

**FARNHAM AND DISTRICT MUSEUM SOCIETY**

**CRONDALL IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH I**

**A study based mainly on the Probate Inventories**

**by Joan Harries**

**Copies may be obtained from  
the Farnham Museum, Willmer House, 38 West Street  
Farnham, Surrey, GU9 7DX**

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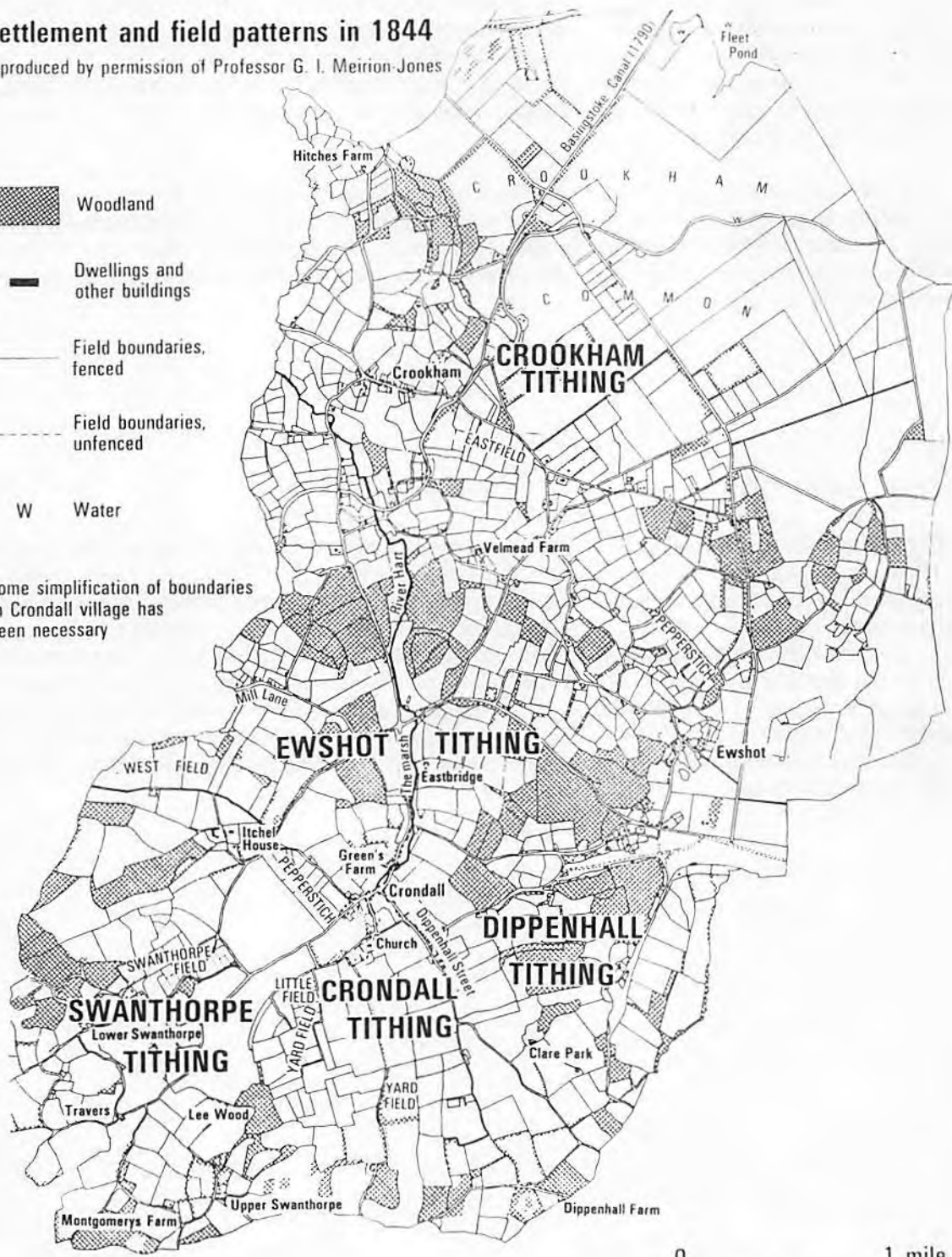
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# Settlement and field patterns in 1844

Reproduced by permission of Professor G. I. Meirion-Jones

-  Woodland
-  Dwellings and other buildings
-  Field boundaries, fenced
-  Field boundaries, unfenced
- W** Water

Some simplification of boundaries in Crondall village has been necessary



## INTRODUCTION

The author has made a transcription of all the extant Probate Inventories for the parish of Crondall, Hampshire from the earliest (1548) until the end of the reign of Elizabeth I (1603). (Photocopies of the transcripts are available for reference at the Farnham Museum and the Hampshire Record Office, Winchester). This paper is based on an analysis of these inventories together with material derived from other contemporary documents, such as manorial records. The first part presents a general picture under the headings Population, Wealth, Systems of Tenure, the Village Community, Crafts and Trades, etc., while the second part analyses the inventories in detail, describing the people's houses, their furniture and utensils and their farm produce, livestock and tools. These are followed by a list of sources and a glossary and index.

The aim has been to offer a small contribution towards the social and economic history of the Hampshire/Surrey borders, by making available the results of this piece of research in one small area, in the hope that it may be useful, for comparative purposes, to other workers in this field. It may also serve to encourage others interested in local history to embark on what has proved to be a fascinating and rewarding line of research.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## PART I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Crondall is situated in the extreme north-east of Hampshire, where the Bagshot sand and the London clay meet the Chalk. The sixteenth-century parish included the heath lands of the north-east as well as good agricultural land in the south and west. The Hart stream rises in the parish and flows northwards, affording some marsh land and water meadows.

The Manor of Crondall was bequeathed by King Alfred to his nephew Ethelm. At the time of the Domesday survey it was held by the Bishop of Winchester for the support of the monks of the Priory of St. Swithun. At the Dissolution it was granted by the King to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester (VCH 4, 6). Some time between 1533 and 1536 it was leased to George (later Sir George) Paulet (see below, p.9). In the *Comptus* roll of 1536 he is described as *Firmarius*. From 1465 until 1533 the rolls show the *Firmarius* to have been a member of the very old Crondall family of Cawet (Baigent 1891, 484-5).

The subsidiary manor of Itchel (or Ewshot) is also mentioned in Domesday, when it was held by German 'of the Bishop of Winchester as of his manor of Crondall'. In about 1250 it was acquired by the Giffard family who held it until 1579 when it was bought by the second Earl of Southampton to add to his estate at Dogmersfield (see below, p.10). There was also a sub-manor of Baddeley, but little seems known about this, except that at this time it was amalgamated with Bentley (VCH 4, 7).

Although the Views of Frankpledge are headed 'of the Hundred and Manor of Crondall' the court dealt only with the tithings of Aldershot, Crondall, Crookham, Dippenhall, Hawley, Long Sutton and Sutton Warblington, Swanthorpe and Yateley. The tithing of Ewshot, which was included in other official records of the Hundred, such as the Muster Rolls, evidently coincided with the manor of Itchel, which held its own court for its customary tenants. Some of the court books for the Southampton period survive (HRO).

The ecclesiastical parish probably originally covered the same wide area, but in the Ecclesiastical Return of 1603 (BL Harl 595, f227), there were chapelries at Aldershot, Sutton and Yateley, while Farnborough was a separate parish.

These variations make statistical comparison difficult as one cannot always be sure that one is comparing like with like. For the purpose of this paper the area covered is normally the area served at this period by Crondall parish church, i.e. the tithings of Crondall, Dippenhall, Ewshot, Swanthorpe and Crookham. When figures relate to other areas, e.g. the whole hundred, this will be stated.

### POPULATION

Much has been written about the problems of estimating population for this period (Hollingsworth 1969; Hoskins 1972; Rich 1950; Schofield 1971; Wrigley 1966) and a very rough estimation is all that can be attempted.

The most obvious source, the parish registers, are extant only from 1569. From this date until the end of the century some calculations may be made but it must be borne in mind that the registers are almost certainly defective to some extent. In regard to burials, this can be proved, since several of the testators whose wills have survived are not included. It is possible that they were buried elsewhere, but this seems unlikely. However, according to Hoskins (1972, 169) the register of baptisms is the only safe one to use, while even this is thought by Wrigley to need augmenting by about 15% (Hey 1974, 45). In the ten year period 1591-1600 the average annual number of baptisms was 18, which, when a multiplier of 30 (Hoskins 1972, 169) is used, gives a total of 540. This, as will be seen, is probably too low. The addition of 15% brings the figure to 621, which is better.

Another record which has been used to calculate population figures is the Ecclesiastical Return of 1603 (BL Harl 595, f227). This records the number of communicants and non-communicants for each parish. Crondall had 456 communicants and 3 recusants, a total of 459 adults. It is normal to reckon that 40% of the population were children (Stephens 1973, 31), so this makes the total 765. The chapelries of Sutton, Yateley and Aldershot had 100, 400 and 161 communicants respectively, Farnborough 130 and Odiham 500. There was an earlier Ecclesiastical Return in 1563, but unfortunately the diocese of Winchester is missing.

There is a third set of data which can be used for corroboration: the Muster Rolls (PRO & HRO) which give the number of 'able men' in each hundred. A multiplier of 6 or 7 is said to give an approximate figure for the total population (Hoskins 1972, 172). For Crondall however, the figures present a rather confused picture. The men are listed as 'unable' and 'able' and the able are again subdivided into 'furnished' (i.e. with arms and armour) and 'unfurnished'. It is not always clear to which category the numbers should be assigned, as the following table shows:

*Table 1 - Certificates of Musters - Crondall Hundred*

	Unable	Able	
1569	133	93	
1573		102	(appointed for service and furnished)
1574		72	(all furnished ?)
1577		128	(furnished 99)
1580		140	(all furnished ?)
1587		384	(furnished 172, unfurnished 212)
1589		387	(furnished 177, unfurnished 210)

It seems probable that only the 'furnished' men were those actually selected for service and that the only years for which we have the true number of able men are 1587 and 1589. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the sudden increase in numbers.

If one takes 384, therefore, and multiplies by 6 one gets a total of 2304, which is, of course, for the whole hundred. The only year in which the numbers are broken down by tithings is 1569, when actual names are given, and in this year the numbers for the tithings making up Crondall parish came to about a third of the whole. A third of 2304 is 768, which is remarkably similar to the number arrived at from the Ecclesiastical Returns.

As a final check, a calculation based on the Hearth Tax Returns of 1665 gives a figure of 825. Thus, allowing for a steady increase during the intervening years, this makes a figure of 700 to 750 for the last decade in the 16th century look about right.

### **Population Changes**

There is little evidence of any dramatic increase in population during the period but the registers show that there was a small steady growth. Between 1570 and 1600, taking the averages for each decade, baptisms per annum are 18, 19.3, 18.2; marriages 3.8, 5.4, 5.1; burials 7.3, 10.6, 13.3. The excess of baptisms over burials, even allowing for omissions, must result in a steady increase towards the end of the century. The average of child burials (i.e. where the entry has 'son of', 'daughter of') is very low in 1571-80 (12 only), which must mean, either that the register is defective, or that the form 'son of' is not uniformly applied. In the next two decades the averages are 43 and 42, about 40% of the total burials.

There were no violent fluctuations in the numbers of burials which could be attributed to epidemics or extremely severe weather. In only one year (1574) was the number of burials as much as twice the average for the decade, the criterion for an 'epidemic year' (Bignall 1983, 114). For the earlier period, however, the probate records show a very large number of deaths in 1558 and 1559, 12 and 8 respectively, against an average for the other years of the decade of 1.5. There was a national epidemic of a kind of ague rampant from 1557 onwards (Creighton 1965, 1, 401-05). Hoskins (1950, 167) also records high mortality in 1558 in Leicestershire.

### **Movement of Population**

It is now accepted that there was much more movement of people from parish to parish at this time than was previously thought. Firm evidence for Crondall, however, is scarce. The only positive information is contained in the Consistory Court Depositions (HRO), in which for each person making a deposition, certain biographical details are given, i.e. his age, occupation, place of residence and, if not born there, how many years he has lived there. This provides some interesting facts, but of

course, the evidence is highly selective. During the years 1567 to 1596, 33 names of persons resident in Crondall occur. Of these, 18 were presumed born in Crondall and 16 were born elsewhere, of whom 7 had been in Crondall less than 10 years. In some cases, the places from which they came are given. Two came from Dorset and one each from Odiham, Farnborough, Binsted, Farnham and South Warnborough. There were 3 yeomen, 7 husbandmen, 1 sheerman, 1 mercer, 2 tailors, 1 weaver and 1 'cater' (carteror?). Some of these would have married Crondall women; but an equal number of Crondall women would probably have married outside the village. Unfortunately, the Marriage Register at this time did not give place of residence.

Some further information, however, may be obtained from the Register of Baptisms, which is available from 1569. A count of the 'new' names of parents, i.e. those that have not turned up previously in any of the records, gives the following numbers: 1571-80, 12 names; 1581-90, 26 names; 1591-1600, 14 names; total 52 names.

As for movement out of the village, a survey of the names in the 1524/5 Lay Subsidy list shows that out of 123 names, 27 (22%) had disappeared from the records by mid-century. Of the 48 names in the 1571 list, 18 were not on the list for 1600 (37%). These last figures do not necessarily mean that the families had left the village; since the absence of a name might simply occur because the head of the family had died, and the wealth on which the tax was based had been split up.

## WEALTH

### The Crondall Customary: Land Holdings In 1567

In a mainly agricultural community, the best indicator of the wealth of individuals is the amount of land they held (Campbell 1942, 238). For Crondall there is the very detailed survey of tenants' holdings contained in the *Customary* of 1567 (Baigent 1891, 156-183). The schedule is arranged by tithing and includes the four tithings of Crondall, Dippenhall, Swanthorpe and Crookham (with, of course, the other northerly tithings of the manor with which this study is not concerned). Ewshot is not included, since it formed the separate sub-manor of Itchel (see below, p.4). It is interesting to note the differences between the tithings in respect of the size and nature of land holdings. Crondall tithing included the main village, though later evidence suggests that some part of the latter was in Dippenhall tithing. Swanthorpe and Crookham were scattered settlements separated from Crondall village by fields and, in the case of Crookham by Itchel Park. Apart from their 'messuages', which included house, farmyard, garden and orchard, all except eight of the tenants of Crondall tithing had all their land divided between three fields, Pepperstich, Little Field and Yard Field. These names are still to be found on the Tithe Map (1844, HRO), but the fields have been broken up and much reduced in size. It is reasonable to suppose that these were the original three common fields. There are also references to very small holdings in 'the great field', 'the field' and 'the common field' of Crondall, but these probably relate to one of the three named above. The individual holdings in the three main fields are small, 7-20 acres, with only two having as much as 30 acres (see Table 2). Pepperstich had 15 holdings amounting to 78 acres, Little Field 13 holdings amounting to 47.5 acres and Yard Field 16 holdings amounting to 77 acres. There were five instances of enclosures within the fields, so the consolidation and enclosure of holdings was evidently just beginning here. The other eight tenants had small parcels of land granted from 'the lord's waste', which was evidently the marsh or common to the west of the village along what is now Pankridge Street. There were only 1.75 acres of meadow, so the farmers must have relied on the common and verges for their grazing. The only woodland was 'Lee Wood', a coppice which still exists.

The other tithings, on the other hand, had no common fields and the holdings consisted of closes, crofts, meadows and woodland. In Dippenhall and Swanthorpe, these tended to be larger and in Crookham smaller. In Crookham, few closes were more than four acres. Dippenhall was dominated by the large holding (8 virgates) of the Fauntleroyes (see below, p.10) and another holding of 103 acres of a Robert Quimby, who was a well-to-do resident of Farnham. The other five tenants each had a virgate, or half virgate composed entirely of closes and crofts, with very little meadow or woodland. Swanthorpe, similarly, had the large farm of Giles Powlett (see below, p.10), one other holding of 117 acres (John King, No 32) and 10 other tenants all with virgates or half virgates (the virgate was very variable; from 30 to over 60 acres). There were two references to 'Swanthorpe field', but these comprise only six acres and it is doubtful if there was a real common field at this time. On the other

hand, there are remnants of a very large Swanthorpe Field on the Tithe Map of 1844; perhaps most of it was part of the demesne farm.

Crookham was much larger in size than the other tithings, and there was much more meadow and marsh land. Although the holdings were mainly of virgates and half virgates, with one tenant holding one and a half (68 acres) the individual units were, as mentioned above, very small. In glancing through the field names it appears at first sight as if some of these small holdings were parts of larger fields, but a closer look shows that this is illusory. There are slight differences in nomenclature, e.g. 'Brockle close', 'Brockell croft' and 'Brockle copse', presumably distinct, though adjacent, pieces of land. However, there are a few which may be relics of common fields, such as 'East field', with four different tenants, 'Middle field' with four and 'High field' with two. There are also one or two references to demesne land which was let out each year by lot. Broad mead was one of these. There are also a few references to purpresture land. Many of the field names are to be found on the Tithe Map and probably it would be possible, with patience, to plot the extent of some of the sixteenth-century farms.

*Table 2 - The Tithings in 1567*

	Cron dall	Dippenhall	Swan thorpe	Crookham	Total
No of copyholders <sup>1</sup>	25	8	11	27	71
Total rents	£8 9s 7d	£11 1s 9d	£10 3s 1d	£27 8s 10d	£57 3s 4d
Cert money <sup>2</sup>	4s 0d	10s 0d	7s 0d	13s 4d	£ 1 14s 4d
No of messuages	15	8	12	29	64
No of tofts	2	3	6	7	18
No of other dwellings	11	1	-	4	16
Acreage in common fields <sup>1</sup>	254	-	6	6	266
" in closes & crofts <sup>1</sup>	15	243	514	712	1484
" in meadow & pasture <sup>1</sup>	2	8	3	152	165
" in wood & grove	5	13	69	72	159
Total acreage	276	264 <sup>3</sup>	592	942	2074 <sup>4</sup>
Average acres per copyholder	11	33	54	35	29

#### Notes

- 1 These figures cannot be completely accurate as some tenants held small parcels of land in tithings other than the one in which they lived and these have as far as possible been excluded.
- 2 Cert money is a tax on each tithing to defray the expenses of the court (Gras 1930, 108).
- 3 Excluding the holding of 8 yardlands of John Fauntleroy.
- 4 It is not particularly useful to compare this figure with the modern acreage, since it excludes the demesne and glebe farms, the Fauntleroy estate, the whole of Itchel manor and the commons. The VCH gives an acreage of 4201 for the parish of Cron dall in 1905 and 4041 for the parish of Crookham, but it is not certain how much of the parish of Crookham was included in the old tithing of Crookham.

There were altogether 64 'messuages'. Some tenants had two or even three. There were also 18 instances of a 'toft of a messuage', which is understood to mean a plot of land on which a house once stood and the occurrence of so many may be evidence for the amalgamation of holdings. Presumably the surplus messuages would have been sub-let (see below p.8). The schedules also indicate the existence of 6 other houses (in Cron dall tithing only, on land reclaimed from the waste) and ten cottages, making 80 dwellings, to which may be added an estimated 20 for Ewshot, making a total of 100 for the parish. For a population of 700+ this seems a low figure, since the usual number of persons per household is reckoned as 5 (Stephens 1973, 34). Possibly there were more cottages,



but they were considered not worth mentioning in the Customary.

The general picture is of a community of moderately prosperous farmers, with few gentry and few villagers having conspicuously large holdings. The densest population was in Crondall and the largest farms in Swanthorpe. It would appear that Crondall was the original settlement, which gradually spread outwards as more land was taken in from the waste. Crookham, with its small irregular fields, would have been a comparatively late development. (For a discussion of field patterns see Meirion Jones 1969, 63-70).

Although it is far less detailed, there is something of the same sort of survey for Itchel manor. The Court Book of the first court held after the manor was sold to Henry Wriothesley in 1579 (HRO) records a number of tenants who came and claimed their tenancies, quoting 'copy' of earlier court rolls, but the holdings are given only in virgates, with no precise details or names of fields. There were 12 customary tenants, of whom 8 held a virgate or more, and 4 free tenants .

### The Inventories as Indicators of Wealth

The existence of an inventory for a particular individual is, of course, fortuitous, but, even where one does exist, it is often not an accurate indication of the person's real wealth. Real property is not normally included, since the inheritance by the eldest son, or other heir is a matter for the manor court (see below, p.7). Only three inventories mention leases, with their values. (On the other hand several of the wills make bequests of freehold or leasehold property, usually situated outside the manor). Some other items were excluded by law, e.g. heirlooms (i.e. goods that have by custom gone with the house) and fixtures (Cox 1984, 139,217). Otherwise everything the deceased owned was supposed to be set down. However, the total valuation would have varied with circumstances. For instance, an old man might very well have 'retired' and passed on his house and many of his goods to his children, with whom he now lives. The *Customary* records how each tenant acquired his land and from whom, and no less than 14 acquired theirs not through inheritance, but through surrender by father or mother. This suggests that it was common for a father to part with some of his land to his sons, or even to abdicate altogether (see below, p.8). This may be the case with Nicholas Benefold (No 81), who held 48 acres in 1567, but was only worth £2 4s 5d when he died in 1598; and Thomas Frost (No 65), who, with 46 acres in 1567, had only £23 worth of goods in 1585. Another possibility is that items were given to beneficiaries in the last days of illness and were not in the house when the inventories were taken (Cox 1984, 138-9). There are several instances of specific bequests of items which do not appear in the inventories. Since the wills were nearly always made a few weeks before death, this could hardly be due to loss or disposal in other ways. This must often have been the case with money, as only 5 inventories include sums of 'ready money', from 10s to £7 6s. An example is Thomas Terry (No 28), who bequeaths to his wife a long list of 45 items of domestic ware and farm stock, of which only 20 appear in the inventory, which is dated only 9 days later than the will. In addition there is always the fallibility of the appraisers (Steer 1969, 5). For one reason or another, therefore, Probate inventories are liable to be incomplete.

Another factor is the time of year when the inventory was made; if it was during the growing season, or just after the harvest, the value of crops in the field or in store would be high, but at other times it might be much less.

However, the value of household goods was small compared with the value of the farm crops and livestock (Hoskins 1957, 153). The following table shows the proportions:

Table 3 - Percentage of Valuation due to Farming Activities

Percentage	Number of Inventories	Percentage	Number of Inventories
Over 90	2	40-50	10
80-90	11	30-40	5
70-80	23	20-30	4
60-70	16	Less than 20	5
50-60	9		

Since the valuations are the only records providing precise figures for wealth, it may be worth while summarizing the total values, in spite of the limitations.

Table 4 shows the number of inventories in each £10 range of valuations and Table 5 gives the average and median valuations for each decade.

*Table 4 - Inventories grouped by Total Valuations*

Below £10	20	£60 - £70	1
£10 - £20	25	£70 - £80	3
£20 - £30	14	£80 - £90	1
£30 - £40	8	£109	1
£40 - £50	8	£114	1
£50 - £60	7	£149	1

The highest total at £149 is that of John King of Swanthorpe (No 82, 1598); next are Richard Ede, the clothier (No 48, 1575) at £114, John Lunne (No 84, 1599/1600) at £109, Hugh Welch, probably a butcher (No 43, 1571) at £77, Joseph Grover, a tanner (No 89, 1601) at £85 and Agnes Sone, widow (No 38, 1569) at £77. Significantly, perhaps, all of these come within the last 24 years of the period and half of them are tradesmen.

*Table 5 - Inventory Valuations arranged by Decade (taking account of debts either way)*

	Number of Inventories	Range	Average	Median
1548-60	28	£4-£73	£17	£16
1560-70	10	£3-£77	£27	£13
1570-80	16	£4-£115	£36	£26
1580-90	15	£5-£60	£27	£23
1590-1600	15	£2-£149	£42	£31
1600-1603	6	£8-£86	£29	£16

## Taxation

Further information about the wealth of individuals is provided by the Lay Subsidy returns (PRO). These are assessments for the levies of special taxation made from time to time during the sixteenth century. For Crondall there are returns for 1524/5, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1571, 1586, 1598 and 1600. The assessment was on annual value, either in lands, goods or wages. Very few, except the gentry, were taxed on land and, after 1524/5, none in Crondali were taxed on wages. The threshold of tax liability changes during the period. In 1524/5 a much larger proportion of the population was included than in later assessments. There were 123 names, of whom 35 were assessed on wages, most of these at £1. Six had assessments of over £20, which must have been considered wealthy, as it was at that point that the rate of tax was changed from 6d to 1s in the pound (Spufford 1974, 29-30). The six were Sir William Gifford, lord of Itchel, William Cawte, lessee of Crondali manor, William King, William Frost, Christine Montgomery and John Trigg. All these families continued to flourish throughout the century, except the Montgomerys. Christine, widow of John, died in 1535, leaving a son Thomas and three daughters. After bequests to all four, the residue was left to her daughter Elizabeth Barnard. Presumably Thomas was already set up on a farm of his own, but possibly not in Crondali, as the name disappears from the records. Montgomery's Farm at Swanthorpe, however, still exists. In 1551 there were only 13 names. George Paulet, now the lessee of the manor farm, was assessed at £120 and the rest ranged from £20 down to £2, the total assessment being £158. By 1571 the numbers had

increased again to 48, with a total of £242. All the newcomers to the list were assessed in the range £1 to £7. By 1586 24 of these names had disappeared and 7 more were added (total £193). By no means all of those who were dropped had died or left the village. In 1598 the numbers went up again to 36, but the total dropped to £163.

It is difficult to see any consistent pattern in the method of assessment. It is true that some of the principal families are taxed consistently right through the period and in some cases the assessments correspond well with what is known from other sources, for instance Richard Ede, the clothier (No 48), was assessed at £6 in 1571 and he died with goods worth £114; Hugh Welsh (No 43) assessed in 1571 at £5 died soon after worth £77. On the other hand Robert Baker (No 46), taxed at £6 died in 1575 worth only £36. Giles Paulet, who was installed at Montgomery's Farm before his father died in 1558 and held 100 acres in 1567, did not appear in the Subsidy lists at all until 1598 and was then assessed at only £2.

## SYSTEMS OF TENURE

The *Customary* of 1567 (Baigent 1891, 156-383) is in the form of an indenture between the lord (the Dean and Chapter of Winchester) and the several tenants and is very specific about tenure and the rights and duties of the customary tenants. The grant of a holding is in perpetuity by inheritance in fee simple, subject to payment of a fixed rent, a heriot of the best beast and fines to be paid on entry. The estates of widows are not heriotable. Fines for entry are not to be any more than was paid at the last change of tenancy. A widow may inherit her husband's estate on payment of 'one penny and no more, so long as she shall live sole, chaste and unmarried'. She may not, however, dispose of any land to anyone but the next heir. Males could inherit at 21 years, females at 16 years and there was provision for the custody of the lands of heirs under age. There are still a few payments in services, but for the most part services have been commuted to money rents. The amount of rent paid is not strictly in proportion to the acreage held. No doubt it was adjusted according to the quality of the land. It varies between 2d and 9d per acre. It is assumed that some tenants may have 'two, three or more holds' in which case a heriot is due from each one. In fact seven tenants held 2 messuages, five held 1 messuage and a toft, one 3 messuages, one 1 messuage and 2 tofts. It seems that amalgamation of holdings was here well advanced.

Provision is made for tenants to apply for licences to lease their lands and tenements for any number of years up to 40. They must pay to the lord a sum of 4d annually for one yardland and above, or 2d for less. They may let for a period up to one year and a day without a licence.

Surrenders of land for regranting to someone else may be made 'upon extremitee of syckeness or otherwise' to a tithingman or to two customary tenants of the manor, but they must be reported at the next Court Baron.

There are detailed descriptions of what it is permitted to do on the customary lands, particularly with regard to the cutting of timber and repair of buildings.

The Indenture is followed by the schedule, which lists all the tenants in each tithing, setting out precisely what land they hold, including the actual names of the fields and closes, with the amounts of annual rent, heriot and fines. For a summary by tithing see Table 2. The system can be seen working in the Court Rolls, the *Compotus* rolls and relevant wills, but, owing to the scarcity of Court Rolls surviving for the period, the picture is far from complete. There are two Court Rolls for 1559, a year when more than the usual number of deaths occurred (see above, p.2), two for 1568 (the schedules of the Customary were dated 29 March and the ordinary court was held on 30 March), one for October 1575, an undated fragment which, from internal evidence, must be after 1585, two for 1601 and one for March 1602. Apart from reports of stray animals and a few fines for minor misdemeanours they consist of 17 reports of deaths, followed by the admission of the heirs, 20 surrenders, 15 licences to lease and 3 instances of the estates of minors being placed in custody.

As already mentioned, the wills do not usually include customary holdings, but there are two which do. Henry King (d 1553) bequeathed to his eldest son 'the hold that I dwell in at Swanthorpe, after the custom of the manor' and Robert Wise (No 18) who had no sons but left a widow and two daughters. The Court Roll (1559) reports the admittance of the widow Joan and the fact that his heir is his eldest daughter Isabella. It also reports the surrender by Robert of a cottage to the use of his second daughter Alice Barnard. In his will Robert says 'if it be so that.....Alice cannot come to my house by my surrender then I wyll that.....Isabel to have it and she to give.....Alice 4 marks'. The

residue is bequeathed to his wife. The surrender, however, was evidently in order and in 1567 Alice Barnard is in possession of the cottage. Joan had died and Isabella has the main holding of a messuage and one virgate. The case of Robert Wise exemplifies two matters of particular interest: the strong position of widows and the frequency of recourse to the surrender.

### Position of Widows

By law a widow was allowed only one third of her husband's estate for life (Emmison 1976, 101), but the *Cronall Customary* provides for widows to inherit their husband's estates outright. In the Court Roll of 1559 nine deaths are recorded and in five cases the widow succeeded. In four the name of the son and heir was given as well, and in one case the son was also admitted, subject to the right of his mother. In the wills also, the widow, if there was one, nearly always received the residue and was made executrix. This is so in 57 out of the 90 men's wills extant. In eight others the residue was left to the widow and son jointly. There are only four cases where the residue was left to a son although a widow is known to have survived. Although there were only two widows holding tenancies in 1567, six men held after the death of their mothers and two on the surrender of their mothers.

### Surrenders

This custom relating to the inheritance of widows may go some way towards explaining the large number of surrenders recorded. One might at first assume that there was a great deal of buying and selling of holdings, but a closer examination shows that in more than half the instances the surrender was made for the benefit of a son. Moreover, out of the 20 surrenders, 13 were made out of court and reported subsequently, which must indicate that those surrendering had either died or were too ill to attend court. This is confirmed in at least five cases by the existence of wills. Some surrenders were no doubt made in order to provide for younger sons or other relatives, as is the case of Robert Wise, but another reason could be to ensure that the heir took over immediately, without waiting for his mother's death. Many widows would be much younger than their husbands, possibly second wives, and might be expected to survive to enjoy many years in the tenancy, unless they, in turn, surrendered for the benefit of their eldest sons. In March 1568 there were two instances of fathers surrendering to sons but reserving their own rights for life. One of them, John Cawett, disposed of several properties almost as if he was making a will. Two tenements go to his son William, a messuage and a parcel of land to his son Henry and a croft of the waste soil near Fleet Pond to his wife and daughter Beatrice. These beneficiaries all hold in the *Customary* as described in the surrenders. At this court also the same John Cawett made what appears to be a genuine sale, with the mention of a sum of money. The entry relates to a surrender, made three years earlier, of two tenements, both in the occupation of named under-tenants, to William Snellynge and Anthony Levestate for £26 13s 4d, but 'ad opus et usum' the sons of Thomas Heth, millwright, late of Guildford.

The *Customary* gives in each case the name of the immediately preceding tenant and whether the transfer was by inheritance or surrender. There were 29 inheritances and 41 surrenders, of which 12 were by fathers, 2 by mothers, 5 by wife's father, 1 by husband and 3 by brother. In the other 19 a family connection is not apparent, but may exist through marriage of daughters.

### Leasing

There is abundant evidence that leasing of land and tenements was common. Provision was made for it in the Indenture but there is only one mention of it in the schedules. However, the Court Rolls contain records of licences to lease, three in 1559, one in 1575, four in 1601 and four in 1602, usually to a named person and for a specified number of years, but the rent to be paid is not mentioned. The existence of these licences is confirmed in the *Comptus* rolls which list, under the heading 'Annual recognisances', the payments received each year for licences to lease 'ut dimittere posset'. In 1547 there were 3 names and in 1566 (the last year available) 13 names. The term of years and the number of years already elapsed are given for each. The subject of the letting is usually a small parcel of land, but in a few cases a messuage or cottage is involved. Where names of lessees are given, they are frequently relatives, but beyond this it is not possible to relate the names to any special class of lessees, such as newcomers to the village. It is certain, however, that there must have been a

substantial body of sub-tenants, many of them, possibly younger sons of established families.

There is an incidental piece of evidence for leasing in the will of Richard Porter of Swanthorpe (No 50). He bequeathed to his landlord (unnamed) 'yearly during the terms of his yeres yet to come in the house that he nowe dwelleth in the best tree of apples that shalbe within his grounds at gathering tyme at the choyce of the said landlord'. Two other wills mention leases (Thomas Tyrry, 1564, and Richard Grover, No 83) and John Goodyere (No 51) willed that two meads be let out for rent during the nonage of his son.

## Freeholders

The position concerning freeholders is far from clear, but it appears that freeholders were very few. In the *Compotus* rolls the rent received is divided into 'Free rents' and 'Customary rents'. They amount to £4 6s 8d and £91 5s 4d respectively (they relate to the whole manor and remained the same from 1547 to 1566). The *Customary* schedules include three freeholders in Dippenhall and five in Crookham. The first three are all gentry: Paulet, Gifford and Fauntleroy. Of the five in Crookham, two are also customary tenants, one is a tenant in Sutton and the other two are otherwise unknown.

Several wills include bequests of land and tenements outside the parish but only two mention land in Crondall. John King (No 82) had free lands in Ewshot and Dippenhall (his copyhold land was in Swanthorpe) and George Rutter (No 52), of Ewshot, had lands in Godalming and Crondall and left to John Smith 'an estate for term of his life in the house and grounds that Henry Rutter his brother now hath and occupieth, after the death of the said Henry Rutter'.

In going through the various records, e.g. the Lay Subsidies, one is aware that there are several names of people who are obviously quite wealthy, and of some standing in the community, and who were active at the time of the *Customary*; but who do not appear in the schedule. Some of these were tenants of Itchel manor, but the rest must have been sub-tenants, or, just possibly, freeholders. Some of them can be traced, for instance William Bagley (Baguley, Bagnoley) leased a messuage from William Trigg in 1553 (*Compotus* 1556), he was parish clerk in 1543 (Butterfield 1948, 131) and was witness or appraiser of six wills between 1551 and 1557; Stephen Preste was not a copyholder, but he is mentioned in the *Customary* under Henry Cawet (Baigent 1891, 201), who had a small close 'adjoining to Stephen Preste', and a William Preste leased land from Beatrice Heather in 1555 (*Compotus* 1556); but Philip Maybank, husbandman, twice churchwarden and taxed on £3 in 1571, and Robert May also churchwarden and taxed on £6 are unaccounted for anywhere in the manorial records. There are several others.

## THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

The village, as one would expect, was mainly composed of families engaged in farming to a greater or lesser extent. Nearly all the inventories examined show evidence of some crops and livestock. There were some craftsmen and tradesmen, but they also had their farm holdings.

## Gentry

There were few gentry. As already mentioned, the manor farm was at this time leased to Sir George Paulet, who presumably lived in the manor house near the church, the predecessor of the present house, which is called "Court". He paid a rent of £17 16s 4d a year for the manor farm, together with £1 3s 4d for Fleet farm and £1 for fishing rights in Fleet Pond. These amounts remained the same from 1551 until at least 1566, which is the date of the last available manorial account. He died in 1558 and his memorial is in Crondall church. Perhaps he was a victim of the epidemic which carried off so many Crondall people in that year. He left the reversion of 'my ferme of Croundale and the Flete after the death of my wyfe' to his eldest son George (PCC, 25 Welles). Elizabeth Paulet was his third wife and she, in fact, lived until 1601. She re-married, however, in 1560 and her husband, Ralph Scrope, of Hambledon, Bucks, seems to have acquired the farm in right of his wife, since the account roll of 1561 is headed 'Compotus Radulphi Scrope, firmarii et Roberti Terie, ballivi', a form which continued until 1566; and presumably until he died in 1572. The section of the account on the farm of the manor, however, still names Sir George Paulet as *firmarius* although he had died in 1558. Scrope appears in the Lay Subsidy roll for 1571 assessed at £60 on land. Dame Elizabeth appears in the

Recusant lists for 1577, assessed at £30 in lands and £30 in goods (PRO SP12, 117/10). In the list for 1586 she is said to be 'in the Flete' (PRO SP12, 188/16). However, she seems to have returned to Crondall and was buried in the Paulet tomb. Her son George appears to have left Crondall, as he became Governor of Derry in Ireland and died there in 1608 (Cromwell 1981, 18), but a George Paulet reappears in the Lay Subsidy rolls for 1598 and 1600, assessed at £20. Another son, Giles, farmed at Swanthorpe holding 105 acres, including 'a messuage with garden and orchard called Mongomerye's' which his father had made over to him by surrender during his lifetime (Baigent 1891, 210-11).

The sub-manor of Itchel had been held by the Gifford family since ca. 1250. Sir William Gifford died in 1549 and was succeeded by his grandson John, who died in 1563, leaving a son George, aged 10 years. In 1579, the estate was bought by Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton. He died at Itchel (Baigent 1891, 467) in 1581 and the estate was held by his son Henry, the 3rd Earl until he, in turn, sold it in 1629. William Gifford's will is extant (PRO PCC 43/Populwell). He was assessed at £100 in 1524/5, but thereafter the estate does not seem to have been taxed at all. Neither John, his son George, nor the Wriothesleys appear in the Lay Subsidy rolls. There is a monument to John Gifford in Crondall church. A Richard Gifford, probably the younger son of Sir William, held in 1567 a messuage and 20 acres of land in Crondall; acquired on the death of his father. He is also mentioned in the *Comptus* rolls from 1554 as having a license to demise at farm lands called 'Bouenhurst' (a name still in use) for a term of 20 years. In neither case, however, is he called 'gentleman'.

The Wriothesleys probably spent very little time at Itchel. In the will of the 2nd earl, 1582 (PRO PCC 45 Rowe), there are two references to Itchel. One is a direction that the profits of the manor be employed in the performance of the provisions of the will and the other that the household goods at present at Dogmersfield should all be removed to Itchel 'and there safelie kepte.....until the same be to bee delivered to my heire'. The third earl was then only eight years old.

One of the wills in the HRO adds a little more to the picture of the Southamptons at Itchel. It is the will and inventory of Elizabeth Taverner (1580) who must have been a member of the earl's household. Among the bequests are one to 'my lord Wriothesley's nurse' and one to 'my lord Henry Wriothesley and my lady Mary his sister 35s to make either of them a ring of gold with a dethes hedd in the same'. The inventory, which is very interesting, but quite different from that of the normal householder, consists entirely of clothes, jewellery and a small amount of household linen and for this reason it has been excluded from the analysis of inventories below.

There exists in the PRO an inventory of the goods and chattels at Itchel House taken in 1602, which must have been at the time of Southampton's imprisonment (E 178 2066). There is nothing remarkable in the contents of the rooms, but their number shows it to have been a very substantial house. There was a hall, with buttery, etc. and kitchens, a great chamber, a parlour, a withdrawing chamber and 22 other chambers.

Documents attest to two other 'gentlemen' tenants of Itchel manor: Anthony Young, who held Eastbridge in the right of his wife Jane, daughter of William Gifford (the VCH describes Eastbridge as a 'so-called manor'); and William Peke, who was assessed at £20 in lands in the Lay Subsidy of 1586 and appears in the Itchel Court Book as a free tenant, holding land called 'Covilonde'. Another free tenant was Adrian Scrope, possibly a relative of Ralph Scrope who married Dame Elizabeth Paulet.

A few other gentry appear in the records. The Fauntleroy's held land in Dippenhall tithing. Three yardlands, including a messuage, were granted by Prior William Basing in 1537 to John Fauntleroy on a lease of 90 years (Baigent 1891, 476). In 1567, John held in addition five further yardlands in Dippenhall and also held a capital messuage in Aldershot. He was paying tax from 1549-71, assessment £20 in goods, and in 1586 a William Fauntleroy, almost certainly his son, paid on £21 in goods and in 1598-1600 on £5 in land. It is not known whether they actually lived in Aldershot or Dippenhall, but they seem to have taken an active part in the life of Crondall. William was churchwarden in 1587-8 and John was witness to two of the villagers' wills and was buried at Crondall in 1598, having, one supposes, already handed over part of his estate to his son.

A Justinian Feyteeres (Fayters)(No 49) was buried in 1575, described as 'gent'. He did not leave a will but there is an administration, with inventory (HRO). His goods were few, totalling only £14, but he had corn in the barn and 'an old blind mare & a coult'. Nothing else is known about him except that he subscribed to the village lottery in 1568 (GMR PSH/CRON//6/1).

Giles Ranisforde (Rainsford?) died in 1598 and his will was proved in PCC (50 Lewyn). There is no inventory but the will is detailed and shows him to have had considerable wealth, with silver, 'a table

carpett of tapestrie', armour, pistols, 'my longest rapier', taffeta doublet and velvet hose. There is a human note at the end - 'to a little boy called Giles Ranisforde my black cowe, which I will shalbe soulede and the monie putto proffitt to his use untill he shall accomplish the age of 21 yeares'. This must be 'Arcular the bastard sonn of Aice Preest and Gyles Raynsford gent the reputed father' baptised in 1595. He left 20s to be bestowed on the poor people of Crondall at his funeral. His burial, however, is not recorded in the Crondall register and nothing more is known about him or where he may have lived.

In PCC (57 Kidd) is the will of Francis Sigsworth, who died in London in 1599, but who is described as 'of Cryndall'. He bequeathed a white gelding to the Lady Poulett 'desyryng her to be good to my poore wiffe'. He was some kind of merchant as he left to his servant 'all my patterns, broches, and other ymplementes belongynge to his trade, savinge my goulde and sylkes and bookes in colors which I gyve to my daughter Mary'.

### Yeomen and Husbandmen

Ten of the farmers were described, in at least one document, as 'yeomen'. Much has been written about this title (see particularly Campbell 1942). It seems to have been given quite arbitrarily to any farmer of some standing in the community. A yeoman need not be wealthy. In fact, only about half of the ten were outstanding in wealth or in service to the community and there were many others who, one would think, had as much right to be called yeomen. The same applies to the description 'husbandman', which is attached to 26 names. There are many others whose farming activities can be shown to be substantial, yet they are not so called in the documents which survive. This may, however, be simply due to the omission of any designation by the scribes.

### Crafts and Trades

Unfortunately the *Customary* does not give occupations, nor does the Parish register. The main sources of information therefore are the wills and records of the Consistory Court and Quarter Sessions. The last two, of course, only bring to light those few members of the population who happen to come before the courts. Sometimes, although no direct description is given, it is possible to infer a man's occupation from the contents of his inventory or from a reference in the Court Rolls. In the following table these are entered with a query.

Table 6 - Occupations by Tithing

	Crondall	Dippenhall	Swanthorpe	Ewshot	Crookham
Butcher	1(?)	-	-	-	-
Carpenter	1	1	-	-	2
Cater*	1	-	-	-	-
Clothier	1	-	-	-	-
Cooper	1(?)	-	-	-	-
Glazier	1	-	-	-	-
Mercer	1	-	-	-	-
Sawyer	-	-	-	-	1
Shearman	1	-	-	-	-
Shoemaker	1	-	-	-	-
Smith	-	-	-	-	1(?)
Tailor	3	-	-	-	-
Tanner	3+1(?)	-	-	3	-
Weaver	1	-	-	1	2+2(?)
	14+3(?)	1	-	4	5+3(?)

\* Caterer, purveyor of supplies? This form given in the OED. Or possibly 'carter'.

The Crondall total is swollen by three whose tithing is not known, but even so, there is, as one would expect, a concentration in the main village. There is an entry in the Churchwarden's accounts for 1555-6 'To Cheseman the mason 7s' (Williams 1913, 120), but this is the only occurrence of this name and it is possible that the mason came to work from outside the parish.

Some of the craftsmen were comparatively wealthy members of the community but only six of them were customary tenants in 1567 and three of these held only small parcels of land granted 'from the lord's waste'. Nevertheless nearly all those whose inventories survive had a large proportion of their wealth attributable to farming. In fact it is fairly safe to say that none of them depended for their living entirely on their craft or trade.

The wealthiest were the clothier, Richard Ede (No 48), the presumed butcher, Hugh Welch (No 43) and the presumed smith, John Sone (No 12). It is interesting that the village was large and important enough to have such specialised trades as clothier, glazier and mercer.

Richard Ede (No 48, d 1575) was obviously a man of substance. His house was the second largest known from the inventories, with seven rooms and the shop. One of the rooms was 'the maydes chamber', which may indicate that he kept a maidservant. He also had a turned chair, a joined bedstead and five cushions. Of his total valuation of £114, £44 was for his farming activities and £44 16s 8d for the contents of the shop, made up as follows:

9 peces of white kerseye of 18 yardes the pece, unwrought	£15 10s 0d
7 peces of russett & medleye of 18 yardes the pece, unwrought	£12 0s 0d
10 kerseyes of or in yarne	£15 0s 0d
all the tooles for the Shoppe with a staffe of teaselles	£ 1 6s 8d
4 peyre of sheares	£ 1 0s 0d

He also had 9 tods of wool (£9 6s 8d) and 12s worth of oil and grease, but there is no mention of a loom; so it appears that he was a dealer in cloth and not a manufacturer. In his will he left legacies totalling £52 to his five sons and two daughters. He was probably a newcomer to the village, as the first appearance of the name is in the *Compotus* roll of 1551 as a payer of a 'new rent' and in 1567 he held 'land of the waste soil of the lord.....in the common of Crondall.....which the lord granted.....that he might build a house there' (Baigent 1891, 197). He was assessed at £6 in 1571. His widow survived him until 1596 (No 76) and she evidently carried on the farm. Her inventory totalled £48, of which £34 was due to farming activities. She was assessed at £5 in 1586 and Thomas, almost certainly her son (four, including a Thomas, are mentioned in her will), was assessed at £4 and £3 in 1598 and 1600. Richard's daughter, Merial, to whom he left £10 in his will, married in 1579 a John Wild, who, in 1582 in the Consistory Court, is described as a mercer, having been only three years in Crondall.

Hugh Welch (Walsh) (No 43, d 1571) had the largest house (8 rooms and a shop) and left goods worth £91, of which £32 was due to his farming activities. He had 19 cattle, 16 sheep, 7 acres of wheat and two ploughs. His household goods included 8 brass candlesticks, 5 silver spoons, 3 dozen pewter spoons, 5 tablecloths and a sword and dagger. He was the third son of Richard Walsh, who died in 1539, leaving him and his five brothers a legacy of 6 ewes each. The contents of his shop were: '2 axes, a clever, a rubbingknyfe, a hooke, 2 ropes, other tackes and gambrelles, a stock and trees'. Two items definitely point to his being a butcher: gambrels were the bent pieces of wood on which carcases were hung and the stock was a block for cutting meat on. 'Tree' could be tray or trestle, and the other items are not inconsistent with butchering (Emmison 1976, 88).

That John Sone (No 12, d 1558), of Crookham, was a smith is assumed on the strength of the inclusion in his inventory of a smith's forge, in which there was 'one anvell, 1 payre of belloos, one grynyng stone & other toles and one barr of iron & other old iron £2' and an entry in the Churchwarden's account for 1549-51 when he is paid for mending the irons of the church gate (Williams 1913, 116). The Sones were a large family and John was a man of property. He was included in the Lay Subsidies of 1549, 1550 and 1551, assessed at £14 and in his will he left freehold lands and tenements in Dogmersfield, land in Aldershot and three tenements and a close in Farnham town. His goods were valued at £53, of which £23 was for farm stock, and he was owed £20. In 1567 his two sons held three messuages and 83 acres between them.

One of the more unusual crafts is that of glazier. John Beamond (No 21, d 1559) was active in



the village for twenty years. He was churchwarden in 1542-3 and constable in 1546 (will of Thomas Pulton), but there is no record of the family before or after him, though he left a son George. The name derives from the French Beaumont and, as is well known, many glass workers at this time were immigrants from Normandy, so he may well have come to Crondall when house windows were being glazed for the first time and stayed to work and farm there. His goods totalled £28 (farm £14) and included several items not found in any other inventories, which suggests a possible foreign origin. His house had four rooms besides the shop, kitchen, buttery and bakehouse, and he had a servant to whom he left a legacy. His shop contained 'a glasears molde, 2 planes, 2 sodering irons, 4 fyelles with led, boards, shelves, a box and 5 wedhokes'. The last item has so far not been explained. 'Weedhooks' seems unlikely and it may be a technical term. On the following line are 'forte checes'. Again, 'cheese' seems unlikely. 'Chase' is a frame in which type is held for printing. Might it be used for metal window frames? 'Case' was the unit by which window glass was sold, but this seems to be ruled out here on account of price. The case was c 120 sq.ft. and cost c 30s (Godfrey 1975, 202) whereas the '40 checes' were priced at only 10s 8d.

There are inventories for two of the carpenters. Thomas Dearing (No 36, d 1569) was a member of one of the large families in Crookham. He left goods worth £42, including two leases (of £20 and £9), 50 sheep, 2.5 tods of wool, boards and carpenter's tools. There were debts owing to him of £15. This is an unusual inventory as there are no household goods except a bed and chests. Thomas was probably unmarried, as his will mentions only brothers and a godchild, so he may have been living with one of his brothers, having just his own bed and a few personal belongings, but with a stake in the farm. One of the brothers, William, was also a carpenter. He was so designated in the Consistory Court in 1572 and in the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1564/5 he was paid for 'making of the cradle' (Williams 1913, 123). In 1567 he had a messuage and 50 acres inherited from his father.

Other carpenters were: Robert Broman (No 87, d 1601), of Crondall tithing, who left goods worth only £9, his carpenters tools, which he left to his son John, being valued at 5s 6d; Thomas King, of Dippenhall Street (d 1558) is mentioned in the Churchwarden's Accounts as 'King the carpenter' (Williams 1913, 115) and he paid tax on £10 in 1550, but only £2 in 1551.

There were at least two families of tanners. In the Court Roll of 1529/30 (HRO) Robert Green and John Grover were amerced for selling hides 'not well tanned'. Robert Green was in the Lay Subsidy Roll for 1524/5 assessed at £2, and in the *Comptus* Rolls from 1551 to 1566 he is named as a payer of 'New Rents', i.e. usually for land taken in from the waste. He must have died in 1566-7 because in the Customary his son John holds 'a parcel of the waste soil of the lord upon which is built a house commonly called a tanhowse, after the death of Robert Green his father'. (Baigent 1891, 181). John may have died in 1581 when there is a burial of a John Greene, bachelor. However the business remains in the family as an Edward Greene supplied 'whittlether & shreds' to the church in 1580/1 (Williams 1913, 135) and in 1602 he and his wife Alice were admitted to the tenancy of 'Le Tanhouse' (HRO Eccls 179/12). Unfortunately there are no wills. There is still a house in Pankridge Street, Crondall, called 'Green's Farmhouse', which might have been the site of the tanhouse.

Wills and inventories do exist, however, for Edward and Joseph Grover, of Ewshot. Edward died in 1557 (No 9) and at the head of his inventory is 'Ware in the tanhouse £10'. His other goods were valued at £9 12s 6d. He was assessed in the Lay Subsidies of 1524/5 (£1) and 1549-51 (£14). The John who was amerced in 1529/30 was probably his father, as he too was in the 1524/5 Subsidy assessed at the larger sum of £6.

Edward bequeathed his tannery 'with my fattes (vats) that do stand above the gronde and my rynes (bark?)' to his sons John, the younger and William (he had two sons called John, the other being the shoemaker). It is not known what happened to John and William, but a Joseph Grover who died in 1601 (No 89) was a tanner and had '10 dicker (a dicker = 10 hides) of leather in the fates and 3 dicker in the lymes' and '2 loades of barke'. He was quite wealthy (valuation £85).

There is one other possible tanner. Thomas Deane held in 1567 a parcel of land of the lord's waste 'upon which is built a house called a Tannerhowse', but there is no other evidence that he was a tanner and it is possible that his land was simply next to the tannery.

Of the tailors, William and James Barnard are so designated in the Consistory Court and Quarter Sessions books and the family was active in Crondall during the whole period, but there are no wills and their only appearance in the *Customary* is in the name of William's wife Alice who had a cottage inherited from her father Robert Wise (see above, p.7). Edward Godfrey is only known from the Consistory Court book of 1582. He was born in South Warnborough and had only been in Crondall

seven years.

Only one of the named weavers has left a will and he was comparatively poor. John White (No 44, d 1572) had only £8 worth of goods, including a loom 'and all thinges to hit', 2 spinning wheels, stock cards and scales, a mare and a colt, 1 cow, 3 pigs and a hive of bees. On the other hand, Robert Terry of Crookham (No 14, d 1558) had two looms among his goods and he may well have been a weaver by trade, but there is no other evidence for it. He was one of the prosperous family of Terrys in Crookham and had a large farm, with 23 cattle, 6 horses and 60 sheep, and a valuation of £47. The same two looms may reappear in the inventory of John Terry (No 28) who could have been Robert's son. In this there is an item '2 lambes in the shoppe with their geares'. The spelling is quite certain, but as it stands it is inexplicable and it has been suggested (by Philip Brooks) that 'lambes' are looms. The suggestion is supported by the two following items 'a tod of wolle' and '28lb of yarne' and also by the prices, £1 and £1 2s whereas a lamb was worth only about 1s 4d.

John Palmer and William Mills were both of Crookham. The former had a messuage and 20 acres in 1567 (Baigent 1891, 236) and he was in frequent demand for witnessing and overseeing wills (12 between 1559 and 1600). The latter came to Crondall only in 1557 (HRO, Consistory Court Book 24, 1567), but was churchwarden in 1574-5 (Williams 1913, 130).

William Goodyear, of Ewshot, was named weaver in the Churchwarden's Accounts for 1545/6 (Williams 1913, 113).

The sawyer was another Terry, Thomas (No 20, d 1558), whose goods came to £14 and the shearman was John Edde (No 88, d 1601), possibly the son of Richard Ede, the clothier, goods £38. The shoemaker was John the son of Edward Grover, the tanner (No 71, d 1591). His goods only came to £15, but he had no cattle or horses and no farming implements. He did, however, have 60lbs of hops in store and a load of hop poles. His working tools were valued at 5s. Robert Wats (No 30, d 1560) was possibly a cooper, as he had 'cooper's ware 40 peces redy hewen'.

Two occupations which one would expect to find are not represented - miller and innkeeper. A mill at Itchel was mentioned in the Domesday survey but was in ruins in 1327 (VCH 4, 8). It may have been out of use in this period, although it was revived later. In the Certificate of Ale Houses 1577 (PRO SP12/117/32) Crondall hundred had 2 Innholders and 8 Alehouse Keepers

## Labourers

All the preceding categories of people had at least some land, but there must also have been many who hired out their labour and either lived in at their place of work, or lived in cottages on the land of others. At least two inventories had servants' chambers and eight servants were left legacies in wills. Many would have been employed on the demesne farm or at Itchel manor. Of the 123 taxpayers in 1524/5 35 were assessed on wages (PRO E179/173/183), and it seems reasonable to suppose that the proportion would have grown rather than decreased towards the end of the century, which accords with Thirsk's estimate that a quarter to a third of the population in Tudor times would have been either full or part-time labourers (1967, 398). If the rough estimate of population arrived at above (p.2) is accepted, there would have been about 200 adult males, of whom about 90 are known to have had some land. Some of the remainder would have been sons working and living with their fathers, which leaves possibly 50-70 in the labouring category. It seems as if there must have been more than the ten cottages for which there is documentary evidence, but there is little chance of more coming to light, or of finding out anything further about these people, as the only records into which they find their way are the parish registers.

## FAMILIES

In going through the various documents available for the period, the writer has accumulated a considerable amount of data on the lives of the village people, which has been recorded on a card index containing about 800 individuals. There are some quite substantial 'biographies' and it is possible to sort out family relationships to some extent. There is no room here for more than one example, and the Frost family of Swanthorpe has been selected.

By the mid sixteenth century there were several branches of the Frost family in Crondall. In the 1524/25 Lay Subsidy, which spread its net widely, nine members of the family are included, in Crookham, Ewshot and Swanthorpe. In Swanthorpe there were four: John, the elder (£1), William

(£20) and John, his son (£1), all assessed on goods, and Thomas (£2) assessed on wages. William was evidently the head of the Swanthorpe branch (£20 was a high assessment, exceeded only by four other names). John the elder may have been his father or his brother. He and Thomas disappear from the record, unless Thomas can be identified with one of the Thomases who flourished in Crookham later. More is known about William, however, who died in 1548 and left a will, with an inventory (No 1). He also witnessed wills in 1530 and 1535 and the Churchwarden's Account of 1545/6 (Williams 1913, 113). His own will is short - a few legacies and the residue to his wife Rose. There is no mention of sons, but one of the witnesses is a John Frost. The inventory shows him to have been a substantial farmer, with 172 sheep and 30 lambs, other livestock and 16 acres of crops in the field as well as 10 quarters of wheat in the barn. The total value of his goods was £40.

The Lay Subsidies of 1549, 1550 and 1551, which were much more selective than that of 1524/5, included only one Frost, William's widow Rose, who was assessed at £10. By 1567 the property was held by her son John 'after the death of Rose Frost his mother'. There was, however, another Frost in Swanthorpe in 1567: Henry, who held 'after the surrender of his father John Frost'. Each held a messuage and about 25 acres. Henry could have been the son of John 'the elder' of 1524 but is more likely to have been the son of John, son of William. In which case this is an example of a father providing for a son before his own death (see above, p.8). No more is known of Henry until he is mentioned in John's will in 1580. There is an administration of a Henry Froste of Swanthorpe filed in 1592, but since it gives no details, it has not been included in the transcribed and analysed inventories. His household goods were £20 and his corn £6.

John, however, is well documented. He was churchwarden in 1551-54 and a witness to the accounts in 1546-9 and 1561-2 (Williams 1913, 115, 116, 123). He was an 'appraiser' of inventories in 1552, 1557, 1558, 1571 and 1575. In 1571 he was assessed at £5 (PRO E179/184/386) and in 1575 he was a juror at the manor court (Winchester Cath. Lib.). His will (No 55, 1580) is quite an interesting one. There was a bequest to Abraham Mabancke 'mye servant' of a 'cubborde standinge in the hale and a platter and one potenger of the best' to be delivered after the decease of his wife. After bequests to several godchildren and £5 to his daughter Elizabeth Reives he gave his son Henry 'a great cathren (cauldron), one troe (trough) in the barne & towe troes in the kichine.....all mie plowghe irons, one ironebownd carte, one sowele (possibly sull - a plough) with the yokes there unto belonginge, one foldinge table bord with the formes and bench seates.....standinge in the hale' to be delivered after his wife's death 'and one paire of harrowes'. The residue was bequeathed to his wife Agnes, whom he made executrix. He signed with his mark, as did the witnesses, except Andrew Rivers, who wrote 'Andrew'. The inventory totalled £51. Most of the items mentioned in the will were there. His household goods were more elaborate than William's, including a feather bed and four painted cloths, but his farm stock was less. He had only 26 sheep, but there were stocks of wheat, barley and oats in the barn.

Agnes continued with the farm and was assessed in 1586 at £3. She died in 1590 and her will and inventory are also extant (No 70). Two sons, John and Abraham received legacies, while the residue went to son William. It is John, however, who seems to have been the heir, since he carries on at Swanthorpe, being assessed at £3 in 1598 and 1600. There is no mention of Henry, who was still alive then. Bequests to godchildren include one to Alice Baker of a lamb 'for the lambe that died which was geven her by my husband John Frost'. The inventory totals £30. The feather bed is still there and most of the other household goods, which include also 'her lynnyn for her weavinge' and a fleece of wool. The farm, however, is much reduced - only 4 ewes and 4 lambs, an old mare and 4 cattle.

A John Frost was married in 1587, was churchwarden in 1594/5 and in 1595/6 made a gift to the church, when he was described as 'citizen of London' (Williams 1913, 141).

Other families of long standing in the village, of which several members are known, are: in Crondall tithing: Bagley, Cawte, Deane, Ede; in Dippenhall: Mabank, Priest, Trigg; in Ewshot: Goodyear, Grover, Heather, Mansey; in Swanthorpe: Baker, Davy, King, Rivers, Travers; in Crookham: Dearing, Soane, Terry.

## RELIGION AND THE CHURCH

An account of the Church and religious life in Crondall, particularly the changes that took place in the

reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, is given in R.P. Butterfield's book *Monastery and Manor* (1948) and little more information has emerged from the documents studied for the present paper.

The changes in the religious clauses in the wills are discussed below (p.17). A gap in the list of incumbents, from 1538 to 1596 (Butterfield 1948, 130) can now be partially filled from the evidence of the wills, which were frequently witnessed by the vicar. Henry Winnington, who was inducted in 1538 was still vicar in 1558, when he witnessed the will of Sir George Paulet (PPC 25 Welles). The first reference in Butterfield to Thomas Thompson is in 1596, but he witnessed a will in 1571, when he was designated 'clerk' merely, and another in 1573 when he was 'vicar'. The gap can be still further narrowed since a Peter Russell who appears as 'curate' in 1559 was, according to the Bishop's Visitation of 1562 (Goodman 1940, 82) inducted vicar in 1560. He was also mentioned in the Probate statement of the will of Thomas Terry in 1564.

The Ecclesiastical Return of 1603 has been mentioned above in the section on population (p.1). Crondall was 'impropriated with a vicar, endowed and three chapells annexed to thimpropriacion, the valucion of the vicaredge £22 5s 7d. The patron: the Master and Brethren of the hospital of St Crosse nigh Winchester'. The rectory and advowson had been granted by Bishop Henry Beaufort to St Cross in 1446 (Butterfield 1948, 34). The number of communicants in Crondall was 456, with 2 recusants and one non-communicant (a woman). The three chapels were Long Sutton, Yateley and Aldershot with 100, 400, and 161 communicants respectively.

The Recusancy returns of 1577, 1583, 1585 and 1586 (PRO SP12/117, 160, 183, 188) list the Lady Paulet (see above, p.9), two of her daughters, a name which cannot be certainly deciphered (in 1577) and (in 1586) Thomas Dimoke of Titchfield, gent (steward of the Earl of Southampton), 'not to be found'.

## EXTERNAL RELATIONS

No information has come to light on where the Crondall farmers took their produce to market. Farnham or Odiham seem most likely, but a market and fair were granted to Dogmersfield, the neighbouring village to the north east, by Edward I (Richardson 1981, 236). Whether this was still active in the sixteenth century has not so far been ascertained. There are several references to Dogmersfield in the wills and six of the debtors or creditors named in the inventories were 'of Dogmersfield'. Other places mentioned are: Farnham (3), Odiham (2), Hartley Wintney (1), Elvetham (1), Ash (Surrey)(1), Staple (Stapeley, Odiham?, Baigent 1891, 443) (1) and Baages/Bagnes (1). This last has not been identified, but there was a Bagwood in Dippenhall. As already mentioned (p.3) immigration into Crondall is known from Farnham, Binsted, Odiham, South Warnborough and Dorset. Freehold property mentioned in the wills was held at Aldershot, Farnham, Bentley, Odiham, Dogmersfield, Ash, Godaiming and Petersfield.

## THE WILLS

Between 1490, the date of the earliest known will, that of William Preston, clerk, and 1603, the date chosen to end this study, there are 106 wills (see Tables 10 & 11). They are fairly evenly spread, but there was an exceptional number in the years 1558-59 (see above, p.2) and a gap between 1560 and 1567 when there is only one will extant, probably owing to the chance of preservation. Eight were proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and the rest either in the Bishop's or the Archdeacon's Court at Winchester. The latter are now in the Hampshire Record Office. In addition to the wills there are 12 Administrations; the first being dated 1572.

There is no sure means of knowing what proportion of the population made wills. The Register of Burials exists only from 1570, and even then the information given is not sufficient for a valid comparison. Women and children can be eliminated, but there is no means of distinguishing young men and servants from the householders. For what it is worth, about half the adult males in the register between 1570 and 1600, left wills. There are nine wills for which there is apparently no burial record.

The wills nearly all follow a set form of words for the preliminary sentences. The name is sometimes followed by a designation of status or occupation, but unfortunately by no means invariably. The place of residence is 'of the parish of Crondall in the county of Southampton' and often

includes the tithing also, but seldom any more precise location. Only three farm or hamlet names occur: Fieldgate, Hitches and Velmead, all in Crookham. The last two survive in farm names. Some other place-names occur among the bequests, e.g. Martin Hunt (No 8) and his son William (No 41), of Swanthorpe mention 'my house called Swaynes', which has not been identified, and Robert Wysse (No 18) speaks of 'my howsse called Depenhall'.

Next comes the bequest of the soul to God and the exact wording varies with the ecclesiastical changes of the time. During Mary's reign it is elaborate: 'to Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the holy company of heaven'. In the time of Elizabeth it is much simpler: 'to Almighty God, my maker and redeemer'. As one might expect there is confusion and time lag, so that the wording does not change immediately under each reign. In one instance (No 5, 1552) 'the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints in heaven' has been crossed out and 'my maker and redeemer' substituted. In the earlier period there are bequests to the High Altar and for various lights in the church and there are three instances of testators providing for a 'mind', the saying of masses on the anniversary of death. John Tryge (1542) wills that there should be 'bestowed at my burial 20s, at the months mind 20s, at my yerys mynde 6s 8d and for 5 years after every yere 6s 8d'. Thomas Pulton (1546) wished to have eight priests at his burial, each to be paid 8d and at his month's mind '10 priests to pray for my soul each to have 12d' and in Laurence Smale's inventory there is an item 'for his burial and month's mind £1'.

The above instances are obviously inserted at the personal wish of the testator but in most cases the preliminary clauses are more likely to reflect the religious stance of the scribe rather than that of the testator. They would have been in the nature of a formula which the scribe would insert automatically without necessarily seeking the testator's wishes (Spufford 1971, 30).

There is usually a phrase about being 'sick in body, but of sound mind'. In nearly every case death occurred within a few weeks of the date of the will.

Throughout the period there are bequests of a few pence to the parish church, often also to the 'mother church' of Winchester and to 'the poor people's box', which was instituted under the Poor Law of 1536 (Tate 1969, 191). Agnes Soane (No 38, d 1569) left £10 'to be bestowed in linen and woollen cloth for the making of shirts and smocks for the poore, impotent & nedye people'. There are also bequests for the repair of the highway, with particular stretches of road specified. John Sone (No 12, d 1558) left 'one cow to be lette & sette owte to hire for the maintenance of highe waye within the tythinge of Crockeham'. John Frost (No 55, d 1580, see above, p.15) left 2d towards 'the building of Cullington haven'. No such place has been traced and this remains a mystery.

Then followed legacies to individuals, mainly to members of the family. One gets the impression that there are more daughters than sons, but this is probably because the eldest son will inherit the land and house and younger sons may have been provided for by the father surrendering part of his holding earlier (see above, p.8, Hoskins 1957, 123 & Youings 1984, 376). Fathers were anxious for their daughters, married or otherwise to have something from the household. The bequests are usually quite small, a brass pot, one animal or a bushel of corn. John Preeste (No 80, d 1598) leaves to his daughter Patience 'my least brasse pott and as much of my pewter as shall make it in value worth the best brass pot', the best pot having been assigned to another daughter. Grandchildren and godchildren are also provided for, often with the bequest of a lamb. Bequests of money are not very common, but they do occur.

As has been noted (p.8) the residue is usually left to the wife, if she survives, who is made executrix. In addition to an executor it was usual to appoint two or more overseers, being trusted neighbours or friends, whose responsibility it was to see that the terms of the will were carried out. Matters were frequently left to the discretion of the overseers. The witnesses numbered from one to five, one or more of whom might also be overseers.

It is in the wills that one comes closest to the people themselves and their concerns. It is obvious that family ties were strong. Possessions were prized and lovingly passed on. Some wills were very detailed indeed, including almost every item in the inventory. Elizabeth Terry (d 1556), for instance, had several daughters and god-daughters and her clothing was meticulously divided between them, down to 'Alice Daunce, my goddaughter 2 quarters of my kirtell to make her a petycotte'. She also willed that 'my daughter Elenor shall have 20s which I owe unto hyr, the which she shall receyve for 24 wintering shepe. And if it fortune any of the same shepe to myschance I wyll that my executor shall make up hir holle money'. John White (No 44, d 1572) left to his children 'the first swarme of beese that by the grace of God should come of his stall of beese with the increāse thereof,

to be equally devided amongst them' and each of his three daughters were to have two pieces of pewter 'a better and a worse'. Richard Porter (No 31) willed that the residue be equally divided between his wife and his natural daughter Rose and so that there should be no argument Rose's half of the goods is set out and valued at the end of the inventory.

Family affections are shown in the following: Edward Caweatt (No 6, d 1552) left to his wife 'all goods that I have in the world and yff yt were moch more she shold have yt'; Richard Wersham (No 10, 1557) gave a calf to each of four daughters 'to be kept with my wyffe tell seche tyme as she be abulle to do my chelder some goode yf she leve so longe'; Agnes Soone (No 38, d 1569) left to John Hackman, her nephew, her free tenement in Elvetham 'upon condition that (he) shall find Robert Hackman his father meate, drinke, lodginge, howse roome, fyre & all other nedefull thinges meate & necessarye for this an old man & deale with him as a vertuous & honest childe owyth to do with his father'; Henry Stone (No 58, d 1581) gave to his daughter Amy 'all the goodes I have in consideracion that thou hast spent long tyme in maintayninge mee & mine & I pray thee use thy discrecion hereafter unto them in geving them some thinge that they may say this was my fathers'.

### Will Writers and Literacy

It would be interesting to be able to deduce how many of the villagers could read and write and who it was who wrote their wills; but unfortunately the evidence is not there. There are only four statements in the wills concerning the writers and they all relate to Thomas Thomson who was Vicar of Crondall from c 1573 to the end of the century. John Preste (No 80) says 'I have caused this my will to be written by our vicar' and in the other three the witnesses include Thomson 'the writer hereof'. In addition to these, Thomson witnessed another six wills and Henry Winnington and Peter Russell, previous vicars, witnessed three and one respectively. It may be reasonable to assume that these wills also were written by them. There are a few other witnesses who are described as 'clerk'. One inventory has at the end 'per me Thoma Thirkell curat de Sutton writon', but the rest are anonymous.

Even assuming that when the vicar was a witness he would also have been the writer, this accounts for a small minority only so there must, surely, have been other villagers available who could write, unless someone was always brought in from a neighbouring town. There is one relevant entry in the Churchwarden's Accounts in 1581-2: 'To Wild for writing our bill of accompt 3s' (Williams 1913, 126). A Richarde Wilde was elected Tithingman of Swanthorpe in 1575 (Court Roll) but nothing more is known about him.

Even to one not trained in palaeography it is evident that a fair number of different hands were involved. On the other hand it is probable that many of the wills which have survived in the Court archives are the copies made in the Probate Office, in which case an analysis of the hands might not have much significance.

There are two wills and one inventory in which the witnesses sign with marks or initials, so these at least must be the originals. The inventory is that of Agnes Soane (No 38 d 1569) and the wills those of John Frost (No 55, d 1580) and Thomas Collys (No 63, d 1584). Among these witnesses Andrew Rivers signs 'Andrew' rather shakily.

## PART II THE INVENTORIES

Seventy-eight of the wills had inventories of goods attached and there were twelve Administrations, making a total of 90 covering the period 1548 to 1603. From 1530, an inventory of the goods and chattels in the testator's possession at time of death was required to be submitted before Probate could be granted. Not all have survived, of course, since some became separated from their wills. None of the PCC wills have inventories, consequently there are no inventories for the gentry. For a note on the relative wealth as shown in the inventories, see above pp.5-6.

The inventories were compiled, within a few days of death, by responsible neighbours, the 'praisers' who were named at the head. The majority have three or four appraisers, but some only two and a few five. The number of individuals involved was 105. While most of these were involved in only one or two wills, certain individuals stand out as being called on much more than the average. Nine names appear on from 6 to 12 inventories and these are all, as one would expect, members of the principal families. Frost, Mocre, Palmor, Rivers, Sone and Terry.

Something has already been said about the possible deficiencies of the inventories (p.5).

In Inventaire fait the good and catall  
of John Sone deceased taken by Robert Curier  
John Frouer, William Mynter and John Curier  
of the visse of Crowndall in the Countie of  
Southt husbandrie the xij. day of July anno  
mille passu quingentesimo quinquage simo octavo

(596)

In the Hall

Found y Tabell's one forme chawne  
one myssone stayned clothes  
And my Syll's Spone  
In the chambers

Found one fetter bedd one coverd one bolster  
one payre of blanchette & stayned clothes

In the chamber and the hall

Found one fetter bedd one Coverd and  
one Coverled  
And my payre of Shetes y tabell  
clothes and my napyue

In the Lychyn

Found y brasse pottes y candour panes  
y Littel's y platter y pottynge y  
Sawer's one saltellaw y candlestick  
y are dyshes one shroche payre of  
Pottchoppes one hanger y salt tubbes

In the daye house

Found y of fesse & etimo chose futes

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In the Smythes forge

Found one Andell y payre of bellows  
one grynnyng stone & offer tolles and one  
barre of Iron & offer de Iron

They vary considerably in the amount of detail given. Sometimes all items are priced separately, but often several are grouped together with one price for the lot. The arrangement is generally the same, starting off with items in the hall, going on to the other rooms, including the kitchen, or other service rooms, followed by the 'backside', with farm tools, stocks, animals and crops in the field.

Prices in the inventories are always in Roman numerals, with the exception of that of George Rutter (No 52, 1578) where they are all in Arabic.

Debts, if any, both owing to and by the testator, are added after the total valuation of the goods, which is sometimes adjusted, sometimes not. For the purposes of statistics and comparison in this study, the totals have been adjusted to take account of debts and also to rectify mistakes in addition. The inclusion of debts was not, however, required by law (Cox 1984, 225).

Some of the inventories appear to be incomplete, since they lack the bare necessities of life, but whether this is due to omissions by the appraisers or to some abnormality in the circumstances of the deceased it is impossible to determine. John Winslade (No 15, 1558) apparently had no bed, although he had a considerable farm as well as pots and pans, a candlestick and a 'table in the hall'. Sometimes, no doubt, elderly people would have given up their homes and would be living with a son or daughter.

## PRICES

With farm stock and produce it is possible to discern a steady rise in prices throughout the period, but for household goods it is more difficult. One reason for this is the unknown variation in type and condition of the items listed, which makes it impossible to compare like with like; another is the practice of grouping items together with one price for the lot. In Table 7, some basic items are listed, with some representative prices in three periods.

*Table 7 - Price Ranges of Selected Articles*

	1548-60	1560-80	1580-90
Table	8d - 2s	1s - 6s	10s (joined)
Chest	2s	1s	1s
Coffer	8d - 2s 4d	8d - 1s 4d	1s - 2s 6d
Joined stool	8d	8d	-
Chair	8d	8d - 1s	4d - 9d
Cupboard	8d - 2s 8d	1s - 15s (joined)	1s 4d - 13s 4d
Featherbed, coverlet & bolster	13s 4d - £1	13s 4d	2s 6d
Sheets, pair	10d - 3s	1s 6d - 5s 5d	2s 6d - 6s
Brass pot	1s 2d - 5s	3s 6d - 7s	1s 10d - 7s 6d
Kettle	9d - 1s 6d	1s - 3s 2d	10d(little)-6s
8d(great)			
Candlestick	1d - 4d	1d	8d(brass)
Platter	7d - 1s	1s	1s 4d - 1s 8d
Spinning wheel	6d - 1s	1s	8d - 9d
Cart	6s 8d - £1	12s - £1	4s - 5s
Plough	1s 8d - 7s 8d	-	-
Ox	£1 3s 4d - £2	13s 4d - £2	£1 8s 4d - £3
Cow	7s 6d - £1 10s	15s 6d - £1 6s 8d	£1 - £1 12s
Bullock	4s - £1	6s 8d - £1 10s	10s - £1
Mare	6s 8d - 13s 4d	6s - 6s 8d	6s 8d - £1 13s 4d
Ewe	1s 8d - 2s 8d	2s - 2s 6d	2s 8d - 3s 6d
Lamb	1s - 1s 8d	1s 5d	3s
Pig	8d - 1s	1s - 3s 4d	2s - 2s 6d
Hive of bees	1s 8d - 3s	2s - 3s 4d	3s 4d - 5s



Wheat, quarter	3s 4d - 8s	7s - 16s	13s 4d - £2
Rye, quarter	3s 10d - 8s 4d	8s	12s - £1
Barley, quarter	5s 4d - 9s 4d	8s - 11s	8s - £1 4s
Oats, quarter	2s - 4s	4s - 10s	4s - 12s
Peas, quarter	5s - 8s	6s 8d - 8s	10s
Wool, lb.	4d - 6d	4d - 1s	7d - 10d
Silver spoon	1s 8d - 3s 4d	3s 2d	-

What is particularly striking, is the contrast between the very low values put on all household goods and those of farm stock and produce. In 1549, all the contents of the hall, a cupboard, table and form were valued at 3s 4d, and the entire household goods came to £39s 4d, whereas 5 kine were £2 10s. This was a fairly humble household, but even at the end of the period, John Lunne, whose total estate was £109, had a table, form and two joined stools valued at only 5s. The furniture must have been very basic and probably home-made from local timber. Linen was comparatively expensive, as also were brass and pewter vessels. It is probable that valuations were on the low side, as they generally were when made for official purposes (Cornwall 1956, xxxiii). There is much fluctuation during the period, but no general rise. It is noteworthy that the valuation of individual items tended to be higher in the larger and richer inventories than in the poorer ones, reflecting a difference in quality.

With animals and corn, however, a marked rise is discernible. A cow, 10s in 1551, was £1 6s 8d in 1590; a sheep 1s 8d in 1551 and 3s 6d in 1580; a quarter of wheat was 8s in 1558 and £1 in 1600, while a quarter of oats rose from 2s 8d in 1553, through 4s (1580) to 6s 8d and 8s in 1600. The prices of corn compare reasonably well with those for 1558 given by Hoskins (1950, 170).

## DWELLINGS

Since more than half of the inventories are arranged room by room, they provide a good deal of information about the houses of the villagers, though, unfortunately, none can be identified positively with houses existing today.

Of the 90 inventories, 57 mention more than one room, 9 mention the hall only, 1 a kitchen only and 1 a chamber only, the remaining 22 none at all. However, the fact that individual rooms are not named does not necessarily mean that the house itself was undivided. Obviously the assessors sometimes did not bother to put the headings in, but the order in which items are listed clearly indicates divisions. Proof that this is so is provided by the inventories of Richard Worsam (No 10) and his wife, Gillian (No 11) who died within a year of one another. His inventory is not divided, but hers, evidently the same house, has hall, kitchen and chamber. In fact, one can fairly safely say that at least ten of those without separate headings relate to houses with at least two rooms. Similarly, some of those that appear to have only two rooms, probably had three, because the kitchen utensils follow after the chamber, separated from the hall. Three inventories are of incomplete households in that they have no hall furniture or kitchen stuff. These were probably old people living with relatives. This leaves nine which might have been one-room dwellings, all belonging to people with valuations of less than £15.

There are 14 inventories in which there appear to be only two rooms. Four of these have hall and kitchen. In two of them (Nos 1 and 89) there must have been a chamber, since the beds and bedding follow on without division under the 'Kitchen' heading. In the other two the beds come before the kitchen, so there may have been no chamber, although in No 76 there were four bedsteads, which would seem to make the hall rather cluttered. Ten inventories have hall and chamber only. In six, the kitchen stuff follows the hall furniture, so it is impossible to tell with certainty, but probably these had no separate kitchens. One of them, however, is of John Lunne (No 84) whose valuation was £109 and it seems unlikely that he did not at least have a partition in the hall for the kitchen utensils. In the other four, the kitchen stuff follows after the chamber, so it must have been separated in some way. No 34 has chamber and kitchen, but no hall, nor is there a table or cupboard or anything to sit on, although there is a table cloth. Perhaps the hall just got overlooked.

The commonest number of rooms was three (27 inventories), usually hall, chamber and kitchen, but one had hall, chamber and bolting house.

Fourteen houses had four rooms, the additional room being either a second chamber (or parlour) or a loft. The parlour first appears in 1567 and between that date and 1603 there were 11.

With one exception (John King, No 82) they all included beds and were indistinguishable in content from chambers, though a few had tables and seats as well. 'Parlour' was evidently a fashionable new name for the principal chamber, and gradually became the family's bed-sitting room. The parlour would always have been on the ground floor, but the second chamber might have been made by 'lofting over' the hall or original chamber. As far as content goes, there is little difference between a chamber and a loft, but the assessors must have recognised some distinction, since both occur in some houses. It has been suggested that a chamber was a room with sufficient height for a window, whereas a loft was just a room contrived out of the roof space (Barley 1961, 43). Two chambers are described as 'over the hall' and two as 'over the parlour', one is 'over the shop' and three are 'upper'. Of the lofts, one is over the hall, two are over chambers and two over the kitchen.

Eleven of the houses had more than four rooms, the additional rooms being further chambers or lofts and various service rooms. There were also five shops. The most common of the service rooms (which could have been part of the house or in a separate building), was the buttery (6). In one case, there was no kitchen; the usual kitchen material was kept in the buttery and the hearth gear was in the hall. In another (No 46) the buttery seemed to have the normal kitchen stuff while the kitchen was used for storage. There was a loft over this buttery. The other four were used for various stores, including, in No 8, linen. There were four boltinghouses, two of which took the place of the kitchen and housed the kitchen utensils, even, in one case, the hearth gear, and an old furnace. The other two had various tubs, a 'bolting which' and a cheese press. There were also four bakehouses, all before 1559; whereas the boltinghouses were all after 1571 (bolt = sieve). They all contained various tubs and kneading kevers. In addition, there were one each of 'dayehouse' (dairy) with 40 cheeses; milkhouse, with cooking and table utensils, six bushels of malt and 12 iron wedges; brewhouse, with brewing vessels, a malting hair and cheese vats; larderhouse, with barrels and a kever.

John King (No 32, d 1567) had a hall, parlour, lower chamber, upper chambers, kitchen and kitchen loft. The parlour had two flock beds, his clothes and three coffer and was evidently the principal bedroom. The lower chamber had no bed, but a table, form and cupboard and a bow and arrows. There were probably two upper chambers as, although there is no separate heading, it is easy to see where the division should be, as each is headed by a bedstead and bedding. The first had in addition wool, yarn, 3 ropes of onions and cheese. The second had an old coffer. The kitchen was very well stocked and had bacon 'att the roffe', which, together with the presence of andirons, should indicate a hearth. The kitchen loft was a store. The hall, listed last before the farm goods, included, besides the table and stools, a turned chair, 6 cushions and a cupboard with a cloth, and also the linen. It had no hearth furniture, however.

John's son John (No 82, d 1598/9) probably occupied the same house. There were hall, parlour, chamber over the parlour, lower inner chamber, upper low chamber, inner upper chamber, second upper chamber, bolting house, and kitchen. There were four upper chambers, so the hall had been ceiled over and the kitchen loft possibly had become the 'upper low chamber', while a bolting house had been added. It is interesting that the parlour was no longer used as a bedroom, but had two tables and two carpets and 7 cushions, 'being old stuffe'. The hearth was now in the hall, which also housed a table 'with a turned frame of six postes'. The chamber over the parlour was the principal one, containing a bed with a painted ceiling, his clothes and 'a Bible with other books', also a bow and arrows. All the other chambers had beds. The bolting house and kitchen had very little in them and one wonders what had happened to all the utensils in the earlier inventory, which included two dozen trenchers and six platters. There now appears to be no hearth in the kitchen. The linen and pewter were listed separately.

Richard Ede (No 48, d 1575) clothier, had a hall, parlour, maid's chamber, loft over maid's chamber, chamber over the shop, shop, loft over the hall and buttery. Here there seems to be a definite distinction between loft and chamber. The hall included a turned chair, 5 cushions and hearth gear. The parlour had a feather bed and his clothes. The maid's chamber had a flock bed and was also used for storage (3 chests, linen, painted cloths and a bow and arrows). The loft over this and the other chamber had beds and bedding only. The shop and the loft over the hall contained his stock of cloth and wool (see above, p.12). The buttery took the place of the kitchen and held the brass and pewter and also had a trivet and a spit, though the andirons and pothooks were in the hall.

John Grover of Hitches (No 56, d 1580/1) had a hall, parlour, inner chamber, loft over the parlour, loft over the hall and kitchen. The hall had a chair, the hearth gear and several table and cooking utensils. The parlour had a feather bed, coffer and linen; the inner chamber had a feather

bed and chests; the loft over the parlour had a feather bed and a flock bed and a joined table, but the one over the hall was used for storage only - hops, wool, cloth and yarn. The kitchen had the rest of the cooking utensils and eight fitches of bacon and two breasts of beef 'at the rouffe'.

No significant development in the houses can be discerned during the period under review. At Wigston, Hoskins notes that three changes occurred between 1560 and 1600: the kitchen, upper rooms and glazed windows (1957, 285). As has been seen the kitchen was well established in Crondall at this time. Not only were there kitchens from 1548 onwards, but it was normal for the hearth furniture (andirons, broach or spit and pothooks) to be located in the kitchen and no longer in the hall. In the Winchester Pipe Rolls, there are several licenses to build kitchens e.g. in Bishops Sutton in 1570 (Brooks 1983, 155908). In only seven of the houses which had kitchens was the hearth furniture in the hall although, unexpectedly, four of these instances were in the last five years of the period and in comparatively large houses. One must be cautious in assuming that the fire-irons would always have been by the hearth, but Priestley and Corfield (1982, 101), in their study of rooms in Norwich houses, say that the impression was that they were usually in their rightful place. The location of hearth gear raises the question of the number of fires. Did they have more than one fire or was the fire now in the kitchen? Priestley and Corfield found that in a one to three roomed house at this time the average number of hearths was 1.1 and in four to six roomed houses 1.7. The kitchen must either have been adjoining the hall, with its fireplace backing on to that of the hall and sharing its chimney, or in an outshot with its own low chimney. There is however, still the difficulty that in at least 24 of the inventories there is no evidence for a fire in the hall at all (see below, p.27). Could the kitchen have usurped the place of the hall as the main living room, as Barley suggests? (1961, 42). Against that hypothesis is the fact that there are never any tables or seats in the kitchen. In the Essex inventories (Steer 1969), which are later, the majority have hearth furniture in the hall. Against the two fire hypothesis is the fact that the Hearth Tax of 1665 shows that nearly half the number of houses (73 out of 165) at that time had only one hearth (Meirion-Jones 1971, 148). Priestley and Corfield (1982, 101) suggest that braziers may have been used.

Upper rooms also are attested from 1558, when John Sone, the smith, had a chamber over the hall. Glazed windows are not mentioned in the inventories at all. Since there was a glazier in the village one might suppose that Crondall had passed the stage when these were first introduced and were removable (Emmison 1976, 8). However, they begin to be mentioned in 1615, so this question must remain unresolved for the moment.

Nor is there any reference to staircases, though one would not expect them to be mentioned in inventories unless there were some moveable objects on them. A better indication that there were fixed staircases may be the comparative scarcity of ladders. Those that were mentioned were all outside, except one which was among 'other trumpery about the house'. According to Thirsk, a chamber was reached by a staircase and a loft by a ladder only (1967, 737).

The only evidence in the inventories for the 'great re-building' which was going on all over the country towards the end of the sixteenth century (Barley 1961, 58) is that there are two references to 'the old houses'. John Grover (No 71), the shoemaker, besides various tubs and hutches, kept his bacon and a store of apples in 'the old houses'. This might mean that the house he was living in was comparatively new. John Preeste (No 80) similarly had 'a sythe, 2 yron wedges and other lumberment' in 'the olde house by the hall'. The only other indication of new building lies in the few references in the 1567 *Customary* to the building of houses on parcels of the waste.

Table 8 sets out in tabular form those houses for which the inventories provide headings for two or more rooms.

Table 8 - Rooms shown in Inventories

No	Date	Occupation	Valuation £	Hall	Chamber	Kitchen	Parlour	Loft	Other
1	1548	-	40	1	(1)	1(H)	-	-	
2	1549	-	14	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
3	1549	H	14	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
4	1551	H	16	1	1	1(H)	-	-	Bakehouse
6	1552	-	7	1	1	1	-	-	
7	1553	-	4	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
8	1557	Y	23	1	1	1(H)	-	-	Buttery / brewhouse
9	1557	T	23	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
11	1557/8	W	13	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
12	1558	Sm	53	1	2	1(H)	-	-	Dairyhouse / forge
13	1558	W	19	1	1	(1)(H)	-	-	
14	1558	-	47	1	2	1(H)	-	1	
16	1558	-	12	1	1	1(H)	-	-	Buttery
17	1558	H	43	1(H)	1	-	-	-	
18	1558	-	12	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
19	1558	H	14	1	1	1*	-	-	Bakehouse
20	1558	Sa	14	1	1	1(H)	-	-	Bakehouse
21	1558/9	G	29	1	3	1(H)	-	1	Bakehouse / buttery/shop
23	1558/9	W	17	1(H)	1	-	-	1	
24	1559	-	23	1(H)	1	-	-	-	
28	1559	-	9	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
29	1560	-	11	1	1	(1)(H)	-	-	
31	1560	-	6	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
32	1567	-	27	1	3	1(H)	1	1	
33	1567	-	12	1	1	1(H)	-	-	Larderhouse
34	1567	H	15	-	1	1	-	-	
37	1569	W	10	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
38	1569	W	77	1	2	1(H)	-	-	
41	1571	-	26	1(H)	1	1	-	-	Buttery / boltinghouse
43	1571	B?	77	1(H)	2	1(H)	1	2	Milkhouse / shop
46	1575	-	36	1	1	1	-	2	Buttery (H) /
48	1575	C1	114	1(H)	2	-	1	2	Buttery (H) / shop
50	1578	-	59	1	1	-	1	-	Boltinghouse (H)
51	1578	-	65	1	2	1(H)	-	-	
54	1578/9	Y	26	1(H)	2	-	-	-	
56	1580/81	-	59	1(H)	1	1	1	2	
58	1581	Y	6	1(H)	1	1(H)	1	-	
59	1582	-	13	1(H)	1	1	-	-	
60	1582	-	27	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
64	1585	-	5	1(H)	-	-	1	-	Boltinghouse
66	1586	H	54	1	2	1(H)	-	-	
67	1587	-	18	1(H)	1	-	-	-	
68	1587/8	-	11	1(H)	1	-	-	-	
69	1588	-	10	1	1	(1)(H)	-	-	

Table 8 (contd.)

No	Date	Occupation	Valuation £	Hall	Chamber	Kitchen	Parlour	Loft	Other
70	1589	W	30	1(H)	1	1(H)	-	-	
71	1590/91	Sh	15	1(H)	-	-	1	1	Old house
72	1591	-	52	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
73	1591/2	H	19	1+	1	1+	-	-	
76	1596	W	48	1	(1)	1(H)	-	-	
77	1596	W	31	1	1	(1)(H)	-	-	
79	1597	-	7	1(H)	1	1	-	-	
80	1597/8	-	39	1(H)	-	1	1	1	Old houses
82	1598/9	-	149	1(H)	5	1	1	-	Boltinghouse
83	1599	-	19	1(H)	-	1(H)	1	1	
84	1599/1600	-	109	1(H)	1	-	-	-	
88	1601	She	39	1	1	1(H)	-	-	
89	1601	T	86	1	(1)	1(H)	-	-	

#### Notes

Brackets enclosing numbers indicate that the existence of a separate room is inferred from the arrangement of items in the inventory

Occupations: B=Butcher; C=carpenter; Cl=clothier; G=glazier; H=husbandman; Sa=sawyer;

Sh=shoemaker; She=shearman; Sm=smith; T=tanner; W=widow; Y=yeoman

(H) indicates that the hearth furniture is in that room.

\* The hearth furniture was at the end, after the 'plough gear'.

+ The hall and kitchen were combined in one heading.

No 87 had chamber only

No 27 had kitchen only

Nos 5,15,25,35,47,62,65,86,90 had hall only

Nos 10,22,26,30,36,39,40,42,44,45,49,52,53,55,57,61,63,74,75,78,81,85 had no room divisions written in.

#### CONTENTS OF THE ROOMS

The basic contents of the hall were a table and some form of seating, with generally, a cupboard, sometimes painted cloths for the walls and occasionally a chest, though this last was more often in the chamber. Occasionally the best of the table ware was in the hall, presumably on the cupboard. Hearth and cooking gear was sometimes in the hall but more often in the kitchen (see pp.22 and 27). Other items appearing occasionally were cushions and weapons.

In the chambers and the parlour were the beds and bedding, chests and coffers, with linen and clothing. Very seldom was there any seating, apart from the chests and coffers. The chambers, however, were also used for storage of all manner of things.

The service rooms were also used for miscellaneous storage and they did not always contain what their names would suggest. In No 46, for instance, the cooking utensils were in the buttery and the kitchen contained only a malting vat, a spinning wheel, tubs and an andiron.

#### FURNITURE

**Tables** All but 8 inventories had some sort of table. Most were unspecified, but seven were joined, and John King (No 82) had 'a table with a turned frame of six posts', which must have been quite a splendid piece. Trestles are mentioned in 16 inventories and frames in 5. In 6 inventories there was no table so-called, but there were boards or planks in the hall, which were no doubt used as tables.

The pair of trestles were portable and could easily be dismantled, but the frame was solidly built (usually joined), but in either case the table top was separate. Some of the larger households had more than one table, the additional ones being 'round' (3), 'folding' (2), 'side' (2), 'square' (3) and 'little' (3). The 8 inventories without a table or board had no hall furniture at all and were probably those of old people sharing a house. It may be noted that in Ulster in the 18th century, in the absence of a table, a board would be used, which would be supported on the diners' knees (Ayres 1981, 189-90).

A 'counter table' appears in the inventories of John Goodyear (No 51) and his widow (No 53). It stood in the hall and was their only table. There is no evidence that Goodyear was anything other than a husbandman and it seems probable that this was not used as a counting-house table.

**Forms, Benches, Stools, Chairs** For use with the tables there were forms (69), benches (6), stools (74), and chairs (41). One of the benches had a 'backboard'. Twenty-seven of the stools were joined, this being more common in the latter part of the period, and one stool was described as 'country'. Chairs were not so rare as one might suppose, though only 13 houses had more than one. Three of them were turned, but there is no indication of shape. John Terry (No 28) had two chairs 'with bankators', which may be a variant of 'banker'; meaning a cover. John Grover (No 56) had 'a backe of winkscoot, a chayer'. Could this have been a portable back for a stool or form?

**Cupboards, Presses, Shelves, Ambries** All except 13 inventories had one or more of these. There were five presses and six ambries. The cupboards would have been literally 'cup boards', for the storage and display of vessels for the table, which would have been open fronted (Steer 1969, 15). However, a few may at this time have been fitted with doors, like presses and ambries (Edwards 1972, 277). There must at least have been a great variety in size and complexity since there is a wide range of prices, from 8d to 15s. They almost invariably occur in the hall. One would expect them to hold the best ware, such as the pewter dishes, but it is unusual for these to be listed with the hall items. There were five mentions of cupboard cloths.

**Chest and Coffers** There were 30 chests, with fewer occurring in the early part of the period, whereas almost every household had two or three coffers, one having as many as eight. Four of the chests were joined and two were described as 'great'. Coffers were generally smaller and were usually found in chambers. They would have held linen, clothes or valuables. 'Fosser' (No 43) is probably a variant of 'forcer', which was a small chest (OED). There were two boxes, one of which was with 'a Bible and other books', and one trunk.

**Bedsteads** During the first ten years only two households had bedsteads, but from 1559 onwards, with a few exceptions, the number of bedsteads matches the number of beds. It is possible that unspecified 'bed' may sometimes mean bedstead, since No 49 had a 'joyned bed' and a 'truckle bed'. There were 28 unspecified bedsteads, 17 'boarded', 10 'joined', 3 'standing' and 6 'truckle'. Joined, and probably standing, bedsteads would have been of the four-poster type, boarded had solid panels at the head, or at both ends; truckle beds were low frames on casters, which could be rolled under the standing bedsteads (Steer 1969, 17). Two inventories had the form 'bedstedle' ('bedde sedle'), which Emmison says is rare outside Essex (1976, 12). It does, however, appear in Cope's glossary of Hampshire words (1883). Only two inventories included cradles.

**Testers and Bedhangings** Testers occur throughout the period (in 24 inventories). There are also six instances of ceilings (celeng, seling, sylinge), mentioned in the context of bedsteads. When specified the testers are either painted (stained) or linen. John Goodyear, of Velmead (No 51) had four, three painted and one linen, and they appear again in the inventory of his widow three months later. William Dering (No 4) had two bed ceilings but no bedstead. Only one ceiling is described as painted.

Bedhangings are only specifically mentioned twice, but in four other instances 'hanging', from its position, almost certainly refers to a bedhanging. Likewise the two references to 'curtains' are related to testers. Hugh Welsh (No 43) had curtains of 'saye', a cloth of fine texture, partly of silk (OED).

**Wall Hangings, Carpets, Cushions** John Beamond (No 21) had a carpet in the hall, with three

painted cloths, a 'lates' and a mat. The carpet would have been for the table, not the floor (Steer 1969, 21). 'Lates' may be a lattice or screen, possibly for a window, and a mat would be for a cupboard or bench. There is a specific reference to a 'table carpet' in No 89 (1601) and John King (No 82) had two carpets in the parlour, where there were also two tables. Elinor Pulton (No 23) had 'a carpette & a tabull' and an 'old presse & an old carpet'. There were also bench mats (No 38) and cupboard cloths (6 inventories).

Although carpets and curtains were few there were plenty of references to cushions and painted cloths. As chairs and stools were not upholstered, cushions were not so much of a luxury as one might suppose. Nineteen households had them, two had seven each.

The painted (stained) cloths were the poor man's tapestry and would have hung on the walls of the hall and the principal chambers. Thirty five inventories included them, usually in the hall, entered simply as 'the painted cloths there'. Obviously they were a normal part of the interior decoration and they were not expensive. Where only one is listed, it is only valued at one shilling. It is frustrating to have no evidence as to what were the designs on them and who painted them. Some of those described as 'stained' may simply have been dyed (Barley 1961, 42).

## BEDDING AND LINEN

Bedding is frequently grouped together in a phrase such as 'a flock bed and all things thereto belonging', but when items are specified they are usually bed, bolster, coverlet and, less frequently, pillow and blanket. Except in nine inventories, beds are specified as either feather or flock. There were altogether 44 feather beds and 150 flock beds, only seven houses having more than one feather bed. There were also six mattresses. It is uncertain how a mattress differed from a bed. That it did differ is shown by its appearance alongside a bed in three cases. There were four inventories which included no bed. One had a mattress, one had no furniture at all, one had 'all her in stuff' priced together. The fourth had two coverlets and a pair of sheets, but no bed.

Nearly every bed had a bolster, but pillows were much rarer, though they became more usual towards the end of the period. Either could be of feather or flock. The bolsters seem not to have had any special covers but pillows were placed in 'pillowberes', though not all households which had pillows also had a supply of pillowberes. Even more essential was the coverlet, which was the main source of warmth on top of the bed. Eight were 'of shreds' or 'shredden' and two of 'list', i.e. the selvage of cloth, presumably cut up into shreds. The shreds might also have been of leather. One had 'serge hangings' and one was described as 'a new carpet coverlet'. One bed had a 'healing', which was also a kind of cover (OED). Contrary to the evidence from Long Sutton (Coldicott 1979, 23), blankets, though not as common as coverlets, were by no means rare, becoming much commoner towards the end of the period. They were included in 42 inventories, the total number being 122.

Sheets, rather surprisingly, were almost universally used. Only two households with beds had no sheets. The rest had from one to twelve pairs. It was evidently normal to use two sheets for each bed. The house having 12 pairs was that of Edward Grover, tanner (No 9). Robert Terry (No 14) had ten pairs. John Beamond, the glazier (No 21), had a 'hayde' sheet, which was possibly a head sheet, i.e. for the head of the bed (OED). For the most part the material is not specified, but eight inventories mention lockram and two holland (both types of linen fabric), and eight mention canvas. Probably those unspecified would have been of canvas. An unusual item in No 63 is a christening sheet.

Tablecloths (material unspecified) were mentioned in 43 inventories and napkins in 21. One of the latter was described as 'of diapur'. Two households (Nos 82 and 84) had a dozen each. One of the tablecloths was described as 'pristin'.

Towels occur in only seven inventories and handkerchiefs in one. Towels have been said to be at this time synonymous with napkins (OED; Cash 1966), but nearly all of the households having towels also had napkins, so there must have been a distinction either in form or use.

## CLOTHING

In most of the inventories, there is a general item 'his apparel' and the valuation varies between 4s and £3, the majority being between £1 and £2. Seventeen others (7 men and 10 women) specify individual garments. Elinor Poulton (No 23) seems to have been no ordinary farmer's widow as she

had 'a velvet partelet, 2 nysattes, a payre of velvet cuffes, a payre of satten forsleeves, 2 morning hoddess, a wosted kertell, a pewke gowne with a purfell of velvet, 1 blake gowne & shankes, a gown furde with gray ameces, 2 old gownes, a savegarde'. She also had some of her late husband's clothes. She farmed in Swanthorpe from 1546, when her husband Thomas died, until her own death in 1558. She was assessed at the high figure of £16 in 1549/50, but her only farmstock when she died were 40 ewes and her goods totalled only £16. No other single inventory includes so many items of clothing. For definitions of unusual words and for other items of clothing, see the Glossary. Only one inventory included any jewellery - Joan Soane (No 22) left 'hur weding ryne'.

## HEARTH AND COOKING

The normal hearth furniture, i.e. andirons (or cobirons) (46), broach (or spit) (70), gridiron (40), pothangers and pothooks (64), was either in the hall or in the kitchen; but where a separate kitchen was indicated (46), it was, with four exceptions, all or partly in the kitchen. In Nos 43, 58 and 70, the andirons and pothooks were in the hall and broaches, etc, in the kitchen; in No 83, there were andirons in the hall, a broach in the kitchen and pothooks in both. In Nos. 56, 79, 80 and 82 everything was in the hall. (For a discussion of the location of the hearth, see above p.22). Broach (usually spelt 'broche') was a regional word for 'spit' (OED). 'Spit' becomes more usual in the second half of the period. Andirons were large fire-dogs on which the broach or spit rested. Cobirons (gobb irons, gobyrens) were long bars, with hooks at intervals which rested against the back of the hearth and served the same purpose (Steer 1969, 25). In some glossaries, no distinction is made between pothangers and pothooks, but it is clear from these inventories that there was a difference, since, in most cases, both are mentioned; sometimes in different contexts (see illustrations in Steer 1969, 25).

Other hearth items mentioned less frequently were: bellows (4), cotterel (a southern word for a chimney crane) (2), dogs (1), fire pan (8), fire prongs (3), shovel (4), tongs (7), trivet (26). There is one reference to a 'cole racke' (No 7, 1553), the only indication of the use of coal. It could be either a container, or a rake for the ashes (Milward 1977, 15). One inventory has two 'aungers'. It has been suggested that this is 'hanger', but as it is immediately followed by 'pothangers' this seems unlikely; thus the meaning remains uncertain.

Cooking utensils comprise: cauldron (21), chafing-dishes (30), frying pan (43), kettle (77), pan (51), pot (90), posnet (19), skillet (25). Most of these would have been of iron, but most households had at least one brass pot or pan, and several had pewter vessels. They would have been in various sizes and are frequently described as 'great' or 'little'. Brass pots were frequently bequeathed in wills.

Posnets and skillets were both small cooking pots with long handles and three feet, but they were not identical, as three inventories have both. The posnet was possibly smaller, and was sometimes made of brass. More unusual was 'pap-pan' (6). The OED has 'pap boat, a vessel for holding pap, or baby food', but no other instances have been found.

Of frequent occurrence are the 'kever (keever, kiver)' and the 'kive (keve, ceve, kèffe)', both apparently being some sort of bowl or vat. It might have been thought that the words were interchangeable, but for the fact that both forms appear in some inventories, and the OED gives separate definitions; though it suggests they are etymologically connected. 'Keeve or kive' was a vat for brewing and this is borne out by its use in these inventories, since seven of the 17 references are associated with ale barrels, one is with 'other treen vessels' and one is 'of 2 bushels'. One is a 'shredding kyve' and it seems likely that this is a misspelling of 'knife'. The most frequently used spelling is 'kyve' or 'kive'. 'Kevers' (the most favoured spelling) on the other hand, are always with the cooking utensils. There are 34 instances, some houses having several. There are also 13 specifically called 'kneading kevers'. Some houses had both kneading and unspecified kevers. Both words seem to be used particularly in the south, as they are not included in the glossaries of Kennedy and Milward, while Steer has only one instance of 'keve'.

There are numerous troughs, tubs and vats, mainly unspecified, but some were for particular purposes, such as brewing, malting, powdering (salting).

## LIGHTING

Apart from one lantern (No 38), the only form of lighting mentioned is the candlestick, which was present in nearly every home (67). Most houses had two or three and one household, Hugh Welch



again, had ten (eight of them brass). Eight others had brass candlesticks, three had pewter and three 'latten', which was a mixed yellow metal, similar to brass. Candlesticks were usually kept in the kitchen, from where they would be brought out as required.

## TABLE WARE

The items common to the majority of inventories were platters (61), pottingers (40) or porringers (3) and saucers (50). Trenchers occurred less frequently (22), but when they did they were held in dozens. According to Steer (1969, 28n) platters were thin and round and trenchers were square, with a hollow in the rim for salt. Trenchers were normally made of wood whereas platters could be of wood or metal (in six cases they were of pewter). Pottingers were small basins for soup, etc. The OED gives a derivation from French 'potager' and suggests that 'porringer' was a variant from the same source. Saucers were not what we now call saucers, but were vessels for holding sauce or other liquid. There is no indication of what they were made of. Cups occurred eleven times. One was 'earthen', 4 stone, 5 pewter and 2 unspecified. Apart from 'ale vessels', which may have been either for drinking or for storage, the only other drinking vessel mentioned was a 'pece to drink wine withal' (No 21, the glazier); but some may have been included in general groupings of pewter, which occurred in several inventories.

It is noticeable how few pottery vessels seem to be in use. Apart from the above mentioned cup, there are only a few dishes and pots which are described as 'earthen'. It seems that pottery drinking vessels were just at this time beginning to replace wood and horn. Green glazed pots from Farnham were being supplied to the Inns of Court (Rackham 1952, 50-59), but the idea seems not to have spread to the country. The only eating implements were spoons: individuals carried their own knives which they used at table as required and forks were not invented until the eighteenth century. Four households had silver spoons, John Beamond (No 21) had nine 'tinnen' spoons, one of only two references to tin, and Hugh Welch had 36 pewter spoons. The other 29 recordings of spoons are unspecified, and these were probably wooden.

The other important item for the table was the salt-cellar or simply 'salt'. Forty seven households had them and many had more than one. Hugh Welch (No 43) and Thomas Cawte (No 90) had five each. They are mostly unspecified but three (all in one house) were pewter and one was tin.

Basins (8) and bowls (37) could have been either for storage, cooking or the table. Dishes occurred in 35 households. Seven were of pewter, 15 wooden and four described as 'eard' 'yered' etc., which probably means they had lugs or 'ears' for handling.

Surprisingly there was only one jug and one ewer. For other kitchen and table items see the Glossary.

## BUTTER AND CHEESEMAKING

Many households had utensils for butter and cheese making, although only one had a 'daye house' and one a 'milkhouse'. They were as follows: butter chern (25); cheese mote (moat = vat, OED)(1); cheese mould, moole (2); cheese press (12); cheese rack (4); cheese vat (12); cool tubs (2); milk panch (pancheon)(1); panch (3). (For an analysis of stocks of cheese in the inventories, see below, p.31).

## MALTING AND BREWING

Several houses had utensils used in brewing. Martin Hunt, yeoman, of Swanthorpe (No 8), had a brewhouse and in it were a 'meshing' vat and a 'malting here' together with cheese making apparatus. Nine other inventories had a 'hair' or 'hair cloth', two being malting hairs, two kiln hairs and one 'east' (oast) hair. They were for holding the sprouting barley over the kiln to dry (Steer 1969, 32). There were two malting vats, one brewing tub, a malt quern and two 'yootinge (yateling)' vats which were probably the same as Emmison's 'yotting' vat, in which the barley was soaked (1976, 27) (yate = soak - OED). There was one 'barley kouller' (a large wooden tub, Steer 1969, 34).

There were also various containers: ale vessels (4), barrels (10), tubs (2), pots (1) and hogsheads (2). Stores of malt and hops occur (see below, p.31).

## SPINNING AND WEAVING

As many as 39 inventories included spinning wheels or 'turns'. Ten houses had two wheels and four had three. Wheels for wool and linen were often distinguished, there being three linen wheels. There were usually also pairs of cards or stockcards. These were wooden backed brushes with wire bristles for combing out the wool before spinning and the stockcard was a large card mounted on a stand (Emmison 1976, 75). Frequently there were also reels, on which the spun thread was wound.

Thirty one inventories included some stocks of wool, from 1 lb to 9 tods (252 lbs). This last amount belonged to Richard Ede (No. 48), the clothier. He himself had no wheel and evidently held his stock for distribution to various village women, who would spin it for him. Emmison found that stocks of wool were only held by the more well-to-do households (1938, 32), and the case is much the same here. Only five of those holding wool had valuations of less than £20, and all but five kept some sheep. The price of wool averaged 6d a lb and remained stable throughout the period. 'Coarse' wool is mentioned three times and lamb's wool twice. Other kinds are 'lockes' (wool trimmings, the lowest class), 'medlen' (a mixture of wools?) and 'flice woll'. One inventory has 'a flyce', which is priced at 1s.

Three inventories had 'yarn', 'fine yarn' and 'lyste yarne' and one had 1 lb of 'warst' (worsted?). List was the selvage of cloth and presumably list yarn would have been the coarse wool from which the selvage was woven. Blanche Somer (No. 13) had 'half a todd of woll and six lb of liste'.

Hemp is mentioned once and tow once, but unprepared flax not at all. The only known weaver to leave a will, John White (No. 44), had one loom and there were also two in the house of Robert Terry (No. 14), who may possibly also have been a weaver (see above, p.14).

Most of the cloth recorded was in the house of the clothier, Richard Ede (see above, p.12), but Agnes Soane (No. 38) had 10 yds of white woollen cloth (£1 3s 4d) and 8 yds of grey cloth (13s 4d). Mark Terry (No. 24) had 7 yds of russet cloth (15s), Andrew Terry (No. 66) 8 yds of cloth (12s), John Grover (No. 56) 10 yds of white cloth (£1) and Agnes Frost (No. 70) 'a pece of newe course wollen cloth' (10s).

## WEAPONS AND ARMOUR

A miscellaneous assortment of weapons was held in the village, most of them, as one would expect, to be found in the houses of the more well-to-do. There were four swords, one of them described as 'old' and Hugh Welch (No. 43) had 'a sword, a hangr & a daggre'. The hanger was the loop on the sword belt from which the sword was hung (OED). Six houses had sets of bows and arrows, one being a crossbow, with a windlass, and one being 'furnished for service'.

Firearms occur only twice. Richard Ede, the clothier (No. 48) had 'a callyvor, flascke & tuchebox' and John King (No. 82) 'a muskett with a hed peece & a rest & a bandalier'. A caliver was a very light form of musket introduced in the sixteenth century (OED). The 'head piece' was a kind of helmet, the 'rest' was a forked stand to hold the musket before firing; the 'bandolier' a leather belt for holding ammunition (Steer 1969, 50).

Another item primarily for military use was the 'black bill', which occurs in 13 inventories between 1571 and 1584. Bills were painted in different colours according to their particular use and military weapons were painted black or brown (Havinden 1965, 318). Only black ones are specified in the inventories - the unspecified bills being presumably agricultural. One other is called a 'watch bill', which must have been similar, but particularly used by watchmen. Listed with one of the black bills was 'a little pollaxe', which was probably a weapon rather than an instrument of butchering.

The widow, Agnes Soane (No. 38) had 'a pece of allmen revett and all the furniture belongin to ytt', presumably her late husband's. Allmain-rivets was a kind of light armour, first used in Germany, in which great flexibility was obtained by overlapping plates sliding on rivets (OED). There were two pairs of splints (armour for the elbows) and the 'harness' mentioned in No 17, probably relates to armour as it is linked with a sword and bill. The 'buckler' listed in No 49 is associated with firkins and may be either a small shield or the equivalent of a bucking tub.

In the Muster Return of October 1569 (PRO SP12/ 59/8) there is a list of armour and weapons furnished by Crondall (i.e. the whole hundred) and among them were 32 'Almon rivotes', 50 bills, 40 bows, 60 swords and 60 daggers. There were no muskets, but in 1574 (PRO SP12, 94, 15) there

were 15 calivers and 6 'harqueibushes' and 17 'almain ryvettes', but no bills.

Muster returns including Crondall are extant for 1569, 1573, 1574, 1577, 1580, 1587 and 1589, but the only one giving actual names of men enlisted is that for 1569, when there were 33 'able men' from the five tithings of Crondall parish. William Sone was one, as also were William Hunt, Richard Ede and Andrew Terry. The names, however, are not related to the weapons they held. In view of these numbers one might have expected more weapons to be held in houses, but not all weapons available in the village would be in private hands since, according to Harrison (1968, 224), 'there is no town or village that hath not her convenient furniture kept in one .....place..... where it is always ready to be had and worn within an hour's warning'. The extant inventories for Long Sutton (Coldicott 1979, 38) include only one reference to arms (bows) and those for Greatham (Yates 1977, 22) none at all.

## BOOKS

That the educational standard of Crondall was not high can be judged by the almost complete absence of books. Only John King (No. 82) had 'a Bible with other books' in his chamber.

## FARMING ACTIVITIES

Almost all the villagers carried on some sort of farming activity, even those who were primarily craftsmen or tradesmen and a large proportion of their total goods was accounted for by their produce and stock (see above, p.5).

When the relative size of farms is considered two inventories stand out well above the others. John King of Swanthorpe (No. 82) had his crops, livestock and farm tools valued, in July 1598, at £114 (total valuation £149). He had 62 acres in crop and his livestock included 3 horses, 21 cattle and 36 sheep. At the time of the *Customary* in 1567 he was a minor, but his mother answered for him. His holdings amounted to 117 acres, including two messuages. His father, John, had just died (January 1567) and his inventory is also extant (No. 32). He then had 25 acres of wheat sown and 3 acres of vetches as well as 2 horses, 6 cattle and 33 sheep. This seems to suggest either that a large proportion of his land was pasture or reserved for spring sowing or that some of his land was leased to someone else.

John Lunne (No. 84), who died in December 1599, had £88 worth of farm goods, including 11 acres of sown wheat, 3 horses and 21 cattle, but only 4 sheep. He had in store, 4 quarters of wheat, 14 quarters of barley, 8 quarters of oats and 5 quarters of peas.

Below these there are thirteen with farm valuations in the range £30 to £44. Two of these individuals at least had other sources of livelihood, in addition to their farms. Hugh Welch (No. 43), the butcher, had seven acres of land under wheat in November and had 3 horses, 19 cattle and 16 sheep. Richard Ede (No. 48), the cloinier, had in June, 21 acres under wheat, barley, oats and vetches and had 4 horses, 26 cattle (including one of the three bulls recorded) and 6 sheep. The other eleven farms in this group had approximately the same numbers of horses and cattle, but the numbers of sheep varied greatly. Three had no sheep at all, while one had 152 and one 100; both the latter were early.

The farming activities of the remaining testators may be grouped as follows: £25-£30: 9; £20-25: 4; £15-20: 11; £10-£15: 14; £5-£10: 18; £0-£5: 19.

However, these figures are not particularly significant since much of the total is based on the valuation of growing crops; these in turn depend on the time of year when the inventory was taken. A more complete and surer view of comparative wealth and land use is afforded by an analysis of the *Customary* of 1567 (see above, p.3).

## Crops and Produce

Crops in the field are noted in 48 inventories and the total area varies from half an acre to 25 acres, with the exception of John King (No. 82), who has 62 acres, comprising 23 acres of wheat, 12 of barley, 8 of barley and dredge (a mixture of grains), 12 of oats, peas and vetches and 7 of oats and vetches. This inventory is particularly interesting as the fields in which the crops were growing, are named: 'Scaldgrove, Quadly, Longlands, Diggespeald and Hartesclose'. Three of these appear on

the Tithe Map as 'Scargrove, Quadly and Dick Field', with roughly the same acreage.

Wheat appears to have been the main crop, the total acreages being: wheat 173 acres; barley 45.5 acres; oats 42.5 acres; wheat & rye 23.5 acres; rye 13 acres; oats, peas & vetches 12 acres; vetches 11 acres; barley and peas 9.5 acres; barley and dredge 8 acres; oats and vetches 6 acres; oats & barley 6 acres; barley, oats & vetches 6 acres; peas 5 acres. Presumably these mixtures were sown together, probably for animal feed. Two inventories include 'beans in the garden' and one 'beans and hastlettes'. The latter is probably what Tusser calls 'hastings', an early variety of pea (1878, 56).

Analysis of stored produce is even more difficult as units of quantity vary. Sometimes the amount is not specified and one can only guess the quantity from the monetary value. Wheat was held by 37 testators, barley by 25, oats by 38, rye by 17, dredge by 3 and 15 had various mixtures of these. Nine inventories simply list 'corn' and one has 11 bushels of 'offcorne', which the OED defines as waste or offal corn (see also Tusser 1878, 176).

Peas were held by 9 testators, vetches by 6 and one had a bushel of beans. Fifty one had some hay, in some cases mixed with oats. Various terms are used to express quantities of hay: rick, stack, mow, truss, parcel and jowl. 'Jowl' or 'jolle' is used twice for hay and once for vetches. The only relevant definition in OED is 'toothed projection in front of a cart' so it may mean a cartload. There is one reference to a 'hiffe' of vetches, which may be a small stack. There are 16 references to malt, of which 4 are to dredge malt, 2 to barley malt, 1 to oaten malt and 1 to malt grown.

Hops begin to appear in 1580 and thereafter 10 inventories include them in amounts from 4lbs to 72lbs, but no hops are noted in the field, although there is one mention of hop poles.

*Dairy Produce* Cheese-making, as has been shown by the frequent incidence of cheese-making utensils (see above, p.28) was a widespread activity and 36 inventories include cheese. In 8 cases it is simply 'the cheese' with its value, though in three cases the weight is given, while the rest give the number of individual cheeses. The only case where the weight can be compared with the price is in 1567 when 10 lb was priced at 11s 4d, which gives a price of 1s 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>p per pound. The sizes of individual cheeses must have varied very much since the price per cheese varies from 2d to 1s.

Eight inventories mention butter (including a 'gawn', i.e. a gallon); 2 mention lard, 4 grease and one oil.

*Smoked Meat and Fish* Bacon 'at the roof' is mentioned in 27 inventories. Two households had as much as 8 fitches, 1 had '3 hogs & a half, but lean'. Two households also had breasts of beef and one had 3 pairs of salt fish.

*Wood* Twelve inventories include stores of wood by the load. It is usually unspecified, probably rough wood for fires, but one mentions 'faggots', and one 'rough timber'. Fourteen have the odd board or plank in the house, which would have been used as a table or sheif. Thomas Deringe, the carpenter (No. 36) had 500 of boards, at 3s 4d the 100, and Hugh Welch (No. 43) had 'laths and other lumberments' and 'new boards, timber'. Robert Wats (No. 30) had 'one hundred off borde' and 'for cowpers ware 40 peces redy hewen'. John King (No. 32) had 100 of inch board and 700 of laths. Robert Hooker (No. 68) had 'certeyne newe sawen beechin bordes & planckes' and Agnes Ede (No. 76) had 'one hundred foote of bord'.

*Miscellaneous* Six inventories contain apples, and one, pears. One has 'the frught' and one 'a rope of onions', another mentions honey and a final one mentions a cowhide.

## LIVESTOCK

Among the 90 households, only 6 had no livestock at all. Most had at least 1 horse, 2 or 3 cows and a few pigs and poultry. There were no goats, donkeys or dogs. An analysis of the livestock is given in Table 9.

*Horses* As many as 50 households had one or more mares, often with a foal or colt. There were 11 instances of unspecified horses. There is unfortunately no indication of the uses to which they were put, but some would certainly have been used for the plough.

**Cattle** There are 3 references to bulls and 1 to 'half a bull'. Two of these probably refer to the same animal, or a replacement, since one belonged to Richard Ede (No. 48) and one to his widow Agnes (No. 76). The half occurs in the inventory of Joan Sone (No. 22), widow of John Sone, smith. John left the residue of his goods to his wife and two sons equally, which accounts for Joan having 'the third part of a sponer'; but does not explain how she came to own half a bull, since there was no bull among her husband's possessions.

Twenty inventories included oxen. Of these, one pair were described as 'working' and another as 'rut' which may have the same significance (from rut, a furrow) or it may be a variant of 'runt', a small breed of oxen. It can probably be assumed that they were all in fact used for the plough. The largest number held was 6 (George Rutter and John Lunne). Nine other inventories had either working steers or working bullocks. It is impossible to distinguish between those farms using oxen and those using horses for ploughing, since the farms with oxen all had horses as well. They were probably used indifferently either for plough or cart.

The largest number of cows held was 14 (John Sone and Richard Ede). A very popular term, occurring in 23 inventories, was 'weanyer', spelt in several different ways and presumably meaning a newly weaned calf (OED). The word is also used as an adjective, e.g. weanyer calf or bullock, and it is applied to pigs in one instance.

The average number of cattle of all kinds held, was 8.1. The averages for the separate tithings were: Crondall 7.9; Dippenhall 4.7; Swanthorpe 6.2; Ewshot 8.5; Crookham 10.

**Sheep** The number of sheep varied greatly and there was a tendency for numbers to diminish towards the end of the period. The largest flock was in the earliest inventory, that of William Frost of Swanthorpe, in September 1548. He had 50 ewes, 30 lambs, 40 wethers, 20 wether tegs and 12 fattening sheep (the only reference to sheep being fattened for slaughter). Andrew Hether of Ewshot (No. 17, d 1558) had 100 sheep 'teyed fecte' - a phrase not so far explained, and Robert Wats (No. 30, d 1560) had 28 ewes and 46 wethers. Otherwise few had more than 30 sheep and lambs. Ewes and lambs are sometimes grouped together, so that it is impossible to calculate numbers exactly.

**Pigs** All but 13 households had a few pigs, but only 5 had more than a dozen. In 3 cases they were described as 'fattening' or 'bacon' pigs. Young pigs were nearly always 'shoots'. There is one instance of 'barrow' hogs, which were castrated boars (OED). 'Yelte' is probably a variant spelling of 'gilt', a young sow.

**Poultry** The highest number of hens was 20. The term 'chicken' is not often used and, when it is, seems to refer to young chicks. Pullets and capons occur a few times. Ducks and geese were less common. There were seven references to 'mallards', which seems to be the term for a drake rather than a particular breed of duck ('7 ducks and a mallard' as one might say '6 hens and a cock').

**Bees** Bee hives or stalls are mentioned in 22 inventories and these are often bequeathed in wills. William Frost in 1548 appears to have had 26 hives, but the reading is uncertain and no others had more than seven. Only one inventory mentions a store of honey.

## Farm Tools

The commonest item in the 'backside' is the cart (48 instances). Eight are described as 'iron-bound' or 'shod', which suggests that this was by no means universal. There were two 'woollen' carts and a dung cart (or dung pot). Waggon do not seem to have come in yet, but No.84 (1599) has, in addition to the dung cart, a 'long cart', which Steer suggests is in effect a waggon (1969, 59). In some parts of the country, waggons were introduced during this period (Hoskins 1957, 160). A means of extending the length of a cart was by fixing 'lades' (OED). No. 77 has a 'cartlade', No. 73 '2 lades and a pair of wheels' and No. 75 has a 'dong pot lade'.

Various parts of carts and harness are mentioned: chains, clents, crond pins, strakes, stronds, struds, sultones, thills and twists. 'Sultone (soulthane)' has not been identified, but 'sul' is a furrow, so it is likely to be connected with ploughing.

The next commonest item is the plough, with 34 instances. Two farms had three ploughs and

three had two. Occasionally the different parts of the plough are listed, but normally they are grouped together in a phrase such as 'with all maner of apparell therunto belongyng' or 'all the plowe gere'. There is one reference to 'a plowe car', which is perhaps the framework of the plough. As many as 27 testators having crops in the field, did not apparently own their own plough. Some plough sharing is no doubt normal, but some of those seemingly without them, were by no means the smallest landholders.

There were 31 harrows and 3 drags. Thirty four inventories mention some sort of harness or saddle. Nine had a 'pannell' which was a pad used as a rough saddle (Steer 1969, 60), or to put under the saddle (OED).

Of the smaller implements, axes and bills were the most common (51 and 50 respectively). The question of the 'black bill', which was used for military purposes, has been discussed above (p.29). The 50 bills recorded here were either unspecified or 'forest' (2), 'bramble' (1) or 'hayng' (1). For other items found outside the house, see the Glossary.

Table 9 - Livestock

No	Year	Month	Occup	Value of Live-stock		Total					Sheep	Pigs	Poultry	Bee Hives
				£	s	Horse	Cattle	Bull	Ox	Cow				
<u>Crondall Tithing</u>														
6	1552	Dec	-	4	12	2	2	-	-	2	27	4	7	-
15	1558	Oct	-	13	8	2	44	-	2	-	30	9	19	-
21	1559	Jan	Gla	10	2	3	3	-	2	1	-	7	8	-
27	"	Jun	Hus	8	13	3	9	-	-	3	30	11	4	-
29	1560	Sep	-	3	5	1	1	-	-	3	16	4	-	-
30	"	Apr	-	33	2	5	18	-	4	6	74	12	-	-
31	"	May	-	4	9	2	6	-	-	-	2	6	-	-
39	1570	Mar	Hus	1	7	-	1	-	-	-	4	2	-	1
43	1571	Nov	-	17	4	3	19	-	-	9	16	?	?	-
44	1572	Apr	Wea	2	6	2	1	-	-	1	-	3	7	1
48	1575	Jun	Clo	36	11	4	26	1	-	14	6	6	7	-
49	"	Oct	Gen	2	3	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
59	1582	Jul	-	4	11	-	5	-	-	3	1	5	3	-
67	1587	Aug	-	1	12	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-
68	1588	Jan	-	2	0	-	1	-	-	-	6	2	3	-
71	1591	Jan	Sho	0	7	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	4	-
76	1596	Dec	Wid	23	17	2	14	1	-	8	8	2	4	-
79	1597	Oct	-	3	2	-	2	-	-	1	2	3	-	-
83	1599	Aug	-	5	7	-	3	-	-	2	-	3	12	3
84	"	Dec	-	51	4	3	22	-	6	7	4	5	27	-
85	1600	Apr	-	0	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-
87	"	Nov	-	4	11	2	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
88	1601	Feb	She	13	10	-	10	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
<u>Dippenhall Tithing</u>														
18	1558	Dec	-	7	9	3	8	-	-	4	20	5	8	-
25	1559	May	Wid	4	6	3	3	-	-	2	10	3	12	-
33	1557	Apr	-	7	9	2	6	-	4	-	8	3	5	-
35	1568	Dec	-	0	11	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
57	1581	Apr	Wid	0	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-
80	1598	Jan	-	17	4	-	6	1	-	-	-	1	3	-
<u>Swanthorpe Tithing</u>														
1	1548	Sep	-	29	12	4	11	-	-	6	152	26	21	26
5	1552	Sep	-	3	8	2	4	-	-	2	19	5	9	-
7	1553	Sep	-	11	2	6	6	-	-	-	60	15	34	-
8	1557	Jul	Yeo	10	6	1	4	-	-	2	32	21	10	-
23	1559	Apr	Wid	5	7	-	-	-	-	-	40	-	6	-
32	1567	Jan	-	14	2	2	6	-	-	3	33	7	18	4
41	1571	Jul	-	11	7	2	7	-	-	4	26	10	?	-
42	"	Sep	Wid	3	4	-	1	-	-	1	16	2	-	-

Table 9 - Livestock (contd)

No	Year	Month	Occup	Value of Live-stock		Horse	Total Cattle	Bull	Ox	Cow	Sheep	Pigs	Poultry	Bee Hives
45	1573	Aug	Wid	8	18	2	5	-	-	1	38	2	-	-
46	1575	Jun	-	12	1	3	5	-	1	3	15	8	14	1
50	1578	Apr	-	16	13	2	10	-	4	1	10	6	7	3
55	1580	Jan	-	19	10	4	8	-	2	4	26	4	22	-
70	1589	Oct	Wid	8	8	1	4	-	-	1	5	7	20	1
74	1594	Sep	-	8	3	2	6	-	-	4	-	6	?	-
82	1598	Jul	-	34	15	7	16	-	-	2	36	15	32	-

Ewshot Tithing

9	1557	Nov	Tan	1	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	15	-
17	1558	Nov	Hus	20	11	6	15	-	5	3	100	?	?	-
34	1567	Dec	Hus	9	18	3	8	-	-	4	40	2	8	-
37	1569	Jan	Wid	0	13	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-
52	1578	Nov	-	22	3	4	14	-	6	6	-	4	15	2
54	1579	Feb	Yeo	17	10	3	11	-	2	4	24	1	3	-
60	1582	Jly	-	17	0	3	14	-	-	7	16	10	13	-
73	1592	Jan	Hus	11	16	1	10	-	-	3	-	6	-	-
75	1595	Aug	-	11	0	3	8	-	-	2	3	7	7	-
86	1600	Sep	Hus	8	12	2	7	-	-	4	7	2	8	-
89	1601	Feb	Tan	9	15	2	6	-	-	4	12	5	14	-

Crookham Tithing

2	1549	Dec	-	7	14	5	11	-	1	5	8	4	-	2
3	"	Dec	Hus	9	19	5	17	-	-	6	6	4	-	-
4	1551	Oct	-	11	15	1	22	-	-	4	30	5	-	4
10	1557	Nov	-	10	1	2	13	-	-	5	16	9	6	-
11	1558	Feb	Wid	2	16	2	8	-	-	5	16	3	?	-
12	1558	Jly	Smi	17	6	4	23	-	-	14	37	11	13	-
13	"	Sep	Wid	8	15	-	10	-	-	5	8	8	15	-
14	"	Sep	-	23	0	6	23	-	-	8	60	18	29	-
16	"	Oct	-	4	9	-	4	-	-	3	6	4	8	-
19	"	Dec	Hus	16	7	3	15	-	2	6	16	12	10	3
20	"	Dec	Saw	5	18	-	7	-	-	4	4	4	5	-
22	1559	Mar	Wid	5	14	1	5.5	0.5*	-	1	16	4	2	-
24	"	May	-	14	16	2	9	-	1	3	36	4	8	2
26	"	Sep	-	3	10	1	5	-	-	2	-	7	-	3
28	"	Nov	-	12	3	3	16	-	-	-	38	-	8	-
36	"	Jan	Car	7	10	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-
38	"	Aug	Wid	21	8	2	14	-	-	10	60	9	16	-
40	1570	Dec	-	6	10	1	4	-	-	4	12	2	2+	-
51	1578	Sep	-	28	6	4	21	-	4	9	14	6	7	3
53	"	Dec	Wid	-	-	2	14	-	1	7	-	?	10+	-
56	1581	Feb	-	23	10	6	13	-	-	5	-	7	18	7
61	1583	Oct	Wid	0	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	1
62	1584	Aug	-	19	9	3	12	2	2	3	18	7	28	-



Table 9 - Livestock (contd)

No	Year	Month	Occup	Value of Live-stock		Horse	Total Cattle		Bull	Ox	Cow	Sheep	Pigs	Poultry	Bee Hives
<u>Crookham Tithing (cont)</u>															
63	1585	Feb	-	23	13	2	12	-	-	2	35	6	2+	-	-
65	"	Jul	Hus	7	2	2	5	-	-	4	-	2	6	-	-
66	1586	Oct	Hus	22	18	2	11	-	3	5	10	-	10	2	-
69	1588	Jul	-	3	6	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	5	-	-
72	1591	Aug	-	24	4	4	12	-	3	5	-	7	30	-	-
77	1596	Dec	Wid	6	7	2	6	-	-	3	3	2	6	-	-
78	1597	May	Hus	13	13	-	-	-	-	-	58	-	-	-	-
90	1603	Jul	-	16	8	2	6	-	2	1	-	3	18	-	-

\* No. 22 owned half a bull

† Document defective

Table 10 - Chronological List of Inventories

No	Name	Date	Tithing	Occup etc.	Total value	Debts + or -	Notes
			(1)	(1)	(2)	£ s	
					£ s	£ s	
1	Frost, Wm	-- -- 48	Swa	-	40 8	-	
2	Wynter, Rich	7 12 49	Crk	-	13 11	-	
3	Cawyt (Cawtt), Wm	23 12 49	(Crk)	Hus	13 10	-	
4	Deryng, Wm	29 10 50	(Crk)	Hus	15 16	-	
5	Dave (Davy), Rich	-- -- 52	Swa	-	7 9	-	
6	Cawat (Caweatt) Edw	-- 12 52	-	-	7 6	-	
7	Kinge, Harry	-- -- 53	Swa	-	21 19	-17 13	
8	Hunt, Mart	22 7 57	(Swa)	Yeo	22 11	-	
9	Grover, Edw	12 11 57	(Ews)	(Tan)	20 2	-	
10	Wersham (Worsam), Rich	22 11 57	(Crk)	-	16 10	-	
11	Worsam, Gillian	7 2 58	(Crk)	Wid	13 4	-	Widow of No 10
12	Sone, John	7 7 58	(Crk)	Smi	52 14	+20 0	
13	Somer, Blanche	-- -- 58	(Crk)	Wid	19 1	-	
14	Terrye, Rob	29 9 58	(Crk)	(Wea)	47 8	-	
15	Wenslade, John	18 10 58	-	-	18 19	-	
16	Frosle, Rob	24 10 58	(Crk)	-	12 2	-	
17	Hether, And	4 11 58	Ews	Hus	43 7	-	
18	Wysse, Rob	12 12 58	(Dip)	-	11 15	-	
19	Goodyere, Edw	12 12 58	(Crk)	Hus	25 4	-	
20	Terrye, Thos	12 12 58	Crk	Saw	14 6	-	
21	Beamonde, John	2 1 59	(Cro)	Gla	28 13	-	

Table 10 - Chronological List of Inventories (cont)

No	Name	Date	Tithing (1)	Occup etc. (1)	Total value (2)		Debts + or -		Notes
					£	s	£	s	
22	Sone, Joan	7 3 59	(Crk)	Wid	8	17	-	-	Widow of No 12
23	Polton, Elinor	22 4 59	(Swa)	Wid	16	13	-	-	
24	Tyrry (Terre), Mark	3 5 59	(Crk)	-	23	19	-	-	Son of No 20
25	Wyse, Joan	29 5 59	(Dip)	Wid	6	12	-	-	Widow of No 18
26	Tyrry, Thos	24 9 59	(Crk)	-	6	3	-	1 16	
27	Smale, Laur	--- 59	-	Hus	13	9	-	2 0	
28	Tyrry, John	12 11 59	(Crk)	(Wea)	28	9	-	19 16	
29	Smyth, John	--- 60	-	-	11	4	-	-	
30	Wats, Rob	--- 60	-	-	46	2	-	-	
31	Jure, Rich	5 5 60	-	-	6	4	-	3 0	
32	Kinge, John	2 1 67	Swa	-	39	16	-	12 12	Son of No 7
33	Goodyere, Wm	1 4 67	Dip	-	11	13	-	5 4	
34	Baker, John	29 12 67	Ews	Hus	15	5	-	-	
35	Preste (Prist), Ste	21 12 68	(Dip)	-	5	7	-	-	
36	Deringe (Diring) Thos	10 1 69	(Crk)	(Car)	42	8	+15	7	
37	Heyther, Beatrice	10 1 69	(Ews)	Wid	9	13	-	-	
38	Soone, Agnes	14 8 69	(Crk)	Wid	59	9	+18	0	
39	Loveland, Wm	14 3 70	-	Hus	10	11	+3	16	
40	Winter, Wm	1 12 70	Crk	-	19	14	+6	1	Son of No 2
41	Hunt, Wm	2 7 71	Swa	-	25	17	-	-	Son of No 8
42	Davie, Joan	3 9 71	(Swa)	Wid	10	4	+1	17	Widow of No 5
43	Welch, Hugh	26 11 71	(Cro)	(But)	85	12	-8	0	
44	White, John	25 4 72	-	Wea	8	12	-	-	
45	Porter, Julyan	8 8 73	(Swa)	Wid	15	0	-	-	
46	Baker, Rob	28 6 75	(Swa)	-	36	8	-	-	
47	Frost, Thos	30 5 75	(Crk)	-	3	19	-	-	Son of No 16
48	Ede (Ide), Rich	19 6 75	(Cro)	Clo	114	11	-	-	
49	Feyteeres, Just	16 10 75	-	(Gen)	14	1	-	-	
50	Porter, Rich	28 4 78	Swa	-	59	4	-	-	Son of No 45
51	Goodyere, John	15 9 78	Crk	-	57	4	+7	17	Son of No 19 of Velmead
52	Rutter, Geo	10 11 78	Ews	-	40	16	-6	12	
53	Godier, Isabell	- 12 78	(Crk)	Wid	43	8	+1	9	
54	Wuldredge, John	20 2 79	(Ews)	Yeo	26	11	-	-	
55	Frost, John	9 1 80	Swa	-	51	2	-	-	
56	Grover, John	20 2 81	Crk	-	59	4	-	-	of Hitches
57	Preest (Pryeste) Rose	16 4 81	(Dip)	Wid	6	5	-	-	
58	Stone, Harrye	2 5 81	-	(Yeo)	6	7	-	-	
59	Lowick, Thos	8 7 82	-	-	12	14	-	-	
60	Woldridge, John	19 7 82	Ews	-	34	7	-7	1	
61	Tyrry, Isabell	24 10 83	(Crk)	Wid	10	2	-	-	
62	Tomes, Rich	18 8 84	Crk	Hus	58	11	-13	14	Son of No 9
63	Collys, Thos	- 2 85	Crk	-	52	4	-	-	
64	Ede, Rich	1 4 85	-	-	5	8	-	-	

*Table 10 - Chronological List of Inventories (cont)*

No	Name	Date	Tithing	Occup etc.	Total value	Debts + or -	Notes	
			(1)	(1)	(2)			
				£	s	£	s	
65	Frost, Thos	6 7 85	Crk	Hus	22	18	-	
66	Terry, And	1 10 86	(Crk)	Hus	55	0	-	Son of No 20
67	Broman, John	12 8 87	(Cro)	-	17	16	-	
68	Hooker, Rob	3 1 88	(Cro)	-	11	2	+14 0	
69	Gregorie, Rich	20 5 88	Crk	-	10	9	-	
70	Frost, Agnes	22 10 89	(Swa)	Wid	30	7	-	Widow of No 55
71	Grover, John	25 1 91	-	Sho	15	4	-	Son of No 9
72	Soane, Wm	30 8 91	Crk	-	52	10	-	Son of No 12
73	Browne, Thos	- 12 91	Ews	Hus	20	7	-	
74	Davie, Wm	1 9 93	(Swa)	-	32	17	-	Son of No 5
75	Turner, Wm	14 8 95	Ews	-	23	6	-	
76	Ede, Agnes	20 12 96	(Cro)	Wid	48	2	-	Widow of No 48
77	Soane, Alice	25 12 96	(Crk)	Wid	30	13	-	Widow of No 72
78	Goodyer, Moses	5 5 97	Crk	Hus	29	14	+16 19	
79	Mitchell, Thos	12 10 97	-	-	6	19	-	
80	Preeste, John	6 1 98	(Dip)	-	38	2	-	
81	Benifold, Nich	31 2 98	(Dip)	-	2	4	-	
82	King, John	28 7 98	Swa	(Hus)	149	8	-	Son of No 32
83	Grover, Rich	12 8 99	(Cro)	-	18	15	-	
84	Lunne, John	28 12 99	-	-	109	6	-	
85	Grave, John	4 4 1600	-	-	7	16	-	
86	Goodyer, Thos	22 9 00	(Ews)	Hus	20	4	-	
87	Broman, Rob	3 11 00	-	(Car)	9	5	-	
88	Ede, John	4 2 01	-	(She)	38	12	-	
89	Grover, Jos	20 2 01	(Ews)	Tan	85	15	-	
90	Cawt, Thos	4 7 03	(Crk)	-	44	2	-10 13	

Notes

- 1 Brackets indicate that the information is supplied from other sources, e.g. will or lay subsidy.
- 2 Amounts in this column are net of debts.

*Table 11 - List of Wills without Inventories*

1490	William Preston	PCC 35 Milles
1509	John Cawod	PCC 24 Bennett
1523	Robert Cawat	HRO
1530	William King	HRO
1535	Chistyne Mungumbrey	HRO
1539	Richard Walsh	HRO
1542	John Tryge	HRO
1543	John Porter	HRO
1544	William Dering	HRO
1546	Thomas Pulton	HRO
1549	Sir William Gifford	PCC 43 Populwell
1552	Edward Frost	HRO
1552	Henry Frost	HRO
1552	William Howle	HRO
1558	Thomas King	HRO
1559	Sir George Paulett	PCC 25 Welles
1560	Richard Terry	HRO
1565	Thomas Terry	HRO
1570	John Dering	HRO
1577	John Terry	HRO
1582	Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton	PCC 45 Rowe
1584	William Dorie	HRO
1598	Giles Ranisforde	PCC 50 Lewyn
1599	Francis Sigsworth	PCC 57 Kidd

*Table 12 - Administrations and Inventories not included in Analysis*

1557	Elizabeth Tyrry	HRO (Inventory in form impossible to analyse)
1580	Elizabeth Taverner	HRO (see p.11)
1592	Henry Froste	HRO Admin (Inventory not itemised)
1600	Robert Mountigue	HRO Admin (Clothes and money only)

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5M53/730 Court Book of Wriothesley Manors, Itchel, Aug. 1579 f45; Sept. 1580 f128;  
Sept. 1581 f218v

5M53/718 Court Roll " " " Nov. 1584

5M53/731 Court Book " " " Oct. 1588 f149

5M53/733 " " " " " April 1596 f54

5M53/734 " " " " " Oct. 1597 f90v; Aug. 1600 f165;  
Sept. 1602 f201v

Consistory Court Books 24, 37, 50, 67

QM 1 Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1558-77

Crondall Tithe Map and Schedule 1844

Typescript glossaries of words from Probate Inventories of Micheldever and Lymington

#### *Winchester Cathedral Library*

Crondall Manor Court Rolls 1559 (Mar. and Sept.), 1568, 1575

Crondall *Comptus* Rolls 1547, 1551, 1552, 1554, 1555 (too fragile to read), 1556, 1558 (as  
1555), 1561, 1563, 1564, 1566

Crondall Customary 1567 (not read in the original, see below Baigent 1891)

#### *Public Record Office*

E 179/173/183 Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524/5 Crondall

E 179/174/308 " " " 1549 "

E 179/174/323 " " " 1550 "

E 179/174/339 " " " 1551 "

E 179/174/386 " " " 1571 "

E 179/174/429 " " " 1598 "

E 179/174/449 " " " 1600 "

For the Roll of 1586 see below, Davey 1981

SP12/59/8 Muster Rolls Crondall 1569

SP12/94/15 Muster Rolls Crondall 1573

SP12/97/32 " " " 1574

SP12/117/73 " " " 1577

SP12/137/103 " " " 1580

SP12/206/23 " " " 1587

SP12/227/40 " " " 1589

SP12/117/10	Recusancy	Rolls	1577
SP12/160/26	"	"	1583
SP12/183/45	"	"	1585
SP12/188/16	"	"	1586
SP12/117/32	Certificate of Alehouses		1577
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APPENDIX: GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF ITEMS MENTIONED  
IN CRONDALL PROBATE INVENTORIES  
1548 - 1603

Notes for users

- 1 The numbers refer to the numbers given to the inventories, which are arranged in chronological order.
- 2 For items which occur in 20 or more inventories, the total number only is given and the individual inventories are not listed.
- 3 Subjects are listed under modern spellings, followed by the variant spellings which occur in the documents. A heading within brackets indicates that the modern spelling does not occur in the documents at all. A few items have not been identified and these appear in inverted commas.
- 4 Definitions are from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (complete edition) unless otherwise stated. Other books referred to are listed in the Bibliography.

Photographic copies of the transcripts of the inventories may be consulted at Farnham Museum, Willmer House, 38 West Street, Farnham, Surrey and at the Hampshire Record Office, 20 Southgate Street, Winchester.

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- Agar see AUGER  
Ale barrel see BARREL  
Ale pot see POT  
Ale tub see TUB  
Ale Vessel see VESSEL  
[ALLMAIN RIVETS], allmen revett 38  
*A kind of light armour, first used in Germany, in which great flexibility was obtained by overlapping plates sliding on rivets.*  
[AMBRY], ambre, ambrie, ambrey, aumbrie, allme, allmere 20 24 37 38 45  
84 *A store cupboard*  
AMICE 23 (gown furred with grey amices)  
*Fur of the squirrel*  
ANDIRON, andire, andierne, andyar, andearn, andryn, anndren, andron. In 44 inv  
[ANVIL], anvell 12  
Aporne seen APRON  
APPAREL, aparell, aparill, aparrell, apperrell, apperyll, parrill unspecified In 51 inv; linen 53; woollen 53 61 see also RAIMENT; WEARING GEAR  
APPLES 40 43 55 70 71 86  
[APRON], apome, aperon 23; canvas 37 61; holland 61  
ARROWS 32 48 51 53 56 82 see also SHAFTS  
AUGER, awger, awgre, augasse, agar 5 8 21 39 40 50 51 53 58 60 62 65 66 72 87 *A tool for boring*  
Aumarye see AMBRY  
'AUNGER' 55 *Possibly 'hanger' (Micheldever), but '2 aungers and a pothanger' so it can hardly be a pothanger*  
AXE, ax, axse, naxse, naxst In 51 inv  
Backboard see BENCH  
'Backe of winskoot' see WAINSCOT  
BACKSIDE 41 43 46 48 54 56 67 68 79  
*Farmyard, outhouses*  
BACON, baken, bakon, bakne, bakcon In 27 inv  
BAG, bagge 40 59 69 70 71 72  
BAKEHOUSE 4 19 20 21  
Baking vessel see VESSEL



[BALANCE], ballenze 14; see also SCALES  
[BANDOLIER], bandalier 82 *Shoulder belt with pockets for holding ammunition*  
Bankator see CHAIR  
BARK 89 *In tanner's shop*  
BARLEY, berley In 38 inv  
Barley cooler, kouller see COOLER  
BARN 3 4 6 7 12 16 17 18 21 28 33 34 43 56 70 73 80 83 88  
BARREL 3 5 10 11 16 17 33 53 59 67 69 71 72 77 82 83 85; ale 8 21 29 30 34 47 51 60 62 76; lying 63 *To hold lye for soap making ?*  
BASIN, basen, bason, bazon 14 29 66 67 84; brass 42; latten 5 21  
BASKET, baskat, bascatte, buscate 21 32 41 43 46 53 61 84 88 90; covered 76; wicker 51; wool 76  
BEAM (of scales), iron 44; wooden 21 56  
[BEAM], bemse, plough 30  
BEANS 21 59 88; garden of 46; in the garden 57  
BEAST, young 76  
'BECK' 5 69 76 *Associated with axe and bill. A kind of mattock*  
'BECKER' 59 *Associated with bowls. Beaker ?*  
BED, beade, beyed, beyde, unspecified in 9 inv; feather, fether, feyder in 36 inv; flock in 73 inv  
BEDHANGER, BEDHANGINGS 38 45  
BEDSTEAD, bedstede, beadstead, unspecified in 28 inv; boarded, borden, in 17 inv; joined in 10 inv; standing in 3 inv; truckle in 6 inv  
BEDSTEDLE, bedsedle 45 63 *Variant of 'staddle' a supporting framework*  
BEE HIVE 1 2 20 24 32 44 50 51 55 61 66 70 72 77 87  
BEE STALL 4 37 39 41 46 56 83  
BEEF, beffe, breast of 38 56  
BEES, bysc see BEE HIVE; BEE STALL  
BELLOWS, belloos, byllose 12 21 41 61 64  
BELLS, sheep 53  
BELT, horse 23 see also BOLT  
Bemse see BEAM  
BENCH 40 58 66 69 72; with a backboard 43  
Bench cloth see CLOTH  
BIBLE 82  
BILL unspecified in 46 inv; black 41 43 46 47 51 53 59 60 62 67 70 75 81  
*Bills were painted in different colours according to their use and those for military purposes were painted black or brown (Havinden); bramble 76; forest 21 43; haying (heyenge) 47; watch 87*  
Black bill see BILL  
BLANKET, blanckette, blankat, blanked, blancate, blenkete In 44 inv  
BOARD, borde, boorde, bourd, brode, broode 21 29 30 32 36 40 43 50 58 74 76 80 83; beechen 68; little square 23; shelf 44 56 57 59 64 83; table 52 57  
Bocket, bokit see BUCKET  
Bole, bolle see BOWL  
Bollocke, bowllocke see BULLOCK  
BOLSTER, bolestar, boulster, bowster, unspecified in 52 inv; feather in 9 inv; flock in 14 inv; tick 30  
BOLT 46; for plough 21; horse 66 *Can mean fetters see also BELT*  
BOLTER, bolter 43 90 *A sifter*  
BOLTING HOUSE 41 50 64 82  
*To bolt = to sift*  
BOLTING, boulding, bulding, boleting, HUTCH, huche 32 38 51 53 56 64 67 68 71 79 *Hutch is a box or coffer*  
BOLTING WITCH, whitch 40 46 47 48 62 66 69 72 73 75 82 84 86 89 90  
*Witch = hutch*  
BOOKS 82  
BOOTS, botes 43 48  
BOTTLE, bottele 38 43 46 66, leather 21 84, tin (tynnen) 71  
'BOULSHES' 43 *Not identified. Associated with wool and cheese*  
Boulter, boulding hutch see BOLTER, BOLTING HUTCH  
BOW 32 46 48 56 82; cross 46; furnished for service 66 see also ARROWS; SHAFTS  
BOWL, bole, boole, boule, bowelle, unspecified in 37 inv; treen 64; wooden 5, 88  
BOWL DISH, boldishe 38 40 53 63 66  
Bowlster, bowster see BOLSTER  
BOX 21 82 84  
Bramble bill see BILL  
Bramble scythe see SCYTHE  
BRASS (vessels) 27 43 46 48 51 54 63 74 see also BASIN; CANDLESTICK; KETTLE; MORTAR; PAN; POT  
BREADGRATE, bredgrate 43 66 *A grater; or a wooden slatted crate suspended from the ceiling for bread storage (Havinden)*  
BREWHOUSE 8  
Brewing tub see TUB  
Brewing vessel see VESSEL  
BRIDLE, bridell 40 43 48 56 60 63  
[BROACH], broch, brotch In 47 inv *A spit*  
Brode, broode see BOARD  
BRUSH 44 57 58 66 69  
BUCKET, bucat, bocket, bokit 4 38 40 41 46 47 56 60 61 65 66 69 76 77 88  
see also WELL BUCKET  
Bucking tub see TUB  
BUCKLER 49 *A small shield*  
BULL 22 48 62 76  
BULLOCK, bollocke, bowllocke unspecified in 25 inv; heifer 10 11; of two years 39; small 34 73; steer 10 11; weaned 62; weaner 70; working 14 43 63 80; yearling 22 24 46 60 75 79 86  
Buscate see BASKET  
BUSHEL 14 23 38 49 51 53 55 62 70  
*A vessel used as a bushel measure; half*

- bushel 51 53 56 66  
 BUTTER, buttar 38 40 56 61 63 66 84 89  
 BUTTER-CHURN, chem, charne, quern  
 In 25 inv  
 [BUTTERY], buttrye, buttry, butre 8 16 21  
 41 46 48  
 Bylose see BELLOWS
- 'CACHE HOOKES, pair of silver' 16 *Possibly for fastening clothing, but the item appears at the end with miscellaneous objects, such as harness and a bed ceiling*
- Cadrone, caldern see CAULDRON  
 CALF, cafe, cauffe, cawfe 4 13 19 24 28 33  
 45; sucking 50; weaner (wenier, weynier, veniarde) 10 41 50 52 60; weaned 65 86; weaning 14 20 82; yearling 30 59  
 [CALIVER], callyvor 48 *Light form of musket*  
 CAN 8 55; earthen 61  
 CANDLESTICK, candelstyke, candellsteke, candylstyke, canstycke unspecified in 55 inv; brass 43 51 53 58 59 71 75 84; latten 25 30 32; pewter 49 83 84  
 Canvas see KERCHIEF; SHEET  
 CAP 21  
 CAPON 1 13 71 77 87 90  
 'CAPTOASE' 40 *Capcase? A travelling case or a box*  
 CAR, plough 3  
 Carchiffe see KERCHIEF  
 CARDS, carttes 1 10 11 37 38 40 41 44  
 47 51 53 59 62 63 69 85 87 88 89  
 90; woollen 56 *Used to comb out the fibres of wool, etc., preparatory to spinning; see STOCKCARDS*  
 'CARDYER' 87 *Not identified. Listed with the hearth furniture*  
 CARPET 21 23 46 82; table 89  
 CART unspecified in 33 inv; dung 84; iron bound 10 11 17 43; little 4 5 6 48 56; long 84; shod 30; woollen 15 38  
 Cart clent, harness, lade, rope, strake, strap, strond, strud, twist, wheel; see CLENT, etc  
 CARHOUSE 7 12  
 [CASSOCK], casoke, cassake 21 52 *A long loose coat worn by men and women*  
 Catheme, cathrene see CAULDRON  
 CAULDRON, cauderne, cawdron, cawdren, cawdran, cawthen, cawtheron, catheme, katheme, cathrene, caldern, kalkdern, cadrone, codrone 3 12 13 14 17 20 21 23 30 32 46 51 62 70 71 76; great 41 42 53 55; little 53 55 65  
 CEILING, celeng, seling, seeling, sylynge 4 23; bed 16 25 66; painted 82 *From context all are likely to be bed ceilings or testers*  
 Cettel see KETTLE  
 Ceve see KIVE  
 Cever, cevar see KEEVER  
 Ceverlitt see COVERLET  
 CHAFER 86 *A chafing-dish*  
 CHAFING DISH, chafendeshe, chafengdishe, chavyngdyshe In 29 inv  
 CHAIN, cheyne 4 5 8 15 43 46 53 54 60 62 66 67 72 77 80 82 84 86 90; plough 12 17 21 23 24 32 45; pot 2 33 53 61; well 41  
 CHAIR, chayer, chare, charye, chaier, cheare, chere, cherys, cheyre unspecified in 43 inv; turned 32 44 48; with bankators 28  
 'Bankator' not identified. *Possibly variant of 'banker', a covering*  
 CHAMBER POT 49 71  
 CHAMLET 23 *Garment made of chamlet, a material of silk and wool*  
 [CHASE], chece 21; *Occurs in the glazier's shop. Chase is the frame in which type is held for printing. Might it be used to denote a metal frame in which window glass was inserted? 'Cheese' seems an unlikely interpretation here*  
 CHEESE, chese, chece In 36 inv  
 CHEESE MOAT, -mote 43; *Cheese-vat (OED); or synonymous with press (Emmison, 1976)*  
 CHEESE MOULD, -moole, cheesmold see MOULD  
 CHEESE PRESS, chese prese 23 32 38 40 51 53 56 62 65 76 82 88  
 CHEESE-RACK, cheyes- 21 23 41 70  
 CHEST, cheaste unspecified in 24 inv; great 54 84; joined 72 77 78 79  
 CHICKEN, chike, chekin 16 51 53 61 62 72  
 [CHISEL], chesell 5 8  
 Choshin see CUSHION  
 Christening sheet see SHEET  
 Chum, chem, charne see BUTTER-CHURN  
 [CLEAVER], clever, clefer 43 66  
 [CLENSIEVE], clensyve, clansyve 41 57  
*A fine sieve*  
 'CLENT', cart 53 *Probably a variant of 'clinch', a bent nail*  
 [CLOAK], cloke 10 21 52; grey 38  
 CLOTH 18 33 48 66; bench 32; coarse woollen 70; country 63; cupboard 32 40 43 71 89; grey 38; hanging, hegyng 4 66; russet 24; white 38 56; white woollen 38; woollen 43  
 CLOTH, PAINTED OR STAINED In 35 inv *Used as wall hanging*  
 [COAT], cote, cotte 5 10 20 21 52  
 Cobarde, cobbard, cobberde, coburde, cobborde see CUPBOARD  
 COB IRON 77 *Bar on which the spit turned, see also GOB IRON*  
 COCK, kook, coke In 41 inv  
 COFFER, cowfer, cofer, cofar, couffer, coofar In 66 inv; bound with iron 21  
 'COLE RACKE' 7 *Meaning uncertain. Coal at this period would have been charcoal*  
 COLLAR, collar unspecified in 66 inv; horse 46; leather 55; 'rashe' 5 = *rush collar for horse?*  
 COLT, cowlte, coult unspecified in 28 inv;

mare 30; sucking 15  
 [COOLER], kouller, barley 55 *For cooling the wort in brewing*  
 [COOLTUB], coultobe, coule tubb 66 84  
*Similar to cooler?*  
 'COOPE' 49 *Possibly variant of coup, a small cart, or could be 'cup'*  
 COOPER'S WARE 30 (40 pieces ready hewn)  
 Copboard see CUPBOARD  
 Cope see CUP  
 CORN 2 3 9 13 17 18 21 27 28 51 70  
 Corn rope see ROPE  
 COTTRELL, cotrelle 21 23 *Bar from which pot hung over the fire*  
 Coubbard, coubborde see CUPBOARD  
 [COULTER], colter, coltar, culter 5 8 32  
 Counter table see TABLE  
 Country see CLOTH; STOOL  
 [COVER], coverys 9 *Associated with bed, = coverlet*  
 COVERING 36 43 *In 36, associated with bed; 43 with a trough and chest*  
 COVERLET, coverlitt, covered, koverlide, ceverlitt, keverlette, kevelette unspecified in 70 inv; carpet 76; list 34 61; shred, shredden, shryde 17 27 31 34 58 61 83; white 41; with serge hangings 6  
 COW 21 22 29 42 43 44 50 70 79 80 84 90; 'yawce?' 20  
 Cowbard, cowberd, cowbord see CUPBOARD  
 Cowfer see COFFER  
 COWL 33 *A tub*  
 CRADLE 67 90  
 CRITCH, crutch, cruche 41 43 55 *Dish or earthenware pipkin (Cope)*  
 'CRONDE pynes' 53 *In connection with cart*  
 Cross-kert saw see SAW  
 CRUSE 41 61 *Small vessel for holding liquid*  
 Crutch, cruche see CRITCH  
 CUFFS, velvet 23  
 CUP, cope 40; earthen 83; pewter 43 71 84 86 90; stone 32 38 56 84  
 CUPBOARD, cupbord, cubbourd, cubbard, cubburd, cubberd, cubber, cobborde, cobarde, coberd, cobborde, coburde, copbord, coubborde, coobard, cowbord, cowberd, cowbard unspecified in 61 inv; joined 43 46 54 64 83 90  
 Cupboard cloth see CLOTH  
 [CURTAIN], curten, curteyne 21; saye 43  
 CUSHION, cushen, cushin, cussen, cussin, coshen, choshin, quission, quissian, quyshen 12 13 21 23 32 38 43 46 48 50 58 64 66 71 76 82 88 90  
 [DAGGER], daggre 43  
 [DAIRYHOUSE], dayehouse 12  
 Deshe see DISH  
 Diaper, dyapr see NAPKIN; TOWEL *A linen fabric with a woven pattern*  
 DICKER of leather 89 *Dicker = half-score, especially of hides for tanning*

DISH, deshe 23 25 37 42 57 59 65 66 69 73 76 83; eared, eare, eard, yered 12 38 40 43; pewter 5 15 16 19 20 21 24; porridge, porrig 56; treen trenyng 17 23 31 32 38 40 45 46 56 61 64; wooden 60 63 84 90  
 [DOGS], dogges 21 *In the chamber, with wood knife. Various sorts of clamps (OED)*  
 DOUBLET, dublet 20 21; canvas 5; worsted, jerkin-wise 23  
 DRAG 43 48 76 *A heavy harrow*  
 DRAKE 84  
 Drawing knife see KNIFE  
 DREDGE (1) 55 *Occurs with 'grindstone', = dredger?*  
 DREDGE (2), drege 5 38 50 53 82  
*A mixture of various grains, especially oats and barley, sown together*  
 DREDGE CORN 43  
 DRIPPING PAN, drepeng in 20 inv  
 DUCK 1 7 24 25 32 41 43 60 62 69 70 83 84 86 90  
 Dungcart see CART  
 DUNGPICK, dungpyke, dongpicke 21 59 66 81  
 DUNGPOW, doungpott 82 *A small cart for carrying dung*  
 Dungpot lade see LADE  
 Eared, eare, eard, yered see DISH; TUB  
*Probably means furnished with ears or lugs, as handles*  
 Earthen see CAN, CUP, POT, VESSEL  
 Eastheare see HAIR, oast  
 EWE, yuw, yeue, yewe, yuwye, youe in 22 inv  
 EWER 29  
 FAGGOTS 61  
 Fat, feate, faite see VAT  
 Featherbed see BED  
 Fetches, fecches see VETCHES  
 FETTERS, fetheres 7 21 62  
 FIRE PAN, fyar, fier 20 28 40 64 66 76 83 88  
 Fire prong see PRONG  
 Fire shovel see SHOVEL  
 FIRKIN, virkin 41 49 51 53 56 65 72 76 77 84 88 89 90 *A vessel holding 9 gallons (Steer)*  
 FISH, salt 43  
 [FLASK], flascke 'and touch box' 48 *Flask for powder (Milward)*  
 FLASKET 88 90 *Small flask or long shallow basket (OED); clothes basket (Steer)*  
 [FLEECE], flyse 70  
 Fleece wool see WOOL  
 FLESH HOOK 40  
 Flockbed see BED  
 FLOWER POT 63 *With candlesticks i.e. not with other kitchen utensils. OED has example in 1598*  
 [FORESLEEVE, satin], forsleve, satten 23

*A loose ornamental sleeve worn over the ordinary sleeve* see also SLEEVE  
 Forest bill see BILL  
 FORGE 12  
 FORM, frome unspecified in 65 inv;  
 joined 30 61 82 90; plain 61; plank 39  
 FOSSER 43 *Variant of 'forcer' chest, coffer or casket*  
 FOWLING PIECE 82  
 FRAME 21 43 47 68 76 90 turned, of  
 6 posts 82 *The base on which a table board rested*  
 [FRIEZE], fryse 49 *Coarse woollen cloth*  
 FROCK, grey 38  
 [FRUIT], frught 66  
 FRYING PAN, frynge, fryenge, friene, fring  
 In 43 inv  
 FURNACE 50  
 Fyelle see PHIAL

GAB IRON, yren 21 *Cob iron?*  
 GAMBRELL 43 *A stick used to spread open and hang up a carcase in a butcher's shop*  
 GANDER 5 10 28 40 56 63 89  
 GARNER 66 *A store house for grain (OED), but in this case evidently rather a bin (associated with shelves and benches)*  
 GAWN [of butter] 38 *A gallon*  
 GEAR, gayre, gearse 21 31 40 *Harness*  
 GELDING, geyldyng, gyldyng, geldeng 1 3 5  
 6 10 11 19 21 27 30 33 43 46 48 49  
 [GILT], yelte 5 *A young sow*  
 [GIN], ginne 55  
 'GLIDE' 61 *Not identified, with hearth furniture*  
 GOOSE, GEESE, geyse, gies, gesse, gysse, geece, gise In 29 inv  
 GOWN 23 (pewke, with a purpell of velvet, black, with shanks, furred with grey amice, old); 30 45 49 (old friese) 70 (best)  
 GRASS 82  
 GREASE, grese 38 40 48 55  
 GRIDIRON, grydyme, gryddiarne, gridyoren, gredyron, gredire, gredien, grediren, girdirone, gyrdyer, gerdier, girdire, girdiarone, gierder, gyrgier In 40 inv  
 GRINDSTONE, grynestone, grinstone, gryndingstone, grynyngstone, grendylstone  
 9 12 14 30 39 43 48 54 55 66 72 75 76  
 87 89

Hackefor see HEIFER  
 HAIR or HAIRCLOTH, here, heare, heyre 21  
 30 32 49; kiln 43 70; malting 8 50;  
 oast 76  
 HAMMER 5 62 63 66 76  
 HANDKERCHIEF 61  
 Hand saw see SAW  
 HANGER 12 13 51 53; iron 72 see also  
 BEDHANGER; POTHANGER  
 HANGER [sword] 43 *Loop on sword belt from which sword was hung*  
 HANGING, hangin, 7 14 21 29 54 58 see also

BEDHANGING  
 HARNESS 5 14 17 24 60 66 72 90, cart 6 32  
 41 48 50 54 56 67 80; for harrows 84;  
 horse 7 30 48 75 76 87; thill 38, *in inv*  
*No 17 'harness' probably means armour, since it is linked with sword and bill.*  
 HARNESS GIRDLE 16  
 HARROW unspecified in 30 inv; tine 30  
 'HASTLETES' 59 *Linked with beans. Tusser has 'Hastings' an early variety of pea (1898, 56)*  
 HAT 61  
 HATCHET, hatchitt, hachet 7 32 38 43 52 56  
 59 66 67 68 84  
 HAY, heye, heaye, heie In 51 inv  
 'HAYD SHEET' 21 *Possibly 'headsheet' - sheet for head of bed*  
 Haying bill see BILL  
 [HEAD PIECE] hed peece 82 *Helmet (Steer)*  
 HEALING 37 [shred] *A covering*  
 HEIFER, hecfor, hecfer, heckfer, hecforde, hackefors, hexforde unspecified in 23 inv;  
 of 2 years 15  
 Heifer bullock see BULLOCK  
 HEMP 21  
 HENS, hendes In 59 inv  
 Hexforde see HEIFER  
 HILFE (of vetches) 80 *A small stack*  
 Hive see BEE HIVE  
 HOG unspecified in 46 inv; bacon 30 38;  
 barrow 52 *Castrated boar; fattening 19; sow 54*  
 HOGSHEAD 52 *A large cask containing 63 old wine gallons*  
 Holland see KERCHIEF, RAIL, SHEET, SLEEVE  
*Linen fabric*  
 [HONEY], hunny 56  
 HOOBED 37 *Unidentified; with hearth furniture; the first element might be 'hob' or 'hoo', a Hampshire word for 'boil' (Cope)*  
 HOOD, morning 23  
 HOOK, hocke, hoocke 43 69 76; see also  
 CACHE HOOKES; FLESHHOOK; POTHOOK;  
 REAPING HOOK  
 HOP POLES 71  
 HOPS 56 61 63 65 66 70 71 72 77 86  
 HORSE, hoarse 17 40 50 82  
 HORSEBEAST, beste, bease 7 45 50 52 74 75  
 80; simple 67  
 Horse belt see BELT  
 Horse bolt see BOLT  
 Horse collar see COLLAR  
 Horse harness see HARNESS  
 HOSE, hosen, hossen, howse 5 20 21 38  
 HOUSE, old 71 80  
 HUTCH 14 *A small cupboard or bin* see also  
 BOLTING HUTCH

IMPLEMENT belonging to the kitchen 63  
 IRON, old, yeren 12 23 28 32 37 41 43 46 48  
 51 53 55 61 69 70 85

IRON BAR 43  
 IRONS, pair of, for plough 21 55  
 [JACKET], jakett 23  
 [JERKIN], jerken 20  
 JOWL, jolle 21 (of vetches) 87 (of hay)  
*Jowl was a toothed projection in front of a cart for reaping. Here = as much hay as would be lifted on this?*  
 JUG 66  
 Kaldern, kalherne see CAULDRON  
 Keeve, keve, keffe see KIVE  
 KEEVER, kever, keyver, cever, cevar, kiver  
 unspecified in 37 inv; kneading 19 20 37 40  
 55 56 61 63 65 71 80 84 89 90 *A shallow wooden vessel or tub; OED favours the spelling 'kiver'*  
 KEFFER 11 *Unidentified. Occurs with 'tablecloth' and 'copper'*  
 Kene, keyne, keye see KINE  
 KERCHIEF, kercher, kerchow, kersher,  
 carchiffe 23 30; canvas 37; holland 37;  
 lockram 61  
 KERSEY 48 *A kind of coarse narrow cloth*  
 Kertell see KIRTLE  
 KETTLE, kettell, kette, kettyll, ketelle,  
 kittell, cettel; unspecified in 74 inv; brass  
 34 64 75  
 Keverlette, kevelette see COVERLET  
 'KILER' 29 = *Keever* ?  
 Kill here see HAIR, kiln  
 KINE, keyne, kyene, kene, keye In 58 inv  
 KIRTLE, kertell 37 45; worsted 23 *An underskirt*  
 KIVE, keeve, keve, keffe, ceve 8 13 28 34 40  
 46 47 51 53 56 63 65 69 71 76 83; of 2  
 bushels 24, *OED gives 'Keeve' as the main spelling, but in these inventories kive is more common. A tub or vat, especially for brewing.*  
 Kiver see KEEVER  
 Kneading keever see KEEVER  
 Kneading tub see TUB  
 KNIFE, knyve, kyve, chopping 61; drawing  
 32 38; rubbing 21; shredding 38 71;  
*Drawing knife - blade with handle at each end, used for shaving or scraping a surface.*  
 Kook see Cock  
 LADDER, ladar 32 41 55 59 68 70 71  
 LADE 82; cart 77; dungpot 75 *Extension at front and back of cart to increase load*  
 LADLE ladell 40 43 56 61  
 LAMB, lame In 23 inv  
 'LAMBES IN THE SHOPPE WITH THER GEARES'  
 28 *It has been suggested by Philip Brooks that this is a misspelling of 'loom'. The 'b' is quite certain but it is just possible that the 'a' might be an 'o'*  
 Larnbswool see WOOL  
 [LANTERN] lantran 38  
 LARD 56 84  
 LARDERHOUSE 33  
 LATH 32 43  
 Latten see CANDLESTICK; MORTAR *A mixed yellow metal*  
 [LATTICE], lates 21  
 [LEAD], led 43 *In glazier's shop*  
 LEASE, lesse, leace 36 50 84  
 LEATHER, in the vats (tanner) 89; piece of 43  
 Leather bottle see BOTTLE  
 LINEN, lynyn 42 46 54 57 64 71; for  
 weaving 70; wearing 38  
 LIST 13 see also YARN *The selvage of cloth, which was made of a different material from the cloth itself. It was evidently used to make coverlets q.v.*  
 [LOCK], lok 21 (for fetters)  
 Lockram, locram, see KERCHIEF, SHEET *A linen fabric*  
 LOCKS, lokes 21 76 *The lowest class of wool - short tufts from the legs of sheep*  
 LOFT 14 21 23 32 43 46 48 56 71 80 83  
 LOOM, lome 14 28 (possibly) 44  
 LUMBER, lumbur, lombry 21 25 28 29 30  
 LUMBERMENT 43 54 56 64 67 71 74 79  
 80 83  
 Lying, lyenge barrel see BARREL  
 MALLARD 1 24 32 60 62 69 70  
 MALT, mault 21 38 41 42 43 56 57 65 71 88;  
 barley 24 78; dredge 46 78 84; grown 21;  
 oaten 12 32  
 Malting here see HAIR, malting  
 MARE In 50 inv  
 MAT 21 49; bench 38  
 MATTOCK, mat howke, mathooke, mathape  
 In 23 inv  
 MATTRESS, mattres, mattas, mattrys,  
 matteryce 3 6 7 16 32 71  
 Medlen wool see WOOL  
 MEDLEY 48 *A kind of cloth, woven with different coloured wools*  
 MILKHOUSE 43  
 MILL to try corn 45 *Try = to sift*  
 MONEY, monye, old 37; ready 38 39 42 46  
 MORTAR, mortar 13 29 63 66 68; brass 53  
 62 72 77 84 89; latten 32 38; spice 23;  
 stone 50  
 [MOULD], molde, moole, glazier's 21; cheese  
 41 60  
 MUSKET 82 (with a head piece & rest)  
 NAG 55 66 72 76 87 89; pied 21  
 NAPKIN, napken, nackpynn, nappeken,  
 unspecified in 21 inv; diaper 23; plain 8;  
 table 56 82  
 NIGHTGOWN 38  
 [NYCETTE], nysatte 23 *A light wrapper for the breast or neck*  
 Oast hair see HAIR, oast  
 OATS, otes, ootes, ottes, ottys, wotes, woettes,  
 wottes In 53 inv

OFFCORN 50 *Corn which is thrown out in waste - 'offal corn'*

OIL 48

ONIONS, rope of 32

Ottes, ottys see OATS

OX, oxse, oxcesen 2 17 19 21 24 30 33 46 50  
51 52 53 54 55 66 72 84 90; rutt 15; working  
62 'Rutt' may be oxen for the plough (rut =  
furrow); or a variant of 'runt', a small breed

Painted cloth see CLOTH

PAN unspecified in 35 Inv; brass 1 2 5 11 13 14  
42 51 61 65 69 71 77 80 87; earthen 43 59;  
of a bushel 8; plate 8

PANCH 56 66 71; milk 76 *Variant of  
'pancheon'? A shallow bowl used for  
separating cream*

PANEL, paynell 5 40 46 56 60 63 66 70 A  
*piece of cloth to place under a saddle, or a  
rough saddle*

PAP-PAN, pappe pane, pappane 5 7 30 32  
53 71 *OED has 'pap-boat', vessel for  
holding pap or baby food*

PARLOUR, parlor 32 43 48 50 56 58 64 71 80  
82 83

PARTLET 23 *Covering for the upper part of  
the chest and neck*

Payse see PEAS

PEARS 70

PEAS, pesen, pezse, peason, pese, pece, peaze,  
  
peazon, payse In 20 inv

PECK 46 55 66 70 87 *A vessel used as a peck  
measure (2 gallons)*

Peliber, pellowe bayre, see PILLOWBERE

PERLETTE 61 *With women's clothing.  
Unidentified. OED has 'purf' = a frill or ruff*

PESTLE, pestell 13 23 29

PETTICOAT, peatycoate, petycote 45 52 70;  
grey 38; white 37 38

PEWTER, puter, pieces of 17 33 41 44 46 48  
50 51 52 54 55 63 64 68 73 74 82 87  
see also CANDLESTICK, CUP, DISH,  
PLATTER, POT, POTTINGER, SALTCELLAR,  
SAUCER, SPOON, VESSEL

[PHIALS WITH LEAD], fyelles with led 21 *In  
glazier's shop*

PICKAXE 46 50 70 87

PIG unspecified in 27 inv; sucking 8 35 82  
weaned, wenyar, waying 32 53 60

PILLOW, pylowe, pyllo, pulte, pille  
unspecified in 30 inv; feather 32 56 83  
84 86 89; flock 89

PILLOW BAG 65

PILLOWBERE, pillober, pylober, pellowbere,  
peliber In 20 Inv *Pillowcase*

PINCERS, pinsers, pynsars, pinchers 5 41 51  
53 62 66 76

Pint pot see POT

PIPE, half 49 *Large cask containing the  
equivalent of a hogshead, 63 old wine  
gallons*

PIPKIN 79 *Small pot or pan*

PITCH PAN 63

PLANE 21 *In glazier's shop*

PLANK, plancke 21 31 32 45 50 68 70 87;  
oaken 27

PLATTER, platter, platttherys, platar,  
unspecified in 52 inv; pewter 40 45 70  
75 81; treen 40 41 56 66

PLATTER DISHES, treen 28

PLOUGH, plowe, plowgh In 35 inv *Often listed  
as 'with apparel or appurtenances'*

Plough beams see BEAMS

Plough car see CAR

Plough chain see CHAIN

PLOUGHSHARE 8 32 see also SHARE

POLE- AXE, pollaxe 51 53 *Probably a  
weapon, as it is listed with a 'black bill'*

Poote see POT

[Porridge], porrig dish see DISH

PORRINGER 49 84 90

POSNET, posnatte 4 5 8 19 23 24 40 50  
53 61 62 64 67 70 71 89; brass 42 58  
83 *A small metal pot for boiling, having a  
handle and three feet*

POT, poote unspecified 4 8 9 17 23 26 31  
60 82; ale 21; brass In 62 inv; earthen 38  
66 71 76 88; iron 16 64 65; pewter 6 9  
13 14 38 40 43 56 87; pint 58; quart 58;  
stone 14

Pot chain see CHAIN

POTHANGER In 51 inv; see also HANGER

POTHOOK In 38 inv

POTTINGER, pottencher, pottenger unspecified  
In 44 inv; pewter 39 75 79 81 *A small  
dish for soups, etc., from French 'potage'*

POTTLE 21 *Vessel containing a half gallon*

POULTRY, pultry, powltrie 40 41 43 63  
74 82

Powdering trough see TROUGH

Powdering tub see TUB

PRESS 14 23 71 83 89 *Large, usually  
shelved, cupboard see also CHEESE-PRESS*

PRISTINE 63 (applied to tablecloth and  
spoons) *In their original state, i.e. unused?*

PRONG, prange 23 32 38 53 62 63 64  
65 66 67 71 76 82 85 87 90; fire 7  
24 66

[PUKE], pewke (gown) 23 *Superior kind of  
woollen cloth*

Pulle see PILLOW

PULLET 15

[PURFLE], purfell (on a gown) 23 *A border*

Put saw see SAW

Quart pot see POT

QUERN 62; butter 67; malt 53; pepper 41  
see also CHURN

Quisslon, quissian, quyshen see CUSHION

Rack see 'COLE RACK'

RAIL, holland 61 *Neckerchief*

RAIMENT, reyment 30 33 42

RAKE 30; iron 10  
 RAM 22 24 49  
 'Rashe' collar see COLLAR  
 REAPING HOOK, repyng hoke, ryphoke, repe  
   hooke, repping hooke 1 5 8 14 31  
   41 58  
 REEL, rele 38 39 40 41 47 57 59 61  
   62 70 85 87 88 90 *For winding thread  
   after spinning*  
 RIDDER, redar, rudder, ryddre 32 40 41  
   43 56 69 = *Riddle, a sieve*  
 [RING, wedding], weding ryne 22  
 Riphook see REAPING hook  
 ROPE 30 41 43 46 56 60 63 67 80; cart 24  
   51 66 90; corn 7 21 55 82; start (sturt) 21  
   32; well 14 55 66; wood 7 21 55  
 RUSSET 48 *A coarse woollen cloth of a reddish  
   brown, grey or neutral colour* see also  
   CLOTH  
 RYE In 26 inv  
  
 SACK, sake 21 40 41 43 46 49 50 59  
   60 63 65 66 69 70 71 72 76 80;  
   half-quarter 57  
 SADDLE 43 48 56 60; cart 21 24 66 87;  
   for a mare 29; pack 44  
 [SAFEGUARD], savegarde 23 *An overskirt for  
   protection when riding*  
 SALT 21 37 43  
 SALTCELLAR, saltseller, sawlteceller  
   unspecified In 44 inv; pewter 57 75; tin  
   (tyne) 8  
 Saltfish see FISH  
 SAUCER, sawcer, sauser, sawser, sasser,  
   saser, sawer, sace unspecified In 50 inv;  
   pewter 75  
 Savegarde see SAFEGUARD  
 SAW 66 69 72 87; cross-kerf 24; hand 21  
   39 53 55 58 60 62 63; 'put' 8; tenon  
   (tenant) 21 55 60 *Kerf = the act of cutting  
   or tie notch made by a saw. 'Put saw' not  
   identified*  
 'SAYE' curtains 43 *Say = a cloth of fine  
   texture resembling serge. In 16th cent.  
   sometimes partly of silk*  
 Sayve see SIEVE  
 SCALES, skolles, skales, skiles 21 38 44 56  
   70 76 see also BALANCE  
 Scellit, scelite, scillet see SKILLET  
 Scommer, scamer see SCUMMER  
 [SCOOP], scope 38  
 [SCOUR], skoure 43 = *Scourer?*  
 [SCUMMER], scamer, scommer 53 66 88  
   see also SKIMMER  
 SCYTHE, sythe, sithe unspecified In 20 inv;  
   bramble 76  
 'SEED CODE' 30 *Possibly from 'cod' - a bag*  
 SEEDLIP, seedrip 41 63 84 90 *Basket for  
   carrying seed when sowing*  
 Seeling, seling, sylynge see CEILING  
 Seve see SIEVE  
 SHAFT 46 see also ARROWS  
  
 SHANKS 23 (gown, with shanks) *Fur from the  
   legs of animals (i.e. inferior fur)*  
 [SHARE], sheare 5 see also PLOUGHSHARE  
 SHEARS 43 69 87; in clothier's shop 69  
 SHEEP, shepe, shypppe unspecified In 33 inv;  
   fattening 1; 'teyed fecte' 17 *This has not been  
   explained*  
 Sheep bells see BELLS  
 SHEEP SHEARS, sheppe sheres, sheep-sheyres  
   5 24 51 53 62  
 SHEET, shete, shette, schete, scheytte, sheatt,  
   shite unspecified in 61 inv; canvas 17 25 34  
   37 38 42 61 63 65 76 82 86 88 89;  
   christening 63; coarse 57; fine 43; 'hayde' 21;  
   holland 23 82; lockram 23 37 38 61 65 76  
   82 89  
 SHELF 8 44 46 47 50 51 53 55 62 65 66 69  
   70 85; hanging 38  
 Shelf board see BOARD  
 SHIRT, sherte 5 20 21  
 Shite see SHEET  
 [SHOAT], shoot, schote, shutte, shote, sute,  
   showte, suette, shoutte In 22 inv *An  
   unweaned pig*  
 [SHOES], showes 38  
 SHOP 21 43 48  
 SHOVEL, shole, showle, shoele 5 21 32 38  
   43 50 52 55 60 65 66 67 69 71 75 87  
   88 90; fire 43 71 79 83; hollow 81  
 Shred *Made with shreds of material, or possibly  
   leather?* see COVERLET  
 Shredding knife see KNIFE  
 SICKLE, sicle 56 58 76  
 SIEVE, seve, syve, syffe, sayve 32 39 40 41  
   55 56 61 69 83  
 Sithe see SCYTHE  
 Skales, skiles see SCALES  
 SKILLET, skellet, scellit, scelite, scillet In 24  
   inv *A metal cooking utensil usually having  
   3 feet and a long handle*  
 SKIMMER, sckemmar, skommer 28 43 64  
   see also SCUMMER  
 Skolles see SCALES  
 [SLEEVE], sleve, slyve 23; holland 61 see  
   also FORESLEEVE  
 SMOCK, smoke 23 37 61  
 [SOLDERING IRON], sodereng iron 21 (in  
   glazier's shop)  
 'Soutonse' see SULTONSE  
 SOW 6 8 19 27 33 38 46 52 53 56 59  
   60 72 73 83  
 SOW HOG 79  
 SPADE 21 56 81 84 88 89; 'wantt spade'  
   85 *Possibly for digging out moles (wants)*  
 SPINNING WHEEL, spening whele, -whyte,  
   -whel unspecified In 24 inv; linen 46 71  
   89; woollen 46 56 59 71 88 89 90  
   see also TURN  
 SPIT In 23 inv  
 SPITTER 41 85 *A spade*  
 [SPLINTS], splenttes 21 33 *Armour with  
   overlapping plates, especially for the*

*elbows*  
[SPOKESHAVE], spockshave 66  
SPOON, spone unspecified In 27 inv; pewter 43; 'pristinne' 63; silver 12 20 23 24 43; tin 21  
SPURS 43  
Stained cloth see CLOTH  
Stall see BEE STALL  
STAND 24 46  
Start rope see ROPE  
'STATE IN THE HOUSE' 58  
Stayre see STEER  
STEER, stere, ster, stayre 3 8 14 19 31 32 48 55 56 62 70 72 73 82 84 90; for the plough 18; lame 82; little working 10; three year old 15 30; working 4 11 24 27; young 24 43  
Steer bullock see BULLOCK  
'STEMER' 32 *The use of 'steamer' as a cooking vessel is not recorded by OED until 1814*  
'STEUSE' 30 = *Stew? A vessel for boiling*  
STOCK 43 *Butcher's block for cutting meat on*  
STOCKCARDS 14 44 46 48 *Large cards for combing wool, mounted on a stand*  
STOOL unspecified in 20 inv; country 61; joined, jeuned, gyned, gynte, jynid In 33 inv  
[STRAINER], streyner 58  
STRAKE, stracke, cart 53 62 *Section of the iron rim of a cart wheel*  
STRAPS, strapas, straps 5 43 66; cart 30 53 60; yoke 30  
'STROND' 53 (3 pairs of, in connection with cart, = strand?)  
'STRUD', strood 23 24; cart 32  
'SULTONSE', sultonse 53 62 *Not identified. 'Sullow = plough cf. 'sulbeame', 'sulborde' in Lymington inventories*  
Sute, siette see SHOAT  
SWORD 17 40 43 52  
Syffe see SIEVE

TABLE, tabull, tabell, tabowll, tabill unspecified In 58 inv; counter 51 53; folding 30 71; joined 43 48 49 56 61 68 74; long 63 88 89; plank, plonke 17 25 43; round 21 43 46 63; square 38 82 89; side 21; upon a frame 21; with a turned frame of 6 posts 82 *Counter table = table for counting money*  
Table board see BOARD  
TABLECLOTH, tabull, tabouille, tabell, tabole unspecified In 42 inv; pristine 63  
TACK 43 *In butcher's shop*  
TANHOUSE, ware in the 9  
TEASLES 48 *In clothier's shop*  
TEG 5 12 22 32 71 78; ewe 49; year old 24  
Tenon saw see SAW  
TESTER, testarr 5 8 12 21 27 32 35 38 40 43 58 59 62 63 65; linen 51 53 56 70 72 77; painted 50 51 53 85; stained 67 *Bed canopy*  
'THANGES' 13 *Unidentified (after tables and before stools)*

Thill, thell, harness see HARNESS  
TIMBER 43  
Tin, tyne see BOTTLE; SALT; SPOON  
[TOASTING IRON], tosting yron 43  
TONGS 48 58 63 79 83 88  
TOOLS 43 53 55; belonging to husbandry 84; carpenters 36 87; for the [clothier's] shop 48; working 4  
[Touch-box], tuchebox 48 *Box for priming powder*  
TOW 82 *The fibre of flax or hemp prepared for spinning*  
TOWEL, towylle, tewell 9 23 32 55 83 90; diaper 21  
TRACE 46; plough 55  
'TREAS', 'trease', trees 43 84 90 *Barrel (OED), or possibly tray? No 43 is in butcher's shop*  
TRENCHER, trenchair, trenssher In 21 inv  
TRESTLES, tresselles, tressulles, trestel 8 14 17 25 30 32 33 38 41 43 44 46 50 58 60 71  
TRIVET, trivit, tryvette, tryffot, trevette, treffett, trevate, treyfte, treefett, trift In 26 inv  
TROUGH, troue, troe, trow, troffe, trove 14 16 17 30 48 55 56 59 61 64 67 68 70 79 86; dry, with a plank upon it 21; powdering 40 43 66 84 87 88 89 90; salting 20 28 32 38 82; with a cover, covering 29 50 83 *Powdering = salting*  
Truckle bedstead see BEDSTEAD  
TRUMPERY, trumprye 46 48 58 80  
TRUNK 84  
TUB, tobbe, toube, unspecified in 41 inv; ale 40 56; brewing 34; bucking 86; dry 5; eared (yered) 38; kneading 89; of two bushels 24; powdering 13 32 46 50 53 59 63 84; standing 32 73 *Bucking = steeping, especially yam, cloth, etc*  
TURN, tome, toorne 39 50 53 57 64; woollen, vollen 51 58 *A spinning wheel*  
TURVES, turfes 83  
'TWIST' 53 *Connected with a cart*  
TWYBILL, twybelle 5 87 *A mattock-like tool, with two cutting edges*

VAT, fate, feate, faite 5 9 14 21 41 52 53 55 63 66 79 82; cheese 8 12 14 38 40 51 56 62 63 66 76 88; dry 32 76 84; malting 46 76; meshing 8; of 2 bushels 10 11; tanning 89; yateling 81; yooting 32 *Yote = to soak; yateling may be a variant*

Vatches see VETCHES  
VELVET 23 (gown with a velvet border)  
Veniarde see WEANYER  
VESSEL, ale 13 14 35 38; baking 54; brewing 54; earthen 44; pewter 1 11 28 80; treen 41 44 50 51 55 57 70 74 79 83; wooden 43 63  
VETCHES veyches, fecche, fetch, vatches 1 5 7 21 33 48 50 74 76 80 82 86 89  
Virkin see FIRKIN  
Vollenturne see TURN, woollen



[WAINSCOT], wyndscott, winskoot, back of 56;  
 certain piece of 86  
 [WAISTCOAT], wast cote 38  
 [WALLET], wailete 38 *A travelling bag*  
 Wantt spade see SPADE  
 Waring gere see WEARING GEAR  
 WARST, 'a lb. of' 32 *Associated with wool,*  
*= worsted?*  
 Watch bill see BILL  
 Wayte see WHEAT  
 WEANYER, wenyer, wenar, weneir, weniär,  
 wenyarde, weynear, weynyer, wyenear,  
 wanyer, veniarde 3 12 15 17 18 27 41 48  
 50 51 52 53 66 68 74 75 84 86 *A newly*  
*weaned animal* see also BULLOCK; CALF  
 [WEAPON], wepone 14  
 WEARING GEAR, wyreng gayre, waring gere,  
 weringe geare 15 22 41  
 Weat, wett see WHEAT  
 [Wedding ring], weding ryne see RING  
 WEDGE, wegge, wege, wedd 7 13 21 27 46 53  
 60 62 66 67 68 69 72 76 81 84 85 ; iron 5  
 20 24 43 51 54 55 56 58 63 70 73 80 90  
 [WEEDHOOK], wedhoke 21  
 WEIGHTS, wyerghts, wyeggtts, wheattes,  
 weytes, waights 21 44 70; brass 24 76;  
 iron 38; lead 38 56 58 61 63 66 76  
 WELL BUCKET, bockit, bukkete 14 38 41  
 55 66  
 Well rope see ROPE  
 'WELLIE' 84 *Possibly 'willie', a basket*  
 WETHER, weythere, weather 1 5 24 27 30  
 WETHER SHEEP 78  
 WETHER TEG 1  
 WHEAT, whete, whett, weat, wett, wayte In 62 inv  
 WHEEL 21 82; cart 39 40 see also SPINNING  
 WHEEL  
 WHEELBARROW 30 89  
 Wicker basket see BASKET  
 WIMBINGSHETE 40 = *winnowing sheet?*  
 WIMBLE 5 53 60 62 66 *A boring implement,*  
*similar to an auger*  
 WINCH 38 *For well bucket*  
 [WINDLASS], wenlesse 46 *Winch used in*  
*discharging a crossbow*  
 WINE, piece to drink 21  
 WINE POTS 21  
 WINNOWING-SHEET, winoing sheet, wynshete  
 14 49 76  
 WITCH, whitche 86 = *hutch* see also BOLTING  
 WITCH  
 WOOD, woude 9 39 44 49 61 65 67 71 82  
 83 89  
 Woodknife, wodknyf see KNIFE  
 Wood rope see ROPE  
 WOOL, wulle, wolle, wole 12 14 15 21 23 28  
 29 36 40 41 42 43 46 51 53 55 61 62 65 66  
 71 88; coarse 13 38; coloured 48; fine black  
 38; fleece 70 76; lambs 76 82; medlen 56  
*of mixed colours? cf medley cloth; white 38 48*  
 Woollen cloth see CLOTH  
 Worsted see DOUBLET; KIRTLE  
 Wotes, woettes, wottes see OATS  
 WRENCH 30  
 Wyreing geayre see WEARING GEAR  
 YARN, yaren 28 56; fine 38; list 56  
 YEARLING, twelvemonthlynge 12 54  
 Yelte see GILT  
 Yeue, yewe, yuw, yuuye, youe see EWE  
 YOKE, yocke, youke, yowke, yocte, yooke 4 8 12  
 15 17 21 24 60 66 72 80 84 90; ox 5 76 82  
 [Yoting vat] yooting, yateling see VAT