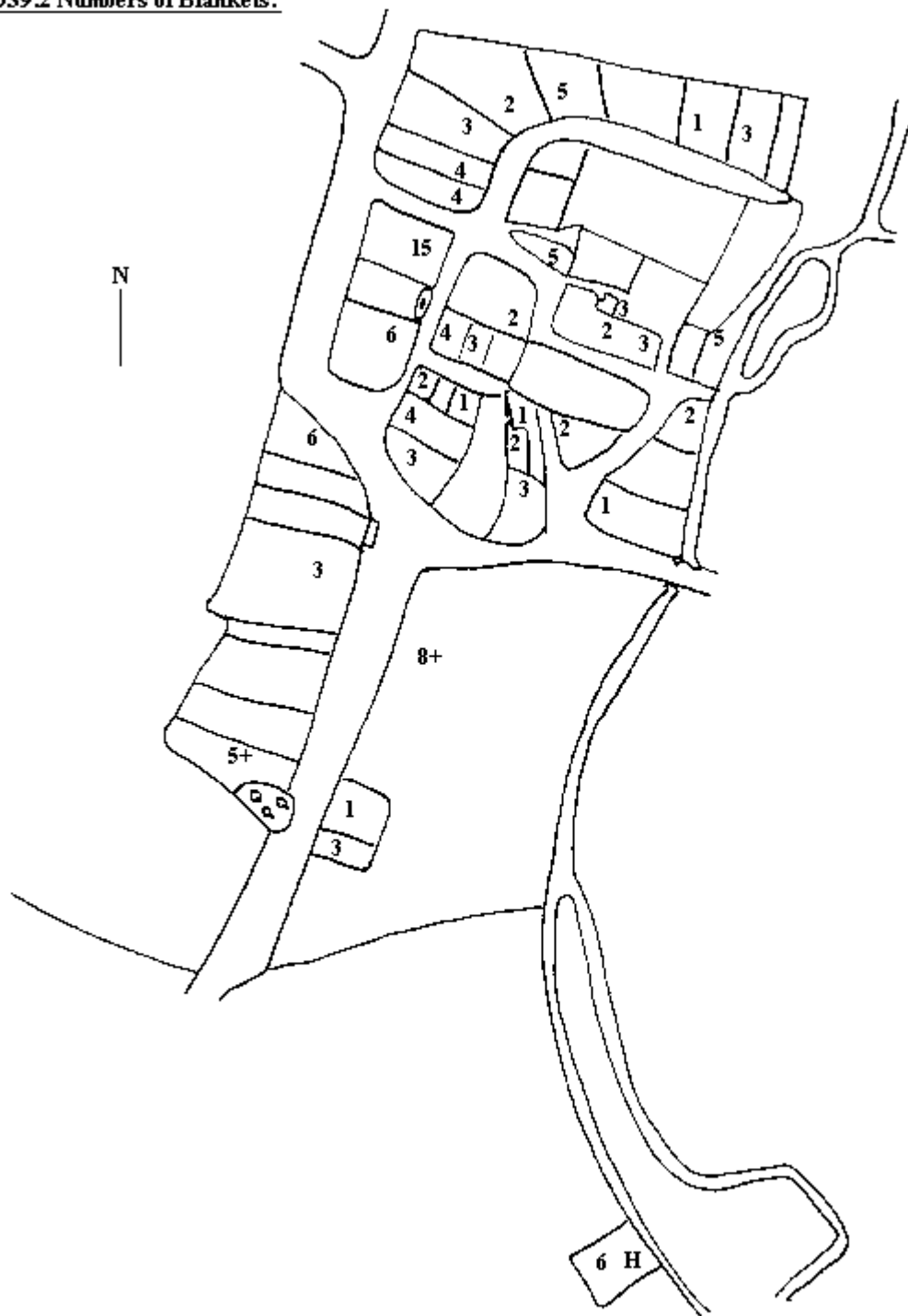
There were at least thirtytwo houses which at some time had several **pots:** [2,3,4,8,9,13-16,18,23-26,28,29,31,32,34,38-41,43,44,48,51,58,60] (Fig.38.2).

Some like old Fremund Denzie [28] held onto a family pot although he would not have been cooking. It was worth ten shillings in 1609. Several items would go into the pot. First some meat covered in a flour paste and wrapped in a cloth. Over this an earthenware pot balanced on a board well drilled with holes to allow heat to pass through. Into the earth pot went meat to make a soup and to prevent it drying out they sealed the lid with a strip of pastry. If there was more space in went an earthen jar to hold vegetables and meat, with a lid held in place by a weight. A stone made a good one. Above this towards meal time went a cloth of peas hung from a strip of wood. In the open fire days this stood on a trivet, or from a hook attached to a long chain fixed to a roof beam. In the new chimneys it hung from the pot hook.

Posnets were another kind of small metal cooking pot. They had a handle attached to the rim and stood on three short legs resembling a miniature cauldron. Widow Howse had one in 1578 [9] but five more are mentioned up to 1628. The majority came after 1630 [3,4, 9,14,15,16,24,25,34,39,45,51]. Some would have been used to make light food for the sick or else for boiling sauces, caudles and possets. As time went by the rim widened and the base flattened. **Skillets** were rarer, but were possibly just another name for a posnet. Wallsell [13], Hunt [16] in 1609 and Cross [51] had one each, Woodroses [8] kept two. John Hunt had eight little "skellets" in 1587 as well as a cooking pot of unknown size and type called a **dabnet**. Nuberry [8], Toms [15] and Howse [28] all had a dabnet and then they vanish.

Number of Cooking Pots in Croppedy.

D39.2 Numbers of Blankets.



Grid-irons were iron grates, square or round with short legs and a handle for boiling food over an open fire: [1,8,15,16,23,26,28,31-33,44,51,55]. Only one **brandiron** was found away from the fire [55]. A brandiron was an iron tripod to stand in front of a fire like a grid iron (or else it was a tool used to brand sheep). Watts [27], Rawlins [45] and the two Howse's [28] kept the brandiron by the fire. The **frying pans**, often used like grid irons, appear at Redes [32], Robins [26] twice, Hurst, Palmer [1], Pare [58], Cross [51], Bokingham [55], Rawlins [45], and Cattell [30]. A frying pan could also double as a dripping pan. In 1628 Gybbs' frying pan was worth two shillings [25].

Seventeen households used **chafing dishes**. These were all connected with farms and mills except Normans [48], which may have passed down to his daughters. This was a dish placed on a small container, a chafer. Into the chafer went charcoal or hot ashes to keep a late comer's food warm. Very understandable during lambing, harvest time, or when the mill could not be stopped [1,4,8,14,15,16,23,24,25,26,28,48].

Spire mortars were at Palmers [1], French [4], Lumberd [14] Cross [51] and Hunt's [16], and who else but Justinian Hunt must also have a **pestle** to go with his round mortar, though there had been one other at Nuberry's [8] way back in 1578.

All would need **ladles** of some sort, but only four had brass ones: Fabian Smyth [51], French [4], Woodrose [8] and Lumberds [14]. Fabian also had a "broode pece of **iron** to bake on." Did he cook his oat cakes on it? These were passed down from the days when there were few town ovens. The women would put the dough on the heated iron and invert a pan on top over which hot ashes were placed to make an oven. The other item of fire equipment usually left out for being of little monetary value was Fabian's **tinderbox**. Fires could not be kept in permanently, though keeping ashes warm by covering them meant they would soon catch. In the event of a dead hearth a tinderbox was very useful to start a flame, closely followed by use of the bellows. In thirty minutes a small kettleful of water might be boiling.

Elsewhere it has been stressed that if their inventories mention fire equipment, kettles and pots then the deceased had retained their hold over the fire and had remained master or mistress of their household, except for the pot belonging to old Fremund Denzie [28], or the few saved for legacies outside that household [14].

The rest of the equipment would probably be **wooden** or **earthen**, but generally too low to receive a mention, though a few such as Johan Robins [26] had in 1579 "certayne earthern pottes and a pan js/ certayne disshes and trenchers iijd." Richard Howse [24] left dishes and trenches worth iijjd. The following year of 1602 Rychard Watts [34] had "the dishes boles suters

cheesevatts spoones and trenchers" valued at iijs and followed them with "the cowperly ware" worth ix s so he must have had a great deal down there in his ashlar stone house. In contrast the miller Palmer in 1606 left "spoones dishes trenchers ladle xijd." Suffolk [60] in 1628 left "one earthen milk pan and/ three potts of earth 0-1-3" and Toms [15] had five "earthern potes" amongst his effects. Many households had a pen like a coffer, but woven in willow by the local basket maker. In 1597 the Hursts [52] had "a pen with all the treene vessels iijs iiijd." By storing their wooden utensils in an early hamper the Hursts allowed the air to circulate freely amongst the dry wooden plates and kitchenware.

Tables, Chairs, Benches, Forms and Stools.

The Revd Harrison had a yearly salary of £40 and in his time he wrote mainly about those above the status of a yeoman. Husbandmen and the whole town of Cropredy (except any gentleman) would have been of the "lowest sort." "The furniture of our houses also exceedeth and is grown in a manner even to passing delicacy; and here I do not speak of the nobility and gentry only but like-wise of the lowest sort. I do rejoice to see how god hath blessed us with his good gifts and whilst I behold that, in a time when all things are grown to most excessive price - we do yet find the means to obtain and achieve such furniture as hath heretofore been unpossible" [Revd. William Harrison 1534-1593].

A household was made up of all those for whom the head provided board and lodging as well as apparel. In over half the houses the master sat in the chair at the head of the table board. His lodging chamber was beyond the hall and in the new stone buildings the rest of the household, apart from his wife, generally slept upstairs, unless a senior generation were still under the roof needing downstairs accommodation.

The family ate in the hall on a long table board. At first most of these were supported upon trestles, but this word disappears after 1601. In 1592 Hanwell's [34] inventory particularly mentions that his table in the hall was "unjoyned." Joined tables were on frames, called like Toms' "my standing table." They had long been around and gradually replaced the collapsible ones. Most table frames had mortise and tenon joints, each with willow pegs left proud underneath. There were stretchers near the floor and under the board. The lower stretchers helped to keep the floor rushes from being rucked into piles by the feet. Generally oak was used for the board, but other woods are mentioned in Banbury inventories, and the boards came in many sizes. The table would be a little away from the fire so as not to hinder preparations. The position of the table in the room was important and in grand households it was placed at the top of the hall away from the entrance. In other households the standing table was kept by the window. The family sat along the sides on forms, or benches. Children often had a stool or sat

on the window seat. When the older trestle tables were collapsed, they turned towards the fire. When Richard Howse [28] died in 1592 they already had a table with a frame: "In the haule on[e] table withe the frame iij formes and the binche vjs viijd."

William Watts' [27] will of 1616 mentions an extra table and frame in the chamber and two joined frames. As the last two are not in the inventory, does this mean that occasionally goods were removed before the inventory was taken? Thomas Toms'[15] inventory records his second table in the hall to be "a back table and a bench," which Thomas had left to their daughter Isabell saying "the table and two benchbords in the hall" in 1607. Could the table tip up and become a back bench?

Fashionable tables in the countryside during Elizabeth's reign had straight legs if jointed. Local carpenters like Lucas [2] and Elderson [38] may not have begun to carve huge bulbous legs, or make vast over carved four posters, preferring to keep to an older style. Harrison who frowned upon excess in apparel nevertheless considered this beautifully plain wood as "base kinds of furniture."

The first round table appeared in 1578 at Nuberry's which had a frame and so did Hunt's and Woodrose's [8, 16, 8]. Robins [26] had a little one in 1603 and in Nuberry's hall he had a small "fallyne table" valued with "a Joyned cheyre" and "a small Joyned stole" at 1s-8d. Three falling or folding tables found first at Nuberry's [8,26,16] were usually gate-legged with their two sides able to fall down. The three turning or turning-up tables from 1624 onwards [56,60,14] were all of very little value. Could Suffolk's [60] have been brought from widow Woods [56] and put in the kitchen by his moulding table?

Only two square tables are recorded. Pares [58] left one in 1610 without a frame or trestles, and Cross's had one in 1614. There was no indication of size. Three side tables at [31,43,9] and the two dish benches [28,9] were used for side boards for pewter or wooden tableware. The earliest was being used before 1592.

Lastly there were four long tables on permanent legs [16,51,58,51]. Smyth's long table in his hall may have stayed at the mill and moved by Cross into the parlour during his tenancy:

1595 in "the haule/ One Longe Table with a frame/ unto it five formes and a bench" 10s,
at Fabian Smyth's mill [51].

1614 in "the parler/ a longe Table wth a frame two/ fformes a benche and iij chussyons
xjs. " at John Cross's mill [51].

1610 Pares had one in his hall with a low form worth 6s-8d [58].

Fortyeight inventories mention chairs on thirtytwo sites so that they were found in the following households [1,3,4,8,13-16,20,24-28,30,31,34,38-40,42,44,45,47-49,51,55-57,59,60]. They had a solid back, a wooden seat and open arms. A carpenter could add a coffer under the seat. We now understand why people made cushions and the spread of these useful additions to the household appeared in due course. Eight houses had two chairs and Woodrose [8] had five as well as those his wife Martha and family had been upholstering to produce three needlework chairs and three needlework stools. Hall had no chair at the bottom of Creampot [34], relying on the bench, yet there had been a chair when Rychard Watts died under that thatched roof in 1602. The old widower Richard Norman [48] in Church Street did not have a chair either, but when his son-in-law Thomas Hudson died three years later in the same cottage they recorded one.

Suffolk's "joyne cheare" was worth 3s. Ambrose Holbech is a trifle patronising about Suffolk's goods and stock calling them broken, old or blind, but as he rarely adds "Joyned" to an article, this chair must have been different and known to have been made by a joiner. The age and quality is difficult to assess. Furniture was classed as either joined, or one of little value, which could be purchased from a local carpenter, or homemade. The only other mention of a joined chair was Nuberry's in 1578 and this may have been because it was a manor house and people were interested in every detail that issued from that inventory, or else the widow stressed the joined to the appraisers.

There were households with old chairs such as Widow Bryans who was buried in 1578 from her timber cottage on the north side of Church Street [47], Wallsall the blacksmith [13] on the Green and Smyth the miller in 1595 [51]. By 1627 Widow Robins [26] had been confined to home for some time and after twentyfour years as a widow the chair was "old." Did she have a banker (rug) thrown over the chair?

Besides the wooden chair in the parlour Edmund Tanner had an unusual wicker chair in 1630, but by then it was kept in the store chamber above the parlour and dairy house (p408) [Banbury had four and the earliest was mentioned in 1616. B.H.Soc. Vol.13].

In the early inventories when forms had acquired a back they were called backbenches [25,26,32]. Later there were 21 just called benches, except for Vaughan [23] and Kynd's [31] who had side benches. When Wyatt took over Kynd's in the 1620's they place benches in the hall, parlour and parlour chamber beside the fireplaces. Devotions [3] had two little benches. Did

they fit inside their inglenook as Rycharde Howses did [28] when they had "the chayre the stooles and the binche in the chimney" worth a shilling. Benches were recorded at: [1,3,4,14-16,25,26,28,31,33,34,42-45,48,49,51,55,60].

The forms set by the tables and the benches covered in mats or cushions near the fire could be very comfortable. In an old village inn in Ceredigion all the Elizabethan benches were still in use up to 1990. One by the inglenook fire had a coffer under the seat kept locked by the owner. In here her ancestors had stored precious household commodities, such as tea and sugar. The seats all had coloured cushions, or mats, except her ancient stools which fitted under the long table. Would Cox [49], Densey [13], Bostocke [41], or Bokingham [55] have presented an equally cosy room to welcome customers?

Forms were found on thirtysix sites. According to Vaughan's will he left one in the buttery, but the inventory of 1599 has only one in the hall. At the upper mill Smyth had a form under the window as well as five "unto" the long table. The next miller had four. **Forms** found in the town:

Six at Smyths [51] in 1595.

Five at Gybbs [25] in 1577.

Four at Hurst [52] 1597, Cross [51] 1614, and Howse [9] 1614.

Three at Robins [26] 1579, Hunt [16] 1587, Watts [27] 1616, Woodrose [8] 1628, Wyatt [31] 1635.

Two at Rede [32] 1577, Howse [28] 1592, Kynd [31] 1592 & 1598, Hunt [16] 1609, Howse [28] 1609, French [4] 1617 & 1632, Tanner [39] 1630, Hill [20] 1631, Devotion [3] 1634, Toms [15] had two little ones in 1637.

One at Palmers [1], Kendall, Lumberd [14], Matcham [18], Vaughan [23], Howse & Pratt [24], Cattell [30], Truss [33], Hanwell & Hall [34], Elderson [38], Gulliver [41], Sutton, Fenny, Allen and Rawlins [42-45], Hudson [48], Pare [58], Palmer father and son [59] and Suffolk [60].

Stools were mostly three legged rough affairs, but a few had professionally made stools. At Nuberry's [8] they had two joined stools and a standing one. Allen [44] also had two joined stools, and Smyth [51] the miller had "one Joyned stoole and another stoole a frame for a stoole... and two little smale stooles in the haule..." Nine others had three or more, and eight had at least two. In 1641 Solomon Howse [9] the shepherd had "3 joyned stooles" valued with other hall furniture and "two

matted stooles three/ other stooles 3s," but no chair or bench. Pare's [58] appraiser found five "serry" stools worth a shilling in his kitchen. Were these for his collarmakers to sit on? At the B manor Woodrose [8] had twelve stools and altogether there were seventythree stools mentioned between 1577 and 1640 at eighteen houses:[1,4,8, 14,16,18,23,25,26,29,31,33,34,42,44,47,51,58].

Tablecloths and Napkins.

Tablecloths and napkins are believed to be rare in households below a yeomans. This turned out to be not true in Cropredy for cottagers as well as husbandmen had purchased them, or spun yarn to have one woven. Many still refer to them as "Bordclothes." Their value is usually lost with the sheets and other linen, but Wallsall [13] had two tablecloths and a towel worth 6s in 1582. Palmer [1] had one valued at 3s in 1602.

A tablecloth was often just a narrow draw cloth which would be removed once the messier part of the meal had been finished. The main dish, bread and saucers containing spices and sauces were placed upon it. A larger tablecloth provided another means of display when it was kept out between meals, especially if they could not replace it with a table "carpet."

We know nothing of the size of the tablecloths given in the inventories and little about their quality. Only Martha's the wife of Nicholas Woodrose [8], gentleman, are given in any detail. The diaper cloth had a twill pattern made from unbleached linen thread:

"one damuske tablecloath/
one longe diap tablecloath one shorter diap table/
cloath one large tablecloath of hollan one short/
hollan tablecloath..."
"one dozen of diap napkins one/
dozen of lay'd worke napkins one dozen of white/
worked napkins two dozen of flaxon napkins one/
Cutworked napkin.../ and ten napkins."

Thirty two sites had tablecloths and twentyseven families had napkins. Three of those who had cloths, but no napkins to match or even one in the coffer, lived at [15,27 and 38]. Widow Gybb's [25?] as early as 1577 had four tablecloths and one

table napkin. Robins [26] in 1631 had eleven and his father six. Cross [51] kept seven, Tanner [39] six, while Lumberd Senior [14], Pratt and Alese Howse [24 & 28] had four each. Eight households had three, fourteen owned two and eleven kept just one precious tablecloth.

The highest number of napkins were at Woodrose's who had seventyone, next came Robins with fiftysix. Five had twentyfour, three about eighteen, four owned twelve leaving twenty others with from one up to eleven in their coffers. In 1602 half a dozen at Palmers came to 3s, but the value at the Kynds differed between 1592 and 1598. John Kynd left eight napkins and a tablecloth valued at 10s, yet Alyce had three napkins worth a shilling and two extra tablecloths. An expensive towel, new to the house, was valued at 4s.

If napkins reserved for entertaining were not to be spoilt by grease, then a bowl and towel were brought round for washing the fingers. Most would have a wooden bowl (using beeswax to waterproof it) and a leather jug, but they were being replaced by pewter bowls, or the gentlemen's silver bowls. In the absence of forks frequent cleansing of the fingers was very necessary as food was still served in a communal dish for everyone to help themselves with their fingers. Most guests brought their own personal knife. Every place would be set with a wooden or horn spoon except in the households which had enough pewter, or silver (p675). Spoons and knives for the table were first used in the sixteenth century. Only the cook had a fork. Soup was served on the table in a central bowl unless a deep trencher, or bowl was available at each place. The wooden square trenchers were hollow on both sides so they could be turned over for a second course, and had mostly replaced the flat, square, but coarse piece of barley bread which could be eaten at the finish, left for the servants, or taken to the poor at the back door. John Hunt [16] in 1587 had progressed to wooden trenchers. Horns were used for drinking cups and many would have made their own horn spoons, but these too escape a mention. The few who had glasses, such as the Woodroses [8] would pass the glass from one to the other. In their "clossetts" they had shelves, glasses, trenchers and other implements worth 3s-4d.

Towels described in Martha's [8] napery record were listed as diaper, holland, flaxon or hempen: "one longe diap towell, one short/ diap towell, two short hollan towells ... two longe flaxen towells, one/ long hempen towell..." Towels were found in thirtytwo other inventories covering twentyfour houses.

On farms **towels** were found on twelve sites [3,4, 8,9,16,24,25,26, 28,31,33,34]. Those cottagers and craftsmen who did have towels were Palmer [1], Walsall [13], Wyatt [31], Elderson, Tanner, Ladd [38-40], Norman and Cox [48,49], Cross [51], Wood [56], Palmers in Hello [59] and Kendall.

On some sites the hall remained the centre of the house through several generations. Others, such as Hunt and Truss who had longhouse type dwellings, had begun by 1609 to call it the "hall house" perhaps continuing to distinguish the essential house part of their building from the barn. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century the hall began to lose its important status if the head of the household moved his chair to the parlour. A century later in these dwellings the "hall" was dropped and called simply the "house" [15,16,25,31,53]. Towards the end of the seventeenth century another much older word was coming back, the "firehouse" [9, 12, 51]. Different words were used to describe the main rooms, so that in the northern pasture regions they wrote about "house, parlours and dairies" [family records], while in the southeast the inventories refer to the "hall, chamber and milk house." In northern Oxfordshire with its mixed arable and dairy farming the terms are assorted, some calling the dairy the deyhouse, deahouse, or using the buttery instead (p660), which opened off the hall. Only Gorstelows of Prescote Manor are known to have had a larder [1621] which was a place to store pig meat. The pantry for storing bread was also absent, until the second half of the seventeenth century when Wyatt had one in Hello [60], but a few made do with "Lindy cubbords" in the hall (p654), or a shelf in the buttery.

Halls in the Town.

Types of furnishing which once only brightened up the gentlemen's halls arrived late in Cropredy to go straight into the parlour chamber as some members of the husbandman's family began to withdraw from the hall. This was shown in several inventories which prove the head of the household had moved the chair from the hall to the parlour. At the other extreme were a few inventories which did not explain the whereabouts of the goods they described for every now and again the appraisers had to admit defeat as they did at the John Kendall's cottage in the busy month of June 1596. Within three days four were to die and after burying John they went to make a "note" of his possessions, but failed to value them or even sign it, the writer concluding with the words "other things wch I could not count or sight of." The thatching tools lay amongst a fairly adequate amount of belongings. It was not work to be undertaken while faint from hunger. The town was in the middle of a very bad period and their harvest looked like being another poor one. Would this have contributed to Kendall's sudden departure due to poor health, or actual starvation so that there was no time for a will, and been the reason why the appraiser had not had the energy or the time to draw up a proper inventory room by room?

Fortunately the rest of the inventories were able to tell us more about the halls between 1570 and 1640. Cross the miller, weaver Watts and William Wood all had halls yet their usage differed. Cross [51] retreated to his parlour in the new fashion, but the Watts [27] still sat in their hall, partly because a married daughter needed a chamber and the shop took up one whole bay. The Woods [56] in their one cell cottage had no choice. By the time the Woodroses [8] had divided up their large house the hall was not a sitting place for parents or the son's family. Lumberds [14] had to divide the house when Edward junior became ill. Father had the parlour and the son slept with Alice in the hall, where they could keep him warm.

The presence or absence of cushions may be a clue as to where they sat after a meal. Retiring to a chamber or remaining in the hall by the dying fire, according to the time of year. Cushions were becoming fashionable in rural areas by the 1570's. They were not confined over the following seventy years just to manor houses which were collecting cushions and carpets in the ladies' chambers. Up to 1577 in widow Gybbs' chamber were four painted cloths which she would hang on the walls, as they already had old "hangells" for the bedstead. In her hall Elizabeth had several items including her three "cusseons" which helped to brighten up her room. The widow's bench had a mat which may have been long and narrow to fit the seat. These rare bench mats were seldom mentioned in Cropredy and with the two chest mats were valued at 10d. Here was a house displaying coloured pictures and brightly woven mats. No puritan this Elizabeth Gybbs with her carpet and picture cloths on the wall, one of which was described as a "grene cloath":

"In the Halle

a table a backe bord ij fformes iij smale stooles/
 an old chare a cubbord iij table clothes vj towells one/
 carpett praysed..... xvs ijd
 an old pen praysed..... vjd
 an old paynted clothe a small grene clothe iij old/
 cusseons one bord a shele wth a smale paynted/
 clothe praysedijs vjd
 an old bench matt ij chest mattsxd"

Ralph Nuberry [8] died in 1578. He had a large hall and kept all manner of things in it:

"There being syx horse lockes iij paire of fetters a overtwart/
sawe a handesawe a cuttyng sythe a shepe brand a hammer, wth/
other old Iron, and ij Iron wedges iij bottels, a yerne stocke and/
brads, iij crabb pounders---..... xjs/
xxth tyns spones..... xxd/
ij dosen of trenchers iijd/ iij drinkynge cuppes and a glasse..... xijd/
a sope boxijd/
a table wth a frayme ij Joyned formes.....xs/
a small fallynge table a Joyned cheyre a small Joyned stole.....xxd
a cubbard wth greeses on the toppe.....viijs/
a fyre showel a paire of bellowes ij Iron hangells/ .
a paire of potthokesijs. vjd/
ix platters a pewter bason ij pewter disshes/
a sawcer ij saltesxs/
iij greate platters x smaller fowre saucers a tynbole/
a salte wth a kever to it..... xvjs viijd/
iij candelstickes of brasse pricd..... ijs.. vjd/
a mortar and a pestell of brasseijs/
another old pewter plattervjd."

Like everyone else the Nuberry's cooked on the hall fire, were fed at the table and displayed their pewter upon open shelves. The soap (seldom mentioned) was kept in here, for the mother or her maid washed the youngest of the nine children in front of the fire and their clothes went into a tub using the hot water from the kettle hung over the fire. The rinsing was probably taken outside to rinse in a tub by the well. Nuberry's as early as the 1570's had moved some comforts from the hall to brighten up the Great Chamber. There they hung a carpet of red and black work valued at 8s on the wall and added six "cusseons" worth a pound. In the south bay parlour were two more "cusseons" worth 1s.

Moving on in time and round to the corner of the High Street with Newstreet Lane we call again upon the Robins in their hall [26]. Joanne nee Cox asked the vicar, John Gybbs and Edmund Tanner to act as appraisers after her husband Robert died in September 1603. The three men arrived on the sixth of December. Apart from their hearth tools they had in the hall:

"a Table & frame a little /
falling table a cubbard a chayre benches /
and shelvesxxxs/
all the Brasse, Candlesticks, ij frying/
pannes and a gospaniijs.. iiijd/
all the pewter great and smallxvjs/..."

This house still lacks the comforts of the manor houses. The older generation of Robins had apparently not purchased, or embroidered any bright materials, though they were not entirely devoid of colour for one bed had a pair of yellow blankets with a white one. Not all Elizabethans loved colour for some puritans did not tempt fate preferring sombre greys and simplicity. Not for them the brilliant reds, bright blues and yellows. Another type of household may be reflected not in their wealth, but in the succumbing to minor comforts as simple as a coloured blanket thrown over the hard bench, or an embroidered cushion on a chair. The Robins did not lack equipment around the fire and the bedsteads had feather or wool beds, bolsters, pillows and hillings, but until Joanne's son married the vicar's daughter, no cushions. Does this mean that the Holloways [21] went in for cushions and carpets (p640)?

Returning to the Green [15] the next family to visit did not aspire to being anything but husbandmen until a William Toms died a yeoman in 1750. In 1685 their landlord wrote in a letter to his bailiff "Be favourable to Will Tomms if he do not pay all his Rent at this instant for I look on him as a good honest tenant yt is careful [Boothby Letters: Add. MS. 71961]. The Toms continue into the nineteenth century, by which time all the others families had departed. A steady hard working husbandman's family. Thomas Toms, the grandfather of honest Will Tomms, made a will in 1607 in which he left careful instructions for his daughter to have his hall "cubbord," table and two benchboards as well as his new kettle. A grandson was to have "my standing table in the hall," a form and a chair, after his wife's decease. Thomas left a press, but this had gone when his wife Johan's inventory was taken, for she was already beginning to pass on goods to the next generation. Of the two coffer, only one remains, but an extra chest lay in her chamber not mentioned in her husband's inventory. The chair and standing table,

the one with a joined frame, and a form had also gone. Johan was still farming part of the land, still cooking at the fire whose equipment had increased, or had it just been missed out earlier in her husband Thomas's inventory?

In her own will of 1609 Johan Toms continues to distribute her personal estate, including her cow and sheep, though her final total of just over twentyone pounds was fifteen lower than her late husband's. Thomas Toms inventory showed they had:

"In the hall
his moytie in the table & one forme..... ijs
an old cubbord and a chayrexxijd
a back table and a benchiij s .iiij d
the biggest kettle wth hanglesvs
iij kettles more and a dabnetvjs viij d
an IronxS
all the pewter one little candlestick
and a saltcellervs
a little pot hangles, a payre of
pot hookes & a payre of bellowesxijd."
.....[£1-14s-10d]

All essentials yet nothing elaborate and cushions still not appearing in this frugal household. His widow Johan split up the small farmhouse allowing her son the use of the hall. The upper and lower chambers were still assessed for her belongings and the fire equipment had remained in her possession:

"all the pewter a candlestyke dishes & trenchers..... vjs/
one old cubbord, an old coffer & a paynted cloath..... iij s iiij d."
Joane had moved the cooking pots into the buttery:
"a pott fyve kettells a spytt a gryd Iron/
a chafinge dishe wth pott hangell & a lynk..... xiijs. xd."

A few extra items, but no cushions, and yet even here some colour had crept in with her painted cloth. Was it new in contrast to the furniture which was all old? Could Johan have allowed herself this one luxury?

What a contrast with the Hunts [16] next door. They are gatherers of equipment, but even they are still without mats, rugs, and cloths. Justinian must have been energetic to achieve what he did. Two generations later their fortunes tumbled into arrears under the same landlord who had heard in 1683 that the tenant Hunt was a "good husband and hath a good trade... I leave it to your discretion to secure his rent and arrers and not ruine him nor dyscourage his industry" [Boothby letters:Add. MS. 71961].

Back in 1609 Justinian Hunt had taken ill from the fever and died within days. Although sixty he was still in the second stage and farming to the full. He had equipment worth £4 -17s in his Hall House, which was considerably more than the Toms:

"In the hall House: A table Wth a fframe two/
fformes one falling table two cheeres two stooles/
one cubbert one pen and two benchesXXXS
Eight Pewter platers three sauces two salts/
ffoure porringers and two Pewter Cupsxijs
ffoure potts one dommet one skillet ffive kettles/
one skimer three Candlesticks one spicemorter & a pestillxls
one spit one payre of Cobbenth a payre of Tongues
a ffire shovle a payre of bellowes two payre of pothookes/
and a payre of hangellsvjs
a ffrying pan and a gryd Ironxvjd
An Iron Grate..... ijs"
.....[£4-17s]

Justinian's wife Elizabeth had died in 1599. Had they purchased the second chair for her when she became ill? Whatever the reason the Hunts had two chairs, but where were the six cushions his father John had left in 1587? Still no mention of "cubbord cloths" or woven bench mats, perhaps his late wife had not had time to make any.

Who did have early cushions? In Creampot the Kynds [31] had "3 quishins" when John died in 1592 and which widow Alyce could place on the master's old chair now she was mistress of the household. Down the Lane Rychard Watts [34] left "certaine quisheons xijd" and "a painted cloth ijs" in 1602. The next to leave some was Alese [28] at the top of Creampot.

Alese Howse [28] like Justinian Hunt and many others died suddenly in 1609. One reason for the large personal estate was the fact that she still had not had to portion it up for her children (p115) and the family had naturally remained the same size after the death of her husband Rechar. If Alese had died in the third stage with just a cow and a few belongings in her son's best chamber, then a great deal would be missing. Her hall did not have many objects of value for the money was tied up heavily in stock and corn where it mattered most.

Notice they still do not mention table knives or forks only spoons. Alese's chopping knives and the cleaver would be needed to dispatch the bacon pigs. She kept these knives in the hall probably hung up on the wall. They would sharpen them on the outside wall. After the porch was built it looks as though they used the wall near the front door to sharpen blades. Where did she keep the clean cooking pots? Not beside the fire, but in the "Dea House and Butterie" as Johan Toms and the Cross's do. In there she had three brass pots and six kettles, a chaffinge dish and a dabnet worth £2. The goods seem to be stored in a methodical manner in Alese's house leaving space in the hall for cooking and eating:

"In the hall: one table And a fframe two fformes/
a Bench a cubbert a Chayre a dish bench and dishes and/
spoones two brand Irons a fire shoule a payre of tongues/
a grid Iron and pothookes wth other od Implements/
pothangers a payre of bellowes a grate two spits/
and a payre of Cobberts..... xxxs
Seven fflychins of Baconxxxs
two chopping knyfes a Cleaver and an axe and/
a hatchet and mattocke.....iijjs..."

It was in the Lodging Chamber that "a peece of newe Cloath a peece of sackon and 6 chushings" worth xs were found with her bedstead, six coffers and a press. Could the cushions be doubling up as pillows? In spite of being only in her forties this mistress who was busy from dawn to dusk could retire to the comfort of those cushions. Of course the cushions may have

been partly to display the needlework and brighten up the room. They were not out in the hall where old uncle Fremund now in his seventies would sit after his day with the sheep.

Down Round Bottom the collarmaker John Pare [58] left three cushions in his chamber, though he had already three bolsters which was more than Alese had, though she had two bolster ticks waiting for feathers or wool.

At the upper mill [51] just up the road from Pare's the miller John Cross's Joane or Ellen had furnished the parlour rather than the hall and on the bench rested four "chussyons." Did they match the bed curtains hanging from the tester? They already had a bolster and a pillow, so their cushions were for sitting on.

The French's [4] had hung curtains to the window in their hall and added three "Cushings" by 1617. There are several husbandmen whose inventories have not survived, but fortunately eight other households do record cushions.

As cushions were fast becoming fashionable in rural areas it was hoped some would be found at weaver William Watts [27] when an inventory had to be taken there in 1616. William had "One cubberd one fforme two chayres/ & a skreene half a dozen chussions xiiijs" in his hall. Weavers must leave the warp ends on the people's cloth to prove he had held nothing back, but with his own cloth he would use them up for less important articles than blankets and hillings. Here was a man and wife both able to weave material for cushions, stool covers, board and cupboard cloths for sale. Had they followed the fashion or set it off around the town? They were not poor by any means at this stage, still owning their looms, but being indoor workers they add a "skreene" by the hall door, as Norman [48] and Fenny[43] did to interrupt the cold south easterlies cutting across the corner, over the churchyard or up the street. Further comforts were the Watts' two cushioned chairs by the fire. When had he woven the material for his wife Anes to make cushions for their chairs? Six years later unlike widow Kynd, Anes left no cushions at all. They had been dispersed, perhaps one to each of the children.

William Wood married Judith Robins in 1611 and they worked for Toms' [15], while he saved to obtain a lease on a small farm, or else he was their shepherd. In the Easter lists they were first at Toms' farm cottage in the yard at the front of the house, then when the cottage in Hello became vacant [56] they moved there and were able to keep a cow. They had managed to collect together a surprising amount of furniture. Eight years after the weaver Watts' inventory was read out at the church court it was William Wood's turn for he was "kiled by mischance" in the middle of August 1624. A harvest accident? The

Wood's cottage which was one of the smallest in the town had a chair and four cushions, also in that one cell cottage they had downstairs:

"...two tables one forme one/ frame 4 Chussions, one Cheare/ one old Cubbord one turneinge/ up table, one paire of pott/ han gles and hooks one paire of/ bellows three barrells two Coollis/ pailles Churne shelves and all/ other implements in the hall..." £1.

"all the pewter and spones 13s-4d/ all the brass and earthen potts..." £1.

In the 1620's three gentlemen's households had cushions which was to be expected. Widow Elizabeth Holloway [21] had divided the household goods and left her "half part of the cushions carpetts spitts cobirons & racks" to their youngest daughter Joane, who had married Ambrose Holbech. The vicarage had not then been devoid of colour and possessions.

A manor house would always set the fashion in some things and Martha Woodrose [8] used the great chamber as her sitting room where by 1628 they had curtains, cushions and a woven turkey carpet hung on the wall. Down below the hall was furnished with "two tables wth frames one lidye cubbord/ three formes, five Cheares, two stooles, one iron grate .." and the rest of the fire equipment, but no upholstery comforts. The brass and pewter are given separately so their position in the house is not known. They were not in "the clossetts" already mentioned which stored tableware for entertaining neighbours, as well as the twice annual College visit. Their comforts were all upstairs in the great chamber which had a hearth:

"one bedsted one round table two chests/ two truncks one cheare two ioyned stooles three/ needle worke Cheares, three needleworke stooles/ two other lowe stooles, one feather bed one boulder/ two blanketts one Rugg Curtaynes curtayne rodde ..." £16.

"one cov'lett of oerice work & six Cushiones one/ bed topp vallance and Curtaynes for a bed of Philling/ and cheney (?) three Cushion of tustaffitty three imbroded Cushions, two needleworke Cussions, one taffitye cub/bord cloath one windowe cloath of taffitye one turkey Carpett/ one needleworke Cubbord cloath & one Cappon of brasse ..." £15. .

Napery: "two damaske/ cubbord cloathes, one hollan Cutworke cubbord cloath, one laced hollan cubbord cloath, one/ black wrought hollan cubbord cloath and one fringed/ hollan cubbord cloath..."

Did Martha's taffitye material for her cushions match the window cloth in colour? There were also all the cloths mentioned in their napery list.

How had Woodroses' collected such rich furnishings unless the women were constantly busy with the needle? In the great chamber Martha must have sat with her embroidery box before the fireplace. In Martha's will she leaves her niece Elizabeth Wilmer, whose father had come to take over the lease, her red velvet box with a lock to it. There was also a "greene taffatie workebox."

Altogether the Woodroses had more than sixteen cushions, but young Lumberd in his hall [14] had managed to have a carpet on the wall and one "dossen and halfe of Cushins" worth a pound by 1631, besides a "paire of Curtines" around the bed. By that year Robins' [26] hall had been downgraded for only "one table frame one Cubbord one/ Cheare, benches" were in there and also worth just a pound. Once again the valuation of pewter and brass was becoming a separate item with the resultant lowering of the value of the hall furniture. The second cause was the setting up of a sitting parlour, possibly since Robert Robins had married Anne Holloway in 1611, their appraisers found "...six Cushions/ one Carpett one Cubbord cloath one Cubbord/ Cushion, Curtains..." These "cubbord cloaths" were usually long runners and, whatever their material, they were brightening up a surface with their texture and colour. French [4] had one of these "cubbord clothes," but it was valued with the linen, while their near neighbours Solomon Howse [9] had one in his lodging chamber which he used with his young family. His widowed mother Margery had her own chamber and bachelor brother Thomas had built an extra bay leaving the hall as a more impersonal communal cooking and eating area for the whole household.

Three more with cushions were Tanner the mercer [39] who had four cushions in 1630 giving colour to the parlour, William Cattell's [30] who left in his low chamber "two quosens," and Richard Norman [48] in one of the Church Street timber cottages had "4 old cushions" in 1634. Richard had to keep them in his hall which was still open to the roof for his chamber was too small to sit in.

None had expensive tapestries in the hall, but a few did have painted cloths used as curtains hung from the main bed tester, or hung on a wall. Apart from Gybbs, Watts and Toms mentioned already they were also found at Wallsall's [13] in 1582 who had two valued at xxd and vjd. The last was at Hentlowes [35] who may also have hung his cloth from the tester for it was valued with the bedstead in 1617. These were a cheaper, but gay substitute for the real tapestries of the gentry. Done in oils they displayed pictures, verses or mottos.

By the time the French's [4] had decided upon further improvements in 1632 wainscoting, panelling, painting of walls, or covering them with luxurious hangings had filtered down from the gentry via yeomen to certain husbandmen's houses.

French's chose "certain wainscots" rather than carpet hanging, though they added a rug to the parlour bed as Wyatts [31] did to a bed in his hall chamber. Thomas Wyatt had wainscoting in his parlour chamber. Did either of the carpenters Lucas or Elderson have the necessary skills to make a wainscot, and where did they buy the wood to make them? Oliver Rackham believes that oak wainscots were being imported from Europe where they could grow taller oaks able to be sawn straight and precise by the experts [Rackham O. *Trees and Woodland* 1993, p76]. Harrison commented that wainscots made rooms "warm and much more close than otherwise they would be." Some were outlining the panels with red paint. Panelling was not new, it appeared elsewhere as early as the fourteenth century, but at least the advantages from wainscoting were now within the husbandman's purse, providing he had a good harvest.

Curtains were just arriving in a few houses, but all would have had folding back shutters which arrived long before glass. Folding back doors which did not intrude into the inner space are still used on some small Welsh farms. Apart from the long supporting hinges all the other fittings were made by the carpenter. Some shutters could be placed on the outside. Would these lift up to act as a sun shade during the day, or if they were hinged at the bottom of the frame, would they act as a shop board?

In Bourton Thomas Wallis a blacksmith who died in 1614 had a portal in the hall, which was a wooden frame attached to the door to keep out draughts [MS.Will Pec. 54/1/48].

Perhaps those who worked over a hot fire felt the cold more. Wyatt [31] added a "skreene" in his hall. Was this next to the door, or once part of an old hall divider to separate the service area from the hall? Palmer [1] at the lower mill had one and at least three cottagers. As early as 1594 Thomas Plant of Great Bourton had not only a "seeling" in the parlour, but one in his hall, and "all the seeling the glass windoes and a portall" [MS.Will Pec. 48/1/10].

In the next chapter the furniture in the chambers is looked at, yet curtains belong partly to this for they were once in the halls of the gentlemen, but when they arrive in this husbandmen's town they came at a time when the townsmen had begun to improve their chambers turning them into parlours. Curtains and cushions woven by Watts [27], or the Hunts [5] were luxury items to produce when blankets and coverlets were more important. Bed curtains were in the following houses in 1577 [25], 1614 [51], 1628 [8], 1630 [39], 1631 [26 & 14], 1632 [4] and 1635 [31]. Curtains unless specifically called window curtains were draped around the master's joined bedstead. Their valances could be either a bottom one, or like Woodrose's [8] attached to the tester. Visitors from the Brasenose College were allowed a bedstead with curtains in the buttery chamber.

Adequate bedsteads with bed furnishing suitable for representatives of the College were required to fulfil a clause in their lease and must be the explanation for the high quality in this second chamber.

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39. Chambers

The Chamber.

From the 1550's the master's chamber was occasionally called his "Lodgings" in local wills, but few had another chamber to act as a parlour. One who did was William Hall of Great Bourton manor who died in 1588 and he slept in his lodging chamber calling another chamber the parlour [M.S. Will Pec. 41/1/12]. French's at Springfield [6] had just the parlour by 1595 (p509). Russell the blacksmith [13], who married his first wife in 1554, had come down from Bourton and before he died in 1600 they too had a chamber called the parlour. The majority still called this room the chamber.

It was a very gradual change to calling the head of the household's chamber the parlour. In Cropredy the bay of building furthest from the entry was often set aside for the chamber. At Hunt's [16] it was described as "above" the hall to distinguish it from the chamber "below" the entry in the nether bay. The chamber and hall would have a front window looking out onto the Lane or Street, unless the property was rebuilt to face north or southwards like Howse [28], Lyllee [29], French [4] and others (p487) with a gable end towards the road. In the downstairs lodging chamber, as a few still insisted on calling it, slept the heads of household, or a senior member of the family. Nuberry's [8] in 1578 had their "joyned" bed in the parlour, which is an early recording of both "joyned" and parlour. Later tenants Robert and Dyonice Woodrose [8] kept their parlour as a day room having another parlour chamber upstairs to sleep in. Most however needed to use it as a bedroom. When had this northern term for the masters sleeping place appeared in the Midlands, or had it always been around since the days of the monasteries which had a parlour room set aside for talking to visitors?

In April 1621 Ambrose Holbech and Leonard Gorstelow and two others went to assess the late Richard Gorstelow's estate at Prescote manor. There they found a parlour without a bed and well furnished with three tables, three chairs and eight joined stools as well as two court cupboards. They had not only a table carpet, but two cupboard ones and fifteen cushions, which with the fire equipment were valued at £7-10s [M.M.D 1/5 O.A.]. Gorstelow's parlour may have been without a bedstead, but this was still exceptional in Cropredy's husbandmen's, artisans' and labourers' dwellings. In Prescote manor the chamber over the parlour had four "cubboard" cloths and twelve cushions which were valued with the curtained bed at £20. They could light a fire in the grate and retire here to enjoy the warmth in private. Woodroses [8] and Gorstelows manor houses had gone one stage further. A hall for eating, a parlour for visitors and a sitting parlour chamber for the head of household, or even a great chamber. By 1689 Mansell's [35] had added a great chamber to their farmhouse (p605) .

"Bedsteds."

The most important piece of furniture in the chamber and probably in the whole house was the best bedstead. The frame to hold the mattress could be made from slats of wood, interwoven strips of leather, or hempen ropes. Over this they placed a mat made from straw. This did not conduct the heat away from the bed so that the straw mat was better than a woven undercloth.

A bed mat was found on the bedstead in Woodrose's chamber over the boulting house. In 1578 one undercloth was worth 3s at Nuberry's and another 1s-8d (expensive items), but the worst was an old one on the parlour base valued at only 4d. Widow Gybbs in 1577 had three old undercloths. They disappear after the 1570's and were probably ignored or valued with the bed which was another name for a mattress. Straw palliasses may have continued, but none were valued.

Croptredy inventories reveal the presence of more bedsteads per household than was expected. Bedding referred to as "furniture" was reasonably plentiful and even if the children slept two or three to a double bed, at least they had one. Servants were also catered for increasingly in mens and maids' rooms (p91). The widowed mistress did not have to share with her servant and this was still only 1570 to 1640. The bed in a timber cottage down Church Street, or the smaller stone cottages may be the warmest spot in winter, when the fuel piles were low. Early to bed and early to rise made sense, wasting neither wood nor candle.

Cross [51] had a bedstead with a tester worth 8s. The tester made of wood or material had a dual purpose. Under a thatch it was there to keep out dust and droppings as well as to provide a rail to hang curtains from for privacy and warmth.

The most important piece of furniture and one of the indicators of household wealth, was the bed in the best chamber. What sort of value did the appraisers put upon the bedstead, mattress and bedding? Some valuations included the room furniture, others gave separate totals. The comments refer to their position in relation to other households. Woodhouse [8] in 1628 was the one gentleman and had the highest total.[J.B.= Joined bedstead].

Husbandmen and one gentleman:

Site	Date	Bed	Furniture	Comment
[4]	1617	£4		
	1632	£3-13s (J.B.)	£1-6s-8d	
[8]	1578	£1	.....15s	
	1628	£16	£15	Highest total
[14]	1631	£10		Fourth
	1635	£3	£1-3s-4d	
[16]	1609	£2+		Low
[25]	1629	£1-13s-4d		
[26]	1603	£4		
	1631	£17 including	furniture	Third
[28]	1609	£2		
[30]	1634	----8s		very Low
[31]	1634	£10-8s-4d	£7-2s	Second
[34]	1634	£3-6s-8d inc.	furniture.	

Cottagers

Site	Date	Bed	Furniture	Comment
[2]	1640	£2		Carpenter
[5]	1647	£1-6s-4d		Weaver
[18]	1630	---10s		Tailor. Low
[20]	1631	---13s-4d		Baker. Low
[27]	1616		£3	Weaver
[38]	1624	£1- 3s-4d		Carpenter
[39]	1630	£3-10s	---10s	Mercer.High
[42]	1616	£1- 6s-8d		Tailor
[43]	1636	£2- 4s-4d	inc.furniture	
[49]	1617	£1- 6s	inc.furniture	Labourer
[51]	1614	£2-14s-10d	---17s-8d	Miller
[56]	1624	£3		High for Cott.

Wyatt [31] had bedding and furniture worth over £17. This kind of standard was exceptional and seen only at Robins in 1631, but both of these were only half the estimated value of Woodrose's at [8] who slept in the great chamber. Most like Hall [34] were valued around £4 and trades with only a little land seldom rose above this. Young Lumberd's [14] was unusual to be worth £10, though they had not long been married and it may represent the cost of purchase. Wood's [56] total of £3 in their one cell cottage was unusual, but nothing is known of his background or situation. Tanner [39] could be expected to have a comfortable bed having gone so long without the expense of children in his first marriage. It is worth recalling that Ralph Nuberry's wedding gift to his second wife was a bedstead and bedding worth £2-3s-4d (p105). In spite of everything she went through, it must have been some consolation to have been treated to a bed not slept in by his first wife.

Men, by custom were expected to leave their bedstead with its furniture to their wives, though there were exceptions like William Lyllee [29] whose will was made some years before he died. Who can say what physical problems his elderly wife was having to cope with. Widows had to pass the bedstead on to the next in line.

Justinian Hunt's [16] "joyned" bedstead was in the chamber next to the hall and they kept a bed in the nether chamber below the entry. Woodroses and Wyatts took their beds into an upper chamber and like Prescote manor kept the parlour free of beds. Once Thomas Holloway stopped acting as scribe there are fewer mentions of joined bedsteads or any other jointed furniture. Alyce Batchelors and Johan Robins left the most expensive and important item, their joined bedsteads, for legacies yet Ambrose Holbech refers to them as just "bedstedes." In Great Bourton George Gorstelow tells us a great deal about his lifestyle when he died possessing three joined bedsteads [MS. Will Pec. 39/3/33]. Who else had them besides the Hunts? French [4] has two, Nuberry and Woodroses [8], Lumberd junior [14], Lyllee and later his son-in-law Hall [29], Lucas [2] and Wyatt [31] all had at least one four-poster. Kynds [31] and A.Watts [34] had standing beds with a high top and bottom to support a cloth tester and side curtains.

From the inventories their beds can be counted and it was noted that some chambers had two double beds. Nicholas Woodrose [8] owned eleven in 1628, but his mother Dyonice had at least three or four more, including her husband's bed which she left to Martha Wilkes her grand daughter: "the bedsteade and bedding with all things belonging and the tester unto it where in her grandfather dyed." There was also Dyonice's second best bedstead in her daughter-in-law's great chamber as well as her own and a field bed with the canopy "curtaynes" of green cloth (p520). These camp beds did not have a solid tester above which took the curtain rod and draperies, instead the curtains met like the roof of a tent falling from the ridge and leaving the foot open. Had Dyonice left the other cloths in the room to match the green bedcover and curtains?

Robins [26] had eight bedsteads in 1631, Nuberry [8] seven in 1578 and Hanwell [34] seven in 1592. Then came Hunt's [16] who had six in 1587 and 1609. French's [4] had five in 1617 and four in 1632. While Hall [34], Smyth [51], Truss [33] and Lumberd [14] four each. Nine others had three, nine had two and four had only one.

Widows like Joanne French did not actually own their beds, but had a life interest in one. Other widows such as Alice Devotion [3] hung onto her ownership of the marital bed. Thomas Browne [58] and Avis Gardner [24] had no bed amongst their personal estate, but this did not mean they slept on the floor. Both were servants and as such did not own their sleeping furniture. Brown's master John Pare [58] owned the bedstead in his servant's room (p91).

Eight houses had a truckle bed which during the day was pushed away under a standing bed. Instead of finding truckle beds in all the smaller one or two bay cottages, only two were found. Wyatt the farrier who was also farming, had two truckle beds. They were particularly useful for children, servants and night nursing the sick. Being narrow they slept only one, whereas the rest of the beds appear to be doubles. Hunt senior, French, Woodrose, Lumberd and Robins are the typical households having truckle beds, but each of the three properties on the west side of Hello had one: Wood [56], Palmer [59] and Suffolks [60]. When aunts came back to stay, or help, a truckle made a useful extra bed. The truckle bed could be made by sewing plaited staw rope into a mat held together by long pieces of wood. Two or three extra rows formed a side so that they resembled a long basket.

In 1611 Thomas Smyth of Bourton made his will and mentions the "beedsteede wherein I lye and the trundell beede under it [to] remayne as standderds unto they sayde Tenemente during suche tymes as they and everyone of them shall last and endure." The inventory had "In the Parlour one standing bede wth A trundell beede bothe readye furnished wth all things belonginge to ye same" valued at £6. His staff were provided in the men's chamber with "one beede furnished wth other small things" worth 20s. The men had a dry, but dusty chamber under the thatch, next to the cheese and apple store [MS. Will Pec. 51/1/2].

John Hentlowe's [35] father farmed up to five yardlands, but John had sublet the land and filled the house with his sister's family and another couple. In his will John left to his sister's two youngest children "my bedsteedd which I nowe lye in. My presse which standeth in my chamber. My featherbed wch i now ly upon and the boulster belonging to it two paire of sheets one Coverlet one blankett..." which they would have the use of after their mother's decease. The value of these items was given in an inventory which has been damaged:

"a featherbed a boulder and a pillowe..... ij£ vjs vijd
a wooll bed and a boulder of wool [torn]XS
a helline [torn]XXS
his bedsteede with a painted clothXS..."
"two paire of sheets and a pillowbeerXXS."

WilliamVaughan's [23] inventory does not mention a bedstead in their chamber, but there is one in the children's chamber and the nether house. In the kitchen he had "a coverlett and a mattress" vs, but he owned no bedstead in there. That may have belonged to one of the grandmothers (p554). However in William's will he left Ann his wife "the bed with furniture and bedsted where on i doe lye." He also left his son-in-law Ralph a bedstead whereon he now lay and the bed with all furniture and "my sawed timber to make him a bedsted," presumably for the grand children.

The best cradles were low box structures with panels of oak on rockers. There are no clues as to the quality of Tanner's [39], who had two, or Nuberrys [8], Watts [34], Gybbs, Howse [9] and Pratts [24]. Home made cradles or baskets might be below a worthwhile valuation, unless the rest of the mothers took the baby into their bed ignoring the dangers?

Cropredy husbandmen and labourers were more fortunate than some land workers who only began to acquire beds and furniture for them much later. Some still filled their sacks with straw to sleep on and had only their clothes to cover themselves with, but Cropredy records leave the impression of a more prosperous town for the majority of households.

Mattresses, Pillows and Bolsters.

Joanne Robins [26] made a will in 1627 in which she left a joined bedstead and bedding to her grand daughter Elizabeth Robins. This was in the chamber where the widow lay:

"one bedsted one feather bed two
woole bedds three blanketts one
Coverlett two boulders and one / pillowe £2-0-0..."

In farmhouses straw pallets were being replaced by softer beds, while the wooden log was being chased out by the bolster. Bolsters may originally have been bags, or boysters, used to carry goods under a saddle. The bedsteads all needed a bed. The

mattress or bed was filled with straw, wool or feathers, but only feather or woollen beds were mentioned in the inventories. At least twenty had a stuffed woollen mattress (flock bed), and nineteen had feather beds.

Thirtynine inventories mention poultry on a third of the sites (Fig. 19.2 p279). Information for eleven other sites which had no inventory, but paid a poultry tithe, are revealed in the vicar's tithe accounts [c25/6]. Hen feathers and duck down were carefully collected and baked clean by placing them in the cooling oven after baking was finished. These were then put on one side, perhaps in a coffer, until there was enough to fill a tick. In 1623 Mrs Holloway [21] had enough to leave her daughter Anne Robins [26] "the newe feather bedtick I have in the house and feathers to stuffe it with." Alese Howse [28] in 1609 had a tick and was getting ready to make a new bolster. Wallsall [13] in 1582 had "an old tycke, a bolster tyke" 5s.

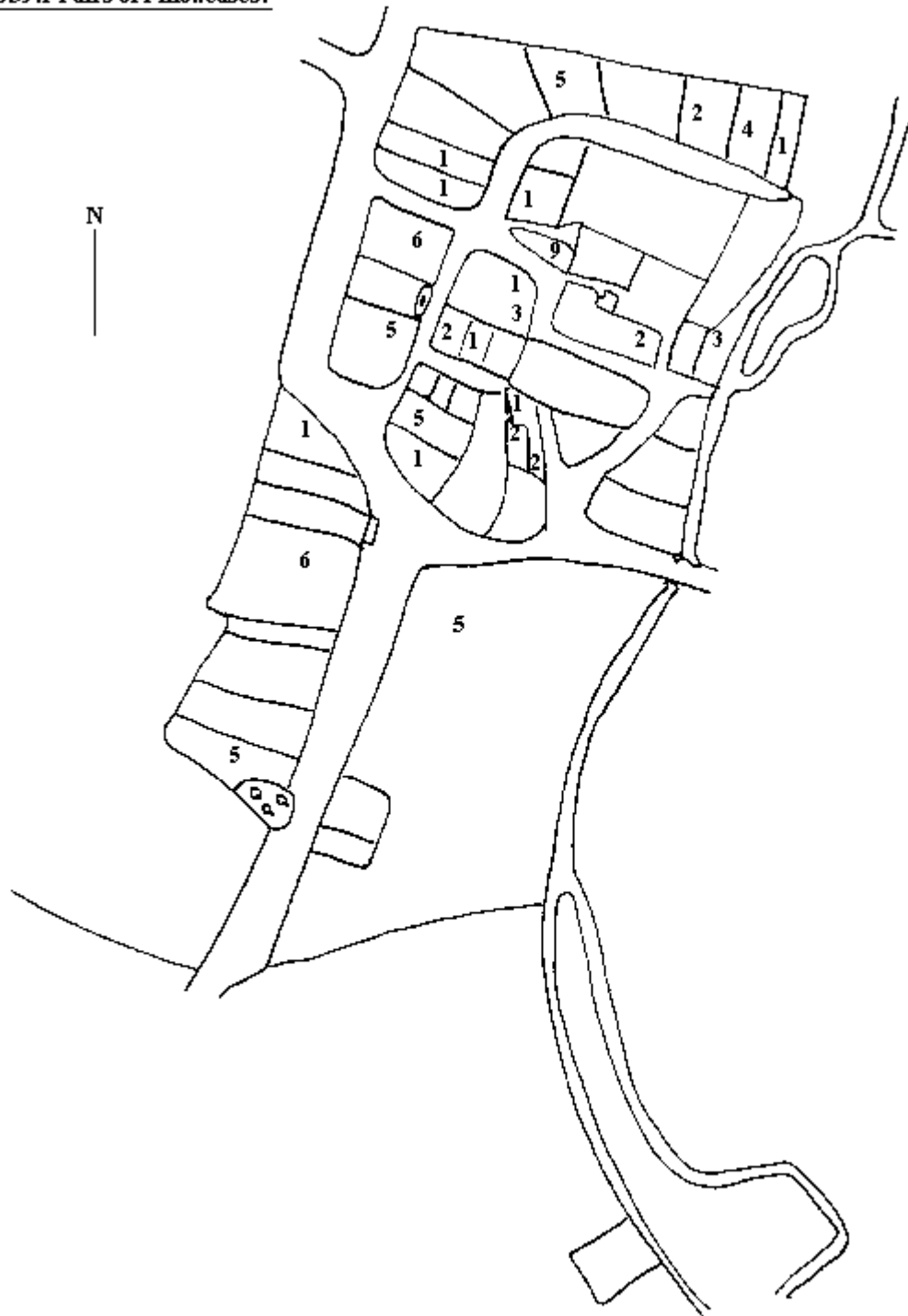
Prepared feathers had also been made up into six feather bolsters [1,8,14,31,35 & 39]. W. Harrison wrote that "Pillowes were thought meet onlie for women in childbed," but the sick and elderly also had need of them. Four had wool bolsters [8,14,35 & 39]. Old Elizabeth Gybbs [25?] in 1577 had "ij old bolsters ij pyllowes & an old pyllow" 9s.

Wool mattresses at ten households would have been warm at first and then increasingly lumpy and uncomfortable. The wool picked off the bushes, or collected after shearing, was washed and put away with the waste left from spinning until they had sufficient to stuff a mattress [1,2,5,14-16,25-27,30,34,35,39,43,44,51,60].

Pillows were covered by pillow beares. Other names for these were pillow boxes, pillow drawers, pyllow case, pillow boards or pillow cloathes. Tanner had nine, Robins and Solomon Howse six pairs, while Hunts, Gybbs, French, Wyatt and Woodrose only five. Thirtyseven inventories covering just twentyfive sites reveal where pillow beares appeared on the beds.

Pairs of Pillowcases.

D39.1 Pairs of Pillowcases.



Sheets.

Sheets were mostly for double beds and consequently very heavy and hard to wash and dry. If there were no convenient hedges in the backside then shrubs were cut low to spread the washing on, or laid out on the grass. Due to the high cost of heating water, and the work involved, the weekly washes might stretch to two weeks, or even a month. They used their wooden tubs or "broashes" (p673).

Holland sheets were made from high quality flax (p686). They called the lower grades **flaxen** and **coarse**. The latter being made from the outer fibres. **Damask** was a patterned linen, imitating silks made at Damascus. A **twillie** was woven with a twill pattern, but using unbleached linen threads. Otherwise called **diaper** when used for napkins or table-cloths. A twillie cloth may act as a bed cover in some households [14,25,40,43,49]. The earliest household to have their sheets divided by quality was at widow Gybbs [25?] in 1577. This family, which loved to have colour in their rooms and must have been very aware of texture and quality, had separated them according to their value:

"iiij payre of shets..... xijs-viijd
iiij payre of shets more..... xvjs-viijd
iiij payre of shets more..... ix-- vjd
j shet more..... js-viijd"

At the Manor farm [8] Nuberry's were also sorted by quality in 1578:

"xj paire of shetesiiij£ -js- vjd
xj paire of shetes morexls
iiij paire and one shete.....xiijs -iiijd."

Woodrose's [8] had more in their napery list besides cloths and napkins. The type of sheeting material is given, but none had individual valuations: "Three paire of hollan sheets two/ paire of flaxen sheets...two paire of laced hollan/ pillow beares, three other paire of hollan/ pillow beares... six paire of old Course sheets..." In spite of their wealth of furnishings only eleven pairs of sheets appear in this list, the rest may have been valued with the beds.

The highest value of ten shillings a pair were given to twenty at Alese Howse's [28] in 1609. The quality fluctuated between 2s-6d and 4s amongst the coarser sheets, while the better pairs from 5s-7d to 10s had an average of 8s. Before 1600 Nuberrys were high at 5s-7d. Even Alese Howse's husband left only nine pairs of sheets at 4s a pair. Over the next seventeen years how had Alese increased her linen and in so doing ensured a better quality? She had four sons and no daughter to help her spin the yarn. Her sons would however appreciate some linen to take to a marriage. There was no mention of her hemp plot or flax strip, but "In the Dea House and Butterie" Alese had "Lynnen yearne and Hempte" worth 6s-8d, and "In the Chamber beneath the Entry...two wheeles and ffower payre of cardes ijs." One wheel for wool and the other for linen. Her cushioned chair perhaps necessary as she spun far into dusk, or by the dying fire in the hall, though surely she had a young day girl coming in to help?

The value of sheeting had not all doubled. Weaver Watts [27] who would have been the best judge of their value had sheets worth only about 2s-6d a pair. He may have sunk to the oldest pairs and not held on to good sheeting, yet he died soon after his son qualified, and was not yet old.

Weavers would receive the homespun yarn from the customers and weave their sheet or blanket. How many women spun yarn to sell, so that the weavers could produce a pair of sheets for sale to those households who did not spin?

Sheets were usually counted in pairs. The mention of a single sheet may have come after one was used for a shroud, or some other emergency. You did not have to be a gentleman to have the most sheets, they were a major part of everyone's possessions. Naturally they would not last for ever if in constant use. Presuming each double bed had four pairs, then the older couples or widows who had no more than this were the most likely to have passed on good sheets to young relatives. Others would be too worn and had the edges recycled into pillowbeares. Lyllee at eighty left the basic amount of four pairs.

[To check their pairs quickly. First the **husbandmen**: Nuberry 27, Robins 26 in 1631, his father 20 in 1603, Alese Howse [28] 20, Gybbes 16, Lumberd Jnr 14, Justinian Hunt 13, his father 11, French 12, Woodroses 11, R.Hall, Rede, Rd Howse and Pratt 9, Devotion, Kynd, Toms and Allen 8, Palmer 7, Trusse 6, Cattell and Vaughan 5, Hanwell and Lyllee 4]. These numbers do not reveal their value. In 1614 Truss [33] had "sixe peare of sheets and one odd sheete xxxs," at around 4s-7d a pair.

[In the **tradesmen's** households Tanner the mercer had 18 pairs, Wyatt the blacksmith 16, the millers Palmer 14, and Cross 13, weaver Watts 9, Elderson a carpenter, Sutton a tailor and another miller Palmer 7, Rawlins the shoemaker and Smyth a miller 6, Pare a collarmaker 5, Lucas a carpenter 4, Matcham a tailor 3. Wallsall blacksmith 2].

[**Trade or labourers** John Palmer in 1634 had 7 pairs and his father 8 [59], Cox 8, Fenny 7, Wood 6, Hudson and Ladd 4, Norman, Gulliver and Bokingham 3].

French in 1617 had eleven pairs of sheets in the chamber over the hall and another pair in the chamber below the entry which had two bedsteads with bedding for one of them. He gave six pairs away leaving the rest for his executors who were his grandson Thomas and Thomas's mother Elizabeth (p177). Each of the three grandchildren were left a bedstead, Thomas was to have the best, but that left widow Elizabeth without one, for according to the inventory there were only three bedsteads. On the other hand we know she lived in a nether bay with a hearth in the kitchen and this means that as a widow she kept her own bedstead and some furniture in the room with perhaps a few of her personal belongings. As Elizabeth never left a will these may not have amounted to more than a few pounds. This was another case of the inventory not assessing all the contents of a chamber lived in by semi-dependent members of a household.

There were other kinds of sheets mentioned. Christening sheets or gowns along with bearing cloths rarely surface in Cropredy. The first to be mentioned was in widow Elizabeth Howse's [9] will of 1577. She left her daughter Ayllys a christening sheet. Justinian Hunt [16] in 1609 left a gown and one bearing cloth 23s-4d. In 1617 Thomas French [4] left to his three grandchildren one christening sheet which they were to share. Lastly the young widower Thomas Palmer [59] had one christening sheet when he died in 1634 (p449).

Blankets, Hillings and Coverlets.

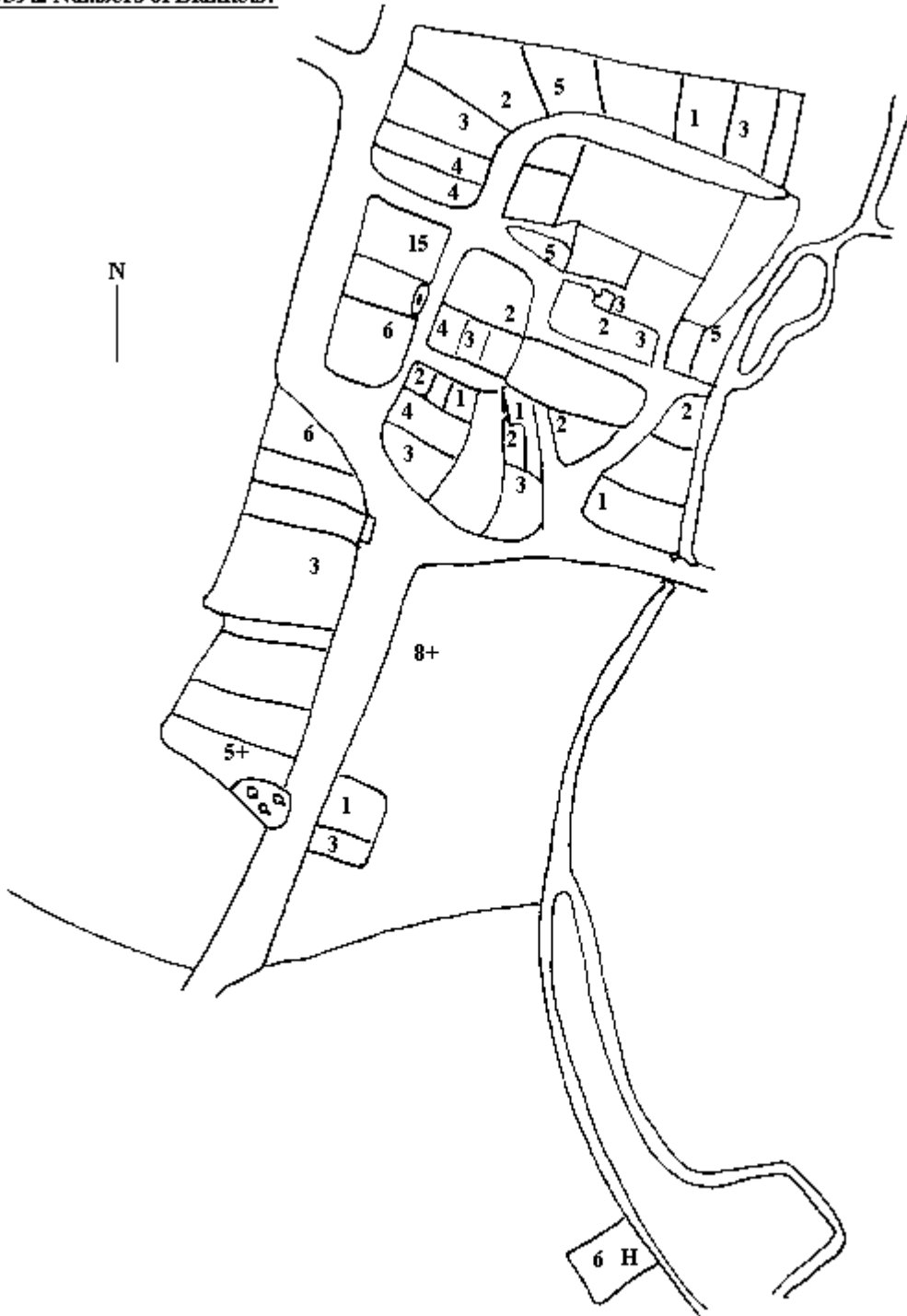
Nearly all families had at least a blanket for each bed and some had a hilling or "coverlidd" as well. They varied between the generations. Alese Howse [28] had both and Pratts [24] with their two beds and a cradle had four blankets, four hillings and nine pair of sheets. At Toms [15] three hillings and three blankets were worth 10s and used on their two bedsteads. They were elderly and needed two bolsters and a pillow worth 4s.

The six beds and a truckle at Robins [26] house in 1631 had fifteen blankets, six coverlets, a hilling and two rugs. Just a few inventories mention that the blankets are white or yellow. Weaver Watts had two "coverlids" worth 25s, one red and black the

other red and yellow. Martha Woodrose [8] had a coverlet of "oerice" work [8]. This had either gold lace embroidered on the coverlet, or a lace made up in various gold and silver patterns.

Number of Blankets

D39.2 Numbers of Blankets.



Coverlets or coverlids were used rather like a modern duvet or the older eiderdown. They were found at manor houses [8] but also in many cottages and farms.

Nuberry [8] and Robins [26] had seven coverlets (and Robins four in another inventory). Woodrose [8] and Wyatts [31] had four. There were three at [14 Jnr,25,29,44]. Two at [13 in 1582, 16 in 1587, 23,24 ,27, 28, 30,34 Hall, 39,56,58,59] and one at [4,13,16 in 1609, 25,26 widow,40,43,49,51,55]. Wallsall [13] had "a keverlett of redd & blew colors.." worth 2s in 1582 as well as "an old keverlett.." 8d.

Many had blankets but not all had a **hilling** which was a bed cover. Not all households which had two inventories agreed on the number of blankets and hillings as some could be given away before the widow died. At [31] widow Kynd had two hillings in 1598, but her husband John had had two blankets and three hillings in 1592. Thomas Tom's had three blankets and his widow Johan only one, but both had three hillings. There were two blankets at Palmer's [59] in 1631 and a furnished bed, but his son had only one blanket belonging to his bed and a spare bed. The father owned one hilling and his son two coverlets.

Hillings were also found at several more sites. Three at Hanwells in 1592 were worth 10s. Four were found at [1,24,26 and Cross 51]. Three at [27] and Smyths [51]. Two at [4,25,48,52]. One at [16,26,28,32]. There were three **twillie covers** at [14], and one at [29,40,43,49]. These were unbleached linen bed covers.

Four Households in the Town.

Up to 1635 Edward Lumberd senior [14] had lived on the south side of the Green. Grandfather Edward had in his sitting parlour a bedstead with the furniture belonging to it. A feather bed, two blankets, one hilling, one bolster, three pillows, a woolbed and a pair of sheets. A set of bed curtains hung from curtain rods. All the bedstead and bedding were valued at £3. The room furnishing included a "cubbard," a chair, a form, a bench and three stools as well as a coffer, little chest, a bible and a box worth £1-3s. On display were twelve pieces of pewter, five candlesticks, two salts, a pewter tankard, four saucers and a broken pewter bowl all worth £1-2s-6d. In addition there was £3 of linen, the warming pan, six cushions and another two old cushions (not already mentioned). Edward owned half of the table in his parlour, but had no fire tools. He had a spare bed in the chamber at the stairhead which had four blankets and a hilling.

Thomas Gybbs [25], on the far side of the Green just up the High Street, died seven years earlier. They still used the lower chamber to sleep in and kept their safe and a malt garner beside their bed for safety. As one of the wealthy families this was

the safest place, when the household had few servants who might have slept with the garner, for their farm was mostly run with the help of sons and brothers. Clothes and linen were stored in a coffer, box and press, but there was no air of extravagance even though the bed had three blankets and a coverlet, the whole room was worth only £1-13s-4d and had not become a sitting room. In their hall chamber were two beds, two blankets and one hilling, while over the kitchen a bed with a hilling and blanket. Their linen was treated separately and valued at £9.

At the top of Creampot the carpenter Thomas Elderson's [38] second wife Avis had in their downstairs chamber "one basket with yarnes," but the rest of that chamber was filled with two beds, four coffers, one press and all the linen of the household which came to over £5. Holbech, Robins and Broughton who made the Elderson inventory had not gone into detail so that "two bedsteads with the beddinge upon them" was all they observed, no-one actually numbered the pillows, blankets or coverlets.

Down Church Street at the upper mill John Cross [51] may have had a larger parlour for in it was a long table with a frame, two forms, a bench and four cushions as well as a bedstead with a tester "a fetherbed a mattress a bolster/ and iij Curtaynes a pyllowe a coverlet/ and a blanket.".. He had both a feather and another unnamed mattress as well as ..."A Chayre and a Cheste." This was as early as 1614. Had the Cross's moved into the parlour away from the hall, where so many waited for their flour? Also in the parlour but itemised separately were:

"Lynnnon in a chest in the plor
iij stomachers ij pynners ij holland/
Aperns a little pece of Clothe a hand/
kerchefs and a hatt band----- xs..."

If these were on a tray then the other items were stored beneath:

"ix table napkins iij towells vij table/
clothes xij payre of sheetes and an od/
sheete iij pillowe boxes----- v£ vs./
ij pynners and a corner kerchefs----- ijs/
a pece of new clothe----- xxxiij iijd..."

Coffers, Trunks, Chests and Presses.

"Trunckes, chests or boxes" Em's Will made 1658, proved 1662 [MS. Will Pec. 36/4/28].

"2 coffers 1 box and other wodden lumber" 10s: Em Devotion's Inv. [3] in 1662.

Husbandmen and craftsmen all spent more on furnishing down the years, and by careful laundering of their napery some would last long enough to be passed down the family. They stored the linen and clothes in coffers, trunks, chests and presses. Trunks were sometimes just a chest, or a box with a leather rounded lid. In Allens, Woodroses, Robins and the younger Lumberd's inventories they had trunks as well as boxes and all appear between 1628 and 1632. Past scholars or apprentices in the house may have required a trunk when they were away from home. Randell Holloway [21] as a student in Oxford had a chest worth 2s-6d rather than a trunk.

Several boxes appear, but are mostly described as little. These were used to hold items such as a bible, cheese, candles and implements. Twelve had one each, but Tanner, Robins, and Wyatt had two and Fenny had three. Why did he need three? Were they for his trade? Up in Bourton Elizabeth Denzie who had one "payre of tear of hemp" sheets, which was the finest quality, she also had three old coffers and a forcer 12s. Forcers were small coffers covered in leather and bound with an iron band. They were made to store valuables such as deeds, or jewellery which meant they needed a lock. Elizabeth's will was written in a year when many were very undernourished and ill, but then she lived on for six more years.

The coffer made a useful store for clothes, blankets or linen and often stood at the end of the bed. A hundred and eightyeight appear in sixtytwo inventories. Seven had at least four coffers but Lumberd, Gybbs, Robins, Tanner, Hall [34] and Vaughan had five each. French, weaver Watts, widow Howse and James Ladd six each, but Hunts [16] apparently had seven. The maid Avis Gardner [24] left a coffer with an unusual lock and hinge worth 1s-8d. Elizabeth Holloway's mother brought several when she came to end her days at the vicarage [21] and in 1578 Em Bryans [47] had an old one down Church Street.

In the hall or chamber a chest could act as a linen coffer or provide extra seating. If long enough and provided with a mattress it could double as a sleeping bed. Later chests were given a drawer at the base and a candle box in the upper part. Drawers had reached the larger towns by the fifteenth century. At first the chests were fairly plain, but becoming elaborately carved by 1600. Those who could afford it purchased imported Venetian walnut chests.

Nuberry [8] had a joined chest in 1578 worth 8s. Dyonice [8] has a "danske" chest (also imported) in which her granddaughter Martha Wilkes kept her clothes. Her husband Robert Woodrose left a "cypesse" chest standing in his chamber, which was used to store woollen and fur articles because the cedar wood acted as a moth deterrent. Elizabeth Holloway [21] leaves her "sipers" chest to Joanne, and Alyce Kynd [31] had two "ciffers." Were these all made of cypress wood? Dyonice mentions a presse with a cupboard in her chamber standing by the chest. Solomon Howse [9] left in his will "my deeds and my chest now standing at my beds feete."

Chests were not very common before 1600. Three houses left them: Widow Bryans [47] had one in Church Street, the Nuberrys [8] had three and the Kynds [31] who left "a cubbord xijjs, two ciffers and a chest xs." After 1600 the following had one each: [3, 9, 14, 15, 16, 24, 26, 31, 34, 44,60], but Wood [56] had five, Woodrose [8] two chests and two little ones. Robins [26] and Howse [9] had two each and Wyatt [31] and Cross [51] three. Rychard Watts [34] had left "the cubbord and a little safe vjs...certain coffers vjs-viijd...a garner & an old chest vjs-viijd." There was always a great need for the carpenter's box for storage and over the years their different shapes brought different names according to their use.

Other items were creeping in such as court cupboards. These were to become expensive family heirlooms. Arthur Watts [34] had few belongings, so where had his press come from? These were similar to the press sometimes used as a side board. Arthur had his in his lower chamber with one little table and a frame worth 5s in 1624. The rest of the room held £2 worth of wool from the previous year's shearing. No-one slept in this room. The second court "cubbord" was in French's [4] parlour by 1632, but was again valued with other items "a table a frame a forme a box a table boarde and trunk" £1-6s-8d. French also had a cupboard in the hall and the chamber over the hall had a press and two coffers. Another coffer was in the chamber over the kitchen.

Presses were quite numerous, but again the majority appeared in inventories after 1600 though these were often described as old. Toms' [15] cupboard and press were both old yet valued together at £1. The first mention of a press was at Nuberry's [8] in 1578, followed by Hanwell at the bottom of Creampot [34] in 1592 and the third at Vaughan's of Church Lane [23] in 1599. The press, which had doors, was wider than a court cupboard and often had an open shelved cupboard on top. Only Tanner's [39] is described as a hanging press. Presses were found at: [1,3,4,8,15,16,23,24,26-30,33-35,38,39,43,44,59,60]. The Truss's [33] had perhaps the largest press and as the father left it to his son it appears twice in the inventories. Lyllee [29] gave up most items, but just could not part with his useful press. Watts [27] the weaver and Elderson [38] the carpenter have

them in Creampot, and Fenny [43] at the top of Church Street. We must not forget Palmer's [59] press and Suffolks [60] in Hello. The last was a valuable one listed as "one Cubbord wth a presse £2."

Suffolks also possessed a "luidye cubbard" highly valued at 6s-8d. It was ventilated at the front and sides and used to store bread. They were not very big, but a great advance on open shelves to store food. Some hung from the wall, or had legs so they could be moved around.

Nether Chamber or the Chamber Below the Entry.

Below and generally to the left of the entrance in the larger houses was an extra chamber taking up the front part of the nether bay. Cattell's [30] and Robin's [26] had a chimney backing onto the entry. Not all had a barn attached, but the name "neather" lingered on, or changed to the Chamber Below the Entry. Both being "below" the hall, but not underneath as in a cellar. This was often where the maid slept or a widow. For those who had a chimney in the bay it could be used to make two households under one roof [4, 26]. French's chamber below the entry in 1617 had no stores, but two beds as the house was a three generation household. There was a fireplace in the kitchen behind and this made the division of the house possible for first widow Elizabeth and then Mary. Widow Mary had had to split up the farm by the third quarter of the seventeenth century. These rooms had a lot to recommend them for a grandparent could live in them with their own hearth and have their own access through the entry passage, without having to disturb the rest of the family living in the hall to reach the parlour chamber. Edward Lumberd senior had to pass through his son's hall to reach the parlour bay [14], unless they put up a partition?

These must not be mixed up with the Low or Lower chambers which were in the timber cottages such as the four in Church Street [46-49], or at Toms [15]. The lower chambers had transverse beams to hold the upper chamber floor giving the cottage one high chamber up into the thatch and one with a low ceiling on the ground floor, where the head of household slept. There was however one "low chamber" in 1634 at Devotions [3] which had been the nether chamber in 1631. This one apparently had a particularly low ceiling (p418).

Gybbs' [25] chamber below the entry had a much later chimney. Alese Howse [28] had one without a hearth in an unusual position for it was beneath the entry (p580). It resembled a central store room, but they crammed in a double bed "with

ffurniture to same" worth 6s-8d, perhaps for uncle Fremund. Each set of items for a particular chore, carefully located in one place rather than the haphazard method of allowing items to stray all over the house.

In Great Bourton Nicholas Plant (brother to William) had to make a will in 1617 when his eldest son was married. He left his daughter Avis £15, but insisted she dwell and remain if unmarried in the nether chamber below the entry during the term of twentyone years left in the lease. If Avis married she could choose a cow on the day of that marriage. Avis was already twentyseven and seemed likely to need the accommodation offered [PCC 136].

Before going into the service and store rooms we will follow the appraisers up the twisting perfectly made stairs (which were quite safe for those who used them with respect), as they swing round their newel posts to reach the upper chambers.

Upper Chambers.

At first each chamber upstairs took up one whole bay of building, until eventually many gained a partition. As the buildings were narrow the chambers led out of each other, something which was not then considered inconvenient. Most chambers had their widows facing the front, directly above the ground floor windows. The rooms were warm under the thatch in winter and cool in summer. If a second storey had been added the first had the advantage of not having to contend with the collars in the roof. Providing the roof was kept in repair these were not damp places like those described in Nuneham Courtenay in 1750. The sleeping accommodation was well above average and remained so until after the Enclosure of the Open Fields in 1775 when many of these three bay houses were made into three cottages.

Some of the Hunt's [16] items of furniture are the first from the smaller farms to be recorded. Hunt's house and barn could have been built under the same roof as a long-house type (p543). In 1609 the appraisers began immediately downstairs, we join them after they have climbed the stairs and entered the buttery chamber which had "three/ Bedsteeds and furniture to two of the beds xxs." It looks as though this is where the children slept. Like many households space in the room was used for storage: "a coffer a payre of tressells & a wood hurdle ijs/ a tod of lockes and three fleeces of black wool xijs/ ffourtye ponde of linnen yearne and a/ Tod of hempe and one planke and two payre/ of cardes xxviijs." The household's raw materials for carding and spinning which was done by the women and girls in the family.

Sometimes, but not in this house, the hall chamber was divided up so that the part next to the chimney breast could be given over entirely to the storage of dry goods, hopefully free from rats and mice. At Hunts they used the whole bay to store "three/

coffers a cheeseracke three stafhookes/ a dozen of stands three shippikes two/ transomes a tod and halfe of hempe and/ grease and tallowe xxxs."

The last chamber over the entry was a place often used for the malt garner and a member of the staff would sleep here to keep this safe, which was the case at Hunts "the bed/ and furniture to the same vjs viijd/ a Garner and 18 strikes of mault/ in the Garner iij£ xs." The Robins' [26] servant chamber also had beds and bedding and the malt garner (p91) in 1603.

If the Hunt parents had the main chamber next to the hall, the children the three beds in the buttery chamber, while male servants had the chamber over the entry and the maid the chamber below the entry, all could be catered for. When a second couple lived in, they would have the nether chamber and the maid sleep with the daughters. The hall chamber could be divided, or beds put up in the cockloft to accommodate more people. Between 1584 and 1599 the Hunts had nine children, but the eldest and youngest had died leaving only eleven years between the surviving eldest and youngest, so at least seven children had to be bedded down at night. Using a truckle for one child perhaps the rest slept two to a double bedstead. John Hunt and his wife Elizabeth were the third generation in our period and they employed a man, a maid and a shepherd in 1614, as the family may have been doing for some years. Three staff sleeping in and a married couple living in the farm cottage [17] would make up the rest of the household on this average farm. If the two men guarded the malt and the maid had the bed in the store next to the entry ready to start up the fire, all were well housed (p545). There was plenty of work spinning, drying the barley and preparing the malt in the kiln house, as well as making butter or cheese in the "dea house" out the back. The outdoor work on the farm would need both the men and the women.

At Vaughan's [23] timber cottage the upper chamber was called the children's chamber and reached by a ladder (p554). Others had a cheese chamber and the men servants' chamber up in the cockloft.

Cocklofts.

The first Cropredy cocklofts may have been late alterations within the house to take up the roof space, but in the stone houses most had been planned from the start. Originally a cockloft was a place for cocks to roost in over an outside hovel. They entered by a board ladder. The word was carried over to the house when access to the cockloft was via a rung ladder, as Eldersons [38] was even into this century.

The lofts were in fact small garrets. A full sized garret was more likely to have been conceived and built immediately with the stone building for at Woodrose's [8] there are traces of a stone stairs running right up to the servants' garret under the steep thatch giving them plenty of head room. Huxeley's [36] newel stairs went on up to the cockloft, which was not as spacious having a "duck and dive" collar arrangement, though fully equipped with a gable window and floored in elm. Howse's [28] cockloft which was reached by a ladder had an early oak floor before oak became scarce and wide elm boards had to be substituted, or else narrow oak boards. A reminder that Howse was in the vanguard of the rebuilding. Other lofts were found at Halls [6], Lumberds [14], Gybbs [25], Robins [26], Watts [27], Hall [34], Tanner [39], Whyte [46], Coldwell [50], Palmers [59] and others like Thomas Holloway [21] whose inventories are missing. The schoolmaster at the Williamscothe grammar school used his cockloft for the students' chamber.

The value of an extra floor became increasingly obvious and from both manor houses to husbandmen, shepherds, weavers and labourers cottages they overflowed up to the cockloft if necessary. There was no room for more cottages and they must use what space they could make under the one roof. When the family decreased it provided a valuable dry storage area. Mention of such lofts can be found throughout the period covered by this book, especially in the long-house types. Loose upper floor boards meant the tenant could remove any which belonged to him, but during his tenancy some could be taken up to help move goods up or down through the joists. Sometimes, perhaps rarely, wool sacks were hoisted up through a gable window. Apples found ideal storage in cocklofts. Servants and apprentices had their quarters in lofts as well as garrets once they were separated from the family chambers (p91).

A cockloft took up the whole of the upper floor of the house end at Huxeley's [36]. At Hall's [6] it was partitioned off into three rooms. Tanner's [39] was only over the eastern end of the building. A garret was a grander type of loft, but the local name of cockloft occurs in many more inventories and apparently much earlier in this area than elsewhere, especially as Howse [28] had one. There was also the evidence of the timber two and a half storey dwelling at Whytes [46] proving that the tradition was an old one [R.W.Brunskill *Traditional Buildings in Britain* p109]. Wood-Jones found cocklofts only in the largest of the yeomen's properties [Wood-Jones p114], but Cropredians also needed the extra room a cockloft could provide.

The cockloft at Howse [28] may not have been fully developed during the occupation of that family. The only entry came via a ladder from the hall chamber. The attic was lit by two one light windows at the gable ends. It would have been used for storage, especially apples from the orchard. The next tenants may have raised the roof, replacing the thatch with stone slates and adding better windows so that [28] could be said to have changed the cockloft into a garret (p580).

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40. Service Rooms

Buttery.

Behind the parlour usually sharing the depth of that end bay of building was the narrow buttery. This followed the timber house position and was continued in the Long-house type because it was convenient. The Hunts [16] kept in their buttery "ffive Barrells a lorme a tuning boule/ and the stelle xxs/ seaven Bottells and a lanthorne vjs viijd." A "stelle" was a stand for a barrel and "bottells" could be small casks for liquor. Fabian Smyth [51] the miller had a loft over his buttery with a bedstead and cheese rack.

All sorts of things went into the buttery from shelves, barrels, firkins for butter, powdering troughs, vats, churns, cows and pails. Others like Smyth had wool there as well as the woollen and linen spinning wheels. In 1635 Thomas Wyatt [31] kept "two halfe hogsheads twelve barrells and one saive" worth £1-13s-4d in his, while over the buttery he had "one loft and a lead & Cheese rackes" £1. A hogshead was a cask for beer which held fifty gallons. Butter firkins held half a hundred weight. The value of the loft boards had been added to the Wyatt's inventory so he had been responsible for this improvement. By 1669 the house had a buttery chamber next to the parlour chamber which would place the buttery in the same bay.

In Cross's [51] house they used the buttery to store a second set of cobirons, a spit and dripping pans and all his cooking pots. The room had no pothooks and does not seem to be a cooking area. The usual items were in there: "viij barrells a hogshed/ two Tubs two kivers vij shelfes a/ musterd querne an old cubberd three/ cheese ffatts and a sutar xls." The miller also had on the shelves various pots, bowls and platters, salts, trenchers, a leather bottle, "vj pounce of tallowe" and "ij flichers of bakon" the last valued at 13s- 4d. Another one doing business who liked to keep his pewter under lock and key away from the customers waiting in the hall? In contrast on one farm Richard Hall [34] in 1634 has only his barrels and milk vessels worth 10s in the buttery. At the other end of town the Devotions [3] call theirs the "boulting house" in 1631, but the "dayryain buttree" by 1634 (the spelling of course belonged to Charles Allen [44] scribe, not the Devotions, but it could have been their interpretation of Em Devotion's speech, or the description Thomas Densy, the second appraiser, used for the room). Em kept "too churns/ a cheesepresse too shelves three kivers/ one cobole too barrells milk vessell and/ a bolting huch a wollin wheel ..." £1. When sieving flour it was a boulting room and when churning the butter it was the dairy. Elderson [38] calls his the "boulting house" but uses it like a buttery. What part of the country did those who used the different names for this small narrow room come from?

In 1607 Thomas Toms' [15] timber house had the buttery facing the Green with the low chamber at the front towards the yard. They had "ij barrells a stell and a tankerd iijs/ iij payles xviiij/ iij bords and a cheeserack" worth 5s. Allen had a similar floor plan to Toms, but in reverse. In 1632 they had five barrels, safe, cooking pots and pewter all carefully stored in the tiny buttery. Had the "safe" moved from Watts [34] to Allen's, so that Charles had it under the new stairs? One of Charles tasks may have been to collect the rents for Coldwell [50].

Dairy or Milk House.

Gervase Markham's expectations of a cow's daily yield in summer was that "one gallon is good, two is rare and extraordinarie" 1623 [Markham: 175, 189].

The dairy or milk house might be a separate building, but most remained inside the house or cottage. These were recorded at Hudson's cottage [48] and at eleven farms [3,4,8,9, 16,25,26,28,31,34,60]. The inside dairy was often behind the lower chamber in the buttery position, or when added later at the end of the entry passage [36]. Surprisingly some farms still used a buttery for their dairy, for the wives at Lumberds, Toms, Vaughans and Hall [14,15,23,34] may have had to store and make their butter and cheese in theirs, though not all their equipment would fit into the one room. The three wives of John Cross's, Joanne (1590-?), Ellen (1598-1607) and Gillian (1609-1613) used the back house [51].

Dea Houses on their own like Hunt's [16] were usually outside, but a dea house combined with a buttery would be in one of the house bays. In 1609 Alese Howse [28] had hers inside. As late as 1641 their cousin Solomon Howse [9] down the Long Causeway still combined the needs of the two rooms into one. At first only Nuberry and Woodrose [8], French [4], Wyatt [31] and Tanner [39] had a real dairy though some of the missed properties with no inventories would have had them, such as Halls [6].

The larger the herd the more important was the side of the house on which the dairy was placed. It required the coolest position, but might not get it. Palmers [59] solved their space by using their kitchen as the milk preparation room (p447). Next door Ellen Rose [60] and later on Jane Suffolk had a milk house. By 1628 Jane had turned it into a general store for bread making and cooking equipment, though the milk vessels were also in there. It was noticed too that the Suffolks were not displaying their pewter in the hall, or in the kitchen, but keeping it out of sight in the milkhouse, or did that happen after his death? "One boulting huch 5s/ one doe Cover 1s-8d/ one powderinge Iron 2s/ two barrells two Cowells one old/ drye tubb

one old Churne two shelves 13s-4d/ one meale sieve 8d/ one earthen milk pann and/ three potts of earth 1s-3d/ three wooden Cowles 1s-2d/ one skippet & one meale/ baskett 7s/ one brasse pott 6s/ one little kettle 3s/ one brasse pann 6s-8d/ three pewter platters 4s" [60].

The Gybbs' [25] and Robins' [26] had a milk house presumably with a slatted wooden window and shutters facing north. Gybbs had in theirs "one Cheese presse and fats [vats] one Churne/ three shelves and all other odd implements" worth £1. This was the women's own department. Robert Robins [26] had a buttery as well as a milk house in which his wife Anne kept "one Churne shelves milke pannes Cheese/ vatts three Covers... "valued at £1-6s-8d.

In the older timber cottages sometimes the milk house was in reality the buttery [48]. This was inconveniently narrow, but if only one cow was kept it had to be managable. It was in 1637 that Thomas Hudson's wife Elizabeth [48] had in the the milkhouse " a little Cubburd/ a pen, a bord, 2 old kyvers, two barreles/ and other od implements" worth 5s 6d. They shared the narrow buttery with her sister Anne Norman who owned the cow and was the first life on the copyhold so all the other milk utensils would belong to her.

Solomon Howse's wife Caterin [9] spent all her married life with her mother-in-law so perhaps it was Margery who had decided where the various vessels went. In 1641 they had in the "dayry & buttry one powdering/ trough 4 drink Barrells a stell one/ bench a churne a dough Kiver a little/ milke kiver a little powdering tubb a Linnen/ wheele and a wollin wheele and two old/ tubbs £1-13s-4d/ 3 milke pannes, 3 creampotts ...5s."

Not all the brewing, butter and cheese making kept to a particular room for equipment was found in the kitchens, butteries, dairies and boulting houses. Different generations changed the rooms' purpose and stored other equipment in them when the season for their use was passed. Some households needed more service rooms when they took on more land. In the farm dairies they used earthenware utensils for separating cream over the fire, but these were of such a low value they usually escape the inventories along with wooden equipment, or are lumped with the cowperly ware.

They needed large pieces of equipment such as weights, cheese presses, and racks. If the house had no cheese chamber, then as we saw at Hunt's the rack could be found in a bed chamber. French's [4] kept the buttery chamber for the two cheese racks and cheese boards with hemp in 1617, and linen and woollen yarn in 1632. Solomon Howse [9] had a store over the hall

for their cheese, butter, bacon and apples which were worth £1-3s-4d. Cheese presses being large would not fit into the narrow butteries and were naturally put wherever it was convenient. Cheese boards being small were much easier to store.

Cheeses were kept in a room of the right temperature for some warmth was very necessary to ripen the cheeses, but not the heat of the full sun. This meant the cheese room should not face south, though it may have been ignored? In the Robins [26] cheese chamber on the 11th of June 1631 they had "one cheese frame eight shelves bacon/ bread cheese, butter..." worth £3. At Woodrose's [8] "six shelves.../ two powderring tubbes, one powdering trough/ one peale one oatmeale basket hives cheeses..." valued at £1-10s on the 18th of May 1628. Being only May the cheeses would be from the previous year, or older still. The hives were perhaps new straw skeps waiting to catch a June swarm from one of their garden hives. Richard Hall's [34] cheese chamber had "one Cheese Racke shelves/ 40 of Rough henge Cheese..." worth 13s-4d, on March 18th 1634. Ann Hall also had a cheese from a previous July or August. Although the right atmosphere for the maturing of cheese was essential other items requiring a dry store found their way onto the shelves or gathered on the floor. The room need not be large, but a narrow one above a buttery was about the most useful size. Not all houses which had cheese chambers had a dairy or milk house and must have used the kitchen instead.

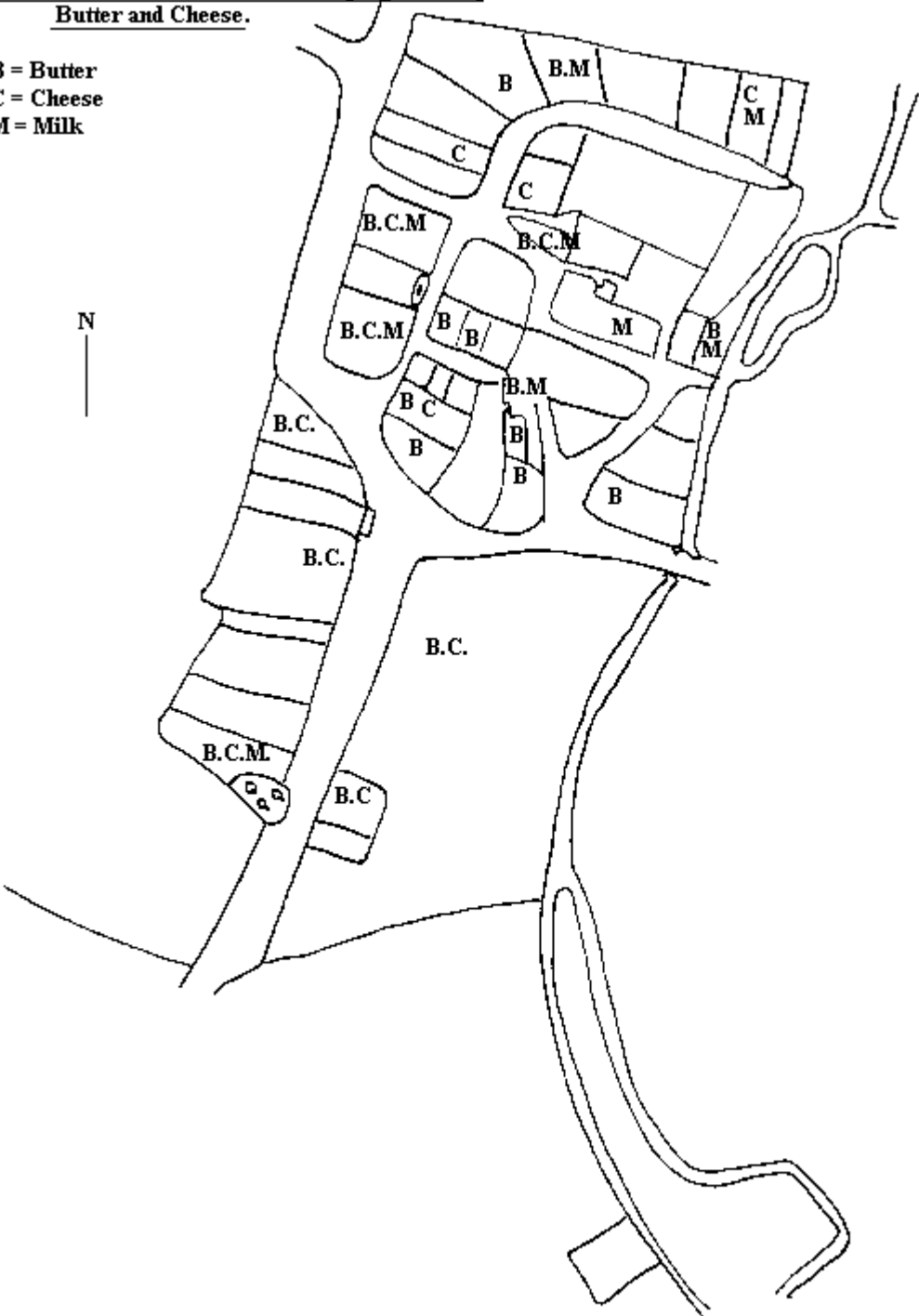
It was expected to find a cheese press somewhere on the property. Of the twentyone house sites known to be producing cheese fifteen were recorded, but how had the rest been missed when the appraisers went round? The press needed a large box full of stones, pressing down on the cheese held in a special vat. John Sherman of Bourton had a "rendle" stone for a cheese press. The dairy maid or man servant helped the mistress to add more weights to increase the pressure, squeezing out the whey into a bowl beneath. From the press the cheese (or "lead" as a 56lb cheese was called), was taken to the rack for daily turning. Some had different routines, but all used a special cheese cloth wrapped round the cheese to keep its shape.

Fifteen inventories mention racks, three of those whose press had escaped attention, and three others mention cheeses, bringing the total up to twentyone houses which had definitely made cheese. Four of the early lists had cheese boards called suters used in the preparation of cheese. Palmers at the mill [1] had cheese boards worth 3s-4d in 1606. Nuberry [8] needed five vats and Hunt [16] had six, the rest were managing with three or four. Alesse Howse [28] had in her kitchen "a lead a cheese presse .."10s. Was this lead a cheese being pressed or a trough?

Some of the Farms and Cottages producing Butter and Cheese.

D40.1 Some of the Farms and Cottages producing Butter and Cheese.

B = Butter
C = Cheese
M = Milk



The evening milk went into the cheese vat and was covered overnight. The next milking being added in the morning. Rennet had to be introduced after the milk had been brought up to blood heat for it helped to produce the necessary curd. The milk was agitated until a crust had formed which could be removed with a curd knife after it had been plunged up and down to break up the formed junket. All this must now be scalded and left for the thickened curd to sink. Cheese vats had a tap or bung hole through which the whey was let off into a bowl. The curds were salted and put into the cheese cloth which was then placed in the vat beneath the press. The suter boards acting as wedges were placed inside the vat to take up any space left over. The cheese was left overnight after pressing and then taken out, rewrapped and pressed again, before going to the cheese rack. Turning twice daily prevented the fat in the cheese from settling at the base. Once again the whey went for buttermilk, or to the pigs.

It was not only husbandmen's families who were producers of cheese. Millers received corn as a toll and could concentrate on the products of their two cows. The wives of the three millers, Smyth, Cross and Palmer made cheese for they generally had extra meadowing and leyland rather than arable in their leased land. Elderson [38] and Truss [33] had long-house type dwellings and it was an ideal situation to combine their carpentry or shepherding with a sideline of small soft cheeses made by their sisters, wife or daughters. They were making a thin white cheese with a creamy texture and excellent flavour to sell at Banbury. The farms without records must have produced some cheese because of their cattle, but no inventories survive: [6,12,21,30,35 and 50]. It is almost sure that they would have done so at some period for the milk had to be processed into butter or cheese as it would not keep. Although perishables need not be recorded in inventories an item for sale must be. In 1595 John Ellyott of Bourton had "30 lbs of Butter and twelve cheeses worth 14s-6d" [MS. Will Pec.37/3/8].

Cheese was only stored if made from the best grazing grass in July and August, when the milk was at its richest. A medium cheese was made in May, June and September taking only six to eight weeks to mature before being taken off to market. Any cheese made before May was too young to store and was eaten straight away or sold fresh. In his will of 1587 John Hunt [16] leaves a cheese of three years standing to Richard Hunt [5] weaver, the son of Anthony as well as a tableboard.

The size of the cheese depended upon how many cows you had. They varied in methods, the times turned, and generally the type of leyland the cow grazed upon, so that some farmers' wives would excel, others not. The townswomen did at least have a good market at Banbury. Barnaby Googe writing in 1614 put Banbury cheese before Suffolk, Essex and Kentish cheeses though after Cheshire [*The Whole Art and Trade of Husbandry*].

Some earthenware milk pans and "pots of Earth," butter pots and creampots are recorded for use in butter and cream making, or like Palmers [1] in 1606 the lot were left as "earthern vessells" worth 2s. Hunt's, Toms' and Pratt's [16,15,24] wives used their churns in the kitchen, but by 1609 Hunt's had added a dairy for churning the butter and put the cheese rack over the hall. The milk taken into the dairy or milk house which was required for butter was poured into earthen pans and left overnight. In the morning they used a skimmer, which was a round disc covered in holes with a handle, to lift off the risen cream and place it in another cream vessel to be covered and left for two days while it ripened. It was next put into the churn.

The churns at this time, which were made by a cooper, were tall, cylindrical and narrower at the top. Through the lid went the plunger which was a pole attached to a flat disc, again well perforated with holes. The butter maker plunged this up and down the three foot high churn, keeping a close scrutiny on progress inside, for over churning would spoil the butter.

The whey we saw was used for buttermilk, or feeding the pigs in the sty or pigyard, which would be close to the dairy door. Each cow could help provide for two pigs. The butter now needed beating with butter pats to remove excess whey. Butter for the firkins was salted at this stage and pressed down firmly into the barrel. Market butter was further shaped with a second pair of pats whose surfaces were serrated. Finally a farm stamp was put on the shaped butter. The butter basket mentioned in Nuberry's [8] inventory could be a yard long to cater for butter made to a set length, width and breadth as one way of knowing the weight, rather than purchasing scales as Fabian Smyth [51] appears to have done. In 1595 Fabian had "one basen rope and butter waights" which was possibly part of a butter scale similar to the much larger beam scale for wool (p263). The weights for the butter scale were worth 1s-8d.

The cream would be slowly heated in a milk pan over a gentle heat and then having taken care not to boil it, left overnight to clot. The skimmer was used to remove the cream into creampots. Woodroses [8] had ten, Solomon Howse [9] opposite had three, Palmer [59] owned two and Tanners [39] had "creampots." Kynd and Wyatt [31] at the top of Creampot had the only references to creampots in the lane called after them. A nickname more easily recognisable than an earlier name now out of use? Or was it a friendlier name for a lane ignoring the mud (p172)? Hunt's [16] Dea House had amongst other items "two boules fflower milke/ pans ffive butterpots..." Woods [56] in their cottage at the bottom of Hello had butter and cheese worth 6s-8d and of course a cow valued at £1-10s.

Butter was used for cooking as it did not keep well. Salt was essential and came along the Salt Way close to Banbury and perhaps sold by Tanner the mercer [39], though none was found in his shop when he died. The salted butter was packed into

firkins and emptied by dismantling the barrel, tying up the barrel staves and returning them to be reused. Nuberry [8] had six, Lumberd [14] seven and Robins [26] just "firkins."

Did the cottagers who had milk houses [48] sell milk rather than making butter like Palmers [59]? Would they supply Banbury with milk for there were too few Cropredians without a cow. The following twentyeight sites had some skimmers, pots or milk pans: [1-4,8,9, 13-16,23-26,28,30,31,33,34,38,39,43,48,51,55,56,59 & 60].

Boulting Houses.

As flour would not keep small households might send a son with only one sack at a time to the mill. He would wait or return later for their own flour. The miller's hopper took only one sack at a time. The millers did not mix up their customers' corn, neither did they store the flour for them. A corn toll must be subtracted instead of a cash payment (p472). Once the flour was home it was put in the hutch. At Robin's [26] they had in the "boultinge house one garner one boultinge hutch one/ malt mill two Covers..." worth £1-13-4. Eldersons boulting house was more a dairy and buttery [38] considering they had three cows, so why call it a boulting house? A boulting hutch was used as a container for flour or meal. Some hutchs were just like large chests, but others looked like a chest of drawers through which flour was sifted to sort out the bran and husks to grade their own flour. By using a boulder and separating the flour, middlings and bran at home they saved a higher tollage going to the miller. When they had no special room put aside for flour then the hutch was kept in the driest and coolest place away from steam. If there were seven in a household one bushel of corn had to be sent to the mill to be ground for the weekly bake. Ten bushels of barley gave around eight bushels of flour.

The flour having been sifted through Hunt's [16] boulder in the kitchen it was taken to the kneading trough in the dea house and back to the kitchen to rise on the moulding stooke, which was a moveable stand and could be positioned out of draughts. Robins [26] had two dough kivers in the kitchen and Cross [51] had a kneading board and table, two dough kivers and tubs as well as three cheese vats at the mill. Down Creampot Hall's [34] wife Ann kept a moulding trough and her boulting hutch in the kitchen which had no hearth. These large objects were passed down the family. John Suffolk [60] besides the implements mentioned above in his milk house had a moulding table in the kitchen. His skippet and meale basket are interesting for this skippet was a round wooden box specially made to raise yeast. The valuer associating it with the meale basket. Across Hello Pare [58] had his boulting "wytch" [hutch] in the kitchen with a "kurding" trough and three pails worth 8s-6d, but most important was the next item the appraisers noted which was the "fyer grate." Here both the hall and kitchen had fire tools and

they had room to expand if both fires were going, unless the family had divided it between the two generations? Thomas Matcham [18] had a "boulting which" but nothing else of sufficient value to be worth a mention, such as his wife Gillian's wooden or earthen baking vessels which were not recorded. In 1631 Palmers [59] had stored over the kitchen away from the steam "one Coffe a bolting hutch a dough/ Cimeer tooe old tubs a otemele/ basket..." 13s-4d. They took baking very seriously, but with the kitchen such a busy place did they have to make the bread in the over chamber and set it to rise before cooking it in their kitchen oven.

"Maslin bread is made half of wheat and half of rye. And there is also maslin made half of rye and half of barley" [Andrew Boorde, *The Dyetary of Helth*, 1542]. The manor courts were responsible for imposing and collecting a fine from any whitbaker or producer of ale who broke the assize of bread or ale. The standards were very strict though we have no records to judge if Bokingham [55], William Hill [20] or others, ever paid a fine. They called the loaves the "quartern" which weighed 4 lbs, the "half-peck" weighing 8 lb and "peck" weighing 16 lbs. A one peck loaf was said to be eaten daily in some households and it required a bushel of barley to make three full peck loaves [H.E.Hallam: *Rural England 1066-1348* Fontana Press 1981 p67].

William Hill had a small bakery in Church Lane [20], but he had no land and must buy in all his corn for flour, some of which came from the vicar's farm opposite his cottage (p338). Bakers were able to buy direct from the husbandmen often acting as merchants. They could make a little profit on the purchasing, but little on the bread which had to sell at a set price. Most bakers in rural areas would take loaves to their nearest market towns arriving very early. Townsfolk in Cropredy who had ovens, fuel and their own flour made great savings, perhaps half the cost, by baking their own. Other housewives would take their flour to Hills to make and bake in his oven.

Bread made from rye is not easy to handle so it was usually mixed with barley or wheat. The rye giving a good strong flavour mixed well with wholewheat providing it was a minor ingredient. In 1596 the rye harvest failed, because of the excessive rain throughout the winter before. In that year rye was brought into the country from Germany and Poland. If only Thomas Holloway had written down in 1596 where he purchased his seed corn from. It was also that same year that Bartholomew Steer, carpenter of Hampton Poyle grew anxious about the enclosing of an adjacent parish, especially as rye was rising in price. He decided to call a meeting on Enslow hill to go with others against the gentlemen responsible. They were caught, but how many others were as angry and anxious as he was? Hampton Poyle was only thirteen miles away from Cropredy (p710).

Oat flour or meal could be kept for a short time in an oatmeal basket. They used it to make a flat cake, for having little gluten it does not allow the flour to rise. This was baked very slowly at a low heat at the end of the oven bake, or on a flat piece of iron such as Smyth [51] had in 1595. His griddle stone coming into use during the run of poor rye harvests and perhaps only noticed by the appraisers because of the crisis.

Wyatt's [31] old lead oven could have been made in the smithy. With the coming of stone chimneys a new oven would be built into the structure and lined with special bricks forming a beehive roof. Each had an iron door and to seal it once the bread was inside they pressed a strip of dough round the edge of the door.

Having the newly ground wheat and rye, or a strike of barley and rye flour, the women put a dry faggot or two into the oven and lit it, the smoke escaping through the partly open door up a flue over the oven to the chimney. When hot the oven would be swept clean with a birchwood broom and a mop swirled around to clean it. The risen bread was then placed inside and the door shut, for perhaps an hour. A peel was used to bring out the hot bread. Only two peels to take the bread out of the oven were recorded [8 & 26]. Pastries then went in and if there was still some heat left other slower dishes used it up.

Cellars.

"In the seller/ fower hogheads six barrells with thealls xxvjs viijd" [M.M.D 1/5. Richd Gorstelow 1621. O.A.].

This was recorded at Prescote manor in 1621. Gorstelow's was reached by a flight of stone steps curving round to the stone floor of the cellar. Two other properties had known cellars with stone steps. In Coldwell's [50] their water supply was in the cellar reached by stone stairs inside the house. Howse[28] had an outside stone staircase. Their cellar had a transverse beam supporting the Lodging chamber floor. It was lit by a two light stone mullion window with a fine label mould with dropped and returned ends. Although this faced south the cellar was used to store perishable goods but none needed to be mentioned in the inventories.

Wool House.

On the 11th of June 1631 they recorded the contents of Robins' [26] wool house: "two Cheare frames 5 spinninge wheelles/ one still one Irongrate six stoole frames..." worth £1-10s. The sheep were still waiting to be shorn. This wool room took up part of the bay at the nether end of the house. His mother may have used it as her buttery and partly as an entry lobby while

she was alive, but now her son had converted part into a place to store wool out of the bedchamber because of the smell and possible "livestock" left in the fleece. The room at the front of the same bay became his best chamber. This had a fire and so could keep that bay dry, but he would still need to raise the sacks off the earthen or stone flag floor.

Malt Houses and Kilns

"The place may be so, and the skill may be such
that to make thy owne mault, it shall profit thee much.
Some drieth with straw, and some drieth with wood:
wood asketh more charge, yet is nothing so good." Tusser.

Before milling for flour or malting could begin the barley had to be taken to a drying kiln. Once again Justinian Hunt [16] on the Green had the right equipment. One of the Hunts had built a kiln house and there is even a mention in 1609 of a hair cloth fine enough to allow the heat to rise to the barley, but too fine to allow grain to descend into the fire below. "In the kilne house a mault mill and an old barrell" were worth 24s. In the loft over the kiln that April he had a vat, some wood and a "hayre" cloth and rough hemp. In 1587 John Hunt had a malt sieve for helping to sort the rubbish from the drying barley.

When Thomas Holloway wrote such full records in 1614 was he housebound and having to direct operations from the study, thus giving him time to write his ledgers up in full, or was it just an average year that was saved? Their barley was made into malt by William Toms that winter of 1614/15. William was one of his servants, mentioned as "my boy wam toms" [f14v c25/2]. The Toms appear to be connected with malting more often than others whose family records have survived, except for Bostockes. Where would Elizabeth Holloway send young Toms to help malt the barley? Malt was found not only in College houses, because malt was part of the rent, but also on the following sites [4,9,14-16,21,25,26,28,31,33,39,42 & 51]. How could all this barley be dried on the few drying floors known to exist? The demand had to be fulfilled which means there must have been other kilns on those farm sites which have no inventory.

In the Holloway period only a few townsmen have a malthouse recorded in their inventories. Cross had a malt house at the upper mill [51]. Mr Hall at Springfield [6] had a one bay malt house combined with a cottage and kiln house. Woodrose's [8] had a kiln and Tanner [39] had a kill [kiln] house as well as a mill house in which he kept the malt mill. At Wyatt's [31] they eventually built a "killhouse." The three already mentioned: Hunt's [16] kiln house on the Green, Robin's [26] in the High

Street and Hall's [34] down Creampot Lane still only makes eight. Elizabeth Holloway's husband entered into his farm accounts a memo. "then she had upon the flower & kylne 3 quarters/ to be dryed" [c25/2 f8]. Did she come in to answer his queries about how much malt had come home, so that he wrote "my wyfe sayth"? Thomas was making a note at the time of how much malt his wife had made for the Vicarage at one of the town kilns with William Toms:

"a note of my malte made wth
Wam toms in wynter 1614 [1614/15]

The malte made & come home
before the tenth of january 1614 was
fower quarters halfe
Item more befor the 20 of march fower quarter
halfe
Item more the 4 of aprill one quarter halfe
Item more the 19 of aprill one quarter halfe

Memo. then she had uppo the flower & kylne 3 quarters
to be dryed

Memo. my wyfe sayth that my malte made unto
this six of June 1615 and then come home
is twenty one quarters
Thereof sold xiiij strykes" [c25/2 f8].

At Mrs Holloway's command young Toms would take the threshed barley in a cart round to the kiln they had reserved. On arrival the first task was to steep the barley in a lead cistern for about three days with several changes of water, and then the water was allowed to drain away. The grain was now swollen and must be taken out and left in heaps to drain. It is possible this preparation was done at the vicarage and the drained barley taken by cart to a farm's upper drying floor where it was laid to a depth of 12 inches. It was William Tom's responsibility to see to the barley whilst it lay there, turning and tossing it

regularly with a wooden shovel until dry. A moderate kiln fire of straw or damp wood regulated the temperature helping to dry the barley as it sprouted. Mrs Holloway had ordered three quarters (twentyfour bushels) to be dried. Small kilns could only take half a quarter at once. This was therefore a big drying area and hard work to turn. If he was lucky one of the maids went to help stoke the fire. The husbandman might be a good maltster and control the making, helping to regulate the growth of the shoots to ensure the grain germinated evenly. The grain needed regular raking for two to three weeks and from one to four days over the kiln where it rested three inches thick on a hair cloth, then the shoots were burnt off and the grain was ready to become the white to brown chalky powder known as malt. Once it was cooled, winnowed and ground then Tom took home to his mistress the quarters of malt.

The vicar notes "malt spent in my house 9 strykes" [f1cv] for their consumption. Keeping it safe and shut away was very important, because of the duty to be paid on all malt. Malt was stored therefore in a windowless compartment, though when it was in a staff chamber did they allow a small window with the malt in a closed and locked garner? It is highly probable the windowhole was lacking for some cottages even in this century were found to have no windows in back bedrooms, or even if they had one they were not all made to open.

If the Holloways had twentyone quarters of malt brought home this was sufficient to produce sixtythree hogsheads of beer! One hogshead should hold fifty imperial gallons. Surely they sold a great deal before brewing the rest. How long could they use the kiln?

The malt was measured in quarters, the weight of which was 336 lbs (or seams) equal to eight malt bushels. Tanner has two quarters of malt in his inventory. This would be enough to make six hogsheads of ale and perhaps some small ale. In 1631 Robins [26] had eight quarters of malt worth £16. Robins' malt house in June held only plough timber seasoning quietly out of the sun until the next barley harvest started further activity.

Most people like the Hunts kept their malt in a special garner over the entry. The room over the entry, or a hall chamber, having the warmth of the chimney proved an ideal dry storage place. A few needed large garners due to the size of their household and so their needs were revealed by the amount of equipment. Large households required staff who in turn needed to be catered for. French's [4] kept their garner in the chamber over the kitchen where the men usually slept.

Robins [26] had the garner in the servants' room in 1603 and his son kept two garners with the men, only he had moved their chamber into the cockloft. Alese Howse [28] in May 1609 had four quarters of malt in a vat worth £4. Richard Hall [34] had two garners in the men's chamber and the malt, about nine quarters in March 1634, was valued at £13-10s. Richard had a kill [kiln] house in which he also brews. Here he kept "one vlerige fatt a Garner/ one maltmill three Coules/ one heere.." [hair] valued at £2-13s-4d.

Brewing.

Thomas Holloway: "I give my wieffe my brewinge leads, vats, keever, and all things accomptable, as cowperly ware, to her use onelie" 1619.

Brewing was necessary for husbandmen's households and many artisans as well. Sometimes a copper was built into the hall chimney on the opposite side to the oven. Robins' [26] backhouse chimney had a very complicated flue and the brewing copper may have been behind in the western end of the extension and the oven on the home side (p568). Improvements were made over the following centuries to this chimney.

The Reverend W. Harrison found yeomen sending sons to university as well as putting glass in their windows and adding Brew houses. He did not look any further down the social scale. Harrison made ten score gallons of beer for £1 which included the cost of malt, wood, wages and food as well as the wear and tear on his equipment. This cost him one old penny a gallon. Three hogsheads of beer could be produced from one quarter of malt.

The only "Bruehouse" in Cropredy during our period was at Edmund Tanner's [39]. Prescote manor had one in Richard Gorstelow's time (d 1621). The rest used the kitchen or hall [4,8,16,25,26,34] and Cross his backhouse [51].

Tanner's brewhouse had a small furnace and his mashing tub was made from a large barrel. Edmund would boil up the water with his little furnace and then transfer it to his mashing tub. This was raised up about a foot so that the wort could be taken off into a smaller wooden tub below. To the boiled water was added five bushels of malt well and truly stirred and then covered over. A few hours later hot water was very very slowly allowed to pass through the thick mass. The lower tap allowing the wort to flow into the small vat or tub. The wort was put into the copper. Hops were then added. The fresher the hops the stronger the beer. G.Markham wrote in his *The English Hus-wifes* [1615 London]:

"After the malt is ground they put it into a mash vat and the liquor in the [cauldron] being ready to boyle, put it to the malt and mash together. Let it stand an hower. Then drain the liquor from the malt and put it in the [cauldron] againe, and ad to it for every quarte of malt a 1 1/2 lbs of hops and boyle over for the space of an hower. Then cleanse the liquor from the hops through a strait sive into the Cooler... then put in your barme and after they have wrought, then heate them together, then tunne your Beere into hoggsheads, let it purdge well, and after close them up. This Beere may be drunke at a fortnight's age and is of long lasting."

As all farmers grew barley and needed to brew there were several querns, or malt mills found in the inventories [1,4,8,25,26,34,35,39,51,59,60]. Mrs Holloway left in her will of 1623 "My brueing furnace of copper wch standeth in the kitchen." Her husband had intended she carried on brewing for the family. They were called brewing furnaces [4,8,14,16] or coppers for brewing [21,31,39] such as "one furnace of copper" at Gorstelow's of Prescote, or Hall's [34] "leads to brew in" £1. The last may have been the one Rychard Watts' appraisers found in 1602 when they recorded a lead and malt mill also worth £1.

This expensive piece of equipment was often left to a son in a will. The first one recorded in the inventories was widow Gybbs [?25] in 1577: "ij vattes an old stryke a heyre clothe a new stryke/ an old troffe a brewing ledd" 15s and "vj lommbes ij payles a kymnell an old saltinge/ troffe..." 6s. Nuberry [8] had "a brewynge leade" 16s-8d with a wooden covering for "ye Leade," "a dry fatte" ij/. "ij old colves ij loomes a small powdringe tubbe iiij payles" 4s as well as "iiij malte seves and vij small syves" 1s-8d and "an old here cloth" also 1s-8d. Alyse Howse [28] has "ffoure maultsives a pecke and a hayre sive/" and a "hayre cloth".

In a PCC will made by Robert Woodrose [8] came the following instruction in 1625: To Nicholas my "brewing furnace as it now stands and my mashing ffatts with the frame that it stands upon and my cooling ffatts with the frame it stands upon. And also my mault myles. The wife to have the use of them while she dwells there." This eventually left Dyonice and Martha in joint ownership of the cowperry ware (p521). They were in the old hall which used the central chimney with the flue opposite the oven. In here Nicholas left "one paire of iron racks one brewinge/ Copper one mashinge fatt one Coleinge fatt one yealinge fatt fower Cowles fower pales/ one malt mill..." which were valued with a cheese press, three spits, two dripping pans etc at £2-17s.

In 1632 French [4] had "in the kitchen [a] furnace a messinge/ rake 3 cowles 2 steds 2 dowe/ kivers 1 cistern on side trough a/ cheese press on payre of pot hangles..." worth £3. The kitchen furnace and cistern together meant it was all inside the house. Could it mean that French's had water in the cistern and side trough coming from the well house mentioned in 1617? It was surely possible using gravity.

Other brewing equipment might be found in kitchens, boulting houses or butteries. Mashing vats [4 & 31], yealing tubs [4, 8 & 36] and hair cloths [16]. Those who had malt also had some cowperly ware. Many had wooden pails. Hunt's [16], Woodrose's [8] and the Vicar [21] had a wort tub, a shallow vessel to take the wort to the copper. Ffendries [43] cowperry ware was worth 12s-4d. Others with cowperly equipment were Hill's [20] Sutton's [42] Watt's [27] and Palmer's [1].

Tanner [39] sold hops in his shop, but how many grew their own in small quantities? In the last quarter of the sixteenth century the growing of hops spread rapidly north from London. Tanner would be able to get the preferred fresh ones, but he had to store hops throughout the year for later brews.

In 1587 the vicar sold to Goodwyfe Mosely and Goodwyfe King of Wardington quarters of malt. He arranged for them to pay at the next Michaelmas quarter day or Saint Thomas day. Were these two widows making and selling ale to keep either themselves or their families fed? In April 1589 they are included in his sales of "maslyne" and there unfortunately the record stops (p338). All ale houses required a licence from the church courts. From a few references we know that Bokingham [55], Bostocks [41] and possibly Densey [13] sold ale.

Kitchens.

The stone houses which were built in the sixteenth century generally had an oven built into the hall chimney and this dictated the area of cooking. Although the majority kept on cooking in the hall twenty of the known households also had a kitchen. In there they hung some of the bacon, prepared the vegetables, salted the pig and stored large equipment. It all depended on what work was carried out on the premises, what space was required, the work in hand, and the size of the household, especially if they had living in servants. Even if they had a kitchen boulting hutches and bread making equipment might still be found in other parts of the house.

Did two of the cottagers who had a hall hearth also have one in the kitchen, for Palmers [59] and Pares [58] appear to reverse the name of the two rooms and cook in their kitchens? Why had the appraisers decided those were kitchens and not halls. At

Pares the long table, forms and pewter were in the hall along with "2 brasse potts & four kettells xvjs." They obviously ate and lived in there and kept the brass cooking equipment inside the hall, or placed it there for appraisal? They had two hearths already but in 1663 the house had three chimneys. In the "Kychen" they had

"A bultinge wytch a kredinge trough 3 paylesviijs vjd/
a fyer grate 2 payre of hangells a spytt/
a fyer sholve a payre of cobbords 2 payre
of potthokes a payre of bellowes & an
axe & a frying panviijs/
v serry stooles [?]xijd."

The cooking could definitely be done here in the kitchen. Across the Hello passage their neighbours the Palmers [59] only ate and sat in their hall, but both the hall and kitchen had chambers over them and could have had a chimney. The cottage was not paying rates. The most likely place for Palmer's hearth was in the kitchen. Their possessions included a malt mill found "over the stayres" perhaps on a shelf using loose boards. This meant they might be brewing. Their dough kiver and bolting hutch were kept in the kitchen chamber (p447) which surely meant they had their own oven to the same chimney, while out in their yard they had the necessary "ffuces" and old wood, for the oven and fire. Their women's tasks included the use of the:

"2 Coles 3 payles/
a kiver three barreles t[w]o Cremepots 4 milke panes/
all the brasse and pewter/
a dishbench and dishes and a/
Churne and a little table..." with a "Chayre" to sit on.

By 1663 nineteen taxable houses had two or more hearths. Only a few farms had added an extra kitchen chimney, possibly for the brewing furnace. It would be a long time before the cooking pots were all taken from the communal hall into the kitchen. Three generations must continue to share the one hearth unless a second one could be afforded by the tenant. This was a large outlay for so little financial gain.

When the properties changed hands in the late seventeenth century the landlords might encourage some tenants who had some financial backing to make improvements such as new windows, extra chimneys, including a brewhouse or kitchen after which the entry fine could be put up.

There were two early kitchen chimneys in the High Street. Had they both been put in at the expense of the tenant? Gybbs [25] and Robins [26] had kitchens extending out from behind the hall house and long before 1577 widow Gybbs had cooking utensils by her kitchen hearth (p561). In Robins' house next door their kitchen was alongside Newstreet Lane and this acquired a chimney sometime after 1603. It had an early oven and into this complicated chimney a brewing furnace was made at the back. This was necessary due to the narrowness of the kitchen extension. There was a loft above the kitchen for storage, but this did not connect with the house as Gybbs' did. The only way to reach the loft was by a ladder (p568).

Alese Howse's [28] kitchen was not the present kitchen which is a later north extension. The position of the Howse kitchen is still unknown and no second fireplace was recorded in the 1660s.

Kitchens were used to store food especially when they had no hearth. At Justinian Hunt's [16] in April 1609 he had left in the "kicsin"

"a lead a mesh fat a boltinge which/
a moulding stocke a forme and a stellxxiij s id/
Ten flychins of Bacon and ffive of beefeiiij £/..."

Out of all the households only Hunt's had sides of beef hanging. A great many had flitches of bacon in the kitchen or elsewhere in the house (p277).

Thomas Gybbs [25] in May 1629 had besides the "saltinge troe" and tubs, seven "ffleeches" of bacon hanging up, or smoking in the chimney? Flitches of bacon had come from the house holder's pigs, which required a salting tub. Halls [34] and Wyatts [31] have one in their kitchens. Toms [15] and Lumberd [14] used the buttery. Bokingham [55] and Nuberry [8] the dairy, and Fenny [43] had to keep his in the hall. The other houses who salted their pigs were Howse [9,24,28], Gybbs [25], Robins [26], Kynd [31], Tanner [39], Elderson [38] and Cross [51]. The last had a lead worth 10s to salt his store pigs in, if it wasn't a cheese! Hung up were Truss's [33] two flitches of bacon. Smyth [51] had a "bacon which." Was this a wooden chest lined with lead to salt bacon in? Suffolk [60] had a "powdering Iron". These were iron pots to salt or pickle meat in and he kept this

in the milk house. Woodrose [8] has two powdering tubs and one powdering trough in the cheese chamber. Some spelt it according to how it was pronounced in their household: "troe" others "trowe" or "troffe." In Bourton William Hall left "one stone trough and a wodden trough to salt meat in," valued at 4s in 1588 [MS. Will Pec. 41/1/12]. They also had a spice mortar with a pestle. These were quite common in wealthier households, but noted for their rare appearances in Cropredy. French [4] had their bacon where we would expect it in the kitchen chimney (p506). They also had a lead to "brand" in. Those with an open hall fire carried on in their old fashioned ways and hung the bacon up in the roof to smoke it, or if they had a chimney and space in the kitchen roof kept it up there out of the way.

Kitchen equipment varied a great deal and most valuers would miss out such items as Rychard Watt's [34] "dishes boles suters cheesevats spoones and trenchers" in 1602. These were worth iij s and the cowperly ware ix s. Later in 1628 [8] nine wooden dishes and six old spoons were worth only 3d.

At Wydow Kynd's [31] they include her "wach tub" called the "broash" tub in her husband's list. A broash tub was generally an earthenware bowl and often glazed white on the inside. This was used for washing right into this century in West Glamorgan. Was this pronounced as "bro-ash" for wood ash was part of the washing ingredients? In Nuberry's [8] spence, between the hall and kitchen, they had a "broashe" worth 4d in 1578. Other households used shallow wooden tubs called kivers to wash in. Tubs were made by the cooper who bound them with metal or willow hoops. Half an old barrel also made an ideal bathing tub, if it was given handles for emptying. There was no evidence of stone troughs by the Cherwell for the whole town, only troughs in the yards near the wells which must have been sufficient for a more private home wash. In a thirty acre farm in Ceredigion they had made a brick trough under a pipe coming directly from the spring. The quality of the water was assured by a pair of toads taking up residence under a stone in the trough. A smooth area by the trough was used for washing. Not many Cropredy households could have the advantage of a hill to bring and take away water, but they would take advantage of the trough to fill it with water from the well for rinsing and Wyatt's [31] waste water could escape into the ditch and run down the Lane to the Cherwell. On flatter sites waste water would go to the vegetable area.

Ralph and Margerete Nuberry's [8] wide kitchen and dairy house at the north end of the long house was not short of equipment: "of brasse ij pannes and a hanginge kettell..." £1-6s-8d "a small kettell a chafinge dyshe a small dabnet iiijs/ ij brasse pottes & pottynger of brasse and a skimmer xxjs/ an axe ij hatchets a byll ijs ijd/ ij gospanes a brand Iron a fryinge pann a paire of cobbards a gryd Iron ij spites vijs-vjd..." with other brewing vessels (p670) as well as "one great tankard ij small vjd/ ix wodde dishes vj old sponnes iijd..." Some sieves, strykes winnowing sheet, ten sakes and a stryke bagge,

boards, a ladder and old pieces of wood and a stell and that bacon already mentioned up in the roof. At Rychard Watts [34] was a "flaskett and Baskett" 1s, which generally appear together in the inventories.

Nuberry's [8] had four crab pounders to crush the hard crab apples which were collected to make cider. The cider barrel would be sealed with a wooden stopper and some wax. Some would change to vinegar, called a verjuice, and was then used for medicinal purposes in the cowshed as well as helping with older meat. They kept this in a "verges" barrel at Hunts [16] and Robins [26].

Nuberry's and later Woodrose's [8] had a spence and so did Cleredges of Bourton. This was mentioned in a will leaving "a which at spence dore." In Prescote manor Gorstelow's did not have a spence but kept a safe in the larder. The word larder came from the swine's lard, but their two fitches were hung in the brewhouse in 1621.

Wells.

"You'll never miss the water till the well runs dry."

Wells were lined with stone. They varied in depth widening out towards the rock at the bottom. As the water from the flooded meadows sometimes rose towards the Hentlowe's [35] house leaving the north east part of the building very damp, how safe was their well which was by the eastern entrance? The tenant at the end of the last century was one of those who pressed the College to lay on tap water. In the cattle yard just north of the well they had made a great cesspit, so being at the bottom of the Lane had many disadvantages in a very wet season. They would be diligent in keeping the pond from silting up and the ditch clear which led to the mill pound.

The ditch ran beside the track to the meadow gate and then turned southwards. It looks as though this was a measure taken to help drain off waste liquids to keep the well water clean. What happened when the water table was very high and the valley flooded?

Wells were so necessary and the convenience of having one sunk right beside a door would have been greatly appreciated. During the rebuilding the position of the well in relation to the back door was of prime importance and may have led to the stone building being in the same position as the old timber house. Robins [16] had one deep well and it may be a second

shallower well was dug for washing water and a third to give another drinking well. In 1603 in their kitchen and bolting house they had the well curb, chain and bucket, could there be a well in there under cover?

Cropredy had several lines of wells on both sides of the road. The main wells tapped underground water which in the upper town flows eastwards down to the valley, while the rest may flow south eastwards. Had these influenced the original siting of houses, or was water easy to find?

Down Creampot all had a well. Howse and Lyllee in the courtyard [28], Cattell's [30] in the yard, Rede's [32] in the rickyard, Truss's [33] behind in the garden. Wyatt's [31] which was by the road had a curb. Near by were his hog troughs and a horse trough. Teams of horses and several cattle required a great deal of water so the troughs were positioned next to the well and helped the chore of topping them up. In Bourton Thomas Smyth's farm was just as organised for in 1612 he left "ij wells wth the curbes buckletts and chaynes wth A stone troff to water cattell standinge by they wells" valued at 13s-4d [MS.Wills Pec.51/1/2]. There was plenty of water supplying the spring and overflow pond at the top of Rede's yard, for centuries later it still overflowed. Their well was in the higher garden to the west of the yard and house (p589). Eldersons [38] had a well near the back door and one behind the barn. He had at least one well chain and bucket for the house, so the other may be either for his cows, or a later addition for the cottages made from the barn. Breeden's [37] well was behind the house and Huxeley's [36] stone lined drinking well near the front entrance (p398). Tanner's [39] had one well between their pond and the house, perhaps in line with the Elderson's [38] well to the north.

Down Church Street a line of wells might start at Fenny's [43] at the top passing in front of Rawlins [45] and on to the rear behind Whyte's [46] and the three cottages [47-49]. Coldwell's at [50] used a spring in the cellar. In the High Street other cottagers had the use of one behind Sutton's [42]. In Church Lane Vaughan's [23] had just a lid to cover the very deep well. His well at the front was still renowned, three hundred years later, for its fine drinking water, but the cottages across the road had wells at the back which were not as deep or the water as pleasant to drink.

Water may not have been too much of a problem when the population was around 330, but in the nineteenth century when each bay of building in some of the old farms had been converted into a cottage often with several occupiers, there were problems due to water shortage over the summer months. This was only partially solved when extra water was brought down from the spring level in Hackthorn, above Harble, and piped to the B manor properties at the end of the nineteenth century.

French's [4] built a well house now under the turf in Springfield garden, or the field behind. In the "well house one mault mill 2 plowes with plowe tymber" worth £1-14s, so it was doubling as a winter storage place in the February when he died. Wyatt, Lumberd, Rede, Cross, Robins and Gybb's [31,14,32,51,26,25] were some who had a curb for their wells, but did everyone have one? The curb of the well and the furniture to it were worth about 4s.

The fact that curbs were seldom recorded may be because the tackle belonged to the landlord, after a change in tenancy. Other items were the well bucket, rope and links worth 1s in 1607 [15]. These were not mentioned in the next two inventories on this site and several others are missed, for example the Brasenose farm [8]. Hunt's [16] was then to the rear of their house like Toms [15], but it was not recorded. Gybb's [25] well only appears in 1629, yet this too was an old site and there was more than one well. For the two houses [1 and 1a] at the south end of Cropredy by the lower mill there was a well where the lane turns east towards the river.

Pewter, Silver and Gold.

Such was the demand for pewter tableware that the pewterers of London had to supply and pay other master pewterers to help fill their orders as the industry grew. The "fine" pewter was made from tin and a little copper. "Common" pewter had tin and lead while the last grade had only 80% tin with the rest of lead and copper. Tin miners sold their tin to dealers who purchased for the Pewterer's Company in London. The miners did not achieve wealth because many were unable to free themselves from debt, having to continually strive to pay it off. In 1568 an English company was formed to mine calamine (a native zinc carbonate) and make brass, which before this was imported from Germany. "Latten" candlesticks are mentioned which were hammered cold with a lower zinc content than the ones they could forge in the fire. They had first to melt zinc ore in liquid copper and tin.

Once again the Reverend Harrison made a comment that the farmers were "Garnishing their cupboards with plate." How much detail did the appraisers give and what value did they put on them? Most families collected and displayed their pewter which was thin, light and round, or "latten" platters as Smyth had in 1595 [51]. At the same time the majority like Kynd's [31] continued to use their wooden square trenchers.

Platters were on display, or hidden safely away in thirtytwo properties described by appraisers, but twentyfour other households had the platters disguised in a lump sum which reduces the value of comparison between types of collections.

Cottagers like Watts [27] the weaver had sixteen. Cox [49] had ten and Cross [51] had eight. Bokingham [55], Kendall [13] the thatcher, Fenny [43] and Gulliver [41] had five each. Pare [58] the collarmaker had seven, Lucas [2] the carpenter three, while Matcham [18] the tailor and Smyth [51] the miller had one each. Watts [27] had the same number of platters as French [4].

Husbandmen continued to purchase platters. The inventories showed the Nuberrys [8] with twentyfour, Robins [26] twentythree, Lumberd junior [14] a husbandman and Woodrose [8] a gentleman had seventeen, and then came French [4], a husbandman, with sixteen. Lumberd senior [14] and Vaughan [23] had fourteen, Widow Kynd [31] twelve, Widows Gybbs in 1577 [25] and Alese Howse [28] had ten like Cox of Church Street. John Kynd [31] and Justinian Hunt [16] just eight each. John Hunt [16] and Arthur Watts [34] seven platters or pieces. Widow Batchelor and her son-in-law Gybbs [25] had only six. Thirteen had from one to five platters.

There were pewter "basons" at [13,14,25,49]. Nuberrys, Woodroses [8] and Robins [26] in 1631 had a "Ewer and Bason." Cross [51] had three basons and Lumberd [14] one. The rest would wash their fingers at the table in wooden bowls, or in a handy pail. In many households they would still be using a leather jug known as a "black-jack," but a few had flaggons to fill their pewter or horn mugs: Gybbs [25] and Lumberds [14] had two. Wyatts [31] and Robins [26] had three each.

Just Nuberry [8] had a small and great tankard. Kendall [13] and Toms [15] also had one tankard each. Pint tankards were only about six or seven inches high, but by the turn of the century they had become taller and thinner.

The gap between the purchasing power of cottagers and husbandmen had begun to close, but it is difficult to interpret how important it was to a cottager. Did they wish to increase their standing? Or was it a determined attempt to avert disaster by having something of value when there was no simple banking available, other than bonds between trusting neighbours. The wooden platters, trenchers and spoons (some of horn) were good enough in a frugal economy, but once the wages of the sixteenth century increased many craftsmen and labourers started their own collections of pewter. Apart from being useful items to endow their children with, they could be displayed and used in company. Unfortunately even though the wages still rose after 1600 their purchasing power was only half of what their grand fathers' coins could bring in and this boom in the pewter trade reaching down to the cottagers may have been coming to an end for a while.

This did not deter all the craftsmen who may have collected pewter from executors to pay outstanding debts. If three good shearling ewes were worth £1 then the value of the following five pewter collections can be better judged. Brass was valued

much higher than pewter and such items were needed for daily cooking. The three most important pewter items, after platters, were "salts" "sawcers" and spoons.

The **salt** was the most significant piece of pewter on the table, for the more important people in the household sat above the salt cellar while lesser folk sat below it. Salt cellars were not always lumped into a valuation. There were fortytwo on eighteen sites from twentythree inventories [8,13,15,16,24-29,31,33,34,38,39,43,51,55].

"Sawcers" were shallow dishes without a rim. They were used to serve spiced sauces to overflavour strong meat. The rich used glass which the vinegar would not affect, but here they are definitely of pewter.

Spoons might once have been taken along to a meal in another house along with the personal knife. Nuberry [8] had twenty "tyn" spoons and a tin bowl in 1578, but pewter spoons were recorded in widow Gybbs' [25] as early as 1577. She had six. Her neighbour widow Robins [26] left spoons two years later. Others were Hunts [16] who had twelve in 1587, seven at Woodrose's [8], six at Smyth's [51] in 1597 and two widows Robins [26] and Bicke [25] in 1627. Altogether twelve households left spoons in inventories. Five households [56, 38,55, 18, 43] reveal the spoons and salts thought necessary for their households:

1624 Wood: "all his pewter and spones" worth 13s-4d

1624 Elderson, carpenter: "9 pewter dishes, spones & 2 salts" 9s

1625 Bokingham: "5 platters, 5 sawcers, 1 pewter tunnig dish, 6 spoones, 1 dozen trenches & 1 salt" 6s-8d [These could have been of low quality because of the ale house].

1630 Matcham: "1 pott, 2 platters, 2 saucers spoons & dishes..."

1636 Ffendrie: "4 platters 2 saucers, 2 salts a pewter pot and spoones" 8s.

The above were a cross section from the lower end of the middle income group, if not quite in the bottom group of rural inhabitants. They lived in good stone houses and had been able to form a small nest egg of displayable goods.

The highest pewter valuations per decade were at the following houses and cottages:

1570's: Nuberry [8], Gybbs [25] and Howes [9] out of seven. Highest £3-2s-8d.

1600's: Robins [26], R.Watts [34], Howse [28], Hunts [16] out of twentyfive. Highest £3-19s-4d.

1610's: 3 cottagers Watts [27], Truss [33], Coxe [49] out of nine. Highest £3-6s-8d.

1620's: Woodrose [8], Palmer [1], Wd Batchelor and Gybbs [25] out of nineteen. Highest £5-2s-2d.

1630's: Robins [26], Wyatt [31], Lumberd Jnr. [14], French [4], Hall [34], Lumberd Snr. [14], Palmer [1], Tanner [39] and Devotion [3]. Highest £9-16s-0d.

Many gentlemen whom we could expect to find owning such goods had none. Had they purchased land instead? Or had all their assets been spent while they needed nursing care? Widow Coldwell [50] had her late husband's will proved in London. Arthur Coldwell had left pieces of silver to various relations (p679). The manor farms started buying silver especially spoons protected by leather cases. The wealthier gave a christening spoon to a godchild. These early spoons had rounded bowls. Woodroses [8] had one silver salt and three spoons worth £1-10s in 1628 and Robins [26] three years later left two spoons valued at 10s. Were any spoons given to children as christening presents valued with a parent's estate? Had Elizabeth Holloway [21] as godmother to Elizabeth Robins [26], her grandchild, given her a silver spoon and this accounted for one of her father's two spoons?

In the husbandmen's and wealthier artisan's houses other items appear. A very early mention of special salad dishes and "salletts," were found at Woodroses [8]. The two generations each had a garden to feed their separate households (p513).

Warming pans were not very common. French [4] had his included in the pewter not the brass, and Alyce Batchelor's [25] valued separately was worth 4s in the 1620's. Warming pans first receive a mention in 1603 at Robins' [26] valued at 2s-6d. The miller with land [1] had one in 1605, and of course four of the five trend setters: the Lumberds, Frenchs, Tanners and Wyatts [14,4,39,31], but not this time the Hunts [16]. Long handled warming pans, holding hot embers safely inside the pan, were moved round the bed to warm it for the elderly, the sick, or to air visitors' beds. In one of the landlord's letters he did not want to arrive in Cropredy to collect his rents and find the bedding damp. "Pray have a great care of our goods and see they be kept from damp" 3 September 1683 [Boothby Letters Add. MS. 71960 p 94]. The following January he insists "...let them be aired by a good fier. Especially the beding" [Jany 4th], and when he came for the Michaelmas rent in October "...because the New Rooms [15] may not be well air'd pray let Mrs Wyatt [50] know wee design to lye att her house this Time and I desire the Roomes and Beds may be well aired, and necessaryes for my horses provided." He added that he did not intend to stay long [Add. MS. 71962 p1]. There were several chimneys at Job Wyatt's [50], the B. manor [8] and a few other Wyatt households where it had become fashionable to keep bedrooms aired by a fire. Other households must heat a stone in

the hot ashes of the hall fire, before wrapping it well in a cloth, and so helped to warm the bedclothes which proved a cheaper and worthwhile method.

The Woodroses [8] have besides the basin and ewer "1 pottle pott, 1 wine pott, 1 wine shorte pott, a wine pinte pott, 1 quart pott, 1 half pinte pott, 1 rounde pott wth a cover, 1 little pott..." in 1628. They could afford to buy imported wine. There are no records to say how much wine was made at home, except for wine given to the vicar (p280).

Those amongst the husbandmen and their sons, who had lived for a generation in a stone house complete with chimneys, now found that a little of the profits could be used for internal comfort or display and this may be one reason for the number of their candlesticks and other pewter ware. The chamberpots were found at Robins [26] who had three pewter pots in 1631. Lumberds [14] owned two and Broughton's [9] one. Nuberry [8] in 1578 followed by John Gardner of Bourton in 1591, Tanner [39] in 1630 and Hall [34] in 1634 all had one each. Some of these households could have had long term nursing care of the elderly: Allys Whitinge [14] and Margery Broughton [9] and perhaps a sick Isabell Tanner [39]. The only other college tenant who had one was the spinster Em Devotion in [3] 1658 and she could afford one. Others no doubt had wooden buckets. How many had close stools, which the appraiser discreetly called just stools, or "joynd stools?" The trip out to the cowbarn was the usual place for relieving oneself, and for some that required a candle, not a lantern, to find the way. Smells were an everyday occurrence, from sweet hay to strong ammonia of the cow stall and lanes. This was one good reason to strew herbs over the hall floor in summer, and fill the garden spaces with highly scented flowers.

It came as a surprise when only five households mention "lanthornes:" Redes [32], R.Watts [34], Vaughan [23], Hunts [16], and Bokingham [55]. A candle "lanthorne" was very necessary to lower into a well before descending to repair or clean it. Shepherds took them round their flock as the soft light would not disturb sleeping ewes. A light would be very necessary to ascertain what the problem was during a difficult lambing. The "lanthornes" were made of tin with a panel of horn scraped thin. Inside they fixed a candle. In 1625 a lantern was valued at 6s-8d, the same as a good ewe. By most barn doors a stone was left out making a candle shelf which would take a lantern or candle. A few such as the ones at Huxeley's [36] have a good stone surround. The barn behind Bayleys [19] also has a shaped stone alcove. Here the candles stood out of reach of draughts, beasts and hay carrying and lit up the cow stall when milking on a wet dark dawn.

No rushlight holders have been recorded at Cropredy. Wooden candlesticks also escaped a mention, perhaps because they soon became dangerously scorched. Safer brass or pewter candlesticks had been in use for more than fifty years. Most

inventories found they had been left in the hall after being brought down from the chambers each morning ready for the following evening meal. Candlesticks were at first plain and elegant standing upon three small feet which held the stem. At the top a spike was used to impale the candle and a wax-pan was fitted under the spike to catch the melting wax. The early tallow candles were apt to bend and drip dangerously. They also smelt of pieces of rancid fat which had not been clarified out. Later on they used bullock tallow which was mixed with sheep's tallow and made a stronger sweeter candle, and by Holloway's time they had begun to insert a spun twisted wick, which produced a better light. The most expensive candles were made from bees wax. The wax was flattened and wicks of Turkey cotton laid on them. The wax was then folded over and hand rolled into a round candle. Once candles had improved they could be used in the newer socket holders which replaced the spike. Candle snuffers had to be handy to prevent a fire. Candle shears to trim the wicks would have been made by the Densesys or the Wyatts. Tanners sold "spiles" for candles and pipes in their shop. Some broken clay pipes have been dug up in the close once belonging to Howse's farm [9].

The manor farm[8] had seven candlesticks. There were five at [14,16,26,28,32], four at [24,51,55], three at [4,8,14,16,24,27, 31], two in [23,26,29,37,39,48,51,57], and one at [4,9,13,15,25,31,34,40, 43,51]. It is almost certain if a cottage had no rushlight holder they must have had at least one candlestick.

Bokingham [55] was a labourer when he died, but as his wife ran an ale house they had four candlesticks and one "lanthorne" mentioned above. On the other hand the Watts/Hall [34] house with several rooms had only one candlestick and one hearth in their two and a half storey house. The large number of children in the Watt's family must learn to comfort each other in the dark chambers. There is no way of telling what kind of candlestick they had, brass or pewter, without a value attached to them and even then we do not know what kind Pratt left in 1609 when "fower candle sticles" were valued at 2s.

In the poultry tithe book [c25/6] the vicar receives not only fowl, but also candles from Thomas Sutton [42] the tailor, and "Fenny" [43] sends a "pond of candle" on two occasions. Thomas Elderson [38] a carpenter provides two great candles for the church. Justinian Hunt [16] had tallow in 1609 and Cross [51] in 1614 had six pounds of tallow. The butcher, Henry Hill [58], the baker William Hill [20] and the candlestick maker were all important. Why did Fenny [43] send candles twice if he did not make them? We do not know for certain who regularly made the better candles, nor who made the candle holders. Leather trades needed tallow or beeswax for dressing the leather (p281), and they also needed to wax their hemp for sewing.

Both manor farms had begun to buy gold rings and were mentioned in wills. Mr Arthur Coldwell [50] left a "gould Ring with a mandsare in yt" [A man's hair?]. Arthur also left nine silver spoons, one worth 13 shillings to nine relatives or godsons. Other godsons had a salt with a silver cover, a silver band, his great goblet of silver, a white silver tankard and another tankard. Dyonice Woodrose [8] had some silver and gold in the house (p520).

The shepherd Valentyne Huxeley left a gold ring. Rings were rare items in Cropredy. All these are in PCC wills except for the gold ring belonging to Mrs Elizabeth Holloway [21] whose will was proved at Cropredy in 1623:

"One ringe of gold wch hath this inscription,
'This is my Mothers gift, wch my mother gave'
and my gold ringe where in the stone is."

Her husband Thomas Holloway who plays such a vital part in the Cropredy records had "one hundred pounds in goulde and silver in my house, at the writinge hereof as my wiffe and my daughter knoweth, I doe give the said hundred pounds unto Thomas my son." Thomas and Gamaliells were to share the plate, but allowing their mother the use of them. "I give my goulde ringes, the greater to my sonne Gamaliells, the lesser to my sonne Thomas... concerning my household goods" half went to his wife "Shee to make her choyce," the other half to the two remaining children Thomas and Joanne.

Weaver Watts shall have the last word. Obviously boldly on display were William's and Anes's sixteen platters, two salts, three brasen candlestickes worth 26s-8d. All ready for legacies. More for their every day use were their "halfe a dozen of woden dishes half a dozen of spoones one shielfe" 1s. Most did not bother to record them so perhaps these were carved dishes and worth a mention.

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41. Apparel Worn in Cropredy

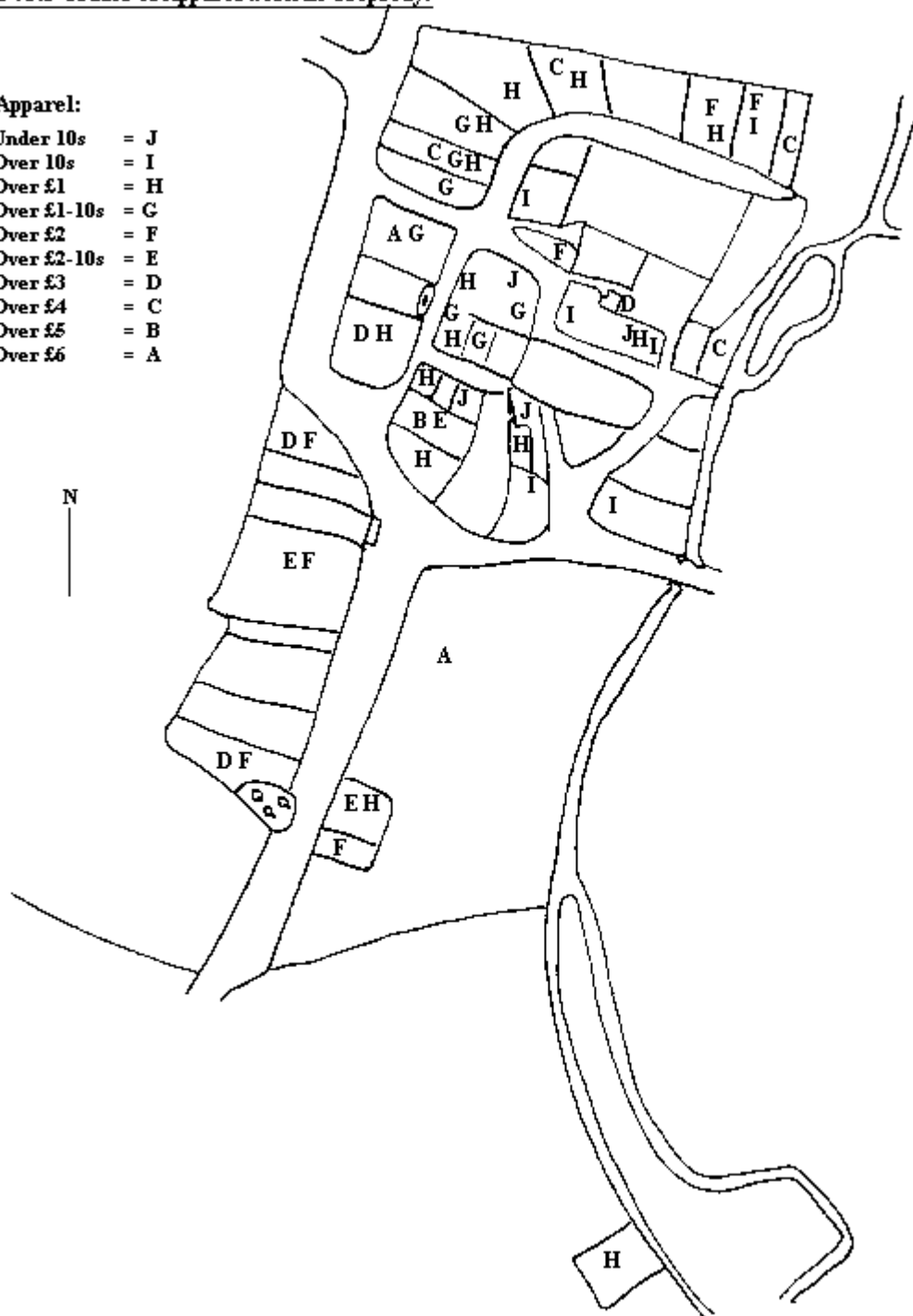
"A modest woman is known by her sober attire"
 [Henry Smith A Preparative to Marriage 1591].

Grades of Apparel worn in Cropredy.

D41.1 Grades of Apparel worn in Cropredy.

Apparel:

- Under 10s = J
- Over 10s = I
- Over £1 = H
- Over £1-10s = G
- Over £2 = F
- Over £2-10s = E
- Over £3 = D
- Over £4 = C
- Over £5 = B
- Over £6 = A



In Elizabeth's reign sumptuary laws were repeated to insist that expensive materials were kept for the most important people, but merchants were increasing in wealth and determined to wear clothes they could now afford. By 1579 the first monetary concessions crept in. Clothes were no doubt used as status badges and colours played an important part. Once privileged people saw their mode of dress adorning the masses then that particular piece of costume would be despised. Costume could set up barriers between the wearer and the rest of the people.

An early law affecting clothes was one made in 1571 when an Act authorised the wearing of woollen caps on Sundays and holidays. Other attempts to boost the sale of wool came in 1622 when a proclamation announced that English cloth must be worn at funerals and as the cloth industry was still suffering in 1678 the dead must be buried in wool, or else pay a fine.

Many stated their political and religious views by their mode of dress. The statement made by a choice of clothing (rather than having to wear whatever they could obtain as the poor did) would be evident to the whole town and the wearer's point of view apparent to all the neighbours. The difference in attire of a country puritan's family who dressed very modestly and that of a man who considered clothes of the greatest importance and spent a larger proportion of his earnings on the household's apparel would be fairly obvious to all.

To find out what people wore in Cropredy, between 1570 and 1640, we have once again to turn to the wills and inventories, only to find most appraisers save space and time by putting all items of clothing on one line, called "Apparell." Only when the deceased had lived in one chamber and they needed to increase the size of an inventory, or share out the items of clothing fairly had they valued each item. When the deceased had found it desirable to dress well as Justinian Hunt [16] had with a high total of £5 for apparel in 1609, then certain special items were given individual attention. Hunt had owned an expensive "cloke" worth 10s. Only Woodrose [8] in 1628 and Robins [26] in 1631 with apparel valued at £6- 13s -4d, were higher than Hunt. About seventytwo people in forty of the houses had apparel valued in their inventories. This was two thirds of the town. Unfortunately we have no idea if these valuations included the whole of the families' clothing lumped together into one sum. There were five people whose clothes were valued at less than 10s and eleven who had an average of between £1-10s and £2. The collarmaker John Pare [58] was just one of a few who had no valuation for their apparel:

5	under 10s	= J group
11	over 10s	= I group

16	over £1	=H group
11	over £1-10s	=G group (average)
9	over £2	=F group
4	over £2-10s	=E group
7	over £3	=D group
6	over £4	=C group
1	over £5	=B group
2	over £6	=A group
	Total	=72

Lower grades would not have provided sufficient clothing to keep them warm in winter.

Thirsk found that apparel made up about 7% of inventory totals, with 12% in the north against 5% in the south Midlands. [*Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England, 1500-1750*, 1987 Macmillan pp444-450] The percentage taken up by apparel was looked at for Cropredy. It is difficult in a small town to have enough inventories in the second stage of a mans' life to contrast with their status. When a man passed into the third stage his possessions had decreased, but his apparel will then form a much higher proportion of the total than it would have done in say his 40's. Some examples can be given to compare with a gentleman's [8]. The first four were still in active employment and aged about 60.

Woodrose a gentleman [8] 4% and Grade A worth £6-13s-4d.

Truss a labourer [33] 4% and Grade H.

Lucas a carpenter [2] 9% in Grade F.

Rawlins a shoemaker [45] 10% in Grade I.

French a husbandman [4] 3.5% and Grade F.

Men between 40 and 50:

Hudson a Thatcher? [48] 12% and Grade H.
Truss a shepherd [33] 1.5% and Grade F.
Robins a yeoman [26] 2% and Grade A.

Younger men between 30 and 40:
Suffolk a husbandman [60] 1% and Grade J.
Ladd a labourer [40] 6% and Grade J.
Allen a bailiff? [44] 14% and Grade D.

A list is given on page 940 for most of the inventories exhibited at Cropredy. Those inventories which must have been made for the Court of Canterbury cannot be used as none of the Cropredy ones survived the 1666 fire of London. The wills were stored separately and fortunately a few testators mention clothes, though most men were concerned about their silver or money rather than very personal belongings.

Robert Robins [26] and Nicholas Woodrose [8] were two of the best dressed townsmen in Cropredy during the first three decades of the sixteenth century, yet their apparel took up only a small proportion of their moveable estate. Robins was not alone amongst working yeomen and husbandmen who kept theirs as low as 2%, but gentlemen such as Nicholas spent up to 4%. Robins who died suddenly aged fortythree from the current fever would, if allowed, have gone on farming for many years to come, acquiring a lot more until after distributing legacies his inventory total would again have come right down. Woodrose was almost twenty years his senior, but having had a larger family of six to Robins three, he left his second wife with the youngest still only four and died still in full control.

Those who had come to the third stage and kept to one chamber had a high percentage of their goods tied up in clothes, for the rest of their former estate may have been used as legacies. Mr Francis Cartwright, gentleman, who had 100% clothing in Grade C and nothing else, relied upon Richard Cartwright [50] for all necessities. Widows in trade had to give way to a son much quicker if their husband died in middle age as the weaver Watts [27] did. He had 3% of his large estate in clothing, but his wife had 16% entirely due to their son having taken over to carry on the business.

Other widows kept up the apparel they had been used to, as Mrs Batchelor, the mother of Mrs Gybbs [25] on the High Street, appears to have done when she came to live there in her old age. The widow had clothes in the D group of over £3 like her

son-in-law. While hers were 19% of her total goods his were only 1% which shows quite clearly that comparing the percentages of apparel would be worthless if there were no more details, especially in a fairly affluent area like north Oxfordshire. Each person can be looked up in their household and the situation judged according to the stage they had reached in life (Part 4). For details of apparel found in inventories see page 977.

Husbandmen's Apparel.

Most farming households at the middle stage in life kept to 1, 2 or 3% for clothes as part of their estate. According to their wealth they were in different clothing groups, but generally kept clothes within their means especially as they had not reached old age, but died suddenly.

Being a town of tenant husbandmen they worked out in the fields for themselves and could be said to be cautious dressers. As they rose up the scale men such as Thomas Gybbs [25], who was well dressed by Cropredy standards, had still not spent as much as his neighbour Robins [26], or even the vicar's student son. Randell [21] who had died tragically while still at Oxford, dressed as a gentleman's son. The difference again between Robins and young Holloway was that the student's clothes made up 10% of his belongings, chiefly because of the three "gownes" he wore about the college and the fact that his assets were in land and portions which were not moveable estate and therefore not part of the inventory total. Gybbs could no doubt have afforded more clothes, but it was not always wise to display wealth, unless you wished to attract the tax collector. Gybbs had avoided them by lending out money, not buying land or possessions, and thereby being only involved in local rates?

Another widow in the D group was Jone French [4] who in her late sixties had given up farming and retired to her chamber so that her total belongings were now down to £14-3s-4d, but she still dressed as a husbandman's widow having four "gonndes good and badd." This house kept up appearances for when the old widower French [4] died aged seventythree, having cared for his son's widow and brought up the grandchildren, he had left apparel worth only £2 (F group) which took up just 3.5% of the total. The grandson was to spend far more on his clothes and when he died aged only thirtyfour he was in group D.

In the more frugal household down Creampot Lane the fact that widow Watts [34] had 33% of her belongings in clothes was not proof that Anne had a large and magnificent press and coffer full of the latest gowns. On the contrary this lady having been a widow for twenty years and brought up a large family who went to school, had relinquished the farm years ago to Richard Hall and now she and half her family were ill and dying. She has just an ordinary amount of clothes, nine pieces of

pewter and six of brass, her bedstead, some sheets, two hillings, a little box and 2s-6d worth of woollen yarn and the whole lot came to no more than £4-5s-2d. The reason now becomes clear why she appeared so well off for clothes. It has to be stated that she lived in her house with the family and whatever calamity had befallen them it happened while they still lived in a two and a half storey house with a chimney in the hall. It was not because she lived in a hovel. Her son Arthur also had two chambers and the hall was his, being presumed the head of the household, but he left only £16-11s when he died a week after his mother, at thirtyfive. Of the stock on the homestall shared with Richard Hall he had one cow and eighteen sheep, with no corn at all. His apparel was worth £2 in the F group and 12% of his total estate.

Richard Hall was also in the F clothes group when he died ten years later aged fiftyfour, but quite a different case to Arthur. His clothes were only 1% of his belongings. He died a yeoman still working the farm and worth over £196, while Arthur for some reason did not farm though it was his late father's house(p594).

Hentlowe next door was another who was not farming and he had clothes in the C group which were 9% of his total. John was about fifty living in one chamber with other couples sharing the house (p605).

The family shepherd Solomon Howse [9] dressed better than John Hall and shepherd Truss by having clothes in the E group. The educated Solomon, though working on the land, must have found good clothes important. John Hall [29] who had his father-in-law Lyllee's farm retired eventually, but still kept on a flock of sheep. He regarded himself as a yeoman and the balance between his dress, stock and possessions was as high as 6%. Lyllee was in the H group and Hall in the G group so in spite of the 6% they had not spent as much on clothing as some men did.

Who needed clothes of a higher order than their inputs? Charles Allen [44] did apparently. He was forty and still without much land of his own and it is thought he might work for his wife Alyce's uncle, Mr Coldwell, as bailiff and as such would need to have presentable clothes, especially if he collected the rents. He is in the D group which took up 14% of his assets. Edward Lumberd junior [14] who died not long before Charles Allen was only thirtynine, but had taken on his father's farm, fallen ill and had to recall father to carry on with the farm. Young Lumberd, another who had attended school, dressed well and was in group D. His father Edward was not so spick and span being in the F group, but then he kept the clothing down to 2% and worked hard at making the farm pay, until it passed to the daughter-in-law's new husband Nehemiah Haslewood [14].

Cottagers.

Tradesmen had to spend much more of their money in relation to their total stock on clothing. 5 or 6% was not uncommon, but then many of their total assets were small. Tanner, Wyatt and Cross [39,31,51] were exceptions. All three had some land and this made the difference. The mercer had clothing at 2% of the total. Wyatt the blacksmith and farmer [31] spent only 3% of his money on clothes for himself.

One of the surprising things that kept coming up was the that labourers had more goods than expected, for they were bracketed with paupers and landless cottagers. They had to sell themselves for a wage, but knowing who was actually a full time labourer and who contracted themselves out part-time is impossible to tell. Ffendrie [43] must have had some trade for he is in the G group with Watts [27] the weaver and Palmer of Hello [59]. "Fenny" has 7% of his goods tied up in clothes and Thomas Palmer senior [59] 5%.

John Cross's wife Gillian had died just before he did from the same cause and her clothes were included in his inventory, but as a separate total. Some more were added from a chest in the parlour. This brought the family into group C. In Great Bourton Alice Wallis the blacksmith's wife did not have her clothes in his inventory. His were valued at £4. When she died hers were worth £2-18s. He disposed of most of his assets, but not to the wife. His apparel was only a 25th of his total, whereas hers was a 12th. Alice's goods having been reduced to a widow's third [MSS Wills Pec.54/1/48, 54/2/28]. [Continued on page 950]. fact

The diagram below is to show the age group at death and the different groups (page 977) of clothes. The percentage was for their apparel out of their total moveable estate:

House	Name	% of Inv.	Group
	Under 30 years		
[50]	Sheeler	5	G
[14]	Lumberd Jnr		D
	30 to 40 year old		
[60]	Suffolk	1	J
[40]	Ladd	6	J
[56]	Wood	6	I
[59]	Palmer Jnr	3.3	H
[34]	Watts A.	12	F
[4]	French	3.5	D
[44]	Allen	14	D
	40 to 50 year old		
[24]	Howse	4	H
[48]	Hudson	12	H
[24]	Pratt	5	G
[31]	Kynd		G
[34]	Watts R.	2	F
[33]	Truss	1.5	F

[28]	Wd. Howse	3	C
[26]	Robins	2	A
	50 to 60 year old		
[25]	Wd. Gybbs	3	H
[42]	Sutton	6	H
[18]	Matcham	7	H
[23]	Vaughan	4	G
[28]	Howse	3	G
[27]	Watts W.	3	G
[43]	Fenny	7	G
[27]	Wd. Watts	16	G
[9]	Howse		F
[34]	Hall	1	F
[3]	Devotion	6	E
[9]	Howse		E
[25]	Gybbs	1	D
[51]	Cross	6	C or D
[35]	Hentlowe	9	C
	60 to 70 year old		
[48]	Norman	5	J
[34]	Hanwell	2	I
[38]	Elderson	3.5	I

[55]	Bokingham	?	I
[45]	Rawlins	10	I
[15]	Wd.Toms	7	H
[33]	Truss	4	H
[3]	Devotion	4	H
[29]	Hall	6	G
[39]	Tanner	2	F
[2]	Lucas	9	F
[16]	Hunt	2	E
[3]	Wd. Devotion	6	E
[25]	Wd.Batchelor	19	D
[4]	Wd.French	25	D
[31]	Wyatt	3	C
[16]	Hunt	2	B
[8]	Woodrose	4	A
	70 to 80 year old		
[49]	Cox	6	I
[28]	Denzey	6	H
[26]	Robins	1	G
[4]	French	3.5	F
[14]	Lumberd	2	F

Tradesmen would have more household goods in the final total as they usually had only one cow and no other stock. Though Palmers [59] are the exception with several cows. The poorest were the whitbaker old Hill [20], young James Ladd [40] and old Norman [48]. These three with Wallsall the blacksmith [13] have the worst collection of clothes: Wallsall and Ladd's at 5s, Hill [20] and Norman [48] at 6s-8d. The most astonishing of all was Suffolk's [60] who had the small farm at the top of Hello below the churchyard. How did he come to have only 6s-8d worth of clothes, the price of a good ewe? Admittedly Holbech is a trifle harsh at judging the value of his goods, putting old before many articles. Poverty was hardly a disgrace in hard times, but perhaps after Widow Rose [60] died he let the old horses stay on being unashamedly fond of them. Or did he on the other hand work them although blind and lame? He too had clothes worth 1% of his total of £37-14s-11d. Clothes may have been unimportant to him, or his family had to come first.

Sheeler [50] as a shepherd and still a servant had 30s worth of clothes like many others including Pratt [24] a husbandman and Widow Alyce Kynd of Creampot Lane [31].

Prices of goods were rising. The lowest to highest apparel was looked at from 1570. The highest values of apparel sank in the 1590's and stayed fairly low until after 1600. They had risen to over £6 by 1630.

Up to 1600 from 5s-0d to £6- 13s-4d.

Up to 1620 from 11s-0d to £5.

Up to 1640 from 5s-0d to £6-13s-4d.

Spinning Linen and Wool.

"Good flax and good hemp, to have of her own,
in May a good huswife will see it be sown;
And afterwards trim it, to serve at a need,
the fimble to spin, and the karl for her seed" Tusser.

The household clothes were as good as the wife's ability with the needle, unless they could afford the services of Thomas Sutton [42] or Thomas Matcham [18] the tailors. The wife must provide sufficient spun thread for the weavers at Hunts [5] or Watts [27]. Once woven and paid for it might have to go to Robert Lord at Lower Cropredy mill [1a] to be fullled as Mrs Cleredge's had, for she died with "A gown cloth...that is at the fullers" [E.Cleredge 20th July 1607 Great Bourton P.C.C]. Only on return from the mill could the mistress set about making an article of clothing for whoever in the household needed it.

The first task was to sow her seed and in this period it was expected that one rood (a quarter of an acre) of flax should be sown for every two yardlands giving Cropredy about seven acres. They harvested the flax in June. This was grown for linen thread which came from the inner fibres of the stem. These could be drawn out and twisted into one long continuous thread which was strong enough to be woven into cloth.

The plant was pulled out by the roots and their valuable lin-seeds shaken out and collected. After which the plants were gathered into small bundles and soaked in water. Not in the river Cherwell if they wished to escape a fine at the manor court. Where then could they soak it? Possibly retting ponds were specially made or else small amounts placed in stone troughs? Fermentation of the plant began in the water softening the outer material which was not required. Once soft the bundles were lifted out and spread on the ground to dry in the fresh air after cutting off the roots, unwanted leaves and small stems.

The next task was done sitting down and women skutched the stems by hand. This was a process to thoroughly clear away the outer membrane and the short useless veins from the leaves. For this task they needed some sharp toothed combs of various sizes starting with a coarse one and finishing with a fine comb. The inner fibres were then straightened out and laid in one direction ready for twisting into thread. They now had a fine silky appearance.

At home some had a distaff, which was a round rod between fifteen and eighteen inches in length. The flax was tied onto one end and the rod held under the left arm pointing forward to allow both hands to draw out the thread and rotate the spindle. The flax was wound on only loosely in such a way that the fibres could be easily drawn out and twisted by the left hand of the spinner into a thread which was then hooked onto the top of the spindle rod and spun round. The spindles were made of metal or wood. This thin rod between six and ten inches in length had a round weight attached at one end and a hook or notch at the top.

The spinster drew out the flax to the thickness required, twisting it into an even thread without detaching it from the distaff. Once the spindle was full then the thread had to be broken and another empty spindle attached to the distaff's thread. Those who had spinning wheels managed to produce the thread much quicker. They would soak the linen in barrels and pour on a strong lye. The lye might be made from rainwater, wood ash and urine. After soaking the linen was repacked and fresh water run through the barrel. It was spread out to bleach and dry so that it turned from cream to white.

The shearing of the sheep began in June after which the wool for spinning had first to be sorted from the fleece and carded. The pair of cards used were two pieces of wood each of which had one flat surface covered with tough leather into which a large number of points of thin steel wire had been very strongly and evenly fixed. A small quantity of fleecy wool was spread evenly over the steel points on one card. Each card had a straight handle and the fleecy card was held on the carder's knee with the card on the body side of the handle and the left wrist well bent. The right hand pressed the second card firmly down on the lower card and fleece and drew it back toward the body, repeating the movement. The fibres straighten under this treatment and once lifted off they are placed on the back of the card and rolled into a long light roll ready to be spun. These rolls supply the wool which must be teased out and twisted into a thread and attached to the loose spindle, or the spinning wheel. Those who wanted coloured cloth must dye a washed hank of thread according to the natural dyes available, providing the colour was allowed for husbandmen or artisans.

Cards were one of those items which nearly escape a mention. At Watt's his wool cards were valued at 1s and wool at 16s. Nuberry [8] had six pairs and Alese Howse [28] four pairs with two wheels valued all at 2s. Wallsall [13], Vaughans [23], Watts [34] and Hunts [16] each have two pairs and Suffolk [60] was the last to have one valued. Where are the rest of the cards required to prepare wool for the woollen spinning wheels? It could be that there was plenty of work spinning as a part-time employment and that the wool was combed, not carded, ready to be woven into Worsteds rather than Broad cloth which required carded wool.

The value of distaffs was too low and none are mentioned. Spinning wheels receive a better record, although fifty inventories ignore the wheels altogether, fortunately thirtysix sites have them recorded and on average they had two each. Twenty are given as linen wheels and thirteen called woollen wheels, but many do not specify.

Husbandmen:

5 wheels: Robins [26].

3 wheels: French [4], Howse [9], Kynd [31] Watts [34], Allen [44].

2 wheels: French [4] Hunt [16], Vaughan [23], Pratt [24], Howse [28], Cattell [30], Hanwell [34].

1 wheel: Devotion [3] Broughton [9], Howse [24], Gybbes [25] Suffolk [60].

Tradesmen and labourers:

4 wheels: Wyatt [31].

3 wheels: Elderson [38], Hill [20], Tanner [39], Bokingham [55] Palmer [59].

2 wheels: Kendall [13], Cox [49], Smyth [51], Wood [56], Pare [58].

1 wheel: Batchelor [25], Sutton [42], Ffendrie [43], Rawlins (1s-3d) [45].

Conspicuous by their absence are Nuberry's, Woodroses, Toms and Lumberd's [8,15,14]. Who did their spinning? Especially was it strange as Nuberry had some "herdes and thrumbs." The herdes were coarse or dressed flax. Would one of their servants bring their own wheel?

Widow Robins [26] had plenty to spin having 3 lb of hemp to add to her supply of finished yarn that was valued at 6s-8d. She left certain wool worth 11s and eight yards of woven cloth. Frenchs [4] also have seven yards of cloth and a hemp "stooke." Hunt [16] has 40 lbs of linen yarn, two cloths and three fleeces of black wool worth 12s. It was very important to have a black sheep for mourning clothes. Cross's [51] new piece of cloth was worth £1-13s-4d and his wife had wool worth 3s-4d, perhaps to knit up into stockings. Cox and Bokingham [49 & 55] have skeins, or "slipps" of linen yarn. Twelve skeins were worth 4s in 1617. French's have a "cheive" of linen and woollen yarn as well as some "ruff" [rough] hemp. Hemp is more often recorded than flax. Hentlowe [35] in 1617 had "ruff" hemp over the kitchen and 34 lbs of dressed hemp. Did he grow it in the yard as Cox did [49]? Next door to Hentlowes, Richard Hall [34] had 40lbs of rough hemp waiting attention. Hemp was needed to make the essential ropes for the farms. Some was also woven for Woodroses had hempen towells. Thrum cloths were noted at Hunts 1587 and 1609 [16], Lucas in 1640 [2] and weaver Hunt in 1647 [5].

Wool was spun and woven still with the oil intact, but this prevented the wool absorbing a dye. If a colour was desired the cloth must be cleaned and afterwards dressed by the fuller. "Woll to make her a petycott." Could this be prepared and become the red flannel so desired in a cold winter?

It was worth spending more perhaps on clothes once they lived in a warmer dry stone house under a snug roof. The kettle's steam went up the chimney and damaging mildews would be less likely to spoil cloth stored in the coffer. The low value of clothes does not always mean a poor household, or a high value a rich one and yet a low value of apparel could be caused by a poor return from the crops and this would affect the smallholder by making it nearly impossible to replace clothes on such years.

Womens' Clothes.

Only moveable goods worth £5 and over needed an inventory, but sometimes an argument may have arisen and an inventory been made to settle the value of goods. Articles which had only second hand value were not given the market price, but goods or stock which could be sold fresh at market would be given the current value. Perhaps to help a widow items may be marked down to give a low inventory total?

In the case of the servant Avis Gardner, who died in 1580, she appears to have insisted upon speaking her will on her death bed. Had she seen others do this? Or did Avis want to leave her best petticoat to Alice Howse in particular? Whatever the reason, the proving may have cost her master Richard [24] more than it was worth. Three people were there about her bed when she spoke her wishes. Richard and Thomas Howse and Elizabeth Rede who could have been the sister of the newly wed William, or William's wife [32]. Four weeks later an inventory was made. The vicar Holloway coming down Church Lane to their farm on the corner to help and perhaps see fair play.

The poverty of her apparel may shock us in these affluent days, but for Avis to obtain replacements of worn garments would have eaten into most of her yearly wage. She would have carefully laundered and mended them, ekeing out their life. She had no need of other goods as board and lodging were part of the wage.

What did Avis wear? Her main garment was a red "**peticote**" worth 3s-4d. This was a russet red rather than scarlet. That bright colour was reserved for the gentlewomen's petticoats, or to line their hoods and cloaks. To keep her warm she had a

"**wast cote**," which could have been padded. These followed the dublet in design, but were now worn beneath other layers in cold weather instead of being an outer garment as formerly.

Smocks were the main working garment for men and women. Many rotated their three smocks (one on, one waiting the wash, one taking a long time to dry) as they were the top garment for working in the house or outside. Previously known as a **chemise** which the wealthier still kept hidden, wearing them next to the skin as a shirt. Theirs would be made of a finer material. If the shirts/chemises only showed at the neck, wrist or elbows the exposed parts were trimmed with lace or embroidered. To keep the sleeves clean many wore **foresleeves**, but only one pair are mentioned for Widow Gybbs in 1577.

Miss Gardner would put on her old "**casseoke**" of frise to cover her work clothes, or the best smock. The cassock was used to go to church, or about her master's business. Her other covering for her smock was of course the **apron**, or "napron" as it was pronounced locally at that time. Avis had a flannel one which would be a thin undyed woven tabby cloth. It was hard wearing and by wrapping it well round her added some warmth to her legs. A warmer and better apron was her worsted one, which had a patterned weave. This light weight material had not been fullled and was made from the best long haired sheeps wool. The cloth itself was first woven in the small village of Worcester near Norwich, and had become popular for its warmth. The warp and the weft had the same long combed and spun wool. It compared well with the beaten broadcloth hammered out under water at the fulling mill. For other occasions Avis had two old linen aprons, perhaps made from her own spun thread. Servants and children putting in hours of spinning on every available opportunity, especially in winter.

Sometimes and especially as evening drew near, or throughout the cold nights Avis wore her old "**rayle**." They were worn like a cape about the shoulders so that they might reach the waist or hip. According to your status in life the "rayle" could be made of silk, satin, holland or lawn. Miss Gardner had "seven **parllets** good and bad" worth 1s -8d. These were garments more for day wear for they covered the neck and shoulders. The vast majority were surely made of linen.

"**Kerchefes**" paid a great part in everyones dress. Either as a collar at the neck or as a shawl around the shoulders. These brightened up the day to day clothes and added warmth. Clothing could look drab made from wool which had been dyed brown to be serviceable.

Avis would always wear something on her head, usually a **coif** around the hair with a felt or straw **hat** on top. All would have a hat. Only unmarried girls could go bare headed, unless they belonged to the gentry families. Some masters paid for a **pair**

of shoes as part of a servant's wage. A second hand pair were usually valued at two pence, half the price of the hat. The vicar paid 1s-8d for a new pair for his maid (p93). Apprentices expected to be found suitable apparel to be a credit to their master. Perhaps then the vicar must provide shoes for staff so that they did not go bare foot to church. How many poor could not go out in the depth of winter due to insufficient clothing?

Since the fourteenth century they made wooden **pattens**. These had a very thick wooden sole and underneath a metal ring helped to raise the wearer's foot above the mud. They were held on by straps. One has been found under the stairs at Howse's [28] farm, as yet undated.

In 1614 Thomas Holloway purchased "a **skyrte smocke**" for his maid Elisabeth Stacy (p97). Their "skyrtes" or **kyrtells** were pulled into the waist and could be pleated. Avis's master had not bought her one. Above the short kyrtell a bodice was worn and fastened either by laces or more rarely buttons (p405).

The three widows who had all kept their farms going through the 1560's left details of their clothes. Again clothing was given in much more detail when there were fewer other items. Widow's wills were often full of who must have the garments. Nothing must be wasted. Elizabeth Gybbs had not only a kyrtell, but a **frocke** and three "petycotes" to go under her smocks or dress. Her clothes go in threes. Three smocks for working in to save the gown and kyrtell, which were for better wear, and three aprons. Her nine "rayles" were perhaps a sign of her age. Like most people she needed a "wastcote" for warmth and a **"cloke"** for going about the town.

Two years later her neighbour Widow Johan Robins [26], who had kept her part of the farm going, had clothes only worth a pound, but she too had "peticotes and smockes" to dispose of in her will. One was blacke and may have been her mourning smock, presuming that widows mostly wore black. One of her "peticotes" had a "russed" body, which could mean gatherings, or lace frills. Two kerchiefs were also considered worth giving away. Widow Robins had one piece of new cloth for a gown with trimmings and one white cloth.

In 1587, ten years after widow Gybbs died, the third of these widows was Jone Ffrench [4] from down the Long Causeway. Jone's executor had her clothes itemised by the weaver Antonie Hunt [5] who lived next door. He would know to the nearest halfpenny their quality and second hand value. Jone had four "gonndes good and badd" worth £3. A lot of money. These were more than frocks. A loose comfortable garment, unboned, kept for best which could be worn at any time anywhere. A **gown**

was a full length garment and quite open at the front. (This must not be confused with the night gown which was not worn in bed, but put on in the morning over a night smock if the gentleman or woman wanted to delay the tedious process of dressing for outside). For working Jone had five smocks, three aprons and four "petycots" for underwear. "Petycoats" were partly exposed to view and could be relatively expensive when made from good material. Two of her "kerchefes" were for her neck and still she had ten more. The total of £3-15s-4 was next to the largest one, for that time. She had retired and her moveable goods were worth £14-3s-4d. Jone did not appear to have a mantle or cloak which could cover or replace a day gown.

Widow Elizabeth Holloway [21] and widow Joanne Robins [26] both had gowns. Elizabeth still had her wedding petticoat, but recently as one of the gentry she had invested in the latest ruff. On her finger she wore the gold ring which had a gem stone. Widow Robins kept a "worester gowne" and had a "frioke" in her coffer.

One of the best dressed women, if her will is to be believed, must be Ellen Bicke who had been living at her brother Densys the blacksmith's [13]. Ellen had a "worster gownde," a best "gounde," a "kersy wascoate," blue and green "peticoates," an old red one, a woollen smock, a smock body, and three ruffes one of them with lace on. Several pairs of stockings, several aprons one of which was flaxen, and two hats. She mentions in her will lawn, holland and flaxen "crescloths." Yet where was all this when they came to make an inventory of her goods two months after her death? Her clothes then were worth 1s, or should this read "Ls" for 50s? On the other hand if Ellen was still sound in mind she could have given them away to cover the cost of her keep.

Later wills proved at the Court of Canterbury show that finer garments were to be seen in Cropredy. The widow Dyonice Woodrose [8] left in 1634 "my wrought silke grogran gowne and kirtle" to a daughter. Grogran or coarse grain was made from silk and mohair, or a kind of coarse, but strong silk. Early in Queen Elizabeth's reign Dyonice would not have been able to wear satin, damask, taffeta or grosgrain gowns. This was amended in 1580, but only for the very wealthy, but how was Dyonice in this bracket?

Her immediate neighbours to the south were the Devotions [3], where widow Alyce had farmed for many years before the Woodrose's arrived. There was a best "gowne and pety cote," so Alyce must have had at least two of each. Altogether she left 50s-8d worth of clothing, some of which was for her son William's "gyles."

By the turn of the century the appraisers were not itemising the clothes unless few other articles were left, or they had to be divided amongst several people fairly, or perhaps they were of a sufficiently high value in themselves like Justinian Hunt's cloak.

Widow Johan Toms who lived on the Green [15] wrote in her will details about the disposing of her clothes. As an old woman she may have had little left to dwell upon. The wearing linen was split between her three grand daughters. Sara Toms, aged about fourteen, was to have her "best hatt....and my lyttell coffer." Jane to have four yards of Russett cloth " wch I now have and woll to make her a petycott.." and Ann, aged about three, to have "my best petycott... my best gowne..." Who spun the wool for the four yards of fairly coarse reddish brown cloth for the peticoat? Widow Toms may not have had a spinning wheel so who treated the fleece, carded the selected wool and spun the thread and then took it along to Newstreet Lane corner for William Watts to weave? Unless one of her daughter's took the spinning wheel away with her during her service and continued to spin for her mother? When the woven piece was collected it was worth 2s 6d a yard. How much of that was the cost of weaving it?

There are just a few wills without inventories before 1570 and these ancestors of the farmers of Cropredy had sometimes left clothes in the same way. Was it Alyce Howse nee Hitchman's [28] granny who had a best gown, "cappe" and a "derhesse" [dress] as well as a "kyrtle" cloth, the last waiting to be made up (p701)? "Kercheifs," "naprons" and smocks would be found in most women's coffer. Joan Gill of Great Bourton mentioned her " beades with a ringe collaryd," and some wives had red petticoats, a gown of frieze and perhaps a blue mantle. (p701)

Mens' Clothes.

Mens clothes are first mentioned in these older wills. They sometimes had "blacke **cotes**" or a "whyte sleevevt cote" like the one which belonged to William Carter of Creampot Lane [32]. A young Gybb's from the High Street [25] had gone to work in Great Bourton and died young. In his will he left four "cotes" and pairs of hose to various fellow workers, including his father's "shepaude" [another local word]. **Hosen** was usually made of wool, often coloured. They did not always have a foot, in which case a strap was provided. At the waist they could be attached to a belt by tapes with metal tipped points. Husbandmen might have leather **boots** made from the animal skins they had cured. Knitted stockings from their own wool and a **doublet** of fustian, with a canvas or frieze **jerkin**. Carpenters had hose and doublet, a **waistcoat** and a grey jerkin. The men had

braies, an underhose beneath their **shirt**, a few became so brief and baggy they resembled shorts. Married men and women wore hats inside the house as well as out, but spinsters did not.

Men sometimes had their clothes itemised in an inventory even though the appraisers had numerous articles to get through. Ralph Nuberry who farmed the Brasenose Manor farm [8] died in 1578. He possessed two "coots." Those fairly full garments, buttoned down the front with sleeves tapering to buttons at the wrist. He owned a doublet and a waistcoat and two jerkins which were worn over doublets. Most had pleated skirts. These leather jerkins had been fashionable with the military. There were three pairs of hose to wear with his "showse" and one pair of "bote hose" when Ralph put on the "bootes." Three hats and one **cape** which might have a hood. His **gown** just like the college ones had slits for his arms and pleated shoulders. Nuberry needed **bands** to make detachable collars. All his clothes were valued at £4, a high total for that period.

Thomas Browne a whittawer working for Mr Pare and living in his masters house in Round Bottom [58], came to Cropredy as a widower. Thomas died in 1579 and had once worn an old "lethren dublett" over his "briches," below which he needed nether "stockens." Nether because next to the body, but in the lower regions. Thomas did have a second pair of "briches" which were of "ffrese," a thin flannel and worth 1s-8d. Three shirts, which made it possible to keep up a fresh appearance, were a short form of chemise often with a split at the front and the back, if they reached to the knee. Poor Thomas had need of a truss for a hernia which being in the leather trade he could make for himself, or know someone who would create one. Like Avis he had shoes worth 2d and a 4d **cap** rather than a hat. That cap may have been a flat Tudor cap with a narrow brim for these were in fashion amongst the craftsmen and their apprentices at that time. Most cottagers would wear linen caps on week days, but wool ones on Sundays as ordered by parliament. Even Sunday smocks should be made of wool.

Working out in the fields the men needed leather wherever possible for sleeves, cape and hood, with extra protection for their shoulders. They added sacks or leather below the knee to cover the top of the leather boot.

Some had fine knitted hose. At the Upper Mill Fabian Smyth in 1595 had a pair and also other "hosen." He had "forty bands and necherchief and other small line[n]s." Many preferred stockings as Thomas Browne did. These were worth 9d a used pair in 1579. The Reverend Harrison wrote that "knit hosen" was now common. The country women who were wearing them used alder bark to dye them black.

When John Kendall died no-one wished, or had the time and energy to poke too closely around, but who would purchase his goods? No values are made on them and only this note remains (p635).

Amongst his sad belongings his wearing apparel contained "bretches, a linnen dublett, a black hatt," two pair of shoes and stockings. The linen doublet would have been close fitting with perhaps a high collar and laced down to a full hip skirt.

John Ffyfyde had a few items written separately in 1621, not a decade for taking time over lesser goods in any detail, but this was an exception:

"Imperis woon cloake	xs
Itm all his wearing apparrell	xijs
Itm woon old coffer and three sheets	vijs
Itm woon payre of shues.....	vijd
.....	-----
.....sum	29s ...8d"

John's "cloake" was still a fine article and the second hand value of his "shues" had trebled. Who was this man? Was he the son of a husbandman doing his apprenticeship in Cropredy? He had come with his own clothes coffer and sheets. The rest of his bed and bedding would be provided by his master or mistress. John it will be noticed was sporting just as fine a cloak as Justinian Hunt [16] did in 1609.

We can finish the mens clothes with a gentleman's list of belongings. Francis Cartwright was living in one chamber probably at the Cartwright house [50]. We have no will to see if he had any real estate. Mr Richard Gorstelow of Prescote Manor acts as an appraiser with John Hunt for Mr Richard Cartwright [50] who exhibited the inventory. It was made on the 19th of April 1640:

.....	£..	s..	d
"Imprimis one Coate price	1	0	0
Item one dublett and hose	1	10	0
Itm one payre of bootes	0	6	8
Itm one payre of spurs.....	0	5	0

Itm 2 payre of stockens	0 ..5 ...0
Itm one hatt and band.....	0.. 6... 8
Itm his wearing linnen.....	0 .13 ..4
.....	-----
.....sum total.....	4 ..6 ...8"

This man's coat worth a pound was twice the value of the husbandmens. The high value of those leather boots, equal to the price of a good ewe, gives some indication of their quality. A pair on which to fasten his spurs. The gentleman no longer owned a horse, or any other possessions. Was he Richard's father or brother?

One section of the community escapes all the records except in pictures where their clothes were smaller editions of the adults. Boys and girls wore dresses or smocks until the lads were breeched. Boys wore bonnets up to three years of age and girls up to about nine years. None of their clothes appear in the inventories, so perhaps these too were deliberately left out, or of little worth after passing from child to child?

The last reference to items of clothing must come from Thomas Holloway. There was a custom of exchanging small items of clothing as presents at the beginning of a New Year on the 25th of March (p406). Thomas and his family exchanged detachable sleeves, usually green, smocks or handkerchiefs and garnishes for handkerchiefs.

One year Thomas Gardner of Little Bourton manor sent the vicar a pair of gloves, perhaps to wear at a funeral, which is as fitting an article of clothing to leave not only Cropredy's apparel, but also this whole period of 1570 to 1640 in the life of the Town of Cropredy [c25/6 f16v].

Postscript.

A great debt is owed to Thomas Holloway for filling the parish chest with folio after folio. So much of this long manual has only skimmed the surface and many years have been left totally bare. Anyone lucky enough to live in one of the sixty properties which made up Holloway's town of Cropredy will still find many questions which they could usefully direct at the fabric of their building. Others will be hopefully inspired to search out answers if they live in the parish. Those who live elsewhere can also enjoy the search for visual clues around them, or documents relating to their own town, street or house.

On the top of Saint Mary's church tower it was once possible to light a beacon when a chain of fires had to be lit across the countryside to warn of approaching danger. The royalist vicar, the Reverend Edward Bathurst, was appointed in 1642 to follow the late Dr. Edward Brouncker. Bathurst could have watched the battle of Cropredy Bridge on Saturday the 29th of June 1644 from the top of the tower. Would he be able to see King Charles sitting under the ash tree on the hill to the east? As many of the parishioners would be supporting the parliamentarians under Waller this academic vicar was bound to displease a great many of his congregation. Whatever their beliefs the churchwardens and sexton Rede would soon be attending to the burial of five soldiers (without a memorial) in the churchyard below.

Looking down from the tower onto a graveyard full of people he never knew, did Edward Bathurst think of reading Holloway's folios to make fresh memorandums, or did he keep to his own books? The gravestones which were increasing in number can be traced to farms and cottages reminding us of old families and introducing the new arrivals. Many left no memorials and will need searching out in other places and documents. After a long gap during the interregnum another era in the development of the town of Cropredy can be discovered, but no other vicar stayed so long and left behind such a collection of folios which have survived and can compare with those written by the Reverend Thomas Holloway.

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APPENDIX 1: Will References and Dates for the Peculiar Court

Wills and Inventories belonging to the townsmen of Cropredy [Gibson J.S.W. "Index to Wills Proved in the Peculiar Court of Banbury 1542-1858." *Oxfordshire Record Society*, Vol. 40.1959]. The year beginning in January.

Some early Wills

Site	Mth & Year	Name	Occupation	Will Reference
	of Probate			MS.Wills Oxon
?	7.1547	John Orledge		179.246
[12]	1.1548	Hew Page	Husb.	179.266
[14]	4.1551	Wm. Lambert	Husb.	180.54
[28]	4.1551	Rycd Howse	Husb.	180.53
[32]	4.1551	Wm.Carter	Husb.	180.92
[14?]	3.1558	Jn.Toms		183.255
[9]	6.1559	Thos Howes	Husb.	183.216
[14]	6.1559	Eliz. Lambert	Husb.	183.249
?	6.1559	Thos.Messelden		183.234
[26]	6.1559.	Richd Robins	Husb.	183.230
[35]	6.1559	Gill Walser	Husb.	183.248
[25]	4.1563	Wm.Gybbs	Husb.	184.76
?	8.1563	Wm.Pullie		184.100
[16]	6.1565	Robt.Hunt	Husb.	184.318
[14]	6.1566	Richd.Lambert	Husb.	184.213

Inventories & Wills 1576/7 to 1641.

Site	Month & Yr.of Inv.	Name	Occupation	Inv. £----s----d	Date Will	Reference MS.Wills Pec.
[?25]	1.1577	Eliz.Gybs	Husb.	47-12-06	1577	39/2/3
[32]	2.1578	Richd.Rede	Husb.	21-18-06	1577	50/1/1
[?41]	4.1578	Wm.Gullyvor		-3-16-00		39/2/2
[47]	4.1578	Ema Bryans		-1-00-00	1578	32/4/3
[8]	5.1578	Ralph Nuberry	Husb.	166-14-2	1578	47/1/1
[9]	5.1578	Eliz.Howes	Husb.	23-13-10	1578	41/1/3
[26]	2.1579	Johan Robins	Husb.	32-12-09	1578	50/1/4
[58]	2.1579	Thos.Brown	Whittawer	13-18-00	1579	32/4/6
[4]	8.1580	John French	Husb.	20-00-00	1580	38/3/4
[24]	4.1580	Avis Gardner	Servant	---14-09	1580	39/2/8
[13]	11.1582	Henry Wallsall	Labr.?	-9-02-00		54/1/6
[4]	4.1587	Joane French	Husb.	14-03-04	1587	38/3/5
[16]	10.1587	John Hunt	Husb.	114-11-10	1587	41/1/9
[34]	11.1592	Rychd.Hanwell	Husb.	30-07-00		41/1/18
[28]	9.1592	Rychd.Howse	Husb.	55-04-02	1592	41/1/16
[31]	11.1592	John Kynd	Husb.	33-10-00	1592	44/3/4
[3]	3.1594	Wd.A.Devotion	Husb.	-6-15-00	1593	36/3/4
[51]	12.1595	Fabian Smythe	Miller	36-16-06		50/5/16
[21]	4.1596	Rand.Holloway	Student	65-10-10	1596	41/1/26
?	6.1596	John Kendall			1596	44/3/5

[52]	4.1597	Wd.Denys Hurst		-6-17-04	1597	41/1/28
[31]	3.1598	Alyce Kynd	Husb.	10-04-05	1598	44/3/6
[23]	3.1599	Wm.Vaghans	Yeoman	31-10-05	1599	53/5/1
[24]	2.1601	Richd.Howse	Husb.	26-07-06	1601	41/1/34
[9]	11.1601	Wm.Howse	Husb.	60+	1601	41/1/35
[1]	10.1601	John Palmer	Miller	54-00-04	1602	48/1/14
[34]	10.1602	Rychd.Watts	Husb.	92-02-00	1602	54/1/20
[4]	9.1602	John French	Husb.	13-00-00	1602	38/3/10
[26]	12.1603	Robt.Robins	Husb.	156-05-00	1604	50/1/11
[?1]	5.1605	Jn.Palmer	Miller	18-14-00		48/1/17
[15]	6.1607	Thos.Toms	Husb.	37-14-02	1607	52/3/14
[15]	1.1609	Joane Toms	Husb.	21-18-10	1609	52/3/18
[21]		Wd.Eliz.Gardner			1609	39/3/10
[32]		Wm.Reade	Husb.		1609	51/1/17
[16]	4.1609	Just.Hunt	Husb.	272-01-10	1609	41/2/4
[28]	5.1609	Alice Howse	Husb.	124-01-08	1609	41/2/3
[24]	9.1609	John Pratt	Husb.	103-00-00	1609	48/1/25
[28]	6.1609	Fremund Denzie	Husb.	15-00-10	1609	36/3/18
[58]	1.1610	Jhon Pare	Collarmaker	11-05-06	1610	48/1/29
[60]	9.1611	Ellen Rose	Husb.	-4-15-02	1611	50/1/20
[51]	12.1613	John Crosse	Miller	74-04-08	1614	34/4/18
[33]	2.1614	John Trusse	Shepherd	25-18-07	1614	52/3/27
[42]	3.1616	Thos.Sutton	Tailor	16-17-00	1616	51/1/14
[27]	3.1616	Wm.Watts	Weaver	51-11-04	1616	54/2/2

[4]	2.1617	Thos.French	Husb.	57+	1617	38/4/2
[35]	2.1617	John Hentlowe		45?-00-00	1617	41/2/32
[49]	6.1617	Thos Coxe	Labr.	11-09-00		34/4/24
[25]		John Gybbs	Husb.		1617	39/3/21
[50]	12.1619	John Sheeler	Shepherd	35-06-01	1620	51/1/28
?	...1621	John Fyfyld		-1-09-08		38/4/6
[27]	4.1622	Ann Watts	Weaver	-9-09-00	1621	54/2/23
[21]		Wd.E.Holloway	Gent.		1623	41/2/48
[29]	8.1623	Wm.Lyllee	Husb.	21-12-04	1623	45/1/23
[34]	4.1624	Wd.Ann Watts	Husb.	-4-05-02	1624	54/2/32
[34]	4.1624	Arthur Watts	Husb.	16-11-00		54/2/33
[56]	9.1624	Wm.Wood	Labr.	11-10-04		54/2/34
[38]	3.1625	Thos.Elderson	Carpenter	18-19-06	1624	37/4/6
[55]	5.1625	Ed.Bokingham	Labr.		1621	32/5/13
[26]	1.1626	Wd.Joane Robins	Husb.	65-03-06	1626	50/2/12
[13]	5.1627	Wd.Ellin Bicke		-5-17-00	1627	33/1/1
[8]	5.1627	Nich.Woodroof	Gent.	181-06-06	1628	54/2/46
[25]	8.1628	Wd.A.Batchelor		27-13-00	1628	33/1/6
[60]	10.1628	John Suffolke	Husb.	c37-14-11		51/2/5
[45]	11.1628	WalterRawlins	Shoemaker	-5-02-07	1628	50/2/14
[25]	5.1629	Thos.Gybbs	Husb.	220-18-06	1629	39/4/7
[18]	12.1630	Thos. Matcham	Tailor	14-09-04	1630	45/2/4
[40]	9.1630	James Ladd	Labr.	-4-00-00		45/1/27
[39]	9.1630	Ed.Tanner	Mercer	96-04-04	1630	52/4/6

[14]	3.1631	Ed.Lumberd	Husb.	c108	1631	45/2/1
[20]	8.1631	Wm.Hill	Baker	-3-14-04		41/3/16
[3]	5.1631	Thos. Devotion	Husb.	27-01-04	1631	36/4/15
[26]	6.1631	Robt. Robins	Yeoman	343-19-04	1631	50/2/17
[59]	10.1631	Thos. Palmer	Labr.	30-05-10	1631	48/2/23
[44]	1.1632	Charles Allen	Husb.	23-13-04		32/1/33
[4]	4.1632	Thos. French	Husb.	87-16-02	1632	38/4/11
[34]	3.1634	Richd. Hall	Yeoman	196-05-00	1634	41/3/31
[33]	2.1634	John Truss	Shepherd	128-05-00	1634	52/4/15
[48]	3.1634	Richd. Norman		-5-19-10	1634	47/2/2
[3]	10.1634	Emm Devotion	Husb.	44-02-02	1634	36/4/16
[59]	6.1634	John Palmer	Labr.	30-01-06	1634	48/2/28
[30]	2.1635	Wm.Cathell	Husb.	45-15-02		35/1/2
[31]	4.1635	Thos.Wyatt	Blacksmith	141-14-00	1635	54/3/29
[14]	10.1635	Ed.Lumberd	Husb.	97-06-10	1635	45/2/8
[43]	10.1636	Thos. Fendrie		20-01-08	1637	38/4/15
[48]	4.1637	Thos. Hudson	Thatcher	-7-17-06		41/3/38
[15]	5.1637	Wm.Toms	Husb.	11-11-10	1637	52/4/22
[29]	...1639	John Hall	Yeoman	26-04-08	1640	41/3/49
[2]	12.1639	John Lucas	Carpenter	22-04-04	1640	45/2/13
[50?]	4.1640	F.Cartwright	Gent.	-4-06-08		35/1/15
[9]	3.1641	Sol. Howse	Shepherd	?112	1641	41/3/50

[An apology: The reference number for inventories without wills had to be put in with the Wills column due to lack of space].

Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (P.C.C.) in London [from a list kindly extracted by J.S.W.Gibson]:

Site	Name	Occupation	Year	Reference
[6]	John French	Husb.	1595	PCC 86 Scott 56
[6]	Anthony Hall	Husb.	1599	PCC 94 Kidd 58
[13]	John Russell	Blacksmith	1600	PCC 98 Woodhall 42
[13]	Richd. Terry	Weaver	1603	PCC 105 Haynes 14
[60]	Wm.Rose	Yeoman	1602	PCC 100 Montague 71
?	Wd.Eliz. Arnett		1606	PCC 78 Hudleston
[?31]	Wm.Berry		1608	PCC 38 Windlebank
[28]	Thos.Howse	Husb.	1614	PCC 70
[50]	Arthur Coldwell	Gent.	1617	PCC 135 Sloane 22
[21]	Thos. Holloway	Vicar	1619	PCC 117 Parker
[8]	Robt.Woodrose	Gent.	1625	PCC 147 Clarke 131
[8]	Wd.D.Woodrose		1632	PCC 165 Seager 25
[?50]	Robt.Whettell	Labr.	1639	PCC 180 Harvey 82
[8]	Wd.M.Woodrose		1639	PCC 181 Harvey 157
[?6]	Robt.Cleaver	Yeoman	1639	PCC Harvey 185
[16]	John Hunt	Yeoman	1641	PCC 186 Evelyn 95
	Thos.Lee (Clattercote)	Gent.	1572	PCC Draper 23

The Cropredy Ecclesiastical Court records were edited by Sidney A Peyton {Peyton Sidney A. ed "Oxfordshire Peculiars" *Oxfordshire Record Society Vol 10*. 1928. Oxon. Archd. papers, Oxon b.52: Cropredy 152-183}. The date for each court was not always clear in the original record. Using the Cropredy registers and Holloway's Easter Oblation lists the following dates have been found to give the approximate year for the following court's (using their Court reference Number):

Number	New Date	Cropredy references
153	1612/13	Thos Batchelor died Feby.1612/13
154,166&168	1611/12	Church warden Handley [12] left Cropredy 1613
155	c1624	Death of five members of theWatt's family [34]
156	c1622	After burial of Ann Watts [34] 3 Dec.1621
159	1606/7	Dorothy Truss bp.4.6.1606 d.of Anne Truss [33]
161	pre 1610	Sidesman J.Pare [58] died 1610.
174	1616/17	Thos. French [4] buried 15 March 1616

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APPENDIX 2: Quarter days, Archbishops, The bushel

Important dates including Quarter and Cross-Quarter days:-

Candlemas	14 February	Cross Quarter-day (from 1753= 2 Feb)
Our Lady Day	25 March.....	Quarter-day
Holyrood	3 May.....	Cross Quarter-day
Midsummer-day	6 July.....	Quarter-day (from 1753=24 June)
Lammas	12 August.....	Cross Quarter-day (from 1753 =1 Aug.)
Assumption of the Blessed Mary ..	15 August	
St. Bartholomews	24 August	
Michaelmas	29 September.....	Quarter-day
Martinmas.....	11 November	Cross Quarter-day
Christmas	25 December.	Quarter-day

By an Act of Parliament the new year began on the 1st of January in 1753 instead of the 25th of March. In this book all the dates in the family trees from January the 1st to the 24th of March are given both years [eg. Thomas Huxley [36] baptised 16 February 1616/7 (p394)].

Archbishops of Canterbury

-1575Mathew Parker
1575-83Edmund Grindal
1583-1604 .John Whitgift
1604-10..... Richard Bancroft
1611-33George Abbott
1633-45William Laud
Episcopacy abolished 1645-1660

Periods of Architecture

Norman 1050-1200

Early English 1150-1300

Decorated 1250-1400

Perpendicular 1350-1500

The Bushel:

In Henry VII's reign the standard bushel was called a Winchester, which was a dry measure of 8 gallons (4 pecks). The bushel measure was a round wooden container and when full and shaken down a wooden strike was passed across to level the contents. If these were not shaken then the purchaser could loose enough to make a loaf. This measure lasted until 1826 when the smaller Imperial bushel was introduced. Chester had 32 gallons per bushel and Stanford 16 gallons. There seems to be no method by which Cropredy's bushel could be worked out. Any calculations have had to be made with the Winchester measure in the absence of any written evidence of local variations.

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APPENDIX 3: 1663 Hearth Tax

In **1663** the **Hearth Tax** on each chimney was two shillings [E 179 255/4]. Hearths were only taxed if the occupiers leased land. Six years later a surviving tithe account gave the names of those tenants who had land and the amount they farmed [MS.dd Par Cropredy c25 f13].

1663 Hearth tax.....1669 Tithe Accounts

Site	Name	Hearths	Name	Yardlands
[21]	Mr Bernard Maunder	3		
[8]	Mrs Mary Willmore	7	Thomas Wyatt	6
[31]	Mr John Wyatt Senr.	5	Widow Wyatt	3
[26]	Mr John Blgrave	4	George Blgrave	3
[3]	George Devotion	1	George Dyer	1
[4]	Widow ffrench	1	Widow French	0.5
[4]	Thomas Wright	2	Thomas Wright	2.5
[6]	John Allen	5	John Allen	2.5
[9]	Solomon Howse	1	Solomon Howse	2.5
[12]	Thomas Gorstelow	2	Thomas Gorstelow	1.5
[13]	Richard Denzey	3		
[14]	Nehemiah Haslewood	2	Nehemiah Haslewood	3
[15]	Widow Tomes	2	William Tomms	2.5
[16]	Thomas Hunt	2	Thomas Hunt	1.75+
[24]	Edmond Pratt	2	Edward Pratt	2
[23]	Thomas Vaughan	1	John Warren	0.5

[60]	William Wyatt	3	William Wyatt	0.75
[25]	Nicholas Tompkins	2	Nicholas Tompkins	2
[29]	Henery Jeffery	1	Christopher Bourman	1.25
[28]	Richard Howse	1	Richard Howes	1.5
[30]	Thomas Wyatt	3	Nicolas Brigg	1
[32]	William Reade	1	Richard Read	1.25
[34]	Richard Watts	1	Richard Watts	2.5
[35]	Nehemiah Mansell	1	Nehemiah Mansell	2
[50]	John Wyatt Junr.	6	John Wyatt	0.5
[52/53]	Robert Wyatt	2	Robert Wyatt	1
[58]	Roger Orton	3	Roger orton	0.25
[51]	William Shirley	1	William Shirley	?
[42]	William Langley	1	William Langley	0.25
	Widow Langley	1		
[44]	John Sabin	1	Richard Smith	0.12
[1a]	Thomas Parsons	1	William Shotswell	0.5
[1]	Samuel Lord	2		

The Smithy [13] had land. Widow Langley's site unknown. Lord [1] had at least half a yardland at the mill. The total hearth tax collected by Solomon Howse [9], constable for that year, was £3-15s.

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APPENDIX 4: Apparel in Wills and Inventories

The following extracts are taken from wills and inventories mentioned in the text and of particular interest to the period. The will and inventory references for Cropredy are given in Appendix 1, but Bourton's are in brackets next to these transcripts:

1546/7 Margaret Hitchman's will. [MS Wills Oxon 179.247] The Inventory total was only £3-12s-4d

To Margaret, daughter "my best gowne my best cappe a derhesse and a kyrtle cloth."

To Julyann my soones wiff "a kyrtle"

To Elizabeth Tymme "a russet kyrtle and a cappe"

To Elizabeth Hitchman "my best petycote"

1550 William Carter's will.

To Thomas carter "my best dublet, a paire of hoses and my best blacke cote."

To Agnes Lumbard..."a whyte sleevelt cote."

1557/8 John Gybbs of Great Bourton son of Richard of Cropredy [25]. [MS Wills Oxon 183.253]

To William Gybbs, uncle.."a cotte a payre of hosen."

"To John Baay[?] my fathers shepaude..a cote.."

"William Baston a cote and a payre of hose.

John Sabeane a cote and a payre of hose.

John Cheeley a cote.."

1558 Gillian Walser from the farm at the bottom of Creampot [35].

"To Margerie daughter ...ij smockes and a peticote and my best kertell iij kerchyffes and ij eastows and ij aprons.

To Agnes Hentlowe...a kerchiffe a necke kerchyffe.."

1558 Widow Elizabeth Lumberd's will.

To Agnes Eden half apparel

To daughter Gillian other half "except a peticot a smoke a naperne that Elisabeth Lumberd shall have.."

1559 Widow Johan Gill of Great Bourton. [MS. Wills Oxon 183.248]

"To Alys Lynton my best vilette kertell my cappe and my gyrdell.

To daughters "Edith my best russett kertell and a napron and a ca-her.

To Margerie my best peticot a napron and a smocke and my beades with a ringe collaryd.

To Alys my second pouusett kertell, apron...

To Jone Gubbys a peticot wth fustian on be dytt [?].an apron.

To my sister a wolls apro[n].

To Aves Wilkins aprone of leers.

To daughter Em a smoke and a -aveher.

To Margaret Lyntton a karchen and a whit peticote..."

The above wills proved at the Peculiar Court of Cropredy were written into Act Books and only the total for their personal estate given. The following are loose wills and inventories proved at the same court. Many of these have full inventories. A few proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) are without surviving inventories. References to the Cropredy will number for Ralph Nuberry [eg MS. Wills Pec. **47/1/1**] is followed by the site number [8].

1577[39/2/3] [Site ?25] **Widow Elizabeth Gibbs.** Taken 2 Jan 1576/7

"her apparell as a frocke a kyrtell iij petycotes/

one wastcote an old clokexvjs/

iij smocks iij aprons ix rayles one table napkin/

a payre of fore sleeves..... xs/...

[total] - £47 -12s -6d"

1578 [47/1/1] [8] **Ralph Nuberry.** Taken 13 may 1578

"His appaerell viste ij coots ij Jerkins and a dublet ij wastcoots iij/

paire of hose one paire of bote hose ij yerds of kersee i gowne iij hatts iij shearts/

iij bonnds i cape priceiij£-xvs-o

One paire of bootes, ij pair of showsevs....
a quylte coote."

[Was the dialect showing to call a coat a coot? A coat worn over a chemise. His third coote was quited. The coot, cote, cotte or coat was fairly full, reaching to calf or ankle pulled in by a low belt. Some had decorations round the edges. The sleeves were wider at the top tapering to the wrists. The jerkins were worn over doublets. The men's gown was worn long and retained at the university, by clerks and students].

1579/80 [32/4/6][58] **Thomas Browne**. Whittawer. 8 February 1579/80.

" his apparell

In primis an old lethren dublett praisedijs

Item a payre of old briches and an old truss..... viijd

Item ij payre of stockens..... xvijjd

Item an old payre of showes & an old capp..... vjd

Ite. a ffrese forkes..... ijs ...vjd

Ite. a payre of ffrese brechesxxd

Ite. iij shirts..... ijs.. vjd [total £13-18s]

[Note his need of a truss and his flannel or frese breches].

1579 [50/1/4] [26] Will of **Widow Johan Robins** made 19 August 1579.

To her son Richard's wyfe: "a peticote, the best save one, a smocke a kercheife and a russed wastcotte."

To Marie Bostocke: a peticotte withe russed bodies, a smocke.

To brother Richard Kenches wife: "My blacke smocke and a kerchiefe."

Inventory: "Imprimis Her apparellxxs

Itm viij yards of clothe praysedxijs

Itm a clooke praisedijs vjd..."

1580 [39/2/8] [24] Will and Inventory of **Avis Gardner** 1580.

To Alyce Howse "my best redd peticote" she "the daughter of my master Rycharde Howse."

To the children of my master Rycharde Howse "all the rest of my apparell and goods here resting," to be divided among them.
To my brother Gardner "all the goods in his hands given unto me by my father, deceased."
[This was witnessed by Richard Howse, a Thomas Howse, and an Elizabeth Rede].

[Avis Gardner's master, Richard Howse died in 1601. He had six children by his wife Grace French of which four had been born by 1580. They farmed five yardlands and he classed himself as a yeoman. Three children possibly from a former marriage were Elizabeth, Christian and Alyce. The first succeeded to the copyhold farm and the third definitely mentioned in this will].

Inventory taken 30 April 1580 [four weeks after her death The vicar Thomas Holloway [21] was joined by Richard Handley [12] and John Gybs [25] from his farm across the High Street].

"a redde peticote..... iijsjd
an old casseoke of freseijs
a wast cotevijjd
an aperne of flannen..... vjd
iij smockes.....xxd
an old aperne of wolstede..... iijd
seven kerchefes good and badijs
an old rayleijd
seven parllets good and badxxd
ij old lynen apronsiiijd
a coffer with locke and hinges..... xxd
an old payre of showes..... ijd
an old hatt.....iiijd
.....
.....sum .xiijs ixd

1587[38/3/5] [4] **Widow Jone ffrench.** Taken 24 April 1587.

[By the Vicar Thomas Hollowaie [21], John Ffrench [4], Richard Handley [12] and Anthonie Hunt [5]. The last three all from the south end of Cropredy].

"In primis her apparell ffower gonndes good & badd
 fower petycots good and baddijj£
 Itm three aprones and ffyve smoks good and badevjs viijd
 Itm ten Karchifes & tow nekerchefes good and bade..... ijs
 Itm all other thinges of her apparrillvjs viijd
sum totalisxiiij£ iijs iiijd"

1593 [36/3/4] [3] **Widow Alyce Devotion** made a will 24 February 1593 leaving to her son William's "gyles" her best gown and best petticoat. [Her inventory total for apparel was fifty shilling and eightpence, one of the highest. The rest of her goods were mainly in farming stock, for she still held a half share in the farm].

1595 [50/5/16] [51] **Fabian Smith**, miller [A few items are mentioned in his inventory]:

" two shirtes, two smoks and other/ small linne[n]s.. iiijjs
 Forty bands and necherchiefs and other
 smale line[n]s, a paire of fine knit hosen
 and other olde hosenxvijs
 all maner of Apparellxxs"

1596 [41/1/26] [21] [Vicar's student son] **Randell Holloway B.A.** [aged 21 years had in his inventory]:

"all his wering apparrell three gownes vi£ xiijs iiijd"

1596 [44/3/5] "A note taken of the goodes of **John Kendall's** deceased the xi of June 1596.

"ij sherts a fryecote, a payre of fresb[?], ij payre of bretches, a lynnyn dublett, a black hatt, ij payres of showes, a [?] of wther stockinge..."

1606: P.C.C. Will 78 Hudleston. Extracts from Widow **Elizabeth Arnett's** will made 9 November 1606.

To poore wydowe Willson [33] a wastcoate.
 To wydowe Bune [?] a pettycoate
 To wydowe Malvis a smocke....
 "I give unto my brother Edwards daughter a smocke a kutle a coysse and a partlett"

"I give unto my sister Agnes 5s allso one of my coates a smocke a kercheife a partlett and an apron. And to each of her twoe daughters a partlett...."

1606 [39/3/7] Great Bourton. **Anne Gooden's** inventory made 1606:-

"for apparell a gowne two
petycoats & a wastcoate..... xxs
two hats.....viijs
her wearing lynnynvs
a peece of whyte clothe &
a peece of russe cloth..... xxxiijs iiijd
xvj pound of wooll..... xvjs
vij pound of hempexxjd.."

1609 [52/3/18] [15] Extracts from wyddow **Joane Tomes** will made ?10 December 1608:-

To Sara Tomes: "my best hatt & a parte of my weringe lynnyn and my lyttell coffer."

To Jane Tomes: 4 yards of Russett cloth "wch I now have and woll to make her a petycott...and the thyrd parte of my weringe lynnyn such as I use for my body."

To Anne Toms : ..."my best Petycott...my best gowne..one part of my wering lynnyn...."

[The Russett clothe was valued at xs. A coarse homespun material.] Her total moveable goods were prised at xxj£ xviijs xd.

1609 [41/2/4] [16] **Justinian Hunt**, husbandman. [Inventory taken after a sudden death on 26 April 1609. His wearing apparel valued highly at £4- 10s and other items were added]

"One cloke "xs...
[Household linen and...].
"..ffower aprons one shert one/
Chrystening sheete, ffower smockes .../
three chenchiefes two handcherchiefs and other/
small peeces of linnen..... vi£ vjs .viijd"
"A Gowne and one bearing clothxxiijs .iiijd"

1609 [34/4/5] [21] **Elizabeth Clearidg's** Inventory.

"It. hir apparell both wollin and linnen what so ever else xjs"

1614 [34/4/18] [51] **John Cross**, miller [The inventory included his and her apparel separately, for he was a widower. His came to 26s, Gillian's 20s. They also had:]

"Lynnon in a chest in the plor" four "stomachers ij pynners ij holland Aperns a little pece of Clothe a handkerchefs and a hatt band worth xs." Also "ij pynners and a corner kerchefs ijs. A pece of new clothe worth 33s-4d." This brought the total of their clothes to £4-11s-4d (p653).

1621 [38/4/6] [site unknown] **John ffyfyde** 25 September 1621.

"Imprimis woon cloakexs
Itm all his wearing apparrell..... xijs
Itm woon old Coffe and three sheets..... vijs
Itm woon payre of shues..... vijd
.....sum 29s..8d"

1622 [52/3/38] Bourton. Extracts from **Joane Townsend's** will made 11 December 1622:-

To Anne Gorstelow "my best gowne, my best peticote, my silke aperne, my next best aperne..."

To Jhone Gorstelowe my grand daughter..."my second best gowne, my second best peticote, my second best aperne and my sax aperne..."

To Mary ?Overbery "a peticote."

In widow Townsends Inventory:- "apparrell preised at vij£" [The highest recorded].

1622 [54/2/28] Great Bourton. Extract from **Alice Wallis's** will made 8th November 1622.

"To my goddaughter Katherne Quinty to neckerchiefes and to corner cheifes and a holly dayes petticote..."

To Allce Blacket my mayd which dwelleth with me my old gownd..."

Her inventory made the 18th of Nov. 1622:-

"all her wearing apparrell wollen linnen hosse shoes and hatts her purse and twoo shillings of money....iij£"

1623 [41/2/48] [21] Extract from widow **Elizabeth Holloway's** will made 14th May 1623:-

To daughter Dorothe Trimcock "my kersea gowne, my best hatt my best ruff [a stiff one was very fashionable at that time, but soon to change to a floppy ruff], my weddinge petticote, six crosse cloathes..."

To another daughter she left "my gold ringe wherein the stone is."

1627 [50/2/12] [26] Extract from widow **Joane Robin's** will made in January 1626/7:

To her daughter Elizabeth White "my best gowne and my new hatt."

To her sister Maryan Gibbes..."my wroster gowne, one petycote one smocke one Aperne & one wastecotte."

"Item one piece of new cloath for/
a gowne and triminge for it wth one/
peice of white new cloath.." £1- 9s -0d.

1627 [33/1/1] [13] Extract from spinster **Ellen Bicke's** will made shortly after widow Robins in February 1626/7 [She must have been living on the Brasenose Inn site with her brother Thomas Denzie the blacksmith]:

To her mother Wynnefryde.."my worster gownde ij under petticoates one blue & ye other greene one flaxon aperne one other aporne blue of lynine & woollen one smock & one knewe smoken bodyer."

To her sister Mills of Hornton .."my best gounde & my best Kersy wascoate & my best face guard my best bande & one paire of my best stockinge one blacke holland Coyse & ij Cresclothes one of holland & one other flaxon aporn of ij yarde."

To Susans Pettye "that dwelleth wth my sister one band of ij lengths wth a lace on it one blacke worck ij wyse of stette cloath one lawn crescloath & ij paier of Cuses[?].

To my god daughter Ann Densy .."one lase band of ij lengths."

To my sister Densye "two paires of stockinge a smocke one smocke bodyer three rufles one of them wth lase on it. I give her ij wasecoates one face guard & my best paire of bodyes ...six aporns & all the lining in my box & ij hatts."

To Judeth Maosly "ij paire of stockings & a playne band."

To Elizabeth Sutton "one plain band and an olde paire of bodyes."

To Sibbell, my sister Densy's maide, ij paire of stockinge & one paire of [?]- an old red peticote."

To my brother Densy his two sonnes Richard & Willm one yard of "lowne" & one length of holland "in my box to make them bands."

1634 PCC Prob 11/165 [8] Extract from widow **Dyonice Woodrose's** will made 6 August 1634:

"I give to my daughter Judeth Elcocke my wrought silke grogran gowne and kirtle..."

1640 [35/1/15] [50] **Francis Cartwright's** Inventory on page 967.

Part of **Solomon Howse's** 1641 Inventory [9] shown on page 718.

"**Item** in the dayry & buttry one powdering
trough 4 drink Barrells a stell one
bench a Churne a dough Kiver a little
milk Kiver a little powdering tubb a linnen
wheel and a wollen wheele and two old/ tubbs.....1 - 13 - 4
Item 3 milke panns & 3 Creampotts wth other
implements.....0 -. 5 - 0
Item in the upp Lodgin Chamber two bidds[bedds]
furnished and one Cradle.....4 - .0 - 0
Item one [L]Indy Cupboard two Chests one
boxe three Coffers.....1 - 10 - 0
Item one Covered 3 blancketts 2 bolsters
two pillowes, 2 bearenge Cloths 8 paire
of sheets 4 pillow drawers 2 dozen of
Napkins one Cupboard cloth two board
Clothes & two towells two other pillowdrawers.....5 -. 6 - 8
Item two brass potts two brass pannes two
Kettles one posnett a skimmer a Candlestick & 16
peeces of pewter greate & small.....4 - .0 - 0
Item the Cowpy ware 2 Cowles 3 payles.....0 - 10 0
Item in the Chamber over the hall a Cheese...."

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APPENDIX 5: Thomas Holloways Tithes and Expenditure

In Thomas Holloways Accounts he refers to his rectorial tithes and his curates. Though not of interest to everyone nevertheless they were very important to the Holloway's income and expenditure.

Lay Impropiator's tithes and the Vicar's Curates.

A rector could appoint a vicar to look after his parish. The great tithes arising out of that parish belonged to the rector and the small tithes to his vicar. The bishop of Lincoln had been the rector for Cropredy until the estates were surrendered to the Crown. The great tithes coming from Cropredy were sold to lay impropiators. The small tithes continued to be paid to the vicar of Cropredy. As the lay impropiator of the rectorial tithes Calcott Chambres of Williamscothe House farmed out several moieties which covered the tithes for the ecclesiastical parish of Cropredy. Briefly the lessees had to collect in the corn and pay the following rent:

George Chamberlaine for Wardington, Williamscothe and Coton £20. Smarts Le Sowe and Crosse for Williamscothe £30. William ffeild for Wardington, Williamscothe and Coton £90.

Lord Danby Prescote £5

Thomas Boothby Claydon and Lawn Hill parcel £40.

Thomas Boothby Mollington £50. George Rawley (but he settled it all on the Mollington vicar) £50.

Sir Henry Boothby Cropredy £50 [previously Holloways]. William Hall Cropredy £40.

Richard Danvers the two Bourtons £80.

The prebend tithes were "paid twice yearly at the south porch of the church of Cropredy"

[S.& S & F. Box 107, Bundle c in Oxfordshire Archives].

In 1650 the rectorial great tithes were leased to Calcott Chambres senior and assigned to George Chamberlaine and Ambrose Holbech in trust for the lives of Mr E.Calcott Chambre jnr son of Calcott Chambre and Mary daughter of said Calcott and Robert Sandford eldest son of ffrancis Sandford, Salop, gentleman.

The former rectorial tithes included the Parsonage Close to the south of the church let to the vicar and a small holding below Springfield farm where Hunt the weaver had lived [5]. The ancient tithe barn, which no longer exists, may be the "Parsonage" barn referred to by Thomas Holloway then standing in the Parsonage Close. The close had been taken from the communal Green while in the ownership of the rector, the bishop of Lincoln, who was also at that time Lord of the A Manor.

In the Easter Oblations folios Thomas Holloway made a note of his quarterly parsonage payments, due on the Parsonage Close and churchyard, to William Hall[6]. Thomas also added some notes in the columns alongside the Hall's [6] household in the Easter Oblations:

In 1616 William Hall paid 1s-2d and Thomas added "I payd him for/ the p'sonage for/ my candlemas/ & this lady day ijs/." In 1613 when Mr Hall paid 1s-8d Thomas wrote "payd/ my rent and/ recd viijd wch Clement hyron/ putt vid his portion/" [MS.dd par Cropredy c25/7 f18 & f1]. Was Clement the tenant of a second Parsonage Close next to Palmer's [59] on the western side (2 on Fig 28.1)?

Rector of Hampton Poyle (1591-1619).

Thomas Holloway had another parish church at "Hampton Poyle distant xiiij myles" where he was the Rector. There appeared to be no other connection between the two parishes. How did he acquire two parishes? Holloway set the Hampton Poyle glebe and parsonage house. He employed a preaching minister using part of the tithes for his salary [c25/2 f9].

"my money and rente from hampton
poyle yerely as followeth 1615

In primis umpher hamon for my gleebe
& parsonage house & orchard yerely _____xxj£
wch is eleven pounds at o[u]r lady day or
wth in ten days and ten pounds at saynt
mychaell or wth in ten dayes

Item from syr mychaell dormer yerely _iij£
vjs viijd wch at o[u]r lady day Thyrtee
three shillings fowre pence & lyke some
at mychaellmas

Item The townsmen for ther tythes ys xxiiij£
wantinge a noble quarterly to be payde
six pounds every quarter wanting xxd
wherof my curattquarterly hathe xls

& my selfe quarterly iij£ xviijs iiijd."

For some reason another reference concerning this rent was saved by the vicars [f15v]:

"Money by me receved at
mychaell 1616
In primis fro vmphre hamon for the halfe
yers rent, dew for the parsonage_____x£"

The revenues from Hampton Poyle came to £24- 13s- 8d for the Glebe, house and orchard and to this was added the rectorial tithes of £23- 13s- 4d. A total of £48 less the curate's wage of £8. His wages were two pounds lower than Claydon [c25/10 f1v]. It was far more convenient for Holloway to compute the tithes into a cash payment rather than having to sell the corn, or riding over to collect waggon loads of barley, wheat, oats and peas. Somehow he had managed to get the farmers to pay the value of an average load, or else it was calculated by the sale value for that season? The farmer would then take the cost of the sale into consideration. The people of Hampton Poyle had a poor exchange for their tithes when Holloway put in a lowly paid curate, who may not always have a licence to preach. The advantages were only for the Holloways who had another steady source of income.

Rectorial Tithe Rents from Prescote.

(Including the rents Holloway paid for land he had leased). See explanations below.

[f8v] "my rentes payd at our lady day 1615

In primis to wam brenden for syr
Rychard farmer the 30 of march _____v£
Item thomas french for my yardland the
5 of aprill _____ vijs vjd
Item mr chambers the 5 of aprill for
the parsonage tythes _____ xlijs vjd"

[f10] "..saynt/ mychaell 1615.
...Item rents at prescott_____v£"

[f15] "Rents payd at mych 1616

payd to wam brenden the thyrd of oct[ob]er
for my rent of my grond as to the use
of syr Rychard farmer _____ v£"

Prescote being enclosed was divided between two owners and had few parishioners. Those who lived at Upper Prescote were the farm bailiff and a miller. The Gorstelows with their staff lived at the manor house. From the Easter list of 1615 we find Wam Bredon, his wife, daughter and two sons, Allen and George living in Upper Prescote farm.

The vicar leased some of Sir Rychard ffarmer's land in Prescote upon which his widow owed Brouncker £11 in tithes. He also farmed a yardland from French's [4] in Cropredy and owed his own tithes for the parsonage, churchyard and close to Mr Chambres. The William Breedon who farmed Prescote for Gorstelows also collected Sir Richard ffarmer's rents.

The half year rent expected from a yardland was around £4-16s-8d. Thomas received £9-13s-4d for his yardland at Claydon and if Hampton Poyle Glebe was two and a half yardlands then the rent was similar there.

The half year's "rent" for the yardland sublet from Thomas French is rather like a computed rectorial tithe. If this was a real rent then he will have paid a hefty entry fine leaving a token yearly payment. Thomas himself states he had three quarters of a yardland in Cropredy, yet all other references to this land amount to only 5 acres. It must have proved insufficient for the vicar took on besides the yardland from Thomas French [4], one from John Hunt who lived on the Green [16]. When Thomas Holloway took on extra land in 1587 he did this with two of his sons sharing the profits, "betwixt us," and his accounts begin from that year to prove the dividing of the finances, and to teach them perhaps the business of farm accounts?

Walter Gorstelow worked out that the whole of Cropredy's Ecclesiastical parish rectorial tithes were worth six or seven hundred pounds per annum (this may be exaggerated), which maddened some of the townsmen who had to pay them to non clergy [Gorstelow W. *Charls Stuart and Oliver Cromwell United*. 1655 p204].

Ministers.

"Neyther the curratts serve not tow parishes, and such curates in the parish we beleve hath ten pounds a man by the yere and houses to dwell in" 1 Julii 1619 [Oxon. Archd. papers, Oxon b.52. 176 "Oxfordshire Peculiars" *O.R.S. Vol. 10*, 1928].

Thomas Holloway's area was too large for him and with four churches requiring Sunday services, he preached in them quarterly and put in curates for the rest of the year, though Mollington's Mr Man signs himself as "preacher of the word there." The rent from Claydon's yardland paid for a minister and in addition the vicar allowed him the fees for weddings and churchings. A house, backside and the use of the churchyard grazing completed his stipend. Mollington also had £10 in money, a house, backside, the churchyard and its "lees" as well as tithe hay from the closes. This minister had half the register book takings for weddings and christenings, all else to the vicar. Only the Wardington man sometimes went into lodgings in "The curate's house" and received only £4 with wedding and churching fees. The parish burial fees nearly all went to the vicar. Thomas let the Wardington glebe of two yardlands for around £20, less the curate's board. When his son-in-law John Clarson was minister at Wardington did he have the curate's house?

The Minister for Mollington.

"a note of such wages I pay my ministers

In primis mr man by the yere ten pounds
more his house backsyde, churchyard the
lees of tynging grass wch belonge to the
house, the tythe hay of the closes, halfe
the easter bookes, weddings & christenings
payd to mr man at saynte mychaell
for his wages 1616 and all formerly
discharged payd_____ls [£2-10s]

Item payde to edmond tanner for the
debtes of mr man the vth of october to b[e]
repayd uppon his wages at saynt Thomas day xs" [c25/2 f13] (cf p405).

Mr Man must have had the vicarage at Mollington, but he did not have any of the glebe land there except some hay. The previous year Thomas paid

"mr man the 22 of sept___xs"
...Item to mr man more the 30 of septeber ___xxs" [c25/2 f10]

with no explanation of how he had earned this extra amount, unless like Syr Arledge he had been to the bishop for his ordination. The title of "Mr" or "Sir" was often conferred on a man who had gone through the university.

A married minister Rychard Meacocke who preceded Man died in 1608. Before him Claydon's minister had to help out. Rychard Meacocke acted as scribe for his parishioners, but he was too ill to write his own will which was hastily written by Holloway on the 15th of July and witnessed by John Clarson then curate of Wardington.

The Minister for Claydon.

Richard Polley was curate from 1577 to 1585 and followed by Christopher Polley who was there in 1590. William Saunderson arriving in 1594:

"wrote thismr saunderson for his servyce at
3 of octobercleadon ys yerely to have his house
1616Backsyde churchyerd weddinges &
.....churchings and in money by the yere
..... ten pounds, his quarterly paymentes
..... are as the townsmen do pay me
..... at martelmas, candellmas hollorode
.....day and lammas [Cross Quarter days]

Memo. he is payd all past untyll martelmas 1616
all [pay]d, at martelmas, & candellmas" [c25/2 f14].

"One Charles Hutton hath the yardland or
glebe & payeth ix£ xviijs 4d p annum wch my
predessor gave Mr Sanderson for his wages
adding quarterly xxd to make it up x£" Dr E.Brouncker [c25/10 1v].

Dr Brouncker when he became vicar had curates in Cropredy, Claydon, Mollington and Wardington. He used the town tithes to pay them. "Out of this Curatts" £48. In Claydon Mr Saunderson was paid £10 per annum as presumably were the Cropredy and Mollington curates, but as Arledge in Wardington received only a small payment, how then did it come to £48?

Thomas Holloway settled the payment of Claydon tithes. In [c25/4 f32v] he wrote

"I made a wrytinge/ under my hand to this effect/ wch my curratt Mr Saunderson/ kepeth for us both wth/ eyther of our hands unto yt" and "Richard Willmore 1618 for his farme Expensis to pay 35s p anno. Mr Saunderson hath his money 35s" [c25/10 f2].

The Reverend Saunderson took the Mollington services from 1594 to 1604 according to the Subsidy Rolls. The two parishes remained separate for some time after this.

In 1619 William Saunderson presented "our Church yard mounds to be out of repayre but whose defaultes I knowe not, for that I am not acquainted of everye mans parte." The rest of the Claydon churchwardens presentations concern parishioners. The minister did catechise the youth many times "yet he hath not Catechised them every Sondaye and holy daye" which the more pious protestants in his church believed very necessary. Most clergymen appear to leave this to a minimum of occasions.

Mr William Saunderson died in November 1633, his wife Jone was buried on the 24th of December 1619 as the wife of William Saunderson [Holloway [21] died on the 13th, Coldwell [50] the 15th, Gibbs [25] on the 18th, Sheeler the shepherd [50] the 20th and then Jone on the 24th].

The Minister for Wardington.

Thomas's third minister served him in the Wardington parish which included the Wardington part of Williamscoote and Coton. Wardington was divided into Wardington upper end and Wardington nyther end in their 1614 to 1616 tithe book and poultry tithes c1611 to 1619. The tithes in these account books all coming to the vicar [c25/5 & c25/6].

In 1615:

"Ite to syr arledge the same day [22 Sept.]__xvs
Ite to syr arledge more at his retourne
from the bishipp the 27 of september ____xiijs iiijd
wch money is payd in parte of his next
quarteredge at saynt Thomas day where
for he is to serve me this next yere from this
myc[h]aell 1615 to mychaell 1616 for twenty
nobles wch is quarterly fyve nobles" [c25/2 f10]

"mr arledge for his servyce at
wardenton ys to have meate
& drinke yerely and in money by
the yere iiij£ 1616 also weddings
and churchings

memo he is payd all his formerly wages and
for this quarter endinge at saynt mych 1616" [c25/2 f13v].

The evidence for the Hills leasing the curate's house and giving board and lodging to Mr Arledge appears in the Wardington tithe book [c25/5 f11v]. That house may be the one which backs onto the churchyard. The upstairs window or windows were without glass until perhaps a curate fell ill, or the rest of the house was glazed, and the shutters being insufficient the vicar pays for the "glasinge" of the curates window:

"memo Receved for mr hills
tythes the fyrst of Julij 1616
by the hands of Rychard vaughans
for one yere quarter past vijs
Item more at that tyme by mrs
hill xvjd wth xvjd.I dyd
allow back and more gave
for the glasinge of the upper
wyndow in the curatts house ijs
so that I allowed in all for that
glasinge _____iijs iiijd on to[p]
of his money then receved wch
was viijs iiijd" [c25/5 f11v].

William Arledge was at the Cropredy vicarage to witness Thomas Holloway's will in 1619. If Thomas did have a fever Arledge did not catch anything from him. In a Bourton will Alice Wallis nee Arledge, the blacksmith's widow left "a blanket and pillow and a payre of sheets" to William Arledge a minister in April 1623 [MS. Will Pec. 54/2/28].

The next Vicar Dr Brouncker, who lived in Ladbroke, wrote in [c25/10 f1v]:

"Mr Arledge had the meate & drinke & 4£.
p annum wth weddings & churchinges."

Was he from the miller Arledge's family? The Cropredy area had many millers who allowed their sons, if they were drawn by lot, to attend the free school at Williamscothe. John Arledge had two sons, William born 1592 and John 1594, both of whom were scholars in the 1604 list. Could they have gone on to Oxford university?

The registers and the churchwardens' presentments for the Banbury Peculiar [Oxon. Archd. papers, Oxon b.52] reveal other ministers, but the dates are very uncertain:

1606 a Robert Chamberlaine minister [b.52. 313]
c1608 William ffulidge minister [b.52.309]
1608 July buried Rychard Meacock, minister of Mollington.
1609 May 7th buried Mr Allin Towne, minister of Wardington.
c1610 John Clarson minister [b.52. 312,315, 316, 322]
1613 Th. Hill Curatt [b.52. 319]
1619 William ? Asletche [b.52. 320]
1620 Lewis Jones, Cropredy
1622 John Parry [b.52. 326,327].
1632 John Battie of Mollington.
1640 Robertus Willise Cropredy? [John Hall MS Will Pec. 41/3/49]

These were nearly all non preaching, that is curates without a licence from the Bishop. They had to swear they would not preach publicly "I shall interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority."

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Glossary

Acre: customary acre larger than a standard acre of 4840 sq.yds.

Andirons: firedogs to hold spits for roasting meat. Support for the grate.

Arras: a rich tapestry fabric. Originating in Arras, Flanders.

Arminians: originally the followers of a Dutch theologian called Arminius. They believed all were offered salvation, not just the Elect, and could work out their own salvation and were reacting against the Reformation.

Artisan: skilled worker. Used here as a craftsman or shepherd.

Awn: prickley bristle at the top of the barley grain's sheath.

Backside: area or yard behind a house.

Barrel: these stored butter, beer, fish, salt or wines (qv firkin).

Batter: a walls receding slope from ground upwards.

Bay: space between main roof supports.

Bays: a fine lightweight cloth.

Beam : a scale which could be used for weighing fleeces.

Bed : referred to the mattress.

Bedsted/ Bedstead : bed frame.

Black jack jug : a leather jug

Board cloth : table cloth.

Bole: special alcove in a wall for a hive. A bolle was a container for honey and thick liquids

Boulting tub or hutch : container to sieve flour into (p664).

Bond : deed by which a person binds himself to pay another.

Brandiron : (1) a branding iron for stock. (2) a gridiron.

Bressumer : horizontal timber carrying a wall. The lintel supporting the chimney over the inglenook.

Brogger : a factor who acted as middleman between sheep-breeders and the clothiers who needed raw wool to make cloth.

Bushel : measure of corn (Appendix 2). 8 bushels in a quarter.

Butt : measure of land equal to a rood.

Calkins : end parts of a horseshoe turned up and then sharpened to prevent the horse slipping.

Capon : a castrated cock for eating.

Card: iron-toothed instrument for combing out wool or flax.

Carpet : cover for wall, table and other furniture.

Cartload: a measure for coal, faggots, hay, lime and straw.

Cast : when the cow has the calf prematurely.

Caudle : warm gruel with spice, sugar, and wine, for invalids.

Chirurgion: one who operates with the hand. Rede [32] then combined surgery with his barber's shop. The striping on a barber's pole represented the ribbon round the arm of a person, who was having his blood let. Some thought of them as low practitioners of surgery.

Cimer: a vessel for making dough in?

Cloome: cloam: usually oxen or horse dung.

Close: enclosed piece of land, in this period next to the house.

Clove: 7 lbs of wool was equal to a clove. 4 cloves made 1 todd.

Coney : a rabbit.

Coopery ware : "cowperly ware" mostly tubs, casks etc for brewing. Made by a cooper.

Corvisor/ cordwainer : a shoemaker.

Cowl/coul : a cooler, a large wooden tub for brewing.

Coulter : a vertical iron cutting blade. This is fixed to the front of the ploughshare.

Curb: wall, or edge round the well.

Cut: woollen carded 1 cut giving approximately 300 yds single ply wool per lb.

Damask : a patterned linen imitating silks woven at Damascus (p649).

Danske chest : a foreign chest (Danish).

Demesne: land attached to the manor farm.

Diaper : a system of weaving small twill patterns using unbleached threads for napkins.

Doale: dole or lot meadow. Shared out every year.

Ear[th] : to plough and destroy weeds.

Ell : measure for linen and haircloth equal to 45 inches.

Ewe : female sheep that has had at least one lamb.

Ewe-crone : an old barren ewe.

Ewe-lamb: (gimmer or chiver) female lamb up to weaning.

Ewe-teg : (gimmer hog, ewe hog) weaning up to first shearing.

Exhibited : The inventory presented at the church court with the will.

Face cloath : women used them when riding out.

Family : The people in a household (qv) who are related by blood and marriage.

Fetter : D- shaped shackle for tethering a horse by the leg.

Firebote : the wood or rough ground granted to the tenants by the lord of the manor for the purpose of gathering fuel.

Firkin: small butter barrel, half a hundredweight. A liquid measure for beer of 9 gallons.

Flasket : (1) a shallow washing tub. (2) Shallow basket.

Flaxen: cloth made from a lower quality linen (flax) thread.

Fitches : sides of bacon.

Foremilch : a cow not yet in milk.

Forke : the crutch part of a garment.

Frame : joined table frame fixed to table board.

Frieze : coarse woollen cloth with nap usually on one side only.

Furnace : for brewing.

Gals/Gyles : girls.

Garner : a container to store grain or malt.

Hackles of straw : long pieces of straw resembling the long feathers on the neck of a cock.

Spreading out like a protective tent to keep the bee skep dry.

Hadelay : A narrow piece of land left as leyland. Hades: leyland.

Haulm : dry stems of peas (minus the peas) for fodder.

"The haulm is the straw of the wheat or the rye,
which once being reaped, they mow by and by..." Tusser.

Long straw left on the field, minus corn, to be cut later. Rye straw (haulme) was needed for thatching after first removing the leaves and cutting off the ears.

Hayding: alongside another furlong.

Heifer : young cow expecting her first calf.

Hempen: using thread spun from hemp.

Heriot: best beast, or value in money, owed to landlord after death of a tenant.

Hilling : A cover for the bed.

Hoggerells: two year old ewes.

Hogshead : barrel holding 54 gallons of beer.

Holland: unbleached linen cloth woven from high quality thread (p649).

Homestall : farm and yard.

Horse gears: harness.

Horse locks: locks for the fetters (q.v).

Household : all those who live under one roof, and owe allegiance to the master, or if a widow to the mistress. Includes wife, relations, servants and children.

Houseled : to receive the sacrament. As man and wife were counted as one this could give the number of households, except it does not include all the adults in the house.

Housewright : Organised the building of a house.

Humnel stick : used to soften the awns on barley which are sharp.

Impropiator : a layman who has taken over tithes once reserved for clergy. In this case the rectorial or great tithes.

"Joyned bedsted"/Joined bedstead : a four poster with a canopy or tester made by a joiner.

Journeyman : qualified artisan who works for a wage.

"Joynture" : estate settlement on a wife for use during widowhood.

Kerseys : a coarse but still lightweight material. Narrower than the broadcloths.

Kiddes : a bundle of faggots.

Kin: Those relations who can lay claim to a particular group. In return they will be expected to support them and obey their customs.

Kirtle: outer petticoat or gown.

Kiver : a shallow wooden tub.

Kyne : cows.

Land : a strip of arable or ley land equal in Cropredy to half an acre. Two roods.

Lea : 1 lea equals 300 yards single ply linen per lb. (qv Cut and combed wool).

Ley: greensward kept for hay and pasture. Two leys to the acre.

Lead : a vat for brewing.

Light : part of a window division.

Lineagae : all those relations gone before, at present and still to come. Some of which are

represented in the family trees.

Long cart : Had two wheels. A waggon had four.

Long-house-type : barn and house under one roof. Sharing one entrance.

Loom : vessel.

Mark : a coin valued at 13s-4d.

Maslin : usually wheat and rye mixed together.

Midden: dung heap.

Milch cow: a cow yielding milk, or kept for milk.

Mortuary : customary payment to the incumbent upon the death of a parishioner [Tate W.E..
The Parish Chest 1946 Cambridge Univ. Press].

Napery: linen.

Neatherd : cowherd. A neat animal was any bovine animal.

Nether house : lower than the hall. Originally made from a bay of a long house barn next to the entry passage.

New draperies : bays, arras, says and kerseys (qv).

Newel post: centre pillar of a winding stairs.

Noble: gold coin usually worth 6s-8d. With a ship shown on one side it was intended for foreign trade.

Orris : lace with patterns of gold and silver embroidery.

Painted cloth : substitute for tapestry. A cloth painted in oil.

Partition : a wall dividing two rooms.

Petty school : elementary school. Taught reading, religion and discipline.

Pieces : plots of land larger than a strip. Often a collection of strips which remain attached to one farm.

Piklet or pytel : a small piece of enclosed land, often triangular.

Pillowbere: pillow case.

Pipe : equal to 2 hogsheads or 4 barrels. 105 imperial gallons.

Pleashed : plashing a hedge to lay it and so make it stock proof.

Portal : a partition or screen to keep out some of the draughts.

Posnet : a small metal pot with a handle and three short feet. Used to make a hot drink curdled with ale or wine. A posset.

Powdering tub : used for salting meat.

Press : (1) for cheese (2) a cupboard.

Quarter: (1) division of Open Field. (2) Eight bushels.

Quartern : a quarter of a yardland.

Ram/ shearing tups : first to second shearing. 2,3,4 shear rams/tups according to the number of times shorn.

Ram-lamb : (hoggets, hogs) male lamb to first shearing.

Register: Act of Parliament 24 Aug. 1653 the custody of parish registers were entrusted to the new Parish "Registers" who were not called the Registrar. Ratepayers elected them.

Rendle stone : possibly used to help press the cheese.

Retting: steeping flax in water.

Rood : four roods to the acre.

Satin : broken twill. Originated in China. Weave which produces even and smooth surface hiding ribbed appearance of twill.

Saucer: a vessel to hold condiments and sauces.

Says : another fine cloth resembling serge. Twilled worsted.

Scaffold : wooden platform standing upon staddle stones to support a rick. Or forming a loft over stalls.

Scot and lot: a parish tax paid according to ability.

Serge: a twilled woollen cloth, also used as a blanket.

Sherrogg : two year old (and over) wether (qv).

Shippicks: shippon (cowshed) pitchfork? Or shepherd's pitchfork?

Skep hive : a bee hive made of straw.

Skutching: cleaning retted flax.

Small corn: medium quality wheat or maslin.

Soft grains: oats or rye.

Specialty : a sealed contract.

Spence: a room for storing food. A larder.

Standing bed : tall bedstead with high head and foot ends joined by a tester.

Stint : limiting, especially the rights of pasture.

Stocks : Bee hives.

Stop : decorated or simple end to a chamfered edge of a house beam.

Stryke/ strike : half a bushel. Revd. Holloway used this measure rather than a bushel. The strike was a rod which was passed across the container measuring the grain.

Sumptuary (laws) : in this case laws regarding clothes as to who was allowed to wear particular materials or colours.

Sydling/ sidling : a piece of grassland alongside arable furrows used as leyland.

Table : often just the board to fit on trestles.

Tabby, taffeta : plain weaving.

Tapestry : tabby weaving in mosaic, with loose weft.

Terrier : a description of land giving size, direction of strip, furlong and neighbouring tenant.

By mid seventeenth century the number of bays in the house and farm buildings were added.

Tester : wooden or cloth canopy over bed.

Theal: plank of wood.

Throme cloath : remnant from end piece of cloth.

Ticknall ware : coarse earthenware. Often made at Ticknall in Derbyshire.

Tod/ Todd: 28lb weight, used to measure wool.

Toft: homestead.

Treen : small articles of household equipment made from wood.

Truckle bed: low bed pushed under another bedstead during the day.

Trumpery : items of low value.

Tup : male sheep. A ram.

Tweed: a twilled woollen cloth woven in one ply wool.

Twillie : bed cover made in a twill pattern using unbleached linen thread.

Valence : short curtain round bedstead, or canopy.

Wainscot : wooden panelling round the lower part of a room.

Warden : cooking pear.

Wether/wedder : weaned castrated lamb to first shearing. Shearing wether: first to second shearing.

Whitbaker : baker who uses fine bolted white flour.

Whittaw/ whittawer: (white leather) he prepared hides not with tannin but with alum and

salt in a lime vat (p474).

Whorl: a spindle weight.

Winnow cloth: cloth used in winnowing, or to cover windows.

Woollen wheel : for spinning wool.

Worsted: combed wool. 560 yds per lb.

Yardland : measure of land. Average number of acres in Cropredy being 32a 2r (p296).

Yeeling tub : a brewing vat.

Yerd : three roods. Three quarters of an acre.

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