

Essex JOURNAL

A REVIEW OF LOCAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY

Spring 2019

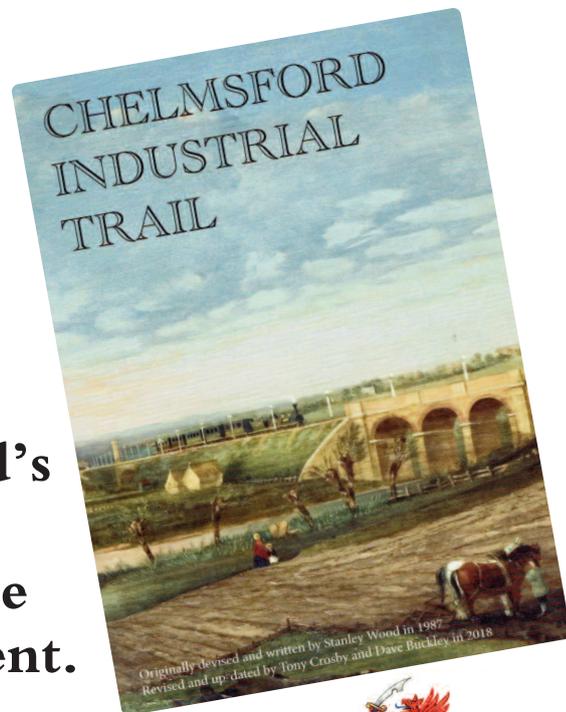
Brian Buxton examines
Gabriel Poyntz's memorial
in North Ockendon church

... and so much more!

EJ 20 Questions:
Ken Crowe

The Essex Society for Archaeology & History and Essex Industrial Archaeology Group are pleased to announce the publication of the *Chelmsford Industrial Trail*, a revised and updated edition of Stanley Wood's 1987 Trail which recognised the importance of Chelmsford's place in the UK's industrial development.

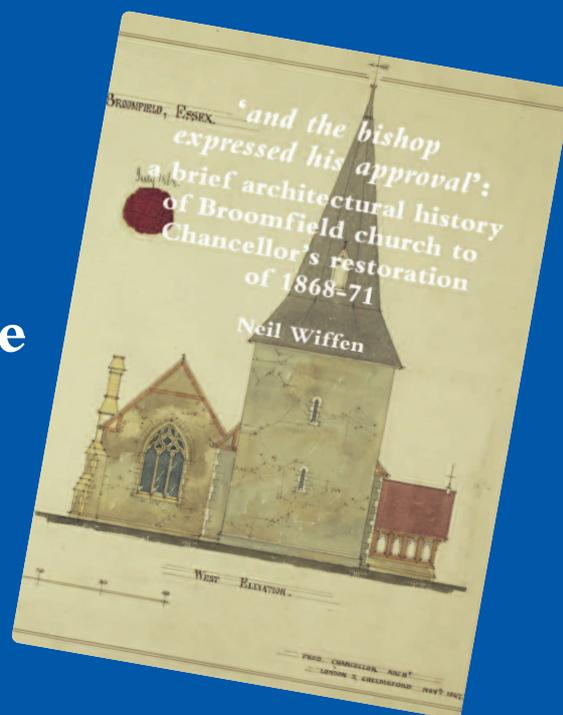
Available for £4 from Chelmsford Museum, the Ideas Hub in Chelmsford Library or by post from essexiag@gmail.com



The Essex Society
for Archaeology & History

Review on page 48

The church of St Mary with St Leonard, Broomfield, has a long and interesting history. To help raise funds to re-shingle its 15th century spire a new history has been written and is now available. Buy it direct from the church (£7.50) or by post (£10 which includes p&p) from trudy_stevens@outlook.com



www.stmarybroomfield.org

The ESSEX JOURNAL is published twice a year under the management of an Editorial Board consisting of representatives of the Friends of Historic Essex, the Essex Record Office (on behalf of the Essex County Council), the Essex Society for Archaeology and History and the Honorary Editor. It is recognised that the statutory duties of the County Council preclude the ERO from sharing in the financial commitments of the consortium.

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Notes to contributors

Contributions are welcome and should be sent in a Word format to the Honorary Editor at the email listed above. General correspondence can either be emailed or posted to: 30 Main Road, Broomfield, Chelmsford, Essex CM1 7EF. The Editor is more than happy to discuss any proposed articles as he does not guarantee that unsolicited material will be published. Contributors are requested to limit their articles to 2,500/4,000 words, other than by prior agreement with the Editor. Style notes are available.

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Cover illustration & right: The heavens as depicted above Gabriel Poyntz's tomb in North Ockendon church. (B.Buxton)

A thoughtful quote by Johnson (fortunately not of the Boris variety – he who might be PM! but the diarist and naval administrator Samuel) often springs to mind and no more so than in June this year: ‘Every man thinks meanly of himself for not having been a soldier, or not having been at sea.’ I have always been interested and intrigued by the Second World War. Growing up in the 1970s there were also lots of other relatives who having served were present in my life. Uncle Ernie worked at Hoffmann’s in Chelmsford making bearings by then but had been captured at the fall of Singapore. Uncle Fred had been in the Royal Artillery in North Africa and was captured near Tobruk in 1941 while Uncle Geoff was torpedoed twice. They were all ‘ordinary’ blokes who had done extraordinary things, came home and got on with their lives. Now they are all gone and so when commemorations come round, such as the recent 75th anniversary of D-Day, I do stop and think on all of those who served.

Growing up in a world where there hasn’t been a major war that required conscription has meant that the armed forces never needed my services. This is great, although as Johnson suggests it does cause some retrospective thinking: how would I have dealt with serving? Would I have done my duty? It is all very well reading and researching about military campaigns but there is always a nagging doubt that it is all ‘theoretical’. Don’t get me wrong; I do not want to see any of the horrors of war but I can’t help thinking ‘what if ...’. This is where, in the absence now of many living veterans, reading first-hand accounts is the only way to have some small understanding of what it was like. So, in the run-up to the D-Day anniversary I started to re-read some of the books I have on the subject. Max Hastings *Overlord* (1984) is still a good, readable introduction to the subject. One veteran he quotes had their first taste of action in Normandy after many years of training in the UK: ‘You fight a bloody sight better when you don’t know what’s coming.’ So here, in this understated sentence we get some idea from a former soldier of what it was like. We can all be grateful that so many did serve (and at home such as Auntie Brenda in the Women’s Land Army) and we must not feel that because we haven’t we are somewhat lesser people – we are just extremely lucky.

Still for some of us, our hour may yet still come for the other major topic in the news is the climate crisis, possibly the modern equivalent of the Second World War. While a problem with its origins in the past, both the deep geological as well as our more recent industrial, it will need fixing by us all starting now, but primarily it will be borne by the generations to come. Governments across the world need to treat it as seriously as defeating totalitarian states was taken in the 1940s. And just as the voice that ‘mobilized the English language and sent it into battle’ inspired people during the war, so Churchill’s words are as pertinent, if not more so now in relation

to the climate crisis: ‘You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory. Victory at all costs — Victory in spite of all terror — Victory, however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival.’ Let’s crack on then politicians!



In this issue Eric Probert kicks off with a shorter piece on the men who helped to build Boreham airfield and the welcome they found from one family in Essex. I contribute an article on a subject I have long been interested in and have finally taken the plunge to undertake research on. This article was held over from the autumn 2018 issue that was dedicated to Dr Jennifer Ward. John Causton charts the life of an ancestor and reminds us of the horrific way that people in this country were treated for having differing religious views. Brian Buxton describes the wonderfully artistic memorial of Gabriel Poyntz in North Ockendon church. I just had to use the image of the heavens from the canopy on the cover of this issue – the moon and sun are just sublime. Peter Wynn has written up the history of the Christy family, unpicking the myriad connections that joined them to other Quakers – really quite fascinating.

Finally a small selection of book reviews that includes the mammoth read of *Thomas Cromwell: A Life*. As Ken Crowe intimates, it is a wonderful book despite its length. There is such a lightness of touch in the writing that I think it is a shining example of how to write good ‘history’. And Ken rounds this issue off with his 20 Questions – as ever fascinating.

Apologies for the late running of this issue but the writing up of some research I had undertaken on Broomfield church distracted me! This is to help raise money towards, the estimated, £100,000 that is required to re-shingle the spire. The resulting booklet, ‘and the bishop expressed his approval’: a brief architectural history of Broomfield church to Chancellor’s restoration of 1868-71, is now available, with details of how to get a copy on the inside front cover. I do hope you might consider purchasing a copy to assist with the fund raising. I really enjoyed the process even if it did eat up what spare time I have that I devote to my many history projects.

Well, that’s it for now and I’ll see if I can get the next issue (another big one) out a bit sharper!

Cheers,

Neil

The Plume Lecture Saturday 16th November 2019

The Trustees of Thomas Plume's Library are pleased to announce that this year's Lecture will be given by Neil Pearson.

He is best known for his work in film and on television. However, he has also collected rare books for thirty years: his specialism is nineteenth and twentieth century first edition literature, with a particular interest in the expatriate literary movement of Paris between the wars. He is the author of *Obelisk* (Liverpool University Press, 2007), a history of the notorious Paris imprint which in the 1930s published the early work of, among others, Henry Miller, Lawrence Durrell and Anaïs Nin. In 2011 he researched, compiled and wrote *They Were What They Were: A Catalogue of Early Gay Fiction, 1862 -1960*. After buying books for so many years, he is delighted finally to be selling some.

In June 2017 he accepted the role of President of the Independent Libraries Association declaring 'I intend to be very much a hands-on President, and look forward to visiting as many member libraries as I can in the coming months, to hear first-hand how members feel the Association can best represent them.'

For further information please visit the Library's website:

www.thomasplumeslibrary.co.uk

The lecture will take place on Saturday 16th November 2019 at 7.30 pm in the United Reformed Church, Market Hill, Maldon, CM9 4PZ.

Thomas Plume's
Library
Maldon, Essex, England
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Registered Charity No. 1179957
A Charitable Incorporated Organisation

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GUIDED TOURS for groups, by prior arrangement **ONLY**, are available at other times at a fixed charge of £140 for up to 25 persons (26-50 persons - £195)

SCHOOL PARTY VISITS are similarly available outside normal opening hours. Visits generally last from 10.00a.m.-2.30p.m. and cost £5.50 per head (£125 minimum).



We are also part of *Essex Houses & Gardens*
www.essexhousesandgardens.co.uk

News from the Essex Journal

In our Spring 2018 issue I agreed to keep you, our valued subscribers, informed of developments regarding the future of *Essex Journal* (EJ). I reported that our editor, Neil Wiffen, intends to stand down at the end of 2020 and that discussions regarding the future were taking place with the Essex Society for Archaeology and History (ESAH).

I am pleased to report that ESAH and its Publications and Research Committee has happily agreed to include EJ among its regular publications. At the April 2019 ESAH Council meeting it was decided to continue publishing EJ in its existing format for the foreseeable future from 2021 and beyond. This is good news for the Editorial Board, our readers and all concerned with publication. The Editorial Board will therefore cease to exist at the end of 2020.

The compilation of an index for the first 55 volumes has been approved and a commitment made for a hard copy index when complete. In the meantime I am delighted to inform you that the index for the first 50 volumes can be uploaded as a PDF from our website. Please visit: www.essexjournal.co.uk/index-vols-1-50/. This is wonderful news and I should like to thank Susan Vaughan, a professional indexer for all her hard work in compiling this excellent index. Some eminent Essex historians have checked the index for accuracy and found the quality of Susan's work to be superb. I am sure this index will be of great value to historians, archaeologists, genealogists and others.

On the subject of indices, I can inform you that ESAH is undertaking the digitisation of the three indices of the *Essex Review* (ER), the predecessor of EJ. The ER was published between

1892 and 1957 for which three indices were published over the years and are now very scarce. Therefore ESAH is arranging digitisation so they are more widely available. I shall inform you when this project is complete and they are added to ESAH's website.

Whilst good progress is being made with work on indices and the absorption of EJ into ESAH, we need to find a new honorary editor with effect from the Spring 2021 issue. The following is a brief job description:

- Identifying potential articles
- Liaising with authors
- Editing articles
- Checking references
- Checking proofs
- Assist with sourcing illustrations and relevant permissions to reproduce images
- Attending meetings of the Publication and Research Committee of ESAH (usually two a year)
- Identifying relevant books for review and finding reviewers

The provision of essential computer equipment, programmes and printers can be arranged. If you are interested in the position of editor and would like more details please email Neil on: editor@essexjournal.co.uk who will be pleased to provide more information. As always thank you for your support and I can assure you that ESAH is committed to continuing *Essex Journal*.

Adrian Corder-Birch
Chairman of the Editorial Board

Essex JOURNAL INDEX

www.essexjournal.co.uk/index-vols-1-50/

What will you discover?

The Hon Editor and the Editorial Board would like to congratulate two long standing supporters of *Essex Journal* upon recent achievements. On 8th April 2019, Dr James Bettley was appointed as the High Sheriff of Essex for the year 2019-20. He is a distinguished architectural historian and his publications include *The Buildings of England: Essex* and numerous articles for EJ. His website is full of interesting insights into his current role: highsheriffofessex.com

On 27th June 2019, Adrian Corder-Birch was elected as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London for his extensive service relating to Essex history and publications, including EJ. Our warmest congratulations to them both, Neil Wiffen

Orchards East

Orchards East is a three year National Lottery Heritage Fund supported environmental and community history project, running until August 2020. Based at the University of East Anglia, it's working in partnership with local organisations, and devoted to understand the past, present and future of orchards in the East of England. Covering six counties in the region – Essex, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Suffolk and Norfolk – and working with hundreds of new volunteers, the project is surveying and recording orchard sites, and researching the cultural, social and economic history of fruit growing in the region.

Orchards have been a prominent landscape feature in Essex for generations. With its dry sunny climate and proximity to important markets in London, growing and selling fruit has a fascinating history in the county. Around 40 existing fruit varieties hail from the county, while apples have always been the county's principal fruit. Well-known apple cultivars include Discovery, a sweet and crunchy small to medium sized crimson early season dessert apple, raised around 1949 by Mr Dummer of Blacksmiths Corner, Langham. Also the eponymous D'Arcy Spice, a very old apple found in the garden of the Hall at Tolleshunt D'Arcy around 1785 (although confusingly introduced in 1848 under the name of Baddow Pippin by Mr John Harris of Broomfield), which keeps well, becoming increasingly sweet over winter.

The county's orchards have of course changed markedly over time; from a patchwork of small farm orchards and smallholdings, each serving the farm and perhaps a small local market, to commercial orchards following the advent of rail, often concentrating upon single varieties and located conveniently along the main rail routes. Perishable fruit was rushed by train to bustling markets, such as London's Covent Garden Fruit Market. Later in the nineteenth century, fruit processors' factories became established

in the county, including, of course, Wilkin and Sons of Tiptree. Essex orchard acreage peaked in the early twentieth century, before declining rapidly in the face of competition; from cheaper fruit imported from growers across the Commonwealth, and latterly continental Europe, following the UK's accession to the Common Market in 1973.

Orchards East in Essex launched with a visit to wonderful Crapes Fruit Farm, Aldham, in March 2018. Since then our burgeoning team of volunteer surveyors has been busily researching and recording old orchards across the county. Using parish maps showing historic sites, and with support from the Orchards East team, volunteers are uncovering which orchards still exist, what kinds of trees they contain and how important they are for wildlife. Some volunteers then go on to uncover fascinating facts about their local orchards; when they were planted, how they were managed and what the fruit was used for, again with help and support from the team. We're also capturing people's memories of orchards from volunteers with an interesting story to tell – or those willing to help with interviewing and recording others' stories – so that they can be shared.

There's a lot more to do across Essex and we need your help! So please get in touch if you would like to get involved. You can follow us on Facebook and Twitter (we're [@orchardseast](#)), or contact us via email to Howard.Jones@uea.ac.uk.

Heritage fruit trees, including Essex varieties, are available from the East of England Apples and Orchard Project (www.applesandorchards.org.uk), and Crapes Fruit Farm (crapes.wordpress.com/about) also stocks a wonderful choice of heritage apples!

Howard Jones, Project Manager, Orchards East,



Essex on the Edge:

the ERO/VCH study day, Saturday 18th May - a review

The Essex Record Office (ERO) Study Day this year took place on 18th May, and concentrated on new research being undertaken for Volume XIII (on Harwich) of the Victoria County History (VCH) of Essex, as well as on the Hundred Years War and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. It was organised by the ERO, the Essex VCH and the Friends of Historic Essex, and proved to be an enjoyable and informative day. The lectures were excellent and have given us much to think about, and there was plenty of time for everyone there to meet and exchange news of ongoing research and other concerns.

The first lecture was given by Neil Wiffen of the ERO staff on 'Supplying the Army: the Contribution of Essex to Provisioning the Forces of Edward III, c. 1337' (written up in this issue - see p.11). Neil has long been interested in the Hundred Years War, and, as he pointed out, the provision of food and equipment for the soldiers has not been studied as much as the campaigns and battles. Before the king departed on a campaign, orders were sent to the sheriff of each county to collect particular provisions and take them to the port of embarkation. The list for Essex in 1337 included specific quantities of wheat, malt, 'bacon pigs' and cheese. The collection of these goods proved difficult as men were unwilling to hand over goods for which they might not be paid, goods might be scarce at a time of poor harvests, and/or the time between the order to the sheriff and the king's departure might be too short to collect the goods. Essex did not produce all the goods asked for in 1337, and this often happened in subsequent years as well. It will be interesting to see if Neil's work sparks off further research.

Neil was followed by Herbert Eiden, the assistant editor of the Essex VCH, speaking on 'Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Harwich as seen through the Court Rolls'. Harwich was a 'new town' of the Middle Ages, first mentioned in the records in the mid-1190s. A few court rolls survive for the fourteenth century and most of the rolls for the fifteenth century. They throw light on law and order, the urban economy, and the links with the town's lords, the dukes of Norfolk; both men and women appear in the rolls, involved in cases of robbery, housebreaking, wounding and the hue and cry. The assize of bread and ale was enforced, and a licensing system evolved for the brewing of ale and beer.

After lunch, the editor of the Essex VCH, Chris Thornton, spoke on 'Overseas Immigrants in Harwich in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries'. Interest in immigrants of the Middle Ages has grown since the 'England's Immigrants, 1330-1550' project

have published their national database online, and a book has also been published. These men and women were more numerous and settled in a greater number of places than used to be thought. Immigrants from the Low Countries and Germany are found in Harwich, many working as servants, and also involved in crafts such as shoe-making. The richest immigrants were often beer-brewers, frequently brewing beer with hops which lasted longer than English ale. Although there was some resentment among the English, these men prospered and many settled for life in the town and brought up their children to whom they bequeathed their goods.

Ken Crowe, the fourth speaker, is leading a group in Southend researching its history in the nineteenth and twentieth century for the VCH. For his lecture, Ken chose a topic from his own research, 'The Abbeys of Barking and Stratford Langthorne: Dissolution, Dismantling and Recycling'. Henry VIII claimed for himself all the material and goods from the monasteries dissolved in 1536-40, and the stone from these two houses was reused in royal palaces. Certain buildings remained on site untouched; we can still see the Curfew Tower at Barking, and at Stratford Langthorne a chapel and the main gate-house were not demolished until the nineteenth century. At the present day, much of the site is covered by the railway. The dismantling and later

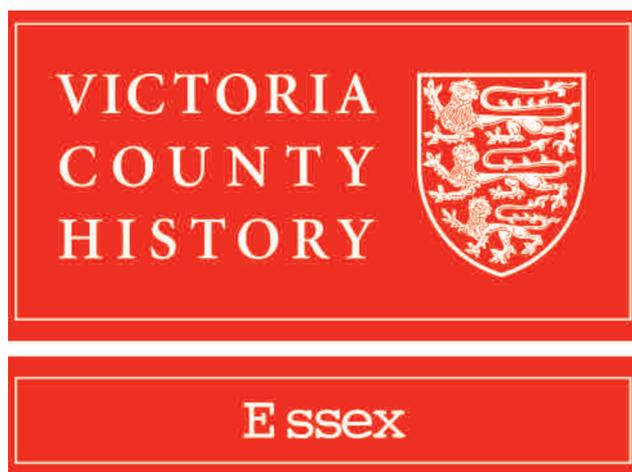


Neil Wiffen, Honorary Editor of *Essex Journal* presenting Geoffrey Hare, Chariman of the Victoria County History of Essex Trust, with a cheque for £1,000 to assist with research into the history of Harwich. (E. Harris, 18/05/2019)

history of the monasteries has not been much studied, and the lecture gave us yet another insight into the possibilities of new research.

The ERO, VCH and the Friends of Historic Essex are to be congratulated on the organisation and lectures of the study day. The audience was shown how new research is opening up familiar topics, and how local historians can build on these foundations and extend our knowledge of Essex history through their use of the documents at the ERO. We look forward to learning more at future study days and wish the ERO and the VCH every success in their work.

Dr Jennifer Ward



Victoria County History of Essex – Volume XIII (Harwich and Dovercourt)

As reported above, VCH Essex has now started work on a history of Harwich and Dovercourt. Harwich, a planned town, was first recorded in the late twelfth century and received a royal charter in 1318. It became a significant maritime trading community with its fisherman operating off Iceland and Norway and its merchants trading as far away as the Baltic and Spain. The port played an important role in the defence of the English coast providing a strategic base for English navies, and was also heavily garrisoned and defended from attack by walls, redoubts and other fortifications. From the mid-seventeenth century it was an official packet port (with ships carrying Continental mail and passengers). Its continued overseas transport connections, and arrival of the railway in 1854, made it Eastern England's 'Gateway to the Continent'. The neighbouring parish of Dovercourt, of which Harwich had originally been part, remained largely rural until the nineteenth century when a new planned seaside resort was established at Lower Dovercourt. In the twentieth century Harwich witnessed the surrender of the German U-Boat fleet at the end of the Great War, and was the first port of call for 200 Jewish and other non-Aryan children brought to England in December 1939 in the rescue effort known as the Kindertransporte.

How Can You Help?

Volume XIII is planned along the lines of the Colchester volume (IX) with a chronologically arranged account forming the first part of the book and then a series of essays on particular reference topics (for example the packet service, naval dockyard, fortifications etc) in the second part. Work on the chronological sections has already begun, with work on 'Nineteenth Century Harwich, Dovercourt and Parkeston' by Andrew Senter about to be published as a VCH paperback short. This will ultimately be adapted as a chapter for Volume XIII. Research for two other chapters on 'Medieval' and 'Tudor' Harwich and Dovercourt has now also begun, but the existing finances of the VCH Essex

Trust (Registered Charity No. 1038801) are limited. The Trust has therefore launched a new appeal to help fund Volume XIII, with the initial intention of raising £50,000 in total. This will secure the project's future by enabling the current work to be completed and at least one more chronological chapter to be started, although more funding will be required at a later date for the whole book to be finished.

During 2019 and 2020 the Trust will be making applications to grant-making bodies and businesses, but support from individuals and smaller societies is also very important – not only for the cumulative effect of any donations received but also because it helps VCH demonstrate wider support. Since the launch of the campaign at the start of the year the Essex Trust has so far raised about £16,000, so it is already about one-third of the way towards its target.

If you would like to help advance the completion of the VCH for Essex please consider joining the VCH Essex Trust. Membership is open to all individuals, to corporate bodies or other associations, that make an annual donation to the Trust (of whatever amount). The AGM of the Trust is held in different locations across the historic county often in a building of historic interest and usually followed by a lecture from a specially invited expert on some aspect of Essex history. All members also receive the Trust's newsletter (*Essex Past*) with updates on the VCH Essex project, national VCH developments, news of events and talks, articles based on VCH research and on Essex history in general. If you are interested in joining please contact me in the first instance (details below), so that I can send you the membership form.

Dr Chris Thornton,
County Editor, VCH Essex,
Essex Record Office,
Wharf Road,
Chelmsford, CM2 6YT
c.c.thornton@btinternet.com

Chelmsford Museum Redevelopment

In 2009/10 when the then Chelmsford Borough Council invested nearly £5m in an extension to Chelmsford Museum in Oaklands Park, it was only Phase 1 of a redevelopment designed to bring the county town into the twenty-first century. From 2012, a new focus became engendering city pride.

Phase 2 includes a complete redisplay of the galleries in the Victorian House, first built by brewer Fred Wells in 1865, the inclusion of a much needed café, investment in the infrastructure of the building (the old boiler deserved a place in the museum collections), and creating a single visitor destination at Oaklands by connecting the house and park more cohesively. The project also included the restoration of a Crompton-designed Toastrack railway carriage from Southend Pier displayed in its own huge glass case on the rear of the museum, and the refurbishment of the gardener's bothy in the grounds for museum use.

The Heritage Lottery Fund (now the National Lottery Heritage Fund) were approached and supported the initial costs of appointing a designer, and a battery of public consultation. Latterly, the Lottery has supported 67% of the £2.2m project, with the rest funded by Chelmsford City Council. Contributions have also been gratefully received from SHARE East, the Essex Heritage Trust, the Friends of Chelmsford Museum, New Hall School and Countryside Zest.

The public consultation revealed a true affection for the museum, and a desire to learn about the history of the City, from earliest times right through to city status and beyond. Displays from further afield were considered less important, and will not feature so prominently in the new galleries, without disappearing entirely. Indeed elements such as the fabulous Tunstall collection of Georgian glasses are now displayed inside the Hive Café, along with some of the museum's art collection. Two strengths of the museum collections – costume and fashion, and toys



The restored Toastrack railway carriage from Southend Pier, designed by Col Crompton. (Chelmsford Museum)

and childhood – which have rarely made it on to the displays, will have their own galleries.

The history of Chelmsford will feature in a chronological series of seven rooms on the first floor. Display cases are augmented by both analogue interactives, and digital touch screens, where visitors can find out more about themes and objects. The exhibitions in the 2010 extension, including the Essex Regiment and Bright Sparks, remain largely unaltered for the time being, although there are some changes to the reception area and shop, and the introduction of a faithful replica of the radio room on the RMS Titanic, created by volunteer Ted Sinclair. The link to Chelmsford is strong – all the radio equipment on board was made in Marconi's Chelmsford factory in Hall Street.

There are wow factors as well, including a major display of Saxon grave goods from the Broomfield Burial, on loan from the British Museum, shown alongside a replica of the burial which will delight children, and a tactile model of Henry VIII's palace at Beaulieu.

The Hive café is already open and thriving; the new galleries open to the public in time for the school summer holidays. Admission remains free, and the museum is now open seven full days each week.

Nick Wickenden
HLF Project Lead

Example of new graphic of influential people that have made Chelmsford what it is, in this case the famous local naturalist and author, J.A. Baker. (Chelmsford Museum)

JA Baker
(1926 - 1987)

John Alec Baker is known as one of the most influential British nature writers. His book, *The Peregrine*, is regarded as a literary masterpiece.

Baker was born and lived in Moulsham. He became a manager of the Automobile Association, and later Britvic in Chelmsford, but spent his free time writing. He published *The Peregrine* in 1967, and *The Hill of Summer* in 1969.

Baker never learned to drive, and his writings are based on his walks and cycle rides around the Blackwater estuary, Danbury Hill and Chelmsford area. He describes the landscape, almost unrecognisable today, as "profuse and glorious as Africa".

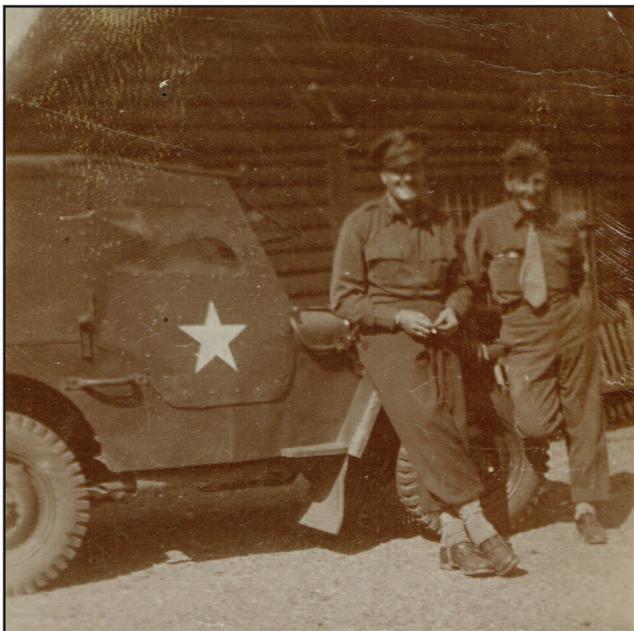
In *The Peregrine*, Baker summarises ten years of observations into one winter and spring. He admits to an almost obsessive interest in the bird, which led to a deep insight into their behaviour. The book was written at a time when Peregrine numbers were falling. The use of pesticides on farm land was poisoning the birds almost to extinction in Southern England. Urban development was also changing the Essex landscape that he loved.

He suffered from severe arthritis for most of his life and died of cancer in 1987. His poetic writing style is admired by writers and naturalists today.

861st Engineer Aviation Battalion

at The Warren Golf Course, Woodham Walter, 1943-4

Boreham airfield was just one of 15 airfields to be constructed in Essex for American use during World War Two. Along with the many others built in East Anglia for the rapidly expanding United States Army Air Force (USAAF), it was to be used by aircraft involved in the preparation for the invasion of Europe, which took place 75 years ago this year on June 6th 1944. A prerequisite of the invasion was, firstly, the securing of air superiority over the beachhead in order to deny the German Luftwaffe any opportunity to interfere with the landing of troops, vehicles and supplies. This was achieved primarily by shooting down German aircraft but also by attacking airfields and driving the Luftwaffe back from the invasion area. Secondly, Normandy had to be isolated as far as possible from the rest of France and Europe in order to hinder the German ability to reinforce their troops who would be resisting the allied invasion. To that end American and British bombers were tasked with attacking railways, bridges and communications centres to disrupt the German ability to move men and equipment to the invasion beaches. Eventually 11 airfields in Essex had light and medium bomber groups based on them from the Ninth USAAF, tasked with helping to gain air superiority and attacking targets in occupied Europe in the run up to the invasion. Around 60 to 70 twin-engined Martin B-26 Marauder medium bombers of the 394th Bomb Group flew 96 missions from Boreham between March 10th and July 24th 1944.



2. Lewis Manzer and his driver, 'Red', outside the golf club



1. Lt Colonel Lomax addressing his engineers.
(All illustrations reproduced by courtesy of
John Durham)

In order for the invasion to take place many months of complex preparation were involved beforehand which included building the many airfields that were required. Construction at Boreham started in May 1943 when approximately 620 officers and men of the 861st Aviation Engineer Battalion, commanded by Lt Colonel Stanley H. Lomax (Fig 1), arrived. They were tasked with building a Class A airfield with three runways, 50 hardstandings for the aircraft, two hangars and accommodation for 2,658 personnel.¹

During their stay the Americans frequented many pubs in the local area, one of them being *The Army & Navy* in Chelmsford. Lt Col Lomax wishing to foster closer relations with local residents sent one of his men, Major Lewis Manzer (Fig 2), to enquire of the landlord, Ernie Moss, about the possibility of, and the best way, that his engineers could meet and mix with the locals. Ernie, and his wife Phoebe, happened to know Fred Durham, the owner, of the Warren Golf Course at Woodham Walter, about five miles away, and suggested that he get in contact.

Fred was doing his bit for the war effort as camouflage officer in the Home Guard and had built dummy gun emplacements on the golf course to confuse the enemy. It was duly arranged that the engineers could use the facilities of the club and so a relationship with the Americans began. John Durham (Fig 3), son of the owner who was aged 10 in 1943, now an artist who still lives in the farmhouse adjacent

to the golf course, recalls that the members of the 861st were made honorary members of the golf club. They borrowed clubs to play the game and received a warm welcome by the Durham family and friends. They were encouraged to relax (Fig 4) and stay overnight or for weekends in the houses of the family next to the golf course.

Col Lomax tragically died at Boreham before the aerodrome was completed and is buried in England at the Cambridge American Cemetery. Local young ladies were invited to meet the GIs at the Club and an Officer, Major LeRoy Carter from Texas and a recipient of the Bronze Star, awarded for 'performance of duty beyond the ordinary' including gallantry and meritorious service ended up marrying a local girl, Evelyn Stiff, in Braintree Register Office in 1946. Moreover Major Lewis Manzer's daughter, Linda, was a bridesmaid at the wedding of John Durham's sister, Jean, at the Catholic Church in Maldon in 1956 and the Durham family visited Lewis Manzer's home in Spokane, Washington State.

It is not known whether personnel of the 394th Bomb Group also visited the Warren Golf Course. But it seems likely as when they arrived at Boreham airfield in March 1944 the 861st Engineer Aviation Battalion were still completing construction of the airfield and so there would have been contact between the airmen and the engineers. What is known is that officers of the 394th BG were made welcome by a member of the landed gentry, Colonel Tufnell, at his eighteenth century mansion on the Langleys Estate in Great Waltham. His daughter, Sarah, still lives there and well remembers meeting the airmen. One of the Marauder aircraft, named *Hannibal*, in which the Colonel was given a flight, had the Tufnell coat of arms painted on the nose.



3. Two engineers, Johnny Johnson, left, and Jack Berin right, along with John Durham and his sister Jean.

It is thought to be the only American aircraft of WW2 to carry a British coat of arms as nose art. A picture of it hangs in the *Queens Head* public house in Boreham, which was frequented by men of the 394th BG in 1944.

Eric Probert

1. See R. Freeman, *Airfields of the Ninth then and now* (1994) and B. Jones 'Wartime Airfield' in *Boreham: history, tales and memories of an Essex village* (1988) for more detailed information on airfield construction and the history of Boreham airfield.



4. Drinks at the bar. Left to right, 'Herbie, Poppa, Johnny Johnson, Jack Berin' enjoy some time off.

Supplying the army:

the contribution of Essex to provisioning the forces of Edward III, c.1337

by

Neil Wiffen

The success of any military campaign is as much about careful preparations and the accumulation of provisions as it is about the supply of soldiers with weapons, neatly encapsulated by Napoleon as ‘An army marches on its stomach’. With England almost continually engaged in fairly intensive military activity from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, a pattern of logistical planning and staff work would have been familiar to Edward III, his military commanders and members of the local county community. The ability to project several thousand soldiers into Scotland or Europe was just one part of a campaign. In order to give these troops every opportunity to succeed while in service, substantial amounts of supplies of all kinds had to be sourced many months before even a single soldier entered combat. This article will discuss just one example of a request for provisions and how Essex landowners, residents and traders helped to supply some of what Edward III required for his forces during the course of 1337.

Background c.1314-1337

Historians can be their own worst enemies. By dividing up the past into manageable chunks, themes or periods, we have to be careful not to lose sight of the bigger picture. Take, for example, the Hundred Years War (1337-1453). Contemporaries never knew it by this name, as it was coined in the nineteenth century; for those who lived through the events it was just one more conflict with those old enemies, the Scots and the French. In one form or

another the relationship between the three countries had been causing problems ever since Duke William of Normandy became King of England in 1066. War with France did not just break out in 1337, there was a long history of antagonism between England and France, as well as Scotland, which happened to come to a head, once more, in that year.¹ When it did the mechanisms and procedures of recruitment of troops and supplies did not have to be created from scratch, but rather Edward III was able to tap into well-established practices. Much of central government would have been familiar with what was required of them to start the process of raising an army, the necessary supplies to victual the army as well as the ships to transport men and goods to their final destination. In the counties, from where those supplied would be sourced, an experienced community of local gentry were on hand to put the king’s wishes into action.²

There would have been some alive in 1337 who remembered first-hand the campaigns of Edward I, firstly in Wales and then in Scotland. These were periods of intense military operations. In Scotland these continued into the reign of Edward II and reached a nadir with the English defeat at Bannockburn in 1314. Even with the complicated domestic situation during the latter part of Edward II’s reign and early part of Edward III’s, conflict with the Scots continued. Armies were raised and sent north, all of which required victualing from English counties. In the few years leading up to war with France in 1337,

large English armies were being raised, almost annually, for service in Scotland. That of 1333 saw a force of around 13,000 men marching into Scotland, which by the end of the campaign had fallen to about 10,000.³ The following year an army of over 5,000 men served in Scotland through the harsh winter of 1334-5. The preceding September ‘arrangements to send ships and a large quantity of supplies (over 6,500 quarters of various grains) to the north [e.g. Kingston-upon-Hull and Berwick]’⁴ were issued to ensure that they were catered for. The summer of 1335 saw Edward III taking over 13,000 men north to try and finish off the Scottish issue, his largest army to enter Scotland.⁵ Edward, just as his grandfather had, continued to hammer away at the Scots. He showed his tactical flexibility when in June 1336 he abandoned a Great Council to dash north with only his household troops and the retinues of two of his magnates, around 1,000 men, with which he relieved several besieged castles in Scotland. Once the Council in Northampton had ended his brother, John of Eltham, ‘with several thousand men’ carried on the campaign.⁶

So even in these few years before the conflict with France broke out, England was a country used to war and the population of Essex must have been used to its impact. As Hilda Grieve wrote of Chelmsford: ‘Much war traffic, knights, archers, and men-at-arms, mounted and on foot, with baggage-horses, supply waggons, and cumbersome military engines, must have passed through’.⁷ So what was requested to supply Edward’s forces?

The demands of the Crown

All the stuff of life could be taken on campaign. A large army descending upon enemy territory would easily outnumber the population of most sizeable towns, let alone villages, and soon outstrip locally grown and stored supplies. The theatre of operations would also influence what might be found locally. Scotland was not so rich and productive a country as France, so fewer supplies might be found to 'live off the land', especially if local inhabitants had time to practice a 'scorched earth' policy. A certain amount of food might be factored in to feed the army from enemy territory, but centrally sourced supplies from England would be essential to keep the troops fed with a basic ration, especially during a winter campaign such as Edward III's of 1334-5. This latter campaign pushed supply lines to the limits though, demonstrating that however thorough preparations were, the best laid plans were very much at the mercy of the weather and the efficiency of those tasked with supplying victuals.

The supply of military arms to the fighting men was, of course, of utmost importance. During the course of Edward's reign, especially the early years of the Hundred Years War, enormous supplies of bows and arrows were sourced from the counties. For example, on the 18th April 1341 sheriffs were ordered to provide bows and arrows 'to be bought and purveyed and taken to the port of Orewell ... as the king needs a great number ... for his war with France'.⁸ However, it was not just weapons that were required for the military. In 1340 the outgoing sheriff of Essex, William de Wauton, was ordered on 8th May to 'deliver all the helms, tuns, boards, ropes, rafts, staples, canvas, rings and nails' to John de Coggeshale, the new sheriff.⁹ All of these items were useful military supplies and perhaps they were used to modify vessels that fought at the English naval victory at the battle of Sluys

the following month. Four days later, 12th May, as preparations hastened, a further order was sent to the sheriff of Essex

to cause 30 waggon loads of hay, 120 quarters of oats, 20 waggon loads of litter and 20 tuns for carrying water, to be bought and purveyed with all possible speed, and taken to the port of Orewell, to be delivered to the keeper of the wardrobe there, as the king has ordained his passage to parts beyond the sea at that port.¹⁰

It was also not just soldiers, the knights, archers and infantry, and their horses that were to serve overseas and needed supplies either, for the sailors and marines of the ships transporting them there also required sustenance. Records from 1337-8 for supplies for the 4,000 mariners manning the fleet to the north of the Thames for four months from 17 counties listed:¹¹

9,100 quarters (q) wheat
9,350q barley
2,200q beans and peas
6,000q oats
12,960 bacons¹²
3,900 stons of cheese
45 lasts of herrings¹³
32,400 stockfish¹⁴
60 tuns ale
100 tuns cider

Just how complex were the victualing requirements of an Edwardian army could be is illustrated later in 1340 when crossbows and quarrels, spades, shovels, axes catapults, horseshoes with nails, kettles and '100 bowls for moulding bread' were requested.¹⁵ And these orders reached the whole length and breadth of the kingdom. Edward's large army of 1333 that was to campaign in Scotland ('the Scots have many times invaded the kingdom with a great multitude of armed men, committing homicides, depredations, burnings, and other innumerable crimes, breaking the peace lately

concluded between the king and them, and making war on the king'¹⁶), saw counties across the country being ordered to send supplies, by sea, to depots at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the east coast or Skinburness, Cumbria, on the west. For example, the sheriffs of the following sample counties had to provide:

Surrey & Sussex 500q wheat & 3,000q oats
Kent 1,500q wheat & 2,000q oats
Bedford 500q wheat
Suffolk 500q wheat & 500q oats
Essex 1000q wheat & 1,500q oats
Lancaster 1,000q oats & 300 'bacons'

While, among other things, Great Yarmouth had to supply 30 lasts of herrings, Lincoln 6,000 'stokfish' whereas just coarse salt (300q) was required of Devon.¹⁷ Even if the war was far away, the entire nation felt the effects of supplying the troops and mariners who were at the sharp end.

Obtaining supplies

Craig Lambert has outlined the three options that the king had in order to raise supplies for an expedition: through the issue of general purveyance orders; request that a county sheriff find the relevant supplies or, thirdly, by outsourcing the operation to private merchants.¹⁸ The first method saw directly employed crown officials tasked with sourcing victuals which, if they existed, had to be supplied to what were effectively 'outsiders' not so familiar with the county they were operating in. The second, which the example discussed here relates to, was handled by the sheriff and his local administration with all their pre-existing networks that they could exploit. Lastly, the use of merchants allowed the king to tap into the flexibility that private initiative brought to sourcing supplies as well as the financing and transportation of the goods.

Table 1. Wheat

Amount supplied - Quarters	Supplier	Place
100	Sir John Engaine	<i>Persted jux[ta] Esterford</i> (Prested Hall, Feering, Kelvedon)
100	Sir John Engaine	Colne Engaine, manor of
3	John de Langewode	Peldon
3	John Gylouche	Peldon
3	John le Palmer	Feering
3	Gilbert le Hirde	Feering
6	Robert Marny 'And the Rector of the same <i>ville</i> '	Layer [Marny?]
3	John de la Bocer	Inworth
3	Prioress of Wix	Wormingford (<i>Wythermondeford</i>)
2	Rector of Tolleshunt	Tolleshunt
3	William de Fyttes	Messing
6	Walter Scotard	Tey
9	John de Coggeshall	Coggeshall
2	John Sayer	Birch (<i>Bryche</i>)
4	various un-named?	Colchester market
TOTAL: 250q	Suppliers in Bold are mentioned more than once in E 101/556/19A	

H.J. Hewitt's classic account on how campaigns were organised during Edwards III's reign includes a chapter on how the supplies were sourced and transported, bringing out in detail the complexity of the operations from start to finish.¹⁹ This includes the sale of surplus supplies or those that were spoiled and sold at knockdown prices. Finally Michael Prestwich demonstrates that the demand for supplies from the crown was not a new phenomenon in the fourteenth century, rather they were relatively widespread from the at least the second half of the

twelfth century.²⁰ Supporting military operations, through providing supplies of all kinds, must have been a well-rehearsed drill for contemporary society whether it was welcome or not.

Supplies requested from Essex in 1337

French intriguing with the Scots and preparations for military assistance to them in 1336 led to deteriorating relations between England and France which naval raids on the Suffolk coast and Isle of Wight did little to assuage.²¹ Meanwhile Edward's harbouring of the French traitor Robert of

Artois, and the demand for his extradition, continued Scottish military activity in the north, important economic connections with the Low Countries and the complicated situation in Aquitaine (Edward was duke but did not want to perform homage for it to the French king) all created a tense situation. In February 1337 the northern Admiral was ordered to assemble ships at the port of Orwell while Edward, at a Parliament held in March, sought to recruit two armies, one to be sent to Aquitaine the other, at some point, to Scotland.²² Philip VI

of France finally confiscated Aquitaine in May 1337, which is 'taken to be the start of the Hundred Year War'.²³ It was at this time that supplies from Essex were requested.

The procedures for ordering and receiving supplies for military use can be studied through surviving Exchequer documents at The National Archives. Various accounts submitted by the Sheriff of Essex, Sir John de Coggeshale (d.1361) in this instance, list what was supplied, while Exchequer enrolled accounts list what was received but also what was requested – the two not necessarily matching. In the spring of 1337, at the time of heightened tensions between England, Scotland and France as described above, de Coggeshale was requested to source and forward to the William of Dunstaple, the king's receiver of victuals at Ipswich (perhaps for the use by the mariners on board the ships gathering at the port of Orwell), the following supplies:²⁴

50q wheat
250q malt
460 legs/joints of ham
[*pernas baconus*]²⁵
40 barrels of cider [*ciser*]
8 lasts of herrings [*allecia*]
1,000 stones of cheese [*casei*]
at 13lb per stone

John de Coggeshale's, account to the Exchequer for the victuals supplied and the money he had spent on them provides a detailed breakdown of from whom he had sourced them and how much they had cost.²⁶ It also lists transport costs of the purchased supplies to Colchester, their storage there and cost of onward shipping to Ipswich but these points are outside of this article. Despite being asked for six types of victual de Coggeshale only supplied three: wheat, malt and cheese.

Wheat

Wheat in the form of bread was the staple of the medieval diet. It would be milled in advance of

being issued to the army to facilitate the making of bread by those on campaign, although it may well have kept better whilst still a grain. De Coggeshale lists 15 quantities of wheat, totalling 250q, supplied from 13 unique named individuals from mid- and north-east Essex and Colchester market (Table 1). By far the biggest single supplier, accounting for 200q, was Sir John Engaine (d.1358) who supplied wheat from his manors of Prested Hall and Colne Engaine. The remaining 50q of wheat was supplied at an average of 3.8q from each of the other 13 suppliers, which shows just how important Engaine was as a supplier. It is notable that John de Coggeshale himself supplied 9q while Walter Scotard, his attorney, supplied 6q.

All suppliers were paid 5s.4d per quarter regardless of the amount supplied which compares quite closely with the following prices paid two years later for supplying Elizabeth de Burgh's household from various Essex suppliers which ranged from 3s.4d to 7s a quarter.²⁷

Malt

Malted barley is the essential ingredient of ale, that important beverage made through boiling water and malt together before fermenting, thus creating a calorific and sterile drink. In this case de Coggeshale listed ten quantities of malt from 12 named suppliers, there being two instances of pairs of suppliers, which total 100q (Table 2). Once more Sir John Engaine was the single most important supplier with 45q of malt from Prested Hall and Colne Engaine. Two of the suppliers provided dredge (9% of total supplied), a mixture of oats and barley that 'appears to have been most highly prized as a brewing grain', the addition of oats perhaps giving a more full-bodied and thus nutritionally valuable ale.²⁸ The price per quarter was 5s. For comparison, in 1339 the de Burgh household got 4s per quarter when selling 8q and 4s.4d for 1q.²⁹

Cheese

Essex was a sizeable producer of cheese, renowned especially for the cheeses produced from the large flocks of sheep carried on the extensive coastal marshlands. From their milk 'for more than six centuries, the cheeses made [were] notable for their great size' and, later on, strong taste.³⁰ Coastal parishes such as St Osyth were by the late fourteenth century exporting cheese, a trade that had only increased by the later fifteenth century as more farmers specialised in dairying.³¹ However, cheese wasn't just produced on the coast but throughout the county and from cows' milk as well, which would have included John de Coggeshale's own livestock at North Benfleet, which were recorded as bringing in £21.11s.7½d in dairy produce during 1338-9.³² Of the 1,000 stones of cheese requested in 1337 a total of 287 were supplied, at 6d per stone with carriage, from 19 suppliers at an average of 15 stone per supplier. The largest supplier was John Joneson, vicar, of the manor of Barn Hall (*Berghwoldon*), Tolleshunt Knights (Table 3).³³

What wasn't supplied?

Sir John de Coggeshale was not able to fulfil what had been requested of him; why might that be? Collection of the victuals could only have begun once he had received orders in mid-April. We can assume that as an established member of the county community, de Coggeshale would have had a broad understanding through his network of family and household members, neighbours and general contacts, of how successful or not the harvest of 1336 had been.³⁴ Depending on an awareness of the stored harvest and the severity of the previous winter, he would have had an appreciation of what was available to fulfil the requirements to support the king's latest venture. The victuals started to arrive during June and July 1337, still before the harvest time. While we are now used to

Table 2. Malt

Amount supplied - Quarters	Supplier	Place
45	Sir John Engaine	Prested Hall & Colne Engaine
5	Richard Bishop	Witham
4 (<i>dredge</i>)	Alice Hodynges	Witham
5 (<i>dredge</i>)	Richard Arnald de Dunmow (<i>Dunmawe</i>)	Coggeshall
5	Roger le Lathe & Thomas Vessy	Witham
4	John Herkyn	Manningtree (<i>Manytr[ee]</i>)
6	Hugh le Bailliff & Thomas Byweste	Brightlingsea (<i>Brytlyngecheye</i>)
5	Robert de Panfeld	Braintree (<i>Branktr[ee]</i>)
15	Walter Scotard	Tey
6	John le Parmenter	Tey
TOTAL: 100q	Suppliers in Bold are mentioned more than once in E 101/556/19A	

there being no interruption to any food supply throughout the year, this is only a very recent phenomenon. Society had to survive on what had been harvested the previous summer and autumn until the next harvest. The period from late winter to early summer was particularly difficult and is known as the 'hungry gap', when there was very little to harvest and stored crops were still having to 'make do' and potentially running short. This is precisely when de Coggeshale was scouring the county for the provisions he had been requested to source.

It is worth considering the victuals he either didn't supply or couldn't fulfil the complete request starting with the hams. Some livestock that was not going to be kept and overwintered for breeding stock the following year, were traditionally slaughtered at the end of the autumn. With pigs this was once they had grown as fat as they were going to on acorns

and beech mast. This meaty harvest would then have to last for the next six months or so, an important component of which would have been hams, either air-dried or smoked to preserve them. Both these methods would have allowed the longer-term storage of meat, a very important consideration in a pre-refrigeration world. This 'long-life' meat would have also been very useful for a campaigning army as they would have been relatively easy to transport and to take slices from as and when required. They would have been an equally useful resource to any consumer in the fourteenth century and something highly prized. By the spring any surviving hams would still have had a useful part to play in the diet of any household and thus possibly reserved for home consumption and not made available for purveyance.

Cider would also have been made the previous autumn or early winter when the apple harvest was made, probably over

the course of several weeks. Fermentation would have been dependent on the ambient temperature and thus it must have been made as soon as possible following harvest before the onset of the cooler weather. It was a valuable low-energy input drink when compared to ale (there was no boiling up of water and malt) although specialist presses would have been required. Again, by the time of the late spring and early summer of 1337 supplies might have been exhausted, running low or being kept back for special occasions.

Fish was an important source of protein in the medieval period. Again the timing of the request for de Coggeshale to source herrings might have been unfortunate. If, as in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the main herring-fishing season was from September to December,³⁵ then by the following spring and summer supplies, even if there had been a decent catch, supplies

Table 3. Cheese

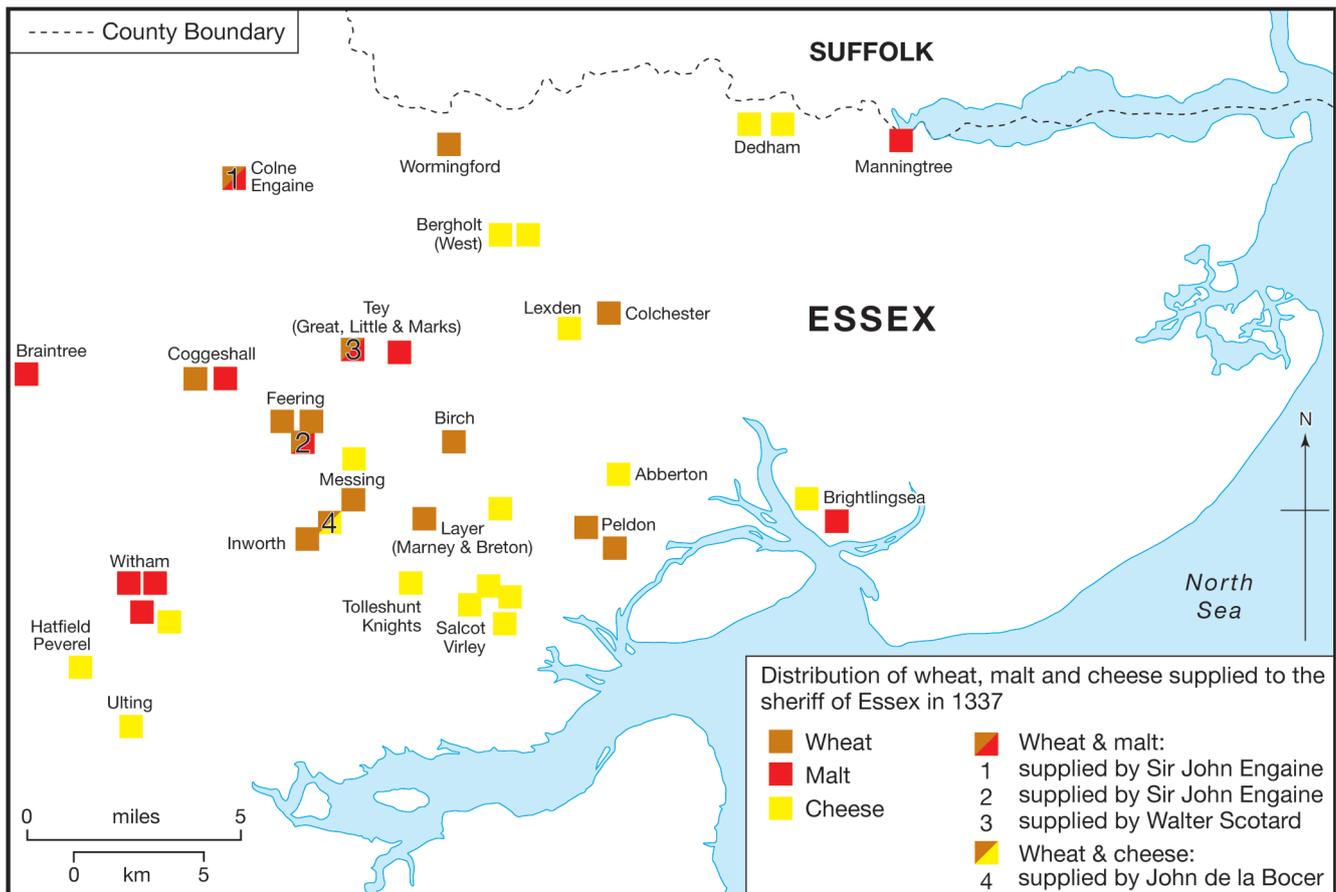
Amount supplied - Stones (specified at 13lb)	Supplier	Place
50	John Jonesone, Vicar	<i>Berghwoldon</i> (Barn Hall, Tolleshunt Knights)
20	John le Redehirde	Salcott Virley
20	John Sneyl	Salcott
15	John son of Robert le Webbe	Salcott
20	Abbot of Colchester	Brightlingsea (<i>Brythlanhey</i>)
20	Abbot of St Osyth	Abberton (<i>Hadburghton</i>)
10	Jacob de Bures	Bergholt (West)
20	Prioress of Camperhey (Campsey, Suff.)	Dedham
10	Gilbert de Dedham	Dedham
6	John de la Bocer	Messing
10	John son of Robert	Lexden
8	Adam son of Warin	Bergholt (West)
10	Richard de Teye	Layer (<i>Leyre</i>)
15	John de Wachey	Salcott
10	John Hot	Abberton (<i>Adburghton</i>)
8	John de Ulytynge	Ulting
15	Thomas atte Wode	Hatfield Peverel
10	Thomas de Haweton	(Hatfield Peverel/Witham?)
10	John de Bures	Witham
TOTAL: 287s	Suppliers in Bold are mentioned more than once in E 101/556/19A	

might well have been exhausted. The request coming after Lent and Easter might well have found Essex fairly fish free.

Apart from wheat, which he oversupplied (see below), de Coggeshale only supplied 100q of the 250q of malt and 287 of the 1,000 stones of cheese requested.

As with the victuals discussed above, it was probably the timing of the request that meant there was a shortage. Malt would have been required throughout the year for brewing batches of ale and it would have had to be made to last until the next harvest. Judicious brewers would have

carefully controlled their stocks to ensure that ale was available all year round. The single large amount of 45q supplied by Sir John Engaine is interesting though. Maybe it suggests that Engaine was farming on a relatively large scale, indeed he was the only supplier whose



landholdings are recorded, and that he had sufficient, surviving stored harvest to be able to supply this large amount, as well as 200q of wheat.

Cheese would have been made the previous year when milk was plentiful and would have had to last. Again for all the reasons discussed above, it might have been running low by the spring of the following year and thus the 287 stones supplied were all that could be spared by suppliers. That Sir John Engaine did not supply any cheese might suggest that he was very much an arable and not a dairy farmer.

Regarding the oversupply of wheat, does this demonstrate an understanding that it was better to send more of something than less of everything? It was, after all, still a useful commodity that would have been welcomed and would possibly have made up for a shortfall being supplied by another county. Perhaps the fact that Walter Scotard and de Coggeshale, along with an unknown number of even smaller suppliers from Colchester market,

helped to make up this total displays how widely the search went on to find, not just wheat, but all that was requested – was there an element of panic in the limited amount of time given to get the supplies to Ipswich? Alternatively, perhaps the inclusion of members of the established county community, such as Engaine and de Coggeshale, along with the smaller suppliers, demonstrates that all levels of society were actively engaged in supplying the war effort. Whether this was voluntary on all their parts is not known.

That all the supplies were not completely fulfilled is not surprising, there is nothing particularly strange that de Coggeshale was unable to fulfil this request. There were many variables and uncertainties when it came to organising a military campaign in the past that made the work of those charged with arresting ships or raising troops very challenging. This is also mirrored in the collection of supplies, which was far from perfect a solution

that was trying to match the ambitions of the Crown with the realities of everyday life. Eighteen years later, in 1355, John de Coggeshale was tasked with finding supplies to be sent to Calais: ‘200 bacon pigs, 60 weys of cheese, 40 carcasses of beef, 100 quarters of bean and peas and 100 quarters of wheat; his account however shows that although he delivered 213 pigs, all the other amounts were below the king’s specifications, and no cheese was delivered at all.’³⁶ Even as a more experienced administrator with many years of service under his belt, he was still unable to fulfil what had been requested.

Who were the suppliers?

Overall there are 42 different named suppliers, both individuals and institutions, as well as the unspecified traders of Colchester market from whom 4q of wheat was sourced. Of these 42 suppliers only three provided multiple amounts: Sir John Engaine (of Colne Engaine and Feering, wheat and malt), John de la

Bocer (of the adjoining parishes of Inworth and Messing both adjacent to Prested Hall, wheat and cheese) and Walter Scotard (of 'Tey', wheat and malt).

There are three pairs of suppliers: Robert Marny 'and the Rector of the same ville' (of 'Layr' [Marny?], wheat), Roger le Lathe and Thomas Vessy (of Witham, malt) and Hugh Le Bailliff & Thomas Byweste (of Brightlingsea, malt).

Religious houses or clerics account for six of the suppliers:

the Prioress of Wix
(Wormingford, wheat)
the Rector of Tolleshunt
(Tolleshunt, wheat)
John Jonesone, Vicar
(Tolleshunt Knights, cheese)
the Abbot of Colchester
(Brightlingsea, cheese)
the Abbot of St Osyth
(Abberton, cheese)
the Prioress of Camperhey
(Dedham, cheese)

The latter supplied cheese from Dedham, presumably from their manor of Dedham Campsey or Netherhall, which they had held since the thirteenth century.³⁷

Of these suppliers, some can be further identified. Walter Scotard was described as de Coggeshale's attorney³⁸ and thus well placed to provide surplus victuals to his boss. Being of 'Tey', whether it be Marks, Great or Little Tey, Scotard was also physically close to de Coggeshale's estates at Wethersfield, Coggeshall, Messing and Inworth.³⁹ Gilbert of Dedham, supplier of 10 stones of cheese, is presumably the same man who owned the manor of Overhall in Dedham and the father of Robert, who in 1348 granted it to the priory of Campsey. If so the family connection with the priory went back into the previous century.⁴⁰ Was their inclusion together purely chance or did they have a closer, working relationship or might it just reflect a nascent dairying specialisation in the Dedham area?

Apart from the two prioresses, who were heads of religious houses, all the suppliers were male except for Alice Hodynges of Witham who supplied 4q of dredge malt.

Locations

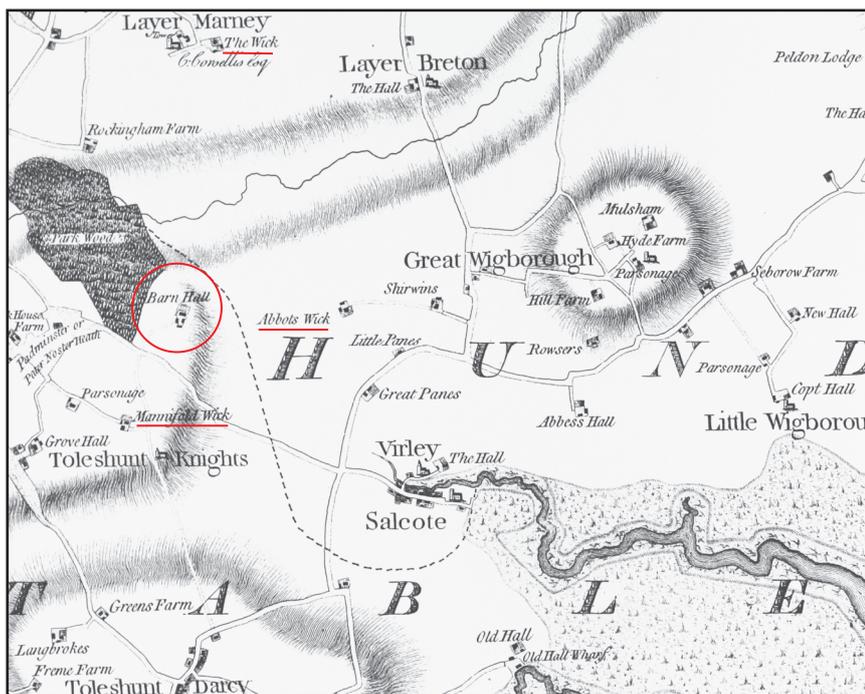
Does the distribution pattern of where the victuals were sourced give us any clues as to potential networks of suppliers that de Coggeshale and his team were able to exploit? Looking at the distribution map the focus from which the majority of the victuals were supplied from was to the south and south-west of Colchester. Possibly this could be as a result of it being where Walter Scotard was based. Presumably as de Coggeshale's attorney he would have been responsible for organising some of the day-to-day activities and financial transactions, including the collecting and paying for supplies – Sir John would not have been travelling around inspecting the contents of barns or storehouses to find the requisite victuals. Perhaps it reflects the limited geographical range that was all that could be easily negotiated in the time given before the onward despatch of the victuals. Maybe this was Scotard's hinterland that he knew well and where he had many contacts. Possibly it was his affinity with de Coggeshale that allowed him access to other members of the county community, such as Engaine? With Robert de Tey, and unknown others, operating in the background there would have been further opportunities for working up local contacts.

If we compare the type of supplies to the place of origin we can possibly see more definite patterns. The clearest pattern seems to be where cheese was being sourced. While it was obtained from across the study area there was a strong correlation with coastal locations, in particular Salcot, Virley and Tolleshunt Knights (Barn Hall) for grazing marshes. The latter

location was also close by many 'wicks', almost always dairy farms, to such an extent that 'wick' became 'synonymous by the Middle Ages with meaning dairy farm'.⁴¹ Thus John Joneson was in the right location to be able to supply a large quantity of cheese, although we do not know if he was running his own flock of sheep or if the cheese he supplied came from tithes paid to him. (See extract from Chapman & André map) Meanwhile, Hatfield Peverel and Ulting are located within a river valley that would have had extensive meadowland for sheep and cows. The location of Dedham in the Stour Valley, as mentioned above, would also have provided sufficient meadows and pasture for a significant dairying operation.

The distribution of malt supply is interesting; there was a definite focus in the Witham, Coggeshall, 'Tey' and Feering area, a part of the county that continued into the nineteenth century, along with Manningtree, as a centre of a substantial malting industry.⁴² Does this demonstrate a specialisation at an early date that was to continue for the next several centuries?

Provision of wheat was fairly centralised, possibly because of the proximity to Colchester as the centre of collection – why go further afield if it was available close to hand? The outlying locations of Dedham, Manningtree and Brightlingsea are of interest – why was wheat supplied from these places? Obviously the net was cast widely to try and supply what was required but if Scotard was able to source supplies from these locations then why not to others in the vicinity, especially as he must have been scraping around to make up the totals? The ability to travel widely around to source supplies was entirely practical – for example, in 1339-40 Robert Poulterer was travelling widely to purchase fish for Elizabeth de Burgh's household.⁴³ If the supplies existed and there was a willingness to part with them, there should not have



Extract from sheet 14 of Chapman & André's 1777 map of Essex showing the location of Barn Hall, circled, and various 'wick' place-names, underlined. The proximity to Salcote and Virley, the location to four suppliers of cheese, is apparent along with the extensive coastal marshlands that would have provided grazing for sheep. (Author's collection)

been a problem to source and supply them for the war effort. Was it the time factor from the request going out to when the supplies should be delivered that was the major issue? Were those suppliers who are listed the 'trusted traders' with whom Scotard had worked with before and knew well enough that he could get what supplies they had quickly enough to fulfil at least part of the order? Perhaps it demonstrates that de Coggeshale only had a limited 'reach' with some parts of the county being 'out of bounds' to him and his staff?⁴⁴

Conclusion

The military campaigns of the fourteenth century waged against the French and the Scots involved the participation of the whole nation to a greater or lesser extent. From the relatively few, who would actually do the fighting, to taxpayers and to the many who provided everything that was required for the military to successfully prosecute the war, there could only have been a very few who didn't feel the impact of

these events. We are now very familiar with the concept of 'total war' and perhaps fail to appreciate just how complex and far reaching waging war was also in the past. While in 1337 the economy and society could not be 'directed' to the extent that it was, say in the Second World War, nevertheless the outcome, successful or not, of a campaign did rely on the whole nation being organised and cajoled to enable the projection of several thousand men, horses and their equipment to attempt to do battle with the 'enemy'. In the spring of 1337, at the cusp of a new round of conflict, the well-trying and tested mechanisms, honed over previous decades for rounding up supplies, ground once more into operation. While there were limitations as to what was supplied, de Coggeshale and his staff were able, welcomed or not, to gather together, after a winter, some of what was requested to help feed the king's forces. It was provided by a wide range of individuals from a variety of backgrounds from mid- and north-east Essex. It was because of these complex procedures to

source supplies to those involved at the 'sharp end' that battles such as Halidon Hill (1333), Sluys (1340) or Crécy (1346) could take place – truly a national effort in which the inhabitants of Essex played their part.

References

1. For a comprehensive history see J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Battle* (London, 1990).
2. For a full explanation of their roles see J. Ward, *The Essex gentry and the county community in the fourteenth century* (Chelmsford, 1991). For a general introduction of the impact of warfare on the county see J. Ward, 'Essex and the Hundred Years War', *Essex Journal*, 51 (1), 2016, pp.9-18.
3. C. Rogers, *War, cruel and sharp: English strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.69-70.
4. *Ibid*, pp.82,84.
5. Sumption, p.144. This compares to Roger's estimate of the English army that landed in Normandy in 1346 at the start of the Crécy campaign of just over 15,000. Sumption suggests a smaller army of between 7-10,000 men, p.497. Regardless, Edward's 1335 (and 1333) army was large by medieval standards.
6. *Ibid*, pp.161-2.
7. H. Grieve, *The Sleepers and the Shadows*, 1 (Chelmsford, 1988) p.28.
8. *Calendar of Close Rolls (CCR)*, 1341-43 (London, 1902), p.56. The protected waters of the 'port of Orwell' at the mouth of the river Stour, and close-by Harwich for victualing purposes, was a frequently used concentration point for royal fleets in the medieval period.
9. *CCR*, 1339-41 (London, 1901), p.391.
10. *Ibid*.
11. The National Archives (TNA), C 47/2/31/1 & 2, schedule of provisions, 11 Edw III. See M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: the English Experience* (London, 1996), p.248 and C.L. Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.58-9.
12. Hewitt states that 'It is seldom clear whether salted pork (*bacones*) means fitches of

- bacon or sides of pork or whole carcasses (but there are 'half bacons'). H.J. Hewitt, *The Organization of War under Edward III 1338-62* (Manchester, 1966), p.51.
13. One measure of a last comprised 13,200 fish. C.R. Chapman, *How heavy, how much and how long* (Dursley, 1996), p.13. There may well have been local variations.
 14. Stockfish were dried, unsalted fish that would keep for an almost indefinite period of time.
 15. *Ibid*, p.518. Possibly the use of bowls for bread making suggests that sourdough type loaves were being made.
 16. CCR, 1333-7 (London, 1898), p.25.
 17. *Ibid*.
 18. Lambert, pp.53-4.
 19. Hewitt, pp.50-63.
 20. Prestwich, pp.245-54.
 21. Sumption, pp.164-5.
 22. *Ibid*, pp.178-80.
 23. C. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300-1450* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.6-12.
 24. TNA, E 358/2, account and official: John de Coggeshale, sheriff of Essex for victuals, rot.33d. The relevant section is dated '11 day of April'.
 25. It is possible that 'hams', cured meat, could be made from mutton, hence the need to specify 'bacon'. I am grateful for Richard Harris for his assistance with this point and various interesting discussions around medieval foodstuffs.
 26. TNA, E 101/556/19A, Essex and Hertford: Expenses of provisions, 1337-8.
 27. J. Ward, *Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (1295-1360)* (Woodbridge, 2014), The Wardrobe and Household Account 13-14 Edward III (1339-40), p.12. Edmund Wymer, bailiff of Stebbing, supplied 9q at 6s a quarter while 7q bought at North Weald cost 7s a quarter. The rector of Birdbrook provided 10q.4b at 3s.4d a quarter.
 28. B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigneurial Agriculture, 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), p.226. My thanks also to Dr Dave Crease, brewer, with whom I had several long discussions with over the benefits that oats bring to ale/beer.
 29. Ward, de Burgh, p.9.
 30. W, Page & J.H. Round (eds) *The Victoria History of the of County of Essex*, 2 (London, 1907), pp.369-71.
 31. C Thornton & H. Eiden (eds), *The Victoria County History of Essex*, 12 (London, forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr Thornton for sharing his research with me.
 32. J. Ward, 'Sir John de Coggeshale: an Essex Knight of the Fourteenth Century', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 22 (1991), p.62.
 33. I am grateful for all those who assisted me with tracking down this name but it was Dr Kemble of the Essex Place-names Project who nailed it.
 34. Ward, 'Sir John de Coggeshale', p.63.
 35. The Angus Macleod Archive: The rise and fall of the herring fishery, www.angusmacleodarchive.org.uk/, (12/03/19)
 36. Ward, 'Sir John de Coggeshale', p.63. It is interesting that he oversupplied on one victual as he had done before. Is this an example of a coping strategy – not to try too hard?
 37. J. Cooper, S. Durgan & C. Thornton (eds), *The Victoria County History of Essex*, 10 (London, 2001), pp.167-8. Rather satisfyingly, in the early fifteenth century, the manor was recorded as having a 'cheese house'.
 38. TNA, E 358/2. Fellow Essex knight Robert de Tey (d.1360) of Marks Tey is also mentioned in this document as well as E 101/556/18. Possibly he was an assistant to de Coggeshale, probably on his staff. De Tey had dealings with de Coggeshale over many years. See Ward, 'Sir John de Coggeshale', pp.61-6.
 39. Ward, 'Sir John de Coggeshale', p.61.
 40. Cooper et al, p.168.
 41. Email correspondence with Dr C. Thornton, 29/04/2019.
 42. Of the 80 or so malt processors/suppliers listed throughout the country in 1882, ten were in the Coggeshall/Feering/Witham area: R. Kelly (ed), *Kelly's Directory of Essex* (London, 1882), p.492. Witham continues this tradition being home to Bairds. www.bairds-malt.co.uk/our-sites/witham, (25/02/2019).
 43. Ward, *Elizabeth de Burgh*, pp.20-1.

For example, Great Yarmouth (red herrings), Stourbridge (stockfish), Southwold (cod), London (salmon and sturgeon), Swavesey (pike) and Chelmsford (eels). There are numerous entries for various foodstuffs and goods purchased for the de Burgh household which demonstrate widespread supply networks that were available and, crucially, exploited.

44. Ward includes an example of the king exempting Elizabeth de Burgh ('our beloved kinswomen') from having to supply any of her men to the commissioners for array for home defence (*Ibid*, pp.139-40). Possibly de Coggeshale was equally limited by similar writs and accepting of where and with whom he could operate to source supplies, both enforced where his power, authority and position did not allow, or severely restricted, his access but also voluntarily where he may have turned a 'blind eye' to imposing on his own circle of family and friends. Regarding purveyance Ward has not come across any instance of the de Burgh household supplying any type of victual to the war effort (conversation with author). Perhaps it was also made known or just understood, that she was not to be disturbed with such matters.

Acknowledgments

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this article to Dr Jennifer Ward. I just hope that I have done Jenny justice! I would like to thank Mr Ken Crowe, Mrs Gloria Harris, Mr Richard Harris, Dr James Kemble and Dr Michael Leach for the advice and assistance they gave. Dr Sarah Honour and Mr Adrian Corder-Birch made valuable comments on the final text. Finally without the support and counsel of Dr Christopher Thornton I would not have been able to complete the document research underpinning this article. Thank you very much Chris. All mistakes that remain are my own.

The Author

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Thomas Causton of Thundersley, Gentleman:

One of the First Marian Martyrs in Essex¹

by

John Causton

Mary Tudor was crowned Queen of England in July 1553 and re-established the Roman Catholic faith as the official religion in an attempt to turn back the Reformation of the English church. She unleashed her wrath upon those whom she defined as treasonably minded heretics, condemning them mostly to be burnt at the stake. Thomas Causton and his friend Thomas Higbed were burnt at the stake on 27th March 1555 at Rayleigh and Horndon on the Hill, Essex respectively. They were among the first people in Essex to be burnt and only the seventh and eighth in the whole country. This article will examine the origins, life and family of Thomas Causton of Thundersley.

Thomas Causton's Ancestors

There are references to a John Cawston from 1408 in Latchingdon:

On 21st July 1408 at Westminster² 10 livres were paid for a licence by Richard Waltham, William Strangeman, John Kyng of Bodenek, John Smyth of Norton, John Causton and Peter Scot, for Peter Cok to enfeof them of 50 acres of land in Latchingdon. This is the earliest known mention of a Cawston family in Latchingdon in Essex.

In 1428, a survey of parishes and knights in Essex³ to find suitors for royal daughters found no Causton knights. However, a John Causton of Latchingdon was included on the panel in Chelmsford that compiled the list for the local hundreds. Being on the panel

implied some social status but clearly below that of a knight.

A further early reference to John Causton of Latchingdon is a rental:

Lease 28th March 1440.
From: John Salisbury, I, prior of Canterbury Cathedral Priory; the convent of Canterbury Cathedral Priory to: John Cawston junior, of Latchingdon, Essex, husbandman; John Cawston senior, of Purleigh Essex, husbandman; Richard Heed of Tillingham, Essex, husbandman [Document damaged. Large areas of text illegible.] The manor of Lawling (Lalling) with the live and dead stock as specified and 60 acres of fallow land ploughed for the wheat season. Reserving to the priory certain rights and dues. Also reserving to the priory all the timber in the manor except for 500 faggots a year from the wood of Danwris or hoo and ploughbote and cartbote at the direction of the warden, to be made and carried at the lessees' costs for a term of... years for an annual payment of £45, payable as specified. [Conditions on hospitality, repairs, husbandry and other conditions, details of livery, right of distraint and re-entry if payment is in arrears follow.] The lessees have made a bond in £86 to observe the terms of the lease.⁴

Ploughbote and cartbote refer to the right to use wood for repairing and making ploughs, harrows, carts and other

instruments of husbandry. Both John Caustons are described as husbandmen and the lease refers to the manor of Lallying or Lawling, in the north-eastern part of Latchingdon. The terms senior and junior indicate a father and son relationship. From the dates of the deeds we can estimate that John Cawston senior of Purleigh was born about 1380.

The John Cawston junior of Latchingdon mentioned in the rental appears to have a son called Thomas and three sons called John – the elder, the middle and the younger. The wills of John Causton the Elder of Latchingdon in 1490⁵ and John Cawston the Middle of Purleigh in 1491⁶ have survived. Both name their brother Thomas Causton living in Tillingham as executor. John Cawston the Middle requests that Thomas Causton of Tillingham looks after his son John until he is 20 years old and leaves Hides farm (in the south of North Fambridge marsh), half of Purleigh Hall farm and the stock to be looked after for the benefit of another underage son. Thomas Causton of Tillingham appears to be the father of Thomas Causton the Martyr.

There a couple of references to Thomas Causton of Tillingham, the first being a rental of Stansgate manor in Steeple on 15th February 1490.⁷ A bond was entered into by John Stockall, clerk, of Steeple, and Thomas Cawstone, sen. of Tyllingham, yeoman in the sum of £40, to John, the prior of Stansgate, and William Rery, of St Lawrence, to abide by an award concerning the tithes of Steeple to be made by John Rery (Rewys?), vicar of Tillingham. The use of the suffix senior here implies that his son Thomas, the martyr, was already alive.

Thomas Causton, husbandman, of Tillingham, according to the pardon rolls,⁸ died before 14th January 1510 without having made a will. His son, Thomas the martyr, appears to have been underage at this time. However, by 1514 a Thomas Chauston was listed as a farmer in a *compotus* or account of Tyllingham Grange.⁹ His assessment was nil as this was the first time he was listed. This is probably when he came of age, so he was about 62 when he was executed.

Thomas Causton's Property

While his father was probably a husbandman, there are several references to Thomas, concerning his property, where his family had traditionally held land in Tillingham, but latterly including land in Rayleigh. It appears that Thomas Causton first lived in Tillingham. By 1549 he had moved to Thundersley and had property there but retained his interest in Tillingham:-

1526/7 He held a rental on various lands in Tillingham in the manor of Stansted Abbey - 3 acres called Dagesland alias Priors Croft and 7 acres that had formerly been held by John Cawson. Waltham Abbey were listed as the tenants of the Grange.¹⁰

1535 He granted a toft, eight acres of land and eight acres of pasture in Latchingdon to John Causton and Richard and James Osbourne for £20.¹¹ All three recipients are his first cousins once removed.

1540-1 He paid half a quarter of salt or 2s. and 26s. 8d. for a whole year's rent for a tenement called the Grange in Tillingham and also a cock, two hens and twenty eggs for Priors Croft tenement.¹²

1544 Thomas Causton bought one messuage, one garden, ten acres of meadow, thirty

acres of pasture, three hundred acres of marsh in Tillingham Daunsey alias Tillingham Grange and St Lawrence from Walter Fayre and Fridiswide his wife for 160 marks.¹³

1545 He bought five acres of land and two acres of meadow in Rayleigh for £10.¹⁴

1547 Thomas Causton was recorded as the owner of several copyhold properties in the manor of Tillingham Hall that comprised Bridgemans Farm of about 100 acres in Tillingham.¹⁵ Thomas was described as living in Thundersley.

1548 Thomas Cawston,¹⁶ gent, held of the manor of Stansgate a tenement of two and a half acres called Draggers alias Bakores alias Pryors Croft in Tillingham for a yearly rent of 5s. This is the first indication that his status was now that of gentleman.

1549 Thomas Causton, gent, rented a messuage, a garden, two orchards, a toft, twenty acres of arable, four acres of meadow, six acres of pasture and two acres of wood in Rayleigh to Thomas Gesling and Ellen his wife.¹⁷

1551-3 he was the plaintiff in a dispute with Edward Berry and Goldeston over a lease in Rayleigh Park.¹⁸

1552 In the Tillingham Court Rolls¹⁹ Thomas Causton leases Bridgemans etc., occupied by Thomas Choppinge, to John Heryche of Steeple for £80 and a rent of £10 a year.

1553 According to Morant, Thomas Cawston held the manor of Grange Mowicke, with appertenances in Tillingham and Dengey, of the Queen immediately in capite, by knight's service, worth £30 a year.²⁰

Social Mobility

The transactions show his upward social mobility to gentleman. So, by the 1550s we can see that the middle-aged Causton, coming from a long established lower-middling Dengie based family, had within his own lifetime worked his way further up the ranks of society by gaining the title of gentleman. We do not know how he achieved this. There is no evidence that his interests went beyond farming or that he was left money or property by friends or relatives. Good health, business acumen and good luck could all have contributed. His move to Thundersley after so many years based in Tillingham may have followed a fortuitous marriage.

Sir John Rewys, clerk of Tillingham, as mentioned above, in his will dated 1491²¹ leaves Thomas Causton, bailiff of Tillingham, a drinking vessel (*myn olde maser*). Employment by an overlord as a bailiff brought not only income but social status and some degree of protection and advantage in property dealings. Thomas Causton's cousin John Causton benefited from being the bailiff of the Wakerings and a tenant in North Fambridge Hall of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex.²²

However he did it, he must have been a well-known and well-connected figure in the locality. Born at the end of the fifteenth century into a very Catholic medieval world he had lived and successfully navigated his way through some momentous times. We must assume that he was a man very much of the 'modern' Protestant world but that world was about to be turned upside down for Thomas and many of his family and friends.

When living in Thundersley Thomas Causton would have used the parish church, St Peters, (Fig 1) where the candlelit interior would have been well known to him.²³ Causton was of a suitable local standing to have a hand in the appointing

of the rector. Robert Drakes (1550–54) had been presented to the benefice of Thundersley by Lord Rich ‘at the suit of Master Causton and Master Traheron’.²⁴ Drakes was then replaced, possibly due to the reintroduction of Roman Catholicism by John Hollyman. Drake was burnt at the stake a year after Thomas Causton on 24th April 1556 at Smithfield.

Dissent in Essex

Altogether some 284 executions have been documented²⁵ in Mary’s reign. Of these 70 were resident or martyred in Essex²⁶ and 2 died in gaol. Essex is clearly over represented in these numbers. The number of Essex martyrs could have been enhanced by the close proximity to London or by officials such as Richard Lord Rich being zealous in sending suspect heretics for trial. However, Essex had a history of dissention, including Colchester being a known centre for Lollardism, which started in the fourteenth century and was a precursor of protestant beliefs, denying pilgrimages, saints and transubstantiation.²⁷ Colchester was a focal point of opposition to Mary’s Catholic government.²⁸ In 1555 the town was described as ‘a harbourer of heretics and ever was’ and subjected to diligent searches for protestants. The repression at the town was greater than anywhere except London and Canterbury. A local Catholic priest reported that ‘The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester’. John Foxe’s illustrated martyrology *Acts and Monuments*, otherwise known as *The Book of Martyrs*, first published in 1563, only five years after the death of Queen Mary, says:²⁹ ‘there is none in my judgement, that hath bene more frutefull of godly martyrs, then hath Essex.’

The Arrest and Trial of Thomas Causton, Thomas Higbed and William Hunter

Although John Foxe’s book clearly has a Protestant agenda,



1. Thundersley church.
(Reproduced by courtesy of Dr J. Bettley)

the contemporary collecting of the information probably means that much of the details on individual martyrs is correct. He describes the arrest of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed:

there came two amonges the rest, that were notable, being descended of worshipfull stocke: the one called Thomas Higbe of the parish of Hornden hill the other Thomas Cawson of the parish of Thunderst, who was the elder man, both being welthy and in flourishing estate of riches, but much more flourishynge in godlynes. Wherefore when they shone so bright in vertue and godlynes, they coulde not long be unseen, or hydden in so greate obscurty & darknes of these tymes, and at last being betrayd (I knowe not by what occasyon) and taken, they were both committed to the officers of Colchester to be sauffy kept. And with them was a servaunte of Thomas Cawson, who in hys prayse of christian godlynes, was nothing in feryour to hys Maister.³⁰

The two were arrested, along with Thomas Causton’s servant, for refusing to renounce their

Protestant beliefs. Foxe describes Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London and his chaplains coming to Colchester to question them: ‘by reason of their worshipfull estate, and favour of the people, and bycause they were of greate estymacyon amonges theyr countrymen, lest any tumulte shoud therby arise.’³¹

Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed did not change their opinions and Bishop Bonner and his entourage took them to London. Thomas Causton’s servant is not mentioned further, so may not have been martyred.

They both made and signed long statements of their beliefs and answered 14 detailed questions that were put to them aimed at clarifying the extent of their heretical views. These are set out in detail in Foxe. The date of the arrest is not recorded but apparently months had passed by 17th February 1555 when they were brought before the bishop at the Consistory of St Pauls.³² They again refused to recant. The interrogation continued until Thomas Wriothesley’s *Chronicle* records their delivery to the sheriff of Essex, William Harris of Cricksea: ‘Sundaye the 24 of Marche, before 5 of the clock in the morning, Sir John Lawrence, priest, Thomas



2. The execution of John Lawrence as depicted in *The New and Complete Book of Martyrs*, (London, Alex Hogg, nd), p.84. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, LIB/272)

Cawston, Thomas Hikbye (*sic*), Stephen Knight, William Hunt(er) and William Pigott, were had out of Newgate and delivered by the sheriffs of London to the sheriffs of Essex to be burnt.³³ Foxe records that they were bound to the carts during their journey because of fears that an attempt might be made to release them.³⁴

Although Thomas Causton lived at Thundersley, the execution was moved to the market place in Rayleigh as this was the nearest important town with the space for a public event.³⁵ Thomas Higbed was also burned the same day at Horndon-on-the-Hill some nine miles to the south west of Thundersley. In the next two days four more were burned – young apprentice silk weaver, William Hunter (Brentwood), barber Stephen Knight (Maldon), butcher William Pigot (Braintree) and the well-known priest John Lawrence at Colchester (Fig 2).³⁶

Giovani Michiel, the Venetian Ambassador in England from 1554 to 1557, recorded the feelings aroused by these burnings in a letter he wrote on 8th April to

his Doge and Senate. It may well have been Thomas's death that he wrote about:

A few days ago, 40 miles hence in the county of Essex, a slight insurrection occurred on account of the religion, because Lord Riche having by order of the Government escorted certain heretics condemned to be burnt, so great a concourse of persons assembled at this spectacle, that it was incredible; and when about to be executed, they most vehemently exhorted the multitude to persevere in their religion, and endure as they themselves did, any persecution or any torment; which so moved the people that the Governor was apprehensive of an attack on himself and his officials and of their being maltreated, very strong language having been used against those who ordered the execution and passed this sentence, on men of such piety and constancy, whom they, the people, considered the holiest of martyrs.³⁷

Thomas Causton's Lands and Property are Confiscated

Following his execution as a heretic Thomas Causton's land, property and livestock were confiscated and became part of the demesne of Philip and Mary, where they appear in a general account of crown lands in 1555.³⁸ In the same year, a conveyance (bargain and sale) for £20 was made between Richard Lord Rich, and John Cooke of Rayleigh concerning 'land called Agateland in Rayleigh, formerly in occupation of Thomas Cawston, late of Thundersley, yeoman, who for heresy was condemned and for the same hath suffered by the way of burning.'³⁹

His goods and chattels were also seized and an inquisition post mortem or escheat was held at Maldon on 9th April 1557 before Sir Henry Tyrell and others to value them.⁴⁰ His goods comprised:

A table and a form and three old chairs, 20d.
Certain old wainscot, 20d.
Four old 'bedystedyls' one of

them lacking a bottom, 5s.
 An old chair, 6d.
 Two little settles, 12d.
 An old round table, 20d.
 An old cupboard, 2d
 An old pillion cushion, 4d.
 Two old broken dripping
 pans, 6d.
 An old side-saddle, 4s.
 Four old chests without locks
 or keys, 4s.
 One old press for caps, 2d.
 A table, 12d.
 Certain old rusty harness, 4s.
 An old blue mantle, 4d.
 An old quern, a lede, an old
 tonne and broken, a measefatt
 and certain old kilderkins and
 keleyes, 11s. 4d.

The inquisition membrane continues (in Latin): ‘which goods and chattels being praised amount to the sum of 33s.6d which goods and chattels being praised in form aforesaid. were delivered by the commissioner(s) aforesaid. to a certain John Cooke to the use of the sd. King and Queen.’

The values actually add up to 39s.4d! The house contents described seem to be old and many are in poor condition – perhaps most of the better items had, by the time of the survey, been spirited away.

In a second inquisition post mortem⁴¹ on 9th April 1555 at Barking it states that Thomas Causton gentleman of Rayleigh shortly before was convicted of heresy and openly burned and executed was seized of the manors of Grange and Mowicke in Tillingham and Dengie now occupied by William Gaunte and also two parcels of land of 12 acres, 2 ½ acres of woodland, a further 2 acres of woodland in Rayleigh called Agate, two parcels of land and one woodland in Rayleigh and Thundersley called Trayfords. The manors were worth £30, Agate 10 shillings and Trayfords 5 shilling a year. Richard Lord Rich acquired Agateland in November 1555, presumably from the crown and sold it to John Cooke of Rayleigh.⁴²

Thomas Causton’s Descendants Attempt to Reclaim his Lands

Sometime before 1562 Samuel Whitehead, Nathaniel Treherne and William Truelove, Thomas Causton’s grandsons, (the complainants or orators) applied to the Right Honourable Nicholas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, saying that they were equal heirs to the copyhold land of Thomas Causton of Thundersley, gent, in Tillingham Hall manor.⁴³ They allege that John Lock (see below) pretended to have a lease on those lands which he will not produce and that he has made great waste by felling trees and not repairing buildings.

In his reply, John Lock acknowledged that Thomas Causton held Bridgemans, Goldes, Herles, Skyppers, Otese, Paynes, Martens and Tyckesfeld in Tillingham Hall manor amounting to one hundred acres. He says that on 28th May 1547 Thomas Causton granted a 21-year lease to Roger Choppinge, yeoman of Danbury, for an annual rent of £15. This is confirmed by an entry in the court roll of Tillingham Hall on 26th May 1547⁴⁴ giving Thomas Causton permission to rent out copyhold land in Tillingham. The lease passed to his wife Johanne and then to Lock when he married widow Choppinge.

The Dean and Chapter of St Pauls, who owned the manor, confiscated Thomas’ lands for his ‘heresy’ according to the custom of the manor and ‘utterly’ refused to admit Thomas’ son William. The copyhold lands were then granted to Anthony Hussey and his son William, who had received the rent from Roger Choppinge. The Dean at the time was Henry Cole (1556–59). Lock also claimed that Thomas Causton took out a £52 mortgage from Roger in 1551.

The complainants then reply in turn (their replication) and confirm the lease and add the detail that the indenture was signed 12th September 1551 for a

term of 21 years at a cost of 40 marks to be paid to Thomas Causton’s house in Thundersley by Roger Chopping. They stated that: ‘Thomas Causton was among others cruelly persecuted and put to death by [bishop] Edmund Bonner’ and that he had a son William (now dead without issue) and three daughters, Anne married to David Whitehead, Elizabeth married to William Truelove, Joyce married to Bartholomew Traherne.⁴⁵

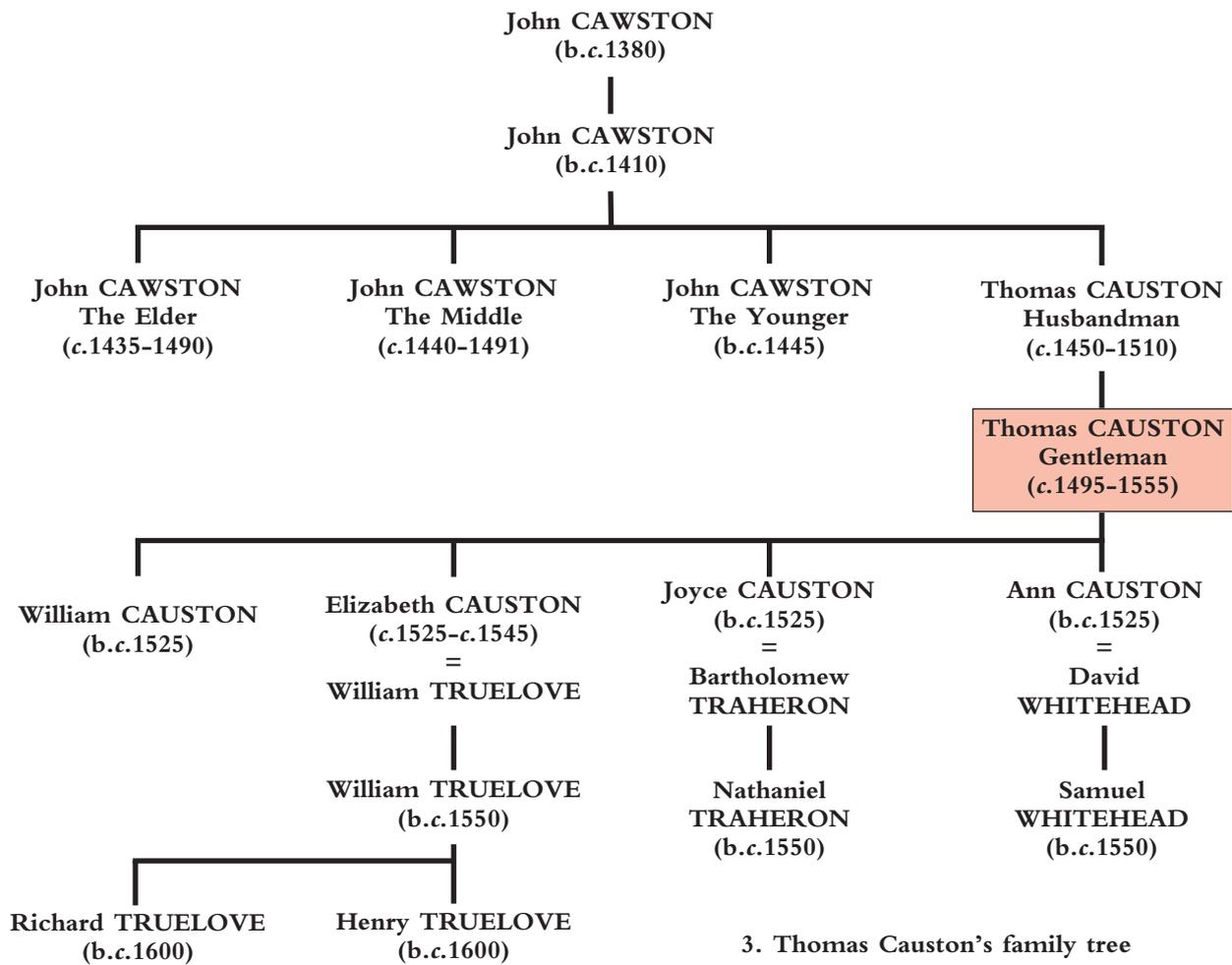
The Copyhold Lands are Returned

Three sessions of the Tillingham Hall manorial court detail the restoration of the copyhold lands.⁴⁶ In 1563, the court confirmed the earlier surrender of Thomas Causton of his copyhold lands including Bedgmans etc. to his son William and his heirs. It was also confirmed that Joyce, Elizabeth and Anne were daughters and coheirs of Thomas Causton and that Nathaniel Treherne, William Truelove and Samuel Whitehead respectively are their sons and heirs.

At the next Tillingham Hall manorial court in 1564 it said that the coheirs have petitioned the Dean and Chapter of St Pauls. The current owners put their case but the court reaffirmed the coheirs’ right to possess the lands. They said that there was no such custom of the manor that a person found guilty of heresy should have their lands confiscated. The lands were to be surrendered at the next court in 1565 but the court orders that the coheirs must repay the original court costs and the value of subsequent heriots, which amounted to £35.

Tillingham Grange Manor is Returned

In 1578 John Aylmer, Bishop of London, wrote to Lord Burghley, on behalf of Samuel Whitehead, Nathaniel Treherne and William Truelove, grandchildren of Thomas Cawston of Essex to assist them in obtaining possession of the lands formerly belonging



3. Thomas Causton's family tree

to their grandfather, of which they had been wrongfully dispossessed.⁴⁷

Finally, on 22nd January 1591 William Truelove was granted, in reversion, Tillingham Grange in Essex for 80 years at a rent of 30 livres, with no fine in consideration of his relief.⁴⁸ Thomas Causton's original 1553 lease for the Grange and Mowick, as noted by Morant, was direct from the crown.⁴⁹ It appears that when his lands were confiscated the crown retained the Grange. It is not clear if the lands included the adjacent Mowick but the similar figure of £30 for the lease implies that it does. This did not restore all of Thomas Causton's lands but the time taken by the reversion process and no doubt the expense involved may have prevented further action.

Thomas Causton's Family Tree

In a later civil case in 1659 it is

noted that William Truelove had sons Henry and Richard.⁵⁰ Putting all the information about Thomas Causton's family together we can construct a family tree.(Fig. 3).

Thomas Causton's Memorial

Thomas Causton's martyrdom is commemorated in a memorial to the Protestant martyrs in Rayleigh High Street, Essex (Fig. 4). The main inscription reads:

**Near this spot suffered
for the Truth
Thomas Causton
26 Mar 1555
John Ardeley
10 June 1555
who in reply to
Bp. Bonner said:
"if every hair of my
head were a man,
I would suffer death
in the opinion and
faith I now profess -
THY WORD IS TRUTH.**

References

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41. TNA, C 142/102/6.
42. ERO, D/DS 494/1
43. TNA, C 3/189/28.
44. LMA CLC/313/L/A/062/MS25294/001. A complete understanding of this document is not possible because of extensive damage.
45. Traherne was a prominent

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Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to Margaret Baker, Hillary Marshall AGRA, Glynn Morris AGRA and Kevin Bruce for their help in researching this material. Kevin, with an extensive knowledge of the

history of the Dengie peninsula, has collected and transcribed many documents which have added much important material to the text. I would also like to thank the staff of the ERO for their unfailing patience and expert knowledge in helping me find my way around the archive.

The Author

John Causton has been studying his family history for more than 25 years and for 10 years ran a world-wide one-name study. His ancestors came from Dengie peninsula. Thomas Causton, the martyr, is the 14x great uncle of the author.

5. Memorial to the Protestant martyrs in Rayleigh High Street, Essex. (Reproduced by courtesy of Dr J. Bettley)



Gabriel Poyntz and his Memorials at North Ockendon

by

Brian Buxton

The audiences which gathered in 1996 during the first season at the reconstructed Globe Theatre on London's Bankside saw the ceiling of the stage decorated with an image of the heavens – clouds, sun, moon and stars. From various contemporary references it was believed that this replicated the manner of decoration in the sixteenth century theatre. In seeking ideas one significant inspiration was gained from viewing the painting of the heavens above the tomb of Sir Gabriel Poyntz (c1532–1608) and his wife, Etheldreda (d.1594), in the church of St Mary Magdalene, North Ockendon, today in the London Borough of Havering (Fig 1).¹ This article will describe these memorials and assess their significance.

This image of the heavens is one of the distinctive features in a memorial scheme created by Gabriel when, having held the lordship of the manor for over 40 years, he set about ensuring the remembrance of himself and his forebears. This was a project of significance for him. In his will he bequeathed 20s a year to be used 'uppon the mayntenince reparatons and contyneuance of the monuments, tombes, vawte (vault) and other remembrances that I have caused to be made in the northe chappell of the church of North Okendon for ever'.²

The Poyntz chapel

The Poyntz chapel lies to the north of the chancel and dates from around 1300. The brasses, ledgerstones and monuments it contains commemorate the family which held the manor from the

fourteenth century, through the marriage of a local girl to a member of the Poyntz family of Gloucestershire, until it disposed of its interest in 1758. Traditionally known as the Lady Chapel, it had been the desired burial place of the generations before Gabriel. In 1469 his great-grandfather, John, requested burial before the altar, and a stone to cover his grave as a reminder to the living to pray for his soul (Fig 2).³

In those earlier years the Poyntz family, like most local gentry families, were remembered by relatively simple memorials. Rather than a grand tomb the testator would donate money to the church, to the poor, and for prayers to be said for their soul. John left bequests for 'the newe

work of the stepall (steeple)' and 'to the glasing of the wyndowe at the west end of the church', and also 'for a preest aft my decesse for one hole year to syng for my soule and for my fater and moders soulye and for all my goode frends soulys'.⁴

Some early and mid-sixteenth century memorials remain. A modest brass to Gabriel's grandparents, William and Elizabeth, show them with six sons and six daughters. A defaced inscription seeking prayers for their souls is a reminder that times were about to change. Even by the time William died in 1527 the Reformation was taking hold and belief in purgatory and prayer for the dead was already being questioned.



1. Church of St Mary Magdalene, North Ockendon, exterior view from the east.

(All photographs, unless otherwise acknowledged, by the author)

Changing Fashions

By 1600 no longer did most wills request prayers for the soul. Gabriel was typical of his time: 'I bequeathe my soule to Almightye god trusting to be saved only by the meritts mediaton and meanes of the deathe and passion of oure Lorde and only Savyoure Christ Jesus'.⁵

Some testators would include this wording simply because it was the norm but there are hints that Gabriel may have been quite sympathetic to the reformed faith. A Gabriel Poyntz is listed in the records of the university at Basel, in the Swiss Confederacy, as having matriculated in 1554. This would place him with those who fled England for religious reasons during the reign of Queen Mary, although there is no information as to what may have led him to make this move, nor as to how long he stayed there. His religious position may also be indicated by the one appointment he made of a priest to North Ockendon, Henry Tripp in 1570. This newly ordained young man was later to be involved in anti-Catholic polemic.⁶

Apart from the religious issue, this was a period in which gentry families increasingly desired to proclaim their status and lineage, the latter ideally with a bloodline which could be traced back through centuries and whose succeeding generations had held manorial lands. Some of the expenditure that would once have gone into ensuring salvation through good works and prayers now went into grand monuments. Previously these would generally have been reserved for those of noble or royal blood. What Gabriel Poyntz sought to do with his scheme was well in line with this new approach but it has features of its own which give it particular interest.

Gabriel Poyntz

Of an established Essex family Gabriel himself reached a higher social position than any of his forebears, twice serving as sheriff of the county (1578-9 & 1589-



2. Tablet to Gabriel's great-grandparents, John and Matilda Poyntz.

90). In 1562 he inherited from his father, Thomas, not only the manor of North Ockendon but also significant tracts of land in neighbouring areas of Essex. In addition he purchased property in the City of London. This gave him a base in the capital, although tax records suggest that North Ockendon was his normal home.⁷

His London property had belonged to Sir Thomas Heneage, a favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who from 1564 centred himself in Essex after being granted Copped Hall, Epping. When, in 1578, William Barlee, an Essex lawyer and relation of Gabriel, sought Gabriel's help towards the publication of a book about manorial law he particularly

suggested seeking Heneage's help whom he described as 'yowre veraye and right worshipfull frende Mr Henneage of the Quenes Maiesties privie chamber'. It may be relevant that Heneage's first wife was a member of the Poyntz family of Gloucestershire.⁸

In 1568 Gabriel married a local widow, Etheldreda or Audrey, whose family, the Cutts, came from Arkesden, Essex. On this occasion his portrait was painted and is attributed to the artist known as the Master of the Countess of Warwick. This seems to be the first such portrait painted of the Essex branch of the family.⁹ Early in the reign of James I Gabriel was knighted, the first Essex Poyntz to be so



3. The recumbent effigies of Gabriel and Etheldreda Poyntz. (Reproduced by courtesy of B. Edwards)

honoured. This enhanced social standing was reflected in the tomb he had built after the death of his wife in 1594, far grander than the memorials to any of his ancestors or descendants.

Gabriel's Tomb

The recumbent alabaster effigies of Gabriel and Etheldreda lie on a tomb-chest, eyes open and hands clasped in prayer (Fig 3). Gabriel wears armour. As lord of the manor he could be responsible for providing men to fight in a time of war. Etheldreda wears a loose gown, with belt, opened wide to disclose beneath it another gown, this fitted with a high neck. The latter is elaborately embroidered, depicting a stylised tree with leaves, flowers and fruit. Whether these garments represent items in her wardrobe is unknown as no will survives which might have provided this information.¹⁰

For the effigies Gabriel retained the traditional recumbent pose, as his wife's family did at Arkesden, rather than following

one of the newer fashions. An increasingly popular alternative was a wall mounted memorial with the couple kneeling, facing each other across a prayer desk. Gabriel's sister, Susannah (d.1612), adopted this style in commemorating herself and her husband, Sir Richard Saltonstall (d.1601), skinner and lord mayor of London, in the church of St Nicholas, South Ockendon, Essex. Another fashion was to have the effigy lying sideways as in the memorial at Crediton, Devon, to Sir William Peryam (d.1604), father of Gabriel's daughter-in-law, who lies on his side, head supported by his right arm.¹¹

On the wall behind the effigies of Gabriel and Etheldreda is a memorial tablet of black marble. The inscription, in Latin, explains the monument's purpose as being to hold the couple together in death as in life they had been united *singularis amore et dul'issa* – 'in singular love and very sweet concord.' There is then a reference to his youthful

liking for study, suggesting that he was an educated person, although the only hint of any higher education is the reference, noted earlier, to his matriculating at Basel. Interestingly, the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington holds a copy of *Of the Knowledge Which Maketh a Man Wise* by the humanist scholar Sir Thomas Elyot which has written on the title page: 'Gabriel Poyntz his Book'.¹²

The inscription continues by drawing attention to the two occasions on which he served as sheriff of Essex. Noting education and public service is typical of the time but overall this inscription is quite basic, probably written by Gabriel himself. His sister's epitaph on the memorial for Sir Richard Saltonstall at South Ockendon, is more of its age. The lengthy inscription emphasises the qualities of Richard which make him sound almost a saint in his service to his God, his country, his family, and the poor – 'his dayes did like bright and puer incense shine in holy labors'.¹³

Surrounding Gabriel's epitaph are various decorative features, including shields and symbols of mortality, bones and spade. The six shields, and a large achievement above (Fig 4) incorporating further arms, draw attention to the various families with whom his ancestors had inter-married.

Then, above all is the tester with its painting of the heavens (Fig 5). Images of the sun, golden with streaming rays of light, and the moon, white with a human face, are set on a background of blue sky over which a multitude of golden stars are scattered and the whole is edged with white, fluffy clouds. To one side is a splash of red and gold set within clouds. On the golden area are inscribed Hebrew characters which make no sense but are likely to have been intended to represent the divine name, with the gold background representing the glory of God.¹⁴ As already noted, this work inspired the design for the ceiling of the stage in the first season of the rebuilt Globe Theatre on Bankside in 1996. We can only conjecture as to what led Gabriel to this design. Perhaps when in London he was a playgoer and in the theatres obtained ideas which he incorporated into this rare, perhaps unique, work. However, the inclusion of the representation of the divine name suggests something intended to convey a serious message.¹⁵

The tomb today is largely as it would have been seen when erected although some alterations were made at the time of major re-building work on the church in 1858 and re-painting will have taken place. Descriptions and drawings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries show a panel at the west end of the tomb with classical design and including a figure probably intended to represent Jesus as the 'good shepherd' but there is some doubt as to whether this was part of the original monument.¹⁶



4. Shield on Gabriel's tomb depicting the Poyntz arms (top left) and those of families with whom they intermarried.

Explaining the lineage

The inscription on the tomb concludes by noting the respect Gabriel had for his forebears and draws attention to the other part of his memorial scheme, a series of tablets he had created *amoris honoris et memoria* - 'in love, honour and memory'. The first is on the south wall of the chapel, six run along the east wall (Fig 6), and the eighth is on the north wall. They are of limestone and in places rather decayed but the overall vision is quite clear. The tablets vary slightly in architectural detail but each features a shallow niche with painted black ground within which are the figures, husband and wife, facing each other across a prayer desk. The men are in armour, the women in various dress - no doubt what was believed to be correct for their time. Above should be relevant arms but many are no longer there, if they ever were. Beneath each niche there is an inscription in Latin which details the marriage and emphasises the hereditary possession of the manor and the advowson of the church (i.e. the right to present a priest).

Most of what is said about all those recorded on the tablets can be verified by documentary

evidence. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Gabriel had no cause to be tempted to create a false genealogy for a family newly seeking to establish itself as gentry. His tablets show a clear line of descent and possession of the manor over a two hundred year period. From the south the tablets remember:

(1) Pointz fitz Pointz, son of Nicholas Pointz of Tockington, Gloucestershire, married Eleanor, daughter of William Baldwin of North Ockendon. This couple were active in Essex in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁷

(2) John (d.1447), son of (1) married Eleanor daughter of John Deyncourt. His wife presumably pre-deceased him as she is not mentioned in his will and there seems no other reference to her name.¹⁸

(3) John (d.1469) son of (2) married Matilda, daughter of William Perte of Avelay.¹⁹

(4) William (d.1527) son of (3) married Elizabeth Shaa, sister of John Shaa. William succeeded his brother Thomas for whom there is no tablet. John Shaa was a very wealthy Londoner



5. Painting of the heavens above Gabriel's tomb.

who served terms as mayor and prime warden of the Goldsmiths' Company. He acted as paymaster for Henry VII on some of the king's building projects. He had significant land holdings in Essex, including two manors at Horndon-on-the-Hill. The historian John Strype said that Elizabeth and John were the children of a John Shaa of Rochford.²⁰

(5) John (d.1547) son of (4) married Anne, sister of Isaac Sibley of Buckinghamshire. Anne was widow of John Cheney of Sittingbourne, Kent. She served Queen Mary and rode in the coronation procession of 1553 as 'mother of the maids.'²¹

(6) Thomas (d.1562) also son of

(4) married Anna van Calva, daughter of John Calva, a German. The tablet states that he suffered abroad for loyalty to Henry VIII and to 'evangelical truth' See below for an explanation of this inscription.

(7) Gabriel (d.1608) son of (6) married Etheldreda, daughter of Peter Cutt of Arkesden, Essex.

(8) Thomas (d.1597) son of (7) married Jane, daughter of Sir William Peryam. Jane's father was an eminent lawyer and judge.

There were added to these tablets two others which hang on the north wall of the chapel. These are of the same style but larger and of alabaster and black marble. They depict Gabriel's daughter Catherine (d.1603) and her

husband Sir John Morris (d.1618), and their son Sir James Poyntz (d.1623) and his son Richard Poyntz (d. 1643 in France). The relevance of these latter persons is that, sadly, Gabriel was not exempt from the experience of lineal fragility that plagued so many families. As both his children pre-deceased him the inheritance then became more complex. In accordance with his wishes, the manor went first to his son-in-law, Sir John Morris (thereafter to take the name of Poyntz) of Chipping Ongar, and his heirs male, and then to his son's daughter, Audrey. Unfortunately a most unseemly dispute was caused by a relation of Morris who sought to prevent Audrey inheriting. His actions included forgery of documents and a physical attack on the manor house. The dispute went



6. Scheme of memorial tablets in the Poyntz chapel.

all the way to the House of Lords. However, ultimately Gabriel's wishes were fulfilled.²²

A Final Thought

Several reasons can be suggested as to why many gentry families at this period were proclaiming status and lineage through memorials. Changed religious beliefs opened up an opportunity for something different. There was a new interest in drawing attention to their education, human qualities, family care and reformed religious faith. Many wished to proclaim their service to society, not least through formal office holding as justices of the peace and other such local positions. However, no doubt a feeling of vulnerability was also a significant factor. So many families disappeared for lack of a male heir and the manorial system itself was weakening as the last vestiges of feudalism faded.

Of course, Gabriel's loss of his two children will have forcibly reminded him of family vulnerability but, also, it may be wondered whether experiences in his childhood and youth made him even more conscious of this. Gabriel was born in Antwerp where his parents, Thomas and his Flemish wife Anna, ran a lodging house for some of the younger English merchants. In the Summer of 1534, for reasons not certain, they took as a lodger William Tyndale. This had an element of danger as Tyndale was widely regarded as a heretic. In 1526 he had published the first translation into English of the New Testament from the original Greek. This was reproduced by the new medium of printing

and many copies had been smuggled into England. Whilst with the Poyntz family Tyndale was revising his translation of the New Testament and also continuing to work on translating the Old Testament from the Hebrew.

During these months Thomas Poyntz became concerned about a young English student of Louvain University, Henry Phillips, who seemed to be ingratiating himself with his guest. He was right to be suspicious. Whilst Poyntz was away from home in the Spring of 1535 Phillips engineered the arrest of Tyndale who was taken to Vilvoorde Castle, Brussels, from where, in the autumn of 1536, he was strangled and burnt as a heretic.

In the meanwhile, Poyntz became a key figure in attempts to save Tyndale, acting on behalf of the English merchant community and as a courier to England and Thomas Cromwell. In a personal capacity he wrote to his brother John at North Ockendon pleading with him to use any influence he had to get the king working for Tyndale's release, a letter which John forwarded to Cromwell from Horndon-on-the-Hill.

Phillips saw Poyntz as a threat to his plans and in the Autumn of 1535 secured his arrest on a charge of being a Lutheran. In early 1536 Poyntz realised that his life was in danger and he succeeded in escaping to England. His wife and four children – the three year old Gabriel, his two younger brothers and sister – were left behind. The family was never to come back together,

except just possibly briefly in the mid 1540s when Thomas returned to Antwerp for a period. There are suggestions that he tried to get the family to England but that Anna was disinclined. He had his children naturalised as English citizens in 1541 but there is no evidence that they were with their father. When the children did come to England is unknown. Thomas would have been able to do little for them as he had many years of financial hardship, including imprisonment for debt, arising from his involvement with Tyndale and his flight from Antwerp. In 1551 Edward VI issued Letters Patent on his behalf describing him as having been 'brought unto misery for so godly a cause'. Only in 1554 did the situation improve when he inherited the manor.²³

We do not know what effect the years of family upheaval and uncertainty had on Gabriel but it must be possible that this experience was a factor in making him very conscious of family fragility. Conceivably all this is reflected in the memorial scheme to which he must have given much time in his last years and which, as his will stated, it was his intention should be preserved 'for ever'.

References

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2. The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/111/39, will of Gabriel Poyntz.
3. N. Saul *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 2009), p.151: 'The purpose of commissioning monuments was to enlist prayerful assistance ...

- Monuments were an essential weapon in the battle for the salvation of the soul.’
4. TNA, PROB 11/5/412, will of John Poynes. Throughout this article and references the surname is spelt as Poyntz except where reference is being made to a document in which a different spelling is used.
 5. TNA, PROB 11/111/39.
 6. C.H.Garrett *The Marian Exiles* (Cambridge 1966), p.358 for a Gabriel Poyntz at Basel. The identity of this man cannot be certain but I have found no evidence of a Gabriel Poyntz at this period other than Gabriel of North Ockendon. For Henry Tripp see Brett Usher in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27743, (05/04/2016).
 7. TNA, E179 & E115 for residence in North Ockendon. The London site, in Bevis Marks, had once belonged to the abbot of Bury St Edmunds. In 1699 the family leased it to the Spanish and Portugese Jewish community for the building of the synagogue which still stands.
 8. W. Barlee, *A concordance of all written lawes concerning Lords of Mannors, their free tenantes, and copyholders, addressed by him to the High Sheriff of Essex in 1578* (London, 1911), p.54.
 9. Essex Record Office (ERO), D/DBe T3, Item 1 marriage contract between Gabriel Poyntz and Richard Cutt, brother of Etheldreda. I have been unable to discover the present whereabouts of the portrait which the family sold in 1990. Interestingly there is a portrait of Thomas Knyvett of Norfolk in the same pose, attributed to the same artist and about the same date. This is now at Compton Verney, Warwickshire. See D.J.McKitterick *The Library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe* (Cambridge 1978) for his large and varied library. Gabriel did have relations in Norfolk and it may just be possible that he knew Knyvett.
 10. I am grateful to Susan North, Curator of Fashion 1550–1800, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for guidance on the clothing.
 11. Saul, p.151, traces the kneeling style back to the fourteenth century but describes it as ‘one of the most popular in early modern England’. The style of lying sideways is made fun of by Bosola in John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614) Act 4 Scene 2: ‘Princes’ images on their tombs do not lie, as they were wont, seeming to pray up to heaven, but with their hands under their cheeks, as if they died of the toothache’.
 12. Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 7669 Copy 2. The same comment about identity applies here as in Note 6 above.
 13. F. Heal & C. Holmes *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (London 1994), pp.1–3 look at the qualities often attributed to local gentry as on the Saltonstall memorial.
 14. I am grateful to Kim Phillips of Tyndale House, Cambridge, for following up the Hebrew characters with Nicholas de Lange, Professor of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Cambridge University. Their considered opinion is that the intention was to inscribe the divine name but that the artist was unfamiliar with Hebrew characters and made significant errors. Professor de Lange indicated that he had found this elsewhere.
 15. Gabriel may have been present at Copped Hall, Epping, in 1594 for the ceremonies on the second marriage of Sir Thomas Heneage which some believe included the first performance of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* by Shakespeare.
 16. For a written description of the tomb, ERO T/P 195/2/6 containing a history and description of the manor and churches of South Ockendon, North Ockendon and Cranham by William Holman (1670–1730), pp.91–4. For drawings by a member of the Buckler family in 1825, British Library Add MS 36362 Buckler Architectural Drawings Vol. 7 ff. 89–96. For a discussion of changes to the tomb and of the west panel, E.F.Evans, ‘North Ockendon: St. Mary Magdalene’, *Essex Review*, 37 April 1928, pp. 55–7.
 17. Evidence includes *Feet of Fines Essex*, 3, 1327–1422 (Colchester, 1949), pp.168/1721 & 179/1845; London Metropolitan Archives, DL/A/A/004/MS09531/003, f117, Register of Bishop Robert Braybrooke.
 18. Lambeth Palace Library, Stafford 149v, will of John Poynes.
 19. TNA, PROB 11/5/412, will of John Poynes. Note the heir was a Thomas for whom there is no tablet.
 20. TNA, E150/310/2, Inquisition Post Mortem William Poynes for date of death. No will survives. Confirmation of his marriage to Elizabeth is given by the contemporary brass and TNA, PROB 11/14/156, will of John Shaa, 1504. For parentage of Elizabeth and John see J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London 1720) Volume II Book 5 Chapter 6. www.hrionline.ac.uk/strype.
 21. TNA, PROB 11/31/546, will of John Poyntz, 1547 decreed how the manor was to descend. TNA, PROB, 11/37/21 will of Anne Poyntz 1554 confirms her royal service.
 22. Gabriel’s tablets have interested several scholars. N. Llewellyn *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge 2009), p.68, describes them as ‘a unique series’. Others have discussed them in relation to the problem of lineal fragility, e.g. Heal & Holmes, pp.24–26 & P. Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot 2008) p.22.
 23. TNA, C66/836, Letters Patent December 1551. For the Tyndale–Poyntz affair see B. Buxton *At the House of Thomas Poyntz: The betrayal of William Tyndale with the consequences for an English merchant and his family* (The author 2013, revised 2014). Reviewed in the *Essex Journal*, 49, 1 (2014), p.34.

Acknowledgments

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The author

Since retiring from teaching in 2001 the author has researched and written about aspects of the life of William Tyndale, his family and associates. He is a member of the Tyndale Society (www.tyndale.org).

Christy family of Broomfield:

Quaker & west country links of its business activities

by

Peter Wynn

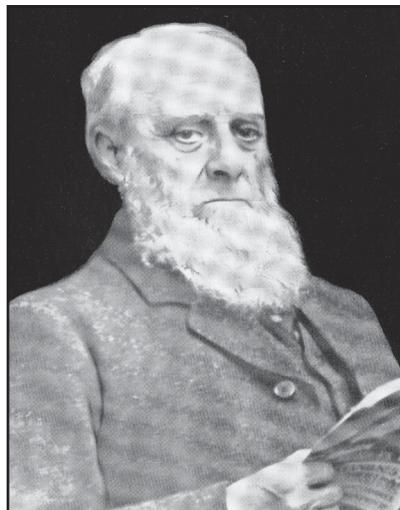
Essex has been a stronghold of the Quaker movement.¹ In the 1851 census of religious observance only 20 of the 340 Meetings had a higher attendance than Chelmsford on the census day, most of these being in large cities.² This article examines one of the prominent Quaker families of the Chelmsford area, introducing the early history of the family and its establishment at Broomfield as farmers and engineers. It goes on to explore their subsequent business activities, especially the west country electrical supply business of Christy Brothers, relating this to family and Quaker connections and the decline in such influences as the twentieth century progressed.

Early History of the Christy Family

The Christy family can be traced back to Alexander I Christy (or Christie) who was born in 1642. He was from Aberdeen but emigrated to Moyallon in County Down in Ireland in 1675 where he became part of, or may even have founded, a new community of Quakers.³ The Christy family are thought to have introduced the linen trade into the area and subsequently were followed by other Quaker families involved in linen manufacturing and trading.⁴ Alexander I's son, John I, born in Moyallon in 1673, provided the site for a Meeting House erected there in 1736.⁵ John I's eldest son, Alexander II moved to Ormiston in Scotland in 1731 where he set up a bleach green for linen assisted by his younger brother John II.⁶ Alexander II was presumably the 'eminent undertaker from Ireland, both in the

manufacturing and whitening of linen' who was induced by John Cockburn 'to take up his residence at Ormiston' and who received a favourable lease of the bleachfield and a grant of some lands in the neighbourhood. Alexander II moved elsewhere within Scotland in 1733 and John II took over the operation and was listed as a member of the 'Ormiston Society' in 1736.⁷ He is said to have introduced the concept of the cloth drying house to Scotland. Another brother, Joseph, moved to Scotland in the 1740s.⁸ Other siblings remained in Moyallon, including James who established a chemical works for the production of sulphuric acid used in the process of bleaching linen.⁹

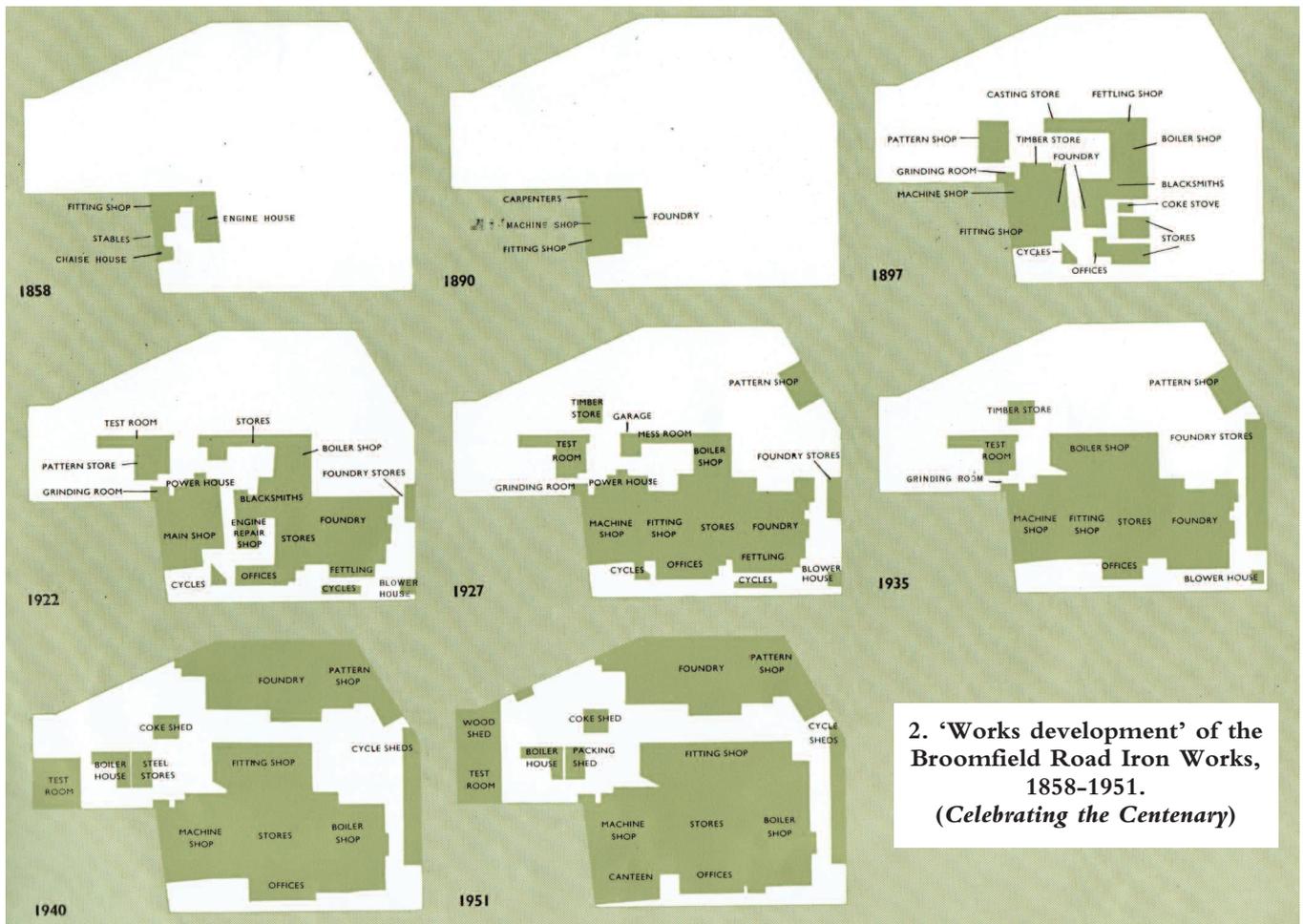
Miller Christy, son of John II and his wife, Mary née Miller, was born about 1748. Following an apprenticeship he moved to London where he was admitted as a Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Feltmakers and in partnership with Joseph Storrs



1. Fell Christy.
(From *Celebrating the Centenary of Christy and Norris Limited*)

established a hat making business. This was based at White Hart Court, and later Gracechurch Street, in the City of London.¹⁰ The first Essex connection of the Christy family appears to be the Quaker marriage of Miller Christy to Ann Rice (sometimes recorded as Rist), daughter of William Rice, a blacksmith of Manuden, in 1773.¹¹

William Miller Christy, one of Miller Christy's sons, subsequently considerably expanded the hat business, moving its base to Stockport in 1826 when the firm took over another business that had previously made hats for them on commission. During that century the Stockport site became the largest hat factory in the world. A separate business, W.M. Christy & Sons was also set up in Stockport as the first manufacturers of Turkish towels in England.¹² Until 1871 the hat making business also had a factory in Frampton Cotterell, near Bristol, in an area associated with hat making from the seventeenth century.¹³ William Miller was also a founder director of the London Joint Stock Bank and devised the 'Penny Receipt Stamp'. He and his brother James Christy both married daughters of John Fell. Although John Fell was from a Quaker family, he was not a descendant of Margaret Fell, the so called 'Mother of Quakerism'.¹⁴ The marriage record for James Christy and Charlotte Fell in the summer of 1812 shows him as a farmer of Patching Hall in Broomfield.¹⁵ He also subsequently came into possession of Brownings and Gutters farms with Brownings becoming his home.¹⁶ At the time of his death in 1874 he owned



2. 'Works development' of the Broomfield Road Iron Works, 1858-1951. (Celebrating the Centenary)

cottages in Broomfield, Roxwell and Chelmsford as well as land in Chelmsford which will be discussed later.¹⁷

Another brother, Thomas, also became a farmer, based at Brooklands in Broomfield, after working for a while in the hat making business.¹⁸ By the time of his death in 1846, besides Brooklands, Thomas owned Butlers, Glovers, Priors, Webbs and Scravels farms in Broomfield, another farm at Woodham Ferrers and held the Manor of Black Notley Hall. He owned cottages in Broomfield Road, Railway Street and Baddow Road in Chelmsford, at Broomfield Green and at Manuden. Outside of the county he had property in Lambeth and near Bolton.¹⁹

The Christy Family of Broomfield and its Role in the Quaker Community of Essex and Beyond

Shortly after his arrival in Broomfield Thomas Christy gave

his support to the establishment of a 'British School' there. This was built on part of his Glovers property. In 1838 he conveyed the school in trust to a number of Quakers: his sons Thomas and Samuel, James and David (sons of James, his brother), William Marriage, Henry Marriage, Francis Marriage and John Candler. They were 'to permit the said schoolrooms to be used for the purposes of carrying on a Boy and Girl School for children resident in the Parish of Broomfield or any adjoining or adjacent Parishes'. He gave the trustees power to employ any schoolmaster or mistress and the Holy Scriptures without note or comment were to form the basis of and be daily used in the education of the children.²⁰

In 1856 two of James Christy's sons, David and Robert, along with other Quakers including members of the Marriage and Impey families, were parties to a Conveyance of land in Broomfield Road for use as a

burial ground.²¹ Marriage outside of the Quaker community was discouraged and we find inter-marriages *inter alia* between the Christys, Marriages and Impeys. Members of the Christy and Marriage families were also related to George and Ann Jones of Stockport whose presence in America seems to have contributed to a major split within the Quaker movement there.²²

Scholarship

Members of the Christy family in Essex were active in extending knowledge. This is in spite of, or perhaps in reaction to, the bar on Quakers being able to receive a degree from many English universities.

Henry Christy

Henry born in 1810 was a son of William Miller Christy. He was interested in ethnology and palaeontology and was a Fellow of both the Linnean Society and the Geological Society. His

studies included Scandinavian antiquities, cave dwellings of the Dordogne and Aztec buildings of Mexico.²³

Robert Miller Christy

Robert Miller Christy, who later omitted use of his first name, was born at Chignal St James in 1862. He was a grandson of James Christy. He had a wide range of interests including natural and local history. A detailed account of the work of Robert Miller Christy appeared in a series of articles in the *Essex Journal*.²⁴ These articles included extensive coverage of Christy's diaries which had commenced whilst a pupil at Bootham School and continued for most of his life. It is clear from the articles that he was a prolific author. His Essex books included *Durrant's Handbook of Essex* (1887), *The Trade Signs of Essex* (1887), and *The Birds of Essex* (1890). The latter title was printed by the firm of Hayman, Christy and Lilly, which he had joined as a partner shortly before. With Gertrude May Thresh, the daughter of Dr John Clough Thresh, Medical Officer of Health for Essex, he authored *The Mineral Waters and Medicinal Springs of Essex* (1910), a publication of the Essex Field Club. He served as a president of that club between 1905 and 1907, was a member of council of the Essex Archaeological Society and a Fellow of the Linnean Society. He contributed many papers to these and other learned societies as well as to the *Essex Review*. The *Victoria County History of Essex* included sections from him on topics as diverse as birds and industry. Less well known are his books on exploration published by the Hakluyt Society.²⁵

Most biographical accounts of Robert Miller Christy have omitted mention of the bankruptcy order made against him in 1921.²⁶ The bankruptcy hearing was told that this was the result of the Government taking over the premises of the printing company during the First World War and



**3 'An early photograph of the entrance to the Works taken about 1880'.
(Celebrating the Centenary)**

the consequent winding up of the business.²⁷ These circumstances may explain why he apparently continued to be accepted by the Quaker community that would normally have regarded bankruptcy with great disdain.

Cuthbert Christy

Dr Cuthbert Christy, the brother of Robert Miller Christy was born in 1863. He attended the Quaker Olivers Mount School in Scarborough and graduated as a physician from the University of Edinburgh in 1882. He travelled widely. Combining his medical knowledge with an interest in zoology, by 1900 he had published *Mosquitoes and Malaria; a Summary of Knowledge on the Subject* which was followed by other works on malaria and sleeping sickness. He held Fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society and the Zoological Society. He has the honour of having three species of snake named after him: *Naga christyi*, *Polemon christyi* and *Chamaelycus christyi*. During 1929 he led a League of Nations commission to investigate allegations of slavery in Liberia. In 1932 he died in the Belgian Congo from wounds sustained by an attack from a buffalo which he had shot during a zoological expedition.²⁸

Charlotte Fell-Smith

Charlotte, the daughter of Joseph

and Mary (née Christy) Smith was born in 1851 and was a first cousin of Robert Miller Christy. She was a distinguished biographer and was the Dictionary of National Biography's most prolific female contributor.²⁹ She was the biographer of James Parnell, the Quaker martyr, who died in Colchester Castle, and her *John Dee (1527-1608)* was the first modern biography of this Elizabethan mathematician, alchemist and astrologer who had attended school in Chelmsford.

Development of the Engineering Business at Broomfield

Pat Ryan recorded that James Christy was advertising as a brick-maker in 1839.³⁰ However the Christy brickmaking business had been active for at least three years at that date as in 1836 it was recorded that 'A brickmaker, named Palmer, was charged with quitting the service of M. [sic] Christy, of Broomfield, before the expiration of his engagement.'³¹ Later James Christy entered a formal partnership with his son, Fell (Fig 1), and their brick and pot manufacturing business traded as James Christy & Son.³² In his will James referred to the 'brick kilns belonging to me and now in the occupation...of Fell.' These were adjacent to James's Brownings

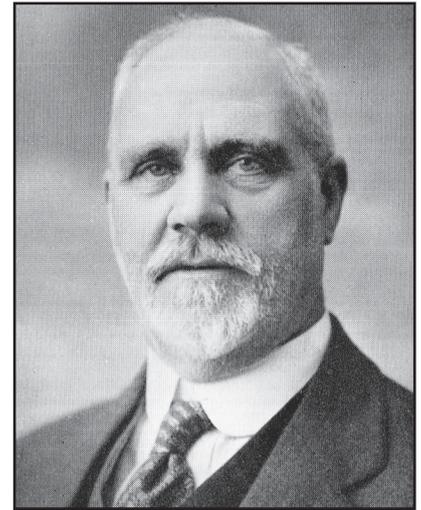


4. James Norris
(Celebrating the Centenary)

property at Broomfield. He stated that his brick and pottery yard there contained about two acres two roods and one perch and left these with the kiln buildings and sheds thereon to Fell who was also given the right, subject to payment of royalties, to dig brickearth from the south western corner of the field called Barnfield, the freehold of which he had left to his son, James, and the southern side of a field called Little Hollows which he had left to his daughter, Mary Smith. He also left to Fell the following in Chelmsford: a three acre field opposite the cemetery in New London Road, a one acre piece of land in New Writtle Street, a further piece of one acre and two roods between the latter street and the Great Eastern Railway and pieces of land, totalling about thirteen acres, lying either side of the railway viaduct over the River Can, the latter pieces having a communication with each other through the viaduct arches.³³ Although the will does not mention brick making in connection with any of these Chelmsford sites, it is pertinent to note that in 1867 Fell had applied to the Chelmsford Local Board of Health for permission to lay a tramway across the road near his Anchor Street brickfield and that the Ordnance Survey map of 1874 shows extensive brickworks in the area.³⁴ I have tried to reconcile the acreages given in

James Christy's will with values given for plots on the map and its corresponding Book of Reference in order to ascertain which plots were his but have not been successful.

By the end of the 1860s Fell was also in business as an engineer, millwright and machinist at the Broomfield Road Iron Works (Figs 2 & 3) to the south of his father's Brownings home. This activity built on his previous as an apprenticeship to the Quaker John Whitmore, a millwright of Wickham Market in Suffolk.³⁵ His interest in engineering may be related to the fact that his cousin, Rebecca Miller Christy, the daughter of William Miller and Ann, married Alfred Darby, a member of the renowned family of Quaker ironworkers which had constructed the Ironbridge in Shropshire.³⁶ In the 1880s Fell went into partnership with James Norris (Fig 4) and the firm, principally operating as milling engineers, eventually became Christy and Norris Ltd.³⁷ Fred Roberts suggested that it was Norris's expertise on agricultural steam engines and boilers that was attractive to Christy.³⁸ This is likely since Norris had previously been with Eddingtons of Chelmsford, who were another Quaker family which, like James Norris, had come from Somerset. Whilst Christy and Norris are more widely known for milling and grinding machinery, there is evidence that they did make boilers.³⁹ About 1883 a separate electrical engineering business was established by Fell Christy, his son, Frank (Fig 5), and James Norris. Although it does not seem to have been recognised in previous accounts of the firm's history, this operated under the title of Christy, Son and Norris until the partnership was dissolved in 1891.⁴⁰ An advertisement placed in the local newspaper associated the firm with Crompton & Co with whom Frank served his apprenticeship.⁴¹ Several reports of around this time also refer to electrical work carried out by



5. Frank Christy
(Celebrating the Centenary)

Christy and Norris and in a report of the 1889 fire at their works one newspaper article described Christy and Norris as 'milling and electrical and general engineers, and iron and brass founders.' (Fig 6)⁴² It is unclear whether this is inaccurate reporting or whether electrical engineering activities were indeed carried out by both partnerships.⁴³ Subsequent to the 1891 dissolution of Christy, Son and Norris, Frank was joined by his brother, Leonard Fell Christy, and the electrical business became known as Christy Bros.⁴⁴ For a while they were joined by William Middleton from Leeds and then operated as Christy Brothers and Middleton.⁴⁵ On the dissolution of this partnership when Middleton left in 1906 the business became Christy Brothers and Company Limited.⁴⁶ The milling engineering and electrical businesses operated as separate, but closely related, businesses with Christy Brothers becoming significant players in the UK electricity supply business, especially in the West Country, until nationalisation in 1948. In 1933, when a public share offering in Christy Bros. Ltd. was made, Frank Christy's son, Geoffrey had joined the board of the company.⁴⁷

The West Country Business of Christy Bros.

Byatt pointed out that, apart from

Table 1
Christy Bros. Involvement with Municipal Electric Supply

Approximate Date	Area of Supply	Company
1907	Urban District of Bude and Rural District of Stratton, Cornwall	Bude Electric Supply Co. Ltd.
1908	Holsworthy, Devon	Christy Brothers and Company Ltd.
1910	Pateley Bridge, Yorkshire	Christy Brothers and Company Ltd.
1911	Aldeborough and District, Suffolk	Aldeborough Electric Supply Co. Ltd.
1912	Clevedon, Portishead and District, Somerset	Clevedon, Portishead and District Electric Supply Co. Ltd.
1915	Street, Glastonbury, Wells and surrounding areas, Somerset	Christy Brothers and Company Ltd.
1924	Cheddar	Cheddar Electric Supply Co. Ltd. ⁵⁵

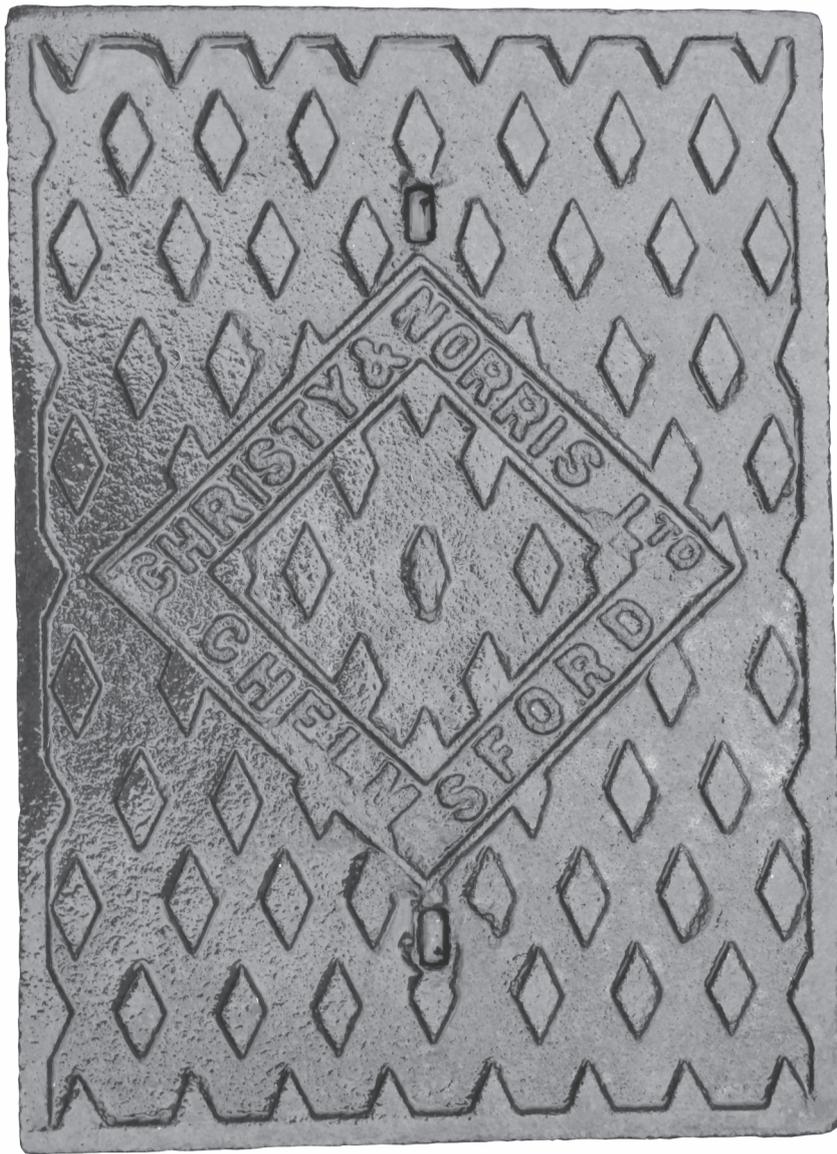
some early schemes that were largely unviable, electricity supply until the late 1880s usually took the form of arc lighting for isolated premises such as factories.⁴⁸ It was this area that Christy Bros initially entered. The more technical aspects of this have been explored by members of the Western Power Electricity Historical Society.⁴⁹ The present study concentrates on the development of the business and the Christy family involvement. Among their early work was the installation of electric lighting in 1884 at Grace Brothers flour mills in Bristol.⁵⁰ Another early installation was for the wholesale grocery firm of H.H. Budgett of Kingswood, near Bristol. It is not inconceivable, considering the related nature of the businesses, that there would be commercial arrangements between the two firms that would have enabled the Budgetts to have seen the installation of electric at Grace Brothers. Christys tendered, apparently unsuccessfully, to install electric lighting for the district of Kingswood.⁵¹ They supported their tender by referring to the work at Grace Brothers and Budgetts. A further installation in a private residence was that at Stanton Drew in North Somerset during 1890

referred to in endnote 42. Ten years later the firm was back at Kingswood installing electricity at the rebuilt Abbey Mill factory of Tubb, Lewis & Co.⁵²

The earliest town lighting installations actually carried out by the business were at Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight (1900) and Milford on Sea (1903).⁵³ The firm narrowly missed the opportunity to operate a scheme on behalf of the local authority in Tiverton in 1903. Here they were in a multiway competition with gas, direct operation by the authority and an offer by Cromptons of Chelmsford. Against the recommendation of its lighting committee, the authority eventually decided on municipal operation.⁵⁴ As well as local authorities private companies could apply to the Board of Trade to generate and distribute electricity. The firm had already become active in this market as a supplier in its own right or through an associated company as shown in Table 1. The concentration of activity in the south-west, and Somerset in particular, is notable.

Electric power was installed by Christy Brothers at the shoe factory of C. & J. Clark in Street, Somerset by 1911. There is a link between the installation of

electricity at the shoe factory and the firm's involvement in public electricity supplies in Somerset. In February 1914 Mr Frank Christy wrote to Clarks indicating the financial advantages of combining additional facilities at the factory with the provision of a public electricity supply.⁵⁵ A public circular stated that 'If it is the general wish of the inhabitants of Street Messrs C. & J. Clark are willing to make the necessary extensions at their factory to duplicate their present power and electrical installations so as to enable them to supply electric power in bulk sufficient for the probable requirements of Street.'⁵⁶ William Stephens Clark and Francis (Frank) Clark, directors of the shoe company, were also members of the Electric Lighting Committee of Street Urban District Council and in this role indicated that they would not support a move for the council to operate a supply themselves.⁵⁷ The proposal was in some doubt for a while because of the effect of the commencement of the First World War.⁵⁸ In the event the scheme went ahead with the original Provisional Order granted to Christy Brothers being transferred to a new company, the Mid-Somerset Electric Supply Company, whose



6. A Christy & Norris manhole cover from a property in Broomfield. (N. Wiffen, 13/06/2019)

first directors included Frank Christy and members of the Clark family.⁵⁹ From June 1915 power was supplied in bulk to the company from the generators at the Clarks' factory.⁶⁰ This arrangement continued until 1929 when the Mid-Somerset Company was taken over by the North Somerset Company.⁶¹ The Clarks' factory also supplied electric power to the Avalon Leather Board Company, established by William Stephens Clark, and the Co-operative Wholesale Society's tannery, previously owned by the Clothier family. F.W.L. Tincknell, who had been an electrical apprentice at Clarks' factory, subsequently served with the North Somerset

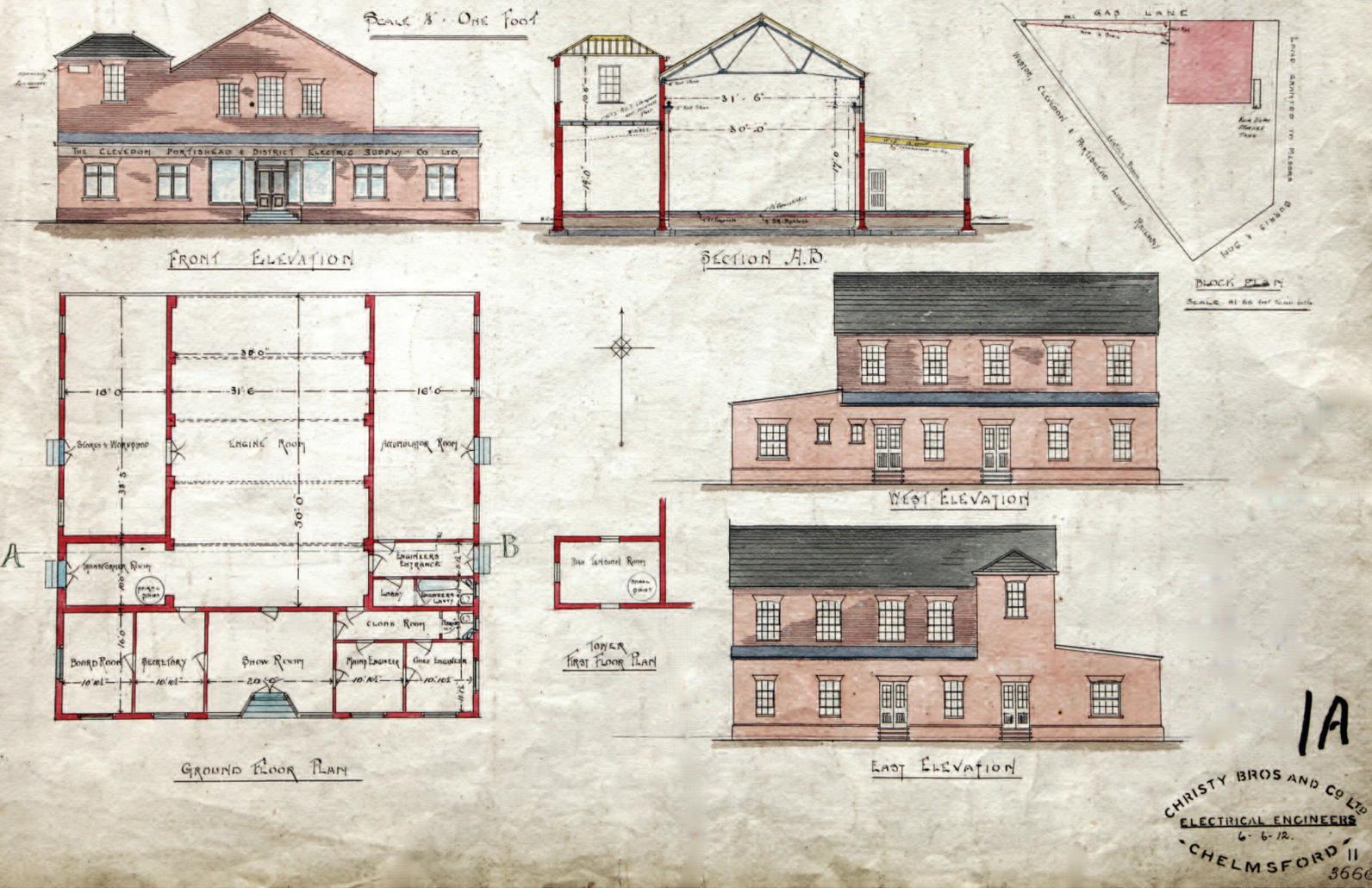
and Culm Valley electric supply companies, eventually becoming a director of Christy Brothers based at Chelmsford.⁶² It is perhaps worth noting that besides the involvement of the Clarks family at Street, one of the first subscribers to the Bude undertaking and one of the first directors of the Clevedon company was a boot maker.⁶³

After the First World War attempts were made through legislation to rationalise the electricity supply industry. Following an act of 1919, Electricity Commissioners were appointed as a national planning board for the industry. However it was reliant on voluntary action by the undertakers to achieve its

aims. However in 1927 a Central Electricity Board was established with stronger powers. It led to standardisation of supply, use of a smaller number of larger power stations and the formation of the national grid.⁶⁴ Following this a series of takeovers consolidated Christy Brothers position in Somerset and Devon. Christy Brothers took over the Cheddar Electric Supply Company, the Winscombe Electric Light & Power Company and the Wedmore Electric Light & Power Company in 1928-9 absorbing them into the Clevedon, Portishead and District Electric Supply Company (Fig 7) which had by then become known as the North Somerset Electric Supply Company Ltd.⁶⁵ The North Somerset company also had as subsidiaries the Mid-Somerset Electric Supply Company and the Burnham and District Electric Supply Company making its total supply area about 600 square miles.⁶⁶ In Devon the Bradninch & District Electric Supply Company was taken over in 1929 and the Horrbridge & District Electric Supply Company in 1932 and incorporated into a new West Devon Electric Supply Company formed in 1930. A number of small undertakings in the Okehampton and Tavistock area were taken over by the new company whose Chairman and Joint Managing Director was Frank Christy. The Bude and Holsworthy companies continued as separate entities but were operated as part of the West Devon scheme. All the companies had agreements with Christy Brothers for the latter to undertake capital works and operate the systems.⁶⁷ Whilst generally the generation of electricity for Christy's enterprises came from burning of fossil fuels such as gas and diesel, the West Devon company inherited a water turbine at Tavistock and subsequently developed their own hydro electric power schemes using water from the River Tavy.⁶⁸ There is evidence that Christy Brothers tried to foster close relationships between head

ELECTRIC GENERATING STATION at PORTISHEAD

for THE CLEVEDON PORTISHEAD and DISTRICT ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO. LTD.



7. Plan of the Electric Generating Station at Portishead.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Western Power Electricity Historical Society)

office staff from Chelmsford and those of the west country subsidiaries with for example an outing of Chelmsford staff to Cheddar in 1929 and a joint outing to Windsor in 1931.⁶⁹

In the early days the firm's move into public electricity supplies followed the provision of private supplies such as that at Street, described earlier. However by the 1920s the sequence was reversed and we see for example in 1921 Christy's carried out the electrical installation for a new building at Edgehill College in Bideford. Subsequently the firm undertook the installation of electric for the upper lighthouse at Burnham on Sea after they had taken over the local electricity supply undertaking. This is said

to be the first lighthouse in the country to have been automatically lighted by electric.⁷⁰ In 1936 it was stated that 'the whole of the electrical installation [of the new Ritz cinema in the same town] has been carried out by Messrs Christy Bros of Chelmsford in conjunction with the Burnham-on-Sea Electrical Supply Co.'⁷¹

Alongside their supply business Christy Brothers developed a manufacturing capability for items such as switchboards. There were two bases for this manufacturing activity: Chelmsford and Bristol. Providing a link with the business of Christy and Norris, Christy Brothers also manufactured specialist equipment mainly based on the needs of the milling

industry such as separators and test bread ovens.⁷²

During 1928 a cable system was installed by Christys at St Neots in Huntingdonshire to relay wireless broadcasts. A subsidiary company, Christy Bros. (Wireless Relays) Ltd was established and a similar provision was provided in Chelmsford in 1934 to be followed by systems in the towns of Burnham-on-Sea and Bridgwater in Somerset. These wireless relay services continued into the 1960s.⁷³

Extent of the Quaker Influence on the West Country Work of Christy Brothers

A perusal of a Christy Brothers publicity booklet shows that

companies controlled by Quakers, including Marriages of Essex, Cadbury of Bournville, Fry of Bristol and Clark of Street, along with Bootham and Mount Friends' Schools were early customers of Christy Bros.⁷⁴ Unfortunately the booklet does not give dates at which the work was undertaken.

The business networks within the Quaker movement can be seen with the early work for Graces of Bristol. Alexander Grace (1837-1929) miller of Bristol was a Quaker whose niece married Herbert Corder, the son of Alexander Corder, a Quaker linen draper born in Widford, near Chelmsford.⁷⁵ Although the Budgett family for whom subsequent work was undertaken were Methodists, rather than Quakers, their business ethics were not dissimilar. It may also be significant that Kingswood is near to Frampton Cotterell where the Christys had one of their hatmaking factories, and was itself a hatmaking area, although by that time the Frampton Cotterell factory had closed.⁷⁶

No Quaker connection has been found in the case of the installations at Stanton Drew and at the Abbey Mill factory, although the former is close to the area of north Somerset from which the Eddingtons, for whom James Norris worked, had originated. The same comment can also be made in regard to the electricity supply business of the Clevedon and Portishead area.

A much closer family and Quaker connection can be seen in the work for Clarks at Street and the subsequent public supply in that area. The Clarks were a Quaker family who were related by marriage to the Marriage family, and hence indirectly to the Christy family, of the Chelmsford area.⁷⁷ The link between the installation of electricity at the shoe factory and the firm's involvement in public electricity supplies in Somerset has been noted above. William Columbus Clothier was married to Caroline Impey, daughter of

William Impey of Broomfield. William and Caroline's son, Samuel Thompson (Tom) married a daughter of William Stephens Clark.⁷⁸ In spite of the Quaker connection between the Christy and Clark families, this was not reflected in the correspondence between the companies which tended to start formally with 'Dear Mr Clark' rather than 'Dear Friend'.⁷⁹

Whilst Edgehill was a Methodist College, the architect, Fred Rowntree, was a Quaker and probably employed Christys on similar projects outside of the current study area.⁸⁰ In passing it can be mentioned that Fred was the architect for Miller Christy's home, *Broomwood*, in Chignall.⁸¹

The family/Quaker influence on the development of the Christy business seems to have declined as the twentieth century progressed. With the exception of the Mid-Somerset supply company, it has not been possible to find any directors of the electric supply companies in south-west England, other than those of the Christys themselves, who could be identified as Quakers. It has been suggested elsewhere that the growth of the limited company reduced the need for financing of business development from within the confines of the Quaker movement.⁸² It seems that after the initial help provided by the Quaker community, the Christy Brothers businesses were able to expand on the basis of their own reputation, or else the capital needs exceeded the capacity of that community. Perhaps it is significant that the time at which the Chelmsford Christy businesses moved to limited liability status was also that at which the more well known Quaker businesses of Cadbury, Fry, Rowntree and, of particular significance here, Clarks, made similar transitions.

A relatively late exception to the Quaker involvement applies in the case of the Alderney electric supply activity, described in a little more detail later, with the directorship of Francis Levett

Impey. He had retired to the island after a successful business career. He was descended from the Impey family of Broomfield and was also a grandson of James Clark, the shoemaker of Street in Somerset.⁸³

Outline of Christy and Norris Activities During the Early Twentieth Century

Fell Christy's son, William, joined the business in 1897 and the business became a limited company in 1918 with directors including himself, James Norris and James' son in law, Herbert Tilley. It has not been possible to detect a strong relationship with the West Country in the case of Christy and Norris. This is rather surprising as Norris had been born and brought up in the Somerset Levels near Burnham-on-Sea. James Norris had joined Christy from the firm of A & W Eddington in Chelmsford. The Eddingtons were Quakers from Somerset. Whilst James Norris was also a Somerset man, there is apparently no Quaker connection in his own case.⁸⁴ He died at Chelmsford in 1923 and his death was noted in a West Country press article where he was described as 'a member of the well known Somerset family of agriculturalists'.⁸⁵ By 1938 William Christy and Herbert Tilley had been joined as directors by William's nephew, Frank Fell Christy, who became managing director following William's death in 1947.⁸⁶

The Christy Companies after 1948

Following the nationalisation of the public electricity supply part of their business in 1948, the remaining assets of Christy Brothers were acquired by a new company, Christy Brothers (Chelmsford) Ltd. The new company had Frank Christy as Chairman and his son, Geoffrey Christy, as a joint Managing Director. Frank's other son, Frank Fell Christy, previously with Christy and Norris Ltd, became another joint Managing

Director. The company took over the business of Christy and Norris Ltd which became a subsidiary company along with Christy Bros. (Wireless Relays) Ltd.⁸⁷ Although established primarily as a holding company, the new company, which was subsequently renamed in 1951 to Christy Bros Ltd, also directly operated the electrical engineering business.

Its expertise in this area led to the company being approached to purchase the Alderney Light and Power Company. It declined to do this. However it subsequently agreed to construct a new power station and operate the distribution system of the island. It formed a new subsidiary company, Alderney Electricity Ltd for this purpose. The first directors appointed were Frank Christy, his son Geoffrey Christy, and A.A. Gates, all of Chelmsford, and Francis Levett Impey of Alderney.

Post war acquisitions were made of the refrigeration company Playle of Maldon in 1949 (subsequently renamed Christy Bros Refrigeration Ltd) and B.C. Bullard of Ipswich in 1959. In 1963 the directors obtained a report from management consultants on the organisation of the businesses. It would appear that the recommendations were largely ignored.⁸⁸ By 1966 the Christy family's influence on the business was declining. Whilst Frank Fell Christy and Geoffrey were still directors, two outside organisations held large proportions of the shares.⁸⁹ One of these was the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution. This was founded in 1842 by Robert Warner, a Quaker, who from 1854 lived at Scravels in Broomfield, a former Christy property.⁹⁰

By 1970 only one member of the Christy family, Geoffrey, remained on the board as the chairman. Low profits made the company vulnerable to a takeover bid. An approach by a conglomerate in that year petered

out and led to recommendations from the company's management consultants that the process of profit forecasting should be improved to enable a timely reaction to be made to any future bid. The consultants also recommended restructuring so that the electrical contracting business was not directly part of the holding company's activities. This was achieved in 1972 by renaming the dormant Christy Brothers (Wireless Relays) Ltd as Christy Electrical Ltd and transferring the electrical business assets to it.⁹¹

However the business remained vulnerable and by 1973 the directors of Burne Investment Management (BIM) had built up a majority holding of Christy Brothers shares and Mr D. Burne had become a board member. A reverse takeover of BIM by Christy Brothers was announced.⁹² In the following restructuring two more directors of BIM were appointed as directors of Christy Bros Ltd and Geoffrey Christy, along with William Tincknell, the son of F.W.L. Tincknell, who had joined the business from Clarks, lost their directorships of Christy Bros Ltd although they remained for a short period as directors of Christy Electrical Ltd. It was subsequently found that the assets of BIM were worth much less than had been thought leading to the need in 1975 to substantially reduce Christy Bros share premium account.⁹³ By this stage the original family involvement in the business had ceased.

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5. M.A. Coombes, *Charlotte Mason: Hidden Heritage and Educational Influence* (Cambridge, 2015), p.29.
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8. Crawford, p.26.
9. Rankin, p.xvi.
10. Milligan, p.103-4.
11. The National Archives (TNA), RG6/495, Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex: Marriages (1727-75).
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- appears to be more complicated than this: The *Ipswich Journal*, 04/06/1803, [p.2], 'Marriages', reported the marriage in London of Mr Andrews, farmer of Patching Hall, to Jemima Livermore, daughter of Thomas Livermore, tallow chandler of Chelmsford. This was a Church of England marriage (London Metropolitan Archives, P69/PET1/A/004/MS08823/002, St Peter Cornhill Register of Marriages 1781-1812) with the parties recorded as John Rutt Andrews and Jemima Benson Livermore. Thomas Livermore was declared bankrupt in 1807 which may explain the change in occupation in the following year (*London Gazette* (LG), 22/12/1807, p.1741) and one wonders about the significance the following year of an advertisement of a property, late in the occupation of Thomas Livermore described as 'a valuable freehold newly created brick building...situated at the entrance of the County Town of Chelmsford from Braintree.' (LG, 10/05/1808, p.670).
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 17. Will of James Christy, proved at Principal Probate Registry, 1874.
 18. B. Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, 1 (London, 1879), p.312; Milligan, p.104; The obituary in the Society of Friends *Annual Monitor*, New Series No.5 (York, 1847), p.15 suggested Thomas moved to Essex about 1831.
 19. The National Archives, PROB 11/2038/309, Will of Thomas Christy.
 20. ERO, D/P 248/28/2, Copy Conveyance, 1838. Such schools were based on the approach of the once Quaker, Joseph Lancaster.
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 24. W.R. Powell, 'R. Miller Christy, Essex Naturalist and Antiquary', *Essex Journal*, 40 (2), pp.46-54, Vol. 41 (1), pp.5-11, Vol. 41 (2), pp. 48-53 & Vol. 42 (1), pp.23-6.
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 45. The Duchess of Cambridge, formerly Catherine Middleton, is a great, great niece of William Middleton.
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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Tim Crumplin of the Alfred Gillett Trust for making records of the Clark family available to me and for his courtesy during my visit to the Trust archives at Street. I would also like to thank Adrian Corder Birch for his helpful suggestions for enhancement of this article.

The Author

Peter Wynn was born and brought up in Chelmsford but has lived in Maldon since his marriage in 1975. Whilst his maternal ancestry is from Essex, his father was born in Burnham-on-Sea in Somerset and the links between the two locations provided the impetus for this study.

Book Reviews

Diarmaid MacCulloch,
Thomas Cromwell: A Life,
pp.xxiii & 728. 978-1-84614-429-5.
Allen Lane, 2018, £30.

This is a big book – a very big book of 550 pages of text, with 25 pages of Bibliography and over one hundred pages of endnotes. But don't let that put you off; good things do come in large packages as well as small.

The book is arranged in five parts, each of which is divided into chronologically thematic chapters, each one dealing with a specific aspect of Cromwell's life and career. Such a clearly arranged approach is so refreshing and one that speaks volumes for the author's absolute grasp of his subject, drawing, as he does, on a vast range of source material to illustrate all of the many threads that impinge on his subject's career.

MacCulloch demonstrates the importance of the experience that Cromwell gained in his early public career, in the service of Thomas Wolsey, to his later service to King and government. Particularly of note here is Cromwell's central role in effecting Wolsey's dissolution of monasteries for the funding of the latter's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. Such experience was put to good use later in the early 1530s, and especially in the second half of that decade, although, as MacCulloch tells us, such a wide-ranging attack on the monasteries in the later 1530s was beyond Cromwell's personal wishes (in this he was defeated by Rich and Audley), and almost led then to his undoing.

Throughout the book the author traces in great detail Cromwell's relations with the king. This included supervising royal building projects, ('a useful bonding experience') together with Cromwell 'tugging at the King's sleeve'; at another time we see Cromwell, as Master Secretary 'trotting through the City on his endless journeys from Austin Friars down Cheapside and Ludgate Hill to the Strand and onwards west.'

The author traces Cromwell's acquisition of offices, both secular and ecclesiastical, in considerable detail and with great clarity. These are seen in the context of both domestic and international affairs. Particularly interesting is the author's analysis of Cromwell's central role in government, both financial and legislative, which saw him become the principal minister, 'Master Secretary' to the Crown in the 1530s. MacCulloch sees this as having clear implications for the balance of power among those around the Crown. Also, as Vicegerent in Spirituals – a layman as effective head of the church, (with Dr William Petre as his deputy), Cromwell could follow the very dangerous path of actively promoting evangelism at home while maintaining 'behind the scenes' contacts with fellow evangelists in Europe.

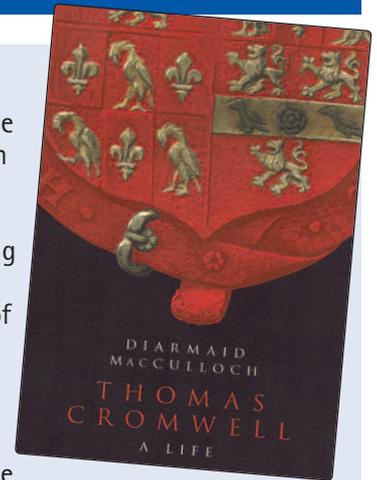
One result of this was Cromwell's successful introduction of the Bible in English together with promoting the use of printed propaganda in English. It is the drawing together, in a clear and authoritative manner, of all the various strands (foreign and domestic) that makes this work so impressive.

Another major theme running through the book is the crucial role played by Cromwell's network of family and gentry alliances. Among these, which the author claims had not been sufficiently examined previously, were the implications of the marriage of Cromwell's son, Gregory, to the queen's sister (by which Thomas became, in effect, the King's uncle). Another example, closer to home, involved Tilty Abbey in Essex.

Quite early in his career Thomas Cromwell was a legal consultant to Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, and was also in his household serving, at times, the Marquess and his wife (Margaret, née Wotton), together with the Marquess's mother, the Dowager Marchioness Cecily. Far from being a mere servant, Cromwell obviously became a close friend and confidant, being asked by Margaret to keep an eye on her son, by keeping him away from the gambling tables. Cromwell also sorted out for the Dowager Marchioness Margaret (Thomas Grey's widow) the misgovernment of Tilty Abbey which, the Greys being the founder family, had become the retirement home of the Marchioness. Cromwell arranged, through another of the Marchioness's servants, Cromwell's own nephew Richard, the dissolution of Tilty, before the general dissolution was enacted later in that year (1536). The Marchioness's family continued to live at Tilty for many years, well into the Elizabethan period.

But these alliances and friendships alone could not save Cromwell at the end. He had made too many powerful enemies in both church and state; his acquisition of offices, which saw Cromwell controlling access to the Crown, and placing in prominent positions his evangelical allies, often at the expense of those who thought themselves more entitled, by birth or experience, together with his increasingly radical ecclesiastical views were too much to be tolerated any longer.

MacCulloch has demonstrated in this book his ability to sift through vast amounts of evidence in order to home in on the crucial aspects of particular events and characters. Just a few examples will suffice. The complexities of both the Pilgrimage of Grace and the course of the Reformation, and Cromwell's central role in both, are examined and described with astounding clarity and scholarship.



Book Reviews

And Cromwell's professional, and sometimes personal relationships with both allies and enemies are explored and explained in ways that allow the modern reader to comprehend them, and the reasons behind them, as rarely before.

To say that this book is an 'easy read' sounds flippant, and is inaccurate. However, it is an immensely enjoyable read. Never before has there been such a comprehensive, deeply researched, scholarly, yet approachable portrait of the man who was at the centre of church and state in Henry VIII's reign, truly a 'masterclass in historical research' –

P. Denney,
Secret Colchester,
pp.94, 978-1-44567-514-5.
Amberley, 2018, £14.99.

Colchester has many secrets to discover and you do not have to walk far in town to find them. This book is about Colchester's less known historical features which locals and visitors may pass by daily without noticing their significance.

Street furniture is familiar to all of us but how often do we notice the more unusual and historical ones such as boundary and milestones? Parish boundaries were important, for example, to parishioners in need as the parish you belonged to was the one responsible for your welfare and assistance should you fall in hard times during the nineteenth century. A good example of parish stone markers can still be seen alongside the wall of St Botolph's Priory showing the division between St James' and St Botolph's parishes. Equally milestones can still be seen today often indicating the distance in miles between towns or to London.

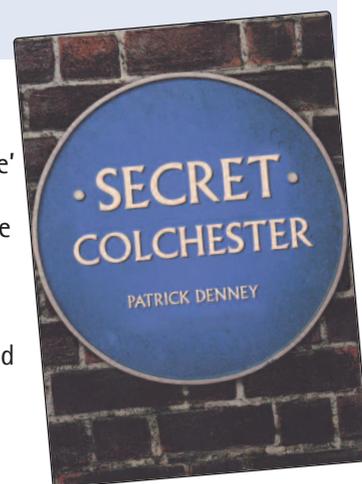
By September 1940, hundreds of miles of anti-tank ditches were dug and around 18,000 pillboxes and other structures built around the country. Colchester still has many today and one such structure interested me this Spring when I was in the Castle park attending an outdoor event and I came upon four concrete blocks in lower Castle Park along the River Colne. I learnt from reading this book that they are in fact remains of an anti-tank defence system and were positioned at a potential crossing on the river and joined together with thick steel cables thereby making a barrier. Indeed one of the steel cables can still be seen. Patrick Denny mentions many other defence features which are now incorporated into private gardens in Old Heath Road – who would believe that an anti-tank block is now used as a resting place for a plant container in one garden!

The familiar post boxes also have historical significance in the Borough. These are of varying dates and many of the boxes incorporated the royal cipher in its design and whenever a new sovereign acceded to the throne a new cipher was used on the

and historical detective work. MacCulloch, with his wonderful character sketches of Cromwell and the many other characters, makes the skill of historical writing appear deceptively easy. There are some aspects, however, that this reviewer would have liked to have seen explored further, for example the personal and working relationship between Cromwell and both Audley and Rich, and also with Dr William Petre. But, like all good authors, MacCulloch leaves us wanting more!

Ken Crowe

box. During the period 1879-87 the royal cipher and the words 'Post Office' was omitted from the boxes and just 300 survive to this day. There are three examples of these in Colchester and indeed my local post box, situated just outside the Grapes public house in Mersea Road, is one of these 'anonymous boxes.'



Almshouses can be seen in Colchester, there are many in my local area of New Town. One such example is The Winsley almshouses on Old Heath Road. These can be seen today and are still used to house some of the elderly residents of Colchester. They look original to this day and incorporate the original chapel too. They are well worth a visit and indeed I took a look round them on a local open day, they are maintained well with original features and an impressive site to see, like something from a film set.

Another chapter I found of interest is about water fountains and monuments. I had often noticed the old water fountain nestled in the wall of East Hill House at the top of East Hill. I hadn't realised it dates back to 1864. Below the fountain is a stone step, which meant children could use the fountain and to the left was a separate trough for dogs to have a drink! I read in the *Essex County Standard* (09/11/2018) that there are plans to bring water fountains back into the town centre, which includes reopening up old fountains, so we may see the ones like on East Hill in operation again.

There is too much of interest in this book to mention it all here but I recommend this book to anyone interested in the lesser known and yet fascinating historical monuments and markers of the town that can still be seen today. Patrick Denney has used text, photographs and illustrations throughout the book and it is an attractive, well researched and enjoyable read.

Jane Bass

Book Reviews

Tony Crosby & Dave Buckley,
Chelmsford Industrial Trail,
pp.55 ISBN 978-0-99319-982-0.
Essex Society for Archaeology and History,
2018, £4.

I have to start my review with a **Declaration of Interest!** Wood's original guide was published by the Chelmsford Industrial Museum Society. I was a near founder member of the society which was formed in May 1981, largely due to the enthusiasm of its first chairman, Fred Roberts. Apart from an inaugural meeting, the society's first event, and possibly the impetus for the production of Wood's publication, was a walk from Moulsham Mill via Hall Street to Anchor Street followed by a tour of the Mill.

The society achieved registered charity status in January 1983 with the objectives:

1. To promote the study and understanding of the industrial history of Chelmsford and surrounding areas;
2. To establish a museum and study centre where records, machines, instruments and other artefacts pertaining to Chelmsford's industrial history may be available for study by the public and students; and
3. To collect and to publish the results of studies of Chelmsford's industrial history.

Wood's guide contributed to the first and third of these objectives. It may have been influenced by a more general leaflet but including some sites of industrial archaeological interest, **A Chelmsford Walkabout**, produced by the Chelmsford Society of which Fred Roberts and his wife Jean were founder members. Wood's guide was not the first publication of the Industrial Museum Society: it was preceded by Fred Roberts' **Who Could have Guessed it all Started in Chelmsford**. The society also produced a video, **The Remarkable Industrial History of Chelmsford**.

The second of the society's objects was more of a challenge. It considered possible bases at Moulsham Mill or Springfield Mill and went so far as to submit a planning application for change of use of the latter. It also considered an offer from Essex Water Company for the use of premises in the company's old borehole building in Hall Street. In the end none of these

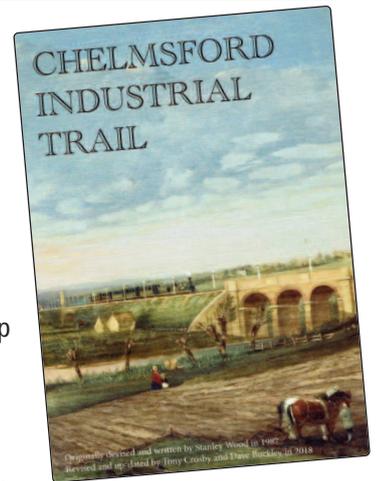
became premises for the proposed museum and study centre and in 1989, following the establishment of the industrial history 'outpost' of the Chelmsford Museums Service at Sandford Mill, it was resolved to wind up the society. Its financial assets were passed to the Chelmsford Society. Subsequently your present reviewer, then the Chelmsford Society's treasurer, tried unsuccessfully to persuade its executive committee that it would be appropriate to pass these funds to the then Anglia Polytechnic University's library for use in supporting its conservation of the Fred Roberts Archive of Industrial History. That archive is now deposited at the Essex Record Office.

Returning to what I was meant to be doing, reviewing Crosby and Buckley's revised edition of the booklet: the authors have taken a brave, but I believe successful, approach. They have left Wood's original text largely untouched, but added their own text, distinguished by its appearance with blue background giving additional information and details of changes that have occurred since 1987. The trail consists of two walks, each of which should take about 2 hours to complete. Directions for the walks are clearly distinguished from the explanatory text by bold type and a map is included on the centre pages. The booklet is well illustrated with over 40 mainly colour photographs.

Besides the two walks, some optional extras are included: the site of the Christy businesses in Broomfield Road, an account of Marconi's work at Writtle and his famous 2MT hut, now at Sandford Mill, and the site of Foreman's willow works in Roxwell Road (once a good source of sawdust for those who kept hamsters!) A surprising omission from these extras is the former Marconi Research Centre in West Hanningfield Road, Great Baddow and its surviving World War 2 radar mast. The booklet concludes with sources of further information and suggested further reading.

I congratulate the authors on this well produced update of Stanley Wood's original publication.

Peter Wynn



Your Book Reviewers are: Ken Crowe, historian and formerly Curator of Human History at Southend Museum and featured opposite; Jane Bass, ERO Archive Assistant and Colchester resident and Peter Wynn a retired Senior Lecturer in civil engineering and regular contributor to *Essex Journal*.

Ken Crowe

Ken Crowe (b.1949) was educated at Southchurch Hall secondary modern school and then Southend High. He then went on to the College of SS Mark and John, Chelsea, where he gained a B.Ed degree, and briefly taught while volunteering at Southend Museum. After a couple of years in the Civil Service, Ken was appointed Assistant Keeper of Human History at Southend Museum. While at the museum (climbing to the position of Curator of Human History) he studied part time for a Diploma in Archaeology (London), a Masters in Local and Regional History (Essex) and then a Masters in Archaeology (Birkbeck). Ken has published several books on aspects of the history of Southend and since retiring he has devoted his time to historical research and is now a volunteer researcher for the Victoria County History. He is working on a major research project on aspects of the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

1. What is your favourite historical period?

It has to be the Early Modern period; I'm fascinated by the effects on the ordinary folk of the country of the great changes that occurred during this period.

2. Tell us what Essex means to you? Home; a mixture of rivers, coastline and country lanes, towns and villages and a fascinating history and prehistory.

3. What historical mystery would you most like to know? Perhaps someone has solved this one, or at least come to an agreement, but how was the 'hide' calculated at the time of Domesday?

4. My favourite history book is... So many to choose from, and I'm going to select two! T.S.R. Boase's *Boniface VIII* must rank very highly. My other choice is the wonderful *Religion and the Decline of Magic* by Keith Thomas.

5. What is your favourite place in Essex? Castle Hedingham: a fascinating monument with an equally long and fascinating history, lovely countryside, landscape and village.

6. How do you relax? Gardening, from sowing seeds to planting out and even mowing the lawn.

7. What are you researching at the moment? Aspects of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in particular the process of dismantling the monastic buildings, their conversion to other uses, and the disposal or re-use (recycling) of monastic materials.

8. My earliest memory is... Being taken on holiday to Devon (in the days long before motorways), and being sick in the car (happened every time), and then, when we got to the beach, falling over and ending up with a mouthful of sand.

9. What is your favourite song/piece of music and why? *The Windmills of your Mind* has always been my favourite song. And a piece of music: I would go for Shostakovich's *Second Waltz*.



10. If you could travel back in time which event would you change? Oh No! I wouldn't want to meddle - no idea where it might lead!

11. Which four people from the past would you invite to dinner? Hans Sloane, Samuel Pepys, John Tradescant (father or son, whichever one could make it), and the eighth century Muslim philosopher and man of letters, Al-Jahiz.

12. What is your favourite food? It has to be mushroom risotto.

13. The history book I am currently reading is... I've just started *Heyday; The 1850s and the Dawn of the Global Age*, by Ben Wilson.

14. What is your favourite quote from history? A quote about history rather than an historical quote; 'History gets thicker as it approaches recent times' by A.J.P. Taylor.

15. Favourite historical film? *Reach for the Sky*.

16. What is your favourite building in Essex? Little Dunmow church. Once the Lady Chapel of the monastery, and when this was demolished, it was converted to use as the parish church.

17. What past event would you like to have seen? The restoration of Charles II, and all that went with it. That must have been spectacular.

18. How would you like to be remembered? I hope a good neighbour, and a contributor to the history of Essex.

19. Who inspires you to read or write or research history? My tutor at college, Bill Bryant and then, at Essex, John Walter. It was John who got me totally hooked on the early modern period.

20. Most memorable historical date? 1215, and the sealing ('signing') of Magna Carta.



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