

**LAND, FAMILY AND COMMUNITY IN WINGHAM AND ITS ENVIRONS. AN
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF RURAL SOCIETY IN EAST KENT
From C.1450-1640**

VOLUME 1

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a social and economic study of five contiguous parishes in East Kent, which for the most part formed the estate of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Wingham, the central community of this area, a market village, quasi small town in an area of hamlet communities and isolated farms situated mid way between Canterbury and the port of Sandwich. The topography of this area and its importance as a determining factor in the social and economic structure is outlined. Lordship in this area and the structure of the Wingham estate is traced through the medieval period to the 17th century, revealing the disintegration of an unusually large, medieval, ecclesiastical estate and the emergence of the small estate pattern, more typical of East Kent. The nature of these estates, continuity and change among resident gentry families and their status, *wealth and influence in the locality is considered. The changing pattern of landholding and the ground plan of farms is uncovered, indicating both compact, enclosed units and farms with dispersed arable parcels in open fields and detached marshland; the influence of demographic trends and inheritance strategies is discussed suggesting long term piecemeal consolidation. The economic structure of this area, situated within the relatively urbanised south east is considered in terms of agriculture, family farms, rural trade occupations, a rural cloth industry, marketing, consumption and local credit. It revealed an intensive and flexible agrarian system with individual autonomy and diversity in family enterprises. The nature of community is examined in terms of general population trends, place and community focus, neighbourhood relationships, networks and urban connections. This study depended on a variety of local sources, in particular a rich survival of probate records, which made possible a biographical method of reconstruction and use of case studies.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

For convenience the following archives and bibliographical sources are referred to in the notes in abbreviated form.

Ag.Hist.Rev.	Agricultural History Review
Arch.Cant.	Archaeologia Cantiana
B.L	British Library
CCAL	Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library
Cal.Inq.Misc.	Calendars of Inquisitions Miscellaneous
Cal.Ltrs.Pat.	Calendars of Letters Patent
Cal.I.P.M.	Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem
Econ.Hist.Rev.	Economic History Review
KAO	Kent Archives Office, Maidstone
O.S.	Ordinance Survey
PRC	Ecclesiastical Records for the Canterbury Diocese deposited at the Kent Archives Office
PRO	Public Record Office
Reg.	register
VCH	Victoria County History
E. Hasted	E. Hasted, <i>The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent</i> , vol. 1X, 2nd edition (Canterbury, 1800)
R.F.H. Duboulay, <i>Lordship</i>	R.F.H. Duboulay, <i>The Lordship of Canterbury</i> , (London, 1966)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

The maps which accompany the text of this thesis are bound in a separate volume 2

The parish registers and Poor Book of Ash and the parish registers of Wingham are held in the parish churches and references in the notes are not preceded by a repository.

The modern spelling of place names is used throughout; alternative spellings which appear in the documents used in this study appear in brackets after the modern equivalent, unless stated otherwise.

Money values and measurements have not been converted to metric or modern equivalents. The Kentish measurement of volume, the "seme" frequently occurring in the sources used has been called by its more widely used equivalent, the quarter, in this thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Local historical studies of rural communities in East Kent have largely been concerned with a small geographical area, an individual parish over a long time span or with individual manors and their tenants concentrating on the medieval period to the 16th century. The purpose of this research project, partially motivated by studies of contrasting separated communities, was to examine a larger area containing a group of contiguous rural parishes, concentrating principally, although not exclusively on the more limited period from the mid 15th to the mid 17th centuries. The study area chosen was a group of five parishes, Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold (Map 0.1). This selection was based on an initial survey, which identified Wingham in East Kent as a medieval small town/large village, of potential interest in an area not notable for sizeable settlements and within close proximity to larger East Kent towns; other settlements of this kind in East Kent, such as Wye and Elham were further west and south of Canterbury. Wingham is the core of the study area. It was initially postulated that Wingham may have served a surrounding region, which was likely to be flexible rather than rigidly defined. However, while not discarding entirely the concept of a flexible area, for the practical purposes of this study, "the Wingham region" was given more clearly defined physical boundary. In principle, this region was defined as the area which was contained in the medieval estate of Wingham, which was linked by common lordship to the central settlement and which covered most of the area of the five parishes named above. For practical purposes, the entire area covered by the five parishes in the period studied was included, as registers of baptisms, burials and marriages and probate records are arranged by parish. A detailed discussion of these boundaries, included in Chapter 1, suggests that there were clear topographical features which distinguished most although not all the boundaries of the chosen area.

The aim of this research was to uncover the landholding and economic systems and the nature of community prevailing in this area. The reconstruction of families and their role in the social and economic structure of the area from the mid 15th to the mid 17th centuries was an important aspect of this research. It includes an examination of lordship, landholding and land

tenure between the mid 15th and the 17th centuries but traces the origins and rationale of the system from the early medieval period and examines long term changes. The nature of the economic system was examined, using biographical methods to establish the pattern of family farms, agricultural practices, the extent of commercial and capitalist enterprises, opportunities provided by local rural industry, multiple household occupations, systems of local finance, some aspects of marketing, local retail trade and patterns of consumption. The nature of community, as determined by place and settlement, focal points, administrative units, economic and social networks was explored and set against the broad demographic trends pertaining in this area and nationally. This was principally set against change over a period of two hundred years, between the mid 15th and mid 17th centuries, which included the influence of Reformation changes in an area dominated by ecclesiastical land and property ownership. The systems operating in the Wingham region are seen in the context of the relatively urbanised south east England, continental influences particularly in regard to the local cloth industry and in comparison with the experiences and systems elsewhere in Kent and in some selected areas in other regions of England.

The principal arguments which emerge suggest that the topography of the area was of some considerable significance in determining local systems. In terms of lordship and landholding, the vast ecclesiastical estate of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Wingham with its concentric structure was a medieval aberration in an area where the norm was the small estate, which established itself as dominant also in the Wingham area by 1600; this revolution in landholding took place over a protracted period of time, demographic trends being the principal dynamic agent. The gentry families resident on these estates during the period studied were predominantly parochial and East Kent families of no great wealth or national importance. Distinctions between the better off yeoman farmers and the lesser gentry were muddled, although dynastic and territorial expansion of a small number of the successful and most stable gentry families during the period tended towards greater polarity by the 17th century. Increasing control of customary land and property by gentry and wealthier yeoman farmers, landlords and middlemen, with consequent sub tenancy resulted in many farmers being tenants of leased land rather than owner/occupiers of their farm

lands. The pattern of farms in the Wingham area was varied, including compact farms with enclosed fields, while others contained dispersed parcels of arable in open fields; detached marsh land was a feature of farms by the 17th century. The factors contributing to produce this variety were the original estate and landholding pattern, demographic trends and partible inheritance customs. The long term trend was towards piecemeal consolidation of farm lands.

The economy of the Wingham area was predominantly based on grain, particularly wheat production, notably on the larger compact farms and funnelled through the distribution centre at the port of Sandwich. The fertile soils of the Wingham area in conjunction with individual autonomy in farming made possible an intensive and flexible agricultural system, remaining successfully adaptable. However, diversity and variety was prevalent in farm enterprises and in the economies and occupations of families and households, brought about by varied topography within the area, fertile soils, lack of common land and communal regulation in agriculture, continued demand for farm labour, opportunities afforded by the local rural cloth industry and retail trades and the proximity of urban markets. Although there is evidence of commercial farming and flexible marketing arrangements, large scale capitalist investment was not particularly evident. Family and dynastic considerations concerning land ownership were of greater importance and the fertility and nature of local soils made possible successful smaller farms.

With the exception of Wingham, communities were small and dispersed; upon this settlement pattern were superimposed several overlapping administrative units. Communities were informal rather than closely knit, most visible in family support and local financing systems among neighbours. In general, the demographic experience of these five parishes followed national trends, but there was a varied experience within the area, which was likely to stimulate local migration. The concept of a Wingham region was not entirely upheld by this study. Wingham was undoubtedly the administrative and manorial centre for the whole area for most of the middle ages, but this function was in decline by the 16th century and it is doubtful if it retained its 13th century marketing function. However, Wingham remained the largest settlement in the area from the 14th century and retained some characteristics of a small town, largely serving the more

immediate population, including increasing number of resident gentry families in the parish and travellers en route between Canterbury and Sandwich.

This study draws out certain common characteristics in the economy and society of the east coast seaboard areas of England particularly from East Anglia south and confirming suggestions made elsewhere.

This research was based principally on a variety of local records listed in detail in the bibliography. A rich survival of probate records for the area, wills from c.1460, inventories and testamentary accounts from 1560, made possible the collection of data on a biographical and family system. Parish registers survive for all five parishes and early 17th century poor rate records for the parish of Ash. Manorial records, particularly surveys, rentals and leases were the basis for the study of landholding, although the survival of court rolls was poor. Title deeds, estate maps, Tithe maps and 19th century Ordnance Survey maps were used. Some taxation records were used.

CHAPTER 1

TOPOGRAPHY

This introductory chapter sets out to examine in some detail the topography of the Wingham area, as defined in the opening introduction; covering the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold. While not adopting a totally deterministic point of view, it can be argued that the nature of the landscape and exploitation of its natural resources were fundamental in establishing the initial structure of the estate at Wingham, and therefore influential in developing the subsequent pattern of landholding. Topography was the constant among other more changeable factors in the whole economic and social structure of the area. The term topography, as used in this thesis, implies not only the landscape and physical features within the Wingham area itself which underlay the economic and social system, but includes the wider geographical context which also had implications for change. In this chapter, this wider topographical context is considered first. Second, the delineation of the area is explained in topographical terms, with some consideration given to its physical boundaries and the principal physical features. Third, the area is divided into regions or pays, which are examined individually, with regard to landscape, underlying geology and soils and man's influence on the landscape. In conclusion, some suggestions are made about the extent to which topographical features influenced the social and economic structure of this area.

Map 1.1 indicates the location of the area in the central eastern part of Kent situated between Canterbury to the west and the port of Sandwich on the east coast; the distance between those towns being 12 miles. The north eastern part of the area studied, the parish of Ash, was within easy reach of Sandwich, forming part of its hinterland, whilst the southern edge of the whole area, the parish of Womenswold was some 5-6 miles from the south coast and the port of Dover. Proximity to East Kent towns, coast and ports, with consequent coastal trade and connections with London, the Thames estuary, the east coast and continent provided an advantageous marketing position for agricultural products in what was a relatively urbanised region, particularly during periods of population growth.

The area of East Kent studied covers the five parishes of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, based on parochial boundaries and areas in existence until the end of the 19th century as shown on the Tithe maps of 1838-42 and O.S. maps 1874-98. During the 20th century, a major change in the eastern boundary of the parish of Nonington created the new parish of Aylesham, which included land previously part of Nonington. 20th century rationalisation of parish boundaries has occurred between Womenswold and Kingston, Wingham and Preston; the parish of Goodnestone has absorbed the previous tiny neighbouring parish of Knowlton. Although no maps of a large proportion of this area have survived from the medieval or early modern periods, it is clear from surviving estate maps, deeds and manorial surveys that the parish areas represented by 19th century maps were for the most part those in existence by 1500 and probably by 1300. The total area of the five parishes amounted to some 17,000 acres; 7,021 acres in Ash, 2,637 acres in Wingham, 1,864 acres in Goodnestone, 3,808 in Nonington and 1,721 in Womenswold.

Physical features in the landscape were in part a determining influence in defining boundaries, but other factors were present; the need of medieval communities for access to certain types of land and resources, such as woodland, may explain the irregular jigsaw shaped southern boundary of Womenswold, for example.¹ Medieval lordship in this area, the subject of the following chapter, was an important factor in establishing parish boundaries. Map 1.2 indicates the key physical features in this area. In the northern part of the area, in the parishes of Ash and Wingham, rivers were important and prominent features of the landscape, the parish of Ash being river and stream bounded for much of its territory. The valley of the River Stour, flowing west to east into the sea north of Sandwich formed the northern and eastern boundary of the parish of Ash and the manor of Wingham. The river and the marshes which bordered it had as late as 1066 formed the eastern half of the Wantsum Channel, which divided Thanet from the mainland. A stream running north to the Stour marks the western boundary of the parish of Ash with Elmestone and Preston. These rivers and streams also marked the boundaries of lordship between the Archbishop and his neighbours. The Wingham River, or "the brok" as it was called in medieval

and early modern manorial documents was a feature of the landscape of some local significance and will be returned to in the discussion of regions. Administratively, it marked the southern boundary of Ash parish and was in part a boundary of lordship. Apart from a short stretch in the parish of Staple, the Wingham river runs through the heart of the parish of Wingham, turning north to flow into the Little Stour River and marking the north western boundary of the parish. The brok marked the administrative division between the south and north parts of the manor of Wingham; in 1285, for example, the rents of hens owed by customary tenants were listed under the "Galline de Northbrok" and "Galline de Suthbrok".² The crossing and bridging of the river at a point where a spur of higher land rises above the surrounding river marshes was a factor in the initial settlement and subsequent development at Wingham, discussed in Chapter 7. The southern parishes within the area chosen, in contrast, were not characterised by river features in the landscape, for the land rises gently from the Brok to about 400 feet on the southern boundary of Womenswold. The distinctive feature of parts of Womenswold and south Nonington was woodland. Boundaries were not marked by such prominent natural features as in the northern parishes, but roads were probably significant. The southern limit of Womenswold and the manor of Wingham at Woolwich Wood for example, touched the line of the Roman road called Watling Street, which linked Dover and Canterbury, whilst the eastern parish boundaries of Nonington and parts of Goodnestone and Womenswold follow the line of a road, which also marks a lordship boundary between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Christchurch Priory. This road runs from the River Stour at Stourmouth south through the centre of Wingham, where it crosses the brok, then south east to meet Watling Street just south of the village of Womenswold. It is likely that this road was an important north-south trackway linking wold and marsh.

The group of five parishes selected topographically represent a slice through the middle part of the East Kent landscape to include a variety of land and soils, from marshland, fertile arable lands, through to chalk downlands and woodland. This provided the balance in resources, which was a factor initially in determining the shape of the Archbishop of Canterbury's estate at Wingham, examined in Chapter 2 and led to some interdependence between these regions. The area

could be divided into three broad pays; wet lands, field land and woodland with downland, which lie in a general direction from north to south through the area studied. However, in order to draw out more subtle distinctions within each pays and therefore the implications for economic resources, they have been sub divided into six smaller regions, determined by key characteristics of landscape and underlying geology as indicated in Map 1.3. The wet lands contain regions A and B; the field land, regions C, D and E and woodland, region F. Whilst the demarcation between wet lands and field land is fairly clear cut, a more gradual merging between one region and the next occurs between regions D, E, and F.

About half of the 7,000 acres of the parish of Ash consisted of the low lying marshlands on the south side of the River Stour, the residual channel of the Wantsum Valley and now called the Ash levels. The following discussion of this region is illustrated by Maps 1.3 and 1.4. These marshlands form region A and lie on the north and east of the parish. In the 11th century, the region formed extensive salt marshes covered at high tide, except for the natural islands of higher land rising above the marsh on the east side, such as Richborough, site of the Roman fort, Flete and Sandhills. The marshlands consist of the alluvial soils, which fill the whole Wantsum valley and drainage evolving over a long period has provided rich, permanent grassland pre-eminently for grazing, although the introduction of modern drainage systems since World War II made possible more extensive arable cultivation. Drainage and reclamation of these marshlands was in progress by the 13th century, as was occurring on other marshland estates in Kent, such as on the neighbouring Monkton marshes in the Wantsum Valley and at Aldington, Appledore and Newchurch on the Romney Marsh; ecclesiastical lords playing a leading role.³ Capital outlay in drainage of the Ash marshes was principally undertaken by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his knights, for just under 1,000 acres remained in the Archbishop's demesne at Wingham Barton, whilst most of the remaining marshland to the east was subinfeudated to his knights at Flete, Goldstone and Goshall, discussed in Chapter 2.⁴ A smaller area of 210 acres to the west of the Goldstone drove was called the marsh of the Flemings and was let to customary tenants and cottagers of Wingham Manor in 1285 and probably also tenants of Goldstone manor.⁵ Whether

members of Fleming families from Sandwich and Canterbury were granted tenancies in the 12th century on account of experience in reclaiming low lying land is a matter of speculation.⁶

Along the length of the tidal River Stour is an embankment or sea wall which divides the fresh from the salt marsh, and is possibly of a late 16th century date, but likely to have originated in a sea wall contemporary with that at Monkton on the north side of the river, built during the 13th century by the monks of Christchurch Priory.⁷ Documentary evidence survives of the existence of a medieval sea wall on the Ash side of the tidal River Stour, for an Inquisition of 1399 states that the Wingham Barton's 960 acres of marshland was worth 6d an acre yearly, in excess of payments for the sea wall.⁸ A century earlier in a rental of Wingham manor of 1285, ten acres of the marsh of the Flemings was set aside towards the maintenance of the wall against the sea.⁹ However, maintenance of the sea wall was largely a capital cost borne by lords as is indicated by surviving leases of the Archbishop's manor of Wingham Barton in the 15th and early 16th centuries.¹⁰ A characteristic feature of the marshes are the droves, which project out north from the higher land across the marshes towards the sea wall. Some were likely in origin to have been walls, which were part of early piecemeal drainage schemes, later becoming ways for driving livestock across the marshes. This is borne out by the example of the Cornerdrove, which was called Cornerdrovewall in a lease of the Wingham Barton lands in 1483.¹¹ The irregular shapes of marshland parcels are also indicative of piecemeal reclamation.

The Ash marshes are ditched extensively and are likely to have medieval origins, but no archaeological investigation has been carried out. The original drainage system was based on local gravity flow of streams in the Stour Valley, of which the Ash levels are a part and has remained basically unaltered until 1966 and ditches would have been created based on this system.¹² The most important drainage channel on the Ash levels is the Richborough stream created once the sea wall was built, by natural gravity flow down hill from the River Stour south towards the old coastline. Goldstone Drove in the centre of the marsh is a natural watershed, from which streams to the west drain towards Elmestone and streams to the east drained to creeks in the Flete area, beyond which is Richborough.¹³ It is likely that Goldstone Drove formed a natural division

between the Westmarsh and the Estmarsh referred to in the Wingham Barton leases.

Flooding and waterlogging of marsh land would have been a constant problem, as gradients are slight and lack of scour leads to the silting up of ditches in addition to colonisation by weeds, trampling by livestock and the variable efficiency of farmers in clearing the ditches for which they were responsible. The importance of scouring ditches in the late 15th and early 16th centuries is recognised in the Barton leases discussed earlier, which state that the Archbishop retained responsibility for the maintenance of sewers and ditches in his demesne marshlands.¹⁴

Names of marshes and fields in the marshes provide further evidence of early medieval and continuing 13th century drainage. In a 1285 survey of the Wingham Barton, the names of eight parcels of marshland included the element "hop" or "hope", meaning a piece of enclosed dry land in the fen.¹⁵ Names, such as "culese", "oxenlese", "shepeswelle" and "couflete" imply marshland grazing. Continuing 13th century drainage is suggested by 58 acres called the new marsh.¹⁶ Names incorporating the word "kete" appear in documents concerning the marsh such as "ketetun" and "northkete" the "Kethouse" and "Ketmarsh".¹⁷ Its derivation might lie in "key", a Kentish dialect word for wharf, or "kite", a marsh frequented by kites. A more convincing derivation is "key", meaning a low island, which fits the evolving topography of the area, in which the natural drainage channels formed mud banks, separated by shallow beds of the streams flowing north from springs in the uplands area of Ash (area C) to the River Stour.¹⁸ The Ketemmarsh was likely to be one of these "fossilised" banks. References from wills suggest that the Ketemmarsh was near Flete on the east side of Goldstone.¹⁹

Region B includes the low lying wet marshy land, which lay along the banks of rivers and streams, principally in Wingham along the "brok" or Wingham River and the streams that run into it from chalk springs to the south. This type of land existed as a band across the centre of Wingham and lay on each side of the village street. Brokland also existed in the parish of Ash, along the southern boundary and along streams flowing north and east into the marshes, such as at Horsbroke near the hamlet of Ware. In documents concerning or referring to landholding, rentals, surveys, wills and title deeds, this land was called "brokland" or "a brok" and occasionally

"water" and is clearly distinguished from the marsh of the Ash levels, Region A, which was called "marisco" or "marsh". The brokland to the south of the marsh and in parts of central Wingham was tidal before the building of sea walls as is indicated by the extent of alluvial soils along the beds of these rivers and streams, but the principal feature of the brokland is running fresh water streams. The brokland in Wingham was drained with dykes and ditches by 1842, when the Tithe Map was drawn up, no earlier map of this area surviving.²⁰ However, references in Wingham manor court rolls, demesne leases and wills of local inhabitants to water courses, dykes and clearing of ditches indicate considerable drainage by the 15th century, to provide rough grazing land and meadow. Alders and ash trees growing on banks of rivers and streams provided a further valuable resource. Brokland has been singled out from the surrounding regions because of its importance in the economic structure of this area.

Region C contains the uplands, north of "the brok", principally in the parish of Ash, but including land in Wingham, referred to in Wingham manorial terms as "the North part of Wingham".²¹ Region C is bounded by low lying wet lands, the uplands of neighbouring parishes of Elmestone, Preston and Stourmouth to the north west not included in this study, would form an additional part of this pays. Although rising above the marsh and broklans, its height does not reach more than 100 feet and is punctuated by streams and brokland running down to the marsh and River Stour. The landscape here is open to the north sea, and by the 20th century, denuded of woodland, although it is probable that woodland was not very extensive in this region from medieval times. Insufficient evidence exists as to the extent of woodland patches on small estates in the parish of Ash by the 16th century, but only eight acres of Wingham Manor demesne woodland at Bute (Beolt) Wood existed in this region.²² Alder and Ash trees along streams and scrubby thorn bushes towards and on the edge of the marsh, reflected in place names such as Ash, Nash, Warehawthorn and Thornty were the sources of wood for the smaller farmer. The principal characteristic of Region C is the fertility of its soil, classed as Grade 1 agricultural land.²³ The Thanet beds on the perimeter and brickearths on higher ground with occasional patches of sand and silt, give rise to light, fertile, free draining and easily cultivated soils, most suitable for

cereal growing and supports present day intensive market gardening.

Region D, lying immediately south of "the brok" in the southern part of the parish of Wingham and northern part of the parish of Goodnestone combines some of the characteristics of regions C and E, its underlying geology being a variation on both of those areas. Its soils are predominantly brickearths with patches of Thanet beds, but the underlying chalk surfaces in streaks into the brickearths in the south and the land rises to a height of 100 feet. This region combines fertility of soil with open "champagne" type country producing ideal arable land; chalk downland and coombs become more prominent as it merges into region E. That this was the early medieval landscape is indicated by 13th century field names, many of which end in "(v)feld", "land" and "doun", such as "bradeveld", "hertesland" and "denenesdoun".²⁴ Arable crops still predominate here with some market gardening at Crokeshard, for example.

Region E lies south of Region D and includes the major part of the parishes of Goodnestone and Nonington. The land of this region lies between 100-200 feet and continues the open "champagne" type country, with undulating downland. However, this region is less fertile than C or D, for here chalk predominates streaked with patches of surface brickearth; this is corn and sheep country. It is a dry area, with wells and boreholes needed in the chalk for water supply. During the 18th century, the landscape of region E was modified by the creation of parklands by gentry families. These parks accompanied the rebuilding and extension of their country houses, at the centre of estates, which had their origins in the 15th and 16th centuries and earlier. 18th century parklands existed at Goodnestone, Fredville, Easole and also at Dene, on the borders of regions D and E.

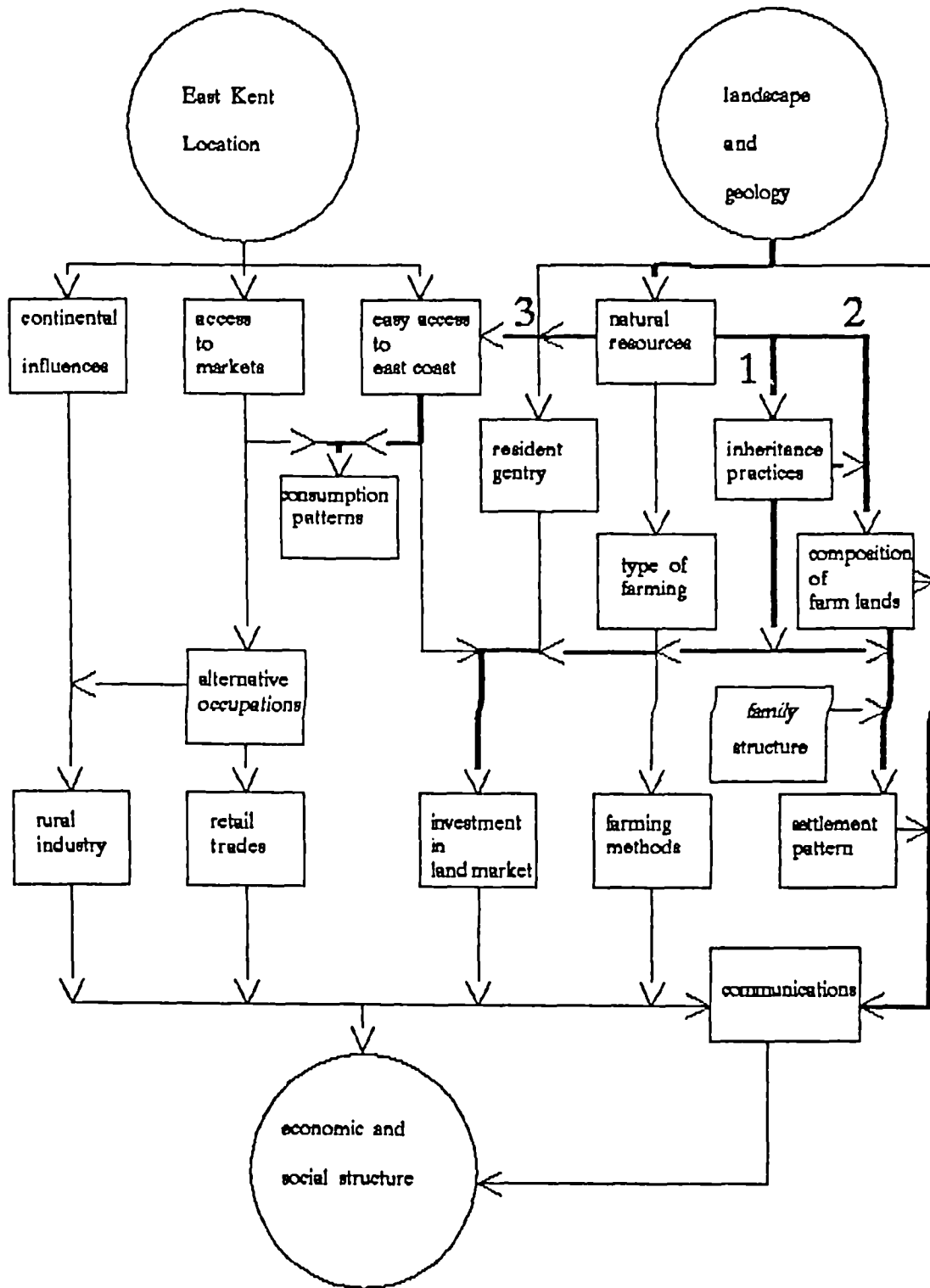
Region F, containing the parish of Womenswold and the southern quarter of Nonington parish, continues the downland landscape rising from 225 to 400 feet on the southern boundary. This region contained extensive woodland, which was part of the ancient "wald" of East Kent.²⁵ In addition to the chalk with brickearth streaks, clay with flints appear particularly towards the southernmost boundary of the parish of Womenswold which supported Woolwich (Wolwyche) Wood, which contained 296 acres of Wingham Manor demesne woodland in 1285.²⁶ This wood

existed into the 20th century. Gruddeswood or Curlswood in Nonington, also demesne woodland of Wingham Manor, was cleared by the 19th century. The site of this wood park is now obliterated by the modern village of Aylesham, built to house the miners and their families from the neighbouring coal mine at Snowdown, built in the early years of the 20th century. 13th century place names in this region indicate continued clearance of woodland and the existence of woodland pasture from the early Middle Ages; names such as Wymlingeswealde, corrupted to Womenswold since 1800, Denne, Oxenden, and Leighfield. Smaller patches of woodland such as Oxney Wood, have survived, but the feature of the landscape which is so suggestive of assarting is the shaws or shaves, thin strips of woodland around the edges of fields. This is a typical feature of other formerly wooded areas in Kent.²⁷

It was postulated at the beginning of this chapter that topography, landscape and geology in conjunction with the wider geographical situation in this case in East Kent, have an underpinning role, crucial to the understanding of the social and economic structure of the area. Chart 1.1 sets up a model of how these underlying topographical factors might feed into this system.

While some lines of connection are self evident, in order to illustrate this model and to show the interaction with other significant factors, selected aspects are explained further. To take for example flow line 1, landscape and geology leading to the nature of natural resources available in a region, leading into inheritance practices; the fertility of the land in Region A, primarily in the parish of Ash was a factor in the desire of farmers to settle all or as many as possible of their sons on the land; for it is possible that a family could manage on less of this good land, particularly if access to brokland is taken into account. Customary practices of partible inheritance, the law of gavelkind, with the availability of land were important factors here, but the nature of the land might contribute to the endurance of these customs, which in turn would affect the land market. Flow line 2, suggests that the type of natural resources available would influence the composition and shape of farm and estate lands. An estate or farm may have a compact form with all the necessary resources, arable land, grazing and pasture, woodland within a limited area.

Chart 1.1
 A model of the effect of topography on rural social
 and economic structure



Conversely acquiring varying resources might lead to dispersed farm lands or detached parcels, particularly in regard to marshland and woodland, which was concentrated in specific areas. Other factors such as population pressures, the land market, lordship and inheritance customs would modify the effect of topography. The nature of the farm layout affected the working patterns of individuals and the communications across the area, roads and drove roads for example. These in turn affect and are affected by local settlement pattern. Flow line 3 illustrates the importance of the wider geographical factor. Woodland was sparse as a natural resource in Region C. However, easy access to the port of Sandwich and to the east coast traffic in coal led to household consumption of imported coal for many 16th and early 17th century Ash families.

CHAPTER 2

LORDSHIP AND TENURIAL STRUCTURE

Introduction

Medieval lordship in East Kent was characterised by two principal features: first, the pre-eminence of ecclesiastical lordship, namely that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Christchurch Priory of Canterbury and to a lesser extent, St. Augustine's Abbey of Canterbury and other religious foundations, both local and more distant; second, in terms of scale, it was the small estate both lay and ecclesiastical, which was the dominant form in this area. Wingham Manor was typical of the first characteristic, being within the lordship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but not of the second, for its large size was exceptional in an area of small estates; it was an aberration from the norm. However, by the early 17th century it had disintegrated and the East Kent norm, the small estate, emerged as the pattern of lordship also in the Wingham area.

In the light of this argument, this chapter looks at the origins of the estate at Wingham and sets it among its neighbours at the time of Domesday. The structure of the estate by the 13th century and its relationship to surrounding estates is examined; areas of mixed lordship and units of secondary lordship are identified. *A detailed account follows of the subsequent history until the 17th century of lordship units, both overlordship and secondary lordship above the level of the customary tenant land, which will be considered more fully in Chapters 3 and 4.* Certain themes emerge as the account proceeds: the long period of ecclesiastical overlordship until post reformation demise and change; the topographical basis underlying the structure of the Wingham estate and its neighbours; the fragmentation of the units, which structure the estate; the timing of this process and the importance of the leasing of demesnes, use of ecclesiastical and royal patronage, which weakened and distanced overlordship at the end of the period increasing gentrification. The concluding section sets up a model to explain this system and the dynamics of change, with some comparisons within and without Kent.

Origins and Structure

The Archbishop of Canterbury's estate at Wingham was a giant both among his estates in Kent and within the surrounding area. It was assessed at 40 sulungs before 1066 and 35 sulungs at the time of the Domesday Book, its nearest rival among the Archbishop's manors in Kent being Aldington, assessed at 21 sulungs in 1066 and 18 sulungs in 1086 and in the neighbourhood in East Kent, two manors situated across the River Stour in Thanet, Monkton and Minster in the lordship of Christchurch Priory and St. Augustine's Abbey respectively.¹ Wingham had early settlement origins and was a primary Jutish river estate.² It was one of a number of large old English estates that were transferred from royal to ecclesiastical lordship, and it has been suggested that Wingham was among a group of early bequests made to the church at Canterbury by King Aethelberht of Kent and his successors in the period 597-762.³ Surrounding and abutting onto the estate at Wingham were many small estates, those to the north-west and west being principally ecclesiastical. They included Preston and Elmstone manors held by St. Augustine's monastery, Ickham and Adisham held by Christchurch Priory.⁴ To the south and east, with the exception of Christchurch Priory's manor of Eastry, there were a number of small lay manors held at Domesday in the lordship of the Bishop of Bayeux and his tenants; Barfreston, Barham, Chillenden, Easole, Eche, Hammil, Knowlton, Ringleton, Shelving, Soles and Woodnesborough, as shown in Map 2.1.⁵

By the 13th century a picture emerges of complexity in both the tenurial structure within the estate of Wingham itself and in its relationship with some of its adjacent neighbours (illustrated in Maps 2.2 and 2.3). The estate in the main was relatively compact and contained demesne land, knight's fees and customary tenant land, stretching for a total area of some twenty square miles in an inverted L shape from the River Stour on its northern boundary to Woolwich (Wolwych) Wood and Womenswold (Wymplingesweald), in the south.⁶ The demesne consisted of three parts. The principal central area of just over 1,000 acres containing arable fields and pasture, lay in concentrated blocks predominantly around the village of Wingham and included rough marshy brokland and meadow, which surrounded the streams flowing through and along the edge of this

central area.⁷ An outlying demesne manor called the Wingham Barton was situated on the edge of the Stour valley marshes on the northern margin of the estate.⁸ Demesne woodland detached from the central area was situated on the southern perimeter of the estate in two portions, Woolwich wood and Gruddeswood in the parishes of Womenswold and Nonington.⁹

Sub-infeudation had begun early, for Domesday Book records the one sulung holding of the Archbishop's knight, William of Arques at Flete and a further five of the Archbishop's men held 5½ sulungs within the manor but were not located.¹⁰ This process continued during the 11th and 12th centuries so that by the 13th century, the location of the knight's fees can be more clearly established. They were situated in 12 hamlets, many of which were in perimeter lands, particularly the four on the edge of the Stour marshes in the north at Flete, Goldstone, Knell (Lye alias Ulmes) and Goshall. Others were at Overland, Ash, and Walmestone and further south, at Ratling, Goodnestone, Dene, Twitham and Ackholt, the last four with the fee at Ash being small fees.¹¹

Customary tenant land of about 8,000 acres lay in the main beyond the central demesne in thirty five vills or hamlets, including those with knight's fee land listed above, with the exception of Goldstone, Goshall and Ratling.¹² Very small amounts of detached, outlying tenant land existed in the neighbouring parishes of Worth and Stourmouth, at Oxney in the Romney Marsh and at Sandhurst and Tenterden in the Weald of Kent.¹³ Detached marshland pasture and in particular woodland dennis in the Weald for swine pasture were features of the structure of many estates in medieval East Kent.¹⁴ Although Wingham conformed to this pattern, it had fewer outlying portions than some, such as neighbouring Eastry, as the Wingham estate contained substantial marshland grazing and some woodland within its own boundaries.¹⁵

Boundaries of lordship between Wingham and its neighbours were reasonably clear on the north and west sides of the estate, particularly where natural features delineated boundaries, as discussed in Chapter 1. However on the eastern side, boundaries of lordship did not always coincide with those of parishes and vills. In 1282, the vast parish of Wingham was divided into the five parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold and boundaries

became more or less crystallised.¹⁶ However, although the Wingham estate lay almost entirely within these five parishes and the Archbishop was the dominant lord, its boundaries did not entirely coincide with these 13th century parish boundaries, leaving some areas of mixed lordship within them in addition to those on the eastern side, as illustrated in Map 2.2. Wingham parish and probably Womenswold lay entirely within the lordship of the Archbishop. However, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and the parishes of Staple and Chillenden on the east side of Wingham Manor contained hamlets/vills where lordship was mixed. Neighbouring Adisham Manor for example, in the lordship of Christchurch Priory, was a collection of scattered parcels, resulting from sporadic donations, with its administrative centre and demesne in Adisham parish, to the west of Wingham Manor tenant land. Adisham tenant land lay in the parish of Staple to the east of Wingham with 200 acres in the vills of Shatterling, Pedding and Overland, where the Archbishop was the dominant lord.¹⁷ The parish of Staple protruded across the Wingham river (the "Brok") to include Shatterling but Pedding and Overland were in Ash parish. Further evidence of this area of mixed lordship in the 16th century is provided by some surviving fragments of papers of the Stoughton family, who owned Brook alias Moat farm in southern Ash. Edward Stoughton also had a 60 acre farm at Pedding, which included 15 acres for which he paid rent to Adisham Manor in c.1556.¹⁸ Further south, Crixhall (Crikshale) on the boundary between Goodnestone and Staple included 67 acres of Adisham tenant land but 44 acres at Crixhall Manor owed rent to Wingham Manor, listed under Twitham vill in 1460.¹⁹ Moreover, the tiny parish of Chillenden on the eastern boundary of Goodnestone and Nonington included land within both manors of Adisham and Wingham; customary land held of the manor of Adisham, amounted to some 120 acres in the 13th century and of Wingham manor, 55 acres listed in 1460.²⁰

Although Goodnestone parish was predominantly within the lordship of the Archbishop, by the 16th century, the hospitals of St. John of Northgate in Canterbury and St. Nicholas Harbledown owned land in the hamlet of Rolling.²¹ This land was called Hospital farm in the introduction to the Tithe Award of 1840 for Goodnestone and was about 83 acres.²² The parish of Nonington was more clearly divided in its lordship. Tenant land of Wingham Manor lay in the vills

of south and north Nonington (Suthnonynton, Northnonytone), Oxenden, Kittington (Kethampton), Akholt, where there was knight's fee land, and Soles.²³ The latter was a hamlet of mixed lordship, where the Bishop of Bayeux held a small manor at the time of Domesday, which by the 13th century was held by the Crevequer family by knight service.²⁴ Easole Manor, which was part of the fiefdom of the Bishop of Bayeux at Domesday lay within the parish of Nonington (and possibly in Chillenden). By the 13th century, this manor had been granted to another ecclesiastical lord, the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans in Hertfordshire, and was frequently called St. Albans alias Easole.²⁵ The introduction to the Tithe Award for Nonington refers to 360 acres, formerly part of the possessions of the the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans.²⁶ South of Easole and in Nonington parish on the boundary with Barfreston was the manor of Fredville, which is not named in Domesday Book, but could conceivably be the other half of Easole, being held by two knights of the Bishop of Bayeux.²⁷ By the 13th century, it was held of the Castle of Dover, as part of the barony of Mamimot or Saye.²⁸ It is likely that these three small estates covered no more than one quarter to one third of the parish of Nonington, leaving the Archbishop the dominant lord.

The 13th to the 17th centuries

Having established the overall pattern of Medieval lordship in the Wingham area, the subsequent history until the mid 17th century of tenurial units within the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold is examined in order to demonstrate the main thesis of this chapter; the establishment of the small estate pattern and demise of the large ecclesiastical lordship. The Wingham estate will be broken down into constituent units; those to be examined here are the central demesne and the detached woodlands, the Wingham Barton manor, the knight's fees, which will be considered individually. In addition, consideration is given to three further units outside the lordship of Wingham, notably the small estates of Easole and Fredville. The arguments for including them are; topographical, their situation within the parish of Nonington; as examples of the normal estate pattern which encircled the Wingham estate; on the grounds

that more than any of the surrounding small estates they played a role in the 16th and 17th centuries in the formation of gentry estates, which were extensively bound up with adjacent land within the lordship of Wingham.

The Wingham Estate

Effective lordship of the whole estate by the Archbishop was reduced in the years following the Norman conquest, for certain of the knight's fees, notably those established in the 11th century, Flete, Goshall, Goldstone and Ratling had become independent, mini lordships. The case is much less clear cut for the remaining fees, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The remainder of the estate, called the manor of Wingham as it appears in surviving late 15th and early 16th century court rolls, demesne leases and in the rentals and surveys of 1285 and 1460 clearly included the central demesne, detached woodland demesne, the Wingham Barton, customary tenant land, rents from outlying detached portions and some freeland, possibly connected with the later knight's fees, and discussed under those units. Lordship of Wingham Manor remained with the Archbishop of Canterbury until 1540, when Archbishop Cranmer exchanged a part of it with the crown for other lands. The part that the crown acquired was the demesne land in Wingham and Goodnestone and the rents of tenants in some of the hamlets/vills, in which tenant land lay; in the vill of Wingham, Deane and Trapham in Wingham parish, Shatterling, in Staple parish, Nash, Hodan, Pedding and Flete in Ash parish.²⁹ Although they are not included in the record of the exchange, it is clear that the Wingham Barton was also transferred to the crown and part of the demesne woodland was in crown hands by the 17th century; the evidence for this will be discussed under the account of these units in this chapter. The demesne land in Wingham and Goodnestone remained in crown hands until c.1629, when Charles 1 granted Wingham Court and demesne land to trustees for the use of the city of London, who sold it in c.1650 to Sir William Cowper, knight and baronet, whose descendant Earl Cowper still owned most of it in 1840, although profits of the courts and bailliwic, including rents were retained by the crown.³⁰ Wingham manor remained as an administrative structure, but the lands, rights and profits of lordship or

overlordship had become divided.

The central demesne and detached woodlands

A survey and rental of Wingham Manor drawn up in 1285 includes the first surviving description of the demesne, which included the chief "curia" with farm (bartona), 1062 acres of arable in named fields, 81 acres of "brokland", 20 acres of meadow, 528 acres of woodland in three woods, a total acreage of 1691, with three windmills, two water-mills and a detached demn at Sandhurst in the Weald of Kent.³¹ In 1399 an inquisition into Wingham Manor recorded 1623 acres in demesne, possibly indicating some post black death contraction.³²

By the end of the 14th century, the Archbishop had abandoned direct management of the central demesne, as in February 1397, a Richard Skipp took the lease of the demesne lands, pastures, meadows, grazing grounds, mills, with services, perquisites of court, with livestock and grain for seven years, at a farm of £80 for the first three years and £90 for the following four years.³³ This lease would appear to cover the whole demesne, excluding woodland, which was probably the pattern until about the mid 15th century. A lease of the manor for ten years to Richard Colyn, dated 1431, was comprehensive and included buildings, land, ditches, rents and customary services of tenants, rents of shops and market stalls, mills, perquisites of courts and views, with stock, namely 200 sheep, one acre of underwood in the lord's wood at Woolwich for fuel, the Archbishop reserving rights to the advowson of churches, woodland, wardship and marriage and other liberties and remained responsible for the maintenance and repairs of buildings and scouring of ditches. Richard Colyn received a suit of livery and paid an annual rent of £171-6s-8d.³⁴

During the mid 15th century, the Archbishop changed his policy of leasing the whole demesne in one block with customary rents and services to one of leasing in smaller blocks to several farmers, some stock and land leases, but with the assessed rents and services, reserved to the Archbishop.³⁵ Copies of the Archbishop's leases in the registers of Christchurch Priory from 1441 to the 1540's, although not a complete series and variable in detail, reveal the pattern of

leasing which was continued in general until the 1540's.³⁶ Later changes in lordship did not fundamentally affect this policy of leasing the demesnes in blocks, although there was probably some further small fragmentation. For the later period, evidence was obtained from surviving surveys and rentals of c.1559, 1609 and 1631 and from crown leases.³⁷ The evidence of demesne leasing is presented in Appendix 1 and the approximate location of the blocks of demesne fields leased is shown in Map 2.4.

The 15th century evidence is thin, but it is likely that the leases to William Balle in 1439 and 1441, and to John Eldergate in 1464 were for the principal block, Area 1, which included the manor house with courtyard, outbuildings, surrounding mud walls and land but without acreages or field names specified, with the exception of one acre of woodland for fuel at Woolwich in the parish of Womenswold.³⁸ The assumption that these leases were for part of the demesne only is based on the annual rent of £24 per annum in 1464, which was the rent for Area 1, with named fields in the 1528 and 1539 leases.³⁹ William Balle's rent in 1439 and 1441 was recorded as 24 marks, which seems an unlikely drop, but could possibly be explained by a clerk's error in copying. The most detailed description of the acreages and field names of Area 1 is provided by the survey of c.1559 (presented in Map 2.4), which listed about 500 acres in fields lying to the south of the manor house in Wingham and part of Goodnestone parishes.⁴⁰ In 1547, Area 5, which contained 63 acres in Proggedown and Bishopsdown and which had previously been leased separately, was leased with Area 1 to the same farmer. The acreages of the fields given in c1559 do not correspond exactly with those of the 17th century surveys, where acreages are rounded up and only 516 acres can be accounted for compared with 563 in 1559, although in general the field names correspond (see Appendix 1).⁴¹ The one acre of woodland at Woolwich, called Duskyn, remained in the lease with the manor house throughout. By the early 17th century as indicated in the 1608/9 surveys, it was the practice to sublet Area 1 of the demesne in two large blocks, one of which included the manor farmstead, and five other smaller parcels; the two blocks are identified as areas 1A and 1B on Map 2.4. This was the pattern inherited by William Cowper in the 1650's.⁴²

Records of leases do not appear to survive for the 15th century for the other seven areas of the demesne, but the division of the demesne into these blocks remained constant throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries, with the exception of Area 5, discussed with Area 1 (Appendix 1). Area 2 was called "the north part of Wingham" and contained in 1559, 214 acres north of the Wingham River in Wingham parish with the seven acres of Bute wood (Beolt Wood), the only demesne woodland in the parish of Wingham.⁴³ In 1609, a further 13 acres at Creeking in the western part of Ash parish was included and the lease totalled 230 acres.⁴⁴ Area 3, 40 acres in three fields, was probably situated in the centre of the parish, north of Wingham church and west of the main village street, for Northcourt field was adjacent to the churchyard. Area 4 comprised fields of marsh and downland at Blackney to the north and south of the Wingham river, on the east side of the parish and containing in total 150-180 acres. Area 6, in 1559, included the two water mills, Wingham Mill north of the manor house and Dudmill at Wenderton, with their ponds and mill houses, fishing rights for four miles of river, with "le clinke", probably the site of the pound and eight acres of land with an additional 14 acres listed in the 17th century.⁴⁵ Area 7 of seven acres in Goodnestone parish, not identified, was leased separately to Goodnestone inhabitants.⁴⁶

Area 8 contained that part of the demesne woodland which was leased called Woolwich wood in Womenswold parish, at the southern boundary of that parish and the manor (Map 2.3). The acreage was not listed but was likely to have remained at the 251 acres listed in 1399, and included in the lease in 1647 was a three roomed house with its arable land presumably for the woodman and his family.⁴⁷ Evidence, although thin, suggests that Gruddeswood, the other demesne woodland, also called a park, remained in the Archbishop's hands, for in 1522, a John Bowle was granted the office of custodian of Gruddeswood within the manor of Wingham for life, for which he received two pence a day.⁴⁸ The most likely identification of Gruddeswood is the area in Nonington called Bishop's Curlswood Park, which appears as an abutment on an estate map of Ratling Manor dated 1637 (Map 2.6).⁴⁹ The terms of the lease of Woolwich Wood to Henry and Jane Bingham in 1542 suggest that the Archbishop wished to maintain some control

of this valuable resource. He reserved 30 acres of okelast standing for timber to himself, but the lessees could fell and carry away all other wood and underwood at seasonable and reasonable times, on condition that they did not fell more that 100 acres within any six years and that they fenced the woods at their own expense against cattle and beasts.⁵⁰

The amount of detail as to terms of leases varies and only a very general picture can be suggested. It is clear that the Archbishop maintained a direct capital investment in and responsibility for maintenance and repairs at least until the mid 16th century. During the 15th century, the farmer of Area 1 which included the manor house, received the lord's suit of livery and the lease included a stock of 200 sheep, but in 1528, a stock of 60 quarters of wheat only is mentioned.⁵¹ By 1539, the stock and land lease seems to have been abandoned, but the lessee had to provide hospitality, meat and drink for the lord's officers on business to the manor with fodder for their horses.⁵² A stock of 30 quarters of wheat formed part of the lease of Area 4, the land at Blackney in and before 1524, but there are no references to stock with land in the leases of the remaining areas.⁵³ No further reference in leases after 1431 is made to the rents of shops and shambles in Wingham and it is likely that from the later 15th century, they were absorbed in the rents of tenants reserved to the lord. However, other aspects of local marketing appear to have been within the Archbishop's lordship, and these were also leased. The profits of Goodnestone fair were leased with Area 1 throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries, as were the profits of the fair at Staple, leased with Area 4, at Blackney on the Staple side of Wingham parish.⁵⁴

Length of leases varied from between 10 and 60 years, but during the second half of the 16th century, were for no less than 21 years. Rents appear to have been low and static throughout most of the period, but the crown leases for the late 16th century for the north part of Wingham and the Blackney area indicate entry fines being used, which was also likely earlier (see Appendix 1).⁵⁵ Some change in policy was apparent by the mid 17th century, which may have resulted from the change of landownership from the crown to William Cowper, but it only affected one area of the demesne. The whole of Area 1, of 563 acres which had been leased at £27-3s-4d in 1559, was carrying a higher annual rent with lower entry fines. This area had been divided

further by the early 17th century; the part of Area 1, which included the manorial building which formed Wingham Court farm, containing 312 acres was leased at £129-4s-0d per annum with a 20 shilling entry fine, whilst the block of 180 acres was leased at £72 per annum.⁵⁶ Length of leases were shorter, ranging from 6, 15 to 29 years. While this change may represent an attempt by a landowner to increase income from the Wingham demesne, it was the middle landlord, who stood to benefit most. These rents amounted to 8 shillings an acre, while other parts of the demesne lands were sublet at between 13 and 24 shillings an acre in the mid 17th century.⁵⁷ Subletting at more realistic rents was unlikely to be new in the 17th century,

To whom was the demesne of Wingham Manor leased? The compiling of biographical material about the farmers of the demesne throws further light on the divisions of this large, medieval, ecclesiastical, agricultural unit from the 15th to the 17th centuries. The size of some of the demesne parcels would attract only farmers of some substance, gentry and the better off yeomen. These families, particularly local gentry resident in the parish of Wingham, featured increasingly during the period studied, illustrating the contribution made by the leasing of the demesne parcels to the emergence of the small estate in the Wingham area. Patronage, both ecclesiastical and royal lay behind choice of some farmers, with some evidence of townsmen interest in the 15th century.

Of the 15th century lessees Richard Colyn and William Balle could not be traced. John Oxenden was a member of a gentry family of importance and substantial landholding within Wingham manor throughout the period studied and was listed among the tenants in an agreement over rent with Archbishop Chichele.⁵⁸ John Eldergate was also a customary tenant of Wingham Manor with 104 acres in the vill of Pedding in Staple parish, about two miles from Wingham manor house. However, Eldergate was not a local name, and he may have had Canterbury connections.⁵⁹

The leases from Archbishops Warham and Cranmer reveal local gentle families, such as Thomas Beke, yeoman of Goodnestone who was the farmer of Area 1 in 1528, Julyan Goodnestone, widow of William Goodnestone with substantial land and resident in Goodnestone parish

and Clement and Alice Roberts of Wingham.⁶⁰ Among the early 16th century yeomen was Simon Gason of Ash, probably the testator of 1527, who held the lease of the north part of Wingham manor before 1528; a John Gason, possibly Simon's father, held the lease of the Wingham Barton in 1502.⁶¹ This family, who had held tenant land on the western side of Ash parish, in Hodan, Ware, Overland and Westmarsh since the 15th century was prospering and well regarded in Ash, for Gasons appear in nine wills as executors or witnesses between 1485 and 1520.⁶² John and Robert Tropham, father and son were yeomen of Uffington in Goodnestone parish; John held the lease of part of Area 5 called Proggesdown situated on the boundary between Goodnestone and Wingham at some time during the late 15th century, and Robert was farmer of the whole 63 acres in the 1530's and 1540's (see Appendix 1).⁶³

Ecclesiastical patronage was evident in choice of lessees. Archbishop Warham used demesne leases at Wingham to promote his family interests. Area 3, Northcourt and Grenefield containing 40 acres near Wingham churchyard, seems to have been held by the Provosts of Wingham College and in 1520 the provost was William Warham, nephew of the Archbishop.⁶⁴ In 1532, Richard Warham, brother of the archbishop held the lease of the two water mills, Area 6, which that family retained throughout the 16th century.⁶⁵ Archbishop Warham had given his brother land at Wenderton, where that family lived until 1609, and Dudmill was situated on the river on the northern boundary of that land.⁶⁶

The disposal of patronage by Archbishop Cranmer to his officials was evident in the leases held by Henry Bingham and his wife Jane, and by the Nevinson family. In 1536 Henry Bingham, gentleman, called servant to the Archbishop was granted the lease of Wingham Manor that is the manor house, buildings and land which made up Area 1 from 1539 for 30 years.⁶⁷ In addition, in 1539 he was granted the lease of Northcourt, Grenefield and Grenefield meadow (Area 3) for 41 years and in 1542, the lease of demesne woodland, Woolwich Wood in Womenswold for 56 years.⁶⁸ It appears that in 1536, Henry held the office of receiver general for Aldington and Wingham manors and was collector of all rents and services for Wingham manor for life.⁶⁹ He was clearly an influential man within the Archbishop's service, and was rewarded further for his ser-

vices in 1538 with a 99 year lease of Dover Priory lands, which he sublet with the tithes, but he was resident at Wingham Manor, as the Dover Priory indenture calls him gentleman of Wingham.⁷⁰ In 1547, the lease of Area 1 of Wingham demesne lands was granted to Christopher Nevinson, Cranmer's commissary and consistory court judge, who had come to Canterbury from Cumberland in 1538.⁷¹

During the later 16th and early 17th centuries, after the exchange with the crown, the leases remain for a much longer period with one family, continuing from one generation to the next, which had not been the case earlier. *Not only does this period feature control over a longer period of time by a few families, but also predominantly by East Kent gentry, mostly resident in the Wingham locality.* Area 1, remained with the Nevinson family, for example through at least three generations from 1547 until the mid 1620's, as part of their estate building in East Kent.⁷² From the mid 16th century onwards, the lease of Area 4, 150-180 acres at Blackney with the profits of Staple fair remained with three generations of the Oxenden family of Wingham, William of Brook and brother Henry of Dene, his son Edward who inherited Brook from his uncle and his grandson William.⁷³ The Oxenden land at Brook lay adjacent to the east of this area of demesne and to the west of Staple village and the lease provided a natural extension of the estate at Brook. Furthermore, part of the Nevinson lease was sublet to Henry Oxenden of Dene in 1609 and probably earlier and was in the hands of his son Sir James in 1631; this part contained c.160 acres at Neavy (Needby), Crockshard and Hartesland field, which bordered on the Oxenden estate at Dene, partly identified in Area 1B on Map 2.4.⁷⁴

The Palmer family of Wingham, who bought Wingham College in 1553 after the dissolution, is an example of a gentry family, who acquired demesne leases to extend their new small estate in Wingham and who had acquired three of the demesne leases by the mid 17th century. From about 1559 onwards, Thomas Palmer, gentleman and his son, Thomas, held the lease of Area 3, 40 acres at Northcourt and Grenefield, adjacent to the churchyard and probably to the Provost's house, where he lived, on the east side of the Wingham church.⁷⁵ After the Warhams of Wenderton, discussed earlier, sold up, their lease of Area 6, the two water mills and land, was

also taken by Thomas Palmer, which gave him control of Wingham mill, which was near the church and his land, with fishing rights in the river there.⁷⁶ By 1631, Sir Roger Palmer had extended his control of demesne leases with the acquisition of the lease of the North Part of Wingham, containing c.214 acres, previously held by the Jones family.⁷⁷

By the mid 17th century, the demesne woodland in Womenswold, namely Woolwich wood, leased to Henry Bingham in 1542, was leased to the gentry family, Boys of Fredville in Nonington, for in 1647, John Boys sold the lease of Woolwich (Wooledge) Wood, granted to Sir Edward (his father) by the Archbishop in 1638, to Richard Trotter of Grays Inn, for £485 at an annual rent of £5, as in 1542.⁷⁸

Although demesne lessees were predominantly members of the local gentry by the mid 17th century, leases did form the basis of yeoman farms during the second half of the 16th and early 17th century. Henry Jones and his son John held the lease of the North Part of Wingham, Area 2, from the mid 16th century until 1615, when John Jones bequeathed it to his son Thomas.⁷⁹ As with the Gason family, discussed earlier, this lease played a part in the upward social mobility of this family, as Thomas, son of John, calling himself gentleman of Bekesbourne, sold his house at Blackney at some time between 1615 and 1628 to Thomas Palmer, who also acquired his demesne lease.⁸⁰ Subletting by the Nevinsons fragmented their portion of the demesne (Area 1), as shown in Appendix 1. A substantial farm based on the manor house called Wingham Court with 253 acres was sublet to yeoman William Austen by 1609 and subsequently to his son Bartholomew until his death in 1621.⁸¹ A William Austen, probably nephew of Bartholomew was holding the lease in the mid 17th century.⁸² Other smaller parcels of land were sublet to Wingham yeomen, John Morris, Henry Parker and Matthew Atwell and to gentleman Thomas Palmer with 180 acres sublet to Henry Oxenden mentioned above. The 46 acres at Uffington in Goodnestone were let to Abraham Raynar, yeoman of Nonington, who was the farmer of neighbouring Ratling Court, also owned by Sir Roger Nevinson.⁸³ Roger, son of Sir Roger Nevinson does not seem to have renewed the Wingham demesne lease after the death of his father in 1624, and the evidence from Boycott's survey of 1631, although fragmentary, suggests that the middle-

man was removed and the leases made direct to the subtenants, which may in part explain the rental policy discussed earlier.⁸⁴ The will of Edmund Cooper, yeoman of Wingham, who held the lease of Wingham Court in 1550 suggests that the Nevinsons had always sublet, but it is not clear whether fragmentation of the demesne by subleasing occurred earlier, for theoretically, under the Archbishop's lordship, farmers were forbidden to sublet except in the case of some mills.⁸⁵

The policy of the crown in bestowing patronage or rewards to courtiers, officials and servants by granting them parts of Wingham demesne land contributed to the weakening of lordship over the manor. For example, in 1577, John Kinge of Clontarfe, Dublin, granted to Henry Jones the lease of the North part of Wingham, which had been granted direct from the crown in 1570.⁸⁶ In 1577, John Webbe granted to Thomas Mercer, yeoman of London and Thomas Keyes, cook to the Queen, for 21 years from 1587, Dudmill and Wingham mill with "Le clinke" and eight acres, which he held by patent in 1577.⁸⁷

The Wingham Barton

The changes observed in the principal central area of the demesne of Wingham Manor were apparent in the second demesne area, the Wingham Barton, namely leasing from the 15th century, the use of leases in the disposal of patronage to courtiers and local gentry and fragmentation of this demesne manor. As at Wingham, fragmentation increased in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, particularly in regard to the extensive marshland component of the Barton. A combination of factors were likely to be responsible; the new royal lordship and middlemen lessees were less committed to maintaining the integrity of the manor as an economic unit in a period of population growth and demand for rich grazing in a commercially orientated area of the country, for letting and subletting smaller parcels at economic rents was profitable. This leasing policy of middle landlords in which the Barton marsh was divided and sublet contributed to the creation of a pattern of upland and downland farms and gentry estates with detached marshland along this stretch of the Ash levels, the prevailing pattern by the 19th century and examined in Chapter 4.

The Wingham Barton was situated on the western side of Ash at the edge of the marshes

which lay for almost a mile north to the River Stour, forming the northern parish boundary of Ash (Maps 2.3 and 2.5). To the west are the villages and parishes of Stourmouth, Elmstone and Preston, which were not within the Archbishop's lordship, to the south east is the hamlet of Ware with a population of small farmers in the 15th century who were customary tenants of Wingham manor. To the immediate north of the Barton manor house and curia is the hamlet of Westmarsh, on the edge of the marsh, where about thirty acres of customary tenant land was held of the Barton in addition to houses and small plots paying rent to Wingham Manor.⁸⁸ The close proximity to marshland at a distance of about five miles from Wingham, its drainage and exploitation principally for sheep farming was the reason for the Archbishop siting a separate demesne manor here. The survey of c.1285 lists 140 acres of land, arable and pasture in five fields, a windmill, rents of the tenants sited near the marsh and 600 acres of marshland in 23 parcels.⁸⁹ By 1399, the marshland had increased to 960 acres, probably a result of continuing drainage in the earlier part of the 14th century.⁹⁰ Only a small amount of customary tenant land was attached to the Barton, amounting to c.30 acres, for which there were six customary tenants, paying small rents on small enclosed areas of pasture of between one and seven acres by 1608.⁹¹

In 1399, the Archbishop had not yet abandoned direct management of the Barton, as he had at Wingham, for the Archbishop's reeve accounted to the King for the stock there.⁹² However by 1430, the Barton was leased as a unit to a James Hope, who appears named as a tenant in the contemporary agreement on rents between the Archbishop Chichele and the more important tenants of Wingham Manor and was listed holding nine acres in Ware and Westmarsh in 1460.⁹³ This lease, held for a 12 year term and renewed in 1442, was a stock and grain lease and included the arable lands, marshes, meadows and assessed rents, but the Archbishop continued to be responsible for the maintenance and repairs of the house, walls, gates, fences, sheepfolds, ditches and embankments in the marsh and the windmill. The lessee received a suit of the Archbishop's livery. Rent was £50 in 1431 and slightly less at £48-13s-4d, in 1442.⁹⁴ In 1479, the Barton was leased to local inhabitants, in two parts, each for a 12 year term, at rents of £25 for each half, under the same terms as in 1442. William Peny received the livery, the arable lands and part of

the marsh, while Roger Collard took the remaining marshland with the salt pans in the salt marsh on the opposite side of the sea wall.⁹⁵ William Peny was probably the Ash testator of 1495, who held 17 acres of land as tenant of Wingham Manor in the vills of Overland, Nash Hodan and Ware, to the south of the Barton.⁹⁶ The Penys were a resident farming family in this area until the mid 16th century. Roger Collard was probably the son of Thomas Collard of Preston, with relatives in Ash, who in 1460 had 1½ acres in a croft in Estmarsh, where the marshland he leased from the Barton was situated.⁹⁷ However, in 1502, the Barton was leased once again as a whole for £50 rent to John Gason, whose family was discussed earlier.⁹⁸

During the 16th and early 17th centuries the Archbishop and the crown, after the exchange, favoured gentlemen and courtiers in their leasing policy, creating non resident middlemen, as was the case at Wingham manor. In 1523, it was leased to Robert Toke, gentleman for a 15 year term and in 1539 and 1544 to Thomas Digges esq., possibly of the family of Digges Court in Barham, for a long lease of 99 years, at the same annual rent of £50.⁹⁹ In 1539, the Archbishop was still responsible for maintenance, but it is not clear whether stock was included. Another lease is recorded in 1566 to Dorothy Broadabelt, gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber for 99 years.¹⁰⁰ However, in 1608, when a survey of the Wingham Barton Manor was made, the lease was in two parts again, one half leased to Dudley Digges, knight and the other to Peter Manwood, son of Sir Roger Manwood, prominent local lawyer and gentleman of Canterbury and Sandwich, who appears to have held this lease by letters patent in 1580.¹⁰¹

Subletting to local families by these gentle and courtly lessees was likely, and evidence is dependent on chance references in wills and inventories, but it does suggest some fragmentation. It would appear that the marsh was let separately from the arable demesne by the mid 16th century, for in 1555, Stephen Hougham bequeathed the remaining years of the lease of the Westmarsh that he held of the Archbishop of Canterbury to his son and son in law, but in 1560, another William Pennye called "of Barton", probably the testator of 1564, was overseer and witness to three Ash testators of which one was William Austen of Bardingstreet, which lay between Westmarsh and Paramore Street, along the edge of the marsh.¹⁰² In 1589, Vincent St.Nicholas,

gentleman of Hodan (about a mile south of the Barton) held a lease of some parcels of Wingham Barton and listed in the inventory of John Wyge of Ash in 1605, was a lease of certain parcels of land belonging to Wingham Barton, including the Kete and Ketemarsh and The Foremarsh.¹⁰³ In 1585, John Omer, son of Richard Omer of the neighbouring hamlet of Ware, held a stock and land lease from Sir Roger Manwood; the location of the land is not stated, but it is likely to have been his part of the Wingham Barton demesne land.¹⁰⁴

The survey, dated 1608, gives a more comprehensive view of the Barton's tenants and sub tenants who are listed in Appendix 2. It indicates how the Wingham Barton, once managed as a large medieval manorial enterprise had become fragmented to create one yeoman farm based on the manorial curia, while portions of marshland of varying acreages and the 66 acres of arable at Warehawthorn were let to local husbandmen of Ash and more distant parishes.¹⁰⁵ The part of the demesne leased to Dudley Digges was sublet to Humphrey Gardiner of Ash, yeoman and willmaker of 1616, who occupied the manor house with outbuildings and orchard, with 78 acres of adjacent arable and pasture and a further 52 acres of fresh marshland.¹⁰⁶ A further 184 acres of fresh marsh were divided into parcels and sublet by Dudley Digges to 15 tenants, some of whom were local Ash farmers, such as the Sollies from Hodan, but others were from parishes south of Ash, including Edward Boys, gentleman, of Nonington.¹⁰⁷ Peter Manwood's half of the Barton lease which contained 548 acres, was divided into six blocks, four of which were sublet, five were fresh marsh and one was the remaining 68 acres of arable.¹⁰⁸ Tenants, John Parker, Robert Mett and James Chapman, were probably members of the Ash families of those names, and Andrew Jode was probably of the Jode family of Stourmouth, the parish adjacent to the west of the Barton Marshes.¹⁰⁹

By the reign of Charles II, the Wingham Barton had been permanently divided in terms of ownership, for the Barton manor house and farm, was sold separately by the crown to Vincent Denne, gentleman of Wenderton in Wingham, who settled the farmhouse and 154 acres of land on his nephew Thomas Denne of Canterbury in 1666.¹¹⁰

Using Ash parish Tithe Map and Award of 1843, alongside the information given in the

leases and 1608 rental, it is possible to locate the demesne land approximately on the ground (Map 2.5). The largest demesne arable field was Westfield, of 62 acres in 1285, 73 acres in 1523, when in a lease it was described as lying to the east of the Barton and west of Elmstone and Preston.¹¹¹ By 1608, it has changed its name to Bartonfield, but is clearly the same area as the field of that name on the Tithe map of 1843.¹¹² The manor house and outbuildings, surrounded by mud walls in 1523 were situated on the east of the road to the hamlet of Westmarsh with an adjacent field, Estfield of 12-14 acres called Bynfield in 1608.¹¹³ The other half of the arable demesne called Westhawthornfield containing 66 acres in 1523, was detached, situated half a mile to the west, with the King's highway from Ware to Goldstone on its south boundary and Bullockslese, part of the Barton marshland to the north, abutting onto the demesne arable of Goldstone on its eastern side.¹¹⁴ This field can probably be identified approximately with the area near the present day farm of Warehorn. In 1608 this area leased to Peter Manwood, sublet to James Chapman, the occupier, was described as arable land and pasture together, containing 68 acres.¹¹⁵

Identification and location of the Barton marshland is approximate, for the Tithe Map and Award retains few of the marsh names occurring in the documents used. It included all the marsh called the Westmarsh, which stretched from the River Stour on the north to the edge of the upland at Westmarsh hamlet, Warehawthorn and including Bullockslese marsh to the south; from the Elmstone and Preston marshes and parish boundaries on the East at least as far west as the Cornerdrove wall.¹¹⁶ The eastern boundary is uncertain but the marshes of the Barton included some land to the east of the Cornerdrove wall as far as the Fleming marsh to the west of Goldstone Drove, where customary tenants of both Wingham and Goldstone manors held land.¹¹⁷ Barton demesne marshland was also situated about three miles distant, on the eastern side of Ash parish in the "Estmarshe" and "Ketemarsh", near Flete and Richborough. In 1285, 31 acres lay "atte bergh" and 19 acres at "Oxenlese and Ketetun"; the lease to Roger Collarde in 1476 included the "Estmarshe" which was probably the Wingham Barton demesne marshland, called the Ketemarsh, leased to John Wyge in 1605 and containing 70 acres when leased to Thomas Manwood in 1608.¹¹⁸ The quality of land varies across the marsh, which may account for the initial location

of the Barton marshes, retaining some of the best land in the Flete area within the Archbishop's demesne.

The Knight's Fee Lands

Tracing the land of the Archbishop's knights at Wingham from the conquest to the 17th century was not straightforward. Some fees are more easily distinguishable, while others remain more obscure, as surviving documentation is thin and variable. Although most surviving topographical evidence was post 1450 and only partial, it does argue for topographical cohesion and consolidated demesnes on the knight's fees, as in Wingham manor itself. Only in the case of Flete and possibly Goodnestone, did lordship reside in one family for a length of time, more nearly comparable to that of the Archbishop at Wingham. Lordship of the fees was generally more changeable. Some knight's fees retained some identity as units, into the early modern period, although possibly in a fossilised form, as the core of small estates of local gentry with resident lords or detached units, part of scattered estates of absentee lords, some distant some based in East Kent. As with their parent estate of Wingham, some division into smaller units occurred, although the timing of fragmentation, both in ownership and leasing varied from one to another. Increasing fragmentation of whole economic units in the 16th and 17th century by the leasing of parcels of marshland of the knight's fees in Ash was occurring, as at the Barton. The later established and smaller fees, did not seem to become distinct and separate from the parent estate and their subsequent history is less clearly definable. Ultimately, their consolidation with customary tenant land of Wingham manor and land of other lordships made them an element in the formation of small gentry estates.

The Domesday Book and R.F.H. DuBoulay's account of the early medieval knight's fees was used as a starting point in order to identify these lands and chart their history in local documents from 15th to the 17th centuries.¹¹⁹ Each individual knight's fee will be considered, beginning with those in the marshland north of Wingham estate and proceeding southwards. Before proceeding with these accounts, some definition of terminology and discussion of the problems

involved in identification is necessary. It is clear that in the century or so following the conquest, these fees were land held of the Archbishop in return for the provision of a knight or part of a knight, later commuted, with inheritance by primogeniture. It would seem that initially one knight's fee was equivalent to one sulung, the Kentish unit of land valuation, probably representing a variable measure of land depending on the soil quality. However, the amount of land supporting each fee was likely to have increased from the 11th century, particularly that of the fees in the parish of Ash, such as Flete, Goldstone and Goshall, which were in place by the 13th century in order to drain and exploit the contiguous marshland of the Stour valley, to the east of the Archbishop's demesne manor of the Wingham Barton.

These fees or sections of them would seem to survive into the 16th century as manors, a term, which needs some clarification. The word "manor" often seems to be used loosely in documents of the 15th-17th centuries and may mean no more than a principal house or farmstead, with a substantial holding of land, but a more precise definition should apply, namely, the land held by a lord, who let portions to his tenants, based on mutual rights, customs and obligations, which were regulated through the manorial courts that the lord was usually empowered to hold for the manor. This definition applies to the lordship of the Archbishop at Wingham, but does it hold good for the knight's fees? The evidence from Domesday Book does indicate that the initial fees including Flete had small numbers of subordinate tenants.¹²⁰ Surviving 15th century rentals and court rolls for Goldstone and Lyes alias Ulmes and a 17th century rent book for Ratling does indicate small amounts of customary tenant land owing rents to those manors, whose lords held courts, which registered the transfer of land and dues owed on them.¹²¹ Insufficient evidence had survived to show how far this manorial system applied to the remaining knight's fees.

Problems arose in tracing these lands, in matching a 16th century manor with the original knight's fee, as type of tenure is not necessarily stated in wills or title deeds. Not only was the loose use of the term "manor" a problem, but estates, often called manors, were being created from customary land of Wingham manor from the 13th century, once sub-infeudation had stopped; notably Hillscourt (Helles) and Moland in Ash and Rolling in Goodnestone. The 13th

and 15th century rentals of Wingham Manor are primarily concerned with customary tenant land, but in a few cases the term "terre libre" is used, and it is not at all clear whether this term refers to land held by knight service. These problems are commented on in greater detail in discussing particular knight's fees.

The history of the knight's fee at Flete in the parish of Ash, held by William of Arques in 1086 is complex and illustrates both long term lordship and fragmentation. By the early 12th century there were two separate fees, one held by Robert de Vere and Elias Beauchamp and a half fee held by Thomas Pincerna.¹²² The former fee, called the manor of Flete, remained in the lordship of the de Vere family, earls of Oxford, until the late 16th century, except for a short period in the reigns of the Yorkists Edward IV and Richard III, when John de Vere was attainted for his support of the Lancastrians.¹²³ A fine of 1548 records John, Earl of Oxford holding the manor of Flete.¹²⁴ An undated list of Ash landholders of c.1540 includes the Earl of Oxford with 928 acres at Flete, which he let to tenants; 225 acres were let to John Broke of Flete, 4 acres to Sylvester Gold, yeoman of Ash, and 657 acres to Thomas Hamon, gentleman of St. Albans in Nonington, confirmed by his will of 1566, in which he bequeathed the lease of his marsh called Flete and uplands held of the Earl of Oxford to his son Edward.¹²⁵ The de Vere family was probably the only example of the greater medieval aristocracy with land in the Wingham area. Flete was an outpost in their greater estate and it is unlikely that the de Vere family were ever resident there. An indenture of 1579 marked the end of their lordship at Flete with the sale of the manor to Edward Hamon (Hammond), who had held the lease and Edward Boys, the younger, gentleman of Nonington and William Boys of Denton.¹²⁶ The Hammonds remained the owners of their part called Guston Flete, until c.1670. In 1633, Anthony Hammond was seized of this manor, which consisted of the farmstead, ie. messuage, barn, stable, orchard, garden, with 60 acres of arable, 13 acres of pasture and 17 acres of marsh, let as a farm to Ash yeoman, Stephen Solley and 107 acres of fresh marsh in 16 parcels lying together.¹²⁷ In 1665, Anthony's son possessed the manor of Guston Flete, but by 1676 had sold it to William Turner, a doctor of divinity at Oxford.¹²⁸

The lordship of the other half fee at Flete changed hands more frequently, being variously

known as "Butlers Flete" after the family called Boteler, who held it in the 13th and 14th centuries, and "Latimer's Flete" or "Neville's Flete" named after those families who held it in the 15th century. There would seem to have been rapid change in ownership in the early 16th century, from Sir William Cromer, to John Isaak, gentleman of Patricbourne, whose family were customary tenants of Wingham Manor in 1460 and held Ratling manor later in the 16th century.¹²⁹ Neville's Flete was acquired by Sir John Fogge of Repton in Ashford, who in c.1540 was listed among landholders in the parish of Ash, with 398 acres at Flete, which he let to tenants.¹³⁰ In the later 16th and early 17th century, the evidence is fragmentary, but ownership was probably more local. In his will of 1555, Stephen Hougham, yeoman of Ash, bequeathed the rents of Neville's Flete to his son, Richard, but in 1575 Christopher Harflete, a member of the gentry family of Ash, bequeathed his right and title in the manor of Flete to his son, Thomas.¹³¹ In 1582, ninety acres of the marshland of the manor of Neville's Flete was willed by John Broke, gentleman of Brookstreet, near Flete, to his godson, John Huffeham, son of Richard.¹³²

The geographical location of these knight's fees is not clear, as often no distinction was made between the two separate parts, the name "manor of Flete" being used for both. The description of the one knight's fee at Flete in 1179, locates the farm and fields closely to the environs of Richborough Castle, which probably formed the initial core of the Domesday fee.¹³³ 19th century maps show four farms, Richborough farm and Richborough Castle farm and to the west, Flete farm and Guston farm all situated on rising land, which had formed islands above the marshes, which suggests a fanning out of reclamation from Richborough west towards Goldstone. Nevilles Flete has been identified as Flete farm lying between Guston and Richborough and adjacent to Guston.¹³⁴ The Flete Valley lying north of the farms towards the river Stour was the marshland belonging to these Flete manors.

The knight's fee at Goshall, situated in south east Ash on the edge of the marsh, called Goshall Valley which stretches towards Richborough, appears to have been held at times with Goldstone and Knell, during the 12th to the 14th centuries, by a family named "de Goshall".¹³⁵ In 1346, the widow of John of Goshall held 1½ fees in Goshall and Goldstone, and it is probably

her husband who lies buried in Ash church. During the 15th century, members of the St. Nicholas family, a local armigerous family with branches in Thanet and at the hamlet of Hodan in Ash, were resident lords of Goshall. With the death of Roger St. Nicholas in 1484, Goshall was inherited by his daughter, Elizabeth and her husband, John Dynley of Charlton, Worcestershire, and it remained in that family until the end of the 16th century, when it was alienated to John Roper of Linsted.¹³⁶ By the 1540's, Goshall was leased in two parts, to local yeoman of Ash; 160 acres to John Broke, probably the yeoman of Brooke Street half a mile north of Goshall, and 103 acres at Goshall, including the house and farm to William Hole.¹³⁷ This division remained at least until the early 17th century.¹³⁸

Goldstone or Goldanstone in Ash was knight's fee land on the edge of the marshes to the west of Flete, and will be considered together with Knell, also called Nelmys, Ulmes, Lyes or Lee, situated about half a mile south of Goldstone. It is not entirely clear what proportion of knight's fee land was held here, as Goldstone was held with Goshall, but in 1210-1212, ½ fee at Knell was held by William de Ulmis.¹³⁹ In 1486, an inquisition stated that the manor of Goldstone was held by knight service, three quarters of the Archbishop and one quarter of the Earl of Oxford, but an inquisition of 1508 described it as one fee of the Archbishop.¹⁴⁰ As Goldstone Manor, this knight's fee retained a unity and identity, for a much longer period than the fee at Flete, for it was not divided in ownership until the 18th century. Knell (Lye alias Ulmes) lost its separate identity much earlier. During the 15th century, lordship of Goldstone and Knell lay with the Clitherow family, Richard and his son Roger. In his will dated 1454/5, Roger bequeathed his manor of Nelmys to his daughter Elianore; her husband, John Norreys, was in possession until 1485 and their son John until 1507.¹⁴¹

By the mid 16th century, lordship of Goldstone and Knell (Lye alias Ulmes) was owned by a gentry family called Engham, originally from Woodchurch, who acquired land at Goodnestone, probably by marriage, from the family of Godneston, at the end of Henry VIII's reign.¹⁴² In his will of 1556, Thomas Engham of Goodnestone bequeathed to his son Thomas at 21 years, his manor of Goldstone and Lyes and all land in Ash.¹⁴³ Sir Thomas Engham of Goodnestone, who

died in 1621, made no mention of Goldstone in his will, however, it would seem that this family continued to own it in the early 17th century, as in an indenture, dated 1628, Thomas's son and heir, Edward of Goodnestone, granted to his second son, Edward, the manor of Goldstone, which contained the site and manor house of Goldstone and about 180 acres, including a wood of three acres.¹⁴⁴ Among the owners of abutments to the parcels of land was Thomas Engham, who was possibly Edward's eldest son, suggesting a division in inheritance of the manor. However, this division was temporary, as the whole manor of Goldstone was acquired during Charles 11's reign by Sir William Wilde, baronet, recorder and member of Parliament for the city of London, whose family continued to own it until in 1754, when the rights and title to Goldstone were divided by his descendants.¹⁴⁵

An estate map of Goldstone Manor drawn in 1753, prior to the division, indicates an estate of 528 acres, probably representing the original demesne lands, but with additional purchases.¹⁴⁶ No medieval survey of the demesne has survived to chart earlier changes, but the manor had increased from 450 acres when it was sold by the Enghams in the mid 17th century.¹⁴⁷ The estate formed a compact long wedge shape stretching from the upland arable fields, out onto the marshes; just under half of the acreage in 1753 being marshland.

In the 15th century, Goldstone had a resident lord in the Clitherow family, but it is unlikely that the Enghams were resident in the 16th and 17th centuries, as Thomas inherited Goodnestone, and his brother, Edward, Oldcourt in Nonington.¹⁴⁸ Evidence of leasing is thin, but by the end of the century, Goldstone was leased to John Gibbes, gentleman of Ash, son of Thomas Gibbes of Moat farm Ash, a minor parochial gentry family. John Gibbes was resident at Goldstone and was farming it, for at his death in 1599, he owed Thomas Engham £60 for half a year's farm of the manor of Goldstone, and £60 for farm of the house and lands where he dwelt.¹⁴⁹ It is not clear what portion of the demesne this lease covered but by the mid 17th century fragmentation in practice had occurred, mirroring the process at Wingham, as the demesne was leased as two farms: the manor house with 315 acres; a farm of 91 acres, two smallholdings and two separate parcels of marsh.¹⁵⁰ The demesne at Knell, probably small in area, was leased by the late 15th century.¹⁵¹

Surviving court rolls and rent books for the manors of Goldstone and Knell (Lyes alias Ulmes) for some years between 1478 and 1507 indicate that both manors had tenants owing suit of court and fealty and paying rents on land in the neighbourhood within a radius of a mile of the demesne, as far east as Cowper Street, Sandhills and Copstreet, south in Nellfield and Ash, west in Ware, Bardingstreet and north in the Fleming marsh.¹⁵² These hamlets and fields were areas of mixed lordship, where Ash husbandmen were simultaneously tenants of Wingham and Goldstone manors in the 15th century.¹⁵³

A further half knight's fee was held in Ash in 1171 by Richard Musard, and by the tenants of a Richard Musard in 1253-4.¹⁵⁴ However, the subsequent history of this land is obscure, but it may have formed the core of the manor of Chilton and Chequer held by the Septvans family in the 15th century.

In the 12th and early 13th centuries, a knight's fee at Overland on the western uplands of the parish of Ash, was held of the Archbishop by Robert de Valognes and by 1253, by a Kentish knightly family, the Criolls, variously spelt Keriell or Crull.¹⁵⁵ By the 14th century, in 1310, the manor of Overland was held by William and Juliana de Leyburne, and was inherited by their daughter, Juliana de Leyburne, the so called the Infanta of Kent.¹⁵⁶ At her death, the manor escheated to the crown and was subsequently granted to the Priory of Chiltern Langley in Hertfordshire, with whom it remained until its dissolution.¹⁵⁷ Henry V¹¹¹ granted it to his attorney general, Sir Walter Hendley, afterwards inherited by his daughters, in addition to lands in neighbouring Elmstone, Preston and Walmestone in Wingham and in west Kent.¹⁵⁸ During the 17th century, Overland Manor was in the hands of a John Ward of London, whose family possessed it until 1713, when the manor with 113 acres of demesne in Ash and 20 acres of marsh in Preston was bought by William Cowper.¹⁵⁹ The type of tenure by which this manor was held is unclear, and may have included land held by a mixture of tenures, for an inquisition post mortem of 1310 refers to the manor as held of the archbishop by service of 10 shillings per annum and suit of the hundred court of Wingham.¹⁶⁰ However, in an early 15th century agreement on rents of customary tenants of Wingham Manor, the Manor of Overland is listed separately under the vill of

Overland, for 54 acres of gavelkind, paying 9s-4d.¹⁶¹ Leasing to local farmers was likely, as seen elsewhere, but the evidence exists for only the second half of the 16th century, when Mrs. Elizabeth Fane, daughter of Walter Hendley, leased the manor to Ash yeoman, Henry Jones and his son, James.¹⁶²

Knight's fee land held of the Archbishop existed at Walmestone in the north east of the parish of Wingham (now in Preston), for in 1210-12, half a fee was held there by Simon de Vielme stone and during the 13th and 14th century, one fee was held there by the Septvans family, a Kentish knightly family of substance.¹⁶³ In the mid 15th century, a Canterbury townsman, William Bonnington had invested in this land at Walmestone, but ordered it to be sold in his will in 1464.¹⁶⁴ During Henry VIII's reign it was acquired by royal official, Walter Hendley, along with Overland.¹⁶⁵ In c.1540, he held 360 acres altogether at Walmestone, all of which was let to tenants, who were local men; the largest block was of 268 acres let to Edmund Solley, yeoman of Wingham.¹⁶⁶ Early 17th century deeds establish ownership of Walmestone in 1620 with the Earl of Castlehaven, who had acquired the manor through marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Benedict Barnham, alderman of London, who owned it at the end of the 16th century. The property included the capital messuage or farm, one other messuage, windmill, barn, two gardens, two orchards and 250 acres of land, probably arable, 10 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 10 acres of wood and 24 acres of marsh.¹⁶⁷ However, during the 1620's the process of division began, as Earl Castlehaven sold off parcels of Walmestone lands: 42 acres to John Smith, clerk of Wickhambreux in 1621; in 1620 for a sum of £275, 27 acres which included a 10 acre field called "knight's fee close" to William Solley and in 1620 a parcel of pasture was sold to Barbara Creake of Wingham for £60-13s-4d.¹⁶⁸

The knight's fees at Twitham and Dene, hamlets situated in the south of Wingham parish, proved difficult to trace. Moreover, it is not clear whether the knight's fee land was the same land called "terre libre" in the rentals for Wingham manor of 1284/5 and 1460, although it is likely to be so and that evidence has been included in this account. By 1210, the half knight's fee held by William de Denum in 1171 had become divided into three, one quarter held by Robert de Creve-

quer, one eighth by Bertram de Criol and another eighth by Richard de Deane.¹⁶⁹ It would seem likely that by the 15th century, these fragmented fees along with much of the customary tenant land of Wingham manor at Dene had become absorbed into the estate of the Oxenden family of Dene, which continued until the 19th century.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, in Twitham, the survival of a unit of land held by knight service seems doubtful. A quarter of a knight's fee was held there in 1279 by Alan de Twitham, which might be the 300 acres of free land held by Alan de Twitham listed in the rental of 1284/5.¹⁷¹ In 1346 the fee was held by the heirs of Theobald de Twitham, but in an inquisition post mortem in 1351, the manor of Twitham formerly held by Alan de Twitham owed homage, fealty, service of 60 shillings and suit of court to the manor of Wingham.¹⁷² Division had occurred by the 15th century as the rental of Wingham Manor dated 1460, lists Richard Oxenden and John Bylles with 91 acres each of free land at Twitham.¹⁷³ It is likely that the Oxenden holding at Twitham became absorbed into their estate, that part at Brook in Wingham immediately to the north of Twitham, which was inherited by William Oxenden in the 16th century.

In Goodnestone the quarter of a knight's fee was held by the family "de Godneston" or "Godwinstone" throughout the middle ages until the death of Julyan, widow of William Godneston, gentleman willmaker of 1524; an example of unusual continuity of holding and residence.¹⁷⁴ John of Godneston held an unnamed quarter fee in Wingham hundred in 1253, Thomas de Godwinston held a quarter fee in Goodnestone in 1279, held by the heirs of Thomas of Godneston in 1346.¹⁷⁵ The relationship between this knight's fee land and the holding of Thomas of Godwynestone in the 1285 rental of Wingham manor is puzzling, for he is listed holding 418 acres in Goodnestone, for which he owed the customary service of a "shireland". This shireland was a peculiar and special tenure at Wingham and appears in connection with eleven large holdings mostly over 150 acres listed in 1285, sometimes in addition to other customary services but two, such as that of Alan of Twitham discussed above were called free land. The shireland service involved presentation of accidental deaths and cases concerning the king's crown at the shire court.¹⁷⁶ This tenurial distinction was not made in the 1460 rental, which lists a John de Godnes-

ton holding 364 acres of free land at Goodnestone and Ratling for which he paid rent of £3-8s-10d.¹⁷⁷ In 1511, a John Godneston bequeathed his lands in Goodnestone to his son William, who left the profits of all lands and "my manor place where I now dwell" to his widow, Julyan, in 1524, and at her death to his daughter, Jane.¹⁷⁸

It seems that this estate, which probably had the knight's fee as its core, was then divided between the gentry family of Engham from Woodchurch, who acquired part by a marriage with the Godnestons and a yeoman family called Henecre, both of whom were resident in Goodnestone in the 16th century.¹⁷⁹ In 1556, Thomas Engham willed his manor of Goodnestone to his son, Thomas and this family were resident there until at least 1621 when Sir Thomas Engham of Goodnestone died, his son and heir Edward, moving to Canterbury by his death in 1635.¹⁸⁰ In 1559, John Henecre bequeathed his manor of Goodnestone to his nephew, William, who would appear to have been resident, as he was named in five inventories and wills of Goodnestone inhabitants between 1567 and 1597.¹⁸¹ In a deed dated 1611, William Henneker granted his manor of Goodnestone to his son Joseph, and in 1638, a Joseph Henecre of Minster, Thanet, granted all the manor of Goodnestone called Goodnestone Court, where he lately dwelt, to his son, William.¹⁸²

One knight's fee within the Archbishop's lordship of Wingham at Ratling in the parish of Nonington, retained some sense of identity until the 17th century, despite its later role as a unit within scattered estates of several East Kent gentlemen and townsmen. The fee at Ratling was held by a family called "de Ratling" for most of the period from the 11th to the 14th century. In 1093-6, Godfrey of Ratling answered for one fee and in 1171 one knight was owed from Ratling by Alan de Ratling.¹⁸³ This family continued with this fee until the mid 14th century, except for a period in the late 13th century, when in 1279, the fee was divided between Ralph Perot and Richard of Dover, but in 1346, the fee was held by the heirs of two sisters, Sarah and Margery of Ratling.¹⁸⁴ However, by the mid 15th century it was held by John Isaak, probably gentleman of Patrixbourne, who was commissioner of the peace and army for Kent from 1461-7.¹⁸⁵ A John Isaak of Patrixbourne was a tenant of customary land of Wingham Manor in 1460 with 43 acres in Ash parish and 9½ acres in Ackholt, and 5 acres in Bonnington, neighbouring hamlets to

Ratling.¹⁸⁶ At the marriage of his son, James, John had enfeoffed one quarter of the manor of Ratling, which had previously been John Hall's to his own use and three quarters as a jointure for his daughter in law, Benedicta, daughter of John of Guildford; both parts were held of the Archbishop by knight service of the manor of Wingham. James died in 1501, leaving his widow and a son William aged 19 years and it would seem likely that he inherited both parts of the manor.¹⁸⁷

Although evidence is sparse for the 16th century, some surviving deeds from the Cowper collection throw some interesting light on this estate. At some time during the 16th century, an Edward Isaak had sold the manor to John Borger, gentleman of Dover, who in 1570 sold the manor of Ratling called Ratling Court with 15 acres of marshland in Wickhambreux valley to Sir Roger Nevinson gentleman of Eastry for £524. Sir Roger was the lessee of the section of Wingham manor demesne lands which included the manor house, discussed earlier in this chapter. In 1631, Thomas Nevinson, son and heir of Roger, sold the manor with the marshland for £1470 to William Cowper of London, who shortly after acquired the whole of the Wingham demesne lands from the crown.¹⁸⁸

An estate map of Ratling Court manor dated 1637 reveals the location and compact nature of the demesne land of this manor as indicated in Map 2.6.¹⁸⁹ Its elongated triangular shape is bounded by roads with Ratling Street to the east. The road from Adisham to Goodnestone to the north is deeply hollowed and marks the parish boundary between Goodnestone and Nonington, whilst the road along the west was the boundary between the lordships of the Archbishop in Wingham and of Christchurch Priory of Canterbury in Adisham, and to the south east lay the (arch)bishop's Curlswood Park (possibly Gruddeswood). This estate map evidence would confirm a 13th century description. In 1286, when Archbishop Peckham founded Wingham College, the first prebend was endowed with the tithes of the demesne lands of Ratling Manor at Nonington, which was then described as lying between the highway which led from Gruddeswood to the cross of Nonington and from there to the estate of the Prior of Adisham.¹⁹⁰ This knight's fee seems to have maintained continuity as a geographical unit until the 17th century.

The survival of the rent book for Ratling Manor for the years 1604-1637, kept by Robert Grove, yeoman of Eastry and steward to Sir Roger Nevinson, documents the functioning of this unit as a manor, although forming part of a larger gentry estate.¹⁹¹ A court baron was held once a year, and rents were listed for tenant holdings, sixteen in 1604, mostly of small acreage and nine with houses, which were situated on both sides of Ratling Street (Map 2.6). The tenant fields on the west of Ratling street were adjacent to the demesne and shown on the 1637 Estate map.

Evidence for the leasing of the demesne survives only for a short period, when it was leased by Sir Roger Nevinson in the early 17th century to Abraham Raynar(d), yeoman of Nonington and after his death in 1612 to his son, Edward, who died in 1618.¹⁹² The demesne lands were a compact block and contained the house and farmstead and 273 acres 3 roods 39 perches of land, which included 37 acres 1 rood 12 perches of woodland. All the fields were enclosed and separated from the tenant land. A brief entry in the records of the court baron held on 21 December 1608 refers to the boundary between the demesne and tenant land;

"Abraham Raynard tenant of the manor lands having eared two furrows on his side of the ancient linch which divideth the manor lands and the tenement and that Edward Simons having eared one furrow on his side that they both leave it of his ancient bredth by the next court".¹⁹³

It is uncertain as to whether the detached marshland at Wickhambreux was initially part of the knight's fee or a later addition. By 1631, it was leased separately to Nicholas Marsh, probably of Wickhambreux.¹⁹⁴

The remaining eighth of a knight's fee in Nonington at Ackholt, recorded in 1346 held by the heirs of Thomas of Ackholt is elusive.¹⁹⁵ The 1460 rental for Wingham Manor lists the Archbishop holding 274 acres of free land in Ackholt vill, but the identity of this land is not at all certain, but is likely because of the acreage, to refer to the demesne woodland, "Gruddeswood", retained in demesne as a park and was situated between Ratling and Ackholt farm.¹⁹⁶ In 1537, the Archbishop leased for 99 years certain lands in Nonington parish to William Boys, gentleman, which included 124 acres at Ackholt, some of which was described as within the bounds and precincts of the manor of Ackholt, which is most likely to be the 125 acres of customary land listed

in the Archbishop's hands in 1460.¹⁹⁷ This inconclusive evidence would suggest that such a small fee had lost its separate identity, as had those at Dene in Wingham, discussed earlier and for the archbishop's administrative purposes was grouped with customary land. Certainly, by the late 16th and early 17th century, most if not all land at Ackholt was absorbed into the estate of the Boys family of Fredville in Nonington, and sublet as a yeoman farm. In 1596, Edward Boys bequeathed the profits of his lease of Ackholt manor to his godson, Edward.¹⁹⁸ By 1626, when Sir Edward Boys drew up a marriage settlement on his grandson, John, this land had increased to 224 acres, including 30 acres of woodland called Ackholt Wood, retained by Edward Boys in his own hands and Ackholt farm of 194 acres, let to Edmund Rigden, yeoman of Nonington.¹⁹⁹

Units of lordship outside the Estate at Wingham

The three small estates outside of the Archbishop of Canterbury's lordship, which formed small topographically consolidated blocks in the parish of Nonington, were similar to the knight's fees, to which they were comparable in size, in that by the late 16th century, these lands formed the core of the estates of two prominent gentry families of East Kent.

The manor of Fredville was situated in the south east corner of Nonington parish bordering onto the parishes of Womenswold, Barfreston, Shepherdsweil and Eythorne (Map 2.2). The history of lordship here was characterised by change until the 16th century. From the 13th century, Fredville manor was held of Dover Castle as part of the barony of Mamimot or Saye by a John Colkin and his descendants. During the 15th century, it passed through the hands of several families; a Thomas Charleton held it briefly at the turn of the 15th century and sold it c.1400-1401 to John Quadring, whose family were in possession until about the 1460's.²⁰⁰ Members of this family were customary tenants of Wingham Manor in the 15th century as a Richard Quadring is listed in 1460 with a holding of 144 acres, mostly situated in Nonington and was one of the group of the Archbishop's substantial tenants of Wingham manor who signed an agreement over rents in the mid 15th century.²⁰¹ By marriage, Fredville passed to Richard Dryland, who sold it to John Nethersole. The Nethersoles were a prominent Kent family and this branch had an estate at Neth-

ersole in Womenswold as tenants of Wingham Manor, with a holding of 315 acres in 1460 and John Nethersole, senior and junior were also among the group of the Archbishop's tenants mentioned above.²⁰² In 1484/5, Fredville was conveyed to William Boys of Bonnington in the parish of Goodnestone, who in 1507 willed his lands in Nonington to his son John, from whom descended the Boys family, who were resident lords of Fredville until the later 17th century.²⁰³ When sold in the latter half of the 17th century, the extent of the manor of Fredville covered c.380 acres, which probably represents the demesne area of the medieval manor.²⁰⁴ It is likely that tenant land existed at Frogham, a neighbouring hamlet, but its extent is an unknown quantity.

The manor of Soles, which had been held by the Crevequer family in the 13th century by knight service and in the 15th century by a family called Litchfield, also came into the hands of John Boys of Nonington in Henry V11's reign and became incorporated into this family estate.²⁰⁵

On the north eastern corner of Nonington parish, covering an area of 360 acres, lay the manor of St. Albans or Easole/Eswelle, which experienced greater continuity in lordship, having since the 12th century formed part of the possessions of the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans, Hertford, hence its name. In 1538/9, after the dissolution of the abbey, the manor with its lands were sold to Sir Christopher Hales, master of the rolls, whose heirs sold it to the Culpepper family of Bedgebery.²⁰⁶ During the early 16th century, the manor was leased to the Hammond family of Nonington, who were in occupation in 1525 and who subsequently bought it from the Culpeppers in Mary's reign, remaining the owners until the mid 19th century.²⁰⁷ During the 16th century, this manor became the core of a gentry estate, which spread out to include neighbouring land of other lordships in Nonington and Chillenden.²⁰⁸ The demesne land lay consolidated in a block as indicated by an estate map of 1640, but the extent of tenant land is not known but was probably small.²⁰⁹

The area of land outside the Archbishop's lordship in the parish of Goodnestone, in the lordship of the hospitals of St. John at Northgate, Canterbury and St. Nicholas at Harbledown, also became the core of later small gentry estates, although remaining in that lordship beyond the Reformation. It was situated at Rolling in the parish of Goodnestone and contained c.80-90 acres

(Map 2.2). Wills of local inhabitants provide evidence of the leasing of this land to gentlemen and yeomen farmers and indicate that this land or some of it was called "Taburneys or Tabberdes" in the 16th century. In 1536, Thomas Hammond, possibly brother of John Hammond of Nonington, bequeathed "the occupying of Taburneys during my lease" to Thomas Richard, his executor.²¹⁰ Thomas took on the lease, for in 1543 he bequeathed

"my lease and 7 years of the tenement and land called Tabberdes which I hold of demise of the Hospital of St. John, Northgate, Canterbury, and St. Nicholas at Harbledown"

to his wife, Margaret, until his sons reached 21 years.²¹¹ The Richards were a minor parochial gentry family, resident at Rolling to the later 17th century. John Richards in 1609 left his mansion house in Rolling, where he lived to his grandson Henry and the residue of his lands to his other grandson, Gabriel.²¹² John was also a tenant of Wingham manor at Rolling and held land in the neighbouring hamlets of Twitham and Crixhall.²¹³ There may have been some division in the early 17th century, for in 1621, Bartholomew Austen of Wingham also held a lease of a house and lands at Rolling from St. John's Hospital, probably formerly held by his deceased brother, William Austen of Goodnestone.²¹⁴ However, by the end of the 17th century, 88 acres in Rolling was leased by the Prior and Brothers of St. Nicholas Harbledown to the Hammond family again.²¹⁵

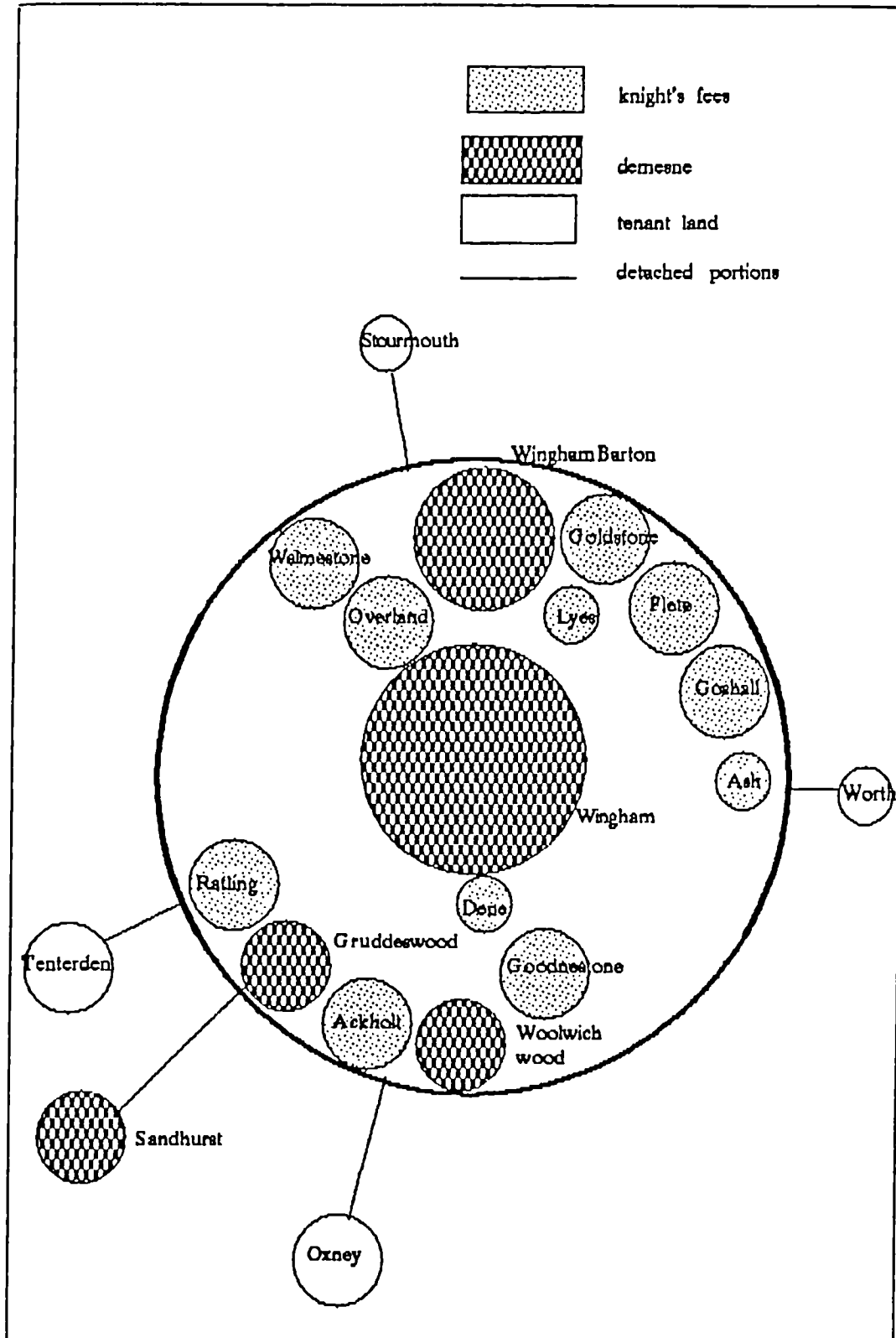
Some Conclusions

The initial suggestion at the beginning of this chapter was that Wingham Manor was an aberration in the dominant form of medieval lordship in East Kent, which was one of small estates, both lay and ecclesiastical. It could be argued that it marked an intrusion of ecclesiastical lordship which distorted the dominant system for a long period. However, during this time, the dominant form was eating away at this large lordship so that by the beginning of the 17th century, the normal pattern of small estates had reasserted itself; in reality seen as increasing gentrification and a remote and distant overlordship.

What was the *raison d'être* for this aberrant form of lordship that was Wingham manor? It lies principally in the topography of the area, the exploitation of its natural resources and development of its economic potential. Capital investment on the scale required could only be provided by large scale lordship. The adoption of a model for the structure of this estate, as represented in Chart 2.1, goes some way towards an explanation.

The model is a centrifugal one; a large central, consolidated demesne with manorial headquarters, surrounded by a layer of customary tenant land, with an outer perimeter of satellites, which included two blocks of demesne woodland and a demesne marshland manor and the knight's fees. Beyond the edge lies the myriad of small and dispersed estates, such as the two included in this study, Fredville and Easole alias St. Albans. One could in addition add distant stars, the dennis at Sandhurst and Tenterden and marshland at Oxney. If this model is considered in the light of the discussion of topography in Chapter 1, it is clear that there is some correlation between the structure of the manor and the distribution of topographical areas as illustrated in Map 1.3. The central demesne included fertile arable land and a substantial area of brokland in the centre of Wingham parish; customary tenant land in the middle layer was primarily arable interspersed with smaller broklands, while the outer layer in the north was marshland and in the south, woodland. The most important projects involving capital investment in this area in the centuries following the Norman conquest and as population expanded, included the reclamation and drainage of the wetlands, the salt marshes of the south east part of the Wantsum Channel and the broklands running through the northern part of this estate and particularly through the central area of Wingham parish. The initial investment in walls and continuing investment in maintenance of ditches, sewers and embankments in these wetlands by the Archbishop from the 13th to the 16th century was described in Chapter 1. The other principal capital outlay was in clearance of the woodland in the southern part. This capital investment in exploitation of wetland and woodland extended the economic potential of this estate beyond that of the primary arable settlement of the initial Jutish river estate at Wingham and first wave of farmstead settlements beyond, to open up rich marshland and brokland grazing, extend downland arable pasture, while retaining some

Chart 2.1
The structure of the Wingham estate; a model



woodland resources. It created an estate economy of greater diversity by the 13th century and with greater potential to exploit the commercial advantages of its position in East Kent.

To return to the model, the origins of the central consolidated demesne may lie in the nature of early Jutish settlement here and proximity to river transport, but these demesne lands by the 13th century included much of the drained brokland that existed in the centre, dividing the arable fields into two halves. Capital expenditure on drainage ditches and bridges in central Wingham would not only have expanded the nature of demesne farming there, but also facilitated the development of the village/small town in the market area, north of the manorial curia, with small tenements, shops and attached land in the surrounding brok, as described in Chapter 7 of this thesis. Tenant land lay in the main in the surrounding primary colonised arable with small brooks, which could be managed with smaller scale investment, followed by some later colonised land further out, such as on the downs at Kittington in south Nonington.

However, how can the satellite structures at the perimeter of the estate be accounted for? Investment in the reclamation of the Wantsum Channel/Stour valley marshlands in the parish of Ash can be seen in the satellite demesne manor of the Wingham Barton containing just under 1,000 acres of marshland by the 14th century. But the capital costs of reclamation of the total c.3-4,000 acres of marshland would have been considerable and it might be postulated that beyond a certain point, it was not worth while for an ecclesiastical lord to engage in direct development of the marshlands. Limitation on the Archbishop's resources and a need to share the costs of reclamation must be the principal reason for the offloading of this development with the initial creation of satellite knight's fees such as those at Flete, Goldstone and Goshall and probably Knell (Lyes alias Ulmes) along the edge of the marshlands. This pattern may be applied to the development of the woodland on the southern perimeter of the estate. This led to the existence of detached demesne woodland satellites at Woolwich and Gruddeswood, while it is likely that the purpose of the satellite knight's fee at Ratling and possibly at Ackholt were a sharing of initial woodland clearance schemes.

While this model with its topographical implications goes a long way to explaining much of

the satellite periphery, particularly in the initial period after the Norman conquest, it does not account for the creation of the knight's fees notably Overland on the uplands in Ash and later creations at Walmestone, Dene and Goodnestone nor entirely the existence of some 13th century small knightly estates in customary tenant land, such as at Helles in the parish of Ash or the shireland estates discussed earlier.²¹⁶ Perhaps this has to be seen as part of the long term trend towards the re-establishment of the norm pattern of small estates, which emerges as dominant by the 17th century. What are the dynamics of this, the reasons for change and reassertion of the small estate pattern? The key lies in demographic and market forces operating over a long period, but also with greater intensity particularly in the 16th century, where the effects of Reformation politics contributed to the process. The small estate form crept in from the perimeter towards the centre, made possible by the availability of customary tenant land resulting from high mortality and population contraction in the late 14th and 15th centuries. The evidence for this is discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 and explains the creation of the Oxenden estate at Dene and Brook in Wingham for example. Lower population levels and corresponding scarcity of labour, particularly the hired "famuli" common on the Archbishop's estates, was likely to be a major factor in the relatively early withdrawal from direct management of such a large central demesne, which was heavily dependent on the "famuli" or farm servant for its husbandry.²¹⁷ The fragmenting of consolidated demesnes by leasing in blocks from the mid 15th century brought about the completion of the process in which the small estate form emerged in the central part of the lordship, in the parish of Wingham itself by the early 17th century. Small landowners such as the Oxendens were in a position to take advantage of such a market in leased land. Demesne leases contributed to the rise in prosperity and upward social mobility of some yeoman families into the gentry; thus reinforcing the small estate pattern. The existence of small gentry estates comprising customary land and demesne leases in the 15th and 16th centuries was not peculiar to Wingham and was a pattern found on other ecclesiastical estates in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.²¹⁸ However, in this area of East Kent, it should be seen as a stage in a much broader and longer term process.

Reformation politics also hastened the resurgence of the small estate at the expense of the

great ecclesiastical lordship, in fact tolled its death knell. The use of patronage in disposing of demesne leases and other lands within their gift by Archbishops Warham and Cranmer appear to be an exercise in ecclesiastical and seigneurial strength, but at the same time brought about the construction of new small estates, as in the case of the Nevinson family and extension of others as in the case of the Warhams. The demise of this large ecclesiastical estate at Wingham came as a result of royal greed and desire to weaken ecclesiastical landownership with the transfer of part of the Wingham lordship, principally the leased demesnes to the crown. The leasing of demesnes by the crown to courtier middlemen, who sublet, served to distance lordship further. The perimeter satellites, particularly the initial knight's fees in the parish of Ash and the Wingham Barton, mirror to some extent the process of change in the whole Wingham lordship. It would seem that ultimately, 16th century population growth was an important factor with corresponding demand for marshland, in increasing fragmentation there. This whole process suggests the continued attractiveness of the Wingham area for investment, linked to its varied topography, fertile soils and advantageous marketing position.

Did the tenurial system at Wingham have parallels outside of East Kent, where it has been argued it was the exception to the prevailing norm? This size of estate was not uncommon among the Archbishop of Canterbury's possessions by the 11th century: Aldington and Otford was the second largest in Kent, but it was South Malling and Pagham in Sussex, and Hayes and Harrow in Middlesex that were giant estates covering many square miles and containing many settlements and like Wingham, probably old English royal estates transferred to ecclesiastical lordship.²¹⁹ However, there were regional differences in that concentrated demesnes not intermingled with tenant land were more noticeable on the Archbishop's Kentish manors.²²⁰ Comparison with neighbouring manors under Christchurch Priory lordship show some similarities in the relative positioning of demesne and tenant land. Concentration of a sizeable demesne of c.1,000 acres at Adisham was a feature of the manor of Adisham but tenant land was dispersed among other lordships as indicated earlier in this chapter, while Eastry Manor included 1,000 acres of demesne but it was divided between a core farm and outlying portions, some of which was marsh-

land, with tenant land lying between.²²¹ The topography of this area of East Kent between the towns of Dover, Sandwich and Canterbury, its open arable champagne type country, its chalk soils and light loams, with access to coast and river marshland grazing within a five mile radius may have been at least as important a factor as lordship in determining layout of demesne and tenant land, for at Chartham manor within the lordship of Christchurch Priory situated on the rolling downs west of Canterbury, tenant and demesne land lay intermixed.²²² The pattern of a largely concentrated demesne with some outlying blocks probably existed at Gillingham in north Kent and in parts of Essex, where demesnes were leased in blocks and enclosed.²²³

The whole centrifugal estate system at Wingham with such a large number of compact satellite knight's fees geographically attached to the estate may have been unique among the Archbishop's estates, for Hayes and South Malling each commensurate in size to Wingham had three each in 1086 to Wingham's six.²²⁴ The smaller manor of Whitstable had four knight's fees in 1171, but the two at Sarre and Stourmouth were detached.²²⁵ Comparisons between Wingham and Harrow in terms of the estate structure are interesting, for Harrow's structure was also centrifugal with a central demesne, surrounding customary land and freehold estates on the fringe by the 13th century.²²⁶ However, the original demesne area of 482 acres was much smaller than at Wingham, but by the 13th century, the demesne was extended to include three further compact areas or manors, two of which were carved out of woodlands, so that the potential for splitting the demesne existed at an earlier period than at Wingham.²²⁷ There were also parallels between Wingham and Barking manor, the estate of the Abbey of Barking in Essex, a fairly large estate of 30 hides in 1086 and ecclesiastical in lordship.²²⁸ As at Wingham, the estate included the three types of pays running north to south, woodland in the north, open arable land in the centre and extensive marshland in the south. The demesne lay mainly in the centre around the town, but beyond this central area were many small free holdings and estates, particularly in the marshland areas. The major differences were that they were not knight's fees and that their lands tended to be scattered rather than compact.²²⁹ However, these estates like Wingham were the exceptions in the small estate pattern, which predominated not only in Kent but in much of the south east area

of the British Isles, including eastern Norfolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire.²³⁰ Early origins and ecclesiastical lordship, size and topography appear to be the important factors in Wingham's structure.

The underlying pattern, the small estate, which emerged as dominant in the Wingham area is the subject of Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

GENTRY ESTATES.

Introduction

It was argued in the previous chapter that by the early modern period the small estate pattern, the norm for East Kent and the south east, became the dominant form within the large ecclesiastical estate at Wingham. Although the manorial administrative structures remained in the late 16th century, in reality the landscape was a patchwork of small gentry estates and it was largely the families who owned these, particularly those who were resident, who exercised control and influence locally as landlords and employers by the early 17th century. It was also suggested that the existence of an intermediate layer of gentry landholding within the Archbishop of Canterbury's estate of Wingham was well established by the 14th century and that the small estate system was intensified rather than created by the effect on landholding of late medieval demographic collapse. In this chapter the pattern and development of these estates within the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, family continuity and change and the varied experience of the different parishes are examined for the period 1460-1640, through case studies; the factors which determined such patterns are suggested. The evidence is derived from title deeds, probate, manorial and parochial records and taxations.

Certain themes emerge from this study. This area was characterised by the small landowner, for not only was each unit relatively small, but it is doubtful whether many of these estates as a whole amounted to 1500 acres, even including outlying lands; most were nearer 500 acres or less. These estates can be divided into two categories; those which lay primarily within the parishes studied and adjacent parishes and whose owners were resident there or whose primary country residence was there; those lands and or farms which formed outlying portions of estates of gentry families, whose core lands and place of residence were situated outside the study area. The latter group included mostly other local East Kent families many from neighbouring parishes; only a few areas belonged to greater landowners outside Kent and were small outposts of large estates concentrated elsewhere. As was suggested in the previous chapter, there was

some correlation between the gentry estate of the early modern period and the knight's fees and the small estates created from customary land by the 13th century. However, while some families inherited an estate whose core was in existence from the medieval period, others created new estates by a combination of purchase and inheritance. There was a continual kaleidoscopic movement in the composition of estates during the period studied, although by the early 17th century there was probably greater stability. The predominant pattern of gentry estates in this area was one in which a family lived in a so called manor house situated on a farm or group of farms, which was consolidated and formed the kernel of the estate. In addition, there might be outlying parcels of land or farms, both within a ten mile radius, and further afield within and occasionally beyond Kent. Estates often included property in East Kent towns. Certain places of residence within the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold were identified as being associated with gentry families and their central estate. Possibly ten were associated with gentry families throughout the period 1460-1640: in Wingham parish, Brook and Wender-ton; in Ash parish, Moland, Chequer and the Mote at Hodan; in Goodnestone parish, Goodne-stone and Bonnington; in Nonington parish, Fredville and St.Albans alias Eswelle; Nethersole in Womenswold parish. A further nine were associated at some time but not continuously with resident gentry families: Trapham, Twitham, Dene (new in the late 16th century) and Wingham Court in Wingham parish, Goldstone, Broke alias the Moat situated south of Ash street, Hillscourt and Brooke house of Brooke street in Ash parish; Oldcourt in Nonington parish. By the 17th century, the wealthier and successful resident gentle families, investing in a more comfortable and luxurious lifestyle, tended to choose to live in the pleasant undulating downland pays which characterised the parishes of Wingham, Goodnestone and Nonington and away from the bleaker, if more fertile landscape of the parish of Ash. This tendency contributed towards increasing control of those parishes by a small number of gentry families, while Ash was an open parish.

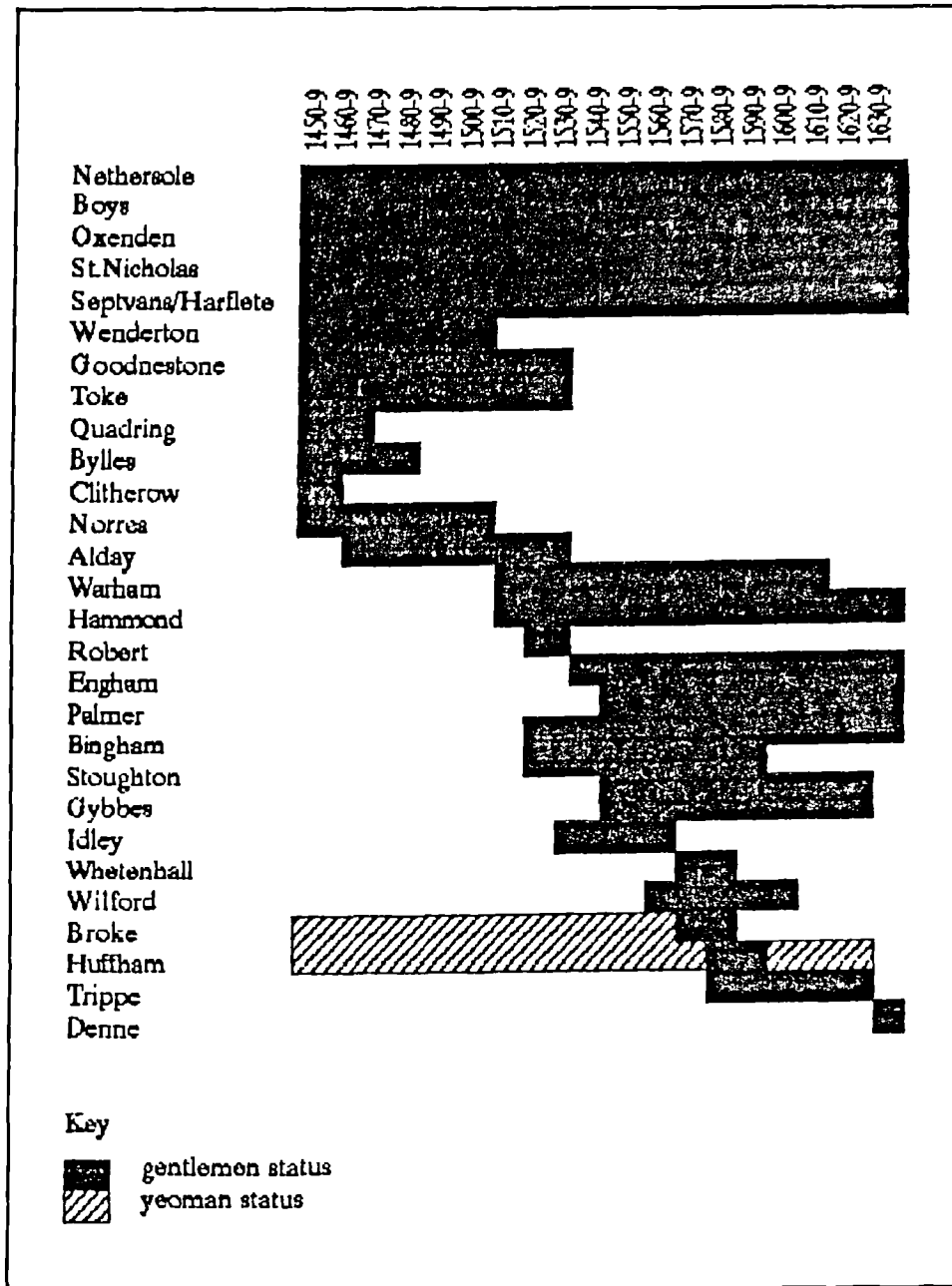
The majority of these estates were owned by East Kent families of largely regional and parochial status, although the longer established and increasingly successful and dynastic of these

families, such as the Boys and the Oxendens reached county influence by the Civil War period.¹ The line drawn between the gentry and more prosperous and established yeoman was not always clear, but by the early 17th century, the distinctions in wealth and status had become more marked. Lawyers, archiepiscopal office holders and townsmen were also evident, as was the case in areas of east Norfolk around Norwich and Great Yarmouth where the influence of local urban centres was also strong.²

Although some consideration is given to the estates of non resident gentry, it is primarily those of the resident families which are considered in this chapter. Both continuity and change of resident gentry families were observed between 1460 and 1640 in the five parishes studied. Chart 3.1 identifies 28 resident families, of which five, 18%, were continuously resident from 1450-1640; the origins in this area of four of these five families, the Boys, Nethersoles, Oxendens and Septvans/Harfletes can be traced back to the 13th century.³ The remaining eight 15th century families do not survive or remain resident beyond the 1530's. It is this core of five families, with the addition of a further three, the Palmers, Hammonds and Enghams, who moved in during the 16th century, who consolidated their estates and were the dominant local families in terms of landholding, wealth and influence by the early 17th century. Against this consolidating group were gentry families, resident for only one or two generations.

The most important factors in determining change were demography and inheritance. Lack of heirs could result in sale of estates, or inheritance by nephews or more distant kin. Lack of male heirs and survival of heiresses provided attractive marriage prospects and brought husbands and a new family name in from outside the area. Conversely, a survival of a large family meant a redistribution of family wealth, resulting in the breaking up or re-grouping of estates. On the whole, the core of the estate remained intact to the eldest, but lands on the periphery, often purchased during the father's life, along with detached and more distant farms and urban property were parcelled out to younger sons. Other factors influenced changes in ownership and the composition and consolidation of estates: the continuing attractiveness of investment in land in the Wingham area, its fertility and the commercial prospects offered by proximity to local towns and

Chart 3.1 Continuity and change among resident gentry families in Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold 1450-1640



markets with coastal trade and a growing London market. The land market in ecclesiastical property and leasing of tithes, principally resulting from the dissolution of Wingham College, Ash Chantry and the convent at St. Albans in Hertfordshire along with availability of demesne leases of Wingham Manor and Wingham Barton Manor; ecclesiastical and royal patronage, accelerated change particularly in the mid 16th century.

Lack of surviving estate accounts, makes it difficult to identify the economic factors, good or bad estate management which might have contributed to the fortunes of a family. Estates were composed of land held by a mixture of tenures, but families with small estates largely dependent on leased land tended to be more transient. Estate management combined an income from rents and direct farming, with a move towards a rent economy in the early 17th century. More distant farms or lands were usually rented out and the larger the estate the more important was the rent factor on the whole. However, during the 16th century it is clear that direct management of farms for the market was an important part of the economy of many of the estates identified. Diversity rather than specialisation characterised their agricultural enterprises, discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5. Many of the gentry families studied spread their resources between town and country.

Before proceeding, it was necessary to establish some criteria by which gentry families could be identified. It was decided, as a starting point, to accept the description of social status used by these families themselves, their neighbours and contemporaries, which appear in local documents; such as the words "gentleman", "gentlewoman", "esquire", "Master/Mr.", and "Sir/Lady". Other less subjective evidence was considered, such as confirmation of knightly and armigerous status from other sources. Evidence of land ownership obtained from rentals and title deeds was taken into consideration, along with relative wealth in the local community, as indicated in taxations. Occupation and appearance, suggested Sir Thomas Smith in the late 16th century, distinguished the gentleman.⁴ However, the distinctions between the gentry and others in terms of occupation, life style and consumption will be considered in Chapters 5 and 6.

In order to examine continuity and change, the period 1450 to 1640 was divided into three: period A; 1450 to the Reformation, i.e. until 1547, for the dissolution of Wingham College for

secular canons and Ash Chantry in 1547, would be expected to have some effect on ownership of property: period B; from c.1547 to 1600: period C; 1600 to 1640 . Gentry families and where possible, their estates, were identified for each period and case studies of selected families presented, which illustrate the characteristics which emerged.

Period A; 1450 to the Reformation

Initial identification of gentry estates and families for the mid 15th century was based on an analysis of landholding by customary tenants of Wingham manor in 1460, presented in columns 1 and 2 in Table 3.1.⁵ Evidence of gentry families holding knight's fee land and other manors, discussed in Chapter 1 was added in column 3 of Table 3.1.⁶ Tenants from gentry families formed 6% of the customary tenantry of Wingham Manor, but held in the region of 43% of tenant land in 1460, which emphasizes the extent of gentry landholding and estates within the Archbishop's lordship of Wingham by the mid 15th century.

Seven of these tenants were absentees. Some of these holdings formed part of estates of gentry families from East Kent, such as John Digges of Barham, John Isaak of Patricbourne, Roger St. Nicholas of Thanet and Henry Loverick of Canterbury.⁷ Two men who held important crown office, held land within Wingham Manor; Sir John Fogge of Repton, Ashford, who was privy councillor to Edward IV, held 59 acres at Crixhall in Goodnestone and Sir Thomas Browne of Beechworth Castle, treasurer to the household of Henry VI, owned Eythorne Manor, in Eythorne parish to the south east of Nonington and Womenswold, the parishes where most of his 722 acres in Wingham Manor was situated.⁸ The Fogges were Kentish gentry, but Sir Thomas Browne, like the de Vere family, earls of Oxford, discussed in Chapter 2 were not based in Kent.

However, Table 3.1, column 4 shows that at least thirteen individuals were resident on their Wingham lands, which formed the kernel of their estates and these estates were mostly modest in size, ranging from 50 to 509 acres.⁹ The approximate location within the area studied of the estate of each family is indicated in Map 3.1.¹⁰

Table 3.1. *Gentlemen and their Estates in Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold in c.1460.*

Key
R resident
A absentee

Name	customary land in Wingham manor	other manorial land	R	A
Thomas Browne	722 acres			A
John Bylles	276		R	
Thomas Boye	189		R	
Roger Clytherow	12	Goldstone & Lyes	R	
John Digges	15			A
John Fogge	59			A
John Godneston	364		R	
John Isaak	46	Ratling		A
Henry Loverick	111			A
Richard Quadring	144	Fredville	R	
Richard Oxenden	509		R	
John Oxenden	21		R	
Robert Oxenden	143		R	
John Nethersole	315		R	
Thomas Nethersole	42		R	
Heirs of Tho.Septvans with Lady Alice	196		R	
Thomas Harflete	54			
John St.Nicholas	51		R	
Roger St.Nicholas		Goshall		A
Ralphe Toke	279		R	
Earl of Oxford		Flete		A
de Wenderton		Wenderton	R	

The lands of most of these gentlemen tenants lay within one hamlet or a number of adjacent hamlet areas, suggesting concentration of estates in most cases. Richard Oxenden's estate of 509 acres for example, was largely concentrated in the southern part of the parish of Wingham, with 238 acres at Twitham, 160 acres at Dene, 35 acres at Broke, where he lived, 25 acres in Trapham (Trotham), small acreages in Goodnestone, Uffington and Bonnington, although it included a small detached woodland area of 2½ acres in Oxenden further south on the Nonington/Womenswold border.¹¹ The 367 acre estate of John Bylles of Twitham in Wingham was more dispersed, to include 211 acres at Twitham on the borders of the parishes of Wingham, Staple and Goodnestone; 38 acres at Gilton (Gyldentown) and 4 acres in neighbouring Moland

in the parish of Ash; 31 acres in Pedding in the parish of Staple; 78 acres at Wenderton and 1½ acres of detached meadow at Broke in the parish of Wingham.¹² Although the bulk of his estate lay within the Wingham lordship, his will dated 1474, included town property in Sandwich and some land in the neighbouring parish of Woodnesborough.¹³

Although, the Archbishop of Canterbury had become a rentier landlord, leasing his Wingham demesnes by the 15th century, direct evidence for estate management by these smaller proprietors is lacking for this period and rental evidence may well conceal sub tenancy.¹⁴ A surviving but partial survey of tenant land covering the north part of the manor only, and bound in with a copy of the 1460 rental for Wingham Manor reveals tenant occupiers on parts of these 15th century gentry estates not shown in the rental.¹⁵ The estate of the Septvans family illustrates this problem. It was an estate in customary land and its core lay in the 13th century holding of Lord Thomas of Sandwich, which the Septvans family had acquired by marriage.¹⁶ In 1460, Lady Alice, widow of Thomas Septvans, with their heirs, held 196 acres in the parish of Ash, centred on the manor of Chequer in the hamlet of Moland. The property at Chequer was compact, including a house, garden, croft and adjacent land of about 32 acres and the entire field called Chequer field, containing 54 acres (Map 3.2). In addition there were scattered parcels in the neighbouring villis of Knell, Pedding, Nash, Helles, Chilton and Gilton (Gyldentown).¹⁷ However, 36 acres or 22% of the 196 acre holding consisted of small plots, some including houses occupied by 18 tenants, for whom the Septvans family paid rents to Wingham Manor.¹⁸ Most of these plots were situated in the hamlet of Chilton, north of Ash Street, about a mile from Chequer. Whether the relationship between the Septvans family and these occupiers was one of lord and tenant is not at all clear, nor what rents these individual plots paid.¹⁹ A similar situation occurred on the estate of townsman Henry Loverick gentleman of Canterbury, at Hillscourt in the parish of Ash, where in c.1460, 39% of his 111 acre holding was occupied by local inhabitants.²⁰ How he managed the remaining 81 acres is an unknown quantity.

A similar view is obtained of the 15th century estate of neighbours of the Septvans family, Roger Clitherow and his heirs, daughter Alianore and son in law John Norres and their descen-

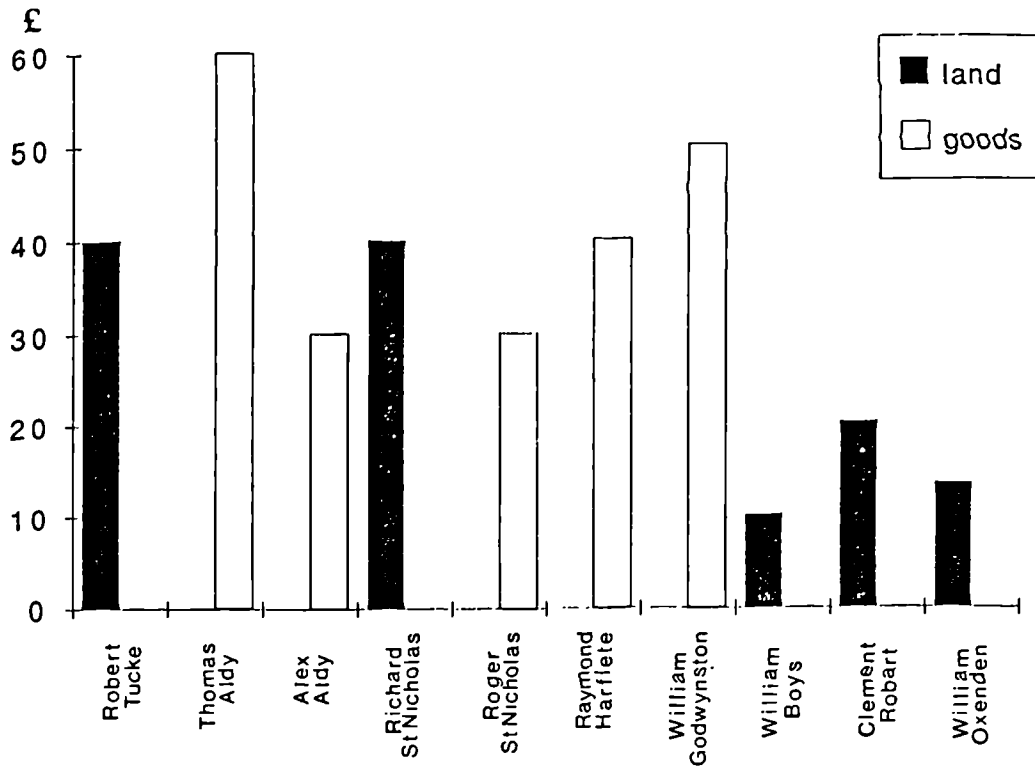
dants, John and William Norres. This estate was based on the adjacent knight's fees at Goldstone and Knell (Lyes alias Nelmes) and although these two manors had separate formal manorial structure, they were managed under one ownership.²¹ The size of this estate all told was probably in the region of 600-700 acres (Map 3.3). Rentals and court rolls survive sporadically for the late 15th and early 16th century and although the evidence is thin, it does suggest that the estate management by this gentry family in the late 15th century consisted of a mixture of leasing and direct farming, along with income from customary tenants.²² In 1485-6, rents were paid to the manors of Goldstone and Knell (Lyes) by 44 tenants, who held in the region of 150-200 acres. Although not all the named places where tenant land was situated have been identified, the rental included the wind mill at Guilton situated a mile south of Goldstone on higher ground. A further c.160 acres was held at farm or leased as listed in Appendix 3.²³ The small plots leased, which are listed under "firma" in columns 5 and 6 of Appendix 3, might have been short term leases of customary land, but the larger leases, particularly of Great and Little Knell (Lyes) held by William Pett for 40 shillings a year were probably the demesne. The extent of the demesne of Goldstone has not been found for the 15th century but was probably nearer the mid 17th century 450 acres than the 528 acres shown on an estate map of 1753.²⁴ However, the 1753 *estate map*, as indicated in Map 3.3 does give an approximate view of the 15th century Goldstone demesne. The principal features were its narrow shape, stretching from the brickearth uplands onto the marshes and large upland, mainly arable fields in a consolidated block around the site of the 15th century moated farmstead or manor house, with adjacent and compact block of marshland, forming 36% of the whole in 1753. It is likely that most of the demesne was farmed directly by the Norres family in 1485 and that tenants provided casual labour. Some tenants were credited with labour in lieu of money rents. In 1486, Thomas Paulyn owed 9s-9d for three years farm of Oxewellescroft, but was allowed 6s-2d for "pecking" 1800 of thatch, 1s-6d for harvest work and 2s-4d for 7 days hedging and one day "shorning".²⁵ In 1487, Thomas Pratt of Knell owed 36s-6d and 10 hens in rent. He paid 14s-8d and was allowed 12 pence for autumn mowing and six pence for reaping tares.²⁶

By the 1520's at the end of period A, there had been some turnover among the resident gentry families, as was indicated in Chart 3.1 and is illustrated by the following two cases. The failure to produce male heirs and the marriage of heiresses were the mechanisms which brought about change in the first case. John Aldaye from a prominent Sandwich family of that name, possibly he who was mayor of Sandwich in 1468-9, made two judicious marriages to give him land in Wingham and Ash, where he lived at least at the end of his life, for in his will dated 1485, he is called John Aldaye of Ash.²⁷ His first wife was Joan, daughter of Thomas and Alice Septvans and through her he acquired the Septvans estate at Chequer, which his son, Nicholas Aldaye, possessed at his death in 1520.²⁸ John's second wife was Alice Bylles, daughter of John Bylles, gentleman of Wingham, who inherited from her father 120 acres of land at Twitham, in the east of the parish of Wingham.²⁹ The Aldaye family exemplifies the acquisition of landed interests by wealthy townsmen in neighbouring rural areas in the 15th century. Another factor in attracting men of gentle status into the area was the availability of Wingham manor demesne leases. Clement Robert, gentleman of Wingham took a demesne lease at Blackney in 1524, which was continued by his widow in 1533.³⁰

The 1524 subsidy for Wingham Hundred enables some assessment to be made of the relative wealth of these families, shown in Chart 3.2.

Of the ten gentlemen listed, five were assessed at between £10 and £30, five between £40 and £60; five were assessed on land, five on goods. The subsidy does suggest that the landed wealth of the resident gentlemen in these five parishes in 1524 was not particularly great; of the five assessed on land, only two were in the upper group, Robert Tucke and Richard St. Nicholas assessed at £40 on land, although the assessment of William Oxenden at £13-6-8d would seem to be an underestimate of the total wealth of that family. In Essex in the single parish of Terling, the only two resident gentlemen in 1524 were assessed on lands to the value of over £50.³¹ The subsidy also suggests that there was no clear cut division in wealth and scale of farming enterprise between the better off yeomen and the minor gentry in the early 16th century,

Chart 3.2 Distribution of wealth of gentlemen in the hundred of Wingham in 1524



for there were eighteen others listed, several of whom style themselves yeomen in their wills, who were assessed on goods valued at £20 and over, some considerably more than those called gentlemen. Simon Gason, yeoman of Ash was assessed on goods valued at £100, Lawrence Omer, yeoman of Ash on goods valued at £80, Stephen Hougham of Ash on goods valued at £60.³²

Period B: The Reformation to 1600

The sixteenth century from the Reformation to 1600 was marked by the immigration into the area of possibly eleven families, who were regarded by themselves and others as of gentle status, who acquired land and lived there, as was indicated in Chart 3.1. Local residence is confirmed by the comparison of the names of gentlemen tenants of Wingham Manor in c.1560 with gentlemen testators in the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold presented in columns 1,2 and 6 in Table 3.2. Fourteen of the twenty two gentlemen tenants, 64%, were resident on their lands. Wills and leases reveal a further four gentlemen

resident during this period.

Marriage to heiresses was instrumental in the replacement of one family name by another and may have been the initial factor in the establishing of a new family; the purchasing of land to increase the size or change the composition of the lands of a family estate followed. For example, marriage to an heiress of the Godneston family of Goodnestone brought the Engham family from Woodchurch to Goodnestone and Oldcourt in Nonington during the 1540's, purchasing in addition the manor of Goldstone in Ash from the crown.³³ Edward Stoughton, gentleman, acquired an estate in the parish of Ash at some time in the 1530's and 1540's, at least partially by marriage. The core of the estate in the parishes of Ash and adjacent parish of Staple was a "new" estate, a conglomeration put together of lands acquired by marriage and purchase. It contained about 273 acres of customary tenant land of Wingham Manor, which included the moated house at Broke, sometimes called Moat house, situated to the south of Ash Street and below Ash Church, land in the surrounding hamlets of Chilton and Ash street, Guiton, Moland and 94 acres at Pedding, with additional land which owed quitrents to Adisham manor at Pedding (Map 3.4).³⁴

This estate was unusual among those of the resident gentry in that these lands in Ash were the core of a larger estate which included inherited property outside Kent in Dartford, Lambeth and in Surrey.³⁵ Edward Stoughton acquired the lands in Ash and Staple partly through two marriages; first to the daughter of Richard Exherst, who had held the Broke and Pedding property at some time after 1460 and second to the wife of Lawrence Omer, yeoman of Ash, who died in 1544 and partly through inheritance, as his grandfather John Stoughton of Dartford had married Joane, second daughter of Roger Clitherow of Goldstone in Ash, discussed earlier in this chapter.³⁶ John Stoughton of Dartford was the second son of Sir John Stoughton, lord-mayor of London, and this family is an example of wealthy London and Thames estuary townsmen acquiring and extending landed interests in East Kent in the late 15th and 16th centuries and ultimately moving out to reside there.³⁷

The patronage of Archbishops brought in two new gentry families to Wingham. Archbishop Warham's brother, Richard was given the small manor at Wenderton in north Wing-

ham, where his son Edward lived until 1592 and grandson, John until 1610, in addition to demesne leases of the two water mills in Wingham.³⁸

Table 3.2 Gentlemen landowners in Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold 1540-1600.

Key
R resident
A absentee

Name	local testator	tenant of Wingham manor c.1560	title	armigerous	R	A
Henry Alday		x	gent.			A
Paul Bingham	1591		gent.		R	
John Broke	1582	x	gent.		R	
Edward Boys	1596	x	esq.		R	
John Boys	1614		esq.		R	
Thomas Boys		x			R	
Vincent Boys	1558	x	gent.		R	
Thomas Engham	1556	x	esq.	x	R	
Thomas Gybbes	1596	x	gent.		R	
John Gybbes	1599		gent.		R	
Edward Hammond	1616		esq.	x	R	
Thomas Hammond	1566	x	gent.	x	R	
Chris. Harflete	1575		gent.	x	R	
Michael Huffham	1596	x	gent		R	
John Idley	1568	x	gent		R	
Thomas Manwood			kt.			A
John Moynings		x	gent.			A
Stephen Nevinson		x	gent.			A
Vincent Nethersole	1602	x	gent.	x	R	
Henry Oxenden	1597	x	esq.	x	R	
Wm. Oxenden	1576	x	esq.	x	R	
Rob. Oxenbridge			gent.			A
Thomas Palmer	1606	x	kt.	x	R	
Edward Peake		x	gent.		R	
Vincent St.Nicholas	1586	x	gent.		R	
Edward Stoughton	1573	x	gent.		R	
John Tuck			gent.			A
Edward Warham	1592	x	gent.		R	
Francis Wilford	1594		esq.		R	

Archbishop Cranmer rewarded his official, Henry Bingham, gentleman, with demesne leases in 1536, 1539 and 1541, which included Wingham Manor house where he probably lived.³⁹ This created a small gentry estate of about 240 acres in Wingham parish with 250 acres of demesne

woodland called Woolwich wood in Womenswold, the reward for his service. It was short lived for it was constructed from rewards in short term leases and had no basis in land ownership. Although no will survives as evidence of date of death, by 1550 the lease of Wingham Court was in the hands of Edmund Cooper.⁴⁰ It is likely that Henry Bingham's offspring continued to live in Wingham, as inventories survive for a Paul Bingham in 1591 and his sons, Edward and Henry, in 1629 and 1637, who call themselves gentlemen, but were of small account.⁴¹

Some gentry families took advantage of the availability of post reformation ecclesiastical lands in the Wingham area and by purchase created or extended an estate. After the dissolution of Wingham College for secular canons in 1547, the provost's house, with tithes and one acre of glebeland was granted by the crown to Sir Henry Palmer, second son of Edward Palmer of Sussex.⁴² He and his son Sir Thomas lived at the provost's house next to Wingham church and their successors owned it until the 18th century.⁴³ The Hammond family, who held the lease of St. Albans manor in Nonington from the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans in Hertfordshire and had lived there since the early 16th century, were able to purchase the estate in Mary's reign.⁴⁴ Ash Chantry lands amounted in 1546 to c.160 acres, and were leased to various Ash inhabitants, including Thomas Harflete, who held by lease 84 acres with a house.⁴⁵ He was able to buy some of this as in his will dated 1557, he bequeathed to his son Christopher, a house and 13 acres, formerly of Ash Chantry, and purchased of Richard Monnings, who was probably a member of the Monins family of Waldershare and Dover.⁴⁶ Some gentlemen, particularly those who were farming commercially, saw advantage in taking leases of the tithes in the five parishes of the Wingham area, which had formerly supported the provost and canons of Wingham College between 1282 and its dissolution in 1547 and were available after that date. Vincent St. Nicholas and his son, Thomas, of Hodan in Ash for example, held the lease of the tithes and tithe barn of Overland in Ash from the mid 16th century until at least 1626, when Thomas made his will.⁴⁷

Whilst the late 15th and early 16th centuries saw the demise of some families as a result of lack of male heirs, three of the longer established gentry families, the Boys, Oxendens and Harfletes, during the mid and late 16th century were producing large families with several sons,

which resulted in the expansion of their territories and planting of these sons on the acquired land. This dynastic policy is well illustrated by the Harflete family. Thomas Atchecker alias Harflete of Moland in Ash had seven sons, for each of whom he wished to provide land or property and this case study also illustrates how the younger sons of 16th century gentlemen fared. Table 3.3, derived from Thomas's inheritance strategies detailed in his will dated 1557, shows the land purchases made to achieve this.⁴⁸ The core of the Harflete estate at Moland and Chequer, which Thomas's father, Raymond, had bought from the Alday family was inherited by Thomas's eldest son, Christopher.⁴⁹ Although acreage is not given for most of Christopher's inheritance, it was probably about 200 acres in Ash parish excluding the lease of Neville's Flete manor, also inherited from his father.⁵⁰ It is not possible to estimate their acreages, but it is likely that the portions of his six brothers were smaller. George inherited his father's property in Sandwich; John remained in Ash, leaving an moveable estate worth £63 in 1580, compared with his brother Christopher's of £368 in 1575.⁵¹ It looks as if John could not maintain the occupation and status of a gentleman, as he requested in his will that his brother, Henry, should see that his sons were trained in husbandry or trade.⁵² Henry was more successful. He added to his inheritance by marriage to Mary Slaughter, who inherited the manor of Twitham Hills in Ash from her father George Slaughter, yeoman of Ash, who died in 1561, but Henry's second wife was Sylvester, the daughter of Ash gentleman, Vincent St.Nicholas.⁵³ Henry Harflete was probably a lawyer and was certainly much involved in the affairs of the local community. He appeared in the capacity of witness, executor or overseer to wills or appraiser of inventories for 38 Ash inhabitants of all social levels, between 1570 and his death in 1608 and was probably the writer of many, as was stated in the will of Clemence Combe in 1601.⁵⁴

The rise of successful 15th and 16th century yeomanry into the gentry of the 16th and 17th centuries can be observed in the Wingham area. Prospering 16th century yeoman families, such as the Sollyes of Ash, the Richards of Goodnestone and the Jones family of Wingham produced 17th century descendents who called themselves gentlemen.⁵⁵

Table 3.3 The Inheritance strategies of Thomas Atchecker alias Harflete of Moland in Ash parish in 1557

son	inherited land	purchased land	purchased from
Christopher	messuage at Moland all lands in Ash & Woodnesborough 1.5 acres of Overland Chapel house in Ash street <i>lease of Flete Manor</i>	messuage, 13 acres 13 acres at Gredrove 3 acres 3 acres, 3 roods the obetland of John Saunders	Rich.Moynings Sir Tho.Wrothe John Gason Oliver Wrothe Wm.Hylde and Henry Cartwright
William		messuage at Eche land in Ash	Sir Tho.Rotheram
John		messuage at Chapmans	Richard Moynings Tho.Walter.
Vincent and Edward		messuage at Knell 3 acres 5 acres at Knell 1.5 acres at Knell pasture	Wm.,Tho.,John Powte John Broke Rich.Turnour Oliver Wrothe exchanged with Rich.Omer John Broke
George	house & garden in Sandwich 20 acres marsh in Woodnesborough	tenement at Eche	John Broke
Henry		land in Ash & Staple	Richard Court

The nature of the historical sources used in this study, particularly probate records make it easier to observe upward rather than downward social mobility. The Bingham family of Wingham, discussed earlier was an example of rapid rise and decline in family fortune in the mid and late 16th century. They were newcomers, and status was based on office holding with the Archbishop of Canterbury and landed income dependant on archiepiscopal leases, all of which were ephemeral and were not inherited by subsequent generations. The case studies of two connected and more stable Ash families illustrate the theme of rising fortune in more detail and suggest some of the factors at work including those which limited their rise in wealth and status. They also point to the lack of clear cut social distinction between some lesser gentry families and the substantial yeomen, especially in the parish of Ash.

Chart 3.1 included the Broke and Huffham families, neighbours in Ash parish, who appear to rise from the status of yeoman to call themselves gentlemen for a short period in the latter part of the 16th century. Both families could claim continuous residence in Ash from at least the mid 15th century and the economy of both families involved grazing sheep on leased tracts of marshland in Ash; both had 15th century town connections and property. John, Stephen and the heirs of Solomon Huffham were tenants of Wingham manor in Ash in 1460; John may have been John Huffham (Hougham) of Canterbury whose will of 1482 mentions land in Ash parish and they were related to Huffhams in the neighbouring parish of Preston.⁵⁶ A succession of John Brokes farmed land on the eastern side of Ash, between one to two miles north east of Sandwich. John Broke, husbandman, in his will in 1484, bequeathed his land at Eastreet in Ash to his son John, and three properties in Sandwich to his remaining two sons.⁵⁷ John Broke, yeoman, who left a will in 1560, was probably the Ash inhabitant who held about 400 acres, as tenant of the Earl of Oxford's manor of Flete and of Goshall manor.⁵⁸ His son, John Broke, called himself gentleman and in his will of 1582 he listed an estate of 300 acres plus, including his principal house at Brookstreet, other property at Eastreet, as indicated on Map 3.4, and at least 130 acres of marshland, on which he grazed a flock of 214 ewes, tegs and wethers.⁵⁹ However, this family's success was abruptly curtailed by his failure to produce surviving children, which in turn contributed to the success of the Huffhams. John Broke's aunt Bennett or Benedict had married Stephen Huffham, yeoman, neighbours of the Brokes at Weddington in Ash. Stephen was a prosperous farmer with land at his death in 1555 in Preston, Elmstone and Ash, which included c.100 acres of marshland in the Flete and Richborough area of the parish of Ash.⁶⁰ His will also reveals that he had taken on leases of marshland including the Westmarsh from the Archbishop and land at Goldstone from Thomas Engham.⁶¹ Although acreages were not given in his will, he was probably farming in excess of 600 acres of marshland. Stephen and Bennett's grandson, Michael received his father's portion of the Huffham inheritance and was fortunate in inheriting a substantial part of the Broke estate at the death of John Broke in 1582 and died in possession of it in 1596.⁶² Michael called himself gentleman and his rise in wealth and status is supported by the size of his

inventory total, which amounted to £1,221 in 1596, compared with that of his father, Michael Huffham, yeoman of Weddington, which was £366 in 1583.⁶³ Richard Huffham of Weddington, probably Michael's brother called himself yeoman in his will of 1606 and the size of his estate can be gauged by his payment of poor rate on 308 acres and he had also purchased 100 acres in Thanet.⁶⁴ He aspired to gentleman status by marrying into a minor gentry family of Northbourne, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Sanders.⁶⁵ However, the Huffhams did not maintain their landed prominence and rising status in Ash in the 17th century. Two principal factors affecting the family seemed to be responsible here; demography and inheritance. As in the case of the Broke family, ultimately the lack of a surviving male heir broke the expansionist movement in family fortune, for Michael Huffham's young son Broke Huffham does not appear to have survived. Against this was the survival of several male heirs among other branches of the family and continual division of the inheritance among them, rather more equably than in the Harflete family discussed earlier. Stephen Huffham, discussed above had three sons each of whom inherited land and were to share his marshland between them.⁶⁶ The process was continued by his sons Michael and Richard, who set up all their sons with land.⁶⁷ In this particular case study, partible inheritance customs and strategies worked against estate building.

In estate management, the gentry of the mid and later 16th century in the Wingham area were both rentiers and farmers. The total sum of evidence collected from probate sources shows that leasing of parcels of land, houses and surrounding plots was commonplace by gentry and yeoman farmers to others and among themselves. Rents would form some part of a gentleman's income, but the extent to which he was living on rent and /or the profits and produce resulting from direct management of land varied. What is clear from probate sources and title deeds is that there were no really large scale units supporting stock rearing, with for example flocks of sheep of 1,000 or more in this area. One might even postulate a maximum size for a farmed unit of about 300 acres by the later 16th century, beyond which a gentleman proprietor would lease land, although the evidence is not conclusive, as only an approximate estimate of land directly managed can be obtained from acreages sown from surviving summer inventories. Case studies

of 16th century gentlemen listed in column 2 of Table 3.2, suggest variety in management, but indicate that in general it was the outsiders, who newly invested in land and property in the Wingham area during the early and mid 16th century, whose income came primarily from rent, while the more long term established families of the Wingham area were the commercial farmers of the 16th century.

Edward Stoughton of Broke alias Moat in Ash parish, discussed earlier, was an example of the first group, a newcomer to the area and primarily a rentier landlord, retaining a home farm, probably not large, about 70 acres, to support his household.⁶⁸ A few fragments survive of Edward Stoughton's accounts for the year 1556 only, which afford a minute glimpse into this estate.⁶⁹ He received rents, as would be expected for the parts of his estate outside of Kent, but he also leased his remaining lands in Ash, probably in the region of 200 acres; for example the 70 acre farm at Pedding was let to Parrott, probably John Parrott, yeoman and Ash testator of 1561, for a rent of £8 per annum, whilst the quitrent owed to the Wingham manor on this land was 13s-9d. Edward Stoughton's inventory, dated February 1573, was not large at £138, and with only 10 acres of winter wheat sown and minimal stock, 5 kine, a calf and 6 swine, suggests further withdrawal from farming.⁷⁰ His eldest son, Thomas inherited the lands at Ash, but at some time after 1583, he became an absentee landlord, living with his daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Wilde of St. Martins, Canterbury, until his death in c.1591.⁷¹ Other gentlemen who ran their estates with a home farm primarily for the household needs but leased out substantial amounts of land were the Enghams of Goodnestone, who leased Goldstone manor in Ash in the 1590s to John Gibbes, gentleman and probably the Boys of Fredville and the Palmers of Wingham.⁷² The inventory of Edward Warham of Wingham records no evidence of farming activity, for which the most likely explanation is that his son, John, was managing the farm at Wenderton.⁷³ Edward's estates included land in the parishes of Bekesbourne, Ickham, Wye and Godmersham in Kent and he was primarily a rentier landlord.⁷⁴ Small scale agricultural activity is recorded in the inventories of Thomas Gibbes, who in 1596, held the lease of Broke alias Moat in Ash and John Boys of Bonnington in Goodnestone, but it is likely in these cases that active management had passed

to their sons.⁷⁵

Table 3.4 Farming activities of 10 gentlemen 1560-1600 from probate inventories

Key

- A inventory total
- B % of total inventory value in agricultural stock and produce
- C sown acreage
- D total value of cereals in the barn
- E number of kine
- F number of sheep
- G number of cattle

name	parish	month	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
			£			£			
Oxenden Wm.	W'ham	May	£573	40%	31	£16	15	293	39
Oxenden Henry	W'ham	Sept.	£937	65%	-	£446	22	325	23
Broke John	Ash	Feb.	£665	57%	60	£135	18	214	15
Gibbes John	Ash	May	£727	77%	137	£50	15	313	35
Harflete Chris.	Ash	Oct.	£368	66%	-	£86	59	30	14
Huffham Michael	Ash	July	£1221	47%	102	£12	13	460	16
St.Nicholas Vinc.	Ash	Sept.	£417	43%	-	£75	11	95	24
Idley John	G'stone	Oct	£243	46%	-	£54	10	28	13
Wilforde Francis	N'ton	May	£396	46%	86	£38	8	2	12
Nethersole Vinc.	W'wold	July	£720	69%	150	£12	14	342	8

However, the evidence from probate inventories, presented in Table 3.4 although a crude indicator, does suggest that for ten of the resident gentlemen identified for the latter half of the 16th century, direct management of an agricultural enterprise, which produced not only for the household but for the market was an important part of their economy. The value of their livestock and produce amounted to between 40-77% of their moveable goods. Vincent St.Nicholas, John Gibbes and John Idley were also tithe collectors and grain was listed in their inventories in the parsonage barns.⁷⁶ The goods of John Idley of Goodnestone were appraised in October 1568, immediately following harvest. The parsonage barn contained 42 quarters of wheat, 50 quarters of barley and 20 bushels of oats, in addition to 30 quarters of wheat and 70 quarters of barley of his own.⁷⁷ Grain dealing must have been part of his business, although information about his marketing is not recorded. Although estate accounts are not available, these inventories suggest that the stimulus of growing population in the late 16th century with easy access to local markets,

particularly to the coastal port of Sandwich made direct management of demesne farms and marketing of produce as profitable if not more so than income from rents.⁷⁸ Although the nature of their farming enterprises will be examined more fully as part of the whole economy of the Wingham area discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, it is worth observing here that diversity of farming enterprise rather than specialisation was the feature of these gentry estates. Arable of 100 acres and more was an important component of nine of the ten estates and in addition, the combination of access to capital and marshland pasture in the parish of Ash or downland pasture from Wingham south to Womenswold enabled six gentlemen to invest in flocks of between 200-300 sheep and some cattle in addition to arable farming. The willingness of the gentry to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the introduction of newer crops such as hops and possibly flax is observable in the inventories of William Oxenden and Thomas St.Nicholas, discussed more fully in Chapter 5.⁷⁹ However, these enterprises were not much larger or greatly different in nature from the larger farms of neighbouring yeoman farmers and were not on the scale of some gentry demesne farming in, for example Norfolk, particularly regarding sheep and cattle farming.⁸⁰

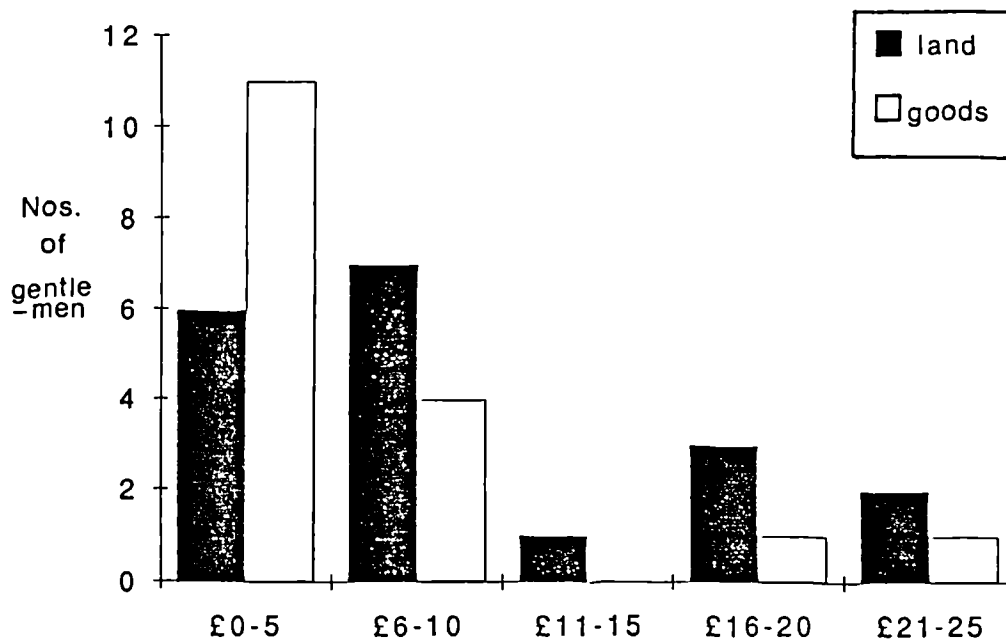
Period C: 1600-c.1640

The early 17th century was characterised by greater stability than during the 16th century. The dominant gentry families of the mid to late 16th century had largely achieved their maximum possible expansion within this area and were concerned with the settling of their dynasties. The estates and families of the three most important, the Boys, Hammonds and Oxendens will be considered in some detail. By 1600 the differential in wealth between the greater and lesser families had become more marked and the horizons and interests of the elite families extended to county affairs by 1640. There was some turnover among families and change in estate construction, which primarily affected the parish of Wingham and extended gentry control of the demesne of Wingham manor, increasing the gentrification of that parish, which was in marked contrast to the early 16th century. The tendency towards control by a small number of gentry families had also

become more marked in Nonington and Goodnestone and probably Womenswold, but was less a feature of the large parish of Ash. There was a tendency away from direct farming towards the rentier in estate management and an extension of gentry landlordism. The investment by townsmen in rural property and country residences was still evident.

By 1600, the differentiation in wealth between the gentry families resident in these five parishes was more apparent than in the 1520's, as the evidence from the 1593 subsidy, presented in Chart 3.3 suggests.⁸¹

Chart 3.3 Distribution of wealth of gentlemen in Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, 1593



At the top end, five individuals were assessed on land at £20 and over; Edward Boys of Nonington assessed at £24 on land and £25 on goods and Henry Oxenden of Wingham, assessed at £25 on land and £5 on goods were the wealthiest, particularly if Henry Oxenden junior's assessment was included with his father's which he was to inherit in 1597, increasing that branch of the Oxenden family assessment to £29 on land and £15 on goods. They were followed by Thomas Palmer of Wingham and Thomas Engham of Goodnestone. However, if the 1593

subsidy is taken as some measure of the wealth of individuals of substance, it indicates that the lesser gentry families continued to remain the norm for this area, for the wealth of the majority was valued on land at £10 or less. At this end of the scale appear minor gentlemen, such as Michael Huffham discussed earlier, assessed on land at £2-10s and goods at £4, Francis Wilford of Nonington, younger brother of Sir Thomas Wilford of neighbouring Kingston assessed at £2-10s on land and £3 in goods and members of the Gybbes family of Ash, whose wealth lay in goods, as their lands consisted of leases. The dynastic nature of the East Kent gentry in this area is indicated by six families, who are represented by multiple branches in the subsidy list, but a rank order of family wealth derived produces much the same picture as that of individual wealth. Within the top three families, one branch was wealthier than the other: John Boys of Bonnington in Goodnestone could not match his cousin Edward Boys of Fredville in Nonington; the Dene Oxendens exceeded the Broke branch and the assessment of Edward Engham of Oldcourt in Nonington reflects the inheritance of a younger sibling compared to his elder brother, Thomas. The omission from this list of the Hammond family of St. Albans manor in Nonington is puzzling, for Edward Hammond, esquire, died in 1615 and his probate inventory was valued at £1545 the following year,⁸²

In Table 3.5, the gentry families resident from 1600 until 1640 are identified emphasising continuity of landholding and residence among the existing major 16th century families, three of whom will be the subject of much of this section. The early 17th century is characterised by the predominance as landlords and squires of a small number of these families. This applied particularly to the southern parishes, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and probably Womenswold, where the wealthiest families in terms of land, the Boys, Oxendens, Hammonds, Enghams and Palmers lived and where the bulk of their land lay. Map 3.5 indicates the approximate location of these estates within and on the borders of the five parishes studied, and shows them to be situated primarily in the parishes of Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, rather than in Ash, where absentee landlords were more frequent, as in the obvious cases of the Boys and Hammonds of Nonington, Peter Manwood of Canterbury and Sandwich, who owned large tracts of

Table 3.5 Gentlemen resident in Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold 1600-1640

Name		location	parish	title
Boys	Edward, sen.	Fredville	Nonington	knight
	Edward, jun			knight
	John	Bonnington	Goodnestone	esquire
	John, sen			esquire
Denne	John, jun			
	Vincent	Wenderton	Wingham	
Engham	Thomas	Goodnestone		knight
	Edward			knight
Hammond	Edward	St.Albans	Nonington	
Harflete	Anthony			
	Thomas	Moland	Ash	knight
Nethersole	Christopher			
	Vincent		Womenswold	
Oxenden	Francis			knight
	Edward	Brook	Wingham	
	William			knight
	Henry	Dene	Wingham	knight
Palmer	James			knight
	Thomas, sen	Provost's house	Wingham	knight
	Roger			knight
Peke	Peter	Hillscourt	Ash	
	Matthew			
St.Nicholas	Thomas	Hodan	Ash	
	Timothy			
Trippe	John	Trapham	Wingham	
	Charles			knight

marshland in Ash. The estates of the Boys, Hammond and Oxenden families were selected as case studies on the grounds of their importance, but case studies were also made possible as a result of the survival of 17th century title deeds for these families, used in conjunction with probate documents. These case studies are not confined to the early 17th century, for while two of these estates were created primarily during the 16th century, that of the Oxenden family was of medieval origin, as was indicated earlier in this chapter. These studies illustrate the process of estate construction and inheritance. Absence of estate accounts preclude a detailed study of the economy of these estates and the evidence from wills and inventories, although commented on, will largely be considered in Chapter 5 on the general economy of the area.

The principal estate of the Boys family in the 15th century was situated in the hamlets of Bonnington and Uffington (Offynton) in the parish of Goodnestone, where Thomas Boye held

189 acres in customary land of Wingham Manor in 1460.⁸³ This family was possibly of Norman origin and were settled in East Kent by the 13th century, for tenants called "le Boye" held land of Wingham manor in 1285 in the hamlets of Shatterling and Wenderton.⁸⁴ However, it was during the 16th century that the dynastic expansion of this family was most evident. A branch of the Boys family of Bonnington, in the person of John, elder son of William Boys was settled in the manor of Fredville in the parish of Nonington in 1507, where his descendants lived until the later 17th century. Fredville became the core of an estate, which he acquired during the 16th century and which was relatively consolidated in the area around Fredville but with detached marshland in the parish of Ash. The extent of the demesne lands of Fredville manor covered c.380 acres in the later 17th century, although the extensive parkland surrounding the house, which appears on the 1841 Tithe Map of Nonington was an 18th century creation.⁸⁵ In addition to Fredville, the Boys family of Nonington had acquired other lands mostly in the Nonington area of East Kent to form by 1626 an estate amounting to about 2,000 acres, as is described in a marriage settlement made on John Boys, son of Sir Edward Boys the younger in 1626 and indicated in Map 3.6.⁸⁶ This included 224 acres at Ackholt and 515 acres at Kittington (Kethampton) in the parish of Nonington, with a further c.100 acres in Nonington and Womenswold at Henley and Three Barrows Down and 22 acres at Soles, all of which was tenant land of Wingham Manor. The manor of Soles had also been acquired by John Boys in Henry VIII's reign.⁸⁷ The estate extended into neighbouring parishes to include 60 acres in Shepherdswell, which was the manor of Westcourt in the lordship of St. Martin's Priory at Dover before the dissolution of the monasteries and 360 acres in Eythorne parish being the manor of Ulvington or Elmington, adjacent to Kittington (Kethampton) and acquired by William Boys in the mid 16th century. Investment in marshland had been made during the 16th century, as 82 acres in Ash parish was included in the marriage settlement, probably part of Guston Flete and Wingham Barton marshes.⁸⁸ Furthermore, in 1618, Edward Boys had settled a further 93 acres of marshland at Flete on his son in law, John Bode.⁸⁹

This estate illustrates nicely the disintegration and dissolution of the medieval patterns of landholding and lordship in this area of East Kent and the creation of a gentry estate. It was a

mini lordship in itself, a conglomeration, constructed by piecemeal acquisition of small manors with customary and knight's fee lands carved out of the ecclesiastical lordship of Wingham. It was relatively short lived, compared with similar estates, such as that of the Oxenden family in Wingham, lasting from the early 16th to the late 17th century, and collapsing partly as a result of sequestrations during the civil war and Cromwellian period.⁹⁰

The Hammond family was resident at St.Albans alias Eswelle in Nonington during the 16th and early 17th century and was the landlord until the 19th century, owning in 1840, 934 acres in Nonington, of which 360 acres were formerly of St.Albans Convent and 536 acres part of the possessions of the See of Canterbury.⁹¹ Although less extensive in the 16th century than that of their neighbours, the Boys of Fredville, there was much that was similar between these estates. The core of both lay in small medieval manors on the perimeter of the Wingham estate; growth took place in the 16th century by piecemeal addition of adjacent property including land of the Wingham lordship; both had consolidated demesnes; both included detached marshland, six to seven miles north in the parish of Ash. The Hammond estate had its origins in early 16th century leases purchased subsequently during the 16th century. From surviving title deeds, wills and inventories and an estate map dated 1650, an impression can be built up of this family estate by the early 17th century. The inheritance of St.Albans during this period can be documented by surviving wills. It would appear that this family held the lease from the Abbot and Convent of St.Albans prior to its dissolution, for John Hamon in 1525, willed all his lands to his son Thomas at 21 years, and his brother Alexander to have the occupying of St. Albans Court in the meantime.⁹² By 1566, the estate of this family had become more extensive, for Thomas Hammond gentleman of Nonington gave the inheritance of his manor of St.Albans and all his lands in Nonington, Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Chillenden, Worth, Sholden and Northbourne to his son Edward, who in turn in 1615, willed these lands to his son Sir William Hammond.⁹³ A deed dated 1607, in which Edward granted these lands to his son William, specified the manor of St. Albans and a farm called Chillenden Court and in 1633, in a deed of recovery, Anthony Hammond eldest son and heir of William who had come of age, was siezed in the manor of St.Albans Court, alias

Eswelle.⁹⁴ The lands listed in this latter deed included St. Albans house, outbuildings with 409 acres and Chillenden farm with outbuildings and 147 acres; two small farms of c.15 acres and 14 acres respectively and a smallholding of 2 acres in Nonington, Goodnestone, Chillenden and Northbourne, with the manor of Guston Flete and other lands in Ash parish at a distance which were primarily marshland, making a total estate of a minimum 797 acres (Map 3.5). The marshland manor of Guston Flete had been leased to them by the earls of Oxford in the early 16th century.⁹⁵

The survival of an estate map of St. Albans Court dated 1650, although in very poor condition, gives a partial view on the ground of this estate (Map 3.7).⁹⁶ Although the extremities of the map and most of the key or legend to the map are illegible, looked at in conjunction with the Nonington Tithe map, it is clear that this estate formed a consolidated block, stretching to the Boys estate at Fredville and Kittington (Kethampton) to the south and south-east, to Knowlton on the north east, and the parish boundary of Goodnestone to the north. The map shows St. Albans Court, its house and courtyard with all the fields adjacent and it is likely to have stretched along the north and west as far as Pinner's Wood and Nonington village and to the hamlet of Easole Street to the south west, as one of the tenants represented on the map and the legible part of the key, had a barn and hempland at Easole Street, with five small parcels in Easole fields and two parcels in the closes next to the church. The 1650 map shows that the Hammond estate stretched continuously from the house itself, north into the parish of Chillenden, to include Chillenden court farm, much of the village surrounding the church and lands stretching beyond to the north and east.⁹⁷

These two families, the Boys and the Hammonds, were major local landlords. Edward Boys was primarily a rentier and although evidence is lacking for the management of the home farm at Fredville, he let almost all of the land settled on John Boys in 1626. 194 acres at Ackholt were leased to Edmund Rigden, yeoman of Nonington, 82 acres at Kittington to John Jordan, and various parcels of land at Henley downs and Three Barrows downs in Nonington and Womenswold were occupied by Richard Epps, Joane Ceckden, James Maytam, Nicholas Creak,

Thomas Hayward, George Sharpe and John Mundaie; 39 acres in Nonington were let to Thomas Graunt.⁹⁸ However, woodland was regarded as an important investment and was kept in hand and not let to tenants. In 1626, 30 acres of Ackholt wood in two parcels and Tye Wood of 32 acres at Kittington were retained under Edward Boys' management.⁹⁹ He also held in 1626 the lease of some unnamed demesne woodland of Wingham Manor from the crown, which was probably the c.252 acres called Woolwich wood in Womenswold, of which he held the lease in 1638.¹⁰⁰

By 1650, the lands of St. Albans were being leased in parcels and farms to tenants, probably four in number, whilst the house and surrounding yards, orchards and small closes were retained in hand.¹⁰¹ Prior to 1633 St. Albans Manor was let in its entirety to Henry Toms during the minority of Anthony Hammond and the lands in Ash at Guston Flete were leased to local inhabitants.¹⁰² However, the inventory of Anthony's grandfather Edward Hammond dated 1616 implies direct management of a substantial farm and marketing of its produce, for his inventory lists receipts for 43 quarters of wheat and 40 quarters of barley.¹⁰³ Some land was let to tenants. No acreages are given, but Edward's appraisers listed moneys received for rent from Widdow Godden, 13s-4d, for farms from Goodman Pitt, 10s-0d, from Goodman Bax, £2, from Goodman Wood, £33, and one of his executors was John Taylor of Chillenden, "my fermour".¹⁰⁴

Evidence for a change of policy from direct management to leasing in the early 17th century exists for some other estates within the Wingham area, for example, on the estate of Sir Thomas Harflete of Moland in the parish of Ash. In 1606, Sir Thomas paid poor rate on 206 acres in Ash, but in 1607, 30 acres of his land was occupied by Thomas Swafford.¹⁰⁵ At his death in 1638, Thomas Swafford, yeoman of Ash, was holding the leases of almost the whole of Moland and Chequer farms, containing 198 acres.¹⁰⁶ Sir Thomas Harflete seems to have retained a modest interest in cattle, as his inventory of September 1617 included 10 Welsh steers and 2 young steers, besides a dairy herd of six, but it was on a reduced scale compared to that of his father, Christopher, who owned a dairy herd of 59 kine and 14 young cattle at his death in 1575.¹⁰⁷ The inventory evidence for Edward Oxenden of Brook in 1618 suggests a reduced farming enterprise, when compared with that of his uncle, William, in 1576. The inventories were dated July and

May respectively and therefore comparable in terms of the farming year. No acreage of sown crops is recorded for Edward and his flock of sheep was considerably smaller, numbering 32 compared with William's flock of 217 ewes and wethers and 76 lambs.¹⁰⁸

However, not all the gentry followed suit in the first half of the 17th century, the Boys of Bonnington in the parish of Goodnestone and the St. Nicholas family of Ash remained primarily gentleman farmers at least until the 1620's. Probate inventories have survived for three members of the St. Nicholas family; Vincent in 1589, and his sons, Thomas in 1626 and Timothy in 1638, making some comparison possible (Table 3.6).¹⁰⁹ There would appear to be an increase rather than decrease in scale of farming enterprise between 1589 and 1626 at the death of Vincent's son Thomas. Thomas had also built a new hop garden.¹¹⁰ However, this was not necessarily a sign of prosperity, but an attempt to increase and maximize income from his land, as in his will, Thomas acknowledged that he was deeply in debt.¹¹¹

Table 3.6 A comparison of the farm inventories of three members of the St. Nicholas family of Hodan in the parish of Ash 1589-1638.

name	Vincent	Thomas	Timothy
date of inventory	Sept. 1589	Dec. 1626	July 1638
acreage sown	-	50 acres	55 acres
grain in barns	107 quarters	176 quarters	7 quarters
sheep	95	119	32
kine	7	15	2
young cattle	23	19	3

The Oxenden Family

The Oxenden Family of Wingham were important resident land owners in this area for 500 years from the 13th to the early 20th century and had become established in the parish of Wingham by the mid 15th century. Despite of and because of the importance of this family throughout the period studied in this thesis, a case study has been presented for the whole period 1460-1640 at this point and includes some aspects of its farming economy in the late 16th century. This family estate illustrates many of the characteristics of gentry estates in this area of East Kent that

were suggested at the beginning of this chapter. Although tenants of Wingham Manor in the 13th century, the origins and core of the estate in the parish of Wingham in the early modern period was largely a 14th and 15th century post Black Death creation and is an example of small estate formation from some knight's fee land, but primarily from customary land of the Wingham estate, expanding in the 16th century to include demesne leases and land in neighbouring parishes and lordships. It is an example of the small estate pattern growing within the centre of the ecclesiastical lordship at Wingham, as discussed in Chapter 2, in contrast to the Boys and Hammonds of Nonington, whose estates were largely created in the 16th century and were periphery to the lordship of Wingham. Although divided into two in the 16th century, the bulk of the lands of both parts were consolidated around the farm or manor houses, with small amounts of detached land including marshland within 10 miles. These two gentry estates were typical of the size of East Kent estates in this period, both together probably did not amount to more than 1,000 acres. Although the Oxendens had urban connections principally in Canterbury, their probate inventories suggest that direct commercial farming of most of their land in the 16th century was an important ingredient in their increasing wealth and success during this period.

The Oxenden name first appears in 1285 among tenants of the manor of Wingham in the vill of Oxenden in Nonington parish, from whence they acquired their name, for Thomas of Oxenden held 19 acres and the widow of Nicholas of Oxenden held 16 acres of land there.¹¹² By the 15th century, although a Robert Oxenden remained a tenant in the southern part of Wingham Manor with a holding of 143 acres in 1460, other members of the family had accumulated land in the heart of the manor in the parish of Wingham itself where they lived. Title deeds indicate the purchasing of land at Dene in the early 14th century, previously held by the knightly Criol family.¹¹³ The 1460 rental for Wingham Manor lists two Oxendens; a John Oxenden with 21 acres in small plots in Welle, Mayhewes and Easttown, on the outer edge of the demesne lands of the manor of Wingham, of which a John Oxenden (probably the same man) was the farmer before 1439; the other tenant was Richard Oxenden with a substantial total holding of 509 acres in nine hamlets, principally Dene, Twitham and Brook and including 2½ acres of wood in Oxenden.¹¹⁴ Richard

acquired the Brook lands through marriage with a Wingham heiress, Jane of Wenderton.¹¹⁵ Richard's will dated 1469 states that in addition, he held land in the neighbouring parishes of Adisham, Wickhambreux, Woodnesborough, Ash, Staple, Preston and Chislet.¹¹⁶ Thus the core of the 19th century Oxenden estate in the Wingham area as it appears on the Tithe Map was a late medieval acquisition, for in 1842 Sir Henry Oxenden owned about 700 acres in Wingham with a further 260 acres adjacent in Adisham.¹¹⁷

Although the genealogy of the later 15th century Oxendens is not clear, an Edward Oxenden of Wingham was in possession of this estate in 1521. He bequeathed his lands to his eldest son, William, at the death of his wife with an annuity to his second son, Henry.¹¹⁸ In practice, the brothers divided the inheritance between them, William the house and lands at Brook and Henry the land at Dene and both men are listed as tenants of Wingham Manor in c.1560 paying quitrents of £3-15s-2d, and £4-2s- 4d.¹¹⁹ These two estates remained during the period studied here, occupied by two branches of the Oxenden family. An account of each part separately will follow.

No acreages are retrievable for William's estate at Brook, but it included land at Brook, at Twitham in the parish of Wingham and land extending into the adjacent parish of Staple, as indicated in Map 3.8. The land in Staple was probably that land referred to in Richard Oxenden's will in 1469, as William made a bequest of £10 in his will towards repairs of Staple church and he held the lease of the parsonage barn at Staple in c.1560.¹²⁰ It looks as if he inherited other outlying portions of the 1460 estate, those at Ash and Preston which he let to tenants, for his will, made in 1576, lists bequests to his farmer, William Whetle, who may be William Wheatley of Ash; to his tenant Michael Walker and his wife, he bequeathed the security of tenure at the current rent of the house and barns in Wingham and Preston, which they occupied for 20 years.¹²¹ These were probably not large acreages. Besides his inherited property, William held a lease of part of the demesne lands of Wingham Manor lying between Brook and the village of Wingham, in the fields called Medfield and Blackney and a marsh called Temlopp with the profits of the fair at Staple by 1560.¹²² When this lease was taken by William's nephew, Edward, who held it in 1608, the amount of land was 150 acres.¹²³ William owned the "Sign of the Lion" inn in Wing-

ham, which he probably supplied with beer from his farm as it is significant that his inventory listed 80lb of hops with 40 quarters of malt in the barn.¹²⁴

William's inventory, drawn up in 1576 suggests that he kept in hand the home farm at Brook with adjacent lands. It indicates an agricultural enterprise with emphasis towards livestock husbandry rather than cereals, which would be appropriate for the type of land surrounding Brook farm, low lying "brook" and marshy land below 50 feet near the Wingham river. The 150 acre lease was described in 1609 as including 33 acres pasture and 15 acres meadow, but also 90 acres of arable, which was called downland in the rental of c.1559 and was probably Blackney hill to the south of Brook.¹²⁵ However, in May 1576, William had only 33 acres of sown cereal, wheat 12 acres, barley 10 acres and podware 11 acres, but he did possess two ploughs and a team of four cart horses. He owned a flock of 80 ewes, 137 wethers and 76 lambs, probably grazed on the downland and marshes. He kept a dairy herd of 15 with one heifer and was rearing and fattening cattle, for his herd contained 20 bullocks, 4 weaning calves and young bullocks including 7 twelvemonthing, 7 two yearling and one three yearling.¹²⁶ However, no evidence has survived of his marketing, rearing and fattening schedules. William's bequests to his servants suggest a work force of eleven, including his "boy", three women, and his cook, John Royden, who did not live in but was provided with a house.¹²⁷

William's life style was consistent with that of neighbouring 16th century gentlemen. He had made additions to his hall house, which included among its 16 rooms, the new lodging and new parlour. His possessions included luxuries such as a pair of virginals, a map, and a picture of King Edward. His moveable estate was assessed at £573, which included an investment of £60 in plate and jewels.¹²⁸ His connections and friends among local gentry remembered in his will included Vincent Engham of Goodnestone, William Lovelace, serjeant at law, his nephew, Hardres of Upper Hardres, Mr. Cyryack Pettit and William Crispe of Dover Castle, where William Oxenden had a chamber.¹²⁹

William died in 1576 without children and his house and possessions at Brook, land and lease were inherited by his nephew, Edward, his brother, Henry's second son. Edward died in

1617, leaving an inventory of his possessions totalled at £266, half that of his uncle.¹³⁰ The household possessions were much as in 1576, but plate and jewels were valued at £45, and he had acquired a status symbol in a coach and two coach horses. While his standard of living seemed much as his uncle's, the drop in the value of his personal estate lay in a reduction in direct farm management as indicated by the lack of crops and reduced numbers of livestock, discussed earlier in this chapter, although he continued with hop growing, as 50lb of hops remained in the barn in July, two months before the new hop harvest. The move towards a greater dependence on a rent income is further confirmed by the half yearly rents listed, which were owed by three tenants, paying a total of £44 per annum. However, without estate accounts, it is not possible to suggest the timing of this change, or the factors particular to this estate which brought change in management. In 1631, William Oxenden, son of Edward, was sub-leasing half of his demesne lease.¹³¹

William Oxenden's brother, Henry who inherited land at Dene to the south of Wingham village, produced four sons; his son, Henry and grandson, James, were resident there during the first half of the 17th century. Reconstruction of this estate was based on the evidence of the Tithe maps of Wingham and Adisham, and a terrier of Sir James Oxenden's lands, dated 1636.¹³² It is quite clear that most of the land owned at Dene by Sir Henry Oxenden in 1840 is the same as that described in the 1636 terrier, although it is difficult to place the 1636 parcels of land with accuracy on the Tithe maps of Wingham and Adisham, as many field names used did not appear in the Tithe awards; some field boundaries and areas had changed in the intervening two centuries. The area of James Oxenden's estate based on Dene in Wingham parish covered approximately 323 acres and extended into Adisham for a further 263 acres (Map 3.8). The area described in 1636 amounted to over 469 acres in Wingham and Adisham, (in four parcels, acreages were not entered), with an outlying farm and 57 acres at Underdown in Herne, eight miles north of Canterbury, probably the land listed at Chislet in 1460. Dene park, as appears on the Tithe Map of Wingham, was a late 17th or 18th century creation. In 1636 the site of the mansion house with its gardens, orchards, yards, barns and stables was surrounded by pasture closes and arable lands. To the west, land lay at Mayes, Mayes Hill and Babbs Wood, with 32 acres at Trapham on the boun-

dary between the parishes of Wingham and Ickham; to the east, land south of Crockshard; to the south, land in Adisham including Bossington farm, stretching to the 14 acres of Broom wood on the west. These fields were adjacent to each other, creating a compact estate, bounded by the road to Wingham Well on the north, the road south to Ratling and Womenswold on the east and probably the lands of Adisham manor and the road between Uffington and Adisham on the southern boundary. It would seem that the land further south in Adisham owned by the Oxendens in 1840 was a later addition. James Oxenden in 1636 owned 10 acres of woodland called Oxenden wood in Adisham, but the abutments suggest that it was not as far south as the 33 acres of woodland bearing that name in 1840.

In the left hand margin of the 1636 terrier, 11 names probably those of his tenants were entered against small plots and tenements. The total amount of land was small, which suggests that James was still directly farming a substantial part of his estate at Dene. The farmhouse at Herne was let to a William Turner, but it is not clear whether the 56 acres went with it. In the late 16th century, it was not leased out, as James's grandfather, Henry, kept his young cattle at Herne.¹³³ James let small amounts of land on the edge of his demesnes in Wingham to local residents; 12 acres of pasture and wood to William Austen, the lessee of Wingham Manor house and part of the demesne, 3 acres of arable to Michael Impet, yeoman of Wingham and 2 roods of orchard to Edmund Morrice. Four tenements were let: a house with barn, orchard and garden of 1 acre 1 rood on the east side of Crockshard was let to a Gerald Ald(-); a farmhouse, barn, stable and orchard of 2 acres on the south side of the road on the northern boundary of the Dene demesne, was let to Thomas Winter the younger and a similar tenement of 3 roods in the same area to Thomas Winter the elder, possibly the mason, goodman Winter; and a tenement let to William Parker. James Oxenden was also owner of three shops which he let, and which were situated on the east side of Wingham Street in the village centre: a house, butchers shop, barn, stable, backside and orchard containing an acre let to a John Rusbridge; a house, coopers shop, stable, barn and orchard of 2 roods 30 perches to an Alex Turrall; and a house, tailor's shop, barn, stable, orchard and backside of half an acre let to Thomas Wreake.

The major part of the land of this estate in 1636 was in Oxenden hands in the 16th century. In his will dated 1594, Henry the elder bequeathed his manor and house, which he built about 1582 and is commemorated in a stone inscription in Wingham Church, to his son Henry.¹³⁴ His inventory makes clear that he owned the property at Bossington in Adisham and the farm at Herne. However, this family continued to purchase property, retain and add leases of Wingham demesne land. Henry's will lists a messuage and 20 acres purchased from John Allen, 10 acres at Chislet from John Terry, a messuage and 8 acres in Wingham from Stephen and Henry Gibbs, and a messuage, barn and stable from John Jones, yeoman of Wingham.¹³⁵ Of the land listed in the 1636 terrier, ten acres of arable with another parcel, acreage not given and both abutting lands at Dene, had been purchased by James Oxenden. Henry, the elder, took the lease of Wingham demesne land at Blackney, at the death of his brother, William, in 1576, which he then bequeathed to his son, Edward and William's heir in 1597.¹³⁶ The survey of Wingham Manor, dated 1608 lists Henry's eldest son, Henry, with the lease of another portion of Wingham demesne totalling 160 acres of mostly downland at Navy, a field of 39 acres called Hartesland in the middle of the Oxenden fields and Crockshard bottom, leased by the crown to Roger Nevinson of Eastry.¹³⁷ This lease was in James Oxenden's hands in 1631.¹³⁸ The addition of this land would have increased the estate to c.630 acres.

Evidence for direct management of a substantial home farm at Dene during the late 16th century is indicated by the inventory of Henry Oxenden senior dated 1597.¹³⁹ The 1636 terrier describes 351 acres as arable and a minimum 200 acres of arable is suggested in 1597 by Henry's ownership of three ploughs. This was a mixed farming enterprise but as would be expected on the chalk downland and brickearths surrounding Dene, the emphasis was on sheep-corn husbandry, for Henry's inventory included a flock of 260 ewes and wethers and a further 50 lambs and 17 old sheep at the farm at Herne. His inventory made after harvest in September indicates an emphasis on wheat, for in the barns at Dene were stored £240 worth of wheat, £120 worth of barley, £15 worth of peas and tares with a further £20 in wheat at the barn at Bossington. In the garner, besides 12 quarters of malt and 3 quarters of oats, lay 4 quarters of wheat, valued at £8 or

£2 a quarter. If that valuation is applied to the bulk of his stored wheat, his harvest that year amounted to 134 quarters of wheat. Similarly, 6 bushels of barley were valued at 18 shillings, which would give a figure for his barley harvest of 100 quarters 6 bushels. 1597 was a year of bad harvest and dearth and such an enterprise, one of the largest in the Wingham area would be highly profitable during a period of high prices.¹⁴⁰ Cattle fattening was of lesser importance at Dene than on his brother's farm at Brook, largely for topographical reasons, but he kept some cattle, 2 northern bullocks and 13 one to two year olds at Herne, where he had £10 worth of hay in the barn for winter feed.¹⁴¹ At Dene he kept a dairy herd from which he bred, which numbered 22 kine and 8 calves in 1597.¹⁴² Both Oxenden brothers fattened pigs; 50 hogs were listed in Henry's yard in 1597, 27 pigs and hogs at Brook in 1576.¹⁴³ No information survives concerning marketing, but Henry's ownership of two waggons and eight waggon horses is some indication of scale of marketing activity particularly in grain. Only five inventories in the period 1560-1640 listed ownership of two waggons. This farming enterprise was one of the largest in the Wingham area, being similar to that of his neighbour Bartholomew Austen, yeoman and lessee of Wingham Court. It will be considered within the general agricultural and economic context of the area in Chapter 5. It is not possible to comment on any change in the management of this estate in the early 17th century for lack of early 17th century inventories and accounts. However, the occasional letter written to his relatives at Barham by James Oxenden of Dene in the mid 17th century, suggests continued close supervision of the agricultural management of his estate.¹⁴⁴

The importance of the Oxenden family extended from local community involvement as landlords, farmers, employers, squires, to legal work as Justices of the Peace in Canterbury. Their network of relationships of kin and neighbours lay primarily with local East Kent gentry families; such networks are discussed in Chapter 7. Their rise in social status was marked by the granting of a coat of arms to John Oxenden in 1446 and the knighting of Henry Oxenden of Dene in 1606.¹⁴⁵ Their dynastic continuity in Wingham in the 16th and 17th centuries was assured despite William Oxenden's failure to produce male offspring, by Henry Oxenden, senior, who had three sons.¹⁴⁶ However, dynastic expansion within the Wingham area was cramped by the

16th century expansion of other gentry families, such as the Palmers, Enghams and Boys and by the large extent of Wingham manor demesne land in the parish of Wingham, available only on lease. Marriage into the Barham family of Broukhard made possible the planting of Henry's grandson, Richard, at Maykeden in Barham and the establishing of a successful Oxenden branch with an estate based there in the 17th century.¹⁴⁷

Despite the emphasis on continuity and expansion of estates and families implicit in these three final case studies, some change occurred. There were two newcomers to the parish of Wingham, both friends of the Oxendens. Vincent Denne bought the manor of Wenderton during Charles 1's reign and lived there until his death in 1642, this manor remaining in Denne ownership in 1668.¹⁴⁸ During the later 16th century, John Trippe, gentleman of Sandwich, bought a country residence at Trapham farm on the western boundary of Wingham, where his son, Charles appeared to be living at his death in 1625. This small country estate at Wingham was a new creation, for Trapham farm had not been a gentleman's residence before the late 16th century, but it is likely that the Trippes moved between their Wingham and Sandwich houses.¹⁴⁹ The Peke family was a further example of continued investment in rural properties by townsmen. They were Sandwich people with property in the town and a country estate at Hillscourt and Liverocks in Ash containing 174 acres of land, which was occupied in 1634 by Peter and Matthew Peke, gentlemen.¹⁵⁰ The property was bought by the Pokes from Henry Harflete of Ash.¹⁵¹ Amongst the lesser gentry families, the Idley family had moved from Goodnestone but remained in East Kent; William, elder son of John Idley, who had inherited his father's lands in Goodnestone, had by 1590 moved to neighbouring Eastry, where he was assessed for tax in 1593.¹⁵²

Some conclusions

This chapter has attempted to illustrate the pattern of gentry estates that emerged within and on the perimeters of the Wingham lordship from the mid 15th to the mid 17th century. Although pointing to changes and identifying factors which brought about change in estate structure and family fortune, the emphasis has tended to lie with three principal themes; continuity of residence

and landholding, dynastic and territorial expansion of a few successful families, particularly in the latter part of the period, but also the relatively small size of estates, the predominantly local East Kent and south/east coast character of most families and the lack of clear cut distinction between the many lesser, parochial gentry and the better off non-gentles. The influence of the aristocracy and nobility in this area was minimal. When comparing the mid 15th with the early 17th century overall, the greatest change can be seen in the proliferation and subsequent growth of small estates with resident owners within the parish of Wingham, itself at the heart of the medieval ecclesiastical lordship of Wingham. In the 15th century and early 16th century, only Wenderton and Brook were permanently associated with resident gentry, Walmestone with an absentee owner and all lay on the perimeter of the parish. By the 1620's, there were five resident gentry families, two Oxenden branches at Brook and Dene, the Palmers at the Provost's house, the Trippes at Trapham and the Dennes at Wenderton and one absentee at Walmestone. Three were new 16th century gentlemen residences. Reformation changes in landholding and ownership and increasing control of demesne leases by these families meant that by the 1620's a high proportion of the land of the parish was under the control of these families, the Oxendens in the south in particular. The Palmer family extended their territory by acquiring the farm at Blackney and demesne lease of the North part of Wingham in the 1620's from the Jones family, Wingham yeomen.¹⁵³ Only the c.300 acre demesne lease of Wingham Court and the c.300 acres at Walmestone lay outside the control of these five families. Gentry families had acquired property, houses and inns in Wingham street since 1460, as the evidence of the 1636 terrier of Dene suggests and further evidence of gentry landlordism in central Wingham is discussed in Chapter 7 concerning the community at Wingham. The sale of Wingham Manor by the crown to Lord Cowper in c.1650, did not alter this situation. It was these five families and in particular the Oxendens and the Palmers who were the effective landlords in the parish of Wingham by the 1620's.

In the parish of Nonington, the territorial expansion of the Boys and Hammonds intensified the dominance of those two families within the parish, for Ratling and Oldcourt had absentee landlords in the 1620's. There was probably less dramatic change in the remaining three parishes.

Goodnestone remained a parish with two resident gentry families; the Enghams replacing the earlier Godneston family and the senior branch of the Boys family. The Nethersoles remained in Womenswold throughout the period, although the Boys of neighbouring Fredville extended their influence into Womenswold with their lease of Woolwich Wood. The parish of Ash however, stood in contrast, for it was much larger in area and more open in terms of gentry and landlord control. The origins of this lay partly in the number of knight's fees which subsequently became mini lordships independent of the Wingham estate and in the extent of marshland in the parish. Only two gentry families, the St.Nicholas and Harflete families were continuously resident on their estates throughout the period and neither family were quite comparable in land ownership, wealth and status to the Boys and Oxendens. There was always a greater element of absentee gentry landlordism here, but it had increased by the early 17th century, when for example Thomas Stoughton and his successors lived in Canterbury, Goldstone was owned by the Enghams of Goodnestone and Canterbury, land at the Barton sublet by absentee gentry crown lessees, land at Flete owned and leased by the Hammonds and Boys of Nonington, land of Goshall leased by absentee owners. Its topography made it less than ideal a choice for the country residence of a gentry family with rising aspirations to greater luxury in life style, unless close proximity to the town and port of Sandwich was an important factor. Ash was good farming land, but could be bleak, for it is relatively flat and open to the north sea. There were no great park creations here in the 18th century, for the wealthier and more established of the gentry families lived further south on the downlands. The evidence of the Hearth tax returns of 1664 supports this view. No houses charged with more than seven hearths were listed under the boroughs in Ash, the seven hearth house being charged to Thomas St. Nicholas, whilst four houses in Wingham were listed with 28, 17, 14 and 11 hearths respectively, one with 20 hearths and two with 10 hearths in Goodnestone, three houses with 18, 13 and 8 hearths respectively were listed in Nonington and Easole.¹⁵⁴ Ash was the parish with an elite of minor gentleman, prosperous yeoman and townsmen families from Sandwich; the Gybbes, Huffhams, Brokes, Sollys, Pokes, Prouds, for example. The influence of the structure of gentry estates and gentry landlordism on landholding and farms below the level of

the gentry will be considered in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER 4

LANDHOLDING AND FARMS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine landholding below the level of the gentry in the Wingham area between 1460 and 1640, the relationships of owner, occupier, tenant and landlord, the pattern of farms in reality on the ground and some of the mechanisms which were operating on this system. The chapter begins with some discussion of land tenure in this area with particular reference to Wingham Manor, the largest and best documented manor. It is unlikely that the system of land tenure on the small fringe estates would be markedly different. A traditional approach to landholding through an analysis of rentals of customary tenants is taken, followed by a discussion of the problems involved, the effects of demography on landholding as seen through rentals and the reasons why such an approach provided an inadequate view of the ground plan of landholding by the 16th century. The results of an alternative approach through the collection of data on a biographical basis is discussed. The range in size of farms is considered with particular reference to mid 16th century farms in the parish of Ash, followed by a typology of farms in terms of the layout and arrangement of their constituent lands, with examples drawn from the whole study area and the factors which determined farm type. Continuity and change between 1460 and 1640 is looked at, particularly regarding the effects of inheritance customs and strategies and the family life cycle pattern on the size of a farm and the composition of its lands.

Certain themes emerge from this account. Despite the complexity of tenures in the 13th century, many distinctions were lost by the 15th century; what emerges as the important tenurial distinctions for the farmer by the 16th century was customary tenure paying quit rents and probably subject to gavelkind custom and land held by some form of leasehold, which was increasingly becoming the form of tenure by which the husbandman, smaller farmer and smallholder held their land as did the larger farmer whose farm was a demesne lease. The demographic trends of the later Middle Ages had led to the increasing concentration of customary land of Wingham

Manor in the hands of fewer tenants, which included gentry, yeoman farming families, townsmen, and ecclesiastical bodies. Therefore, by the mid 16th century, rentals are principally a view of landlordism below the greater lordships and although they provide some evidence of the land of local farming families, they are not a realistic survey of farms on the ground. Sub tenancies and leasing of customary land occurred. Collection of data on a biographical basis revealed complexity and a lack of uniformity by the 16th century in the way that occupiers held the lands of their farms; they were held by a variety of tenures, copyhold, leases of different kinds, even some freehold and often from more than one landlord. The paying of economic rents for farm land held on lease was of increasing importance; those whose land was primarily copyhold paying quit rents were in a stronger position and tended to be associated with the longer resident and successful families.

The notion of a standard medieval land holding or family farm unit was not in existence by the 15th century. If there was some evidence for a unit of some kind in the 12th century, it had disintegrated by the late 13th century as had similar systems in East Anglia. Family farms ranged from small holdings of a few acres to c.300 acres by the late 16th century. A more detailed study of Ash parish suggested that farms of 50 acres and over were characteristic of the area, forming c.30% of farms in the parish, during the 16th century. The spatial layout of farms did not conform to one pattern or fit models found in other areas of the country, but incorporated some features of those in Midland open field villages and from the compact farms of pastoral areas. Farms were divided into two principal models; Type A, the compact farm and Type B, the dispersed farm. Type A tended to be associated with the larger farm, long established consolidated areas of demesne and leases, type B with customary land, open fields, gavelkind custom and the small to medium farm, although the smallholding was often compact. The pattern, which featured prominently in the 19th century, of upland farms with detached parcels of marshland, "brokland" and sometimes woodland was also visible in the 16th century.¹ In this case topography and the need for a variety of type of land within a farm was a significant factor. The disparate nature of the sources used made it difficult to see trends in farm size or to determine

whether the model of the squeezing of the middle sized farmer as a result of population growth in the late 16th century applied in this area of *East Kent*, as has been suggested in *France and other* areas of England.² The evidence for the parish of Ash suggests that there may have been some reduction in size of the large marshland farms, with a corresponding increase in detached marshland parcels as constituent land of upland farms. In general, Type A farm unit, the large, leased, compact farm tended to remain fairly stable, whilst change is observed in turnover in lessees, rather than change in the unit. Change in Type B farm unit did occur, producing a kaleidoscopic, shifting picture of the composition of farm lands.

The mechanisms of this change lay in a combination of forces. Demography, population growth, individual family demographic fortune particularly the survival of several heirs within a family, the overriding principle of some form of partible inheritance of land, when more than one male heir survived to inherit, tended towards fragmentation. Against this could be set the survival of one heir and the modification of inheritance customs by the right to exercise choice through the will in allocation of farm lands to offspring. The expansion and contraction of farm land in response to the demands of the family life cycle was an additional contributor to movement of small parcels of land. Gavelkind custom included the right to sell and buy land freely and created a land market which was likely to have had early origins, but by the 16th century, the market in leased land was as important in the composition of farms. Younger sons could be provided with land by planting them on leased farms. However, leased land, including long term leases of demesnes, could not be divided by the tenant and was less subject to fragmentation. The long term view was gradual, piecemeal consolidation and enclosure of farm lands, with the exception of outlying marshland.

Land Tenure

This short discussion of medieval tenures on the Wingham estate forms a background against which to set the following account of landholding and farms primarily concerned with the period 1460-1640. The rentals of Wingham Manor drawn up in 1285, 1460 and c.1560 excluded

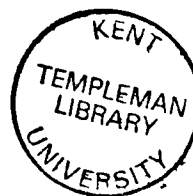
the knight's fees discussed in Chapter 2, which were held of the Archbishop by knight service and were inherited by promogeniture but were concerned with tenant land. In the 1285 and 1460 rentals the most important distinction which occurred on the tenant land of Wingham Manor was made between tenants of land held under a named vill and tenants of the cot-lands.³ Taking the latter group first; these were a later exploitation of land and referred to the marsh, brokland and the Fleming marsh, were small holdings and were subject to specific customary services, such as sheep shearing and sheep dipping.⁴ By 1460, this group was larger and extended to include messuages in Wingham, all of which were distinguished from the tenants of the vills by paying the "cotgablum", which rents were in general higher than that of the vill land.⁵ There did appear to be several tenures by which tenants of the vills held their land, although these different tenures were not entirely distinct by 1285 and may refer back to an earlier period. The tenures in the 1285 rental were gavellond, free land, shireland and inland, but almost all were subject to some kind of customary obligations. Occasionally these words are applied to individual holdings, but more commonly affixed to the total amount of land in that vill under that tenure. There were some vills, mostly in the parish of Ash, where tenant land does not have one of these specific words applied. The form in which the rental is worded argues for gavellond being the tenure operating on all vill land unless otherwise stated, for when the word is used it is to distinguish gavellond specifically from free land or inland.⁶ Inland existed in the southern half of the manor and was probably related to later settlement, principally woodland clearance. There was little difference between inland and gavellond in customary services owed in 1285 and they were often grouped together as in the vill of Ackholt.⁷ Shireland, as discussed in Chapter 1 carried customary services as for gavellond, but applied to large holdings and had special duties attached, notably presenting cases at the shire courts.⁸ The distinction between gavellond and free land was not clear cut, for free land was not in some cases free of customary obligations, although in others obligations were commuted to money rent.⁹ By the mid 15th century, when a rental was drawn up in 1460, these distinctions of tenure on vill land were for the most part lost and quit rents per acre were set for each vill, including land which was called free land. Attendance at the manor court was required

by all tenants. The extent to which the customs of gavelkind operated on the Wingham estate will be discussed later in this chapter in relation to the effect of inheritance practices on landholding.

By the later 16th century, the important tenures were *fee land*, which was *in general applicable* to the land of the gentry although its relationship to the medieval knight's fee lands is not clear; land owing quit rent being customary land of a manorial unit such as Wingham manor or a minor manor such as Ratling or Goldstone, the term copyhold is not used in rentals or probate sources; land held by lease. The most important tenures for farmers and husbandmen below the gentry, were the latter two tenures, which are considered with the discussion on landholding in the following section. The increase in leasehold tenure by the 16th century was a result of two trends; the availability of leased demesne land from the mid 15th century and the increasing concentration of customary tenant land in fewer hands notably those of the gentry with consequent sub tenancy, rather than by conversion of customary land to leasehold land by manorial lords, as occurred in Cambridgeshire in Chippenham.¹⁰ Rather, it was a concomitant of the changing structure of estates and lordship at Wingham.

Landholding below the Gentry

Initially, a traditional approach to the examination of landholding and farms was made through manorial records, largely dependent on rentals and surveys of customary and demesne lands principally for Wingham Manor, as the survival of court rolls is fragmentary and does not provide a good series. Probably in the region of 50% of the total area of c.17,000 acres of the five parishes in this study was held as customary tenant land, of which c.8,000 acres was customary land of Wingham Manor.¹¹ Although surviving rental evidence is very poor for St. Albans Manor, Fredville and the knight's fee manors, such as Ratling and Goldstone, customary land was unlikely to amount to much over 600 acres all told. An estimate of c.50 acres of customary land of Ratling Manor was arrived at, derived from the Stewards Book dated 1600-1630 and 130 acres of customary land for Goldstone Manor was estimated for the 15th century.¹² Records for customary tenant land for the manors at Fredville and St. Albans in Nonington and Flete and Goshall



have not been found, but the acreage is likely to have been of the same order as Ratling and Goldstone. Rentals for the customary tenant land of Wingham manor survive for 1285, 1460 and 1560, but not for the 17th century. However, this evidence does suggest in general a substantial drop in the numbers of tenants from the 13th century to 1460, as would be expected, following accepted demographic trends, but with a further decline by 1560, particularly following high mortality in the late 1550's. This evidence points to an increasing concentration of customary land in the hands of gentry families and a smaller number of more prosperous farmers, who were mostly resident in the area studied, or in adjacent and neighbouring parishes. Townsmen were much less evident as customary tenants in 1560 than in 1460. The poor survival of court rolls makes it impossible to trace in detail the process of tenurial change on the customary land of Wingham manor. What the rentals provide primarily is evidence of landlordism below the greater lordships and although they provide some evidence of the land of local farming families, they are not a realistic survey of farm units on the ground, certainly by the 16th century, as has also been argued in other estate studies.¹³ It is the occupation of land and farm units in reality from 1460-1640, that this chapter attempts to uncover and examine.

The overall effect of demographic change on customary landholding on Wingham manor from the late 13th century to 1560 can be sketched in terms of tenant numbers, using the survey of 1285, and rentals of 1460 and c.1560, although there are problems in using this data comparatively. Comparisons between the two rentals for Wingham manor can only be general as there are differences in the way the the data is listed in each rental. The 1460 rental lists for each tenant, land acreage totals and rents owed in each vill. The rental of c.1560 lists rent only owed on property by each tenant, whose names appear under the vill where they lived, with the exception of Wingham itself, where gentlemen such as Henry and William Oxenden and Thomas Engham paid rent for properties in Wingham street in addition to their principal land holding and so are listed more than once. There is a discrepancy in the names of the vills listed; Chilton for example is replaced by Ash Street and other names, such as Harmanstreet and Paramorestreet were added in the 1560 rental; some vill names present in the 1460 rental were omitted in 1560, such as Oxen-

den and Soles.¹⁴

The north part of Wingham was taken to sample change between 1285 and 1460, where the number of customary tenants had dropped from 249+ in 1285 to 138 in 1460; the 249 represents a minimum as it does not include an estimate to cover "co-tenants" or brothers, so that the drop of 56% shown in these figures is lower than reality. The concentration of customary land in the hands of fewer tenants continued. Considering the whole manor between 1460 and c.1560 tenant numbers dropped from 343 in 1460 to 197 in c.1560, a drop of 43%. Gentry control of this level of landholding increased from 43% of land in 1460 to 57% of rent in c.1560. Some of this process, possibly resulting from the high mortality of the late 1550's, can be observed in the 1560 rental, which lists rents for land recently held by a named tenant, which had been acquired by local gentry: the heirs of Roger St. Nicholas, probably Vincent, in Hodan in Ash, were listed as the tenants of lands recently held by four tenants; John Idley, gentleman of Goodnestone in 1560 is listed with land, formerly held by Adams, paying rent of 3s-9d and land formerly held by Witherden, paying rent of 8s-6d.¹⁵ In his will in 1568, John Idley bequeathed to his son William, a tenement and 5 acres in the hamlet of Rolling, which he had purchased from John Adams; Witherden was possibly Thomas Witherden of Wingham, or his son John, whose wills are dated 1557 and 1560 respectively.¹⁶

It is not possible to make much meaningful comparison between the acreage of customary tenant holdings for the whole manor in 1460 and rents owed in c.1560, for the total rental value of customary land had increased between 1460 and 1560 and although rents were assessed per acre for each vill in 1460, it is not stated on what basis the rent for each tenant was assessed in 1560. However, this evidence presented in Table 4.1, suggests an increase in the size and possibly number of the large customary holdings. In 1460, Richard Oxenden paid rents of £6-7s-0d on 418 acres, the largest holding in 1460; by 1560 there were 9 tenants of customary land paying £5 and over per annum, including Edward Boys, gentleman of Fredville in Nonington, who paid £10.¹⁷ If customary land owing quit rents, was being concentrated into fewer hands, the leasing out of portions of these holdings at economic rents to local farmers and husbandman was likely to

increase, particularly during the late 16th century as a result of population increase.

Table 4.1 Landholding in Wingham Manor 1460-c.1560

Table 4.1a Customary holdings c.1460			Table 4.1b Rents of Customary tenants c.1560		
acres	number of tenants	%	rent per annum	number of tenants	%
400+	1	0.3	£10+	1	0.5
300-99	4	1.2	£5-10	8	4.1
200-99	4	1.2	£4-5	4	2.0
100-99	12	3.5	£3-4	6	3.0
50-99	14	4.1	£2-3	5	2.5
20-49	39	11.3	£1-2	13	6.6
10-19	40	11.7	10s-£1	17	8.6
5-9	47	13.7	5s-10s	34	17.3
under 5	151	44.0	1s-5s	70	35.5
messuage/ cottage only	31	9.0	under 1s	39	19.8
totals	343	100.0		197	99.9

The argument that this rental evidence does not necessarily reflect reality in terms of farms on the ground can be shown by the detailed survey of the parcels of tenant holdings in c.1460, which has survived for the north part of Wingham Manor only, north of "the Brok" or Wingham river in the parishes of Ash and north Wingham.¹⁸ Comparison between the rental and the survey suggests that some form of sub tenancy lies concealed in the rental on two of the larger holdings, those of the Septvans family and Henry Loverick in Ash parish and may apply to other large holdings in the south part of the manor in 1460. The survey reveals that Henry Loverick for example was responsible for rents to Wingham manor on behalf of seven tenants of messuages in the hamlet of Weddington in Ash, with a total 43 acres of land out of the 111 acres assigned to Henry Loverick in the rental; these seven holdings do not appear in the rental.¹⁹ Moreover, the lands of a farm in reality were not necessarily confined within one lordship or manor, as can be demonstrated by biographical work on local inhabitants who were customary tenants of Wingham Manor in the late 15th century. Three Wingham inhabitants, whose farms were situated at the hamlets of Welle and Trapham on the west boundary of Wingham, were tenants of both Wingham

and neighbouring Ickham manors. Robert Oldmede had a tenement with an acre at Trapham in 1460, as a tenant of Wingham manor; his will of 1484 reveals that he was also a tenant of Ickham Manor, as he left those lands to his son John, who was listed as a tenant of Ickham Manor, with a house, garden and 9½ acres in 1492.²⁰ A comparison of surnames reveal that tenants paying rents to Goldstone manor in Ash in 1484-5 were also tenants of Wingham Manor in that area of Ash parish, particularly in the hamlet of Knell, which contained customary land of both manors. Henry Downing of Ash, for example, held four acres from the manors of Goldstone and Lyes (Knell), but his messuage with half an acre in the hamlet of Chilton was held of Wingham manor.²¹

As this analysis resulted in limited conclusions about landholding, an alternative approach was taken to uncover the ground plan of farms and farm lands and the types of tenure by which their lands were held, during the period from 1460 to 1640. This involved the collection of evidence on a biographical basis, using a range of surviving sources including rentals and surveys of customary and demesne land, a list of farms in Ash and north Wingham of c.1540, probate material, title deeds, and surviving poor rate lists for Ash parish for 1605-10. The conclusion which emerged was that in reality, farms varied from one to another in the types of tenure by which their lands were held. There existed farms whose lands were held by a mixture of customary and leasehold tenure from a variety of landlords; some farms were leased as a whole unit from one landlord, particularly the larger farms based on the knight's fees and demesne lands, whilst other farms were held predominantly by customary tenure from Wingham and neighbouring manors. This latter type is more observable in the late 15th century. Some later 16th and 17th century wills and inventories reveal larger farmers, yeomen, whose enterprises were based on a large leased farm, on which they lived, whilst letting their smaller customary holdings, often in a neighbouring or more distant parish to their leased farm. Although it is impossible to quantify this evidence, it does suggest that the farmer/husbandman below the level of the gentry was more likely to be a tenant on some form of lease for all or part of his farm rather than an owner occupier of customary or copyhold land paying a quit rent and that this tendency had increased

during the 16th and early 17th centuries. This would be an expected consequence of increasing control of customary and demesne land of Wingham manor by gentry families, who then sublet a part of their estates and the leasing of the knight's fee lands by landlords to local farmers. Rent would be a crucial factor in the economy of family farms.

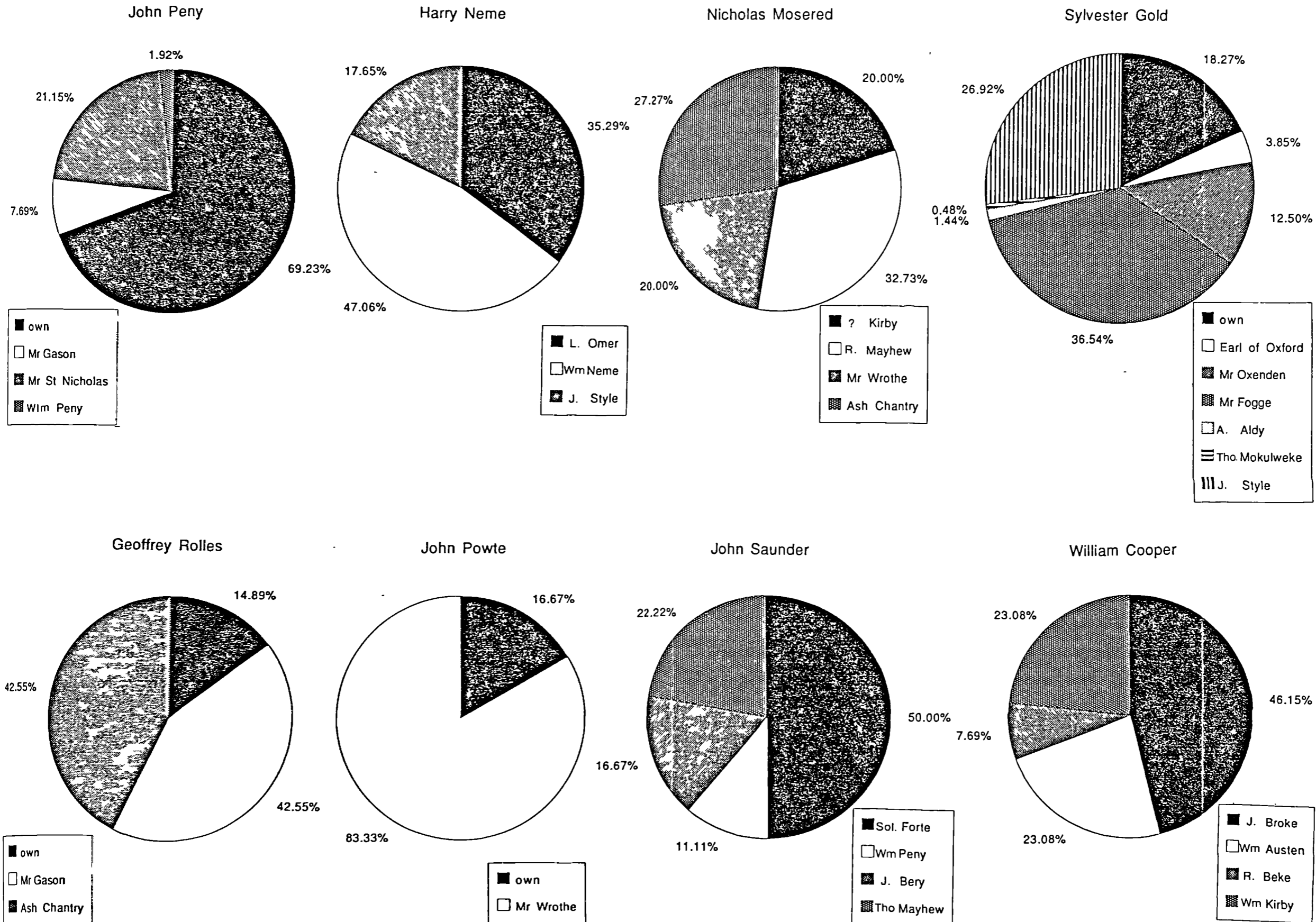
Most clearly revealed was the farm leased as a whole unit, as evidence from deeds and rentals supported that from probate material. At least seven large farms held by this tenure can be identified and there were probably more. They were Wingham Court farm in Wingham parish; Wingham Barton farm, Goshall, Goldstone, Flete and probably Pedding farms in Ash parish; Ratling Court, Ackholt and Kittington (Kethampton) farms in the parish of Nonington. Wingham Court farm was formed from the central section of Wingham demesne lands leased as a whole unit with its farmstead at the manor house in Wingham.²² At least from the mid 16th century, it was occupied by yeoman farmers; Edmond Cooper of Wingham held the lease of Wingham Court in the 1540's and was due to end a year after his death in 1550.²³ In the late 16th and early 17th century, it was occupied by William Austen of Wingham, who in 1608, held from Sir Roger Nevinson of Eastry, the lease of the house and 253 acres, which his son Bartholomew Austen of Wingham occupied at his death in 1621.²⁴ A farm comprising the farmstead of Wingham Barton Manor and 132 acres in Ash, was occupied by Humphrey Gardiner, yeoman of Ash in 1608, held by lease from Dudley Digges the lessee of the crown.²⁵ The lease of Goshall with c.250 acres was held by David Hole, yeoman of Ash in 1612.²⁶ In Nonington, Ratling Court was leased as a farm unit containing a farmstead and c.236 acres by Sir Roger Nevinson to Abraham Raynar and his son Edward in the late 16th century until the 1620's.²⁷ Sir Edward Boys leased two whole farm units in Nonington in the 16th and early 17th centuries: Edmund Rigden, yeoman of Nonington occupied Ackholt farm with 249 acres and Kittington farm was occupied by Ralph Adams in 1621.²⁸ Probate materials reveal husbandmen who held a farm and lands leased from one landlord frequently unnamed, but which were probably smaller and are less clearly identifiable than the units previously discussed; for example in 1548, John Harbye occupied a messuage and lands in the hamlet of Holstreet in Nonington, leased from William Boys, gentleman.²⁹ More com-

monly wills record the bequest of the remainder of a lease, as in the case of Richard Nash of Goodnestone, who left the lease of his house and lands to his widow in 1609.³⁰

However, while this one to one relationship of tenant and landlord applied to a number of farms, inventories and testamentary accounts suggest that it was common for husbandmen to owe rents on their farmlands to several landlords. Thomas Cooke, substantial yeoman of Ash, with a personal estate principally in farm produce and livestock valued at £860 at his death in 1616, owed rents to five different landlords.³¹ More modestly, Robert Ralph of Ash owed rent for his house and 14 acres to one, unnamed landlord and for remaining land to four others, Richard Huffham and John Prowde, both yeoman of Ash, Richard Huffham of Eastry and Henry Paramore.³²

This multi landlord picture, suggested by probate sources is confirmed by an analysis of a list of occupiers of farms which survives for the parishes of Ash and north Wingham of c.1530-40. This document undated, untitled in a 16th century hand, is bound in with the 1460 rental of Wingham Manor. An approximate date of 1530-40 was arrived at from comparisons of names with probate evidence. The document appears to be a list of occupiers of land in the parishes of Ash and north Wingham. The name of each individual is listed under a named hamlet, street or vill, with acreages held of named landlords and his total acreage.³³ It is clear from this list that the majority of farms in the parish of Ash at that date contained lands held from several landlords, which emphasises the complexity of the tenant-landlord relationship by the mid 16th century. For thirty of the 126 names listed, no information about tenure was given; these thirty included 13 occupants of a smallholding under 8 acres and a further 17 who were probably occupiers of cottages with no land, as only their names but no data about property is recorded. Of the remaining 96 individuals listed, 72 or 75% farmed land held from several landlords; Chart 4.1 illustrates some individual examples of farmers with multiple landlords.

Chart 4.1 Landholding of eight farmers in Ash by percentage acreage and landlords c.1540



Twenty-four of the ninety-six individuals held their whole farm from one landlord only, which included smallholdings, such as John Austen who had a smallholding of 2½ acres as the tenant of Jone Harflete (Gentlewoman), in addition to larger farms such as Goshall and Wingham Barton discussed above and Gilton Farm in Ash, part of the estate of Edward Stoughton, gentleman of Ash, which he leased to Harry Neme of Ash.³⁴

This survey makes the distinction on one hand, between owner/occupier land, described as "of his own", which seems to relate to a holding of Wingham manor customary land and on the other hand, land held as a tenant of a named individual, probably as some form of lease. Land held "of my lord of Canterbury" correlates with leased demesne land. The proportion of owner/occupier land as opposed to tenant land was 30%:70% of the 7,856 acres counted in this list. Twenty eight of the 96 individuals listed were owner/occupiers of some of their farm land, and a further five were owner occupiers of the whole of their farms. Five owner/occupiers were resident gentry families, the remaining 28 were husbandmen and yeomen, almost entirely from Ash and Wingham willmaking families, the middling and larger farming families. Among this group were three members of the Omer family, yeomen of Ash; Roger Omer, who lived in the hamlet of Ware, was the owner/occupier of a sizeable farm of 112 acres, but rented a further 1 acre from the Chapel of Overland and ½ acre from a Mr. Gason.³⁵ This was probably John Gason, who inherited lands in Ash from his father, Simon Gason in 1527, but was an absentee landlord letting 244 acres in Ash to five other tenants besides Roger Omer.³⁶ Also listed in Ware was William Cambe (Combe) who was the owner/occupier of a more modest farm of 20 acres.³⁷ Both Roger Omer and William Cambe were listed as tenants of customary land of Wingham manor at Ware in c.1560.³⁸ On the other hand, William Peny junior of the hamlet of Knell farmed 95 acres, of which 15 acres only, 16% of his farm land was his own.³⁹

Sixty-seven individuals appear as landlords in this survey, 26 of which were the gentry families and ecclesiastical lords discussed earlier in this thesis, such as the earl of Oxford, Mr Dyngley of Goshall, the Alday, Harflete, Oxenden, St. Nicholas, and Stoughton families along with the Archbishop of Canterbury's demesne leases in the north part of Wingham and the Barton and

local ecclesiastical foundations including Ash Chantry and Overland Chapel. However, although these landlords account for the bulk of the land let, particularly the large acreages, some 30 of the landlords counted were local farmers letting small amounts of land to neighbours. In the main they would appear to be of the more substantial kind; Roger Omer, discussed above let a further 24 acres in small parcels of between one and six acres each to neighbours, Stephen and John Solley, John Catte, old Catte, Mrs Dustone and widow Hardres; John Broke let six acres to William Cowper and 28 acres to James Forte.⁴⁰ Some husbandmen, mostly yeomen were both tenants and landlords. Probate inventories and testamentary accounts for Ash from the later 16th and early 17th centuries confirm the continuation of this complex picture of land holding in the parish of Ash in particular.

The evidence does not exist for a detailed study of the remaining parishes. However, it is likely that in Wingham most farms were leased or contained a high percentage of leased land. About 38% of the 2,600 acres of the parish was demesne land of Wingham manor, leased throughout the period and the land on the perimeter of the parish, which had included customary tenant land of Wingham manor, largely formed the gentry estates of the Oxendens at Dene and Brook, and manors at Wenderton and Walmestone, which were leased or were managed directly as gentry farms.⁴¹ There were probably four substantial farms taken as leases by yeoman farmers in Wingham in the mid 16th century; Wingham Court, a demesne lease, discussed earlier in this chapter; the farm of the Jones family, Henry and son John, which included a thirty acre farmstead called Blackney, which was owner/occupier property and in addition the 250 acres demesne lease called the north part of Wingham.⁴² In c.1540 Walmestone farm of c.260 acres was let by Sir Walter Hendley to Edmund Solley, yeoman of Wingham and the 265 acre farm at Wenderton, just prior to its purchase by the Wareham family was leased to William Eleham of Wingham.⁴³ It is likely that in much of Nonington, where the Boys and Hammond family dominated as landlords from the 16th century, leasehold tenancies of farms were more common than owner occupiers.

Rent was therefore a crucial factor in the economy of most family farms in this area of East

Kent and rent as a factor in debt is considered in some case studies in Chapter 6. The evidence concerning rents collected from the sources used is too variable and insufficient in detail from which to draw conclusions or examine changes over time. A few general observations only can be made. Those husbandmen, whose farms were based in customary land of Wingham manor, the "owner/occupiers" of the 1540 farm survey of Ash, were in a strong position, when paying quit rents of between 3d and 6d an acre.⁴⁴ Rent charged on Wingham manor demesne leases remained relatively static throughout the 16th and early 17th century, but entry fines were charged; Henry Jones and his son, for example paid £8 per annum on their 250 acres lease of the north part of Wingham demesne in c.1560 and 1609 and Henry paid an entry fine of £16 on his 21 year lease in 1570.⁴⁵ These demesne leases were advantageous. Probate records yield minimal data on rents per acre paid on farm lands but the general level owed per annum suggest economic rents. Sub tenancy was likely to benefit the middle man. The Archbishop of Canterbury and from c.1540 the crown, had leased the Wingham Barton at £50 for the whole, or at £25 in two halves.⁴⁶ In 1608, when the Barton was surveyed, the lessee of one part, Dudley Digges, sublet 78 acres of arable with 41 acres of marshland to Humphrey Gardiner, yeoman of Ash, for £60 per annum, averaging 10 shillings per acre. Digges let other parcels of marsh at 18 shillings per acre.⁴⁷

The Farm Unit: size of units and typology of farm layout

The existence of a standard or typical medieval family landholding unit has been demonstrated in certain areas of England and in some cases to have survived in a notional form into the 16th century, although it seems doubtful that the integrity of such units remained in reality. Named units such as yardlands and half yardlands existed in Cambridgeshire, on the estates of the Bishop of Worcester and virgates at Kibworth Harcourt in Leicestershire and on the Westminster Abbey estates.⁴⁸ Although there was local variation, the standard size seemed to be in the region of 24 acres.⁴⁹ Such a unit does not survive even in a notional form by the 15th and 16th centuries on Wingham manor or at Ratling or Goldstone.

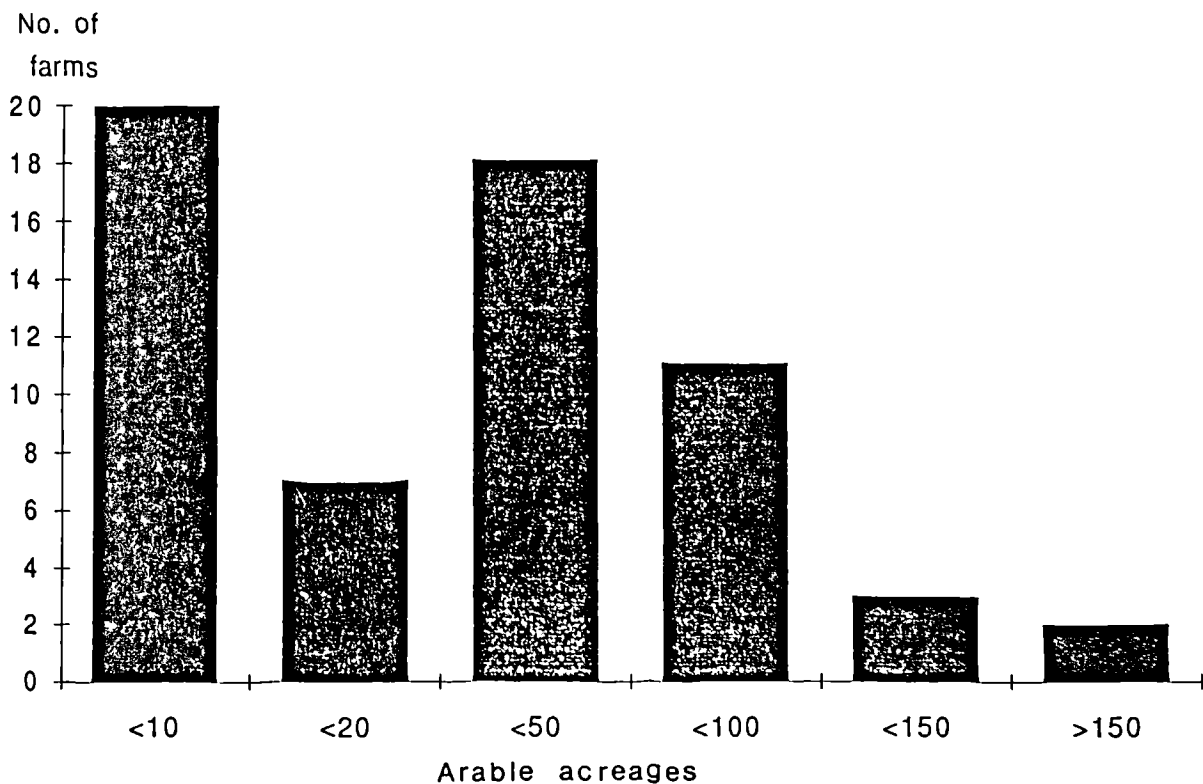
Looking back to the 13th century, the rental of Wingham manor of 1285 suggests that at some time prior to this date there were units of land within each vill, not given a specific name, on which services were levied. Although these units varied enormously in size from 3 to 154 acres, there were some vestiges of regularity; in the vill of Nash (Frenes), for example, there were five units of 21-23 acres, on which the same labour services were levied.⁵⁰ It is possible that what is seen in this rental is a fossil of a pre 13th century structured system of landholding, based on this fiscal unit, for in some parts of the rental the tenement of a named individual corresponded to one of these units, but this was not universally so for some units contained several holdings of named tenants and the words "tenement of" are not used, suggesting earlier 13th century division. However, by 1285 there was considerable fragmentation and no sense of a standard holding. In other parts of East Kent, for example on Chartham manor to the west of Canterbury, a unit called the yoke existed, but it was a fiscal rather than a tenant holding.⁵¹ Yokes existed at Gillingham and Eastry in the 13th century.⁵² A system of early medieval fiscal units called "tenementa", once comprised of individual holdings also existed at Martham in East Norfolk and at Redgrove in Suffolk, but their integrity also did not survive population growth in the 13th century and they remain fossilised in rentals.⁵³ On Wingham manor by the early 15th century, rents on customary land were assessed per acre in each vill, and total rents for each tenant aggregated.⁵⁴ The word "tenement" is used in documents from the 15th century but its connotations were different and will be discussed in the section of this chapter on the typology of farms. The idea of an average or standard size farm is not a useful starting point for the 16th century in the Wingham area.

Farm size

It is possible to draw only some tentative conclusions about size of farm units below the gentry estates between the mid 15th and mid 17th century, particularly when attempting to examine change over time and variation within the area studied, as the surviving sources are uneven and disparate in nature. By the end of the period between c.1600 and 1640, farms ranged in size from a smallholding of a few acres up to those in the region of 250- 300 acres, represented by the

larger yeoman farms, which were comparable in size to some of the gentry home farms, kept in hand. Among these larger farms were Wingham Court farm in Wingham, farmed by William Austen and his son Bartholomew at 253 acres in 1608; Ratling Court farm in Nonington, surveyed and mapped in 1637, was 273 acres; the farm at Kittington (Kethampton) in Nonington leased by Sir Edward Boys to Ralph Adams in 1626 totalled 360 acres; in Ash, David Hole farmed 264 acres at Goshall, and Richard Huffham, 308 acres in 1605.⁵⁵ A further overall view, although not of statistical significance, of the range of farm size in terms of arable land only obtained from 61 summer inventories, where acreages of crops were listed, confirms this picture (Chart 4.2).

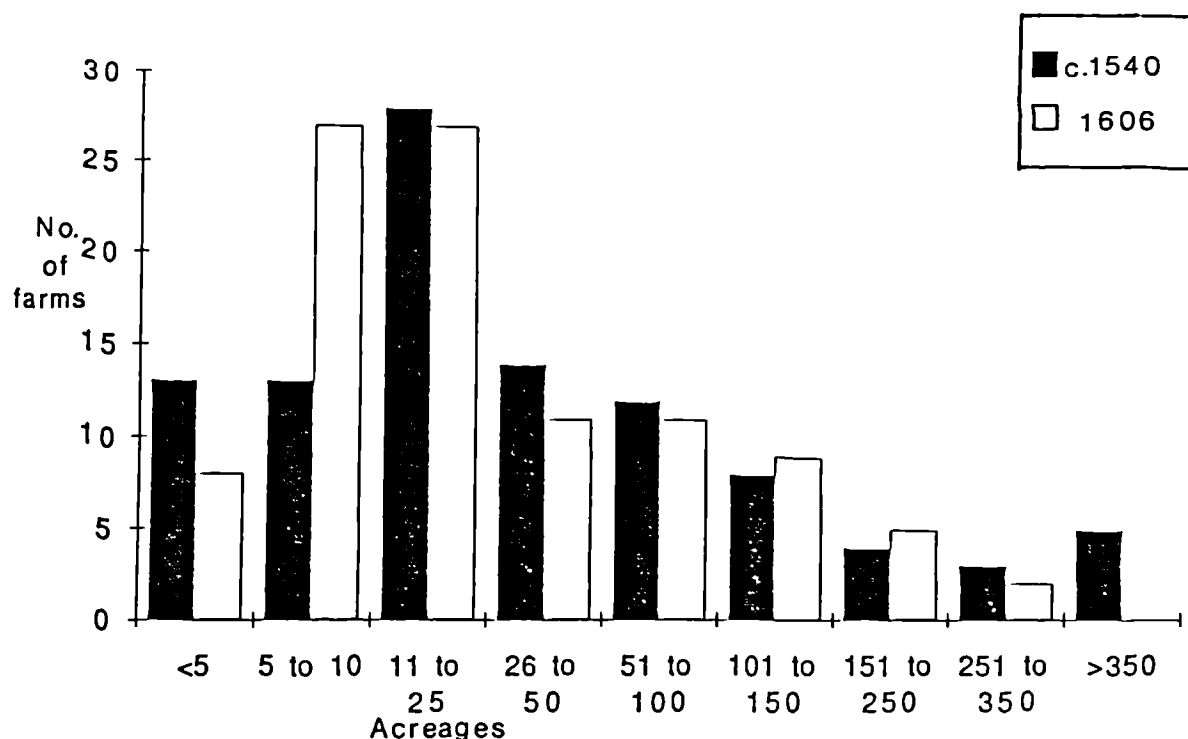
Chart 4.2 Arable acreages from summer inventories 1560-1640



The structure and range of farm size can be observed to some extent in greater depth for the parish of Ash. An overall view of farm size in 1606 was obtained from listings of individuals paying poor rate in Ash in the years 1605-7, which included the acreages on which they were

assessed.⁵⁶ One hundred units farmed by Ash inhabitants were counted for 4,354 acres. Small farms were very evident, for 62 individuals farmed acreages of 25 and under. 11 farms were of a middling 26-50 acres and a further 27 farms existed with more than 50 acres, seven of which were over 150 acres; the largest was that of Richard Huffham with 306 acres. This analysis includes two gentry farms/estates; Sir Thomas Harflete with 206 acres, which included two farms, Chequer and Molland, leased as a unit to Thomas Swafford in the early 17th century and Thomas St. Nicholas who farmed 138 acres. This analysis does not include a further 1,942 acres on which a hundred inhabitants of other parishes paid poor rates and was most probably marshland attached to more distant farms. These names appear at the end of each poor rate list. This section of the list begins with the names of known gentlemen from East Kent parishes, primarily from the parishes in the area selected for this study, such as Sir Edward Boys of Fredville, Edward Hammond of St. Albans in Nonington, Henry Oxenden of Wingham. Other names which follow the gentry can be identified as inhabitants of neighbouring or downland parishes.⁵⁷

Chart 4.3 Comparison of farm size in Ash in c.1540 and 1606



In order to examine change in farm size during the 16th century, Chart 4.3 includes for comparison, figures for farm size derived from the poor rate list in 1606 and the survey of farms of c.1540 for Ash parish, discussed earlier in this chapter.⁵⁸ However, comparisons of data from these two different types of document, with different purposes, one a survey of land, the other an assessment of parish poor rate on land, must necessarily be treated with some caution and it is probable that smallholders and cottagers are underenumerated. Nor was the total acreage counted the same in each document; there being a discrepancy of 652 acres. What a crude comparison suggests is, that between the mid 16th and early 17th centuries in Ash, the overall trend has been towards a reducing of the very large farms and an increase in smaller units under 25 acres, which fits the theses of late 16th century population growth in East Kent.⁵⁹ Three of the substantial yeoman farms of over 350 acres in 1540, those of Stephen Solly, John Broke and Lawrence Omer were probably divided or reduced as a result of inheritance and family fortune by 1600.⁶⁰ Although the evidence is not conclusive and it is possible that the farm survey of 1540 conceals some further subtenancy, it is likely that the large marshland gentry farms/estates of the Engham family at Goldstone and the Hammond family at Flete for example, managed directly or let as a whole lease in 1540, were let in smaller blocks in the early 17th century, while retaining some acreage for livestock under direct management. In c.1540, the Hammonds were listed with 800 acres at Flete, but by 1633, c.220 acres remained in the ownership of Anthony Hammond, who let the farm at Guston Flete of 100 acres to Stephen Solly, yeoman of Ash, a messuage and 13 acres to William Bax, while the remaining marshland was probably kept in hand.⁶¹ Evidence for the Wingham Barton, the Archbishop's demesne marshland farm in Ash more clearly demonstrates the long term trend from the medieval exploitation of large marshland farms by landlords to the leasing of smaller farm units and detached pieces of marsh in the early 17th century. The 960 acre farm managed as a whole directly by the Archbishop's reeve in 1399, was leased as a whole in 1430 and in two parts in 1479 to local farmers.⁶² In 1540, the arable and marshland farm at the Barton let to John Fisser by the Archbishop was 229 acres.⁶³ By 1608, the size of the Barton farm occupied by Humphrey Gardiner, yeoman of Ash, was 130 acres, of which 78 acres were

arable and 52 acres were marsh; a 68 acre farm of arable and pasture at Warehawthorn was let to James Chapman; 184 acres of marshland were let in parcels of up to 33 acres to 15 tenants; a further 438 acres of marsh was divided into five parcels.⁶⁴ This process may be peculiar to the Stour valley marshes in Ash and would not necessarily apply to the upland farms or woodland areas in Womenswold.

Typology of the Layout of Farms

This area of East Kent does not appear to fit into a clear cut model of enclosed farmsteads and compact fields as existed in this period in Devon and pastoral areas of northern England, or the classic common field villages and farms pertaining in the east Midlands, but contained elements of both.⁶⁵

Although the farm evidence will not yield statistical data, one could postulate a division of farms into two principal types or models, with some further subdivision.

Type A The Compact Farm

The characteristic of this model is the concentration of farm lands in a block in a given area. It was a ring-fence farm, in which its arable and inner pasture fields would have been adjacent to each other until the perimeter was reached; the farmstead, which would probably have included the house, yard, outbuildings, barns, dovecots, a garden and/or an orchard, was situated among and adjacent to its fields, or to one side with fields fanning outwards from it. This model can be subdivided further, to take account of marshland and woodland which were in the main concentrated topographically within the five parishes:

Type A.1 included marshland or "brok" pasture and/or woodland adjacent to the farm;

Type A.2 contained adjacent woodland but detached marshland or "brok";

Type A.3 contained adjacent marshland or "brok", but detached woodland.⁶⁶

Some examples of Farm Type A.

A possible reconstitution of the arrangement of the fields of Wingham Court Farm based on a portion of leased demesne land of Wingham manor, with the manor house as its farmstead is shown in Map 4.1. Although certain identification has not been made for all fields, enough have been identified to indicate a substantial farm of 250 acres in 1608, with the farmstead on the western edge of Wingham village, with adjacent fields punctuated by roads, but extending to the west and north west to the boundary with the parish of Ickham; south to Dene and the lands of the Oxenden family and beyond into the parish of Goodnestone. It included the large arable field called Broadfield of about 126 acres, whilst 24 acres of pasture at Farnons and 22 acres of marsh at Welle were to the west of the farmstead, along the streams and brooks which rise at Welle and flow north to meet the Wingham River.⁶⁷ Most of the fields were described as enclosed. This farm possibly belonged to category A.3, as in 1539 and 1547 it was leased with one acre of detached woodland called Duskyn, part of the Archbishop of Canterbury's woodland in Womenswold or Nonington.⁶⁸ Wingham Court was farmed by Wingham yeomen, Edmund Cooper, William Austen and his son Bartholomew, between the 1550's and 1621.⁶⁹

Ratling Court Manor Farm, surveyed and drawn in 1637 (Map 4.2) was a farm of 237 acres in the parish of Nonington and was tightly compact in its field arrangement, with the farmstead on the east and fields adjacent. It included two woods of 37 acres on site, with a large arable field of 92 acres called south field, smaller fields of orchard, garden and downland pasture, all of which were enclosed. This farm, situated high on the chalk downlands and brickearths of Nonington could be put into type A 2, as the estate map of 1637 shows that it had detached marshland in Wickhambreux. However, in 1631, this marshland was let separately from the farm.⁷⁰ Abraham Raynar, the farmer in the early 17th century paid poor rate on 14 acres in Ash parish in 1607; the likelihood of it being marshland is suggested by the probate inventory dated 1617 of his son Edward, who continued the lease of Ratling, which listed cattle in the marshes.⁷¹

Kittington Farm (Kethampton) situated in the south east corner on the chalk downlands of Nonington parish was part of the estate of Sir Edward Boys of Fredville. The survey of its fields,

which appears in the marriage settlement made on his grandson, John, dated 1626, describes a large farm of 348 acres, containing arable fields, inner pasture and downland pasture with the farmstead at the centre, as indicated in Map 4.3.⁷² The abutments clearly demonstrate that fields were adjacent to each other and the farm was in a compact area bounded by roads and the lands of the Hammond family of St. Albans on the west and Knowlton Manor belonging to the Peyton family to the north.⁷³ This farm did not appear to need detached marshland, as it contained extensive downland sheep pasture. Although Tye Wood, on its southern boundary was not within the farm lease and remained in the hands of the Boys family, it is likely that agreements over wood existed.

Wingham Barton Farm in the hamlet of Westmarsh in the parish of Ash was by 1608, when it was surveyed, a compact farm of 121 acres.⁷⁴ A reconstruction of the farm in Map 4.4 shows the farmstead, which included two barns, stable, courtyard, orchard and garden containing two acres, situated to the east of the road to Westmarsh. Adjacent to the east lay Bynfield, an unenclosed field of 12 acres, while Bartonfield of 50 acres lay to the west of the road and it is probable that the two enclosures of pasture, one called Shepeclose of 12 acres and the other called Longclose of 4 acres were adjacent.⁷⁵ The 52 acres of fresh marsh in five pieces, which were part of the farm, have not been located exactly, but were part of the extensive Barton marshes, at a short distance from the farmstead, the hamlet of Westmarsh lying between the farmstead and the marsh.

In addition to these four farms examined in some detail, there is some evidence for a further seven farms, which would fit Type A category and this is likely to represent a minimum. These seven farms were: in Ash parish; Pedding, Goldstone, Goshall; in Wingham; Walmestone and Trapham; in Nonington; Ackholt and Old Court farms. The home farms, managed directly by gentry families and discussed in Chapter 2 would fall into Type A. Many of the larger farms of between 100-300 acres in the area studied fell into the Type A category.

Type B Farms

Farms of Type B were of a more dispersed nature. A farm in this category consisted ini-

tially of the core farmstead, which included the house, outbuildings, yard and usually a garden and/or an orchard. This is the meaning of the word tenement as used in rentals and probate sources, and could be alternated with the word "messuage"; as in this example from the will of John Broke of Ash, who bequeathed to his cousin, Michael Huffham, the tenement at Eastreet, where his tenant, Parott lived and the pasture about it.⁷⁶ There was some variation in the amount of land or number of fields attached to the farmstead. Some contained no more than the farmstead described, whilst other farmsteads had attached and adjacent one or more enclosed fields for pasture, hempland and sometimes a forstal or paddock. These inner adjacent fields were not large and the acreage of this farmstead block varied, but the maximum was about 10 acres. Farms of Type B contained other lands, detached from the farmstead. These might include; scattered parcels or strips within large fields, usually arable; enclosed fields called crofts or closes, parcels within enclosed crofts, parcels of marshy "brok" along streams and rivers and/or parcels of marshland on the Ash levels. The distances involved were most commonly within one to two miles from the farmstead. Distances between detached marshland and upland farmsteads in the parish of Ash could be as great as four miles and ten miles for downland farms in Nonington. The nature and quantity of detached land which formed part of Type B farms was very varied.

Some examples of Farm Type B

Examples of Type B Farms were more difficult to place with precision on the ground than the compact farm, partly as a result of the nature of the evidence and of the dispersed nature of the fields and plots of land involved. 17th century deeds and estate maps which survived to make possible reconstruction of compact farms have not survived for Type B farms. Attempts to locate their farm land precisely on the ground from will, survey and rental evidence proved frustrating. A diagrammatic representation with description of some examples of farms was therefore adopted. Plan 4.1 represents the farm of William Smythe, husbandman of Ware in the parish of Ash, in 1484 when he made his will, in which he divided his 21 acres between his wife and son, John.⁷⁷ The farmstead was probably situated near the low lying marshy area along the streams,

which descend to the Ash levels to the north of Ware, from Waredown and the hamlet of Overland which stretches southward. The farmstead included a house and c.three adjacent acres of primarily marsh and pasture. The remaining 15 acres was dispersed within half to three-quarters of a mile from the farmstead. The 15 acres included an enclosed croft of 8 acres at Cokking, probably near the site of the present Corking farm in the neighbouring hamlet of Overland and four tiny parcels scattered in the area called Waredown between the two hamlets, probably open arable land. In 1460, when a younger man, William's farm was 38 acres, the additional 17 acres consisting of further parcels scattered in the same areas.⁷⁸ His son, John, was his executor in 1484, and it is likely that he had already inherited some of the farm in advance of the will.⁷⁹ This example was typical of small and medium farms in the western half of the parish of Ash in the late 15th century.

A second example from the western side of Ash illustrates the continuity of Type B farms into the second half of the 16th century. Stephen Solly, yeoman of Ash, in his will dated 1558, in presenting his strategy for the inheritance of his lands, listed them in detail, grouped into three farms.⁸⁰ The farmsteads were situated within about one mile of each other, in the hamlets of Hodan and Nash in the parish of Ash and Beaute farm at Shatterling in the adjacent parish of Staple. Each farm unit was of middling size: the farm at Hodan was 59 acres; at Nash c.49 acres and Beaute, c.38 acres. In each case, the farmstead complex contained compact blocks of orchards, gardens and pasture closes of c. 13 acres, c.21-23 acres, c.17-19 acres respectively.⁸¹ The remaining lands for each farm were detached parcels, dispersed for the most part within three-quarters of a mile from the farmstead. Plan 4.2 represents the farm at Nash, which included 21 acres of pasture attached to the farmstead, detached brokland, small arable parcels/strips in Nash field, with two larger enclosed fields about half a mile away.

Although less detailed documentation survives from rentals and wills for the southern parishes, two examples suggest that Type B farms existed in the hamlet of Rolling in the parish of Goodnestone. The 68½ acre farm of William Quilter of Goodnestone, a late 15th century farm, was dispersed in the five hamlets of Twitham, Bonnington, Uffington, Goodnestone and Under-

downe.⁸² His farmstead, probably in the hamlet of Rolling, consisted of a house, yard, barn, orchard, with a garden and three adjacent crofts, probably enclosed. A further 11 parcels were listed in diverse places and fields, including 3½ acres in Reyfeld, three parcels of 4½ acres, one acre, one acre and one rood respectively in a field called Crockshard, which is in Wingham parish at a distance of about 1½ miles from the farmstead.⁸³ The location of the remaining parcels has not been identified, but it is clear that they were not adjacent to the farmhouse.

A second example of a Type B farm in Rolling in Goodnestone, that of yeoman William Tucker, indicates that farms with dispersed lands survived into the 17th century. A terrier of the lands of William Tucker held of Wingham manor called the manor of Rolling was drawn up in 1622.⁸⁴ This was the basis of a substantial farm containing a farmstead, which consisted of a house, two barns, stable, malthouse, orchard and adjacent 3 acres. A further 104 acres in 17 parcels were listed in eleven separate named places and although these have not been identified they were probably within a radius of half a mile from the farmstead. There were fewer tiny parcels than appear in the Ash farms, only two were under 2 acres, the range being up to 12 acres. The abutments given for all boundaries of each piece does suggest fragmentation. Although, some parcels are adjacent, particularly three out of the four at Colehill, and the abutments suggest that William's farm included some other land besides that recorded in this terrier, there is not the impression of a compact block that appears in the description of the Type A farms, such as Kittington farm in Nonington, discussed earlier. William Tucker's farm also included 14 acres of detached fresh marshland in three pieces in the Fleming Valley on the Ash marshes between Goldstone and the Wingham Barton marshlands, five miles from his farmstead.⁸⁵ William Tucker's inventory, dated 1625, listed 47 sheep in the marsh, confirming the terrier evidence of an upland farm with detached marshland at a distance.⁸⁶

Although this latter farm with dispersed lands exceeded 100 acres, in general this type of farm was of a lesser acreage, up to about 60 acres. The core farmstead alone could form a small-holding. However in general, the greater the size of a farm, the more likely it was to be compact and enclosed.

The underlying factors, which determined whether farms were of type A or B by the 15th century can be found in the early settlement pattern of these parishes, the structure of landholding particularly on the Wingham estate, the field patterns, the operation of local systems of land tenure and customs of gavelkind and long term demographic trends. Topography, the need for varying types of soil within a farm in an essentially mixed farming economy was a contributory factor.

Considering the five parishes together as a whole, a number of compact farms lay on the eastern and southern outer edges of the area. If the Jutish settlement pattern in this area followed from an initial focal settlement at Wingham, and then pushed east and south, the settlement and exploitation of marginal lands, marshland in the north and east of the parish of Ash and clearing of woodland in south Nonington and Womenswold were a secondary or later phase.⁸⁷ Map 4.5 illustrates the relationship between this pattern and the location of compact farms, many of which were situated on land of this later settlement phase.

Therefore, there is a strong correlation between Type A compact farms of the late 15th to the 17th century and the medieval knight's fees, such as Goldstone, Goshall, and Ratling, whose purpose was the exploitation of marsh and woodland, as was argued in Chapter 2. Further grants of blocks of customary land by the Archbishop of Canterbury to knightly families by the 13th century, as recorded in the 1285 rental of Wingham manor, seem to be the basis of some 16th century compact farms; such an example would be the 140 acres held by Alan and John, sons of Roger of Helles in 1285, which probably became the farms of Hills Court and Twitham Hills.⁸⁸ As the land of these secondary or satellite medieval manorial units formed for the most part consolidated demesnes, the farms which succeeded them in the 16th century would be compact, even if some division occurred on the original demesne, as at Flete. Compact farms also existed in the centre of the area in the parish of Wingham and relate to the demesne land of Wingham manor, which formed a consolidated block, as described in Chapter 2. There is a strong correlation between type A farms and leasehold tenure, which applied to all the example type A farms cited. They were in particular the demesne leases of Wingham manor, the Wingham Barton and the

satellite knight's fees and also farms, which formed part of gentry estates by the 16th century and were leased as whole units.

Type B, dispersed farms, were more prevalent on primary settled arable land and on customary tenant land. They exist where there were parcellated strips or plots in open arable fields, most clearly evident in Rolling and Bonnington in Goodnestone and in the hamlets of western Ash. In 1627, Edward Boys, gentleman of Bonnington in the parish of Goodnestone, bought a farmstead with 15 acres of arable land in six separate pieces, all in Bonnington Field, followed by a purchase in 1631 of 6 acres in three separate pieces in the same field.⁸⁹ It is quite clear from wills and the c.1460 survey of customary tenant holdings in the north part of Wingham Manor that in the 15th century in the parish of Ash there were open fields, often named after the nearest vill or hamlet.⁹⁰ Many of these field names in Ash survive on the parish Tithe Map of 1843, where they appear as large arable fields on the fertile brickearths: Knell field, 53 acres; Nash field, 65 acres; Weddington field, 82 acres; Overland field, 36 acres; Molland field, 106 acres; Guiton field, 17 acres; Richborough field, 56 acres and Ware field, 43 acres.⁹¹ Most customary tenants of Wingham manor held part of their holdings in parcels or strips intermingled with those of other tenants in these open fields in 1460: Edward Collard, for example, had on Waredown three strips, one containing an acre and three roods, between the land of William Smythe and William at Bregge on the west and the land of John Oxtegh to the east, another containing half an acre, half a rood and 6 perches between the land of John Oxtegh to the west and Stephen Collard to the east, and a third of 3½ roods, which lay between the land of widow Septvans on the north side and the land of Roger Rye on the south.⁹² It has not been possible to reconstruct these fields, their size and divisions in the 15th century, as the c.1460 survey lists land under the names of tenants, but the names of fields in which these parcels lay were entered sporadically and without regularity. Parcellation of fields is illustrated in Plan 4.3, which reconstructs the order of tenant strips on a section of Waredown in 1460. There were occasional references to "common" fields in Ash and Goodnestone in the court rolls of Wingham manor, as for example in 1548, when Stephen Huffham paid relief on 19 acres in separate parcels in the common fields in the borgh of Chilton in

Ash parish.⁹³ This pattern of scattered parcels in open fields has been shown to exist in other areas of East Kent, in Deal and on the neighbouring manor of Adisham.⁹⁴ Parcellation of open arable fields in this manner produced farms with dispersed lands, which remained in existence in the early 17th century, as the example from Bonnington cited above illustrates, as the farm and 15 acres was let as a unit by Edward Boys and not absorbed into his own farm at Bonnington.⁹⁵

It has been argued that population expansion in the 13th century was the most important mechanism in creating medieval parcellated fields, fragmentation and intermixing of farms lands.⁹⁶ Fragmentation of holdings on customary land of Wingham manor occurred by the late 13th century, for the 1285 rental frequently lists small amounts of land held by brothers, whole families and co-sharers, although the effect of this on fields cannot be demonstrated, as the 1285 document is a rental and account of obligations owing on land and is not a survey of the distribution of tenant lands on the ground.⁹⁷ Post black death consolidation of holdings and farm lands would be expected, but lack of surviving court rolls for the 14th and 15th centuries make the monitoring of the consolidation and redistribution since the early 14th century impossible, but comparison between the rentals of 1285 and 1460 suggest this. It would seem likely, for example, that Pedding farm in Ash had become a compact farm by the 15th century partly as a result of late medieval consolidation. In 1460, John Eldergate held 104 acres of customary land as a tenant of Wingham manor in the vill of Pedding, of which 95 acres was describe as together.⁹⁸ During the early 16th century, Edward Stoughton, gentleman of Ash acquired this holding and was leasing the Pedding farm to Stephen Soly by 1530.⁹⁹ In 1285, the largest holding in the vill of Pedding was 66 acres, which may have formed the basis of the later farm, but the 13th century rental is not informative about the arrangement of lands.¹⁰⁰

The prevailing Kentish custom of partible inheritance was likely to be a further factor in the fragmentation of holdings, farms and fields, particularly in a time of population expansion. Under the custom of gavelkind, descent passed to all male heirs equally, and failing male heirs, to all daughters equally. Specific references to gavelkind are not common. In an early 15th century list of rents per acre for tenant land in the vills of Wingham Manor, 54 acres and 44 acres of gavelk-

ind were held by Overland, one of the knight's fees, and Crixhall (Crickhall) manors respectively.¹⁰¹ Land at Overland was disgavelled by Walter Hendley in 1548.¹⁰² In 1613, Vincent Huffham of Dover bequeathed to his wife land in the east of the parish of Ash, which descended to him by the custom of gavelkind.¹⁰³ This land had formerly been part of the estate of John Broke, discussed in the previous chapter and was probably tenant land of the knight's fee manor of Goshall, rather than Wingham manor, but it could be assumed that gavelkind custom therefore operated generally on customary tenant land in the Wingham area. Gavelkind custom would be expected to operate on gavellond, which it was argued earlier probably pertained to all the customary vill land of Wingham manor, despite some lack of clarity in the rental of 1285. In some parts of this rental, the division of land holding between members of families does suggest the operation of a system of partible inheritance on customary land of Wingham manor in the 13th century, as in the case of the at Forde family of Pedding. The heirs of Leticie, daughter of Robert at Forde, was listed holding two acres, 3 roods and 10 square perches, the heirs of her sister, Isabel, held exactly the same amount as did both Robert and Walter, sons of William at Forde.¹⁰⁴ The effects of inheritance practices will be returned to subsequently in this chapter, when examining change in farm structure from the mid 15th to the mid 17th centuries.

Equally important was the operation of a land market in gavelkind land which could be willed freely and sold without restraint, subject to customary rents, services and fines of the manor.¹⁰⁵ It is not possible to observe the operation of this land market prior to the late 15th century for lack of surviving court rolls for this period. However, the surviving late 15th and early 16th century court rolls for Wingham register relief paid on customary land, which the rolls stated was purchased by a tenant, which included whole farms and small parcels of land.¹⁰⁶ This was also the case at Goldstone manor in the late 15th century.¹⁰⁷ Late 15th century testators, such as Henry Carpenter of Ware, in Ash, were willing customary land, for he specified precisely in his will, dated 1474, the parcels of land, which each of his daughters would inherit and which tally with the description of his land holding in Wingham manor in c.1460.¹⁰⁸

The desirability for farms, whose economy was predominantly mixed in character, to have

some variety of soils within their bounds, and the topographical distribution of marsh, downs and woodland within the area was an additional factor in producing dispersed or compact farm units, particularly regarding detached marshland and woodland, although it was probably less important than the factors of demography and inheritance in causing division of the open arable fields. The quality of soil in each field did not vary greatly. The size of farm was more likely to have been a factor for the larger the farm the more likely it was to encompass a variety of soils. The smaller farms particularly in the hamlets of western Ash, such as Ware, Hodan, Nash, Knell, whose farmsteads were positioned along the spring line had adjacent meadow and pasture, but not necessarily adjacent arable.

Continuity and Change of Farm Units 1460-1640

The farm unit of Type A, compact farms, appears largely to have been stable throughout this period, although there may have been some perimeter reduction in area of some of these units, notably the marshland farm at the Wingham Barton in the parish of Ash, as discussed earlier in this chapter and at Goldstone by the 17th century. Change on these farms was not in the unit but in the turnover of the lessees, for these farms were family farms in terms of management but not in ownership, which lay with the gentry and absentee landlords, who favoured primogeniture and indivisible patterns of inheritance. At the death of the lessee, the remainder of the lease could be inherited by his children or a relative, as was specified by thirteen testators and the landlord could renew it at its expiry, which brought about some family continuity of occupation. However, evidence of the length and occupancy of these leases is fragmentary. Abraham Raynar, for example, died in 1612 with two years left of his lease of Ratling Court in Nonington.¹⁰⁹ It is likely that he had held the lease since about 1581, when the name of Raynar first appears in Nonington parish register with the birth of Abraham's third daughter.¹¹⁰ His son Edward continued the lease after the death of his father, for a further five years until his death in 1617.¹¹¹ Edward, who was single, did not leave a will to indicate inheritance of the remainder of the lease by his brothers. The nature of Type A farms being primarily demesne or knight's fee leases, encouraged

opportunistic farmers often from outside the parish to take on these leases; such as the Raynars of Ratling, the Austens of Wingham Court, Humphrey Gardiner of Wingham Barton, who remained for one or two generations. It is tempting to see the death of the lessee, leaving a young family who were unable to continue the lease, as the reason for turnover in lessees. This is the emphasis given by probate sources, but other economic factors might contribute. Only in one case was a long period of continuity observed. The Hole family of Ash held the lease of Goshall for over 100 years, as David Hole recorded in the will he made in 1612.¹¹² David inherited the lease from his father, William in 1559, but died without heirs and bequeathed the residue of his lease to his cousin, Henry Musred.¹¹³ The dynastic expansion of a small number of the more prosperous farmers, by planting sons on these leased farms can be observed. This was usually relatively short term. In 1584, Henry Jones, yeoman of Wingham, bequeathed his lease of the north part of Wingham demesne lands to his son John.¹¹⁴ His second son, Henry Jones of Ash, died in 1588 in possession of the leases of Walmestone and Overland manors, which he bequeathed to his son John.¹¹⁵ This lease did not remain with this family for long, as John died in 1595, leaving a wife and young daughter.¹¹⁶

Farms of Type B, which were dispersed, were more open to change in the unit itself. The farmstead remained constant, but the lands that went with it could vary over time by a process of division and re-grouping, producing a kaleidoscopic, shifting pattern. The mechanisms which determined this were family inheritance strategies concerning land, the needs of the family at various stages of its life cycle, the state of the economy of the family, such as the need to sell land to pay debts, producing a land market principally in small parcels of land and the need for some variety of soil and land within a farm to satisfy family needs.

Inheritance strategies as they effect the changing land composition of farms of families below the gentry are principally concerned with farms based primarily on customary land and therefore have a limited effect, being operative on less than half of the farmland in the area studied. However, the inheritance strategies of testators as a whole concerning land were considered, to assess how influential the prevailing custom of partible inheritance was in practice.

Inheritance strategies concerning land specifically, were extracted from the wills of 405 male testators in the parishes of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, between the late 15th century and 1640, and listed in Tables 4.2 to 4.5. Table 4.2, which indicates choice between some form of partibility as against indivisibility of land, derived from Tables 4.4 and 4.5 suggests that in considering choice of inheritance strategy, more families favoured the settling of all sons on land than a system of primogeniture or unigeniture. It would seem that 165 willmakers listed on the left half of Table 4.2 wished to rationalize and choose which pieces of land should be allocated to their heirs, to prevent the arguments and problems which would arise from a strict equal division of the farm and lands that would result from the operation of gavelkind law, if no will was made. On the other hand, 64 families, listed on the upper part of the right half of Table 4.2 favoured one heir to inherit the farm, with cash bequests to remaining sons and as dowry for daughters. This figure of 64 can be reduced to 51, if families below the level of the gentry only are considered, for gentry families tended to favour primogeniture and 13 of the 64 were gentry. However, if all possible outcomes were considered, including where there was limited choice, (see bottom right of Table 4.2), such as inheritance by the only surviving male heir, or only surviving daughter, wife or one relative, inheritance of lands remained intact in 226 (213 excluding gentry) cases, as opposed to 165, where land was divided between heirs. Therefore, the possibility of division was modified by lack of choice of heirs. There seemed to be no discernible change in the pattern of choice of inheritance strategy concerning land over the period 1450-1640. But it is possible that strategies varied within the geographical area covered; more inhabitants of Ash and Wingham seemed to favour division of their lands between offspring compared with the southern parishes, although the larger numbers surviving from the parish of Ash, and tiny numbers for Womenswold distort the picture and makes this conclusion a tentative one (Tables 4.3 and 4.4). Nevertheless, this picture could reasonably be explained by the difference in soils and landscape between Ash, with its rich fertile brickearths, but with access to pasture along the brooks and marshland and Goodnestone and Nonington, with open champagne country and chalk downlands.

Table 4.2 Choices of inheritance strategy among testators in Ash, Wingham Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold 1460-1640

Partible		Indivisible	
choice	nos. of cases	choice	nos. of cases
all children	22	primogeniture	61
all sons	91	one daughter	1
all sons, 1 daughter	1	youngest son	2
some sons	15	sub total	64
all daughters	29	<i>limited choice</i>	
relatives share	7	one son only	81
		wife or one relative	52
		one daughter only	29
totals	165		226

Table 4.3 Distribution of wills containing inheritance data by parish

parish	number of wills
Ash	183
Wingham	81
Goodnestone	71
Nonington	56
Womenswold	15

Table 4.4 Distribution of inheritance choice concerning land by parish

parish	undivided lands	divided lands
Ash	23%	77%
Wingham	20%	80%
Goodnestone	41%	59%
Nonington	50%	50%
Womenswold	44%	54%

It could be argued that in Ash, a smaller farm could support a family than in the downland parishes. Wingham had its river pastures, but also probably a larger number of village craftsmen,

tradesmen and possibly with some small scale cloth industry, providing additional occupations.

A closer inspection of the group of testators who wished to divide their property among their heirs, either immediately, or when they came of age, or at the death of the widow, revealed variety in the number of children who were to receive land (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Categories of inheritance strategies concerning land derived from wills 1460-1640

Categories	numbers of cases
primogeniture	61
only son inherits	81
(cash to daughters)	
youngest son inherits	2
all sons inherit	91
(cash to daughters)	
all children inherit	22
all sons and one daughter	1
some sons inherit	15
(cash to remaining sons and daughters)	
All daughters inherit (no sons)	16
only daughter inherits (no sons)	29
one daughter inherits (no sons)	1
(cash to sisters)	
no children	
land inherited by wife/one relative	
or one other	47
land divided among relatives	7
lease to relative, cash to children	13
land to be sold	13

The most common division was between all sons (91 cases): but land was divided between all children (22 cases); between some sons, whilst the others received cash (15 cases); between all daughters, when there were no male heirs (16 cases); one case when all sons and one daughter were to inherit property, and a further seven cases where land was divided between relatives, where no children survived. Family size was a key factor, so that for instance Robert Solley of Wingham divided his property between two of his seven sons and only two of the five sons of Thomas Christian of Goodnestone inherited land.¹¹⁷ In examining the effect of inheritance on

farm size and composition, it was important to assess how equal division was, whether the farmstead was divided or shared and how the land was divided. The variation in detail provided in wills made it impossible in many cases and very difficult in others to make this assessment in order to make quantitative judgements. Some individual case studies illustrate how inheritance strategies worked out. Some testators specifically stated that lands should be divided equally; Solomon Paramore of Ash, for example, willed his lands to his daughter and three sons to be divided equally between them.¹¹⁸ The Appynton or Appulton family of Goodnestone illustrates the practice of partible inheritance, but the surviving records give some view of the effects on the farm in reality. John Appynton laid down in his will in 1535, that his tenement at Uffington in Goodnestone was to remain in the hands of his eldest son, William, until the two younger sons, John and Raynold reached 21 years, when the tenement was to be divided equally between the three brothers by honest neighbours.¹¹⁹

Some division had taken place by the death of John, who was unmarried, in 1559, for he left his part of half of the house and half the acre and one rood to his brother, William. Raynold was nominated John's executor, and probably possessed the other half.¹²⁰ In reality, this farm may not have been split immediately but run jointly by the three brothers, until 1559, although William had married. The death of John enabled Raynold to marry in 1559, but it is likely that he died at some time between 1565 and 1569, for although there is no record of his burial, as a gap in the records of burials in the Goodnestone parish registers occurs between 1565 and 1571, Raynold's wife Jane died in 1582 and there is no record of baptisms of children for this couple.¹²¹ William died in 1569 and by that time, it looks as if he had sole possession of the farm, which was inherited by his eldest son, Thomas, of age by that date.¹²² In this particular case, mortality in the family with a change in inheritance strategy at the next generation kept the farm intact.

Conversely, other farms divided by inheritance strategies remained separate in reality and became redistributed among other family farms. The poor survival of court rolls makes a systematic study impossible, but a surviving record of the transfer of the lands of William Peny of Ash illustrates the effect of partible inheritance between surviving daughters. His farm was divided between his three daughters, for which relief was paid in 1511. A messuage and one acre was claimed by John Moland through his wife, Elene, daughter of William Peny; one tenement with three acres and three roods in four pieces, claimed by William Saffery, husband of Agnes Peny; six acres in six pieces was claimed by the third daughter, Marion.¹²³

One element in the Peny case is important in considering the effect of partible inheritance on farms, namely that the integrity of the farmhouse itself was maintained, usually with its attached lands, whilst dispersed lands were separated and willed as portions to other heirs. This system of division was far more common in wills which give details of lands to be inherited than an equal division of house and all lands between heirs. The prevailing partible inheritance custom was being modified and rationalised. What this achieved in effect was the favouring of one heir over the others, usually the eldest son, but not always, by leaving him the farmstead and/or other lands, with house room for the widow and to some or all remaining sons, or sons and daughters, detached lands only, with no part of the house. John Paramore of Ash had three sons between whom he divided his lands equally, but the farmstead was to be inherited only by the eldest son Nicholas.¹²⁴ In some cases an allowance was made for loss of part of the farmhouse; William Pery of Ash, for example, gave his second son, Richard, four acres in addition to his half of the farm lands, to compensate him for the farmhouse which the eldest son, Walter inherited.¹²⁵ It is doubtful whether lands inherited by younger sons were always viable as agricultural units in themselves. In some families, a reasonable distribution of land was made between some sons with cash bequests for the remainder. John Neame, husbandman of Ash in 1486 left his tenement and adjacent croft to his eldest son, William, two crofts to his son, Thomas, but cash to his youngest son and daughter.¹²⁶

It is artificial to consider land alone, as other valuable family assets need to be taken into

account. Stock and goods were usually divided between all children, male and female, although if no will was made, the value of moveable assets as represented in the inventory was divided after debts owing were paid according to gavelkind custom; one half to the widow and the remainder equally between the children. The case of the family of William Manlye of Ash illustrates this. His testamentary account, showed that after his debts of £37 were paid, assets worth £94 remained, which were divided between his widow, Jane and five children. Jane would receive one half and goods worth £11-17s-0d were to be inherited by each child.¹²⁷ Village craftsmen with land tended to divide their assets between sons, land to one, plant and tools to the other, who would continue the trade. Stephen Bailie, the blacksmith of Nonington in 1556 left his smith's forge and tools, with access to water to his son, Stephen, whilst the lands and tenements, except the forge, were inherited by son Thomas.¹²⁸

Inheritance customs as seen through wills in this area of Kent contrast with those in the Midlands at Kibworth Harcourt in Leicestershire, where the common strategy among willmakers was to leave all land intact to the eldest son and stock and goods to younger children.¹²⁹ In Cambridgeshire, in Chippenham, Orwell and Willingham, although there was some variety of practice, the tendency was for fathers to set up all sons with land, in some cases dividing the holding, but among the wealthier farmers, purchases were made to provide younger sons with some land often small amounts or only cottages, while keeping the principal holding intact.¹³⁰ There were some similarities here in the Wingham area, but what emerges clearly from this study of inheritance and land using wills, is the aim of wealthier farming families to settle as many of their sons as possible on the land with farms of their own, particularly in the parishes of Ash and Wingham, where fertile brickearths predominate, with access to marshland. The measure of wealth taken for this purpose was the possession of more than one farm, that is a house/tenement/farmstead with lands to go with it. Of the total of 165 testators who chose to divide their lands between their heirs (Table 4.2), 95 (58%) possessed more than one farmstead at their death, of which 16 were gentlemen, leaving 79 below the gentry. These testators lived predominantly in Ash and Wingham: 45 (57% of the 79) were from Ash and 17 (22% of the 79) were from Wingham, whilst the

numbers for Womenswold, Nonington and Goodnestone were 3, 7 and 7, respectively. As far as possible each heir was provided with a house and farm at his or her father's death. James Atwelle of the hamlet of Welle in Wingham, in his will in 1508 left a house with c.20 acres to son Robert, a house with c.8-10 acres and a tenement in Wingham Street to son Thomas, whilst James was given a house at Welle with lands unspecified plus a further 8 acres.¹³¹ Daughters usually inherited farms when no male heirs survived, but occasionally a girl's portion came in the form of a farm in addition to her brothers. Richard Mayhew of Ash in his will of 1548 had four tenements to dispose of among his wife and children. His son Erasmus was to inherit a tenement and land at Weddington and Eastreet at 21 years; son William a tenement and land at Hodan at 21 with the tenement at Harmanstreet at the death of his mother. Richard's daughter, Julyan also inherited a tenement and land, but daughter Alice received her portion in cash.¹³²

The case study of the Omer family of Ash illustrates clearly this desire to set up sons with farms, but it also demonstrates the expansion of a man's property, beyond his initial inheritance, by marriage and purchase followed by division at his death. It illustrates the picture drawn earlier in this chapter of a pattern of shifting parcels of land which are separated from a farm unit to reform into another. Land was inherited, acquired through marriage and purchase, became a large farm and was followed by redistribution and rationalisation into four smaller farms. Roger Omer inherited a farm with the lands belonging to it in the hamlet of Knell from his father, Thomas in 1504.¹³³ The acreage of Roger's inheritance is not known, but by 1550, when he made his will, his property included six houses and about 175 acres of land in the neighbouring hamlets of Knell, Ware and Paramorestreet, although one house was outside of Ash parish, at Hode. He had purchased at least 100 of the 175 acres during his lifetime, much of it from local gentry, whilst his first wife had brought 13 acres as dowry.¹³⁴ Roger's inheritance strategies show the division of these lands between his four sons, forming four farms of between 36 and 50 acres in size, each with a farmstead, as detailed in Appendix 4. They conformed to the dispersed farm pattern in general, with lands scattered in the neighbouring hamlets of Ware, Knell, Overland and Nash, although the farm at Paramorestreet inherited by William may have been more concentrated.

Implicit in the Omer case is the effect of a family's life cycle on the composition and size of a farm. The model applied to Russia of the waxing and waning effect of the land of a family farm in response to its biological life cycle is not easily demonstrable by using probate sources without good surviving court rolls, for probate sources produce only limited observations as to beginnings and ends. Moreover, as with other parts of England, notably East Anglia, it would be difficult to fit easily such a family subsistence model into this area of East Kent in the early modern period, with its lack of standard family farm unit, range in farm size, its active land market and commercial and urban stimuli.¹³⁵ However, the Omer case does indicate the active purchasing of land in response to the growth of the family but it was on a scale more geared to dynastic purposes, to provide viable independent small to medium sized farms for each of his four sons. The timing of Roger Omer's purchases are not known. Moreover, the will describes the legal hereditary rights of his children at Roger's death, the management of these farms may have changed gradually; this is suggested by further evidence from the survey of farms in Ash c.1530-40 and the wills of sons, Richard and William.¹³⁶ By the 1530's Roger had a farm of 112 acres, which he probably managed as a single operational unit, but he let small amounts to seven tenants amounting to 24 acres in all. His eldest son, Richard, had set up independently by then and is listed with a farm of 31 acres, 25 acres rented, six of which were from his father. He was probably already living in the house his father had bought for him, where he was certainly living in 1550 at his father's death.¹³⁷ However, it looks as if the remaining three brothers were probably living at Ware with their father and step mother until 1550 and the death of Roger precipitated their marriages and the setting up of independent households and farms. William died in 1554, and his will suggests that he had married a widow recently and they had no children, for his lands were to be inherited at 21 years by his young nephew, Ethelbert, son of Lawrence.¹³⁸ Francis, the youngest, inherited the farmhouse where his father lived at Ware, but was unlikely to have married before 1550. He died in 1580, leaving three daughters; the youngest was unmarried and aged 16, the elder two were unlikely to have reached 30.¹³⁹ The Omer case shows little in the way of shedding of land in old age, rather family management of a single operational unit of four farms, reducing to three, before

division into three separate units. Richard Omer, Roger's eldest son followed a similar pattern, purchasing farmsteads and land and settling his eldest son, John, in advance of the will.¹⁴⁰ However, the Omer family was one of the most successful and stable of Ash farming families, which like the gentry family of Harflete discussed in Chapter 3, although on a smaller scale, was among the principal buyers of land for the settlement and planting of family members on farms. Roger Omer's strategies also involved the re-organisation of farm lands leading towards some consolidation.

The key to expansion and contraction of farms as a consequence of family growth is more likely to be found in short term leases of land, particularly for the smaller farmer, as can be illustrated by the Combe family. Bartholomew Combe, a neighbour of the Omers in the hamlet of Ware, in 1600, bequeathed to his wife, Clemence, the messuage and 20 acres, which was his father's in 1540, with which to bring up their family of four sons.¹⁴¹ In addition, he had taken on extra land, which included 3 acres of marshland, from a neighbour, Thomas Middleton. After Clemence died the following year, the leases were not renewed by her brother, Alexander of East Sutton, who was her executor and who took responsibility for the children, while letting the farm.¹⁴²

The shedding of small plots of land at times of family crisis contributed to the land market and their redistribution between farms. It was usually the perimeter detached parcels on dispersed farms that were ordered to be sold by testators, to pay their debts and bequests. This was particularly a feature of the late 15th century, as seen through the wills of that period: John Neame, husbandman of Ash in 1486, ordered the sale of half an acre that he had recently bought, to pay his debts; John Carpenter, husbandman of Westmarsh in Ash, where he had a house with hempland and pasture attached, required his feoffees to sell 1½ acres at Uphousden, which was separated from his smallholding at Westmarsh by the Manor of Wingham Barton and a further plot of one acre at Wallesend in Ware.¹⁴³ The continued availability of land to purchase in the early 16th century by farmers with capital to invest is illustrated by Roger Omer's purchases in Appendix 4.

Having examined dispersed farms and the factors which contributed to a shifting pattern of

farm composition, spatial layout and size, is it possible to discern any trend over time? The long term trend from the 15th century and probably from the 14th century to the mid 19th century is one of consolidation of farm lands with the exception of detached marshland, which survived on many farms into the 19th century. Comparison of the 15th century evidence of farms in the parish of Ash from wills and the c.1460 survey of the North Part of Wingham Manor with the evidence of the Tithe Map and Award of 1843 for Ash leads to the conclusion that small, detached, scattered strips or parcels of land, belonging to one farm and intermingled with those of another farm in one field, had mostly disappeared. However, a sample study of one field, Ware Field, in Ash parish, shows vestiges of this division. The field was probably the area called Waredown in 1460, although the name does not survive in later 16th century wills and is replaced by the name Warefield. This field was much more extensive in the 15th and 16th centuries, and included the fields adjacent on the north side, called Home Field and Great Field in 1843. A comparison can be made between Plan 4.3, a diagrammatic representation of adjacent tenants holdings at Waredown in 1460, illustrating the parcellated nature of a small section of this area and Map 4.6 of Warefield in 1843, derived from Ash Tithe Map and Award. All but one of the 1460 tenants had farmsteads, within half a mile of their strips although Edward Collard was probably of the Collard family of Preston where his farmstead was about two miles distant. In the Tithe Award, the name Ware Field is appended to 11 pieces of land, with seven occupiers and divided ownership. Some parcels were small; situated in the middle was a strip called "Ware Slip" of one rood 32 perches and three pieces were between one and two acres. Three occupiers were neighbouring farmers, with adjacent lands, forming compact farms, but two had detached farmsteads about half a mile away, and two were the occupiers of adjacent or nearby fields, but the farmstead was not in the immediate vicinity. Concentration of farm lands was not total in the 19th century.

The spatial consolidation of farm lands probably happened in a piecemeal fashion by purchase or exchange or lease. Richard Omer bought 2 acres adjoining his house in Ware and 3 acres adjoining a second house which had 45 acres of brokland together on the east side, but these farms still retained small scattered strips in Warefield, one of which he exchanged with his cousin

Andrew.¹⁴⁴

One further area in the parish of Ash illustrates piecemeal consolidation. Map 4.7, based on an estate map of 149½ acre Guilton Farm in Ash surveyed in 1678, reveals a spreading farm layout including five fields adjacent to the farmstead.¹⁴⁵ Its remaining fields, mostly adjacent, line the roads west to Nash and Wingham and south to Durlock, separated from the farmstead by Guilton Rectory and parsonage land. Guilton farm had grown in size and had become more compact since the mid 16th century. A list of 82 acres of land leased as Guilton (Guyldentown) farm by Edward Stoughton in c.1540 included probably a minimum of 35 acres in the area covered by the farm in 1678, and identified approximately on Map 4.7, as changes in field names over time make identification of all pieces of land in 1540 difficult. The area between Shrogdown and Durlock was probably part of Guilton farm in 1540. Some farm lands, more distant and dispersed in 1540, were not part of the 1678 farm, such as the 17 acres to the north of Creeking Lane and one acre parcel in Nash Field, further north.¹⁴⁶ Guilton Farm in 1678 contained the whole of Guilton (Guyldentown) field of 14 acres, whereas in c.1540 only a strip of 3 acres in Guilton field belonged to the farm. In the early 16th century, Guilton field would have been parcellated as was Waredown/Warefield; William Combe of Ware had six acres in Guilton field in 1566.¹⁴⁷ Fields called "Newland" and "Breaking Land" in 1678 suggest that some reclamation of rough marshy brokland (Newland) and possibly copse (Breaking land) filled in the gaps between fields and extended the farmstead area.

This example supports arguments suggested earlier in this chapter, that it was the growing wealth and investment in land by gentry and the better off yeoman farmers which contributed towards the consolidation of farm lands. During most of the 16th century, Guilton farm formed part of the estate of the Stoughton family of Ash, created from customary land, land inherited or obtained through marriage.¹⁴⁸ About 180 of the 273 acres of this estate in Ash were in 1460 separate plots, mostly small, held by 17 tenants. Three farms emerged in the 16th century; Pedding farm, compact in layout by 1460; Guilton farm and Moat (alias Broke) farm, its neighbour to the east and lying south of Ash church. Moat farm became a larger and more compact unit, as

a result of the Stoughton acquisition of land in the area of the churchyard and the mill. By c.1540 Edward Stoughton had acquired probably the whole of Millfield, to the east of GUILTON mill and GUILTON farm, which was divided into eleven parcels between five tenants in 1460, in addition to a further 22 acres at the mill itself. Five acres and three roods in Millfield alias Chiltonfield were listed under GUILTON farm in c.1540 and probably become Street field, which was six acres, east of the mill in 1678 (Map 4.7). The remainder of Millfield was absorbed into Moat Farm, where it appears, although named GUILTON field on the Tithe Map in 1843.¹⁴⁹

Conclusions

The picture of the landscape, which emerges was one of variety; in some parts the canvas was filled in with large blocks of colour and in others there was an irregular patchwork. The landscape consisted of large consolidated, enclosed farms containing arable fields and pasture closes, farmsteads surrounded with yards, gardens, small compact closes or enclosed fields of pasture or orchards, scattered detached closes, usually pasture, open fields of arable divided into parcels or strips. While this mixture of enclosure and openness, compact and intermingled plots was still in existence in the mid 17th century, the open arable was giving way to a process of consolidation of parcels and some enclosure in a gradual and piecemeal fashion and there was no need for enclosure acts in the 18th century. This process has some similarities to the piecemeal and protracted dissolution of common fields described in East Norfolk.¹⁵⁰ However, the open nature of the landscape was retained for many of these large arable fields remained by the early 19th century and some do so now. Permanent division in the form of hedges were not erected, boundaries within being marked by a more flexible system of fences and stones, the latter a noticeable feature of large scale Ordnance Survey maps and criss crossed by footpaths. This landscape is in marked contrast to West Kent, where the small close predominates.

It has been argued in this chapter that the principal mechanisms in this process were the early established pattern and system of landholding and land tenure in the Wingham area linked to the topography of the area, inheritance systems and probably most important, long term demo-

graphic trends. If the pattern of farms with more compact lands increased against those with more dispersed lands, with the exception of marshland, it may argue for adopting their greater efficiency in response to increasing demand for food in a relatively urbanised part of England at a time of growing population in the later 16th and 17th centuries, over the flexibility in type of soil of the dispersed kind. There is probably an optimum size for a farm with too great a dispersal of arable land, particularly in terms of labour. The flexibility of the dispersed farm, which could reduce to its core farmstead, was a factor in the survival of the smallholder with an economy based on livestock, suggested by the evidence of inventories discussed in the following chapter, particularly in the parish of Ash. The topography here is significant, for farmsteads were situated in hamlets along the brooks and spring line, providing adjacent pasture closes and rough grazing. Alternative income could be derived from the casual labour requirements of the large farm.

A further factor in this system was the weakness of manorial lordship and in this, there were also similarities with east Norfolk.¹⁵¹ Gavelkind tenure gave the customary tenant the freedom to alienate his land as he wished, subject to manorial registration and dues. 13th century labour obligations on customary land of Wingham manor were not onerous, which was normal on the estates of the Archbishop of Canterbury and consisted principally of carrying services on foot and with carts and boonworks and stacking at harvest.¹⁵² An attempt at imposing seigneurial authority by Archbishop Peckham in 1390 was not repeated. Six customary tenants of Wingham Manor were summoned for failing to carry out their service of driving cartloads of hay and litter to his palace in Canterbury. They included men of local substance, such as the de Wenderton family, who refused to acknowledge the service and had been carrying out the service secretly by night and on foot. They were found to be in contempt of the Archbishop and their humiliating punishment required each to walk with slow steps around Wingham church carrying a sack of straw on their shoulders.¹⁵³ The tenants who made an agreement with Archbishop Chichele in the early 15th century were men of local wealth and standing, including Thomas Boys, John Nethersole, Robert Oxenden, Roger Clitherow, Thomas Septvans, men who could drive a hard bargain. The sheer size of Wingham manor made administration difficult and surviving court rolls give the

impression of creaking machinery by the early 16th century. Failure to keep up to date with the names of tenants is frequent, often by as much as 80 years. At Ratling manor, when Robert Grove, the steward of Roger Nevinson began recording the collection of quitrents in 1604, he found rents to be in arrears for 32 years or more.¹⁵⁴ There appears to be no evidence of manorial regulation of tenant agriculture or rights of pasture, which will be returned to in Chapter 5. However there was no power vacuum for in place of the medieval manorial system were the middle landowners of the small estates, whose control over their tenants lay in leases charged at economic or near economic rents. In place of manorialism lies an individual relationship between landlord and tenant and the growth of local squirearchy and paternalism.

Weak manorialisation, freedom to dispose of land, an area of high quality arable and pasture land, easy access to urban markets would encourage the operation of market forces on land and farms, seen in turnover of lessees and availability of land to purchase, land as an investment. It would seem to suggest that individualism was of some importance in this system, a subject which will be examined in Chapter 7 in relation to communities. While there was room for individualism, it is the family and the individual within it which was perhaps more influential. This can be seen in the overwhelming desire of fathers to share family assets between his children, to look after the widow and to settle sons with land if possible. Land was purchased by those who were able to do so, for this purpose. Leases were also used for family advancement, to provide a living for a younger son. Relatives beyond first order kin could benefit. It is likely that marriage was also a key mechanism in the redistribution of land, suggested by the Peny and Omer cases discussed in this chapter and cases among the yeoman/gentry families in Chapter 3 and needs further examination. Marriage and kinship could be a connecting link in the entry of an apparently new name in the occupation of leases which look to be an area of possible individual opportunism; one example suggests this possibility. In 1550, Edmund Cooper died holding the lease of Wingham Court and by 1608, the occupier was William Austen of an Adisham family. A kinship link existed between the Cooper and Austen families, for Edmond's daughter, Julyan was married to Steven Austen.¹⁵⁵

CHAPTER 5: ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

1. FAMILY, AGRICULTURE AND RURAL OCCUPATIONS

This chapter is divided into four sections. In an introductory section the nature of and problems posed by the sources used are discussed. The second section is concerned with agriculture, farms and families; the third section looks at agricultural labour and smallholders; the fourth section examines rural trades, crafts and opportunities for rural by employment in local industry in this area, with some discussion of dual and multiple occupation of families. Each section is preceded by a summary of its structure and principal themes; comparisons with other areas of the country are made and some conclusions drawn at the end of the section. Overall themes and conclusions are drawn together in a final section.

Section 1. The nature of the evidence

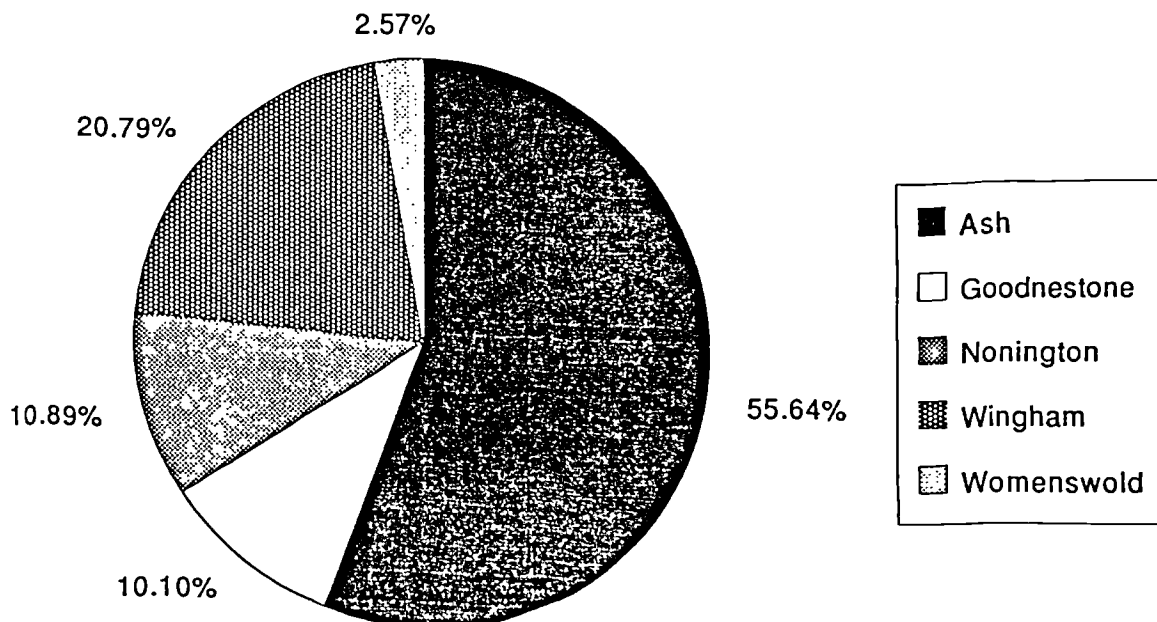
In this section the reasons for adopting an individual and family approach are suggested and the division of probate inventories, the sources used for this study, into groups for analysis and the criteria used for selection described. Inventories were divided into seven groups the first four being the material used for this chapter. The problems in using probate inventory evidence are discussed, particularly in relation to inflation, the life cycle and season of the year. The inventories from groups 1-4 were put on a life cycle model related to broad wealth categories, and divided on a seasonal basis. Some correlation was found between age of death and inventory value, but it was also clear that inventories were not weighted towards individuals in old age, but the majority were for individuals in the 30-55 age range. It was concluded that these inventories would be a reasonably representative sample of farms and businesses in terms of size of economic enterprise, family life cycle and pattern of the farming year.

A study of the economy of the area from a manorial view point was not feasible. By the mid 15th century, with the division and leasing of its demesne lands, Wingham manor could be regarded as an economic unit only in terms of its rent income but no longer in terms of agricultural management. The survival of farmers' accounts and account rolls for Wingham Manor, the

Wingham Barton, or the smaller manors in the area was very minimal indeed. In any case in a period of declining direct manorial management and in an area where manorial control was not strong, an individual and family orientated investigation would prove a more worthwhile approach. This study of agriculture and rural occupations in the Wingham area was dependent primarily, although not exclusively, on an analysis of a rich source of probate inventories surviving for the period c.1560-1640 for inhabitants of the parishes of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold. Inevitably, this study has concentrated on the second half of the period selected, but references will be made where possible to the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Moreover, it is unlikely that the overall pattern of family farming will have changed dramatically between 1460 and 1560.

A total of 496 probate inventories survive for inhabitants of the parishes of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold for the period 1560-1640 (Chart 5.1).

Chart 5.1 Survival of probate inventories by parish



The spread of surviving inventories across the area in general reflects the reality of size of acreage and population in each parish. 55% of inventories came from Ash, which was the largest parish in acreage, with the largest population, and a high number of medium and large farms, mostly tenant farmers by 1600. 21% of inventories, with a slightly larger proportion of craft and tradesmen, were from Wingham. Rather smaller percentages of inventories survived for Nonington and Womenswold, compared with their relative area, but this may reflect the dominance of gentry estates and also woodland areas, the latter particularly in Womenswold, which had a correspondingly small population. This numerical imbalance makes comparison between the northern and southern parishes less than ideal. The evidence is also weighted towards the early 17th century, as 40% of inventories survive for the period 1560-1600 and 60% 1600-1640.

Analysis of the inventories was begun with a division into seven broad groups. The purpose of Group 1. was to isolate the principal farming families above the level of the smallholder and for whom agriculture was the principal or an important aspect of the family economy. If a title was appended, they called themselves variously, husbandmen, yeomen, gentlemen. This category included testators whose personal estates were valued at £50 and over and whose inventories showed clear evidence of farming activities; for 78% of this group half or more of the total inventory value lay in agricultural produce and livestock. 173 testators were included in this group, 49 of which owned personal estates of £300 and over, ranging to £1,744; four testators came in the £1,000+ bracket. This category contained primarily male householders but did include two widows who had continued to run the family farm. This group might contain within it a range of family economy including family farms, whose principal motivating force was the satisfaction of the needs and demands of the household and family and for whom the farm was the major source of family income; wealthier families, whose agricultural activities were principally aimed at satisfying household consumption, but who had other sources of income from rents and the money market; wealthier, larger scale farmers supplying the market. It is Group 1, which will form the basis of the discussion of section two of this chapter.

Group 2 contained 133 testators with total inventories valued at under £50 and who

appeared to be householders, with some evidence of agricultural activity. Titles were not frequently appended to the testator's name, but some called themselves husbandmen, some labourers. It was hoped to collect in this group the smallholder, whose holding would not support him entirely and who supplemented his family income at times by agricultural labour.

Group 3 contained the farm servant. The principal criterion for selection here was the life cycle stage of the testator. Most of these testators called themselves "singlemen", or it was clear from other will and parish record evidence that they were young and single or called servants. There were 27 men in this group, of whom 23 owned possessions valued at under £50 and four between £50 and £100. These included apparel and either some livestock or ready money or money in debts owed, but they were clearly without household possessions and were not householders. Young single men, who had recently inherited the running of a farm were put into Group 1 or 2. Groups 2 and 3, along with other evidence will be considered in section three of this chapter.

Group 4 included testators for which there was good evidence of trade or craft occupation. This was determined by a given title, evidence of a shop, tools and stock of craft or trade. There were 81 in this group, including one widow who had continued her husband's business.

Group 5 contained 51 non-occupied widows and 7 single women.

Group 6 contained five clergy.

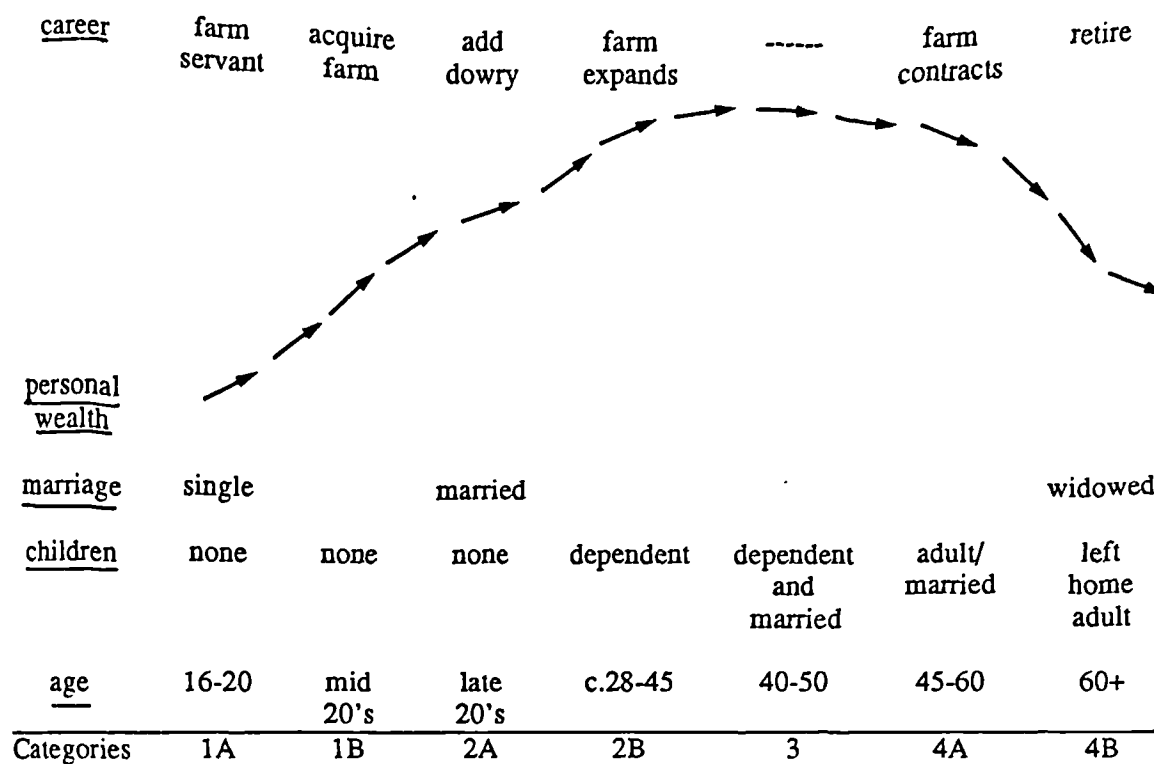
Group 7 included 17 men who did not fit into the above categories. Their personal estates were valued at over £50; their inventories included household possessions in most cases, but included only minimal agricultural produce and livestock or none at all. The majority of this group looked to be elderly and "retired"; at least twelve were identified as in the later stage of their life cycle, probably post 55 years of age. They were predominantly from the upper layers of society with nine gentlemen represented. Thirteen of Group 7 were making a living from the money market, with a large part of their personal estates in the form of money owing in debts or loans, such as Charles Trippe, gentleman of Wingham.

The economic function and importance of those in Groups 5-7 concerned with local money lending will be considered in Chapter 6 of this thesis. This chapter is concerned with the economically productive households and individuals represented in Groups 1-4.

Certain constituent factors have been used or implied in the defining of these groups notably range in wealth and stage in the life cycle of testators. Some discussion of these factors in considering the problems of using probate inventory material is necessary at this point. Detailed statistical analysis of this inventory data is problematic and only some crude analyses to show broad and general features and trends have been employed. Inflationary trends over the period make detailed comparison of inventory values unsatisfactory so that only certain broad banding of wealth is used in this study as some gauge of wealth and scale of enterprise. Even if a statistical procedure was built in to allow for inflation, other problems remain. Under valuation, variation in valuation and omission of items are unknown quantities.

Inventories provide a single view of an individual's moveable estate at one point in time, death, and without farm accounts the dynamics of an individual farm cannot be studied. Death could strike at any age in this period and therefore one might expect the stage in the life cycle of that individual to be a factor in that individual's personal wealth and scale of farming activity as represented by the inventory value. In the life cycle model, presented in Chart 5.2, it is postulated that personal wealth will increase with the inheritance of a farm/business and will be at its greatest when the farm/business is at its largest operative scale in mid life. Personal wealth will decline as the scale of operation reduces in later life, as children reach adulthood, in turn marry and form separate households, finally either leaving the parents on a small holding or living with and dependent on a married child, usually son. To test this model, 330 individuals for whom inventories survive and who were placed in Groups 1-3, that is those who earned a living from husbandry, were put into broad life cycle categories, as shown in Chart 5.2. Biographical evidence from wills, testamentary accounts and parish registers was used to determine the category for each individual. Category 1 included the individual who was single and young; Category 2a, the young, married individual with no children;

Chart 5.2 A Life Cycle Model



Category 2b, the married individual with dependent children not yet of age (18-21 years); in Category 3, the individual's family included dependent children under 21 and married children with separate households; Category 4, included the individual whose children were all adult. It was not possible to make rigid distinctions between categories, which overlap in terms of the age range of the testator. Table 5.1 shows the result of assigning these 330 farming inventories to these life cycle categories against a broad wealth structure. It was inevitable that some 17% remained uncategorised for lack of sufficient or clear evidence, particularly in the lowest wealth bracket. However, the evidence is clear that the majority of the uncategorised group were married and past Category 1. Table 5.1 does indicate that at least 55% of the farms and smallholdings represented here were from mid life cycle and therefore would not be under representative of farm units at their most productive; for each wealth group the percentage in Categories 2 and 3 ranged from 45%-64%. As might be expected, most young, single men, in life cycle Category 1 fell into the lowest wealth bracket, below £50, as is illustrated by the Manlye family of Ash.

*Table 5.1 Life cycle and wealth of farmers and husbandmen
1560-1640*

	Life cycle categories 1		2A		2B		3		4		uncateg- orised	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
wealth												
£0-49	30	18	9	5	53	32	20	12	17	10	35	21
£50-99	4	8	5	9	22	42	7	13	6	11	9	17
£100-199	2	5	1	2	21	45	8	18	9	20	4	9
£200-499	1	2	2	4	15	31	13	27	12	24	6	12
£500+	0	0	0	0	6	30	3	15	9	45	2	10
totals	37	11%	17	5%	116	35%	51	15%	53	16%	56	17%

William Manlye the elder, yeoman, died in 1581 with a personal estate valued at £131, leaving a widow and four sons, the younger three being 18, 16 and 6 years respectively.¹ The eldest, William Manlye the younger, followed his father to the grave two months later. His possessions were valued at £19, including £10, which was the portion due from his father. William the younger was on the verge of marriage to a widow, Margery Lylborne, who was his executor and to whom he gave all he had.² The farm continued, run by William the Elder's widow and sons, John and Richard (the fourth son, James had left home) until 1591, when John, the second son died at the age of 27 years. His inventory was valued at £32, and included some livestock, two acres of wheat and £12 in debts owed. He was about to marry, as his executor and legatee of the residuary was Mary Hole, despite his mother being alive.³

Category 4 was in itself less clearly defined and there were no definite conclusions to be drawn from Table 5.1. In an age when expectation of life was not high, it is unlikely that retirement to a small holding or living under the protection of a son, except in the case of widows, was particularly common. It was not very visible among these families, although some of Category 4 in the lower wealth groups might reflect this phase of family life. It would appear that distinctions between Categories 3 and 4 were hazy; some adult sons were set up independently prior to their father's death, some daughters married, but the original household remained with some adult children living at home, the daughter until marriage and a son or two until the father died and they inherited. In the upper wealth brackets, the percentage in Category 4 drops less than in the

lower wealth groups and it is likely that the farm was of a larger scale, in some cases an on going family commercial enterprise, less bound by the dictates of household requirements, as in the case of Henry and William Oxenden of Wingham. Alternatively later life cycle showed itself in a smaller farm component as postulated in the life cycle model (Chart 5.2) with wealth invested in household possessions, plate or loans. A closer examination of wealthier Category 4 inventories indicates to some extent personal estate invested in the money market, as in the cases of nine of the twenty one individuals with personal estates of over £200, but it was not overwhelmingly the case. Some issues raised here will be examined in section two of this chapter under scale and typology of farms; the relationship between life cycle and the local money market will be looked at in Chapter 6. However, this analysis does indicate that these inventories will present a reasonably representative view of farms at their most productive and were not heavily weighted towards those of men of maturer years.

A further factor, which needs to be taken into account when considering probate inventories as evidence of agriculture is the time of year at which the inventory was drawn up. The picture of a farm and particularly the valuation of its produce and livestock could vary according to the season. Two case studies of small/medium farms illustrate this. The inventory of Bartholomew Combe of Ash, made in December 1600 was valued at £100-14s-0d, but his farm had increased in value to £138-5s-6d by the following May, when his widow, Clemence, died. The difference lay principally in the value of cereals growing, which had been planted in the intervening months.⁴ The valuation of the farm of brothers Thomas and William Lawrence of Goodnestone had fallen by £66 from £138 to £79, a drop of 48%, between the appraisal of Thomas's inventory just after harvest in October 1596 and that of William the following March.⁵ The 173 inventories of Group 1, which will form the basis of evidence for the farming pattern of this area, were spread fairly evenly throughout the year and provided a fair sample of farms at different seasons. 49 were dated from the winter quarter, November to January; 49 from February to April; a smaller number, 30, survive for the summer months, May to July; 43 for the harvest months, August to October.

Section 2. An agricultural system

Group 1 of the initial analysis of inventories, that is 173 inventories of active farmers with moveable possessions valued at £50 upwards formed the principal material used in this section. This section begins with a short discussion of the general type of agrarian society in this area and the importance of topography in determining farming patterns. It is followed by a discussion of arable farming and its importance in this area within an essentially mixed farming framework, with comparisons made with other areas of the country. The scale of agricultural enterprise, as represented by the valuation and contents of the farm element in inventories, is examined, including each aspect of farming, arable, dairying, livestock, small crops and an analysis based on cereal production to determine the extent to which farms were market orientated and commercial. The extent to which individual farms specialised was determined and discussed by categorising individual farms under farm types. Contrasts in agriculture within the geographical area studied are pointed out, followed by some discussion of the nature of change over time.

The key arguments which emerged were that farmers had autonomy in the management of their farms and that communal regulation was not a feature of this area. This was an area of mixed farming, where arable farming, particularly the cultivation of wheat was the most important element overall. Arable farming was intensive on the fertile loams, with a continuous crop rotation with only occasional fallow, in which cereals were rotated with peas, beans and vetches (tares). Fields were manured principally by dunging with farmyard manure, for pigs were yard kept and livestock overwintered, stall fed or pastured in enclosed fields round the farmstead. There was a range in scale of enterprise, including a substantial number of larger farms, producing grain but also wool and meat for the market and the smaller farm, self sufficient in food, selling smaller surpluses. The cultivation of hops and hemp, fruit and vegetables existed but was not on a commercial scale in this period. Livestock was an element in all farms, but size of herds of cattle and flocks of sheep increased with size of enterprise and where larger areas of marshland or downland formed a sizeable part of the lands of a farm; the scale of pig rearing and fattening on some farms indicated marketing over and above household consumption. Diversity of farming

enterprise was the pattern and there was variety in emphasis within each farm; the smallholder and small farmer who depended on livestock could be found beside the larger arable farmer. The varying topography between the north and south of the study area brought about some variation in emphasis in agriculture. However, there seemed to be little detectable change between 1560 and 1640 in what appears to be a flexible and successful system.

England has been divided into two broad agricultural categories; the areas where mixed farming predominated, which in general was characterised by manorial and communal regulation and co-operative husbandry, common, open arable fields and common and regulated grazing rights; the pastoral areas, primarily in the west and north of England, where pasture and arable fields were enclosed, co-operative husbandry was less necessary, community regulation was weaker and the economic and social interests of the family and clan predominated.⁶ Kent has been recognised as being unusual for eastern England, having much in common with the pastoral areas of the west. While this may be the case in west Kent and east Sussex, the pastoral area of the Weald, East Kent is different. In terms of the farming regions of England, the five adjacent parishes studied in this thesis lie in the mixed farming type, principally in the sheep-corn downland category, but also on the edge of the corn and stock fattening marshland category.⁷ Yet the agricultural organisation of this area and therefore its social framework was not typical of the classical mixed farming regions. Although the court rolls for Wingham Manor, the predominant manor within these parishes, survive sporadically for the late 15th and early 16th centuries, those that survive contain no evidence of manorial and communal regulation of husbandry amongst the business of the court. Commons and common waste land do not seem to have existed in this area. Common rights to drive livestock are implied by the many drove roads called common drove roads and common forstals or collecting paddocks for livestock existed in some places such as Westmarsh, but the marshland and brokland was in individual ownership or tenancy. Common grazing and stinting of livestock did not appear to be a characteristic of agrarian organisation in this area. The open or common fields were common by virtue of being divided among several husbandmen, whose parcels were intermingled, but there is no surviving evidence to suggest that

there were regulations over the cultivation of the field or crop rotation and there was only one open arable field for each hamlet. It would seem that each farm unit was autonomous in the organisation of its husbandry, which was determined by other considerations, the family and its economy, local marketing opportunities, soils and topography. However, that does not mean that informal co-operation did not exist and was probably a necessary part of day to day existence, but more difficult to observe. Moreover, it might be expected that less regulation would result in more flexible methods of husbandry and greater responsiveness to the demands of the market by farmers.

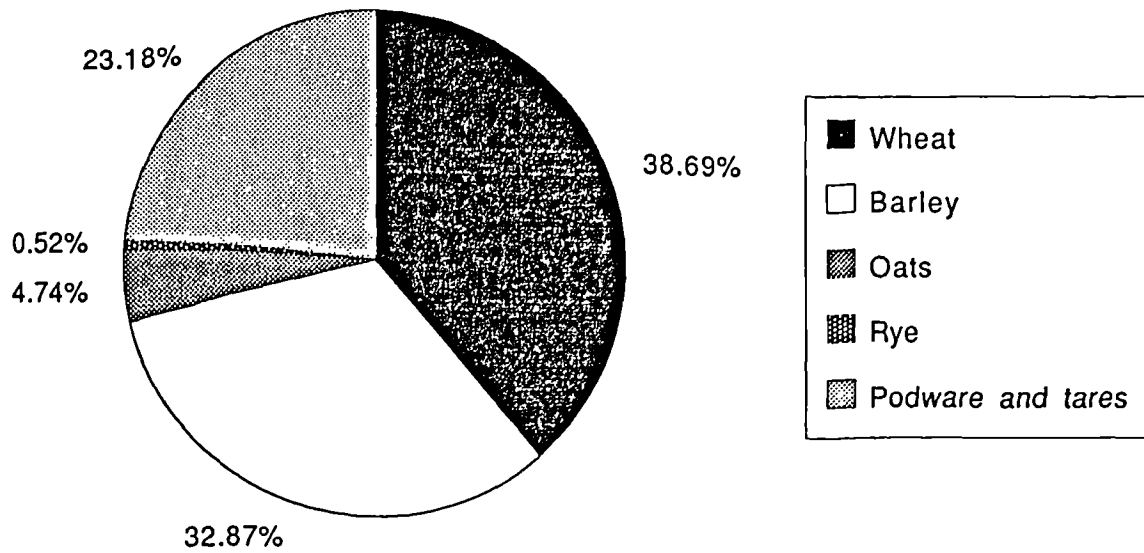
One of the fundamental factors in determining the farming pattern in this area, the underlying geology and topography is set out in the introduction to this thesis. The fine alluvial soils and brickearths which predominate in the parishes of Ash and Wingham are very fertile and ideal for cereals, particularly wheat. The champagne type country of streaked brickearths on chalk, which spreads south of Wingham village into the parishes of Goodnestone and the most part of Nonington is suitable cereal land interspersed with chalk downland grazing for sheep. The marshlands bordering the River Stour in the parish of Ash provided good summer grazing for livestock; meadow land, good pasture and rough grazing existed in the smaller areas of marshy land bordering the Wingham River and other streams. This was the agrarian picture of the mid 19th century, as portrayed by the tithe commissioners, with the addition of some market gardening although not on a large scale and principally in the parish of Ash.⁸ Probate inventories should indicate the existence and extent of fruit and vegetable growing in this area by the 17th century in addition to other newer crops, such as hops and hemp, encouraged by Tudor governments.⁹ It is likely that there were some differences in agricultural economy between farms in the northern and marshland parish of Ash and those in the southern chalk and woodland parishes, which probate inventories might reveal.

The arable system

Analysis of the 173 farming inventories in Group 1 clearly indicates the importance of

arable farming in this area. The money values of livestock on one hand and arable crops in the barn and on the ground in each inventory expressed as a percentage of the total farm inventory in terms of produce and stock were used as a yardstick. For the majority, 108 or 62% of the 173 inventories, the value of cereals exceeded that of livestock, seven or 4% were of equal value and for 58, 34% the value of livestock was greater than cereals, although the ratios between the two indicate variety. The contrast between East Kent and the Kentish Weald can be drawn out, for a similar analysis for that area revealed its essentially pastoral economy, in which the value of livestock in inventories was at least twice that of corn.¹⁰ The ratios were closer in the Wingham area, but in 24% of the 173 inventories the ratio of cereals to livestock was 2:1. Wheat and barley were the major crops. The brickearths were ideal for wheat cultivation and only five inventories, excluding those made at harvest in September and October, did not record winter sown wheat. Although wheat was probably the major cash crop, discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 6, wheaten bread appears to have been a normal part of the diet of households in this area, as wheat is recorded stored in barns and lofts through the summer months in all but 10 of the 173 inventories. Nor was it only the wealthier families whose diet included wheaten bread, for the inventories of 53 smallholders in Group 2 record small acreages of wheat and 60 record small quantities stored in lofts. Barley, sown between March and May, was of equal importance, but rye was insignificant. Oats featured occasionally, but the principal fodder crop was pulses, a variety of peas and beans with tares, a vetch like legume. In Chart 5.3, the total of sown acreages of these crops from 46 summer inventories shows wheat to occupy the greatest acreage, 38.7%, followed by barley at 32.9%, Podware and tares together at 23.1%, oats at 4.7% and rye at 0.5%. Although there was variation between individual farms in the proportions of crops grown, it would appear that the wealthier farmers with personal estates of over £300 grew a higher proportion of wheat, 40%, as opposed to 36% grown by medium farmers, who grew a higher proportion of podware, 29% as opposed to 19%. The evidence of oats stored in barns suggests that only a small number of farmers grew oats, but there did not seem to be any clear cut correlation with wealth, status or ownership of a large number of horses.

Chart 5.3 Acreages of sown crops from 46 summer inventories



These sown acreage figures do suggest that the proportion of wheat to barley grown varied within the area studied, with 40% wheat and 31% barley grown in Ash on Thanet beds and brickearths, while the reverse was the case in Goodnestone, Nonington, and Womenswold on predominantly chalk, 32% wheat to 42% barley.

The picture of arable farming in this area of East Kent appears in marked contrast to some Midland communities. In 16th century Lincolnshire on the limestone and chalk uplands, 59% of sown land from inventories contained barley and only 9.4% wheat.¹¹ In Chippenham in Cambridgeshire on chalk, eight winter inventories suggest that winter corn was rye with spring sown corn almost entirely barley; wheat never amounted to more than 4% or podware 6% of the acreage.¹² The upland limestone, sheep and corn areas of Oxfordshire also grew far more barley than wheat during this period than the downland parishes of Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold; 26 summer inventories for the period 1580-1640 show 14% wheat, 61% barley, 7% oats, 4% rye and 15% pulses.¹³ In the Lincolnshire marshes in the 16th century more wheat was grown as in Ash, but a smaller proportion; 32% of sown land was down to wheat and 30% to

barley.¹⁴

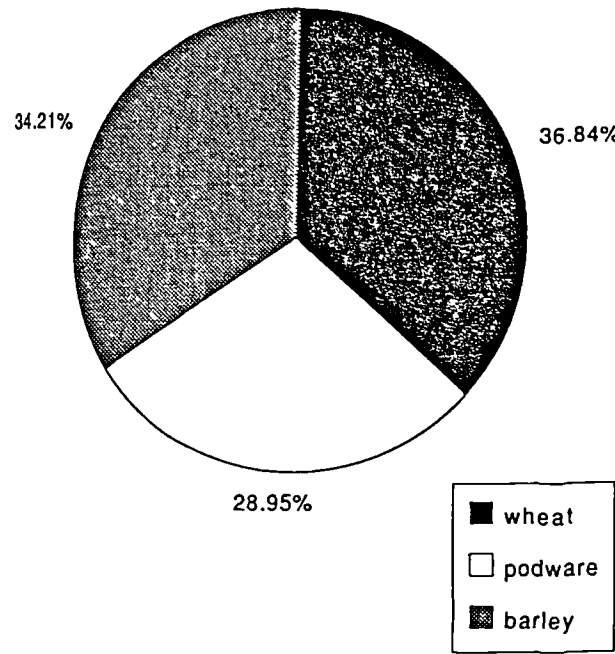
It has been argued that arable farming methods in Oxfordshire were changing during the 17th century in response to demand, particularly the growing metropolitan market, despite the restrictions of an open-field system. The amount of fallow was being reduced by a system of "hitching", in which a certain proportion of strips in the open fields by agreement were put down to pulses and vetches, thus providing more nutritious fodder crops than weeds and having the added advantage of fixing nitrogen in the soil. This is reflected in the 15% pulses shown in Oxfordshire inventories and the same proportion in a sample of inventories from mid Essex, a wheat growing area, in the mid and late 17th century.¹⁵ The inventories for the East Kent area studied in this thesis provide little direct evidence of crop rotation, but the figures quoted above indicate quite clearly that pulses and vetches were a more important crop, amounting to 32% of the total sown land from summer inventories, replacing fallow in preparation for the wheat crop. They were certainly being grown in the 1560's, for John Idley, gentleman of Goodnestone had 600 coppers of peas and tares in his barn and Andrew Gardner of Wingham had 21 acres of podware growing; both inventories date from 1567.¹⁶ The lack of communal regulation made greater flexibility of crop rotation possible. The proportions of crops sown on individual farms do suggest that a more intensive system of crop rotation operated in East Kent in the 16th century, particularly on the brickearth soils which hold their fertility. This was the system of "round tilth" or continuous husbandry, rotating wheat, barley followed by a combination of peas, beans and tares/vetches, without a regular fallow year. This management of the arable by the mid 17th century is confirmed in a lease by William Hammond of St.Albans in Nonington of the Court Lodge farm at St.Albans to James Nash in 1663, whom he required

"to maintain and keepe all the arrable lands hereby demised in good and orderly tilts, husbandmanlike, that is to say round tilts, with wheat, barley and pother uppon such of the lands that will bear it, and shall not one any of the said lands sowe wheate after wheate or barly after barly if deepe lands, nor any wheate one barly or oatgrotten".¹⁷

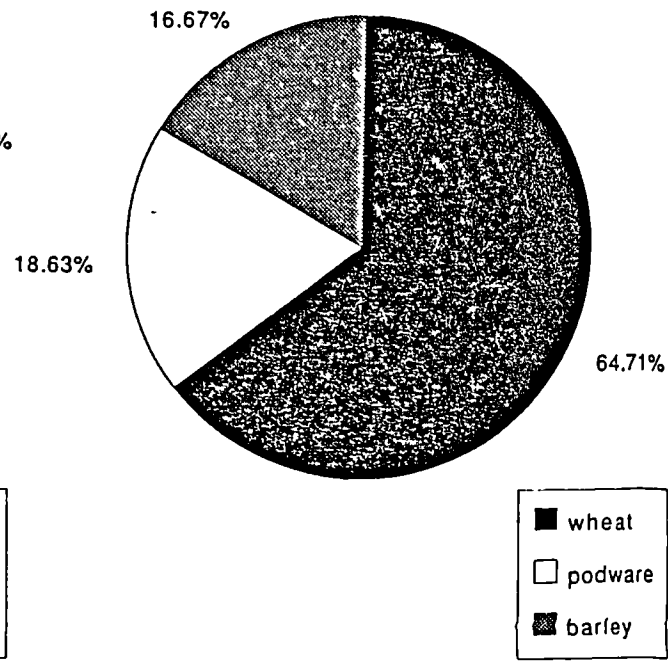
An undated 17th century particular of sale for the farms of Moland and Chequer in the parish of Ash stresses as a selling point

Chart 5.4 Sown acreages on eight farms from inventories

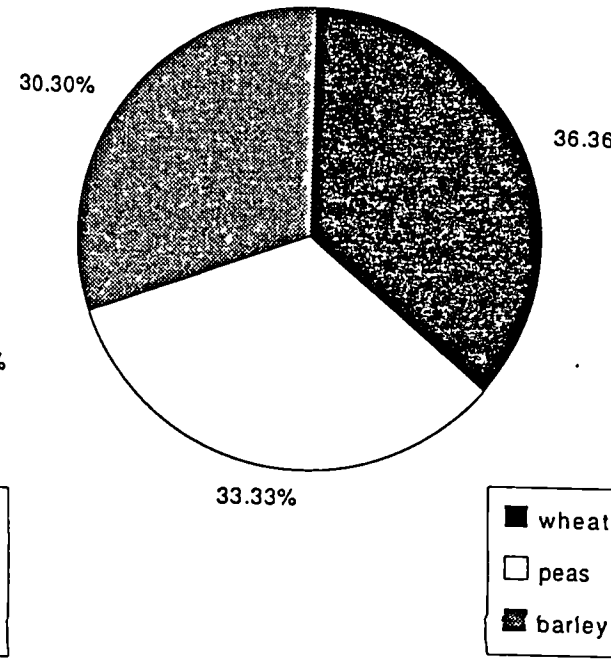
Henry Cocke of Ash, 1582



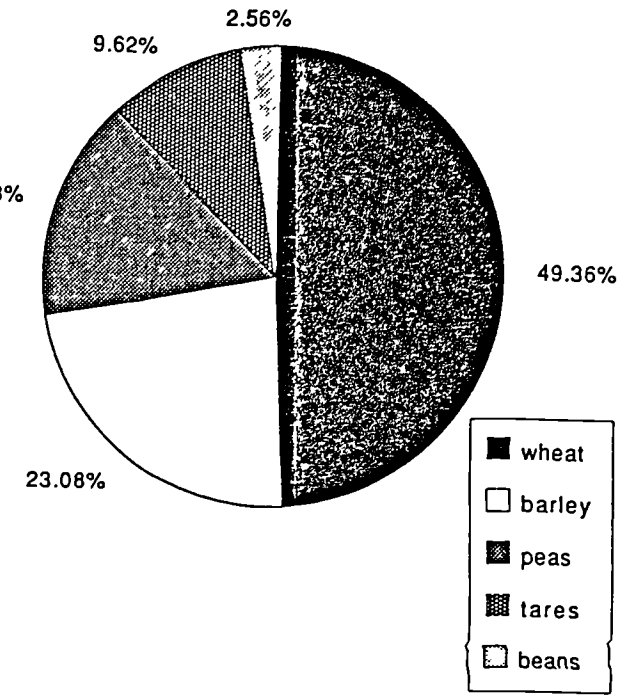
Michael Huffham of Ash, 1596



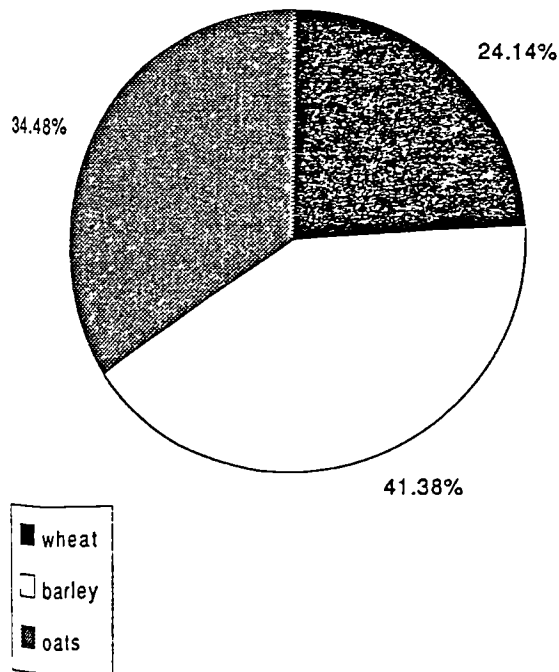
James Port of Ash, 1629



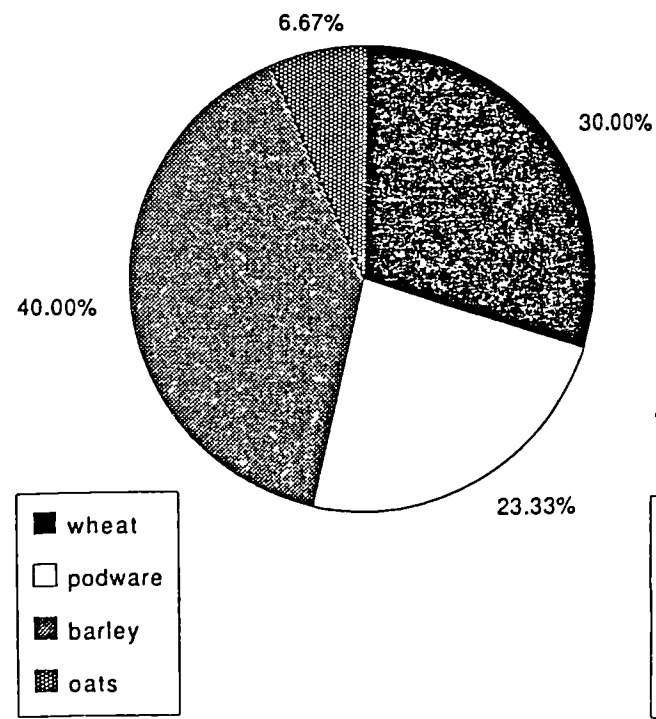
Thomas Swafford of Ash, 1638



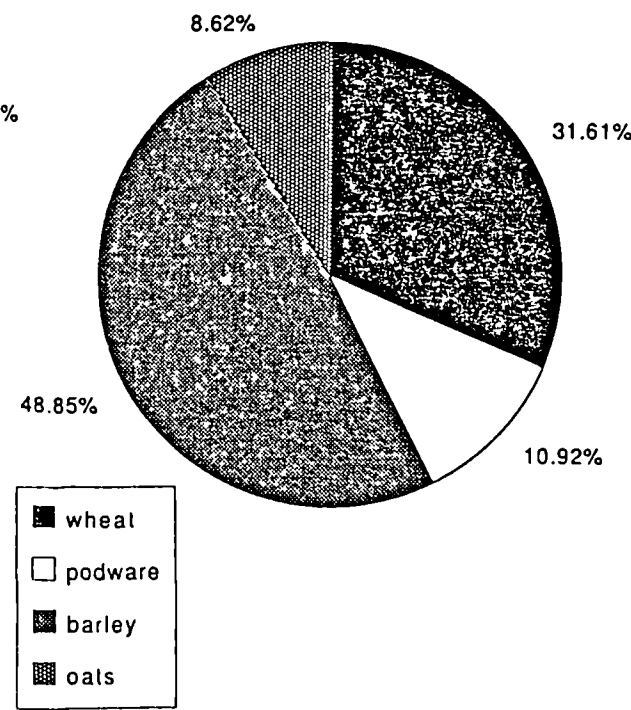
Richard Nash of Goodnestone 1616



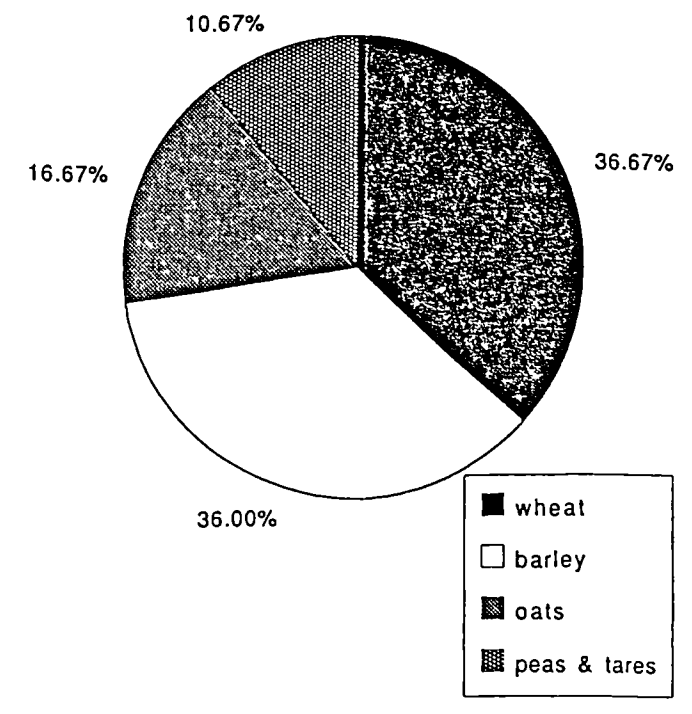
Robert Pett of Nonington, 1567



Edward Raynor of Nonington 1617



Vincent Nethersole of Womenswold 1602



"that the lands are very specially good, neere all of them being such as are yearly sown and never laid in for summerland to rest".¹⁸

John Boys of Betteshanger in his "General View of the Agriculture of Kent" published in 1796 describes round tilth as the prevailing system on the loamy soils of East Kent.¹⁹ He maintained that under this system, the time of the sowing of barley in the spring was later than under other systems, during April or May, to allow for ploughing three times to cleanse the land. Analysis of the probate inventories used in this study based on the harvest year supports Boys view, April being the earliest month that barley is listed on the ground.

Chart 5.4 represents some examples of sown acreages of individual farms from late 16th and early 17th century inventories, some of which indicate a balanced division between crops; Henry Cocke of Ash, for example had 38 acres of sown arable in 1582, which comprised 14 acres of wheat, 13 acres of barley and 11 acres of podware; James Port of Ash in 1629 grew 12 acres wheat, 10 acres barley and 11 acres podware; David Hole of Ash in 1615 grew 20 acres of wheat, 21 acres of barley, 21 acres of podware and 3 acres of Rye.²⁰ Although some land would have been left fallow, as pulses and tares were not grown in equal proportion to barley or wheat, references in the inventories to fallow land are rare compared with the mid Essex inventories referred to earlier, but occur in the spring inventories relating to the preparation of land left fallow after harvest and through winter to be sown in the spring with barley. Richard Saffery's inventory drawn up in February 1629 records 23 acres of wheat, 11 acres of podware and 22 acres of fallow; William Forstall's inventory dated February 1630 records "50 acres of land ready fallowed for barley and oats".²¹ Reference to summerland, a whole fallow year is rare. There is no evidence of use of other soil regenerating crops such as sainfoin, clover or turnips. However, the cultivation of peas, beans and vetches was not a 16th century innovation in this area. In 1399, the Wingham Barton had 20 quarters of peas and 24 quarters of vetch in its barns and peas and vetch were sown on the demesnes of Wingham Manor; they were cultivated at Gillingham in the 13th century.²² This system was likely to have long been in existence by 1550.

Scattered evidence suggests that the land was manured principally by the carting and spreading of farmyard manure mixed with straw and compost. In 1485, the court rolls of

Goldstone Manor record an allowance against rent owed by Stephen Feruar, for the spreading of 200 dungs at Goldstone, on the demesne.²³ The inventory of Hugh Wylles of Ash included the carrying out of the compost in the value put on his recently sown wheat in November 1590; in 1627 the inventory of Richard Forstall of Wingham included "60 loads of dung already carried upon the land" and "salledge" in the court.²⁴ The yarding of livestock, discussed later in this chapter, provided the raw material, but this method of manuring was labour intensive. In the 18th and 19th centuries, dung was carried in carts, placed in heaps in the field at regular intervals and then spread about.²⁵ It seems that grazing of livestock, particularly the folding of sheep on the arable in the winter was less important in this area and there is no surviving evidence of communal grazing customs in the common fields after harvest. Good pasture existed on the upland, downland and marshland and round tilth limited the period during which the stubble could be grazed after harvest. Winter wheat, which featured prominently, particularly in Ash, was sown in October and tares and podware were also often winter sown crops; three ploughings of the barley land had to be fitted in over the winter months. There is no evidence of the use of marl or seaweed as fertiliser, but some gentleman farmers had lime in their yards, such as Henry Oxenden of Wingham in 1597 and John Idley of Goodnestone, who in 1567 had 13s-4d worth of lime in his yard.²⁶

The arable system of the Wingham area had more in common with east Norfolk than the Midland mixed farming areas. Although the common fields were more extensive in east Norfolk than in the Wingham area, the east Norfolk system in the middle ages was also one which was intensive in its crop rotation on loamy soils, with infrequent fallow and the cultivation of vetches and pulses, was more heavily reliant on dunging yard manure than folding of livestock on the arable and was flexible in the individual farmer's freedom over cultivation.²⁷

Despite the emphasis so far placed on arable farming, the overall impression given from inventories and wills is that mixed farming was the predominant pattern in this area, which would largely still be expected at this period.²⁸ In addition to the crops discussed above, crops such as hay, hemp, hops, fruit and vegetables were grown. The importance of livestock in a mixed farm

was indicated in the relatively close ratio of cereals to livestock in most inventories. Each farm kept a dairy herd, bees and poultry; there was evidence of breeding with some fattening of cattle, sheep farming for wool and meat, pig keeping and some horse breeding. Ownership of horses was extensive, as they were the major draught animals on these light soils, in addition to transport, pulling waggons and carts. Oxen and working bullocks were used on only eleven farms. It was decided to examine the nature of these farming enterprises in relation to two themes; first, scale of enterprise and second, the extent of specialisation or farming emphasis within a mixed farming context.

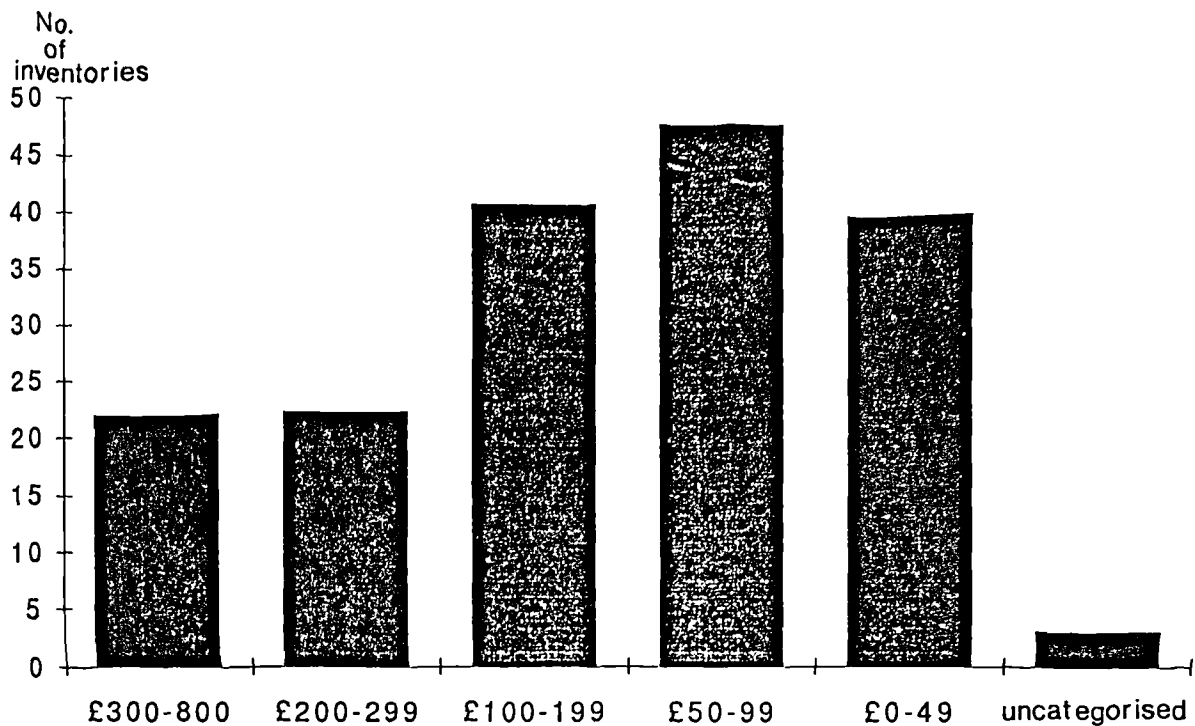
Scale of Farm Enterprise

This section sets out to find out to what extent the economy of the farms represented by the inventories selected was primarily determined by household consumption requirements and to what extent they were geared to producing commercial cash crops.

The initial selection of 173 inventories for study was based on evidence of farming and size of personal estate, of c.£50 and over. In order to examine scale of enterprise, the 173 inventories were put in broad bands, in order of the value of their farm produce and livestock only.²⁹ Chart 5.5 indicates that the total farm values ranged from £800 down to £19 and it identifies 44 or 26% whose farm enterprise was valued at over £200, the larger scale, possibly commercially orientated farmer.

In general, these values followed the order of the size of total personal estate; however this procedure was able to distinguish five, possibly six wealthy gentlemen and yeomen, who were not farming commercially or on any sizeable scale, but who ran a small farm to support their households and appear towards the end of the list with the smaller husbandmen. Three were yeoman in later life. Edward Symons, yeoman of Nonington, was living from money lending at his death in 1622, for his personal estate amounted to £328, 73% of which was in credits, whilst his farm stock and produce amounted to £57.³⁰

Chart 5.5 Farm values from 173 inventories

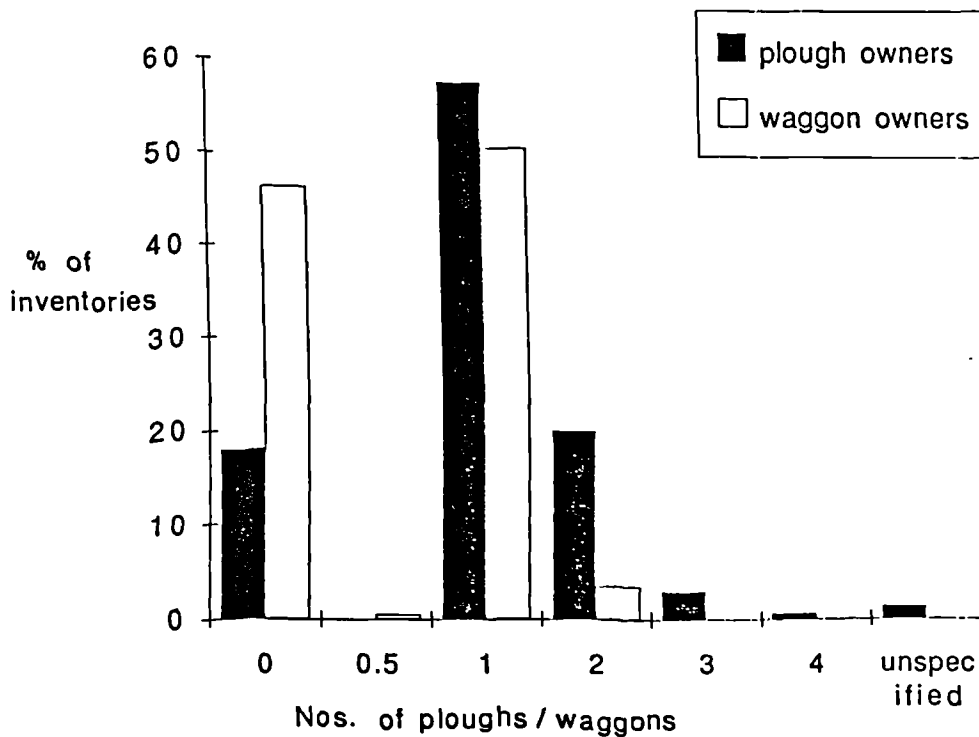


John Prowde, a prominent yeoman of Ash was a similar example. His personal estate at death in 1626 was considerable, totalling £1209, of which 87% was in ready money and debts owing, £69 or 6% was the value of his farm and his personal possessions, which were not particularly luxurious accounted for the remaining 7%, including £10 in plate and jewels.³¹ John Jones of Wingham is also an interesting example of the retirement of wealthy farmers. 54% of his personal estate of £553 in 1615 was the value of his 230 acre lease of the north part of Wingham demesne lands, which it is clear from his inventory that he was not farming himself, and which he left to his son, Thomas. His income was primarily from the rents of three houses he let in Wingham and from his farm at Blackney in Wingham, which he let furnished to Henry Binge for £63 a year. His children were independent and John and his wife, Ann had bought and lived in one of the Wingham College canon's houses in Canon Lane in the centre of Wingham village, with an orchard and apple house. He had reserved 26 acres out of the Blackney farm lands to meet his household needs and live in reasonable comfort. His farm produce and livestock were valued at

£83 in December which included 2 acres of sown wheat, five swine, a small flock of 24 ewes and a dairy herd of nine cows.³² Two gentlemen, Edward Stoughton of Ash and Edward Oxenden of Wingham were also farming on a small scale. The latter had reduced the scale of his farming enterprise at Brook farm in Wingham, compared with that of his Uncle William, from whom he inherited it; the valuation of William Oxenden's farm in 1576 was £250, whilst that of his nephew in 1618 was £35.³³

To return to the main bulk of farming inventories, some sense of scale of arable enterprise can be gained from the ownership of ploughs, waggons and carts (Chart 5.6).

Chart 5.6 Plough and waggon ownership on 173 farms 1560-1640



There was an 82% plough ownership in this group of 173; 43 or 25% of the group owned two or more ploughs and these plough owners, as would be expected were the larger farmers, those with higher inventory values in farm produce and stock. This figure suggests 37 farms of 60-120 acres and a further five of over 120 acres; John Gybbes of Goldstone, for example, in

1599 owned three ploughs for 137 sown acres.³⁴ The introduction of the larger capacity four wheeled waggon on farms from the 1580's in this area may reflect the scale of arable farming. 53% of of these farmers owned waggons, an uncommon situation elsewhere in the country.³⁵

An attempt was made to assess in terms of cereal production, how many farms were producing substantially more than would be consumed by the household. Initially, 43 harvest inventories, those drawn up in September-November with corn in barns, were taken as a sample. A hypothetical subsistence allowance of 6-8 bushels of breadcorn per head per year was assumed.³⁶ Added in was an estimate for replacement of seed corn of 2½ bushels per acre for wheat and 4 bushels per acre for barley.³⁷ In order to reach some estimate of household size, a figure of 6 for the average family size was taken as a basis.³⁸ However, the evidence of wills and inventories of the wealthier yeoman and families in this sample of harvest inventories suggest household sizes of up to 12, including servants. Thomas St. Nicholas of Ash, for example left a family of 7 at his death, three adult sons, two daughters (one married), his second wife and mother in law. His house contained two servants rooms containing five beds, so that his household size when the children were all dependent could have been 12.³⁹ The household of Peter Hawker, yeoman of Ash at his death included his wife, two young daughters and six living in servants, making a total of ten.⁴⁰ Using these models, 18 of the 43 farms represented in the sample had grain in their barns well in excess of the requirements stated. A further 16 farms had 30 quarters or more still in the barn in the winter months. A second approach involved looking at summer sown acreages of wheat and barley in 43 inventories, of which 19 recorded sown acreages of over 20 acres, which could be regarded as a minimum for household subsistence in grain alone.⁴¹ In conclusion an estimate of 53 or 31% of the total 173 farms were producing corn to be sold on the market as a commercial cash crop, as opposed to small surpluses in good years. Furthermore, twenty of this group held ready cash at their death, of which thirteen held sums of between £20 and £60. Seven of the large farmers, for whom inventories survive were also lessees of tithes and were corn dealers: William Symes, Ash parsonage, 1574; John Gybbes, St.Gregories parsonage barn and tithery in Ash, 1599; Daniel Prior of St.Gregories and Ash parsonage, 1620; Vincent and Thomas

St.Nicholas, Overland parsonage, Ash, 1589 and 1620; Richard Forstall, Wingham parsonage, 1627; John Idley, Goodnestone parsonage, 1566.⁴²

However this is only a crude analysis, as other factors would need to be considered such as barley requirements for brewing, the varying expectation of standard of living among these families, the livestock component of mixed farms. The profitability of larger farms selling a major part of their corn crop commercially depended on the extra costs of for example labour and the level of rent. Taking rents, the variable quality of data regarding rents from probate sources make it difficult to provide any overall assessment of the proportion of surplus grain sold which would be put aside for rent each year; some individual cases only can illustrate this.⁴³ The extent to which rent was a factor in the profitability of these farms, depended on the nature of the tenure by which the farm was held. Among the large farmers were gentry and yeomen whose farms were held by free tenure or were customary land paying quit rents. The farm inventory of Henry Oxenden, gentleman of Wingham, covered three farms, at Dene in Wingham, Bossington in adjacent Adisham and 20 acres at Herne.⁴⁴ The quit rent for the Wingham lands was £3-15-2d, and one could speculate that it was unlikely to be larger on the other farms.⁴⁵ He held a lease of Wingham demesne land jointly with his brother, which was £10-13-4d per annum.⁴⁶ His rents per annum were unlikely to reach more than £15. In September 1597, when his inventory was drawn up, cereals in the barns were valued at £380.⁴⁷ Arable farming was profitable for such a gentleman farmer in the later 16th century, particularly at times of dearth and high prices, as in the 1590's, and his livestock has not been considered. Henry, a second son, had prospered, as evidenced by his building of a new mansion house at Dene in the 1580's.⁴⁸ This situation might be applied to some other large scale farming enterprises of gentlemen and yeomen farmers, notably the Hammond, St.Nicholas, Broke, Huffham, Harflete, Omer and Nethersole families particularly in the later 16th century.

Some of the largest farming enterprises were the yeoman lessees of the compact farms discussed in Chapter 4, and it is likely that many were paying economic rents for their lands which would consume a proportionately larger part of income from cash sales of corn. Humphrey Gar-

diner of Ash, although not one of the largest of these can be taken as an example. His farm at the Wingham Barton was 132 acres, 62 acres of which was arable, for which he paid an annual rent of £69-18s-0d in 1608.⁴⁹ In April 1616, when the probate inventory of his farm was drawn up, it looks as if his cereal crop would cover the rent, household consumption and replacement seed, with some surplus. 24 acres of wheat was valued at £50, and would increase by harvest; he had 7½ quarters of wheat remaining from the previous harvest in his barn, which would cover next years seed wheat and £60 owing to him, which was likely to be sales of wheat and possibly some livestock during the winter. 36 quarters of barley remained in the barn, but he had not yet sown spring barley, which in that year would have been 18 acres, as 20 acres was already sown with peas, tares and oats, providing winter fodder for livestock, grazed on his pasture and marshland during the summer. The size of his household at his death was seven, including his wife, small daughter and four covenanted servants; minimum household consumption until the following harvest and seed barley might be estimated at 15 quarters, which would leave a margin of 20 quarters of barley. The livestock side of his farm, which included a dairy herd of 11, 16 young cattle and a flock of 60 sheep, was important.⁵⁰

The margin of grain surplus to requirements of household consumption and rent was not so very different on a smaller neighbouring farm, where there was some cushioning against market forces, as half of the farmland was customary land paying quitrent. Bartholomew and Clemence Combe of Ware in Ash, to the south of the Barton farmed in the region of 40 acres at their deaths in 1600 and 1601 respectively.⁵¹ In May 1601, 16 acres was sown with wheat, valued at £40 and 8 acres with barley, valued at £20. A further 7 acres was sown with tares and oats. Rents consisted of 7s-5d per annum to Wingham Manor for 20 acres of customary land, £1-10s per annum for 3 acres of marshland and a further £23 per annum for land leased from their neighbour Thomas Middleton. Total yearly rent was £24-17s-5d in 1601, easily covered by the value of their wheat, when harvested. Their household was seven, four dependent sons and a maidservant. Household consumption of breadcorn and replacement seed might be estimated at 16 quarters, which could be covered theoretically by the value of the barley crop.⁵² This farm was principally

a family farm, with smaller numbers of livestock than Humphrey Gardiner owned.

The keeping of livestock was an integral part of a mixed farm, providing manure for the arable and supplying the household consumption needs for dairy products, meat, wool, tallow, fat, and livestock of some kind are listed in all the 173 farm inventories. Categories of livestock kept were cows, heifers, as replacements in the dairy herd and for fattening; cattle of varying ages; sheep, ewes and wethers; swine; horses, poultry. In considering scale of livestock farming there seemed to be no evidence of great size of flocks or herds (Table 5.2). Moreover, numbers of kine, cattle, sheep and pigs kept on a farm were in general in proportion to the size of the farm; farmers with larger arable acreages tended to keep the larger numbers of livestock.

*Table 5.2 Livestock Ownership from 173 Farming Inventories
1560-1640*

Number of Animals	Number of Kine Owners	Number of Cattle Owners	Number of Sheep Owners	Number of Pig Owners
0	2	29	35	6
1-9	125	105	21	68
10-19	39	29	22	54
20-29	4	4	16	20
30-39	-	3	14	8
40-49	-	1	7	3
50-59	1	-	10	2
60-99	-	-	16	1
100-149	-	-	10	-
150-199	-	-	4	-
200-249	-	-	6	-
250-299	-	-	3	-
300-349	-	-	3	-
350-399	-	-	-	-
400-449	-	-	1	-
No. un-specified	2	2	5	11
Total	173	173	173	173

Dairying has been considered to be more suited to the small rather than the large producer in this period, as it was more labour intensive.⁵³ However, the evidence for this area, presented in Tables 5.3 and 5.4 does not support this view. Almost all farms possessed cows to satisfy the household demands for dairy products, but the size of herds tended to increase according to

wealth and size of enterprise with a correspondingly larger domestic consumption. The mean size of herds increased from 4.9 on smaller farms to 12.9 on the farms of wealthy yeoman and gentleman farmers (Table 5.4). 25% of the 173 farmers owned herds of 10 and over, of which four owned herds of 20-26. Christopher Harflete, gentleman of Ash, was the only dairy farmer of scale, with a herd of 59 kine in 1575.⁵⁴

Table 5.3 Range in size of farm livestock herds 1560-1640

livestock	value of farm inventory		
	£200+	£100-199	£20-99
kine & heifers	2-59	2-21	1-12
other cattle	0-40	0-24	0-10
sheep	0-460	0-244	0-82
swine	7-60	0-40	0-31

Table 5.4 Average size of livestock herds 1560-1640

	Value of farm inventories								
	mean	£200 median	mode	mean	£100-199 median	mode	mean	£20-99 median	mode
kine & heifers	12.9	12.0	10.0	7.1	6.0	6.0	4.9	5.0	4.0
cattle	13.4	12.0	10.0	5.6	4.0	3.5	2.2	1.0	1.0
sheep	140.9	102.0	100.0	48.1	31.0	-	15.4	10.0	-
swine	24.8	20.0	-	14.0	11.0	-	7.3	6.0	7.0

It was the northern area, with its richer pasture that supported the larger herds; the 12 owners of herds of 15 or more kine lived in Ash and Wingham and among the small and medium farmers the mean dairy herd in Ash was higher than in the southern downland parishes of Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, 6.1 as opposed to 4.2. These inventories give ample evidence of farmhouse dairy production, specialist rooms and equipment; 117 name milkhouses, six cheese houses and the majority of farmers owned milk churns and vessels, cheese presses and bayles; butter scales are listed in 25 inventories, possibly suggesting marketing. Cheese was listed in 106 inventories and butter in 56, but weight was not regularly entered, which made assessment of the quantity produced very approximate.⁵⁵ Numbers of cheeses listed ranged from two to 65, forty-eight farmers owned up to 20 cheeses and thirty eight between 40 and 65 cheeses,

probably not a great number compared with pastoral areas.⁵⁶ Daniel Pryor, yeoman of Ash in October 1620 owned 65 cheeses, which could weigh between 200-650 pounds, probably surplus to domestic consumption.⁵⁷ He had a dairy herd of 12, which suggests that for those large farmers with herds of 15 and more, cheese was a commercial product.

Despite the c.3,500 acres of marshland in the parish of Ash, cattle farming other than dairying was not particularly large scale. Table 5.3 indicated the range in size of herds from nought to 40. It is the larger farmers, with the capital to invest, who kept larger numbers of cattle, for both rearing and fattening, as Table 5.4 clearly indicates; there is a marked drop in the mean herd from 13.4 on the large farms to 5.6 on medium farms to 2.2 on small farms. However these averages are to some extent misleading, as there were 29 farmers who owned no other cattle but dairy cows, most of whom were smaller farmers. The mean number of cattle for those with herds in the lower group would then be 5.9. These herds were not large compared with those of 16th century farmers in the marshes in Lincolnshire, where the average herd for peasant farmers was twelve and some herds contained 50-60 head of cattle, comparable to the wealthier yeoman and gentry farms in this area of East Kent.⁵⁸ Cattle rearing, as an adjunct to dairying would be expected and 77 of the 173 farmers owned calves, sucking and weaning of up to twelve months. Young cattle between the ages of one and three years, usually steers or bullocks with a few heifers were owned by the majority of the 142 farmers who kept cattle. The system of rearing, selling, buying and fattening of cattle in this area is not observable from probate sources.⁵⁹ However cattle were grazed on the marshes and pastures in the summer: the farm of David Holes, yeoman at Goshall on the edge of the marshes in Ash, for example, in July 1614, contained 11 steers, 8 twelve monthing and 13 two yearling cattle in his marshes and pastures; Stephen Huffham of Ash in 1555 bequeathed his portion of marsh called the Kete, to his sons, Michael and Richard with convenient ways to drive their cattle over the marshes.⁶⁰ Drove roads were frequently mentioned as abutments to land and still feature on the Ash levels, running north to south. Ownership of cattle from other areas of England such as northern cattle and Welsh steers was confined to the wealthier farmers. Those owning the largest herds, between 20-40 head of cattle were farmers

either from Ash with extensive marshland along the Ash levels as part of their property, such as John Gybbes of Goldstone, David Holes, cited above, Vincent St.Nicholas of Hodan, or had marshy land along the rivers in the parish of Wingham within their farm boundaries, such as William Oxenden and Bartholomew Austen. How much of this cattle was earmarked as meat for consumption in the household as part of the normal diet of those families other than the gentry and how much a purely commercial enterprise is not possible to assess, as meat other than bacon was rarely mentioned in inventories. Allowances to widows in administrators accounts for meat and drink, suggest that meat was certainly served at special meals; Margaret Wimarck of Goodnestone provided a loin of mutton and 8lb of beef at the meal given for friends and neighbours after the funeral of her husband, William, whose possessions were valued at £44 in 1588.⁶¹

Bull ownership went hand in hand with the larger and wealthier farmer; 31 bull owners were among the farmers with farm inventories of over £200, as against seven among the small and medium farms. One presumes they hired the bulls out to their neighbours.

In general a similar pattern in terms of scale and size of flocks applied to sheep farming, which was probably more important than cattle farming in these parishes of Kent. The total numbers of animals counted in each inventory include all ages of sheep, as appraisers frequently did not separate adults from lambs and tegs. This is not totally satisfactory, as it cannot take into account the changing composition of the flock during the year and so can only be used as a rough guide to scale of sheep farming. However, Tables 5.2 - 4 indicated that the larger flocks were those of the large farmer, who had access to sizeable tracts of marsh or downland; the median flock was 102, 31 and 10 in inventories, where the farm was valued at over £200, £100-199 and under £100 respectively, in this sample of 173. Only four men with farm inventories of under £200 owned flocks of over 100. However, these inventories do not give the impression of very large individually owned flocks of sheep; 460 was the largest, that of Michael Huffham, with marshland grazing in Ash in 1599, whose flock included 180 ewes, 160 lambs and 120 wethers; Vincent Nethersole of Womenswold owned a flock of 342 sheep, grazed on chalk downland.⁶² Individually owned flocks of the order of 1-2,000 as occurred in some other areas of England, did

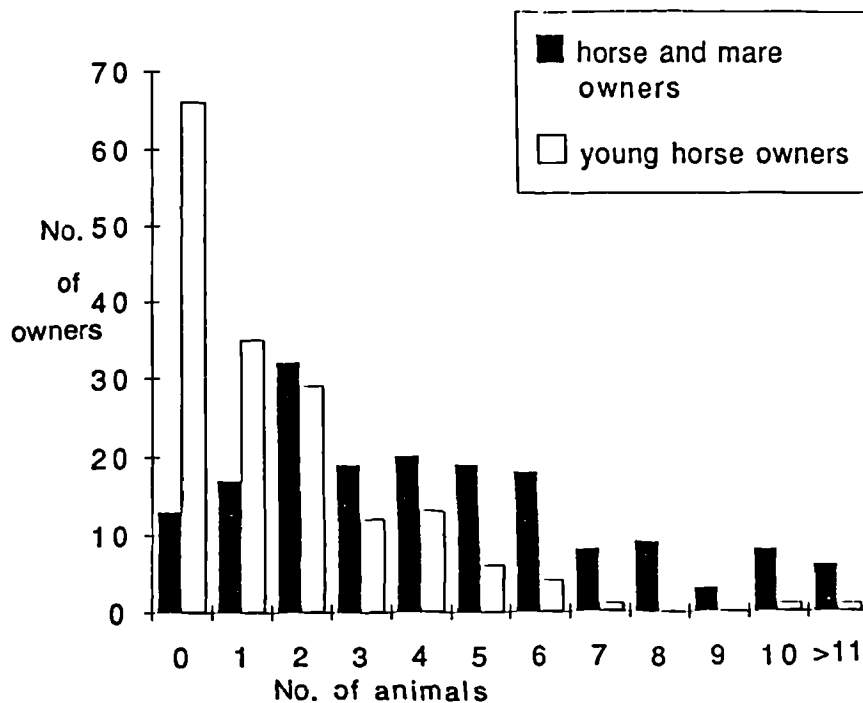
not seem to exist here, in the late 16th and early 17th century. This individualist system contrasts with Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire, for instance, where the sheep flock was a manorial monopoly in this period, with the farmer of the demesne running a minimum of 2,000 sheep, whilst no other inventories, prior to 1700, listed sheep.⁶³ During the 15th century, the lease of the Wingham Barton demesne lands in Ash included a stock of 500 ewes, but by 1479, it was divided into two, with increased stocks of 200 and 239 ewes.⁶⁴ The stock of sheep in the 15th century Wingham manor demesne leases in Wingham was 200.⁶⁵ Sheep were bred, kept for wool and milk and fattened for meat. 62 inventories record wool in lofts but not in large quantities, only eight record over 10 quarters; for John Broke of Ash with 160 quarters of wool in his loft and a flock of 214 sheep in February 1583, sheep farming was a commercial activity.⁶⁶ Wethers were specifically listed in 31 inventories, but fattening as a commercial enterprise was the preserve of the larger farmer.⁶⁷

As might be expected, pig keeping was a universal activity, from the largest farm to the smallholder; bacon was an important part of the household diet and 58 inventories list bacon fitches or sides hanging in lofts, up to 14 in number. However, the extent of pig keeping was unexpected. Table 5.2 indicated that 88, 51% of the 173 farmers owned 10 or more pigs, and it would seem that pig keeping was a commercial activity for those 34 farmers who kept over 20 swine, which was the median number for the large farm. It does not appear that they were woodland grazed, as these owners of larger numbers were mainly from Wingham, where woodland was sparse, rather than in Womenswold or Nonington. There does not appear to have been pannage or grazing rights for tenant swine in demesne woodland and inventories usually place swine in the yard of the farm, possibly as a complimentary activity to dairying. The owners of between 40 and 60 swine were the large farmers; Henry Oxenden, James Jones, Bartholomew Austen, William Forstall of Wingham; Vincent St. Nicholas and Thomas Swafford of Ash. The data recorded in the inventories of types of swine suggest that fattening was the most important activity, particularly among the larger farmers but the smaller producer was breeding. There were 88 owners of hogs, who did not own sows, 32 of these were among the large farmers; 62 owned sows, only 10

were owned by the large farmer.⁶⁸ James Jones, yeoman of Wingham owned 24 hogs and 30 liveware but no sows, Vincent St. Nicholas of Ash owned 23 hogs, 11 liveware and 6 weaned pigs, which he must have bought in, as his inventory records no sows, whilst Nicholas Pendar of Wingham, a smaller farmer, owned a sow and 10 sucking pigs.⁶⁹ The commercial relationship between rearers and fatteners of pigs is not revealed in probate records.

As horses were the principal draught animals on the light soils of this area and both the waggon and Kentish turnwrest plough probably in use required a team of four horses, extensive and substantial ownership of horses among farmers and some horse breeding would be expected. Chart 5.7 suggests that this was the case.

Chart 5.7 Horse ownership in 173 farm inventories 1560-1640



There was a 92% ownership among these 173 farmers, the mean being 3.5 and 53% owned a full plough team of four or more horses and mares, the latter used as draught animals in addition to breeding. Numbers of horses increased with scale of enterprise and wealth: Thomas St.

Nicholas gentleman of Ash owned 17 horses and mares in 1626; John Broke, gentleman of Ash owned in 1583 eight working horses to pull two ploughs and his waggon, a nag, a gelding, a mare and a trotting horse.⁷⁰ William Solley, yeoman of Ash owned three mares and one horse to draw his plough and four harrows to till 63 acres of sown arable and pull his waggon.⁷¹ However, hiring of horses or some form of shared or reciprocal arrangement must have existed for small farmers and smallholders with small acreages of arable but who owned few or no horses at all. Chart 5.7 indicates that this might be the case in 62 of the farms represented in this group, where one or two horses or none were owned in addition to the small holders (Group 2) where only 21% possessed horses, usually no more than one. Evidence of such arrangements do not survive, although testamentary accounts suggest that the hiring of horses to ride into neighbouring towns, Canterbury and Sandwich in order to deal with the business of probate and settlement of debts was common; Thomas Eaglestone of Ash charged 15 shillings to his father's account for travel expenses to Canterbury which included horse hire for several journeys and Jane Brown, widow of Francis Browne of Nonington also asked for expenses of horse hire for journeys to Canterbury.⁷² Chart 5.7 suggests some horse breeding on 62% of the 173 farms, mostly on a small scale, owning between 1-4 colts; a further ten owned 5-6 colts, including William Solley mentioned above.⁷³ Only two substantial yeomen farmers of Ash, James Port and Richard Saffery owned larger numbers of young horses, with ten and eleven apiece.⁷⁴ However the extent and nature of a local horse trade, is not very visible from probate sources.

The keeping of poultry, chicken, geese, ducks, in the yard for domestic consumption would be expected and poultry was listed in 128 inventories.⁷⁵ Numbers of poultry kept were listed in 73 inventories, 22 of which listed flocks of 20 and more. While some of these belonged to gentry families with a large household consumption, it is likely that poultry and eggs were small cash crops for some farmers, such as Silvester Goldfinche of Womenswold who owned 54 hens and cocks, 7 capons and 8 geese at his death in 1572.⁷⁶

One feature of the livestock farming of this area, which emerges is the yarding of livestock. The appraisers of inventories for the most part listed livestock lumped together, but in 139 inven-

ories livestock was listed where they were on the farm when it was valued. Although there is abundant evidence of the use of yards, it might need to be treated with some caution as there is the possibility that livestock had been moved into the farmstead for ease of valuation. The words used for the area around the house, which was not grassed or garden were yard, court, place and backside. Poultry was kept there or in the henhouse in the yard. Pigs were overwhelmingly yard kept and reared, for only in nine cases were they situated in surrounding pasture fields or orchards. The hoggstock or trough is frequently listed as an item of farm equipment. The dairy herd was usually kept at the farmstead, in the surrounding pasture in the summer, except those larger farmers with marshland, but was brought into the yards in the winter; 85 inventories list kine in the yards. In February, 1627, Richard Forstall of Wingham owned five cows, four calves, 24 hogs, three sows and sucking pigs "in the court at fodder".⁷⁷ Cattle were overwintered, particularly on the larger farms, for the 50 inventories, which list cattle other than the dairy herd in the yard were entirely for the months October to April; John Petley of Ash, for example kept five northern and three two yearling beasts in the yard in February 1638.⁷⁸ In the summer months they were grazed in enclosed pasture fields often adjacent to the house or on the marshes. Horses were stabled in 65 inventories and sheep were listed in the yard in 31 inventories in winter months; pasture closes around the farmstead provided grazing close at hand. Podware and tares were the principal fodder crops, with some oats for horses. Cattle were brought in to the yard to feed on the straw and chaff after threshing.⁷⁹

Small scale cultivation of additional crops such as hops, hemp and possibly flax provided some of the raw materials for local rural industry, farmhouse brewing and small scale malsters and brewers, farmhouse spinning and small scale village cloth industry, examined in a later section of this chapter. Hempland was usually adjacent to the farmstead, close to the farmhouse as in William Smythe's farm in Ware in 1460.⁸⁰ In May 1601, Clemence Combe of Ash had "a spot of hemp" growing and this was the phrase commonly used, which suggests small areas sown, as do fourteen inventories which list an actual area of a half yard or one yard of hemp growing.⁸¹ Hemp was stored in the lofts of 81 farms, which may suggest the existence of some small rural

industry.⁸² Amounts of hemp stored were not always given, but 33 inventories list quantities of up to 9 quarters, eleven list between 10 and 19 quarters and a further two between 24 and 30 quarters, the latter suggesting a larger sown area.⁸³ There was only one reference to flax, 60 quarters stored in the loft of gentleman, Thomas St.Nicholas, in 1626, and it is possible that it was grown on his land.⁸⁴

Hop cultivation was in existence by 1575, but does not appear to have been very extensive yet in this area during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. There were only two references to hops growing and acreages were not given, which suggests the area involved was small.⁸⁵ Hops were stored in the lofts of twenty farms, but the small scale nature of hop growing is born out by the small amounts of 1-5 lbs. recorded in eight of the twenty inventories and equipment, such as hop poles were valued in only one inventory.⁸⁶ The inventory of gentleman farmer of Wingham, William Oxenden, recorded a larger amount, 80lbs, in his loft in May, 1576, which would not have been his total harvest, but 80lbs of hops represents only a small fraction of an acre under hop cultivation.⁸⁷

Market gardening in the form of fruit and vegetable growing, commercially orientated towards urban markets such as London, was not a feature of the economy of this area in this period, as it is at the present day particularly in the parish of Ash. Distances were too great and transport too slow, until the second half of the 19th century.⁸⁸ However, the genesis of later development in this area particularly in Ash, as with hop growing lay in the small gardens of the early modern period. From the 15th to the 17th centuries, most farms and smallholdings included a garden and/or an orchard, which were positioned adjacent to the farmhouse and yard.⁸⁹ William Combe in 1566 left to his son Bartholomew one orchard on the north side of his messuage in Ware, in the parish of Ash.⁹⁰ Size of garden or orchard is rarely stated separately from the farmstead in rentals or wills, but many were small, under an acre. Larger farms, such as Ratling Court in Nonington contained an orchard of five acres and a garden of six acres in 1637.⁹¹ While an orchard was an enclosed space for the specific cultivation of fruit trees, in a garden, a larger range of crops were grown, which might include hops and fruit trees; in 1499, Richard Quilter of

Goodnestone bequeathed to his wife four of the largest trees in his garden; William Pennye of Ash in 1556 bequeathed two apple trees in his new garden to his wife.⁹² Fruit was grown primarily for household consumption and was a regular part of the autumn and winter diet of these households as fruit was listed in the lofts of 74 farms.⁹³ The type of fruit most frequently listed was apples, including pippins and occasionally pears and plums. Quantities, when stated, were in general not large, up to 20 bushels. However, crops were substantial enough at times to warrant the naming of a loft as an apple loft in 24 farm houses and for those with orchards, apples were probably a small cash crop.⁹⁴ James Jones of Wingham at harvest in 1615 had 20 quarters of apples, an amount likely to be surplus to household consumption.⁹⁵ Henry Jones, yeoman of Wingham in 1584 left the profits of his "little arbour" to his wife Christian as part of her widow's portion.⁹⁶

Herbs and vegetables were grown in gardens principally for domestic consumption and bees were kept in gardens and orchards; the inventory of Bartholomew Combe of Ash listed bees in the herb garden.⁹⁷ Inventories are likely to under represent the range and amount of vegetables grown. Onions were recorded in nine inventories only and garden peas and beans, for household consumption as opposed to the fodder crops in the field, were occasionally listed. The inventory of John Saunders of Ash drawn up in 1615 is unique among the inventories of these parishes in containing a list of vegetables growing in the garden, which included besides apple and pear trees, artichokes, cucumbers, onions, parsnips, roots (unspecified), carrots, peas and beans.⁹⁸ The list may have been representative of the range of vegetables commonly grown but it was more likely to have been recorded because it was unusual. The fruit and vegetables growing were valued at £5 and represented 25% of his crops on the ground in July and may have been marketed locally.

The degree of specialisation in agriculture.

The evidence so far presented does argue for diversity of agricultural enterprise predominating on farms in this area of East Kent. In general all farms were mixed farms whatever their size, springing essentially from the demands of consumption of the household; wealthier farmers car-

ried on the same activities as their smaller neighbours only on a larger scale and with a more clearly visible commercial dimension. The truly specialist farmer did not and was probably unlikely to exist; security lay in diversity. However, it is likely that within this model, there were distinctions between individual farms in the emphasis put on each aspect of its agricultural enterprise. This emphasis would depend on the varying nature of soils and topography between each farm and might be open to change as a result of market forces and family life cycle.

Table 5.5 Agricultural emphasis of 173 farms in Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold

Type	numbers of farms
mixed farm	73
no sheep, otherwise mixed	12
arable and sheep	18
arable with minimal livestock	18
arable and cattle	3
arable and dairying	5
arable, dairying and swine	7
arable and swine	1
<i>Emphasis on livestock</i>	
all kinds	21
dairying	2
dairying and sheep	2
cattle	4
horses and sheep	2
swine	1
swine and dairying	2
swine and sheep	2
Total	173

In order to detect differences in agricultural emphasis, the farms represented by the 173 inventories were arranged into approximate categories as indicated in Table 5.5.⁹⁹ What emerges clearly is that the balanced, mixed farm with something of everything was most common and was the pattern on 42% of farms and was particularly predominant on the larger farms. An example from among the largest farms was that of Bartholomew Austen, yeoman of Wingham, who farmed the 250 acre, Wingham Court Farm. In February 1621, his farm consisted of 100 acres sown with winter wheat and a further 60 acres ready fallowed for barley. In his barn was stored

130 quarters wheat, 180 quarters barley, but he also grew some oats, 15 quarters lay in the barn, peas and tares, 12 quarters and some hemp, apples and hay. In addition to his substantial arable, he owned a dairy herd of 10 kine, with a head of 40 cattle, which included 19 bullocks, 15 young cattle and 6 fattening cattle, and a flock of 239 sheep. He did a little horse breeding, owning a mare and six young colts, besides 12 horses and kept pigs on some scale for he owned 60 swine with poultry in the yard.¹⁰⁰ A more modest, but equally diverse enterprise was the farm of Henry Cocke of Ash, which in June 1582, contained 38 acres of sown arable, 14 acres with wheat, 13 acres with barley and 11 acres with peas and tares. His livestock consisted of a dairy herd of 8 kine, with six bullocks of one year and two weaning calves. He owned a flock of 40 sheep, 10 lambs, six horses and two mare stags and his poultry included geese.¹⁰¹

Corn/sheep husbandry was identified on 18 farms, some of which were situated, as would be expected, on the chalk downlands. The principal elements of the farm of Vincent Nethersole gentleman of Womenswold, was a flock of 342 sheep mostly wethers and 134 acres arable sown with wheat, barley and oats.¹⁰² Other downland sheep/corn farmers were Henry Oxenden of Wingham, William Austen and Thomas Christien of Goodnestone. Farms which emphasised cereal and sheep also existed in the parish of Ash with rich arable lands adjacent to marshland, such as John Broke gentleman of Brookestreet and his relatives and neighbours the Huffhams and yeoman, John Omer. Michael Huffham, yeoman of Weddington in Ash, in January 1584 ran a flock of 240 sheep, with 40 acres of winter wheat, with barley and podware not yet sown.¹⁰³ The emphasis on some of his neighbours' farms was towards cattle, although some sheep were kept. David Holes of Goshall with 65 acres of sown arable, owned 45 sheep with 35 head of cattle and a dairy herd of 20 kine and heifers, as against Michael Huffham's 12 kine and 13 cattle.¹⁰⁴ The corn/sheep or corn/cattle husbandry was most common among the large farmers, whilst arable with dairying and or swine was more noticeable among the medium and smaller farms, with the exception of Christopher Harflete, gentleman of Moland in Ash, who owned a dairy herd of 59 kine in 1575. However, this specialisation was not maintained by his son, Thomas, who in 1617 kept a much smaller herd of ten kine but had turned to fattening cattle, as in addition he kept

twelve steers.¹⁰⁵ In seven cases the keeping of swine as a corollary to dairying can be detected. The clearest example was the farm of Nicholas Meade, yeoman of Ash, who in July 1627, had 28 acres of sown arable and a dairy herd of 8 kine. He owned three hogs but was breeding swine, with 3 sows and 21 pigs, valued three times more than his six sheep.¹⁰⁶

There were 32 farms altogether among the small to medium farms which did not include sheep farming, nine of which were otherwise balanced enterprises.¹⁰⁷ Bartholomew and Clemence Combe of Ash bred horses on a small scale rather than keeping sheep. The farm in 1601 included three mares with one sucking, two twelvemonth and one two year old colts and their 31 acres of arable included three acres of oats but no peas or beans, which were more commonly grown. Topography was a key factor here for their farm was situated in the hamlet of Ware, which included rough land on either side of the stream which flows through this area, suitable for grazing horses and was called "horsebrok" in the c.1460 rental of Wingham manor.¹⁰⁸ In addition to horses and arable, the Combes owned four kine and two young cattle, poultry, four swine and grew hay and a little hemp; some hops and onions were stored in the barn.¹⁰⁹

For 79% of this sample of 173 farms arable farming was an important element of the total farm economy. But alongside the corn grower existed the farmer, whose living depended more on livestock, while growing relatively small acreages of cereal. This type of farm appears under the heading "Emphasis on Livestock" in Table 5.5. This group included three large farmers, who were William Oxenden, gentleman of Wingham, Richard Church and Richard Saffery yeomen of Ash, two "retired" wealthier yeomen, who were John Jones of Wingham and John Prowde of Ash and gentleman, Edward Stoughton of Ash; the latter three being in the later stage of the family life cycle. The remaining 30 were mostly small farmers. Although the evidence is fragmentary regarding the type of soil and land of which each farm was composed, it would be reasonable to suppose that some was marshland or rough marshy pasture along the many streams which ran through Ash and Wingham, often attached to the farmstead. The inventory of John Wygge of Ash, drawn up in January 1604, conveniently listed his livestock, which were in the marshes, some, possibly all of which were leased from the Wingham Barton.¹¹⁰ In "the nine acres" were

two steers and four calves; in "the seven acres" were two mares; in the Ketemmarsh were 18 wethers, a ram and a ewe; in the Foremarsh were three colts. In the courtyard to the farm were six kine, two sucking calves a two yearling beast, three hogs, a sow and ten pigs, a goose, capons and other poultry. Arable farming played a smaller part in his farm economy, as two acres of wheat and four acres of rye were sown, and although he had barley and oats stored in his barn, the quantities suggest a small acreage.¹¹¹ Others kept livestock in the yard or small pasture adjacent to the house; the inventory of John Adams in April 1636, listed one acre of wheat and 2 acres of peas in the field, four cows, two calves, three small bullocks, a sow and nine pigs in the yard, with 12 sheep in the pasture.¹¹²

If the smallholders with inventory values at between £20 and £50 (Group 2), are also considered, whose husbandry principally consisted of small numbers of livestock, there appears a landscape spread with medium and larger arable and mixed farms interspersed with the smaller farmer and smallholder with livestock. Robert Watson of Ash farmed about 15 acres of land; three acres was sown with wheat in April 1629 and he had a little podware and barley stored in his barn. 11.5 acres was marshland rented from his yeoman neighbour, Richard Saffery, on which he kept 2 colts, 2 bullocks and 29 sheep.¹¹³ Christopher Poope kept his livestock in the yard, which were in April 1622 two kine, two heifers, a sow and 12 pigs, 10 ewes and two lambs of a year and poultry. He had one acre sown with wheat and around the house a few fruit trees with a small plot of hemp.¹¹⁴

The major difference in the economy of these small farmers and smallholders with livestock in this area of East Kent and those with little land, who made a living from livestock in the fens and marshlands of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire is that their economy was dependent on common grazing rights of wasteland and marshland.¹¹⁵ In Ash, there were no common grazing rights; the smallholder rented marshland, or had small pasture attached to the house and yard, but would supplement his living by alternative occupations, notably labouring on the large arable farms, as discussed later in this chapter. An alternative was some form of agistment, the pasturing of livestock on someone else's land; Roger Winter labourer of Nonington, for example, owed

Jane Tyrrell 2 shillings for keeping his ewes and Oliver Stumble, husbandman of Ash owed William Sollye £1 for keeping part of his flock of sheep on William's land.¹¹⁶ However, it is not possible to assess the extent of such grazing arrangements from these occasional references.

Contrasts within the study area were revealed by this analysis of agricultural emphasis on farms. Although the mixed farm was the norm, the majority of those farms where there was greater emphasis on livestock existed in the parish of Ash, four in Wingham and only one further south in Nonington. This finding contrasts with the group of 18 farms where the arable was predominant and livestock minimal, of which nine were situated in the champagne type country of the parishes Goodnestone and Nonington. The contrast can be drawn out further in the ratio of the percentage value of livestock to cereals in inventories, discussed earlier. The inventories with ratios of 2:1 livestock to cereals were all in Ash or Wingham and none in the southern parishes, whilst the inventories with a 2:1 ratio of cereals to livestock were spread throughout the area. The greater emphasis in cereal growing on barley on the southern chalk and wheat in the north has already been commented upon. Dairy herds were also larger in Ash and Wingham than in the south. These contrasts are primarily determined by the differences in topography outlined in Chapter 1.

Change from 1560-1640

If one argues for population growth in East Kent in the second half of the 16th century, with therefore a growing local market for food, in addition to the pull of a growing London market through ports such as Sandwich, some effect would be expected on the agriculture pattern of this area. However, the data from the 173 inventories in the sample do not appear to reflect demographic change. Acreages of sown cereals from 41 inventories made between April and harvest were compared, but no dramatic changes in the balance of crops grown took place; wheat was the principal crop through most of the period, except during the years 1600-1620, but the margin was small.¹¹⁷ Evidence for pressure to convert marginal land to arable is very slight: in his will of 1583, John Broke mentions one little arable marsh of three acres; in 1638, Christopher Dye owed

rent for newly acquired marshland, "which I broke up".¹¹⁸ Although such small numbers should be treated with caution, figures from inventories suggest that the mean size of head of cattle dropped from 7.7 in the period 1560-1599 to 5.8 in the period 1600-1640; for kine and heifers from 9.5 to 6.5. There was a slight increase in the size of sheep flocks from a mean of 60 to 62 over the same period, which might reflect an increasing market in wool with the revival of the cloth industry in Sandwich and Canterbury by the end of the 16th century. However there did not appear to be an increase in specialisation on farms between 1460 and 1640 and no change could be discerned in the ratios of cereals to livestock over time.

It is likely that in an area of fertile soils and where the individual or the family rather than the community controlled farming methods, demographic pressures for land would be more noticeable in levels of rent and turnover of tenants and leases, for which the evidence is fragmentary, or would lie in increasing numbers of landless labourers or smallholders. Only detailed farm accounts of family enterprises would reveal individual responses to market and demographic forces. It would seem that the agricultural system in this area was characterised by its flexibility and diversity, in existence by the 15th century and probably earlier and which remained largely intact until the 18th and 19th centuries, when new ideas and practices were added into it.

Section 3. Agricultural Labour

This section begins with a rationale for the existence of an agricultural labour force in addition to the family in this area of East Kent in the late 16th and early 17th century, followed by a discussion and clarification of the terminology used to distinguish agricultural wage labourers. The various kinds of hired farm labour identified through probate sources are examined; regular labour and the farm servant, casual labour, the smallholder/labourer, the specialist farm worker, the tied cottager/labouring families. The evidence, although not conclusive, suggests that agricultural wage labour in a variety of forms was more prevalent in this area than in other areas of the country. The system of living in farm servants on contracts followed the established pattern for early modern England.¹¹⁹ They were a vital aspect of the labour force on larger farms; wills sug-

gest that a quasi apprenticeship in husbandry existed for the youth of farming families, which cemented local neighbourhood ties; ties of kinship were also evident. Regular servants, who lived out, were employed by the gentry. Casual harvest labour was paid by the day at probably slightly higher rates than the norm for southern England, but the evidence was too thin to establish the area from which harvest labourers were drawn. The principal source of casual labour for a great variety of farm jobs throughout the year was local and drew largely on smallholders, who supplemented their living from wage labouring, although some more specialised farm workers were employed.

The system of agriculture practised in the Wingham area required a substantial labour force. The importance of arable farming has been demonstrated requiring both seasonal and some constant labour. Arable husbandry was a particularly labour intensive operation in this area, as the best land was more or less under continuous cultivation and the dunging system required man power. Dairying, which was not an insubstantial aspect of the economy of most farms, required regular labour. Although it is likely that the family formed the basis of the labour force on these farms, they do not really conform to the model of the family labour farm from Eastern Europe, as family life cycle was not the only determining factor in scale of enterprise, particularly on larger farms.¹²⁰ Family labour would have been insufficient on farms of over 60 acres of which, it has been shown there was a considerable number; a two plough farm of between 60 and 120 acres might require between one and three regular labourers in addition to casual seasonal workers.¹²¹ Employment of farm labour was an alternative answer to the life cycle problems of working a farm, when children were not old enough to work or a couple were childless. Gentry estates would have required a hired workforce. On the other hand, neither does the model of 19th century rural England, with a clearly defined class structure of landless labourers and tied cottages working for the squire or large farmer fit, although elements of that employer/labourer relationship can be seen in the late 16th and early 17th century.

Collection of data on a biographical basis, principally from probate sources made it possible to distinguish families who employed non family labour and those people who worked for others

and to some extent relationships between them. One of the initial problems was to clarify the terminology used, particularly as so many inventories in the lower wealth brackets did not state occupation or title. Only very occasionally were specialist agricultural occupations appended to names, such as shepherd or marshkeeper. The term "servant" does seem usually to mean a man or woman who worked in a household other than the one he or she was born and brought up in and who lived in as a member of that household; no distinction being made between the type of work carried out.¹²² However, there were times when the phrase "my master" was used to denote a tenant/landlord relationship; Edward Petley, yeoman of Ash with a personal estate of £197 at his death in 1607 and a farm of c.60 acres, put the £10, he bequeathed to his young daughter, for investment in the hands of his "master" and overseer, Sir Thomas Harflete, who was his landlord.¹²³ There was often no clear distinction between the title "husbandman" and "labourer" and they were used interchangeably; three Ash testators, Richard Underdowne, Richard Russelye and Thomas Lawrence were titled "labourer" in their wills and "husbandman" in their inventories.¹²⁴ This evidence does not bear out the idea that has been suggested that this confusion was a sign of rising status; that in his will a man called himself a husbandman, while his neighbours, who appraised his inventory still thought of him as a labourer.¹²⁵ Both terms may mean no more than a man who tills the soil, although husbandman tends to imply occupation of some land, which he works for himself, whilst labourer implies employment by another for a wage. What this confusion may represent is the reality of (a) smallholders needing to supplement their income from their smallholding with spasmodic occasional agricultural wage labouring, (b) cottagers more regularly dependent on farm labouring wages, and (c) a few, who may be migrant labourers with no visible land, house, local family or regular contract.

Servants

Although servants are not routinely mentioned in wills, inventories and testamentary accounts, these sources do provide abundant, if not quantifiable, evidence of their existence in farming households. 125 testators left bequests to servants in their wills, the majority from the

period 1550-1640.¹²⁶ Twenty of the 125 were gentry, the remainder yeomen and husbandmen, a few widows and clergy. It is not possible to be certain as to the numbers of servants in any household, as the blanket phrase "all my manservants and maidservants" is frequently employed, but a sample from wills and testamentary accounts, where servants were named, suggests that between one and six servants was usual, but that some gentry households, such as that of William Oxenden of Wingham included up to twelve servants.¹²⁷ Humphrey Gardiner yeoman of Ash with his wife and four servants made a regular labour force of six for his c.140 acre farm; his children were too young to work, as were the children of John Gibbes of Ash, who had four servants in his household.¹²⁸

Of the 199 named servants collected, 68 were female and 131 were male. Although, a random sample, the larger number of males suggests that male servants were employed as regular farm labourers, although the nature of their work is not stated. The two male servants of Thomas Cooke, yeoman of Ash were called servants or workmen.¹²⁹ It is in the gentry households, where men were employed additionally as personal and specialist household servants; Sir Edward Boys of Fredville employed a butler and William Oxenden of Wingham employed a male cook and a horse keeper.¹³⁰ If farms are considered as domestic units of production, maidservants were vital members of the work force, not merely for domestic tasks, such as cleaning, cooking, child care, but in the dairy and garden, curing bacon, in spinning and preparation of fibres and were responsible for some marketing. How far women were used in other agricultural capacities cannot be assessed from probate evidence.

Servants were employed on a regular basis under contract; Isaac Austen of Goodnestone, for example, made bequests to his "covenanted" servants.¹³¹ Some of the terms of employment can be inferred: contracts were for a limited time, for Michael Huffham of Ash made bequests to his maidservants, on condition they served his wife for the time covenanted, but length of contracts were not stated.¹³² Servants lived in the employers household; Thomas Swafford, yeoman of Ash made bequests to his servants who dwelt with him.¹³³ Fifty, or 29% of the 173 farm inventories listed a servants' chamber, clearly sleeping accommodation, among the rooms in the house;

seven of the fifty had two chambers for servants. As would be expected, they were predominantly from the wealthier and larger scale farmers with larger houses and personal estates at death of £100 upwards, although only ten of these fifty were the houses of gentlemen. This evidence does suggest that the employment of living in servants may have been more prevalent in East Kent than on farms in other parts of the country, such as Gloucestershire, where only one in ten holdings of yeoman and husbandman used servants, although clearly this can only be a tentative conclusion.¹³⁴

Wages therefore took the form of board and lodging in addition to cash, paid by the quarter or half year, as shown in the testamentary account of William Gibbes, father of John Gibbes of Ash in 1580 as listed in Appendix 5.¹³⁵ *Insufficient evidence concerning cash payments survives* from which to draw general conclusions about wages. Servants often received a bonus of cash, livestock or grain at the death of their employer, as shown above, sometimes conditional on working out their contract for the employer's widow, to ensure the continuity of sufficient labour on the farm, during a difficult time for the family. Thomas Swafford, yeoman of Ash cited above, bequeathed 5 shillings to each of his living in servants; William Fann, husbandman, bequeathed one lamb to his servant, Isaak Bartlet.¹³⁶ The bequests of livestock contributed towards a young person's future farm stock, was a form of saving while providing a little additional income while still a servant. The account of William Gibbes, Appendix 5, also indicates the delay in payment of wages to his servants, Jane Bing and Harry Andrews, in effect providing credit to the farmer and enforcing saving on the servants.¹³⁷

Some case studies of families suggest that servants were young people, predominantly from neighbouring farming families and that a quasi farm and farm household apprenticeship may have been operating among neighbouring farms, prior to marriage and/or inheritance and the setting up of an independent household. Sylvester Gold, yeoman, farmed about 105 acres at Flete in eastern Ash in the mid 16th century.¹³⁸ His will, dated 1563, shows that his children were young and he employed five covenanted servants, who received bequests of 6s-8d each.¹³⁹ One of his servants was William Bolton, who was probably the Ash testator who died in 1578, living in a seven

roomed house with his wife and three sons and leaving a personal estate of £49.¹⁴⁰ Sylvester employed Robert and Beatrice Parot; by 1582 Robert was a husbandman with a house and lands at Eastreet in Ash, as tenant of Sylvester Gold's neighbour, John Broke.¹⁴¹ Another servant, Richard Forte was possibly the Ash householder, who in 1582 died leaving a widow and three children and possessions worth £21.¹⁴² Alice Creake, Sylvester Gold's maidservant, was the daughter of Geoffrey Creake, Sylvester Gold's neighbour, whose lands lay adjacent. There were close ties between these two families, as Sylvester Gold was godfather to Alice's brother, named Sylvester after him; both he and the other sister Bennet Creake received bequests from his godfather in his will.¹⁴³ Sylvester Gold also acted as executor to the will of Geoffrey Creake's brother, George, in 1554 and was guardian to his son.¹⁴⁴

In the second case study, the surviving wills of both master and servant illuminate the relationship between them. Peter Hawker, yeoman of Ash farmed c.130 acres in 1606 and employed six servants, three male, three female, whilst his two sons were young teenagers.¹⁴⁵ One of his servants, Richard Colonsake, whose brother, Robert, farmed 50 acres in Ash, died in 1614 naming Peter Hawker, his master, as executor to his will.¹⁴⁶ He left cash bequests to Peter Hawker's two sons and to the other servants, giving only christian names, except Henry Austen, possibly one of the Wingham Austens, who had some land in Ash.

In both these cases, the labour relations of these families were cemented by social ties of neighbourhood and mutual obligation, although there was a socially vertical relationship in that it was the larger farmers, who were employing the children of neighbouring smaller farmers; the servants, once independent were small farmers or smallholders. This was more clearly marked in the case of the gentry. John Chamberlayn, yeoman of Nonington, who died in 1602, was a servant with Thomas Hammond, gentleman of Nonington in his youth, in 1566; John's daughter, Mary, worked as chambermaid to Sir Frederick Boys in 1598.¹⁴⁷

Only in a few cases, were there obvious kinship ties between farmer and servant, where the surname was the same or the relationship was stated. Agnes Amye was the maidservant of Edmond Amye, yeoman of Ash in 1542; the relationship was close if unstated, as she was given a

bequest of a cow, six ewes and grain towards her marriage.¹⁴⁸ Edward Raynor, a young man inherited the lease of Ratling Court farm of c.270 acres in 1612, but died five years later.¹⁴⁹ This farm was run essentially with family labour as he owed wages to his two younger brothers, Abraham and William and his sister, Anne, in addition to his shepherd.¹⁵⁰ This case also illustrates the nature of the relationship of family, labour and land on a farm, held by lease by one member of the family and to which family members have no claim or hereditary rights. The family members shared in the profits of the farm in the form of cash wages in addition to board and lodging, a more individualistic relationship. More distant kin among servants, both in relationship and geography is revealed in the household of Richard Goldfinche of Womenswold in the 1570's, through the wills of two of his servants. Sylvester Marsh, bachelor, was the nephew of Richard Goldfinche, gaining experience in his uncle's household, before taking on his lands in Hawkinge.¹⁵¹ Sylvester witnessed the will of a fellow servant, William Jemmett, whose lands were in Staplehurst.¹⁵² It is likely that kinship connections between farmers and servant families were more extensive than the sources reveal.

There is some evidence which suggests that the wealthy farmers, particularly the gentry, employed some regular outworkers, who were married with a family and occupied a tied cottage. This was clearly the case with John Royden, the cook to the Oxenden households in Wingham, who was not a living in servant. In 1576, William Oxenden bequeathed £4 to John with the free occupation of his house and lands, as long as he continued in the service of the Oxenden family.¹⁵³ John continued to cook for William's brother Henry, who bequeathed to him an annuity of 40s in 1597 for his long service.¹⁵⁴ However, John Royden was a household servant, but a similar relationship may have existed in the case of the Bings, labourers of Ash. Gregory Bing occupied a house with its land in Eastreet, Ash, in addition to three roods of arable and one acre of marsh as tenant of gentleman, John Broke, who in 1582 bequeathed to Gregory security of tenure for life at the current rent.¹⁵⁵ Gregory died in 1585, but his widow, Gwylman was still in occupation in 1596, when she was left security of tenure by Michael Huffham, who had inherited John Broke's estate.¹⁵⁶ John Broke bequeathed five ewes to one of Gregory's sons, James, who

subsequently became a servant to John's heir.¹⁵⁷ The extent of the Broke-Huffham patronage of this family must imply that Gregory and his son Clement, both labourers worked primarily on that estate, although there is no recorded evidence of it.¹⁵⁸ A similar relationship existed between John Beale of Wingham called husbandman in his inventory and the Palmer family. He was married, lived in a cottage owning minimal household goods worth £3-10s at his death in 1630. In 1614 he was a servant for Sir Thomas Palmer and received a bequest of four marks from his master, on condition he continued with Sir Thomas's wife, which he probably did, as an outworker after his marriage, as there is no evidence of livestock or tools of husbandry in his inventory.¹⁵⁹

Casual farm labour

The increased seasonal demands for farm labour, particularly on the larger arable farms could not be satisfied by family labour and regular contracted farm servants alone. The testamentary account of William Gibbes, gentleman, the administrator of the goods of his son John Gibbes of Flete farm in Ash, lists outstanding payments to individuals owed by his son for work during the months prior to John's death in 1580 and is unusual in its detail.¹⁶⁰ These payments are extracted in Appendix 5. This was a mixed farm of over 100 acres, with emphasis on corn and sheep with some cattle grazed on the marshes.¹⁶¹ John Gibbes employed two household servants and probably two farm servants and had employed 20 casual labourers during the year, of which thirteen were employed at harvest. Harvesting was paid either by the day, at a rate of about 9d-10d a day, or the piece, reaping at 2s-6d an acre. The day wages may be slightly higher than the average of 8d a day for southern England for the 1580's and may bear out suggestions made that rates in the south east were higher.¹⁶² Six labourers worked very short periods from one to eight days, whilst one, Meriden, worked for a month and the stranger for three weeks. It looks as if the casual labour employed on this farm was relatively local. One man came from Thanet, one from Sandwich, as probably the stranger did. This farm was situated on the eastern side of Ash, within half a mile of the port of Sandwich and a mile or two across the marshes to Thanet and it is likely that some of the day labourers were from Sandwich. Of the remaining labourers, Mesdaie, Ralph,

Fort, Mosred were probably from Ash families.¹⁶³ The evidence from probate sources is too thin regarding place of origin to draw firm conclusions about the distances farm labourers travelled, particularly at harvest, which may have been greater than on John Gibbes' farm. In 1603, Thomas Nethersole of Nonington, for example, had employed Clement Terwoll of Elham, six miles from Nonington, for harvesting corn.¹⁶⁴

However, the principal source of casual farm labour was local, usually from within the same parish. One indicator of families dependent on wages for the early 16th century lies in the proportion of those listed paying the subsidy of 1524, who were assessed on wages worth £1. In the hundred of Wingham, which covered c.85-90% of the area of the five parishes studied in this thesis, 46% were assessed on wages, comparable with other areas in eastern England; 50% in Cambridgeshire, 28-41% in Lincolnshire, but higher than Leicestershire (20-22%) and Devonshire (36%).¹⁶⁵ This would include some earning wages from rural crafts rather than agriculture. With an increase in population in the later 16th century, the proportion of families at least partly dependent on labourer's wages was likely to increase.

A further indicator of the extent of wage labouring may be obtained by considering surviving probate inventories with values of under £50. Of these, 135 were householders, probably smallholders and cottagers whose inventories indicate that they made a living primarily from husbandry rather than from a craft or trade.¹⁶⁶ Twenty-three called themselves labourers, a further twenty-seven called themselves husbandmen and for the remainder no occupation was given. The choice of £50 inventory value may be too high; it has been suggested that a ceiling of £10 before 1610 and £15 between 1610 and 1640 can be adopted to isolate the farm labourer/cottager.¹⁶⁷ Selection on this basis produced 33 inventories, representing 6.6% of the total number of inventories for the area studied which compares with a maximum of 6% for the Midland fielden regions.¹⁶⁸ This latter selection procedure probably covers most of those whose living depended more or less entirely on regular farm labour, but of the 23 men who were called labourers and who had sufficient possessions for an inventory to be made, only seven came into these lower wealth brackets; two were Gregory and Clement Bing discussed earlier. A higher ceiling would

certainly need to be chosen to cover the smallholder in this area, whose living came from his holding and occasional wage labouring.

An analysis of the farm equipment, livestock, produce and sown arable suggests that the farm/smallholding was probably insufficient to make a living and support a family, although it is not possible to be certain about acreage of land from inventories. Of the 62 inventories which recorded land sown, only one was in excess of 10 acres. 93 owned some dairy cattle, 79 of which owned between one and three cows, but 41% were without their own home produced dairy products, a local market for the larger farmer. Pigs were kept by 69% and poultry by 55% of smallholders and there was some small scale rearing of cattle and sheep as discussed earlier in this chapter. It would be reasonable to surmise that working for wages on neighbouring farms supplemented their family income from the smallholding. Names of a few of these men do appear in testamentary accounts of farmers, where they were listed as being owed wages. Lawrence Mosred, employed by John Gibbes, discussed above, for reaping 8½ acres of podware in 1579 was probably the Ash husbandman, who died in 1582, leaving a personal estate of £10-5s. His small house included a hall, chamber, milkhouse and loft, with a hay house. His courtyard contained a few livestock, principally five kine, two calves, along with a lame mare and three pigs. How much land went with the house and yard is unknown, as his inventory drawn up in February listed no sown cereals, although he possessed a small amount of barley in the hay house.¹⁶⁹

There were 17 of the better off labourers, whose living came partly from their smallholding; two inventories those of Henry Newman and Richard Underdowne were valued as high as £63 and £61, suggesting that farm labouring did not necessarily equate with poverty in this area. Their living came from a combination of small scale livestock farming with labouring on neighbouring farms. John Burtonwood, labourer of Ash, who owned possessions worth £27-15s at his death in 1592 was typical. His livestock included two kine and a young cow, his swine included a sow and 9 sucking pigs with 2 liveware, 4 ewe tegs and poultry, which included two geese and a gander. Half an acre of wheat was sown in the field in February and he had hay in the barn. He was owed cash for 11lb of wool he had sold and wages from George Rose, for looking after the

sluice and from Edmund Gibbes for certain days work.¹⁷⁰ John Freelan, labourer of Ash, whose possessions at his death in 1594 were valued at £33-17s, lived in a two roomed house, which included the hall and bedchamber with loft above, milkhouse and barn. A few livestock were listed in the backside, including two kine, two bullocks, a sow and her two young and poultry and he had about eight acres of wheat sown.¹⁷¹ He was well supplied with small husbandry tools, as was William Moat of Ash, labourer, whose tools included a pitchfork, ealsheare, marking iron, hooks, sickles, dung fork, spades, felling axe, garden rake, hay rake and carpentry tools.¹⁷² Labourers, who hired themselves out to a variety of farmers may have expected to provide their own tools, whilst those, like the Bings and John Beale, who were outworkers employed by one particular family and living in farm servants did not provide their own equipment. However, Thomas Chambers, labourer of Ash, came into a different category, for he appeared to own few possessions, his clothes, a little money and some debts owed to him valued at £8-10s in all, but they included the tools of his trade; a rake, fork, scopett, podderhook, spryestaff and six swingells.¹⁷³ He was possibly a migrant labourer, as he owned no household possessions, was a single man and his brother and family lived outside of Ash.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that a further six of the 25 single men (Group 3) without household possessions were also labourers, rather than living in servants.¹⁷⁵

A variety of jobs was carried out by labourers; mowing, reaping, harvesting and inning of corn, podware and tares were the most labour intensive operations and were most frequently listed in testamentary accounts, where wages were owed for farm work that was specified, as indicated in Appendix 5. Other work included ploughing, sowing, threshing corn and podware, cleaning peas, birding, fencing the ground to keep the corn safe, looking after the corn, measuring land, gardening, carrying dung, carrying to market, felling wood, sawing timber, dyking, looking to the sluice, hedging, washing and shearing sheep, looking to the marshes, setting bees. Threshing was the major winter work on large arable farms and was the most frequently listed job, second to harvesting. On some larger farms it appears that one thresher was employed for a longer time and on a more regular basis than for other work. Richard Howbacke, labourer of Ash

was owed £1 in 1591 for threshing the corn of Thomas Gybbes, gentleman, for one year.¹⁷⁶ William Caustine, called the thresher of John Gybbes was owed £3-3s by him in 1599.¹⁷⁷ George Slaughter, yeoman of Ash bequeathed a coat to Steven Stonard, "my thrasher".¹⁷⁸

There were a few specialised agricultural occupations, notably that of the shepherd, although few flocks were sufficiently large to require one.¹⁷⁹ John Omer of Ash employed a full time shepherd, to manage his flock of 244 sheep; he lived in with the family as the house contained a shepherd's chamber.¹⁸⁰ William Harrison and Edward Raynor owed wages to their shepherds.¹⁸¹ Sir Edward Boys of Fredville, in Nonington, had sufficiently large rabbit warrens in 1598, to employ a warrener.¹⁸² One full time occupation was the looker or marshman, who watched over the sheep and cattle grazing on the marshes and the hay meadows. This was a particularly necessary activity for farms on the upland southern parishes with detached marshland at a distance. Lookers, who lived in isolated cottages out on the marshes were common in the 19th century in the parish of Ash and there is some evidence of the existence of such people in this earlier period.¹⁸³ Thomas Dove of Ash called himself marshman. His inventory, dated 1594, shows him occupying a three roomed cottage, location unknown, with poultry in the backside. His household possessions were valued at £6-15s, but he was owed debts, including £6 14s 8d, probably wages, from Thomas Peyton, whose upland estate at Knowlton was about four miles south of the Ash marshes.¹⁸⁴ Thomas Nethersole of Nonington owed seven shillings to John Adams of Stourmouth "for looking to certain marshlands" for him.¹⁸⁵ In 1631, Sir James Oxenden of Dene in Wingham wrote in a letter to his nephew, Henry Oxenden of Barham

"that my marshman was with me on Tuesday last and tells me that your hay is ready".¹⁸⁶

In this chapter, it has been argued that hired wage labour was an essential aspect of the agricultural and economic system in this area of East Kent during the late 16th and early 17th centuries and that the larger farms were dependent on it. Parish listings from the early 18th century for this area of East Kent tend to confirm this view.¹⁸⁷ Hired labour took a variety of forms and was essentially flexible. Full time labour included the quasi extended family and apprenticeship system of the young unmarried servant and the married farm worker with tied cottage, working for

one employer, although its existence was not the dominant form at this period. There were probably few totally landless labourers but the smallholder/labourer was an important element in providing a pool of local part time casual labour throughout the year, particularly in the parish of Ash, although harvest work drew extra labour from a wider area. In social terms, several forces operated. The farm servant system was essentially an extension of the family and household, and was paternalistic, as was the tied outworker system. It knit neighbourhoods together, but at the same time stratified them. The smallholder/labourer system, where labouring for others was part time and for several farmers and also the more or less full time labourer, who hired himself out on a short term basis to several farmers, tended to emphasize individualism and opportunism.

Section 4. Rural crafts, trades and cloth industry: diversity of occupation.

This section examines the range of specialist craft and trades in existence in this area at the end of the 16th and early 17th century, the evidence for and nature of dual and multiple occupations of families; the local opportunities for bye-employments, notably in small scale cloth manufacture; the nature of the farm as a heterogeneous production unit. In considering agriculture, the emphasis has been on diversity of enterprise and this theme continues in examining the occupations other than husbandry, that existed in this area of East Kent. Although probate sources cannot provide a complete view of occupational structure, the expected range of specialist crafts and trades necessary to service agricultural communities existed. Although brewing and malting was still a function of the larger farmhouse, the specialist maltster existed, as did a small number of inns, tipplers and victuallers with small lodging houses which, in addition to local trade, would have served travellers on the road from Canterbury to the port of Sandwich, as they were situated in the villages of Wingham and to a lesser extent in Ash street. Tailors existed serving not only the farming community but also the wealthier families. In terms of wealth, although there were a few with possessions worth over £100, most craft and tradesmen came in the lower end of the wealth range represented by the total value of the inventory. There was evidence of some continuity of occupation within families. Dual and multiple occupations of households were com-

mon; some kind of husbandry was carried on in addition to a craft or trade. A local rural cloth industry provided alternative and additional occupation and sources of income for households. Small weaving and finishing centres existed in Ash and Wingham and farmhouse spinning and carding of wool and fibres by women was widespread, but was not confined to the families of the cottager and smallholder in this area. No one system operated; there was probably some organised outwork and a clothier operated from Wingham for some time, but there was also local individual business arrangements. Multiplicity of occupation as a theme is illustrated by the nature of the farmhouse as a mini unit of production. Diversity of occupation and sources of income characterised all sections of rural society including the gentry.

A total of 80 inventories exist for craftsmen and tradesmen and other non husbandry occupations, representing 16% of all surviving inventories; in addition there are a further seven for whom a will survives but no inventory. Table 5.6 shows the range of occupations represented. The building and construction trades, accounted for 24 inventories, predominantly carpenters, although it is not clear from their inventories whether they were making farm implements or house frames. Boniface Osbourne, carpenter of Wingham may have been a joiner or furniture maker, as five tables were in his hall, two of which were specified as made of walnut.¹⁸⁸ The existence of a brick maker in Wingham in the early 17th century, Henry Solden, who died in 1619, suggests some demand for bricks in local buildings and walls, notably the wall surrounding the churchyard at Wingham, from the late 16th century; materials were locally available, in the brickearth soils of Wingham and Ash. Henry had 10,000 unburned bricks in his yard.¹⁸⁹ There were three thatchers, but this was a craft sometimes combined with husbandry, for thatch was often listed in the yard or barn.

Food and distribution accounted for 16 inventories; the retail traders in this group are discussed in Chapter 6. The making of malt locally was largely in the hands of specialists. There were few farmhouses with malthouses and the amounts of malt stored in lofts was small, with the exception of William Oxenden gentleman of Wingham, who was a special case, in that he was probably supplying the inn he owned in Wingham; 40 quarters of malt, sufficient to brew 3456

gallons of beer, was stored in the loft with hops, referred to earlier in this chapter.¹⁹⁰

Table 5.6 Non husbandry occupations among inhabitants of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold leaving wills and inventories 1560-1640

cloth manufacture	clothier	1	
	weaver	8	
clothing	tailor/draper	12	
	shoemaker	3	
leather workers	glovers	2	
	saddlers	2	
	collar maker	1	
construction and building	mason/builder	2	
	sawyer	1	
	joiner	1	
	carpenter	17	
	brick maker	1	
	thatcher	3	
	smith/blacksmith	4	
iron workers	smith/blacksmith	4	
	millers	2	
food and distribution	maltmen	3	
	alehouse keeper/ tippler/victualler/ innkeeper	5	
	butcher	2	
	grocer/haberdasher	3	
	barber/grocer	1	
	chapman	1	
	miscellaneous	surgeon	1
		apothecary	1
		schoolmaster	1
		musician	1
trade uncategorised	cook	1	
		5	

Three, possibly four specialist maltmen/maltsters, left inventories. Henry Paramore of Ash street, called maltman, had a malt house, probably separate from his house, which contained 12 quarters of barley, and various implements including a querne and an o(a)stcloth or horsehair cloth, which was a drying tray used on the floor laths suspended above the fires, on which the barley grains were heated to facilitate the growth of shoots, the first stage of the malting process and was also used for drying hops.¹⁹¹ It is likely that he bought barley in, as in May 1600, when his inventory was drawn up, he had only 4½ acres sown with rye, wheat and beans, for household consumption. He malted barley grown by Ash inhabitants, who brewed for their own household consump-

tion, for the inventory of Thomas Gybbes gentleman of Ash, in 1598, listed 4 quarters of malt in the hands of Paramore; but Henry Paramore also carried and delivered, as he owned a waggon.¹⁹² Thomas Mihell of Wingham was clearly a brewer and maltster, although not entitled such in his inventory. His inventory dated 1630, included a malthouse, which contained 30 quarters of malt, an oastcloth and malt shovels; a brewhouse with copper and two coolebacks, a sign of brewing on a larger scale than in the farmhouse; a cellar with barrels and he owned a beer cart for delivery.¹⁹³ On a smaller scale, making malt was the occupation of Joane Castle, widow of Wingham for she had four quarters of malt on the floor, presumably drying in the malthouse and two malt quernes for grinding malt.¹⁹⁴ In addition to the two inns in Wingham, alehouse keepers who sold and supplied drink kept small lodging houses in Ash and Wingham. Both John Watier, tippler of Ash and Robert Richardson of Wingham had guest rooms or lofts in their houses; Roger Miles of Wingham owned wine and beer in his cellar, which he sold for consumption in his hall, which contained a variety of different sized pots of pewter and stone.¹⁹⁵

While most families probably made much of their own clothing, there was a demand in this area for clothes made by the skills of the specialist tailor, as the inventories survive for 15 tailors. Not all inventories contained stock in the shop, but five stocked lengths of materials and clothes designed for the day to day wear of the husbandman/yeoman and his family. The shop of Thomas Hopkins of Ash contained woollen stockings, woollen and canvas drawers, fryse jerkins, lined breeches and lengths of jarsey or kersey and russet cloth and coloured cotton.¹⁹⁶ However, John Shaw, tailor of Wingham, catered for the luxury market and trade of the local gentry in the years preceding his death in 1574. His inventory lists in great detail the contents of his shop, which suggested that he engaged in the decoration of clothing, as apart from thread, sewing silk and some cloth, which included Sandwich grosgrain, fine holland and fine canvas, the bulk of his stock consisted of the type of luxury items introduced and manufactured by the Walloon community in Canterbury in the late 16th century; lace of many kinds, gartering, ribbon, fringes, buttons, handkerchiefs, taffeta purses and gloves.¹⁹⁷

Leather workers included 3 shoemakers and 2 glovers, 2 saddlers and a collar maker. There

were five miscellaneous occupations: surgeon John Graye of Ash, whose inventory included, although without detailed description, his surgery tools, salves and simples, two pestles and mortars and his books; apothecary, George Stock of Ash, schoolmaster Samuel Wrest of Nonington, minstrel/musician Henry Brodett of Wingham and John Royden cook to the Oxenden family.¹⁹⁸

This list probably covers the majority of occupations likely to exist, although it is not exclusive, as a further 45 references collected of the occupations of non will and inventory making people living in the parishes studied, included besides those listed in Table 5.6, a corvesor, a horse cutter, a cooper, a baker and a tallow chandler. Although these numbers are not of statistical significance, it is likely that the numbers of blacksmiths/smiths and butchers in these communities were under represented among the inhabitants leaving a will or inventory, as a further 12 smiths and six butchers were referred to in these sources. Millers were not well represented, considering that there were two water mills in Wingham and probably several windmills, such as Guilton mill in Ash. Not in every case was the occupation of the individual stated in the inventory, but in most cases the nature of the occupation could be inferred by the possession of a shop and the description of its contents; for example, George Stock of Ash was probably an apothecary, as at his death in 1633, his house included a shop which contained glasses and gallipots and in the chamber where he lay, a frame in which to set the gallipots; in the hall and chamber above were glass bottles and books.¹⁹⁹ In the case of the two leather workers there was insufficient information to make a more precise designation; in five cases it was not possible to allocate an occupation, as the inventory included only the shop and the words "the tools of his trade", as clues.²⁰⁰

Although those who left wills and inventories would have represented the better off among craftsmen and tradesmen, the majority lay at the lower end of the wealth scale in terms of the moveable assets valued in their inventories; 72% were valued at under £50, 15% between £50 and £99, 12% between £100 and £200 and one was valued at £228. This compares with about 50% of farmers, husbandmen and labourers who came in the under £50 bracket. For most craftsmen and tradesmen in the higher wealth brackets, a greater proportion of the total value of their inventory

lay in debts owed to them or ready cash, suggesting a greater volume of business, or alternatively in farm produce and livestock, rather than in the value of stock in trade or tools of their trade, the latter being valued at very little. John Saxton, carpenter of Ash, whose personal estate was worth £126 at his death in 1615, was owed £52 and had farm produce, livestock and implements worth £42. He had diversified into the local money market, as £41 of his debts were in loans.²⁰¹

John Saxton's case indicates a multiple source of income and dual occupation. There were only twelve of the 82 craft/tradesmen whose inventories left no evidence of an additional occupation or source of income and in particular no evidence of husbandry. Of these twelve, four were singlemen and not householders; two were possibly apprentice or journeymen carpenters. Returning to the remaining sixty, one obvious case of diversity was William Clarke of Ash, who was a grocer and barber and ran both sides of his business simultaneously. In 1636, his house contained a barber's shop, in which there was a chair, barber's tools, basins, ewers, bottles, pots, salves and oils. The grocery shop contained stock which ranged from vinegar, butter, bread and spices to paper, lace, knives and mouse traps, in fact the village shop.²⁰² John Corbet in 1575, had a similar, if less wide ranging, general stores shop in Wingham, but he also did business in St. Peter's Thanet, as a tailor or draper, as he owned goods including cloth, pins, lace, knitting needles, buttons worth £25 there in two hampers. He was also owed debts by four men from Thanet and two tailors.²⁰³ Three craftsmen, like John Saxton were also local money lenders.

However, the majority, 58, of this sample of crafts/tradesmen were additionally engaged in husbandry of some kind. They could be divided into three groups. There were 28 who had a smallholding, with a few livestock and some arable land, mostly up to seven acres, but there were three with between 11 and 15 acres. James Knott and his son Henry, blacksmiths of Nonington, were probably more unusual in running a small farm besides their blacksmith's business. In 1619, Henry had 33 acres of sown arable; wheat, barley and podware and livestock, which included three kine, one calf, six sheep, nine swine and poultry. It looks as if he had increased the arable acreage since his father's death in 1600, but he was still an active blacksmith to judge by the number of small debts owed him.²⁰⁴ On a smaller scale, Thomas Worsley, tailor of Ash had

seven acres sown in June 1625, of which 1½ acres of beans, barley and hemp were adjacent to his house, the remainder was in scattered plots. He had a small orchard containing 24 apple trees and in his back yard, he kept two sows, a cow and a calf.²⁰⁵

A further group of nine crafts/tradesmen concentrated on livestock, *having no arable*; William Jeckson of Ash, weaver, had diversified into dairying for, in addition to a sow and a young pig and poultry, he owned a dairy herd of seven kine and had taken on a lease of 6½ acres of marshland. He had a milkhouse containing six cheeses and his surplus dairy produce probably provided a small cash income.²⁰⁶ It is likely that in many cases the secondary occupation was carried on by the women of the family; in the case of William Jeckson, by his wife and three daughters.²⁰⁷ This was the case with John Saunders, joiner of Ash, who grew on his smallholding, fruit and a variety of vegetables commented on earlier in this chapter. This little "market garden" was the responsibility of his wife, Mary, as the fruit and vegetables in the garden and orchard were described as belonging to the woman.²⁰⁸

The third group of twenty crafts/tradesmen probably had no more land than a yard and garden, usually called the backside, adjacent to the house, in which they kept and/or grew a combination from among the following; one or two pigs, poultry, bees, a little hemp, sometimes hops, peas and beans, fruit. Richard Cooper, saddler of Wingham, for example, grew a small parcel each of hemp and beans in the backside to his house and kept seven stocks of bees.²⁰⁹ Thomas Mihell, maltman and brewer, discussed above, kept swine and poultry in the yard.²¹⁰ It is likely that most of this was produce for domestic consumption rather than a cash crop.

This section has so far concentrated on those for whom a specialist trade or craft was the principal, although not necessarily the sole occupation or means of earning a living. There is some evidence of the continuity of occupation and specialism from one generation to the next; there were two generations of the Coxe family of Nonington, Henry and John, who were thatchers; Henry and James Knott, father and son, blacksmiths of Nonington and Richard Haslocke, weaver of Ash and Cornelius Haslocke, Richard's son, apprentice weaver.

Bye employments and Local Industry.

It has been demonstrated for other areas that the cottager and smallholder, when his agricultural holding was insufficient to support his family, or when demand for agricultural labour was slight, in order to pay the rent and raise his standard of living would diversify into other employments, taking whatever opportunities that existed in his region at a particular time.²¹¹ In the woodland areas of the country, such as the Weald of Kent, a wide variety of opportunities existed for bye employments particularly in wood and metal, whilst in the Midland fielden districts, the spinning and weaving of flax and wool was more prevalent.²¹² Official encouragement of "new" crops, such as hemp, flax, woad in the 16th century, increased the opportunities for bye employments and provided a small cash income as part of the living of rural, farming families and the production of new consumer goods was actively encouraged.²¹³ What opportunities were there in this area of East Kent for industrial bye employment?

The later 16th century saw the revival of cloth industry in East Kent with the arrival of Dutch and Walloon refugees from 1560 onwards, who were invited to settle in Canterbury, Sandwich and Maidstone. Canterbury and Sandwich became centres of the production of the so called "new draperies", particularly union cloths of carded and combed wool and/or plant fibres, such as baize and flannels, luxury mixed stuffs of silk and wool and passementerie, narrow decorative edgings particularly lace, trades which the immigrants specialised in and which they were permitted to follow, so as to prevent competition with other established trades, the Kentish coloured broadcloths and kerseys, which were predominantly centred in the Weald of Kent by the late 16th century.²¹⁴ The principal mode of organisation of cloth production in the Weald was the domestic system, where the entrepreneur clothier directed and organised each stage of manufacture, but many of the processes, notably the preparation of the wool, carding, spinning and weaving was outwork, carried on in villages and farmsteads, throughout the countryside.²¹⁵

What evidence is there that the inhabitants of the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, a sample of parishes in the countryside, slung between Canterbury and Sandwich, centres of cloth production, were participants in this industry? How much

preparation and spinning in the farmhouse of the wool produced on that farm was primarily for domestic consumption in that household? The evidence from probate inventories presented in Chart 5.8 and Tables 5.7-9 is suggestive of outwork in farmhouses and cottages of some of the initial stages of cloth manufacture.

Chart 5.8 Spinning wheels recorded in household inventories 1560-1640

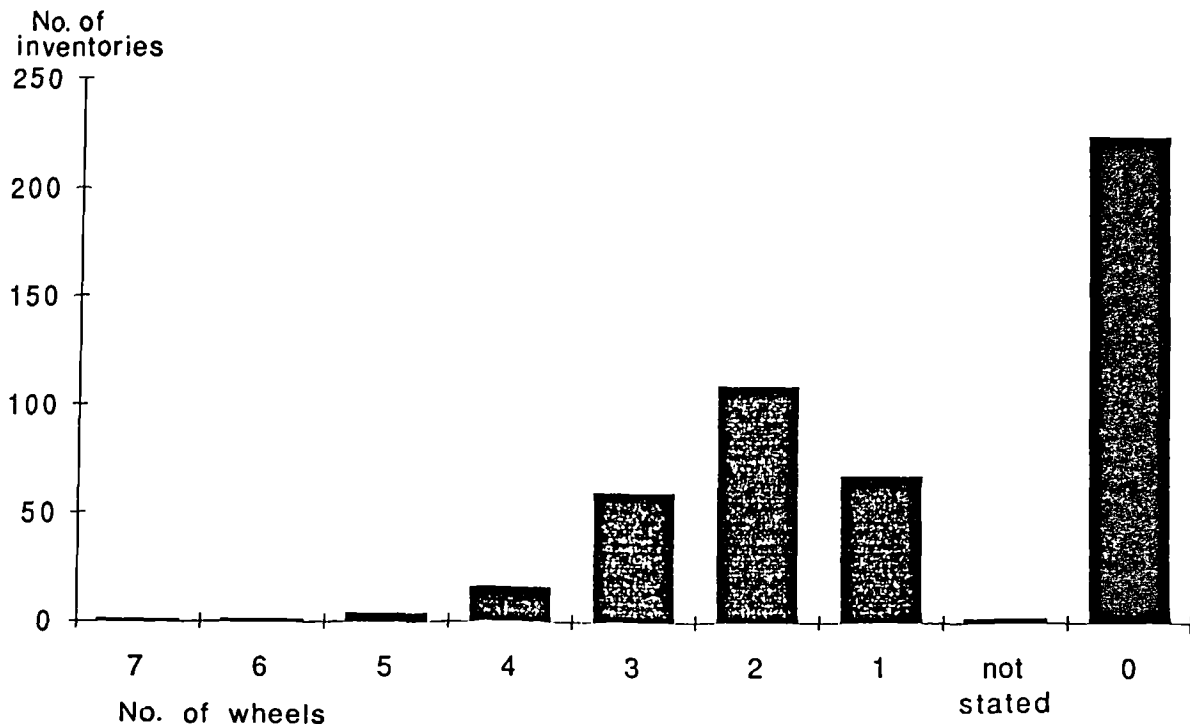


Chart 5.8 indicates the scale of ownership of spinning wheels, which was not universal as 225 or 45% of inventories did not list wheels, however the remaining 55% owned 565 spinning wheels an average of two each and 80 households had three or more spinning wheels, the highest numbers being six and seven.

This compares with a sample of 250 inventories from mid Essex in the mid 17th century, where about 17% listed spinning wheels,²¹⁶ Table 5.7 showing the numbers of types of wheels counted, does indicate that some differentiation of purpose for which the wheel was

Corrections to page 201

Table 5.7 Types of spinning wheels recorded in household inventories 1560-1640

<i>type</i>	<i>number</i>
spinning wheels	170
linen wheels	225
woollen wheels	149
flannel wheels	27
jersey wheels	19
wheels for baize	not given
spindles	1

line 1: should read '.....woollen, flannel, **jersey** wheels....'

Table 5.7 Types of spinning wheels recorded in household inventories 1560-1640

<i>Type</i>	<i>number</i>
spinning wheels	167
linen wheels	219
woollen wheels	146
flannel wheels	22
kersey wheels	11
wheels for baize	not given
spindles	1

used was made in some inventories; woollen, flannel, kersey wheels and in one case wheels specifically for baize. Yarn was overwhelmingly wheel and not spindle or "rock" spun, as only one spindle appears listed in inventories. That the process of carding was carried on in farmhouses and cottages in this area is indicated by the presence of wool cards in 29 inventories, stock cards in 67 inventories and tow cards in 6 inventories. Combs were listed in 24 inventories but were probably used in the preparation of flax or hemp for spinning, as wool combing in East Kent was predominantly a specialised and urban occupation.²¹⁷ Wool, usually in small amounts was stored in 95 lofts, fleece in 13 and woollen yarn, the end product of the carding, combing and spinning process was listed in 25 inventories (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Evidence of wool and linen processing in household inventories 1560-1640

	<i>numbers of inventories</i>
woollen yarn	25
linen yarn	41
yarn	4
linen work	9
tow	19
streak/strick work	14
work	10
spun work	1

Linen wheels were numerous in farmhouses and cottages, but the flax spun was probably not home grown, as no inventory records flax growing and only one records flax stored in the loft.

Linen yarn was recorded in 41 lofts and linen work in nine inventories. The existence of tow and strick/streak in 33 inventories, suggest that some of the processes in preparing the fibre for spinning, notably combing was taking place in farmhouses and cottages. It is likely that this was out-work from Sandwich, where the polders surrounding the town would have been suitable for the growing of flax, or alternatively raw flax or fibres were being imported from Belgium.²¹⁸ Such work was carried on in the household of John Aparton of Wingham, in addition to making gloves from the skins recorded in his house. At his death in 1587, he owned one woollen and two linen wheels, £12 worth of linen yarn, £16 worth of "work" and 13 quarters of wool with a packing cloth.²¹⁹ Among the household possessions of William Car, yeoman of Ash, were two linen wheels and 17lb of linen yarn; among those of John Kirby, yeoman of Ash were three linen wheels, one woollen wheel, one pair of stock cards and two pairs of wool cards, with 20lb of linen work and 18lb of linen yarn.²²⁰ It is clear that the production of linen and woollen yarn in this area existed as bye employments in the wealthier farming households and the better off craftsmen and tradesmen and was not confined to the labourer/smallholder. Although the combing of principally flax and hemp may have been carried out by the men of the household, requiring greater physical strength, carding and spinning of wool and flax was the occupation of women and was an important source of income for widows. Alice Goodyn, widow of Nonington had a wheel and yarn in the work chamber; in the hall of Tamsyn Godder of Goodnestone was a woollen wheel, a pair of woollen cards, a yarn winder and in the chamber, a linen wheel, a pair of stockcards, 3½lb of linen yarn and 2lb of woollen yarn.²²¹

Weaving was carried on in the area by specialists, not in farmhouses at large, although it is clear that spinning also took place in the weaver's workshop. Eight weavers left wills and inventories during the period studied. Weavers with small scale enterprises existed in each parish, such as John Bowes of Womenswold, who owned two looms with their sleas and a spinning wheel in his shop.²²² However, there were two centres for weaving and some finishing of cloth, in Ash and in Wingham. In Ash, the principal weaving family was the Woods; no inventory survives for John Wood, who died in 1611, but the detailed bequests in his will draw a picture of his posses-

sessions and property. He had land on which were possibly four adjacent houses, one new and two which he let, situated probably on the south side of Ash street,²²³ John was a master weaver, ran a bigger enterprise, was well equipped and employed at least one apprentice. In his warping chamber were four looms and a broad loom, with all their warping bars and sleas and three wheels; he had a longhouse, possibly a separate building, which contained a woollen and a linen loom.²²⁴ However, there is no indication of the type of cloth woven. He employed an apprentice, Cornelius Haslocke, who was the son of Richard Haslocke, weaver and tenant of John Wood, who had distrained his goods including two looms, for house rent at Richard's death in 1601.²²⁵ Richard's daughter was also a servant in John Wood's house. It looks as if this group of houses formed a small weaving quarter in Ash street, for another of John Wood's houses which he let, was occupied by Edward Barrow, probably related to Robert Barrow, weaver of Wingham.

Robert Barrow, like John Wood, was a weaver of some standing in the local community at Wingham for he was churchwarden in 1586 and he left possessions valued at £79, at his death in 1613, bequeathing four looms and tackle to his sons.²²⁶ It was from Wingham that the clothiers, Richard and James Harbar or Harbard, father and son operated, probably from around the 1550's, when Richard's name appears in wills.²²⁷ Their surname may suggest Flemish or Dutch origins, possibly with family connections in Sandwich. Richard must have been over 70 years old at his death in 1606 and had probably retired from active work as a clothier, as his inventory, valued at £36, included no stock or implements of his trade and he lived off his smallholding and rents from letting the three houses, which he had bought near his own.²²⁸ His eldest son, James, was continuing the business and is visible in the 1580's and 1590's producing children and acting as witness and appraiser for the wills and inventories of Wingham inhabitants.²²⁹ There is no information concerning the clothier's organisation of cloth manufacture in the area, whether it included linen and woollen cloth, but it would appear that the Harbars were engaged in the process of dyeing of either the wool or cloth, as Richard owned a dye house in the area of the river and stone bridge, where his other property was and where he lived.²³⁰ The dyeing process was frequently carried out by the clothier in the Wealden areas of Kent.²³¹ No evidence survives con-

cerning fulling, which may have been carried out elsewhere, although the fulling of baize cloth was walked by foot and not milled.²³² The Harbars probably carried out other finishing processes, as in 1583, Richard Skott, weaver of Wingham, owed Richard Harbard 19s-6d for dressing cloth.²³³ Other evidence from testamentary accounts suggests that cloth manufacture was not managed and organised entirely by the clothier and that there were individual, private business relationships between weavers, spinners and tailors. Richard Skott also owed two other weavers and three tailors for work.²³⁴ Richard Stupple of Ash, who possessed a woollen wheel, two tow combs and four quarters of russet yarn in his farmhouse owed one Flud, probably William Fludd weaver of Wingham for weaving 9½ yards of cloth.²³⁵ Presumably, this cloth was for household consumption.

It is uncertain how long the clothier continued in Wingham, as James Harbar disappears from Wingham records in the early 17th century. He may have returned to Sandwich where there were corn dealers named Harbar.²³⁶ It is possible that slumps in 1614-6, 1622, and 1630-1 had their effect, although weavers and spinners remained in the area in the 1630's. It is tempting to see the second half of the 16th century and first decade of the 17th as the time when rural cloth manufacture was more flourishing, although not new in this area, but lack of evidence particularly for the 15th century, makes any conclusion tentative.²³⁷

It is not clear whether the processing of hemp grown on small plots and stored in lofts in farmhouses and cottages was another aspect of an organised rural manufacture or was purely for domestic consumption for sacking, canvas and coarse hempen sheets in the poorer households. There does not appear to be any evidence of rope making in these communities in this period. It seems likely that the early stages of processing hemp, which were the same as those for flax, were carried on in some households as indicated in Table 5.9.

These processes would have included dressing, the removing of hemp seeds and separating of the fibres probably after soaking, combing to produce tow and strick and some spinning; the word "work" is unspecific. Richard Field, probably a carpenter and farm labourer, owned a hemp comb, hemp stock and an iron to dress hemp.²³⁸ Evidence of payment for any textile work is

*Table 5.9 Evidence of hemp processing in household inventories
1560-1640*

	numbers of inventories
hemp stored in lofts	149
hemp stock	17
raw hemp	1
unshelled hemp	8
shelled hemp	11
undressed hemp	1
dressed hemp	6
hemp work	18
spun hemp	1

rare, but William Manlye, yeoman of Ash was owed for 8lb of hemp work.²³⁹

The cloth industry, although small scale in the Wingham area included some specialist weavers and finishers of cloth with workshops and outwork, consisting of the early preparation processes and spinning of woollen, linen and hempen yarn in the farmhouse and cottage. Formal and informal organisation probably existed, but outwork was not confined to supplementing the income of the households of smallholders and cottagers. Spinning was skilled, always in demand and could be profitable and in this area was also carried out by the women of the larger and more commercially orientated yeoman farms, as was the case in the Chilterns.²⁴⁰ There is a suggestion in the inventory of Edward Oxenden of Wingham that the gentry also operated in this system, for his household contained 60lb of unspun tow and streak and 60lb of hemp, a larger amount than was listed in most inventories, but no spinning wheels. Either he was acting as a middleman or he grew the raw materials, the early processing being carried out by his household and then the product was sold or put out to spinners.²⁴¹

Although some specialisation of occupation has been identified in this rural area, in general the theme has been one of diversification and multi occupation; agriculture, allied agricultural trades and crafts, industrial textile processes were carried on at the same time, often under the same roof or in adjacent buildings. The larger farmhouse/farmstead, in particular, could be regarded as a production unit of a multifarious kind, with both specialised and multi purpose areas within it. It may satisfy inward or household demand and look outward to market

opportunities in some or all of its activities. A range of activities could take place in a model farmhouse; most farmhouses carried on a varying number of these activities, the larger the farm and enterprise, the greater the number of activities were engaged in and the more specialised were the work areas. The processing of raw materials with the production of woollen and linen yarn in the farmhouse has been dealt with in the foregoing section, but comment is needed briefly on other activities. Dairy production was universal; milk, butter and cheese were processed in the milkhouse, cheese house or buttery. Curing, salting and smoking of bacon, bee keeping and honey production was very common. As suggested earlier in this chapter, malting was largely becoming a specialised activity by the late 16th century, but in many farmhouses ale, beer and possibly cider was brewed for domestic consumption, with a furnace, copper, cheese press listed among equipment in the kitchen, whilst the larger farmhouses of the gentry and wealthier yeomen had a specialised area in the brewhouse and beer was probably sold.²⁴² Making malt was an activity limited to a few, as only six farmhouses had malthouses, besides the maltsters discussed earlier, although small amounts may have been produced in the brewhouse. One or two milled; Henry Oxenden, gentleman, owned a horse mill and mill house, probably to mill flour for domestic consumption.²⁴³ The evidence of tools listed in inventories suggests that farmers and husbandmen were sufficiently skilled as carpenters to satisfy farm requirements for such items as fencing, tools and simple furniture; for example, among the husbandry tools of Malachi Ralphe were a wimble, hammer, saw and awger.²⁴⁴ Thatch and occasionally, thatching tools, were listed in husbandmen's inventories, a further example of diverse skills.

Multiple occupation and diversity of economic interests and therefore sources of income were prevalent across the whole social scale including the local gentry. Agricultural enterprises and rents were the primary sources of income and further investigation outside of this study into local town archives would be likely to reveal other urban, commercial and industrial interests not usually revealed through their probate documents, but suggested by the will of Sir Thomas Harflete, who bequeathed his copperhouse in Whitstable to his son Christopher in 1617.²⁴⁵ Interest on loans was a further source of income for many gentlemen, to be examined in the fol-

lowing chapter. For Sir Charles Trippe, not an old man, owning property in Sandwich, a house at Trapham in Wingham, with a small farm of land leased from Sir James Oxenden, money lending was an important aspect of his economy. In 1625, his inventory lists debts of £1975 in rounded sums ranging from £20-£500. This represented 84% of his moveable estate.²⁴⁶

Access to education, particularly legal, involvement in wider administrative and legal occupations in Kent, characterised these late 16th and 17th century gentlemen. Charles Trippe, for example, was admitted to the bar in 1603 and the contents of his chamber in the Middle Temple in London were listed in his inventory in 1625.²⁴⁷ He stood surety for his neighbour, James, son of Sir Henry Oxenden, on his admission to the Middle Temple.²⁴⁸ Thomas Palmer of Wingham became high sheriff of Kent in 1595, Sir Edward Boys the younger, served as the member of Parliament for Sandwich in 1626 and Dover in 1639.²⁴⁹ Among the possessions of Thomas St. Nicholas were English, Latin, Greek and legal books and he requested in his will that his younger son, Timothy be brought up as a scholar.²⁵⁰ Members of the Boys, Oxenden, Hammond and Palmer families were of sufficient standing to be involved in county affairs and as committee men during the civil war and commonwealth period.

Some conclusions

Certain elements seem to have existed simultaneously within the economic structure of this rural area of East Kent. On the one hand, the commercial element, which this study of agriculture suggests, was a factor in the economy of the larger yeoman farms and small estates of the gentleman farmer. This would be a likely development in an area where; the individual farmer was free to make policy decisions based on family needs and market demands unhampered by communal regulation of agriculture; where the availability of compact farms of 100-300 acres encouraged the opportunist yeoman farmer to take up leases, the Raynors and Rigdens of Nonington, the Austens and Jones of Wingham, William Car, Humphrey Gardner, Stephen Cartell, William Symes, the Gybbes family of Ash, to name some; where agriculture was likely to be profitable, on highly fertile soils particularly suited to corn in a relatively densely populated area, with access to

markets and ports for distribution along the coast to London and abroad. Wage labour, casual and seasonal, with regular living in servants and out labourers was a consequence.

On the other hand, the economic structure of this area of East Kent was rooted in the family and the household and many farms appear to have been largely self sufficient. Mixed farming was the predominant pattern with some individual variation within this model and some differences between the northern marsh, alluvial and brickearth region and the southern downland champagne country. There was flexibility here and diversification into small crops, hops, hemp and fruit was possible and in this, the large farms were no different from their smaller neighbours. Among the arable and mixed farms, the small man with livestock could be found, particularly in the parish of Ash. In general, the smallholder and village crafts and tradesmen made a living by a diversity of means.

There appeared to be some opportunity for retail and service trades in addition to village craftsmen in the villages of Wingham and Ash. These parishes formed part of the rural area engaging in the local cloth industry primarily centred in Sandwich and Canterbury and which provided by employment in the form of outwork for rural families. This was not new, but may have had a revival within its own small centres in the late 16th century, as part of the general revival of the cloth industry in the region connected with the cloth working continental immigrants. However, the opportunities provided by local cloth industry and the high demand for farm labour limited the necessity for developing a larger range of by employments and small industries associated with more predominantly pastoral areas, such as the Weald. Nevertheless, the evidence of dual and multiple occupation within households in this area supports the argument that agriculture and industry were not entirely separate but complementary activities in the countryside in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.²⁵¹ Diversity of economic enterprise and interest was still more apparent than specialisation.

What is difficult to evaluate from the sources used without farm accounts, is the extent of economic change during the period studied. On the surface, the system seemed successful possibly because of its flexibility; there appeared to be continuity with small adjustments rather than major changes of gear.

CHAPTER 6 ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

2: COMMERCE AND CONSUMPTION, CREDIT AND DEBT

Introduction

In this chapter, some aspects of the commercial activities of certain families living in the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold are examined, principally during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, when survival of probate inventories and testamentary accounts make possible such a study. The first section deals with marketing and shopping and the context will be set by formulating a structure of local markets and trading facilities; the geographical area covered by the credit and debt relationships of this sample of the inhabitants is delineated. The relationship between neighbouring towns and these rural parishes in terms of marketing and supply is examined and the influence of London considered. The second section is concerned with levels of household consumption and considers how far down the social scale luxury items permeated and in what ways the gentry could be distinguished in terms of their lifestyle. The third section looks at some aspects of rural family finance through debts listed in probate inventories and administrators accounts, which indicated that credit was widespread and was a necessary part of the economy of families of differing wealth and social status. The amount of debt in these communities and size and type of debts are examined. Identification of individuals and groups who acted as money lenders and the extent to which family relationships were at the basis of credit arrangements is considered. Some consideration of debtors was made possible through the survival of administrators accounts; the level of indebtedness at time of death is looked at and its relationship to life cycle and time considered. Some case studies illustrate how debt was part of the normal pattern of family economic life.

Several aspects of the commercial economy of this rural area in the late 16th and early 17th century emerge. There appeared to be lively local trade, in which small scale household and family farms sold small surpluses locally, buying in supplies mostly from others within a small area and from their nearest tradesmen and craftsmen. Credit was endemic and borrowing from neigh-

hours with cash to spare went on to tide them over difficulties. Family played some role in this, particularly in more distant connections. But in general, it was a local, neighbourhood system. At the same time, there were farmers who were more commercially minded, directed to supplying particularly the grain market at Sandwich for cash, dealing with corn factors and ports men, financing each other. However, it was still local, confined primarily to East Kent. Local towns were also used by the smaller farmer for selling surpluses and for shopping. Informal shopping also took place in Wingham and to a smaller extent Ash Street, which contained retail shops selling a variety of wares, but evidence of an active market at Wingham is slim. There is some suggestion that in the early 17th century the commercial approach was increasing, with some direct links growing with Londoners and increasing amounts of credit within these communities, but it is a tentative conclusion. Consumption patterns suggest the importance in this rural area of households as consumers as well as partial producers of locally manufactured cloth, particularly household linen and woollen dress material. There were increasingly visible distinctions in lifestyle and spending of disposable income between the gentry families and their neighbours and within the gentry group. Borrowing and credit was an integral aspect of the economy of individual families and tended to increase in mid life cycle when the farm or business was at its most active. Rent formed an important item in debt. Creditors existed across the social spectrum.

Marketing and shopping

It has been suggested that in the 16th century there were few market centres in East Kent; that Canterbury, Sandwich and Dover were the only market towns and that there was not a single market centre in Thanet or the Stour levels in East Kent.¹ Were the inhabitants of the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold buying and selling locally in addition to using the main market towns? The evidence for formal markets and fairs in the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold is sparse for the period studied, and it is necessary to look back to the 13th century and forward to the 18th century to formulate a possible structure of local rural marketing. The proliferation of village and small town markets in

the 13th century appeared in this area, when marketing at Wingham was formalised by a royal grant in 1251/2 to the Archbishop of the right to hold there on Tuesdays a weekly market, which flourished sufficiently to lead to a dispute in 1290, as the Archbishop's right to levy tolls raised prices in Canterbury markets.² Rural marketing grew, as in 1364, William, Lord Latimer (probably the lord of Flete manor) was granted a market at Ash on a Thursday.³ Topographical evidence of a wider section of the main street of Wingham village supports the view of Wingham as a small medieval market town. By the early 15th century, shambles and shops near the market place had become permanent structures paying rents to the Archbishop and probably open each day.⁴ However, it is not clear whether the weekly markets at Wingham and Ash were continuing in the 15th and 16th centuries, for they no longer functioned by the 18th century.⁵

Probate evidence shows that craftsmen with workshops existed in all the five parishes and each parish had butchers.⁶ By the mid 16th century some retail shops of tradesmen usually associated with market towns existed in Ash Street and Wingham. Five inventories of such tradesmen survive, four from Wingham, one from Ash; three of the five list the stock in their shops. A variety of wares were sold in various shops in Wingham; John Shaw, who called himself a tailor sold cloth, handkerchiefs, wax, harvest gloves, pins, tooth and ear picks; Robert Richardson kept a lodging and alehouse, but in his shop he had various small wares, which were not itemized.⁷ The stock listed in the three inventories of tradesmen suggest village stores with a multitude of necessary items but they also included luxury items imported from abroad. In 1575, the contents of *John Corbet's shop* included raisins, prunes, ginger and sugar besides pins, candles, buttons, wooden spoons and bowstrings.⁸ In 1633, John Drage of Wingham was looking to wealthier custom, for his stock included Suffolk and Essex cheeses, considered of superior quality to the local cheeses and a greater range of imported exotic goods and spices, such as nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, sugar, treacle, liquorice, aniseed, cummin, pepper, frankincence, prunes, raisins of the sun and figs. He stocked eight quire of white paper and one dozen small books. He sold beer and French wine, tobacco and pipes.⁹ His customers were from the educated local gentry families. They included Charles Trippe, gentleman of Wingham, who in 1625 owed him a

debt of eight shillings, and Edward Caunton, gentleman, who owed him £3 in 1618.¹⁰ Besides resident retailers, travelling salesmen such as chapman John Glag operated in this area; the name was not a local one and his inventory included no household possessions, which suggests he was itinerant. His pack contained small wares; poor leather purses, rings and bracelets for children, gum and tobacco and small haberdashery items, including cards of edging lace of various lengths, possibly distributing products of the Canterbury and Sandwich Walloon communities.¹¹ There were opportunities for shopping in Wingham and Ash without the necessity of a visit to the nearest market town by the mid 16th century, a pattern in existence in other areas in the 15th century and possibly in Wingham, but the 15th century leases do not describe the nature of the shops in existence at that date.¹²

By the 18th century, pedlary fairs took place in villages and hamlets in the environs of Wingham, including Ash, Church street in Nonington and Womenswold. The important fairs were the cattle fairs held at Wingham on May 12th and November 12th and at Goodnestone on September 25th. Evidence has not emerged about the fairs at Wingham during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries from the documents used in this study. It looks as if the fair at Goodnestone was important as its profits belonged to the Archbishop and after 1559 to the crown and were leased out with the principal demesne lease of Wingham manor, whilst the profits of the fair at Staple were leased with the Blackney area of Wingham demesne, and for much of the period was in the hands of the Oxenden family of Brook.¹³ The Womenswold fair may have originated in the 15th century.¹⁴ The documents used in this study have not given any indication as to how these fairs operated.

An examination of credit and debt relationships between individuals from probate sources provided an approach to local marketing in the late 16th and early 17th century. Data concerning debts owing to a testator at the time of death and listed in 520 inventories was collected along with data from 117 surviving administrators' accounts concerning a testator's liabilities at death. There are problems in using this evidence, as it presents only a partial view of a community's activity, as a result of chance survival of documents, weighted towards the wealthier families. A

more serious drawback is the variation in quantity of information given about the name, parish and occupation of the creditor or debtor; the appraisers and administrators did not distinguish clearly between different types of debt and in some cases the debts of a testator were lumped together in one sum.¹⁵

The geographical range of debt/credit relationships of testators in the five parishes studied also reflected the marketing area of their inhabitants, as the selling and buying of produce was one element in credit/debt relationship. Of the total relationships counted, it was possible to place 70% in a parish, town or county. This analysis suggests a predominantly local system and the importance of an informal trading and marketing system alongside the formality of the nearest market towns. Table 6.1 indicates that people did business overwhelmingly with their neighbours, friends and relatives within their own parish.

Table 6.1 Credit/debt relationships and place 1560-1640

Testator's parish	no. of relationships with inhabitants of own parish	no. of relationships with inhabitants of other parishes
Wingham	82	38
Ash	275	43
Goodnestone	45	24
Nonington	67	27
Womenswold	4	8

Maps 6.1-5 which show the debt/credit relationship area for each parish, confirms this picture. Most relationships were with people who lived within a five mile radius, and there were few outside a ten mile radius, or west of Canterbury. The links with towns in East Kent, notably Sandwich and Canterbury, and also with London are evident. A small number of individuals owed debts to people from other parts of the country, mostly on the east, in Lincolnshire, Essex, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire but these cases were probably loans rather than credit for goods bought.¹⁶ That some direct purchasing from other areas of the country did occur, is suggested in the will of John Spence of Goodnestone, who in 1631, bequeathed to his son his horse that he bought in the north country.¹⁷ However, the northern cattle and Welsh steers listed in the

inventories of seven larger scale farmers could have been bought more locally. Probate evidence is insufficient to estimate the extent of purchasing of livestock outside of Kent.

In only 130 relationships were debts for goods and agricultural produce specified; further evidence lay concealed in the 825 cases, where no information was provided as to the nature of the debt. Among the 130 cases, the larger debts on produce concerned towns people and will be considered later in this chapter. However, the majority concerned small transactions with other individuals, who were largely from the same parish and they provide some evidence of local small cash crops and informal trading. Grain appeared most frequently, particularly wheat, for which there were 18 transactions for amounts of up to 3 quarters. For barley there were 6 cases for amounts up to 7 quarters, with a few cases of straw, seed barley, oats and podware. John Chamberlain of Nonington owed William Hammond of Nonington 2s-6d for one bushel of wheat in 1575; Robert Browne of Wingham owed Simon Lott of Ash £2-10s for 20 bushels of wheat in 1592.¹⁸ Transactions concerning beer and malt appeared in 12 cases, and these partly represent the activity of local village maltmen and tipplers turning locally grown barley into malt; John Wacher, tippler of Ash was owed in 1588, £1-6s-8d for 2 quarters of malt and 1 shilling for beer by William Solley of Ash, 3s-4d for 2 bushels of malt by Thomas Butcher of Ash and 11s-6d by Christopher Hole of Ash for making 10½ quarters of Barley into malt.¹⁹ Other small cash crops and produce sold included cheese, butter, honey, onions and apples, which were sold by women. John Gibbes of Ash received 9s-6d from Harding's widow for malt and apples sold by her and Richard Skott of Wingham owed Hewes' wife 4 shillings for honey and Allen's wife 1 shilling for onions in 1583.²⁰

Small numbers of livestock of all kinds were bought and sold between inhabitants of the same or neighbouring parishes: in 1574, Sylvester Marsh of Womenswold owed John Walsh of the same parish 15 shillings for ewes he had bought; Richard Dane of St. Lawrence in Thanet owed Daniel Frende of Ash for a stoned colt in 1583; John Woodman, labourer of Ash was owed 30 shillings for a cow by Rickard of Ash.²¹ Evidence of local village butchers purchasing livestock or carcasses is thin. The inventory of Thomas Dunkyn, butcher of Ash in 1618, lists no

livestock, suggesting he was not a grazier: the only record of purchase was three-quarters of a calf from, John Wacher, tippler of Ash.²² William Averell, butcher of Wingham raised a small number of pigs as he owed a debt in 1598 for three liveware he bought to add to his two sows, but there is no record of purchasing of other livestock.²³ In 1580, John Gibbes of Flete farm in Ash sold 17 "ragg" and 19 fattening sheep to John Saltonstall of Ash, who may have been John Saltonstall, butcher, who bought 8 acres of land in Ash c.1540, and was possibly a butcher grazier.²⁴ Like John Gibbes, Michael Huffham, yeoman, farmed on the edge of the Ash marshes and was probably supplying local butchers from his livestock, mostly sheep grazed on the marshes, as at his death in 1583 he was owed debts of £12 by Edward Alison, butcher of Wingham and £13 by John Saltingstone, butcher of Sandwich.²⁵ This is small scale marketing and it is likely that the full extent of the livestock trade, possibly carried on at the local fairs at Wingham and Goodnestone, is not reflected in these probate documents.

Debts owing for wood and timber were specified in six cases. It would be expected that timber would be a cash crop in the southern most wooded parishes studied; Sylvester Marsh of Womenswold was owed debts in 1574 for wood sold to Henry Manger of Hawkinge and a Mr. Smith of Dover.²⁶ In Ash, where woodland was much scarcer, there is some evidence of the buying in of wood from other parishes: in 1608, John Trystram, tailor, owed £3-10s-0d to John Browne of Bishopsbourne and £1-1s-0d to John Philpot of Nonington for wood.²⁷ Woodland tended to be in the hands of the gentry and larger farmers and for Michael Huffham of Ash, wood was a cash crop in addition to grain and wool, as in 1596, he was owed £14-6s-8d for 26 tons of timber.²⁸

How much of this small scale local marketing took place at local village markets, perhaps centred on Wingham or were private transactions at the farmhouse door is largely a matter of conjecture. The lack of strong evidence for the operation of the market at Wingham in the 16th century suggests the latter. It has been established that the inn and alehouse commonly provided a venue for local trade in the 16th century and debts owed to John Wacher, tippler of Ash at his death in 1594 suggest this and that he acted as a middleman in local small scale transactions, for

although his probate inventory gives no evidence at all of agricultural activity, yet he was owed small debts for six ewes, part of a carcass of a calf and for cheese, in addition to debts for malt and beer from his own business; he was also a money lender.²⁹ It is not possible to comment on how far back into the medieval period this informal trading occurred for lack of sources of evidence concerning local trade in this area in the 15th century.

There is some evidence that the small farmer used the markets of his nearest East Kent towns to sell surpluses and purchase supplies, but the evidence of probate documents points to towns and townsmen as the chief marketing outlet of the large farmer. The geographical location of the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold in relation to East Kent towns indicated in Map 6.6, brought them entirely within the overlapping marketing areas, based on a seven mile radius, of one or other of three principal market towns namely; Sandwich, Canterbury and Dover.³⁰ Most of the parishes, with the exception of Womenswold, came within the orbit of the port of Sandwich; the proximity of the eastern half of the parish of Ash might bring about a close relationship between its inhabitants and Sandwich. The western half of the area, and in particular the parish of Wingham lay within seven miles of Canterbury, whilst the southern areas of Nonington and Womenswold fell within the orbit of Dover. In Table 6.2, the credit/debt relationships with towns people were isolated and in general, they do reflect these geographical relationships, particularly the connection between Ash and Sandwich.

Table 6.2 Credit/debt relationships with East Kent towns and London 1560-1640

inhabitants of	Wingham	Ash	Goodnestone	Nonington	Womenswold
Canterbury	26	9	9	11	1
Faversham	2	0	0	0	0
Folkestone	0	0	2	1	0
Deal	1	2	0	1	0
Dover	0	1	0	0	1
Hythe	0	2	0	0	0
Sandwich	9	55	1	8	0
Whitstable	0	0	0	1	0
London	11	3	1	0	0

Small numbers of relationships were counted with Hythe, Folkestone, Deal, Faversham and Whitstable, but links with the south coast ports were not strong.

Sandwich and Canterbury were not only the nearest local market towns but also specialist corn markets and distribution centres.³¹ However, what emerges most strongly is the selling of grain to Sandwich ports men, principally by the larger farmers, particularly from Ash. Although sales of grain are specified in only a small number of debt relationships, it is highly likely that others refer to similar sales. In 1596, Michael Huffham gentleman of Ash, who farmed over 300 acres at Brook and Weddington, within two miles of Sandwich, was owed £46 for 25 quarters of wheat by John Harber of Sandwich, £30 for 19 quarters of wheat by William Glover of Sandwich and was owed an unspecified debt of £50 by William Woode, jurat of Sandwich.³² Edward Hammond of Nonington was owed in 1616, £26 by a William Harber, probably of Sandwich, which appears in a list of sales including 20 quarters of wheat and 40 quarters of barley sold.³³

The adoption of the four wheeled waggon with its greater capacity by larger farmers from the late 1580's in the Wingham area suggests the need for vehicles with a greater capacity for carriage to market and implies a more market orientated production in cereals in this area in comparison with Oxfordshire, where no waggons appear in inventories before 1640.³⁴ In the parishes of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, 73% of farmers with probate inventories valued at over £300 and 43% of farmers with probate inventories valued at between £50-£300, owned waggons between the late 1590's and 1640. Carriers and waggons could be hired to take goods to Sandwich; in 1593 Alexander Wreste paid 3 shillings for a waggon to carry the goods of Samuel Wreste from Nonington to Sandwich; in 1580, John Gibbes of Ash paid a man called Stone, to carry 16 quarters of wheat to Sandwich.³⁵

Although Sandwich was a major outlet for grain from the Wingham area, the evidence does point to a system of corn factors and that corn dealing with middlemen in advance of the market was carried on by the larger farmers, in particular those who were tithe collectors and lessees of parsonage barns. The inventory of William Symes of Ash, dated January 1574 recorded his moveable assets valued at £490, which included the lease of the parsonage valued at £200.³⁶

Listed under the heading, corn, were 108 quarters of wheat and 62 quarters of barley "in the parsonage and farm", of which 41 quarters of wheat and 23 quarters of barley had been sold before his death and the money had been received. The two principal buyers were from Sandwich, Henry Boteler and Edward Woode, possibly corn factors, another was John Neame, from an Ash family. William Symes was also paying rent in corn, as he had earmarked 6 quarters of barley and 2 quarters of wheat to Mr. Simon Lynche, probably gentleman of Staple, and 20 quarters of barley to Mr. Thomas Allen "for farme".³⁷ In 1599, John Gybbes, gentleman of Goldstone, Ash, and lessee of St. Gregory's parsonage barn, owed John Goldfinche of Ash, 4 bushels each of wheat and barley, out of the parsonage of Gregories; also to be delivered to John Oliver of Sandwich three quarters of wheat, for which John Gybbes had been paid before his death.³⁸

Grain was stored in lofts in Sandwich either prior to or after the sale to a corn dealer. John Gibbes of Flete in Ash in 1579/80, sold to Mr. Porredge, a member of a prominent Sandwich family, 60 quarters of wheat, which lay in "divers lofts in Sandwich at Mr. Crispe's".³⁹ Richard Forstall, the lessee of the parsonage at Wingham, had listed in his inventory, 60 quarters of barley in a loft in Sandwich, clearly not yet sold in February 1627.⁴⁰ Robert Sladden of Goodnestone owned two quarters and 3 bushels of wheat at Sandwich in April 1592.⁴¹ The inventories of these farmers make suggestions about the pattern of marketing of grain during the year. John Gibbes' deal with Mr. Porredge may have occurred shortly after harvest; following this entry are two more, which state that he sold a further 20 quarters of wheat to Mr. Porredge at Christmas and 14 quarters to him in June.⁴² There was grain remaining in the barn of William Symes, sold but not delivered when his inventory was appraised in January 1573.⁴³ At his death in December 1620, Daniel Frende yeoman of Ash, with a farm of 165 acres, lessee of the parsonage barn of St. Gregories and tithe collector, owned 20 quarters of wheat in a loft in Sandwich, with a further 100 quarters of wheat and 150 quarters of barley remaining in his barns.⁴⁴ This pattern has implications for supply, control of the corn market and forestalling.

The smaller farmer, particularly from Ash did use Sandwich as the market for his surplus produce. John Newman, labourer, when acting as administrator of the goods of John Auncell,

husbandman of Ash, incurred expenses of six shillings to travel to market with the corn and also for two locks to keep it safe, suggesting storage.⁴⁵ In 1629, Agnes, the widow of Robert Watson, sold his wheat and podder and carried it to Sandwich.⁴⁶

It is likely that wool was sold through the Sandwich and Canterbury markets, but the evidence is very thin for the wool trade in probate documents; John Paramore of Sandwich owed John Burtonwood of Ash for 11lb of wool in 1592 and Michael Huffham, who ran sheep on the Ash marshes at Flete was owed £54 for wool in 1596 by a Peter Hawker.⁴⁷

Sandwich and Canterbury provided goods and services from specialist craft and tradesmen, some of which were not obtainable in the villages or in Wingham. The evidence contained in probate documents only gives a glimpse of the range of goods purchased from market towns. Sea coal and scotch coal, imported into Sandwich via the coastal trade, found its way into many households particularly in Ash, where woodland was scarce.⁴⁸ Coal may have been used in addition to charcoal for drying hops. Anthony Withers, saddler of Nonington had £1 worth of horse hides at the tanners at Sandwich.⁴⁹ Debts to woollen and linen drapers and to people with Wallow sounding names in Canterbury and Sandwich, indicate that cloth was purchased in those towns, in addition to more local deals between farmers, spinners, weavers and tailors involved in the rural cloth industry in Wingham and surrounding villages. Anthony Withers (discussed above) owed debts to Mr. Ladd, woollen draper and Mr. Archer, linen draper of Canterbury in 1614; John Gibbes of Ash owed debts to John Broukard and Charles de Rate of Sandwich.⁵⁰ Walter Bolton of Ash owed eight shillings for cloth which he bought at Sandwich to make clothes for his children.⁵¹

Were relationships with Londoners evident in this area during this period? It has been argued that London's expanding food market in the late 16th and early 17th centuries drew supplies from East Kent including the area between Canterbury and Sandwich. The influence of London was probably felt indirectly through the coastal trade with Sandwich; its role in the economy of the larger farmers may be exaggerated at least in the 16th century.⁵² Direct commercial links with Londoners, as revealed in the debts and credits of testators (Table 6.2) only begin to

appear in the 1620's and relate only to five individuals, a substantial farmer, a gentleman, the vicar of Goodnestone and two tradesmen. Stephen Carlton of Ash left a personal estate valued at £464 in 1633, which included a farm of over 100 acres of arable and a flock of 260 sheep. He was owed a debt for 21 quarters of malt by Edward Wood of London.⁵³ Thomas Hopkins, tailor of Ash, in 1621 owed two debts to Londoners one of which was £7 remaining from a debt of £50 from Julian Ferris, merchant tailor.⁵⁴ It is likely that John Drage, grocer of Wingham was buying supplies direct from Londoners, in addition to wholesalers from Canterbury and Sandwich. He owed in 1633, 17 shillings to "a Londoner" for tobacco, and debts of £34 to William Dalton, grocer of London, £8 to Mistress Alice Wood and £16 to Robert Maplanden.⁵⁵ The account of Catherine Trippe, widow of Sir Charles Trippe gentleman of Wingham dated 1630, money lender and lawyer with rooms in the inns of court in London, indicates connections made with London tradesmen, which she used for purchases in connection with her husband's funeral. She owed debts for funeral clothing to Mr. Bourne, silk man, to Mr. Kinder for mourning suits, to Mr. Foster, tailor; a debt to Mr. Pollard, fishmonger and to Mr. Nokes, apothecary, in addition to debts owed more locally to tradesmen in Canterbury, Sandwich and Wingham.⁵⁶

Consumption and lifestyle: some aspects

In this section, the inhabitants of the five parishes selected are viewed as consumers by examining their household and personal possessions listed in their probate inventories. Although the sample of the population is determined by the survival of inventories, it was shown earlier in this thesis that this sample included a cross section of the population, with the exception of the poorest. Moreover, even if this sample is weighted towards the wealthier households, it is these families which were the market for consumer goods and one might expect to be able to see, for example, locally manufactured cloth finding its way into rural households and how far down the social scale luxury goods permeated. At what point did families have spare cash to put into more comfortable living or into valuables such as silver and gilt? The nature of probate inventories limit the conclusions that can be drawn and can only give a general view of the family as consu-

mer, as household possessions were passed from one generation to the next and the purchasing of replacements or new additional articles are not easily visible. It was suggested earlier in this thesis that distinctions between the gentry and wealthier farmers were not clear cut in terms of landholding and wealth, but that there was a growing divergence in wealth and status among the gentry families resident in this area by the 17th century. The extent to which this was reflected in their life style is examined here.

The percentage of the total inventory value in household and personal possessions was not found to be as useful an indicator of living standards, as an indicator of scale of farming enterprise or level of credit and debt and involvement in money lending. It was more useful to look at the contents of houses and certain categories of possessions were selected: household linen and furnishings; clothes; pewter, brass and silver/gilt; unusual articles or imported goods and spices. Household linen of some kind existed in almost all inventories, in which household possessions were listed. By household linen is meant principally bed linen, pairs of sheets, pillow-cases and table linen, table cloths and napkins. Quantity in terms of number of pieces and different items of household linen varied enormously and in general increased with wealth as would be expected, so that Gregory Bing, labourer of Ash whose inventory was valued at £9 owned five pairs of sheets, a christening sheet, two each of table cloths, pillow coats and napkins; whilst at the other end of the scale, gentlemen such as Henry Oxenden owned large quantities, including 52 pairs of sheets and 13 dozen napkins.⁵⁷ In general quality ranged in accordance with wealth, although in many inventories quality cannot be assessed. The distinction was sometimes made between coarse and fine or Holland linen, good, old or bad linen. Coarse linen was probably made of hemp rather than flax, for Thomas Jones of Wingham owned four pairs of sheets and five napkins made of hemp and three pairs of sheets made of tow, probably second quality linen and Thomas Kendall, husbandman of Ash owned seven pairs of sheets described as canvas.⁵⁸ Locally prepared and spun plant fibres were finding their way back into households as finished articles. High quality linen with intricate designs, "wrought" linen, damask and diaper linen, associated with the cloth industry of the stranger communities in Sandwich was largely confined to the gentry, although

diaper linen was listed in 33 inventories including smaller quantities in some yeomen households and in inventories of widows. William Symes, yeoman and tithe collector of Ash in 1573 owned a substantial collection of linen; eight pairs of fine and 22 pairs of coarse sheets, five fine and 22 other pillow-coats, 14 table cloths, five diaper and six coarse table cloths, three diaper and eleven other towels, four hand towells, ten dozen napkins and 12 diaper napkins.⁵⁹ Diaper appears in inventories from 1567 onwards. Bed coverlets were usually called "shred", but domicks coverlets probably from East Anglia, where domicks weavers made this type of cloth for beds, appeared in eight inventories.⁶⁰

Although household linen was inherited, new cloth was being purchased, as suggested earlier, principally from neighbouring towns. Twenty three inventories list new cloth or new items; length was not always stated but in nine cases lengths were over 10 yards; four were for linen, five coarse canvas or hemp. Items of bed and table linen were probably homemade in most households, although the inventory of Vincent Nethersole gentleman of Womenswold lists 17 *pairs of homemade sheets for the servants*, hinting that the gentry may have bought ready made for themselves.⁶¹

While families with cash to spend on comfort spent it on household linen, more luxurious furnishings were largely confined to the houses of the gentry; cushions, curtains, hangings and carpets, but few were made of the most expensive luxury fabrics. Cushions, curtains, bed hangings were made of saye, taffeta and some tapestry, but only one gentleman, Christopher Harflete of Ash had *furnishings of silk and then only a few*.⁶² Adornment of gentry houses was not ostentatious in this area.

It is in style of dress and in the fabrics used that some of the gentry were more conspicuous consumers. Only rarely is apparel described or itemised in an inventory and then usually in the inventories of widows or gentry, who have a wardrobe of some value; items of clothing are occasionally bequeathed in wills. The evidence that does exist, although predominantly for the late 16th century suggests that country people in this area wore clothes of the locally made woollen cloth, the linsey-wolsey made around Maidstone and Canterbury and particularly the russets tradi-

tionally made in the Canterbury and Sandwich area; russet cloth or sheep's russet is listed in four inventories and was available in the shop of Thomas Hopkins, tailor of Ash in 1611.⁶³ This type of cloth was continued to be made at least for local consumption into the 17th century alongside the finer and more luxurious cloths manufactured by the stranger communities. The wardrobe of Christene Jones, widow of Henry Jones, yeoman of Wingham, was unusually itemised in her inventory, dated 1584 and was valued at £6-10s, rather more than most (see Appendix 6). It included four woollen gowns, six knitted caps, five aprons of woollen and linsey wolsey, three old linen aprons, six smocks and various pieces of underwear and hose. She owned a new pair of shoes and the only item of luxury was an old silk hat.⁶⁴ In contrast the wardrobe of Lady Mary Oxenden, widow of Sir Henry Oxenden of Dene contained several items made of satin and velvet, laced with gold (Appendix 6); the wardrobe of her brother in law, Edward was of similar quality.⁶⁵ The gentry bought and wore newer types of fabrics of the kind made by the Walloon and Huguenot communities locally; grosgrains, turkey grosgrains, frizadoes and chamlets.⁶⁶

It was not possible to trace imported spices and foods of the kind available in shops in Wingham and neighbouring towns into larders in houses, as small amounts of perishable goods were not worth listing in inventories. Occasionally spice mortars and pepper boxes were listed and Thomas Harflete, gentleman, owned a sugar box, but the mass sweetener was honey.⁶⁷

In what ways, other than as landlords and substantial farmers and in personal appearance, might gentle status have been recognised in the community? As might be expected, probate evidence emphasises the distinctiveness of gentle status in the community at time of death. Throughout the period 1450-1640, gentlemen and their families were buried in the parish church and not the churchyard and their place of burial marked by memorial tablets, such as that of John Broke in Ash church, mourning his lack of heirs. Two families had chantry chapels in the 15th century, the Septvans chantry in Ash and the Brook chantry at Wingham, acquired by the Oxendens by marriage. Status was marked at time of the funeral by more sizeable religious bequests, alms giving and bequests to friends. Funerals were probably more ostentatious. The account of Catherine Trippe, administrator of the estate of her husband, Sir Charles Trippe of Wingham,

dated 1630, lists payments for mourning cloaks and use of black cotton to hang in the chancel, for stuff for suits, ribbons and mourning gloves for the funeral, for torches at the funeral, a funeral banquet, for two mourning hats, for making of mourning clothes, for making of the deceased's tomb.⁶⁸

In terms of life style and visible signs of status, it can be argued that by the early 17th century there was greater distinction between these gentry families and the more prosperous yeomen farmers of this area, and perhaps among the gentry themselves. Table 6.3, derived from probate inventories, sets out some selected features of the life style of fourteen gentlemen between 1560 and 1640 and in addition for comparison, eight substantial yeomen. Disposable income was being spent by the gentry on the structure of their houses, which contained a greater number of rooms, chambers and specialised service rooms than the farmhouses of the area.⁶⁹ A sense of the grander scale of Sir Edward Boys' house at Fredville in Nonington in 1635, probably the largest among these gentry houses, is conveyed by the rooms listed in his inventory and extracted in Appendix 7. The only yeoman house which approached the smaller gentry house in this respect was that of Bartholomew Austen of Wingham, but his house was Wingham manor house, which was leased to him. What distinguished the gentleman's house was the existence of galleries and studies in seven houses and chapels in two. There is some evidence in inventories of the rebuilding and extending of houses, as for example, Thomas Harflete's house at Moland in 1617, which contained many more rooms than his father's house at Moland in 1575, with the addition of a gallery and chambers over the hall and kitchen.⁷⁰ Most gentlemen in this area rebuilt or extended their houses, with the exception of Henry Oxenden, who built a new house at Dene. In this extension of domestic comfort and public display of status the gentry of this area were no different from their peers elsewhere in England in this period.⁷¹

Although sixty six inventories listed silver or gilt, the majority of these were small quantities, a few silver spoons, a cup or bowl, probably a family inheritance. However, the gentry were investing more of their disposable wealth in plate and jewels; this pattern was occurring

Table 6.3 A comparison of some aspects of the lifestyle of gentlemen and selected yeomen of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold 1560-1640 from probate inventories.

Key

- A Numbers of rooms in house
- B house new, rebuilt or extended
- C with a gallery
- D with a study
- E with a chapel
- F ownership of a coach, horses, coach house
- G ownership of playing tables
- H ownership of musical instruments
- I inventory value in plate and jewels

Gentlemen		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Edward Boys	1635	29+	x	x	x	x	x		x	£115
John Boys	1618	19		x					x	£20
John Broke	1583	16	x		x					£17
Thomas Engham	1621	19		x						£60
Ed.Hammond	1616	26		x						£10
Tho.Harflete	1617	16	x	x	x		x			£52
Chris.Harflete	1575	11	x						x	£13
Vint.Nethersole	1602	17						x		£10
Ed.Oxenden	1618	27	x			x	x		x	£45
Henry Oxenden	1597	26	x	x	x	x				£60
Wm.Oxenden	1576	19	x		x			x	x	£143
Tim.St.Nicholas	1638	11								-
Tho.St.Nicholas	1626	24	x	x	2			x		£27
Ed.Stoughton	1573	18							x	£13
Charles Trippe	1625	19	x	x	x		x	x		£143
Ed.Warham	1593	13								£1-13s
Francis Wilford	1598	7								£1
<i>yeomen</i>										
Bart.Austen	1621	18	x							-
Tho.Cooke	1637	11								£3
Mich.Huffham	1584	11								£6
John Jones	1615	13								£11
Ethelbert Omer	617	15						x		£12
John Prowde	1616	10								£10
Abraham Rayner	1612	12								-
William Symes	1574	13								£27

to a greater extent among 17th century wealthy families compared to their 16th century forebears as indicated in Table 6.3, column I. Thomas Harflete owned £52 in plate and jewels in 1617, whilst his father, Christopher, owned plate worth £13 listed in his inventory of 1575; similarly, whilst Thomas St. Nicholas owned £27 in silver and gilt plate in 1526, none was listed among the

possessions of his father, Vincent, in 1589.⁷² Charles Trippe and Edward Boys possessed over £100 in plate and jewels, the remaining eight gentlemen owning £60 and under. A few of the wealthier yeomen invested in the same way but to a lesser degree.

Greater leisure and its use distinguished gentry families from other families (columns F-H in Table 6.3). Ownership of maps, pictures and musical instruments, for example, was confined entirely to the gentry; most gentry inventories listed a pair of virginals and there was the occasional lute and base viol. Playing tables existed in most gentry houses and some in those of the wealthier yeoman; otherwise they appeared in the inventories of tipplers and alehouse keepers. However, the new 17th century status symbol would appear to have been the ownership of a coach, drawn by two coach horses, with a special building in which to house the coach and the employment of a coachman. This applied to four gentlemen for whom inventories survive from 1617 to 1640, Thomas Harflete, Charles Trippe, Edward Boys and Edward Oxenden of Brook; it would be likely that Edward Oxenden's cousins at Dene in Wingham would also have owned a coach and horses.⁷³

Credit and debt in rural families

Throughout the earlier discussion of marketing, there have been implications that credit was widespread and a necessary part of the economy of rural families. Maps 6.1-5 show that credit/debt relationships were essentially local, between people who lived within a five mile radius of each other, neighbours, relatives, those they knew.

An overall view of credit and creditors from 520 inventories is presented in Table 6.4.

About one third of all inventories contained credits as part of the total moveable assets, but for just under half of that third, credit amounted to more than one third of the inventory total. It looks as if there were a larger number of creditors lending a smaller amount of credit from 1580-1600 than in the early 17th century, but the proportion of the total personal wealth in the form of credit seemed to rise from 13% at the end of the 16th century to 22% from 1600-1620, declining slightly to 21% in the following 20 years.

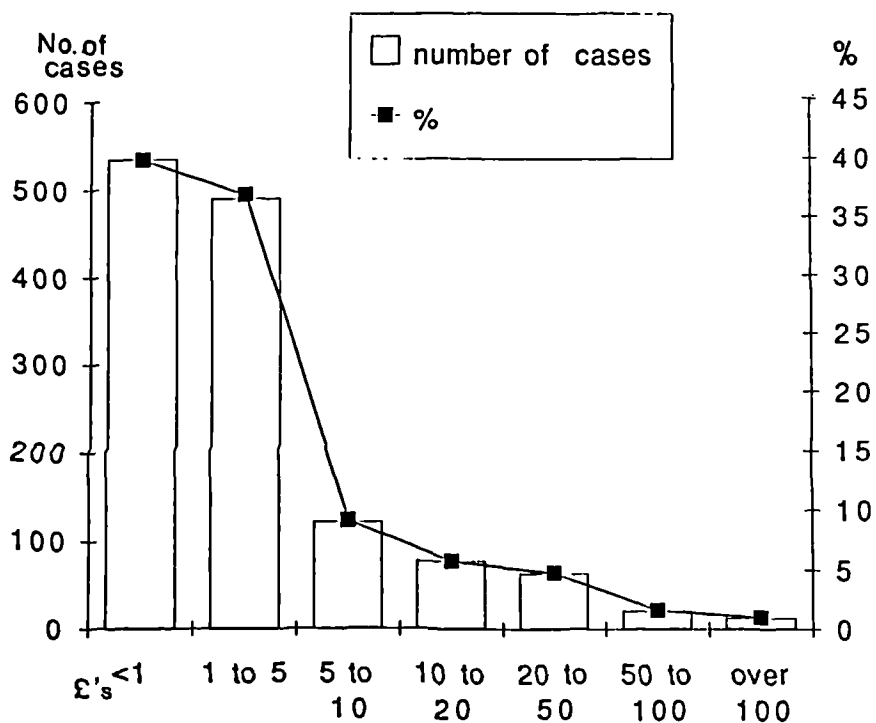
Table 6.4 Credit/debt structure from probate inventories of the inhabitants of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold 1560-1640

Key

- A number of inventories
- B total value of inventories
- C number of inventories with credits
- D % of inventories with credits
- E number of inventories with credits of one third of the inventory
- F total value of credits
- G % of total value of inventories in credits

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1560-79	52	£4793-15- 2d	15	47%	7	£208- 6- 2d	4%
1580-99	179	£13486- 6- 0d	55	45%	25	£1812- 0- 0d	13%
1600-19	148	£17486-10-10d	45	30%	24	£3762-17- 0d	22%
1620-39	141	£24684- 0- 4d	38	27%	15	£5064-19- 7d	21%

Chart 6.1 Size of individual items of debt from probate inventories and testamentary accounts 1560-1640



Despite the small numbers in this sample and the possible distortion produced by one or two large inventories, these results seem to confirm a picture of increasing credit in the early 17th century in other parts of the country, particularly corn growing areas such as Hertfordshire.⁷⁴ An analysis of 1320 items of debt between individuals from inventories and probate administrators account in Chart 6.1, indicates that small amounts of money were involved in the majority of cases; 77% of these debts were for amounts of £5 and under.

The creditors among those who left inventories were people of varied social status and occupation (Table 6.5). Some of the farmers' credit would have covered outstanding bills for agricultural produce, which were paid for over a period, illustrated in the case of Daniel Frende of Ash. His inventory, dated 11 April 1592, listed £5 owed by Richard Dane for a colt, sold and delivered, to be paid for at Pentecost next coming and £3-5s-0d owed by Richard Swynglish of Sandwich, for 5 quarters of barley sold and delivered, to be paid before St. Georges next (April 23rd).⁷⁵ Debts owed to husbandmen, labourers and servants would in many cases represent wages due to them. The village tradesmen's and craftsmen's credit is very evident. The individuals who owed debts to tradesmen were not always named, and the phrase "debts owed as appear in his shop book" with a totalled amount entered is all the information given, as in the inventory of William Boorley, tailor of Ash in 1582.⁷⁶

Table 6.5 Occupation and status of creditors in a sample 166 testators 1560-1640

farmers	70	husbandmen	40
		yeomen	30
gentry	13		
labourers	10		
craft/tradesmen	26		
single men/servants	8		
spinsters	4		
widows	24		
clergy	2		
uncategorised	4		

Village blacksmiths along with butchers appeared most frequently in probate documents as the trades/craftsmen to whom people owed debts. At his death in 1600, James Knott, blacksmith of

Nonington was owed 8 shillings by Mr. Monday, 2 shillings by John Jordan, 4 shillings by Goodman Phillpott, 10 shillings by John Chamberlain, £1-10s by Goodman Young, 6 shillings by Goodman Withers and 6 shillings by Mr. John Boys, all inhabitants of Nonington; he in turn owed a debt of £11 for iron.⁷⁷ Thomas Dunkyn butcher of Ash had debts of £7-10s owing to him in 1610.⁷⁸ Some credit extended by gentlemen, farmers and trades/craftsmen was for rents due; for example, Anne Cutbourne, widow of Ash owed Henry Harflete, gentleman of Ash, £3 and Sir Roger Palmer of Wingham, £2 in rent in 1624; Edward Read, glover of Wingham was owed rents of 9s by Widow Cobb, 1s-3d by widow Scoffield, 11s by Richard Cockerton and 8s by Thomas Wreake.⁷⁹

The examination of loans and local money lenders is to some extent frustrated by the failure of appraisers of inventories and those who drew up administrators accounts to distinguish clearly between different types of debts, as is illustrated in Table 6.6, in which categories of debt were listed according to the descriptions given in probate documents; in 824 or 64% of credit/debt relationship, the nature of the debt was not defined.

Table 6.6 Categories of credit/debt from inventories and testamentary accounts 1560-1640

category	type	number of cases
1	goods	130
2	rent	122
3	wages, services	135
4	unspecified	825
5	mortgages	2
6	bonds	98
7	debts upon speciality	31
8	debts without speciality	3
9	"in the hands of"	59
10	money lent/borrowed	7
11	sundry	6
total		1295

Formal bonds (categories 6-8) were usually entered into when larger sums of £5 and over were involved.⁸⁰ Interest may have been charged on loans, but little specific information regarding terms, rates and periods of repayment appear in probate records for this rural area. Only two

cases record interest charged on a loan or "use": the personal estate of Bartholomew Austen of Wingham, yeoman farmer in 1621, included a sum of £40 due at Lady day for the use of £400, probably part of the £457 in debts owing to him; at his death in 1599, John Gybbes of Goldstone in Ash owed a debt of £22 to Lawrence Neme of Woodnesborough, but extended the period of the loan, owing £1 for the use of it for half a year.⁸¹ These two instances suggest rates of 9%-10%. Only in one case was a mortgage on property specified; it is possible that others lay concealed in probate records of debt.⁸²

Money lenders appeared from all sections of society within each parish and there is no sense of one or two individuals profiting at the expense of others in difficulty, but rather that spare cash in the community was lent to others.

The gentry were not in general conspicuous in the 16th century as money lenders in this sample, but in the early 17th century, loans were a more favoured form of investment: in 1625, Thomas St. Nicholas had £480 in good bonds, 31% of his personal estate of £1744: Edward Hammond, in 1618 had £810 in bonds, 52% of a personal estate of £1545.⁸³ However, these loans were made to other gentry from East Kent such as Sir Thomas Hardres and Mr. Samuel Hales; £450 was a debt due by Lord Lisle. John Trippe and his son, Charles from Sandwich, who moved to Wingham in the late 16th century, were substantial money lenders. John Trippe was lending at interest and £300, 80% of his personal estate of £376 in 1614 lay in outstanding amounts owed on bonds of between £10 and £100. £64 or 21% of the £300 were desperate and probably unrecoverable. His debtors included some local men, such as Thomas Palmer, gentleman, Thomas and Henry Jones, yeomen of Wingham and others who may have been from Sandwich.⁸⁴ Charles lent on a larger scale; of a total personal estate of £2352, £1,910 lay in debts, £310 of which were desperate and were a bad risk. Sums ranging from £20 to £500 were owed by 20 people, mostly more distant Kentish gentry, such as the Viscountess of Maidstone (£500) and more immediately local by Sir Christopher Harflete of Ash, his brother in law.⁸⁵ It does not appear to be the case that the gentry were financing the local farming community to any great extent.

Some of the wealthier farmers and tradesmen were lending surplus cash on bonds, but in most cases these formed a much smaller percentage of personal estate at death than among the gentry money lenders. It might be expected that those in the later stage of their life cycle, might feature more prominently as money lenders, but a sample of 14 married testators with families, and substantial debts owed on bonds, was not conclusive. Six men were in later life with adult children whilst eight had families of younger dependents. Edward Symons yeoman of Nonington had adult children at his death in 1622, and debts owed him by bond amounted to £240, 73% of his total inventory of £328.⁸⁶ John Prowde the elder, yeoman of Ash, was clearly in his latter years as his grandson acted as his executor.⁸⁷ At his death in 1626, he had £300 in ready cash and £753 in debts and bonds, which represented 62% of a personal estate of £1209.⁸⁸ Among the group in mid life cycle with a younger family, was Bartholomew Austen of Wingham, who was farming c.250 acres of Wingham manor and at his death in 1621, a half of his personal estate lay in livestock and grain, but he was lending £400 at interest, representing 30% of his inventory total of £1536.⁸⁹ Others in this group, such as Ethelbert Omer and Laurence Saffery of Ash, with inventories totalling c.£350, were lending smaller amounts.⁹⁰ It would seem from this sample that, although money lending was carried on by all age groups, older farmers, without dependent family were making a greater proportion of their living from loans.

Table 6.5 revealed the importance of widows as money lenders.⁹¹ 24 of the 43 widows for whom inventories survive had debts and bonds owing to them; for 22 of the 24 widows, debts and bonds formed one third or more of their personal estate. None of this group of 22 appeared to be occupied in running a farm or business. Amongst the widows with large amounts to lend was Margaret Denne of Wingham, who was owed the remaining £200 of a £400 bond.⁹² Ellen Swinham, probably widow of Henry Swinham of Ash left, at her death in 1622, £49 in bills and bonds out of a total estate of £67, in addition to loans to her daughters.⁹³ Agnes Car, widow of William Car of Ash, probably had house room with her son Richard, who provided for her, for she owned at her death, bedding in her chamber, fire irons, coals and a few cooking utensils, worth £15-11s-9d, but she owned a further £51 in bills, bonds and four silver spoons.⁹⁴

There is some evidence of townsmen financing farmers in the countryside. The case of John Gybbes illustrates the sources of credit drawn upon by the more substantial farmers producing for the Sandwich market, discussed earlier in this chapter, which included men from Sandwich, local farmers and relatives. John was a minor gentleman farmer, a second son, who lived at and farmed the land of Goldstone manor in Ash, which he leased from Thomas Engham gentleman of Goodnestone. He was in his late 30's or early 40's with a family of five, of ten years and under. Goldstone contained extensive marshland, on which he grazed cattle; he owned a flock of 300 sheep and lambs in May 1599 in addition to 137 acres of sown arable.⁹⁵ He had considerable liabilities at his death in 1599, amounting to £509, representing 70% of his total personal assets of £727, 80% of which was comprised of livestock and cereals growing or in the barn. John had taken up loans, separately ranging from £8 to £50 and amounting in all to £323 from eighteen individuals, £125 of which came from Sandwich people. Two creditors were called merchants, George Baveler and William Oliver, probably from Sandwich, with four others, John Oliver, Peter Ente, John Broukard and Charles de Rate, the latter three possibly from the Walloon community there. His other creditors were local farmers; Ethelbert Omer, John Rolfe, John Prowde from Ash; Lawrence Neme of Woodnesborough, Anthony Hallowaye from Deale and John Lott of Chillenden. He owed £50 to his brother Thomas and had borrowed £20 to stock the farm initially from his father, Thomas.⁹⁶

Probate inventories have provided some evidence about formal money lending with legal sanctions by bonds and about who were engaged in this activity. However, surviving administrators accounts indicate that informal and small scale, lending and borrowing of money, goods and furniture between neighbours, probably on a short term basis, was widespread. Records give no evidence of whether interest was charged on these loans. It is not possible to quantify this material, but some examples illustrate it. Thomas Lawrence of Goodnestone owed the wife of Robert Watson of Goodnestone £1-10s-11d in money "which he borrowed from her"; Thomas Nethersole of Nonington owed Thomas Cooper of Nonington in 1603, 9s-6d "which he had borrowed".⁹⁷ Small cash sums were needed to cover an emergency, as when Anthony Withers of

Nonington had borrowed eight shillings from John Nethersole, gentleman of Nonington, for gaol money.⁹⁸ The lending and borrowing of furniture and goods between neighbours is illustrated in the inventory of Clemence Combe of Ash in which is listed a table "in the hands of" Edward Mesdaye, "which she had lent him".⁹⁹ John Wacher tippler of Ash lent 100 of thatch to his neighbour, John Wood the weaver.¹⁰⁰ One example of a rural pawn broker emerged from probate sources, which suggests that there were probably others. John Woodman was not, as one might expect, of the wealthy or elite, but a farm labourer of Ash and probably a single man. At his death in 1583, among his few possessions of clothes and husbandry tools were two silver rings and two pairs of silver hooks, "layed to pawne with John Woodman" worth 5 shillings; a christening kercher, half a sheet and two curtains, pawned for 20 shillings. He was also owed £37 in debts by 13 people, eight were for amounts under £1, the others were for larger amounts, including one of £13. The appraisers did not state what the nature of these debts were and it is likely that they included labouring wages, but it is possible that they also represented loans. His debtors were largely local, eight from Ash, one each from Wingham, Finglesham, Woodnesborough, Sandwich and Hythe.¹⁰¹

These credit/debt obligations created economic inter-dependence within neighbourhoods and a knitting together of communities. It is possible that small scale loans were made on the basis that reciprocation might be needed in the future; a primitive insurance policy.

How far did the debt/credit relationships involve family members and represent the sharing of their resources? Evidence of such family activity existed: Richard and William Jode owed their mother, Agnes, of Ash, £24 and £48 respectively at her death in 1593;¹⁰² in his will of 1596, Thomas Gybbes of Ash, forgave his son John the £20 he borrowed to stock his farm;¹⁰³ in 1618, Edward Raynar of Nonington owed his brother Abraham £20 and brother Valentine £5-5s;¹⁰⁴ Thomas Hunt of Wingham owed £40 at his death, to William Hunt of Fordwich.¹⁰⁵ Family connection existed in marketing relationships; John Hammond of Ringwold owed William Hammond of Nonington £4-6s-8d for steers and barley;¹⁰⁶ Thomas Lawrence of Goodnestone owed William Lawrence, probably his brother, for four acres of barley.¹⁰⁷ However, of the c.1300 rela-

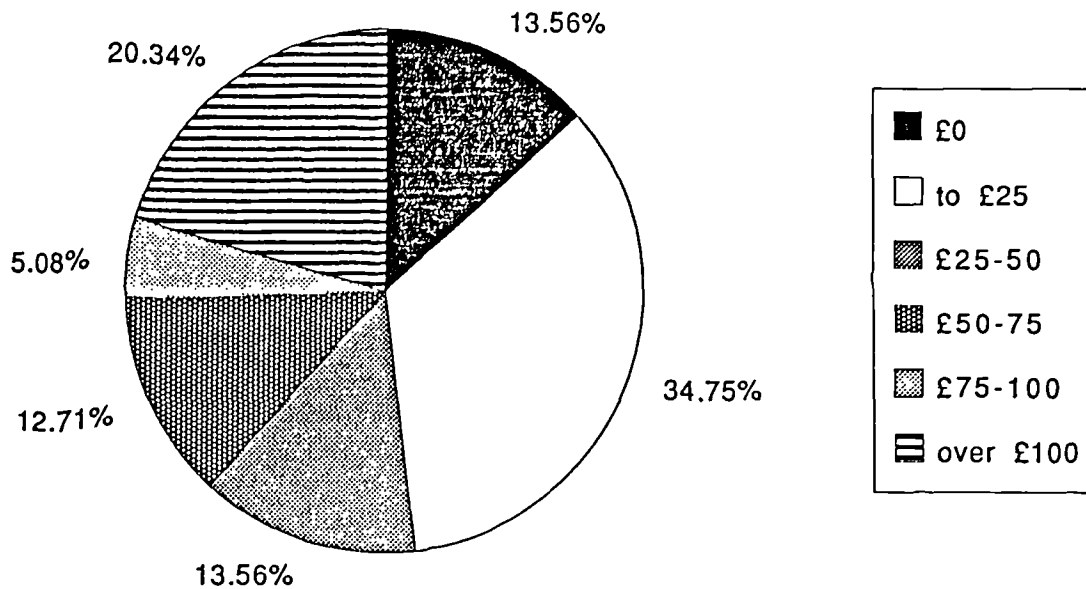
tionships between named people, only 55 involved relatives. The criteria for making this decision was based on the relationship between the parties concerned being stated, or positively known from elsewhere, or on the surname being the same. Even allowing for the underestimation of family connections, family concerns can only partially explain debt relations in this area in the late 16th and early 17th century.

Debtors

A study of a sample of debtors was made possible by looking at 118 testamentary accounts, which completed the process of probate. The survival rate of these accounts as against inventories was 98 to 440, for the parishes of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone and Nonington, none surviving for Womenswold. A further 20 accounts survive for which there are no corresponding inventories, but they can be included, as the total inventory value is entered at the head of the account. These accounts, which the administrator of the estate was required to draw up, are dated usually up to two years after the inventory was made, and occasionally, as in the case of Clemence Combe of Ash were drawn up eleven years after her death.¹⁰⁸ The accounts list allowances for payments made by the administrator, usually the widow or next of kin, under three categories; (a) funeral expenses and legal and other expenses incurred in probate and during the time lapse between death and the drawing up of the account; (b) payments of debts accumulated during the deceased's lifetime; (c) legacies and the division of the remaining assets among the next of kin. It is category (b), which will be considered in assessing the state of indebtedness of an individual immediately before his death, although for his surviving family the costs of death and legal fees, particularly if court cases arose from demands for payment of debt, could bring about a crisis.

The level of indebtedness at death among this sample of 118 using category (b) and expressed as a percentage of personal estate as represented by the inventory total, is presented in Chart 6.2. 101 or 86% of this sample carried some debts; 41, 35% had a low level of debt, 25% of personal estate or under.

Chart 6.2 Levels of indebtedness. % of 118 individuals showing debts as a percentage of the total value of the inventory



However, a substantial number, 45 or 38% were owing debts amounting to more than half their personal estate and 24, 20% were in an acute debt situation with debts amounting to more than their personal assets. All those with debts of 75% represent families in a crisis situation, when burial and other post mortem costs were added; such a situation would exist for a family with any liabilities and few possessions and assets.

This might have a number of effects. Debts would remain unpaid, the "desperate" referred to in inventories, which would have a knock on effect. Tradesmen might be very vulnerable here and among the high risk group, were John Dunkyn, butcher of Ash, William Averell, butcher of Wingham, Thomas Hunt, blacksmith of Nonington, Thomas Hopkins, tailor of Ash. 29 of the 101 with some debt had debts owing to them which would offset some of their liabilities, if they could realise them. Sales of livestock, produce, land and the winding up of leases, rapid remarriage of young widows to provide for their children, poverty, might all result. It was not possible to follow up these cases to see how far these effects occurred.

An analysis of the stages of the life cycle which the individuals in this sample had reached,

derived from family information contained in probate documents and parish registers, suggests that indebtedness would have a major effect on the families represented in this group. Out of the 118 people in this sample, 61 or 52% had some dependent children at home and over half of those 61 families contained young children. 16 men and 6 widows were in later life, whose children were independent and married, 13 men and 1 woman were single; 22 remained uncategorised. The widows with no dependent children and the single men, with one exception, had a low level of debt, under 25% of their personal estate and as would be expected, debts increased with the acquisition/inheritance of a farm or business, with marriage and children, although beyond that, the levels of indebtedness were spread evenly across age group categories including the older men.

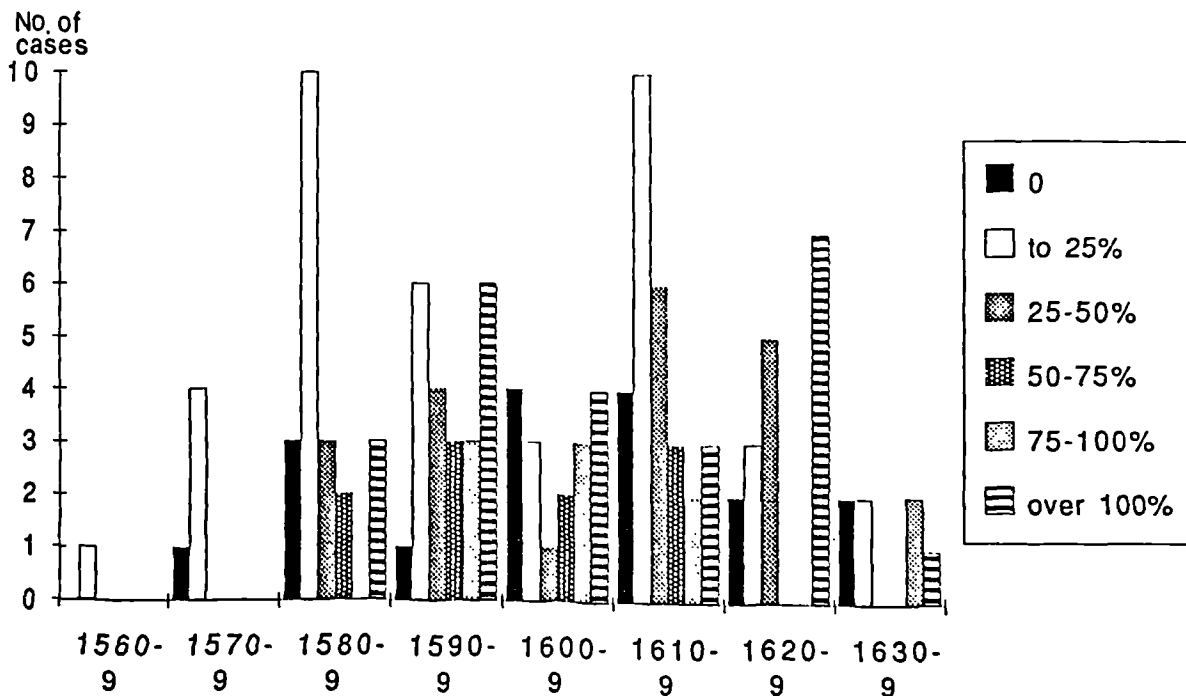
However, it would be a distortion to regard these debts as a result necessarily of bad management. They represent in most cases, the economic and commercial activity of families engaged in farming, crafts and trades. Thomas Eaglestone, yeoman of Ash left a personal estate valued at £218 in October 1628; his debts at death were c.£30, which included regular outgoings, such as rent, wages to servants and casual labourers, tithe and poor rate due, debt to the blacksmith and four other unspecified debts. These debts would be covered by £78 worth of livestock, cereals and wool and £12 in ready money. His daughters were married and his adult son inherited the farm.¹⁰⁹ Richard Forstall, the lessee of the parsonage at Wingham in addition to his farm at Wingham Well, owed debts of £180 at his death in 1626, including £174 in rents, debts owed to the smith, to a tailor, for a subsidy and parish rate and his servant's wages. These debts were offset by credit of £246 and £20 in ready money, in addition to livestock and grain valued at £220.¹¹⁰

However, for some families, death of the head of the household came at an unfortunate time, as in the case of the Omer Family of Ash, when John Omer, a young man probably in his late 20's or early 30's, died in 1584, at the beginning of his career, leaving a wife and two young daughters. He had inherited some land from his father, Francis, who had died four years earlier, but had taken a stock and land lease from Sir Roger Manwood, probably of part of the Wingham

Barton land. John's liabilities at his death were greater than his personal assets of £180; he owed Roger Manwood £38 for rent and £147 for livestock; two debts amounting to £86 resulted in court cases after his death and he owed a further debt of £22.¹¹¹ John Stuppel of Ash owed two years rent of £94, which his landlord John Mennes of Sandwich had sued him for; it is not clear how he paid it as his inventory total amounted to £56.¹¹²

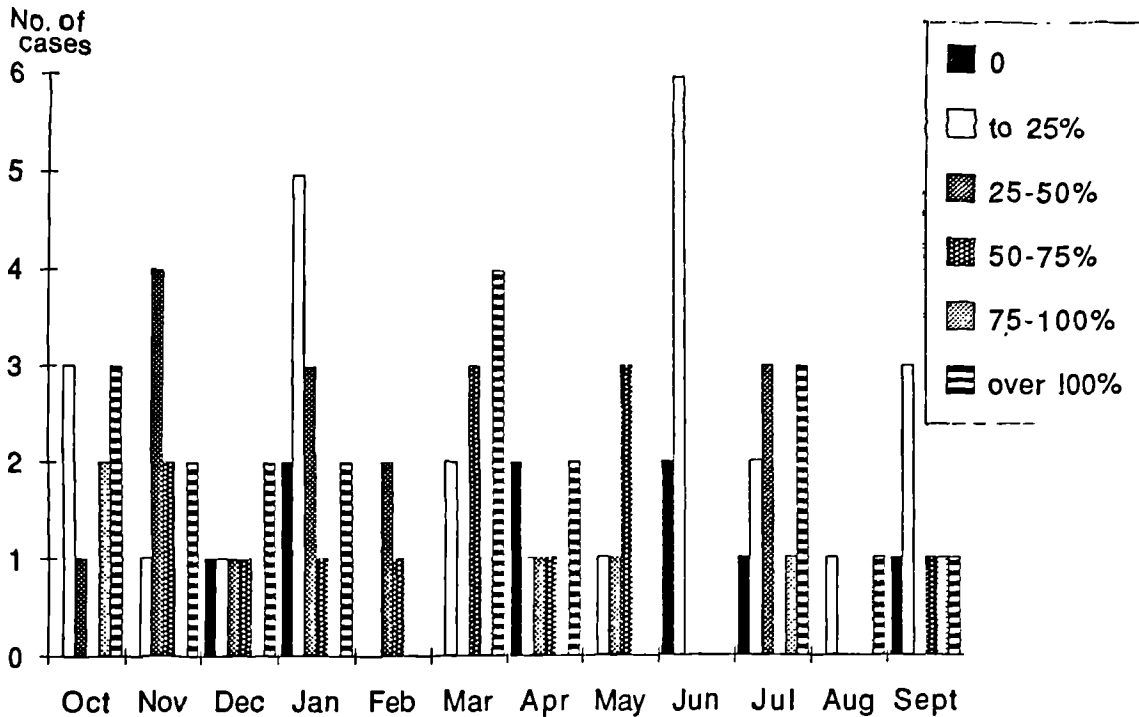
Was it possible to see any correlation between the level of indebtedness and time? Did debts increase during years or decades of known hardship? Chart 6.3 presents the numbers of individuals leaving testamentary accounts and the proportion of their debts against time, which did not show any very conclusive results; there was a higher proportion of individuals with debts of over 75% of their personal estate in the decades 1590-9, 1600-9 and 1620-9.

Chart 6.3 Levels of Indebtedness of 118 testators at death by decade 1560-1640



In Chart 6.4 debts were put on a harvest year. It might be expected that debts would increase in the summer prior to harvest, but no discernible pattern emerged.

Chart 6.4 Levels of indebtedness of 118 testators at death 1560-1640 by time of year



Some conclusions

The most striking feature which emerges is the independence of a formal structured system by the mid 16th century. The market town structure remained, with the possible exception of Wingham itself, but so much went on outside of it; two systems existing side by side. Direct individual bargains, whether on a small or commercial and larger scale, whether concerned with buying, selling, shopping, borrowing or raising credit were important, created interdependency. They would have set up networks of connections, in which the family and kin may have played a role and neighbours, with common commercial or trade interests, were important. It looks a very local system, which may be a result of the position of distribution centres on the edges of it. But by the 1620's and 1630's, there are indications that direct personal commercial links beyond the area to London were more common. The evidence of this chapter emphasises further the continuing east coast link, suggested in other aspects of this study and visible in commercial activity; the importing of coal, domicks cloth from East Anglia, Essex and Suffolk cheeses; grain was distributed from Sandwich. The thesis that Wingham formed a smaller market, lying between

Canterbury and Sandwich, primarily drawing on its manorial area is not really born out in this study. It is likely that this was the situation in the 13th century, when Wingham was a thriving market and manorial centre, but it had changed by the 16th century, when the evidence suggests a parochial or a town (Sandwich and Canterbury) based marketing and supply system. Wingham largely served its own immediate neighbourhood and passing travellers with permanent craft and retail shops. The discussion of communities in Chapter 6 explores this idea further.

CHAPTER 7

THE STRUCTURE AND NATURE OF RURAL COMMUNITIES

Introduction

Local communities have been a popular subject for the social historian but the concept of community is an elusive one; abstract definitions tend to be either too restrictive or too wide to be useful.¹ Certainly the concept of rural communities that were isolated, self contained and bounded geographically and socially cannot be sustained for the area and period selected for study in this thesis. It is doubtful if such communities ever existed in East Kent before the 16th century, for it was an area of early settlement, in close proximity to towns, the capital and the continent and historically, an area affected by change, influx and mobility of peoples, armies and new ideas. Nevertheless, it is important to look at how and where people lived together and to attempt some analysis of the nature of their social interactions, and to draw out changing patterns, even if finite boundaries may not exist. In this chapter, some aspects of community are discussed in relation to the Wingham area. The chapter is divided into three main sections: in Section 1, an overall demographic picture is drawn; in Section 2 the dispersal of population, community and place is considered, with a detailed examination of the nature of Wingham as a village/small town, the nature of hamlet communities, size of population and the different foci which gave them some sense of identity; the relationship between community, place and units of administration in this area is examined. Section 3 considers community in terms of individual and family connections, examines quality of relationships and contains some selected groups or networks, which illustrate neighbourhood and the wider community of gentry families. The rural-urban relationship in East Kent in terms of property interests and individual connection are considered. The principal themes are summarised at the beginning of each section and the chapter is concluded with some discussion of the nature and strength of community in this area of East Kent.

Section 1. A Demographic Overview

It has not been the intention to conduct a detailed demographic study of the area considered in this thesis, but rather to present a demographic overview, in which to set the economic and social structure of these rural communities. This discussion of general population trends is inevitably based on the parish, the unit of administration for the registration of baptisms, burials and marriages. Registers exist for the period up to 1640 for all five parishes, but are not all of the same quality.² The Ash register beginning in 1559 and the Wingham register in 1568 appear to be a sound record, with no obvious evidence of gaps or underrecording, which, if there, would only be revealed by detailed family reconstitution. The registers for Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold contain defects, particularly in the 16th century; Goodnestone, beginning in 1560, contains a gap in the recording of burials between 1565 and 1574; Nonington registers begin earlier in 1538, but contain a gap in the recording of baptisms from 1565 to 1578 and probable underrecording in thirteen years, mostly of burials; the Womenswold registers contain sporadic entries for baptisms between 1570-1585 and for burials from 1570-89 and 1590-9. Evidence of surviving wills and administrations and from 15th century rentals was used for the pre parish register period.

This section includes some discussion of the differing experience of mortality crises of each parish, a general estimation of size of parish populations and population trends from the mid 15th century to 1640, with the implications for local migration. The overall picture was consistent with national demographic trends; lower levels in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, with rising populations in all five parishes during the 16th century, predominantly in the 1570's and 1580's and in the early 17th century. Rates of growth were not consistent, slowed by periods of higher mortality, notably in the periods 1559-1565, the 1590's and 1630's. The individual experience of each parish varied and in general the differences in overall size of individual parish populations reflected the differences in the geographical extent of each parish, with the exception of Wingham. There appeared to be a contrast between the southern parishes and the northern parishes; the latter, particularly Ash, suffered more frequent and extreme crisis periods and conse-

quently a more volatile growth rate. Topographical differences, greater proximity to busy communication routes and denser population in Wingham may have been significant factors. The effects were likely to be local inter parish and urban migration.

The raw annual totals of baptisms and burials for each parish are presented in Charts 7.1-5. Comparison of the levels of data for each parish suggests an order in size of population, which reflects to some extent the acreage of the area of each parish: Ash was the largest with annual baptisms averaging at 40 and an area of 7,021 acres; Nonington at 3,808 acres and annual average baptisms at 13 was less densely populated than Wingham with annual average baptisms of 18 and 2,637 acres; Goodnestone was smaller in both population and acreage, with average baptisms at 10 per year and an area of 1864 acres; extensively wooded Womenswold was only marginally smaller at 1,721 acres but sparsely populated with annual average baptisms of 3.4.³

Chart 7.1 Annual totals of baptisms and burials in Wingham 1568-1640

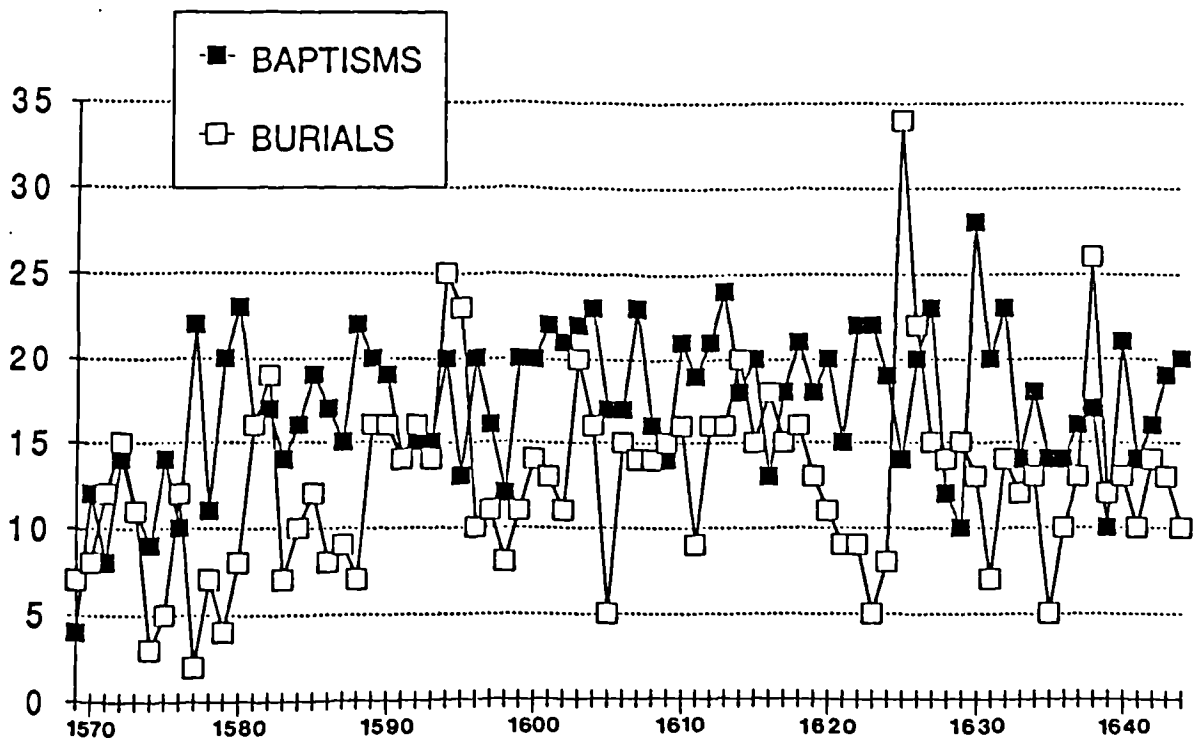


Chart 7.2 Annual totals of baptisms and burials in Ash
1559-1640

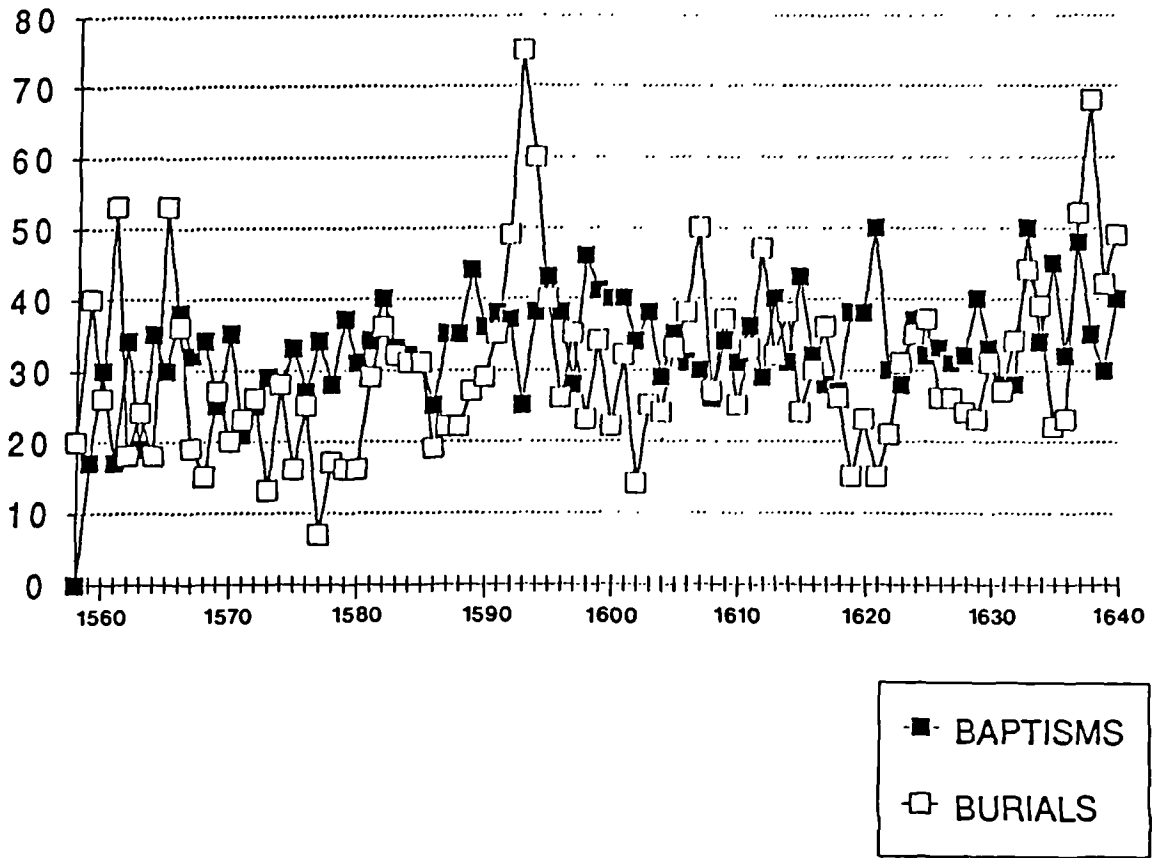


Chart 7.3 Annual totals of baptisms and burials in Goodnestone
1560-1640

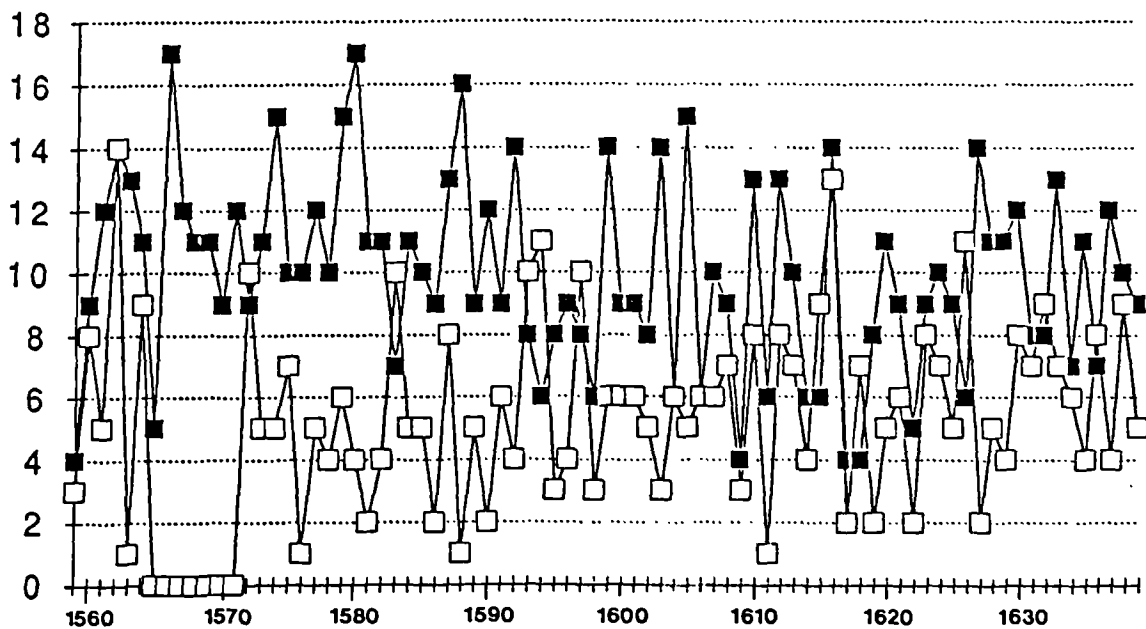


Chart 7.4 Annual totals of baptisms and burials in Nonington
1538-1640

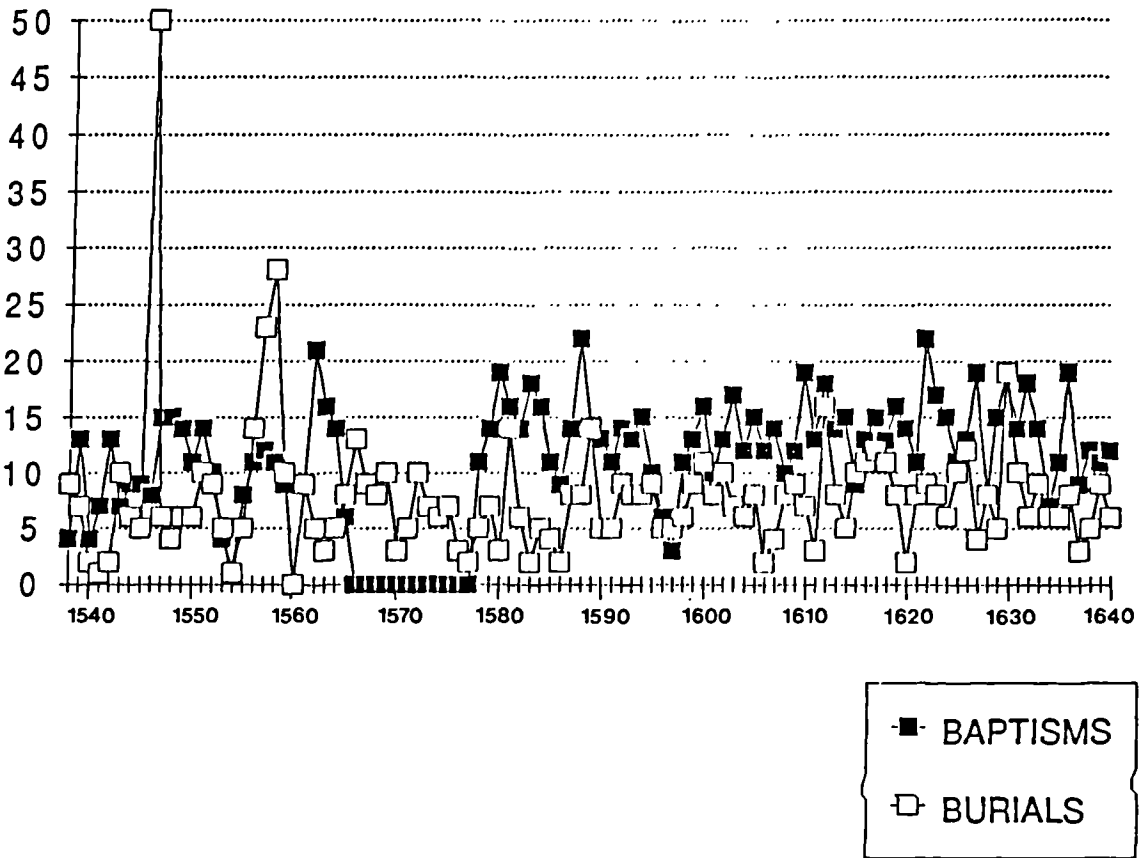
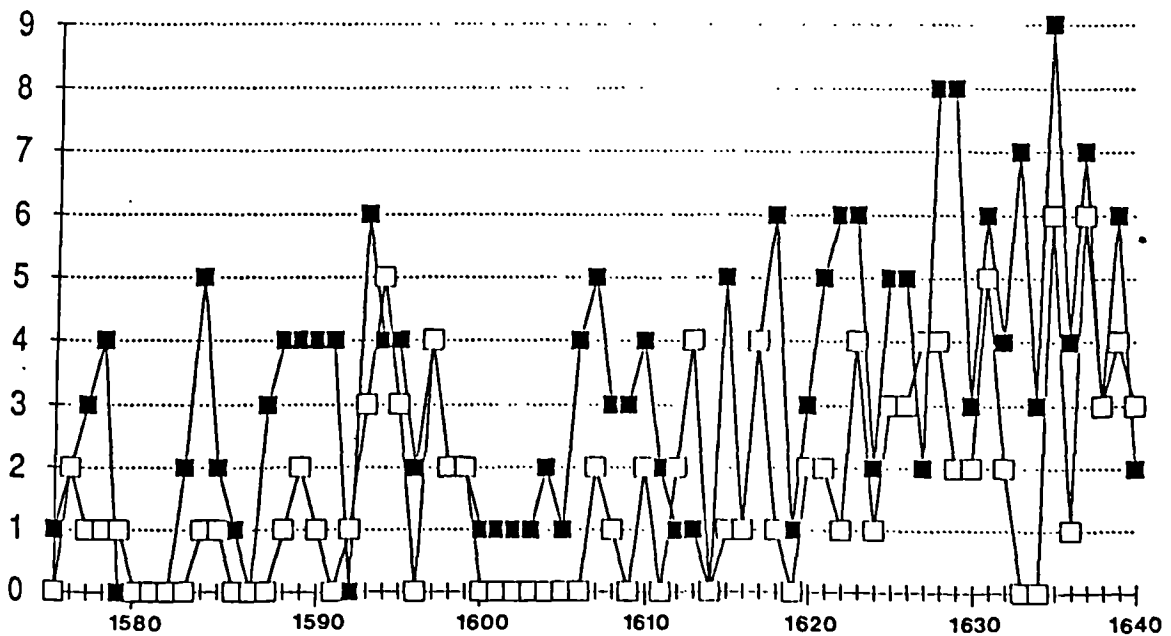


Chart 7.5 Annual totals of baptisms and burials in Womenswold
1570-1640



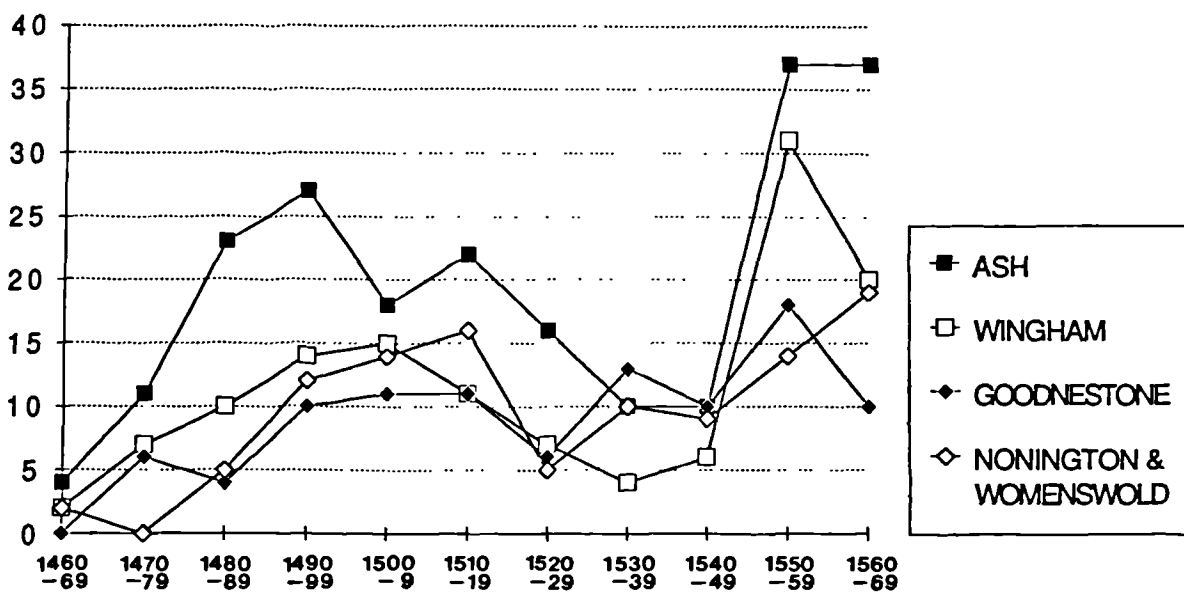
Estimating population size is problematic and only some parameters can be suggested. Population levels for the mid 15th century were likely to be low. For the parishes of Ash and Wingham only, an estimation can be made from messuages mentioned in the 1460 rental and survey of Wingham customary tenant land, but this detailed information does not survive for the southern parishes.⁴ A possible 59-62 houses existed in the centre village and outer areas of the parish of Wingham; in Ash, a probable minimum of 100-110 houses existed c.1460. Low replacement rates for the 15th century suggest use of a low multiplier of 3-4 which would yield a projected population range of 180-250 for Wingham and 300-400 for Ash in the mid 15th century.

Some sense of the population size of each parish for the period covered by parish registers can be arrived at by calculations based on successive five year averages of baptisms and using birth rates of 28-40 per 1,000. However this method needs to be treated with caution, as it takes no account of changing rates over time and the effects of periods of crisis mortality. The results may well be distorted, possibly producing exaggeratedly high figures which would need to be set against other available information.⁵ Each parish was taken in turn and the above calculation worked out for a mid 16th century decade and for 1630-40, the end of the period under study. For Ash, in the 1560's, the size of population would be calculated at between 675 and 960, but considering the mortality crises of the late 1550's and early 1560's the population is likely to be at the lower end of the range. The population in the late 1630's might have reached 1150-1643, which is supported by a figure of 850 communicants in 1640, which if representing 60% of the total population, would give a figure of c.1417 people.⁶ For Wingham during the 1570's, the population was estimated to range between 330 and 470 and by the 1640's between 450 and 620; the communicants numbered 361 in 1640, representing a possible population of about 600, which would fit into this range. The results of the calculations for the three southern parishes seem more open to question. The estimated range for the 1570's for Goodnestone was between 280 and 400, dropping slightly to between 240 and 340 in the 1640's, the raw numbers of annual baptisms, dropping from 11.2 to 9.6. The figure for communicants in 1640 was 170, a possible population

of 280, whilst a figure of 277 people has been derived from the Compton Census of 1676.⁷ The population levels for Nonington would range, using the crude method of calculation from baptisms from between 440 and 540 in the 1580's, rather higher than the possible 390 derived from the 235 communicants recorded in 1588; the range in the 1630's might have been between 360 and 420. The population of Womenswold was clearly much smaller, in the region of 75-100 in 1580. Communicants were 56 in 1640, a possible population of 100, although higher annual numbers of baptisms in the 1630's would lead to a higher estimated population of between 120-180.

These estimation of population totals act as goalposts in a dynamic picture. The overall population trends between the mid 15th and mid 17th centuries follow in general the national pattern.⁸ The pattern of surviving wills and administrations, taken as a pre parish register guide to levels of mortality (Chart 7.6) suggests continuing periods of high mortality in the late 15th century and for the mid 16th century, the decade of the 1550's, primarily 1558-9 and into the 1560's.

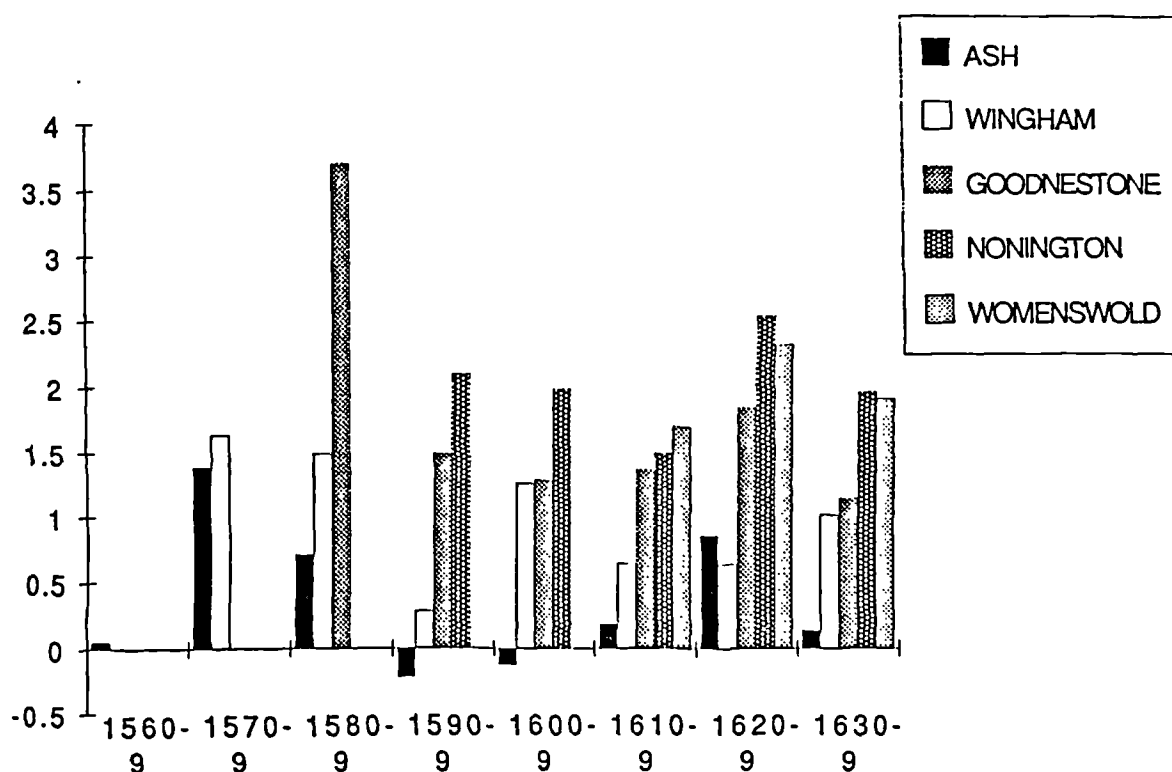
Chart 7.6 Levels of mortality from wills and administrations in Ash, Wingham Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold 1460-1570



The parish register evidence which survives for Ash and Nonington for the decades 1540-1570

shown in Charts 7.2 and 7.4, confirms this picture. The patterns traced in Charts 7.1-5 suggest population growth likely in all parishes lifting off in the 1570's, but punctuated by periods of high mortality, principally in the 1590's, which hit Ash and Wingham hardest and at differing times in the early 17th century, which slowed down the rate of growth. In Chart 7.7 the estimated crude rates of natural increase are shown, derived from the birth/death ratios for each parish, where data seems reliable and assuming a constant death rate of 25 per 1,000.⁹

Chart 7.7 Estimated percentage crude rates of natural increase by decade in Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold 1560-1640

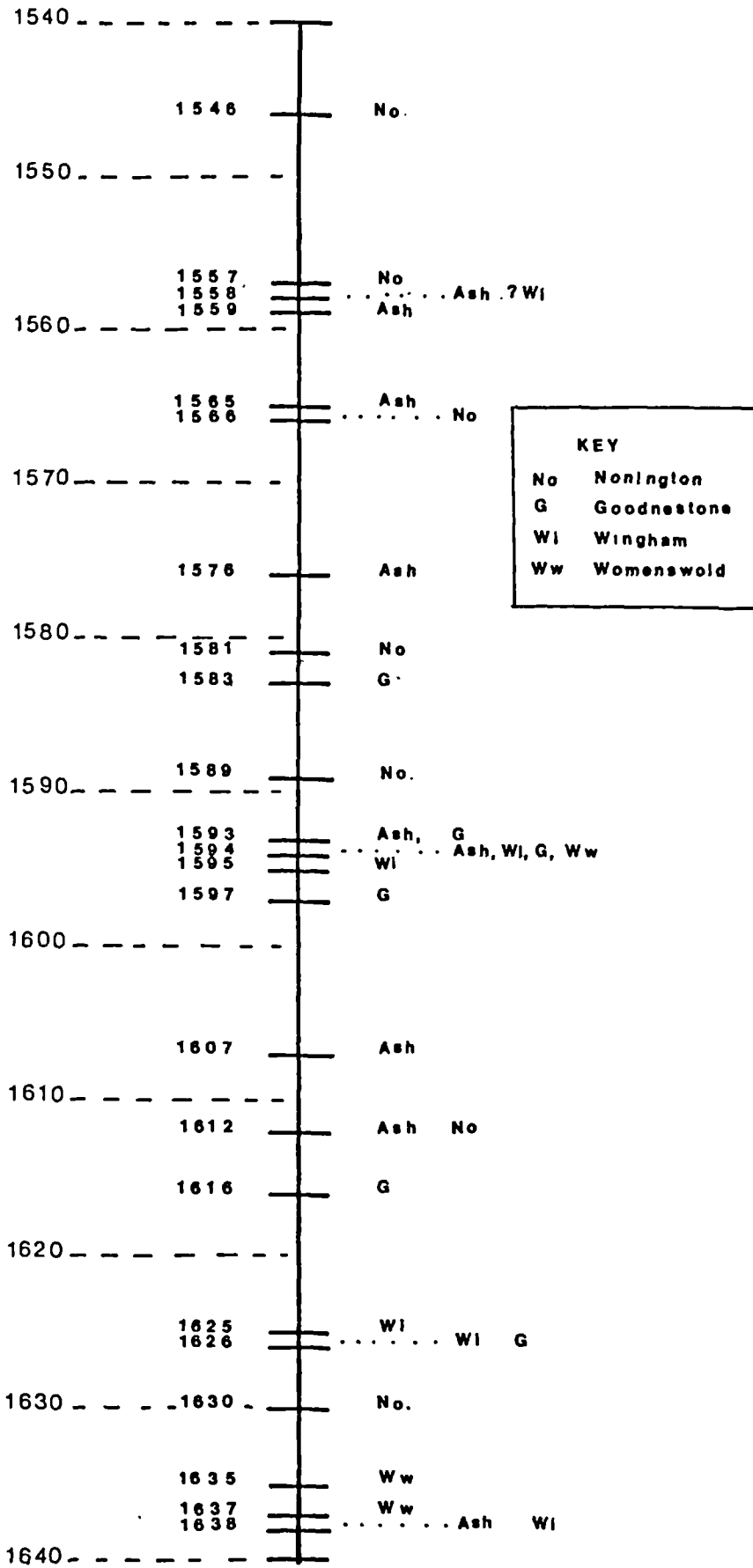


Because of the likelihood of distortion resulting from defects in registration, rates were calculated for Goodnestone beginning in the decade of the 1580's, Nonington in the 1590's and Womenswold in 1610. It is likely that the rate of just under 3.75 for Goodnestone in the 1580's would appear to be too high. The rates of natural increase followed broadly similar patterns, higher rates in the 1570's followed by depression in the rate in the 1590's, excepting Nonington.

The rate rose again in the early 17th century, four out of the five parishes seeing a rise in the 1620's, but not at such a high rate as in the 1570's-1580's; this was followed by decreasing rates of natural increase in the 1630's, suggesting overall slowing down of population growth. For only one parish, Ash, was there evidence of negative growth rates during this period.

A comparison of the demographic experience of the five parishes was to some extent limited by the problems of local variation in the quality of the registers, the level of under registration and dates of their commencement, although it was decided that to build in correction factors might equally distort the data and results.¹⁰ In order to identify and compare years of crisis mortality, a minimum of 60% above the prevailing average of burials for the period of twenty years was taken to indicate an epidemic year. A chronology of crisis years set out in Chart 7.8 indicates the timing for each parish, although the mid 16th century years to 1570 are not represented by all parishes. An analysis of vital events indicates that each parish did not necessarily share the same epidemic and mortality crisis years, although there is clustering in years of known national crises, notably 1546, 1557-9, 1593-7, 1625-6, 1537-8.¹¹ Although the register suffers from defects, it is quite clear that 1546 was an epidemic year for Nonington, with 50 burials not matched again during the period studied. It affected whole families, for eight families lost two or more members and at least 68% of the burials were children. It is not known whether the remaining parishes experienced this epidemic as entries in their registers for this date do not survive and the survival of wills for the 1540's was fairly low (Chart 7.6). 1557-9 were epidemic years for Ash, Nonington and also Wingham, indicated by higher mortality among will makers in 1559. The prevalence of late winter and spring deaths suggest that air borne disease such as influenza or factors other than plague were responsible, which fits in with the national picture.¹² Ash was hit hardest with three years of crisis within eight years, 1559, 1561 and 1565. In the 1590's, a period of national dearth, there was a clustering of crisis years for all parishes, except Nonington, which could be explained by under registration. Ash again was the parish which suffered most severely in two successive years; 75 burials in 1593, 60 in 1594, were more than double the prevailing 20 year average. Winter and spring deaths were most prevalent in the years of high mortality in the

Chart 7.8 A chronology of mortality crises



1590's in both Wingham and Ash suggesting dearth pressures or other diseases in this area at this time. In the early 17th century, crisis years varied between parishes; Ash and Nonington escaped the 1625-6 epidemic, most severely felt in Wingham and to a lesser extent in Goodnestone; each parish, with the exception of Goodnestone suffered high mortality during the 1630's, the year 1638 being a difficult year for Wingham; for Ash the years 1637-40 saw a rise in mortality, 1638 being the severest. Although, the figures may not be reliable, there is some suggestion that higher numbers of deaths occurred in Womenswold in 1635 and 1637.

In comparing each parish population in terms of the rates of natural increase shown in Chart 7.7, the experience of Ash was more volatile in its population growth, with three periods of low or zero growth. Wingham to some extent followed this pattern to a less extreme degree. The three southern parishes from the 1590's to the 1640's appeared to enjoy much higher rates of increase, which would seem to have some reality, as during this period the registers seemed to be freer of the earlier deficiencies. The most obvious explanation lies in the healthier situation of the open, higher downland parishes than that which prevailed in the low lying marshlands bordering the rivers Stour and Wingham in Ash and Wingham.¹³ Wingham had its share of chalk down uplands, but the village itself was situated close to river, marsh and brookland. There are suggestions elsewhere, notably in the Romney Marsh parishes that marshland was particularly susceptible to higher death rates.¹⁴ It is possible that water borne diseases such as malaria were a factor, but it is not possible to identify them. As suggested above, plague was probably not the major factor in the larger epidemics, but was present at various times. The year 1576 was not classified as a crisis year in Ash, with 25 burials recorded. However the existence of plague is suggested by the marked seasonality of their distribution, with five in July and twelve in August. On 30th August 1591, Elizabeth Hughes of Ash made her will, "being sick of the plague", a rare comment in a will.¹⁵ That some contagious disease was a factor in the 1637/8 mortality crisis is reflected in the testamentary account of John Chasner of Ash, whose house was shut up from 12th October until 2nd of January, on account of the "plague or some other contagious disease," of which five people, John, his wife, one daughter, a grand daughter, who lived with them and the woman who

attended them in their sickness, died.¹⁶

Chart 7.8 does not reveal any clear paths in the spread of disease through the area and a much larger area would need to be surveyed to chart such movement. It is most likely that the position of both Ash and Wingham lying on the principal route between the port of Sandwich and Canterbury, would be in the path of contagious disease. The inhabitants of eastern Ash, with their close connections of marketing, kin and property with the town of Sandwich, and Wingham with its denser semi urban population would be more vulnerable than communities further south.

This demographic analysis has been based on the concept of endogenous populations, but the parish was an administrative unit and did not represent in any way a self contained, closed community. The rates of natural increase suggested for the parishes of Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold were above the national average for the period, but their populations remained relatively small. The existence of gentry estates and leased farms particularly in Nonington gave little room for the growth in number of small farms; opportunities were probably greater in Ash, where more frequent mortality crises may have led to a greater availability of land and leases. This clearly has implications for local migration, the extent of which is difficult to measure. Migration between neighbouring parishes was probably considerable. The nature of dispersed hamlet settlement, discussed in the following section, farm lands crossing parish boundaries, the existence of partible inheritance customs, the importance of leased land in the composition of farms was an additional factor to population pressure in encouraging migration. Families with surnames such as Neame, Gibbes, Solley, Quilter, Saffery, Omer to name a few, had branches living in neighbouring parishes. Migration from the southern parishes into Ash can be illustrated by following two family names, although precise kin connection, dating and reason for migration was not established. A family called Goldfinch lived in Womenswold in the 16th century; recorded members were Richard and his son Sylvester, willmakers of 1531 and 1572 and another Richard, possibly a second son, who was buried in 1583; a Nicholas Goldfinche of Nonington was buried in 1540.¹⁷ This name disappears from the records of these parishes after the 1570's. The name appears in Ash principally from the 1590's, with the family of John Goldfinche, yeo-

man, who died in 1616.¹⁸ The Swafford family were mid 16th century inhabitants of Goodnestone; Christopher, householder, and two young daughters died between 1562-4.¹⁹ This name appeared in Ash in the early 17th century, when a Thomas Swafford took up the lease of part of Sir Thomas Harflete's lands from 1607 and the baptisms of six children were recorded between 1606 and 1622.²⁰ Migration from the countryside into towns particularly from the second half of the 16th century has been argued to be the factor which maintained urban population levels from the second half of the 16th century.²¹ It would be reasonable to assume that the population surplus as a result of natural increase demonstrated in these rural parishes, particularly those on the downlands would result in some migration to neighbouring towns, Sandwich, Canterbury and Dover. However the relationship between local towns and neighbouring countryside was more subtle and complex than the urban absorption of excess rural people and labour. Some aspects of this relationship will be examined later in this chapter.

In conclusion, the demographic trends outlined would have implications for the land market in this area. Population growth was likely to be reflected in pressure on land, although difficult to monitor because of the poor survival of court rolls and considerable extent of leased land and farms; division of marshland and sub tenancy in Ash as discussed in Chapter 4 were suggestive of such pressures. Periods of high death rates were likely to increase the availability of land to purchase and to intensify the existing trend towards gentry ownership and middle landlords and the corresponding trend towards tenant farms held at economic rents from these landlords, as suggested in Chapters 3 and 4. The greater volatility of demographic trends in the parish of Ash may be an added factor in the complexity of its landholding pattern. Demographic trends influenced settlement pattern and contributed to change in density of population, as examined in the following section of this chapter.

Section 2. Community and place: dispersal and location of population;

It would seem important to give consideration to the idea of community and place, partly because of people's own sense of identification with where they lived, particularly among the

more stable rural families. In this section, the distinguishing features which gave different communities some sense of identity and focus are examined. Such features considered included topography, an important factor in determining the nature of communities; settlement was associated with topographical and physical features, a river crossing, a coombe in the downs, a spring or line of springs, a rise in the land. Communities were characterised by the distribution of their population, their density or dispersal. Communities of people developed around some tangible focal point, a manor, a market, an ecclesiastical centre or religious house, a green, a forstal, or developed along a line of communication. A community in a specific place could be characterised by a legal, administrative, or corporate function, some common agrarian or other economic interest and be associated with an administrative unit; the parish, the vill, but could be no more precisely defined than a neighbourhood. A community might seek identity through an organisation often with religious or ritual aspects to it, although this was more characteristic of the urban rather than the rural scene, the latter communities identifying with the parish church, chapels and lights.

The principal themes emerging were first, that this area was predominantly one of dispersed and early settlement, in which the village or quasi town of Wingham was exceptional. Wingham had become the most important community in this area as it existed and grew as a result of several rather than one of the above features and had a variety of functions, administrative, religious, juridical, marketing and trade. It was essentially an embryo town rather than an agrarian village, whose physical expansion probably occurred from 1300, possibly with seigneurial planning. By the 15th and 16th centuries it was larger in population and area than any other settlement, but remained tiny in urban terms and retained an agricultural aspect. It is suggested that Wingham's failure to develop into a fully fledged town by the 16th century was a result of topographical limitations, too close a proximity to other market towns, withdrawal of seigneurial interest, weakening of manorial control and loss of some functions. The second theme was that this was an area essentially of micro communities, the hamlet being the dominant pattern in the remaining parishes and on the perimeter of Wingham. Hamlets did have varying characteristics,

which gave them some sense of identity, but the parishes of Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold had no strong central core community at the end of the Middle Ages. Third, community structure was essentially loose and informal, resulting from this dispersed settlement pattern, from lack of strong centralised manorial agrarian regulation; the organisation of agriculture that may have been associated with the vill or hamlet had disappeared by the 15th century. Moreover, the overlapping nature of administrative units, particularly in geographical terms did not make for strong centralised communities. The increasing importance of the parish rather than the manor as an administrative unit by the 17th century, led to a greater sense of focus within each parish community rather than to older forms, the vill, borgh, or manor. Demographic trends reinforced this to some extent; late medieval decline leading to the contraction of some hamlets, principally those of cluster shape and rising population in the 16th century expanding others, notably along streets, such as at Ash Street.

One of the striking features of the present landscape of the whole of East Kent is its dispersed settlement characterised by scattered hamlets and isolated farms with a relative scarcity of large villages, having more in common with the settlement pattern of East Anglia and even early 14th century Cornwall than with the Midlands.²² The five adjacent parishes selected for this study, the greatest proportion of which formed part of one large, single manor, Wingham Manor, provides a special opportunity for studying the pattern of dispersal of population and communities within these parishes. At the present time, there are two large villages in this area, Wingham and Ash. Apart from these two larger villages, the population of the five parishes is scattered in hamlets and isolated farms, and even the villages which bear parish names, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold are little more than hamlet clusters. This was in the main the medieval settlement pattern, with the exception of Ash, whose development as a large village was post medieval, as will be argued later in this chapter. Wingham was probably the only larger, more densely settled community in East Kent south of the River Stour, east of the main Dover-Canterbury road and bounded by, but excluding the towns of Canterbury, Sandwich and Dover.

Wingham

The village, perhaps embryo town of Wingham must be the starting point in this study of rural communities and deserves to be looked at in some detail. Wingham could be described as a large market village, which, while retaining some of the characteristics of a town, never developed a truly urban identity. Distinctions between the large village and small market town were often fine ones and it is likely that Wingham was one of several, such as Lavenham in Suffolk which could not easily be categorised.²³

What were the essential features of this community? It was positioned on a site with a long history of occupation. Wingham was a primary or focal settlement, which attracted immigrants and saw continuity of occupation from the Roman and pre Roman period. It was situated on a prehistoric ridgeway, close to the Roman trunk road from Richborough to Canterbury and the site of a Roman villa lies a short distance south of the church.²⁴ It was a river settlement, reached by Jutish or Anglo-Saxon settlers by way of the Stour and Little Stour rivers, situated on a ridge above the Wingham River, a tributary of the Little Stour and was a pre Conquest estate centre, in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the 10th century.²⁵

During the medieval period, Wingham was an administrative, ecclesiastical and marketing centre. Topographically, the village has two sections, which had different functions until the Reformation, but continued to retain a feeling of an upper and lower end to the village. The settlement pattern is essentially linear, but the main street contains a right angled bend producing a northern arm which widens out into what was probably the market area and a western arm, along which lay the Church, Wingham College and Provost's house, the manor house and curia and further north west one of the demesne water mills (see Map 7.1).

This western wing formed an administrative and ecclesiastical centre, which drew the inhabitants of the surrounding area into Wingham. It was an administrative centre, primarily for the extensive manor of Wingham, probably the largest in East Kent. Tenants from the manor, living in Ash to the east and south to Womenswold were required to attend the three weekly manorial courts held there. Wingham was within the liberty of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the View

of Franckpledge was held twice yearly there. The hundredal courts of the hundred of Wingham took place at Wingham and were held with the manorial courts attended by the borghsholders from the outlying borghs. Borghsholders and manorial officials were elected annually there. The manor house with its farm buildings, surrounded by mud walls, was the hub of the agricultural organisation of the c.1,000 acres of demesne arable land concentrated in large fields surrounding the curia and the village.²⁶ In the earlier medieval period, tenants or their men from the outlying areas of this large manor travelled into Wingham in order to carry out the labour services owed; Henry and Walter Cok of Chilton in Ash parish, for example, in 1285, owed on seven acres of land, two men for boon works, two hay stacking services, half a carrying service with customary ploughing and reaping.²⁷ It is uncertain as to how far these services were demanded in kind in the 13th century, but it is probable that carrying services, which would involve movement to and from the curia were required, as there was a seigneurial attempt to exact carrying services in 1390, when six customary tenants were punished for their failure to perform such obligations.²⁸ However the sense of a large agricultural unit run from its headquarters at Wingham was disappearing by the early 15th century, with the commutation of all labour services to assessed money rents and the farming of the demesne, which by 1500 at least was let in smaller blocks as smaller farms or attached to neighbouring farm units.²⁹ Nevertheless, the farmers of the part of the demesne which included the manor house were required to provide hospitality there for manorial officials engaged on the lord's business.³⁰

Wingham was to some extent a religious centre. Its ecclesiastical position as a Saxon mother church was continued after the division of the large parish of Wingham and the creation of the four new parishes of Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold in 1282.³¹ The new parochial divisions with their parish churches were tied up with the foundation of a College for a Provost and six secular canons at Wingham by Archbishop Peckham in 1282 until its dissolution in 1547. The tithes of these four parish churches supported the College and the income of Wingham parish church was given to the Provost, in addition to small endowments of land, including customary land of Wingham Manor held by the Canons of Wingham College, which in 1460

amounted to about 12 acres divided among the villis of Pedding, Gilton (Gyldentown), Goodne-
stone and Womenswold.³² In addition, the returns of answers to the enquiry into the endowments
of hospitals and chantries in 1546 listed for the Provost and canons of Wingham College, four
tenements, three in Wingham, one of which was recently given by John Saunders, canon and
vicar of Ash, who left a will in 1509, one in Preston with land and pasture in Preston and Stour-
mouth; acreages were not stated, except the Saunders property of three acres.³³ The Provost and
canons were required to provide vicars, in reality curates who were paid a stipend to serve the
supporting parishes.

To what extent did the College act as a focus for the community at Wingham? It occupied
space, probably some considerable area to the east of the manor house, to the south of the road
leading to Canterbury and bounded on the east by the road to Goodnestone (Map 7.1). In 1546
the College contained six houses with gardens within the site called "le Canon Row"; these
houses were separate dwellings for each canon, for it was not a communal religious order.³⁴ The
capital messuage of the College, the provostry, with orchards, barns, stables and other buildings
with one and a half acres of meadow was situated on the north side of the road next to Wingham
church. The college was likely to be an employer of some local labour for its upkeep and to
maintain the canons and Provost when in residence. It is likely that as Wingham church was part
collegiate, part parochial, religious services were more frequently held and with more elaborate
ceremonial than at the surrounding parish churches, at least in the early days of its foundation.
The chancel was the responsibility of the College and contained the canons' stalls with their
misericords. Divine offices were to be said each day and it is probable that they were choral,
although by 1511 when Archbishop Warham carried out his visitation, there were clear signs of
decline, for in addition to the canons and four vicars, there were four choir clerks and two
untrained choristers, whilst previously, there had been eight choir clerks and four trained choris-
ters.³⁵ The ornate vestments and altar cloths listed along with the church silver in the 1548
inventory of church goods, a result of many benefactions, suggest past richness of ceremonial
associated with a collegiate church.³⁶

However, the personal involvement of Provost and canons in the lives of Wingham inhabitants and those of the surrounding hamlets was not great. Appointment as a canon or Provost was almost a sinecure, either a reward for services to church or state, or a rung in the ladder of advancement, a function of patronage and in the main their interest lay outside this rural area. In any case the residence requirement was a minimum of four months in the year. Very occasionally, a canon retained his duties as vicar of one of the dependent parishes, such as John Saunders, prebend of Wingham College and vicar of Ash before his death in 1509.³⁷ He can be seen to have been active in the community, acting as executor, overseer or witness and probably the writer of wills of ten local inhabitants of Ash and Wingham between 1477 and 1501. Appointment to a canonry at Wingham did at times go hand in hand with positions in neighbouring parishes outside Wingham's ecclesiastical area, notably as rectors of Ickham and Adisham.³⁸ The influence of the College on local inhabitants was largely an institutional one, principally in its function as an ecclesiastical court of probate. Wingham was an exempt jurisdiction and until the dissolution of the College in 1547, the inhabitants of the parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold could choose to register their wills and obtain probate at Wingham. The evidence of their use of this facility between 1460 and 1547 remains in the register of wills of the Exempt Jurisdiction of Wingham.³⁹

Implicit in the discussion of Wingham so far in this chapter and in earlier chapters is the notion of people travelling and moving into Wingham for a purpose or business located there; or travelling through Wingham en route between Canterbury and the port of Sandwich. The road pattern as reconstructed for c.1500 in Map 7.2, which remains largely the same to the present day, does suggest the convergence of roads on to and along Wingham street. People journeyed in to Wingham to attend the courts, possibly to pay the rent, to register their will and obtain probate, to carry and deliver, to do business at the market, with village craftsmen and tradesmen; they came twice a year to the fair. Successive archbishops between the 12th and 14th centuries maintained the manor house at Wingham sufficiently to stay for short periods, notably Archbishop Baldwin during the years 1185-90, Edmund Rich in 1238, John Peckham in 1282-4, when founding the

College and in 1290-1, Archbishop Winchelsea in 1295 and 1305 and on occasions entertained royalty; King John in 1213, Edward 1 in 1295, Edward 111 in 1332.⁴⁰ The effects of providing hospitality for their retinues on the neighbourhood would be considerable and the impact on the village of other travellers particularly soldiers embarking and disembarking at Sandwich, for example during Edward 111's campaigns from 1340-6, can only be surmised.

The emphasis so far in this discussion of the nature of the community of Wingham by the late 15th century has centred on institutions, administration, on transient traffic in and out of Wingham. If the northern arm of the street, in and near the market, housed the majority of the inhabitants of Wingham, what is the evidence for a concentration of population here, what was the timing of and impetus for its growth? What were its essential characteristics? Was this the village nucleus where the manorial tenants engaged in farming the surrounding fields lived, its function primarily agrarian, as in many Midland villages, in Leicestershire or in Cambridgeshire?⁴¹ Or on the other hand, was it a semi urban centre, whose development grew out of, or was promoted as a result of, local marketing and rural industrial and craft patterns, needs and opportunities which arose partly from Wingham's administrative and ecclesiastical functions, possibly along the lines of Thame in Oxfordshire.⁴² Did Wingham combine some elements of both?

As was argued in Chapter 1, the overall structure of landholding in Wingham manor was one of concentric arcs, with demesne land in a compact block in the centre, with tenant land dispersed beyond the demesne fields, in hamlets on the perimeter of the parish of Wingham, and contingent parishes to the south and east. Central Wingham did not house these tenants, nor were their lands interspersed with the demesne in fields surrounding the village, as in the east Midlands model. Wingham as a "vill", where tenant land was situated is conspicuous by its absence in the rental of 1285 and in that sense, Wingham was not a nucleated manorial village. However, during the 13th and 14th centuries, when the c.1,000 acres of manorial demesne land was directly managed, a hired labour force would have been essential besides the remaining uncommuted services demanded of the customary tenants. It must be assumed that "famuli" were employed and

possibly housed in the manor complex, as was the case on other manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴³ It is possible that the tenants of the 25 cotlands listed in the 1285 rental were full time workers on the demesne but their location is obscure.⁴⁴

If Wingham is regarded as essentially a small semi-urban development, rather than an agrarian village by the 15th century, the dating of its initial development remains speculative. Although not on the scale of Southampton, Salisbury or Thame, the growth of Wingham could be seen as part of the general expansion of towns and markets with 13th century population growth. The market grant of 1252 suggests seigneurial desire to cash in on an already existing flourishing local trading centre. However, there is no clear evidence of rents from buildings in Wingham vill and market place in the survey and rental of Wingham manor of 1285, as occurs in the rental of 1460, which suggests that prior to the later 13th century, Wingham's permanent inhabitants were small in number and that the permanent community was no more than a hamlet. The erection of more permanent market structures and houses in the area of the open market place probably began in the very late 13th century or early 14th century. In 1399, an inquisition concerning Wingham Manor included in its summary of income, rents from 25 small buildings built in the market place and rents from shops and shambles were included in a demesne lease in 1431.⁴⁵ The topographical and documentary evidence is indicative of some deliberate planning and the dating of expansion would coincide with the founding of the College, pointing to the importance of seigneurial influence and policy in the development of Wingham.

The 1460 rental of Wingham manor gives a fuller picture of buildings in this village/town in the mid 15th century.⁴⁶ The rental lists the "cotgablum" rents owed on messuages and small plots of land in Wingham and gives a sense of the density of buildings and a semi urban feel to the village. Probably 43 houses altogether existed within less than one quarter of a mile, the majority lying along the main street, suggesting a possible density of population of between 150-200 within that area.⁴⁷

Property in this central area was listed in the 1460 rental under three headings indicating location; messuages in the vill of Wingham, messuages built next to Wingforde and messuages

built in the garden next to the market place (Map 7.1). Under the vill of Wingham were listed 29 properties, of which 27, included a house.⁴⁸ As no abutments are given, it remains uncertain as to whether they were listed in adjacent order and on which side of the street each property was situated. Two adjacent messuages, held by William Whytemay in 1460, traced through the will, dated 1489, of Henry Whytemay of Wingham, probably a son of William, and surviving title deeds, dated 1519 and 1529, can be located to the west side of the street, immediately north of the house and land of the Provost of Wingham College.⁴⁹ Other messuages listed, such as that of Stephen Fode were on the east side of the street. However, it is likely that, with one exception, these properties stretched from the College north along the street, to the river, for the second property was the dovecot belonging to the Prebend of Womenswold, one of the six canonries of Wingham college, which was likely to be near the College complex but was on the east side of the street, whilst towards the end of the list was Thomas Uffington with a messuage near the water and pound, most likely to be situated where the road bridges the river.⁵⁰ For twenty five of the twenty seven messuages, no attached land was listed; furthermore low rents, ranging from 2d to 14d for these properties, suggest rows of small buildings with a back yard or garden; William Whytemay's houses, discussed above, had gardens attached. Some of these no doubt relate to the buildings in the market place mentioned in the 1399 Inquisition.

The arrangement of adjacent plots along the village street, divided by alleyways is demonstrated on the Tithe map of 1840 and subsequent 19th century Ordnance Survey maps, which may be suggestive of seigneurial planning, particularly on the east side of the street, although the plots are not regular in size (Map 7.1). Trackways can be discerned running from the east side of the main street disappearing into the low lying meadows beyond, and it has been suggested that there was further town development in this area.⁵¹ The documentary evidence does give some support to the topographical evidence. The rental of 1460 lists "cotgablum" rents for 26 plots of land in an area of c.50 acres all told at Easttown, which is clearly located to the east of the street. These plots were small, ranging in size from a quarter of an acre to four acres, with one croft of six acres. One messuage listed under Wingham vill was described as in Easttown lane, which

must have led from the high street to this area of land. Although the name "Eastown" may be suggestive of development at sometime in that area, the evidence is against it stretching far off the main street, with marshy areas so close and the only building listed in the rental at Eastown was a barn. It is much more likely that Eastown is a contraction of east of the town, where more marginal marshy land behind houses in the street, providing meadows, grazing land and fishing along the streams was attached to messuages in the main street, although by the 15th century, only three of the tenants of houses in the street were listed as tenants of land at Eastown.⁵² One such tenant was Stephen Fode, who had a messuage in the street, a little garden further along, with three quarters of an acre next to the messuage, listed under Eastown, with a further three quarters of an acre, nearer the river.⁵³ A further two tenants had a small holding attached to their messuage; Richard Well with 4 acres one rood and John Cowper with three acres.⁵⁴ This emphasises the agricultural element in the occupations carried on by some inhabitants of Wingham street.

The 1460 rental does suggest some later housing development in two areas, although its dating remains speculative. In addition to Wingham vill, the 1460 rental lists rents of seven messuages built next to Wingforde, which place has not been identified with certainty, but internal evidence suggests a position near the Wingham river at the northern end of the village, possibly expansion north of the river and bridge on reclaimed marshy land, rather than at the south eastern side near the millpond, where most of the land was demesne land (Map 7.1).⁵⁵ The rents for these properties were at a higher level than those for Wingham vill, ranging from 4 shilling to 10s-4d, suggesting either land attached, although not listed as such, or a later housing development. Further development is suggested by the properties of tenants listed under new rents of messuages built on 3½ acres and 7 perches of land in the garden next to the market place of Wingham, probably infilling on the west side of the street.⁵⁶ There were twelve plots, ranging from between half a rood and half an acre each, with probably eight houses and a barn.⁵⁷ Rents of these properties at 2s-6d for half a rood of land here were at a different and higher level than the "cotgablum" and assessed rents in the outer parts of the manor.

While this evidence of early 15th century development may suggest seigneurial policy of

increasing rent income from property in central Wingham at a time of withdrawal from direct management, it may also be indicative of some recovery in local trade and attractiveness of property in Wingham to tenants. Moreover, there is no evidence of unoccupied properties. However, the rental does suggest instability among the population in central Wingham, with a turnover of 21% of these messuages to tenants with different surnames, probably as a result of continuing mid 15th century high mortality.⁵⁸

The evidence of surviving buildings does indicate a scattering of early 15th century buildings in the high street, in addition to the college and manorial buildings, but the majority of the surviving finest buildings in Wingham date from 1450-1550, suggesting increasing prosperity among some inhabitants, during the first half of the 16th century.⁵⁹

How far did Wingham develop as an urban community? How different was it by the early 17th century? Although Wingham had developed some of the features of a town, density of population and buildings, a market place, shambles, retail and craft shops, a few inns and alehouses, a rural cloth industry, Wingham remained essentially small scale and partially agrarian. Although the population grew during the later 16th century, it was absorbed within existing limits and 19th century maps do not suggest much later expansion. In the 19th century, Wingham was essentially still its 15th century shape. Wingham never obtained a charter, urban privileges and corporate authority with powers of regulation. It remained manorial, at least until the mid 16th century, but the evidence of manorial regulations is thin. The manor court held in September elected in addition to manorial officers, two ale tasters and two inspectors of carcasses probably each year. The poor survival of court rolls for Wingham Manor makes conclusions tentative, but there is a hint of declining manorial regulation in the meat and butchery trade in Wingham in the early 16th century, in the numbers of inspectors of carcasses elected, being three in number in 1511, two in 1534, one in 1547 and none the following year.⁶⁰ It is doubtful whether there was a market house as such and it is likely that in the 16th century, the market was essentially, small and local, never recovering its pre Black Death vitality. The evidence of marketing, credit and debts discussed in Chapter 6, point to informal marketing at the farmhouse and ale-

house, bypassing the formal market.

Why did Wingham fail to develop a fully urban character? There are a variety of contributory factors. The close proximity of low lying marshy land on either side of the street imposed severe topographical limitations to physical expansion of the market and town area. Although its position midway on the route between Canterbury and Sandwich was a factor which contributed to Wingham's initial growth in the 13th century, proximity, five miles to each town, would have had a limiting affect on Wingham's development. It is likely that in the long term, Wingham's failure to develop further was linked with the silting up of the harbour at Sandwich and the decline of Sandwich as a port and the increasing use of Ramsgate harbour by the 18th century.⁶¹

It has been postulated that seigneurial planning and investment was instrumental in the initial development of Wingham and it may be the case that post Reformation changes, the dissolution of Wingham College in 1547, the change in lordship of Wingham Manor from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Crown, and the continued breaking up of this large ecclesiastical manor as a unit, were further factors in Wingham's lack of growth. By the mid 16th century, the overall interest of an ecclesiastical lord, which at times had been a personal one had disappeared, replaced by a more distant crown and a middle layer of landlords usually local gentry and yeoman families, who sublet properties in Wingham Street.

This can be seen most clearly along the western arm of the street, which became known as "Canon Lane" or "Canon Row", for the dissolution of the College brought new ownership of College property and some change in function of the buildings. This end of the street retained its character as the wealthier and well to do end, the ecclesiastical end becoming to some extent gentrified. In 1553, the Provost's house with the tithes and glebe land was sold by the crown to Sir Henry Palmer of Sussex, whose descendants were resident there throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries.⁶² The six canons' houses were sold in 1549 to a Thomas Perse and William Alexander.⁶³ By the later 16th century, at least one house had become a retirement residence for yeoman, John Jones, having let his farm at Blackney which he inherited from his father in 1584. In 1615, John bequeathed his house in Canon Lane, "where I now dwell" to his son Henry after the

decease of his wife.⁶⁴ Others came into the ownership of the local resident gentry. In 1597, Edward Warham of Wenderton in Wingham bequeathed his tenement, which he had purchased in Canon lane to his son George.⁶⁵ It seems probable that the two inns, "The Red Lion" and "The Dog", which now occupy what was probably two of the canons' houses and which were in existence in 1840, originate from the post reformation period with the "Sign of the Lion" and "The Talbot" both in the ownership of local gentry. The former was owned by William Oxenden and the latter by Sir Thomas Palmer, who lived opposite and who leased it to two generations of the Murray family.⁶⁶

With the dissolution of the college came the end of Wingham's archdeaconry and legal function as a court of probate. Inhabitants of the hundred had no choice but to make the journey to Canterbury for probate purposes after 1547.⁶⁷ However, Wingham retained a legal function, for the petty sessions of the Assizes were held for the area there, taking place at the inns.⁶⁸ The inns, alehouses and shops no doubt provided some post reformation focus for the surrounding community.

That there was some mid 16th century malaise in the community of Wingham is reflected in its failure of will and ability to stop the decay in the structure of the church, which was not repaired and the surrounding walls built until the latter part of Elizabeth 1's reign, probably financed by Sir Thomas Palmer of the Provost's house. Only six testators from 1492-1576 left bequests towards the repair of the church fabric, the last, gentleman, William Oxenden bequeathed £5 to the repair of the church steeple on condition the parish contributed £5 to the same purpose.⁶⁹ This situation may reflect on the overall wealth composition of Wingham, with its higher proportion of quasi urban dwellings and trade/craft population, more gentry and fewer middling farmers, compared with the parish of Ash; crudely reflected in the range of inventory values for the later period 1560-1640, in which 42% of inventory values for Wingham fell under £20 compared to 32% for the whole study area. However, the situation also resulted from post Reformation problems and conflicts. There was conflict over the responsibility for the church fabric, for the parish had been responsible for the nave while the College, now dissolved, was

responsible for the chancel. In 1555, a petition was addressed to Mary and Philip on behalf of the inhabitants of Wingham denying that the nave had suddenly fallen down, as claimed by a certain brewer of Canterbury, who had obtained a licence to collect for the re-building of the church, but in 1557, Archdeacon Harpsfield at his visitation, charged the parish with the repair of the rood screen and the aisle on the side of the chancel, which it would appear they were trying to avoid.⁷⁰ There was clearly some religious conflict in the community in Mary's reign between Robert Charles, the staunch catholic priest and parishioners, who were charged before Cardinal Pole with refusal to attend church, join in processions, refusal to take the sacrament or of looking down at the elevation of the host.⁷¹ Justice Oxenden was one of the justices who tried John Blanche, rector of neighbouring Adisham, who was burnt for heresy.

Hamlets Communities

Although the special nature of the larger semi urban community of Wingham has been examined in detail, it is the dispersed pattern of settlement, the hamlet communities and scattered farmsteads, which were more typical of this area and probably of East Kent in general, that will be considered in this section; their origins, nature, identity and changing patterns. As was suggested in Chapter 4 and illustrated in Map 4.5, settlement by Jutes/Anglo-Saxons fanned out from Wingham colonising the downlands and woodlands to the south and along the rich alluvial soils to the east by the 13th century. Although Domesday Book names only Wingham and Flete under the manor of Wingham, and Easole and Soles, which were outside the Archbishop's lordship in the parish of Nonington, the place name evidence suggests that Domesday Book concealed many more scattered settlements in existence by 1066. The 15th century place name evidence of vills and hamlets shown on Map 7.3. includes many -ton and -ing name endings. They are listed here in their 15th century form followed in brackets by the modern spelling; Chilton, Wedynton (Weddington), Wenderton, Welmeston (Walmestone), Twytham (Twitham), Tropham (Trapham), Godwynton (Goodnestone), Bonynton (Bonnington), Uffynton (Uffington), Rolling, Ratling, Kethampton (Kittington), Nonynton (Nonington). The early ecclesiastical evidence supports this

view: in the Domesday Monachorum, Wingham is listed as a mother church with six dependent or daughter churches, namely Ash (Aesce), Nonington, Ratling, Womenswold (Wimlingesweald), Walmestone (Waelmeston) and Eadredeston, which probably pre date the Norman conquest.⁷² It is perhaps not entirely appropriate to call this primary and secondary settlement, as it appears more in the form of a wave like motion of early settlement.

By the later 13th century, population expansion and further colonisation of marshland areas in Ash and woodland in the south led to new settlements such as Ware (see Map 7.3, number 18) and Wolveth (Woolwich) and Oxenden (numbers 31 and 36, Map 7.3), simultaneously with the knight's fees of Wingham manor, discussed in Chapter 2. It is likely that settlement at Frogham (number 32, Map 7.3) with the adjacent manor of Fredville dated from this period.⁷³ The evidence of the rentals for Wingham Manor of 1285 and 1460 establishes the existence of the majority of the named vills and hamlets plotted on Map 7.3 by the late 13th century. Among those that are not named separately in 1285, were Westmarsh and Welle (numbers 19 and 9, Map 7.3), although it is possible that they were subsumed under the cottagers of the marsh and brooks or the neighbouring vills of Ware and Tropham respectively.⁷⁴ The omission of Gilton (Geldenton or Gyldentown, number 12, Map 7.3) from the 1285 rental is probably an error of the 15th century copyist as other evidence indicates its 13th century existence.⁷⁵

Problems arise in examining the nature of hamlet settlements and communities from the nature of the documentation, which reflects overlapping medieval administrative units superimposed on an earlier settlement pattern, which in itself may have been changing as a result of demographic trends. Some discussion at this point of the documents, units of administration and words used may help to clarify the argument. The units of administration concerned are the manor, the hundred and borgh, the parish. To take the manor first, the evidence is principally concerned with Wingham manor, which covers the largest area and for which the better documentation survives, but there are also to be taken into consideration the small manors of Fredville and Easole (St. Albans) and satellite manors of Wingham, namely Goldstone and Ratling in particular. However the basic pattern applies to all of these units. In manorial documents, the word

"vill" frequently occurs. This term is not peculiar to Kent; in other areas of the country, notably the Midlands, vill means the central nucleated village, with all the community responsibilities and organisation, legal or agrarian, sometimes in association with the manor.⁷⁶ In this area of East Kent, the term "vill" had two meanings; it is applied to a community of people, living within a certain area, which could be as many as 50 households, as in Wingham, but also small hamlets; second, manorially it had a more specific meaning for it was the basic unit of administration of customary tenant land within the manor in existence by the 13th century. The two usually but not always coincided and there is some confusion; the vill of Helles in Ash parish, for example was an area of customary tenant land let as a small estate to the Helles family probably during the 13th century, which is how it appears in the 1285 rental.⁷⁷ However, Helles included within it the older hamlet of Weddington, revealed in the 1460 survey, but Weddington was not called a vill.⁷⁸ Nonington was divided into two vills, south and north, but there was one hamlet of Nonington with the church. Vills tended not to be the term used for post 13th century hamlets, such as Westmarsh and Welle. A vill had some territorial identity, in that tenants held land in a named vill and when a land transfer was recorded in the court rolls, the parcel of land in question was identified by the vill in which it was located. It has not been possible to define exact boundaries and there appears to have been some uncertainty about these boundaries by 1460. Moreover, there are discrepancies in acreages totalled within the 1285 rental in comparison with the 1460 rental.⁷⁹ Some vills, for example Knell (Hella), Shatterling, Chillenden were divided in lordship. Although it is clear that manorial rents and services owed by customary tenants of Wingham Manor were assessed on a specific area of land in 1285, for administration they were collected together under the vill and listed as such in the rentals.⁸⁰ By the early 15th century, the quit rent per acre was assessed for each vill, ranging from 1d per acre in Goodnestone for example to 6d per acre in Guilton (Gyldentown).⁸¹ In the smaller satellite manor/knight's fee of Ratling, a vill grew up adjacent to the manor at Ratling Street where tenants lived and held land and this was probably the case with Easole Street and Easole (St. Albans) Manor.⁸²

The second unit of administration, the hundred, was divided into units of jurisdiction called

the borgh, the Kentish tithing, but the borgh did not necessarily correspond to the vill. The hundred of Wingham lay within the liberty of the Archbishop and while not identical with the manor in area, overlapped to a large extent. If the hundred of Eastry is also considered, comparisons between the "borgh" and the "vill" can be made. Ten borghs were listed in the hundred court rolls for Wingham, one of which, Eythorne, was outside the manorial area. The borghs of Nonington, Chillenden and Easole were included in the hundred of Eastry.⁸³ It is clear that not all villis were borghs, for these ten borghs represent less than half of the villis (see Map 7.3). By the 16th century, the borgh could include several villis. The large parish of Ash, for example, was divided between two borghs, Chilton and Overland; the borghsholder for Overland presented suits concerning the inhabitants of the neighbouring villis and hamlets, such as Ware, Westmarsh, Hodan and Bardingstreet; the borghsholder of Chilton presented suits for Chilton, Ash street, Weddington and Flete.⁸⁴ The suits presented by the borghsholder of Goodnestone, suggest that this borgh included the area of Nonington, which was part of Wingham manor, as in 1535, Silvester Passheley, borghsholder of Goodnestone, presented Richard Mokett for ploughing a road at Ackholt in the parish of Nonington.⁸⁵ It is probable that the borgh had its origins in early Anglo-Saxon settlements, the defences of farmsteads and families and the development of laws and regulations in local communities. This is suggested by the location of borghal names as shown on Map 7.3; at least five lay within the parish of Wingham, and probably represent the earliest communities. By the late 15th and 16th centuries, these were not necessarily centres of population. The community responsibility of the borgh in the election of the borghsholder, his responsibility for presenting suits to the hundredal courts, accompanied by two or three other men from the borgh was shared between the villis and scattered inhabitants of the area which comprised the borghal unit.

The third unit, ecclesiastical and administrative, that of the parish was a late developer, the primary parish of Wingham being divided into the five parishes of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold in 1282, which must have been in response to increasing population. This unit was larger than the villis and borghs and although it embraced a number of them, the area of land of the vill and of the jurisdiction of the borgh overlapped parish boundaries, par-

ticularly where they were of 13th century origin between Wingham and Goodnestone, Goodnestone and Nonington. The vill and borgh of Twitham, for example lay across the parish boundaries of Wingham, Goodnestone and Staple. In the case of the four later parishes, the parish was named after the place/hamlet where the church was sited but was not indicative of a central, nucleated village. Indeed Ash church was not situated in a vill or borgh but stood alone on the highest point in the parish, in the early middle ages. This pattern had more in common with East Anglia than with the Midlands.⁸⁶ Parish registers of births, marriages and burials, therefore do not inform us about dispersal and location of population and communities within the parish.

As discussed earlier, as ecclesiastical units, the parishes, their churches and curates were subordinate to Wingham until the Reformation. With the Reformation came the breaking of the umbilical cord; tithes no longer supported Wingham College, but were leased out to laymen. The parish clergy were perpetual curates, presented either by the Archbishop, as in the case of Ash and Nonington or local gentry families, such as the Palmers in Wingham. Womenswold's population was too small to support a curate and the church remained a chapel subordinate to Nonington, whose minister served both parishes (see Map 7.6).

The 16th century saw an increase in the administrative functions and responsibilities of the parish as a unit, particularly in regard to its poor law duties and powers to levy rates on its inhabitants, which increasingly gave the parish unit a community focus. Thus, the later middle ages and the early modern period marks a period of change, when the parish emerged as the principal local unit of administration, the vill, borgh and hundred gradually losing administrative significance.

Population and hamlet communities.

Although the 1285 rental of Wingham Manor suggests 13th century population expansion, as holdings including many small ones, were often shared between family members or co-tenants, it is not possible to obtain any sense of the spread or density of housing among the named vills in the late 13th century; as the rental is concerned with acreages of land held, houses, cottages or messuages were not included. This problem occurs with much of the 1460 rental, when attempt-

ing a reconstruction of hamlet populations for the 15th century, particularly for those hamlets in the southern part of Wingham manor. To a certain degree, the rental displays the fossilised manorial structure of 13th century villis, where tenants held land. However, it has been possible to reconstruct a crude map of distribution of houses and population in the late 15th century, for one section of the whole area studied, principally for the parish of Ash (Map 7.4), but the pattern which emerges would have applied equally to the southern parishes of Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold. This mapping of houses is principally derived from the evidence of messuages which appear in the more detailed survey of customary tenant land in c.1460-70 surviving only for the north part of Wingham manor, with messuages held of Goldstone Manor, listed in rentals dated 1485-7, supplemented with will and deed evidence.⁸⁷ The numbers of messuages extracted are probably a minimum number.

Map 7.4 represents a general positioning of housing in each hamlet or street; a more precise location of each messuage on the ground and in relation to each other proved unrewarding, as land was listed under each tenant within the overall heading of a hamlet/vill in the survey of Wingham manor, and abutments were frequently omitted.⁸⁸ However, even if approximate, the mapping procedure does confirm the dispersed pattern of population distribution in the parish of Ash, which included both small hamlet groups and isolated farms. There were probably twelve hamlets, predominantly in the western half of the parish on the uplands, with a sparser population of scattered farms, predominantly in the eastern and north eastern part of the parish along streets, probably initially drove roads, reaching out to or running along the edge of the marshes, such as Barding Street, Cowperstreet, Eastreet, Brookstreet, or on island rises above the marshes, such as at Richborough and Flete. Farmers of land in these areas were referred to as "owtmen" in the 16th century.⁸⁹ Messuages were unevenly distributed among the twelve hamlets, ranging from two at Pedding, three at Moland, Nash and Gilton (Gyldentown) to 16 at Chilton. Two hamlets on the north western side of the parish on the edge of the marsh and in close proximity to the demesne manor of Wingham Barton, Ware and Westmarsh had 14 and 8 messuages respectively. There was a spaciousness rather than density in the way houses were set out in these hamlets, for

houses did not nestle together but were separated from each other by the close and garden which made up the messuage or farmstead, with no sense of regular plots; in Weddington, for example, John Huffeham's messuage with garden contained 3½ acres, Robert Christian's two acres and 13 perches, Lawrence Omer's just under four acres.⁹⁰ This was the pattern in all the hamlets with the exception of Chilton.

Map 7.4 indicates that the area of the present village of Ash has embraced the vills of Chilton, Guilton (Gyldentown), Ash street and the Church; ribbon development and infilling has occurred progressively from the 16th to the 20th century from east of the church to the Rectory at Guilton. The exact position of Chilton, probably one of the earliest settlements and one of the two borghs in Ash is elusive, but probably included a cluster of houses situated just north of the street, the church, standing separate on a rise to the south of the street.⁹¹ There were sixteen messuages in Chilton in c.1460, of which six included a house or cottage standing on one rood of land or less, whilst the remaining ten were separated by larger plots. The house of the vicar of Ash stood adjacent to the churchyard and a further four houses were situated along the street.⁹² At Guilton (Gyldentown), a quarter of a mile west, stood the windmill, the Rectory, and one messuage or farm.⁹³

The indications are that during the 16th and early 17th centuries, Ash street grew in population and became the most important hamlet in the parish. This is reflected in the listings of farms in c.1540 and tenant land of Wingham manor in c.1560, in which Ash Street or Ash vill replaces Chilton as a hamlet. This may be merely a change in nomenclature, for the 15th century rental may represent the 13th century structure of Wingham Manor in fossilised form. However the evidence of the late 16th and early 17th century wills and inventories does indicate the existence there of trade and craft shops. Among those whose will stated the location of their property were; George Snode, blacksmith whose property at his death in 1605 included a house on the north side and a house, forge and yard on the south side of Ash Street; John Saunders, joiner had a house at Ash Street in 1615 and the street contained the group of weavers' houses owned by John Wood.⁹⁴

During this discussion of hamlets and indeed of Wingham village, there have been indica-

tions that in terms of hamlet or village shape, the "street" was important. Ware and Hodan among the hamlets of Ash were linear in shape in 1460; eight of the fourteen messuages abutted the road at Ware and four of the five at Hodan, and it is likely that others were also of this shape, but the survey gives no abutments for messuages. However, there appears to be greater emphasis on "the street", as opposed to "the vill" in 16th century documents. Tenants and farms in Ash parish were listed under Paramore Street, Harmanstreet, Eastreet, Custestreet and Copstreet, although it is likely that farms and houses along these roads were scattered rather than compact.⁹⁵ Street hamlets were characteristic of the parish of Nonington (Map 7.5), a parish with no large central village. Street hamlets named in the wills of inhabitants were Holestreet, Easole Street, Frogham Street and Ratling Street; Holestreet appears as a place name in 1285 and the latter three were medieval vill names, but the word street becomes appended in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁹⁶ The hamlet near the church is also referred to as Church Street, Nonington. The incorporation of street into hamlet or village names occurs elsewhere in East Kent, such as along the edge of the marshes north of the River Stour, at Gore Street in Monckton, Hollow Street in Chislet and Upstreet. It is not however purely a characteristic of marshland settlement, for on the downs to the west of Canterbury appears Solestreet, Pettstreet and Shalmesford Street. It is doubtful if the derivation of such place names lies in connection with Roman roads in the majority of cases, but in the importance of continual movement of people and livestock arising out of the nature of the local economy and society; dispersed settlement and land holding, movement of labourers and farmers around the countryside, the colonisation of marshes and woodlands, the driving of livestock from farm to marsh and back, an economy orientated to local urban markets.

Demographic forces over time contributed in some measure to the redistribution of population within the area, contraction of some hamlets and continuity and increase in size of others. Some 13th century manorial vill hamlets were primarily the centres of gentry estates or single farmsteads by the early 16th century, rather than a hamlet. This was the case in most of the perimeter hamlets of Wingham parish, Brook, Twitham, Walmestone and Wenderton; followed by Dene and Trapham by the late 16th century; Moland and probably Pedding in Ash; Ackholt and

Kittington in Nonington.⁹⁷ It is likely that Oxenden was no longer a hamlet by the 15th century. These were probably originally cluster rather than street settlements. It is likely to be predominantly the street hamlets, as suggested at Ash, where 16th century population growth occurred. The exception in the parish of Wingham was Welle, probably a later medieval hamlet, which included a few houses on the spring line in a dip in the chalk downs (see Map 7.2). The continuing existence of this small community is shown by Robert Atwell's bequest in 1512 of two bushels of barley to all householders dwelling within the borough of Welle.⁹⁸ By 1664, when the hearth tax was collected, houses in the well and on the surrounding upland were included under the borough of Wingham Welle, as does the present day hamlet.⁹⁹

Community Focus

How far is it possible to identify features, which gave hamlet communities some focus? Did they have some agrarian organisation or function, for example? As was indicated in Chapter 5, no evidence of formal community regulation of agriculture appears to have existed, which does not preclude informal arrangements, which can only be surmised. The documents used in this study have revealed twenty-one hamlets with an arable field associated with it and named after it, some referred to as "the common field" in the court rolls of Wingham Manor.¹⁰⁰ They retained their parcellated divisions in the 16th century, but these fields were not exclusively held or farmed by inhabitants of the hamlet in question by the mid 15th century.

Three hamlets contained a forstal named after the hamlet and called a common forstal, which may have provided a focus for the economy of those hamlets. These were situated at Westmarsh, on the edge of the marshes, at Nash a mile directly south of Westmarsh, both in the parish of Ash and at Woolwich, a woodland hamlet in the parish of Womenswold. Most farms possessed their own forstal, probably used as a paddock for livestock, close to the farmstead, but this evidence of common collecting places for livestock being driven on and off the marshes for summer pasture, in the case of Westmarsh, is an interesting aspect of a known grazing pattern in this area. No written evidence seems to have survived or indeed may not have existed as to how

the forstal was used and organised. By the early 17th century, two of the six tenants of the Wingham Barton Manor, Thomas St.Nicholas, gentleman of Hodan and Ethelbert Omer, yeoman of Ware held seven acres of enclosed land each at Westmarsh forstal, which is suggestive of encroachment on waste land.¹⁰¹ It is not clear from the abutments of the land of the remaining tenants, how large the forstal was altogether, and how much common open land remained. Prior to the 16th century, livestock would probably have been driven eastward along the drove to reach the Cornerdrove which ran north across the Ash levels towards the Stour with access on its east side to the marsh called the Fleming marsh, which since the 13th century was the area of marsh let directly to tenants of Wingham Manor and was not a part of the Wingham Barton marshes.¹⁰² By the early 17th century, the Barton marshes immediately north of the hamlet of Westmarsh were sublet to upland farmers.¹⁰³ This gives character to the hamlet of Westmarsh with its collection and distribution of cattle and sheep. The inhabitants of Westmarsh must have depended on this marshland economy. Seven tenants of Wingham Manor who lived at Westmarsh in 1460 did not appear to hold land elsewhere other than the acre or under that the message contained. They were not the cattle ranchers. It remains speculative as to how they made a living. Employment open to them might have been as lookers and watchers, shepherds or drovers for larger farmers with livestock on the marshes and farms on the uplands, or in similar capacity as farm labourers for the Wingham Barton. The common forstal at Nash may have been part of the system of driving livestock from Westmarsh to the downland farms further south, but it may have had a more local community function as a gathering place for livestock of the hamlet grazing along the marshy banks of the brooks, which run through the hamlet, for in 1558, Stephen Solley of Nash had one rood of brookland lying to the common forstal there.¹⁰⁴ It is likely that common forstals existed in other hamlets. The forstal at Woolwich is more intriguing in that documentary evidence has thrown no light on woodland grazing for pigs, which by the 16th century appear to be farmyard fed. It is possible that the Woolwich forstal was also used as a collecting area for cattle and possibly sheep from farms to be driven to the marshes.

Other features of the landscape, the local infra structure, namely roads, footpaths, drove

roads and water courses, were called "common", but appeared to be so only in that all had a right of use. It is doubtful whether there was a communal responsibility for upkeep, certainly not based on the vill or hamlet. Cases recorded in Wingham Court Rolls for the View of Franckpledge, suggest such responsibility for maintenance of roads and water courses was charged to named tenants and lords whose land abutted them. Typical entries from Wingham court rolls dated April 1489 included the presentation of Alice at Wode and William Mosered for failing to keep ditches clear leading to the fouling of the road at the three bridges at Flete in the parish of Ash and twenty three named tenants for failing to scour the river at Westmarsh.¹⁰⁵ There appears to have been a change by the mid 16th century, for the court rolls of 1547-8 record that the whole borgh was made responsible for the payment of fines and repairs for nuisances concerning roads in Twitham, Dene and Womenswold.¹⁰⁶ It is more likely that this change resulted from growing manorial administrative inefficiency in keeping up to date with tenant names rather than the deliberate fostering of communal duties.

Did local communities express some feeling of identity in religious terms? What religious institutions existed which provided some focus for community? What effects did the Reformation have in this respect? The early ecclesiastical organisation and subsequent 13th century parochial units have already been outlined. The parish church for each of the five parishes, Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold did provide the principal religious focus for the inhabitants of that parish; the services and ritual of the church calendar, the place of baptism, marriage and funeral, the position of the parish priest in the community. Pre Reformation willmakers made bequests to the high altar and lights in their parish churches, made provision for masses to be said or sung for their souls and those of their family in their parish church; the wealthier gave to the fabric, ornaments, pictures, bells, and vestments of their parish church; they were buried in the churchyard or the church itself. This was in no way unusual and was typical of the pattern of religious life of local communities.

However, the pattern of dispersed settlement within the parish was also reflected in late 15th and early 16th century pre Reformation religious bequests. The identity of a hamlet community

or street of scattered farms was marked by its own light in the parish church, although it is not clear whether this applied to all hamlets or merely those recorded in the surviving wills. On Map 7.6 are plotted the hamlets for which lights were named in the parish church by testators who made bequests to them. They existed in three of the five parishes, Ash, Goodnestone and Nonington, but not in Wingham, where the bulk of the population lived centrally. In Nonington and Goodnestone the parish churches stood in one central hamlet after which the parish was named. In Nonington church, the lights of four hamlets, Frogham, Holestreet, Ratling and Easole received bequests from willmakers; in 1480, Peter Benjamin left four bushels of barley to the light of the Blessed Mary of Frogham and Simon Quilter in 1513 bequeathed two bushels of barley to "the rood light that belongeth to Esole".¹⁰⁷ In the parish of Goodnestone, each of the three hamlets, Rolling, Bonnington and Uffington, other than Goodnestone itself, had named lights in the church which received bequests. Testators who held land in more than one hamlet made bequests to several; for example Thomas Boye in 1480 left bequests of eight pence each to the lights of Uffington and Rolling and eight bushels of barley to the light of Bonnington, where he lived.¹⁰⁸

This pattern is repeated in Ash parish, with bequests recorded to seven hamlet and street lights in the parish church; Hodan, Nash, Knell, Flete, Bardingstreet, Ash Street and the light of the (unnamed) street called the Hocklight.¹⁰⁹ The bequest of John Hochyn in 1522 to "the brodered and light of Nash" does imply a sense of close community of a hamlet, perhaps even a more formalised one in the use of the word brotherhood.¹¹⁰ There existed in Ash, being a large parish in extent with its parish church not central but situated near the southern boundary, two pre-Reformation chapels, at the hamlets of Overland and Richborough (or Flete), both chapels of ease to Wingham, their tithes supporting Wingham College, until its dissolution. Bequests in wills indicate that these chapels provided a religious focus for the inhabitants of the west and east of Ash; Overland chapel receiving bequests from nine testators including in 1462, from John St.Nicholas, gentleman of the neighbouring hamlet of Hodan; four testators made bequests to Richborough/Flete chapel.¹¹¹ How far the chantry chapels, associated with the parish churches of

Wingham and Ash provided a focus for local communities before 1547, is uncertain, in particular, the chantry chapel of Our Lady at Ash, with c.155 acres of land in Ash at its dissolution.¹¹² Two chapels, the Septvans chapel at Ash and the Brooke chantry, associated with the Oxendens at Wingham were foundations of individual families rather than communities.¹¹³

Were secular and trade organisations often with ritual connections with parish churches and saints, brotherhoods, fraternities and guilds, which were a feature of the late medieval and 16th century urban scene visible in these rural communities, where urban connections were close? Wingham with its semi urban characteristics proved disappointing in this respect. There is some evidence of such an organisation in Nonington in the early 16th century, although its purpose is not clear. References to it appear in eight wills between 1507 and 1525, suggesting that it was short lived. It was called the brotherhood or the fraternity of St.John at Nonington; in one will it was called the brotherhood and guild of St.John, but there is no indication as to a trade/craft association, nor which St.John was the patron.¹¹⁴ It had a light in Nonington church and it was endowed with land by two testators.¹¹⁵ One of its purposes seems to have been mutual support for its members, as William Willson, bequeathed 14 pence and two quarters of barley to the light, on condition "the brethren shall endeavour to help recover three quarters of barley and 2s-4d which Walter Colson doth owe me".¹¹⁶ It included men and women and of the eight testators, two were gentlemen, John Oxenden and John Hamon, which may indicate an elite group in that particular parish.¹¹⁷ The existence of a young man's light also in Nonington church, may signify a cult based on youth there.¹¹⁸

With the Reformation came the disappearance of these late medieval community religious traditions; no bequests to hamlet lights occur after 1532. For how long services continued to be held at the chapels at Overland and Flete is uncertain. The parish church continued as a central focus of religious life during the 16th century.

However, by the 1620's religious radicalism was beginning to have a divisive effect on the religious community of the parish, centred on attendance at the parish church, particularly in the parishes of Ash and Nonington, at the same time creating new communities based on religious

nonconformity. These communities involved networks of radicals meeting in conventicles, which have been identified in Ash in 1626 and Nonington in 1635.¹¹⁹ It was principally in Ash, where nonconformity was strongest, for by 1676, the Compton census recorded 100 nonconformist families, compared with 2, 9, 20 and 2 in Goodnestone, Nonington, Wingham and Womenswold respectively.¹²⁰ The close proximity of Ash to Sandwich, where separatism was marked as early as 1605, links of trade, property and family between Ash inhabitants and the port would make the spread of religious radicalism from that direction unsurprising. The parish was large in area, dispersed in population and open in terms of social control, in common with many wealden parishes which were centres of nonconformity. Ash parish church was not centrally situated and the two mile distance from the western marshland hamlets of Ware, Westmarsh and Hodan, may have been a factor in the spread of nonconformity. Members of the gentry family of St.Nicholas of Hodan attended the first conventicle in 1626 and later, were leaders in the Restoration Congregational church.¹²¹

In concluding Section 2, the settlement pattern and community structure of the Wingham area did not conform to the rural pattern prevalent in the mixed farming regions in the Midlands, Leicestershire, Cambridgeshire and parts of Essex, where a sizeable village community stood concentrated and central to manor and parish, with outlying farms. In this model, the community of the village was strong in organisation and regulation. In contrast, in the area around Wingham settlement was diffuse and community structure was a looser web, interlinking small hamlet and street communities, most of which retained some sense of identity in 1500. These communities were not physically concentrated, with the exception of Wingham which stood in contrast, but which was essentially semi urban in character. Wingham's importance as the central pin of the whole area, which had comprised the medieval Wingham estate was reduced with the fragmenting of the manor and the demise of the college.

Section 3. Community and Connection

Neighbourhood and Networks.

The examination of community and place suggested that the character of society in the Wingham area lay partly in movement and traffic; movement between hamlets, between dispersed farmlands, along droves to marshland pastures and to woodland; from hamlets and farmhouses to the parish church, to the local courts, to shops, alehouses, between farm and markets; in street settlement. Therefore, it may be as important to look for a sense of community through connections and networks of relationships between individuals and families grounded in common interests, shared concerns, ties of friendship and acquaintance, occupation, status and kinship. In this section a further approach to identifying a sense of community is made through networks of individual relationships as revealed through probate records. These networks reveal ties arising from friendship and neighbourhood, inter family responsibilities, economic relationships, marriage and kin connections, which knit people together into webs of mutual needs and interests. These would have no finite boundaries and would change during an individual's lifetime. To attempt network analysis of all relationships collected from sources for all five parishes over a period of two hundred years would be a gargantuan task, even with computerisation, and would probably show a myriad of constellation like patterns, from which no very clear conclusions could be drawn. What has been attempted is a few select excursions, which might draw out and illustrate communities as revealed through networks of relationships, with some assessment of the quality of the connections and relationships examined. In the second part of this section, property connections between the inhabitants of the five parishes in the study area and East Kent towns, with some selected networks between inhabitants of the parish of Ash and the town of Sandwich are looked at.

Economic links, as illustrated by the debt and credit relationships of testators and discussed in Chapter 6 suggested, on the one hand, a local network of economic relationships between individuals, predominantly local within the parish of the testator concerned, which brought about economic interdependence and knit localities together and on the other hand outward urban links

with surrounding towns, particularly Sandwich. Kinship was a factor, but it is the strength of the nuclear and immediate family which emerges. Examination of social connections drew out further the importance of neighbours and friends, a local support system called upon in time of family crisis. The interpretation of the will evidence tends to argue against the idea that this was a function of kinship, when relatives were more distant, but rather a drawing upon local expertise and systems of patronage. Networks suggest that neighbourhoods were very local and might have some spatial boundary. Occupation was an element in an individual's social connections but was not of overriding importance. Although also operating within the neighbourhood, gentry networks were geographically wider and kinship appeared to be of greater significance.

The value put upon relationships by an individual can be examined through probate sources by that individual's choice of executors and overseers or supervisors in the will, those most trusted to be responsible for family affairs after his or her death. As would be expected, kin relationships predominated in the choice of executors; of 1089 named executors chosen, 74% were kin, 26% non kin. Those with different surnames and no stated or known kin relationship were categorised as non kin and it is possible that some kin, particularly affines were inadvertently included in this group, although testators usually stated the nature of the kinship relationship. Of the kin chosen, 82% represented wives, husbands, children or parents; more distant kin including cousins, uncles, nephews were a mere 4% of the kin chosen. The emphasis on the nuclear family and restricted kin relationships in early modern England has been established and these findings from East Kent support this view.¹²² Moreover, it appears that testators turned to non kin from the neighbourhood, rather than to more distant relatives, cousins, uncles, aunts, and in some cases in preference to closer kin. In a crisis, availability was important; a testator chose the friend or neighbour on the spot in preference to a kinsman who lived some miles away. A quarter of the non kin executors were one of two acting usually with the wife or son. 340 testators also appointed an overseer or supervisor, who were chosen predominantly from friends or neighbours; 75% being non kin and 25% kin, a higher proportion of non kin than in Terling in Essex.¹²³ The duties of an overseer appeared to be "to see things done properly", but could in addition involve

direct responsibility for dealing with the children's portions, overseeing their education and upbringing, selling grain and selling land and property.¹²⁴ What in effect testators were doing was to draw on and use valuable and trusted advice and expertise from outside the family circle; people who could mediate if family members disputed the will: Thomas Carpenter of Westmarsh in the parish of Ash, for example chose as his executors in 1499, his wife, Joane with Simon Gason, yeoman of Ash and demesne lessee of the neighbouring Wingham Barton; Ellen Swynham, widow of Ash in 1622 chose her loving friends, Andrew Omer and Richard Saffery as executors in preference to her daughters and sons in law.¹²⁵

This evidence seems to suggest a concept of community based on a local family support system. However, the quality of relationships also needs some examination. Is this support system of neighbours and friends para kinship, an extension of the functions of kinship, beyond the biological and affinal connection used when these relatives were not immediately accessible? Does this evidence support the view of some anthropologists that there is no essential difference between kinship and other types of social relationship?¹²⁶ One of the characteristics of kinship is the symbolic and ritual and involves gift giving, payment and service without expectation of direct or immediate return. It would seem that the relationship between the testator and his non kin overseer or executor was essentially a practical and economic one. While kin acting in that capacity usually benefited from the will or received a legacy, non kin acting as overseers or executors were to be paid for their time and expertise. 244 cases of non kin executors and overseers were to receive payment; in the 46 cases where this applied to kin, they were more distant relatives. The phrases which frequently appear were "for his pains", "for labour" and "towards his charges", "for labour over and above his costs". Although some payments were in kind, most were cash, ranging in amount from 8d to £10 and tended to relate to the wealth of the testator; 3s-4d was the most common figure. It is difficult to assess how realistic these payments might be in relation to the work put in, but they indicate that time would be taken out of an individual's working hours, which needed recompense; Abraham Foreman husbandman of Ash laid down in his will that his overseer, Elies Stone was to receive "18d per day for as many days as he takes

over my business".¹²⁷ Gifts or tokens rather than cash payments, such as gold rings, clothes or horses were rare and mostly occurred in the wills of the gentry.

Many of the relationships revealed were socially horizontal. However, if one looks further at the names of non kin overseers and executors, it seems that there was a tendency to choose men, from the same locality, neighbourhood or parish, but of greater wealth, social status, or legal expertise; wealthier yeoman or parochial resident gentlemen, or the testator's landlord or master. This was clear in 55 cases of choice of overseer, a further 21 overseers were clergy. In the parish of Ash, for example, at the turn of the 16th century, five men appear most active in some capacity connected with the will making and family affairs at the death of Ash inhabitants. They were Henry Harflete, resident gentleman and lawyer, who was much in demand, with his brother in law, Thomas St.Nicholas also a lawyer; Ethelbert Omer, yeoman of the hamlet of Ware, John Prowde, yeoman and benefactor of the parish, and Daniel Prior, lessee of the Parsonage at Ash and probable grain dealer, whose valuations were clearly respected as an appraiser of inventories.¹²⁸ Henry Harflete was the sixth son of Thomas Septvans alias Harflete of Moland in Ash and less well endowed with land than his brothers. His landed position in Ash came principally through his first marriage to Mary Slaughter, who inherited her father, George's small estate at Hillscourt in Ash. Henry's career in the local community seemed to be based primarily on his legal expertise and as the writer of many wills. Here relationships were socially vertical and horizontal.

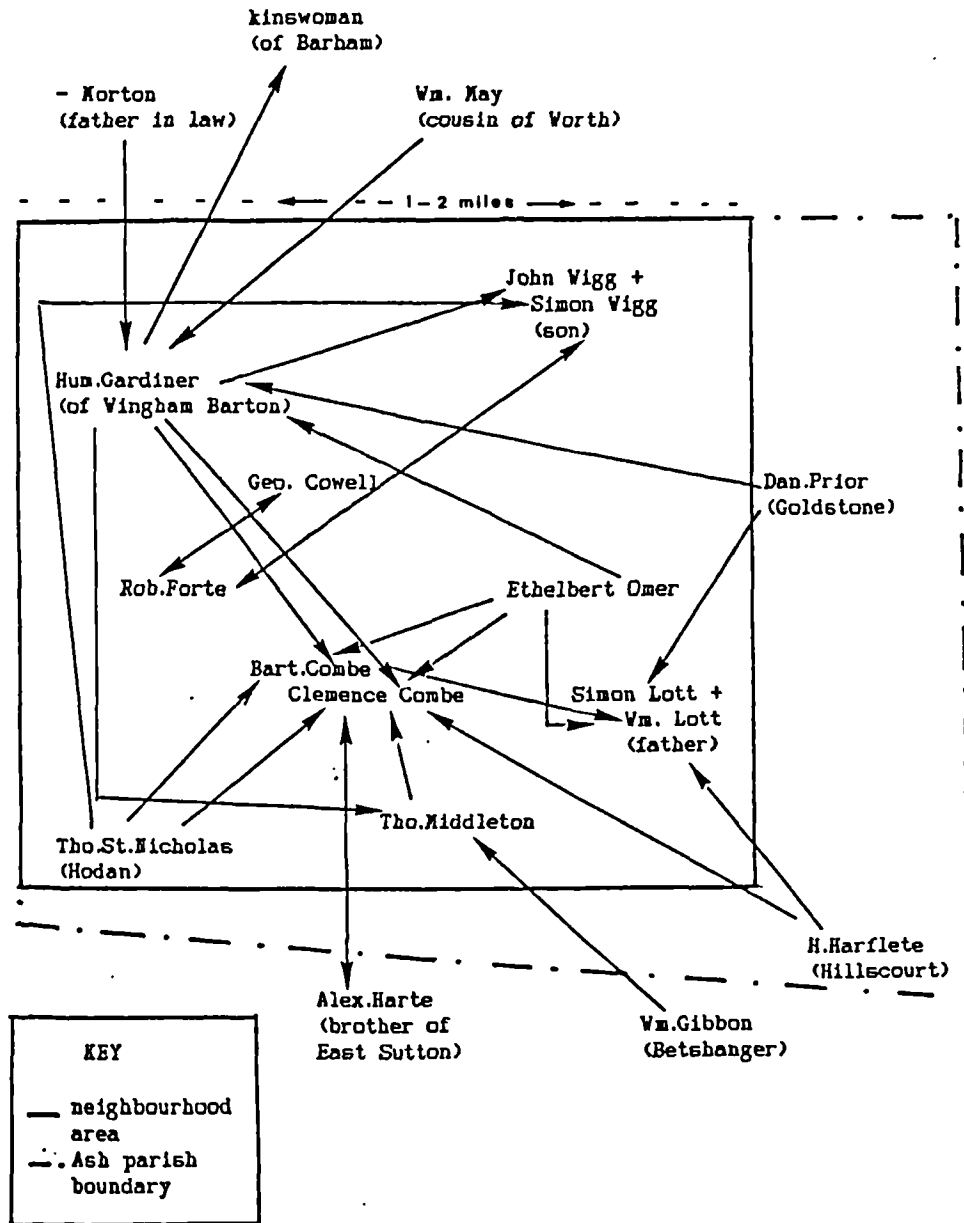
Some insight into the nature and quality of relationship was obtained by looking at the sentiments expressed by testators about the individuals they chose to carry out the role of overseer or executor. The good neighbour was there but in sixty three cases adjectives of sentiment were used suggesting a special personal relationship and usually applied to the word friend; well-beloved, loving, good, assured, special, friends were the words chosen. Trust was a quality emphasised in the words, my trusty and friendly overseer, my faithful executor, my true and loving friends. However, what is really implied by "my loving or well beloved friend"? In many cases it can be taken at its face value, indicating a close personal and socially horizontal relation-

ship, as in the case of James Knott, blacksmith of Nonington, who appointed as his overseer, his neighbour and special friend Anthony Withers, saddler of Nonington.¹²⁹ However, in other cases, these words imply deference to someone of greater wealth and social status in the locality, whom that individual had chosen to look after his family affairs; a part of the system of patronage and clientage within communities and illustrated by the following examples. Bartholomew Combe, yeoman of Ash appointed as his overseer, Mr. Thomas St. Nicholas, gentleman of Ash, his loving friend; Henry Newman, labourer of Ash appointed his true and loving friends, Thomas St. Nicholas and Henry Harflete, gentlemen as his overseers.¹³⁰ Faith Garrett, widow of Richard, shoemaker of Wingham, appointed as her overseer, John Warham, gentleman of Wingham, who she called her trusty and wellbeloved friend.¹³¹ Community represented by these relationships indicates the importance of neighbours, friends, local experts and individuals of some local standing, emphasises the cohesive relationships of a local community, beyond the ties of kinship. It confirms the impression of a society, where although there were distinctions of wealth and social status, there was no great social polarisation.

If the range of connection of a sample of individual testators are examined, a great variety of patterns emerge; some principally contained within a neighbourhood, others range outside, being a part of more than one overlapping community, based on geography, interest, social status, occupation. To take the concept of the community of the neighbourhood, suggested by the will evidence discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, this does have some geographical or spatial dimension. While an individual may have had a sense of special belonging to his hamlet and those neighbours who lived near, with whom he interacted on a day to day basis, as argued earlier in this chapter, a neighbourhood more often included several hamlets. It was probably smaller than the parish, within an area of one to two miles diameter, within which, the individual with expertise, the friend, landlord, neighbouring farmer in an area of dispersed lands, might live. Chart 7.9 illustrates an exploration of one neighbourhood support and network system from the connections of eight testators living in the hamlets of Ware and Westmarsh in the parish of Ash; Humphrey Gardiner, yeoman lessee of the Wingham Barton farm, George Cowell and John Wigg of West-

marsh, Bartholomew and Clemence Combe, Thomas Middleton, William Lott of Ware. These testators died within the period 1599-1614.

Chart 7.9 Neighbourhood networks of a sample of testators from the hamlets of Ware and Westmarsh in Ash parish c.1599-1614



The connections involved being an overseer, witness to a will, appraiser of an inventory; connections of land tenure and economic links were tied in with the relationship and the words "neigh-

bour" and "friend" were used frequently. These connections were between non kin and were in addition to kin links. Some outer connections from more distant parishes, where stated, were added to the periphery. The direction of the arrows indicates an individual acting for another; for example Thomas St.Nicholas was overseer and loving friend to Bartholomew Combe. Some comments are necessary. The activity of the individuals with expertise and status, discussed earlier, can be observed here; Henry Harflete and Daniel Prior on the borders of the neighbourhood area, Ethelbert Omer, Thomas St.Nicholas within it. The connections of husbandmen and less wealthy yeoman families drew more intensively on the neighbourhood for support, as in the case of the Combes. Their children were young and Clemence's brother, Alexander Harte of East Sutton, who was her executor lived at some distance.¹³² Humphrey Gardiner, the lessee of the Barton, was a newcomer and had extensive kin connections outside the parish; for the important job of overseers to assist his wife, he chose his father in law, Thomas Morton and his cousin, William May of Worth. However, the witnesses to his will included neighbours, Simon Wigg and William Parker with his servant, John Reignold, whilst his cousin William May, was assisted in the appraising of his possessions by neighbours William Parker, Ethelbert Omer and Daniel Prior.¹³³ Humphrey was called to act in similar capacity for the Combes, Thomas Middleton and John Wigg. Some relationships continued for two generations, as in the case of Humphrey Gardiner and John and his son Simon Wigg; Ethelbert Omer and William Lott and son Simon. What emerges as a key factor in these relationships beyond the fact of geographical proximity, was some form of tenancy of the Wingham Barton Manor, primarily marshland. This factor also explains Thomas Middleton's choice of William Gibbons of Betshanger as his executor.¹³⁴

The particular neighbourhood examined here was in terms of occupation an agricultural one. Was there any visible sense of community united by occupational interest, particularly among those engaged in trades and crafts? It would clearly be sensible to choose someone with sufficient knowledge and expertise from the same trade or occupation to value the stock, tools and implements. Whilst testators with craft and trade occupations did noticeably draw on others of this group in their choice of overseers, appraisers and witnesses, it was far from exclusively so, even

in Wingham, which had a higher craft/trade population. Thomas Worsley, tailor of Ash, in 1625, was unusual in choosing as his overseer, a craftsman from another parish, Richard Wittington, carpenter of Chislet.¹³⁵ It was a combination of neighbourhood, friendship, occupation and status, which determined choice: Robert Barrow, weaver of Wingham, chose a weaver and a yeoman farmer both of Wingham as his overseers; Thomas Dunkyn, butcher of Ash, chose Ash yeomen, Robert Sackett and Daniel Prior as his overseers and his close neighbour in Ash Street, weaver John Wood, as a witness.¹³⁶ In small rural communities, where agricultural and craft/trade occupations were carried on simultaneously in families, a community with a separate identity founded on occupation was unlikely. Neighbours were more accessible.

This chapter has concentrated on identifying and examining the nature of community within the five parishes studied, but these communities were far from being isolated, self contained and inward looking. Individuals were a part of overlapping communities, both local and wider ranging, particularly in East Kent. Rural communities were a part of an urbanised region, served by three towns, two of which were ports, with London within sixty miles. East and south coast links and trade routes, with continental influences gave an added resonance. The analysis of marketing, credit and debt relationships discussed in Chapter 6, indicating a local rural system overlapping with urban links, particularly strong with the port of Sandwich, suggests that the economic community contained individuals and families in local communities, hamlets and neighbourhoods and a wider community or an urban community simultaneously. Probate records as a source for such a topic emphasise the wider community links of the elite and wealthier families, gentry and yeoman farmers, the better off tradesman. These family interests based on property, larger commercial concerns and kin networks may be longer term and therefore more visible than wider community involvement of farm labourers for example, which may be more transitory. Two aspects of involvement in a wider community beyond the hamlet, neighbourhood and parish, will be examined here; the wider gentry community and rural/urban community.

An analysis of 34 wills from 1500-1640 from 15 gentry families resident in the five parishes studied, does lend support to the view of a sense of community among the gentry of Kent. The

networks of these families represented here were largely horizontal in status, involving noticeable connections with each other and other gentry families primarily in East Kent, although marriage of daughters to local clergy and younger sons to the daughters of local wealthy yeomen did occur: the sister of Thomas St.Nicholas, gentleman of Ash, was wife to Anthony Field, minister of Nonington; Henry Harflete, youngest son of Thomas Harflete married Mary Slaughter, daughter and heiress of George Slaughter, yeoman of Ash.¹³⁷ Although Edward Oxenden, gentleman of Wingham consented to the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, to William Brigham, curate of Ash, he threatened to disinherit his eldest son, William in 1613, if he should marry the daughter of his neighbour, John Jones, yeoman of Wingham.¹³⁸

Whilst gentry willmakers drew primarily on local yeomen, men of farming experience and expertise from their local neighbourhoods and parishes as appraisers of their household and farm possessions (74% of appraisers), in their choice of overseers with responsibility for family and property, kin, including wider kin, were more strongly represented than among the total will making population of Wingham, Ash, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold; 72% of overseers were kin against 27% non kin. This is partly a result of gentry families taking time in advance of their death to sort out family affairs and to involve more distant relatives and friends, rather than the will being a crisis affair at the death bed. However, choice of overseers, supervisors and witnesses in general reflects the extensive kinship links with other East Kent gentry families. Chart 7.10 presents a view from their probate documents of some of the kin and friendship networks of these gentry families over this period, which draws out the links between each other and with other East Kent families, who can be identified. It does not represent a total view of the connections collected from these wills, but included identifiable families; those unidentified were a minority. It was not always clear which branch of a family was referred to, when terms such as cousin followed by a surname only was used. Common interests drew some families together, as is shown by the connections between the Manwood, Lovelace, Nevinson, Boys and Oxenden families, all of which had members who acted as lawyers and justices of the peace in East Kent.

Local gentry families therefore played a part in the smaller local neighbourhood and parish, as illustrated earlier, but their status, wealth and other interests, legal, political, possibly religious, drew them into wider circles of Kentish society. The greater importance of kin and wider connections was typical of the gentry in the late 16th and early 17th century and families in this area of East Kent would appear to conform to the general pattern.¹³⁹

Some aspects of the interaction of urban and rural Communities

The nature of the rural-urban relationship examined in Chapter 6 was concerned with some aspects of marketing, debts and services in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. These aspects emphasise demand and supply, the satisfying of the needs of two interdependent but separate communities; those of the country people and those of neighbouring towns people. However, if looked at from the point of view of families, their property, kin and social networks, rural-urban divisions become blurred. Throughout the period covered by this thesis, from the mid 15th to the mid 17th centuries, many of the wealthier and elite families saw that their interests were best served by having a foot in both urban and rural communities and it is difficult to draw a sharp line between the townsmen and farmer in the countryside. However, as this study examines this subject from the rural side, through local rural documents, the nature of town interests known is limited.

Property ownership and interests by townsmen in the countryside and farmers in towns is identifiable. Investment by townsmen in land in neighbouring rural areas was to be expected in the mid 15th century, when demand was slack. Among the tenants of customary land of Wingham Manor in 1460, there were eighteen men, who can with reasonable certainty be identified as townsmen of Sandwich and Canterbury: a comparison of names with Sandwich Minute Books of contemporary date reveal members of the ruling elite among these tenants; for example John Westclyffe, mayor 1464-6; Laurence Condy, jurat, 1459-60; Nicholas Kebill, constable, 1457-8 and 1567-8.¹⁴⁰ Between them they held 825 acres, 10% of tenant land; 560 acres lay in the parish of Ash, the part of the manor nearest to Sandwich. The rental of Wingham Manor c.1560 may

suggest a drop in the proportion of tenant land held by townsmen by the mid 16th century to nearer 6%.¹⁴¹ However, references in wills and deeds suggest a continuing interest by townsmen in the land market in these parishes, although this evidence is not quantifiable: John Rafe, for example, purchased a messuage at Gilton (Gildentown) in Ash from John Master of Sandwich; in 1570 Ratling Court in Nonington was sold to Roger Nevinson by John Barger of Dover.¹⁴² It is likely that much of this land was let to local farmers, as in the case of Thomas Eaglestone of Ash, who owed rents to Sir William Curteis of London in 1628, so that in this case, the relationship between a townsman and a rural community was a distant one of landlord and tenant.¹⁴³ But it cannot be assumed that this was always so; leading townsmen such as those listed above were equally likely to be farmers with urban interests; direct farming would involve closer contacts with rural communities, neighbouring farmers and farm labourers.

When viewed from the rural angle, urban interests existed although the full extent of these are not visible. The ownership of town houses for example, by some of the wealthier inhabitants of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold continued throughout the period. Twenty nine testators mention the ownership of property, principally houses, in East Kent towns in their wills, of which 19 were in Sandwich, 6 in Canterbury, 3 in Dover, and one each in Fordwich, Hythe and Whitstable (see Appendix 8). Those with farms and estates on the eastern side of the parish of Ash were strongly represented among those with property in Sandwich: Roger Clytherow 1454; John Alday 1485 and Nicholas Alday 1520; John Gold 1494 and Sylvester Gold 1563; Edward Fanting 1481; John Broke 1484; Edmond Amy 1542; Thomas Atcheker 1559; Edward Stoughton 1574; Henry Harflete 1608. This area of Ash was the hinterland for Sandwich and it could be argued that the neighbourhoods in Ash extended into Sandwich or vice versa, for the majority of the properties were in St.Mary's parish and one of John Broke's three tenements was next to that of John Alday's.¹⁴⁴ The purpose of owning town houses has to be surmised. Some earned an income from leasing houses to tradesmen, as in the case of Edmond Amy, whose house and garden in St.Mary's parish in Sandwich was let to Stephen Parre, baker.¹⁴⁵ Although there is no direct evidence of part country, part town dwelling, it is highly

likely, particularly among those actively involved in town politics and the governing elite. The Aldays of Ash, Sandwich and Dover were an apt example of a late 15th and early 16th century family whose interests stood astride country and town communities. John Alday of Ash, who owned property in Sandwich at his death in 1485, was probably the John Aldaye admitted to the freedom of the town in 1454 and was mayor of Sandwich in 1468-9 and 1476-7.¹⁴⁶ His son Nicholas of Ash, in 1520 owned the manor house and lands of Chequer in Ash, a house in the fish market at Sandwich and his town house in Dover.¹⁴⁷ Nicholas married Johanne, the daughter of John Pocock, mayor of Dover, becoming a jurat in 1509 and mayor in 1513-14 and 1517-18.¹⁴⁸ The emphasis in these two men's wills on the inheritance of the lofts and cellars of these town houses points to their commercial uses, in this case for storage of produce, principally corn from their country farms and estates. The location of a town house may be indicative of the commercial interest of its owner, as for example, William Boys of Fredville in Nonington, who owned a house in the butchery in Canterbury in 1548.¹⁴⁹

The evidence was not conclusive about whether there was change over time as to where individuals with town and country interests chose to live for the most part. It is likely that what marked the acquisition of gentry status by townsmen was moving out to the country estate, as in the case of the Trippe family, who moved out from Sandwich to Trapham in the parish Wingham in the late 16th century.

However, maintenance of interests in town and country was also a function of kinship. Kinship ties between families living in the rural parishes of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold and East Kent towns and more occasionally with Londoners were likely to be extensive throughout all sections of society, probate records revealing only the tip of the iceberg. Kinship networks were an important means of maintaining family interests at the urban and rural end and this was deliberately fostered by the wealthier families. Marriage of daughters was an obvious method, but planting of a younger son while the older brothers inherited farms and land seems to have been the policy of these families, throughout the period studied, when a family contained more than one male heir. John Broke of Ash in 1484 left his tenement in Eastrete to

his son, John, whilst his sons Henry and Thomas inherited properties in Sandwich.¹⁵⁰ The Harflete family of Ash maintained property and family presence in Sandwich during the 16th and early 17th centuries. In his will of 1558, Thomas Atcheker alias Harflete bequeathed to his fifth son, George, his house in St.Peter's parish against the conduit of the fish market, the remaining five sons receiving land principally in Ash.¹⁵¹ His daughter was married to Josias Pordage, jurat of Sandwich, a family who also held land in Ash.¹⁵² His youngest son, Henry, discussed earlier in this chapter bought a house with gardens in St.Mary's parish, which was inherited by his younger son, Thomas, whilst the elder son Henry inherited the principal farm at Hillscourt in Ash.¹⁵³

Other rural-urban connections counted, which were specified in wills, excluding debt relationships and property ownership, follow the pattern of debt relationships with the towns of Sandwich (20), Canterbury (12), Dover (5) and London (7). These numbers are small and probably under represent the extent of social and kinship relations with towns people. Wills do not always state the place of residence of an individual and it cannot be assumed that they are from the testator's parish. They include categories such as bequests, acting as witnesses, overseers, executors, appraisers for probate, friendship; some involved kinship. The social connections of John Hawker, yeoman of Ash, included the family of his yeoman farmer neighbour, William Carr of Richborough, whom his mother had married, but extended to include kin and friends in Sandwich, namely his uncle, John Amy and his family, and his good friend, John Jacob, jurat of Sandwich, whom John appointed his overseer.¹⁵⁴

Some Conclusions

This study of community has not been comprehensive, particularly as regards social connections and networks, but there has been sufficient to draw some conclusions about the nature of community in this area of East Kent. The community structure, which followed the initial pattern of the concentric estate at Wingham, with a core administrative centre and market and outlying scattered hamlets and isolated farms, which looked towards the centre was in the process of disap-

pearing and changing particularly during this period. Wingham's functions were changing, probably serving a smaller area than in the 13th century; the growth of a larger hamlet at Ash street near the church suggests a corresponding reduction in the influence of the village/town of Wingham. Dispersed settlement and autonomy in agriculture did not make for tightly knit communities. Although the nuclear and immediate family were most important, those who lived in the neighbourhood were of greater importance than the outer kin. This study has stressed the importance of individual relationships often involving an economic element within the locality and it is possible that kinship particularly the affinal connection has been undervalued; a detailed study of marriage and kin connection between households is needed to assess the balance. However, the individual, the nuclear family, the household were not self sufficient and it is their interaction with those around which created communities. Local communities existed but were essentially informal, flexible, overlapping and probably fluid. Communities were defined by: geographical proximity, the hamlet, street, village; by administration, the borgh, manor and parish; local religious foci or centres; local neighbourhood support system; the local economic community created by economic transactions and credit; community connected by landholding or occupation; the wider community of the gentry; rural communities both economic and social stretching into neighbouring towns.

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, the threads of this study are drawn together by discussion under six principal interrelated headings, namely: to what extent the area of the five parishes studied can be considered as the Wingham region in East Kent; the demise of medieval ecclesiastical structures; the essential nature of the economy and the extent of specialisation as against diversity; the extent to which this area was characterised by individualism and capitalism as against family concerns; the nature of community in this area; the concept of a larger regionality, an east/south-east coastal region, during this period.

The Wingham region, did it exist? It had identity as a medieval administrative, ecclesiastical and juridical unit, based on the lordship of Wingham, the liberty of the Archbishop, Wingham as mother church with dependent churches, the area of jurisdiction covered by the court of probate at Wingham College, the hundred and pre-late 13th century parish of Wingham. How far this Wingham area acted as a region in economic terms in the middle ages cannot be assessed for lack of available evidence; it can only be surmised from the road patterns around the settlement at Wingham, the 13th and likely pre-13th century market, the manorial curia there. There was a focus of an economic nature there, but its dependent region in economic terms may not have been identical with the area of lordship. While there were some prominent physical features which formed barriers or distinct boundaries for parts of the region, notably the Stour and Wingham rivers, the area was not geographically separate from the surrounding countryside particularly in the southern part. By 1600, it would probably be difficult to sustain the concept of a Wingham region. Most of its functions outlined above had disappeared or were in decline. By 1500, in terms of landholding, small estates and farms formed patchwork patterns across boundaries of medieval lordships. Credit and debt relationships collected from the later 16th and 17th centuries argue against Wingham as a centre of trade for such a region; economic relationships tended to be more local and parochial or with inhabitants of larger East Kent towns rather than of Wingham. Wingham served its own immediate population, the increasing number of gentry families resident on the outskirts of the parish, travellers between Canterbury and Sandwich. The existence of the

Wingham region was bound up with the disintegration of a large Anglo-Saxon and medieval, ecclesiastical lordship. The extent and complexity of the structure of this lordship was unusual; the size and centrifugal structure with its foundation in a varied topography in itself necessitated an early commencement of this process, but the survival of much of its structure for such a long time is also remarkable. Long term demographic trends and 16th century Reformation changes in landownership hastened the process, so that by the later 16th century, the pattern of landownership and estates in reality was the small scale pattern more typical of East Kent; increasing gentrification was particularly noticeable in the parish of Wingham. Among the elite families resident in this area, there were no great extremes of wealth and the lack of clear cut distinction in status, wealth, standard of living and the nature of farming enterprises between the gentry and yeomen families particularly in the parish of Ash characterised this area, although differentiation was increasing in the early 17th century.

The economy of this area of East Kent was characterised by its diversity rather than by true specialisation; it appeared to be flexible, successful and enduring. A varied topography and fertile, easily cultivatable soils particularly in the parishes of Ash and Wingham, with autonomy in farming schedules, supported an intensive agrarian system, in which the production of grain, distributed principally through the port of Sandwich, was the most important element. However, within a mixed farming framework there was much variety; the mixed farm was as typical of the larger more commercially orientated farms, which for the most part did not specialise, as of the smaller farmer. There was a range in farm size, up to c.300 acres. Compact, consolidated farms and farms with dispersed lands, farms with detached marshland and adjacent rough pasture, arable in open fields and enclosed fields, all co-existed. The demand for farm labour on large arable farms, a rural cloth industry, local crafts and retail trades contributed to diversity and multiple occupations in households.

To what extent was society in this area of East Kent essentially individualist and capitalist during the period studied? Taking individualism first, although the survival of manorial court rolls is poor, there is no evidence to suggest formal communal regulation of agriculture by vills or

borghs; rather, the system was one of the autonomy of each individual farm unit. There was a variety of types of fields, enclosed and open fields, the latter managed in an informal and loose way. This was not an area of commons, common grazing rights on marshes or wastes; pasture was in individual hands, as part of the farm holding in closes surrounding the farmstead or as individual parcels taken on a lease. Individual relationships of an economic kind abound, expressed in monetary terms as seen through testamentary accounts, credit arrangements, small cash loans, agistment of cattle, local marketing between individuals, trading relationships, horse hire, hired wage labour, payments to individuals for services provided such as acting as overseer to a will or to neighbouring women who came into the household to care for the sick and dying. Individualism is seen in legal property rights, the availability of leased land, opportunist farmers and tradesmen.

This would appear to be a commercialised area and its situation in a relatively urbanised part of England with outlets through coastal ports would suggest that this was not new in the 16th century. What was seen as the commercial advantages of geography is well illustrated by an undated 17th century particular of sale of the property belonging to the gentry family of Harflete at Moland, Chequer and GUILTON in the parish of Ash, which lay

"within two miles of Sandwiche Towne from where ships travill whereof constantly to the London markt, at reasonble rates and by that meanes dayly heare how the prizes goo in London, whereby they take the best advantage of the markt".¹

The evidence presented in this thesis from probate inventories and testamentary accounts points to this commercial element on the larger farms. Moreover, the extent to which whole farms and partial acreages of farm lands were held by lease on or near economic rents, meant that corn, particularly wheat was grown as a substantial cash crop to pay the rent.

However, most of the commercial and entrepreneurial activity in this area is small scale and household based. What did capital consist of in this context? There is the obvious stock of the shop or farm needing continual replacement and maintenance; equipment, tools, materials. However, is it possible to see how the wealthier and more commercially orientated farmer, gentleman or yeoman was investing his profit. Lack of farm and estate accounts preclude detailed

conclusions but some general observations can be made. Investment came principally in the form of acquisition of land, purchased or leased, which would suggest expansion of enterprise. In practice however, there would appear to have been a maximum farm enterprise of c.300 acres, beyond which land was let as separate farms and profits came from rent. In an area of mixed farming where arable was important, available resources and technology restricted scale of enterprise, although investment in technological innovation, such as the waggon took place early here. Some spending went on rebuilding houses, greater comfort in standard of living and purchase of plate and jewels but consumption was not conspicuous. Investment in the local money market, lending at interest, was engaged in to some extent by the gentry and wealthier and older yeoman farmers; it is clear that loans were made to other gentry, but lack of evidence concerning the recipient of the loan in many cases makes it difficult to see the direction of investment. With the exception of one money lender, Charles Trippe, discussed in Chapter 6, the scale of investment was not large and there seems to be no evidence of capital investment from this area in projects and overseas companies, although this might not be the case in rural areas nearer to Dover for example. There was little evidence from probate records of investment in local industry or ships by the elite, only one case of each; Sir Thomas Harflete, who owned a copperhouse in Whitstable in 1617 and Thomas Cooke, yeoman of Ash, who had two sixths of a hoy at Sandwich.² Investment in town houses may suggest the pursuit of urban commercial interests, outside the scope of this study. It is likely that urban commercial interests and investment were served by family and kin, the setting up of sons with property in towns. This discussion suggests that capitalism in this rural area of East Kent was very small scale in the 16th and early 17th centuries.

Apart from the limits on expansion of agricultural enterprises imposed by levels of technology and practicability, an important restraint on capital accumulation, scale of enterprise and individualism, particularly in a rural area, was that imposed by concerns of family. Enterprises, farms, retail shops, work shops were essentially although not exclusively or rigidly, family and household based. An absolute concept of family land, in which all family members as a body had rights, as existed in eastern Europe and over which there has been controversy for medieval Eng-

land and western Europe, could not be sustained in this area in the early modern period. Nevertheless, family responsibility and the satisfying of expectations of its members, which might take the form of ensuring a living for sons, setting up sons on land or in some occupation, ensuring dowries for daughters, equitable division of moveable assets, providing adequately for the widow, were of paramount importance, as wills reveal. The fertility of local soils and commercial opportunities led to a desire to settle sons on the land, where possible. Fertile soils and good pasture meant that smaller farms were viable. The prime purpose of the acquisition of land by the wealthier families was to provide land and farms for the next generation, resulting in a pattern of accumulation and then division of farm lands, a pattern still visible on some family farm businesses in Ash today. Individual ambitions could be limited by the family life cycle, the cooperative middle stage and final division of inheritance.

Community structure in this area was not a tightly knit one. Settlement was dispersed in hamlets and more isolated farmsteads; even Wingham, the exception, was probably post 13th century in the concentration of its population; many farms were composed of scattered parts. Traffic and movement of people, livestock and vehicles characterised the area. Local units of administration were overlapping and did not necessarily reflect centres of population, which in any case were changing with demographic trends. Community is most visible in relationships and connections, social and economic. The nature of kinship within community networks has not been fully explored in this study; family reconstruction of populations from a wider range of parishes including the town of Sandwich would be desirable. Increasing numbers of resident gentry families and landlords in the downland parishes and in Wingham led to a tendency towards more closed parishes and communities. Wingham changed most dramatically with the demise of ecclesiastical lordship, purchase of College property and leased demesnes. Ash, the largest parish remained more open, with fewer resident gentry and a multiplicity of landlords. The examination of the operation of the ecclesiastical courts, not considered in this study, might reveal local conflicts thrown up by the changes outlined here.

Finally, there may be a case for considering the concept of an east coast or east and south-

east coast seaboard region of England, suggested by comparisons highlighted in this study between the Wingham area of East Kent and other areas of the country studied by social and economic historians using local records. Connections between coastal ports is evident, but certain similar features have been suggested between rural east Norfolk, parts of Suffolk and Sussex, the Thames and north Kent, east and probably south Kent, possibly even into Sussex. Some similarities existed in landholding, with the existence of an early medieval unit called the "tenementum", which lost its integrity early; partible inheritance systems; weak manorialisation; loose organisation of open fields; some consolidated demesnes and compact farms. Some similarities existed in agriculture with examples of areas where individual autonomy in farming predominated, where more intensive farming regimes prevailed. A dispersed settlement pattern was more common in some parts of this region. It was a relatively urbanised region with easy access to markets supplying London; in turn these rural areas were supplied via the east coast trade in coal, cheese, cloth, corn. The region was characterised by continuing investment in rural property and land by coastal townsmen. Local economies contained rural cloth industries and in the second half of the 16th century experienced the influence of Walloon, Huguenot and Flemish refugee immigrants who settled in east coast towns.

APPENDIX 1
The Leasing of the Wingham Manor Demesne, 1439-1650

<i>Area 1</i>	Date	Farmer	Rent p.a.	Terms	Period	Land
	pre 1439	John Oxenden	-			
	1439	William Balle	24 marks	stock 200 sheep (as above)	12 years	no details, excepting
	1441	William Balle	24 marks		26 years	1 acre of wood for fuel at Woolwich (as above)
	1464	John Eldergate	£24	stock 200 sheep. suit of livery. Archbishop to maintain & repair J.E. to maintain new dovecot.	20 years	
	1528	Thomas Beke of Goodnestone	£24-13s-4d	stock of grain profits of fair at Goodnestone	10 years	fields named
	1539	Henry & Jane Bingham	£24-13-4d	no stock profits of G. fair Archb. to repair & scour ditches H.B. to provide hospitality	30 years 1 acre of wood at Woolwich	as above
	1547	Christopher Nevinson	£27-3s-4d	profits of G.fair,	21 years	as above
	1559	Stephen Nevinson	£27-3s-4d	Archb. to repair etc.		+ Area 5 total of 563 acres

Date	Farmer	Rent p.a.	Terms	Period	Land
1609	Roger Nevinson (sublet to) William Austen Henry Oxenden Thomas Palmer Abraham Raynor John Morris Henry Parker Thomas Atwell William Austen Sir James Oxenden Thomas Winter William Elnor Nicholas Marsh Nicholas Kingsmill	£129-4-0+20s fine £72 --	profits of G.fair		515 acres 253 acres (area 1a) 160 acres (area 1b) 16 acres 46 acres in Uffington 22 acres 16 acres 16 acres 313 acres 179 acres 13 acres 26 acres
1631					
<i>Area 2 the North Part of Wingham</i>					
pre 1528	Simon Gason	£8			
1528	Julyan Goodwynston (wid.)	£8			
1559	Henry Jones of Wingham	-		15 years	
1570	Henry Jones	£8 + £16 Entry Fine			(214 acres (+ Beolt Wood, 7 acres
1609	John Jones				
1631	Sir Roger Palmer	£8			230 acres + wood 222 acres
<i>Area 3</i>					
pre 1520	Henry Edyall Provost of Wingham College				Northcourt Grenefield + meadow
1520	William Warham	£2-13s-4d		30 years	(as above)
1539	Provost Henry Bingham	£2-13s-4d	repairs at own expense	41 years	(as above)

Date	Farmer	Rent p.a.	Terms	Period	Land
1559	Thomas Palmer	£2-13s-4d			40 acres in above named fields.
1589	Thomas Palmer	£2-13s-4d		21 years	
1609	Thomas Palmer	£2-13s-4d			
<i>Area 4</i>					
pre 1524	Thomas Watkinson	£10-13s-4d	Profits of Staple Fair		Medfield, Blackeney Temloppe, Les Downs croft next the Vineyard as above
1524	Clement Robarthe	£10-13s-4d	as above	20 years	as above
1533	Alice Robarthe		+stock of grain		
1559	William Oxenden	£10-13s-4d	profits of S.fair	30 years	as above
1562	Wm. + Henry Oxenden	£10-13s-4d			
		+ £80 Entry Fine			
1570	William Oxenden	£10-13s-4d		21 years	
		+ £20 Entry Fine			
1609	Edward Oxenden	£10-13s-4d		60 years	150 acres
1631	William Oxenden		Profits of S.Fair		180 acres
1650	Roger Palmer	£10-13-4			
<i>Area 5</i>					
pre 1514	John Tropham of Goodnestone Thomas Gate				(1) Progesdown (2) Bishopsdown + 2 crofts
1514	William Coral of G'stone	£2-10s-0d		10 years	(1) + (2) as above
1530	Robert Tropham of G'stone	£2-10s-4d		30 years	as above as above as above
1547	Christopher Nevinson				
1559	Stephen Nevinson				

Date	Farmer	Rent p.a.	Terms	Period	Land
<i>Area 6</i>					
pre 1520	Henry Bartway				
1520	Stephen Hall of Wingham miller	£8		20 years	Wingham mill, house, pond
1532	John & George Warham				Dudmill, house, pond
1559	Richard Warham	£4-6s-4d		30 years	as above
1609	Thomas Palmer				as above + le clinke
					as above incl. 20 acres
					+ fishing rights
					for four miles.
1631	Sir Roger Palmer				as above
<i>Area 7</i>					
1559	John Idley	14s			7 acres in Goodnestone
1609	John Richards				5 acres in G'stone
1631	Nicholas Marsh				
1650	Gabriell Richards				
<i>Area 8</i>					
1542	Henry & Jane Bingham	£5	to enclose wood, keep animals out seasonable cutting of wood & underwood	56 years	Woolwich Wood in Womenswold
1638	Sir Edward Boys of Fredville	£5			Woolwich Wood + a tenement.

APPENDIX 2

The Tenants of the Wingham Barton Manor, Ash in 1608

Free tenants

Thomas St.Nicholas (gent.)	7 acres of enclosed pasture called the Forstal of Westmarsh. Rent 7 shillings.
Ethelbert Omer, sen.	7 acres as above. Rent 6 shillings.
John Lucyn (gent)	three parcels of enclosed pasture, ie. 4 acres--lands of Wm.Forte south 4 acres--abutting Westmarsh Forstal south 4 acres--Westmarsh Forstal and Eth.Omer south Rent-----12 shillings
John Forte (at death of his father)	a messuage and 1½ acres of enclosed pasture abutting the common forstal to the west
William and Margerie Forte (by will of their father, William Forte)	2 parcels of marsh of 3 acres, together Westmarsh Forstal to the west

The site of the Manor of Wingham Barton with all parcels of demesne land

Tenant Dudley Digges (knight), by letters patent

mansion house, 2 barns, 1 stable, orchard, garden, courtyard	2 acres
Bynfield (without enclosure) to the east	12 acres
Bartonfield (without enclosure)	50 acres
enclosure called Sheepclose	12 acres
enclosed pasture called Longclose	4 acres
fresh marsh called Frides	6½ acres
fresh marsh called Great Frides	10 acres
fresh marsh called Cowlees in three pieces	17 acres
marshs "sine mor" called Scrynegrass	8 acres
<i>occupier</i> Humphrey Gardener	rent to Dudley Digges £60 per annum term--3 years

**Fresh marsh in Ash in the occupation of separate subtenants
rent 18 shillings the acre**

Humphrey Gardener	11 acres
Richard Solley	10 acres
John Solley	5 acres 1 rood
William Rogers	5 acres 2 roods
Thomas Greneland	5 acres
David Den	7 acres
William Den	24 acres
Nicholas Stredwick	6 acres
Edward Boys, knight	24 acres
William Gibbons	11 acres
William Gibbons	33 acres
Edward Gibbons	14 acres
George Gibbons	10 acres
John Gibbons	10 acres
Robert Allen	14 acres 1 rood
Richard Hopkins	6 acres

**Parcels of the Manor of Wingham Barton leased to Peter Manwood,
knight, by letters patent of 1580**

rent	£32-1s-4d
all parcels of fresh marsh known by the name of Vishington marshes lying together	190½ acres
fresh marsh called Bullockslese <i>occupied by John Parker</i>	109 acres
One messuage and barn called the Ketehouse several parcels of fresh marsh called the Ketemarsh <i>occupied by Thomas Manwood</i>	71 acres 1 rood
fresh marsh called Foore Marsh <i>occupied by Andrew Jode</i>	68 acres 3 roods
fresh marsh called Duckmarsh and Wetmarsh <i>occupied by Robert Met</i>	39 acres
arable land and pasture called Warehawthorn <i>occupied by James Chapman</i>	68 acres

APPENDIX 3

Tenants of the Manors of Goldstone and Lyes alias Ulmes 1485-6

tenant	rents per annum		land	firma per annum		land
	s - d	kind		s - d		
Tho. Collarde	14-11½	11lb wax 7 hens				
William Beke Stephen Forde	9		St. Gregory's barn			
Stephen Hougham Vicar of Ash Tho. Asherby Roger Hayel	20- 3	14 hens				
	2- 8½		at Lyes			
Tho. Mouserod	4- 8½					
Edward Mouserod	2- 4	1½ hens				
Robert Mouserod	7- 6					
Tho. Lynde	3- 9½		Guilton mill			
Rob. at Brygge	8- 1½	½ hen				
Thomas Broke William Ilent	3- 5		land			
	1- 0		messuage at Ash			
Edward Waller	5- 2	1 hen				
William Faunte	3- 7½					
Rich. Colverhouse	1- 0					
Rich. Pury	7- 2½	2 hens				
	1- 3		at Lyes			
William Omer & Tho. Pratt of Flete	3- 3		3 acres & 1 rood			
Tho. Pratt of Flete	1- 9					
Wm. Mouserod	2- 0					
John Nethersole John Taylor	26- 2½	7 hens		2-6	1½ acres	
	1- 6		1½ acres at Lyes	6-8	4 acres	
				10-0	6 acres at Lyes	
				1-0	½ acre at Newcroft	
				1-0	½ acre next Carbrygge	
Henry Downing	1- 0		1 acre next the fishpool at Morescroft			
	10	1 hen	at Lyes			
	1- 0					
Ash Chantry William Forde	8	2 hens	1 acre 2 acres			

tenant	rents per annum		land	firma per	land
	s - d	kind		annum s - d	
Wm. Wibarde	1- 0		1 acre 3 roods at Lyes	1-0	his garden
	2		tenement	3-3	2 acres
Tho. Pratt of Knell	10- 4½	2 hens			
Thomas Omer	2-10	2 hens			
John & Tho. Paramore	10- 0	½ hen			
William Pury	5- 0	5 hens			
Tho. Harflete	6- 0		at Bardinghope		
	6- 5½		at Lyes		
Mrs. Nicholas Chapeleyn	2-10	4½ hens			
William Peny	3		1 rood		
Edward Belton	3- 4				
Thomas Poulte	3- 4				
Roger Rye	2- 8			39-4	at Westdowne
Robert Pechell				7-1	4 acres 1 rood
				2-0	
Thomas Paulyn				3-0	Oxwellcroft
Edward Peny				2-6	1 acre at Hardmanstreet
				30-0	30 acres pasture at Flemingmarsh
Thomas Mayhewe					17 acres at Oxwell 6 acres
John Lyons				2-4	4 acres at Hellesdowne
				5-6	5 acres next Barnmill
William Pett				40-0	Great Lye and Little Lye
Nicholas Page				18-0	12 acres at Lyes
John Crambrook & Simon Philpott				11-8	7 acres at Lyes

APPENDIX 4

The inheritance strategy of Roger Omer of Ash as devised in his will of 1550.

PRC 32/22 fo.110

land	location	purchased	name of vendor
<i>to his son Richard</i>			
messuage, garden with surrounding land		x	Forstall
3 acres		x	Boys
½ acre		x	Forstall
½ acre		x	widow Croker
7 acres		x	Wm. Gibbes
7 acres 3 roods	Ware	x	Paul Richmond
4 acres		x	Mr. Gason
1½ acres adjacent		x	Baldock
1½ acres	near Knell Place		
1½ acres	beside Knell Place		
1½ acres	near Knell Place	x	Forstall
5½ acres		x	Mr. Gason
1 acre		x	Paul Richmond
10 acres	Grenedrove		
2 acres	WalleSEND		
½ acre			
1 acre, 1 rood	north of Grenedrove	x	Mr. Gason
1 acre	Ware field		
<i>50 acres Total</i>			
<i>to his son William</i>			
1 messuage and garden	Paramore street		
1 little house and 15 acres		x	Contysse
11 acres 3 roods		x	Mr. Gason
18 acres	Tryppes	x	Mr. Boys
3 acres			
1½ acres	Warehawthorn		
<i>49½ acres Total</i>			
<i>to his son Lawrence</i>			
messuage and garden	Knell		
8 acres			
18 acres	Downfield	x	Mr. Gibbes
2 acres 3 roods	Nash		
house and garden	Hode		
8 acres	Harmonstreet	x	Mr. Moynings
<i>36 acres Total</i>			

land	location	purchased	name of vendor
<i>to his son Francis</i>			
messuage, where his			
Father lived	Ware		
3½ acres	next messuage		
6 acres	near messuage	x	Mr.Gason
12 acres	Ivibridge		
9½ acres	Weltighe		
5 acres	Cocking		
2 acres	Overland		
2 acres			
3 acres	in Warefield		
1½ acres			
<i>c.38 acres Total</i>			

APPENDIX 5

Extracts from the testamentary account of William Gibbes,
 administrator of the goods of his son John Gibbes of Ash 1580/1
PRC 2111 fo.321

	£	s	d
Inventory total	394	15	9
<i>Allowances for Payments</i>			
to Lawrence Mosred for reaping 8½ acres podware and wheat in 1579----- over and above 18s owing to him by John Gibbes and 2s-4d borrowed of John Gibbes		15	2
to Collens for his harvest wages		17	0
to Trytton for 2½ days pitching the cart after Michaelmas 1579			10
to Deonyse of Sandwich for reaping 8½ acres of podware and wheat at 2s-6d the acre		16	3
to Meriden for a month and all days in harvest	1	1	8
to James for 2 days			
to Thomas of Thanet for 3 days			
to Toby Allen for 8 days			
to John Allen for 1 day			
to Walter Jones for 6 days			
to Gryffin for 1 day			
in harvest work per person		15	8
to Robert, a stranger, harvest work at 10d per day		18	0
to Fort and Dane for reaping 6 acres 1 rood of tares		17	0
to Mesdaie for washing sheep		2	6
to 3 men for setting bees from Richborough		1	6
to Ralph for threshing and more to him for threshing 16 quarters of wheat	5	0	2
to Stone for carrying the same to Sandwich		4	0
to Arnold for his quarters wages		13	4
to little Robert, household servant, for ½ years wages	1	13	4
to Jane Bing for her wages and expenses 1579		7	6
to him owing by Harry Andrew upon his wages		3	0

APPENDIX 6

A. Extracts from the Probate Inventory of Christene Jones, widow of Henry Jones, yeoman of Wingham 1583/4
PRC 32/35 fo.58

In her chamber

	£	s	d
First her girdle and money in the same		5	0
Item three woollen gowns	2	0	0
Item six petticoats	2	0	0
Item six smocks good or bad		6	0
Item six knitted cappes		2	0
Item five white wastcoates		3	4
Item five aprons of wollen and lynseye wollseye		3	4
Item two payer of hoose		1	4
Item a payer of newe showes		1	4
Item an old silke hatte		3	4
Item an old cloake		1	8
Item 14 neckerchers		9	4
Item 15 knickers		10	0
Item 12 crosse cloathes		4	0
Item two old lynen aprons		1	0
Item six payer of pore sleeves			6
 Summa	 6	 10	 10

B. The Probate Inventory of Lady Mary Oxenden, widow of Sir Henry Oxenden of Deane in Wingham undated but exhibited 21 June 1638.

PRC 28/20 fo.141

	£	s	d
Black satin gown and hatte	15	0	0
Black plase gown	10	0	0
Black silk grogran gown and peticoat	6	0	0
Old pinched satten gown and kertle	3	0	0
Old plash coat	2	0	0
Crimson satin peticoat laced with gold	6	0	0
Faged velvet gown and kertle	3	0	0
Crimson velvet peticoat laced with gold	5	0	0
Chamlet peticoat laced with gold	3	0	0
Stiped Satin peticoat bound with gold	3	0	0
Old fagard satten peticoat	1	0	0
A wrought peticoat	1	0	0
Two red bayes peticoats	1	0	0
A crimson plash waistcoat	1	0	0
Wearing linen	10	0	0
Ornaments	5	0	0
 Summa	 80	 0	 0

APPENDIX 7

**Rooms in the house of Sir Edward Boys at Fredville in
Nonington, listed in his Probate Inventory of 1634/5.
*PRC 28/19 fo.341***

parlour	study next the parlour
chamber over the parlour	
great chamber	chamber within the great chamber
hall	
men's chamber	pantry
nursery	room within nursery
chapel chamber	main chamber within chapel
garden chamber	chamber over the entry
kitchen chamber	lady chamber
study over the buttery	minor chamber
gallery	chamber within the gallery
chamber over the gallery	
blind James' chamber	chamber next to it
buttery	kitchen
brewinghouse	bakehouse
milk house	chamber over the milkhouse
stable	loft over the stable
coach house	horsekeeper's chamber
well house	chamber over the well house
hay barn	

APPENDIX 8.

Town property owned by willmakers of the parishes of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold. 1450-1640.

In Sandwich

willmakers from Ash

1485 John Aldaye	sellars and lofts next the town sellars.
1520 Nicholas Alday	house near the fishmarket
1542 Edmond Amy	tenement and garden in St.Mary's
1559 Thomas Atcheker	house in St.Peter's, in the fishmarket; a little garden at Whuteshe
1560 William Austen,	two houses.
1484 John Broke	tenement in St.Mary's against Wallsend
	tenement in St.Mary's
	tenement in St.Mary's on west of John Alday
1454 Roger Clyderow	tenement formerly the Swan,
	tenement in St.Peters next the cornmarket
	two messuages in St. Mary's.
1481 Edward Fanting	tenement in Pater Noster Row
1495 John Gold	tenement in Pater Noster Row
1608 Henry Harflete	messuage, building and garden
1563 Sylvester Gold	all messuages in Pater Noster Row
1486 Nicholas Stilman,	tenement near the Delft in St.Mary's.
1574 Edward Stoughton	property unspecified

willmakers from Wingham

1480 James Sheterdyn,	tenement in St.Mary's.
1614 John Trippe	plate and furniture.
1625 Charles Trippe	houses in Sandwich

willmakers from Goodnestone

1507 William Boys	land
1535 Richard Dele	land
1556 Thomas Engham	house.

willmakers from Nonington

1625 Anthony Field, curate	house, divided into three dwellings,
1505 Richard Maycott	my place.

In Canterbury

willmakers from Ash

1630 Stephen Carlton	murgages. a lease without the city walls between St.Georges Gate and the Postern Gate into Christchurch;
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willmakers from Wingham

1556 William Quilter	messuage, gardens and orchards at St.Dunstons.
1502 Wiliam Whetaker	land in Canterbury and at St.Stephens

willmakers from Nonington

1549 William Boys	messuage in the butchery.
1505 Richard Maycott	house in Brodestreet and in Potyn Lane.
1559 William Sawkyn	two tenements in Broadstreet, Northgate.

In Dover

1520	Nicholas Alday of Ash -house and sellar
1602	Abraham Nethersole of Goodnestone, house and adjacent tenement.

In Hythe

1602	Vincent Nethersole of Womenswold, one small tenement.
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In Whitstable

1617	Thomas Harflete of Ash - a copperhouse.
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In London

1616	Thomas Cooke of Ash - farm at Hackney.
1574	Edward Stoughton - property in Lambeth, Deptford
1625	Charles Trippe - chamber at Middle Temple.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Chapter 1. Topography

1. A.Everitt, *Continuity and Colonisation. The Evolution of Kentish Settlement*, (Leicester,1986) pp.281-4.
2. CCAL Lit MS E24, fo.13.
3. R.A.L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory*, (Cambridge, 1943), pp.135-7,168-70, 185. R.F.H. Duboulay, *Lordship*, p.139.
4. *Ibid.*, Appendix A. pp.385-90.
5. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fo.5v. PRO SC 12/1/40, fos. 5,16.
6. Flemings were resident in Canterbury and Sandwich in the 12th century, see W.Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, (London,1967), p.171 and D.Gardiner, *Historic Haven. The Story of Sandwich*, (Derby, 1954), p.10.
7. R.A.L.Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.185-6.
8. PRO Cal.Inq.Misc. C145 File 267(9).
9. CCAL Lit MS E24 fo.5v.
10. CCAL Reg.S fos.105,147,329.
11. CCAL Reg.S fo.329.
12. C.Lukehurst, *The Stour Marshes. A Study of Agricultural Changes, 1840-1966*, chapter 5, pp.136-145, unpubl. Ph.D Thesis, London, 1977.
13. *Ibid.*, fig.14, chapter 5.
14. CCAL Reg.S, fos.105,147,329.
15. J. Glover, *The Place Names of Kent*, (London,1976), p.112. M.Gelling *Place Names in the Landscape*, (London 1984), pp.31,111-112.
16. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 2068.
17. *Ibid.* PRO LR 2/196 fo.244.
18. C. Lukehurst, *op.cit.*, pp.140-1.
19. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 2068. PRC 32/26 fo.90, 32/35 fo.19.
20. CCAL TO/W 15B.
21. See Chapter 2 for an account of the division of Wingham demesne land of that name.
22. KAO U876 E1 fo.2.
23. Agricultural Land Classification of England and Wales, Sheet 173. Soil Survey, Bulletin no.9. S.J. Fordham & R.D.Green, *Soils of Kent* (Harpenden,1980), pp.12,134,171.
24. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 2068. These were the demesne arable fields of Wingham Manor.
25. A. Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.127-8.
26. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 2068. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fo.1.
27. A. Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.282-8.

Chapter 2, Lordship and Tenurial Structure.

1. P. Morgan, ed. *Domesday Book, Kent*, (Chichester,1983), nos.2.21 & 23, 3.7, 7.8.
2. A. Everitt, *Continuity and Colonisation. The Evolution of Kentish Settlement.*, (Leicester, 1986), p.83
3. N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church in Canterbury*,

- (Leicester, 1984), pp.106,232-6. N.Brooks argues that no credence can be given to 10th century forged charters attributing restoration of certain estates, including Wingham to the church by earlier kings.
4. P. Morgan, ed. *Domesday Book, Kent*, nos.3.8 & 18, 7.23 & 24.
 5. *Ibid*, nos.5.132,134,135,138,183,197,199,201,207,211,212,216,217,219, and map of East Kent.
 6. CCAL,Lit.MS E.24, Surveys of the Archbishop of Canterbury's estates, 1285.
 7. *Ibid.*, fo.1. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 2068.
 8. *Ibid*.
 9. *Ibid*.
 10. P. Morgan, ed. *Domesday Book, Kent*, no.2.21.
 11. F.R.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, pp.58-60, Appendix A.
 12. CCAL Lit.MS E.24, fos.13-15.
 13. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 2068, CCAL Lit. MS E 22 fos.46,54,69. Sandhurst only occurs in the 1285 survey, the other outlying parcels may be later acquisitions, as they appear in the 1460 rental.
 14. K.P.Witney, *The Jutish Forest, a study of the Weald of Kent from 430-1380 AD*, (London, 1976), pp.207-275.
 15. M.M.O'Grady, *Aspects of the Development of the Eastry estate from c.1350 to 1836*, unpubl. Ph.D thesis, Polytechnic of Central London, 1987, p.59, shows the Eastry demesne to have a consolidated core and outlying lands, including six dennis in the Weald.
 16. A.Hussey, *Chronicles of Wingham*, (Canterbury,1896), p.116.
 17. S. Cambell, *Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of the Manor of Adisham, 1200 to the Dissolution*, M.Phil. Thesis, Kent,(1981), p.73.
CCAL Lit.MS E 22, fos. 1,19,25. In 1460, customary tenants of Wingham Manor held 62 acres in Shatterling, 225 acres in Pedding and 240 acres in Overland, the later containing knight's fee land.
 18. CCAL Lit.MS E 22, fos.45-6. These 16th century fragments are bound in a book which contains a copy of a rental of Wingham Manor, dated 1460, suggesting that this book was at one time in the possession of the Stoughton family.
 19. *Ibid.*, fo.54. S.Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.73.
 20. *Ibid.*, fo.53. S.Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.92.
 21. The date of the endowment has not been ascertained.
 22. CCAL TO N7 A/B.
 23. Late 19th century O.S. maps show Kittington as an area of Wingham detached.
 24. E.Hasted, vol.9, p.257.
 25. *Ibid*, pp.254-5.
 26. CCAL TO N7 A/B.
 27. P. Morgan, ed. *Domesday Book, Kent.*, no.5.217.
 28. E.Hasted, p.257.
 29. *Ibid*, p.227, gives a date of 1537 for the exchange, but Archbishop's leases for the manor continue into the 1540's.
KAO U 876 E 1, a Survey and Rental of the Manor of Wingham, parcel and possessions formerly of the Archbishop of Canterbury

- in the hands of the King, by reason of Exchange. undated, but circa 1559-1560
30. KAO U449 T18,19,20. Among the Cowper family MSS are fragments of surveys of Wingham demesne lands, variously dated and undated from the 17th century. E.Hasted, p.227. CCAL TO/W 15A & B, Wingham Tithe Map and Award, 1842.
 31. CCAL Lit.MS E 24, fo.1. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 2068.
 32. PRO,Cal.Inq.Misc., C 145, File 267 (9). The inquisition does not give a detailed list of arable fields as does the 1285 rental. Gruddeswood in 1285 listed with 224 acres was 321 acres in 1399, but that figure included pasture.
 33. PRO, Cal.Inq.Misc.,C 145, File 267 (9).
 34. CCAL Reg.S,fo.110.
 35. CCAL Lit.MS E 22,fo.47. Bound in with the 1460 rental for Wingham Manor is an undated agreement between the Archbishop Henry (probably Chichele) and his most important customary tenants of the manor concerning rent per acre in each vill in lieu of services and rents.
 36. CCAL, Reg.S, fos.132,140,221, Reg.T fos.123, 172, 283, 286, 299, 307, 356, 372. Reg. T2, fos.8,56,157. Reg.U, fos.48,171.
 37. KAO U 876 E1, U 449 E4, U449 T20. PRO SC.12/20/22 fos.1-6, LR 2/198 fos.3-4.
 38. CCAL Reg.S, fos.132,140,221.
 39. CCAL Reg. T2 fo.56. KAO U449 T18.
 40. KAO U876 E1.
 41. In the c.1559 survey, Brodfield is 140 acres but in the 1609 survey, is listed as 126 acres. It is not clear whether land listed at Uffington in 1609 is included in 1559. The Cowper papers, which included copies of Boycott's survey dated 1631 are working documents, and record Lord Cowper's officials attempting to discover the extent of the Wingham demesne lands he had acquired.
 42. PRO LR 2/198 fos.3-4. KAO U449 T26
 43. KAO U876 E1.
 44. PRO LR 2/198 fos.3-4
 45. KAO U876 E1. U449 T 20.
 46. KAO U876 E1
 47. PRO Cal.Inq.Misc.,C 145, File 267 (9). KAO U 1015 T16. The amount of arable land is not stated, but was probably a small plot.
 48. CCAL Reg.T,fo.207.
 49. KAO CH 31 P9.
 50. CCAL Reg.U,fo.48.
 51. CCAL Reg.S, fos.110,132,221-2; Reg.T, fo.286.
 52. KAO U449 T18. It would appear that stock and land leases were continued for longer on the Archbishop's manor of Wingham than on the Abbot of Westminster's estates, see B.Harvey, *The Leasing of the Abbot of Westminster's Demesnes in the later Middle Ages*, *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd series, Vol.22 (1969), p.17
 53. CCAL Reg.T, fo.299.
 54. PRO SC/12/20/22 fo.1. KAO U876 E1, U449 T20
 55. PRO Cal.Ltrs.Pat., C66/1064 no.264, /1065 no.515.
 56. KAO U449 E4, an undated particular of leases and rents of

- Wingham manor and Ratling Court among the Cowper MSS, but names of lessees suggest a date between 1630-50.
57. KAO U449 T20.
 58. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.47.
 59. There is no record of a will for John, but a will for a Christopher Eldergate of Canterbury in 1507.
 60. CCAL Reg.T fos.283,286,299, Reg.T2 fo.8. PRC 33/1 fo.173, will of William Godneston, 1523/4.
 61. CCAL Reg.T fo.172,424. PRC 33/1 fo.183, Will of Simon Gason of Ash.
 62. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.25,37,63,75,77. In 1460 a Simon Gason held 11½ acres in Ware and Overland, a William Gason held 1 acre 3½ roods in Westmarsh.
 63. CCAL Reg.T fos.123,356. PRC 33/1 fos.95,222. John and Robert Tropham were probably the Goodnestone testators of 1490 and 1545.
 64. CCAL Reg.T fo.172.
 65. *Ibid.* fo.372. PRO LR 2/198, fos.3-4. Thomas Palmer held the lease in 1608.
 66. PRC 32/41 fo.73, in his will of 1610, John Warham requested that Wenderton Manor be sold. E.Hasted, p.231.
 67. KAO U449 T18. CCAL Reg.T fo.56.
 68. CCAL Reg.U fo.48, Reg T2 fo.157
 69. CCAL Reg.T2 fo.75
 70. CCAL DAC Y/2/29 fo.155, ex.inf. Mary Dixon, unpublished research on Dover. See Chapter 3 for some discussion of the Bingham family.
 71. P.Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution. Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500-1640*, (Sussex, 1977), p.60
 72. CCAL Reg.U fo.171. KAO U876 E1. PRO LR 2/198 fos.3-4. PRC 32/46 fo.221, Sir Roger Nevinson's will is dated 1624. See discussion of Ratling later in this chapter.
 73. KAO U876 E1, U449 T20. PRO LR 2/198 fos.3-4. PRC 32/43 fo.205.
 74. PRO LR 2/198 fos 3-4. Land called Hartsfield was part of the Oxenden estate on the Tithe Map of Wingham in 1840, and it is likely that this was the land exchanged between Earl Cowper and Sir George Oxenden in c.1732, see E.Hasted, p.227.
 75. KAO U876 E1, U449 T20. PRO LR 2/198 fos. 3-4.
 76. KAO U449 T20.
 77. *Ibid.*
 78. KAO U1015 T16.
 79. KAO U876 E1. PRO LR 2/198 fos.3-4. PRC 32/43 fo.197.
 80. KAO U449 T19, U 876 T23, an agreement, dated 1620, for the removal of furniture from a house at Blackney between Thomas Palmer and Thomas Jones, gentleman of Bekesbourne.
 81. PRO LR 2/198 fos.3-4. PRC 28/4 fo.9, The inventory of Bartholomew Austen in 1620/1 lists the lease of Wingham Manor from Roger Nevinson.
 82. KAO U449 E4
 83. PRO LR 2/198 fos.3-4. KAO U449 M1 fo.3. It is not clear whether this land was originally part of Wingham demesne lands
 84. KAO U449 T20
 85. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *The Demesne Leases of Archbishop*

- Warham,1503-3, *Kent Records* ,vol.5 (1964) p.269. PRC 32/22 fos.142-4
86. KAO U876 T26.
 87. KAO U876 T20.
 88. CCAL Lit.MS E 22, fo.68. PRO LR 2/218,fos.15-19 and 2/196 fos.243-4.
 89. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 2068. CCAL Lit.MS E 24 fo.1.
 90. PRO Cal.Inq.Misc., C 145, File 267 (9).
 91. PRO LR 2/196 fos.243-4, /198 fos.15-19.
 92. PRO Cal.Inq.Misc., C 145, File 267 (9).
 93. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos,47,65,67
 94. CCAL Reg S fos.105,147.
 95. CCAL Reg S fo.329.
 96. PRC 33/1 fo.2. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.19,30,34,41,60.
 97. PRC 33/1 f.70. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.66.
 98. CCAL Reg.T fo.217.
 99. *Ibid.*, fo.107, Reg U fo.83.
 100. PRO, Cal.Ltrs.Pat., C 66/1020, no.2130.
 101. PRO LR 2/218 fos.15-18, /196,fos.343-4.
 102. PRC 32/36 fo.90. PRC 32/27 fo.405, will of John Saunder. PRC 32/28 fo.51 will of William Austen of Bardingstreet sometimes called Beerling Street. PRC 32/31 fo.431 will of William Hole. PRC 32/31 fo.200, will of William Peny.
 103. PRC 21/9 fo.337, PRC 28/4 fo.4
 104. PRC 21/7 fo.124
 105. PRO LR 2/196 fos.243-4, /198 fos.15-19.
 106. PRC 32/44 fo.195
 107. PRO LR 2/196 fo.243.
 108. *Ibid.*, fo.244.
 109. Ash Poor Book, fo.21, a John Parker paid poor rate on 14 acres in 1606 and he is named in several Ash wills between 1574-1610.
 110. CCAL, Oxenden MS no.256.
 111. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fo.1, Reg.T fo.217.
 112. PRO LR2/218 fo.16. CCAL TO A 7A/B. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of Wingham Barton as a compact farm c.1608.
 113. *Ibid.* CCAL Reg.T fo.217.
 114. *Ibid.* Estate map of Goldstone Manor, dated 1753, Chandler and Dunn, Lower Goldstone Farm, Ash
 115. PRO LR2/196 fo.244.
 116. CCAL Reg.S fo.329, Reg.T fo.107.
 117. *Ibid.* CCAL Lit.MS E 22 fos.64,67. PRO SC/12/1 40 fo.16. The western boundary at a ditch named "Le Swynning" has not been identified.
 118. PRO LR2 196 fo.244. CCAL Reg.S fo.329. PRC 23/4 fo.4.
 119. R.F.H. Duboulay, *Lordship*, Appendix A, pp.15-16.
 120. P.Morgan ed. *Domesday Book, Kent*, no.2.21.
 121. PRO SC 2 172/14, 12/9/81. KAO U449 M1
 122. R.F.H. DuBoulay *Lordship*, pp.384-5.
 123. E.Hasted, pp.209-10. J.J. Churchill ed., *Calendar of Feet of Fines, Kent Records*, Vol.15 (1986), pp.5-7, a fine dated 1179, describes the named fields of this manor.
 124. PRO *List and Index Series*, Vol.137
 125. CCAL Lit. MS E 22.f.83v. PRC 32/31 fo.24

126. KAO U 47/1 T151.
127. KAO U47/11 T511 bundle 1.
128. KAO U47/11 T499, T158.
129. E Hasted, p.211. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.51,54,60,74.
KAO U449 T20
130. CCAL Lit.MS E 22,fo.81. E.Hasted, p.211.
131. PRC 32/26 fo.90, 32/32 fo.194.
132. PRC 32/35 f19. Arable land at Nevilles Flete was leased by the Harfletes to their cousin John Gibbes who farmed it in 1580, see PRC 21/4 267
133. J.J.Churchill, *op.cit.*, pp.5-7.
134. E.Hasted, p.210.
135. R.F.H. Duboulay, *Lordship*, p.386.
136. E.Hasted, p.205.
137. CCAL Lit.MS E 22 fo.81, PRC 32/30 fo.431.
138. PRC 32/30 fo.431, will of David Hole of Ash, 1612. The Broke and Hole families are referred to at greater length in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively.
139. R.F.H. DuBoulay *Lordship*, pp.385-6.
140. *Ibid*, PRO I.P.M, C.Series 11, vol.1 (132).
141. *Ibid.*, PRC 32/1 fo.71, 32/2 fo.108.
142. E. Hasted, p.196
143. PRC 32/27 fo.212
144. KAO U88 T6, this evidence contradicts Hasted's account of Goldstone Manor in E. Hasted, p.196.
145. *Ibid*, pp.196-8. *Journal of the House of Lords* No.28, Bill 27, 1754.
146. Goldstone Estate Map, 1753, Chandler and Dunn of Lower Goldstone, Ash.
147. KAO U214 E19/2
148. PRC 32/27 fo.212.
149. PRC 21/15 fo.109
150. KAO U214 E19/2
151. PRO SC 12/1/40 fo.20
152. PRO SC 2/172/13, SC 2/172/14, SC 2/184/87, Court Rolls of Goldstone and Lyes alias Ulmes. SC 12/1/40, SC 12/9/81, Schedule of Rents.
153. CCAL Lit. MS E22, the same names appear in rentals of both Wingham and Goldstone manors.
154. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, p.387.
155. *Ibid.*, p.387.
156. *Ibid.*, pp.387-8.
157. E. Hasted, p.194.
158. C. Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, (London, 1867), p.404.
159. KAO U449 T1. E. Hasted, p.194.
160. R.F.H Duboulay, *Lordship*, p.386. PRO IPM v No.220.
161. CCAL Lit. MS E22 fo.22.
162. C.Elton, *op.cit.*, p.404. PRC 21/4 fo.242, 32/36 fo.103-4.
163. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, p.388. A branch of the Septvans family held substantial lands as tenants of Wingham Manor in the parish of Ash in Chilton, Chequer and Molland from the 15th century, see Chapter 3.
164. PRC 32/2 fo.138. E. Hasted, p.232.
165. E. Hasted, p.232. E. Elton, *op.cit.*, p.404.

166. CCAL Lit.MS E 22,fo.82.
167. KAO U 36 T774.
168. KAO U36 T774, U774 T691, T793.
169. R.F.H. DuBoulay *Lordship*, pp.387-8.
170. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.56. Oxenden MS no.191. In 1460,160 acres of the 224 acres of Wingham manor customary land at Dene was held by Richard Oxenden. In 1636, Sir James Oxenden's estate consisted of 469 acres in Dene and neighbouring Bossingham in the parish of Adisham.
171. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fo.7. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, pp.389-90.
172. PRO IPM ix No.628.
173. CCAL Lit.MS E 22 fo.47.
174. PRC 33/1 fo.173.
175. R.F.H. Duboulay, *Lordship*, p.389.
176. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fo.8, Thomas de Godwynston "tenet in Villate de Godwynstone 418 acras,3 virgatas, unde faciat consuetudines unius Shireland quantum ad coronam domini Regis et alliis serviciis relaxatis"; fos.2v,4v,5,7,9,10v,11. Shirelands also existed in the hamlets of Chilton, Frenes, Overland, Bonnington, Nonington, Kittington, Twitham, Accolt and Soles.
177. CCAL Lit.MS E 22 fo.47.
178. PRC 32/11 fo.33, 33/1 fo.173
179. E. Hasted, p.242.
180. PRC 32/21 fo.212, 32/51 fo.255. KAO U 1496 T 28.
181. PRC 32/38 fo.6.
182. KAO U 373 T1, U1496 T4, U88 T24. No details of the acreages or extent of these two estates at Goodnestone appear in the foregoing documents.
183. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, p.387.
184. *Ibid.*, p.387.
185. PRO Cal.Ltrs.Pat, Pt. 4 m.22d Hoath in Patrixbourne, where the Isaaks lived was three miles west of Ratling.
186. CCAL Lit. MS E 22 fos.51,54,60,74.
187. PRO Cal.I.P.M., C Series 11, vol.16 (94,118).
188. KAO U449 T20, M1,
189. KAO CH 31 P9.
190. E. Hasted, p.253.
191. KAO U449 M1.
192. PRC 28/9 fo.492, 32/42 fo.133.
193. KAO U449 M1, fo.3v.
194. KAO U449 T20, Sale of Ratling Court, Dec.1631.
195. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, p.390.
196. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.47. KAO CH 31 P9.
197. CCAL Lit.MS E 22 fos.47,52. Reg.T2, fo.126.
198. PRC 32/38 fo.46.
199. KAO U373 T61.
200. E. Hasted, p.258.
201. CCAL Lit.MS E 22 fo.44,51.
202. *Ibid.* fos.44,54. E.Hasted, p.258.
203. PRC 33/1 fo.40.
204. KAO U214 fo.19. See Chapter 3 for further discussion of the estate of the Boys family.
205. E.Hasted, p.257.
206. *Ibid.* p.255.

207. *Ibid.*, p.254, CCAL TO N 7A/B Tithe Award for Nonington 1840. PRC 33/1 fo.53.
208. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the Hammond estate.
209. KAO U442 P30
210. PRC 33/1 fo.203.
211. PRC 33/1 fo.205.
212. PRC 32/32 fo.121.
213. PRO LR 2/198 fos.3-4.
214. PRC 28/11 fo.9.
215. KAO U47 T12.
216. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, Appendix A, p.385-91, presents evidence of late 11th century foundation for all fees excepting Goodnestone, Twitham and Ackholt, for which his earliest found references are 1253. CCAL Lit.MSS E24 fo.4.
217. *Ibid.*, pp.212-3.
218. B.Harvey, *op.cit.*, pp.17-27.
219. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, pp.43-5, 51-2.
220. *Ibid.*, p.132.
221. Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.51. M.O.Grady, *op.cit.*, p.59.
222. A. Langridge, *The Tenantry of Chartham from 1200-1560*, unpubl. M.A. thesis, University of Kent, 1982.
223. A.R.H. Baker, Open Fields and Partible Inheritance on an Kent Manor, *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd series, vol.17 (1964), pp.3-4. K. Wrightson and D.Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village. Terling 1525-1700*, (New York and London 1979), pp.25-7.
224. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, pp.100,348,387.
225. *Ibid.*, p.381.
226. *V.C.H., Middlesex*, (London, 1971), vol.4, pp.206,219.
227. *Ibid.*, pp.203-4. Sudbury Manor was the original demesne; the three later demesne areas were Woodhalls, Headcom manor and Pinner Park.
228. *V.C.H. Essex*, (Oxford,1966), vol.5, pp.214-5.
229. *Ibid.*
230. *V.C.H.*, vol.1 of counties of Essex, Cambridgeshire, vol.2 for Norfolk. E.Griffiths, *The Management of two East Norfolk Estates in the 17th century. Blickling and Felbrigg, 1596-1684*, unpubl. PhD. thesis, Univ. of East Anglia, 1987, p.17.

Chapter 3 Gentry Estates

1. A.Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966), pp.63,108,118,138. P.Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500-11640*, (Leicester, 1977), pp.313,345,358.
2. E.Griffiths, *The Management of Two East Norfolk Estates in the 17th century. Blickling and Felbrigg, 1596-1684*. unpubl. Ph.D thesis, University of East Anglia, 1987, pp.19-20.
3. F.R.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, Appendix A. CCA1 Lit.MS.E24, fo.10.
4. Joyce Youngs, *The Sixteenth Century*, (1984), p.321.
5. CCAL Lit.MS E22. rental of Wingham Manor (1460).
6. The 1460 rental was of customary land and therefore excludes

- the knight's fees, see Chapter 2 for discussion of this point.
7. For the will of Henry Loverick of St, Dunstons, Canterbury, dated 1487, see PRC 32/8 fo.167.
 8. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.50,52. E.Hasted, p.30 and p.236.
 9. Evidence for residence in the parishes of Wingham, Ash. Goonestone. Nonington and Womenswold is based on surviving wills.
 10. The 1460 rental of Wingham Manor lists land held by each tenant under the name of a vill or hamlet. The acreage of the estate of the de Wenderton family of Wenderton in the parish of Wingham has not been found.
 11. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.47,53-4.
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. PRC 33/1 fo.65.
 14. see C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society*, (Cambridge 1980), for a discussion of sub tenancy on the estates of great landowners.
 15. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.1-42.
 16. CCAL Lit.MS E24, fo.2v. E.Hasted, pp.200-1. It is possible that the knight's fee at Ash discussed in Chapter 2 formed part of this estate.
 17. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.3-6,11,16,27,32.
 18. The term used is "defendere pro" meaning to hold on behalf of rather than the more usual word, "tenere".
 19. Only the rent for the total holding of the heirs of Thomas Septvans was entered.
 20. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.12.13.
 21. Courts for Goldstone and Knell (Lyes alias Ulmes) were held simultaneously. William Norres also owned Brook alias Moat house half a mile south near Ash street later owned by the Stoughton family, see his will dated 1486, PRC 32/3 fo.112.
 22. PRO SC 2/172/14 and SC 12/1/40
 23. PRO SC 2/1/40 fos.8-24. The rental lists arrears of rents due in addition to the amount due for the current year, with some record of the actual payments made. For some entries the word "firma" is used.
 24. Estate Map of Goldstone Manor, 1753, Chandler and Dunn, Lower Goldstone Farm, Ash. KAO U214 E 19/2.
 25. PRO SC 2/1/40 fo.24.
 26. *Ibid.* fo.29.
 27. PRC 32/4 fo.73. D. Gardiner, *Historic Haven, The Story of Sandwich*, (Derby, 1954), p.148.
 28. PRC 33/1 fos.89, 51.
 29. PRC 32/4 fo.73 and 33/1 fos.7, 65. CCAL. Lit.MS E 22, fo.53, marginal additions.
 30. CCAL Register T2, fo.8.
 31. K.Wrightson and D.Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village, Terling 1525-1700*, (New York and London 1979), p.33.
 32. PRO E179 124/190 fos.11-14.
 33. E.Hasted, p.242. PRC 33/1, fo.73.
 34. CCAL Lit.MS. E 22, fos.3-13,16-17,26-8,88. Marginal additions added to the rental of Wingham manor dated 1460 in a different mid 16th century hand contain the words "modo Stoughton".

35. PRC 32/32 fo.46. The acreage of the Stoughton estate outside Ash is not given.
36. CCAL Lit.MS, fos.74,79-80. Fragments of mid 16th century Stoughton estate papers, bound in with the rental of 1460, state that Mr.Stoughton and Mr.Alen held land at Broke "by their wives", who were probably the heirs of Richard Exherst, who held this land earlier in the 16th century.
37. E.Hasted, p.591.
38. PRC 32/41 fo.73. PRC 32/37, fo.63. KAO U 876 E1.
39. CCAL Reg.T2, fos.56,157. Reg.U, fo.48.
40. PRC 32/22, fo.142.
41. PRC 21/11, fo.12. PRC 28/19, fo.188. PRC 28/18, fo.22. The inventory totals of Paul Bingham and sons, Henry and Edmund, were £15-14s-6d, £6-11s-8d, £8-11s-8d, respectively.
42. E.Hasted, pp.234-5.
43. PRC 32/46, fo.126.
44. E.Hasted, p.235.
45. A.Hussey, Kent Chancies part 3, *Kent Records*, vol.12, (Ashford 1934) p.2
46. PRC 32/28, fo.10.
47. PRC 32/36 fo.160 and 32/45 fo.32.
48. PRC 32/28 fo.10
49. Much of this land had formed the estate of Thomas Septvans in the 15th century, but although of the same family, Thomas Harflete was not a direct descendant. Thomas Harflete's son Christopher, called himself Septvans alias Harflete.
50. Sir Thomas Harflete, Christopher's son, was assessed for poor rate on 106 acres in Ash parish in 1606; see Ash Poor Book, fo.21.
51. PRC 21/5, fo.90. PRC 21/2, fo.34.
52. PRC 32/34, fo.158.
53. PRC 32/29, fo.12. PRC 32/40, fo.18. PRC 32/36, fo.160.
54. PRC 32/39, fo. 20.
55. E. Hasted, pp.233, 247. KAO U 876 T 23. Stephen Sollye gentleman of Pedding in 1653, Gabriel Richards gentleman of Goodnestone in 1671, Thomas Jones gentleman of Bekesbourne in 1620.
56. CCAL Lit.MS, fos.7,9,21. PRC 32/17, fo.543. PRC 17/13, fo.172, Solomon Hougham of Preston left his tenement at Weddington in Ash to his son Stephen in 1518.
57. PRC 33/1, fo.78.
58. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fo.81. PRC 32/29, f.31. There were two men called John Broke, who lived in Ash in the Flete area in the early 16th century, but the family relationship is not clear.
59. PRC 21/6 fo.230 and 32/35, fo.19.
60. PRC 32/26 fo.90.
61. *Ibid.*
62. PRC 32/35 fo.19. PRC 32/37, fo.276. PRC 32/28, fo.80. John Broke left part of his estate, including the house at Brookestreet, to his wife, Magdalen, and after her death to his godson John Huffham, and the other part to Michael Huffham. It looks as if John died before inheriting, as Michael in 1596 was in possession of Brook house; see his will, PRC 32/37, fo.276.

63. PRC 21 /6, fo.470. PRC 21/13, fo.361.
64. PRC 32/ 39, fo.259. Ash Poor Book, 1601-10, fo.21.
65. E.Hasted, p.202.
66. PRC 32/26 fo.90.
67. PRC 32/35 fo.79 and 32/39 fo.259.
68. CCAL Lit. MS E 22, fo. 78; a list of undated lands and occupiers in Ash parish of c.1540.
69. *Ibid.*, fos.43,46.
70. PRC 21/2, fo.128.
71. PRC 32/36, fo.212. CCAL Lit.MS E 22, fo.84.
72. PRC 21/15 fo.109. inventory of John Gybbes, 1599. The evidence for the Boys, Palmer and Hammond families is clearer for the 17th century.
73. PRC 21/12 f.229.
74. PRC 32/37, fo.63.
75. PRC 21/66, fo.13. PRC 28/8, f.80. Thomas Gybbes held the lease of Broke alias Moat farm in Ash from Thomas Wilde of Canterbury, the son in law of Thomas, son of Edward Stoughton. Thomas Gybbes was the father of John Gybbes, who held the lease of Goldstone manor from Thomas Engham in the 1590's.
76. PRC 21/9 fo.337. PRC 21/15, fo.270. PRC 21/2, fo.76. Vincent St. Nicholas held the lease of Overland parsonage barn, John Gybbes, the lease of St. Gregory's parsonage barn, in Ash; John Idley held the lease of Goodnestone parsonage barn. The value of cereals in the parsonage barns has not been included in the value of cereals in column 7 of Table 7, for Vincent St. Nicholas, John Gybbes and John Idley, as it represents tithes collected, not the produce of their estates.
77. PRC 21/2, f.76.78.
78. E. Griffiths, *op.cit.*, pp.60-68, suggests that careful management of the demesne at Felbrigg in Norfolk by the Wyndham family in the years 1608-9 was as profitable as in 1611 when they changed over to leasing the demesne.
79. PRC 21/2 fos.347-55 and 28/15 fo.429.
80. E. Griffiths, *op.cit.*, pp.36,63.
81. PRO E 179/127/510.
82. PRC 28/9 fo.238 and 32/42 fo.403.
83. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.54.
84. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.1.
85. KAO U214 E19/11, an undated but 17th century mortgage of Fredville Manor, in the Clayton MSS collection. CCAL TO W 7 A/B, Nonington Tithe Map and Award, 1840.
86. KAO U 373 T61.
87. E. Hasted, *op.cit.*, p.257.
88. PRC 32/38, fo.46. PRO LR 2/218, fos. 15-19. In 1608, Edward Boys was listed as a tenant of the Wingham Barton in Ash, with 24 acres of marshland.
89. KAO. U 47/1 T 152.
90. E. Hasted, p.258.
91. CCAL TO W 7 A/B.
92. PRC 33/1, f.153.
93. PRC 32/31, fo.24. PRC 32/42, fo.40.
94. KAO U47/11 T11 and T511.
95. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.83. See Chapter 2.

96. KAO U 442 P30.
97. The lines representing boundaries on the north and east side are faded and ultimately disappear, making it impossible to determine how much of Chillenden fell within this estate.
98. KAO U 373 T 61.
99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.* KAO U1015 T16.
101. KAO U442 P30. The major part of the detailed key to the map, including the acreages of the area around the house are illegible.
102. KAO U47/11 T 511. See also Chapter 2 of this thesis.
103. PRC 28/9, fo.238.
104. PRC 28/9, fo.238.
105. Ash Poor Book, fos.21,33
106. PRC 28/20 fo.66.
107. PRC 28/8, fo.180. PRC 21/2 fo.311.
108. PRC 28/11, fo.428. PRC 21/2, fo.347.
109. PRC 28/15, fo.29; PRC 28/20, fo.151; PRC 21/9, fo.337.
110. PRC 32/48, fo.32.
111. *Ibid.*, fo.32.
112. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fo.10.
113. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.49. KAO U57 T25
114. CCAL Lit. MS E22 fos.47,58,71; Reg.S fo.132
115. E. Hasted, p.47.
116. PRC33/1,fo.58.
117. CCAL TO/W 15 A/B
118. PRC 33/1, fo.58.
119. PRO SC 12/20/22. fos.1-6.
120. PRC 32/32 fo.218. KAO U876 E1 22
121. PRC 32/32, fo.218.
122. KAO U 876 E1 22.
123. KAO U449 E 4.
124. PRC 21/2, fo.347.
125. KAO U876 E1 22
126. PRC 21/2 fo.347
127. PRC 32/32 fo.218.
128. PRC 21/2 fo.347.
129. PRC 32/32 fo.218.
130. PRC 28/11, fo.428.
131. KAO U449 T20
132. CCAL Oxenden MS, no.196.
133. PRC 21/14, fo.334.
134. PRC 32/38, fo.100.
135. *Ibid.*
136. PRC 32/38 fo.100.
137. PRO LR 2/198/218, fo.3-4. See Chapter 2.
138. KAO U449 T20, Boycott's Survey of Wingham.
139. PRC 21/14, fo.334.
140. W.G.Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations and Economic History,1488-1619",in *Essays in Agrarian History*, ed. W.E.Minchinton, vol.1, p.93.
141. PRC 21/14 fo.334
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid* and PRC 21/2 fo.347.

144. D.Gardiner, *The Oxinden Letters, 1607-42*, (London, 1933), p.72. B.L. MS 27999 fo.131
145. A.Hussey, *Chronicles of Wingham*, (Canterbury, 1896), pp.183-5.
146. PRC 32/35 fo.100.
147. PRC 32/38 fo.100. D.Gardiner, *op.cit.*, p.X1X.
148. CCAL Oxenden MS, no.256. E. Hasted, pp.232.
149. PRC 28/16 fo.411. E.Hasted, p.228.
150. KAO U 565 T202; a deed dated 1634 divided property in Ash and Sandwich between members of the Peke family.
151. E.Hasted, pp.203-4.
152. PRC 32/31, fo.182. PRO E/179/127/510.
153. KAO U449 T19, T20.
154. KAO Q/RTM fos. 79-82.

Chapter 4 Landholding and Farms

1. C.Lukehurst in *The Stour Marshes, A study of Agricultural Changes, 1840-1966*, Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1977, pp.111-112, found that in 1840 from her analysis of Tithe maps that 39% of farmsteads in the area of the Stour marshes had detached marshland parcels, 27% had attached marshland.
2. E. Le Roy Ladurie, *The French Peasantry, 1460-1660*, (translation by Alan Sheriden, Aldershot, 1987). M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities. English Villagers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, (Cambridge, 1974), pp.66-72, discusses the effects of demographic change on land holdings in Cambridgeshire.
3. The nature of the vill is examined in Chapter 7.
4. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fos.3v.,5v.
5. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.70-3.
6. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fos.2,6,11.
7. *Ibid.* fo.10v.
8. *Ibid.*, fos. 2v.,7, 8v.
9. *Ibid.* fos.2,7,10.
10. M.Spufford, *op.cit.*, pp.66,78.
11. CCAL Lit. MS. E 22, estimates of customary tenant land of Wingham manor were derived from an aggregate of holdings of tenants in 1460. The estimated 17,000 acres area of the five parishes is dependant on late 19th century O.S. maps of Ash, Wingham, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold.
12. KAO U449 M1. PRO SC 12/1/40.
13. B.Harvey in *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1977), pp.213-4, argues that laying bare customary holdings does not mean the discovery of the occupation of land.
14. CCAL Lit.MS.E 22, E 24. PRO SC 12/20/22.
15. PRO SC/12/20/22, fo.3.
16. PRC 32/27 fo.66, PRC 32/29 fo.29, PRC 32/31, fo.182.
17. PRO SC 12/20/22 fos.2-4. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.47,55.
18. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.1-42.
19. *Ibid.* fos.12-14,64.
20. *Ibid.* fo.50. CCAL Misc.Acc.,vol.31,fo.31. PRC 33/1 fo.78.
21. CCAL Lit.MS.E22, fo.6. PRO SC 12/9/81, fo.12.
22. See Chapter 2.
23. PRC 32/22, fos.142-6.

24. PRO LR2/198, fos.3-4. PRC 28/11, fo.9
25. PRO LR 2/196, fo.196. PRC 32/44, fo.195.
26. PRC 32/43,fo.19. Ash Poor Book lists David Hole paying poor rates on 264 acres in Ash parish.
27. KAO U449 M1, the Stewards Book of Ratling Manor 1600-31. PRC 28/5, fo.386. PRC 28/9, fo.492. PRO LR 2/198, fos.3-4.
28. KAO U 373 T61.
29. PRC 32/22, fo.39.
30. PRC 32/39, fo.301.
31. PRC 20/10, fo.206.
32. PRC 20/1, fo.21.
33. CCAL E 22, fos.80-3.
34. *Ibid.* fos.80.82.
35. CCAL Lit.MS E 22,fo.81.
36. *Ibid.*, fos. 81-2. PRC 33/1 fo.183
37. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.81.
38. PRO SC 12/20/22 fo.3
39. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.80.
40. *Ibid.* fos.79,81.
41. See Chapters 2 and 3.
42. KAO U876/E1 62, U876 T23,T26 67.
PRC 28/8, fo.204. PRC 32/35,fo.57. PRC 32/42, fo.191.
43. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fo.82.
44. *Ibid.* fo.96.
45. KAO U876/E1 62. PRO LR 2/198, fos.3-4. Cal.Ltres.Pat.,vol 5, p.69. Also see Chapter 2.
46. CCAL Reg.S,fo.329. Reg T, fo.217.
47. PRO LR2/196 fo.243.
48. M. Spufford *op.cit.*, pp.49,66-9,100,145-51. B. Harvey, *op.cit.*, p.210. C. Howells, *Land, Family and Inheritance in Transition*", (Cambridge, 1982), p.242. C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society. The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester,608-1560*, (Cambridge, 1980), pp.87-9.
49. C.Howells, *op.cit.*, p.242. C. Dyer, *op.cit.*, pp.87-9.
50. CCAL Lit MS E24 fo.4v.
51. A. Langridge, *The Tenantry of Chartham 1200-1550*, unpubl. M.A. Thesis, University of Kent, p.21.
52. E. Griffiths, *op.cit.* p.43. A.R.H. Baker, Open Fields and Partible Inheritance on an East Kent Manor, *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd series, vol.17, p.1-23.
53. B.M. Campbell, Population Change and the Genesis of Common Fields on a Norfolk Manor, *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd series, vol.XX111, 1980, p.178. R.M.Smith, Families and their Land in an area of Partible Inheritance in Redgrove, Suffolk, 1200-1320, in *Land Kinship and Life Cycle*, ed. R.M.Smith (Cambridge, 1984), pp.139-142.
54. CCAL Lit.MS. E 22, fo.49.
55. PRO LR2/198 fos.3-4. KAO CH 31 P9. U373 T61. Ash Poor Book, fos.21-2.
56. Ash Poor Book, fos.21-6.
57. *Ibid.*, fos.23-6.
58. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.80-3.
59. See Chapter 7.
60. PRC 32/27, fo.337 will of Stephen Solly, 1559. PRC 32/35,

- fo.19, will of John Broke's grandson, John, 1582. PRC 33/1, fo.216, will of Lawrence Omer, 1544.
61. CCAL Lit.Ms E22, fo.83. KAO U47/11 T5 11.
 62. Cal.Inq.Misc.,vol 6, p.179. CCAL Reg.S, fos.105,329.
 63. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fo.82.
 64. PRO LR2/19, fos.15,19,243.
 65. W.G.Hoskins, *History from the Farm*, (London,1970). J. Thirsk, *The Common field, Past and Present*, no.29,1954, pp.3-25.
 66. C. Lukehurst, *The Stour marshes. A Study of Agricultural Changes 1840-1966.*, unpub. PhD. thesis, Birkbeck College, London, in her analysis of Tithe Map evidence found that in c.1840 in the Stour Valley, 39% of farmsteads with detached marshland; 34% had attached marshland.
 67. PRO LR 2/198, fos.3-4. KAO U449 E4, copy of Hersley's Survey of Wingham.
 68. KAO U449 T18. CCAL Reg.U, fo.171.
 69. PRC 32/22, fo.142. PRC 28/4, fo.9. PRO LR2/198, fos.3-4.
 70. KAO U449 T20.
 71. Ash Poor Book, fo.23. PRC 28/9, fo.492.
 72. KAO U373 T61.
 73. The field size does not marry easily with the 19th century fields on the Tithe map and O.S maps, but place and field names indicate the approximate position of fields.
 74. PRO LR2/218. CCAL Reg.S fo.147.
 75. Bynfield was probably the Estfield referred to in a 1479 lease and 1285 Survey. Bartonfield can be identified on Ash Tithe Map and is undoubtedly the Westfield of the 1285 survey and 1523 lease. In 1523 it contained 73 acres and it is possible that part of this arable field was fenced off during the 16th century to create the two pasture closes listed in 1608, when Bartonfield contained 50 acres.
 76. PRC 32/35 fo.19.
 77. PRC 33/1, fo.81.
 78. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.23,41 65. William Smythe's holding in Wingham manor in 1460 was 29 acres 3 roods 14 perches in Ware and 8½ acres 16 perches in Overland.
 79. PRC 33/1 fo.81.
 80. PRC 32/27 fo.337.
 81. At Nash and Beaute farms the acreage for yard and garden was not given and two acres has been estimated for each farm.
 82. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.103-4.
 83. PRC 33/1 fo.66.
 84. KAO U1823/14 M2 and M4.
 85. KAO U1823/14.
 86. PRC 28/16, fo.404.
 87. A Everitt in *Continuity and Colonisation. The Evolution of Kentish Settlement* (Leicester,1986), pp.80-1,117,251,272-4, suggests this pattern.
 88. CCAL Lit.MS E24, fo.4-5.
 89. KAO U373 T2
 90. CCAL Lit MS E 22, fo.1.
 91. CCAL TO/A,7A/B.
 92. CCAL Lit.MS E22,fo.2.
 93. Lambeth Palace MS. ED 1165

94. S.Campbell, *Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of the Manor of Adisham, 1200 - the Dissolution*. unpubl. M.Phil. thesis, Kent,(1981), pp.185-7.
A.R.H. Baker, The Field System of an East Kent Parish (Deal), *Arch.Cant.* vol.LXXV111, 1963, pp.97-100.
95. KAO U373 T2
96. J.Thirsk, *op.cit.*, p.8. B.M.S. Campbell, *op.cit.*, pp.181-2.
97. CCAL Lit.MS E24
98. CCAL Lit.MS E22,fo.17. The survey uses the word "insimul" against this 95 acres, being the only place where it is used in the survey.
99. *Ibid.* fos.17,80.
100. *Ibid.* fos.17-19. CCAL Lit.MS.E24 fo.4
101. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.49.
102. C.Elton, *The Tenures of Kent*, (London,1867), p.404.
103. PRC 32/42 fo.238.
104. CCAL Lit.MS E24 fo.4.
105. C.Sandys, *Consuetudine Kanciae Gavelkind. A History of Gavelkind in the County of Kent*. (London, 1860), p.92. R.F.H. Boulay, *Lordship*, p.165.
106. Lambeth Palace MS ED 1162, fo.14, examples from the year 1511-12.
107. PRO SC 2 172/4 fos.2,3,5.
108. PRC 33/1 fo.63. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.22,40.
109. PRC 28/5 fo.386.
110. CCAL U3/118 1/1, Nonington Parish Register.
111. PRC 28/9 fo.492.
112. PRC 32/43, fo.19. David Hole requested burial in Ash church,near to the tomb of Sir John of Goshall, a 13th century knight and near the tombs of his ancestors who had lived there for upwards of a hundred years.
113. *Ibid.* fo.19. PRC 32/30, fo.431.
114. PRC 32/35 fo.57.
115. PRC 32/36 fo.103.
116. PRC 32/38 fo.36.
117. PRC 32/23, fo.6. PRC 32/30, fo.67.
118. PRC 33/1, fo.47.
119. PRC 33/1, fo.199.
120. PRC 32/27, fo.311.
121. CCAL U3/42.
122. PRC 32/31, fo.241.
123. Lambeth Palace MS ED 1162 fo.13.
124. PRC 33/1, fo.7.
125. PRC 33/1, fo.12.
126. PRC 33/1, fo.85.
127. PRC 20/6 fo.132.
128. PRC 32/29, fo.124.
129. C. Howells, Peasant Inheritance Customs in the Midlands 1280-1700, in *Family and Inheritance in Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*, ed. J. Goody, J. Thirsk, E.P. Thompson (Cambridge, 1976), pp.146-7.
130. M.Spufford, *op.cit.*, pp.85-7, 104-11, 159-61.
131. PRC 33/1, fos.44-7.
132. PRC 32/21, fo.99.
133. PRC 33/1, fo.33.

134. PRC 32/22, fo.110. Lambeth Palace MS. ED 1162, fo.13. Roger Omer is recorded paying relief on 13 acres, 1½ roods in Overland in Ash parish, in the right of his wife.
135. R.M. Smith, Families and their Property in Rural England, 1250-1800, in *Land, Kinship and Lifecycle*, ed. R.M. Smith, (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 6-50.
136. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fo.81. PRC 32/25, fo.56. PRC 32/37, fo.113.
137. PRC 32/22, fo.110.
138. PRC 32/25, fo.56.
139. PRC 21/4, fo.232.
140. PRC 32/37, fo.113.
141. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fo.81. PRC 33/30, fo.44. PRC 32/38, fo.306. Bartholomew Combe was the third son and was only intended to inherit the orchard by his father's will, but at his death in 1600, he was in possession of the whole 20 acre tenement.
142. PRC 20/2, fo.424.
143. PRC 33/1, fo.85. PRC 33/1, fo.82.
144. PRC 32/32, fo.110.
145. Estate map of Guilton farm, 1678, Mr.and Mrs.D.Clark of Guilton Farm, Ash.
146. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.28,84.
147. PRC 32/30, fo.441.
148. See Chapter 3.
149. CCAL TO/A, 7A/B. There is a problem over the name of this field, resulting from the contraction of the name Gyldentown to Guilton between the 17th and 19th centuries and the confusion with Chilton, a separate vill or hamlet area It is called Guilton field on Ash Tithe Map, but it is in the same location as the field called Millfield, alias Chilton field (from the neighbouring hamlet of Chilton, of which it was a part) in the 1460 Survey and it was called Chilton field alias Millfield when listed with the Guilton (Gyldentown) farm lands in c.1540. In the 1540 list of the lands of Guilton Farm, Guilton field is described as next to Molland, the lands of which vill lie immediately north of the road, which was adjacent to Guilton field on the 1678 estate map of Guilton Farm. These two fields were quite separate.
150. B.M.S. Campbell, *op.cit.* p.190-1.
151. B.M.S. Campbell, *op.cit.*, pp.174-5.
152. CCAL Lit.MS E24. R.F.H. Duboulay, *Lordship*, pp.164-81.
153. Lambeth Palace MS Reg.Courtenay, fo.337. R.F.H. Duboulay, *Lordship* p.189.
154. KAO U449 M1 fo.1.
155. PRC 32/22 fo.142. PRO LR2/198 fo.3.

Chapter 5 Economic Structure. Family, Agriculture and Rural Occupations.

1. PRC 32/34 fo.196; PRC 21/5 fo.131.
2. PRC 32/34 fo.182; PRC 21/5 fo.203.
3. PRC 32/36 fo.234; PRC 21/10 fo.173.
4. PRC 21/17 fo.402; PRC 21/15 fo.371.
5. PRC 21/14 fo.195; PRC 21/13 fo.315. The list of household possessions is the same for both inventories; the change lies in

- produce and sheep consumed or sold.
6. J. Thirsk, "The Farming Areas of England" in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales vol.IV, 1500-1640*, ed. J. Thirsk, (Cambridge 1967), p.1-8.
 7. *Ibid.*, p.4.
 8. At the present time, the fertile uplands of the parish of Ash are predominantly devoted to intensive market gardening with some corn. The champagne type areas to the south of Wingham village and in Goodnestone are principally cereal and sheep farming.
 9. J. Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects. The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, (Oxford 1978), pp.7,13,67-8.
 10. M.L. Zell, "A Wood Pasture Agrarian Regime. The Kentish Weald," *Southern History*, vol.7, 1985, pp.82-4.
 11. J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming* (London, 1957), p.89.
 12. M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities. English Villagers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, (Cambridge, 1974), pp.63,77.
 13. M.A. Havindon, "Agricultural Progress in Open field Oxfordshire" in *Essays in Agrarian History*, vol.1, ed. W.E. Minchinton, (Newton Abbot, 1968), p.157.
 14. J. Thirsk, *op.cit.*, p.78.
 15. M.A. Havindon, *op.cit.*, p.157; F.W. Steer, *Farm and cottage Inventories of Mid Essex, 1635-1709*, (Colchester,1950), p.52.
 16. PRC 21/2, fo.76. PRC 28/1, fo.49.
 17. KAO U 47/11 T511. C.W. Chalklin, *Seventeenth Century Kent*, (London,1965), pp.79-81.
 18. KAO U214 E7/2
 19. J. Boys, *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent*, (London, 1796), p.67.
 20. PRC 21/6,fo.99. PRC 28/8,fo.158. PRC 28/15,fo.390.
 21. PRC 28/15,fo.411. PRC 28/17, fo.420. F.W.Steer, *op.cit.*, p.52, shows in a sample of 100 inventories that 33 listed fallow land.
 22. PRO Cal.Inq.Mis. File 267 (9). A.R.H. Baker, "Open Fields and Partible Inheritance on a Kent Manor," *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd series, vol.17, pp.28-20.
 23. PRO SC 12/1/60 fo.33.
 24. PRC 21/10 fo.265 and 28/15, fo.311.
 25. J.Boys, *op.cit.*, pp.67-70.
 26. PRC 21/15, fo.384. PRC 21/2,fo.76. Alternatively, they may have been producing lime from chalk pits, but there is no evidence of a lime kilns in the inventories.
 27. B.M.S.Campbell, "Agrarian Progress in Medieval England. Some evidence from Eastern Norfolk," *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd series, vol.36 (1983), pp.26-46; "The Regional Uniqueness of English Field Systems. Some evidence from Eastern Norfolk," *Econ.Hist.Rev.*, 2nd series, vol.29 (1981), pp.16-28.
 28. P.Bowden, "Agricultural prices, Farm Profits and Rents," in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640*, vol.1V, ed. J. Thirsk, (Cambridge, 1967), p.650.
 29. Small farm equipment was not usually included, as it was frequently lumped together for valuation with household possessions, and in any case the value was small. Three inventories were not included, as the tightness of the binding

- of the volume obscured individual items.
30. PRC 28/1, fo.593. PRC 32/45, fo.250.
 31. PRC 28/10, fo.440. PRC 32/47, fo.261. John Prowde was a man of some status in Ash, as he is named as witness, appraiser or executor in 31 wills and inventories. He was churchwarden in 1615 and at his death, became a benefactor to the parish by bequeathing money for the building of a school house and store house for the poor in Ash.
 32. PRC 28/8, fo.204. PRC 32/43, fo.197.
 33. PRC 21/2, fo.347. PRC 38/11, fo.428. See Chapter 3 for an account of the estates of the Oxenden family in Wingham.
 34. P.Bowden, *op.cit.*, p.661, suggests 0-60 acre farm needed one plough, 60-120 acre farm, two ploughs, 120+ acre farm, three ploughs. PRC 21/15, fo.270. inventory of John Gybbes of Ash, 1599.
 35. P.Bowden, *op.cit.*, p.656, maintains that waggons were uncommon in the 17th century. M.A.Havindon, *op.cit.*, p.158-9, found no waggons on Oxfordshire farms before the 1660's and very few in the late 17th century
 36. This was based on the estimate suggested by P.Bowden for the 17th century, *op.cit.*, p.657. J.Z. Titow in *English Rural Society, 1200-1350*, (London 1969), p.82, uses one quarter of corn per head per year in his subsistence model for the 13th century.
 37. P.Bowden, *op.cit.*, p.653-4.
 38. P. Bowden, *op.cit.*, p.267. This may be too high a figure as a sample of Wingham families reconstituted from parish registers, 1567-1600, suggested a family size of 5.0, although the farming families examined here were from the better off and better nourished families and so likely to be larger than average.
 39. PRC32/4, fo.32. PRC 28/15, fo.429.
 40. PRC 32/44, fo.210.
 41. P.Bowden, *op.cit.*, pp.650-3.
 42. The parish of Ash was divided into three tithe areas; Ash, Overland and Goldstone (St.Gregories).
 43. There is some discussion of rents and debt in Chapter 6.
 44. See Chapter 3 for discussion of the Oxenden estate in Wingham.
 45. PRO SC 12/2/22, fos. 2,4.
 46. KAO U876/E1, fo.22.
 47. PRC 21/14 fos.334-5.
 48. PRC 32/38 fo.100.
 49. PRO LR2 196, fo.243
 50. PRC 28/9, fo.214. PRC 32/44, fo.195.
 51. PRC 32/38, fo.371. PRC 32/38, fo.304. PRC 21/15, fo.371. PRC 21/17, fo. 302. The surviving wills and inventories for both husband and wife, who died within six months of each other, give a fuller picture of this farm.
 52. P. Bowden, *op.cit.*, p.652, suggests an average yield of 16 bushels to the acre.
 53. P. Bowden, *op.cit.*, pp.672-3.
 54. PRC 21/2, fo.311.
 55. The total weight of a given number of cheeses is difficult to assess, as cheeses could vary considerably from farm to farm, from between 2lb-10lb.
 56. M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities. English Villagers in*

- the 16th and 17th Centuries*, (Cambridge, 1974), p.156, gives an example of a yeoman from Willmington in Cambridgeshire who had 106 cheeses stored.
57. A household of six, consuming 11lb of cheese per head per week, would need 312lb cheese per year.
 58. J.Thirsk, *op.cit.*, p.70.
 59. The marketing of cattle is discussed in Chapter 6.
 60. PRC 28/8 fo.158. PRC 32/26 fo.90.
 61. PRC 21/9 fo.205.
 62. PRC 21/13 fo.361. PRC 21/17 fo. 297.
 63. M.Spufford, *op.cit.*, pp.63-4.
 64. CCAL Reg.S, fos.105, 329.
 65. CCAL Reg.S, fos.110,132.
 66. Some aspects of the marketing of farmers in the eastern part of Ash, within 1-2 miles of Sandwich are discussed in Chapter 6.
 67. Lean and fattening wethers were specified in four inventories.
 68. Among the inventories listing swine, only nine do not differentiate between types and ages.
 69. PRC 28/4 fo.371. PRC 21/9 fo.337. PRC 21/2, fo.341
 70. PRC 28/15 fo.429. PRC 21/6 fo.230.
 71. PRC 28/5 fo.434.
 72. PRC 20/8 fo.175. PRC 20/8 fo.17.
 73. PRC 28/5 fo.434. William Sollye owned two sucking, two mare and two horse colts.
 74. PRC 28/5 fo.411; 28/15 fo.390.
 75. Chicken included hens,cocks and capons. Turkeys were listed in only three gentry inventories.
 76. PRC 21/1 fo.171.
 77. PRC 28/15 fo.311.
 78. PRC 28/20 fo.519.
 79. PRC 28/20 fo.66.
 80. CCAL E22 fo.41.
 81. PRC 21/15 fo.271.
 82. discussed in section 4 of this chapter.
 83. The latter two farmers were Thomas Christian of Goodnestone and Edward Brasiors of Ash.
 84. PRC 28/15 fo.429. The small gentry estate of Thomas St.Nicholas was at Hodan in Ash, a street which followed the line of a stream running north to the marshes and River Stour; land along the banks would have been suitable for growing flax.
 85. PRC 28/9 fo.214. PRC 21/5 fo.211.
 86. PRC 28/3 fo.208, inventory of Richard Newman of Ash, 1597.
 87. PRC 21/2 fo.347. R.Filmer *Hops and Hop Picking* (Haverfordwest, 1982), pp.10-14. Reynolde Scot in his treatise *A Perfite Platform of a Hoppe Garden*, first published in 1574, stated that the yield from each hop hill was 3lb of hops in a good year. Between 7-900 hills could be erected per acre.
 88. CCAL TO/A 7A/B, Ash Tithe Map and Award, 1840, shows a small proportion of land devoted to orchards and hop gardens.
 89. CCAL E22. There were 23 references to gardens, usually adjoining the messuage in the survey of tenant land in Ash and north Wingham of c.1460.
 90. PRC 32/30 fo.441.
 91. KAO CH 31 M, Estate map of the Manor of Ratling Court, 1637.

92. PRC 33/1 fo.11. PRC 32/26 fo.138.
93. In inventories between October and March/April.
94. See discussion in Chapter 6.
95. PRC 28/14 fo.371.
96. PRC 21/6 fo.463.
97. PRC 21/17 fo.402.
98. PRC 28/8 fo.351.
99. This classification was inevitably arbitrary, but was achieved by comparing farm inventories with each other and with averages for livestock. Time of harvest year was taken into some consideration.
100. PRC 28/4 fo.9.
101. PRC 21/6 fo.99.
102. PRC 21/17 fo.297. Vincent Nethersole owned a dairy herd of 10 kine with four calves.
103. PRC 21/6 fo.470.
104. PRC 21/6 fo.470. PRC 21/7 fo.124.
105. PRC 21/2 fo.211. PRC 28/8 fo.180.
106. PRC 28/4 fo.443.
107. The remainder were listed under the predominantly arable or livestock categories.
108. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.63-66.
109. PRC 21/17 fo.402. PRC 21/15 fo.371.
110. PRC 28/4 fo.4. John Wygge's inventory lists 6 shillings remaining on the lease of certain parcels of land from the Wingham Barton.
111. PRC 28/4 fo.4.
112. PRC 28/29 fo.193.
113. PRC 28/14 fo.652. PRC 20.8 fo.527.
114. PRC 28/5 fo.270.
115. M. Spufford, *op.cit.*, pp.141-2.
116. PRC 22/3 fo.143. PRC 20/1 fo.332.
117. 1600-1620, 301 acres of wheat, 311 acres of barley on 14 farms.
118. PRC 33/29 fo.31. PRC 32/51 fo.301.
119. A. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge,1981), pp.3-27.
120. A.V. Chayonov, *The Theory of Peasant Economy*, ed. D.Thorner, B.Kiblay, R.E.F.Smith, (Illinois,1966), p.56.
121. P.Bowden, *op.cit.*, p.261.
122. This finding conforms to the first definition of servant by A.Kussmaul, see *Servants in Husbandry*, pp.5-6.
123. PRC 32/40 fo.2. PRC 28/6 fo.146.
124. PRC 21/9 fo.266. PRC 28/8 fo.386. PRC 32/36 fo.120. PRC 32/43 fo.123.
125. A.M Everitt, Farm Labourers, in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640*, vol.IV, ed. J Thirsk, (Cambridge,1967), pp.397,423.
126. Ten from 1460-1550, 115 from 1550-1640.
127. PRC 32/32 fo.218.
128. PRC 32/45 fo.195. PRC 21/4 fo.265.
129. PRC 20/10 fo.206.
130. PRC 32/38 fo.46. PRC 32/32 fo.218.
131. PRC 32/40 fo.190.
132. PRC 32/35 fo.79.

133. PRC 32/50 fo.46.
134. A.M. Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.400.
135. PRC 21/4 fo.321.
136. PRC 38/20 fo.66. PRC 32/29 fo.160.
137. A. Kussmaul, *op.cit.*, pp.35-9, suggests part payment of wages during the year was normal.
138. CCAL E22 fos.81,159.
139. PRC 32/29 fo.146.
140. PRC 21/3 fo.227.
141. PRC 32/35 fo.19. The relationship between Beatrice and Robert is not stated; they were probably brother and sister. A John Parot (relationship unknown) rented five acres from Silvester Gold.
142. PRC 21/6 fo.74.
143. PRC 32/26 fo.17. PRC 32/29 fo.146.
144. PRC 32/25 fo.51.
145. Ash Poor Book, fo. 21. PRC 32/44 fo.210, Peter's eldest son, John, died in 1622, unmarried.
146. PRC 32 42 fo.293.
147. PRC 32/31 fo.214. PRC 32/39 fo.201. PRC 32/38 fo.46.
148. PRC 33/1 fo.231
149. PRC 32/42 fo.132. PRC 28/9 fo.492.
150. PRC 20/4 fo.342.
151. PRC 32/32 fo.46. PRC 22/2 fo.80.
152. PRC 32/32 fo.45.
153. PRC 32/32 fos.218-220.
154. PRC 32/38 fos.100-4.
155. PRC 32/35 fo.19.
156. PRC 32/37 fo.276.
157. PRC 32/37 fo.276.
158. Clement Bing died in 1589, married but with no children and few possessions, suggesting that he was still living with his mother, brothers and sisters, see PRC 21/10 fo.18.
159. PRC 28/16 fo.16. PRC 32/48 fo.154. PRC 32/46 fo.126.
160. PRC 21/4 fo.301.
161. PRC 21/4 fo.265. John Gybbes held the lease of the arable land of Neville's Flete manor from the Harflete family. The acreage is not stated, but his inventory listed 111 quarters of wheat, 80 quarters of barley, with a flock of 188 sheep, dairy herd of 12, 12 young cattle, 2 bulls.
162. P.Bowden, *op.cit.*, pp.610,864.
163. Each of these surnames appears among Ash willmakers.
164. PRC 21/6 fo.72.
165. M. Spufford, *op.cit.*, p.36. A.Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.397.
166. As labourers and husbandmen diversified into bye employments, it is not always clear from inventories, which was the principal occupation.
167. A. Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.413. Removed from this group were servants, young men living at home, retired yeomen, and those whose principal occupation was a craft or trade.
168. A. Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.419.
169. PRC 21/5 fo.203.
170. PRC 21/12 fo.132.
171. PRC 21/13 fo.91. His inventory listed 3 quarters of wheat

- sown; an estimated sowing rate of 3 bushels per acre, would produce an approximate eight acres.
172. PRC 28/8 fo.256.
 173. PRC 21/12 fo.429.
 174. PRC 32/37 fo.168.
 175. Of the 25 singlemen for whom there are inventories, 10 were living at home with family, 7 were farm servants, 2 were called labourers, one was a husbandman/smallholder, 6 owned a few personal possessions but no household goods.
 176. PRC 21/10 fo.9.
 177. PRC 21/15 fo.109.
 178. PRC 32/29 fos.12-13.
 179. P. Bowden, *op.cit.*, pp.667-8, suggests that a good shepherd could manage a flock of up to 600 sheep. The largest flock in this area studied was 460 ewes and lambs.
 180. PRC 21/7 fo.124.
 181. PRC 32/27 fo.95. PRC 289 fo.492.
 182. PRC 32/38 fo.46.
 183. CCAL TO/A 7A/B. Ash Tithe Map, 1843, shows lookers' cottages on the marshes.
 184. PRC 21/18 fo.128.
 185. PRC 21/16 fo.72.
 186. D. Gardiner, *The Oxinden Letters*, (London, 1933), p.72. B.L. MS 27999 fo.131.
 187. A.Kussmaul, *op.cit.*, pp.11-15.
 188. PRC 21/17 fo.388.
 189. PRC 20/5 fo.505.
 190. PRC 21/2 fo.354. Five bushels of malt was sufficient for a hogshead, ie. 54 gallons of beer; see F.W.Steer, *op.cit.*, p.34.
 191. F.W. Steer, *op.cit.*, p.33 and A. Major, *A New dictionary of Kent Dialect.*, (Chatham, 1981), pp.45,74.
 192. PRC 21/15 fo.13. PRC 21/17 fo.408.
 193. PRC 28/16 fo.176. H.F.C.Lansbery, Sevenoaks Wills and Inventories in the Age of Charles 11, in *Kent Records*, vol.25, (Maidstone, 1988), p.X1X.
 194. PRC 28/18.
 195. PRC 21/1 fo.202; 21/8 fo.12; 21/13 fo.133.
 196. PRC 28/7 fo.196.
 197. PRC 21/2 fo.171.
 198. PRC 21/7 fo.289. PRC 21/12 fo.60. PRC 28/6 fo.205. PRC 28/19 fo.565.
 199. PRC 28/19 fo.565.
 200. For six men, who have been categorised as carpenters, on the basis of tools listed in their inventory, although no occupation was appended to their name, it is not entirely clear whether their primary occupation was carpentry or husbandry.
 201. PRC 28/7 fo.484.
 202. PRC 28/19 fo.173.
 203. PRC 21/2, fo.232.
 204. PRC 21/3 fo.5. PRC 28.8 fo.236; his debts are discussed in Chapter 6.
 205. PRC 28/10 fo.420.
 206. PRC 21/11 fo.80.
 207. PRC 32/36 fo.224. The youngest daughter, Elizabeth received a cow with her cash bequest of £20 from her father in 1591.

208. PRC 28/8 fo.351.
209. PRC 28/14 fo.198.
210. PRC 28/16 fo.276.
211. A.Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.429.
212. A Everitt, *op.cit.*, pp.427-8.
213. J.Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, pp.7,68,75.
214. C.W.Chalklin, *op.cit.*, pp.116-126. E.Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England*, (Manchester, 1985), pp.15-6, 79, 89-97, 108-110
215. C.W.Chalklin, *op.cit.*, pp.118-9.
216. F.W.Steer, *op.cit.*, p.18.
217. C.W.Chalklin, *op.cit.* p.123. The worsteds of the new draperies differed from the woollen broadcloths partly in their use of long combed wool, whilst the Kentish broadcloths used entirely short carded wools. Specialist wool combers existed in Canterbury.
218. E.Kerridge, *op.cit.*, p.141.
219. PRC 21/9 fo.176.
220. PRC 28/19 fo.576. PRC 28/8 fo.220.
221. PRC 28/5 fo.164. PRC 28/7 fo.214. Stock cards may have been a comb on a stand.
222. PRC 28/17 fo.550. Sleas are the part of the loom pulled through by hand among the threads.
223. PRC 32/47 fo.30. This property was adjacent to the land of Sir John Wyles or Wylde, grandson of Thomas Stoughton and son of Elizabeth Wilde (nee Stoughton), who owned Broke, alias Moat farm in Ash to the south of Ash Street and churchyard.
224. PRC 32/47 fo.30. E.Kerridge, *op.cit.*, p.179, suggests that weavers with 3-4 looms were not small men.
225. PRC 21/16 fo.254.
226. PRC 32/26 fo.188. No inventory survives for Robert Barrow.
227. PRC 21/17 fo.358. PRC 32/39 fo.118.
228. PRC 32/39 fo.118.
229. Wingham Parish Registers, pp.8-10,13,15,17,24,40.
 PRC 21/7 fos.61,3 27; 21/8 fo.12; 21/9 fo.176;21/11 fo.55; 21/12 fos.82,229.
 PRC 22/8 fo.144;22/9 fo.6. PRC 32/37 fo.63. James Harbar married Anne Daykin, daughter of William Daykin, retired cleric from Adisham and was executor to his father-in-law's will in 1581. Between 1581 and 1594 six children were baptised and one buried. James administered the goods of Margerie Harvy in 1583, appraised the inventories of William Dixon, husbandman and Roger Miles, vintner in 1585, John Aparton, glover in 1587, Humphrey Meakin, tailor in 1590, and William Goodin in 1592, witnessed the will and appraised the inventory of Edward Warham, gentleman in 1592.
230. PRC 32/39 fo.10.
231. C.W.Chalklin, *op.cit.*, p.119.
232. E.Kerridge, *op.cit.*, p.97.
233. PRC 21/5 fo.189.
234. PRC 21/5 fo.189.
235. PRC 21.1 fo.128.
236. See Chapter 6.
237. PRC 33/1 fo.47, the earliest reference to cloth manufacture in probate records was in 1509, in the will of Richard Lacy of Ash, who bequeathed his bastard loom and broadloom to his

- servant John Coleman.
238. PRC 21/6 fo.320, the iron was used to remove the seed capsules from hemp.
 239. PRC 21/5 fo.131.
 240. E.Kerridge, *op.cit.*, p.203.
 241. PRC 28/11 fos.202, 408
 242. 34 inventories listed separate brew houses.
 243. PRC 21/14 fos.334-5.
 244. PRC 21/14 fo.415.
 245. PRC 32/44 fo.258.
 246. PRC 28/16 fo.411.
 247. PRC 28/16 fo.411. D. Gardiner, *The Oxinden Letters, 1607-42*, (London, 1933), p.7.
 248. *Ibid*, p.7
 249. A. Hussey, *The Chronicles of Wingham*, (Canterbury, 1896), p.189. D. Gardiner, *Historic Haven. The Story of Sandwich*, (Derby, 1954), p.230. A. Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion*, (Leicester), 1966, p.85.
 250. PRC 28/15 fo.429; 32/48 fo.32.
 251. J. Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, pp.108-9, 149, 155.

Chapter 6. Marketing and purchasing. Credit and Debt.

1. A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce" in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1500-1640*, vol.4, ed. J. Thirsk, (Cambridge, 1967), ch.8, pp.437-4,478.
2. A. Hussey, *Chronicles of Wingham*, (Canterbury, 1896), pp.33-4
E. Hasted, p.227.
3. *Ibid.*, p.193.
4. CCAL Reg.S, fo.110.
5. E. Hasted, p.225.
6. In Wingham, John Chapman 1635, Edward Alison 1584, Jo Rusbridge 1636 and William Averell 1598; in Ash, Thomas Dunkyn 1610 and Adryan the butcher 1582; in Goodnestone, John Bennett 1598; in Nonington, Beke the butcher 1567.
7. PRC 21/1 fo.202; 21/2 fo.171.
8. PRC 21/2, fo.232.
9. PRC 26/18, (folios not numbered).
10. PRC 20/9, fo.426; 20/4, fo.41.
11. PRC 28/20 fo.631.
12. C.Dyer, *The Consumer and the Market in the later Middle Ages*, *Econ.Hist Rev.* 2nd ser. vol.XL11, 3 (1989), pp.324.
13. KAO U876/E1 22.
14. E.Hasted, p.263, cites Rot.Cart., 27-39 Henry VI, N 25, grant to Sir Thomas Browne, 1460.
15. B.A. Holderness, comments on the same problem in dealing with inventories from Lincolnshire, in *Credit in a Rural Community, 1660-1800*, in *Midland History*, vol.3, 1975-6.
16. The links with Bedfordshire and Lincolnshire were debts owed by Richard Noke, vicar of Goodnestone in 1624. The Essex relationship involved debts owed by William Wilkins of Nonington to his brother in Braintree in 1614. Richard Parker of Womenswold owed a debt to a relative in Lancashire.
17. PRC 33/1, fo.190.

18. PRC 22/3, fo.50; 21/11, fo.218.
19. PRC 21/13, fo.133.
20. PRC 21/4, fo.265; 21/5, fo.189.
21. PRC 32/32, fo.46; 21/6, fo.423; 21/11, fo.230.
22. PRC 21/13, fo.133.
23. PRC 21/15, fo.232; PRC 21/14, fo.436.
24. PRC 21/4, fo.265-9; PRC 32/38, fo.206
John Saltonstall left no will but was the husband of Ellen Saltonstall of Ash, widow and testator of 1599.
25. PRC 21/6, fo.470.
26. PRC 32/32, fo.46.
27. PRC 20/1, fo.362.
28. PRC 21/13, fo.363, Michael Huffham's inventory does not state the name of the buyer or where he came from.
29. PRC 21/13 fo.133. P.Clark, *The English Alehouse. A Social History 1200-1830*, (London & New York 1983), pp.85, 137-8.
30. A.Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.498-9, suggests that the average distance travelled to market in England and Wales in this period was 7 miles.
31. A.Everitt. *op.cit.*, p.589.
32. PRC 21/13, fo.361.
33. PRC 28/9, fo.238.
34. M.A.Havinden, "Agricultural Progress in Open Field Oxfordshire" in *Essays in Agrarian History*, vol.1, (Newton Abbot, 1968), pp.158-9.
35. PRC 21/12, fo.37; 21/4,fo.321.
36. This is most likely to be Gilton parsonage in Ash, as Overland and St.Gregories parsonages are usually referred to specifically by name to distinguish them.
37. PRC 27/2, fo.89.
38. PRC 21/15, fo.270.
39. PRC 21/4, fo.265.
40. PRC 28/15, fo.311.
41. PRC 21/11, fo.307.
42. PRC 21/4, fo.265.
43. PRC 21/2, fo.89.
44. PRC 20/5, fo.464.
45. PRC 21/8, fo.207.
46. PRC 20/8, fo.522.
47. PRC 21/13, fo.361; 32/37, fo.67. It is not stated where Peter Hawker lived.
48. Scotch coal was listed once and sea coal frequently in inventories; coal houses were listed in three inventories.
49. PRC 28/5, fo.522.
50. PRC 28/5, fo.522; 21/15, fo.109.
51. PRC 21/4, fo.327.
52. J.Thirsk argues that this was the case for the Lincolnshire gentry in the 16th century; see J.Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, (London, 1957), p.91
53. PRC 32/49,fo.79.
54. PRC 20/5, fo.79.
55. PRC 20/10,fo.278.
56. PRC 20/9, fo.426.
57. PRC 21/7 fo.284; 21/14 fo.334.

58. PRC 21/4 fo.339; 28/7 fo.285.
59. PRC 21/2 fo.89.
60. E.Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England*, (Manchester,1985), pp.83-7.
61. PRC 21/17 fo.297.
62. PRC 21/2 fo.312.
63. PRC 28/7 fo.196. E.Kerridge, *op.cit.*, pp.15-16.
64. PRC 21/7 fo.61.
65. PRC 28/11 fo.428; 28/20 fo.141.
66. PRC 21/9 fo.337; 28/3 fo.119; 28/20 fo.141.
67. PRC 28/8 fo.180.
68. PRC 20/9, fo.426.
69. The numbers of rooms in column 3 of Table 6.3, include chambers, service rooms and lofts, but not stables or barns. It is not possible to tell which service rooms were detached from the house.
70. PRC 21/2, fo.34. PRC 28/8, fo.180. A surviving house which is likely to have belonged to the Harfletes at Moland in Ash is probably of a late 16th or early 17th century date. Most of these gentry houses have not survived.
71. J.Youings, *Sixteenth Century England*, (Middlesex, 1984), pp.325-7.
72. PRC 38/8, fo.180; PRC 21/2, fo.312; PRC 28/15, fo.29; PRC 21/9, fo.237.
73. PRC 28/8 fo.180; 28/10 fo.411; 28/19 fo.341; 28/11 fo.428. No inventories survive for the Dene Oxendens between 1597 and 1640.
74. A.Everitt, *op.cit.*, p.457, shows an increase in Shropshire from 6% in the 1590's to 24% in the 1610's and declining to 19% in Charles 1's reign; in Hertfordshire, it rose from 13% in the 1590's to 53% in James 1's reign. B.A. Holderness, *op.cit.*, p.99, gives a figure for Lincolnshire of 16% from 1635-9.
75. PRC 21/21, fo.230.
76. PRC 21/6, fo.140.
77. PRC 32/38, fo.263. The debt for iron was owing to a Henry King, but his place of residence was not given.
78. PRC 28/5, fo.148.
79. PRC 20/5, fo.74; PRC 28/18
80. Loans and bonds can be identified as they usually consisted of round numbers, which distinguishes them in most cases from credit for goods.
81. PRC 25/11, fo.9; 21/15, fo.109.
82. PRC 21/7, fo.332. In 1585, three brothers, Thomas, William and Daniel Stonard of Ash had mortgaged a close at Hillsdowne to William Bolton, yeoman of Ash for £18.
83. PRC 28/15, fo.429; 28/9, fo.238.
84. PRC 28/5, fo.538.
85. PRC 28/16 fo.411.
86. PRC 28/11, fo.393; 32/45, fo.250.
87. PRC 28/10, fo.440.
88. PRC 32/47 fo.261.
89. PRC 28/11, fo.9; 32/45, fo.142.
90. PRC 28/9, fo.214; 28/11, fo.541.
91. Also noticed in Lincolnshire by B.A. Holderness, *op.cit.*, p.100.
92. PRC 28/8, fo.103.
93. PRC 28/11, fo.543; 32/45, fo.214.

94. PRC 28/20, fo.270.
95. PRC 21/15, fo.270.
96. PRC 32/7, fo.26; 21/5, fo.109.
97. PRC 21/14, fo.195; 21/16, fo.72.
98. PRC 20/3, fo.9.
99. PRC 21/15, fo.373. In some cases furniture "in the hands of" may have represented a furnished tenancy agreement, as in the case of Edward Oxenden of Wingham with his tenants, see PRC 28/11, fo.428.
100. PRC 21/13, fo.133.
101. PRC 21/6, fo.423.
102. PRC 21/12, fo. 393.
103. PRC 32/7, fo.268.
104. PRC 20/4, fo.342. The younger brothers were still working with Edward on the farm at Ratling, their father having died six years earlier.
105. PRC 21/5, fo.129.
106. PRC 22/3, fo.58.
107. PRC 21/14, fo.195.
108. PRC 20/2, fo.424, administrators account dated 1612.
PRC 21/15, fo.371, inventory dated 22 May 1601.
109. PRC 28/14, fo.275; 20/8, fo.175
110. PRC 28/15, fo.311; 208, fo.189.
111. PRC 21/7, fo.126.
112. PRC 21/17, fo.269.

Chapter 7 Rural Communities

1. See A.Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities*, (London,1977), for a discussion of approaches to the problem of community.
2. All the 16th century entries were copied into registers c.1600. The Womenswold register was rebound in 1814. The survival of Bishop's transcripts was poor and added little to the data in the registers.
3. Parish acreages were taken from O.S. maps, c.1898.
4. An estimated number of scattered farms in the eastern part of Ash, known from wills, but which were subordinate to Goshall or Flete, for which no rentals survive, was added to the total message number, but is likely to represent a minimum.
5. E.A.Wrigley & R.A.Schofield in *The Population History of England, 1541-1871. A Reconstruction.*, (London, 1981), pp.158-9, discusses the pitfalls of this method. Sally Elks in *Lydd 1540-1644. A Demographic Study.*, M.A. thesis, University of Kent, 1987, pp.30-58, illustrates the distortion produced by this method when applied to Lydd data.
6. E. Hasted, pp.223,240,250,261.
7. P. Laslett, *The World we have lost*, (London, 1965), p.64.
8. E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *op.cit.*, pp.174-185.
9. E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *op. cit.*, p.180, the formula (birth/death ratio multiplied by the death rate)-death rate suggested, was used to calculate rate of natural increase.
10. See E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *op. cit.*, pp.162-6,

for a discussion of the problems of local and regional variation in registration. The poorer quality of Womenswold registers may be due to the parish church being a chapel to Nonington and sharing its minister and to poor state of maintenance, suggested by the rebinding in 1814.

11. E.A.Wrigley & R.S.Schofield, *op.cit.*, pp.332-6. Sally Elks, *op.cit.*, p.100, points out that Lydd's neighbouring parishes showed a varying pattern of crisis years.
12. E.A.Wrigley & R.S.Schofield, *op.cit.*, p.659, state that for their sample, in the years 1550-1574, high mortality was seasonally late winter and early spring. The Ash crises of 1561 and 1565 follow this pattern.
13. E.Hasted, p.251, in c.1800 described Goodnestone, Nonington and parts of Womenswold as healthy, dry and pleasant downland country.
14. A.E. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *op.cit.*, p.100, included Sittingbourne and Milton by Gravesend in Kent in their sample of marshland parishes with high death rates. Sally Elks, *op.cit.*, p.100.
15. PRC 32/37, fo.145.
16. PRC 20/10, fo.202.
17. PRC 21/1,fo.171, 32/32,fo.45, 33/1,fo.170. CCAL U3/106 1/1, U3/118 1/1.
18. PRC 21/15,fo.109, 21/16,fo.9, 28/8,fo.144, 32/43,fo.181.
19. CCAL U3/42.
20. Ash Poor Book, 1601-10, fo.33. Ash Parish Register, 1558-1641.
21. P. Clark & P.Slack, *English Towns in Transition. 1500-1700*, (London,1976), pp.82-96. P.Clark in *Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. P.Clark, (New York,1981), pp.3-5, and in *The Migrant in Kentish Towns, 1580-1640*, in P. Clark & P.Slack, *Crisis and Order in English Towns*. pp.117-163. Sally Elks, *op.cit.*, p.58-77 argues for migration into Lydd on the Romney Marsh as vital to maintaining population levels.
22. P.Bigmore, Villages and Towns in *The English Medieval Landscape* ed. L.Cantor, (London,1982), p.154. M.Beresford, *Time and Place*, (London 1984), pp.31-45.
23. P.Bigmore, *op.cit.*, p.188.
24. E.Greenfield, A Neolithic Pit and other finds from Wingham, East Kent, *Arch.Cant.*, vol LXX 1V, 1960, pp.58-60. G.Dawker, A Roman Villa at Wingham, *Arch.Cant.*, vol.X1V 1882, pp.134-5, and vol.VX, pp.352-6.
A. Everitt, *Continuity and Colonisation, the Evolution of Kentish Settlement*, (Leicester,1980), pp.101,109,116-7. A Hussey, *Chronicles of Wingham*, (Canterbury,1896), pp.22-3.
25. See discussion in the conclusion of Chapter 2. A. Everitt, *op.cit.*, pp.76, 116-7.
26. CCAL Reg.S, fo.22, Lit.MS E24, fo.1. Lambeth Palace MS ED 2008.
27. CCAL Lit.MS E24, fo.5.
28. Lambeth Palace MS Reg.Courtenay,fo.227. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, pp.166,169,175,189.
29. See Chapter 2 for discussion of the leasing of the demesne lands of Wingham Manor.
30. KAO U449 T18.
31. A. Hussey, *op.cit.*, p.116.
32. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos,16,18,29,50,55,57,63.
33. CCAL Somner MSS Y.7.20.C.16 transcribed by E.L Holland in

- The Canterbury Chantries and Hospitals in 1546 in *Kent Records*, vol.X11, 1934, ed. C Cotton, p.65.
34. A.Hussey, *Kent Records, Part 3, Kent Chantries*, 1936, p.323. There is uncertainty as to the extent of the land occupied by the College buildings in Wingham and as to whether it was originally rectangular in shape, so occupying a greater area south of the houses fronting onto Canon Row.
 35. A.Hussey, *The Chronicles of Wingham*, pp.119-120. W.A.Robertson, Canons' Houses at Wingham, *Arch.Cant* vol.X1V, p.1. *Kent Records*, vol 24,1984, ed.K.L Woodleigh, p.15.
 36. *Arch.Cant.*, vol.X1V, p.309.
 37. PRC32/11, fo.18.
 38. W.A.Robertson, *op.cit.*, p.309. M.Crane, *Some Preferred Provosts and Considered Canons.*, unpub. pamphlet 1986.
 39. KAO PRC/1, c.318 wills are recorded in this register.
 40. E.Hasted, p.227. A.Hussey, *op.cit.*, pp.43-47.
 41. M.Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, (Cambridge, 1974), pp.60,93,121. W.G Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant*, (London, 1957), pp.64,89-95.
 42. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, vol.V11, 1962, pp.178-181.
 43. R.F.H. DuBoulay, *Lordship*, pp 212-213.
 44. *Ibid.* p.172. CCAL Lit. MS E22, fo.12.
 45. CCAL Reg.S, fo.110. Cal.Inq.Misc., vol.V1, p.179.
 46. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.70-73.
 47. It is a matter of conjecture as to the exact order of the properties, as the word "adjacent" is not used, and there is no surviving detailed map prior to the Tithe Map of 1840.
 48. The words "messuagium", cottagium" and "tenementum" were taken to mean a plot which included a house. One property was a dovecot.
 49. KAO U876 T13,15. PRC 33/1 fo.22.
 50. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fo.71. The dovecot was next to the croft belonging to the chantry of Wingham, which was at Eastown, to the east of Wingham street.
 51. D.Eaves, *Wingham its Vernacular Buildings pre 1700 AD.*, unpub. dissertation in local history. University of Kent, 1982, pp.6,8. Wingham Tithe Map and Award.
 52. By 1460, 50% of the plot at Eastown were held by gentry and ecclesiastical tenants, such as John Oxenden who had increased his holding there from two to four plots. The extent of subletting to inhabitants of Wingham Street is unknown.
 53. CCAL Lit. MS E22 fos.71.73.
 54. CCAL Lit. MS E22 fo.71.
 55. CCAL Lit. MS E22 fo.70. The message of tenant Henry Pendar at Wingford was described as near running water; he also held two houses in the street and seven acres listed under the north part of Wingham.
 56. *Ibid.* Internal evidence suggests the west side of the street, which backed onto the demesne fields of Northfield and Greenfield, behind the churchyard.
 57. Three plots were land with no buildings, the fourth was an open space called "Le Clynke", which suggests that at one time the gaol had stood there.
 58. The names of previous names of tenants follow the word

- "nuper". Three inhabitants of Wingham, Henry Pendar, Bobert Atwelle and Henry Whytemay, had increased and consolidated their property holding prior to 1460.
59. D.Eaves, *op.cit.*, p.82. E.W.Parkin, Wingham, a Medieval Town, *Arch.Cant.* vol.XC111, pp.61-79.
 60. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 1162,1164/5,1790.
 61. D Gardiner, *Historic Haven, The Story of Sandwich.* (Derby,1954), pp.195- 211
 62. KAO U876 T54. PRC 32/46, fo.126, will of Sir Thomas Palmer, 1614.
 63. A.Hussey, *op.cit.*, p.126.
 64. PRC 32/35 fo.58, 32/43 fo.197.
 65. PRC 32/37 fo.63.
 66. PRC 32/46 fo.126, 32/47 fo.276.
 67. The Wingham Register of will ends in 1547. Following that date, wills for these parishes were registered in the main in the Consistory Court at Canterbury.
 68. A.Hussey, *op.cit.*, p.196.
 69. PRC 33/1 fos.42,44,65; 17/22 fo.50; 32/3 fo.359; 32/32 fo.218-220.
 70. A. Hussey and D.A.H. Taylor, Wingham Church, *Arch.Cant.*, XL (1908), pp.131-140.
 71. A.Hussey, *The Chronicles of Wingham*, p.132.
 72. *Domesday Monachorum*, ed D.C. Douglas, (London 1944), pp.11-12,13,77-9. G.Ward, The Lands of the Saxon Churches in *Domesday Monachorum* and the White Book of St.Augustine's, in *Arch.Cant.*, vol.XLV, p.78.
A.Everitt, *op.cit.*, pp.188,272-3. It has been suggested that Eodredstone was Elmestone, adjacent to Wingham, but within the lordship of St.Augustine's Abbey in 1086.
 73. J.K.Wallenberg, *The Place Names of Kent*, (Uppsala, 1934), pp.234,535, gives earliest dates for Frogham, 1240,1270, and Fredville, 1260.
 74. CCAL Lit.MS E24, fos.3,5, lists tenants paying cotgablum of the marshes and the Fleming Marsh, but listing under Westmarsh appears only in the 1460 rental. A vill called Denstone in 1285 has not been identified. Shatterling and Chillenden vills were divided in lordship, see Chapter 2.
 75. KAO U44 T19, deeds from the Cowper collection contains a copy of a list of vill names for Wingham Manor, dated 1272, which included "Geldentown". J.K.Wallenberg, *op.cit.*, p.527, gives dates from Feet of Fines of 1218 and 1278 for Geldentown in Ash.
 76. H.M.Cam, The Community of the Vill, in *Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer & A.J. Taylor, (Oxford,1950), p.1-11. W.G.Hoskins, *op.cit.*, p.97.
 77. CCAL Lit.MS E24, fo.8.
 78. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.9-13.
 79. *Ibid.* fos. 28-9,33. Marginal comments in the 1460 Survey of Wingham Manor alongside entries refer to land written in another book under another vill. In this case the confusion was between the neighbouring vills of Guilton (Gyldenton) and Molland. There were discrepancies also between total vill arcreages in the survey and those recorded in a book of the Collector, commented on in the margin in some instances.
 80. In the 1460 rental land appears to be listed under vills,

- but in reality it is listed under tenants. The contemporary detailed survey for the north part of the manor is organised by tenant within each vill.
81. CCAL Lit. MS E22 fo.49.
 82. KAO U449 M1, the Stewards book of Ratling Manor, 1604-37.
 83. PRO E 179/127/510, the 1593 subsidy for the hundred of Eastry includes names listed under the boroughs of Nonington and Chillenden.
 84. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 1789.
 85. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 1790 fo.2.
 86. P.Bigmore, *op.cit.*, p.154.
 87. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.1-42. PRO SC12/1/40.
 88. Five of the seven messuages listed under Goldstone manor were given place names.
 89. The pattern of scattered farmsteads rather than hamlets in the east of Ash parish, is born out by will evidence and other 16th century material and is not merely a reflection of lack of 15th century documentation for that area.
 90. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fos.9,13.
 91. E.Hasted, p.201, describes Chilton in 1800 as "a hamlet very near Ash Street, which consists of a few houses of mean account", at that time still separate from the ribbon development along the street.
 92. CCAL Lit.MS E22, fos.7,26-7, Ash street was divided between the vills of Molland and Chilton, with two messuages described as at Ash listed under each vill.
 93. PRO SC 12/1/40 fo.9. CCAL Lit.MS E22 fo.16. Guilton (Gyldentown) mill owed rent to Goldstone Manor, although situated among tenant land of Wingham Manor. Guilton Rectory (Ash) appears as an abutment to tenant land at Guilton (Gyldentown).
 94. PRC 32/40 fo.177, 32/40 fo.221. See chapter 5 for a discussion of the property of John Wood, weaver.
 95. Scattered farmhouses along streets were subsumed under the nearest vill in manorial documents before the 16th century; late 15th century wills reveal more about their existence.
 96. CCAL Lit.MS E24, fo.10v. PRC 32/23 fo.13, 32/27 fo.95, 33/1 fo.171. Boniface Heneker bequeathed his house and land at Frogham street to his wife in 1549; William Harrison had two tenements at Ratling street in 1557; John Parott bequeathed a house and land at Holestreet in 1523.
 97. See Chapter 3 for the gentry families and estates centred at these hamlets.
 98. PRC 33/1 fo.137.
 99. KAO Q RTM fo.79.
 100. See Chapter 4, pp.123-4 and Chapter 5 for further discussion of common fields.
 101. PRO LR2 218 fo.15.
 102. CCAL Lit MS E24 fo.5.
 103. PRO LR2 218 fos.15-19.
 104. PRC 32/27 fo.337.
 105. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 1789 fo.3.
 106. Lambeth Palace MS, ED 1165 fo.1.
 107. PRC 33/1 fos.73,141. The chapel at Ratling in existence at the Norman Conquest had disappeared by the 13th century.

108. PRC 33/1 fo.70.
109. PRC 33/1 fos.14,35,43,70,87,92,159,193.
110. PRC 33/1 fo.159.
111. PRC 33/1 fos.2,32,43,43,47,64,125,193.
112. A.Hussey, Kent Chantries, *Kent Records*, vol.12 supplement, 1934. pp.52-5.
113. *Ibid.*, p.55. E.Hasted, p.222. It is not clear whether the chantry priests at Wingham who held three messuages in Wingham street in 1460 referred to the Brooke chantry.
114. PRC 33/1 fo.138, will of Robert Colonsake,1509.
115. PRC 33/1 fos.138,141.
116. PRC 33/1 fo.38.
117. PRC 33/1 fo.53. John Hamon bequeathed 16s-8d to the brotherhood of St.John at Nonington, to be paid when an able priest was set up to pray for "the brethren and sistern".
118. PRC 33/1 fos.48,156.
119. R.J.Acheson, *The Development of Religious Separatism in the Diocese of Canterbury, 1590-1760.*, unpubl. PhD. thesis, University of Kent, 1983, pp.12-13,55,57,87-9.
120. C.Chalklin, The Compton Census of 1676 in the Dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester in *Kent Records, A 17th Century Miscellany*, vol.XV11,1960, pp.167-9.
121. R.J. Acheson, *op.cit.*, p.60. Elizabeth, wife of Thomas St.Nicholas attended the conventicle in 1625.
122. K. Wrightson, *English Society,1580-1680*, (London, 1982), pp.39- 65. K.Wrightson & D.Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village. Terling,1525-1700*, (London,1979), pp.82-103. A Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin. A 17th Century Clergyman*. (New York,1970), pp.105-126. R.Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1460-1700* (New York, 1984), pp.18-20.
123. K.Wrightson and D.Levine, *op.cit.*, pp.99-100. K.Wrightson, *op.cit.*, p.55
124. PRC 32/27 fo.141, will of John Jonson of Goodnestone, 1558/9; PRC 32/32 fo.210, will of George Fletwood of Wingham 1565/6; PRC 32/32 fo.141, will of Richard English of Wingham 1550.
125. PRC 32/45 fo.214, 33/1 fo.9.
126. A. Barnard and A. Good, *ASA Research Methods in Social Anthropology 2. Research Practices in the study of Kinship*, (London, 1984), pp. 154,159,175-8.
127. PRC 32.45 fo.98.
128. Both Henry Harflete, who died in 1608 and Daniel Prior, who died in 1620, are documented acting in some capacity concerning probate for 42 inhabitants of Ash each. John Prowde, wealthy yeoman and benefactor, in 1626 bequeathed land for the building of a school and storehouse for the poor in his will, see PRC 32/41 fo.261.
129. PRC 32/38 fo.263
130. PRC 32/38 fo.306; 32/44 fo.274
131. PRC 32/41 fo.245.
132. PRC 20/2 fo.424, 32/39 fo.20.
133. PRC 28/9 fo.214, 32/44 fo.195.
134. PRC 32/40 fo.185. PRO LR2 218 fos.15-19, William Gibbon is listed holding 44 acres of fresh marsh as a tenant of the Wingham Barton in 1608.

135. PRC 33/47 fo.266. A higher proportion of those engaged primarily in craft/trade occupations died intestate, although probate inventories were drawn up. The amount of data concerning family and property for this group is smaller than for those primarily engaged in farming.
136. PRC 32/41 fo.243, 32/42 fo.190. K.Wrightson & D Levine, *op.cit.*, p.101, draw attention to occupational solidarity in choice of recognisances.
137. PRC 32/40 fo.18, 32/48 fos.10,32.
138. PRC 32/43 fo.205.
139. K.Wrightson, *op.cit.*, pp.46-8,56. A.Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion.*, Leicester, 1966, pp.42-5.
140. KAO SA/AC 1-7.
141. PRO SC 10/20/22, 6% represents a proportion of rent paid, as no acreages are given.
142. PRC 32/25 fo.57. KAO U449 T20.
143. PRC 20/8 fo.175.
144. PRC 33/1 fo.78.
145. PRC 33/1 fo.231.
146. KAO SA AC 1-7. A.Hussey, Ash Wills in *Arch.Cant.*, vol.XXXIV, p.47.
147. PRC 33/1 fo.51. The Alday's acquired, probably through inheritance, the manor of Chequer in Ash from the Septvans/Harflete family, who recovered it in the mid 16th century.
148. PRC 32/15, fo.124. BL Add. MS 29618 fos.104,124, c/f Mary Dixon unpublished research on Dover.
149. PRC 32/32 fo.39.
150. PRC 33/1 fo.78.
151. PRC 32/28 fo.10.
152. PRC 32/40 fo.18. Ash Poor Book, fo.33, Gabriel Pordage paid poor rate on 104 acres in Ash in 1608.
153. PRC 32/40 fo.18.
154. PRC 32/44 fo.183.

Conclusion

1. KAO U214 E7/2
2. PRC 20/10 fo.206, 32/44 fo.258.