

# Analysis of Crick Manorial Documents

## 1. Introduction

By transcription and analysis of the large collection of Crick's manorial documents held at the College of St John the Baptist in Oxford, and combination of this data with other facts culled from early wills and inventories, parish registers, field maps, field survey books, glebe terriers, taxation records, property deeds etc., it is possible to build up an extremely detailed picture of life in the parish of Crick over an exceptionally long period.

The available data-sets that form the basis of this analysis are summarised as follows:

Data Type	Period Covered	Comments
Early deeds and letters	Mainly 1250-1330	
Manorial court rolls	1340-78, 1395, 1528-62, 1583-93, 1610, 1620, 1669, 1688, 1714, 1729, 1752	Transcribed in full, both in Latin and English versions
Manorial accounts and rentals	1419-1430, 1497, 1522-1581, 1615, 1631-??	Transcribed in full
Manorial tithe custumnals	1296 and 1538	Transcribed in full
Parish registers	1538-2000	Some short breaks in the records
Wills and inventories	1507-1700	Transcribed in full, in English
Vestry & churchwardens accts	1600s-1700s	
Glebe terriers	1632, 1666, 1689, 1733	
Quality book	1777	
Taxation records	1549, 1661-74	
Militia lists	1770-1774	Transcribed in full
House deeds	Mainly 1700s-1900s	
Overhead vertical photographs	1950s/1970s/1990s (SMR copies)	All maps, aerial photographs and survey diagrams were scaled and oriented, overlaid and compared, using CorelDraw graphics software to assist interpretation
RCHM survey (village centre)	Mediaeval and post-mediaeval	
Field survey (ridge-&-furrow)	Mediaeval and post-mediaeval	
Maps (estate maps & OS maps)	Estate maps c1800-1840, OS maps 1900 and subsequent	
Census records	1841-1901	
Field surveyor's book	1905	Transcribed in full

Table 1: Sources of data for the study

## 2. Manorial Records

Analysis of these records provides a clear and detailed picture of life in the community over a very extended period, from late mediaeval times right up to the relatively modern era. The three main types of manorial records that have survived for Crick each provide different and complementary kinds of information:

**Manor rentals:** These are primarily fiscal records, and they deal only with that part of the manor of which St John's College Oxford subsequently gained the lordship. They include; details of amounts paid in rent by each man; statements of how much land and property each man owned or leased, and roughly how his land was distributed within the open fields; records of who leased the lord's manorial windmill and malt mill, who operated the lord's community bake-house etc; accounts balances showing the profit made by the manor; occasional details of repairs carried out; details of any fiscal disputes, non-payment of chief-rents, quit-rents etc.

**Manor court rolls:** These records cover the civil administration of the whole of the manor. They include; regular lists of jurymen, election of constable and hayward etc; details of petty offences (weights and measures, public affray, illicit brewing/gaming, breach of manorial regulations etc) and the fines levied and collected; records of stray animals; records of the rules imposed for management of the common fields (dates and regulations for mowing, carting, gleaning, pasturing beasts, ringing pigs, cleansing ditches, gelding cattle, confining

bitches, cutting rushes, young men's first oath of fealty, etc). Details are laid down of how and when the various tasks are to be performed, with lists of fines for non-observance of the rules. Many locations in the pre-Enclosure fields are named, permitting inferences to be made about the arrangement and layout of the fields prior to Enclosure.

Tithe customnal: This document is only a 'one-off' (created following the succession of Richard Andrew of Harlestone to a share of the manor of Crick<sup>1</sup>). Nonetheless, it gives a helpful summary of the tithing customs in the manor in 1538, which had been followed since 'time immemorial', and provides a useful comparison with the rules and regulations laid down in the series of manor court rolls.

By bringing together these three kinds of manorial records – the fiscal reports, the civil administrative records and the ecclesiastical dues – an excellent perspective is obtained.

### **3. A Session of the Manor Court: Introduction**

Before embarking on a detailed analysis of the manorial court rolls, it may be helpful here to summarise the format of a typical court session, and the typical matters that regularly arose in the court.

There were generally two sessions of the court held each year – at Easter (April) and Michaelmas (October). In theory there were two types of manorial court – the first being known as a 'court baron' whose chief purpose was to confirm and enforce the customs of the manor. The second type of court was known as a 'court leet', whose purpose was to deal with petty offences, breaking of assizes, and maintenance of drains and highways. In practice however, over the period covered by the records, in Crick (as in most other villages) these two types of court were always combined in a single session.

The court was presided over by the lord of the manor<sup>2</sup> (or, more usually, his steward). The lord's bailiff was also present. The steward acted as the clerk of the court and took down the records; in practice, he was normally also the presiding officer, since in Crick the lord of the manor was not resident during the period under consideration.

A jury between ten and fifteen village men was also present in the court. Their task was similar to that of the jury in a normal court of law, namely to give their verdict to the president of the court over each matter raised in court – in effect they were there to see that justice was done fairly and even-handedly; but unlike a modern legal jury, they were also able to give their opinions in matters relating to the management of the social life of the village, and in setting out rules of conduct. It was normal for this jury also to include at least two freeholders of the manor, who were generally listed separately following the list of copyhold jurymen. The jury was selected for each court in advance – often in the preceding court session – and some attempt was made to ensure that all men in the village served sooner or later on the jury, so that justice should be seen to be impartial and even-handed (to what extent this attempt succeeded in practice we will see in the detailed analyses that follow this introduction).

In addition to the jury, a further small group of 'tithingmen' (sometimes also known as 'decennarii', 'headboroughs' or 'thirdboroughs') came before the court as the 'View of Frankpledge' – each of these men was responsible for representing ten of the tenants and their families, and their task in the court was to affirm the fealty of the villagers.

The final group of people appearing in the court was made up of those men and women who came before the court with causes to plead, and those who were summoned before the court to be tried for various minor civil offences (more serious offences were dealt with by petty sessions courts at county level).

<sup>1</sup> In 1537 Richard Andrew of Harlestone inherited the holding in Crick of his late mother Elizabeth, wife of William Ffeylding.

<sup>2</sup> The lordship of Crick was divided into 3 equal parts; one of these became the inheritance of Richard Andrew; the other two-thirds devolved to the Marquess of Dorset, was sold to Sir Ralph Waren in 1547, and part was subsequently gifted to St John's College Oxford.

The minutes of a typical court generally followed the same agenda (which changed little from the 1300s to the 1500s):

- 1) Introduction, reciting the title of the court, lord's name, and date when it was held.
- 2) Apologies for absence (known as 'essoins')
- 3) Those present (named lists of jurors, free men and tithing-men).
- 4) Election and swearing-in of manorial officers for the next year (for instance, the constable and the hayward – the latter was responsible for seeing that fences and hedges were kept in order, and for bringing any stray animals into the village pincfold).
- 5) Fines and other receipts, from:
  - those accused of breaking assizes by giving false measure etc.
  - those who had contravened manorial rules (for instance, by grinding their own flour or crushing their own malt instead of using the Lord's windmill or malt-mill, by brewing in excess ale over the quantity permitted for domestic use)
  - those accused of fighting (known as 'affray')
  - disposition of any stray animals
  - fines due from tenants seeking admission to a copyhold property, usually following the death of their parents who had previously held the property (these fines were known as 'herriots', and often took the form of the tenant's 'best beast')
- 6) Admission of new tenants into copyhold properties (after they had sought the Lord's permission in the court and had paid their herriot).
- 7) The jury and tithingmen make their statement of fealty to the lord (known as the 'Homage'). This was sometimes followed by a list of presentations, of specific cases of tenants who have contravened village civil regulations, in addition to the list already given in (5) above.
- 8) General matters relating to management of the land and the community. This normally consisted of ratification and repetition of a list of rules that had been discussed and agreed in the court, covering such items as:
  - Pasturing of sheep and cattle
  - Management of pigs and dogs
  - Regulation of ploughing, sowing, reaping, carting, gleaning etc
  - Cleansing and tidying of watercourses and drains in fields and in the village
  - Upkeep of fences and hedges etc
  - Safe management of bake-house fires
  - Rules for cutting rushes and/or furze (e.g. as fuel for baking-ovens)
  - Rules for adolescent youths to come and make their oath of fealty
- 9) Outgoing payments (e.g. attendance fees to the jury, steward's fees, etc)
- 10) Signing the minutes by the steward, witnessed by two jurymen (known as 'afferors')

Most of the court rolls are written in Latin (with occasional lapses into English). The Latin is highly stylised, and bears little resemblance to the classical language as taught in some schools – it is full of confusing abbreviations, and respect for the rules of classical grammar is often token or non-existent. The steward was the main person who would normally refer to the records, and he adopted a 'shorthand' that takes some skill to interpret; but since the documents are extremely repetitive in format from one year to the next, the skill may be acquired with practice.

For some years, two copies of the Crick court rolls have survived – a draft made on the day of the court, and a fair copy made some time later. Two points are of interest:

- 1) In the draft, notes of a court session for Clay Coton often follow directly after the Crick court, stated as held on the same day; it is clear that the same president and clerk travelled from Crick to Clay Coton, holding the Crick session in the morning and the Clay Coton session in the afternoon. We see that Crick and Clay Coton manors were closely linked (up to 1547); and also that each court lasted 2–3 hours in total.
- 2) Though the fair copy often duplicates the draft copy verbatim, there are sometimes both additions and omissions in the fair copy; comparing both versions side by side, it appears that some items in the draft were later discarded (as trivial?), whilst other items were added that presumably were transacted outside the court following the

official session. This variation between draft and fair copies gives a clear hint that the official record may not always give the full story ...

A typical extract from a Crick court roll is shown below, followed by a transcription of the Latin text, in which the author has expanded the scribe's abbreviations to full words, such expansions being indicated thus [ ]. This is then followed by a translation into English.

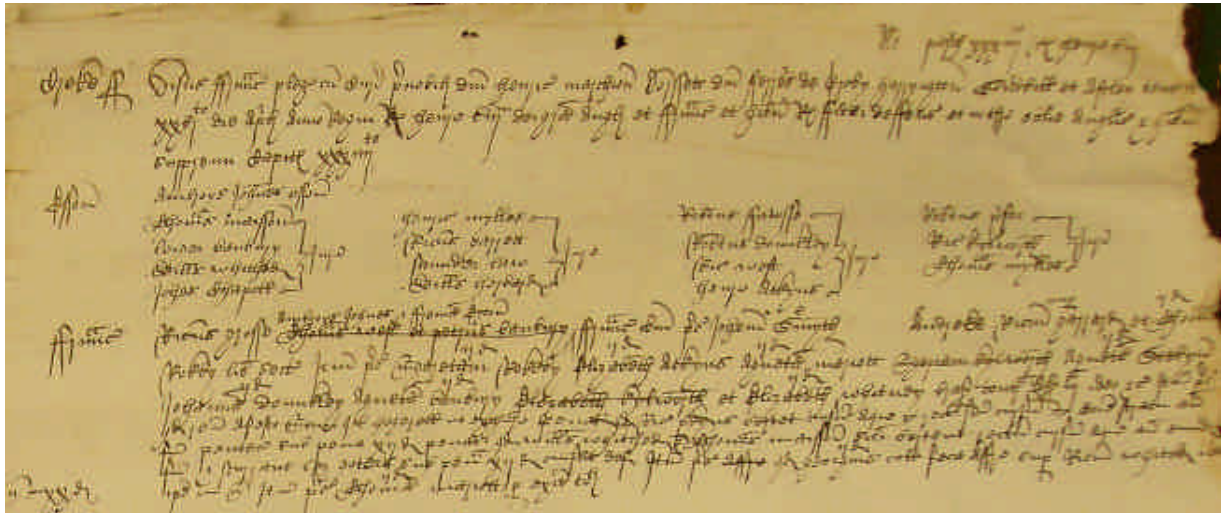


Figure 1: Extract from a typical early C16th court roll for Crick

Transcript and expansion in Latin

“Creke pasch xxxiiij r[egni] R[egis] Henr[ici] viij

Visus ffr[a]nci pleg[i]i an[te] cur[ia] p[ro]nobilis d[omi]ne Henric[i] marchion[is] Dorssett d[omi]ni Fferrers de Groby Harryngton Bondvill et Astley, tent~ ib[ide]m xxvjto die Ap[ri]lis anno regni Henr[ici] viij dei gra[tia] Anglic & Ffranc R[ex] fidei defens[or], d[omi]ni hib[er]ni et in t[er]ra suppremi capite Anglicano eccl[es]ie xxxiiijto.

Esson~ Ambroys Johnes esson~

Cur[ia]	Thomas Maisson	Henrie Mylles	Robtus Ffause	Robtus Purser	)
Inquis~	Leger Banbury	Ricus Garrett	Robtus Donnkley	Ric Kylworth	)Jur
	Willm Whithed	Sannder Lawe	Ricus West	Thomas Mylles	)
	Johes Chapell	Wills Herbard	Henry Atkyns		)

ff[ra]nc~ Ricus Grosse, ~~Thomas West et Petrus Banbury~~ Ambroys Johnes & Ffremam Eyton ff[ra]nc[ilegii] ib[ide]m p[resent]e Johem Smyth, [space for forename] Andrew, Ricus Garrard (comp[utans]) et Thomas Rokeby (ijd) lib[er]i sect[at]ores.

Item p[resent]e Margareta Rokeby (ijd), Elisabeth Atkyns (ijd), Agneta Mariott (ijd), Margeria Kylworth, Agneta Stevyns (ijd), Johanna Donckley (ijd), Agneta Banbury (ijd), Elizabeth Kylworth, et Elizabeth Whitney (ijd) brass[iatores] contra assisam ideo ipse &c.

Item ijd (rend?) Aposto Martin

Item hogerell ut ext[ra]hura

Item p[resent]e [est] q[uo]d Ric P[er]kyns (vertet?) (arsin~? agie? v[ia]? rect?) sine cursum in co[m]mone stratum an[te] fe[stum] pentec[ost], sub pena xijd

Penatur q[uo]d Wills Whithed & Thomas Maisson (sils?) vertent rectum cursum (agie~?) an[te] domis suis & scurrant lez gotars [ie gutters], sub pena xijd cuiuslib[et] def[alt].

Curia Item p[resent]e q[uo]d Georgius Coll fecit afraia super Ricus Whithed, ideo ipse in cur[ia].

xhd Item p[resent]e Thomas Mariott (ijd) p[ro] exie tot[alis].”

Translation into Modern English

Additional letters/words are inserted in places [thus], which were omitted because they would have been taken for granted by any reader at the time. A few words that defied transcription are indicated thus (... ....); despite this, the general sense is clear.

“Crick Easter in the 34<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of King Henry VIII. View of frankpledge before the court of the noble lord Henry, Marquis of Dorset and Lord Ferrers of Groby Harrington, Bondvill and Astley, held at Crick on the 26<sup>th</sup> April in the 34<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of King Henry VIII, by

the grace of God king of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head on earth of the Church of England.

Apologies for absence: Ambrose Jones sends his apologies.

Jury of the Court: Thomas Mason, Leger Banbury, William Whitehead, John Chapell  
Henry Mills, Richard Garrett [ie Garrard], Alexander Law, William Herbard  
Robert Faux, Robert Donnckley [ie Dunckley], Richard West, Henry Atkins  
Robert Purser, Richard Kilworth, Thomas Mills, jurors

Frankpledge: Richard Grosse, Ambrose Jones and Freeman Eyton made their  
vow of frankpledge in the court, in the presence of John Smith, [*space for forename*]  
Andrews, Richard Garrard and Thomas Rokeby, freemen.

[Fines and Receipts]:

Item Margaret Rokeby [ie Rugby], Elizabeth Atkins, Agnes Mariott, Agnes Stevens, Joan  
Donckley, Agnes Banbury and Elizabeth Whitney were all presented [to the court] for  
[grinding and brewing excess] malt [at home using their own querns] in contravention  
of the assize; they all came before the court in person, and were each fined two pence.  
Item Two pence (paid?) [at] St Martin the Apostle's [day].  
Item A hogereil [*ie a one-year old sheep*] [was captured] as a stray  
Item It was represented [to the court] that Richard Perkins turned out (... ..) so that it does  
not flow in the public street before the feast of Pentecost, on pain of a 12 pence fine.  
Penalty That William Whitehead and Thomas Mason clear out (... ..) in front of their  
houses and clean out the gutters, on pain of a fine of 12 pence for each offence.  
Item It was represented [to the court] that George Cole had assaulted Richard Whitehead,  
and he [came before the court] in person.  
Item Thomas Mariott was presented [for miller's tolls, and his] excess totalled two pence.  
[Total fines to the] court: 20 pence."

In the following sections, detailed analyses are made of the court rolls. It was appropriate to divide the analyses into several groups of about 10-20 years each, corresponding to the availability of unbroken series of consecutive records (and also to permit overall comparisons with respect to time), as follows:

a) 1528-1543

Fifteen years of detailed court records, supported by separate manorial rentals covering part of the period. This period illustrates the manor of Crick under the Marquesses of Dorset, in the reign of Henry VIII, and just prior to the Reformation.

b) 1544-1555

Twelve years of detailed court rolls, again supported by manorial rentals. This period covers significant social and political upheaval: turbulent religious change during the successive reigns of protestant Edward VI and catholic Philip & Mary; the sale by the Dorset baronetcy of two-thirds of Crick manor in 1547 to wealthy London wool-merchant Sir Ralph Waren, whilst the other third of the manor passed by inheritance to the Andrew family of Harlestone. To compound the situation, in 1553 Sir Ralph Waren died, leaving his business affairs in the hands of his widow Joan. Finally, this period also saw the first real effects of a substantial growth in population that had commenced around 1510-1520.

c) 1555-1562

A further eight years of detailed court rolls, covering a time of serious natural disaster – consecutive failed harvests nationwide, followed by a virulent nationwide epidemic, which together were responsible for famine and death throughout the kingdom.

d) 1583-1593

(xxxx)

By comparing the individual analyses, it is possible to track changes in the village social hierarchy, the development of farms and buildings, evolution of customs and practices, changes in field management, and the powerful and increasing effect of external forces (both political and economic) on village life, etc.

## 4. Detailed Analysis, 1528-1543AD

The court roll transcripts were compared from year to year in this period, interpolating the results with additional data from the manorial rentals, wills, early parish registers etc.

### 4.1 Selection of the Jury

Comparing the jury lists for the period with the manorial rentals for the same period, a clear picture emerges of the relative social standing of each man (Table 2). The rentals indicate the wealth of each copyhold tenant, but they do not include all tenants in Crick since the rentals cover only one third of the manor<sup>3</sup>; they also exclude the free men.

Name	Jury services	Holding (from Rental)	Comment
Richard West	25		
(Thomas West)	5		
(John West)	1		
Thomas Mason	23	75 acres	Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
Ledger Banbury	18	60 acres	Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
(Richard Banbury)	2		
William Whitehead	22		Free man
Robert Faux aka Fausse etc	22		
Anthony Dunkley	20	90 acres	Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
Robert Donkley	18	60 acres	Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
(William Donkley)	6		
(Henry Donkley)	5		
Alexander Law	19		
William Harbard aka Harbord	18		Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
Robert Purser	16		
Richard Kilworth	16		
(Robert Kilworth)	1		
John Chapel	13		
John Atkins	13		
Henry Atkins	11		
Henry Mills	12		
John Mills	12		
(Thomas Mills)	7	45 acres	Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
(Richard Mills)	6		
(George Mills)	1		
Richard Garrett aka Garrard	12		Free man
John Mawe aka Mawbe etc	11		
Thomas Hancock aka Alcock	10		
Richard Brown	7		
Ambrose Jones	5		Free man
(Thomas Jones aka Johnes)	5		(Free man)
(John Jones aka Johnes)	2		(Free man)
Richard Vicars	5		
Richard Grosse	4		Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
William Hyde	3		Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
Thomas Mountford	3	18 acres	Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
Richard Perkins	3		Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
Richard Weston	2		
John Coles aka Colls	2	Cottager, no land	Customary tenant of Marquis of Dorset
Richard Cowley aka Cole	2		
Richard Colls aka Cole	1		

Table 2: Crick men appearing for jury service, 1528-1543

Several deductions may be made from Table 2:

- a) Jury members were generally chosen from the more senior men – both by age and social status. This does not mean that all poorer and/or younger men were excluded; however, it is clear that those heading the jury list were regularly selected from the same relatively small group of relatively well to do men.
- b) The more land a man leased, the more likely he was to serve on the jury of the court. Although an attempt was apparently made to be even-handed, with jurors occasionally chosen even from among relatively poor cottagers with no land-holding, in fact the poorer men appear only very rarely on the jury. The overall bias of the

<sup>3</sup> Crick was divided into 3 separate manors as stated above – and from the fiscal standpoint, the rental papers from St John's College Oxford relate only to those men and women who were tenants of that share of the manorial property owned by the Marquis of Dorset (part of which was later gifted to St John's College). From the civil standpoint however, the manorial court covered the entire manor – therefore the list of jurors in Table 2 includes many men who were not tenants of a property owned by St John's College.

jury, therefore (despite attempts to eliminate bias from the system), must have been towards those with substance and property.

- c) Those men who were part of a large family 'clan' (for instance the Dunckleys and Mills) had some advantage over other groups, insofar as they were able to maintain a stronger and more constant family presence on the jury.
- d) No favouritism is shown to direct customary tenants of the Marquis of Dorset – the Marquis of Dorset held two-thirds of the manor of Crick, his known direct tenants make up only 36% of the jurors in Table 2 (15 out of a total of 41 men).

#### 4.2 Election of Constable and Hayward

These officials were apparently not elected annually during this period, and are mentioned only occasionally in the court rolls (Table 3):

Year	Constable	Hayward
1529	Robert Donkley	Richard Smith
1536	Ambrose Johns	
1539	Robert Donkley	
1540	Richard Garrard	
1542	Anthony Donkley	

Table 3: Elections of Constable and Hayward, court rolls 1528-1543

One possible scenario is that these posts were filled for more than one year, until the men elected were replaced by others as a result of a subsequent election. However, the elections of constable do not seem to take place at regular intervals, and men appear to serve for as little as one year or as much as seven years, whilst there is only a single mention of election of a hayward during the 15-year period that was examined. Another possibility is that elections took place annually, but were not always reported in the court rolls; yet this is unlikely – for where else would the men be elected if not in the manorial court? This leaves the first scenario as the more likely one.

Regarding the social status of these two officers, the constable was generally chosen from among the most senior yeomen of the village – Garrard and the Donckleys all served fairly frequently as jurors in Table 2, and were also among the wealthier men in the rental roll. Moreover, all the men elected as constable were also tenants of the Marquis of Dorset rather than tenants attached to the other third of this divided manor. Two of the four men who served as constable during the period examined – Richard Garrard and Ambrose Johns/Jones – were also free men. It is thus clear that the constable was always chosen from a small group of men with high social status in the village, either as free tenants or as frequent jurors, and always with substantial assets.

The office of hayward presents more of a challenge to analyse, for it is dangerous to make deductions from a single instance. The only Smith family recorded in the manor at this time were free men, suggesting that here again this office was a perk of the social order. The man elected in 1529, Richard Smith, appears to have served for the entire 15-year period studied. The duties of the hayward – calling attention to broken hedges/fences, collection of stray animals, management of the village pound – may perhaps have been carried out in practice by one of Smith's labourers.

#### 4.3 Malt Querning and Brewing

The lord's windmill (for grinding corn and wheat) and his horse-operated malt mill (for crushing barley, to be used for making ale) along with the manorial fishponds, would all have been originally constructed somewhere during the period 1100-1300. An early grant dated 1312 among the Crick manorial papers of St John's College Oxford confirms that a horse-operated malt mill was certainly in existence before 1300.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> 1312 grant, St John's College archive, Muniment VII-16 (in translation): 'These presents are to certify that I John Kynch ... do give, and by this present deed of mine I do affirm to Thomas of Creke, knight ... a message known as Cohur Place, and one horse-mill in that location ... in Creke aforesaid, to have and to hold the aforesaid message and the aforesaid mill to the aforesaid Thomas and to his heirs and assigns ... by this my deed with my seal affixed ...'

Ale was an essential beverage, which everyone drank daily in the home, including children – its low alcohol content was sufficient to kill off most of the bacteria in the local water; every home therefore needed a steady supply of barley and a means of getting it crushed and malted.

Having financed the building of the windmill and malt mill, it was usual for the lord of the manor to insist that all villagers used these mills for processing their grain, and paid him to do so; the resulting tolls from these mills added to the manorial income. A regulation in the Crick court roll for Easter 1532 sheds further light on the situation:

"P[ena] Bras[iatur]: Ad (auntur?) q[uo]d Bras[iatur] servic debbant servic vicinis suis p~ Argent et (fe in.lunt?) (for[isfecit]) xijd fac quot[iens] p~bat fuent, Excepte q[uo]d h[ab]eant tres lagenas infra dom(..)"  
 [Malt/brewing punishment: (Anyone) who brews for the use of their neighbours for money and ... shall incur a fine of 12 pence for every time they do it, except for having three gallons in the house.]

Further regulations in the Crick court roll for Michaelmas 1543 enforce the ruling, with a slightly different emphasis:

"Penatur q[uo]d nulli molat gran~ vicinorum s[uis] ad molend[ini]um s[uis] voc[at] lez quernes except non possent esse molen~ ad molend[ini]um d[omi]ni deinceps sub pena iiijd totiens quotiens  
 Penatur q[uo]d molendum d[omi]no molet grana tenent d[omi]no deinceps antequa molet grana extraniorum, sub pena iiijd totiens quotiens."  
 [No-one may mill grain for his neighbours on the mills known as querns, under penalty of a fine of 4d for each offence, unless it is not possible to mill such grain on the lord's mill at that time.  
 The lord's mill must grind the corn of the lord's tenants before it mills grain for foreigners, under pain of a 4d fine for each offence.]

Up to three gallons per house was permitted for home-brewed ale, below which no fine would be levied; and those with the largest households probably regularly exceeded this limit, so it is not surprising to find high-status households fined under this regulation. However, the real force of the regulation was clearly intended to prevent wholesale production of ale at home for purposes of running an alehouse without a due license.

There are regular fines imposed on a number of the village women for contravening the rules by crushing barley, making malt and brewing excess ale at home. Reference to the wills of Crick men and women for the 1500s and 1600s confirms this practice (and the situation in Crick is exactly paralleled in wills for the neighbouring villages of Kilsby, Barby, Braunston and Ashby St Ledgers); in all villages, hand-operated malt-querns turn up as bequests in wills with increasing frequency throughout the 1500s and early 1600s.

The fine for this minor offence was always the same – two pence per woman (ie half the fine named in the official ruling of 1543) – and it seems clear that the manorial court became resigned to the practice, for the number of women paying the fine increases steadily over the years. The trend is clearly indicated even over a relatively short period of 15 years (Table 4).

Year	Women fined for querning malt and brewing excess ale at home
1528	3 Joan Cole, Emmot Milward, Margery Kilworth
1529	3 Joan Cole, Emmot Milward, Margery Kilworth
1532	4 Joan Cole, Margery Kilworth, Margaret Rokeby, Joan Pynchent
1535	5 Joan Cole, Margery Kilworth, Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Basing, Joan Pynchent
1536	5 Joan Cole, Margery Kilworth, Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Basing, Elizabeth Atkins
1537	6 Joan Cole, Margery Kilworth, Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Basing, Elizabeth West, Eliz Atkins
1538	3 Joan Cole, Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Atkins
1539	7 Joan Cole, Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Atkins, Agnes Mariott, Margery Kilworth, Agnes Stevens, Joan Donkley
1540	8 Joan Cole, Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Atkins, Agnes Mariott, Margery Kilworth, Agnes Stevens, Joan Donkley, Agnes Banbury
1541	7 Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Atkins, Agnes Mariott, Margery Kilworth, Agnes Stevens, Joan Donkley, Agnes Banbury
1542	9 Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Atkins, Agnes Mariott, Margery Kilworth, Agnes Stevens, Joan Donkley, Agnes Banbury, Elizabeth Kilworth, Elizabeth Whitney
1543	7 Margaret Rokeby, Elizabeth Atkins, Agnes Mariott, Agnes Stevens, Joan Donkley, Agnes Banbury, Elizabeth Whitney

Table 4: Women fined for querning malt and brewing at home, Crick, 1528-1543

It is not difficult to see why some of these women chose to incur the fine – for the parish registers and analysis of wills and manorial rentals indicate that most of the women fined in the early part of the period were the wives of relatively prosperous yeomen with



above-average holdings (and hence likely to be responsible for providing food and drink for a few farm-labourers and domestic helpers in addition to their own families).

However, at least one of the women – Elizabeth Basing – was fined in the Easter 1537 court for keeping a disorderly alehouse (see section 4.4); and another who was fined from the beginning of the period – Joan Cole – was a humble cottager; so these fines identify two socially distinct groups of women. Moreover, as the number of women incurring fines steadily increases over the above period, later additions to the list are mostly from a poorer stratum, whilst a further order in the court of Easter 1542 states that no-one may brew more than one gallon on pain of a swingeing 6s-8d fine – a severe tightening of the previous 1532 limit of three gallons. This perhaps suggests that more women were operating illicit alehouses (or at least, that more of them were being caught and fined) during this period, and that the situation was growing somewhat out of hand.

The increased incidence of excess home-brewed ale may also be an indirect consequence of a very sharp rise in family sizes throughout this area that commenced around 1530 – bringing with it a proportionate increase in the amount of ale required in each house, and also leading to increased poverty among the less well-to-do. A separate study by the author<sup>5</sup>, based upon detailed analysis of wills for a group of five villages in west Northamptonshire (including Crick), has clearly demonstrated this trend (Table 5).

Date	Children per family from wills			Comment
	No. of wills	Av. Children per will	Variation in family size	
1510-1520	7	2.00	0 to 3	No family has more than 3 children
1520-1530	14	1.93	0 to 4	No family has more than 4 children
1530-1540	20	2.55	0 to 6	10% of families have 5 or more children
1540-1550	23	2.60	0 to 6	13% of families have 5 or more children
1550-1560	56	3.93	0 to 10	40% of families have 5 or more children
1560-1570	15	2.93	1 to 7	20% of families have 5 or more children
1570-1580	11	4.37	0 to 11	45% of families have 5 or more children
1580-1590	15	4.07	1 to 9	46% of families have 5 or more children
1590-1600	16	2.81	1 to 7	20% of families have 5 or more children
1600-1610	23	3.69	1 to 12	26% of families have 5 or more children
1610-1620	46	4.04	1 to 8	37% of families have 5 or more children
1620-1630	19	3.31	0 to 9	32% of families have 5 or more children
1630-1640	38	3.86	0 to 8	40% of families have 5 or more children
1640-1650	20	3.50	0 to 7	40% of families have 5 or more children
1650-1660	22	3.86	0 to 8	41% of families have 5 or more children
1660-1670	23	3.09	0 to 7	35% of families have 5 or more children
1670-1680	26	3.11	0 to 8	15% of families have 5 or more children
1680-1690	36	3.30	0 to 8	27% of families have 5 or more children
1690-1700	16	2.87	0 to 7	13% of families have 5 or more children

Table 5: Evidence of population growth from wills: Ashby St Ledgers, Barby cum Onley, Braunston, Crick, Kilsby

The steady rise in the number of women fined may also indicate a gradual decline in use of the lord's malt-mill for small-quantity domestic work after about 1540; it is even possible that the mill's work-load was gradually focused upon crushing malt on a quantity basis for ale-houses (there is some evidence from other sources such as wills to suggest increasing traffic for taverns in Crick as the sheep trade steadily increased in this area throughout the 1500s and early 1600s).

Meanwhile, the regulation quoted above in the Crick court roll for Michaelmas 1543 (*'the lord's mill must grind the corn of the lord's tenants before it mills grain for foreigners, under pain of a 4d fine for each offence'*), suggests that the Lord's windmill was also regularly used to grind flour for clients outside Crick – the most likely candidates being men from Watford or Ashby St Ledgers, both of which adjoin the high ground on the south-eastern borders of Crick lordship where the lord's mill was located.

#### 4.4 Illicit Gaming

Illicit alehouses were viewed as encouraging illicit gambling games, and the court rolls include occasional reminders of anti-gaming penalties.

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished study, *'Analyses of the transcripts of 556 west-Northamptonshire wills for the period 1500-1700'*, © G.W.Hatton 2006. The author's complete transcripts of these wills – which include about 160 Crick wills – are deposited with the Arts & Humanities Data Service (AHDS) for the benefit of other scholars, and may be consulted via the AHDS web-site.

### Michaelmas 1536:

Penat q[uo]d nullus bras[iator] nec aliquis alius p[er]mittat? aliquos pueros nec aliquos intente ludere in suis domibus post horam octava ad (tabirh?) carte (Denys?) sperulas nec aliquo alius illisit ludu~ nisi fit (p? pars? suis??) in die, sub pena cuiusli[be]t defend~ iijs-iiijd  
[It is forbidden that any brewer or other person should allow their boys or any other [persons] in their [ale-]houses after the eighth hour with the intent of gaming at (Dionysius?) or any other similar illicit game ... .. on pain of a fine of 3s-4d for each offence.]

### Easter 1537:

Juro dicut sup[er] sacrae (suis?) q[uo]d ff[ra]nc[iple]gii p[re]dicti cu[rie] & ffideli p[re]sent~ & ea affirmanere Et ulterius dicant q[uo]d Elizabeth Basyng (ijd) fforisfecit pena (..) (permisat?) pueros & (suis?) (inent~) ludere in domo (suis?) ad ludes illicit ideo ip[s]a in cur[ia]. Et dicunt omnia curia. Et volu~ q[uo]d pena posite in ulteria curo p[ro] (velut) ludo stab[a]t in effect~.  
[The jury stated and affirmed, on their oath, that they pledge allegiance to the aforesaid court; and they said that Elizabeth Basyng must pay a fine because she allowed her boys [and others] to play illicit games in her [ale]-house, and she was called before the court. And thus said all the court. And [they said] that the fine imposed in the previous court regarding gaming should remain in effect.]

Only one ale-house is specifically identified in the court rolls over this period – that of Elizabeth Basyng in the court roll for Easter 1537. However, the court roll for Easter 1539 contains a ruling implying that there were a number of ale-sellers in the village:

Penat q[uo]d bras[siatores] non vend[ent] deinceps sine nisi p mensuras (sigullat? .. .at.), sub pena ij(s?) totiens q[uo]t[iens]  
[No brewer may sell [his/her ale] afterwards unless the measures are sealed (ie certified as a true measure), on pain of a fine of 2 shillings for each offence.]

Later documents for the 1600s refer to named inns in Crick, such as The Sabers House<sup>6</sup>, but the reference in 1537AD to the ale-house of Elizabeth Basyng stands alone among the C16th documents – though judging by the wording of the Michaelmas 1536AD court quoted above, and by the regularity of fines for women exceeding the brewing limits, it seems likely that there were other ale-houses operating in Crick on an informal basis.

## 4.5 Disturbance of the Peace: Affrays

The village was not always a peaceful or harmonious place, and instances of fighting regularly came before the court. The amount of the fine imposed depended on whether blood was drawn in the fight – the instigator was fined 4d for a simple affray<sup>7</sup> but 12d if he had drawn blood ('... *extraxit sanguine* ...') from the victim.

No women or children are listed among the culprits – and there is something of a pattern in the regularity with which certain men's names appear:

Year	Instigator	Victim	Blood drawn?	Fine mentioned?
1528 (Michaelmas)	William Milward	A vagrant pauper		4d
1528 (Michaelmas)	William Cole	Thomas Turner		2d & 2d respectively
1532 (Michaelmas)	Richard Grosse	William Stevens	Yes	
1535 (Michaelmas)	John Mills	Sander Law	Yes	12d
1536 (Michaelmas)	William Cole	George Cole	Yes	4d & 2d respectively
1537 (Michaelmas)	George Cole	William Cole	Yes	
1538 (Michaelmas)	John Atkyns	Robert Donkley	Yes	12d
1540 (Michaelmas)	John Atkyns	Freeman Eyton		2d & 4d respectively
1543 (Easter)	George Cole	Richard Whitehead		

Table 6: Instances of affray, 1528-1543

In two cases the fighting was between brothers, and in one case a villager took exception to a wandering beggar – but most fights were between villagers from different families (Cole/Turner, Grose/Stevens, Mills/Law, Atkyns/Donkley, Atkyns/Eyton, Cole/Whitehead).

The aggressive behaviour of three men stands out – George Cole, William Cole and John Atkyns. According to the rental, the Coles were relatively poor – humble cottagers with a small backside close but no land in the common fields. Atkyns, however, was a man of

<sup>6</sup> The will of Lawrence Kilworth of Crick, 1684 (NRO), states that he was innholder and owner of the Sabers House (along with several other properties); the 1674 Hearth Tax indicates that this was either a 5-hearth or a 6-hearth premises, and the second largest house in the village at that date. A glance at the table of jurors in Section 4.1 above indicates that the Kilworths were roughly half-way up the village social order in the 1530s – their later prosperity resulted from engrossments that they were able to make during the early 1600s.

<sup>7</sup> Hence of course the expression 'to give someone a fourpenny one', meaning 'to strike someone forcibly with the fist'.

substance and social standing – he appears halfway up the list of frequent jurors, for example. The social status of the victims was always higher than that of the aggressors.

There is a strong seasonal element – almost all of the fights take place in the period leading up to Michaelmas. This implies that the fight was probably caused by something that happened during or after the harvest. One obvious possibility is that one or both of the offenders simply drank too much at the harvest-home celebration.

In most cases we do not know where the fights broke out – but we are specifically told that Robert Donkley was attacked ‘... *on the pastures* ...’. This may imply that in the other cases the fighting took place within the village precincts.

As to why the various fights occurred, again we may only conjecture. Alcohol-fuelled fighting often has no very clear provocation – however, fights seldom take place between men who genuinely like one another. Where fights were between men of different social standing, instigated by social inferiors, it is likely that jealousy was the provocation – and fights were more likely to occur after alcohol had removed normal inhibitions.

Finally, how serious were the affrays? Though blood was drawn in five cases out of nine, only two aggressors were fined the maximum of twelve pence – namely, in the affrays between John Mills and Sander Law, and between John Atkyns and Robert Donkley. Law and Donkley were both senior men in the social hierarchy, and both had served many times as jurors; moreover, Robert Donkley was elected constable in the year after John Atkyns assaulted him. However, though apparently slightly lower in status, Mills and Atkyns had also served regularly as jurors, and were clearly perceived as respectable men of substance in the village hierarchy. It therefore seems likely that there were long-term and deep-seated causes of dispute between these two pairs of men.

#### 4.6 Pasturing of Sheep and Cattle

Penalties relating to pasturing of sheep and cattle usually take the form of prohibitions against pasturing more than a specified number of animals per yardland (app. 30 acres) beyond a specified date, as in Table 7. The fine was usually 40d (= 1 noble, or 3s-4d).

Year	Sheep/virgate	Great beasts/virgate
1528 (Michaelmas)	40, penalty 40d per 20 extra sheep	
1534 (Easter)		No more than 15
1535 (Michaelmas)	Max. 40 sheep by St Andrew’s day	
1536 (Easter)		No more than 14
1537 (Easter)	No more than 30 sheep	
1538 (Easter)	No more than 40, fine 40d/20 extra	No more than 14
1538 (Michaelmas)	Max. 40 sheep after St Martin’s day	
1538 (custumnal)	40 sheep	
1539 (Michaelmas)	Max. 40 sheep after St Martin’s day	No more than 10 in barn, no more than 1 ox
1540 (Michaelmas)	Max. 40 sheep after St Martin’s day	Max 3 horses + 1 foal; 13 beasts Holyrood to Lammas; 10 pigs after St Peter ad Vincula, 8 pigs on Heyn land; max. 10 cows Cottagers pasture up to 2 cows and 1 horse
1541 (Easter)	Max. 40 sheep	Max. 14 cattle, & max. 20 beasts on Hall land
1541 (Michaelmas)	Max. 40 sheep after St Martin’s day	
1542 (Michaelmas)	Max. 40 sheep after St Martin’s day Rector has 140 sheep on glebe land	
1543 (Easter)	Max. 40 sheep, fine 40d/20 extra	Max. 4 horses/mares

Table 7: Rules for pasturing animals as set out in Crick court rolls, 1528-1543

Most of the penalties relate to pasturing of sheep, confirming the importance of flocks in the village economy. The limit of 40 sheep per virgate/yardland implies that it was not abnormal for a man to have this many sheep – indeed, the imposition of fines of 40 pence ‘for each 20 sheep’ beyond the permitted grazing limit implies that some wealthier men were seriously over-grazing their land. There were bad harvests in the mid-1530s, reflected in the temporary imposition of a lower limit of 30 sheep per yardland in 1537.

There is further evidence in the details of a ruling in the Michaelmas 1535 court:

"Item xl oves for a yarde land & ult[ra] ind~ to abyde ther by seynd Andrews day, peyn xld. And also take no shepe of foringer yf he may have of his neghburs in mede athafsd saynt Andr~ day, peyn xld" [Item: no more than 40 sheep may be kept per yardland up to St Andrew's day (30<sup>th</sup> November), on pain of a 3s-4d fine. And no man [with spare capacity on his pasture] may accept sheep from any outsider if one of his own neighbours has sheep that needed pasturing up to St Andrew's day, also on pain of a 3s-4d fine.]

This ruling shows that efforts were being made to protect the villagers' rights, by preventing outsiders from pasturing their own surplus sheep within Crick. This is a particularly interesting observation, implying that some men in Crick had begun to collaborate with outsiders from other villages for their own private profit, and that this was seen as not being beneficial to the Crick lordship in general (because it operated to the detriment of other men in the lordship, and also led to over-grazing of the pastures).

The author, in a previous research paper<sup>8</sup>, has quoted evidence from analysis of wills to suggest that by the later 1500s and early 1600s there were business links (and inter-marriage links) in place between wealthy yeomen in Claycoton, Crick, Barby, Hillmorton and Onley, and has suggested that they were co-ordinating a large-scale sheep-rearing trade, involving raising lambs in the hills around Claycoton, which were then driven down to pasture in enclosed lands at Hillmorton and Onley, where they were fattened and sheared, prior to shipping the wool to Coventry and the meat on the hoof to Southam/Banbury and thence to London. The comment cited above in the 1535 court roll suggests that some of Crick's wealthier yeomen may have been involved in this private enterprise in its earliest phase; a further significant clue lies in the fact that Crick and Claycoton court sessions were both managed from Crick, and were held sequentially on the same day and by the same president and clerk, as shown by the draft Crick court rolls of the early 1540s (see Appendix 2: Manorial Inter-relationships in West Northamptonshire).

Analysis of other contemporary documents<sup>9</sup> shows that the whole manor of Crick comprised 80-81 yardlands (aka virgates), consisting of 18 yardlands of Hall (demesne) land, 52.5 yardlands of Heyn (customary) land, 1.5 yardlands of Ploughman's land and 9 yardlands of free land – and the documentation also shows clearly that in the late 1400s and throughout the 1500s the yardland in Crick was equivalent to exactly 30 acres<sup>10</sup>. The Marquis of Dorset held two thirds of this manor, and his 14 customary tenants farmed a total of 663 acres (22 yardlands) of mixed Hall and Heyn land<sup>11</sup>; there were also 5 free tenants, who farmed the 9 yardlands of free land (most of this was held by Richard Garrard, who had 7.5 yardlands). Since the parish contains a total of 3356 acres (110-112 yardlands), it appears that about 30-31 yardlands were uncultivated. Subtracting from this the area of the village itself (60-90 acres at most), this suggests that 28-29 yardlands (840-870 acres) were left as permanent pasture, furze-land, rush beds etc – and of this, the permanent pasture probably accounted for at least 50%, or about 14-15 yardlands; this permanent pasture was located in two meadows – Little Meadow on Rudhill bordering the Watling Street, and Great Meadow adjacent to it on the plain south-west of the village (also see Figure 5 later).

This information can be used to estimate probable maximum sizes of flocks and herds. Assuming that typically one third of the total cultivated land in the manor (ie 26-27 yardlands) was available during the summer as 'running pasture' on temporary fallow land and in slades and balks in addition to permanent pastures of (say) 14-15 yardlands, this yields a total of roughly 40-42 yardlands of summer pastures – sufficient under the above-mentioned rules to provide grazing for up to 1600-1680 sheep and 500-600 cattle, horses and oxen. The restrictions imposed via the court rolls upon pasturing, of 40 sheep

<sup>8</sup> *The Medieval Settlement at Onley, Northamptonshire: An evaluation of the process of formation and desertion of the medieval settlement, with special reference to its significance within the larger community during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries*, G.W. Hatton 2005. Paper initially presented to CRASSH conference, Cambridge University Nov 2005.

<sup>9</sup> Manorial surveys originally carried out by field archaeologist David Hall in the 1970s were based on analysis of a range of early glebe terriers and rentals. The author of this paper reviewed and slightly revised David Hall's findings in the light of additional material (Crick court rolls and manorial rentals from the archive of the College of St John the Baptist in Oxford; and also analysis of Crick wills in the period 1500-1700, transcribed by the author from the archives of the Northamptonshire Record Office).

<sup>10</sup> The Crick rental book for 1497-1588 (St John's College archive, Muniment VII Item 75) states the sizes in acres of each tenant's holding, from which it is clear that the yardland in Crick at this period was exactly 30 acres, since every man but one has a total holding that is an exact multiple of 15 acres. This clear evidence underpins the yardland/acreage calculations above for the whole lordship.

<sup>11</sup> Rental book for Crick 1497-1588, *op cit* Note 10 above.

per yardland etc., did not normally come into force until Martinmas (11<sup>th</sup> November), which implies that Crick's summer pastures were able to support even higher numbers – probably up to 2000 sheep of all ages.

It may further be inferred from this that something like 300-400 sheep/lambs had to be disposed of before winter set in; the usual practice would have been to slaughter old ewes and young male lambs for food, selling surplus female lambs outside the lordship, and reserving the winter pastures for the ewes and the remaining female lambs (as future breeding-stock).

#### 4.7 Stray Animals

The court rolls include occasional details of strays recorded in the lordship; from the text it is not clear whether these were strays within the parish that no-one was able to identify (presumably due to lack of any adequate brand or owner's mark), or whether they had strayed into the lordship from some other parish.

The court rolls are not the only source of such information, for there is also occasional mention of stray animals in the rental rolls. The available data from both sources over the period 1522-1558 is summarised in Table 8.

Year	Documentary Source	Strays recorded
1528 (Michaelmas)	Court roll	1 sheep and 1 horse
1529 (Easter)	Court roll	3 sheep
1532 (Easter)	Court roll	1 sheep & 1 hoggerell
1532 (Michaelmas)	Court roll	1 sheep & 1 hoggerell
1535 (Easter)	Court roll	2 sheep
1536 (Easter)	Court roll	5 sheep, plus 1 beast skin and 1 sheep skin
1537 (Easter)	Court roll	1 sheep
1539 (Michaelmas)	Court roll	1 hoggerell
1540 (Easter)	Court roll	2 hoggerells, 1 boar
1540 (Michaelmas)	Court roll	1 sheep, 1 boar
1541 (Easter)	Court roll	1 ram, 1 hoggerell
1542 (Easter)	Court roll	1 ram, 1 sheep, 1 hoggerell
1542 (Michaelmas)	Court roll	1 stray (?), plus 2 skins
1543 (Easter)	Court roll	1 hoggerell
1543 (Michaelmas)	Court roll	2 sheep, 2 hoggerells
1554	Rental roll	For a stray gelding's hide, 16d
1557	Rental roll	1 sheep skin; and to the heyward for caring for strays, 4d; and for wintering the stray mare, 10d; and for mending the pinfold, 2s. M[emorand] a litle lame mare to Mountford ... For vj s - viij d to be paid our ladye daie next.

Table 8: Stray animals recorded in Crick's court rolls and rentals rolls, 1522-1558

Some tentative conclusions may be drawn. For instance, during the period reported in the court rolls there are on average two or three animals per year counted as strays. Where there are remarks about 'skins', this indicates that the animals in question had died (or had been slaughtered) before the next court meeting, and their skins were preserved as evidence. The details contained in the rental rolls are more informative – we may infer for instance that it was customary to keep stray beasts for a while, but if they were not claimed they would be sold to anyone who wished to buy them. In the example in 1557, customary tenant Thomas Mountford bought the little lame mare that had strayed into the lordship for 6s-8d (it was not a bad price, but certainly no knock-down bargain either, for horses tend to be valued at around 10s in wills and inventories of the period 1550-1600); the purchase money went into the manorial coffers.

#### 4.8 Management of Hogs and Dogs

Among the rules regularly set out and repeated in the court rolls are a number that relate to the care and control of dogs and pigs. Once again, the overall pattern may best be shown by tabulating the available data (Table 9).

Year	Rulings for dogs	Rulings for pigs
1534 (Easter)		Every man must have a lawful sty by Pentecost and his swine penned up in it at night, penalty 20d
1535 (Easter)	Everyone must tie up their bitches for 7 nights before Holy Thursday	Every man must have a lawful sty by Holy Thursday and his swine penned up in it at night, penalty 20d
1536 (Easter)		Every man must have his swine in sties by night after Holyrood day, penalty 12d
1536 (Michaelmas)		Every hog put out to forage must be ringed, on pain of a fine of 4d per hog
1537 (Easter)		Every man must make a lawful sty by Low Sunday, on pain of a fine of 6s-8d
1537 (Michaelmas)	Robert Darler to "... doo away with his bitche ..." before All Hallows, on pain of a 12d fine	Every hog put out to forage must be ringed, on pain of a fine of 4d per hog
1538 (Easter)		Every man must make a lawful sty by Holy Thursday, on pain of a fine of 6s-8d
1538 (Michaelmas)		Every hog put out to forage must be ringed, on pain of a fine of 3s-4d per hog
1539 (Easter)		Every man must make a lawful sty by Pentecost, on pain of a fine of 12d
1539 (Michaelmas)		Every hog put out to forage must be ringed, on pain of a fine of 12d (presumably per hog)
1540 (Michaelmas)		For each virgate of Hall land, no more than 13 beasts from Holyrood to Lammas (14 Sept to 1 Aug), thereafter no more than 10 pigs after Lammas. For each virgate of Heyn land, no more than 8 pigs after Lammas. No sheep or pigs in corn field after Epiphany (6 Jan). Everyone to ring their pigs when put out to forage.
1541 (Easter)		No-one to put pigs in the cornfield before Lammas (1 August), on pain of a 12d fine for each offence
1541 (Michaelmas)		Every pig put out to forage must be ringed, on pain of a fine of 4d per pig
1542 (Easter)		Everyone to take their pigs to the field in autumn before the 6 <sup>th</sup> hour and let them on to the plough land, on pain of a 12d fine
1543 (Easter)		Pigs must be penned in sties on the owner's own ground and kept in the sties until the swine-herds are in place in the field, on pain of a 12d fine.

Table 9: Crick court rulings for dogs and pigs, 1528-1543

Some interesting social issues are raised here. Firstly, concerning the dogs: the week leading up to Holy Thursday (ie Maundy Thursday, the day before Good Friday) was an especially holy time, and presumably it was not thought fit for dogs to breed at this time. As for Robert Darler's bitch, we can only assume that she had been worrying sheep or causing a nuisance in the village ...

The rules for pigs are so often repeated that it seems they must have been more frequently ignored or contravened than any other of the regulations in the court rolls. Nevertheless the rules were sound common sense, and were clearly intended to promote the common good; in essence they required that:

- No pigs were allowed in the cornfield after 6<sup>th</sup> January, to avoid damage to the new shoots of corn
- All pigs had to be penned in sties by about Easter, to avoid them causing damage to any other newly-sown crops
- No pigs were allowed on the fields before 1<sup>st</sup> August (ie while the crops were growing)
- Pigs were to be put on the fields after 1<sup>st</sup> August (following on behind the cattle, to allow the cattle to graze the ground first)
- Pigs must be ringed when put out to forage, to avoid them damaging the land
- Pigs were required to be put on the land in autumn, following behind after the reapers and gleaners, to manure the land before it was ploughed and sown
- Pigs should not be released from sties until the swine-herds were in the fields
- The penalties for not building and maintaining sties in the fields vary enormously, from a modest 20d in 1534/1535 to a swingeing 6s-8d in 1538, reducing again to 12d in 1539; this was probably a function of three circumstances – the chronic shortage of timber in the parish, poor harvests in the mid-1530s, and the arrival of a new successor to the Feylding lordship in 1537/8 (Richard Andrews, still a minor)

One rather surprising finding is the relatively large numbers of pigs that there appear to have been in the lordship. The 1540 ruling that no more than ten pigs may forage per Hall yardland (ie three acres per pig) and eight per Heyn yardland (ie just under 4 acres per pig) suggests that every husbandman had at least three or four pigs, and that a typical yeoman would have between ten and thirty pigs – a total for the entire village of perhaps 200-300 swine. Seen in this light, the requirements that pigs be kept in sties between specified dates attains more importance, and it becomes clear that significant outbuildings and pens would be required to house such numbers of animals.

#### 4.9 Management of Cattle, Oxen and Horses, and their Young

Year	Ruling
1534 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No-one tether in the corn field after Lammas, but put them under the Herdsman's care, fine 12d</li> <li>No-one tether in the meadow until all (the harvest) is carried away, fine 12d</li> <li>The Hayward shall not tether anywhere nor let his beasts go loose, but will have a piece of ground assigned to him</li> <li>No-one turn horses loose in the fallow field or the marsh, but tether them, fine 6d</li> </ul>
1535 (Michaelmas)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Any man feeding his oxen is to ring him, fine 4d/each</li> </ul>
1536 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Horses and mares in leasnes to be tethered, between Whitsun and St Peter's day</li> <li>No-one to put conge beasts in with milk cows up to Michaelmas, keep in herdnam with bullocks</li> <li>No-one to turn horses, mares or foals loose in the beast pasture till harvest is in, fine 40d</li> <li>The herd keep to the herdnam in Senatt Meadow 3 days after St George's day, fine any man 6s-8d</li> </ul>
1538 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Outtehill furlong in the fallow field to be laid for pastures, no-one to tie horses or mares or keep sheep there until Lammas, fine 6s-8d</li> <li>Everyone to mark their leasnes in the beast pasture by St Mark's eve, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>If a man has leasnes in North field and does not tether there by midsummer, he must use the beast pasture, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>Mares with foals to be tethered in the white corn field up to Lammas only, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>No beasts to be kept in the white corn field until they go to pasture, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>No man to tether among sheep except on his own land, till the harvest is carried away, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>All men put their bullocks before the bullock head before Holy Thursday, fine 6s-8d each offence</li> <li>Beasts to be led by the head to the pasture, not driven</li> <li>No cottager is to keep more than one horse or one mare, 12d fine</li> </ul>
Tithe Custumnal 1538	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Lord has given one bull to the Parson, to come and go with the herds, and there to be a lawful bull at all times.</li> <li>The Lord has given right to the Parson for 11 beasts to pasture one year and 12 another in the great pastures, and 8 on Rudhill, as the glebe land has no common for him to maintain his dairy.</li> <li>Permanent pasture is allocated as: for every yardland of Hall Land, pasture for 6 beasts in the Great Pasture, and for 4 beasts on Rudhill</li> </ul>
1539 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>After the feast of St Peter ad Vincula, all the cows are to be put in one herd (gregarium) and the bullocks in another separate herd, until Michaelmas, fine 3s-4d for each offence</li> <li>No horses or foals to be led into grain field after feast of St Peter ad Vincula, fine 3s-4d each</li> <li>No-one to have a horse in any of the grain fields or the fallow field from that day until the harvest be carried in, fine 12d each</li> <li>No-one to keep calves (vituli) outside of his close until the harvest is finished, fine 12d each time</li> <li>No-one to lead cattle into the fields after St Peter ad Vincula, or into their house, fine of 3s-4d</li> </ul>
1540 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No-one to lead his horses/cattle, even to his own ground, until harvest is finished, fine 12d each</li> <li>No-one to turn out his mares or foals onto the white[wheat?] corn field from the feast of St Peter ad Vincula until harvest is finished, fine of 12d per foal</li> </ul>
1541 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>If a man has leasnes in Ffordway or elsewhere he must mark them for [his] beast pasture by St George's eve and tether in them by Corpus Christi day [or forfeit them as his pasture for the year]</li> <li>No-one to keep his animals in the grain field from Monday next, fine 3s-4d each offence</li> <li>A man may lead beasts on to his own land but nowhere else, until harvest is finished, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>No-one lead his mares or foals onto white[wheat?] corn field after St Peter ad Vincula, fine 3s-4d</li> </ul>
1541 (Michaelmas)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The animal pastures to be separated in half after the feast of the Blessed Virgin, fine 6s-8d</li> <li>The grain field to be separated after Epiphany, fine 3s-4d</li> </ul>
1542 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Statements that the penalties for cattle, horses, foals etc are still in effect</li> <li>No-one may take any stray cattle until the (villato) there are finished, fine 3s-4d each time</li> <li>Boundary stones to be sufficiently made/marked before Pentecost</li> </ul>
1542 (Michaelmas)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Estwold to be the bullocks' pasture, beyond the (hirlch?) headland from henceforth, fine 6s-8d</li> </ul>
1543 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No-one to keep cattle in the Sennas field until Friday next before Holyrood Day, 6s-8d</li> <li>The cattle to have a way along Ffordrody furlong against the wold before Trinity Sunday, 6s-8d</li> <li>No-one to lead horses or foals into grain field after feast of St John Baptist, fine 12d each time</li> </ul>

Table 10: Crick court rulings regarding cattle and horses, 1528-1543

In general, the orders in the early part of the period deal chiefly with rules for keeping animals out of areas of tillage while crops are growing in them, and for ensuring that large animals are led by the head and not driven (incidentally, this in itself suggests that no-one had a large number of great beasts, since of course it would be impossible for a man to lead all his animals by the head if he had more than about half a dozen of them).

However, after about 1537 we see a number of new orders that seem to be concerned with the better management of large numbers of cattle. Castrated male cattle (stirks) are to be kept out from among the cows, the cows and bullocks are to be separated into

two distinct herds during the summer and autumn, and a new pasture is set aside at the Estwold specifically for bullocks. It may be no coincidence that these new measures were all introduced following the arrival in Crick of the Andrew family of Harlestone ... and this will be examined in more detail in Section 5 below.

#### 4.10 Cutting of Reeds and Rushes

The court rolls contain regular repetitions of a ruling prohibiting the cutting of reeds or rushes ('scirpes'/'cirpes').

Year	Ruling
1536 (Easter)	No-one to mow any more rushes or grass in Rudhill
1536 (Michaelmas)	Robert Purser fined 2d for cutting rushes on Rudhill Robert Kylworth also accused of having carried away rushes for fire-lighting, fined 12d
1537 (Easter)	No-one may cut rushes in Hollow Croft or Rudhill, on pain of a fine of 3s-4d each time.
1537 (Michaelmas)	No-one may cut rushes except on his own land, on pain of a fine of 3s-4d. Bakers must put out their fires after they have withdrawn the bread, fine 12d.
1538 (Michaelmas)	No-one may cut rushes except on his own land, on pain of a fine of 3s-4d each time.
1539 (Easter)	No-one may cut rushes in the daily pastures, on pain of a fine of 6s-8d each time.
1539 (Michaelmas)	No-one may cut or burn rushes from this day until the next court, fine 3s-4d each time.
1541 (Easter)	No-one may cut rushes in the cattle pastures, on pain of a fine of 6s-8d each time.
1541 (Michaelmas)	No-one may cut rushes, on pain of a 12d fine
1542 (Easter)	Statement that the penalty on cutting rushes is still in effect (ie the 6s-8d fine).

Table 11: Crick court rulings regarding cutting of rushes, 1528-1543

The name 'Rudhill' might conceivably be a corruption of an original early mediaeval name 'Reed-hill'. However, Rudhill's known location (directly adjacent to Watling Street, the Roman road which forms the south-west border of the parish) suggests alternatively that the name may derive from 'Road-Hill'.

But why were these fines levied? Why did they have to be so often reiterated? And why were the fines increased sharply as time went by?

All these questions have the same answer. The rushes were an essential manorial fuel resource (Crick parish possessed no timber resources, so wood was far too scarce to use as fuel). It is clear that reeds too were in chronic short supply, and frequently inadequate in quantity to serve the needs of the entire village – especially after a bad harvest or during a winter of extreme and prolonged cold. On at least one occasion, in autumn 1541, the penalty for cutting reeds during the winter months was remitted to 12d – only to be sternly reinforced at the full rate of 6s-8d in the following spring.

Rushes were not used for thatching in Crick – they were not plentiful enough; moreover, fieldwork suggests that they were probably of a branched type, unsuitable for thatching. All local houses would have been thatched with straw; the scanty supply of rushes in the Great Meadow below Rudhill was reserved as essential fuel for baking bread.

#### 4.11 Work on Fields and Dykes

Agricultural work went hand in hand with maintenance work – on the pastures, and on the dykes and ditches that channelled water and kept the land drained well enough to permit cultivation. The court rolls contain regular and detailed ordinances for the care of fields and ditches in the period 1528-1543, as summarised in Table 12.

There are no field orders during the period 1528-1534, however – they commence only in 1535. It is not evident why the earlier courts did not concern themselves with such matters – but the much older Crick court rolls for the 1300s and 1400s are likewise empty of any such field-management orders; and thus it seems possible that the management of fields may have been dealt with via other general meetings in earlier times (for example, at simple open-air gatherings in a meeting-field, or in the church) and that the court was kept exclusively for records of tenancies and for dealing with petty offences.



Year	Ditches and Property	Field Orders
1535 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Each to cleanse his section of Woodway Dyke by 1 week after Low Sunday, or pay 4d per rod (5.5 yards)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No sheep in cornfield until 11 Nov, fine 12d</li> <li>Tether beasts only on own grass in cornfield until harvest in</li> <li>Drive no carts up lands/furrows to get tithes/rakings, 12d/ cart</li> <li>Mow in white corn field before mowing elsewhere, fine 12d</li> </ul>
1535 (Michaelmas)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Beast pasture levelled by 2 Feb, or fine 20d</li> <li>Fordel Furlong levelled by 21 Sep, fine 12d</li> </ul>
1536 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meadow Dyke to be ditched by Holy Rood day (14 Sep), fine 4d per rod</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Men to tether beasts only on their own Sennet ground till harvest is in, fine 12d</li> <li>Each mow only his own half-balk, not neighbour's; not harrow lands until they are raked and tithe sheaves taken, fine 12d</li> </ul>
1536 (Michaelmas)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Beast pasture and cornfield to be laid by 2 Feb</li> </ul>
1537 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Each to ditch his own part of Woodway by 14 Sep, or fine 4d/rod</li> <li>All with cattle in field to ditch brook between Great Meadow and Rudhill, 12d fine to all who do not come</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All mow in Little Meadow first, before any other place, fine 20d</li> <li>All mow in wheat field before mowing Great Meadow, fine 20d</li> <li>None mow in Great Meadow except his own ground, fine 12d</li> <li>Tether beasts only on their own grass until harvest in, fine 12d</li> <li>No hemp or flax to be sown except in the fallow field, fine 6s-8d</li> </ul>
1537 (Michaelmas)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Beast pasture to be laid by 2 Feb, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>No sheep pasture in Peas Field up to St Martin's day, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>Peas Field to be fenced after feast of Blessed Virgin, fine 3s-4d</li> </ul>
1538 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Each ditch his part of Wood way by 1 May, or 4d/rod</li> <li>All come when called, to ditch brook between Great Meadow and Rudhill, 4d fine anyone who does not come</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Men to tether only on their own grass only until harvest is in, fine 3s-4d</li> <li>Each to mow only his own half-balk, fine 12d</li> <li>All men to mow grass together in the white corn field, 12d fine</li> <li>None cart except on his own land until corn is gleaned, fine 12d</li> <li>No hemp or flax to be sown in white corn field, fine 3s-4d</li> </ul>
1538 (Michaelmas)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tenants to make sufficient repair to their houses before next court, fine 3s-4d</li> </ul>	
1539 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Great Meadow dyke scoured by 1 Aug, or 4d/rod fine</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All mow in Little Meadow first, before any other place, fine 12d</li> <li>No cattle in the fields after 1 Aug, fine 3s-4d</li> </ul>
1539 (Michaelmas)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All to plant 4 young trees on the land that they lease from the lord, and care for them, or pay a fine of 4d per tree.</li> </ul>
1540 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Great Meadow dyke scoured by 1 May, or 4d/rod fine</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All mow in white corn field before mowing in any other place</li> </ul>
1540 (Michaelmas)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pastures to be closed by 25 Mar, fine 6s-8d</li> <li>Cornfields to be closed by 6 Jan, fine 3s-4d</li> </ul>
1541 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Woodway Dyke scoured by 11 Nov, fine 4d/rod</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Each mow only his own half-balk and not rake until tithe sheaves taken, fine 12d</li> <li>Lay all Fordway leasnes to pasture by 22 Apr</li> <li>No hemp in the lord's meares, fine 6s-8d</li> </ul>
1541 (Michaelmas)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pastures to be closed by 25 Mar, fine 6s-8d</li> <li>Cornfields to be closed by 6 Jan, fine 3s-4d</li> </ul>
1542 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Woodway Dyke to be cleansed, fine 4d/rod</li> <li>Thos West &amp; Thos Mason to clear ditches in street by early June, fine 12d each</li> <li>Thos Hancock to make gates in King's Close by mid-June, fine 10s, and no-one to make stiles</li> </ul>	
1542 (Michaelmas)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Edward Marriott to cart away chaff lying in the parsonage yard, fine 4d</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The hade weir in Mill Field to be marked by 30 Nov, 4d fine to anyone who is absent</li> </ul>
1543 (Easter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>William Whitehead and Thomas Mason to clean the gutters, or fine 12d each</li> <li>Midway Dyke to be scoured by 23 Apr, fine 4d/rod</li> <li>Rokeby Ford to be cleared, 4d fine to anyone who is absent</li> </ul>	
1543 (Michaelmas)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Anyone who ploughs outside his own land in any furlong of the cornfields, fine of 12d per quartern</li> </ul>

Table 12: Crick court rolls 1528-1543, Orders for Maintenance of Fields and Ditches

Reference to the names listed in Section 6, Table 12 and Figure 5 leads to some deductions about how the land was worked:

- Ditches and watercourses were regularly scoured and cleared. Woodway Dyke was scoured five times and Great Meadow Dyke six times during the eight-year period between 1535 and 1543. In every case the work required of an individual was in proportion to the amount of land that he held adjacent to the watercourse; and the penalty imposed on any man was always the same, namely 4 pence for each rod of his section of the ditch that he failed to scour (1 rod = 5.5 yards, ie the width of a single strip or 'land'; the furrows of course ran at right angles to the ditches). In each

case a deadline is imposed for completion of the work – though there seems to have been no set season of the year for such work, for a wide range of deadlines is set in successive years, in April, May, August, September and November.

- In addition to cleansing and scouring of ditches and dykes, there is also mention of a ford, referred to as 'Rokeby Ford' (ie Rugby Ford). There are two possible locations for this ford – either on the modern road from Crick towards Rugby, or on the bridle way to Kilsby at the point where this path crossed the Great Meadow Brook. The name 'Fordway' is also quoted in the court rolls, but this might refer to either of the possible locations. Perhaps the modern road is the more likely (Great Meadow Brook ran close to Rudhill and did not actually cross the road leading towards Rugby; however this road was low-lying and would certainly have been regularly submerged in wet weather; and the field map shows that another brook does run across this main road to join Great Meadow Dyke). Incidentally, there was a Rokeby family living in Crick at this time – Thomas Rokeby was a free man of the manor, and is regularly recorded as attending the court in this capacity; his wife Margaret was regularly fined for querning malt at home, confirming their high social status. Earlier court rolls of the 1300s show that the Rokeby family had been free men of Crick manor for a very long time – so it is even possible that the ford took its name from them (eg they may have originally supplied stone to pave it, or it may have run beside their land).
- Other orders to scour ditches obviously concern open drains and gutters within the precincts of the village. In particular, Thomas Hancock and Thomas Mason were accused of blocking the village drains in 1542; and one year later in 1543 William Whitehead and Thomas Mason were ordered to clear 'lez gotars'; both offences were committed in the spring, and in both cases the parties involved each faced a 12 pence fine if they failed to comply.
- The sequences of the harvesting process for the cereal crop are revealed to us, via the orders that were issued in the court. A man's first task would be to mow his half of the balk (being careful not to mow his neighbour's half of the balk!), to give him access for his cart without damaging the remaining crops. He would then mow his own furrows. Tithe sheaves would be counted off from his total, before he was allowed to remove the remaining sheaves, being careful not to intrude his cart onto a neighbour's land. The next process would be to rake and glean – and after everyone had raked their furrows, carts would be allowed to move anywhere across the field. The furrows would finally be harrowed and levelled, ready for use as winter pastures, after which they would lie fallow for a year, being used in the second year mainly as pastures for sheep/cattle/horses and pigs successively to replenish nitrogen in the soil (but some of the pastures were evidently also used to grow hemp and flax as useful catch crops<sup>12</sup>), before being ploughed to carry a crop of beans in the third year; the whole cycle would then be repeated.
- Stiff penalties were imposed on growing of hemp or flax in the main areas of the fields at times when they were supposed to be carrying cereal crops or legumes. However, there were also a few stretches of land laid down to perpetual hemp – perhaps because of the poor nature of that specific land. For instance, it was noted in the rental roll for 1553 that 'one Willm Waren of the towne of West Haddon<sup>13</sup> paieth for a hempland plott in his tenure lieing in Bullok Lane yerlie xij d'
- The court orders for Easter also indicate the sequence in which some of the fields were mowed. The Little Meadow was generally mowed before main harvest crops were cut – and this makes sense, since the meadow would then become available as an early autumn pasture once its hay had been taken off to provide winter fodder for cattle, oxen and horses; after the Little Meadow it was the turn of the Wheat Field, and finally the Great Meadow. However, when the White Corn Field was in use, it was generally mowed before all other harvest crops. The order for the White Corn Field also states that all men should mow this field together – the implication being, that everyone should start together at one side of the field and work across the field gradually in a long line. Each man would thus mow his own furrows by walking to and fro across his lands; and in this way, he would meet each of his two neighbours alternately as they also worked across their own lands. One can easily imagine each

<sup>12</sup> Crick court roll, Easter 1537 'Item, penatur, that non[e] wel noder [*ie neither*] hemp nor fflax but in the falow ffield only, upon payn of vjs-viijd for every default'.

<sup>13</sup> Waren was a sub-tenant of Crick, renting land in West Haddon that belonged to the manor of Crick.

man, thus engaged in two simultaneous (but intermittent) conversations with his two neighbours as they met every few minutes – a convivial way of harvesting, and the only way to ensure that no-one trampled on any other man’s crop.

- At Michaelmas 1538 the court ordered all tenants of the lord of the manor to make any necessary repairs to their houses before the following Easter, on pain of a fine of 3s-4d ('Penatur, q[uo]d omnes tenentes d[omi]ni facient (..) repa[ra]ciones suffic[iens] an[te] p[ro]x[ima] cur[ia], sub pena iijs-iiijd')<sup>14</sup>. Likewise, the court order in 1539 for each customary tenant to plant four trees on the land that he leased speaks eloquently of the lack of timber in the lordship, and may perhaps imply that the repairs requested in 1537 had also led to felling of some of the very few trees left in the parish.
- The court roll for Easter 1542 includes an injunction 'q[uo]d Thomas Hancock h[ab]eat et faciat suffic[ientia] lez port[es] in Kings Closse an[te] die Trinitate p[ro]x[ima], se[cun]dum (vet~in) & consuetudin[es], sub pena x[s], & nulli lez stylles faciat' [ie, that Thomas Hancock should provide and make sufficient the gates in King’s Close before next Trinity Sunday, according to the custom, on pain of a 10 shilling fine, and that no-one should make stiles]. King’s Close was on the south-west of the village, adjacent to Barley Croft and leading down towards the main road. Since substantial gates were evidently required to this enclosure, to be ready by late spring, it is likely that the enclosure was intended to hold quantities of livestock in the late spring; and that villagers should be prevented from making stiles seems logical, since construction of stiles in the enclosure perimeter would tend to weaken it and make it less secure (though why anyone should feel it necessary to make a stile is less easy to explain). It seems likely that this was a 'holding area' for sheep and/or cattle destined to be driven to market – the naming of King’s Close suggests that it may have been deliberately located for the purpose (ie adjacent to the king’s highway).<sup>15</sup>
- As a final observation, it seems curious that no court orders relating to management of the land etc were issued prior to 1535. Does this imply that there was a sudden move in the mid-1530s toward greater co-operation within the community, promoted and steered via the edicts in the court rolls? Had there really been no such communal co-operation until this time? This seems very hard to believe. However, the period studied is too short to make such deductions, and comparison with other periods is needed in order to resolve this question.

#### 4.12 Poaching of Fish and Fowl

That there were also manorial reserves of fish and fowl, reserved exclusively for the use of the lord, is verified by occasional court rulings:

Year	Ruling
1537 (Michaelmas)	No-one is to fish, or take wild fowls of the lord without license, fine 3s-4d each offence
1538 (Easter)	No-one may tether among cocks and sheep until after hay and corn harvest (ie indicating that the lord’s game-cocks had free range in the sheep pastures)
1540 (Michaelmas)	No-one is to fish or take wild fowls without license from the lord or his officers, fine 6s-8d each offence

Table 13: Crick court rolls 1528-1543, fines for poaching the Lord’s fish and fowl

From the dates of these events (which all occur just after the time of the succession of young Richard Andrew – still a minor – to the Feylding estate), it is possible that the occasion gave rise to some opportunistic poaching from the manorial fishponds and wildfowl. It was evidently viewed very seriously, with an initial hefty fine in 1537 which was doubled in 1540 – suggesting that the poaching had continued for at least 3 years.

These entries also confirm the continued existence of manorial fishponds in the village at this period.

<sup>14</sup> See also Note 35 on Page 38

<sup>15</sup> This topic is further expanded and explained in later sections of the analysis.

## 5. Detailed Analysis, 1544-1555AD

Having established in Section 4 a wide range of everyday features of social life within the manor in the period 1528-1543AD, we will now move on to consider the significant changes that took place over the following 10-12 years.

### 5.1 Changes in lordship: Sir Ralf Waren and the Andrew family

One third of the manor of Crick passed by inheritance from the Ffeyldings (who held their third from the marquess of Dorset) to Richard Andrew of Harlestone in 1537 (his mother was the Ffeylding heir); it was given into the charge of a younger son of this family, William Andrew, who was still a minor when he inherited<sup>16</sup>. This part of the manor had its own tenants (as is made clear by suit-lists appended to the court rolls in the period 1549-1552, some examples of this are shown in Table 14); and this may have given a basis for disputes and contentions to arise between Andrew and the lord of the other two-thirds of the village, perhaps also provoking rivalries and factions between their respective tenants. The situation was managed via the manor court (at least, in theory) by the fact that it was the two-thirds manor which possessed the license to hold the court, and the court commanded the allegiance and service of all men in the parish, whether free tenants or copyholders.

The Dorset baronetcy (which also owned the other two-thirds of the manor along with the advowson and the right to hold manorial courts there) sold the manor of Crick in 1547/8, and it was purchased for £540 by Sir Ralf Waren, a wealthy London merchant<sup>17</sup>. Waren's arrival was to have a profound and long-term effect on the lordship – and to appreciate the factors involved, it is necessary to understand the background of Sir Ralf Waren and his personal agenda (including his close connections with some other notable families of the period such as the Rookwoods, the Whytes and the Cromwells).

Waren was an alderman of the city of London (elected 18<sup>th</sup> June 1528), and traded as a mercer (ie a wool-merchant) in Aldersgate from 1528-31, re-locating to Candlewick from 1531 until his death on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1553. He was elected Sheriff of London in 1528-9, and served two terms as Mayor of London in 1536-7 and 1544. He was knighted on 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1536. Within the Worshipful Company of Mercers, he served as Auditor 1537-9, and Master in 1530 and 1542<sup>18</sup>. By 1540 he was also Mayor of the Staple at Calais<sup>19</sup>.

Sir Ralf Waren's daughter Joan married Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrooke near Huntingdon, and was grandmother both to the Protector Oliver Cromwell and to John Hampden (also, as the only surviving child of Sir Ralph and Dame Joan Waren, she ultimately inherited the bulk of Sir Ralf's estate). Waren's widow married Sir Thomas Whyte, a man about ten years younger than Ralf Waren, also an alderman of the City of London and a fellow mercer, serving as Lord Mayor of London 1553-4 (throughout his career Whyte was a protégé of Waren, and this even extended to his marrying Waren's widow and inheriting a share of the Waren estates, including Crick manor).

Sir Ralf Waren's will<sup>20</sup> gives a clear account of his possessions and business interests, and makes fascinating reading, for it is evident that his acquisition of Crick manor was strictly in pursuance of his business interests – he intended to develop the manor as a link in his twin production chains of wool (for shipment to Calais) and mutton (to feed the rapidly growing demands of the London meat-markets). He had already established identical production chains in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex (see Appendix 3), but his further expansion in East Anglia was inhibited by the fact that the Fens were not yet drained (NB: that drainage project later occupied some of the energies of his great-grandson Oliver Cromwell in the mid-1600s). Waren therefore had to look elsewhere for

<sup>16</sup> This is something of an over-simplification – for more complete details see Section 5.2 Waren vs Andrew below, and also Appendix 4: Lords and Free Men in Crick, and the Three Manors, 1100-1633AD.

<sup>17</sup> 1547 Crick, receipt from Waren of £540, St John's College Muniment VII-32

<sup>18</sup> *The Aldermen of the City of London*, vol. II, Rev. Alfred B. Beaven, Eden Fisher & Co. Ltd., London, 1913

<sup>19</sup> Lambeth Palace Library Manuscripts, Talbot Papers MS.3206: The Treasurer and Fellows of Merchants of the Staple at Calais to Sir Ralph Warren, Mayor of the Staple at Calais, and the Merchants of the Staple at London, from Calais, 21 October 1540

<sup>20</sup> Will of Sir Ralf Waren (PCC 16 Tashe) 30 Jun 1552; proved 5 Aug 1553. A summary of his business interests is given in Appendix 3.

further expansion of his interests – and his new estates in Northamptonshire and Gloucestershire were logical extensions of his well-developed existing business empire.

Development of the sheep trade in Crick would also involve three other factors; first of all, Waren would have to find one or more relatively wealthy yeomen in Crick to specialise in rearing surplus sheep for export, which he could integrate into his production-chain; secondly, he would need to foster friendly interests in other neighbouring villages along his planned production route; thirdly, he would need well-established drove routes with 'holding areas' of pasture and watering-places available at regular intervals along it.

One factor in his favour was that sheep-drove routes could traverse pasture land without trampling it into a mire and rendering it useless, whereas cattle would need to be driven mostly along well-maintained heavy-duty roads. Another factor that may well have influenced Waren in choosing to purchase Crick, was the fact that financially successful sheep-enclosures had been made during the late 1400s in many adjacent parts of neighbouring Warwickshire<sup>21</sup>, and that existing drove routes were available from the neighbourhood of Willoughby (south-west of Crick), so that he only needed to link from Yelvertoft and Crick to Willoughby, which he could easily accomplish via a straight-line route along an ancient pre-Roman ridgeway, conveniently bypassing the neighbouring villages of Kilsby and Barby.

In fact, someone had already had the wit and the good fortune to exploit this business opportunity in Crick. The Jones family had climbed Crick's social ladder during the early 1500s with assistance from three fortunate strokes of fate: the industry and long-term vision of Thomas Jones (c1470-1539AD); the fact that he had only one son (Ambrose, c1497-1558AD) who therefore inherited the whole of his father's carefully managed estate; and the ambitious marriage of Ambrose with Agnes Rokeby, only heir of freeman Thomas Rokeby, who inherited her father's free land in Crick, about 250 acres and seven cottages along with their copyhold tenants<sup>22</sup>. Thanks to these combined strokes of luck and careful planning, Ambrose Jones, with a leased farm in Crick in addition to his newly inherited land, was able to develop his substantial inherited acreage predominantly as livestock pasture, and all the evidence suggests that he was just setting up the first stages of a sheep-rearing/droving production route at the time that Sir Ralph Waren purchased the lordship. Indeed, it seems virtually certain that the prudent Waren would have checked out this factor as part of his basic survey before finally deciding to purchase the lordship, and that Jones was a necessary part of Waren's decision.

The background history of the fortunes of the Jones family, and their probable relationship with Sir Ralph Waren, are developed in more detail in Appendices 5 and 6.

## 5.2 Waren vs Andrew

There was some controversy between Sir Ralph Waren and the Andrew family, from the very beginning of Waren's lordship.

To understand this situation fully, we must look back to an accident of inheritance four hundred years earlier. In the 1100s, the de Camvile family had held the whole of Crick manor from the Earl of Mowbray; but with the failure of the de Camvile male line in 1190AD, the manor descended to de Camvile's three married sisters (de Esseby, de Astley and Curson). The Astley and Curson thirds of Crick manor were later reunited, and passed eventually by inheritance to the earls of Dorset, from whose estate Sir Ralph Waren bought them in 1547AD. However, the other third of the manor had a fragmented and confused succession – the old-established Bucknell family of Crick had inherited part

<sup>21</sup> John Rous [died 1491], a chantry priest of Warwick, writing in his *'Historia Regum Angliae'*, lists many recently deserted sheep-enclosure vills in Warwickshire. For a list of the ensuing C16th acts and statutes attempting (unsuccessfully) to restore the enclosed land to agriculture, see the General Introduction to *'The Domesday of Inclosures'*, Royal Historical Society 1897.

<sup>22</sup> "Juratores presentat quod quidam Thomas Rugby qui de domino huius manerij libere tennit, sibi pro hered suis (...) (tentn~, septem cotag~s et 8vo et demi virgate terre infra dominium de Creke (p anim~ rallin~ vu.d? obji..?) citra ultima curo, suis p~ que (al? suis?) preter fecit curie tenebat de domino (jur~? ng..erani?). Et dicat quod Ambrosius Jones etatis lta annorum et amplius et Willm Jones etate xvij annorum et amplius sunt coheredes propinquiores dicta Thome; Et accidit domino de relicto ..." – court roll extract, Michaelmas 1548.

of it in the 1400s, but lost direct control of this when John Smith married Ralph Bucknell's widow c1510AD<sup>23</sup>; the Andrew family of Harlestone inherited another part of this share, and consolidated their presence in Crick from 1537AD onward, as explained in 5.1 above.

Waren, as an entrepreneur, had very different interests and motives than the previous lords of the manor, the marquesses of Dorset; whereas they had been managing a group of individual manors on a feudal basis that had changed little over the centuries, Waren was building a modern commercial empire that spanned both England and northern France, based on the bulk rearing and transport of sheep via production-chains of interlinked neighbouring manors. In this, he was doing (albeit on a much larger scale) exactly the same as the Andrews and the Bucknells, who had also made a bid to increase their wealth by specialising – but the essential difference was that the Andrews and the Bucknells had chosen to focus their efforts on cattle, serving their own local markets in Daventry, Rugby, Market Harborough and Northampton.

Richard Andrew had enjoyed the 'first bite at the cherry' – he had inherited his estate in Crick in 1537AD, a full ten years before Sir Ralf Waren purchased the manor. This had allowed him ample time to set up his own specialised cattle production line, with little interference from the marquess of Dorset at Bradgate in Leicestershire, whose local steward in Crick seems from the court rolls to have been a dull dog, content to let the lordship meander on as it had done for the preceding two hundred years, and not even doing anything proactive about major issues such as the physical decay of virtually every house in the village. It is significant that the neighbouring parish of West Haddon was also, like Crick, a divided lordship with no single all-powerful lord of the manor, and that the Andrew and the Catesby families both owned significant land and properties in West Haddon in the mid-1500s (the Catesbys of Ashby St Ledger also specialised in cattle trading and droving during the 1500s and 1600s – the servant of Gunpowder conspirator Robert Catesby was one Thomas Bates<sup>24</sup>, a relatively well-to-do yeoman who in 1605AD was described as a 'cattle-trader' living at Ashby St Ledgers). Such nuggets of information, when pieced together, give a broad hint of what was probably going on behind the scenes in terms of the specialised development of cattle trading in this area ...

Specialisation such as this can introduce problems – for example, in terms of the available routes for driving livestock, and the enclosures that had to be set aside for overnighting and watering them en route.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Crick, the predominant cattle route appears to have been a west-east long-distance route leading via Rugby, Crick and West Haddon towards Northampton, with secondary shorter routes from Crick leading north via Yelvertoft towards Market Harborough and south via Ashby St Ledgers towards Daventry. The court rolls (interpreted together with the parish field-survey based on 1841 field-names) reveal that there were independent holding pastures established within Crick for both calves and bullocks, both lying on a drove-line from Yelvertoft to Ashby St Ledgers that skirted the centre of Crick village to the east, passing close to the windmill, to follow the line of the present-day road to Ashby; and there was a further and much larger enclosed pasture at King's Close, directly alongside the King's highway to Northampton.

It is significant that Andrews was recorded as owner/occupier of Kings Close in the 1540s, and that Kings Close still lay in the Andrews estate at Enclosure in 1778. More significant still is the court order in 1542 (ie five years after Andrew inherited his Crick estate), that '*Thomas Hancock habeat faciat sufficientia lez portes in Kings Closes ante die Trinitate proxima*<sup>25</sup> – Hancock was tenant of Andrew's land, and this request that he make proper gates into King's Close is strong evidence that the close was being used to pen cattle.

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<sup>23</sup> The Bucknells increasingly ignored manorial rights and customs as time went by, and were eventually prosecuted in the Court of Chancery in 1620AD for trying to enclose Crick's common lands for their cattle; records of this controversy are among the papers in the archive of St John's College Oxford (Muniment VII documents 49,50,51 etc).

<sup>24</sup> Born at Lapworth, Thomas Bates was a long-standing retainer of the Catesby family, living in a cottage at Ashby St Ledgers with his wife Martha and their children. Bates had his own servant and armour, and engaged in cattle-dealing on behalf of his master Robert Catesby. (Edwards, Francis, S.J., '*The Gunpowder Plot: the narrative of Oswald Tesimond alias Greenway*', 1973).

<sup>25</sup> Crick court roll, 1542, archive of St John's College Oxford, Muniment VII- 79.

Some sheep may perhaps also have used these cattle routes – but not when they were wet or muddy, for sheep will not go far through mud (they simply lie down and give up after a few yards) whereas cattle will walk without demur even through deep mud. In any event, the above cattle routes did not lead in the main direction in which sheep would have been driven from Crick at this date ... namely, towards Southam and Banbury.

The early sheep-enclosures that took place during the second half of the fifteenth century had created immense pasture-lands and associated drove-routes throughout large areas of central and north-east Warwickshire; John Rous of Warwick spelled out in the late 1480s the individual villages that had recently been enclosed and deserted<sup>26</sup> (which are mainly clustered to the south and east of Stratford-upon-Avon, with a smaller group lying around Southam and up towards Daventry). Despite statutes enacted 'agaynst pullyng doune of tounes' (1489), 'against ingrossing farms' (1513) and 'concernyng the pulling doune of townes' (1515), and a Royal Commission in 1517 'to examine all inclosures since 1488', the sheep enclosures had continued well into the 1500s<sup>27</sup> – so that by 1516 Thomas More was moved to write that sheep, 'these placid creatures, which used to require so little food, have now apparently developed a raging appetite, and turned into man-eaters. Fields, houses, towns, everything goes down their throats'<sup>28</sup>.

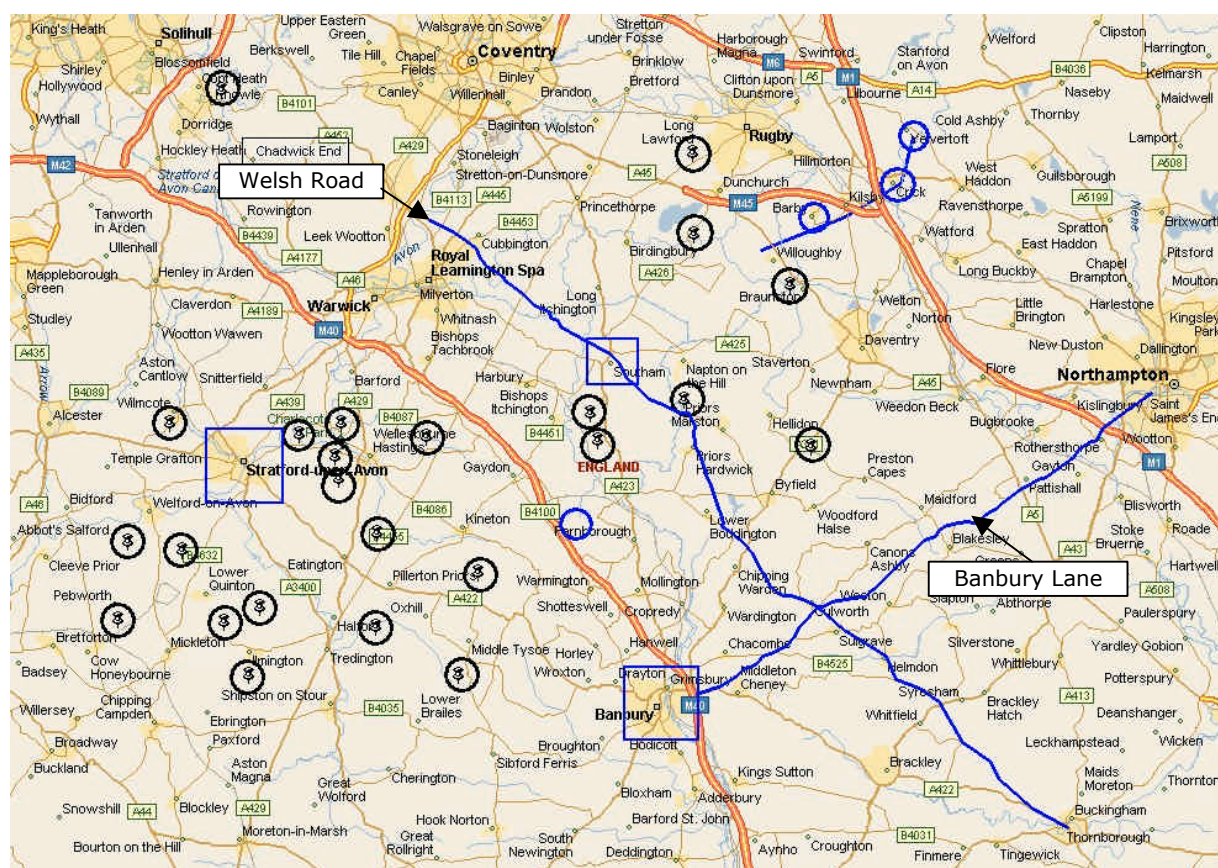


Figure 2: Sheep Desertions 1450-1485 in Warwickshire (black), also showing logical development of Crick

With this background in place, we may turn back again to Crick, and re-focus upon the conflict of interests between the Andrews of Harlestone and Sir Ralf Waren. If Richard and William Andrew were moving cattle from west to east in significant numbers and also north-south to Market Harborough and Daventry, often at the same time as Ambrose and William Jones were moving increasingly large flocks of sheep mainly south-west towards

<sup>26</sup> Op. cit. note 21 above. The villis mentioned by Rous as recently enclosed are 'Compton Murdock, Hodnell, Ascote, Radbourn, Over Caldecote, Wolfhamcote, Charlecote (almost wholly emparked), Morton Morrel, Salemorton, Kites Hardwick, Hunscode, Westcote, Compton Scorpion, Stoke, Foxcote (almost entirely), Norton, Weston, Chelmscote, Milcote, Birmingham Parva, Brookhampton, Thornton, Goldicote, Rodbrook and Redburn, Idlicote (for the most part), Billesley Trussel, Cawston on Dunsmore, Bickmarsh, Willington, Nedon (Poden) by Honeybourne, Alvescote by Stratford, the three Dishfords, Homburn (being mutilated), Alvescote by Stratford [sic], Baddesley Clinton (for the most part newly emparked) and Church Charwelton'.

<sup>27</sup> In Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Warwickshire a total of over 30,000 acres were enclosed for pasture during the period 1485-1517AD, and a further 10,000 acres were enclosed for tillage ('The Domesday of Inclosures', Royal Historical Society 1897)

<sup>28</sup> 'Utopia', Thomas More, first edition in Latin 1516, new English translation by Paul Turner, Penguin Books, 1965

Willoughby, there would certainly be increasing conflict over the available pastures within Crick lordship, and especially over those enclosures set aside as pens for livestock in transit; and indeed, this is precisely the outcome that is reflected in the court rolls for this period, as will be seen in the following sections.

### 5.3 New Measures in Field Management

Analysis of the period 1528-1543 in Section 4 revealed a great emphasis upon field orders for the management of agricultural tasks such as mowing and reaping and carting, scouring of streams and drainage channels and the like. The period 1544-1555 shows a marked contrast, with fewer orders for tasks associated with drainage and tillage (the court contented itself by stating that relevant existing field orders would remain in force permanently), but an increasingly visible concern with management of livestock. Moreover, whereas previous livestock orders in 1528-1543 had chiefly been concerned with the proper management and control of hogs and with ensuring that horses and cattle should be led by hand and tethered where necessary, the orders for the period 1544-1555 are increasingly concerned with making provision for feeding and watering large numbers of cattle and sheep, and with restraining their potential for damaging crops.

- Easter 1545: 'Penatur that every man come togeder upon Fryday next att the knylyng of oon bell to make a wateryng place for the bulloks, sub pena iiijd cuiuslibet default.'
- Michaelmas 1547: 'Jurato dicunt quod Georgius Jefferd habeat in grege cccxl oves contra ordinaciones inde fact ideo fforisfecit pena de xs. And that from thensforth that saide payn stande in effect, and also non shall take in shep of strayngers butte geve knowlege openly in the church how they belong and what nombre every man doth take in for his land, upon payn of xx from hensforth.'
- Michaelmas 1547: 'Penatur that **Willm Andrew** make sufficient gates in the King's Close beffore Cristomas day next, & doo from hensforth kepe them, sub pena xs.'
- Michaelmas 1548: 'presente quod **Ricus Andrewe** occupator clausum vocat Kings Close non fecit legales portas ibidem & transitu tenent & aliorum sicut interhac usitat fuit ... curiam forisfecit pena de vjs-viijd. Et insuper ordinatus est per totum homagium ... quod idem Ricus Andrews vel occupator dicte clausi facut~ fueri duas legales portas vocat ffalling gates ante festum purificationis beati Marie sub pena xs in dicto clauso et secundum deinceps custodiet dictas portas.'
- Michaelmas 1548: 'Item presente quod **Ricus Andrewe** incrochiavit super terrae domini et succidit quondam arbore vocat an asshe ...'
- Michaelmas 1548: 'Ordinatus est quod deinceps non custodient suis ovis in grege ultra numera x score et (none?), sub pena vjs-viijd.'
- Easter 1549: 'Item presente quod **Willm Andrews** forisfecit penam in ulterior curo super ipsum posit, eo quod non fecit portas suas vocat fallynge gats in clauso suo vocat Kings Close ... et ultimo ordinatus est per homagium quod **Ricus Andrewes** vel occupant clauso predictae facient legales portas vocat fallynge gates ibidem ... ante festum pentecost proxima, sub pena vjs-viijd.'
- Michaelmas 1550: 'Item that no man shall take in any foreiners shepe till the towne be served, and to take of his neighbors but jd for everie shepes wynter common, upon peyn xs.'
- Michaelmas 1550: 'Item it is ordeigned that everie man having ij yard lands in the feld and having more shepe than his commons can beare, and can gett no commons in the town for his overplus of his shepe, shall & may kepe xx shepe upon the hole town common & no more; and under the ij yard lands, shall kepe but tenn shepe upon the whole town common, upon peyn vjs-viijd.'
- Michaelmas 1550: 'Item that no man shall fallowe no lamb from Langslade unto Blakemore Way unto Blakemore Gates Carleshe & Shrewfurlong & (Kynefurlong?) before our ladie daye thannunciation next coming, upon peyn fforisfactum domini iijs-iiijd.'
- Michaelmas 1551: 'Item it is ordeigned that from henseforth no man shall fell nor carye no ffursens within the meares in the wolds, upon peyn for everye default iijs-iiijd.'
- Easter 1552: 'Item that everie man having any bullocks to be putt in the Estwold shall before the putting of them forthe come & shew them to the vj men therunto appoynted to admitt or disallow them, & hoc sub pena cuiuslibet in contrarium argentum forisfactum iijs-iiijd, to endure for ever.'
- Easter 1552: 'Item it is ordeigned and commanded by a common assent that everie man shall hedge with new quicksett at Howmere his owne by midsummer, upon peyne of fforisfactum of vjs-viijd, and so to kepe it untill it be past damage, upon the like peyne.'
- Easter 1552: 'And that the vj men named and appoynted in the last court precedent to order & have the telling of cattell & shepe & presentation of faultes at the last court shall have like autoritie now still till the next court, by common assent and therupon they are sworne &c.'
- Michaelmas 1552: 'Quod **Willms Andrews** (ijd xd...) non fecit saepis suas apud Howmere ... de le quicke sett ad diem prescriptum secundum ordinacionis curie, in latitudine unus rode, et Thomas (Heyff?) consimiliter per latitudine ij rodurum, et Laurenci Cole (ijd) per latitudine unum rod ...'
- Michaelmas 1552: 'Ordinatus est quod communis pastures animalium apud le northfeld erit saepalis a die domenica proxima post purificationes beate Marie usque festum sancti Petri ad vincula, sub pena cuiuslibet forisfactorum vjs-viijd.'
- Michaelmas 1552: 'Ordinatus est quod quilibet habend terra necnon colij [=cultivated] venerit ad diem purificationis per sex hores predicta (inrat~?) citra festum omnij sanctorum ad le Estwold et ibidem escurabunt quemdam fossatu pro aqua communes animalia ibidem (pastura~tium?), et hoc sub pena cuiuslibet deficient~ xijd.'



Easter 1553: 'Item that no man of this towne nor strannger shall putt any young beasts into the Estwold before St Georges daye, And that then they shall shew them to the vj men the tellers or to iij of them, upon payne for everie beast or to the contrarie iijs-iiijd.'

Easter 1553: 'Item that everie man hedge his quickesett at Howmere straight & immediatlie, and so to contynue, Or else for making (exsamete?) for everie month xxd.'

Easter 1553: 'It is ordeigned that no man shall fell nor carie awaye neither fursens nor hedgewood in the Eastwold and Howmere, upon payne of everie man making fault totiens quotiens xijd.'

Michaelmas 1553: 'Item presentant quod Thomas Mason (ijd), Fremanus Eton (ijd), Laurenti Cole (ijd), Robert Mole (ijd) et Thomas (.....) (ijd) non custodierunt saepes suas super Howmere ad ... spinarum [=thorn-trees] ibidem portarum contra ordinacione ...'

Michaelmas 1553: 'Ordinatus est quod escurendum fossati apud Howmere quilibet eorum ... citra festum sancti Andree, sub pena cuiuslibet eorum delinquet in contrarium totiens quotiens vjs-viiijd.'

Michaelmas 1554: 'Ordinatus est quod nullo oves ibunt ultra ... haibus [*haia=hedge*] neque ultra le Ridgeweye post diem crastinum ante festum omnii sanctorum sub pena vjs-viiijd.'

Michaelmas 1555: 'Ordinatus est quod nemo depasturabit in saepali pastura cum animalijs et animalibus suis ante festum Inventionis sancte crucis proxime futuris, sub pena totiens quotiens vjs-viiijd.'

Michaelmas 1555: 'Ambrosius Jones (ijd) & Thoma Kylworth (ijd) qui fregerunt campos saepales contra ordinacionis curie.'

Easter 1556: 'Item presentant quod Johes [.....] (vjd) de le backehouse est commonis fractor saepium [=hedge-breaker] et venit suspiciose [=in a suspicious manner] non faciens aliquid labore ...'

Sheep and cattle, when moved over significant distances in large numbers, require dedicated holding enclosures and pastures – and prior to 1547 the only such enclosure in Crick appears to have been King's Close. However, from 1547 onward we find clear evidence of the practised hand of Sir Ralf Waren (albeit he was controlling from a distance, via his local steward in Crick), whose wide experience of creating efficient production-lines for sheep in East Anglia made him the ideal man to direct the re-shaping of the manor at this precise moment in time.

Waren's prohibition on cutting and carrying furze at Michaelmas 1551 (see the above list) was an obvious and necessary first step, to set aside and reserve the furze (which would otherwise have been used as fuel for baking, to eke out the village's meagre supply of reeds) so that it could be used for building dead-hedges, around which shoots of quickset thorn were then subsequently planted after Easter 1552 to create a permanent living hedge at Howmere; and after Michaelmas 1552, also around the 'common pastures'. These court records provide definite evidence of the increasing presence of livestock in the pastures, and the need to fence or hedge them securely and keep them away from the crops – and both the relative speed with which these measures were put in place and the firmness with which the court orders were immediately enforced at Easter and Michaelmas 1553 bear witness to the fact that such measures were urgently required. It is clear from the sequence of the above court reports that by 1555/1556 the new hedges were in place and already functioning well – so that the incident of hedge-breaking by 'John of the Bakehouse' in the early spring of 1556 was merely a one-off episode (he was obviously desperate to gather furze from the dead-hedge in order to use it as fuel for baking his bread); and whereas such a transgression might have been winked at in the 1520s and 1530s, he was now called '*a common hedge-breaker who came in a suspicious manner, not doing any kind of work*', making it clear that the village as a whole disapproved strongly of his action.

Likewise, in the work associated with the pastures at the Estwold and Howmere, we see similar signs of a practised managerial hand accustomed to arranging the mass-transport of livestock. The bullock pasture at the Estwold was first allocated in the court records of 1542 (ie five years after the William Andrew took up his inheritance in Crick), but it was not until after the arrival of Sir Ralf Waren that efficient management of the pasture was organised. At Michaelmas 1551, ie a little before the hedged enclosures were created, a panel of six older men was elected – subsequently rotated each year by new electees – to serve as 'beast-tellers', taking responsibility amongst other things for ensuring that only bullocks aged below two years were allowed into the enclosures (above list, Easter 1552 and Easter 1553). Next, a drinking-water supply for the pastures was organised, via a work-party to dig out at the Estwold 'a ditch for water for the animals commoned there' (above list, Michaelmas 1552), and a subsequent order that the ditches at Howmere should be similarly scoured out (above list, Michaelmas 1553).

The age-rule that was imposed for bullocks put into the Estwold is yet another significant item. Young cattle may be driven from only a few weeks old (ie still weaning) so long as they are running alongside their mothers; however, cattle driven along drove-routes in this period would have been 12-18 months old (known as store cattle), and their mothers would have remained at home to rear a calf each year for as long as possible, providing income for their owners. The two-year age rule thus suggests that the enclosure at the Estwold was deliberately intended for store cattle, ie to be driven out of the parish.

#### 5.4 Significance of King's Close and Kings Style

The significance of King's Close has already been mentioned, and it is now appropriate to examine its role more closely.

The first relevant factor is the very precise location of this 10-acre enclosure – it lies directly alongside the main west-east route along which cattle would be driven between Rugby and Northampton, and it is also adjacent to the north-south route along which sheep would most probably have been driven from Yelvertoft and Crick and over the Ridgeway route bypassing Kilsby and continuing past the eastern edge of Barby Great Wood (as it would have been in the 1550s, before any of Barby wood had been felled) and down Longdown Lane to reach Willoughby (see Figure 3 below).

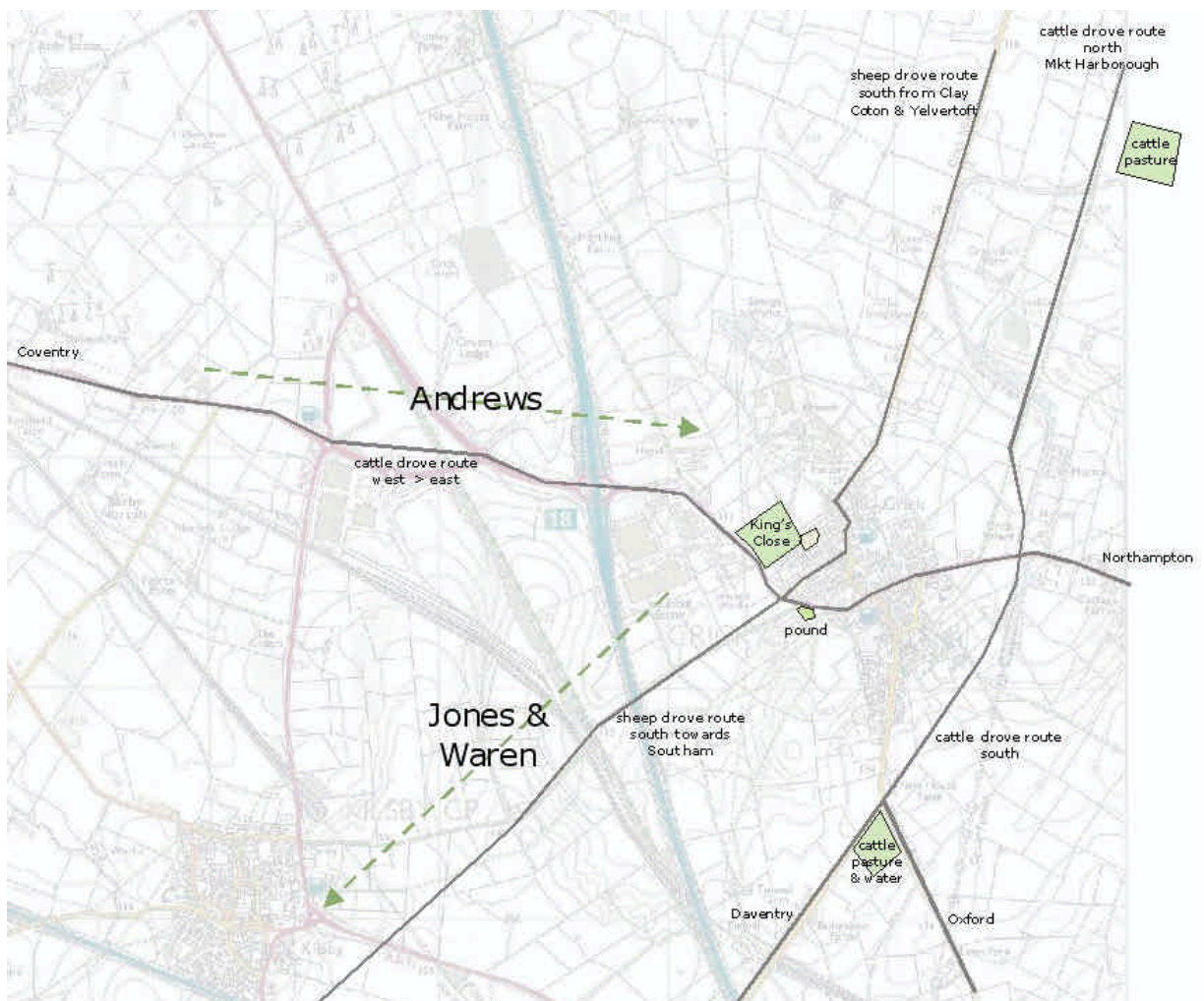


Figure 3: Conjectural map of possible drove routes through Crick by the 1550s

The next relevant factor is the precise role played by the so-called Kings Style enclosure (as it was still called in 1825) – a small narrow enclosure measuring just under 1.5 acres, and apparently arranged to give controlled access into the larger 10-acre close for livestock being driven southward out of the village and into Kings Close.

The relationship of Kings Close and Kings Style is shown in greater detail in Figure 4 below, which is a close-up of part of the Andrews estate map of about 1824AD <sup>29</sup>.

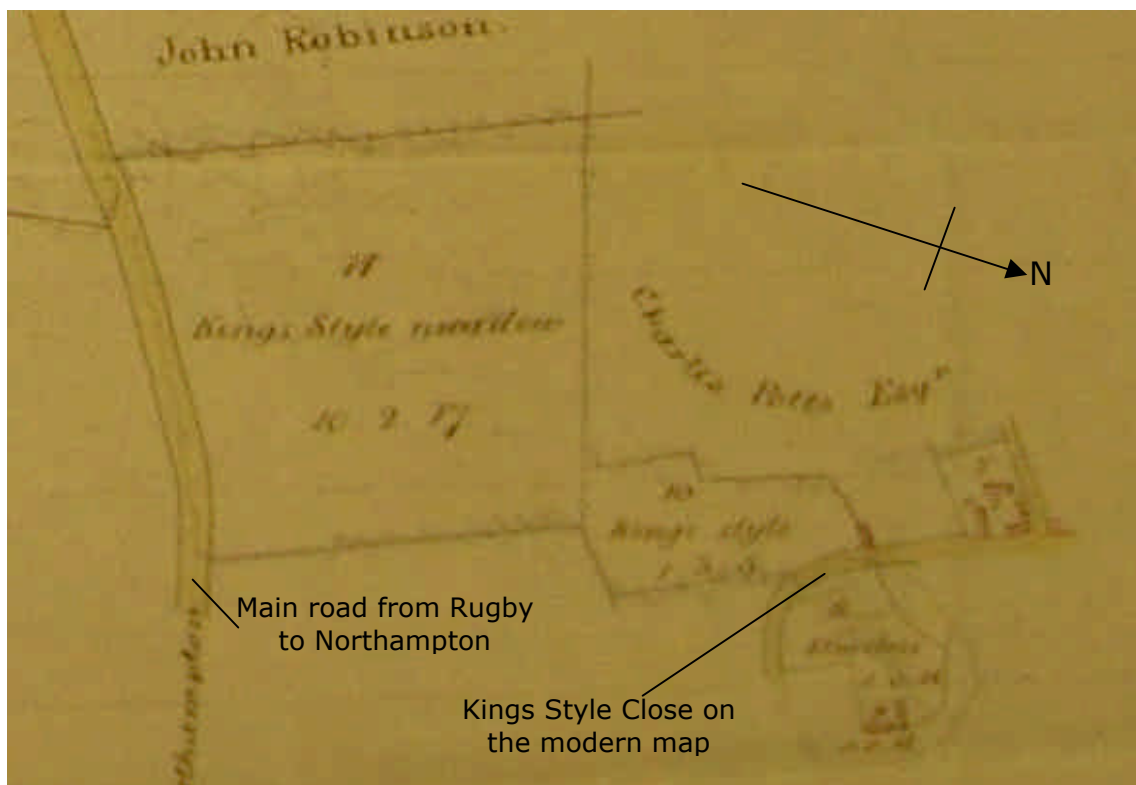


Figure 4: Kings Close and Kings Style, from the Andrews estate map circa 1824

In order to interpret the original function of these two closes – and particularly the strangely-shaped small close known as ‘Kings Style’ – it is necessary to glance once more at the list of court orders for the period 1542-1549 (summarised above) which refer over and over again, with increasing insistence and ever-harsher penalties for non-compliance, to the need for ‘two legal falling gates’ to be provided for King’s Close by William Andrew or Richard Andrew or their tenant. The author has spent much time pondering what form these ‘falling gates’ might have taken, and has also discussed the question with a number of experienced local livestock farmers. It is impossible to make definitive statements for lack of more precise evidence – but it seems plausible that what was intended was a pair of up/down shutters with a guillotine-type movement, arranged one after the other at the end of the narrow enclosure leading into Kings Close, such that they could be operated in order to isolate one or two beasts at a time prior to letting them into Kings Close. Similar gating arrangements for examining and/or marking and/or sorting livestock are commonplace in any modern livestock pens; and though the gating arrangement in King Style in the 1540s would naturally have been far more rudimentary, it may well have been intended to serve a similar purpose.

The court rolls from 1547 onward indicate, in the regular fines imposed upon Richard Andrew and William Andrew, and in their repeated condemnations of both men for flouting and ignoring the court’s decrees, Waren’s increasing annoyance with the Andrew family. By the end of 1551 matters were coming to a head – Andrew had several times refused to attend the court or to pay suit of court to Waren’s steward; and so, in the court of Easter 1552, the men of the Homage duly declared:

‘... super sacramentum suum ... quod Willms Andrews (xijd) debet sect et facit default in contemptu curie ...’  
 [... upon their sacred oath ... that William Andrews owed suit of court and was in default in contempt of the court]

<sup>29</sup> This map (Northamptonshire Record Office NRO A127) was drawn up when the Andrews estate incurred heavy debts in the post-Napoleonic farming depression, resulting in the estate being split up and sold off by about 1824; Robert Andrews, the heir to the estate, was arrested by Robert Peel as a debtor. This information comes, along with much other valuable data relating to the demise of the Andrews estate in Crick, from a series of deeds and documents in private hands, kindly transcribed and summarised by Mr C.J.Godger of Crick, to whom the author of this paper is indebted.

There had been no previous use of such a strong phrase in the whole annals of the court, and the displeasure of Waren's steward is evident in the wording of this court roll. However, peace was finally restored at Michaelmas 1552, when the Andrews climbed down and acknowledged that they did owe suit of court to Waren – indeed, they could not well have continued to refuse it, or they may well have found themselves brought before a higher court. The Michaelmas 1552 court roll records in a postscript the agreement that was reached:

'Memorandum, that at the end of this court, Richard Cooke bailiff & servant to Richard Andrews gent hath discharged all amerciamennts for his said manor of courts here before past sett on his hedd for default of suite of court. And it is agreed with Willm Andrewes for xijd to release him all amerciamennts so that he and other the tenants of the said Richard Andrewes do suite of court to this manor. Whereunto they be all agreed, in the presence of Willm Gyfford gent, Willm Boverincham, Ambrose Jones, Sander Law, Ric Garrard, Lawrence Cole, the subscribed John & other. Richard Gros and Legir Banbury before John Christoferson gent & stuard of the same manor.'

Thus, the Andrews were excused their previous offences, but in return they undertook to pay allegiance to Waren's court, along with all their sub-tenants. The lengthy trial of strength within the manor was finally settled and relative peace descended.

History does not record how the matter of the falling gates into Kings Close was resolved, but it seems likely that the gates were constructed soon after Michaelmas 1552, since the court rolls make no further mention of the lack of them. As for William Andrew, he seems to have toed the line for the next year or so, dutifully making a regular appearance in Waren's court as a member of the jury – though as we will see in Section 5.9, his feelings still ran high, and at Easter 1555 he came before the court once again, this time accused of nothing less than assaulting Waren's hayward with a pitchfork!

## 5.5 Pasturing and Strays

Mention has already been made of many secondary effects whose basic cause was almost certainly a significant increase in livestock in Crick during the late 1430s and 1540s. There are also several specific references to this increase – as for example in the court rolls of:

- 1548 Michaelmas: 'The Jurye of one hole assent dothe ordeyne that no man shall kepe above lti [*ie fifty*] shepe for one yard land until holyrood daie in May, sub pena vjs-viiijd'
- 1550 Easter: 'Item that no man shall take any beasts of any strangers from hensfoorthe, And that no man shall sett a beasts pasture above xvjd, sub pena ... xxd.'
- 1550 Easter: 'Item it is ordeigned that everie man having ij yard lands in the feld and having more shepe than his commons can beare, and can gett no commons in the town for his overplus of his shepe, shall & may kepe xx shepe upon the hole town common & no more; and under the ij yard lands, shall kepe but tenn shepe [*upon the whole town common*], upon peyn vjs-viiijd.'
- 1550 Michaelmas: 'Item that no man shall take in any foreiners shepe till the towne be served, and to take of his neighbors but jd for everie shepes wynter common [*underlined in the original*], upon peyn xs.'
- 1552 Easter: 'Item that no man shall sell no grasse to any foreiner, upon peyn vjs-viiijd.'
- 1555 Michaelmas: 'Ordinatus est per homagium quod quilibet tenens non custodiet nisi quinquaginta oves per qualibet virgata terre usque ad proximam curiam, et pervulebit commonij sua~ ante festum sancti Martini, sub pena vjs-viiijd.'

The increase in 1548 from forty sheep per virgate to fifty per virgate – a 25% increase in the winter loading on the pastures – was introduced immediately after Waren's arrival, and was reinforced in 1555 (after his death, when his widow Joan was still running the manor). It seems probable that this increase was maintained through the provision of Waren's newly-enclosed pastures (see Section 5.3 above); and it is even possible that an advanced system of grazing the pastures in alternation may have been introduced along with the new enclosures, to make most efficient use of the available grass. Finally, it is obvious that the strict prohibitions on sale of winter fodder to outsiders, on selling sheep commons privately at high prices, and on taking in sheep from other lordships, are all complementary parts of Waren's plan for maximising the production of his pastures.

Alongside these specific and direct references, there are three other indirect pointers to the increased number of sheep being bred and pastured within the lordship at this time:

- Increased incidence of strays

- More incidence of incursions by men from other parishes
- Mention of fairs in other towns and vills (notably Daventry and [Market] Harborough)

Waren would have traded as a merchant/stapler; he provided the links in the logistics chain in East Anglia, London and Calais, kept the whole operation running smoothly, and contented himself with taking the middle-man's percentage. There were other men in the lordship – notably the Joneses (see Appendix 5) – who specialised in rearing the sheep, and with whom Waren almost certainly struck a deal. Waren's *modus operandi* is clear enough from his will, and by looking at the locations of his many other manors, enclosed pastures, tenter-yards, manufactories and shipping wharves (see Appendix 3).

The final evidence from the court rolls comes in the regular listings of men consistently exceeding their per-yardland grazing allocation of sheep, men buying and selling winter pastures on a private black market, men taking in 'transient' sheep from men in other lordships, naming of specific routes that are obviously being used as drove routes (some for sheep, some for cattle), and from the knowledge (via manorial pedigrees, see Appendix 2) that the Andrews and the Catesbys also held land in the divided lordship of West Haddon, that the Catesbys and Caves held land in the divided lordship of Yelvertoft, and that the Feildings had also held Claycoton for the Astleys/Dorsets until 1537.

One further data-source can be exploited to shed additional light on the rearing of livestock in the lordship. On 12 March 1549 parliament granted a relief to King Edward, including a tax on sheep, with a graded scale of payments according to the age of the animals, the type of land on which they grazed and the number of sheep owned by each man. It was a very unpopular tax, and resistance to it fuelled the growing agrarian discontent that erupted in open rebellion during the summer of 1549. The tax was therefore repealed on 4 November 1549, and since it was so short-lived very few records of its collection have survived in England or Wales. However, the Northamptonshire returns have survived<sup>30</sup>, and the return for Crick lists the following taxed individuals:

Ambrose Jones husbandman	in goods	£16-16s
Thomas Ryplyngham husbandman	in goods	£12-12s
Thomas Mason husbandman	in goods	£12-12s
Richard Garrett husbandman	in goods	£10-10s
Alexander Lawe husbandman	in goods	£10-10s
Wyllm Herberd husbandman	in goods	£10-10s
John Duncley husbandman	in goods	£10-10s
Wyllm Mawlbye husbandman	in goods	£10-10s
Robert Harberd husbandman	in goods	£10-10s

Ambrose Jones appears at the head of the 1549 tax list for Crick, paying a higher sheep-tax than any other man in the lordship. Thomas Riplingham and Thomas Mason come a close second; Riplingham was rector of Crick (and had been listed as owning 140 sheep in the Michaelmas 1542 court roll). Richard Andrew, most significantly, does not appear in the 1549 tax list, though we know that he was one of the most prominent and wealthy men in Crick, and also that he was involved in rearing livestock. Since this 1549 tax return is specifically related to sheep and cloth, these findings strongly support the inferences made above – namely that Andrews was specialising in rearing cattle, and that Jones (plus the eight others named above) were specialising in rearing sheep for Waren.

## 5.6 Tenant Changes: deaths and replacements

The court rolls mention a number of specific deaths during this period:

Thomas Rokeby (freeholder, succeeded by Ambrose Jones)  
 William Cole (a tenant of Rokeby, subsequently of Ambrose Jones)  
 John Hynton (freeholder of the West Haddon lands, succeeded by John Owen)  
 William Poulteney (a tenant of John Owen on Crick's West Haddon land)  
 Thomas Purser (a tenant of John Owen on Crick's West Haddon land)  
 Richard Vicars  
 Edmund Marriott (miller, a copyhold tenant of Waren, succeeded by his son William)  
 Richard Symons (a copyhold tenant of Waren, succeeded by his young son John)

<sup>30</sup> Northants returns for the Act for Relief of Sheep and Relief of Cloth 1549AD, National Archives, PRO 179-156-257

The inheritance in 1537 by Richard Andrew of the Fielding estate in Crick, and the death in 1547 of Thomas Rugby and inheritance of his free land in Crick by Ambrose Jones, have already been shown to be of great significance to the direction in which the community subsequently developed. During this period Crick's 'Haddon lands' also appear to have changed hands, for according to the suit-lists of 1549, 1551 and 1553, one John Owen esquire is listed as owner of the free lands occupied by those men known as 'the Haddon tenants'. However, Owen is a more shadowy figure than Waren or Andrew or Jones, and his holding of the Haddon lands seems to have been a transient affair, for apart from these mentions in the suit-lists he does not appear in the court rolls.

Of the other men listed above, the most significant is John Hynton who occupied Crick's Haddon lands, and was apparently succeeded by John Owen. Hynton's Lane in Crick (cited in one court roll for this period) was named after him. Of the copyhold tenants named above, none figure in the top half of the jurors' table (Section 5.7 below), suggesting that they were of low social status; in other words, their deaths were unlikely to have a strong impact on the way of life in community. Moreover, most of the dead copyholders were succeeded by their own sons, again tending to reinforce continuity. A very different picture will emerge in the next period under study, namely 1555-1562.

### 5.7 Juror/decennar/constable/hayward service as indicators of social status

Making the same comparison of jury lists as in Section 4.1, once again a reasonably clear picture emerges of the relative social standing of each family (Table 14).

Name	Jury services	Holding (from rental + ct rolls)	Comment
Ledger Banbury	23	60 acres	Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
John Banbury	9		Tenant of free men Nodes/Smith
Peter Banbury	1		Tenant of minor lordship of free man Wm Andrews
Thomas Mason	22	75 acres	Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
Richard Garrett aka Garrard	20		Free man
Robert Herbard	15	60 acres + bakeh'se	Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
William Herbard aka Harbard	12		Sub-tenant of Ambrose & William Jones
(William Herbard jnr)	6		Sub-tenant of Ambrose & William Jones
Ambrose Jones	15		Tenant of free men George Nodes esq & John Smith
Richard Gros	15	60 acres	Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
Alexander Law	15		Tenant of free man John Owen esquire
William Whitehed	14		Tenant of free men George Nodes esq & John Smith
(Richard Whitehed)	2		
Anthony Donkeley	13	90 acres	Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
(John Donkeley)	11		
Robert Donkeley	10	60 acres	Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
Richard West	10		Tenant of free man John Owen esquire
(Thomas West)	11		
Thomas Mountford	12	18 acres	Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
Thomas Kilworth	10		Tenant of free man John Owen esquire
(Richard Kilworth)	1		
Richard Myles aka Mylles	10		
Davy Mylles	8		Tenant of free man John Owen esquire
Thomas Mylles	5	45 acres	Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
(Henry Mylles)	5		
(George Mylles)	1		
(Samuel Miles aka Mylles)	1		
William Malbye	10		Tenant of free man John Owen esquire
Robert Purser	9		Tenant of free men George Nodes esq & John Smith
William Andrews	7		Free man (regular juror after he came of age)
Thomas Grene	6		Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
John Symons	5		Customary tenant of Ralph Waren
Robert Fauss	4		Tenant of free men George Nodes esq & John Smith?
John Aley	3		Tenant of free men George Nodes esq & John Smith
John Brown	2	croft	Former customary tenant of Ralph Waren
(Richard Brown)	1		
Henry Atkyns	2		Sub-tenant of Ambrose & William Jones
(George Atkyns)	1		
Laurence Cole	2		Tenant of minor lordship of free man Wm Andrews
Robert Watts	2		Tenant of free man John Owen esquire
John Chapel	1		
Thomas Hancock	1		
Robert Mole	1		Tenant of minor lordship of free man Wm Andrews

Table 14: Crick men appearing for jury service, 1544-1555

Broadly speaking, the same generalisations hold good as for the period 1528-1544; men farming large holdings are in the upper half of the jury list, whilst an attempt is still made to include poorer men at least occasionally, so that most men serve on the jury at least once or twice.

However this time, thanks to the suit-rolls that were drawn up in 1549, 1551 and 1552 and appended to the court rolls, we also have a clearer picture of the very complex tenancy and sub-tenancy arrangements within the parish. In effect, though Waren was overall lord of the manor, there are also five groups of free men who between them held one third of the parish land, and each of them had sub-tenants within the village; in many cases, different members of the same village family were tenants of two or more free men. To complicate matters further, we have seen that there was also confusion as to whether one of these free men (Richard Andrew of Harlestone, the father of young William Andrew) had also inherited the manorial rights to this third of the manor, whether he was owed suit of court by his own sub-tenants, and whether he in turn owed any allegiance to Waren. This certainly explains why the suit-roll was re-drafted three times within the four-year period following Waren's arrival, with corrections at each stage, taking elaborate care to show the sub-tenant relationships.

The lists of tithingmen give a slightly different viewpoint on the same social situation. Most men served only once during this twelve-year period; however, some men served twice; and one man served four times, appearing as tithingman on seven court rolls.

Name	Served	Comment
John Brown	7	not listed on any of the suit rolls; however, rentals show that he is a former tenant of Ralph Waren; he is probably an old man now
Thomas Grene	4	tenant of Ralph Waren
Thomas Mountford	4	tenant of Ralph Waren
Robert Purser	4	tenant of Nodes and Smith
Ambrose Purser	4	tenant of Richard Andrews
Richard Gros	4	tenant of Ralph Waren
18 other men	2	these men are drawn from among the tenants of Ralph Waren and all the free men
2 other men	1	

Table 15: Men elected as tithingmen (*decennarii*), 1544-1555

Those who served most often were all older men, as was to be expected; and most of them were tenants of Ralph Waren, though this is probably mere coincidence. The men at the top of this list were all respected and experienced villagers, and it is noticeable in the court rolls that they were generally chosen to serve alongside two significantly younger tithingmen, which tends to confirm the view that it was their age and experience for which they were valued.

Elections of constable and hayward during this period were more frequent than for the preceding fifteen-year period:

Year	Constable	Hayward	Comments
1544			
1545	Sander Law		
1546	Richard Mylles	George Derby	
1547	William Harberd	William Pake	The heyward to kepe owte his yere, payn vjs-viijd
1548	Ambrose Jones	Robert Stevens	
1549	Robert Harbart		
1550	John Elebeck		
1551	Robert Herbart		
1552	John Donkeley		
1553	John Donkeley		
1554	John Donkeley	John Mylles	Hayward attacked with pitchfork by Wm Andrews
1555	William Malbye	George Derby	

Table 16: Elections of Constable and Hayward, court rolls 1544-1555

Comparing this with the period 1528-1543, the most evident change is an apparent tightening up of the system – eleven elections of constable were recorded in consecutive years in this period, compared with only five in the preceding fifteen-year period; and

whereas there was only a single election for hayward in the earlier fifteen-year period, we now find five elections during the ensuing eleven years.

Of course, this does not necessarily mean that the offices and duties were now being taken more seriously – it might simply reflect a decision that the officers should serve only a limited one-year term rather than serving indefinitely until they were replaced, which may merely be a consequence of a change in style of manorial control. However, it seems significant that the hayward's office appears to be taken more seriously than it had previously been, with more regular elections and regular rotation of the elected officer; moreover, the comments in the above table give a clear impression that the hayward's task was now more dangerous than it had formerly been, and that the hayward was required to stick to his task throughout the year, not merely during the peak periods for animal movement in spring and autumn. Although this is not direct proof that there were now greater numbers of animals reared in the lordship and transported through it, it points in that direction and adds to the mounting body of evidence for such a conclusion.

Turning to the list of constables and comparing it with that for the preceding fifteen years, two additional points may be noted. Firstly, there is a greater variety – whereas previously the constable had been chosen from among only three families over fifteen years, the later list shows men elected from seven different families over an eleven-year period. Secondly, the only families who provided constables during both periods were the Jones and the Donkleys (Robert Donkley, Anthony Donkley and John Donkley were between them elected six times over the total of twenty-six years, and Ambrose Jones served twice, in 1536AD and again in 1548AD).

## 5.8 Repairs to property, planting of trees, clearing of obstructions

That Sir Ralph Waren set a high priority upon improving the village and making it more efficient, is clear from his steward's regular rulings and memoranda in the court rolls over this period relating to buildings and building materials, as shown in Table 17.

Year	Buildings	Tree planting	Building Work
1544	houses of Thos Mason, Richard Gros, Thos Mills, John Brown, Wm Donkley, Thos Mountford, Richard Symons, Anthony Donkley		All 8 houses are in decay for lack of timber; the memorandum lists the pieces needed for each house – for example, 'the house of Richard Gros wants a new pair of fork-pieces, a first-piece and a side-piece' (this list is typical of all the entries)
1548	house of John Symons (son of Richard deceased)	Each tenant to plant 2 trees per annum for each yardland	The bailiff delivers to John Symons one tree 'for the reparacion of his house'
	house of Anthony Donkley		The bailiff appoints to Donkley 'a great asshe in his close towards the reparacion of his house'.
1549	farmhouse outbuildings of William Wright		The bailiff delivers to Wm Wright 'a paire of fforke-leggs of a tree growing in Leger Banbury's close, to make him a stable room'.
1550	Wm Marriot, the malt mill		The bailiff delivers a pair of fork-legs to William Marriot the miller, for repair of the Lord's horse-drawn malt-mill
1552		Each man with a close must plant 3 ashes, oaks or elms <sup>31</sup> in it each year	
1554	Leger Banbury's house		3 old ash trees standing in Leger Banbury's close are allocated as building-timber for 'a howse of his in decay'
1554	Robert Herbart's house, Robert Donkley's house, & the common bakehouse		Robert Herbart asks for money for timber to repair his house – one fork-leg, two side-pieces and a first-piece, total 7s-8d. Robert Dunkley asks payment of his expenses in buying timber for a first-piece, 2 side-pieces, a wall-plate and a pair of fork-legs, total 8s. The steward also requests timber to repair the common bakehouse.
1555	Robert Herbart's house, Robert Donkley's house		Each man is granted one ash tree in recompense for their expenses in buying timber in 1554.

Table 17: Repairs and Improvements within the Village

<sup>31</sup> It is interesting to note, on the c1824 map of the Andrews estate, that his close in the centre of the village was called 'Elm Close' at that date; it seems likely that these elms may have been planted in the close in the 1500s as a result of the above court order.



The record for 1544AD is particularly informative. Not only do we learn that many houses have rotten timbers, we are told specifically which timbers are lacking in each house. It is clear from the wording of the record that these copyhold houses are all cruck-framed buildings – and from their decayed state in 1544AD it is likely that they all date back to at least the first half of the 1400s and perhaps earlier still. This note emphasises very clearly the critical lack of timber in Crick lordship, and the problems that this shortage had created. Reference to the tables of jurors' lists earlier in this document also shows that, rather surprisingly, many of the houses listed as being in bad repair were inhabited by tenants who were relatively high in the village social order.

However, Waren's arrival in 1547AD was a turning point – and Table 17 above shows the evidence of a steady programme of building-renovation work sanctioned by the lord via his steward. In most cases the necessary timber was requisitioned from among the few trees left standing within the parish – and in parallel with this, it is equally clear that a programme was being vigorously pursued for generating future supplies of hardwood within the lordship (if all men followed the above rules, it would have added something like 200-300 new hardwood trees per annum across the whole parish, which seems a very sensible target). There is no reason why these measures could not have been put in place just as easily by the previous Dorset lordship, and this appears to be further evidence of the lack of proper estate management under the Dorsets (NB: it may be relevant here to note that Waren's steward John Christopherson was paid four times more than the previous steward of the Dorsets for running the manor court – Waren seems to have been a man who recognised the value of paying well in return for diligent service).

In parallel with these necessary renovations to buildings, it is evident that some roads within the village were more subject to wear than others (and from the context of the statements it is possible that this was due to frequent passage of livestock along them).

- 1551: 'Item presentant quod Johes Aleyn (viiij) non escuravit quandum commonem venella inter ipsum & Robertus Donkley.'  
 [John Alen (fined 8d) has not scoured the public lane leading between him and Robert Donkley']  
 1553: 'Preceptus est Robto Donkeley & Johes Alen quod emendabunt via~ suu~, venella vocat Hynton's Lane, Et prec[eptus] Willm Luck, Rico Gros, Thome Malbye, Petro Banbury & Johi Symon ipsi emendabunt venella ducent ad le Kyngs Close citra festum pentecostes ad visus sex virorum adhoc & alia inratorum, sub pena eorum cuiuslibet hac ordinacion~ nisi (inge~ts~ ....)'  
 [Robert Donkley and John Alen are required to mend their road, a lane known as Hynton's Lane; and William Luck, Richard Gros, Thomas Malby, Peter Banbury and John Symon are to mend the lane leading to King's Close, by next Pentecost ...']

It is also clear that certain roads and locations have become eyesores from the point of view of litter, dunghills and blocked gutters. Quoting again from the court rolls:

- 1543: 'Penatur quod Wills Whithed & Thomas Maisson (sils?) vertent rectum cursum (agie~?) ante (dund~?) suis & scurrant lez gotars, sub pena xijd cuiuslibet default.'  
 1544: 'Penatur quod Ric Vicars vertat aqua in rect~ curs~ ad fine suis lez yards & ad (hestium?) suis ante festum (s~at?) domini proxima, sub pena iijs-iiijd.'  
 1544: 'Penatur quod Thomas West & Thomas Maisson scurrant le via inter suis domi, & omnes alij abuttant super le marsh scurrant ... similiter ... ante festum sancti Andree proxima, sub pena xijd cuiuslibet default.'  
 1545: 'Thomas Grene fforisfecit pena in ulteria curia posit qua non forisfact~ scurrat suis (soti~?) infra le marsh, ideo ipse fforisfecit pena de xijd.'  
 1545: 'Penatur quod Robtus Watts vertet aqua in suis rectin~ custu~ infra suis lez dyks ante festum sancti Andree proxima sub pena xvjd.'  
 1545: 'Item that every man ryde his muke hills lying in the comon street before whitsuntyde, sub pena xijd cuiuslibet default.'  
 1545: 'Penatur that noone lay dunge from thensforth in the comon stretts & hey ways sub pena xvjd tociens quociens.'  
 1549: 'Preceptus est John Gros quod (ami...det?) foina~ aquatica~ in le Kyngs Lane ut ibidem aque non stet in (noci...t...) tenents citra proxima curie, sub pena vjs-viiijd.'  
 1551: 'Item presentant quod Thomas Grene (iiij) fodit lapudes in via regia et eos astulit ad dampnu~ &c, et ad perniciosum exemplum aliorum.'  
 1555: 'Preceptus est Laurentio Cole quod esuret cursu~ aque quod decurrit in stagi~ suum ad (aascanatu~? vu ...) apud ffensum de le Parsonage Close infra hos quindecimus dies proxime, et sic deinceps servare, sub pena iijs-iiijd.'

Although there must have been dunghills and open running sewers in many public areas of the village, the worst problems seem mostly to be located around The Marsh (on the north-east side of the village) and in the lanes leading towards King's Close (which has already been mentioned above as an area probably associated with livestock pens). King's Close was considered in more detail in Section 5.4 above, which also examined the significance of the arrangement of 'legal falling gates' leading into the close – another topic that regularly occupied the attention of Waren's steward in his attempts to make the village into a more efficient working unit.

## 5.9 Escalation of Affrays and Disputes

Table 18 below reveals a significant increase in the incidence of fighting during the period 1543-1555AD – there were a total of eleven affrays brought before the court over this twelve-year period compared with nine over the previous fifteen years, a proportionate increase of just over 50%.

There are also four significant differences in the type and the timing of affrays:

- There is increased evidence of a serious intent to injure in at least one third of the cases (one attack with a dagger, one with a pitchfork and two with staffs)
- The attacks are now concentrated about two specific periods – the year 1548AD and the period 1552-1555AD.
- There are now more cases of attacks instigated by men from outside the village.
- Two thirds of the incidents are now occurring in the spring, whereas in the period 1528-1543AD all but one of the offences was committed in the summer and early autumn.

Year	Instigator	Victim	Blood drawn?	Fine mentioned?
1544 (Easter)	George Justell	John Whitney	Yes	12d
1548 (Easter)	William Essex	Robert Vicarage		4d
1548 (Michaelmas)	Robert Mole	John Elebeck	Yes, with a staff	20d
1548 (Michaelmas)	Freeman Eton	John Pulteney, Wm Malbye's shepherd	Yes, from his head, with a staff	
1548 (Michaelmas)	Robert Mole, Robert Arden, Wm Burnham, Richard Taylor, Henry Marnesham caused affray, in the alehouse of Robert Mole			Each of the five men was fined 8d
1552 (Easter)	Thomas Marnshaw of Yelvertoft	David Myles	Attacked with a dagger	12d
1552 (Easter)	Walter Beauchamp	Roger Byson (ale taster)		Each man was fined 2d
1553 (Easter)	John Allen	Thomas Banbury (a youth)		Allen was accused of maiming the boy, but was exonerated
1554 (Michaelmas)	Thomas Kylworth	John Aleyn		Each man fined 2d
1555 (Easter)	William Andrew, gentleman	John Mylles the hayward	Yes, by Andrew, with a pitchfork	Andrews was fined 12d, but Mylles was also fined 2d as it was stated that he had provoked the assault
1555 (Easter)	Richard Garle of Kilsby	Hugh Manton, shepherd	Yes, from several places, with a staff	Garle was fined a massive 3s-4d

Table 18: Instances of affray, 1544-1555

Putting these facts together – and noting also that in this period one quarter of all attacks were against men who were watching over livestock (two shepherds and a hayward), it is obvious that there has been a significant change in the routine of village life since the 1530s, with many of the disputes now occurring at lambing/calving times rather than at crop-cultivation and harvest times as formerly.

There is a very obvious explanation, both for the increased incidence of disputes, for the shift in the time of year when they occurred, for the increased seriousness of the attacks, and for the increase in attacks by men from outside the village – namely, that there are now significantly more animals being reared and pastured within the village, and also that there are more animals in transit, being driven through the fields and lanes around the village.

In the manor court rolls for 1544-1555AD there are also many more recorded instances every year of trespass by beasts into seeded furrows and growing crops, which all adds to the overwhelming weight of evidence already pointing in the same direction.

The court rolls also record an increased incidence of border and boundary disputes (over walls, pits, etc), and evidence of several cases of deliberate encroachment (both upon other men's land and upon the permanent lanes and passages through the fields). Indeed, by the early 1550s a specific dispute section was introduced into the court procedure, immediately at the beginning of the court session following the list of essoins. Once it is understood that there were by now far more sheep and cattle in the lordship (and also the first effects of a significant increase in family sizes that had commenced in the 1520s and 1530s, see Table 5 earlier), this increasing number of non-violent disputes in parallel with the increased number of physical assaults may also be seen as evidence of steadily rising tempers throughout the community.

### **5.10 Social Effects of Religious Change**

This period is notable for the extreme religious upheaval which took place, as the Reformation took its violent course during the early 1540s, followed after the untimely death of Edward VI in 1547 by an uncertain swing back towards Catholicism under Mary and Philip, and finally after 1553 by a decisive return to the newly-established Church of England under Elizabeth I. This was a period in which lights were extinguished in the churches, chantries were abolished, altars and images were torn down, and the comfortable formulae and traditions of the old medieval catholic church were swept aside, ultimately to be replaced in the 1570s by pulpits and increasingly puritanical sermons. Throughout the late-medieval period, each village church had maintained a small flock of sheep, whose wool paid for oil and wax to light lamps and tapers at the images and altars – but when the lights in England's churches were extinguished, all such church flocks ceased to be relevant; and the village guilds of young men and young women whose task had been to raise money for beautifying the church were disbanded. Old customs of giving 'church ales' also ceased, for the new English church under Elizabeth was a plain and bare place, stripped of its ornaments and banners and raiments and with no further need for money-raising or decoration.<sup>32</sup>

Although much that was happening within the church at this time might have been expected to confuse and disrupt the steady flow of village life in Crick, surprisingly little of this turmoil is evident in the court rolls or other manorial documentation. Only a single reference in 1547 even mentions the church:

Michaelmas 1547: 'non shall take in shep of strayngers butte geve knowlege openly in the church how they belong and what nombre every man doth take in for his land, upon payn of xxs from hensforth.'

This makes it clear that many routine social tasks and public meetings were carried out in the church throughout this period, including the business of stock-taking and land-management. However, whatever other social effects may have resulted from the new religious changes, they were not reflected in the pages of the court rolls.

### **5.11 What the Future Holds: 1556-1558 and its aftermath**

The next section will deal with the period 1555-1562 – a time of almost constant hardship and trouble, in which many of the manor's most venerable, respected and influential tenants died an untimely death.

The village of Crick is poised for further massive social change ... will we see, in the coming years, the breakdown of the traditional medieval tillage-based system, and the arrival of new men in the village whose main duties revolve increasingly around livestock farming?

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<sup>32</sup> For further details see for example *'The Voices of Morebath'*, and *'The Stripping of the Altars'* by Prof. Eamon Duffy

## **5. Court Rolls: Detailed Analysis, 1555-1562**

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## **6. Court Rolls: Detailed Analysis, 1583-1593**

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## 7. Map information

The court rolls, manorial rentals and the tithe custumnal all mention various locations within the lordship, which may be of use in establishing the layout of the fields and the village during the 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Names and locations mentioned in court rolls over the period 1528-1543 are as follows:

- Woodway, or Wodwey (implying that at one time there had been some woodland)
- Woodway Dyke
- Meadow Dyke, aka Great Meadow Brook
- The brook '... between Rudell and our meadow ...'
- Mydway dyke
- Rudhill, or Rydill (where there were beds of reeds/rushes)
- Hollow Croft (where there were further beds of rushes)
- Oottehill Furlong and Oottisby ditch
- Garardes End
- Pees field
- Rokeby Ford
- Fordway
- Fordel Furlong
- Ffordrody Furlong
- The hade weir in the Myln Field
- King's Close
- The malt mill and windmill
- The bake-house
- The wheat field
- The church yard

Further names and locations are mentioned in the court rolls for the period 1544-1555:

- The Estwold
- Ashby Way
- The Ridgeway
- Howmere
- Hudwell Hooke (could this be "Rudwell Hooke", ie "Broad Hook" on the 1825 Andrews map?)
- Hynton's Lane
- The lane leading to King's Close
- King's Lane
- Parsonage Close
- The Pitts (could this be the Gravel Pits, which lay behind the reed beds at the foot of Rudhill?)
- Whorlepitt (could this be a corruption of "marlpit"?)
- Whorlepitt furlong
- Bradway furlong
- Langslade unto Blakemore Way unto Blakemore Gates, Carleshe & Shrewfurlong & (Kynefurlong?)
- Hall Lees (presumably this is the "Hall Ground Lees" shown alongside Lilbourne Way on Andrews map?)
- Shawell Hill
- The Meare (see also rental below)
- Narlas Brok, which lies between The Damore and Achemore ford (NB possibly a corruption of original "ash moor", which might be aka Woodway??)
- (Crownett?)
- Battysgore shooting into Ashby Way
- Services Close (leased by Ledger Banbury)

The manorial rentals for the period 1522-1558 mention:

- Services close (easily mis-read as 'Brices' due to the abbreviation 'B' for 'ser'), leased by Ledger Banbury
- A close named Maynards, which was leased by Thomas Miles/Mills
- The Strawlands
- The Meare, possibly referring to a habitation within the village
- The Pinfold
- Achemore
- Bullock Lane, where the West Haddon tenants have a plot of hemp
- Heyn land, Hall land and Ploughman's land
- The Hall orchard, leased by Richard Symons

The tithe custumnal of 1538 lists:

- Ashmores/Ackmores in Heyne land (presumably lying somewhere on higher ground?)
- Running pastures (ie non-permanent ones?)
- The Great pasture and the Little Pasture (ie permanent pastures)
- Barley Croft at one end of the meadow, Woodway at the other end (this places these locations with respect to each other)
- Dam furlong, where the Great Meadow (ie the great pasture) is located
- The little meadow and pasture on Rudhill
- Northwich

Although not all of these locations can be identified on the modern OS map, it was possible to fix certain points in the fields, with help from local farmers, aided by some specific fieldwork<sup>33</sup>, and by a map of field-names in the parish<sup>34</sup>:

- There were two main watercourses – Great Meadow Brook, which was channelled via Meadow Dyke, and an unnamed stream drained via Woodway Dyke. From the above data on location names plus consideration of field-names and map topology, it is clear that Great Meadow Brook ran from the slopes south of the village (tentatively identified as Hall land, the original manor) continued south of the village (via the site of the industrial estate, beside the M1 motorway), and flowed north-westward out of the lordship. Woodway Dyke is less easy to locate – but in view of the relatively few streams in the 1839 field-map, it seems likely that it ran around the north and west of the village to join the Great Meadow Brook, crossing the road to Rugby at the point where it met the old road to Lilbourne (see Figure 5).
- The location of the Hall Land is inferred partly from the fact that it sits on higher ground drained by the Great Meadow brook (which has its source there), and partly from the knowledge that sites of suspected manorial fish-ponds and an early mill are both located on the eastern edge of the village close to present-day Boat-Horse Lane.
- Rudhill (aka Redell, Rydell etc): this is clearly identified to the west of the village; the Little Pasture (one of the two permanent pastures) was on the upper slopes of this hill, bordering the edge of the lordship which is here demarcated by the Roman Road (Watling Street). The Great Meadow (the other permanent pasture) lay immediately west of the village – Great Meadow Brook separated Great Meadow from Rudhill. This brook was lined in places by beds of reeds, regarded as a key resource for roofing.
- Barley Croft: this lies on a spur of well-drained land due west of the village, overlooking the Great Meadow. Its location has persisted in the modern field-names, as has the location of King's Close.
- 'Woodway' and 'Woodway Dyke': these names suggest that there had been some woodland in the north-west of the lordship at the time when location-names were first being established – probably soon after the Conquest. However, it is clear from a court order of 1539 requiring all men to 'plant 4 young trees on the land that they leased from the lord' (see Table 12), that timber had become very scarce in the C16th parish – and this is confirmed by other early documentary sources<sup>35</sup>.
- 'Hynton's Lane': this is named in the court roll for Easter 1553<sup>36</sup>; the lane probably took its name from John Hynton who is named in the 1497 rental as one of the five free tenants of Crick manor; one John Hynton (either the same man or a descendant) is also listed on the 1544 court roll as having recently died. Comparison from one rental to the next over the period 1497-1588 shows that Hynton's house and land was almost certainly later occupied by William Whitehead in 1522-1546, then by George Nodes up to the mid-1550s, and subsequently by the Bucknills from around 1557. From this well-documented sequence, it may be inferred that Hynton's Lane is probably equivalent to modern-day Bucknill's Lane. Moreover, from the 1553 court roll it seems that Robert Dunkley and John Aleyn were also occupying the lane in 1553 – which is logical, since John Aleyn was listed as a tenant of George Nodes in the 1553 suit roll.
- The same court roll for Easter 1553 (see Note 36 below) also makes it clear that William Luck, Richard Gros, Thomas Malby, Peter Banbury and John Symon were living along 'the lane leading to King's Close', which is almost certainly identifiable as modern-day 'Kings Style Close'. This is probably the same lane that is referred to elsewhere as 'Kings Lane'.

<sup>33</sup> For instance, a tour of the Crick Industrial Estate bordering the M1 motorway produced ample evidence that reeds and rushes still grow on the banks of the ancient stream; this helped to confirm the location of the rush beds 'in Great Meadow Brook between Rudhill and Great Meadow', aiding reconstruction of part of the C16th map of Crick lordship.

<sup>34</sup> At the time of the Parish Survey carried out by David Hall in 1975, a map of field-names was also prepared, based upon field-names known to be valid in 1839

<sup>35</sup> See *'The Open Fields of Northamptonshire'*, David Hall, published by Northamptonshire Record Society, page 107, which quotes: "Crick and Clay Coton, both completely arable townships, were exceptionally short of fuel and building timber. A survey of both, made in 1526, reported that 'there are no woods and the houses are in great decay for want of timber'."

<sup>36</sup> Crick court roll, Easter 1553: "Precept[us] est Robto Donkeley & Johes Alen q[uo]d (em[en]d]dabunt?) via~ suu~, venella voc[at] Hynton's Lane, Et prec[eptus] Willm Luck, Rico Gros, Thome Malbye, Petro Banbury & Johi Symon ip[s]i emendabunt venella ducent ad le Kyngs Close cit[ra] festum pentecostes ..."

- 'Bullock Lane': this is tentatively identifiable from the 1975 field-survey map (see note 34), which shows a field named Bullock Leys lying directly alongside the old field-road that runs from Yelvertoft and over Crack's Hill. There is confirmation of this tentative location in the fact that the field adjoining Bullock Leys to the east is named Hemp Leys, and Crick's West Haddon-based tenants were stated in the c16th rentals to have a plot of permanent hemp land adjacent to Bullock Lane. The name suggests in turn that this field-based drove route may have been exclusively used for cattle.
- 'The Estwold': this almost certainly refers to the high ground east of the village, where the road known in 1550 as Ashby Way would have been located, near to where the modern road now runs. The fact that a specific calf-pasture was set aside at the Estwold by the 1550s (see references in the court rolls for 1545-1555), and that villagers were requested to assemble at the Estwold and dig out a ditch for holding drinking water for calves, should be read in conjunction with the comments above regarding the likely location of 'Bullock Lane'. Linking these comments together, it seems very likely that a drove route for calves and bullocks was in existence by the 1550s, running from Yelvertoft down through Ashby St Ledgers, with a holding pen for bullocks at Bullock Leys north-east of Crick village and a similar holding pen for calves on the Estwold south-east of Crick, ie providing separate holding areas for male and female young. Indeed, the probable route of this drove road as it passes around the east of the village is clearly identifiable by tracing the outlines of the late-medieval headlands and balks to the east of the village centre, as shown on the 1975 field map. (NB: the location of Crick's calf pasture on this high ground at The Estwold is exactly analogous to the similar 'Harnell's Cowpasture' in neighbouring Kilsby, which lay on high ground along the Ridgeway south of Kilsby at the location known today as 'Arnills Gate').
- 'The Ridgeway': there is no ridgeway route as such within Crick parish – so at first this name seems anomalous. However, there is an old ridgeway route in each of the neighbouring parishes of Kilsby and Barby to the south west, leading directly to Willoughby (Warwickshire); moreover, if the line of this ancient ridgeway route is projected back through Barby parish and Kilsby parish (where it runs as a near-straight line), the line joins up precisely with the present-day bridle road leading from Crick. It seems very likely that this route originally ran in a direct line from Crick to Willoughby in the 1500s, crossing a later road shown in John Ogilby's 1670 Itinerary that led into Kilsby (which became the main bridle-path route in the 1830s at the time when the railway was being built). The lack of any detailed maps for this stretch prior to 1841 make it difficult to verify this theory; however, it seems significant that the early ridgeway route would have led directly past the early windmills in both Kilsby (see the Ogilby 1670 map) and Barby, providing a pack-horse or small-cart track to serve both these mills from the neighbouring parishes.

Approximate locations of these features are indicated on a section of OS map in Figure 5, which also shows some other locations that have been identified, using the data from Section 6 and Table 12 plus associated map-work and fieldwork<sup>37</sup>.

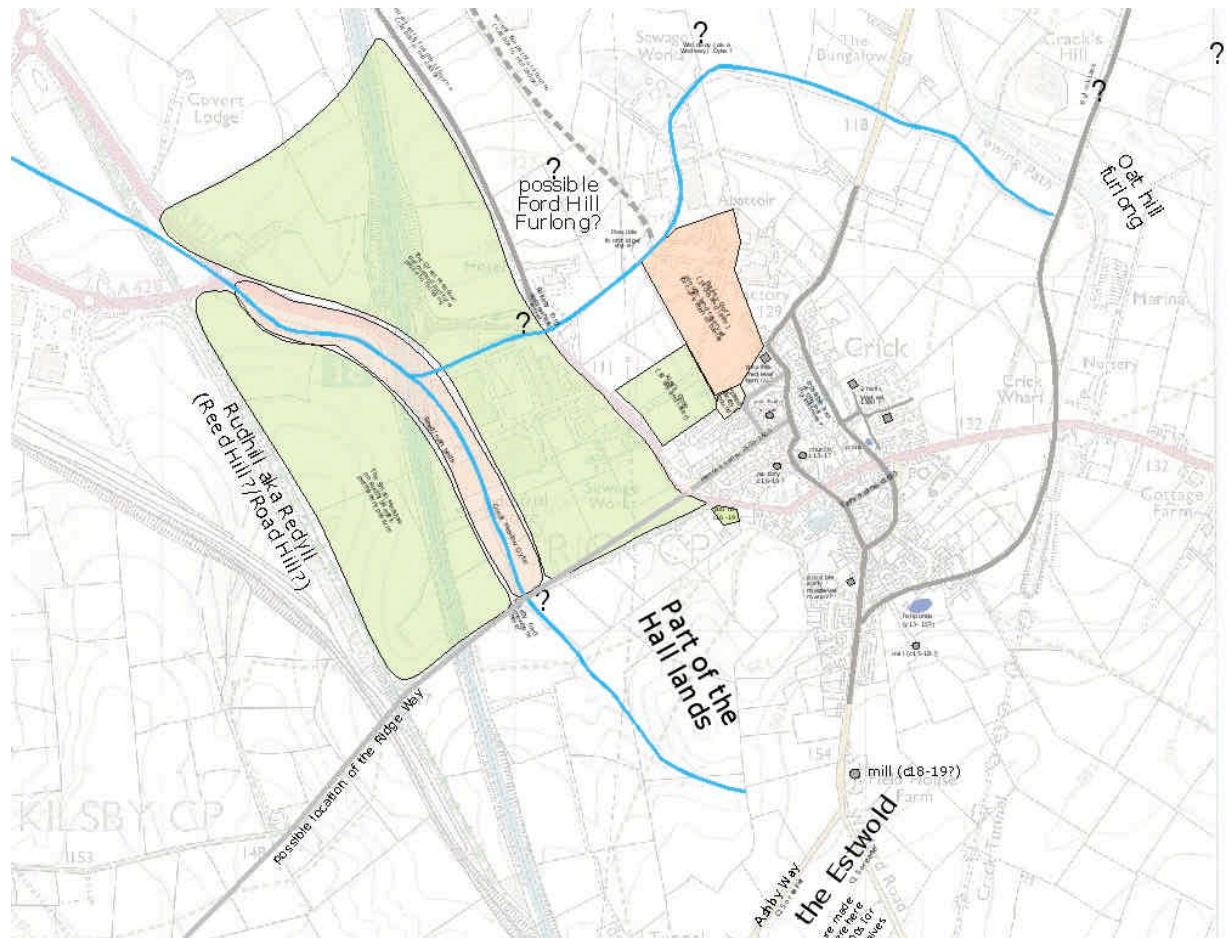


Figure 5: Section of Modern OS map, showing location of some key features named in C16th Crick court rolls

<sup>37</sup> The map-work was also assisted by creating a 3D virtual version of the OS map, on which all contours were much more evident. The fieldwork consisted of field-walking, together with discussions with local farmers. The combination of these discussions, coupled with print-outs of the 3D map, made it much easier to identify likely locations of old streams which have since been drained and/or culverted, the precise extent of the flood-plain, and other such features.



## Appendix 1: Key Dates in the Village Year

The most important dates in the administrative year were Easter and Michaelmas, since in broad terms these dates marked the changeover points from 'winter/indoor' activities to 'summer/outdoor' activities. The manorial courts were therefore held at these dates. However, the mediaeval ecclesiastical and agricultural year revolved around more than twenty feast days, which are all mentioned in Crick's court rolls for this period:

Holy Thursday*:	also Maundy Thursday, last before Easter Sunday
Easter Sunday*:	beginning of the church year (and also of the secular year, until the calendar was changed in 1752)
Low Sunday*:	first Sunday after Easter Sunday
St George's day:	23 <sup>rd</sup> April
St Philip & St James:	1 <sup>st</sup> May
Whitsun/Pentecost*:	seventh Sunday after Easter Sunday
Trinity*:	first Sunday after Whitsun/Pentecost
Corpus Christi*:	first Thursday after Trinity Sunday
St Peter's day:	29 <sup>th</sup> June
Lammas:	1 <sup>st</sup> August, also known as the feast of St Peter ad Vincula
Holyrood day:	14 <sup>th</sup> September, commemorating the supposed discovery (in 335AD) of the cross on which Christ was crucified
St Matthew's day:	21 <sup>st</sup> September
Michaelmas day:	29 <sup>th</sup> September, feast of the autumnal equinox
St Simon & St Jude:	28 <sup>th</sup> October
All Hallow's day:	1 <sup>st</sup> November
St Martin (Martinmas):	11 <sup>th</sup> November
St Andrew's day:	30 <sup>th</sup> November
Christmas day:	25 <sup>th</sup> December
Epiphany:	6 <sup>th</sup> January
Plough Monday*:	(referred to in Latin in these records as "Arro Lune die"), the first Monday after Twelfth Night, when ploughs were decorated to attract blessings, prior to being used to plough the land
Candlemas:	2 <sup>nd</sup> February (40 days after the birth of Jesus), marking the halfway point between winter solstice and spring equinox
Annunciation of Virgin:	25 <sup>th</sup> March

\* = moveable feasts

Henry VIII's first attack upon the Catholic Church in England was against the cult of the saints. On 11<sup>th</sup> August 1536 Thomas Cromwell, as Henry's 'vice-regent in spirituals', passed an act abolishing all holy days during the Westminster law terms or in harvest time (early July to end of September), except for the feasts of the Virgin, the Apostles, St George, St John the Baptist, and All Saints; after 1536 there is no further mention in Crick's court rolls of Holyrood day (14<sup>th</sup> Sept) or St Matthew's day (21<sup>st</sup> Sept), although the records continue to refer to Lammas (1<sup>st</sup> August) as 'the feast of St Peter ad Vincula'.

There was increasing persecution of the cult of the saints in 1538, with further injunctions from Cromwell. Also with effect from 1538, parish registers of baptisms marriages and burials were to be kept; and, most significantly for the cult of the saints, all lights in the church were to be extinguished, except the rood, altar and sepulchre lights.

Henry attacked the cult of the saints again in 1540. Saints' images were removed from the churches along with their altars; and the lesser funds which the church had maintained for centuries (for instance, to decorate and adorn the altars and images, and to maintain candles and tapers before them) were first merged and ultimately abolished.

This abolition of feast days that had been traditional milestones of the year for centuries may have caused some confusion. However the tithe custom of 1538, setting down the tithe customs of the manor<sup>38</sup> (with particular mention of the numbers of beasts allowed to pasture), was probably created not in response to any such change imposed at national level, but as a consequence of a new heir to the minor third of the lordship – Richard Andrew of Harlestone, son of Elizabeth Feylding and heir of her husband the late Sir William Feylding, who held 1/3 of Crick manor for the Marquess of Dorset.

<sup>38</sup> 'A copy of Crick Customs of Tythes & Commons in Crick Fields', 1538, document reference Muniment VII-92, archive of St John's College, Oxford.

## Appendix 2: Manorial Inter-relationships in West Northamptonshire

To understand the relevance of the regular comments in the Crick court rolls relating to Claycoton, West Haddon etc., it is necessary to consider the family inter-relationships of the hereditary lords of the manors of this part of west Northamptonshire. The aim of this appendix is therefore to explore the relationships between seigneurial families in some of the adjacent manors of west Northamptonshire.

To some extent the available documentation is linked to the manorial succession in each parish. For instance, the death of a manorial lord and succession of the next heir generally provokes a general process of stock-taking within the manor – a new issue of the rental, a review of the woodland/field/meadow/watercourses etc, of the state of repair of manorial properties, and so forth.

Most important of all are the points at which tenure of a manor changed from one family to another – and particularly in those cases where this led either to partitioning of a manor or to the re-uniting of some or all of the parts of a previously divided manor. Figure 6 illustrates the main aspects of seigneurial succession in the parishes of Ashby St Ledgers, Barby (including Onley), Yelvertoft, Claycoton, Crick, Lilbourne and West Haddon in Northamptonshire, with special reference to their evolutions during the 1500s and early 1600s.

Date	Ashby	Barby	Lilbourne	Claycoton	Crick	Yelvertoft	W.Haddon
1100s	1 manor (Earl of Leicester)	1 manor (Peverell)	1 manor (de Camvile, resident)	prob. not yet existing?	1 manor (de Camvile)	2 manors	3 manors
1200s	1 manor (deCranford & de Diva)	1 manor (Cantilupe)	3 manors (Astley, Esseby, Curzon)	1 manor (Astley)	3 manors (Astley, Esseby, Curzon)	2 manors	4 manors
1300s	1 manor (deCranford & de Stoke)	1 manor (descends to Zouch)	3 manors (heirs = Astley, Holand, Waunci)	1 manor (Astley heir)	2 manors (Astley, Vinter)	2 manors (Zouch, et 1 al)	4 manors
1400s	1 manor (Catesby)	1 manor (Zouch)	manor partly re-unified?	1 manor (Astley heir)	2 manors (Astley, Vinter)	4 manors (reunited to 2)	4 manors
1500	1 manor (was Blount, restored to Catesby)	1 manor (Zouch)	1 manor (heir of Astleys and Curzons [Dorset])	1 manor (Feilding holds of the Astley heir [Dorset])	2 manors (2/3 = Astley heir [Dorset], 1/3 = Feilding)	2 manors (Saunders holds of the Crown, et 1 al)	4 manors (Daventry Priory, Dorset, Catesby, et 1 al)
1540s	1 manor (Catesby)	1 manor (Zouch)	1 manor (sold to Leigh)	1 manor (to Aley, who sold to Nicolls)	2 manors (2/3 = Dorset sells to Waren, 1/3 = Andrew)	2 manors (Cave holds of Crown, Feilding holds of Catesby)	4 manors (Waldegrave, Dorset, Andrew, et 1 al)
1550s	1 manor (Catesby)	1 manor (Zouch)	1 manor (Leigh)	1 manor (Nicolls)	2 manors (Waren [to Whyte], Andrew)	2 manors (Cave holds of Crown, et 1 al)	4 manors (Waldegrave, Waren, Andrew, Catesby)
1600	1 manor (Catesby)	1 manor (Zouch)	1 manor (Feilding)	1 manor (Acton)	3 manors (as in 1550s)	2 manors (Saunders, et 1 al)	4 manors ( )
1620s	1 manor (given to Irwing, sells to Ianson)	1 manor (Isham)	1 manor (Hinde?)	1 manor (sold to Farren)	3 manors (St Johns Coll, Isham, Andrew)	2 manors ( )	4 manors ( )
1660s	1 manor (Ianson)	1 manor (Isham)	1 manor (Hinde)	1 manor (Farren)	3 manors (as in 1620s)	2 manors ( )	4 manors ( )

Figure 6: Aspects of manorial succession in Crick and some neighbouring West Northamptonshire villages

Both strengths and weaknesses can be seen in the manorial evolutions of Figure 6. For example:

- Division of inheritance and splitting of the manor in Crick, Yelvertoft and West Haddon created relatively weak lordship in these villages, giving rise in turn to the possibility of factional disputes over land and/or usage of the land. In Lilbourne, which also suffered division of the inheritance in the 1200s, this effect may perhaps have been offset by partial re-unification of the lordship during the 1400s.
- A divided lordship had more potential for freehold land to arise, since the 'main' lord did not own all the land. In lordships where it was considered desirable to convert arable to pasture, this seems to have been a significant factor during the 1500s.
- The power-base of the Astley family (later Marquesses of Dorset) at Lilbourne, and their significant holdings in Crick and Claycoton, Hillmorton and West Haddon, meant that social evolution in all these lordships was closely coupled during the 1200s,

1300s and 1400s (though the situation changed radically in the 1500s, as shown in the table).

- The lords Zouch, with an undivided ownership of the manors of Barby and Onley, also briefly acquired a large share of the manor at Yelvertoft during the 1300s (in addition to their manors elsewhere in Northamptonshire, such as Blakesley).
- During the 1200s and early 1300s, the Zouch and Astley estates were major controlling forces in the area under consideration. The Astley's residence at Lilbourne, in particular, stood in a strategic position at a crossroads, overlooking an important crossing over the river Avon. The crossroads was formed by two ancient roads; one running from London through Oxford then by way of Crick and Lilbourne to Leicester, and on to Newcastle and beyond, known as the 'Oxford Way'; the other leading from an Iron Age fort at Ban's Hill near Coventry, via Rugby, Lilbourne and West Haddon to Hunsbury. Lilbourne, Rugby and West Haddon were granted markets from a very early date, and this second route was known as the 'Portway', because it connected market towns or villages.
- The Catesby family, who held Ashby St Ledgers during the 1500s, also held land at West Haddon and Yelvertoft.
- The Andrew family's maternal connection with the Feildings may have given them some influence in Lilbourne and Claycoton during the late 1500s and early 1600s, in addition to their own holdings in Crick and West Haddon.

The above is, of course, a relatively simplistic picture – in practice many local factors might have affected the exploitation of these strengths and weaknesses, including:

- Strategic inter-marriages at seigneurial level (eg Feilding/Andrew)
- Strategic inter-marriages at yeoman level
- Opportunistic actions (eg enclosure following epidemic disease)
- More basic limitations imposed by topology and soil-geology

In addition to this, specific religious/political factors became more important during the late 1400s in the fallout after the Wars of the Roses, and during the 1500s in the wake of the Reformation – factors such as 'rise-to-power and fall-from-grace' (as for instance with the catholic Catesby family's holdings at Ashby St Ledgers and elsewhere), support from the puritan Knightleys of SW Northamptonshire, and so on. Such factors complicate the picture and perhaps invalidate any more detailed attempt at analysis.

### **Appendix 3: The Estates and Business Interests of Sir Ralf Waren<sup>39</sup>**

Sir Ralf Waren was an extremely wealthy man, owning many country estates in Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Essex, where he raised sheep for their wool (for export) and their meat (for the London markets). Added to this, he owned a large amount of property in London (conveniently located for processing sheep and wool as it was driven in from the adjoining countryside), including several wharves with their attendant dockside buildings, cranes and hoists, and pasture-lands in proximity to these wharves; this part of his production-chain prepared and shipped the wool to France; and his holdings were completed by a wool-shed and wool-treatment workshops in Calais.

He also acquired small (but strategically located) estates in Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire, which suggests that at the time of his death he was working to extend the scope of his sheep/wool business. The following list is extracted from the details in his will (modern place-name spellings are used wherever there is continuity).

#### **Essex**

- 1) The manors of Eston Essaints at Mount, Leighton, and Newhall in Ashelden, Essex, with the parsonage of Leighton, and the advowsons of Leighton and Eston
- 2) Lands and properties at Dengie, Dunmow, Tillingham and North Sandridge
- 3) Clayburn lands, lying in Barking and Woodford
- 4) Houses, wharves, cranes and gibbets at Galley Quay in Thames Street (parish of Allhallows Barking)
- 5) Houses, wharves, cranes and gibbets at Younge's Quay (parish of St Dunstan in the East)
- 6) The manor of Newport Ponde and the former hospital of Newport, together with lands and properties at Bilchanger, Shortgrove, Widdington Magna, (Wemby?), Archedon, Bumpstead Helion, Elmedon, Wykeham, (Coulden?), Walden, Wimbish, Moylham and Hempstead
- 7) A great house and gardens in Fulham, occupied by Sir Ralf Waren's cousin Thomas Waren and his wife Alice
- 8) Other properties and lands in Fulham

#### **Middlesex**

- 1) Properties in Bethnal Green, Mile End, Whitechapel, St Bonhithe, occupied by John Starkey
- 2) A great house at Bethnal Green, occupied by Sir Ralf Waren himself, with adjoining smaller properties occupied by John Lucie girdeler and John England
- 3) Burgoynes Lands in Shoreditch, Stevenhithe and Hackney, with their associated properties and wharves

#### **Surrey**

- 1) Burgoynes Lands in Long Ditton, with their associated properties and pastures and meadows

#### **Cambridge and Suffolk**

- 1) The manor of Freckenham
- 2) The manor of Foxton
- 3) Lands and properties in Isleham, Worlington, Lakenheath, Mildonhall, Moulton, Ashley, Newton and Thriplow

#### **Norfolk**

- 1) Lands and properties in Brettenham and Rushford

#### **Northamptonshire**

- 1) The manor of Crick, with the advowson of the rectory of Crick
- 2) Property belonging to the manor of Crick but located in West Haddon

#### **Gloucestershire**

- 1) Properties and woodlands in Eastleach, in the tenure of a man named Kebyll

#### **The City of London**

- 1) Properties in (Bone/Lowe?) Lane, rented to Sir William Cooke (deceased) and Richard Grevys alderman
- 2) A house in St Laurence Lane (in the Jewry), rented to Robert Longe mercer
- 3) Three houses in St Laurence Lane (in the Jewry), rented to Thomas Eton mercer, Robert Lucie girdeler and William Southwood goldsmith
- 4) A house in St Swithin's Lane (parish of St Swithin), rented to Wm Gyfford mercer and his wife Marie (who is the sister of Ralf Waren's wife Johanna aka Joan)
- 5) A house in (Bridge/Brode?) Street (parish of St Nicholas Olave)
- 6) Seven houses in Adell Street (parish of Aldermanbury), one of them occupied by Sir Ralf Waren's aunt Elizabeth Trotter
- 7) A great house (parish of St Benet), also lived in by Sir Ralf Waren himself, plus two smaller houses adjoining, all in the open space at Linketerbury
- 8) Houses, gardens and tenter-yards in Popinjay Alley outside Cripplegate and Moorgate (parish of St Giles)

#### **Calais, France**

- 1) Two wool houses (for storage and/or treatment of incoming wool from England)
- 2) A wool shed
- 3) An empty plot of land adjacent

<sup>39</sup> Data extracted from the will of Sir Ralf Waren, (PCC 16 Tashe) 30 Jun 1552; proved 5 Aug 1553.

## Appendix 4: Lords and Free Men in Crick, and the Three Manors, 1100-1633AD

The following table combines data from several sources (see Date/Source column).

Date & source	Lord	Free man	Free man	Free man	Free man	Free man	
c1100 Bridges <sup>40</sup>	Single lordship, was gifted by the Crown to the Mowbray family after the preceding de Camvile lordship failed for lack of male de Camvile heirs						
1190 Bridges	Mowbray line has no male heirs – estate is split between Mowbray's 3 married sisters						
	Astley's Manor	Curzon's manor		Esseby's Manor			
1316-23 Bridges	Curzon's estate passes to Astley for token payment of a rose, 2/3 of manor is now re-combined under Astley				Esseby's estate passes to Vinter (Vinter's Manor)		
1420-30 Bridges	Astley estate passes by marriage to Grey, who is later (c1475) created Marquis of Dorset				Descends by succession to John Winter		
c1500 Bridges	Marquis of Dorset's manor, with free men as below. Hynton and Rokeby had sufficient free land that they let part or all of it to their own tenants, some of whom also held tenements from them. Garrard by contrast appears never to have had sub-tenants, managing his 2 yardlands of free land within his own family.				descends by succession to Felmersham, then via his dtr Agnes who marries Ralph Bucknell c1500; however, Bucknell's widow subsequently marries John Smith		
1497 rental	Dorset	Garrard	Hynton	Thomas Rokeby	John Smith*	Fyldyng*	* see Note <sup>41</sup>
1522 rental	Dorset	Garret	Haddon (occupies the West Haddon lands)	Rugby	Smith's tenant (Whitehead)	Andrew of Harlestone (Feyldyng's heir)	
1548 rental	Warren	Garret	Haddon of Brixworth	Rugby's tenant	Smith's tenant (Whitehead)	Andrew	
	All Warren's Manor, though some of the free men (except Garrard) have sub-tenants on their land						
1549 suit roll	Waren	Garrard	no mention	Rugby	Smith and Geo. Nodes esquire	Andrew	
1551 suit roll	Waren	Garrard	John Owen esquire	Jones	Smith and Nodes	Andrew	
1553 suit roll	Waren	no mention	John Owen esquire	Jones & Jones (heirs of Rugby)	Smith and Nodes	Andrew	
1557 rental	Waren	Garrard	Shepard	Jones & Jones	Nodes and Bucknill	Andrew	
1663 'three manors summary'	St John's	Garrets (2 yardlands)	3-7/8 ydlds in W.Haddon (former owners Lucas, Banbury & Shepheard)	no mention (perhaps it is part of "Isams"?)	now described as the Manor of Andrews and Bucknell (but not clear whether they have merged their lands)		
<b>The three Manors as at 1663<sup>42</sup></b>	Following the endowment of St John's College Oxford by Sir Thomas Whyte using part of the revenue of his Crick manor (inherited from Waren), this is now subdivided into <b>St John's Manor</b> and <b>Isam's Manor</b>				<b>Manor of Andrews and Bucknell</b>		

<sup>40</sup> Not a contemporary record – Bridges produced his summary of the manorial history circa 1720AD. However, his research was detailed, and appears to be soundly based upon contemporary documents (eg Dugdale's heraldic summaries, Statute Rolls, cartularies, Hatton MS, Curia Regis rolls, Fine Rolls etc), some of which have not survived.

<sup>41</sup> Bridges' manorial summary is unclear on this point: he does not mention the Feyldyng/Andrew inheritance, only the Bucknell/Smith inheritance; however, the Crick court rolls clearly state that the Andrew family inherited an estate in Crick from the Feyldyng family in 1537; the court rolls and suit rolls also make it clear that Smith had free land in Crick that was quite independent of that of Rugby/Rokeby, Garrard, Feyldyng and Hynton. Since the above table from 1497AD onward is based upon authentic contemporary documentation (and therefore probably more likely to be accurate), this table has attempted to align Bridges' 1720AD summary of events over the period 1100AD-1450AD with the facts according to the court rolls and rentals (which latter two sets of documents agree well with each other); **to achieve this alignment, it has been necessary to make the assumption** that Smith and Feyldyng both derived their inheritance from Felmersham who held what had formerly been Esseby's Manor. There is some justification for this assumption, in that Andrew and Bucknell both appear to have been at loggerheads with Waren and his successors to the lordship over a considerable time period, suggesting that neither felt obliged to pay suit of court.

<sup>42</sup> Three maps dating from the early 1800s (ie after Enclosure) show these three manors (one map per manor), from which it is clear that each of the three manors is roughly equal in area; this suggests that the apportionment in the above table is justified (ie two thirds of the manor had been Waren's, formerly the Dorset manor, the other third had been Esseby's).

## Appendix 5: A Probable Business Partnership: Waren and the Jones family

- 1) Simplified map of Waren's empire in England and France, showing how his further expansion in East Anglia was halted by the Fens, and how the acquisitions at Eastleach and Crick would fit into a logical expansion plan
- 2) Genealogy of the Jones, and their rise to wealth (see Appendix 6).
- 3) The Joneses were precisely the kind of far-sighted and calculating men that Sir Ralph Waren needed to have in place in Crick. Look for specific evidence of Waren/Jones linkage, or of a special relationship with Waren's steward Christopherson in Crick.
- 4) Their rise within the social scale in Crick, and the precise timing of it.
- 5) Their acquisition of free land in Crick from Rokeby gave them surplus land which they could dedicate specifically to rearing sheep for export out of the lordship.
- 6) Evidence of any family/marriage ties or other links with Yelvertoft (and Claycoton?), in addition to their links with Barby.
- 7) Simplified map showing the Jones' probable drove routes.
- 8) The significance to Waren of the sheep-drove route that the Jones would most probably have used, ie via the Ridgeway. Possible motive for having a second route between Yelvertoft and Crick (ie the east one is for cattle, the west one is perhaps a later one for sheep? NB it also lies west of the village centre – so as to pick up sheep traffic from Claycoton?)

It is also significant that Sir Ralph Waren's wife Joan had a sister Marie who married a certain William Gifford, who was also a mercer (wool-merchant) like Waren, and a member of the same guild. It seems clear that Waren was using his brother-in-law as some kind of senior manager within his business empire, for at the time when Waren made his will (1552) the Giffords were living in a good house belonging to Waren in St Swithin's Lane in the City of London (see details in Appendix 3). But five years previously in 1547, when Waren took possession of his lordship in Crick, he seems to have been using his brother-in-law Gifford (and/or one of his close relations) in a supervisory position in Crick, for we read in the court rolls:

Michaelmas 1547: 'Jurato dicunt quod (Georgius?) **Jefferd** habeat in grege cccxl oves contra ordinationes inde fact ideo fforisfecit pena de xs ...'.

Michaelmas 1552: 'Memorandum, that at the end of this court, Richard Cooke bailiff & servant to Richard Andrews gent hathe inscharged all amerciamennts for his said manor of courts here before past sett on his hedd for default of suite of court. And it is agreed with Willm Andrewes for xijd to release him all amerciaments so that he and other the tenants of the said Richard Andrewes do suite of court to this manor. Whereunto they be all agreed, in the presence of **Willm Gyfford gent**, Willm Boverincham, Ambrose Jones, Sander Law, Ric Garrard, Lawrence Cole, the subscribed John & other. Richard Gros and Legir Banbury before John Christoferson gent & stuard of the same manor.'

Joan Waren was Sir Ralf's second wife, and she was born in about 1500, the daughter of John Trelake of Cornwall (her daughter Joan by Sir Ralf was born in 1524), and she died in 1572; thus, as William Gifford married Joan Trelake's sister Marie, he must have been born in (say) 1505 or earlier.

It is difficult to interpret the course of events without further data; the George Jefferd who had 340 sheep pastured in Crick in 1547 may not be related at all to the William Gifford who witnessed the court document in 1552 – though this latter William Gifford must surely be Waren's brother-in-law, who as we know from Waren's will was by now living in St Swithin's Lane in London, but was clearly also travelling up and down to Crick.

## Appendix 6: The Jones family of Crick and Barby, c1500-c1620<sup>43</sup>

The Jones family, starting from Crick in the late 1400s or early 1500s, built up a substantial holding in Crick, strengthened it by a strategic marriage with the female heir of the Rokeby family of Crick (who had been freeholders in Crick since the early 1300s<sup>44</sup>), and later extended it by purchasing further land; firstly in Crick (from Sir Thomas Cave of Stanford), then in Barby and Onley, and finally in Burton Dassett. Thus they ultimately achieved a drove route leading via fattening-grounds in Yelvertoft/Crick/Barby/Onley down to holding-pastures close to the major livestock market in Banbury. The following tree shows how the Jones' estate was built up and passed down within the family:

xxxx Jones (*Bef 1450 – xxxx*)

1470s: Possibly a newcomer to this area? (perhaps a Welsh drover?)

marr xxxx xxxx (*Bef 1450 – xxxx*)

**Thomas Jones** of Crick (*Bef 1475 – 1539*)

1539: Leaves his house in Crick and all his goods to his son Ambrose

1539: Leaves silverware to his grandchildren, and money to repair Crick church pavement

1539: Buried under the porch of Crick church

marr Agnes Rokeby? (*Bef 1475 – Aft 1539*)

**Ambrose Jones** of Crick (*Abt 1497 – Feb 1558*)

1547: Heir of freeman Thomas Rugby/Rokeby (inherits 8.5 virgates of free land in Crick + 7 cottages)

1553: Also leases a farm and land in Crick (from freemen Geo Nodes & John Smith)

1555: By now he also owns free land in Barby & Onley

1556: Buys more land in Crick from Sir Thomas Cave

marr Elizabeth xxxx (*Abt 1500 – 1581*)

**Thomas Jones** (*1530 – xxxx*)

1557: Inherits his father's free lands in Crick/Barby/Onley

1557: Inherits half his father's goods and cattle

marr xxxx xxxx

**Edward Jones** of Barby (*Bef 1561 – Aft 1619*)

1619: Owns 50 acres in Barby, incl 15 acres recently engrossed from John Curtis

1619: Also owns lands at Onley, which are worked by Thos Smith (d 1615)

1619: Also owns pasture lands in Crick, Hillmorton & Burton Dassett

marr xxxx xxxx

Thomas Jones

Henry Jones

John Jones

William Jones (*Bef 1563/64 – xxxx*)

marr xxxx xxxx

Luke Jones

Thomas Jones (*Bef 1611/12 – xxxx*)

Mary Jones

Martha Jones

**Richard Jones** (*Bef 1530 – xxxx*)

1557: Inherits his father's purchased land in Crick

1557: Inherits half his father's goods and cattle

marr xxxx xxxx

Sybil Jones (*Bef 1561 – xxxx*)

Elizabeth Jones (*Bef 1563 – xxxx*)

Richard Jones (*Bef 1564 – xxxx*)

Agnes Jones (*Bef 1532 – xxxx*)

marr William (Irm....)

Alice Jones (*Bef 1534 – xxxx*)

Elizabeth Jones (*Bef 1536 – xxxx*)

Edward Jones (*Bef 1538 – died young?*)

William Jones (*Bef 1480 – 1529*)

marr Agnes (xxxx) (*Bef 1485 – Abt 1564*)

William Jones (*Abt 1505 – xxxx*)

William Jones (*15xx – xxxx*)

Edward Jones (*Bef 1560 – xxxx*)

<sup>43</sup> The data for the genealogical table was gathered from transcripts of Crick parish registers (Northamptonshire Record Office), from the relevant wills (*Transcripts of West Northamptonshire Wills, 1500-1700AD*' © G.W. Hatton 2005, op. cit.), and from the relevant Crick manorial court rolls and suit rolls (archive of St John's College Oxford, Muniment VII various sub-references).

<sup>44</sup> Manor court rolls of 1340/1341AD, archive of St John's College Oxford, Muniment VII-78.