

The Evolution of Puritan Mentality  
in an Essex Cloth Town:  
Dedham and the Stour Valley, 1560-1640

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Summary of thesis

The subject of this thesis is the impact of religious reformation on the inhabitants of a small urban centre, with some reference to the experience of nearby settlements. Dedham has a place in national history as a centre of the Elizabethan Puritan Movement but the records of the Dedham Conference (the local manifestation of that movement), also illustrate the development of Reformed religion in Dedham and associated parishes.

The contents of the thesis may be divided into four sections. The first of these concerns the material life of the inhabitants of Dedham and the way in which this generated both the potential for social cohesion and the possibility of social conflict. The second section examines the attempt at parish reformation sponsored by the ministers associated with the Dedham Conference and the militant and exclusive doctrine of the Christian life elaborated by the succeeding generation of preachers.

The third element of the thesis focuses on the way in which the inhabitants articulated the expression of a Reformed or Puritan piety and, on occasion, the rejection of features of that piety. The ways in which the

townspeople promoted the education of their children, the relief of the poor and the acknowledgement of ties of kinship and friendship, have been examined in terms of their relationship to a collective mentality characterized by a strong commitment to 'godly' religion.

The fourth and final section seeks to examine how a group, characterized by the particular mindset discussed earlier, responded to the political crisis and increasing polarization of opinion which culminated in the outbreak of the English Civil War.

The Conclusion attempts to integrate the topics examined in these sections and to show how, despite the rigour and exclusiveness which characterized the rhetoric of the preachers, Puritanism in Dedham tended to foster social cohesion rather than social division.

## Acknowledgements

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I am grateful to those librarians and custodians of archives who allowed me access to documents held at the depositories listed in the Bibliography. In particular I would like to thank the archivists and staff of the Essex Record Office for their unfailing helpfulness and those of the West Suffolk Record Office for allowing me to read a document listed as fragile.

Among the authors of published works I have consulted, I am particularly indebted to Margaret Spufford, Keith Wrightson and David Levine, who pioneered means of setting lay piety in the context of material life.

## Abbreviations

<u>A.H.R.</u>	<u>American History Review.</u>
<u>A.P.C.</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council.</u>
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>Ec.H.R.</u>	<u>Economic History Review.</u>
E.R.O.	Essex Record Office, Chelmsford and Colchester.
E.S.R.O.	East Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich.
<u>Foxe</u>	S.R. Cattley ed., John Foxe, <u>Acts and Monuments</u> (eight vols, 1837-41).
G.L.	Guildhall Library, London.
G.L.R.O.	Greater London Record Office, London.
<u>J.B.S.</u>	<u>Journal of British Studies.</u>
<u>J.E.H.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</u>
J.R.L.	John Rylands Library, Manchester.
N.R.O.	Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.
<u>P &amp; P</u>	<u>Past and Present.</u>
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London.
<u>P.S.I.A.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology.</u>
<u>QSR</u>	W.C. Hardy, C. Baker, M.M. Emmison eds., <u>Calendar of Documents in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace for Essex</u> (Essex Record Office typescript).
<u>S.R.</u>	<u>Statutes of the Realm.</u>

- Strype, Annals John Strype, Annals of the Reformation in the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign (four vols, Oxford, 1824).
- T.E.A.S. Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society.
- Usher R.G. Usher ed., The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth as illustrated by the Minute Book of the Dedham Classis (sic), 1582-1589, Royal Historical Society, third series, 8 (1905).
- V.C.H., Essex Victoria History of the County of Essex.
- V.C.H., Suffolk Victoria History of the County of Suffolk.
- Venn John and J.A. Venn, Alumini Canterbrigienses: A Biographical List of all known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office in the University of Cambridge, from the earliest time to 1900, pt 1 (four vols, Cambridge 1922-7).
- Wrightson and Levine Keith Wrightson and David Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English village: Terling, 1525-1700 (1979).
- W.S.R.O. West Suffolk Record Office, Bury Saint Edmunds.

## Dates and Quotations

All dates have been given in the Old Style except that the year is treated as beginning on 1 January.

Quotations from primary sources have been given in the original spelling but contractions have been restored and punctuation has been modernized where this is necessary for clarity.

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"One reformation will never serve the church; she needs continually to be wound up and set a-going afresh".

Wilbur M. Smith ed., The Best of C.H. Spurgeon (Eastbourne, 1983), p.29.

To all who buckled on the Armour of the Lord.

Preamble: Recent writing on the local impact of English Puritanism.

What justification is there for dealing with a national phenomenon, such as English Puritanism, from the perspective of a single locality? This question may be answered by pointing out that before the invention of means of impersonal communication men and women could only have formed new opinions and adopted new modes of behaviour on the basis of face to face contact. Nor was the situation entirely transformed by the invention of printing since readers tended to assimilate what they read in books to habits of thought derived from their immediate cultural milieu.<sup>1</sup> With regard to this argument locality may be defined as any area within which such face to face contact took place on a regular basis. The parish, with its ecclesiastical centre and more or less nucleated pattern of settlement, or the town, with its market place and corporate identity, would be the smallest and most concentrated area of this kind. The less well defined countrysides or pays, such as the Wealden vales of Kent or the Suffolk and Essex Sandlings, with their distinct landscape and economy, and the tendency for their inhabitants not to cross its boundaries in their migrations, constitute a broader area for a study of locality.<sup>2</sup>

1. For the limited changes produced by literacy in the mental world of readers see R.A. Houston, Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500-1800 (1988), pp. 201-3, 226-9, 232-3.
2. For the pays of Early Modern England see Joan Thirsk, 'The farming regions of England', in idem ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. IV, 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 1-112; Eric Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution (1967), pp. 41-180. For the boundaries of pays as barriers to migration see Charles Phythian-Adams, Re-thinking English Local History (Leicester, 1987), p. 34.

Finally the county appears to have been a social as well as an administrative unit since its boundaries acted to constrain migration and the choice of marriage partners.<sup>1</sup> The reality of English regional diversity has led recent historians of Puritanism to examine its local context.

In their study of a corn-growing Essex parish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Wrightson and Levine have described the hegemony of a group of godly parishioners, determined to reform the manners of their neighbours. No comparable study of an industrial-urban parish has so far been published except perhaps for Patrick Collinson's article on the clergy and the people of Elizabethan Cranbrook.<sup>2</sup> The relationship between Puritanism and the pays is explored in David Underdown's book on popular politics and culture in the seventeenth century West Country. Underdown argues that the socially cohesive, agrarian parishes of the upland chalk country were less susceptible to godly reformation than the socially divided, cloth-weaving parishes of the lowland cheese country. The weak point of his case is his unexamined assumption that Puritanism was an individualistic religion.<sup>3</sup> Margaret Spufford's study of Cambridgeshire villagers also suggests a connection

1. Ibid., pp. 27-42.
2. Wrightson and Levine, pp. 20-4. 142-85; Collinson, 'Cranbrook and the Fletchers: Popular and unpopular religion in the Kentish Weald', in idem, Godly People (1983), pp. 399-428. My own dissertation is in part an attempt to test the applicability of Wrightson and Levine's model of cultural development to an industrial, semi-urban parish.
3. Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion (Oxford, 1985), pp. 73-105. The belief that Puritanism was individualistic had earlier been expressed by Christopher Hill. See Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (1964), pp. 486, 494-497.

between the social character of different pays and the varying extent of commitment to godliness among their inhabitants though the causality of the connection is unclear. Moreover her comparison is restricted to two parishes, one from the western clay country and the other from the northern fenlands.<sup>1</sup>

The authors of a number of country studies have explored the character of religious radicalism and conservatism within the particular counties they have examined. In his work on Tudor Lancashire, Christopher Haigh reconstructs a society which followed the lead of a county elite lukewarm or hostile towards Protestantism except where those of lower status were in contact with centres of Reformed religion outside the county. Diarmaid MacCulloch depicts the county gentry of Tudor Suffolk as divided in their attitude to the Reformed religion although the Puritan-inclined amongst them consolidated their ascendancy during the second half of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Meanwhile the humbler sort developed a voluntary religion based on the hearing of the word preached and the establishment of a reciprocal relationship between pastor and people.<sup>2</sup> In Kent, Peter Clark argues, a prosperous and godly

1. In the corn-growing, clay-country parish of Orwell, which was tending to polarize between large landholders and cottagers, dissenters were drawn from all social groups but predominantly from the poorer sort. In fenland Willingham, where middling landholders maintained their position into the eighteenth centuries, dissenters were drawn almost exclusively from that group. Spufford, Contrasting Communities (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 300-306.
2. Christopher Haigh, Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 212-326; Diarmaid MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors (Oxford, 1986), pp. 192-219, 317-9.

middling gentry overcame the conservative resistance of the urban oligarchies to Reformed religion during the reign of Elizabeth while many ordinary townsfolk turned to separatism.<sup>1</sup>

In an article on the historiography of the English Reformation published just over ten years ago Christopher Haigh divides his field into four quadrants. One axis of the division is based on the dichotomy between a transformation from above and a transformation based on initiative from below. The other is based on the distinction between a rapid Reformation completed by the middle of the sixteenth century and a slow one in which the English people were mostly Protestantized after the accession of Elizabeth. Although Haigh treats his four categories of transformation (rapid 'from above': rapid 'from below': slow 'from above': slow 'from below') as mutually exclusive this is not necessarily the case. Patrick Collinson and G.R. Elton have argued that the official Reformation, under Henry VIII and Edward VI, was effective in eroding attachment to the Old Religion and thus achieved a negative kind of success.<sup>2</sup> Their arguments can readily be combined with the view that it was only during the reign of Elizabeth that a significant number

1. Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, politics and society in Kent, 1500-1640 (Hassocks, 1977), pp. 143-54, 177-8.
2. Haigh, 'Some aspects of the recent historiography of the English Reformation', in Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Peter Alter and Robert W. Scribner, eds, Stadtburgetum und Adel in der Reformation (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 89-100; Collinson, The birthpangs of Protestant England (1988) p. 40; Elton, Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558 (1977), pp. 369-71. C.S.L. Davies describes the structure of Catholicism, under attack by the secular authorities, as resembling "an exposed cliff face, gradually sapped by the battering of the waves." Davies, Peace, Print and Protestantism (Collins/Paladin, 1977), p. 284.

of English people developed a positive attachment to Reformed religion. Thus a rapid and destructive assault from above evoked a slow and constructive transformation 'from below'.<sup>1</sup>

The concept of Reformation 'from below' is not without ambiguity. The impulse for the godly reformation of Terling (to cite, by way of example, Wrightson and Levine's study), came from within the village and may therefore be viewed as a transformation from below. From the point of view of the labouring poor, disciplined by a group of godly yeomen, however, the initiative came from above. Similarly the town of Ipswich, whose magistrates secured the passage in 1571 of a private act of Parliament empowering them to levy rates for the maintenance of preachers and parish clergy, may be regarded, in MacCulloch's words, as the "model of a well-regulated and godly self-governing community". Alternatively, Patrick Collinson accepts that it was a town like others in England, lying in the grip of a civic oligarchy "determined to have its own way in the refashioning of religious life", regardless of the wishes of ratepayers.<sup>2</sup> 'Above' and 'below', save at the margins, are not fixed positions in the early modern social firmament; dependant on particular context to such a considerable extent, they provide no adequate framework for broader analysis. Instead, the impact of Puritanism on local society may be

1. Since my dissertation takes 1560 for its starting date, and presents a worm's eye view of historical change, it is concerned rather with the process of transformation at the grassroots level after the accession of Elizabeth than with the earlier initiatives of the authorities.
2. Wrightson and Levine, pp. 159. 177-83; MacCulloch, op. cit., p. 198; Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 171-3.

considered under the three headings of repression, division and integration.

### Repression

Writers who consider Puritanism largely in terms of the repression of "the unclean conversation of the wicked" tend to view godly reformation as an instrument of social control. Puritanism then becomes the English branch of the West European movement to reform a popular culture based on the alternation of fast and feast, penitence and carnival, posited in Peter Burke's study.<sup>2</sup> This wider perspective complements Christopher Hill's conception of the 'industrious' sort of people' (meaning yeomen and small masters) utilizing the Reformed doctrine of vocations and the diligent use of time as authority for their taking stern action to correct the shiftless habits of the poor.<sup>3</sup> Wrightson and Levine depict a parish elite becoming predominately literate and withdrawing from a popular culture defined in terms of dancing, Sabbath breaking and slackness in church attendance, a culture which they then attempted to eradicate by prosecuting their neighbours in quarter sessions or presenting them to the ecclesiastical courts. This study indicates

1. Wrightson and Levine, p. 180. For a notable instance of the tendency to view Puritanism as an instrument of social control see Paul Slack, 'Poverty and social regulation in Elizabethan England', in Christopher Haigh ed., The reign of Elizabeth I (1984), pp. 237-9. For a criticism of the reductionist implications of this line of Argument see Margaret Spufford, 'Puritanism and social control?', in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson eds, Order and disorder in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 42-3.
2. Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (New York, 1978), pp. 207-30.
3. Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism, pp. 124-44. 487.

how the impulse to repress popular modes of behaviour expressed itself within the confines of a single parish. By contrast the parish elites of the Wiltshire villages of Keevil and Wylve defined the sphere of repression more narrowly. Ingram's study indicates how, although they punished bastard-bearers, they participated in those recreations which would have attracted the reproof of the godly at Terling.<sup>1</sup>

In his study of Tudor and early Stuart Kent Peter Clark argues that with the decline of residual Catholicism during the 1570s and 1580s Puritans became aware of the existence of a 'Third World' of the socially marginal and spiritually ignorant. The need to control this alienated group, Clark argues, played a major part in stimulating godly demands for a stricter ecclesiastical discipline. Patrick Collinson, however, has argued that the 'Third World' concept is too schematic and does not take account of the importance of the repression of sexual irregularity in any tightening of ecclesiastical discipline, such irregularity not being confined to any specific social group.<sup>2</sup>

The European Reformation tended to erode the structure of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and as a result the secular magistracy tended to interfere in matters formerly reserved to the ecclesiastical courts and their system of penances. The result was a tendency to criminalize sin expressed in such measures as the Scottish statute of

1. Wrightson and Levine, pp. 180-1; Ingram, Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570-1640 (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 112-24.
2. Clark, English Provincial Society, pp. 155-7; Collinson, 'Cranbrook and the Fletchers', p. 408. John Bossy notes that during the first fifty years of Reformed ecclesiastical discipline in Scotland two thirds of the cases coming before kirk sessions concerned sexual offences. Bossy, Christianity, p. 130.

1563 imposing the death penalty for adulterers "after that dew monitioun be maid to abstene fra the said manifest and notoure crime" and the legislative authority given in 1576 to English justices to punish bastard bearers.<sup>1</sup> Since secular magistrates now regarded sin as lying within their jurisdiction there was an impulse towards the partial fusion of the civil and the ecclesiastical power. Calvin's Geneva, where the consistory was presided over by a representative of the city council, set a dangerous precedent though it was not one followed in the Calvinist consistories of the Netherlands according to Heinz Schilling's article on early modern church discipline.<sup>2</sup> No comparable study exists for England although the merging of the authority of minister and magistrate in the 1571 Order of Northampton is described by W.J. Sheils in his study of religion in provincial towns. The mayor, preacher, minister and gentlemen nominated by the bishop were to meet weekly for the correction of irreverence and delinquency.<sup>3</sup> In 1578 the justices of Bury St Edmunds, who were closely associated with the local nonconformist ministers, drew up a set of ordinances for the punishment of such offences as papistry, absence from church, disturbance of prayers and other matters which the then bishop of

1. Bossy, Christianity, p. 129; D.H. Fleming ed., Register of the minister, elders and deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrew's, 1559-1600 (two vols, Edinburgh, 1889-90), i, 154-5; S.R., 18 Elizabeth, c. 3.
2. Owen Chadwick, The Reformation (Revised edition, 1972), p. 85; Schilling, "'History of Crime", or "History of Sin"? Some reflections on the social history of Early Modern church discipline', in E.I. Kouri and Tom Scott eds, Politics and Society in Early Modern Europe (1987), pp. 296-8.
3. Sheils, 'Religion in provincial towns: Innovation and tradition', in Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day eds, Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I (1977), pp. 168-9.

Norwich regarded as matters "mere ecclesiastical." In his essay on magistracy and ministry in Suffolk Patrick Collinson reports the conviction of such godly preachers as Robert Allen and Robert Pricke that it was the duty of the magistrate to compel the disaffected to submit themselves to the ministry of the word. Such an attitude indicates how repressive the alliance of justice and preacher might be.<sup>1</sup>

### Division

Christopher Haigh has emphasised the divisive effect of the development of Reformed religion in England. In his book on Tudor Lancashire Haigh portrayed a county divided between a conservative majority and a Puritan minority. The two groups, however, split the county on a territorial basis and did not come into conflict in border areas. The implication is that both godly and conservative parishes were internally united in their respective religious orientations.<sup>2</sup> In a subsequent article, however, Haigh has focussed on those parishes where the efforts of ministers to implant the doctrines of Reformed divinity met with vocal opposition. He is perhaps too inclined to treat the jibes of individuals as evidence that the parishes in which they lived were

1. Collinson, Religion of Protestants, pp. 156-60; Collinson, 'Magistry and Ministry: A Suffolk miniature', in idem, Godly People, pp. 447-8.
2. Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, pp. 325-6.

religiously divided.<sup>1</sup> The repeated presentment of a minister by his parishioners for nonconformity, described by W.J. Sheils in his account of the tribulations of Robert Smart of Preston Capes, Northamptonshire, might express a disapproval of his doctrine. However all churchwardens, even those who disliked surplice and prayerbook, were bound by oath to report any breach of the canons of the church by their ministers.<sup>2</sup>

In his exploration of the world of voluntary religion Patrick Collinson has argued that the custom among the godly of meeting in conference "to comfort and edifie one another" in divinity tended to foster among those who attended such meetings a sense of separation from those of their neighbours who did not participate. The long term result was a drift towards sectarianism among the godly.<sup>3</sup> The situation, however, would only produce social division if those disdained by the godly as unregenerate were able to organise themselves as an antipuritan group. Such symbols of 'Merrie England' as maypoles and morris dancing provided rallying points around which such groups might cohere. Christopher Haigh has described the polarization of opinion over such totems in Lincoln, Banbury, Shrewsbury and Canterbury.

1. Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the People', in idem ed., The reign of Elizabeth I (1984), pp. 214-9. For the grounds of my criticism see ibid., pp. 215-6.
2. Sheils, The Puritans in the diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610 (Northampton, 1979), pp. 68-9; Usher, p. 57.
3. Collinson, Religion of Protestants, pp. 264-7; idem, 'Voluntary Religion', Studies in Church History, 23 (1983), 255-7.

Competing images of good neighbourhood, if they collided, would promote bad neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup>

### Integration

The progress of the Reformation destroyed the utility of the plays and processions through which townsmen and villagers had affirmed their collective participation in the world of the sacred. Such ritual affirmations were no longer practised after the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, according to the investigations of Patrick Collinson.<sup>2</sup> In their place the market day lecture was instituted, preached either by a specially appointed lecturer or by beneficed clergy in combination.<sup>3</sup> In his article on provincial towns W.J. Sheils describes the Thursday lecture day at Boston in Lincolnshire. This included, in addition to the afternoon sermon, a public catechizing by the town's minister and an explanation of points of divinity by the lecturer. The whole exercise lasted five hours. Such an event

1. Haigh, 'Church, Catholics and People', pp 215, 217. See also Collinson, Birthpangs, pp. 136-42.
2. Ibid., pp. 50-4. See also David Cressy, Bonfires and Bells (1989), p. 25.
3. Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism, pp. 80-110; Patrick Collinson 'Lectures by combination: Structures and characteristics of church life in seventeenth-century England', in idem, Godly People, pp. 467-98.

expressed the corporate commitment of the townspeople to godliness.<sup>1</sup>

The doctrine that "ther was a neere coniuntion betwene the Paster and the people that thone shuld not forsake thother no more then man and wieff shuld", could on occasion be used to express the unity of a congregation in allegiance to its pastor. Diarmaid MacCulloch describes the letter from the householders of East Bergholt to their new rector requesting him "with no less cheerfulness to accept of us as your people then we do with hartly good will desire you to be our Pastor." W.J. Sheils describes how when William Proudlove of Weedon Bec was imprisoned for his membership of the Northampton Conference his faithful parishioners petitioned for his release and eventually secured his restoration to them.<sup>2</sup>

"So called 'Puritan evangelism'", Patrick Collinson has written, "was nothing less than the full internalisation, for elements of English society, of the implications of the religion founded by Luther, Calvin and the fathers of the English Reformation."<sup>3</sup> In localities where a few internalized the new doctrines and then punished their neighbours for not observing them outwardly the result was repression. Where a group formed to oppose the profession of Reformed religion the result was division. In yet other areas there was a general effort to embrace godliness and the result was integration.

1. Sheils, 'Religion in Provincial Towns', p. 167.
2. Usher, p. 45; MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors, 319: N.R.O., Dep. 31/5/63; Sheils, Puritans in the diocese of Peterborough, pp. 59-60, 68.
3. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion', in Christopher Haigh ed., The reign of Elizabeth I, p. 181.

The effect of the doctrines generally labelled Puritan on the social and religious life of a particular town or village would depend partly on such factors as the attitude of the county elite, the existence of commercial links with London and other centres of Reformation and the settlement pattern and social structure of the pays in which that town or village was situated, but also on features specific to the place itself such as the extent of provision of schooling, the character of its clergy and the network of kinship and friendship established among its inhabitants. The relative importance which the historian attributes to each of these factors will determine the nature of his engagement with the question of the local impact of English Puritanism.

So, although the local dimensions of the development of English Puritanism have been explored, they have not been exhausted. There was clearly a need for a detailed monograph, based upon a richly documented locality with a strong puritan tradition which had an urban-industrial structure. Dedham seemed the overwhelmingly most appropriate location upon which to base an investigation which carefully examined the various aspects of repression, division and integration. The relative importance of extra-parochial and intra-parochial forces in promoting the ascendancy of godly religion in Dedham will turn out to be of critical importance.

## Introduction

Dedham, an old market town situated on the South bank of the River Stour, which separates Essex from Suffolk, is now a beauty spot and a dormitory for Colchester.<sup>1</sup> In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was an important centre for the production of coloured broadcloth. To historians of the development of English Protestantism it is most notable as one of the focal points of the movement which, during the 1580s, attempted to establish a quasi presbyterian structure in the hope that this would supplant the established ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> The Conference of ministers which centred on Dedham hoped to get up the "Discipline and government of Christ (as they termed it)" on a clandestine basis.<sup>3</sup>

The chapters that follow, however, are more concerned with the Dedham Conference as a crucial conjuncture in the emergence of Dedham as a town notable for Reformed piety. 1560 and 1640 have been chosen as terminal dates for the study of that development (though evidence from the decades immediately before and after these terminal points has been used in some chapters). The eighty year period between these dates <sup>was one</sup> ~~were these~~ during which the epithet 'Puritan' was generally employed to denote those who held what were deemed to be radical and divisive opinions about the character of the church of England and the conduct of Christian life.<sup>4</sup>

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to call anyone a Puritan was to employ a cultural stereotype rather than a precise definition. Broadly

Puritans were those who pursued innovations in Church government, liturgy and the practice of Christianity which corresponded to those introduced by the Reformed churches on the continent and which were disapproved of by those who employed the term.<sup>5</sup> In the following chapters the word has been employed in contexts where conflict between hot Protestants and either the ecclesiastical authorities or "ignorant and rude persons" is recorded. Elsewhere inhabitants of Dedham who professed the Reformed religion are referred to as 'the godly'.<sup>6</sup>

The concept of 'mentality' implies that habits of thought are determined by a set of received assumptions and categories.<sup>7</sup> Received assumptions about religion were subverted when the progress of the Reformation imposed upon Englishmen a new sacramental system, an altered view of the function of prayer and even a new calendar of sacred time.<sup>8</sup> An emphasis on the centrality of the saving word promoted not only the study of the Bible but also a new form of sociability based on the hearing and subsequent discussion of sermons.<sup>9</sup> Strict Sabbath observance, frequent attendance at sermons, conference about points of divinity, a zeal to suppress profane and disorderly behaviour; these were all aspects of Puritan mentality.<sup>10</sup>

The view that Protestant beliefs were not accepted by more than a small minority until the 1570s implies that the English Reformation was a two stage process.<sup>11</sup> In the first stage the Church was made Protestant by official fiat while in the second stage Reformed doctrine began to be assimilated by the population and those who professed it were liable to

be called Puritans. Such a schematization suggests parallels with the development of German Protestantism where the Lutheran Reformation was succeeded by the Second or Calvinist Reformation after 1560. The Calvinists attacked what they regarded as Popish elements, such as vestments, candles and altars, which had been retained in Protestant worship, while attempting to use their consistories to promote unity of faith and brotherly love among believers.<sup>12</sup> The Calvinists were responding to a situation in which many of the inhabitants of Protestant states retained a residual attachment to Catholic ritual, expressed in such actions as bowing to the stumps of decapitated crosses.<sup>13</sup> Similarly the English Puritans were attempting to evangelize a people many of whom remained attached to the formulae of the "old profession" while resisting instruction by catechism and disliking lengthy sermons.<sup>14</sup>

The first two chapters of this dissertation deal with the material life of the inhabitants of Dedham. This constituted the environment within which godly religion established itself. It is difficult to judge how far this environment helped promote godliness. Chapter one examines the idea that the fact that Dedham was a 'woodland' parish may have facilitated the evangelization of its more settled inhabitants. The cloth industry has been examined for its social rather than for its religious significance but the existence of commercial ties with Antwerp would have given the inhabitants of Dedham (and other cloth making towns) a closer interest in the establishment of Reformed religion in the Low Countries.<sup>15</sup>

Chapter three examines the campaign for parochial reformation sponsored by the Dedham ministers during the years of the Puritan Movement and its effect in promoting the repression of offensive behaviour by the parish elite. For purposes of comparison the extent of repression in the fishing port of Manningtree, on the estuary of the Stour, has been analysed.<sup>16</sup>

The subsequent chapter examines the character of the doctrine propounded by John Rogers, the early seventeenth century lecturer at Dedham, and other Essex ministers, in the years following suppression of the Puritan Movement. This doctrine tended to divide baptized Christians into two rigid categories, the visibly godly and the visibly unregenerate. Those belonging to one of these categories were assumed to be always at strife with those belonging to the other. Such a doctrine did not appear to promote social harmony.<sup>17</sup>

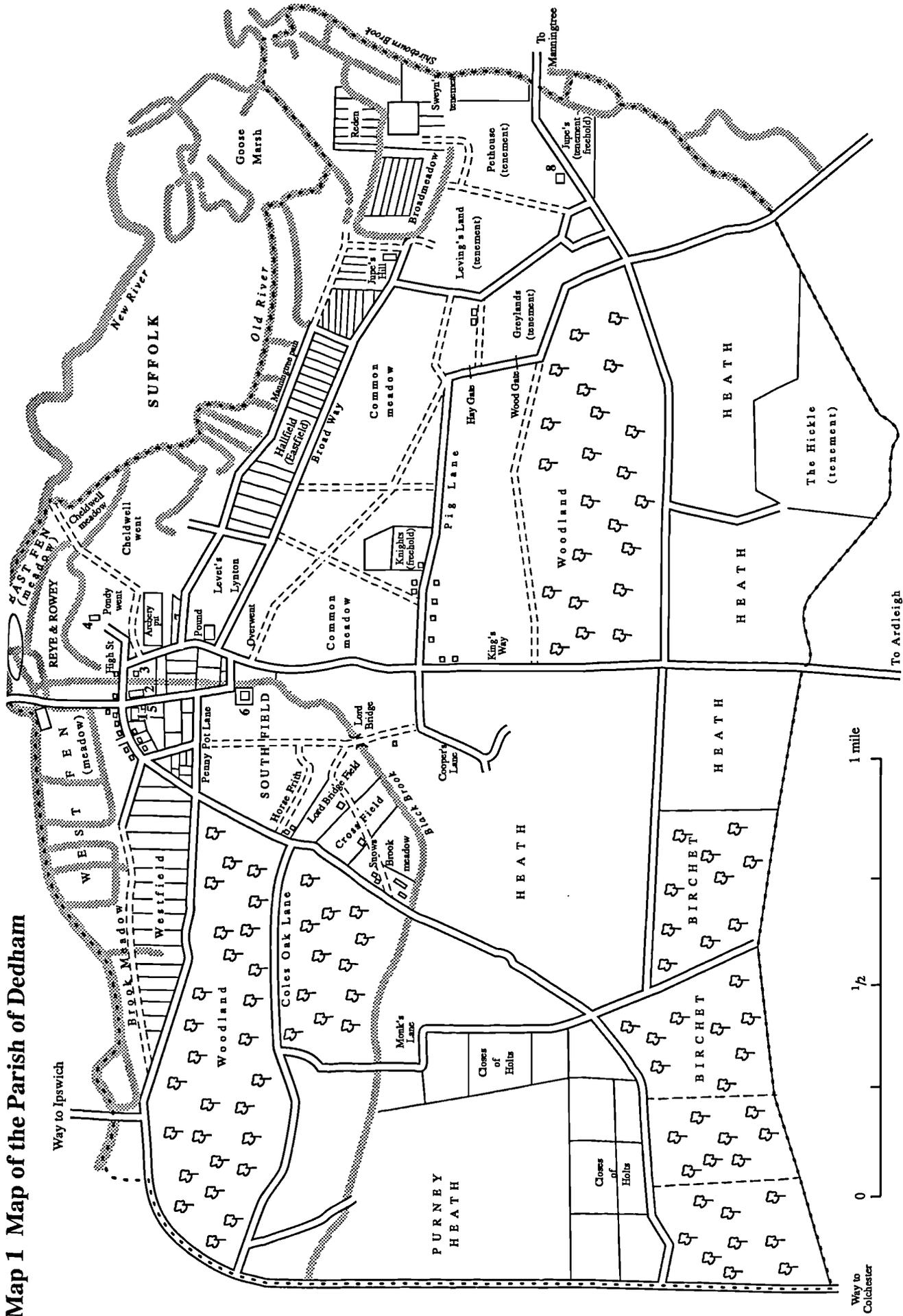
The fifth chapter reviews the evidence of commitment to godliness contained in wills and in the records of the ecclesiastical courts. The wills of the inhabitants of East Bergholt, a cloth town lying just across the Stour from Dedham, whose ministers had participated in the Conference, have been examined in an effort to explore the degree to which those living in neighbouring towns with similar recent histories, differed in their response to the teaching of the Reformed religion.<sup>18</sup>

The three succeeding chapters have been devoted respectively to philanthropy and the development of a system of public poor relief in Dedham; to the founding of schools in the town and the acquisition of literacy by its

inhabitants; and to the acknowledgement and utilization by the townspeople of ties of kinship and neighbourhood. The aim has been to examine such topics in terms of the relationship between change and continuity in Dedham, in such nearby towns as Manningtree and East Bergholt, and in the more distant parts of England whose histories have been uncovered by others. It is hoped that this gives some indication of the role that the strength of the godly conception of life in the minds of the people of Dedham had in determining their experience in relation to these matters.

The final chapter examines the townsfolk's perception of the threat posed to the future of godly religion by the policies of the court of Charles I. A policy of partial accommodation to the pressure for conformity exerted during the 1630s gave way to militancy after the summoning of the Long Parliament and the inhabitants of Dedham embraced the 'Puritan Moment' which was soon followed by the disintegration of Puritanism.<sup>19</sup>

**Map 1 Map of the Parish of Dedham**



# Map of the Parish of Dedham

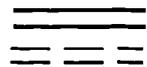
Sources : GH Rendall, Dedham in History (Colchester, 1937), map opposite title page; revised and corrected by reference to the following : ERO, T/M 343; 161/1-6; 150; Ordnance Survey, 1:25 000 First Series, TM 03; PRO, DL43/2/21.

## Legend

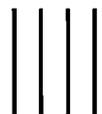
- 1 Dedham Church
- 2 Dedham Grammar School
- 3 Site of Old Hall
- 4 Site of Nether Hall
- 5 Site of Dedham Hall
- 6 Southfield House
- 7 Camping Close
- 8 Pethouse

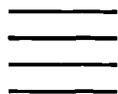
- - - - - Parish boundary

 River

 Road

Half Year land :

 Arable

 Meadow

## 1. Land and landholding in Dedham: 1550 - 1650

"Those parts inclining to the east, having sufficient tillage, abound with all meadow and pasture, by reason whereof their greatest commodities are raised by feeding and grasing." So wrote Robert Ryece at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, describing the difference between the kinds of husbandry practised in central and eastern Suffolk.<sup>1</sup> In the south east of that county along the lower Stour the heavy soils of central Suffolk become lighter and more gravelly until they merge into the sands of the Suffolk coast and the Essex peninsula of Tendring.<sup>2</sup> Like the area further north the lands around the Stour contained much meadow ground but the existence of rough heathland pasture gave them one of the characteristics of the sheep - corn country of north west Suffolk and the coastal 'sandlings'.<sup>3</sup>

The parish of Dedham is a rough quadrilateral of just over 2,500 acres. The height of the ground varies from twenty to a hundred and fifty feet above sea level.<sup>4</sup> During the reign of Elizabeth just over half of this acreage was divided into severalty as meadow or arable.<sup>5</sup> The remainder included over 200 acres of birch wood, divided into four portions and demised by the manorial lords to that number of tenants. Most of it, however, was heath, extending over the ill defined boundary between Dedham and its southern neighbour Ardleigh.<sup>6</sup> This heathland was also well wooded with oak and linden trees. Soft wood trees but not oaks could be cropped by the tenants of the manors "so that they kill not". Although a certain amount of shifting

cultivation was practised the right of the inhabitants to pasture pigs and sheep on the heath upon payment of a fee to the lords made the area most valuable as grazing land.<sup>7</sup> Further north there was an area of common meadow on which the inhabitants were forbidden to keep sheep. Presumably this rule was a relic of now obsolete fold course privileges belonging to the manorial lords.<sup>8</sup>

Common right extended to about 130 acres of the lands held in severalty.<sup>9</sup> For this area was 'half year ground' on which common right existed between harvest, or haytime in the case of meadowland, and Candlemas. Inhabitants could pasture their cattle there for six months of the year on payment of a halfpenny per head to the appropriate lord. Perhaps 700 cattle, together with a number of horses, were kept on this ground during the autumn and winter.<sup>10</sup>

These various kinds of open pasture enabled a ploughman called Adam Orris to maintain a team of horses without holding any land except a cottage of which he was subtenant. His son Ralph kept seventeen cattle while holding only a three acre rye field. There was no fixed stint for the number of animals an inhabitant might keep though the leet might impose a fine if the homage decided anyone was keeping an excessive number. Instead the homage sought to restrict the number of people entitled to make use of the commons. In 1562 the leet ruled that no tenant or inhabitant was to pasture any animal originating outside the parish in an effort to prevent Dedham men from acting as shepherds for non residents. In 1577 the right to use common pasture was restricted to householders of the

parish.<sup>11</sup> During the thirty three years of the period 1578 - 1639 for which court leet presentments survive twenty three outsiders and non householders were amerced for pasturing animals contrary to these ordinances. By contrast there were only two presentments of a householder for pasturing an excessive number of animals during the whole period from 1560 - 1639. The rule that sheep were not to be pastured on the common was more vigorously enforced than that forbidding excessive use with eleven individuals being presented during the same period. Presumably the tenants were concerned to safeguard the welfare of their cattle, these being so much more valuable than the sheep whose pasturage was restricted. Numbers of individuals presented for other offences against the customs of the manor included six for infringement of common right by the owners of half year ground the same number for feeding the 'edish' of this ground before the 'common time', seven for the removal of oak wood or acorns from the heath and three for poaching from the heath.<sup>12</sup>

As was frequently the case in Essex Dedham contained more than one manor. In 1240 the lord of the primary manor, Dedham Hall, granted a moiety of his rights, exclusive of sixty acres of land and the advowson of the church, to the prioress of Campsea in Suffolk. This subordinate manor came to be known as the manor of Overhall and Netherhall. Only Dedham Hall, however, held a court leet, which exercised jurisdiction over all the inhabitants of the town.<sup>13</sup> By the reign of Elizabeth the manor of Dedham Hall had reverted to the Crown as part of the Duchy of Lancaster. Campsea Priory

had been dissolved by the statute for the suppression of small religious houses and the manor of Overhall and Netherhall was granted to Sir Humphrey Wingfield of the nearby Suffolk parish of Brantham. His son Robert surrendered it in 1563 to Thomas Seckford esquire of Woodbridge near Ipswich.<sup>14</sup> Thomas Seckford's family retained the manor into the reign of Charles I and during Elizabeth's reign usually acted as farmer's of the Queen's manor as well.<sup>15</sup> The profits of the manors were small; probably well under £100 a year for both of them together. The non resident landlords therefore had little incentive to devote much attention to their property.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the two principal manors there was the manor of Faites and Wades, which was held in socage of Overhall and Netherhall. This possessed about forty acres of land in Dedham and rather more in the neighbouring parishes of Ardleigh and Lawford. It was held by local families; usually by the Lufkins who were of parish gentry status.<sup>17</sup>

Nearly all the tenants of the manors held their land by copy of court roll. The only substantial freehold tenements which were freehold were Jupes, held of Overhall and Netherhall, and Wades, held of Faites and Wades. In addition there were about a dozen small enclosures and messuages which were held freely of those two manors. All the above properties totalled less than fifty acres.<sup>18</sup> In 1573 a Mr Robert Forth claimed to hold freely a tenement in the manor of Dedham Hall but the Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster did not accept his claim. During the case Henry

Sherman, a tenant, deponed that "he never knewe or herde that any do holde any landes or tenements of the saide manor of Dedham [Hall] otherwyse then by copie of courte roll, and not freely".<sup>19</sup> Although copyhold tenure provided security of possession the obligation to perform suit of court for it could be vexatious, especially for tenants who lived outside the town. Defaults were frequent. In 1588 five of the fifteen tenants of Faites and Wades, three of the five being non residents of Dedham, failed to do suit either personally or by attorney. Repeated defaults could lead to dispossession. In 1579 the aged Thomas Toose was deprived of his lands in the manor of Faites and Wades for this offence. (He was readmitted to them in 1582.) Manorial lords might excuse a tenant from this obligation at their pleasure and in 1569 Margaret Godman of Leatherhead in Surrey agreed to pay the lord of Dedham Hall 6d a year in return for not having to do suit.<sup>20</sup>

Except for nine acres by the site of the ruined manorhouse of Dedham Hall all the demesne lands of the manors had been demised to the tenants by the beginning of Elizabeth's reign and were held by copy of court roll. The only difference between the former demesne and the copyhold lands proper was that the fines for taking possession of the old demesne were affeered (that is assessed) at one years value while those for the copyhold amounted to one tenth of the annual value.<sup>21</sup>

The vestiges of a traditional division of the arable land into three fields endured in Dedham into the seventeenth century. The names South, West and East or Hall

field give the location of these fields in relation to the manor house of Dedham Hall just east of the church. They originally contained about fifty acres each but by the reign of Elizabeth had been encroached upon and reduced to a combined area of 107 acres.<sup>22</sup> Westfield and Hallfield were half year ground and so could not be divided into permanent enclosures. Southfields had no such common right attached to it and so was much more heavily encroached upon with the residue becoming an enclosed tenement.<sup>23</sup>

Most of the land in severalty was divided into tenements varying in size from five to forty acres many of which had been subdivided into a number of closes by the reign of Elizabeth, presumably so that convertible husbandry might be practised.<sup>24</sup> The riverside meadows or fens were liable to inundation and unsuitable for periodic conversion into arable. The tenants held strips or doles in them marked off from each other by posts and rails. Broad meadow, in the east of the parish was half year ground and the land holders were forbidden to take more than one crop of hay from it.<sup>25</sup> The rentals of Overhall and Netherhall for 1573 and of Dedham Hall for 1592 and 1650 describe just under half the area they measure as close. Just over a third is described as land, (that is arable) and just over an eighth as meadow. From occasional reference to growing crops by testators it would appear that the corn grown was mainly rye, which is mentioned by nine testators, followed by wheat, which is mentioned by five.<sup>26</sup> In the coastal sandlings, on whose western border Dedham was situated, from two thirds to three quarters of the grain grown was rye

while a seventh or an eighth was wheat. Most of the inhabitants of Dedham would seldom have tasted white bread.<sup>27</sup>

The produce of the cornland was not always sufficient to feed the population of the town. In October 1597, following what was nationally the fourth bad harvest in a row, the Privy Council was informed in a petition that the town of Dedham had "small store of corne" and that the poorer inhabitants were "utterly unfurnished of graine or other victuals." The parish records of Dedham are defective in their recording of burials during the 1590s but the neighbouring parish of Ardleigh appears to have suffered a mortality crisis during this period of dearth.<sup>28</sup>

The incidence of land sales in Dedham with related transactions such as mortgages and leases, shows a considerable similarity with that recorded by Margaret Spufford for the pastoral, fenland parish of Willingham. The records of the manor of Dedham Hall, which provide a continuous record of land transactions between 1560 and 1602, show fifty eight of them taking place in the 1560s and sixty one in the 1570s. In the 1580s there was a jump in the number of transactions to one hundred and fifteen with a subsequent fall to seventy eight in the 1590s. The figures from Willingham give nineteen transactions during the 1570s, fifty during the 1580s and thirty five in the 1590s the proportionate rise being greater from a lower base.<sup>29</sup> The fragmentary seventeenth century records for Dedham Hall show a continued fall from the high level of the 1580s. The mean annual totals of transactions are 11.5 for the 1580s, 7.8

Table 1.1

Land transactions in the manorial courts of Dedham  
(excluding inheritance), 1560 - 1600.

Year	Dedham Hall transactions			Total trans.	Faites & Wades transactions
	Sales	Leases	Mort- gages		Total trans.
1560	6	-	-	6	2
1561	7	2	-	9	-
1562	3	1	-	4	3
1563	4	-	-	4	-
1564	4	-	-	4	-
1565	13	2	1	16	-
1566	1	-	-	1	1
1567	3	-	-	3	-
1568	1	1	-	2	1
1569	8	1	-	9	-
1570	3	1	-	4	-
1571	9	2	-	11	1
1572	5	-	1	6	1
1573	1	-	-	1	-
1574	8	1	1	10	-
1575	4	-	1	5	-
1576	3	-	1	4	1
1577	5	1	-	6	1
1578	6	-	1	7	1
1579	7	-	-	7	-
1580	13	3	2	18	-
1581	3	3	-	6	1
1582	4	-	4	8	1
1583	12	-	6	18	-
1584	4	1	-	5	2
1585	8	5	2	15	-
1586	13	3	2	18	1
1587	8	-	4	12	2
1588	6	2	2	10	-
1589	3	-	-	3	2
1590	5	-	2	7	-
1591	7	-	-	7	2
1592	6	-	2	8	-
1593	2	-	1	3	-
1594	5	2	-	7	-
1595	7	1	1	9	1
1596	8	2	-	10	-
1597	12	2	3	17	-
1598	2	-	-	2	2
1599	7	1	1	9	-
1600	11	-	2	13	-

for the 1590s, 5.3 for the seven recorded years of the 1610s and three for the four recorded years of the 1620s. The records of Overhall and Netherhall are too poor to permit a decade by decade comparison with land transactions in Dedham Hall but those of Faites and Wades show six in the 1560s, three in the 1570s, eleven in the 1580s and five in the 1590s, indicating the same kind of rise and fall. In the stockraising parishes of Dedham and Willingham the effect of dearth in forcing distress sales failed to produce a rise in the number of transactions. It may well be that the disastrous harvests of the 1590s had a more pronounced tendency to discourage buyers so producing the observed fall in transactions. The steady prices and moderate harvests of the 1580s produced a more buoyant land market. In a cornland parish on the other hand those with large holdings might profit by a dearth and use the profit to buy up the lands of their neighbours. Margaret Spufford records a rise in transactions during the 1590s for the arable parish of Chippenham.<sup>30</sup>

The manorial records show the inhabitants of Dedham using their land to secure business debts. For example in 1573 William Judye surrendered the fourteen acre tenement called Gores to Martin Can, clothworker of London, on condition that if he paid the £490 for which another clothworker held his bond the surrender was to be void. Similarly John Browne the merchant, who had suffered outlawry for debt in 1590 with the consequent seizure of his lands by the steward of Dedham Hall, was restored by 1592 when he pledged his tenement against a debt to the

clothworker Thomas Addams. Lewis Sparhawk the mercer seems to have bought grain from a 'badger' (cornmonger) of London after the dearth harvest of 1596 securing the sale against two small tenements of his, one of them being occupied by a subtenant. Such transactions would contribute to the activity of the land market without alteration in the actual ownership of land.<sup>31</sup>

The three extant rentals mentioned above provide information about the disposition of land ownership at their dates of drafting. In addition a 1592 rental for Overhall and Netherhall exists bound together with the Dedham Hall rental of that year but does not give full information about acreages held. A rental or survey of a single manor in a parish containing two or more of them may give a distorted picture of landholding in the parish as a whole since a tenant might hold a small amount of land in the recorded manor and a large amount in the unrecorded or vice versa. In addition as many as a third of testators bequeathing land held in Dedham also held land in other parishes, usually within ten miles of the town. Not surprisingly those with land outside as well as inside Dedham tended to be the larger landholders of the town. Of nine testators whose landholdings in Dedham are recorded in the 1592 rentals, possessing land outside the parish, five held more than twenty five acres in the town.<sup>32</sup>

Of the fifty four tenants of Dedham Hall recorded in the 1592 rental twenty eight or rather more than half also held land in Overhall and Netherhall. Three quarters of those who held fifteen or more acres in Dedham Hall also

held land in the other manor as opposed to just under a half of those holding less than fifteen acres. Estimates based on acreages given in the 1592 rental of Overhall and Netherhall, the rental of 1573 and a survey of about the same date for the same manor indicate that those who held large acreages in Dedham Hall also tended to have large holdings in the other manor while Dedham Hall smallholders held minor holdings in Overhall and Netherhall. It would seem therefore that the figures for a single manor give a reasonably accurate picture of landholding in the whole parish.<sup>33</sup>

The rentals record a drop in the number of tenements of over thirty acres between the reign of Elizabeth and the mid ~~sixteenth~~<sup>seventeenth</sup> century. The number of small to medium sized holdings, ranging from five to twenty nine acres, remained more or less constant in proportion to the total number of holdings, while the proportion of tiny cottage plots of less than two acres rose by about a fifth. This development in the structure of landholding, like the figures for land transactions, is reminiscent of trends in the fenland village of Willingham plotted by Margaret Spufford. There was no tendency for the land to become concentrated into a few large holdings as happened in seventeenth century Terling. In a parish primarily concerned in using the land for stockraising, dairying and wool production, and provided with extensive commons furnishing additional space and resources, the small to medium sized tenement of Elizabeth's reign remained a viable economic unit in the mid seventeenth century.<sup>34</sup>

Since there were two hundred to two hundred and fifty householders in the parish by the late sixteenth century while the number of tenants holding of Dedham Hall and Overhall and Netherhall, as recorded in the 1592 rentals, was 112, with four additional individuals holding land in Faites and Wades in 1589, it would appear that half the householders in Dedham rented their lands from other inhabitants rather than holding directly from the manors.<sup>35</sup> In 1592 ten of the fifty four tenants of Dedham Hall possessed more than one house. Samuel Cooper held five cottages as well as a messuage. Some of these cottage tenements paid a high rent to the manorial lord. One, held by Thomas Glover, paid five shillings and fourpence a year or about a penny farthing a week. Two others, belonging to Lewis Sparhawk, were assessed at eight shillings a year. Others, however, paid only a few pence a year. Perhaps the high rents were levied on recently built cottages; which would discourage the inhabitants from erecting more and so multiplying the number of people able to use the commons. In the years 1618 - 1621 four tenants were ordered to pull down cottages they had built on waste ground, which was a more direct means to that end.<sup>36</sup>

Between 1540 and 1650 129 recorded inhabitants of Dedham made provision in their wills for the disposal of land they held. Of the 122 men among them ninety one indicated that they were married. Sixty five of these, or rather less than three quarters of their number, left their wives a tenement, either for life or, much more rarely, in perpetuity [six cases] or for the term of the wife's

widowhood [three cases]. Of the remaining twenty six, nine gave their wives no access to their lands, eight provided the usufruct of a tenement either for a term of years or specifically until their children were of age, six furnished their widows with the right to dwell in their houses either for life or for a term of years and three bestowed an annuity from their lands. This generous provision for widows was closer to practice in the arable parish of Chippenham than in the pastoral village of Willingham. Even when the testator's sons were of age, as were those of William Butter and of Michael Upcher the elder, wives were provided with a portion of his lands until their deaths.<sup>37</sup>

Twenty three testators left all their real property to a single son even though other sons are mentioned in their wills. Among testators all of whose children were daughters five of those who had more than one nevertheless left all their lands to a single child. It was more usual, however to divide up one's lands among the children and daughters were frequently included in the distributions. Thus thirty testators divided their land among their sons, fourteen among sons and daughters, while twenty testators who possessed daughters divided their land only among their sons.

Those testators who divided their land tended to give roughly equal portions to each of their sons. Perhaps they were restrained from discriminating in favour of the eldest by the custom according to which patrimony should pass from the father to the youngest son within the town of Dedham. This custom was still adhered to by the occasional

testator.<sup>38</sup> The daughters given land, however, did not always receive viable holdings. Thomas Butter's bequest of three roods of meadow and two milch cows to his daughter Alice looks like a gesture. William Butter, the son of Thomas, provided his daughter with the more adequate holding of a cottage, six acres and the moiety of a grove.<sup>39</sup>

Settlement in the parish was dispersed with only a part of the population living around the church and marketplace. The road known as the King's Way, which ran north to south through the centre of the parish, seems to have served as the axis of settlement with heavily populated lanes leading off it to east and west. Further south the heath had been much encroached upon to build dwellings. In 1579 the court leet allowed three men to act as victuallers and bread sellers around the church while two were to do the same job for the heath dwellers. Those who made their homes on the heath would have lived about a mile from the church.<sup>40</sup>

The byelaw of the leet empowering inhabitants to "build our houses, and let them fall at our willes, and take them downe", does not impute much solidity to the houses in question. By the last quarter of the sixteenth century, however the richer inhabitants of the parish possessed houses of some elaboration. In 1581 the clothier Robert Starling referred in his will to the glazed windows and the ceilings in his house. Thomas Glover, who died in 1596, also possessed these items. Thomas Ludkin senior, who made his will in 1618, had at least two upper storey bedrooms or chambers. Thomas, the son of that Thomas Glover who died in

1596, was the proud owner of a gallery chamber in 1629 when he came to make his will.<sup>41</sup> The grandest dwelling in Dedham, however, was the 'great messuage' called Southfield house. By 1583 this was a small scale version of a nobleman's house with its courtyard design and entrance gatehouse. At that time the house was the property of the widow Agnes Wood whose husband Richard Wood had died a quarter of a century before. After a number of complicated transactions it passed into the hands of the clothier Simon Fenn in 1594. On Simon Fenn's death in 1610 it descended to his eldest son Henry. Simon Fenn was among the ten most highly assessed tax payers of the town for the subsidy of 1599.<sup>42</sup>

The majority of the inhabitants undoubtedly continued to live in less substantial dwellings. However the survey made in the 1570s for Overhall and Netherhall records at least one brick built cottage at a time when brick construction was unusual.<sup>43</sup> Moreover the houses of those below the ranks of the parish elite were sufficiently solidly built to provide accommodation for some bulky furniture. Thus Thomas Garrard, a labourer who died in 1546, possessed a bedstead and three hutches. John Payne alias Barker, a millwright, who made his will in 1571, bequeathed a posted bedstead and a plain bedstead. Possession of bedsteads was not, as in sixteenth century Terling, limited to the richer sort.<sup>44</sup>

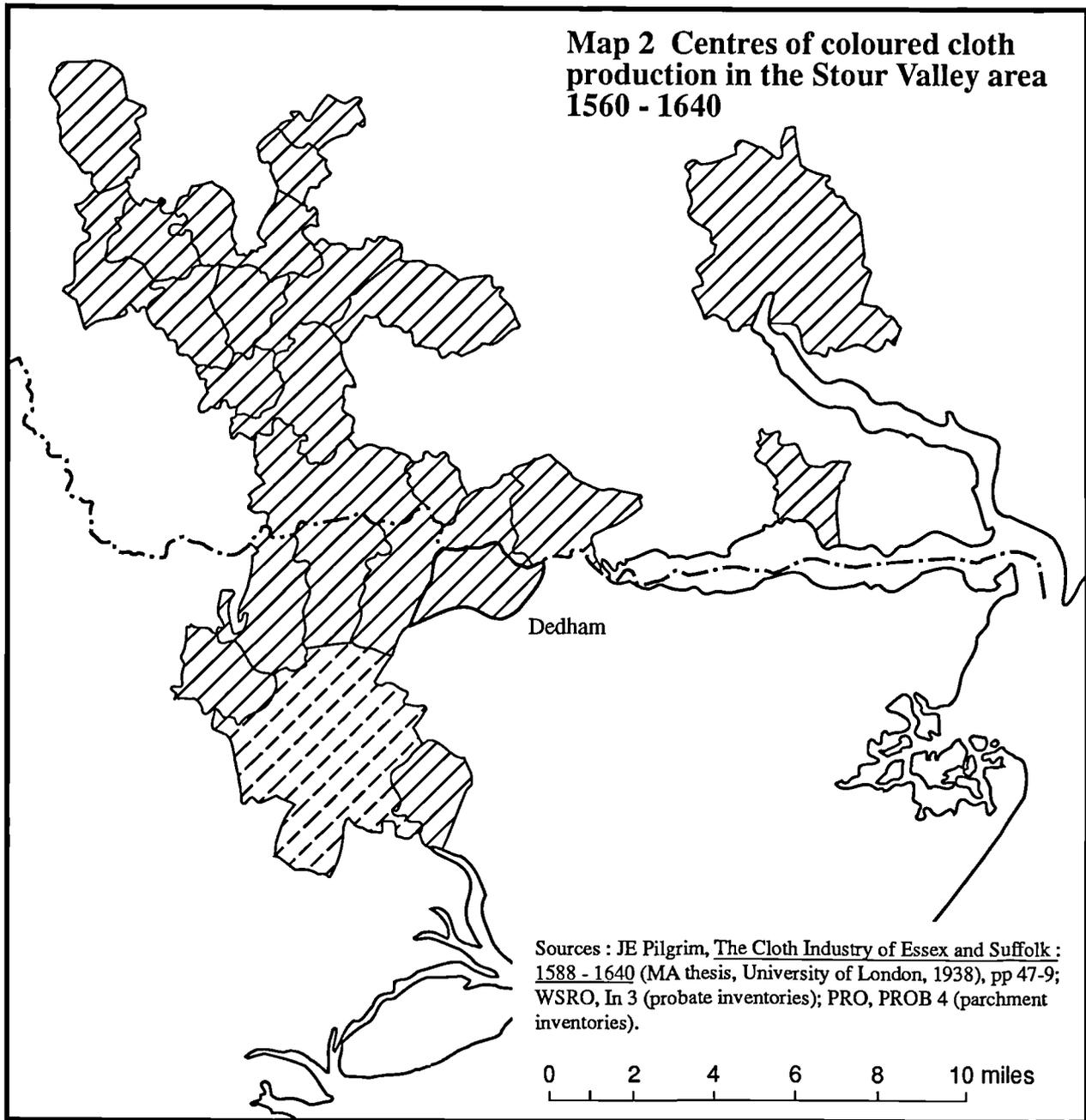
Is it possible to establish a connection between the type of agrarian economy and ecology which existed in sixteenth and seventeenth century Dedham and the

susceptibility of that parish to calls for godly reformation? David Underdown has suggested that the dichotomy between the arable and wood pasture types of agrarian environment led to the evolution of two distinct types of social formation. Arable farming, generally though not invariably associated with open field husbandry, was characterised by compact villages and strong manorial institutions. Wood pasture regions, on the other hand, were typified by small enclosed fields, dispersed settlement and weak manorial regulation. Puritanism provided a basis for establishing new forms of cohesion in the socially fluid pastoral parishes and for exerting moral control over the burgeoning rural proletariat.<sup>45</sup>

The case of Dedham may fruitfully be tested against this hypothesis. Although possessing certain characteristics associated with the sheep corn lands of Suffolk the economy of Dedham was predominantly of the wood pasture type. Though this meant small enclosures and dispersed settlement, as laid down in Underdown's schema, manorial institutions were by no means weak even though the demesne had been broken up and there was no resident landlord. On the contrary the court leet was vigorous and appears to have continued active into the seventeenth century despite the general decline in the activity of manorial courts after 1600 noted by Felix Hull, though the paucity of the manorial records after the reign of Elizabeth necessarily render this conclusion tentative. Disciplinary entries in the records of the leet, not counting those concerning the cleaning of ditches or the lopping of trees,

numbered six in 1570, eleven in 1580, eight in 1590, two in 1601, six in 1620 and six again in 1624.<sup>46</sup>

The need to conserve the common pasture by restricting the number of those eligible to use it, and to enforce the byelaws regulating the use of commons and half year ground, gave the tenants of the manors a spur to cooperative action and a consequent sense of corporate unity. The majority of them served as homage jurors of the manorial courts.<sup>47</sup> As they participated in enforcing the ordinances of the court leet they affirmed the corporate identity of their town. Such a sense of distinctiveness would make the project of a reformation on a local basis congenial to the inhabitants of Dedham.<sup>48</sup>



Crosshatching indicates that there is evidence of coloured cloth manufacture in the parish so denoted. The broken hatching of Colchester is there in recognition of the fact that there the new draperies constituted the bulk of cloth production while coloured cloth made up a minor part of textile manufacture.

2. Clothiers and outworkers: The cloth industry of Dedham and the Stour Valley in prosperity and decay, 1560 - 1640

"The said place consisteth only of a small number of clotheyeres, and a great company of poore people which are by them sett on worke". So the inhabitants of Dedham admonished the Privy Council in the winter of 1627-28. In 1629 it was reported that Dedham, with its satellite town of Langham, employed more than 3,000 people in cloth production.<sup>1</sup> Such claims were exaggerated. In the early seventeenth century the population of Dedham was about 1,200 while Langham contained something less than half that number.<sup>2</sup> Nor, contrary to the claims of the townsmen, were all of them working in cloth production. Of the 174 male inhabitants of the parish who left wills in the 90 years from 1560-1639, 122 indicated the nature of their occupation. Of these forty two (or just over one third of the total) laid claim to an employment which had no connection with cloth production or sale, the majority of these being craftsmen, tradesmen and providers of services in law and education. These were professions characteristic of any market town.<sup>3</sup> Dedham's role as a market town was, however, clearly subordinate to the importance of cloth production which accounted for nearly two thirds of declared employment. In East Bergholt, on the Suffolk side of the Stour, the position was very similar with 63% of those testators who declared their occupation being engaged in cloth production.

As a cloth town Dedham belonged to a regional economy

which was centred on the river Stour and its tributaries, the Box and the Brett. Along these rivers, and within fifteen miles of Dedham, twenty seven towns and villages were engaged in the manufacture of the fabrics known as "Short Suffolk coloured Cloaths" although such cloths were produced in North East Essex as well as South East Suffolk.<sup>4</sup> Apart from Dedham, however, the centres of cloth production in Essex, at Bocking, Braintree Witham and Coggeshall, manufactured the lighter fabrics termed bays and says rather than coloured broad cloth. After the 1565 settlement there of the Dutch, who were recognized as being highly proficient in the production of these "new draperies", Colchester also became a centre for the manufacture of bays and says and production of coloured broad cloth diminished.<sup>5</sup>

The process of cloth manufacture was organised by individuals called clothiers who provided the capital necessary to finance production. Contemporary writers speak of clothiers who each provided work for several hundred people.<sup>6</sup> Some individuals, notably Thomas Spring senior and Thomas Spring junior of the Suffolk parish of Lavenham, did indeed operate on this kind of scale.<sup>7</sup> They were not typical of those who followed the trade of clothing. A list of the coloured cloth brought to Blackwell Hall in the spring of 1622 gives the names of at least eighteen and perhaps as many as twenty three clothiers then resident in Dedham. Assuming that this list supplies the names of all the clothiers of the town and assuming further that about two thirds of the households were involved in cloth production as the statements about employment made by

testators tend to indicate then each clothier of Dedham would have provided work for between six and eight households. The clothiers of Dedham were not Jacks of Newbury.<sup>8</sup>

For the principal raw material of cloth production the clothiers relied partly on local sources such as the flocks of the Tendring peninsula of North East Essex where "the moste barren and heathye groundes yelde beste wooll."<sup>9</sup> In Dedham sheep were probably less numerous than cattle. Between 1560 and 1639 only nine inhabitants of the town indicated their ownership of sheep in their wills while twenty nine mentioned their ownership of cattle. This difference may, however, reflect the greater value of cattle which would tend to lead more testators to make specific provision for the disposal of their cattle and fewer to do so for their sheep.<sup>10</sup> In 1595 the yeoman Christopher Wood kept 130 sheep on the heath and was fined for pasturing an excessive number. The nine sheep kept by the clothier Stephen Howe and the eight kept by John Hudson, another clothier indicate that some at least of the clothiers of the parish kept a source of wool under their own hand.<sup>11</sup> Where local sources were inadequate the Stour Valley clothiers bought wool from the London merchants of the staple although they sometimes complained that the drapers exploited their position to force up prices.<sup>12</sup>

One reason for the buying of wool from the staplers was that the local wool tended to be of coarse texture and this would reduce the value of the finished cloth. During the reign of Henry VIII it was claimed that the "chief

leving" of the Stour Valley clothiers was gained by the manufacture of "sette clothes called vesses or sayling clothes" which tended to shrink drastically when wet and sold for £3 or less a piece. In 1575 the clothiers of Suffolk asserted that they used the coarsest wool in the land.<sup>13</sup> During the 1560s, however, a number of clothiers of the region began to buy the fine Spanish wool with which they could make cloths which would sell in Antwerp for between £10 and £12,10s a piece. Fine cloth gradually came to predominate. In 1622 a list was made of cloths deposited in Ipswich. Of 192 cloths listed 137 were rated either fine or tear (meaning super fine).<sup>14</sup>

Once the clothier had acquired his wool the next step was to dye it. A mixture of woad and indigo was employed since other dyes were prohibited by statute. The wool was then carded and spun into yarn after which the weaver wove it into cloth. On receiving back the cloth the clothier took it to the mill to be fulled. In Dedham the corn mill doubled as a fulling mill. The miller enjoyed monopoly rights called "mill-soken" over all the cloth produced within the parish. He tended to charge more than the clothiers considered to be equitable but they did not succeed in repudiating the miller's privilege although it was temporarily rescinded in 1573.<sup>16</sup> A statute of 1566 had forbidden the export of coloured cloth which had not been finished so the final stage in the process of manufacture was the dressing during which the burlers would pick up all the loose ends of the threads with plants called teasels and the shearmen would smooth the cloth by cutting off rough

pieces.<sup>17</sup> Since the cloth would have shrunk during the fulling it was stretched on a frame called a tenter. Under a statute passed in 1552 the use of such machines became illegal but on the petition of the Suffolk clothiers that their cloths were not saleable otherwise the Queen licensed their use in 1590. The licence was renewed by James I but in 1631 an informer threatened several clothiers of Hadleigh with prosecution for using tenters presumably on the ground that James' renewal of the licence had lapsed with his death.<sup>18</sup>

In his examination of The World we have lost Peter Laslett denied that social classes, in the sense of homogeneous groups, defined by their relationship to the process of production and involved in conflicts of interest with other groups holding different relationships to that process, existed in England before the Industrial Revolution. If we allow his contention that social classes should be nationwide in their extent then his claim that Early Modern England was "a one class society" may stand.<sup>19</sup> However the clothiers and outworkers of Suffolk and Essex do appear to have been distinct social classes even if they had only a local, and not a national existence. Carding and spinning tended to be by-employments practised by women and children.<sup>20</sup> The weavers and shearmen, on the other hand, tended to be adult males who would enjoy the autonomy pertaining to householders. They were thus in a position to recognize their common interests and the differences which divided them from the clothiers.<sup>21</sup> In other cloth producing areas such as the town of Kidderminster, near Worcester and

in Canterbury, which was another centre of coloured broad-cloth manufacture weavers tended also to be clothiers.

They bought the yarn and had it woven in their own houses before selling the cloth to the merchants.<sup>22</sup> In Suffolk and Essex, on the other hand cloth production was carried out by one set of householders while the process was financed and directed by another set. The major conflict of interest between producers and directors of production was that the latter were in a position to control the remuneration received by the former. In a sermon he preached against the cupidity of clothiers, Thomas Carew, the rector of Bildeston in the valley of the Brett complained that the reward given to the weaver for his labour was determined by the clothier who had provided him with his raw material "whereas in other trades men set the price of their owne worke". In consequence weavers and shearmen were ill paid in comparison with those who practised other crafts. In periods of prosperity the outworkers in the bay making towns of Essex may have received half as much again for their work as their colleagues in the coloured broadcloth areas did but they were liable to have their remuneration cut to a pittance if trade turned slack.<sup>23</sup>

The outworkers had recourse to two forms of protest in response to the inclination of the clothiers to pay them low wages. These were appeals to authority and the threat of riot. This threat was voiced at Colchester in 1566 during a period of commercial depression. In 1622 it was reported that outworkers in a number of counties engaged in cloth production had banded together into groups of forty

and fifty individuals "and gone to the howses of those they thought fittest to relieve them for meate and monie, which hath bin given more out of feare than charitie". The following year the Essex baymakers appeared to be in such a condition that "if some sudden course of prevencccon bee not used, many inconveniences and disturbances will arise amonge them".<sup>24</sup> In 1629 the clothiers imposed a drastic wage cut on the baymakers since trade was at a virtual standstill. The clothiers of Witham, who went to report the situation to the deputy lieutenants, told them that they were afraid to return home.<sup>25</sup> When the baymakers did break into riot in May 1629 their violence was not, however, directed against the clothiers but at certain "marchauntes of the North" who were shipping grain from Maldon and thereby threatening to raise the price of bread. It was not in the interest of the outworkers to terrorize the clothiers so much that they were "discouraged to goe on in their trades".<sup>26</sup>

The fear that the outworkers might riot provided an incentive for the authorities to take action when those workers petitioned them for redress. In 1629 the baymakers petitioned both the court and quarter sessions to order the clothiers to increase their wages. The county elite, led by the Earl of Warwick, responded sympathetically to these pleas but reported that the varying qualities of the different types of bay made it difficult to assess a fair rate. It was easier to deal with the complaint that the clothiers were employing household servants and apprentices to manufacture cloth presenting the independent workers with the spectre of unemployment.<sup>27</sup> This complaint had been

raised by the Stour Valley weavers during the reign of Henry VIII, as well as by the baymakers in 1629.<sup>28</sup> Examination of the inventories of twenty one Stour Valley clothiers, most of which date from the second half of the seventeenth century, indicates that three of the twenty one kept one or more looms in their houses. Four others kept sets of shearman's shears. Production by the clothiers' households could never supply more than a small fraction of the amount manufactured by the outworkers. It was, however, a useful means of keeping down wages.<sup>29</sup>

In their relationship with their outworkers the clothiers of the Stour Valley combined exploitation with paternalism. Thomas Carew asserts that it was their custom to "bid their poore workfolkes at Christmas to a dinner". In Dedham, though not in East Bergholt, it was quite usual for a clothier to make bequests ranging from 10s to 40s to their outworkers. Thomas Glover, who made his will in 1596, was the first to do this. Simon Fenn, the executor of Edmund Chapman who was the first Dedham lecturer, left sums of money to five weavers when he made his will in 1610. The next individual to give such bequests was John Anger, who made his will in 1624. Seven of the sixteen clothiers who made their wills during the following fifteen years, left bequests to their outworkers.<sup>30</sup>

Like the white cloth industry of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire the coloured cloth industry of the Stour Valley was export oriented. With the development of fine cloth production Antwerp became an important market for Suffolk clothiers. William Cardinall of East Bergholt,

one of the first Suffolk clothiers to use Spanish wool, sold so much cloth at Antwerp that fine coloured cloths exported from the Stour Valley to the Netherlands were termed 'cardinals'. The Ipswich merchants went on dealing with those of Antwerp during the period from 1569 to 1573 when an embargo on trade between the subjects of Elizabeth and those of Philip II was supposed to have existed.<sup>31</sup>

The largest market for the cloths of the Stour Valley was however the Baltic 'Eastland' region where a staple was established at the Prussian port of Elbing in 1581. The Polish name for Suffolk broadcloth was 'lunski'.<sup>32</sup> After the establishment of trading links with Russia during the 1550s that country became an important supplementary market for 'Suffolk' cloth. Coarse cloths such as vesses tended to be exported to the Mediterranean and sold in Spain, Morocco and the Levant.<sup>33</sup>

Ipswich and London were the ports through which the great bulk of the coloured cloth output was exported. For following the settlement of the Dutch colony in the 1560s Colchester concentrated on the making and trading of new draperies, and shipments of broadcloth, which in 1565, had been almost a third of those from Ipswich, shrank to insignificance. As time went on Ipswich too, which in 1573 had been regarded as a potential 'English Antwerp' declined in relative importance compared to London. In 1565 for example less than 25% of coloured cloth shipments passing the Danish Sound into the Baltic were entered as exported from London but by 1606 over 67% of this traffic passed through the capital.<sup>34</sup> The clothiers of the Stour Valley

therefore had to decide whether to make use of a conveniently local port where the number of possible buyers was restricted or a much more distant one where they were much more numerous. Suits over commercial debts heard in the Court of Requests during the reign of James I, in which five clothiers of Dedham and one of Langham were parties, indicate that during the first decades of the seventeenth century wealthy clothiers like Libbeus Dimbleby were happy to utilize the local market. Four of the six did not sell directly to a merchant but sold their wares to an individual called Richard Bogas, who lived in the hamlet of Brantham which belonged to the same parish as East Bergholt. They were prepared to deal with him on an informal basis, accepting his promise of payment instead of a bond obligatory. For he was "a mann verie honest, just and true in his dealinges". Their trust was to be ill repaid when Bogas died in 1611 leaving an estate over burdened with debt. All the transactions of the six were small scale affairs. The largest sale mentioned involved four cloths.<sup>35</sup>

For Dedham and the Essex bloc of coloured cloth parishes the pull of London was particularly strong as is evidenced by a list of 'tollerated clothes' stored in the capital which was drawn up in the Spring of 1622. Of the 3,057 cloths listed inhabitants of Dedham had supplied between 8% and 10% depending on whether certain individuals were or were not resident in the town at that date. For the three contiguous parishes of Dedham, Langham and Boxted the proportion was 12-15% which indicates the much smaller scale of cloth production in Langham and Boxted. The largest

number of cloths supplied by a resident of one of the three parishes was ninety three; the clothier who supplied them was John Cole of Langham. The median figure for the number of cloths per clothier is either seven or eight, the higher total being obtained by excluding those clothiers whose residence in any of the three parishes is doubtful, from the calculation.<sup>36</sup>

For the clothiers of the Stour Valley the Elizabethan period was a time of commercial prosperity and a steady growth in exports. Trade with such a distant and commercially undeveloped area was never going to be risk free. In 1588 sales fell by 65% on their level for the previous year and the inhabitants of Dedham were excused from contributing their mite towards the defeat of the Armada on consideration of "the losse of £2,000 which they of late have susteyned by certain bankrots [bankruptcies]".<sup>37</sup> This depression, however, was an exceptional case and despite the dangers to shipping and to relations with the Prussian merchants, associated with the war against Spain, the period 1566 to 1600 saw the number of cloths exported growing at the rate of 290 per year.<sup>38</sup> The growth of exports to Russia was still greater. During the 1560s only a few hundred 'Suffolk' cloths a year were shipped to that country. In 1584 about five hundred were shipped; in 1598 the total was 1,769 and in 1602 it was 1,873.<sup>39</sup> As the economy of the Mediterranean recovered prosperity during the final quarter of the sixteenth century shipping and sales to that region also rose as the Leghorn registers attest. In 1580 English merchants obtained

extensive trading privileges in the Levant of which they took full advantage.<sup>40</sup>

Profits derived from such favourable conditions of trade when, as Carew reported, clothiers "gained almost so much by making out one load of Wooll, as their wooll cost them", provided men with the wherewithal to turn themselves into landed proprietors. William Butter and the aforementioned Thomas Glover, both of whom died during the 1590s, each left more than 60 acres of land and meadow. Butter had been assessed on goods rather than land in 1563 while Glover specifically stated that twenty seven of his acres had been acquired by purchase. John Goodwyn of East Bergholt, who made his will in 1600, recorded that he had purchased one manor and thirteen other properties.<sup>41</sup>

Although the scale of their wages would ensure that they never grew rich, unless they had other resources, a booming trade would increase the outworkers' incomes by giving them more work to do. By the early seventeenth century some clothiers at least were able to set their men on work throughout the year rather than just in the winter.<sup>42</sup> In addition they were partially shielded from the threat of dearth by the fact that high grain prices in England were associated with peaks in the production of coloured cloth. For a shortfall in supply in a country which normally fed itself would produce a surge in the demand for Baltic grain. The Eastland gentry would reap increased profits and since these men were the principal purchasers of high quality English cloth their gain would quickly translate into an increased demand for that product.

Thus 1597, leanest year of a lean decade, when English grain prices reached a level not to be matched until 1630, was also the all time peak in the number of coloured cloth recorded as passing the Sound.<sup>43</sup>

As the seventeenth century began the great boom showed signs of faltering. The price of Stour Valley cloth, which had already risen considerably during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, increased by another 24% between 1595 and 1615 at a time when price levels in the Baltic were already beginning to level off or fall. The cheaper Dutch cloth, sales of which rose from 22,896 in the 1590s to 60,643 in the 1600s, were proving increasingly attractive to Baltic buyers. By contrast the mean annual level of sales of English coloured broadcloth were barely higher in the 1600s than in the preceding decade. Sales to Russia however continued to increase, despite the onset of the 'Time of Troubles' in that country and the Mediterranean market was also buoyant.<sup>44</sup>

Optimism about the future of the industry would prove difficult to sustain against the course of events in the 1620s. The decade began with a drastic debasement of the groschen (grosz), the domestic currency of the Polish Commonwealth. The silver content of the groschen at Danzig, the commercial capital of Prussia declined by 44% between 1617 and 1622. English cloth, whose cost to the consumer was thus artificially raised, was virtually priced out of the market. The number of cloths passing the Sound in 1620 and 1621 was at its lowest level since the early 1560s. The Stour Valley clothiers blamed the stop in trade on the

merchants and resisted their efforts to drive down the price at which they purchased the cloth in an effort to restore competitiveness. They threatened to turn merchants themselves if their unsold stocks were not bought up. The Privy Council supported them by ordering "that if the Eastland merchants did not forthwith buy off their cloths, the clothiers themselves should have free liberty ... to ship forth their cloths into foreign parts".<sup>45</sup>

Scarcely had the value of the groschen been stabilized and demand increased thanks to higher grain prices in England than the interminable succession war between the Polish and the Swedish Vasas was extended into Prussia. In April 1626 the English staple at Elbing fell to the Swedes. The town was then blockaded by the Poles while the Swedes extracted 15,000 thalers from the Eastland Company, the merchants' corporate organization, and went on to levy arbitrary tolls on shipping using the sea lanes around the Prussian ports.<sup>46</sup> The collapse in demand for 'lunski' was precipitate. A customs official at Ipswich, Thomas Clere, reported that in 1626 the Eastland merchants had shipped 3,300 coloured cloths from that port, but the following year only 728, prompting certain clothiers to treat the Council's conditional permission of 1622 as being in force and shipping their cloth themselves. In 1629 it was reported that the inhabitants of Dedham and Langham had more than 3,000 cloths on their hands the value of which stock was at least £30,000. They had "not sold above 100 clothes this 18 monethes."<sup>47</sup>

Although the depression began to lift in 1630 the recovery during the following decade was broken backed. The Swedes remained in occupation of West Prussia until the end of 1635 levying their rapacious tolls. Many former buyers of English cloth could no longer afford it and turned either to the Dutch, who were shipping increased numbers of new draperies to the region, or to the native industries of Danzig and Wielkopolska.<sup>48</sup> The mean annual number of coloured broadcloths passing the Sound during the 1630s was only 85% of the figure for the 1610s despite the advantage conferred on the English by Dutch belligerence and their own neutrality in the continental war. Complaints by the Suffolk clothiers against the excessive prices charged by sellers of wool which were voiced in 1636, point to commercial depression. In Dedham the proportion of clothier testators was only 25% which was lower than the figure for the 1580s. The cloth industry of the Stour Valley was not yet at its last gasp but its decline was manifest.<sup>49</sup>

Though the clothiers and their outworkers had interests which conflicted both groups would suffer if dealers raised the price of wool or merchants lowered the prices they were prepared to pay for cloth. Both groups depended for their livelihood on the demand for English cloth among the inhabitants of distant lands and thus possessed a direct interest in developments in certain parts of Europe. Such factors would tend to inhibit the expression of hostility by the outworkers against the clothiers who exploited them but on whose success in trade they were dependent. In 1596 a weaver of Ardleigh, who was

very probably employed by the Dedham clothiers, proposed to lead an uprising against the rich churls but his proposed victims were not to be the clothiers but rather the cornmongers.<sup>50</sup>

### 3. Godly reformation in a parish republic :

Dedham and the Puritan Movement, 1560 - 1600

"The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations". This statement was made in 1830 of the villages of the Ganges valley. In view of the ubiquitous regulatory powers assigned to the office of justice of the peace, which was the subject of one hundred and seventy six statutes between 1485 and 1603, it would be difficult to apply it to the parishes of sixteenth century England.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the existence in English customary law of devices such as recognizance and compurgation indicate recognition of local opinion in assessing responsibility for any breakdown of good order and providing means for its restoration. Given its comparatively narrow boundaries and the high level of social interaction which took place inside them the parish provided an excellent forum for the institutional expression of opinions based on intimate knowledge. The key role of the parish was emphasised by the series of statutes passed between 1536 and 1601 which gave the parish officers responsibility for the control of poverty and added to the ranks of the parish officers the collector, later called the overseer, of the poor.<sup>2</sup> Similarly responsibility for the maintenance of the Queen's highway was devolved to the parish constables and churchwardens and to surveyors nominated by them, in the statute of 1555.<sup>3</sup>

The successful operation of existing statutes and the initiative of parish officers in adding to their provisions encouraged central authority to further promote the emergence of the civil parish as a corporate entity. Thus in 1596 the chief inhabitants of Swallowfield, an isolated parish of Wiltshire near Reading, agreed to meet monthly "to hear the complaints of suche as have byn wronged or are moved to discover the disorders of any ... that the unrulie may be reformed." This was two years before the statute 39 Elizabeth c.3 provided for the monthly conference of churchwardens and overseers of the poor; a measure which helped to determine the frequency of the meetings of many parish vestries.<sup>4</sup>

The men of Swallowfield determined to do their utmost to prevent the prophaning of the Sabbath, to secure the attendance of servants at church and to punish drunkards and mischievous persons. This impulse towards godly reformation was however surpassed by the concern of the subscribers to the Swallowfield articles with more civil matters such as reducing the number of inmates. Indeed these articles are notable for the small attention devoted to the role of the minister. He is mentioned in only one of them, wherein the subscribers resolve to advise him not to solemnise the marriage of any couple "before they have a convenient house" in the hope of reducing the number of inmates.<sup>5</sup> By contrast the character of the effort at moral reformation in Dedham was to be much more closely determined by religion since it was directed by the town's ministers as an outgrowth of the Puritan Movement of the 1580s.

The Puritan Movement was in essence an attempt to set up a form of Presbyterian discipline by stealth and without formal separation from the Church of England, carried out by ministers in London, East Anglia and the East Midlands. The movement grew out of the 'prophecyings' which were meetings of ministers to preach to the people and to discuss tricky points of Scripture among themselves. Prophecyings were formally suppressed by royal commandment at the end of 1576. The previous year however an Order of Prophecy formulated by the Norwich preachers following the death of Bishop Parkhurst reinterpreted the prophesying as a private colloquy of the learned clergy. The equality of the 'brethren' who assembled was emphasised and by implication unlearned ministers were excluded. One of the main objectives of episcopal orders of prophecy had been to instruct such ministers by means of their conference with their more learned peers.<sup>6</sup>

The new system did not survive long at Norwich since Freke, the next bishop, was quick to move against nonconformity. By the Summer of 1577 Edmund Chapman, one of the leading Norwich preachers, was in London. Two other ministers, Richard Crick and Richard Dowe, who subscribed a declaration of partial conformity in 1578, had left the city by the end of the decade. The three were to meet again on the banks of the river Stour on the Suffolk/Essex border. Chapman had long possessed connections in this area. He had known Thomas Upcher of Fordham since the 1560s and had married a sister of William Cardinall of Great Bromley, who was a native of Dedham and one of the principal landowners

of the region.<sup>7</sup> When the inhabitants of Dedham decided to establish a lecture Chapman was a natural choice for the post. Presumably attracted by his presence Crick and Dowe had taken up residence on the Suffolk side of the river by 1582, though neither took a benefice.<sup>8</sup> Established reform minded ministers such as Thomas Farrar, rector of Langham, Laurance Newman, vicar of Coggeshall, Robert Lewis, vicar of Colchester St Peters and William Tay, rector of Peldon, together with half a dozen younger clergymen who included the new vicar of Dedham, Richard Parker, were now recruited into a 'Conference' based on the Norwich model which was established in October 1582.<sup>9</sup>

Although the geographical reach of the Conference was quite wide, Coggeshall being seventeen miles from Dedham, the focus was on the four adjacent parishes of Dedham, Langham, East Bergholt and Stratford St Mary, the first two being on the South bank, and the last two on the North bank of the Stour. Here, at least seven brethren of the Conference, more than half its active membership, habitually lived.<sup>10</sup>

The constitution of the Dedham Conference varied significantly from that of its predecessor at Norwich. Meetings were to be monthly instead of weekly. An extra hour was allocated to the meetings which were now to last for three hours. Of this time only one hour was to be spent in Biblical exegesis while the remainder of the session was devoted to "other necessary matters, for the furtheringe of the gossell and preventinge of evill".<sup>11</sup>

The Conference, which continued to meet for six and a

half years, was a Presbyterian classis in ovo and was formally declared to be so in a form of subscription sent to its members by the London Puritans in 1587. This however may not have been consented to by them.<sup>12</sup> The semi secret character of the Conference was dictated by its doubtfully legal status and marked by the holding of the meetings in the houses of the ministers or, occasionally, those of sympathetic laymen like Edward Morse of Stratford St Mary, George Cockerell of East Bergholt and Edmund Sherman of Dedham.<sup>13</sup>

The Conference, indeed, sometimes acted as a quasi official body; as when its members engaged in debate with an Essex papist and lawyer called Andrew Oxenbridge at the direction of the Privy Council or denounced an heretical Separatist, Edward Glover, to the Archbishop.<sup>14</sup> However it was unable to exercise its assumed right, derived from the principles of the Puritan Movement as expressed in the Directory of Church Government (Disciplina Ecclesiae Sacra), of directing whether members were to be allowed to leave their callings and seek others and of appointing the successors of those who were permitted to leave.<sup>15</sup> Having failed to prevent Bartimaeus Andrews, the rector of Wenham Magna, from quitting his poorly endowed benefice in 1585 to become town preacher of Great Yarmouth, exchanging the office of pastor for the lower one of teacher according to the Presbyterian view of things, the brethren urged the learned schoolmaster of Cockfield, Samuel Bird, to accept the living but were unsuccessful. (Andrews' successor Ranulf Catlin was however accepted as a member of the

Conference soon after his institution.)<sup>16</sup> In 1587 the failure was repeated when East Bergholt threw out its curate and pastor John Tylney for some unspecified offence and replaced him with Richard Crick, who had been acting as supernumerary preacher in the town. At a subsequent meeting of the Conference "some things were spoken by some in dislike of the peoples course in reiecting and receyving their pastors without counsell of others". However no action was taken against him and after the receipt of a self justifying letter from the new pastor Chapman agreed to preach at his 'election' to the calling. The discouraged meeting declined to advise Robert Lewis whether he might leave his poorly endowed benefice in Colchester and "receive another calling being offred him".<sup>17</sup>

This sense of weakness led to the Conference being unwilling to come to a decision over such controversial matters as whether a minister might accede to a request for him to preach though not yet ordained, or how far the brethren might submit to the bishops' demands for their subscription to the Prayer Book.<sup>18</sup> In the later years of the Conference the tendency to defer taking any decision, whether about parochial or general problems, became pronounced.<sup>19</sup> This was probably one factor in bringing the meetings to an end. As the Conference failed to provide clear guidance each associated parish was largely left to its own devices. It was up to the ministers there to carry through their own godly reformation. As William Negus of Ipswich, preaching what he did not practice since he quit his own cure immediately after Andrews left Wenham, remarked

in reply to Andrews' complaint that his parishioners were refractory, "every man that professeth himself desirous of discipline should exercise it himself in his owne causes soe farre as he coulde."<sup>20</sup>

In the parish of Dedham the reformation of doctrine had begun thirty years before the first meeting of the Conference. John Worth, who was vicar in the early 1550s and had married Alice Webbe a member of one of the leading families of the town, was attracted to the new profession to judge from the preamble of a will he drew up for his wealthy parishioner John Sopham. This expressed a faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus Christ. (The new doctrine may however have coexisted in Worth's mind with the old. The company and fellowship of heaven were also mentioned.)<sup>21</sup> Worth was deprived during the offensive against married priests in Spring 1554. Henry Slythurst, the man presented to the consequently vacant benefice by Bonner never took up residence and during most of the reign of Queen Mary the cure was served by Thomas Norleye who was the candidate of the Crown, in whose gift the benefice officially lay, for the living at the same time as Slythurst but seems never to have been formally instituted.<sup>22</sup>

The result of this muddle was that another Protestant was allowed to minister to the parish. Norleye's adherence to Reformed doctrine is indicated by the preambles of three wills he bravely put his hand to during Mary's reign.<sup>23</sup> Possessing a sympathetic shepherd preserved the godly of Dedham from the holocaust that overtook those of nearby

Great Bentley where the priest was a zealous supporter of the Reaction.<sup>24</sup>

This unseasonably bright morning was swiftly overclouded. Soon after the accession of Elizabeth, Norleye took himself off and in 1561 an episcopal visitation showed the cure in the hands of John Clarke, a lector who could administer no sacraments.<sup>25</sup> The value of the benefice had halved during the 1550s falling from third to twenty fourth place in its deanery in terms of gross income and to a still lower point in net income since taxes continued to be levied at the old rate. The general depression in the cloth trade, reducing the vicar's receipts from offerings by parishioners, together with the cessation of bequests for forgotten tithes with the decline of the old profession, were responsible for the fall in value according to the report of a commission of local gentry in 1563. As a result of this report the Crown reduced the nominal value of the vicarage to its real worth with a proportionate drop in the tax burden.<sup>26</sup>

It was not however until 1565 that the parish attracted another vicar; in fact the old one, John Worth, who now returned to his former benefice. He seems to have served the town conscientiously if one may judge by the negative evidence of the absence of presentments against him in the archdeaconry court, and the fact that he was nominated as one of the original governors of the Grammar School while none of the next seven vicars were elected to this office. After his resignation of the benefice however there was another vacancy which lasted for two years and his

eventual replacement, John Keltridge M.A., spent little more than a year in the parish before leaving to become a chaplain of Bishop Aylmer. The next incumbent, Timothy Fitzalan, is noteworthy only for having offered the Eucharist to an excommunicate; an offence which led to his own excommunication. At the beginning Parker's ministry the people of Dedham must have been accustomed to pastoral neglect.<sup>27</sup>

As vicar of the parish, with the duty of administering the sacraments, Parker, according to Presbyterian theory, held the rank of pastor which was the highest in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>28</sup> Chapman the lecturer, despite his marked seniority, was left with the lower office of teacher, whose duty was in theory only to be "occupied in wholsom doctrine".<sup>29</sup> The lecturer performed this function, as did Bartimaeus Andrews while he was town preacher in Yarmouth, by composing a short catechism on which children and unlearned professors would be examined before they were admitted to Communion. Chapman's catechism was "perused and allowed" by the brethren rather unenthusiastically as "not inconveniente to be published for the use of the people of Dedham especially".<sup>30</sup> Instruction of the 'simple sort' was a godly occupation but unsuitable for the man who offered advice to John Field about how to counter Whitgift's subscription campaign and to the Archdeacon of Colchester about the reform of his machinery of discipline. How great a role Chapman played in the reformation of religion at Dedham is hard to estimate. Since Parker acted as redactor of the Conference papers

these emphasise his own contribution. He transcribed his own memoranda while any similar documents composed by the lecturer would not have been in his possession and Parker and Chapman were living fifty miles apart; the one at Kettringham in Norfolk, the other still at Dedham.<sup>31</sup> Being without a cure of souls the Dedham lecturer was of little concern to the archdeaconry court and scarcely features in its records. The record of the Conference minutes does provide some guidance. In 1585 Chapman twice or three times asked the brethren for guidance about dealing with refractory parishioners of Dedham but after early 1586 concerned himself with matters pertaining to the Conference as a whole and it was Parker who inquired about matters specifically relating to Dedham. Perhaps the two had come to an agreement about the delimitation of their spheres of interest.<sup>32</sup>

Although the brethren never recognized any such thing the parish schoolmasters were in many ways the men most suitable to fill the Presybterian office of teacher. The quasi clerical status of schoolmasters was asserted by the royal injunctions of 1559. These instructed that no man be admitted to teach school unless allowed by their ordinary as possessing "right understanding of God's true religion". Masters were to catechize their pupils and bring them to a godly life.<sup>33</sup> It was frequent for men to combine the offices of curate and shoolmaster. John Dawlton of Manningtree, a market town four miles east of Dedham, and John Parker of Peldon, who may have been Richard Parker's brother, were two examples of this combination. Sometimes

masters without cure of souls acted as if they were curates as when Richard Humphrey of Dedham unlawfully married two couples in 1603.<sup>34</sup>

By the 1580s the parish of Dedham was notably well served with schoolmasters. In 1583 three were recorded in the episcopal visitation. These were William Bentley the master, late fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge, Thomas Moore his assistant or 'usher' and Richard Clarke, an unlicensed teacher who probably acted as elementary instructor. In 1586 Clarke does not appear, Bentley is still master and has acquired a second usher called William Dilgate.<sup>35</sup> Bentley was not formally admitted as a member of the Conference. He was, however, closely associated with the Puritan Movement. For when, in 1588, he applied for the higher status though less well paid position of master at Colchester Grammar School six clergymen belonging to the Movement found time, despite the distractions of the Armada emergency, to write testimonials for him. Such luminaries of the University of Cambridge as Roger Goad, William Whitacker, Laurance Chaderton, Andrew Downes and Roger Byng were also recruited to canvass for Bentley, probably by Thomas Hawes, the rector of Lawford, Bentley's old tutor and a man not otherwise associated with the Puritan movement. Samuel Harsnett, the outgoing schoolmaster and the future controversialist and Archbishop, who found his own nominee as successor excluded due to the pro Bentley campaign, wrote sourly to the Colchester bailiffs that the Dedham schoolmaster was commended by many who did not know him.<sup>36</sup>

Bentley's replacement, Arthur Gale, had presumably already been resident in Dedham for some time since he was admitted as member of the Conference in June 1586. He did not, however, play a prominent part in the meetings, being only once speaker and never moderator.<sup>37</sup> The next schoolmaster, Richard Ravens, who was subsequently vicar of Wattisfield in Suffolk, was accused in the archdeaconry court of not bringing his pupils to church to be catechized according to the Grammar School ordinances but refuted the charge. That these masters feature so little in the records may mean that they were simply quietly efficient at their jobs.<sup>38</sup>

The third rank of the Presbyterian hierarchy was held by the elders. These, with the pastors and teachers, assembled as the Consistory or "Ecclesiastical Senate"; the basic unit of church government.<sup>39</sup> What was the nature of this eldership? The Genevan Forme of prayers conflated the elders with the ministers but earlier English and Scottish practice had treated the eldership as a lay institution, little distinguished from the diaconate which collected alms for the poor but might "assist in judgement with the ministeris and elderis".<sup>40</sup> If the eldership was lay it ought to be possible to establish a form of it even where the full Presbyterian system could not operate. A covenant like that of Swallowfield but devoting more attention to religious behaviour and the role of the minister would commit those who subscribed it to most of the duties of an eldership. Richard Parker was clear in his own mind about the legitimacy of a quasi consistorial system. In a paper

he wrote about the matter he declared that churchwardens "have more of the primityve order, then our mynsters," since the first were chosen by the ministers and people and the second by the patrons and bishops. Moreover those not officially appointed to a church office but who were "meate to deale in yt" might join together to "call, exhorte, admonishe, and rebuke openly".<sup>41</sup>

Parker's views inspired him to draw up a set of "Good orders to be observed in a reformed and godlie Church". The Conference papers contain three versions of these orders. The first is a lengthy draft by Parker setting out the rules he wished to impose. The second is a 'profession' subscribed by nine 'auncients' of the town. These promise to make proper use of the exercises of the Word and the sacraments, to uphold the prestige of the ministers and to rebuke and punish the refractory and disorderly. The last sets out the orders as they were "agreed upon the ix of August" 1585.<sup>42</sup> Some of Parker's proposals seem to have been modified in conference with the ancients. For example the draft order that fathers of newly born children should "come to the mynister the day before baptisme to conferre ... in the principall pointes" thereof and should answer for them at the font along with "thother suerties" was not included in the final Orders and the instruction that householder should catechize their own charges rather than merely ensuring they came to church for instruction by the minister was also omitted. Instead of patrolling the "suspected places" to check any "intolerable disorder and enormity" on the part of the poor and miserable the

ministers and ancients were to make these visitations once a quarter. On the other hand Parker was able to secure consent for administering Communion once a month instead of once a quarter which was all he had originally proposed.<sup>43</sup>

If the Dedham Orders are compared to those of Swallowfield the much greater attention given in the Essex parish to religious reformation appears. In Swallowfield three out of thirteen ordinances were concerned with this question. In Dedham the ratio was ten out of fifteen and two of the remainder dealt with the related question of encouraging literacy in the town. In the Leicestershire town of Burbage "Ordynances and paynes" drawn up by the manorial court fifteen months before the Dedham Orders gave a religious character to only one of eighteen articles, which imposed a fine on alehouses keepers opening during service time. Of the remaining ordinances three concerned secular regulation, including a committee set up to assess and levy rates and charges, and the other fourteen were devoted to court baron matters.<sup>44</sup>

The record of those who subscribed to the Orders may be compared with an earlier list of the parish elite. William Littlebury's last testament, proved in 1575, nominated seventeen inhabitants of Dedham to be feoffees for his endowment of Dedham Grammar School, later incorporated as governors. Of these individuals five had died by August 1585 but of the remaining twelve only five appear in the list of ancients subscribing.<sup>45</sup> Three of those excluded appear in local records as delinquents. In 1611 Nathaniel Sparhawk was presented to the archdeaconry court as a

seducer. The Acts of the same court record that Robert Lufkin and his wife failed to receive Communion in 1569. Nathaniel's father Lewis Sparhawk the mercer was accused at the court leet meeting at Dedham in April 1575 of giving false weight and was again in trouble with the leet in October 1578 for composing a libel against the lord of the manor and attributing it to the then schoolmaster Philip Hare.<sup>46</sup> It is possible that Parker was endeavouring to exclude those of tainted reputation from his camarilla since all these three still seem to have been resident at Dedham in 1585.<sup>47</sup> Two of those included, however, had spotty records. William Butter had been charged with hedge breaking at a court leet in 1577 and Richard Clarke had been accused of a similar offence before quarter sessions in 1573. Their offences had probably been connected with disputes about property but now the doers promised "to live charitablie with all their neighbors."<sup>48</sup>

Of the nine who subscribed the Orders seven belonged to only three families, two of these being closely connected by marriage.<sup>49</sup> Most of these 'auncients' were presumably ancient in years but one, Richard Upcher, was a young man of about thirty.<sup>50</sup> Given that they professed in their subscription a "zeale for god his glorye" it is perhaps surprising that only four of the eight who resided in Dedham when they made their wills left what look like personal statements of faith in the preambles.<sup>51</sup> Two of them, who died after Parker had resigned the benefice, appointed Chapman overseer of their wills as a token of their alliance with the reforming ministry.<sup>52</sup> Another, Stephen Upcher,

himself entered the ministry in the early 1590s as curate and schoolmaster of Little Bromley. He was reluctant to attend visitations and served without being ordained for at least six months.<sup>53</sup>

The final article of the Orders instructed that if a couple "be knowen to have knowne one another carnally before the celebratinge of their mariage" that celebration should be made an occasion of public scorn and rebuke "to the humblinge of the parties and terrifyinge of others from the like filthie prophaninge of mariage." In a recently published article Martin Ingram has shown that the regulation of sexuality may be tightened up without this implying any alteration in the religious attitudes of parish notables. Though this caveat should be borne in mind the fact that Parker gave the control of ante nuptial pregnancy so important a place in his scheme for godly reformation should allow us to make the achievement of such control a test of the success of the evangelism of the 1580s.<sup>54</sup> The first Order, which commanded "the right use of the lordes daie" and the stopping of all activities which prophaned it, may also be tested to determine whether the disciplining of Sabbath prophaners increased notably during and after Parker's incumbency. Changes in the control of drunkenness, which the ancients, in the 'Profession' of willingness to enforce the Orders which they subscribed, declared that they would proceed against "to the prosecutinge of the full extremitye of lawes" against obstinate offenders, may be examined in the same way.<sup>55</sup>

Quarter sessions, the leet and the archdeaconry court

all provided means of legal coercion against ante nuptial fornicators, drunkards and Sabbath breakers. The first two institutions were however little used for that purpose. In 1607 three inhabitants of Dedham were called before the sessions to answer for unlawfully begetting children but this was the only occasion when that court took cognizance of this offence. Richard Ravens, presented as an alehouse haunter in 1630 was the only drunkard called before the sessions. To it were presented four drunkards but no extra marital begetters from Manningtree, a small market town four miles east of Dedham attached to Mistleigh parish. No inhabitant of Dedham was brought into the sessions for Sabbath prophanation. Two from Manningtree were but these were accused of a variety of other breaches of good order.<sup>56</sup> If Manningtree possessed a court leet its records have not survived.<sup>57</sup> That of Dedham amerced three inhabitants for ~~paying~~ <sup>playing</sup> at tables during service time on the Sabbath in 1580 but this was its only contribution to the control of any of the above offences. By contrast 133 inhabitants of Dedham and 140 from Manningtree were proceeded against by the church courts for illicit conception and fornication during the period 1570-1609 alone. For Sabbath prophaning the totals for the same period are twenty four and forty one respectively; and for drunkenness twelve and ten.<sup>58</sup>

Puritan clergy were disinclined to look favourably on the apparatus of unreformed church discipline which apart from its connection with their own harassment was notorious for its abuse of oaths and excommunication.<sup>59</sup> The steep rise in the total of presentments for the offence of

Table 3.1

Dedham and Manningtree: Presentments of inhabitants to the Colchester archdeaconry courts for particular offences, 1570 - 1609.

Dedham				
Offence	1570-9	1580-9	1590-9	1600-9
Fornication	19	20	17	21
Antenuptial incontinence	-	8	6	16
Illicit pregnancy	1	8	10	8
Sabbath working	1	6	2	6
Sabbath games	-	4	3	2
Drunkenness	-	2	6	4
TOTAL	21	48	44	57

Manningtree				
Offence	1570-9	1580-9	1590-9	1600-9
Fornication	8	24	30	11
Antenuptial incontinence	-	-	8	2
Illicit pregnancy	12	9	5	15
Sabbath working	1	4	1	4
Sabbath games	7	1	23	-
Drunkenness	1	2	4	3
TOTAL	29	40	71	35

standing excommunicate during the late sixteenth century, to a level then maintained at the same high figure until the 1620s, may evidence the effect of attacks on the church courts by the clergy. (However the surge in presentments in the early 1590s, which coincides with the appointment of a new archdeaconry official in December 1590 may indicate that these cases were the product of a judicial campaign to ensure that excommunications were not allowed to lapse without the offender petitioning formal absolution.)<sup>60</sup> The ease of access to the archdeaconry court which met once every three to four weeks with a recess in August, together with the efficiency of the quarterly bill presentment procedure which had been developed by the 1580s, made that court an excellent instrument of parochial discipline for parishes like Dedham with good access to its venue, despite the scruples of its ministers.<sup>61</sup> Chapman satisfied his conscience sufficiently to act both as court appointed examiner of the theological exercises assigned unlearned ministers and as surrogate judge. Parker, as noted above, strongly defended the lawfulness of the office of churchwarden which Crick of East Bergholt was inclined to doubt. The Dedham ministers were thus reconciled to making use of the court as a means of promoting godly discipline.<sup>62</sup>

In assessing the effect of Parker's drive against ante nuptial sex the parish register's evidence about children conceived before marriage, which children provide the best proof that such illicit intercourse had occurred, provide a check on the evidence of archdeaconry court records. This check is provided because the register may

indicate a putative base level of pre marital incontinence which should indicate whether a rise in the number of presentations for these offences constitutes a response to an increase in its incidence or a decreased tolerance of a static or declining number of cases. This check is of limited utility in the case of Dedham because the parish registers are incomplete so that very few couples appear both in the registers and in the court acta, the number shared being three out of a total of forty nine for the period 1570-1639.<sup>63</sup> Of bastards conceived, a series logically linked to pre nuptial sex since "an affianced man had only to be thrown from a horse and killed before the wedding for a prenuptially conceived child to become a bastard", only five out of thirty five appear in both records while in Terling, during the shorter time 1590-1640 forty five of fifty nine bastards listed in the two sources are shared.<sup>64</sup>

The almost complete registers for the years 1560-89 indicate that 14-15% of the couples who had their marriages solemnized in Dedham church had conceived a child before the ceremony. At a time when the uncertainty caused by the custom of trothplight and precontract over the question of what constituted lawful marriage could lead even a godfearing couple like Thomas and Elizabeth Cockerell of Fordham to conceive a child before their espousal was solemnized, this was a low figure though within the normal range.<sup>65</sup> Between 1590 and 1612, after which date the register ceases to record marriages until after 1640, the figure is 11%: an apparent decline which may however be the

result of the greater defectiveness of the record. It may cautiously be concluded that the initially low incidence was at least showing no tendency to rise. (In Terling the percentage was 32.4%, 1550-99 and 20.5%, 1600-49.)<sup>66</sup>

The inhabitants of Dedham do not seem to have regarded the prevailing level of premarital incontinence as a social problem since there were no presentments for this offence before the issuing of the Orders. In 1586, the year following their publication, no less than six individuals were brought before the archdeaconry court charged with it, one of those accused, John Browne, being a Grammar School governor and hence a member of the town elite.<sup>67</sup> Thereafter there were at least seven presentments a decade with a maximum of sixteen accused during the 1600s. The Orders had had an immediate and lasting effect with the result that habitual presentment of premarital sex began a third of a century earlier in Dedham than in Terling.<sup>68</sup> Precocious in this matter, Dedham may have influenced neighbouring towns. In Manningtree, which possessed no "diligente and sufficiente preacher" until 1599, presentments for ante nuptial conception begin in 1596, twenty five years ahead of Terling.<sup>69</sup>

The zeal of the ministers against pre marital sex may have been effective in stimulating parochial action because of the low level of bastardy in the town. A bastardy rate of 1.3% in the decades 1560-79 was little lower than that of the country as a whole but in the next two decades the percentage declined to under 1% at a time when the national rate was rising steeply to reach 3.1% at the end of the

century. The Dedham registers show a further fall between 1600 and 1619, a time when Terling was experiencing a much increased number of illegitimate births. Again the increasing defectiveness of the registers should be remembered but the clearness of the downward trend indicates Dedham's success in escaping the general rise.<sup>70</sup> The parish notables were thus able to concentrate their attention on the less dangerous but closely related offence of pre marital incontinence; as were those of Terling after 1620.<sup>71</sup>

Only one Dedham case of Sabbath prophanation reached the church courts in the 1570s, John Perpoint being presented for selling meat and ordered to pay a shilling to the maintenance of the poor. (In the same decade seven inhabitants of Manningtree appeared in court for Sabbath breaking.)<sup>72</sup> There was thus scope for a considerable increase and in the 1580s there were ten presentments of Dedham town's people. The majority of these occurred before the promulgation of the Orders but it seems likely that the moral influence of Chapman and Parker was responsible for the increase. The absence of presentments for the last three years of the decade and the fact that the total for the 1590s was half that of the 1580s may indicated the problem of Sabbath breaking had now been solved, although there was to be a further rise in the 1600s.<sup>73</sup> The godliness of the clothworkers is evidenced by the fact that after the Conference resolved in November 1585 that <sup>Members</sup> should "deale with godliest of that trade" no Sabbath offence connected with cloth manufacture was committed in Dedham until 1617.<sup>74</sup>

The 1580s, which saw the total number of Dedham cases dealt with by the office of the judge of the archdeaconry court rise from forty one to one hundred and fifteen, were also the decade of the first Dedham presentments of drunkards. Two individuals were presented in that decade, and six in the 1590s, with a decline to four in the 1600s and a steady trickle thereafter. (In Manningtree the trend was very similar though the numbers were less.)<sup>75</sup> Another way to control drunkenness was to keep down the number of alehouses. In 1584 only two inhabitants of Dedham were licensed to keep them whereas in Manningtree, which was less than half as populous, the number licensed was nine. Four years later the situation was the same. At the end of Elizabeth's reign Dedham was allowed four licensed alehouses but between 1606 and 1612 the allowance was reduced to one. In 1628 the town's men, in petitioning the Privy Council against the billeting on them of a company of Irish soldiers, declared that the parish was "most unfitt for the lodging and diett of soldiers in regard they have never an Inne, and but only one alehowse."<sup>76</sup>

The obverse of Parker's zeal for reformation was his strong sense of the hostility it aroused among those who preferred their cakes and ale. This was very likely exacerbated by his having the persecuting Aylmer for a bishop. The Profession of the Dedham ancients, in the drafting of which Parker probably played a considerable part, asserted that ministers "by reason of their callinges are most of all other subject to the malice of evell men".<sup>77</sup> The reluctance even of the godly among the parishioners to

take Communion monthly, about which Chapman consulted the brethren who left the remedy of it to "his owne observation", may have helped to alienate Parker from the chief inhabitants of the parish. By the beginning of 1587 he was enquiring of the conference about what course to take when "disorders be risen up in a Church, and be publikelie reprov'd, and the chiefe of the parish, and the officers delt withall whom it specially concernes to reforme them, and yet nothing is done". His fellows were reluctant to discuss the matter so Parker wrote a memorandum admonishing himself "not to be silente, slacke or carelesse in such a case of impunity" but to "use all good and lawfull meanes" to correct it.<sup>78</sup>

The conduct of a member of his congregation called Marion Barker was a principal cause of grief to Parker in 1587 and 1588. Parker refused to admit her to Communion as an adulteress although she had done penance for this offence several years earlier. Maybe Parker did not believe that she was genuinely penitent. It was probably Marion Barker whom Parker described as "this lewd woman that is the grownd of my troubles" in a letter he wrote to his friend William Tay of Peldon in February 1587/8 for he was then suspended from the exercise of his ministry as a result of the suit she had brought against him in High Commission. Chapman had promised to petition for his restoration but Parker was soon suspended again by the archdeacon for failing to attend the Michaelmas visitation.<sup>79</sup>

Barker's case having drawn attention to Parker's nonconformity the church officers of the parish came under

pressure from the archdeacons official to see that he wore the surplice. The churchwardens elected in 1588 included Parker's young protege Richard Upcher. He and his fellow Stephen Ellinot, who was a man of lower status in the parish, at first attempted to play for time by failing to return the bishop's and archdeacon's bills but after five contumacies they bowed to the inevitable and Ellinot admitted that as far as he knew there was no surplice in the parish. The churchwardens were then commanded "to provyd a convenient surplesse and every Sabothe daye to laye yt redye for Mr Parker and require hym to weare the same". Parker, however, asserted that Aylmer had given him permission to follow his conscience until the next episcopal visitation and since this visitation was imminent the court accepted this unlikely claim. Fearing that the bishop's visitors would soon require him to conform Parker then stole the surplice which the officers had purchased as ordered, and on being approached by them about it his wife claimed that it had been burnt. By now Richard Upcher was evidently exasperated with his one time patron and the two apparently came to blows in the church if an information Upcher laid before the archdeaconry court may be believed.<sup>80</sup>

The final chapter of the story, which has already been narrated by Patrick Collinson, is difficult to account for except on the assumption that the balance of Parker's mind had been disturbed. His devout belief in sexual restraint having deserted him he decided to seduce the wife of one of the sidesmen, Robert Thorne. For good measure he also made dishonourable proposals to Elizabeth Martin, the

wife of the poor tailor who was his next door neighbour. John Martin the tailor was bemused by Parker's behaviour. As he told his wife, "yf Mr Parker be of that sorte, what shall one saye to ytt". At a meeting held at Martin's house during which William Butter, another of the 'ancients', was also present, Richard Upcher took a more tough minded view of the matter and later admonished the vicar not to conceal the matter "for that itt would be iustefied to his face of like attepte made by hym the said Mr Parker to an other honeste woman of the parishe" (Robert Thorne's wife whose attempted seduction by Parker was presented to the archdeaconry court in October 1589.) To judge by the seventh article of Parker's interrogatories the vicar regarded Upcher as the principal mover of the suit which Martin and his wife brought against him in the consistory court at the end of 1589.<sup>81</sup> According to both canon law and Presbyterian theory the penalty for ministers guilty of so grave an offence as sexual misconduct was deprivation. Parker however was permitted to resign his benefice and had done so by October 15 1590 when his successor was instituted. After his resignation, however, he had to perform penance in Dedham church for attempting the chastity of Thorne's wife.<sup>82</sup>

Parker's immediate successors were ill suited for furthering the work of reformation. Henry Wilcock, who succeeded to the benefice after Parker's resignation, had been imprisoned for debt in 1584 and had appealed to the Dedham Conference for relief. However he had since proved satisfactory as minister and preacher at Great Yarmouth

where Bartimaeus Andrews, late member of the Conference, was lecturer. As an associate of the now defunct Conference he may have seemed a good choice for vicar of Dedham but his record there was to be less than inspiring. In 1596 he was presented by the church officers for leaving the cure unprovided and in 1599 was cited to the court for allowing the font to be removed from the church by the farmer of the rectory.<sup>83</sup> The next vicar, however, was worse since he was a non resident. In 1603 the parishioners offered him £40 or £50 to resign the benefice "and suffer them to have the nameinge of a minister for it".<sup>84</sup> The town's candidate, who may have been the famous Puritan Robert Wright, then rector of the Suffolk parish of Dennington, is recorded as vicar in the archdeaconry visitation book entry for April 1603 but the bishop refused to institute him.<sup>85</sup> It was not until 1615, with the institution of Thomas Cottesford, that the town acquired another diligent, zealous pastor. In the meantime the town's folk depended on the preaching of their lecturer and their own zeal for God's glory.<sup>86</sup>

Did the projected reformation in Dedham fail? Parker's personal failure was total but his promotion of a "reformed and godlie Church" in the town bore fruit in the sustained campaign for suppression of drunkenness, Sabbath breaking and sexual misconduct. The circumstances of Parker's fall offer perverse testimony of his success in communicating his fierce determination to punish the godless. The concern which Richard Upcher showed in ensuring that Parker's own offensive behaviour should

receive its just reward proved him not the malicious enemy of the vicar but the faithful disciple of his mentor.<sup>87</sup>

4. 'God's counsell and the narrow way.' Spiritual warfare  
divinity in Dedham and Essex, 1600-40.

"Our Constant Lector twelve dayes fame  
and joy of Saints all round,  
To which Gods armies flocking came,  
to hear his doctrine sound."

In these lines, printed in 1642 six years after his death and part of a long doggerel elegy, an anonymous eulogist commended the zealous preaching of John Rogers. The Boanerges of the Stour Valley was born at Moulsham, near Chelmsford, in 1572. His father was the elder brother of Richard Rogers, the famous lecturer of Wethersfield, who helped pay for his studies at Emmanuel College despite the fact that the youth showed an unscholarly lack of attachment to his books which he twice sold to pay his debts. He graduated B.A. in 1592 and was ordained deacon and priest at Peterborough in 1595.<sup>1</sup>

In 1605 he was called from his benefice at Haverhill on the Suffolk side of the Upper Stour to serve the lecture at Dedham which had been vacant for more than two years. In this office he continued until his death in 1636. In his later years he came to be regarded as a patriarch of Essex Puritanism. His friends credited him with the power of prophecy. The rapid fulfillment of his prediction that the 'debauch'd fellow' who delated John Cotton to the High Commission would die under God's judgment "something ... more than the ordinary death of Men" is recorded by Cotton

Mather.<sup>2</sup> Rogers was closely associated with two men appointed to Essex lectureships in the 1620s. Daniel Rogers, son of Richard, became lecturer of Wethersfield in the wake of Stephen Marshall's departure from that office in 1625. Thomas Hooker, a firm friend of the Dedham lecturer, had hoped for a call to Colchester where he would be near him but had to be content with a lectureship at Chelmsford. Laud's persecution forced him to quit this office by the end of 1629 and to leave both county and kingdom in the Spring of 1631. Daniel Rogers, like his cousin, continued in his lectureship until his death although he seems to have been inhibited from preaching for a period in the early 1630s.<sup>3</sup>

In their published writings the three showed themselves to be chiefly occupied with the question how a man may examine and mollify his heart and so engage effectively in the combat between the spirit and the flesh waged unceasingly within every Christian who lived in the temporal world.<sup>4</sup> Dissection of the soul did not entail any failure to make prescriptions for the conduct of life in this world. For the warfare between the new and the old creature in the heart of an individual was mirrored in the combat between the seed of the Serpent and the seed of the Woman in the arena of the external world. Baptism, as the Zurich Reformer Heinrich Bullinger had taught, was a seal of grace to the recipient to walk in covenant with God against the temptations of the world, the flesh and the Devil.<sup>5</sup> A man's conduct in life was the necessary consequence of the state of his soul for according to the Pauline doctrine of Sanctification all righteousness derived from the renewing

of the heart through the grace of Christ's redemptive mission: "Being then made free from sin ye become the servants of righteousness" (Romans 6,18). By the same token, John Rogers taught, sin was the invariable result when a man hardened his heart against the saving word of God. "Till a man be made alive by faith and have a state in grace", he wrote in his first published work The Doctrine of Faith, "it is but lost labour to bid him do this or that." Individuals "in our times shall not be condemned for their Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, uncleanes, oppression, and the like, but for not beleiving in Jesus Christ, which is the root of all", he added. "Experience that wee have had of Gods goodnesse to us" rather than historical knowledge of the word was the mark of a sound believer. This experience, alleged Daniel Rogers, was not confined to observation of God's course with one's own soul but also utilized the unfolding of temporal judgments upon "others good and bad, living and dying."<sup>6</sup> Such judgments, John Rogers and Thomas Hooker taught, could apply to collectivities as well as individuals, whole nations being punished for the unbelief and unrighteousness of their citizens.<sup>7</sup> If England failed to honour God then Lo - Ammi the son of the harlot would reign there in place of Immanuel the son of the virgin. (Hosea 1; 2,8: Isaiah 7,14.) For "the Lord's people take a corporal oath and a curse upon themselves if they do not keep covenant with the Lord." In the late 1620s and early 1630s the sufferings inflicted upon the godly in Germany by the Habsburg counter-Reformation signified that the wrath of the Lord was kindled against his people. In such

apocalyptic circumstances the Christian must fight against affliction and temptation with zeal as a soldier "upon experience of many victories and escapes .. groweth courageous."<sup>8</sup>

The lecturers' conviction that the Christian was an active combatant in spiritual warfare was echoed in the writings of the beneficed clergy of the county. Adam Harsnett, the rector of Cranham from 1612 until his death in 1639, kinsman to Samuel Harsnett the Archbishop of York and brother in law of Daniel Rogers, preached the examining of the heart and the wielding of the sword of the spirit against its corruptions by those valiant for the truth.<sup>9</sup> William Fenner of Rochford, to whom one of Hooker's sermons was wrongly ascribed, viewed the affections of the heart in the same way as that lecturer; they were the feet with which the soul pursued the promise of mercy. He urged his readers to "get up the bottom of thine affections and set them upon God."<sup>10</sup> Even Nehemiah Rogers, no relation of John or Daniel, who was a conformist and friend of Laud, taught his parishioners at Messing a few miles south of Colchester a doctrine of the journey of the soul to God which, while being less systematic than that of the lecturer of Dedham, nearly resembled it at many points.<sup>11</sup> Occasional Arminian assertions, as that the minister possessed ex officio a priestly power which made him specially qualified to hear the confessions of troubled Christians, were for the vicar of Messing deviations from the general course of his divinity.<sup>12</sup>

"God bids we should labor, strive, seek, give all

diligence, in the matters of Salvation." So wrote John Rogers in his Exposition upon the First Epistle of Peter. In The Doctrine of Faith he asserted that "faith wrought in the heart of a sinner ... is a going out of the soul unto God to fetch a principle of life" while a nearly identical definition of the working of faith was provided by Thomas Hooker in his preface to that work.<sup>13</sup> The idea that the soul was an agent in the preparation for faith was quite foreign to that of Calvin who held that the heart was "enslaved by its inward perverseness" and must be constrained to accept the promise of salvation by Divine coercion. It was closer to the views of Bullinger who had declined to take up a rigid scheme of the order of salvation and held that repentance may precede justification.<sup>14</sup> However, William Perkins, in his seminal work on the ordo salutis entitled A Golden Chaine (which was published in the early 1590s, had defined repentance as a work of sanctification and not one of vocation. The Essex ministers were reluctant to give Perkins the lie direct in this matter. Even Nehemiah Rogers, although he spoke of repentance as a preparatory work of conversion, allowed that "in order of nature there must be faith to apprehend at least some hope and possibility of mercy before repentance can be." Repeating the assertion about natural order John Rogers argued that although "Repentance sheweth itself first ... Faith is as the root".<sup>15</sup> In defining his conception of grace against the orthodox Presbyterianism of John Paget, pastor of the English Reformed Church at Amsterdam, Hooker went so far as to speak of a double repentance; the first

penitential work being one of preparation and the second one of sanctification.<sup>16</sup> In The Doctrine of Faith however John Rogers fully accepted Perkins' definition. Daniel asserted that it was an ignorant error to suppose that repentance goes before faith.<sup>17</sup>

Despite this acceptance of Perkins' doctrine the lecturers wished to retain a conception of preparation which emphasised the activity of the soul. Such a view emphasised the necessity of the outward call of preaching to make effective the inward call of the Spirit. Preaching, John Rogers affirmed, was "the strong voyce of God that casts Satan out of his hold and possession". That God would not save without the soul's experience of preaching wherever he made that means available, a doctrine explicitly taught by Nehemiah Rogers, was the logical corollary of an activist view of preparation.<sup>18</sup> Moreover the divines were able to establish a fruitful dichotomy between the role of the preaching of the Law and the work effected by the preaching of the Gospel. Unlike Richard Rogers, who had held that the prick of the Law might be the occasion of the seeding of grace by the Spirit, they held that the function of the Law preached was only to bring the soul into legal bondage. In this condition, claimed John Rogers, the heart remained unbroken except "as if one should with a barre of iron burst into three or foure peeces a stone or brasse mortar, yet for all that it remains as hard as before". The only positive effect of this bondage, Daniel Rogers claimed was "the stoppage of a course in evill openly". John Rogers added that it might incline the soul towards a more ready

acceptance of the Gospel when the promise of Salvation was broached. The grief of those under the terror of the Law, wrote Nehemiah Rogers, "is principally occupied about the evill of punishment" rather than sorrow for sin.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless bondage to the Law was a necessary stage in the process of conversion. John Rogers claimed that terror, by shaking people out of their security and presumption bores an ear "into our hearts to receive instruction." Similarly the incumbent of Messing spoke of the Law as "the needle which makes way for the thread." Among those brought up to a godly course and free from gross evils and work of the Law is "oft ... more insensibly wrought" than it is in hardened sinners but there must always be some measure of terror or the soul would set too lightly by its eventual obtaining of mercy.<sup>20</sup>

When the preaching of the Law was succeeded by that of the Gospel the first effect of the saving word was to bring the hearer into a sorrow for offending God, which, John Rogers wrote, "troubles him more than the feare of hell ever did, and so vexeth him that if there were no hell to punish him he would thus grieve."<sup>21</sup> The contrite soul separates itself from corruption and desires freedom from sin "but alas it is not able to performe it." Such a soul must move under the guidance of the Spirit through several stages of preparation for grace. Nehemiah Rogers compared this gradual progress in spiritual grace to the orderly creation of the world over six days in his sermon on the Prodigal Son, the type of the humble seeker of mercy. In fact six such steps are enumerated in The Doctrine of Faith;

these are desire, confession and petition to God, care a hope of preparation which is to be distinguished from that "hope which is the daughter of faith ... yet ... farre differing from the blind groundleese hope of the world", joy, and hungering and thirsting for mercy. The final obtaining of the promise was compared to a selling of all sins in order to buy the "pearl of great price" of the parable (Matthew 13, 46).<sup>22</sup> To Thomas Hooker, who made the work of preparation longer by adding a stage of humiliation, the travail of the soul was a pilgrimage towards the promise of grace. "Strive to enter in at the straight Gate of Contrition and Humiliation", he advised, "and then you will hit the right way to Christ and eternal Life."<sup>23</sup>

Richard Rogers has asserted in 1603 that "it be hard to determine when faith is wrought" and had spoken of children in faith "who cannot with full assurance lay hold of" the promise. In A Golden Chaine Perkins had distinguished between two degrees of faith, the positive and the superlative. Those who obtained only the positive lacked a particular persuasion of their hearts that the promise of Salvation applied to them. Only the possessor of superlative faith had this assurance "imprinted in the heart by the holy Ghost".<sup>24</sup> In The Doctrine of Faith John Rogers adopted a definition which identified all faith with that heartfelt persuasion which in Perkins' view belonged only to its superlative degree. Despite this the association between faith and assurance became even more tenuous in that treatise than in the works of the Cambridge lecturer or Richard Rogers. In the view of the Dedham preacher the work

of contrition, unlike legal terror, "cannot be wrought in any that shall perish." Contrition and other middle gifts of the Spirit were not only "gracious inclinations to faith" but also contained "aliquid fidei" or as Thomas Hooker put it in his preface to the work "the spawne of faith".<sup>25</sup> Thus John Rogers and his circle made the latent propositions of the previous generation of divines into explicit formulations.<sup>26</sup>

If on the other hand it was possible for a man in preparation to have faith without knowing it on the other it was quite possible for a true Christian to decline in faith and lose all sense of assurance. This was so despite the fact that it "is a note of all true graces that they are still growing, from a graine of mustard seed to a great tree." Such a diminution might be brought about by the failure of the external means when a careful and painful ministry was replaced by one "where is no profitable or usual ministry of the Word, the Sacraments but once or twice a year administerd or received. Similarly lying in a sin or a frequent giving in to temptation would lead to a loss of lively faith. John Rogers instanced the case of King Asa who ceased to trust in his covenant with the Lord and relied instead on the Syrians and his physicians. "This is a pitiful thing, like a crab to go backward."<sup>27</sup> Nehemiah Rogers, who also instanced the case of King Asa, argued that the gifts of adoption may be lost "in the measure, sense, and comfort" thereof though not in their being. In their stays and declinings, he added, the children of faith are "so like to dissemblers ... that a man can scarcely

distinguish them from dead trees and hollow-hearted hypocrites; ... during such a declining a man is ever subject to the misery of being questioned ... in the account of his own heart for matter of sincerity".<sup>28</sup> Such a Christian may never regain a sense of God's favour, claimed John Rogers and so may "dye in discomfort ... and never come to a sensible apprehension of mercy." His subversion of the doctrine of assurance does not seem to have been matched by his cousin Daniel Rogers who did not mention the possibility of loss of assurance and held that the work of preparation must be clearly distinguished from the work of faith. Thomas Hooker however, holding to the conviction he had expressed in the preface to the Doctrine of Faith, admitted to the membership of the church at Harftord, Connecticut, where he acted as pastor during most of his career in New England, anyone who could give a ground of his "hope towards God".<sup>29</sup>

The Synod of Dort had ruled out the possibility that anyone could turn to God unless he was already regenerate. English champions of the Synod, such as William Pemble of Oxford, denied the possibility of affective response to the external call of the word. In England John Cotton argued for conditional reprobation against the High Calvinist tenets of William Twisse the future moderator of the Westminster Assembly. In America he turned round completely and attacked Hooker's view of conversion as pilgrimage. "Saving preparations", he asserted, "were prejudicial unto the grace and truth of Jesus Christ." Moreover if it was held that the Lord was bound to respond to the sacrifice of "a broken and a contrite heart" (Psalm 51,17) what became

of God's freedom to have mercy "on whom he will have mercy" (Romans 9,18)?<sup>30</sup>

Hooker did not accept the claim that active preparation tied God to answer the suitor for mercy. "Improvements of Abilities", he asserted, "cannot deserve grace". John Rogers warned the reader; "Beware thou become not a Papist in thinking to merit merice by thy contrition." Daniel Rogers spoke of the danger that the pilgrim soul would rest in the works of preparation because they were "palpable and sensible" whereas "faith is more spirituall and heavenly". For this reason these works were always liable to be abused by inclinations of self love and self reliance.<sup>31</sup>

God "will not save us without us", wrote John Rogers, yet it is He who "works both the will and the deed" for our supplication for mercy. In respect of the time of conversion the will is active but in respect of the grace it is passive "even as the clay in the hands of the potter" wrote Nehemiah Rogers quoting Romans 9,21. A strong sense of the tension between the juxtaposed beliefs that the soul was an active agent and that it was an impotent suitor at the throne of grace could lead to some ambiguity in the advice offered to those in course of preparation. Let the promise "teach us to wait", "let it teach thee to mend thy slow pace, and run, yea flye to this offer and free gift," advised Daniel Rogers in two sequent paragraphs. Here the stark opposition between the duties of labour and self-abnegation can have offered scant comfort to those who demanded, like the jailor of Philipps' a "what must I do to

be saved?" (Acts 16,30).<sup>32</sup>

Daniel Rogers and Thomas Hooker, though not the lecturer of Dedham, claimed that the seeker for grace should esteem God's glory higher than his own salvation. For to fly to the condition of faith "that it may go well with thee" is no more creditable than the behaviour of a drunkard. Hooker went so far as to assert that "the heart truly abased is content to bear the estate of damnation."<sup>33</sup> Daniel Rogers was rather more cautious about this test of humility; asserting that to be content to perish "that God might have glory, is rather the grace of some great proficient in godliness ... than of a poor novice." Such a proficient would presumably be fairly well assured of his own salvation in any case. However the lecturer of Wethersfield held the soul would not gain the promise unless it lost itself in the meditation of "the divine purity and excellency at the culmination of the struggle for mercy."<sup>34</sup>

Some of the beneficed clergy were less careful to subordinate an activist conception of preparation to the necessity of the absolute sovereignty of God. Daniel Rogers' brother in law Adam Harsnett inquired of his readers "wouldest thou have grace?" and assuming that the answer would be affirmative advised them to "seek it aright and thou wilt be sure to find it." Though he emphasised the wretchedness of the unregenerate heart he compared mankind's inclination towards grace to an animals instinctual knowledge of the correct remedy for its particular disease. "The Toad runs to the Plantin, the Hart to the Dittany, and the Dog to the grasse." William Fenner of Rochford

repeatedly admonished the unconverted to set their affections aright "otherwise the word could never catch hold of you" by these spiritual hands. This was to imply that the character of the heart, of which the affections were the "sensible motions", could be rectified at least in part before the experience of justification.<sup>35</sup>

In his Golden Chaine Perkins had modified Theodore Beza's exposition of the ordo salutis by stressing the active role of Christ as Saviour in the process of calling and sanctification. Drawing on the sixth chapter of Romans Perkins divided the work of sanctifying into a mortifying of the believer's sins in the crucifixion of the dying Christ and the renewing of his heart to life in the resurrection of Christ triumphant. The pilgrim soul was guided on its path to glory by Christ the shepherd.<sup>36</sup> The Essex lecturers accepted this view of sanctification as orthodoxy. In his Exposition upon the First Epistle of Peter John Rogers briefly restated it. "God worketh inherent Righteousness and Holiness by his Spirit, conveying vertue from Christ's death to kill sin, and from his Ressurrection, to raise them to newness of life". Daniel Rogers indeed gave Christ a more militant role than Perkins had allowed; claiming that on His death the Saviour had "entred into a deadly feud with sinne, threatening her thus, 'Oh sinne I will be thy bane, Oh death I will be thy death'." Like Samson, Jesus willed to take all his enemies with him into death.<sup>37</sup>

Perkins' activist Christology had been in part vitiated by his depiction of the Spirit as the agency through which sanctification was infused into the soul. In

a sense Christ was as much the subject of the Spirit's ministrations in this transfer as was the soul of the believer.<sup>38</sup> The consequence of emphasising the labour of the seeker after grace was that the passivity of Christ in the process of conversion tended to be enhanced. Such a tendency was manifested in John Rogers' treatment of the doctrine of the spiritual marriage between Christ and the soul which theologians had founded on the Song of Solomon. He conceived of the bride as the active party, seeking news of her beloved Christ "as the wife that loves her [absent] husband, will send or be often at the carriers to hear after her husband." Thomas Hooker typified the doctrine through the example of the Magdalene; embracing the risen Lord and being admonished by him to "touch me not for I am not yet ascended" (John 20,17). Here the bride is the active suitor while the groom is reluctant.<sup>39</sup>

Treating of Christ's three offices John Rogers explained that the prophetic office was manifested only "in the Books of the Prophets and Apostles" and not directly in the soul of the believer. His approach was echoed in the writings of Adam Harsnett who, in describing Christ as "the conduit-pipe ... thorow whom all grace runs from the Father unto us", reduced His role as a mediator of salvation to a mechanistic one. Deprived of the function of an active mediator Christ became for John Rogers a pattern and example for human imitation. "We must labour to imitate him and if we belong to him we must walk as he walked; we must thus think with ourselves when we are about anything, what would Christ Jesus do if he were in my clothes." Although

Professor Sears McGee has expressed the view that a conception of Christ as the "Great Exemplar" was the mark of Anglican moralism the case of John Rogers demonstrates that an identical view could arise out of a Puritan divinity which emphasised the labour of the soul.<sup>40</sup>

The Essex lecturers insisted that in this life the process of sanctification could never be complete. Daniel Rogers was particularly vehement in making this assertion, proclaiming that sin remained bound, like a carcass tied to a living man, to the renewed heart which should mourn under its bondage. In the regenerate soul two nations struggled as Jacob and Esau struggled in the womb of Rebekah.<sup>41</sup>

Though they were less extreme in their statements both Hooker and the Dedham lecturer accepted the view that there was a constant warfare in the soul of the believer. Adam Harsnett compared the two warring principles to the House of David and the House of Saul. This was a more optimistic figure than either of Daniel Rogers since David, unlike Jacob, had triumphed over his adversary. However Harsnett conceded that the strife between the two opposites was "continuall".<sup>42</sup>

Since there existed a perpetual state of warfare between the flesh and the spirit, the Christian must assume the garb of a soldier of God. The nature of the "armour of God" had been described in the Epistle to the Ephesians. The Essex preachers urged all Christians to don this armour. Since Baptism, Daniel Rogers asserted, we have been bound "to cleave to God as his faithful Souldiers against all enemies ... Oh to be armed is all in all: David armed was

able to bear down Shimei; unarmed not able to bear Mephibosheth." We must buckle our harness "well and close to us every morning", John Rogers admonished, for the Devil "is armed on all sides to do mischief." It would be a base thing, William Fenner added, "to lay downe our bucklers and say, we cannot resist" when confronted by the assault of fleshly lusts, "the Devils Infanterie" against the militant pilgrim.<sup>43</sup>

The corollary of Christian war against the flesh was peace between the soul and God. "Dost thou look upon a believer? Thou seest a pretious object, a Sonne of Peace." So Daniel Rogers. John Rogers allowed that the strong in faith enjoyed "an habituate peace with God." Like his conception of assurance however this peace was of a partial character. For on occasion believers would have the gifts of the Spirit withdrawn from them in order to humble their souls and "shew them what they be in themselves. For "who hath not need to have his heart more mollified?"<sup>44</sup>

The righteous would never be wholly forsaken. For, the Dedham lecturer asserted, though when we pray to be delivered from temptations "the Lord answereth not our petitions, he yet gives strength to resist them ... If for outward things, craving freedom from crosses, sicknesses, loss, &c the Lord does not free them but gives them some spiritual grace, profitable for their souls." "If God lay any temporal affliction on his children", wrote the vicar of Messing, "yet he remembreth the promise made unto his seed, and reneweth his mercy towards them."<sup>45</sup> Yet the sense of exclusion from God's favour might well be sufficiently acute

to make the Christian cry with the Psalmist "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me" (Psalm 22,1).<sup>46</sup>

In this world it was often more comfortable to be reprobate than to be godly. Richard Rogers had stated that the carnal were frequently arraigned by their consciences "and forced to crie out fearefully; they are damned and there is no mercy for them." John Rogers by contrast had no sense of the unregenerate as being afflicted with an immediate sense of God's wrath. He allowed that a man could not completely suppress the voice of conscience and that this voice would accuse the reprobate on Judgment Day. However "since the fall all mens consciences are corrupted and perverted" and so the wicked mostly lived in security.<sup>47</sup> They were unmoved by the threatenings of the Law but "be like the Smith's dogge, who can lie under the hammers noyse, and the sparks flying, and yet fast asleepe." Their unwavering opinion was that "if they follow their calling, and pay every man his owne and live orderly, and keepe their church, that God will hold them excused."<sup>48</sup> Adam Harsnett contended that a "gracelesse person" may "die in a strong perswasion of Gods love and favour." The vicar of Messing held that the reprobate, being less in God's eye, were little troubled by afflictions while the faithful could be compared to "a great hill, which giveth a faire prospect, and ... more subject to the thundering and lightening of afflictions and censures than the lower valleys."<sup>49</sup>

In considering how the godly man should behave towards those apparently hardened in sin John Rogers and his brother ministers were confronted with a dilemma. For, as

Richard Rogers had taught, good Christians should be careful "that all occasions be taken, and the opportunities used of winning men to God." On the other hand, that divine affirmed, the faithful should hold themselves aloof from evil company.<sup>50</sup> John Rogers specifically argued that the company of the ungodly was an occasion of sin to good Christians if only through an "untimely silence, not reproving or admonishing them for the same and so consequently partakers of their plagues." According to Thomas Hooker the "saints of God are bound to have a vile esteem and a base opinion of those that are vile and base persons" for they must be "marvelous jealous of being tainted", presumably through an inflammation of the base principle within themselves.<sup>51</sup> The Christian should not be at peace with the enemies of the Lord.<sup>52</sup>

Although Giles Firmin recorded an episode in which Richard Rogers argued that the carnal should be treated without friendliness by the godly, against John Knewstubs who used such a man with affability, the view recorded in his Seaven Treatises was milder than that taken by the later Essex lecturers. John and Daniel Rogers tended to see the visibly unregenerate purely as enemies of godliness defining them metaphorically as defiling pitch and snares for the faithful.<sup>53</sup> Thomas Hooker allowed that the "bonds of religion and natural mercy binds sometimes to keep company with such." Daniel Rogers accepted that a man would have to live as an anchorite to avoid bad company entirely. John Rogers averred that Christians should be "friendly in all points of neighbourhood" with the unconverted and "in their

adversity be helpful to them." However they had to square this with the equally compelling duty not to keep company with such people and on no account should they accept the sons and daughters of the ungodly as marital partners for their own children. Nor should they ever hire unconverted servants for this proves oftentimes "the poysoning of their children".<sup>54</sup> Daniel Rogers argued that the contradiction between the two duties could be resolved by recognising that it was actually mercy to unbelievers to spurn them since it hardens the hearts of such if they see "they can enjoy the communion of the best at their pleasure to give them some hope and comfort." Thomas Hooker took the same line in a book published a few years later than Rogers' claim.<sup>55</sup> In his Exposition upon The First Epistle of Peter John Rogers advised that the wicked were spiritual madmen. The vicar of Messing concurred and pointed out that though lunatikes were "kept bound and chained ... we are loath to come within their reach" but "these Spiritual Bedlams have liberty in every place and house."<sup>56</sup>

John Rogers saw the world as the arena of an apocalyptic contest. "Always there hath been enmity between the Seed of the Woman and the Seed of the Serpent." It was a short step to move from this conception to a view of the unregenerate as an undifferentiated mass fixed in hostility towards the godly. In the eye of Providence their status was that of "druges to scour us and make us bright", to impose afflictions to test the faith of professors.<sup>57</sup>

Richard Rogers had warned that the congregation must come to the Lord's Supper "apparelled with the robe of faith

and repentance" without which "the Lord of the Feast" would not entertain them. The later lecturers of Dedham and Wethersfield fully concurred with this position. Daniel Rogers, in his Treatise of the Two Sacraments, argued that the Supper was "not appointed for the breeding of grace, but of nourishing it only" and that unconverted recipients incurred "a great mischief and judgement if they presume to come".<sup>58</sup> John Rogers advised that conscientious ministers should not admit "everyone that can say the Creed, ten Commandements, and Lords Prayer, and can say he is a sinner, and can speak of Christ." "It is good to hope the best and to give encouragement to small things; But we must tell them somewhat yet is wanting to make them true believers." Neither minister administered the Sacraments himself and it is not clear in any case that John Rogers policy could have been practiced during his lifetime without incurring a disciplining of the practitioner by the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>59</sup>

The emigrants to New England, who included besides Hooker such noted Essex preachers as Thomas Shepherd and Thomas Weld, entirely shared the opinions of the Dedham lecturer concerning admission to the Lord's Supper. Their "intransigent desire to cleanse the temple" impelled them to restrict church membership, which carried with it the privilege of participation in the Supper, to those who could give a satisfactory account of their conversion. The unregenerate were compelled to attend church but they were not the principal targets for evangelical preaching which Thomas Weld implicitly admitted to directing wholly at

hypocrite church members and the children of the faithful. Sidrach Simpson, who seems to have been the first pastor on the eastern side of the Atlantic to require proof of conversion as a condition of admittance to a gathered congregation, wrote a panegyric of John Rogers as an introduction to that lecturer's posthumously published Exposition upon the First Epistle of Peter.<sup>60</sup>

Given their tendency to divide the faithful and the unregenerate into distinct social groups the Essex lecturers might be thought to have had some difficulty about holding simultaneously that a nation like England or a locality like the town of Dedham possessed a collective relationship with God. In the early seventeenth century John Downname and others, building on a well established tradition of English divinity, had argued that a people could be adopted by God and so enter external covenant with Him. The determinant of this adoption, asserted Thomas Hooker, was the possession of "God's ordinances purely administered." For Daniel Rogers, who took an exalted view of the Sacraments, Baptism was the primary ordinance. For "the Lord appointed Circumcision as a seal of the righteousness of faith chiefly: yet as an overplus he also allowed it to be the Differencer of all other Nations from the Jewes ... So in Baptisme now [there is] a marke or badge of externall communion: whereby the Lord settles a right upon the person to his ordinances." John Rogers and Thomas Hooker also professed that Baptism was a seal of "federal" or outward adoption, a conception possibly derived from Bullinger.<sup>61</sup> This seal would not be effective without the establishment of preaching since this

is the means it has pleased God "to appoint ordinarily to work in calling His children." In a rhetorical flourish at the conclusion of his farewell sermon, the Danger of Desertion, preached just before he took ship for Holland in the Spring of 1631, Thomas Hooker consigned the entire nation of England to the inferno. "The poor native Turks and Infidels shall have a more cool summer-parlour in hell than England shall have." However it was clear in logic that "a community cannot migrate en masse to the celestial pastures" nor to the other place. Hence divine judgments upon collectivities were necessarily temporal.<sup>62</sup>

The belief in an external covenant provided justification for a prophetic divinity which interpreted notable recent events as manifestations of God's controversy with the "inhabitants of the Land" (Hosea 4,1). For unlike the individual covenant of grace this collective adoption was conditional. If the people failed to make diligent use of the ordinances the wrath of the Lord would be kindled and they might be abandoned. The Protestant disasters of the Thirty Years War provided material which lent itself easily to apocalyptic interpretation. Hooker's two sermons, The Faithful Covenanter and the Danger of Desertion, are brilliantly conceived demonstrations of the peril in which the nation stands through its neglect of the ordinances. The threatenings of the prophets Jeremiah, Hosea and Moses are transferred to England. The fate of Bohemia and the Palatinate gives warning to the English to mend their ways. In those lands "God's churches are made heaps of stone and those Bethels wherein God's name was called upon, are now

defiled Temples for Satan and superstition to reign in ...  
Now are these churches become desolate and may not  
England".<sup>63</sup>

John Rogers fully shared Hooker's conviction that the prophetic writings were as germane to the case of England as to that of Israel. In his preface to God's Treasure Displayed, an anatomy of doctrine by a pious layman, he warned that most people doted on "fading vanities" "wherefore .. the Lord may take up the like complaint against us, as he did against Israel long agoe ... That he had written unto them the great things of his Law, but they had counted them a strange thing: so may he also have a controversy against us, as against them." "We are greater sinners than our brethren in Germany, and yet what desolations are sent upon them ... And therefore what can be expected by Gods heavy judgments". So The Doctrine of Faith.<sup>64</sup> Rogers of Dedham specifically warned that God would punish the neglect of the word by withdrawing access to it from England and would "give it to them that will more highly esteeme it." An account of a sermon he preached on this threat, given by Dr Goodwin, President of Magdalene College, Cambridge and his disciple, has been preserved. The preacher "personates God to the people, telling them; 'Well I have trusted you so long with my Bible; you have slighted it, it lies in such and such houses covered with dust and cobwebs, you care not to look into it. Do you use my Bible so? Well, you shall have my Bible no longer.'" Only when the people, impersonated by himself, professed to prefer the word to goods, houses, or children, did God

restore it. Nehemiah Rogers warned that since congregations were negligent in their attendance on the word preached God "will dyet us and bring us againe to our former appetite, by with-holding of the means as he has long threatened to his people." Hooker, preaching at Dedham the sermon later published as The Faithful Covenanter, claimed that the inhabitants of such a town, who "have a faithful, eminent, powerful minister", must be especially diligent in good duties. For if they were negligent then "the highest in preferment, the first in punishment."<sup>65</sup>

"Hath not this always been told, that the way to Heaven is strait and few finde it; and so on the contrary the greatest number have always been deceived." So John Rogers who elsewhere taught that "two in a Parish, and three in a Towne" might have gained saving faith. Even in the best furnished congregations it was likely that those inwardly adopted would be a minority.<sup>66</sup> The submission of the rest could only be outward. This degree of obedience was however sufficient to ward off God's temporal judgments. "If Sodom and Gomorrah had but legally repented, they had remained, they had not been destroyed", asserted Hooker. Since the reprobate were naturally inclined to evil courses, the young gentlemen among them hastening "over to Italy to learn some of Machiavel's villainy", they were unlikely to come to heel voluntarily. It was therefore the duty of the magistracy to constrain them. In his Exposition John Rogers remarked that recently the vice of drunkenness had been so widespread that he had expected a judgment from God. This had been prevented by the just severity of the

magistrates. "When men of authority take sin to heart, and seek to punish the same, then God takes it well and is pacified: Contrarily when magistrates have not grace and courage [enough] to put life into his laws, ... the Lord is enforced to take the rod into his own hand."<sup>67</sup>

Daniel Rogers, who accepted a broadly congregational definition of the church, though emphasising the primary importance of possession of the ordinances rather than constitution, described it as a conquering army whose soldiers had been impressed at their Baptism. The means of worship were the "Banners, Ensignes, Standards of Christ, and the ministers the bearers thereof." In this age however the church was in retreat. "The number and fellowship of close walkers is shrewedly diminished: we loose - dayly - ground ... the friends of Apostacy, of formality, of liberty, and carnall serving God increase".<sup>68</sup> The lecturer of Dedham never provided a formal definition of what he meant by the term 'the Church'. From the evidence of his writings however, especially the lengthy Exposition, it is clear that he held a starkly Foxean conception of a company bound always to walk under the peril or the actual flail of persecution. His direct citations from Foxe in The Doctrine of Faith were exemplary accounts of the strength of faith exhibited by the martyrs or the repulsive backsliding of temporary professors. It is noteworthy that he never gave volume or page references evidently assuming that his readers had a sound knowledge of the immense Foxean corpus.<sup>69</sup> In the Exposition the influence of the martyrologist is patent in the account given of the growth

of the Mystery of Iniquity and the reign of Antichrist. Popery, he alleged, "was not come to the top till within these three or four hundred years bypast." This is identical with Foxe's chronology since not many mighty were called and since many of the wicked dearly wished to possess authority in order to "hang up these Puritan knaves" persecution was always a present danger. Moreover such persecution was part of the Divine Government of the church which "is appointed to more crosses and tryalls ... under the Gospel, then before." For "if the church be long in peace it gathers mud as standing waters ... therefore God pours it out from vessel to vessel. Every mark, after long prosperity grew pride, and thereupon errors and corruptions .. Contrarily the Church never shines so gloriously as either in, or presently after persecution." "May not the Lord justly after long schooling us ... call us out to try what we have profited".<sup>70</sup> The flail of persecution, Rogers asserted in The Doctrine of Faith, would soon separate the wheat from the tares. For the mass of formal professors "would turn from the Gospel to the Masse, as they did in Queen Maries time." On the other hand faithful Christians might at first recant during a period of loss of spiritual guidance. However "tarry but a while and yee shall see one .. going into the Church, and casting the host out of the Priests hand in revenge of himself for having recanted."<sup>71</sup>

"Godlinessse is growne .. into some credit amongst us; almost everybody would be accounted religious." So wrote Adam Harsnett in 1630. In 1626 John Rogers allowed that the truth of Reformed Doctrine was universally acknowledged.<sup>72</sup>

The flocks of such Essex ministers were united in espousing the covenant even if their adherence was only founded on "an habituated practice of godly exercises". However in the view of the lecturer of Dedham and many of his brother ministers doctrinal conformity to Reformed Christianity was nothing more than evidence of 'historical believing'. They insisted that those who desired to be saved go through a protracted spiritual venture involving the self abnegation and humiliation of their hearts before they could count themselves as true Christians. As "we are bound to love ourselves first", wrote John Rogers, "so ought we to acknowledge the miseries of our souls, and labour to get ourselves out of the same." The Christian came to faith by the way of grief and doubting of mercy. "They never believed that never doubted. A man were as good say, he was perfect and without any remnant of corruption."<sup>73</sup>

The appeal to spiritual effort was popular among the book buying public. The Doctrine of Faith, in its second edition in 1627, was in its eighth by 1640. The Tuesday lectures at Dedham attracted hearers from neighbouring parishes and men like Goodwin from further afield in such numbers that galleries had to be erected in 1629 to accommodate the visitors. John Rogers' histrionic style of preaching, which included "roaring hideously to represent the torments of the damned" and which the Nonconformists of the next generation were to regard as something of an embarrassment to his reputation, often had remarkable effects. Oliver Heywood, referring to the observations of John Angier (Anger), a native of Dedham, described Rogers'

preaching of a marriage sermon with such fervour that all the company were moved to great mourning and all the other ministers present were "imployed in comforting or advising consciences awakened by that sermon." Some of the Dedham tradesmen however seem to have derived more worldly benefit than spiritual guidance by the lecture. In the Exposition John Rogers spoke, reproachfully of them taking advantage of the great number of visitors who came to hear him by raising prices; selling "dearer then in any of the Market Towns round about us, whereby they ... raise an evil name of the Gospel."<sup>74</sup>

"Gods counsell and the narrow way,  
he clearly did unfold,  
Without excuse to leave all they,  
that would not be controlled."

So asserted John Rogers' elegist. There were those however who believed that he, and those of like mind with him, had made the way altogether too narrow. In his The Real Christian Giles himself a deprived minister from the parish of Shalford which bordered on Wethersfield, attacked the doctrine of active preparation as causing unnecessary troubling of men's souls. Though he was related to John Rogers and was reputedly converted by his preaching he assaulted his conception of faith along with that of Daniel Rogers, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepherd and their followers. "To say then there is such a rule laid down for preparative works, that every one must pass through before they can be regenerated, or have faith, I cannot be convinced of it."<sup>75</sup>

In order to discredit the principles of The Doctrine

of Faith Firmin pointed up the contradiction between the tenet there propounded that faith entailed assurance and the Dedham lecturer's experiential conviction that doubt was always present, also asserted in that work. John Rogers, like Perkins had distinguished clearly between strong and weak faith. By failing to recognise the distinction Firmin made Rogers' conception of faith identical with assurance and could then claim that the goal of preparation had been made crushingly lofty. Between the attitude of the Dedham lecturer and his fellows and that of Firmin there was a caesura in comprehension across which the Restoration pastor gazed without understanding at the works of his mentor. Rogers of Dedham had prayed that he might be hanged by the neck if thereby the stumbling blocks might be removed from the Church. To Firmin his insistence upon the thorny path of preparation<sup>came</sup> to be itself a stumbling block to "the constitution of a Christian".<sup>76</sup>

## 5. Protestant piety in Dedham: 1550 - 1650

"Our forefathers, they were honest people and had no such stir about hearing of sermons." These words were put into the mouth of a hypothetical interlocutor by John Rogers. Presumably he felt that they expressed a popular ground for mistrust of his own exposition of the Reformed doctrine that preaching was "the strong voice of God that ... plucks us out of (Satan's) power and kingdom, and translates us into the kingdom of His dear Son."<sup>1</sup> Such uneasiness was not to be wondered at given the way the Reformation had transformed the relationship between human beings and the divine order. The cult of the saints and the mundane miracle of transubstantiation surrounded the Christian with manifestations of the grace of God. By abolishing such mediating forces the Reformation emphasised the remoteness of God.<sup>2</sup> Communion with divinity was only to be obtained through the hearing, meditation upon and application of the saving Word.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the ~~seventeenth~~<sup>fifteenth</sup> century the clothiers of Dedham expressed their piety in the rebuilding of the parish church. The project was begun in 1494 and completed substantially by 1519 though the North Porch was not constructed until the mid 1530s. In grandeur of conception the new building equalled Lavenham church. It incorporated a chantry for the family of Thomas Webbe, one of the chief movers in the enterprise, who was buried in an Easter Sepulchre tomb. A shelf above the sarcophagus would accommodate a 'sepulchre' for the Pyx, which would be

interred on Good Friday and resurrected on Easter Sunday.<sup>4</sup>

In 1532, even before the finishing touches had been added to the church the Stour Valley was shaken by an outbreak of iconoclasm. Men from the parish of Dedham played a prominent part in the events, especially the destruction of the previously revered rood at Dovercourt near Harwich, and the image breaking at the Duke of Norfolk's park in Stoke by Nayland on the Suffolk side of the river.<sup>5</sup> Such acts of symbolic violence probably helped to bring about a loss of confidence in the old verities signified by the failure of the inhabitants of East Bergholt to complete the church tower which they had begun to build in 1425. Robert Spere left £20 towards the building of this when he made his will in 1537. During the 1540s work on the tower stopped and was never resumed, after those who were financing the project defaulted on their payments.<sup>6</sup>

Of thirty five wills proved for the two parishes of Dedham and East Bergholt during the period 1540-59, only three retained the traditional formula bequeathing the soul of the testator "to our blyssyd lady and to all the holy company in hevyn." Two of these three were drawn up during the reign of Mary and the scribe appears to have hedged his bets combining an invocation of the Trinity or the redeeming Christ with a mention of the holy company.<sup>7</sup> During the same reign the preamble for the will of the Dedham clothier, Thomas Butter, proclaimed a Protestant faith in the blood of Christ though the statement that the Saviour's blood was shed "for me and all manynde" was not perhaps strictly orthodox. The will of John Mynott of Dedham, composed two

days before the death of the persecuting Queen, mentioned the Trinity, the redemptive passion of Christ and the testator's hope to be numbered among the inheritors of everlasting life. Again it was stated that the blood of Christ had been shed for all mankind. This will was drawn up by Thomas Norleye the current curate of Dedham. Surprisingly, given this evidence of committed Protestantism, Mynott left twelve pence to the high altar in recompense for forgotten tithes.<sup>8</sup>

Margaret Spufford observed in her seminal article on the scribes of villagers' wills that most wills were drawn up when the testators were on their death beds and that the religious preambles were therefore as likely to reflect the opinions of the writer, or to follow a set formula habitually employed by him, as to express the convictions of the testator.<sup>9</sup> In attempting to sift the wills of inhabitants of Dedham and East Bergholt for evidence of the religious convictions of the testators it is therefore necessary first to establish the identity of the scribes who drew up the wills. For Dedham 128 wills drawn up between 1560 and 1650 have an identifiable scribe. For East Bergholt the total is 151. Seventy different people drew up wills for inhabitants of the Essex parish during that period while forty eight worked in East Bergholt. Moreover four of the scribes working in East Bergholt drew up ninety eight of the wills between them. Two of these men, Edward Riche and John Phillippes, also acted as proctors for the Suffolk archdeaconry court.<sup>10</sup> Nearly all the preambles the four drew up gave a brief account of the redemptive sacrifice of

Christ. Identical wording needed to be used for several wills. Thus of the twenty wills drafted by John Stevenson the preambles to eleven ran as follows. "I bequeath my soule into the hands of Almighty God my Creator, and to Jesus Christ my blessed redeemer by whose meirites alone I hope to be saved". Of the remaining nine wills one contained no preamble, one was a simple invocation of the Almighty with no mention of Christ's sacrifice and the remaining eight gave a slightly expanded version of the usual formula by the addition of such phrases as "I hope to be saved in the resurection."<sup>11</sup>

The scribe Edward Riche, however, abandoned the usual allusion to the redemption in four of the thirty two wills he composed. In these four instances he dedicated the soul of the testator to "Abraham, Isaacke and Jacob and with them to rest in the kingedome of heaven." The testators have no other discernible relationship with each other and the unusual preambles were drawn up during the 1570s when Riche was just beginning to draft wills. The most likely explanation therefore is that this unusual preamble was a formula early adopted and soon relinquished by him.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting, however, to note that the will of Roger Savage, which was composed in 1600, contains the same dedicatory clause.<sup>13</sup>

In Dedham the four most prolific scribes composed only forty two of the 128 wills. (The four were Richard Parker, the schoolmaster Lionel Chute, the clothier Isaac Ham and the clothworker William Warner.)<sup>14</sup> Since the majority of wills were not written by quasi-professional

scribes, preambles were less formulaic. One result of this was that a large number of such preambles were extremely summary amounting only to the bequest of the testators soul to the Almighty, his body to the earth with an allusion to the Resurrection in a few cases. In East Bergholt only twenty six out of the 182 wills of the period which contained a preamble possessed one of such a summary character but in Dedham the total was eighty two out of 198 wills which were provided with preambles. Of the twenty wills drafted by Lionel Chute nine were of this summary character.

Since formulae were not<sup>by scribes</sup> imposed testators in Dedham presumably had more chance to have their preambles drafted according to their own views. The number of wills wherein the testators declare themselves to be assured of salvation should therefore be a fairly accurate guide as to how many willmakers had embraced this doctrine. Assurance is first mentioned in the wills of the 1580s. Richard Parker, who wrote six of the nine wills composed during that decade which bear witness to this belief, was very likely responsible for the introduction of this innovation in the style of preambles. After his departure from the parish the number of Dedham wills proclaiming the doctrine dropped off noticeably and it was not until the second decade of the seventeenth century that they again became a significant proportion of the total number of wills which bore preambles. The social status of the testators whose wills proclaimed their acceptance of the doctrine is as follows. Of the fifty testators forty two were males. Of these

Table 5.1

Dedham and East Bergholt: Testators declaring their assurance of salvation, 1560 - 1650.

Decade	Dedham			East Bergholt		
	Men leaving £50 or more	Men leaving less than £50	Women	Men leaving £50 or more	Men leaving less than £50	Women
1560 - 9	-	-	-	-	-	-
1570 - 9	-	-	-	-	-	-
1580 - 9	6	3	2	-	3	-
1590 - 9	1	1	1	-	-	-
1600 - 9	1	1	-	1	-	-
1610 -19	2	3	-	1	1	-
1620 - 9	9	4	2	-	-	-
1630 - 9	6	6	3	1	-	-
1640 - 9	-	1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	25	19	8	3	4	-

seventeen belonged to the parish elite while nine others bequeathed more than £50 and may be counted as wealthy men.<sup>15</sup> The remaining sixteen were poor men, including three weavers, a shearman and a mason. Only seven wills belonging to inhabitants of East Bergholt made mention of the doctrine though as in Dedham it was in the 1580s that the first ones claiming to uphold the doctrine were issued.

Twenty six individuals living at Dedham left statements of their personal faith in their wills. Two or three such wills usually appeared in each decade after 1570. During the 1620s, however, there were no such wills while during the 1580s twelve appeared. Again it seems likely that Richard Parker was at least partly responsible for this upsurge in final statements of faith. He drafted half the wills in question himself and perhaps inspired the other half of the testators to draw up outlines of their beliefs. Parker's pen recorded that the shearman Isaac Clark believed that he had been "laid hold on by a true and lyvely faithe." John Upcher, one of the nine inhabitants of the town who subscribed the 'profession' in support of parochial reformation, recorded under the same vicar's hand that he hoped to be saved through the merits of Christ, "being apprehended by a sounde faithe". Michael Upcher, John Upcher's nephew, who also obtained Parker as the scribe of his will, declared that his soul was "sanctified in some measure by the spirite of God".<sup>16</sup> Ellen Pilgrim, Robert Smith and William Cole, the other testators who left wills with idiosyncratic preambles for which Parker acted as scribe, expected respectively "an inheritaunce among the

saints", salvation through "Godes free mercie ... to be apprehended by faith" and deliverance from the burden of sin by the blood of Christ "shed once for all the faithfull and for me".<sup>17</sup> Margaret Starling, who died in 1586, emphasised that her salvation was not due to "any desertes in me". Her will was drafted not by Parker but by the lecturer Edmund Chapman.<sup>18</sup>

Of the five testators of the decade who left personal statements of faith despite not having a minister to write their wills, Richard Backler, a brother in law of the above mentioned John Upcher whom Backler appointed joint executor along with his wife (Upcher's sister), demonstrated a sophisticated knowledge of the language of Reformed divinity. He claimed to have apprehended the mystery of the passion of Christ "by the effectual worhing of the Holy Ghost in my harte by the preaching of the gospell".<sup>19</sup> Ralph Starling, husband to the above mentioned Margaret, also showed a notable understanding of the scheme of salvation when he trusted "to enjoye the kingdome prepared for the electe before the beginninge of the worlde."<sup>20</sup>

After 1593, when William Butter referred to the Calvinist gloss on the dogma of the descent of Christ into hell in his assertion that the Saviour had "suffred both in sowle and bodye the very tormentes of deathe for my sinnes" testators ceased to use such technical language in their personal statements of faith. This would tend to provide indirect evidence that the deployment of such language was due to the influence of Richard Parker and therefore ceased soon after he left the parish.<sup>21</sup> Individuals who left

idiosyncratic preambles during the seventeenth century tended rather to emphasise their "certayne hope of a ioyfull resurrection".<sup>22</sup>

The inhabitants of Dedham who left idiosyncratic preambles do not make up a clearly defined group. Of the twenty two males eighteen left over £50. Thirteen belonged to the parish elite. Of those males who made their wills during the 1580s and 1590s three had subscribed the 'profession' in support of parochial reformation while thirteen had not. The only close personal relationship between the testators, apart from the marriage between Ralph and Margaret Starling, was that brought about by the marriage between a daughter of George Cole and a son of Thomas Ludkin.<sup>23</sup>

In East Bergholt sixteen testators left personal statements of faith, a figure both absolutely and proportionately smaller than the total for Dedham. Ten of the fifteen males bequeathed more than £50 so that the wealthy were less predominant than they had been in Dedham. Although there was no concentration in one decade the number of links between the testators was much greater than in Dedham. Thus John Goodwin, who made his will in 1600, was linked by kinship or affinity to four of the others and by friendship to two more. William Holloway was related by kinship or affinity to two of the others and by friendship to two more. The mean number of links of both kinds per testator was 1.63 while four of the testators were not linked to any of the others. The bulk of inhabitants of East Bergholt leaving idiosyncratic preambles may therefore

be regarded as showing indications of belonging to a group in contrast to the lack of group identity exhibited by their Dedham counterparts.<sup>24</sup>

The personal statement of an inhabitant of East Bergholt generally took the form of exposition of the redemptive mission of Christ. Thomas Branston however, who made his will in 1586, emulated his Dedham contemporaries who used the technical language of Reformed divinity in declaring his faith in the Trinity, "by and thorough whome I was elected, created, redemyd, sanctyfyed and iustified."<sup>25</sup>

One way of signifying a commitment to the Reformed Church was by leaving a bequest to one or more ministers of it. The first inhabitant of Dedham to do this was William Buck who made his will in 1567. He left the sum of three shillings and four pence to John Worth the vicar. The second was Michael Upcher the elder who made his will in 1575. Upcher left twenty shillings to the vicar, John Worth, on condition that he made "an exhortation or sermond to the people assembled together at my burial."<sup>26</sup> There were no more bequests to clergy during the 1570s but in the 1580s ten individuals made such bequests and eight did so in the 1590s. After a fall in the numbers of testators giving such bequests during the first two decades of the seventeenth century there was a large increase during the next two decades. In all sixty four individuals made such bequests during the period 1560-1639 while 213 wills of inhabitants of Dedham were proved during the same period. In East Bergholt on the other hand only twenty six individuals provided such bequests while 206 inhabitants of

Table 5.2

Dedham and East Bergholt: Testators giving legacies to ministers,  
1560 - 1640.

Decade	Dedham			East Bergholt		
	Men leaving £50 or more	Men leaving less than £50	Women	Men leaving £50 or more	Men leaving less than £50	Women
1560 - 9	-	1	-	-	-	-
1570 - 9	1	-	-	-	-	-
1580 - 9	6	2	2	3	1	-
1590 - 9	8	-	1	4	-	-
1600 - 9	2	2	-	4	1	-
1610 -19	6	-	-	2	-	-
1620 - 9	8	4	4	3	1	-
1630 - 9	12	2	4	4	1	-
TOTAL	43	11	11	20	4	-

the town had their wills proved during the same period.

The discrepancy between the two parishes in terms of the numbers of inhabitants providing bequests to ministers is probably at least in part accounted for by the fact that after 1578 Dedham supported a lecturer purely by voluntary subscription. Dedham householders, if they wished to be considered men of standing in the town, would agree to pay an annual sum towards the maintenance of the lecturer. The liability of each householder was probably apportioned roughly in accordance with his relative wealth. Having become accustomed to pledging a certain sum of money each year for this purpose an inhabitant would find it natural to make a final contribution by will. Thus in 1596 Thomas Glover left Edmund Chapman £10 in yearly instalments of fifty shillings. He explained that this was "in full consideracon of my stipende." Robert Smith's bequest to Chapman of £8 at the rate of four nobles a year, made in 1583, and Henry Sherman's 1610 legacy to John Rogers, Chapman's successor, of £8 at forty shillings a year, would appear to have been similar continuations of the testator's annual payment towards the maintenance of the lecturer for a period of four or six years.<sup>27</sup>

It was however more usual for the testator to make a lump sum payment. Out of fifty six testators who left money to a lecturer forty nine left such payments. The most usual sum was twenty shillings which was provided by nineteen of the testators. Three left only ten shillings and the others left sums ranging from forty shillings to ten pounds.

Given the association between Chapman and Richard

Parker signified by their fellow membership of the Dedham Conference it was seemly for those who bequeathed money to the lecturer during the period when they were both resident in the parish, to leave something to Parker as well. All those who left Chapman a legacy during the period when Parker was vicar followed this course of action while one testator, Ellen Pilgrim, gave a legacy to the vicar but not to the lecturer.<sup>28</sup> Even after Parker had ceased to be vicar it remained usual to bequeath money to both the town's ministers if one was going to give anything to either. Of the forty seven individuals who left money to the lecturer between 1589 and 1639 only eight neglected the vicar.

However it was common to give the vicar rather less than the lecturer. Of the forty seven testators who left money to both these ministers eighteen left more to the lecturer than they did to his beneficed counterpart while twenty nine left the same amount to each.

Of the fifty three male testators of Dedham who left bequests to clergy forty left more than £50. Such wealthy testators were those most likely to have been able to afford to pay regular contributions towards the maintenance of a lecturer. Poor individuals, such as the weaver Robert Clark and the sheerman Thomas Morris, were able to give bequests to the ministers because they had no children to provide for.<sup>29</sup>

Generosity towards the ministers went hand in hand with a neglect of the church fabric. One inhabitant of East Bergholt left twenty shillings towards the repair of his church in 1591 but this solitary example of concern for the

maintenance of the fabric was not matched in Dedham.<sup>30</sup> It was not that Dedham church was in good repair. In 1589 the official of the archdeaconry court noted that "the church porche ys decayed and the churche wanteth paving." In 1604 it was reported that the churchwardens had sold the lead from the roof of the tower in order to raise money for "the use of the churche". Such delapidations were restored by imposing a rate rather than by relying on voluntary contributions.<sup>31</sup>

Conditions in Dedham were excellent compared to those prevailing in the small port of Manningtree, 4 miles or so down river. Manningtree church was not consecrated and so only had the status of a chapel of ease. The nearest parish church, that of Mistley, was some 2 miles away. Despite this the church at Manningtree was allowed to fall into disrepair and in 1594 John Norden reported that "the church is decayde, and the people go to Mistley". In 1611 the church was described in a complaint addressed to the Essex charity commissioners as "utterly Ruinated and fallen downe." It was not until 1616 that these dilapidations were to be restored and the church rebuilt, apparently through the efforts of a parishioner called George Pegrime.<sup>32</sup>

Writing in 1582 Edmund Chapman asserted that many of the congregation of Dedham were "not negligent and carelesse" in practising "private and domesticall" prayers.<sup>33</sup> The precise number of households which used such domestic prayers cannot be determined. The number of testators bequeathing bibles and other religious books does however give some indication of the prevalence of private

study of the scriptures among the inhabitants of Dedham. John Rogers advised they "that are of better understanding, ... let them read orderly, not here and there a chapter, and that most or always in the New Testament, but going on throughout both".<sup>34</sup> Perhaps this admonition encouraged the townspeople of Dedham to acquire and cherish bibles. For while only two inhabitants of East Bergholt bequeathed religious books during the period 1560-1650, the total for Dedham was fourteen. Of this number one was the lecturer Edmund Chapman and another was the schoolmaster John Cottesford. The other twelve included eight men and four women. Ten of the testators made their wills after 1619 and these wills make up just under 10% of the 106 wills proved during the period, 1620-1650. Eight of the testators left only bibles but William Butter also left a copy of Erasmus' Paraphrases and a commentary on Galatians by Martin Luther. John Pye possessed a copy of Richard Rogers' Seaven Treatises while Rose Cole and Elizabeth Glover each bequeathed a copy of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Of the eight laymen six left less than £50 indicating that they were not among the wealthy inhabitants of the parish.<sup>35</sup>

Disciplinary action conducted against individuals suspected of nonconformity by the officials of the ecclesiastical courts may help to indicate the penetration of new religious tenets among those of lowly social status. A caveat should however be entered against regarding such individuals as the spiritual brethren of those who made elaborate statements of faith in their wills. Those who came before the ecclesiastical courts were often exploiting

the tenets of Reformed divinity as a mine of arguments with which to justify their defiance of the wielders of power.<sup>36</sup>

As early as 1596 a baker called Richard Myllson was brought into the archdeaconry court charged with refusing to have his child baptised. He confessed that it was not baptised because he declined to admit the participation of godparents in the ceremony. In 1586, while Parker was vicar, Alice the wife of Richard King, a mason, was detected by the churchwardens for not receiving Communion. (She may have been denied the Eucharist by Parker.) She appeared at the archdeaconry court and "did alleage that this is not the place for her to answer to this presentment but to her minister". For this contemptuous speech she was excommunicated.<sup>37</sup> In 1590, while Parker was suspended at least two inhabitants of Dedham crossed the Stour and attended service in East Bergholt or Stratford St Mary where other members of the Dedham Conference served the cures.<sup>38</sup> Finally in 1616, when the parish of Dedham was being served by the curate Mr Marcolin, one Thomas Hewes was detected for saying to his dog; "hurrah. Come with me and heare Mr Marcolin reade divine service". This he did "in derision and contempt of the booke of common prayer." In the same year John Osman was detected for absenting himself from church and excepting against the minister for reading divine service and wearing a surplice. Such individuals had gained some understanding of the new dogmas.<sup>39</sup>

In certain parishes the imposition of Reformed religion led to conflict when part of the congregation determined to reject it and organised itself as an

antipuritan group defining itself by hostility towards the reforming minister and those who supported him.<sup>40</sup> At Boxted, just over four miles from Dedham, William Bradley, who despite being a Papist had been elected churchwarden, detected his minister, Philip Gilgate, for nonconformity and for brawling. He also brought a suit against him in the London consistory court. George Gedge, one of Bradley's witnesses, asserted that the minister was at loggerheads with a group of parishioners claiming that "divers and sondry tymes moste comonlye, Mr Gilgate would openly ... towche one or other of the pariche and namely Mr John Eve (Ive), this examine himselfe and one Cole ... sometimes talking of pampering, gluttoninge and feedinge themselves with other vile, malitiouse and underhente speaches".<sup>41</sup> At Elmstead, five miles south of Dedham, there was a similar conflict between the vicar, Mr Reginald Metcalf, and a group of leading parishioners who at one point attempted to lock him out of the church.<sup>42</sup>

There is no evidence of the formation of such an anti puritan group in the parish of Dedham. During the 1580s there was, however, an isolated antipuritan called Robert West who had been resident there since the early 1560s. In October 1583 West was detected for not having received Communion since Parker's collation to the parish more than twelve months ago and was called into the London consistory court. He declared that he had not received because Parker had not kept the order of the Prayer Book. He had also accused the archdeacon of remissness in not disciplining Parker for his nonconformity saying "that if Mr Archdeacon

Withers might rule, the Queen should be obeyed." He accused Parker of never having worn the surplice since his collation. West expressed his dislike of Parker by regularly going to Langham for evening service even though Thomas Farrer, the rector there, was also a member of the Dedham Conference. In October 1584 Robert West was again called into the consistory court charged with keeping a maidservant who had not been at church for more than six years.<sup>43</sup> In 1590 West came before the archdeaconry court, charged with refusal to pay his church rate.<sup>44</sup>

Though West's stand against the new doctrines appears to have been an isolated one some of the young people of the town manifested a reluctance to accept the need for regular attendance at church and strict Sabbath observance. In 1586 three boys were detected to the archdeaconry court for habitually playing football on Sunday. In 1601 the widow Orris was called before the archdeaconry court for keeping open house during sermon time for the servants of divers honest men. Finally in 1635 four girls converted a sacred space to a profane use when they decided to play at barley break (a kind of tag) in the chancel of Dedham church.<sup>45</sup>

Giles Firmin, who spent his childhood in Dedham and was linked to John Rogers and his circle claimed that a century of godly preaching had done little to alter the deep ignorance of the people. "Essex hath been a famous county for preaching", he claimed, "yet one that I know of in my parish being asked, 'What is Christ?' he could not tell ... Another, on his death-bed, about sixty years of age, when they told him what Christ<sup>was</sup>... fell a wondering, as if they

were things he never heard before; yet catechism, besides preaching, was set up in the parish." Such anecdotes make amusing reading.<sup>46</sup> During the seventeenth century they supported the common assertion that God had a controversy with the nation because there was no "knowlege of God in the land". In his Treatise of the Affections William Fenner visualised God as a shopkeeper packing up his wares to be gone since "the dead of the market is come; no body buyes almost: How long hath he preached and scarce any converted?".<sup>47</sup> In the opinion of both John and Richard Rogers the poor were particularly blind to the light of the Gospel. "They that be most poor are very gracelesse, and godlesse almost", declared the lecturer of Dedham. Richard Rogers lamented "the estate of the poore ... to thinke ... what an universall blindnesse and securitie is amongst them".<sup>48</sup> Such arguments tend to validate Christopher Hill's contention that godly preaching was only effective with respect to a restricted social group which he defines as "the sober, hard-working, industrious middle class".<sup>48</sup>

It is however important to note that when divines asserted that only a small minority were converted by the preaching of the Gospel they were predisposed, through their understanding of New Testament teaching on the smallness of Christ's flock.<sup>50</sup> Thus preacherly rhetoric about the small number of the regenerate may be founded rather on an interpretation of reality to accord with a particular understanding of certain Biblical texts than on a clear-eyed observation of the response to godly preaching.<sup>51</sup>

The extent to which the new doctrines had influenced

the inhabitants of Dedham during the period, 1560-1650, may be crudely estimated by lumping together the number of testators who composed a personal statement of faith, declared that they were assured of salvation, left a legacy to one or more of the ministers, or bequeathed a Bible or other religious book. Ninety nine testators did one or more of these things. This number amounted to 43% of the total number of will makers. In East Bergholt thirty seven will makers left such indications of their acceptance of the new doctrines, 17% of the total. In each parish just under 30% of the male testators giving evidence of godly inclinations bequeathed less than £50 and may therefore be counted as poor. Evidently the poor among the inhabitants of the two parishes were not so likely as the rich to give testamentary evidence of their godliness but they certainly did not exhibit a "universall blindness".

## 6. Philanthropy and criminality at Dedham: 1560 - 1640

That "no diligent Bee or painefull labourer be suffered for want of necessary reliefe ... to pine away and perish", was according to Robert Allen the minister of Culford in Suffolk, the guiding principle for 'well affected' individuals in exercising charity towards the poor.<sup>1</sup> The best way to discharge this duty was however a matter that was less clear. As the researches of Tim Wales and Anthony Fletcher have recently demonstrated, poor relief in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period was conducted according to a medley of local initiatives.<sup>2</sup> Widely differing approaches were adopted in separate counties, in separate parishes, and even within the same parish. The survival of accounts for parish relief from quite small Norfolk villages relating to the early seventeenth century indicates that the system of relief by weekly payments to 'collectioners' was well established in that county during the reign of James I.<sup>3</sup> In early Stuart Somerset, by contrast, the main burden of relief was borne by almsgiving to settled beggars. These were licensed by the Justices and supervised by the parish overseers. Poor rates were levied only when it was thought necessary to raise money in wealthy parishes in order to subsidise poorer ones according to the statute of 1597.<sup>4</sup> Even in Norfolk licences to beg continued to be issued in certain areas during the reign of Charles I. In 1631 for example, the Justices for the division of South Erpingham and Eynsford "inforced manie poorer people to begge and seeke abroade for reliefe." Sometimes, as at Holkham in 1601,

formal parish relief and authorised almsgiving coexisted.<sup>5</sup> The enforcement of other provisions of the Elizabethan Poor Law was equally partial while the enactment that every parish should maintain a stock of materials "to sett the Poore on worke," remained almost everywhere neglected since the provision of such stocks would have put too great a strain on parochial resources.<sup>6</sup>

This lack of uniformity with regard to the treatment of poverty in the sphere of action was matched by the confusion of ideas visible in the prescriptions for philanthropic conduct offered by literary commentators and pundits. Were strangers seeking alms to be treated as God's poor or as idle vagabonds deserving condign punishment? The distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor was not invented during the reign of Edward VI. It is mentioned in thirteenth century statute of labourers. With the beginning of institutional relief in the 1540s however, and the simultaneous invention of the tripartite division of paupers into 'the poor by impotency' 'the poor by casualty' and 'the thriftless poor', that distinction gained new force.<sup>7</sup> Increasing perception of, and alarm at, the problem of growing numbers of vagrants further envenomed the attitude of the literate public towards those categorized as the idle poor. Widespread prejudices against those whom necessity forced to seek abroad for their maintenance during the latter years of Good Queen Bess's reign, are given the seal of approval in the dedication to Robert Allen's "The Oderifferous Garden of Charitie." Charitably the learned minister refers to vagabonds at markets enjoying "the

fattest of the rost" and "the strongest of the Beere"; paying for the same with "that which they had partly begged and partly stollen that same day." Vagrants convey away bastard children so that their bearers escape due punishment, mutilating such children, as indeed they do their own, in order to move the sympathy of the foolish. All well affected persons should refuse them alms and see that they are punished according to statute.<sup>8</sup> Fear and suspicion of vagrants made it difficult to regard the stranger poor as deserving. That the householder should care for the stranger had however been laid down in the Epistle to Hebrews. Following this text Edward Topsell, writing in 1610, argued that the stranger poor, though their circumstances were unknown to the householder, had as strong a claim on his charity as did his neighbours.<sup>9</sup>

With the increasing emphasis laid by writers of conduct books on the importance of orderliness and decorum the custom of keeping open house for the poor began to be viewed as 'uncivil'. For the godly it became suspect as providing occasions of sin.<sup>10</sup> Some divines, however, such as John Downname and William Gouge, took a rather different line, arguing in works published during the early Stuart period, that the benefits of hospitality should be first considered.<sup>11</sup> Should the godliest rather than the neediest of the poor be given priority in the distribution of alms? John Rogers, the lecturer of Dedham, said no; for the householder to attempt to measure the worth of his putative beneficiary was arrogance. Alms giving should be as gratuitous as the grace of God to His elect. Robert Allen

disagreed, asserting that the well affected should give "special regard for the household of faith" and those "of singular godlines." He added, however, that no one should be allowed to perish for want of relief.<sup>12</sup> Should institutional <sup>relief</sup> belief be made so comprehensive that private benefaction became unnecessary and to be abandoned by the well affected? So Martin Bucer had argued in 1557 but in 1603 Robert Allen claimed only that the provision of public relief made it unnecessary to give to strangers.<sup>13</sup>

The custom of hospitable feeding of the poor tended to be associated with the nobility, who had the resources to entertain on the grand scale; with men like the 2nd Earl of Huntingdon whose open gates were commemorated in the panegyric composed at his death.<sup>14</sup> In 1589, however, Leonard Wright went into print with the argument that householders of moderate means also had a duty to entertain the poor so far as their means enabled them. He claimed that those who did were commonly blessed by God while "hard patching prowlers" were cursed with scarcity.<sup>15</sup> Entertainment of one or two poor folk at a yeoman's house was a good deal less likely to provoke disorder than the feeding of the promiscuous multitude at a nobleman's gates. At least Richard Parker and Edmund Chapman appear to have thought so since in the 'Orders' for the government of Dedham agreed between them and the "auncients of the Congregation" of that parish item nine stipulates that each Sunday the wealthier parishioners should invite one or two of their "poore neighbours apiece to dine at their homes." Those invited should first have "submitted themselves to the

good orders of the Churche and walke Christianly and honestlie in their callinges" and the meal itself would provide the occasion for the rich townsmen to incite the poor to keep the Sabbath and attend the lectures and "such like good workes and holy duties of Christianitye." The 1637 statement by the wife of one Moses Webbe, made in answer to the detection by the churchwardens of Ardleigh that her husband ordinarily went to other churches, that he usually worked in Dedham and was often invited to dine with one or other of the townsmen on the Sabbath, for which reason he sometimes attended Dedham church on Sundays, indicates that the custom inaugurated by the 'Orders' may have persisted well into the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> In the opinion of Robert Allen testamentary gifts to charitable uses carried the taint of "the opinion of merit ... superstition and praying for the dead, which hath by long custome attended that course." In some areas a large proportion of donors made their donations while they were still alive, perhaps in order to avoid such strictures. In Norfolk, for example, over a third of the charitable endowments examined by W.K. Jordan were set up by non-testamentary gifts.<sup>16</sup> The Register Book for Dedham Grammar School, however, which records the gifts of a number of benefactors of the poor of the town, notes that only two of the twelve who made donations before 1640 did so while still in this world. In East Bergholt the list of donations to the town stock records that five of the seven donors who made their gifts before 1640 did so in the form of a legacy. In both parishes wills remained a normal means whereby

individuals might make a personal contribution to the relief of poverty.<sup>17</sup>

Examination of 211 wills of inhabitants of Dedham and 197 wills of inhabitants of East Bergholt for the period 1560-1639 reveals that seventy eight testators in the former parish, and fifty nine in the latter, gave legacies to their poor neighbours. Although more Dedham testators made such bequests during the period as a whole the inhabitants of East Bergholt were ahead of them until 1580. The increase in the proportion of Dedham testators remembering the poor in their wills began during the period of the Dedham Conference. There is some indirect evidence that the influence of Chapman and Parker promoted this increase in generosity. Thus of the eight wills for which the two ministers acted as scribes the makers of four left a bequest to the poor. Of the nine men who subscribed the 'profession' in support of parish reformation five of the six who died before 1600 left such bequests.<sup>18</sup>

The sums given by Dedham testators varied from the 3s,4d given by Stephen Upcher to the £30 bequeathed by John Pye.<sup>19</sup> 43.5% of the bequests were for five pounds or more while 46% were for forty shillings or less. In East Bergholt, perhaps to compensate for the fact that the number of benefactors was smaller, the value of the bequests tended to be greater. 54.5% of sums given amounted to five pounds or more while only 34.5% were for forty shillings or less. Moreover seven inhabitants of East Bergholt left £20 or more to the poor while only three from Dedham left such sums. Not all the testators left the poor monetary bequests.

Table 6.1

Dedham and East Bergholt: Sums bequeathed by testators to the use of the poor, 1560 - 1650.

Amount	Dedham			East Bergholt		
	Men leaving £50 or more	Men leaving less than £50	Women	Men leaving £50 or more	Men leaving less than £50	Women
£10 or more	15	5	-	14	1	1
£5 - £9	10	1	3	12	1	1
£3 - £4	6	1	1	5	-	1
40s	7	1	1	3	3	4
30s	2	1	-	1	-	1
20s	7	6	6	1	1	1
11s - 19s	-	1	-	-	2	1
10s	1	2	-	-	-	1
1s - 9s	1	-	-	-	1	-
Goods, value not given	-	-	1	3	1	1
TOTAL	49	18	12	39	10	12

Roger Savage of East Bergholt left the poor of that town a barrel of beer and a seam of rye while Edith Lane of Dedham left a cow though she did not specify who was to look after it.<sup>20</sup>

Not surprisingly it tended to be the richer testators who made provision for the poor in their wills. Forty eight of the sixty six male testators who made such provision bequeathed a total of £50 or more. In East Bergholt the totals were thirty nine out of forty nine. The minority of male testators from the two parishes bequeathing a total of less than £50 was characterised by the fact that just under half of its members possessed no children for whom to make provision and were thus free to provide for the welfare of their neighbours. For as John Rogers advised the members of his Dedham congregation "first begin with our own family, then to our kindred, then to our owne towne ... as farre as we can, and God requires no more." Richer testators were in a better position both to provide for their children and for their poor fellow parishioners. Hence just under three quarters of the eighty seven men of both parishes leaving a total of £50 or more made provision for children as well as for the poor.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the fact that parliament had legislated against the giving of "common doles" as early as 1536 the custom of providing money to the poor at the burial of the testator survived in Dedham and East Bergholt into the 1630s.<sup>22</sup> Nine testators from the Suffolk parish and seven from the Essex town provided for such a distribution during the period under review. There does not appear to have been

any connection between the making of such a provision and the holding of conservative religious views. Thus we have it on the authority of Oliver Heywood, the biographer of his son, that the above mentioned John Anger of Dedham was a man of godly principles but this did not prevent his instructing his brother in law and his cousin to deliver £6 to the poor at his burial. Robert Alefounder left £6 to the poor at his burial and £3 to John Rogers the lecturer to distribute to "poor Christians". He also gave the lecturer £30 "towardses the purchasinge of impropriations and for other good and charitable uses."<sup>23</sup> On the other hand Simon Fenn, who had acted as one of the executors of the will of the lecturer Edmund Chapman, left 40s to be distributed among the poor by the churchwardens and overseers of Dedham on condition that the poor "trouble not my executors at my buryall" indicating that to his mind the custom of distributing funeral doles was indeed reprehensible.<sup>24</sup>

The great majority of testators left no instructions concerning the distribution of their gifts to the poor. Those who did leave them provide evidence that confusion about what was most seemly existed among laymen as well as among divines. In 1593 William Butter, one of those who had subscribed the 'profession' instructed his executors to give ten marks worth of bedding and blankets to the poor; the neediest and the most honest both to have priority. Those executors were going to be in a dilemma if the two groups did not completely coincide. John Anger in 1624 was more definitely of Robert Allen's way of thinking. His executors were to "respect the honestest and painfullest in

their callings most."<sup>25</sup>

W.K. Jordan viewed the bequest of relief in the form of endowed funds rather than once and for all donation as the distinguishing feature of post-Reformation philanthropy.<sup>26</sup> By 1604 the Dedham Grammar School governors controlled two stocks of money devoted to charitable purposes; each amounting to about £100. Of those the first to be established was a stock for the provision of interest free loans to "yonge beginners in the trade of clothinge." This derived from a bequest made by Mr William Littlebury, the greatest benefactor of the town in the early modern period.<sup>27</sup> After a lawsuit against the donor's widow, Mrs Bridget Windham, enough money was recovered by 1580 to enable the Governors to make their first loan for the purpose specified. Sixteen such loans have been recorded in the Register Book for the period before 1640. Of these at least six were made to sons of members of the parish elite, which would seem to remove this charity from the category of poor relief. However the scheme would have increased employment among poorer townsmen, so having something of the effect which provision of those stocks of raw materials stipulated in the Acts of 1576 and 1597 was supposed to produce.<sup>29</sup>

For nearly twenty years Mr Littlebury, who died in 1571, remained alone in having bequeathed a funded gift. Dedham fell behind East Bergholt where, in 1579, the townsmen had established a stock for the provision of "corne chese Butter and other necessarie vittales" to the poor "at suche Reasonable pryyses as ... may convenientlye be

afforded." This was to be administered by a 'provider' who would be chosen by the churchwardens and chief inhabitants. The stock derived from two bequests of the 1570s and in 1580-1 two more testators left sums to increase it. In 1590 the men of Dedham began to follow their example when Henry Sherman, perhaps prompted by increased poverty associated with a depression in the cloth trade, left £20 towards a stock to buy woollen and linen cloth. Between then and 1610 at least six other testators among them being the lecturer, Edmund Chapman, added to the fund, which, already by 1604 amounted, as noted above, to £100.<sup>30</sup> When donors began to direct their gifts to publicly administered funds the element of individual initiative in philanthropy began to decline. This was in keeping with the emphasis of the Reformers Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer on the importance of replacing individual choice in philanthropy with a rational system based on stocks controlled by appointed officers.<sup>31</sup>

The administration of the Dedham town lands, however, was less rational since it had been divided between two groups of officials. The tenements of Brocks and Brewses in Bradfield had been bequeathed to the town in 1571 by Mr Littlebury, the rents to be employed in buying wood for the benefit of the inmates of the almshouses, which had been set up in 1510, and for giving weekly doles to "the poor, aged, lame and blind".<sup>32</sup> The responsibility for managing this property and appointing collectors to levy and distribute its revenue was committed to the school governors. In 1616 and 1628 the town purchased two more properties for the use of the poor. These lay in the parish of Clacton, in Essex,

and the villages of Hintlesham and Chattisham, in Suffolk, respectively.<sup>33</sup> Parish overseers to administer poor relief in the manner laid down in the statute of 1597 were being appointed by the inhabitants of Dedham at least as early as 1610. From 1617 their accounts are extant and show that they collected the revenues of both the lands purchased during the early Stuart period. 'Collectors' appointed by the school governors continued to look after Brocks and Brewses.<sup>34</sup>

The accounts for the Bradfield tenements begin in 1588 and become reasonably detailed after 1600. Annual receipts had amounted to only £3,6s,8d in 1571 though this is indicated to have been an artificially low figure. At the time accounts begin the rent was £12 per annum and from 1614 it was £14. Amounts varying from £2,15s to £4,4s were spent on the provision of loads of wood for the inhabitants of the almshouses. Extraordinary payments sometimes involved large sums. For example in 1622 £5,11s,8d was paid to the poor's stock. Generally however such payments were much lower and at least two thirds of the revenue was used to pay doles to the impotent poor. The vast majority of collectioners were old women, only four male recipients being recorded. The average dole received by these individuals amounted to 8 1/2d per week in the decade 1610-19. Compared to paupers in North Walsham, a market town in Norfolk comparable in size to Dedham, those receiving doles from Brocks and Brewses were paid very handsomely. In North Walsham no collectioner was paid more than 6d a week. Since the total number of recipients from Brocks and Brewses was

rarely much larger than half a dozen and about 15s a month was paid to them in the decade 1610-19, while the figures for the Norfolk town are two dozen and 4s, the generosity of provision in Dedham appears striking. To top that, North Walsham appears to have enjoyed, or suffered, a centralised system of poor relief while revenue from Brocks and Brewses provided only about half of Dedham's expenditure on the poor, exclusive of legacies left by testators, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup>

The Grammar School governors did not only provide collectors of revenue for the poor's land in Bradfield. As feoffees of Ragmarsh, land intended primarily to pay the salary of the Schoolmaster, they played an important, if erratic, role in the relief and supervision of the poor. In the accounting year 1607-8 an extraordinary payment of £5 was made for the relief of those suffering in the extremely severe winter of that year "when so much foulk and fysh dyed by the frost."<sup>37</sup> In 1616-7 the accountants gave £5,13s to a physician for 'healing' parishioners.<sup>38</sup> The same men also took it upon them to remove troublesome parishioners from the town. Some were sent to the house of correction at Hadleigh. This institution had come into existence in 1574 when the old guildhall had been converted to the new use and must have been among the first of these key edifices of the new order to have been established outside a corporate town.<sup>39</sup> Among those committed to the tender care of Allen the keeper, at Hadleigh was Anthony Taylor, a lunatic, who was committed in 1608-9. In 1610-11 he was sent to live with Mr Lewes at Needham and we last hear of him in January

1612, confined to Chelmsford house of correction.<sup>40</sup> In 1609 two parishioners were sent somewhat further, to Ireland. Perhaps Browne and Beamond were setting out to establish a new life for themselves on the Protestant plantations in an anticipation of the later migration of inhabitants of Dedham to New England.<sup>41</sup>

In 1594 Roger Moptete of East Bergholt bequeathed £20 to be employed as a stock by the churchwardens and constables of the parish for binding pauper children apprentices. The parish book records that a child was bound apprentice to a weaver of the town in 1624 and another was so bound in 1636 and his master given 40s for his maintenance. It does not seem that Moptete's bequest was being fully utilized although it is possible that other pauper children were bound without the fact being recorded in the book.<sup>42</sup> In Dedham no stock existed to pay the cost of such apprenticeships but in the accounting year 1621-2 the overseers paid for the binding of three boys out of parish funds, the cost of which measure amounted to £5,5s. In the year 1630-1 they paid for the binding of twenty or more children. The Dedham overseers were evidently impressed by an arrangement which, as Tim Wales neatly puts it, transferred children from families which were unable to support them to those which could do so.<sup>43</sup>

By a statute first enacted during the reign of Edward VI, and reenacted in an amended form during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, parishes were authorized to appoint officers charged with making a weekly collection of money for the relief of the poor. In the parish of St James',

Colchester, sums varying from 21d to 2s,6d were being collected at the church every week during 1579.<sup>44</sup> In Dedham, however, collection was taken only at the time of Holy Communion which the 'Orders' of 1585 declared was to be administered once a month. (Collection at Communion also seems to have been the rule at East Bergholt though the parish book only provides evidence of such collection during the 1630s.)<sup>45</sup> The money so collected was distributed by a third set of parish officers. They were the churchwardens. During the four years of the 1610s for which records exist the inhabitants of Dedham donated an annual average of £8,8s at these monthly collections. During the 1620s, when the overseers began to levy poor rates at a time when the depressed state of the cloth industry was causing much distress, the average annual value of collections fell to £7,4s. During the 1630s, when the amount levied as poor rates was tending to rise, the value of the collections fell again, to £6,10s a year. Amounting to an average of over £50 a year. By the 1630s the money raised by rate amounted to just under half of all the money devoted to poor relief, including the donations of testators.<sup>46</sup>

Any parish making public provision for the relief of the poor had a strong incentive to restrict the numbers of potential claimants of such relief and the consequent financial burden upon its householders. Two notable sources of claimants were bastard bearing and immigration.<sup>47</sup> The bearing of bastards by inhabitants of Dedham was a very uncommon event.<sup>48</sup> As a woodland parish and one offering the possibility of employment in the cloth industry, Dedham was,

however an attractive destination for migrants. To reduce their numbers of such incomers the court leet enacted in 1575 that no inhabitant was to receive any inmate without the allowance of the homage, which would decide whether such an inmate was likely to prove a burden upon the town. If an order to expel a lodger was ignored a fine of 20s would be levied.<sup>49</sup> The first presentment under this enactment occurred in 1577 when one Thomas West was ordered to remove Richard Rothe from his house and the householders of the town were ordered not to harbour him unless he brought his wife to live with him and gave evidence that he would not become a charge on the townspeople.<sup>50</sup> There were further presentments of inhabitants for taking inmates in 1581, 1589, 1590, and 1598.<sup>51</sup> When the statute of 1589 imposed a fine of 10s a month on any householder harbouring an inmate the court leet of Dedham, unlike that of Old Hall in East Bergholt, did not adopt this penalty but amerced householders at the previously fixed rate of 20s for each presentment.<sup>52</sup>

The 'Orders' of 1585 commanded that "none shall be suffred to remayne in the towne not havinge any callinge, that is not beinge a householder, nor retained of any." Even before this, in 1582, one Jeremy Browne was presented for failing to enter service though he had lived in the town for a year.<sup>53</sup> During the early seventeenth century the focus of concern seems to have become the building of cottages without the permission of the manorial lords. Three individuals were amerced by the court leet for this

offence in 1621 while two others were called before the quarter sessions in 1638.<sup>54</sup>

It appears that the measures taken by the inhabitants of Dedham to restrict the number of incomers met with some success. For in his Treatise of Love, which was published in 1629, John Rogers claimed that "God hath marvellously and mercifully rid us of ... the rogues" who had previously swarmed like a plague of locusts.<sup>55</sup>

The provision of poor relief might discourage the poor from committing crimes against property since it would establish bonds of obligation between them and their richer neighbours and also reduce the incentive to steal provided by the pinch of want. In addition the movements of the poor might come under increased surveillance from the parish officers who were responsible for their welfare. John Rogers admonished those who were appointed overseers to behave in such a way as to justify the title of their office, while the 'Orders' of 1585 provided for regular visitation of the "poore and chiefly the suspected places", by the constables of the town accompanied by the ministers and two or three of the chief inhabitants.<sup>56</sup> Even before this, during the 1570s, the constables frequently conducted searches of the houses of those suspected of pilfering.<sup>57</sup> That this vigilance might bring trouble upon those who exercised it is indicated by a petition addressed to the Court of Requests in 1586. The petitioner was Pearce Butter, one of the nine individuals who had subscribed the 'profession'. He claimed that having commandment from the justices to investigate a number of "pyllfares and petit

fellonies" committed by some "evill disposed" inhabitants of Dedham he searched a number of houses including one inhabited by a weaver called John Sadler whom he suspected of stealing yarn. Although he found some "yarne somewhat unlikelie for his trade and occupieng" and brought both it and Sadler before the nearest justice he was unable to prove that Sadler could not have come by the yarn in the lawful way of his trade. Sadler at once brought suit against Butter for carrying away his yarn. Butter argued that if this suit were not quashed "yt woulde be a thinge that would greatlie feare many of your highnes' dutifull ... subjectes from doinge their office and dutie."<sup>58</sup>

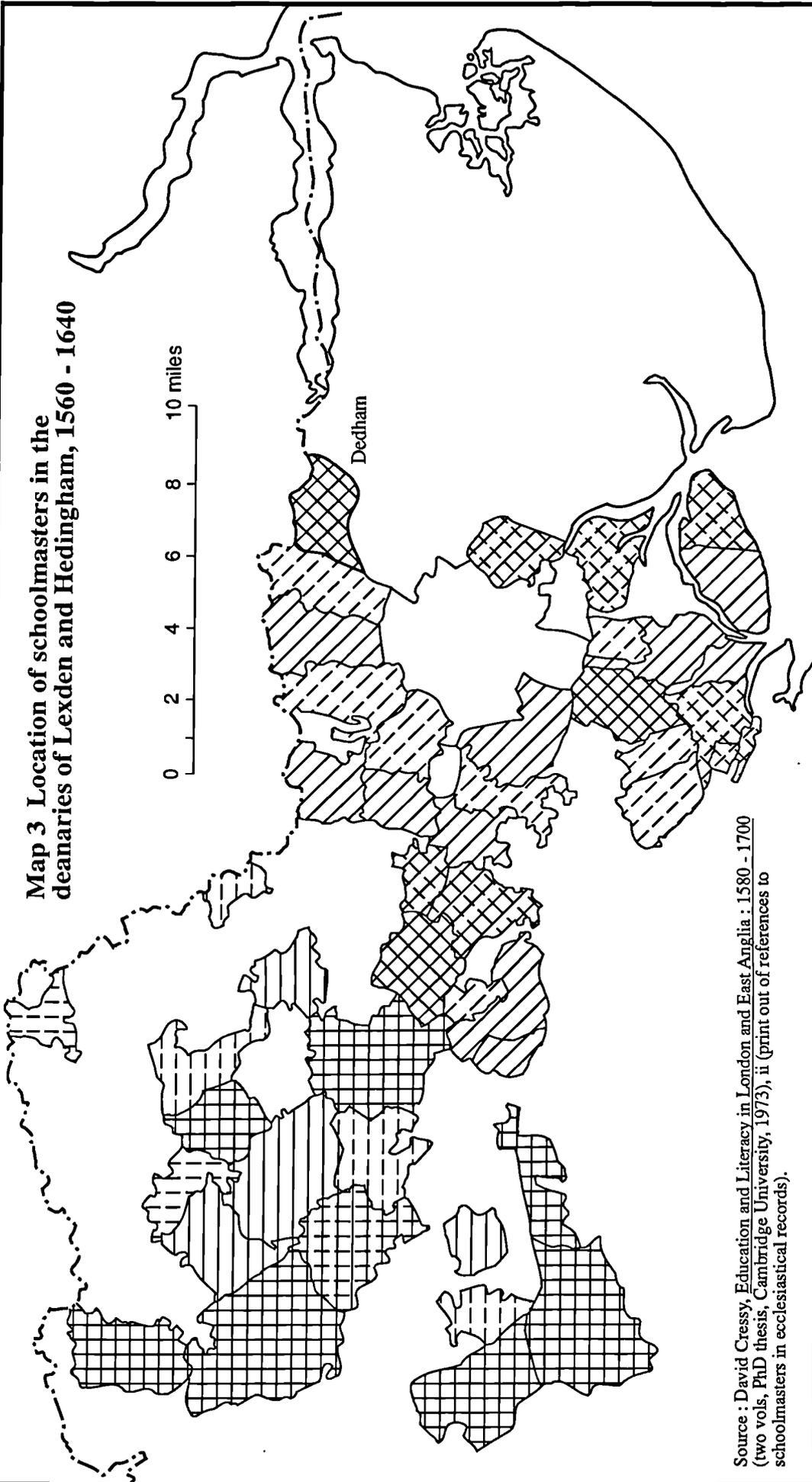
Despite the zeal of the constables in looking for evidence persons suspected of theft there were fewer indictments for cases of crimes against property at the assizes and quarter sessions involving inhabitants of Dedham than for cases involving inhabitants of the parish of Mistleigh and Manningtree, four miles away, with its considerably smaller population.<sup>59</sup> In all there were twenty five cases involving Dedham inhabitants, during the period under review, and thirty three involving inhabitants of Manningtree. Twenty nine inhabitants of Dedham committed such offences while twenty four were victims. For Manningtree the numbers included thirty two offenders and twenty six victims. In Manningtree ten of the offences were committed by inhabitants against outsiders while in seven cases the victims were inhabitants and the offenders outsiders. In Dedham the position was reversed, with outsiders committing offences against inhabitants on seven

occasions and townsmen victimizing outsiders in only two cases. In Dedham, though not in Manningtree, there were examples of individuals being indicted more than once. Thomas Ferne alias Lawrence, described at different times as being an inhabitant of Blackmore, of Takely and of Dedham, seems to have been something of an illustration stereotype of the dangerous vagabond. Convicted of grand larceny in 1580 he was allowed clergy but was indicted again the following year for burglary. Convicted a second time he would presumably have been hanged had not the justices mislaid the record of his previous conviction. It was therefore impossible to prove that he had already been granted clergy although the brand on his left thumb gave grounds for a strong presumption that he had been. Remanded in prison he was released by the beginning of 1584 when he was indicted again for two burglaries. On this occasion, however, he was acquitted. Two inhabitants of the town were indicted twice for larceny. Seven of the property offences in which inhabitants of Dedham were victims were thus the work of three individuals.<sup>60</sup>

Keith Thomas has argued that witchcraft accusations could arise through the accuser's displacement of feelings of guilt for having refused to satisfy the claims of charity towards a poorer neighbour. If his argument is correct the fact that only one inhabitant of Dedham was indicted for witchcraft, in a county notoriously witch haunted, may indicate that the claims of charity were in general heeded. Moreover the woman accused of this offence, Agnes Mills, was acquitted.<sup>61</sup>

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the gradual displacement of the custom of relying on voluntary alms giving for the relief of the poor by a system of relief managed by publicly accountable officials and based first on semi-compulsory collections and finally on fully compulsory rates. In Dedham the relief of the poor by overseers' rates was already well established by 1640, a fairly precocious adoption of the new approach. Personal initiative in the treatment of poverty, however, survived in the parish in the form of legacies to the poor, sometimes given in the form of funeral doles, and perhaps in the provision of the decorous hospitality enjoined in the 'Orders'. It would appear that the godly ministers did much to promote such informal relief despite the Reformed emphasis on public provision. For such informal relief would tend to create bonds of sympathy between benefactor and beneficiary while public relief would not have this effect. As John Rogers put it: "If we regard them, they will bear their poverty the better, and it will be a great chearing to them. There's nothing more comely, then for the wealthy to be thus affable and kinde to them."<sup>62</sup> If the low incidence of crimes against property involving inhabitants of Dedham may be in part ascribed to the vigilance of the parish officers it may also have been partly due to the existence of such bonds of sympathy.

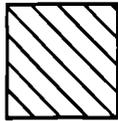
**Map 3 Location of schoolmasters in the deaneries of Lexden and Heddingham, 1560 - 1640**



Source: David Cressy, *Education and Literacy in London and East Anglia: 1580 - 1700* (two vols, PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1973), ii (print out of references to schoolmasters in ecclesiastical records).

## Location of schoolmasters in the deanaries of Lexden and Hedingham, 1560 - 1640

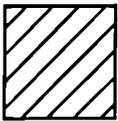
### LEGEND



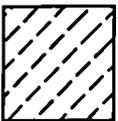
Indicates more than one reference to a teacher of elementary education in the ecclesiastical records in a parish in Lexden deanary



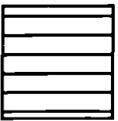
Indicates only one reference to an elementary teacher, in a parish of Lexden deanary



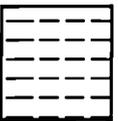
Indicates more than one reference to a teacher of grammar, in a parish of Lexden deanary



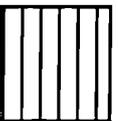
Indicates only one reference to a teacher of grammar, in a parish of Lexden deanary



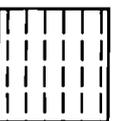
Indicates more than one reference to an elementary teacher, in a parish of Hedingham deanary



Indicates only one reference to an elementary teacher, in a parish of Hedingham deanary



Indicates more than one reference to a teacher of grammar in a parish of Hedingham deanary



Indicates only one reference to a teacher of grammar in a parish of Hedingham deanary

7. Education and literacy in Dedham  
and the Stour Valley: 1560 - 1640

In a seminal essay Laurence Stone argued that during the Elizabethan and Early Stuart period an educational revolution took place in England. During this period the chances for children to gain at least the rudiments of an education were enhanced by the rapidly growing number of schools. The increase in endowed schools during the period is attested by the report of the Schools Inquiry Commission. Between 1480 and 1559 there were 134 foundations of which at least fifteen were refoundations of chantry schools under the statute of 1547. During the seventy years that followed 256 schools were founded; a near doubling of the rate of foundation.<sup>1</sup>

Studies of particular localities have shown that the rise in endowments was accompanied by a mushrooming of private venture schools kept by graduates just down from college and by curates hoping to supplement their stipends.<sup>2</sup> Of the forty five parishes in Lexden deanary twenty eight are recorded in ecclesiastical memoranda as having possessed a schoolmaster at some point during the period 1580-1640 though only eighteen of these parishes are recorded as the possessor of a master on more than one occasion. The neighbouring deanary of Hedingham, which also contained forty five parishes, was rather less well provided with teachers, with eighteen parishes being mentioned as having a teacher of which thirteen were so mentioned more than once.

Lexden deanary was furnished with three endowed schools and Heddingham with two.<sup>3</sup>

Private venture schools tended to provide instruction in basic skills rather than a grammar school education. Since the vast majority of schoolchildren would not be able to proceed to university, instruction in how to "wright, reade, sise, singe and cast accompts" was likely to prove more useful than tuition in Latin and Greek.<sup>4</sup> Except for a privileged minority these parish schools were of greater significance than the better documented endowed schools with their emphasis on the classical languages.<sup>5</sup>

In Dedham however, the record of provision for education begins with the Grammar School. Indeed Dedham was ahead of Colchester in establishing such a school.<sup>6</sup> Sometime before her death in 1541 Dame Joan Clarke donated to the town a building on the eastern side of the church to be used as a schoolhouse. In September 1568, Thomas Seckford, the farmer of the manor of Dedham Hall, demised to the churchwardens another building to provide a house for a schoolmaster. William Littlebury, a wealthy native of Dedham who had recently risen into the ranks of the gentry through his purchase of the manor of Netherhall in the nearby parish of Bradfield, decided to found a free school which would utilise these messuages. In addition to other bequests to charitable uses given in a will he drew up in 1571 he assigned the possession of a large tenement in Bradfield called Ragmarsh to a group of twenty three men who were to hold it in trust for the payment of a stipend to a master who in return would teach twenty children of poor men

without exacting a fee of them. Five of the trustees were local gentlemen and the other eighteen were worthies of Dedham.<sup>7</sup>

Littlebury's will was contested by his widow but the trustees were able to get it proved by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Shortly afterwards, in the Spring of 1575, perhaps at the procurement of Thomas Seckford who was a master of request, Queen Elizabeth was induced to incorporate the trustees by Letters Patent as the governors of "the Free and Perpetual Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth in Dedham". The governors had the right to make ordinances for the government of the school, to hold land of up to £40 in annual value and to choose their own successors. Since Littlebury, in his will, had given the vicar (together with his executors) the right to appoint and displace schoolmasters the current vicar, John Worth, was constituted a governor along with the trustees.<sup>8</sup>

In 1575 the annual value of Ragmarsh amounted to £20 and master of the Free School would receive a stipend to that amount. Since in 1585 the master of Colchester Grammar School was assigned a salary of £16 a year Dedham was again ahead of its great neighbour. According to the tenor of Littlebury's will the Dedham master might supplement his earnings by taking fee paying pupils in addition to the twenty free scholars but if he did so he had to find an usher to assist him since "the number of twenty is sufficient for one man to teach well." The statutes drawn up by the governors in 1579 were more generous and allowed the master to instruct up to ten fee paying children without

being obliged to provide himself with an assistant.

Ecclesiastical records indicate that at least two of the first four schoolmasters employed ushers. William Bentley, one of these two, retained two such undermasters. This fact indicates that a good number of townsmen were happy to pay a fee to have their children instructed in the classical languages.<sup>9</sup>

Article five of the foundation statutes provided that the master should if possible be a Master of Arts but must at least possess a degree superior to that of Bachelor of Arts. Of the ten masters retained between 1575 and 1639 eight were in fact M.A.s.<sup>10</sup> Evidently the stipend of £20 per annum was sufficiently generous to attract men of the desired proficiency in learning. Indeed the vicar of Dedham received only £30 a year during the first decade of the seventeenth century and his benefice, though not rich, was not exceptionally poor either.<sup>11</sup>

J.P. Anglin has pointed out that the fact that foundation statutes were held to express the intent of the founders of the schools made it very difficult for the governors of endowed schools to alter the provisions of such statutes so that governing bodies tended to be unresponsive to changing conditions. In Dedham the stipend of the schoolmaster remained fixed at £20 a year even though the annual value of Ragmarsh had risen from £20 in 1575 to £35 by 1595. Respect for the letter of the foundation statutes gave the governors a handsome revenue surplus which was used for meeting occasional expenses such as charges for the repair of the school building and the costs of a number of

items of town business.<sup>12</sup> Richard Humphrey, who became schoolmaster at the end of 1599, believed that he was entitled to all the revenue derived from Ragmarsh and in May 1610 addressed a petition to the court of Chancery. He complained that part of the rent of that tenement was being denied him and for good measure claimed that the governors were defrauding him in other ways. As a result of this petition the governors were called before the commissioners for charitable uses who instructed them to raise the schoolmaster's stipend to £25 a year. The governors, who had been trying to get rid of Humphrey since the end of 1607, gave him an ex gratia payment of £55 and he left to become curate of Much Hadham in Hertfordshire. This was not, however, the end of argument about the proper employment of the revenue of Ragmarsh. In 1649 the Council of State recorded a complaint from the then schoolmaster of Dedham that the governors denied him £5 a year of the rent of that property as well as the profits from the sale of its timber.<sup>13</sup>

In his Description of England (which was first published in 1577) William Harrison, who was rector of Radwinter which was about thirty miles from Dedham, complained that where grammar schools provided exhibitions for the maintenance of poor scholars who wished to attend university "poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort received (who in time past thought it dishonor to live as it were upon almes)." This practice is observable at Dedham. According to the School Register book exhibitions to the University of Cambridge from Dedham were

first provided during the 1590s out of the surplus revenue from Ragmarsh. (Littlebury had intended to establish an exhibition to complement his endowment of the Grammar School but because of the lawsuit against his widow his bequest to this end failed to take effect.) In 1598 William Cardinall bequeathed a rent charge of £10 a year to his brother in law Edmund Chapman with the proviso that after Chapman's death it was to be used to establish an endowment for the maintenance of students at *Cambridge deriving either from Dedham or from Cardinall's home parish of Bromley Magna*. According to a note made by the governors, Cardinall did this "as a testimony of his love springing from his religion and faith". Chapman died in November 1602 and in 1604 two boys from the Grammar School were chosen to receive the revenue from the rent charge which would be divided between them during their sojourn at the University.<sup>14</sup>

The School Register Book records that between 1594 and 1650 fourteen individuals received grants from the governors towards their maintenance at the University of Cambridge. Of these eight were children of members of the parish elite (five of the eight being children of Grammar School governors while three of the remainder were sons of the Dedham lecturers Edmund Chapman and John Rogers). Clearly these grants towards the maintenance of university students were hardly an avenue of social mobility for the children of the poor.<sup>15</sup>

Before condemning the devotion of these grants towards the education of the children of the comparatively rich it is important to consider whether they could in fact

have provided the child of a poor family with the means to maintain himself as a student. According to Laurence Stone it cost £20 a year for a man to live in Cambridge as a battler (the class of students immediately below commoner) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. An exhibition financed from Cardinal's endowment would have provided only a quarter of such a man's living expenses. Such an exhibition amounted to an income supplement rather than a basis for subsistence. Despite Cardinal's pro forma declaration that his endowment was to be used to support "poor scholars" his intention was probably rather to promote godly preaching by providing assistance to the sons of the clergy and to those children of the middling sort who aspired to enter the ministry.<sup>16</sup>

The parish notables of Dedham seem to have reserved the majority of the twenty places for free scholars for their own children. This is harder to justify than their use of the exhibitions since the richer inhabitants would not have crippled themselves financially if they paid a 20s a year fee for the education of each of their children while the children of the poor were deprived of an opportunity to receive instruction in the branch of learning which was most highly esteemed by the people of that time. Perhaps they justified their conduct to themselves by the argument that the children of the poor would receive an education more suitable to their station from the master of the English School.<sup>17</sup>

Grammar Schools admitted only those who had already learned to read and write.<sup>18</sup> A grammar school thus made

necessary the existence of schools for elementary instruction. Here those destined to learn the classical languages would master English letters while the other pupils would receive a basic education which would enable them "to read common prayers at church and set down common prices in the market, write a letter and make a bond". Despite such considerations however there seems to have been no impetus among the inhabitants of Dedham to establish an elementary school until the period of parish reformation sponsored by the Dedham Conference. The Orders agreed between Chapman, Parker and the ancients of the town provided that no householder should take an apprentice who could not read English, that all the children of the parish should be taught to read and that a moiety of the money offered by parishioners at Communion should "be employed for the teaching of such poore mens children as shalbe judged unable to bear it themselves."<sup>19</sup> The Orders also specified that a school house should be provided for elementary instruction and a reference to the new school building in a Dedham Hall rental of 1592 indicates that this was done. In 1595 the Vicar General's book for the diocese of London attests the presence in Dedham of a man engaged in the teaching of reading and writing. In 1599 the Grammar School governor Edmund Sherman bequeathed the reversion of a tenement to provide a dwelling house for the elementary school's master. In 1603 the surviving governor agreed to provide a stipend for Mr Hargrave the English schoolmaster. He was to receive £3 6s 8d each year in return for instructing six free scholars. This stipend was not paid

after 1608 and it is likely that Mr Hargrave left the parish at that time<sup>20</sup>. However the governors continued to take responsibility for the English school since they paid for the maintenance of the buildings and provided the masters with the occasional pourboire.<sup>21</sup> Lionel Chute, who was resident in the parish in 1614 and was still there in 1639, brought to the office of English master the dignity attendant upon age and experience though these qualities did not serve to grant him inclusion among the parish notables.<sup>22</sup>

In East Bergholt, across the river from Dedham, the first record of the existence of a school is the episcopal licence given to one Richard Ravens, B.A., to teach grammar to the children of that town. He probably did this for nine years before removing to become master of the Dedham Grammar School in 1593. The name of his successor is not recorded but the continuing existence of the school is attested by the will of John Goodwin which was drawn up in May 1600. Goodwin bequeathed £8 for the augmentation of a stock for the maintenance of the Grammar School. The Mr Bird who prepared John Pearce for his matriculation at Gonville and Caius College in 1619 was presumably a later master of the Grammar School.<sup>23</sup>

At first the East Bergholt School lacked an endowment but in 1589 the widow Lettice Dykes enfeoffed a group of twenty seven trustees with the reversion of thirty acres of land in the parish of Langham together with a messuage in Colchester. Of the revenues arising from these properties £6 was to be used to pay for the education of six poor

children of East Bergholt in the classical tongues. Forty shillings more were to be bestowed each year on the classical education of two poor children from either of the parishes of Stratford St Mary and Langham which abutted on the western and south eastern borders of East Bergholt respectively. A further forty shillings a year was to be employed to teach six poor children of East Bergholt to read and write. Lettice Dykes thus rated the cost of an elementary education as being only one third of the price of a grammar school course. (In 1603 the Dedham Grammar School governors assessed its cost at half the price of tuition in grammar.)<sup>24</sup>

Lettice Dykes' gift did not become effective until after her death in 1608. In the meantime Edward Lambe, who was lord of the manors of Spencers and Illaries granted a rood of land in the second manor for the erection of a schoolhouse which was built at the joint cost of himself and the chief inhabitants of the town. On 25 September 1594 he made deed of feoffment of this property to forty individuals of whom seventeen were trustees of Lettice Dykes' endowment. The final addition to the resources of the school was made by Christopher Burrough, who had drawn up Lettice Dykes' grant. On his death in 1607 Burrough bequeathed £20 to provide a stock for the maintenance of two students of grammar at the school. In this piecemeal fashion the inhabitants of East Bergholt gradually established a grammar school foundation to rival that possessed by the people of Dedham.<sup>25</sup>

What was the character of education in Dedham? There

is little direct evidence for the course of education followed by elementary schoolmasters. However the order in which the duties of John Hargrave were specified in 1603 suggests that he followed the procedure set out by the contemporary writers on education whereby the pupil was first taught to read by laboriously spelling out the letters of words and only then went on to learn writing and figuring.<sup>26</sup>

Pupils at Dedham Grammar School were of course expected to read the Classical authors. In writing a reference for his former student William Bentley, then schoolmaster at Dedham, William Hawes asserted that many of those he taught were, in the year of the Armada, "well exercised in Virgill and Horace, ... in Homer, a Greke poet, in Socrates, a Greke orator, and in Tullie and Cesar, the best authors for Roman eloquence". By the middle of the seventeenth century the pupils had access to such notable contemporary works as Gerardus Vossius' Rhetorica and Joseph Scaliger's Chronology as well as the antique Romans.<sup>27</sup> Nathaniel Rogers remembered the school which had helped to provide for his education at Cambridge by giving it a proverbial dictionary on the eve of his emigration to New England.<sup>28</sup>

In an influential article R.S. Schofield argued that ability to sign was the best available test of literacy since it provided a standard of measurement suitably for comparison between different time periods or distinct social groups. Given the character of elementary instruction in England anybody who could sign their name was almost certain

to be able to read although those who could read might well have failed to master writing. Hence the measurement of ability to sign would tend to underestimate literacy rather than to overestimate it.<sup>29</sup>

For the parishes of Dedham and East Bergholt the signatures or marks of witnesses to wills proved for parishioners together with those of deponents in ecclesiastical courts and of men making presentments to manorial leets or quarter sessions have been used to establish the extent of illiteracy. From such evidence the literacy of 152 male inhabitants of East Bergholt and 269 male inhabitants from Dedham, for the period, 1560-1650, may be established.<sup>30</sup>

Of sixty nine members of the parish elite recorded for Dedham only three made their marks rather than signing while in East Bergholt two out of the twenty two members of elite where subscriptions are recorded showed evidence of illiteracy.<sup>31</sup> This near universal literacy aligned the parish notables of Dedham and East Bergholt with the gentlemen and clergy of the home counties rather than with the yeomen or tradesmen between a quarter and a half of whom were illiterate during the period 1580-1700. That the parish notables of Dedham were already fully literate may help to explain why so many of them wished to see their sons acquire a grammar school or even a university education and so be able further to explore the world of learning which the fathers had already entered.<sup>32</sup>

Allowing a time lag of twenty years between the admission of a pupil to school and his beginning to play a part in the business of the parish as manorial juror or

Table 7.1

Dedham and East Bergholt: Changes in illiteracy among the inhabitants, 1560-1650.

Decade	Dedham					
	Elite		Other males		Women	
	Number sampled	Number illit- erate	Number sampled	Number illit- erate	Number sampled	Number illit- erate
1570-9	10	1	24	15	-	-
1580-9	10	-	31	10	-	-
1590-9	8	1	38	6	2	-
1600-9	11	-	8	4	5	4
1610-19	6	-	21	9	1	1
1620-9	19	1	37	13	2	2
1630-9	6	-	25	1	4	4
1640-9	-	-	15	5	4	4

## East Bergholt

Decade	East Bergholt					
	Elite		Other males		Women	
	Number sampled	Number illit- erate	Number sampled	Number illit- erate	Number sampled	Number illit- erate
1560-9	1	-	7	-	-	-
1570-9	1	-	5	4	-	-
1580-9	4	-	21	7	2	2
1590-9	2	-	8	2	4	4
1600-9	4	-	18	6	-	-
1610-19	3	1	23	8	-	-
1620-9	4	1	25	18	1	1
1630-9	4	-	23	10	6	5

witness to a will the result upon literacy of the move to establish an English school during the 1580s would not be felt until the 1600s.<sup>33</sup> The great decline in the illiteracy of townsmen of Dedham outside the parish elite between the period from 1570-89 and the period from 1590-1609 would seem to bear witness to the effectiveness of the campaign to curtail illiteracy which was begun under the aegis of the Dedham Conference. Despite the encouragement given to the elementary school during the first decade of the seventeenth century however the two decades following 1610 witnessed a noticeable rise in illiteracy although this depressing trend was reversed after 1630. By the mid seventeenth century the great majority of the inhabitants of Dedham seem to have been literate.<sup>34</sup>

In East Bergholt on the other hand an apparently low level of illiteracy among the mass of parishioners, during the Elizabethan period, gave place to a much higher level during the early seventeenth century. The absence of references to elementary teaching in East Bergholt in the ecclesiastical records does not prove that Lettice Dykes' grant towards such teaching was abortive since such records are far from being comprehensive in their listing of schoolmasters.<sup>35</sup> However the inference that an upward drift in illiteracy among the humbler parishioners of East Bergholt was associated with inadequate provision of elementary education in the town is a reasonable one.<sup>36</sup>

According to David Cressy's researches women were almost universally illiterate until the last quarter of the seventeenth century since it was supposed that their

husbands' literacy would be sufficient for the economic and religious welfare of their households. The scanty evidence for female literacy provided by marks and signatures made by women from Dedham and East Bergholt indicates that these towns were not exceptions to the general rule despite the notable contribution to the provision of education there of two women, Lettice Dykes and Dame Joan Clark. In Dedham female deponents and witnesses to wills were unable to sign their names in fifteen out of eighteen recorded instances. In East Bergholt the proportion was two out of thirteen. Lettice Dykes, who endowed the grammar school in East Bergholt was unable to sign her name.<sup>37</sup>

David Cressy has divided the impulses making for increased literacy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into push factors and pull factors. The exhortations of clergy and writers on education, directing their readers to acquire literacy for the good of their souls or (more rarely) their pocket books, count as a push factor. So does the provision of new educational facilities. The pull factor was the perception by certain social groups, in particular geographical areas, of a need to acquire the ability to read and write; a perception which was usually generated by economic pressures.<sup>38</sup> How far can the acquisition of literacy by the inhabitants of Dedham be explained according to this dichotomy? One push factor was the character of the cloth industry in Dedham which extended a web of credit between merchant, clothier and weaver.

In these circumstances the ability to understand a bond would come to be perceived as a necessity by those

involved in cloth manufacture and the other inhabitants of the town would be swayed by their example.<sup>39</sup> However this argument fails to explain why East Bergholt, like Dedham a centre of cloth production, failed to achieve a similar level of literacy. In any case loans secured by bonds seem to have been commonplace even in wholly agrarian parishes.<sup>40</sup>

The Protestant emphasis on Bible reading, once assimilated by a church goer to become part of his mental make up, could become as much a pull as a push factor. Once the lecture had become an important factor in the social life of Dedham the alert townsman would want to know what it was all about and this would entail enough Bible study to enable him to follow the argument of each sermon, so implanting a need for the townsman to master reading.<sup>41</sup>

The provision of facilities for elementary education by the parish notables of Dedham, niggardly though this was compared to the resources devoted to the maintenance of a grammar school which was almost entirely devoted to the education of the children of notables and clergy, provided the essential push factor without which the need felt by the inhabitants to acquire literacy could not become effective. When the congregation of Dedham was informed that illiteracy was a "block to hinder [men] from goodness" there appears to have been general acceptance that the argument was sound and that the block must be removed.<sup>42</sup>

## 8. Kinship and neighbourhood in Dedham: 1560 - 1650

Kinship and neighbourhood constitute two distinct but overlapping forms of social linkage. Blood ties are not severed by geographical separation and acknowledgement of them may persist despite the intervention of great distances. In the seventeenth century individuals in Suffolk and Essex maintained contact with kinsfolk who had emigrated to New England.<sup>1</sup> Neighbours, on the other hand, necessarily live in close proximity to each other. In early modern England they made use of this proximity to participate in the major occasions of each others lives, lent each other utensils and helped each other in adversity.<sup>2</sup> Recent historians have argued that links with neighbours were of more significance to the people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than were those with their kin outside the nuclear family. The documents which have been used to test this proposition include wills, which record the names of those considered sufficiently important by the testator to receive a legacy or to be appointed executor or supervisor, and records of compurgators and recognizance sureties.<sup>3</sup>

229 wills of inhabitants of the parish of Dedham, drawn up between 1560 and 1650, have been examined. For purposes of comparison 215 wills of testators from the neighbouring parish of East Bergholt, made during the same period, have also been utilised.<sup>4</sup> Forty one of the Dedham testators were female as were thirty seven of those from East Bergholt. Both the number of testators remembering

categories of kin outside their nuclear families and the per capita figures for the acknowledgement of these second and third order kin tended to be markedly higher in Dedham than in its neighbour parish. Thus in Dedham sixty four testators (28% of the total) mentioned one or more of their brothers while only thirty nine (16%) of the testators from East Bergholt did so. Similarly nephews and nieces were acknowledged by forty seven Dedham testators (21%) but only by twenty three will makers from East Bergholt (11%). Among affines both brothers in law and sons in law received recognition from more than 10% of testators in Dedham and less than 10% of them in East Bergholt. Indeed only just over 5% of East Bergholt will makers mentioned sons in law. Acknowledgement of female affines was uncommon among testators in both parishes the discrepancy presumably reflecting the position of the husband as head of the household.

The relation of spiritual kinship implied in the tie between godparent and godchild was acknowledged by one in ten among Dedham testators but only by one in fifty of those from East Bergholt. The importance given to the fact of godparenthood in Dedham is perhaps surprising given the trend in Reformed doctrine towards deprecating the institution of baptismal sponsor as tending to obscure the responsibility of the parents for the religious instruction of their offspring. The inhabitants of Dedham were clearly not embarrassed about what Ralph Josselin considered the 'tolerable absurdity' of godparentage. Mrs Dorothy Rogers, the widow of the lecturer John Rogers, left six shillings

and eight pence to each of her three godchildren to buy them bibles and made the same provision for her grandchildren.<sup>5</sup>

The figures for per capita acknowledgement of brothers and sisters by Dedham testators are almost equal to those derived from a sample of Essex wills of the Elizabethan period by David Cressy, the Dedham figures being slightly lower. Per capita acknowledgement of nieces and nephews and of cousins is considerably greater among Cressy's testators than among those from Dedham but the level of per capita mention of grandchildren is higher in the Dedham wills than in those of the sample.<sup>6</sup> Like the number of testators acknowledging kin outside the nuclear family the per capita recognition of the categories of second and third order kin is less among East Bergholt will makers than it is among those from Dedham. There are exceptions. About the same number of cousins per head are recognised in East Bergholt as in Dedham while the figure for 'kinsmen' is actually higher in the Suffolk parish. Perhaps East Bergholt testators were less precise in their categorizing of their kin. The variation in the incidence of acknowledgement of second and third order kin between contiguous parishes shows how much the attitude of testators could be altered by local factors. Within a larger area such as a county discrepancies were probably even greater. The testators of Terling were even less inclined to remember kinship ties in their wills than those of East Bergholt were.<sup>7</sup>

Female testators in Dedham acknowledged fewer kinsfolk per capita in categories outside the nuclear family

than their male counterparts did. They did however attach greater importance to godchildren with 0.41 mentioned per head as opposed to 0.31 by the males. The tendency to remember fewer kin does not, however, seem to have been the result of the fact that women would tend to possess less disposable property than men since in East Bergholt the situation was reversed with women remembering more kin the testators as a whole did. Acknowledgement of godchildren which was rare among all East Bergholt testators, was not practised at all by the women of that parish.

The hypothesis that the wealth and rank of testators might have influenced the extent of their recognition of kin was tested by comparing the bequests of the clothiers with those of the testators as a whole. Fifty two will makers from Dedham and forty of those from East Bergholt described themselves as clothiers. As a group the clothiers were considerably richer than the testators in general. The mean monetary bequest of East Bergholt clothiers amounted to £345.1 and that of all testators to £128.1. The figures for the Dedham will makers amounted to £430.6 among the clothiers and £136.4 among the testators as a whole. Records of tax assessments indicate that of the thirty Dedham clothiers whose assessments are recorded six belonged to the highest group of tax payers, defined as Category I by Wrightson and Levine, and twenty one to the second group, Category II; with three assigned to the two lower categories, III and IV. In the population as a whole, only 28% of the subsidy payers of 1524/5 and 41% of the hearth tax payers of 1671 belonged to the upper two categories.<sup>8</sup>

Table 8.1

Dedham testators. Numbers of testators making bequests to kin Categories, 1560 - 1650.

Category	All Testators Total	229	Women 41	Clothiers 52	Testators without children 48
Fathers	8		1	1	4
Mothers	5		1	1	2
Wives & husbands	115		3	32	12
Sons	150		33	39	-
Daughters	136		33	44	-
Grandchn.	55		16	13	2
Brothers	64		7	25	22
Sisters	49		5	16	21
Nephews & Nieces	47		4	13	14
Uncles	5		-	2	3
Aunts	6		-	2	5
Cousins	22		1	12	5
Fathers in law	2		-	1	1
Mothers in law	2		-	1	-
Sons in law	33		8	14	2
Daughters in law	9		3	3	-
Brothers in law	30		3	16	7
Sisters in law	5		8	2	3
Unspecified Kinsmen	15		1	8	4
Godchildren	22		6	6	8
Stepchildren	11		1	4	4

Table 8.2

East Bergholt testators. Numbers of testators making bequests to kin Categories, 1560 - 1650.

Category	All Testators Total	215	Women 37	Clothiers 41	Testators without children 48
Fathers	2		-	-	2
Mothers	1		1	-	-
Wives & husbands	118		1	28	10
Sons	144		25	33	-
Daughters	128		23	25	-
Grandchn.	40		16	9	3
Brothers	34		6	19	18
Sisters	23		5	9	13
Nephews & Nieces	23		4	10	18
Uncles	7		1	5	3
Aunts	2		-	1	2
Cousins	16		2	10	6
Fathers in law	5		1	3	1
Mothers in law	1		-	-	-
Sons in law	11		5	2	3
Daughters in law	7		5	1	-
Brothers in law	20		4	10	7
Sisters in law	11		1	1	3
Unspecified Kinsmen	11		4	9	8
Godchildren	4		1	3	4
Stepchildren	5		-	1	-

Table 8.3

Dedham testators. Per capita acknowledgements of members of kin Categories, 1560 - 1650.

Category	All Testators	Women	Clothiers	Testators without children
Fathers	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.1
Mothers	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.08
Wives & husbands	0.73	0.07	0.63	0.29
Sons	1.49	1.53	1.96	-
Daughters	1.31	1.81	1.87	-
Grandchn.	1.14	1.30	1.21	-
Brothers	0.44	0.35	0.79	0.75
Sisters	0.38	0.28	0.73	0.85
Nephews & Nieces	0.58	0.33	0.81	1.56
Uncles	0.04	-	0.06	0.15
Aunts	0.03	-	0.04	0.15
Cousins	0.21	0.19	0.31	0.31
Fathers in law	0.01	-	0.02	-
Mothers in law	0.01	-	0.02	-
Sons in law	0.21	0.19	0.37	-
Daughters in law	0.04	0.21	0.12	-
Brothers in law	0.16	0.14	0.38	0.13
Sisters in law	0.03	-	0.02	0.08
Unspecified Kinsmen	0.12	0.09	0.21	0.13
Godchildren	0.31	0.42	0.33	0.38
Stepchildren	0.12	0.09	0.23	0.15

Table 8.4

East Bergholt testators. Per capita acknowledgements of members of kin Categories, 1560 - 1650.

Category	All Testators	Women	Clothiers	Testators without children
Fathers	0.05	0.03	-	0.04
Mothers	0.01	-	-	-
Wives & husbands	0.64	0.03	0.63	0.27
Sons	1.32	1.08	1.83	-
Daughters	1.37	1.14	1.20	-
Grandchn.	0.34	1.16	1.03	0.13
Brothers	0.22	0.24	0.53	0.80
Sisters	0.16	0.32	0.50	0.74
Nephews & Nieces	0.42	0.43	1.53	2.45
Uncles	0.02	0.03	0.23	0.13
Aunts	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.07
Cousins	0.22	0.14	0.90	0.70
Fathers in law	0.03	0.03	0.08	0.02
Mothers in law	0.01	-	-	-
Sons in law	0.05	0.16	0.13	0.04
Daughters in law	0.02	0.11	0.03	0.02
Brothers in law	0.14	0.11	0.55	0.28
Sisters in law	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.04
Unspecified Kinsmen	0.18	0.24	0.45	0.59
Godchildren	0.02	-	0.13	0.15
Stepchildren	0.02	-	0.05	-

In both parishes wealth was positively associated with the recognition of kin outside the nuclear family. The Dedham clothiers acknowledged 1.59 individuals in the six groups; brothers, sisters, cousins, nieces and nephews, kinsfolk and godchildren; for each individual remembered by the testators as a whole. Excluding godchildren and retaining only the five natural kin groups the ratio was 1.64:1. In East Bergholt the difference between the clothiers and the testators as a whole was much greater. The ratio for the six groups was 3.41:1 for the six groups and 3.31:1 for the five groups. Dedham clothiers acknowledged 1.25 individuals belonging to the six groups for each one mentioned by the clothiers of East Bergholt while among the natural kin the ratio was 1.42:1 since East Bergholt clothiers too paid little attention to godchildren.

In the Leicestershire parish of Kibworth Harcourt only those who were not responsible for providing for the livelihood of wives or children diverged significantly from the norm in remembering kin outside the nuclear family.<sup>9</sup> Clearly this was not the case in Dedham or East Bergholt. Indeed in these two parishes the divergence between the clothiers and the testators as a whole was greater than that between the clothiers and those who did not mention children in their wills. Of these testators without responsibility for children there were forty six in East Bergholt and forty eight in Dedham. In the Suffolk parish members of this latter group mentioned 1.4 individuals belonging to the six groups for each one mentioned by a clothier and the ratio for acknowledgement of the natural kin was identical. In

Dedham the corresponding ratios were 1.31:1 for individuals belonging to the six groups and 1.34:1 for natural kin.

As in Terling the majority of executors in the two parishes tended to be first order kin, chiefly wives and children. In East Bergholt wives constituted 35% of the 244 executors appointed. Sons made up 20% of the total and brothers, the next largest group, 10%. Those unrelated by kinship, affinity or step parentage made up 20% of the total, a higher percentage than that recorded for Terling.<sup>10</sup> In Dedham 23% of the 256 executors were not related to the testator. Again wives made up the most numerous group with 29% of the total with sons making up 24% and brothers 7%. Sons in law were also fairly important with 5% of the total. Daughters, brothers in law, sisters, uncles, cousins, kinsmen, husbands, daughters in law, stepchildren and fathers all served as executors for Dedham testators on between one and eight occasions. With the exception of cousins members of these groups were also appointed executors in East Bergholt from time to time while one mother and one father in law were also appointed executor there.

Of those individuals unrelated to the testator who were appointed executor nine in the parish of Dedham were so appointed on two or more occasions as were four from East Bergholt. Those unrelated to the testator were sometimes reluctant to accept an appointment to the onerous office of executor for the true performance of which they would, as the East Bergholt testator Roger Savage reminded them, be answerable "at the dreadfull daye of judgment". When

Table 8.5

Executors and supervisors appointed by testators of Dedham,  
1560 - 1650.

Category	Total	Executors 256	Supervisors 58
Fathers		2	-
Mothers		-	-
Husbands & Wives		75	-
Sons		61	2
Daughters		6	-
Brothers		19	2
Uncles		1	2
Nephews		-	1
Cousins		7	4
Fathers in law		-	-
Sons in law		13	6
Daughters in law		1	-
Brothers in law		8	7
Unspecified Kinsmen		1	-
Stepsons		1	-
Non-kin		61	34

Table 8.6

Executors and supervisors appointed by testators of East Bergholt, 1560 - 1650.

Category	Total	Executors 255	Supervisors 49
Fathers		1	-
Mothers		1	-
Husbands & Wives		89	-
Sons		52	-
Daughters		10	-
Brothers		26	4
Uncles		1	-
Nephews		4	-
Cousins		-	2
Fathers in law		1	1
Sons in law		9	1
Daughters in law		2	-
Brothers in law		6	7
Unspecified Kinsmen		2	1
Stepsons		-	-
Non-kin		51	33

Christopher Lewis of East Bergholt nominated two unrelated men as executors in 1647 they renounced the appointment and gave the administration of the will to a kinswoman of the testator.<sup>11</sup>

The supervisor of a will, unlike the executor, was seldom a kinsman and almost never a member of the nuclear family of the testator. This was partly because supervisor was a much less important office. Indeed only a small minority of testators in Dedham and East Bergholt specifically nominated such an officer. In the Essex parish thirty nine testators did so as did thirty seven of those from East Bergholt. Of the forty nine supervisors nominated in East Bergholt and the fifty eight chosen in Dedham only two individuals, chosen in Dedham, were members of the testators' nuclear families. 71% of the supervisors chosen in East Bergholt and 59% of those picked in Dedham were unrelated to the testator by kinship or affinity. In selecting a supervisor unrelated to himself the Dedham testator tended to choose a man of wealth and this was also true of the selection of executors. Of eighty three choices of unrelated individuals for these offices at least 48% were men whose tax assessments placed them in categories I and II. This was even more the case with those chosen to serve in each capacity or more than once in one of them. At least ten of the sixteen individuals so chosen belonged to the top two categories. Of the remaining four two were clergymen. The long serving vicar of Dedham, Thomas Cottesford, served twice as supervisor and so did the Dedham lecturer John Rogers.<sup>12</sup>

Wrightson and Levine employed records of recognizance sureties and compurgators as evidence of the importance of neighbourly ties.<sup>13</sup> The fifty one recognizances given by inhabitants of Dedham to justices of the peace between 1560 and 1650 show the inhabitants of Dedham exploiting ties of occupational solidarity and links with members of the parish elite just as those of Terling did. There were five cases in which one man employed in cloth production acted as surety for another similarly employed, four of the recognizances being for the appearance of the party at quarter sessions and one being for the licensing of an alehouse. Of the total of sixty four sureties for ale house keepers eighteen were other alehouse keepers. At one licensing session Henry Creak acted as surety for Edward Pexwell and Edward Pexwell acted as surety for Henry Creak. At another Robert Damsell acted as surety for Robert Laye and vice versa.<sup>14</sup> Members of the parish elite, as defined by the holding of the offices of Grammar School Governor, churchwarden, or overseer of the poor, made up thirty five of a total number of ninety eight sureties. The number of individual members of the parish elite who acted as surety was only thirteen however. This was because six of these thirteen filled this position more than once. Thomas Rande, churchwarden in 1610, acted as surety for eight different people and his friend Robert Rande, churchwarden in 1608, acted for the same number. No other member of the parish elite acted on more than three occasions.<sup>15</sup>

Two men of Dedham, Robert Turner the glazier and John Bundocke the alehouse keeper, who had acquired a reputation

for disorderly conduct, seem to have been ostracised by their neighbours and were compelled to rely on individuals living outside Dedham to act as their sureties. Their recognizances provided twelve of the eighteen non residents of Dedham who acted as sureties for inhabitants of the town during this period.<sup>16</sup>

Ill fame however, did not inhibit a man from acting as surety himself. John Bundocke so acted twice for Edmund Payne of the neighbouring parish of Lawford and once for his crony Edward Wilkenson. Robert Turner acted for one Edward Keeler who had earlier been imprisoned because of his inability to find sufficient sureties for his appearance at quarter sessions.<sup>17</sup>

Only three sureties from Dedham were clearly related to the party by kinship or affinity. This appears to indicate that the use of kin as sureties was less common in Dedham than it was in Terling although the fact cannot be regarded as certain since the gaps in the Dedham parish register may mean that some individuals used affines or kinsmen as sureties without this being apparent.

The six recorded compurgations of inhabitants of Dedham in the archdeaconry court of Colchester give the names of eighteen compurgators. None of them was certainly a kinsman or affine of the party he acted for. Again at least one man of ill fame acted as a character witness. John Maidstone, who helped to purge Daniel Orris of the charge of incest in 1632 had himself been detected for incontinency in 1618 and was to be detected again for a similar offence in 1633.<sup>18</sup> There may have been an official

presumption that kin or affines were less trustworthy as character witnesses or keepers for their relatives because the blood tie would tend to bias them in their favour. Ecclesiastical judges generally inquired whether witnesses were of "affinity or consanguinity" to their principals.<sup>19</sup>

How much can be determined from wills about the social ties of the godly in Dedham? The bequest of legacies to ministers living outside that parish would indicate that the testators habitually attended services in other parishes, that they were appreciative hearers of the sermons given by strange ministers who preached at the Dedham lecture, or, as in the case of Robert Alefounder who left £30 with which to buy impropriations when he died in 1630, that they were concerned to improve the financial condition of the clergy.<sup>20</sup> Such activities and attitudes proclaimed the zealous professor. Fourteen Dedham will makers left such bequests.<sup>21</sup> Of the number only two drew up a will before 1610 while eight made theirs between 1620 and 1650.<sup>22</sup> Eleven of the testators were men and three were women. There was a considerable amount of interrelationship among them. One testator was the widow of another and in all eight of the fourteen were connected to at least one other among that number by kinship or affinity. Of the eight two were related to one other only, and two others to two, three and four of the fourteen respectively. The testators were among the richer inhabitants of the town. Their mean bequest was £644 and of the eleven men eight belonged to categories I and II, the taxable wealth of the others being unknown. Eight of the men, and the husbands of two of the

women, acted as Grammar School Governor and so belonged to the parish elite.<sup>23</sup>

The most striking feature about the wills of this group is the number of individuals unrelated to the testators by kinship, affinity, godparenthood and stepparenthood, remembered by them. Not counting their bequests to clergy, which numbered fifty nine, they made 9.21 references per capita to this negatively defined group as opposed to 2.56 per capita among the testators of Dedham as a whole and 1.67 among those of East Bergholt.

The mass of non relatives can be broken down into sub groups. Thus members of the fourteen made four mentions of unrelated individuals who also belonged to that number. There were twenty eight remembrances of individuals who belonged to categories I and II and were thus of similar social status to the testators. The rank of twenty five other individuals is unclear. Seven references were made to men living outside Dedham. There were thirteen remembrances of weavers and shearmen employed by the clothiers among the testators. Poor widows in the town received twenty two small legacies.

The most interesting sub group, however, is that of the poor men who were not certainly employed by the testators. Of the twenty two mentions of individuals in this group four were of one Joseph Morse while the nuclear family of the weaver Abraham Ham received eight legacies.<sup>24</sup> Ham, with seven others (four of whom were employed by members of the godly group of fourteen), petitioned in 1627 for the release of clothiers imprisoned for refusal to pay

the Forced Loan, at least one of whom was among the fourteen.<sup>25</sup> This expression of solidarity is likely to have been prompted by personal sympathy for the men imprisoned as well as by the petitioners' concern about the threat to their own livelihood. Another of the petitioners, George Butlor, was employed by the churchwardens "to keepe the doore of the gallery in the church" on a lecture day and would therefore seem to have been reputed a godly man.<sup>26</sup> The allegiance of Joseph Morse to the Gospel may be inferred from his decision to emigrate to New England with his wife and two sons, carried out in 1634.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand though Robert Lyngwood may have been a godfearing man in 1624 when he received a legacy from one of the fourteen, he had declined in virtue by 1639 when he was haled before quarter sessions for deserting his wife and children and keeping an unlicensed alehouse. In the same year he was presented to the archdeaconry court of Colchester for incontinence.<sup>28</sup>

Customs with regard to will making varied considerably from parish to parish. In Dedham testators tended to be concerned not only with securing the livelihood of their wives and children but also with remembering second and third order kin, affines and godchildren. In East Bergholt this recognition of a wide assortment of relationships outside the nuclear family was less common. In Dedham and East Bergholt, if not in certain other parishes, wealthy testators remembered more individuals in these groups than their poorer counterparts did. Differences between parishes in these respects makes it

dangerous to generalize from particular examples to establish the overall importance, or unimportance, of kinship and affinal links in relation to neighbourhood ties, among the inhabitants of early modern England.<sup>29</sup> These ties of neighbourhood were expressed in the legal procedures of recognizance and compurgation while testators tended to appoint supervisors from among their neighbours, particularly those of standing in the parish. In Dedham the very large number of bequests made by the prominent champions of godly doctrine to those connected to them by ties of neighbourhood suggests that these individuals sought to gain and hold influence within the parish through an extensive and fine meshed web of fellowship links with social equals and patronage links with social inferiors. In this way the cohesiveness of neighbourhood, under the supervision of the godly, was affirmed.<sup>30</sup>

9. 'Preservation or ruine of Religion and Liberties'.

Dedham and Essex under the government of Charles I, 1626-40.

"The Papists were forward in the Loan and the Puritans were recusants in it." In this sentence Bulstrode Whitelock summarized the political reversal which took place during the years 1626 and 1627. Richard Cust has shown that the king's decision to raise revenue, in response to a wartime emergency, by means of a doubtfully legal levy rather than a Parliamentary subsidy played a catalytic part in dividing English opinion into mutually antagonistic court and country parties. The end result of this polarization of opinion was to be political breakdown and revolution.<sup>1</sup>

The decision to implement the Forced Loan came as a greater blow to those who hoped for consensus in that it followed a period of apparent harmony in 1624-25 when the Court adopted a hostile line towards Spain and John Preston's influence over the Duke of Buckingham appeared to match Laud's.<sup>2</sup> Godly sentiment, already alarmed by the Montagu affair about the religious stance of the new king, was the target of specific attack by Matthew Wren and Isaac Bargrave, two of the preachers commissioned by Laud to promote obedient payment of the Loan. Wren claimed that the "Great professors of this religion" were disloyal and Bargrave attacked those who "are all for faith and the first table, nothing for obedience and the second table".<sup>3</sup>

After 1626 those who regarded themselves as religious professors and who possessed some property, faced attacks both on their beliefs and on their pocketbooks. Given the

established association between popery and tyranny innovations in religion and the levying of unparliamentary taxes could readily be viewed as twin aspects of a single design to subvert Protestant England. As preachers were silenced and Parliament men imprisoned it seemed, as Thomas Hooker was to declare in 1631, as if God was going from England. Should the godly leave too and help to plant the Gospel in another land? Or should they remain and strive to regenerate the land of their birth though exposed to the risk of persecution? Either course involved hardship *but as* John Rogers pointed out: "May not the Lord justly, after long schooling us, now call us out to try what we have profited."<sup>4</sup>

The success of James I, pursuing a consciously moderate ecclesiastical policy and encouraging a preaching ministry while opposing any alteration in church government, in preserving the image of himself as a godly prince in the minds of the stricter sort is attested by the writings of Richard and John Rogers. The former dedicated his Seven Treatises to a monarch who had "preferred godliness before glorie". The latter, in his Exposition upon the First Epistle of Peter, declared that even a wicked king must be considered as ordained by God and deserving of civil honour from his subjects while a much greater reverence was due to such a king as James who "maintains the Gospel, and sets against Popery, a king honoured of God with so rare gifts and vertues".<sup>5</sup> Even if this encomium was written before the 1618 Book of Sports and the 1622 Directions to Preachers, John Rogers might later have deleted it and did not do so.

Presumably he regarded these acts of hostility towards the godly doctrines of Sabbath observance and profitable preaching as errors which nevertheless did not call into question the king's membership of the household of faith.<sup>6</sup>

James' reputation as an enemy of Popery was an important feature in the dispute between the vicar of Dovercourt and his parishioners which was investigated by a commission of Essex justices in 1631. According to their report one of the inhabitants claimed that the vicar, William Innes, had defamed the late king, declaring that "for Religion he was of none". Another witness reported that Innes had said that "this Church was better governed before King Henry did reforme it, and wished at that tyme that the pope were supreme heade of the Church agayne". If a Popish vicar was hostile to James was that not presumptive proof that the king was a good Protestant?<sup>7</sup>

By contrast Charles' godliness became suspect because of his marriage. While lecturing in Chelmsford Thomas Hooker indirectly attacked the marriage to Henrietta Maria as an abomination. Papists on the other hand viewed the royal marriage as the pledge that authority would adopt a more sympathetic attitude towards them. In 1640 a neighbour alleged that a London recusant named Mrs Thoroughgood had said that "now the kinge loveth Papistes better than Puritans" since he was wont to think: "My wife is a Papist. Shall I not love them?"<sup>8</sup> Given the existence of such attitudes both Charles' commitment to uniformity in the Church of England and his toleration of a Catholic circle at court were liable to be interpreted as signs of a

weakening in his allegiance to Protestantism.<sup>9</sup>

In the Exposition John Rogers wrote that a king had full power over his subjects to "Tax them, Censure them, Depose them, Imprison them; yea put them to Deathe." Such a sweeping statement would appear to align John Rogers with such defenders of royal absolutism as Sibthorp and Maynwaring.<sup>10</sup> However Rogers' grandiloquent language probably meant no more than that the king might impose taxes with the consent of Parliament and imprison his subjects by due process of law. It is difficult otherwise to explain his refusal to pay the Forced Loan together with thirty seven members of his Dedham congregation. The total number of recalcitrants in Dedham appears to have been greater than in any other Essex parish. Dedham's example seems to have stimulated resistance in the smaller cloth making towns of Langham and Boxted. In the first parish there were nine loan resisters and in the second four.<sup>11</sup> The sheep raising parish of Ardleigh, which abutted upon the Southern boundary of Dedham, produced two resisters and was the only parish in the hundred of Tendring where there was any resistance below the level of the county gentry.<sup>12</sup>

More than three quarters of those inhabitants of Dedham who were eligible to contribute to the Loan declined to do so. What of the minority which paid up? Seven individuals, who are listed in the subsidy returns for 1624 and 1628, are not returned as Loan refusers and may be presumed to have contributed. Of the seven, five were members of the parish elite while twenty eight of the thirty eight recalcitrants belonged to that elite. There is no

Table 9.1

Assessments of inhabitants of Dedham for Subsidies of 1624 and 1628.

Name of Inhabitant	Assessment 1624	Assessment 1628
Mrs. Abell	£6	£6
Robert Alderton	£1 4s	£2 8s
Matthew Alefounder	£2 8s	£2 8s
Robert Alefounder	£6	£4 16s
Richard Backler	£3 8s	£4 10s 4d
George Cole	£3 8s	£4 10s 4d
Samuel Cole	£1 4s	£1 4s
Whitlock Cole	£3 8s	£4 10s 4d
William Cole	£3 8s	£4 10s 4d
Henry Colman	£4	£5 13s 4d
John Crosse	£3 8s	£3 12s
Libbeus Dimbleby	£3 8s	£4 10s 4d
Richard Etten	£1 4s	£1 4s
Henry Fenn	£2 8s	£2 8s
William Fisher	£3 8s	£3 8s
Roberty Fyrmin	£3 8s	£4 10s 4d
Thomas Glover	£3 12s	£3 12s
George Lewes	£3 12s	£3 12s
William Lewes	£2 8s	£2 8s
John Myles	£2 8s	£2 8s
John Rand	£2 8s	£2 8s
Robert Roberts	£1 4s	£1 4s
John Rogers clk	£1 4s	£2 8s
Henry Sandford	£3 8s	£4 10s 4d
Edmund Sherman	£1 4s	£1 4s
Henry Sherman	£3 12s	£3 12s
Samuel Sherman	£3 8s	£3 8s
Widow Sherman	£1 4s	£1 4s
Edmund Sibburne	£3 8s	£3 8s
Robert Stevens	£3 8s	£3 8s
John Tatum	£2 8s	£2 8s
John Upcher	£3 8s	£3 8s
Thomas Wattes	£3 8s	£3 8s
John Wilkinson	£3 12s	£3 12s
Thomas Wilson	£3 8s	£3 8s
Mark Wiseman's gdians	£2 8s	£1 4s
Thomas Wood	£3 8s	£4 10s 4d

Table 9.2

Inhabitants of Dedham: Refusal of the Forced Loan and membership of the parish elite among those assessed for the Subsidies of 1624 and 1628.

Name of Inhabitant	Member of parish elite?	Listed as Forced Loan refuser?
Mrs. Abell	No	Yes
Robert Alderton	Yes	Yes
Matthew Alefounder	No	Yes
Robert Alefounder	Yes	No
Richard Backler	Yes	Yes
George Cole	Yes	No
Samuel Cole	Yes	Yes
Whitlock Cole	Yes	Yes
William Cole	Yes	Yes
Henry Colman	Yes	Yes
John Crosse	Yes	No
Libbeus Dimbleby	Yes	Yes
Richard Etten Eaton	No	Yes
Henry Fenn	Yes	Yes
William Fisher	Yes	Yes
Robert Fyrmin	Yes	Yes
Thomas Glover	Yes	Yes
George Lewes	Yes	Yes
William Lewes	No	Yes
John Myles	No	No
John Rand	No	Yes
Robert Roberts	Yes	Yes
John Rogers clk	Yes	Yes
Henry Sandford	Yes	Yes
Edmund Sherman	Yes	Yes
Henry Sherman	Yes	Yes
Samuel Sherman	Yes	Yes
Widow Sherman	No	Yes
Edmund Sibburne	Yes	Yes
Robert Stevens	Yes	Yes
John Tatum	Yes	Yes
John Upcher	Yes	Yes
Thomas Wattes	Yes	No
John Wilkinson	Yes	Yes
Thomas Wilson	Yes	No
Mark Wiseman a minor	No	No
Thomas Wood	Yes	Yes

evidence that those who paid belonged to a deviant group within the parish. Of the five who belonged to the parish elite three left wills which have survived. Two of these men, Thomas Wilson and George Cole, showed their respect for the ministers of the town by making bequests to the lecturer and the vicar while the third, Robert Alefounder, left £30 for the purchase of impropriations.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps those who paid were responsive to the King's argument that the levy was necessitated by the military situation, since Essex was threatened with invasion and exposed to the raids of the Dunkirk privateers on coastal shipping.<sup>14</sup>

When the extent of resistance to payment of the Loan among the inhabitants of Essex became apparent the Council decided to use the threat of impressment into the force which was being raised to aid the King of Denmark, to frighten recalcitrants. The seven men whom the Essex deputy lieutenants decided to impress on the principle adumbrated by King Charles that those who did not help with money should help with their persons, simply refused to accept the press money and the whole scheme collapsed.<sup>15</sup>

At least five inhabitants of Dedham were imprisoned for refusal to pay the Loan. One of these men, Richard Backler, had his health undermined by the conditions of his imprisonment though he later recovered sufficiently to live for another twelve years.<sup>16</sup> The fact that at least three and probably four of the men arrested were clothiers was a safeguard against their being imprisoned for very long. For the Council feared that if the arrest of clothiers was to lead to unemployment among their workers there might be a

revival of the unrest which had accompanied the depression of 1620-22. A petition from eight poor inhabitants of Dedham to the Essex justices, who seem to have forwarded it, together with similar appeals by workers in other cloth towns, to the Council, pleaded that by the imprisonment of their employers they were "like to come to great want".<sup>17</sup>

The appointment in July 1628 of William Laud as Bishop of London in place of the tolerant George Mountaigne implied an immediate threat to the religion of the godly.<sup>18</sup> Given that perhaps half the Essex clergy were inclined to nonconformity however a wholesale purge of Puritan clergy was impossible unless the new bishop was prepared to leave dozens of cures unserved. Laud therefore preferred to exert steady pressure on incumbents to conform and proceeded to deprivation only very rarely.<sup>19</sup> The case of the lecturers was different. There were probably less than ten lecturers without cure in the county and it was therefore feasible to suppress this "new body" of clergy entirely substituting lectures by combination or preaching curates. Such a policy was envisaged by the Royal Instructions of 1629 which Laud procured.<sup>20</sup>

In practice Laud seems to have been prepared to allow those who subscribed the 1604 articles to continue to lecture. The zealous Hooker was not prepared to do this and was therefore deprived. Thomas Shepherd of Earl's Colne was deprived during the Bishop's 1631 visitation and the same fate seems to have befallen Daniel Rogers of Wethersfield at that time.<sup>21</sup>

John Rogers did not at first seem likely to escape

the fate of his brother lecturers. In 1627 he had resolved not to subscribe if he was troubled for nonconformity for "though the liberty of my ministry be dear to me, I dare not buy it at such a rate." In may 1630 he was detected for failing to read service before his sermons as the Royal Instructions required. In October however he preached a sermon in favour of conformity or so it was alleged by the compiler of a list of suspected ministers. During the 1631 episcopal visitation Laud threatened him both with deprivation and imprisonment under a writ of excommunicato capiendo and under this pressure he agreed to subscribe. In 1632 Robert Aylett, who acted as Laud's factotum in the Colchester area, reported that service was habitually read before the lecture although it was the vicar rather than Rogers himself who did the reading.<sup>22</sup>

In 1630 the parishioners of Dedham made their own accommodation with the Laudian drive for uniformity by arranging for the purchase of certain items with which the church was supposed to be provided but which it had hitherto lacked. A rate was levied both for the repair of the church fabric and for the buying of a hood, a book of homilies and a new platter for the communion bread as well as a new pulpit cloth and a carpet. At the Colchester archdeaconry visitation of 1633 Dedham was one of four parishes, out of ninety four visited, of which it was reported that the church fabric was in good repair and all the required ornaments and furnishings provided.<sup>23</sup>

Under the scrutiny of Laud and Aylett it became difficult to resist the pressure for conformity in worship

but there were other ways for the ministers of Dedham to express their dissent from the tenets of the hierarchy. Between 1630 and 1637 Thomas Cottesford, the vicar of the parish, refused to allow parishioners to perform orders of penance assigned them by the archdeaconry court on four separate occasions. Why he took this course in those particular cases cannot be known with certainty but it is likely that on two of these occasions he believed that the sentence was too lenient.<sup>24</sup>

Christopher Hill has described the emigration to New England as an attempt at "revolution by evasion" whereby reformed liturgy and godly discipline might be established but a head on collision with the hierarchy of the Church of England avoided. The spiritual roots of the migration may be founded on the conviction that the sojourn of the Gospel in England was likely to be of short duration after which God would withdraw from thence and reestablish the ministry of the Word in a desert land. In the Exposition John Rogers declared that just as God had forsaken the Jews in favour of the Gentiles so "he can find him out a people among the ignorant and wilde people, which are no worse than this Nation sometimes was". Nor was this mood restricted to men of Rogers' stamp. In The Church Militant George Herbert declared that the Gospel was about to be planted across the Atlantic.

Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,  
Readie to passe to the American Strand.<sup>25</sup>

For the strict professor the behaviour of Laud and his cohorts was evidence that the Lord had begun to abandon the Church of England.<sup>26</sup>

Between 1630 and 1639 a minimum of thirty four and a maximum of forty nine inhabitants of Dedham crossed the Atlantic as part of the great migration from East Anglia to New England.<sup>27</sup> Even a discouraging letter from John Page, one of the first to make the crossing, begging his friends at home to send him some provision and save him from starvation in his new home did not deter others from following him. Of the nineteen adult male migrants ten were children or grandchildren of members of the parish elite. This migration of parish notables was essentially a migration of the Sherman family seven of whose adult members took ship for New England. The family had lived in Dedham for 100 years and had been closely associated with the Dedham Conference. The other nine, none of whose names are listed in the subsidy returns of the 1620s, were poor men who perhaps hoped for material as well as spiritual profit from their journey to a new world.<sup>28</sup>

The 1634 writ for the levying of Ship Money signalled the levying of another unparliamentary tax which unlike the Forced Loan could not be justified by the existence of an immediate foreign threat to the safety of the kingdom. The townsmen appointed to collect the sums demanded therefore declined to do so citing a 1588 order from the Council exempting Dedham from any obligation to contribute towards "the setting forth of shipping ... the inhabitance of the sayde towne having no benefite of shipping". The townsmen

clearly had a good case for their refusal to pay but since it was intended to make Ship Money into a general tax on landed wealth it was not a case the Council was inclined to accept.<sup>29</sup> The collectors were committed to the Fleet and so were two of the richest inhabitants, Thomas Wood and William Fisher, who were assessed at four marks apiece. Faced with this aggressive reaction the resistance to payment crumbled. Wood and Fisher made their submission and paid up "since your Lordshippes have been pleased to declare the Towne to be Marityme." For their part the collectors declared their readiness "to obey such directions as shall be commanded us". This submission prefigured the failure of the movement for non payment, spearheaded by Warwick in the South West of the county, to maintain resistance in the face of a determined Council assisted by such efficient agents as Sir Thomas Lucas.<sup>30</sup>

The smallness of the sums demanded may have helped to blunt the edge of resistance. In 1636 Dedham was assessed to pay £54,5s,4d while the most highly assessed individual, Samuel Sherman, was required to pay £1,13s. By contrast the town had to make a subsidy payment of £166,18s in 1623 and £136,18s in 1628, while the mean payment per head was over three pounds in each year. On the other hand the fact that more than three times as many people as had appeared on the subsidy rolls were eligible to pay Ship Money meant that the majority of Dedham householders now had a material reason for disliking the Government.<sup>31</sup>

During the 1630s the hierarchy conducted a campaign to enhance the status of the communion table by ordering

churchwardens to set the table at the east end of the chancel and setting up railings to establish its character as a place apart. For the same reason writers who supported this approach began to term the table an altar.<sup>32</sup> In Essex the drive to enforce the setting up of rails began in the winter of 1635-36 in preparation for a metropolitanical visitation. (Kelvedon, which lay adjacent to the parish where Aylett resided, had however been instructed to rail its table as early as 1633.)<sup>33</sup> Aylett, who was well aware how unpopular the order for railing was going to be among parishioners seems to have decided to make a start in the town of Colchester and work outwards from there. In January 1635/6 twelve parishes within Colchester deanary were required to certify the setting up of rails. Colchester was notable for the sharp distinction which existed between the religious tenets of the clergy and those of the laity. Of the ten men holding benefices within the deanary during the mid 1630s at least five were notable religious conservatives while ten of the sixteen cures were held by men identifiable as Laudians.<sup>34</sup> By contrast the men of the town were strong Protestants. As Aylett wrote to Laud "their Diana is their liberty". After the setting up of rails had been ordered a set of verses were composed by one who styled himself Faith John against four of the Colchester clergy. His particular target was Theophilus Roberts, rector of St Nicholas, who frequently acted as a surrogate judge in the archdeaconry court and according to Faith John was zealous in reporting to Aylett the names of those who had refused to contribute towards the cost of the rails. Two of his other targets,

Thomas Newcomen the rector of Trinity and Gabriel Honeyfold the master of the hospital of Mary Magdalene, were to be mobbed by the townsfolk in 1642.<sup>35</sup>

Aylett was zealous in enforcing the railing of tables in Colchester. When the churchwardens of St Bottulphs proved refractory they were committed to prison on a writ of excommunicato capiendo and one of them died in prison.<sup>36</sup> By June six of the parishes had certified the fulfilling of his order. An attempt sponsored by Richard Aske the recorder of Colchester, to have Thomas Newcomen indicted for administering the sacraments in an irregular and popish manner led to Aske being brought before the High Commission.<sup>37</sup> After the enforcement of the order in Colchester the campaign to set up rails appears to have lapsed and the other parishes within Aylett's jurisdiction were not troubled until the summer of 1637. Even though many parishes proved refractory there was no further resort to writs of excommunicato capiendo and churchwardens could refuse to levy rates for this purpose provided they were prepared to endure the stigma of excommunication. The parish of Langham had still not certified the railing of its communion table eighteen months after first being ordered to do this.<sup>38</sup>

The vicar and churchwardens of Dedham were not called to account for their failure to set up rails until March 1638/9. After two further entries in the court actaa of the archdeaconry recording their repeated failure to obey the injunction of the official the case lapsed. The zeal of the court officers in this cause seems to have been on the

wane.<sup>39</sup>

Despite the fact that the parish had managed to resist contamination by this latest manifestation of Popery the state of the kingdom at the end of the 1630s inspired gloom. The dissolution of the Short Parliament in May 1640 led to an upsurge of popular anxiety expressed in terms of fear of Catholic plots. In June the mayor of Colchester called out the trained band in the middle of the night when it was reported that two Irishmen were lurking about the town. The result of this panicky action was a popular commotion which anticipated the sacking of recusant' homes during the riots of 1642. For next morning a rumour sprang up that there was a gathering of Papists, including either Laud or Matthew Wren, at Berechurch in the house of the recusant Lady Audley. A crowd went to investigate but the constables were able to prevent them entering the house.<sup>40</sup> It was in the context of this climate of fear that Matthew Newcomen, who had replaced John Rogers as lecturer following the death of the latter in October 1636, though nominally serving as curate so as to avoid offending the susceptibilities of the Laudians, warned his congregation of the likelihood of religious persecution and advised them to meditate on the conduct of the Foxean martyrs.<sup>41</sup>

It was this state of mind which inclined people to regard the invading Scots as potential liberators. On July 6 Sir Francis Windebank wrote to Lord Conway in Newcastle that the rumour of a Scottish invasion was "more discoursed than apprehended" in London "their party heer, which I feare is very numerous, promising themselves rather advantage by

it than losse." By August a number of copies of a pamphlet entitled Information from the Scottish Nation to all the true English, concerning the present Expedition had reached one Edward Cole who was a clothier of East Bergholt, just across the Stour from Dedham. Cole began to distribute these to pressed men billeted at Braintree in an attempt to suborn them with the doctrine that the Scots had come to help the English in the same way as "your worthy predecessors, at the time of Reformation, vouchsafed us their help and assistance."<sup>42</sup>

The attitude of the men of Dedham towards the Scots is indicated by another incident which occurred that August. Two clothiers of the town, John Crosse and Samuel Cole, who had come up to London to buy wool, fell in with one Captain Wattes at the Green Dragon Inn in Bishopsgate. According to the captain's account of what followed the two clothiers asked him if the King had gone northwards and when he answered yes "they pish'd, and gearingly saide: 'What neede the Kinge trouble himselfe soe much, the Skotts are honest people and will doe us noe harme, but rather good'." Wattes rejoined that his interlocutors must be "of that puritan faction which would rather ride with the Scotts than with there (sic) own Kinge." The clothiers, who were committed to prison after the encounter, in their petition for release asserted that Wattes had raged against Puritans and on their asking him what a Puritan was had assaulted them and struck Samuel Cole with his sword.<sup>43</sup> The incident reads like a stereotypical confrontation between Roundhead and Cavalier. The fact that the battle lines had not yet

hardened is however indicated by the fact that Aylett was induced to petition to Windebank on their behalf on the grounds that the prisoners were "honest and industrious men in their trade, setting a multitude of poor people on work" and that "their frends assure me that they are true and faithfull subjeccts to his Majesty."<sup>44</sup>

Like many other Englishmen the parish notables of Dedham became increasingly alienated from a Court dominated by 'new counsels' and inclined to drive rather than lead.<sup>45</sup> With the Protestantism of the Church of England threatened with subversion the immediate need was to preserve a space within which the observances of godly religion could continue. A partial conformity over such ceremonies as could be deemed to be indifferent was the price which had to be paid to secure such a space. There was always the danger that such accommodation might in the end result in consent to idolatry. For those who did not believe that the observances of religion could be preserved in the face of an antagonistic hierarchy there remained the alternative of emigration to the sanctuary of New England.

In his review of William Hunt's book on the emergence of political militancy among the godly of Essex, Anthony Fletcher pointed out that Puritanism had conservative as well as radical aspects. The writings of John Rogers evince his desire to promote social harmony and the deference of the socially subordinate towards the magistracy. The magistrates were God's instruments and should be obeyed "though they abuse their calling." A strong commitment to the preservation of Church unity led him to advise that

laymen meeting in private conference must not "meddle with Church government and matters of controversie; it's the Devil's policy to set such things abroach."<sup>46</sup>

The members of the Dedham congregation heard the conduct of the Foxean martyrs held up to them by the lecturers as an example for them to follow if their profession of their religion was threatened. The Foxean model emphasised defiance of ordinances contrary to true religion combined with expressions of loyalty towards those who promulgated them and a resolution to suffer violence rather than to resist it.<sup>47</sup>

With the emergence of Parliament as an alternative source of legitimate authority however it became possible to view the men of the Court of King Charles as enemies rather than rulers and the new situation could readily be interpreted in terms of a secular manifestation of the perennial enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent. Matthew Newcomen made use of existing Protestant imagery in comparing the people of the Court to the satanic conspirator Guy Fawkes. The Foxean maxims of "true obedience" and passive resistance were no longer applicable to this new environment and Dedham became a bastion of the Parliamentary cause. In 1648 a royalist commentator was to describe its inhabitants as "an officious race of traytors, who unsummoned are still volunteers in rebellion."<sup>48</sup>

## Conclusion: Puritan mentality and social cohesion

Lay antipuritans and conformist divines habitually accused their adversaries of sowing discord among the baptised members of the Church of England.<sup>1</sup> The emphasis laid by godly ministers on the duty incumbent on the visibly regenerate to separate themselves from the company of the visibly ungodly provided substance for such a charge. The godly and the profane would divide themselves into distinct social groups for the Puritan divines discountenanced marriage between children whose parents belonged to the household of faith and those<sup>whose</sup> parents were of the unregenerate multitude.<sup>2</sup> However, as Patrick Collinson has pointed out in his sketch of this doctrine, a binary division of baptised Christians into sheep and goats, although it was valid in terms of eschatology, was not adequate as a description of the state of affairs in the mundane world. Some godly writers recognised this fact. Richarch Rogers of Wethersfield divided the faithful into three categories and the unregenerate into four. Moreover it was not considered possible for anyone to be certain whether another man or woman was regenerate or not.<sup>3</sup>

Evidence as to the extent to which the godly laity carried into practice their ministers' admonitions that they should shun the company of the visibly unregenerate is difficult to find. However, it seems likely that in parishes where distinct and mutually hostile Puritan and antipuritan groups existed, the members of one group would tend to avoid the society of those belonging to the other.<sup>4</sup> In Dedham, the failure of a group hostile to the

doctrines professed by Chapman and Parker to coalesce in response to the promotion of parochial reformation during the 1580s seems to have allowed the godly of Dedham to adopt a fairly eirenical outlook. The large number of neighbourhood ties acknowledged by the group of fourteen testators of the town whose godliness is evidenced by their bequests of money to ministers residing in other parishes, perhaps indicates that these individuals hoped to convert members of the visibly unregenerate by showing a friendly countenance (as Giles Firmin relates that the famous Puritan divine John Knewstubs of Cockfield in Suffolk had attempted to win a 'carnal man'.) Alternatively they may have been prepared to take a generous view of what constituted evidence of regeneration.<sup>5</sup> For as John Rogers declared: "We must not take it upon us precisely to determine of other men's Election or Reprobation, but judge modestly and charitable".<sup>6</sup>

Almost half the testators of Dedham, whose wills, drawn up between 1560 and 1650, have been examined, gave evidence in those wills of their profession of godly religion.<sup>7</sup> Such profession tended to promote good neighbourhood among the householders. These were split into potentially antagonistic groups by the divisions between clothiers and outworkers, between tenants of the manor and those who rented property from them and competed for the resources of the commons and, following the founding of a grammar school in Dedham, between those who could afford to provide their sons with an education in the classical languages or even a place at University and those who could only hope to enable their children to acquire literacy.<sup>8</sup>

Adherence to godly doctrine tended to cut across such lines of division. All might become brethren in the "household of faith". Such perceptions might help to explain the persistence of the recognition of godchildren by testators from Dedham, in contrast to the Essex testators included in David Cressy's samples. Godparenthood was a form of linkage between godly households.<sup>9</sup>

Many of the younger inhabitants of Dedham, like the young people of other English parishes, showed recalcitrance about submitting to the discipline of regular church service and strict Sabbath observance. However, it appears that the householders, despite their own practice of piety, were prepared to show a measure of tolerance for the view that the days on one's youth were not in fact the best time to remember one's Creator. In 1596 it was reported to the Colchester archdeaconry court that many of the inhabitants of Dedham were failing to compel their children to attend the Sunday catechism classes and the churchwardens, one of whom was the godly Simon Fenn who was to act as executor of the will of Edmund Chapman, had failed to present the offenders.<sup>10</sup>

Investigation of the development of provision for education and measures for the relief of the poor in Dedham reveals a close association between such development and the impulse towards godly reformation given by the ministers associated with the Dedham Conference as well as the admonitions pronounced by John Rogers. The beginning of provision of elementary education in Dedham is associated with the order drafted by Parker, enjoining that half the money given at Communion should be devoted to

teaching the children of poor men to read English. As John Rogers was later to write: "Rich men should do well to bestow learning upon poor men's children; it's a mercy indeed to their souls." The founding of the Grammar School preceded the inception of the Dedham Conference but the schoolmasters of the 1580s were intimately associated with the Conference members while the endowment of an exhibition for university students educated at the school was founded by the brother-in-law of the lecturer.<sup>11</sup> With regard to the development of poor relief, Parker seems to have sponsored a system which combined public supervision of those in want with the exercise of personal beneficence by testators and the hospitable entertainment of poor householders by the Middling sort.<sup>12</sup>

How far was the course of development of Puritan mentality in Dedham the result of environmental factors such as the 'woodland' character of the parish and the dependence of its inhabitants on cloth production for their livelihood? Some tentative suggestions have been made in the preceding chapters about the influence of such factors as the use of the court leet and the existence of commercial links with the Low Countries in facilitating the process of godly reformation.<sup>13</sup> However, the large difference between the inhabitants of Dedham and those of the neighbouring woodland parish and cloth town of East Bergholt, in their expression of commitment to godly values indicates that the explanatory value of such broad factors is limited. More decisive in the development of godly religion in Dedham was the founding and maintenance of a stipendiary lecture in Dedham which created a close bond

between the townsmen and the learned preachers for whose maintenance they had undertaken to pay.<sup>14</sup> The maintenance of such a lecture for more than a few years was a rare event. Apart from Colchester, with its Common Preacher, Dedham and Wethersfield were the only Essex towns to have supported a non-beneficed lecturer from the reign of Elizabeth until the middle of the seventeenth century. Dedham was thus an untypical parish.<sup>15</sup>

The large number of small legacies left to neighbours by the godly testators of Dedham expressed and also helped to promote an ideal of social harmony which had been expounded by both the parish ministers associated with the Dedham Conference and by John Rogers.<sup>16</sup> The latter envisaged a situation in which profane behaviour had been suppressed so that there was no longer a mass of ungodly individuals to shun. In these circumstances a town would be "knit together in peace, like a faggot fast bound, that cannot be bent". For if Reformed Christianity flourished there would be no occasion for "rents or division, sidings or part taking". To his A Treatise of Love, which was published in 1629, John Rogers affixed a preface which commended the inhabitants of Dedham for the "peaceable state" of the town.<sup>17</sup> Half a century of godly preaching, accompanied by a drive for the suppression of unregenerate behaviour which had begun under the aegis of the Dedham Conference, had habituated the inhabitants of Dedham to the practice of godliness. The enemies of religion lay outside the town boundaries, not inside. Though low lying in terms of physical topography Dedham had become "a city that is set on an hill".<sup>18</sup>

1. For the location of Dedham and its status as a market town see G.R.Rendall, Dedham in History (Colchester, 1937), pp.1, 52.
2. For the coloured cloth industry see chapter two below. For the role of Dedham in the attempt to set up a form of Genevan Discipline see Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (1967), pp.216-39, 275-87, 303-6, 317-29, 338-41; Usher, passim.
3. Richard Bancroft, Daungerous Positions and Proceedings (1593), p.44.
4. The term 'Puritan' first came into use during vestment controversies of the 1560s. At the beginning of the Civil War it, and the corresponding word 'Formalist' denoting a lukewarm conformity were, according to Richard Baxter, held to be "not now broad enough nor of sufficient force", and were displaced by the epithets 'Roundhead' and 'Cavalier'. The split in the ranks of the godly brethren over the powers of the classis and the congregation made it difficult to use a single epithet for men who had divided into two parties. The term now began to be used in a positive and nostalgic sense of those who were felt to stand for old fashioned values. See Patrick Collinson, Archbishop Grindal, 1519-83: The struggle for a Reformed Church (1979), p.168; N.H.Keeble ed., The Autobiography of Richard Baxter (1974), p.36; J.Sears McGee, The Godly Man in Stuart England (New Haven, Conn., 1976), pp.185-6; Patrick Collinson, 'A Comment: Concerning the name Puritan', J.E.H., 31 (1980), 487.

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5. To charge a minister with Puritanism did not necessarily imply that he failed to conform to the canons of the Church of England. In 1624 Susan Kent of Wylve in Wiltshire claimed that the rector of the parish was a Puritan because he preached long sermons and repressed disorderly behaviour. There is no evidence that he was a non conformist and the fact that he held two livings would tend to suggest the contrary. See Martin Ingram, Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640 (Cambridge, 1987), pp.118-21.
6. For the tendency of those who embraced Reformed religion to describe themselves as 'the godly' see Patrick Collinson, 'The Godly: Aspects of Popular Protestantism', in idem, Godly People (1983), p.1. For examples from Dedham see Usher, pp.88, 97.
7. For a discussion of the term 'mentality' see Peter Burke, Sociology and History (1980), pp.74-9.
8. John Bossy, Christianity on the West, 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1985), pp.115-6; Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (Peregrine edition, 1978), pp.46-7, 69-71, 133-9; Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the citizen: The communal year in Coventry, 1450-1550', in Peter Clark and Paul Slack eds, Crisis and Order in English Towns (1972), passim esp. pp.70-80; Bossy, op.cit., pp.130-2; David Cressy, Bonfires and Bells (1989), pp.1-32.
9. Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford, 1982), pp.264-6.
10. McGee, Godly Man, pp.180-2. For a discussion of private

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- conferences by John Rogers of Dedham see John Rogers, A Godly and Fruitful Exposition upon all the First Epistle of Peter (1650), p.340. For the duty of the regenerate in seeking to suppress profane behaviour see Rogers, op.cit., pp.90-1.
11. For this view see Patrick Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1988), p.ix.
  12. Henry J.Cohn, 'The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559-1622', in Menna Prestwich ed., International Calvinism (Oxford, 1985), pp.141-2; Bodo Nischan, 'The "Fractio Panis": A Reformed Communion practice in Late Reformation Germany', Church History, 53 (1984), 19; Cohn, op.cit., p.160. Unlike English Puritanism, however, the Second Reformation owed its dynamism to the enthusiasm of princes. See Cohn, op.cit., p.141.
  13. For residual Catholicism among the inhabitants of Protestant states see Gerald Strauss, 'Success and Failure in the German Reformation', P&P, 66 (1973), 58.
  14. Thomas, op.cit., pp.80-2; Christopher Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the People', in idem ed., The Reign of Elizabeth I (1984), pp.210-14, 206-9. A late sixteenth century visitation of Wiesbaden discovered that the children of householders there were leaving to take service in Catholic ruled states where they would escape the weekly catechism classes. See Strauss, op.cit., 57.
  15. One tenant of the manor of Dedham Hall surrendered his

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tenement while sojourning in Antwerp. See P.R.O., DL 30/60/738 mems 7v-8. When a preacher was reported to have defamed the inhabitants of Antwerp in a sermon preached in the Suffolk cloth town of Hadleigh a member of the Dedham Conference was at once sent to gather information on the matter and report it to the Archdeacon of Colchester. See Usher, p.32. For some notes on the offending preacher, Dr John Beaumont, see Hugh Pigot, 'Hadleigh: The town, the church; and the great men who have been born in, or connected with, the parish', P.S.I.A., 3 (1959), 275-6. For Hadleigh as a cloth town see J.E.Pilgrim, The Cloth Industry of Essex and Suffolk, 1558-1640 (M.A. Dissertation, University of London, 1938) pp.50-2.

16. For Manningtree see V.C.H. Essex, ii, 110. The parish elite of Dedham have been defined as comprising those who held the offices of Grammar School governor, churchwarden or overseer of the poor. Three quarters of those who held these offices were assessed for taxation at a rate which placed them in categories I and II as defined by Wrightson and Levine. See Wrightson and Levine, pp.34-5.
17. This division of humanity did not originate with the Essex ministers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Saint Augustine propounded a very similar doctrine. See Augustine, City of God, Book fifteen, chapter one.
18. For East Bergholt see T.F.Paterson, East Bergholt in Suffolk (Cambridge 1923), esp. pp.26-7.

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19. The phrase 'Puritan Moment' has been taken from the title of William Hunt's book on politics and religion in Essex on the eve of the Civil War. See Hunt, The Puritan Moment, The Coming of Revolution in an English County (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

Notes for Chapter 1. Notes on p.7

1. Lord Francis Hervey ed., Suffolk in the Seventeenth Century: The Beviary of Suffolk by Robert Reyce, 1618 (1902), p.26.
2. N.Scarfe, The Suffolk Landscape (1972), p.28; Eric Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution (1967), pp.77-80.
3. Scarfe, op.cit., pp.181-2 for the existence of open meadowland in the parish of Stratford St Mary, just across the river from Dedham, into the Twentieth Century; E.R.O., D/ACD 1, fols 20v-21 for meadowland and heath in the parish of Boxted, a parish just west of Dedham; Sir Henry Ellis ed., Speculi Britanniae Pars: An Historical and Chorographical Description of the county of Essex by John Norden, 1594, Camden Society, 9 (1840), (henceforward cited as Norden,) p.9; Kerridge, op.cit., pp.72-5, 78-9; Joan Thirsk, "The Farming Regions of England", in idem ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales: vol.IV (Cambridge, 1967), pp.42-9.
4. C.A.Jones, A History of Dedham (Colchester, 1907), pp.146-7; Ordinance Survey, 1:25,000 First Series, TM 03.
5. The area covered jointly by the 1573 rental for Overhall and Netherhall (P.R.O., DL 43/3/14) and the 1592 rental for Dedham Hall (P.R.O., DL 43/2/22) amounts to 1,390 acres.
6. E.R.O., T/M 159; P.R.O., DL 43/2/21 (survey of the manor of Overhall and Netherhall, circa 1575, unpaginated); P.R.O., DL 43/2/22 (Dedham Hall), fols 11v, 13; Norden, p.9.

7. G.H.Rendall, Dedham in History (Colchester, 1937), p.34; P.R.O., DL 30/60/739 mem 6v; P.R.O., DL 43/2/21, final leaf of survey; Kerridge, op cit, p.79; P.R.O., DL 30/60/739 mem.8.
8. Rendall, op.cit., p.35; P.R.O., DL 43/2/21; Thirsk, op.cit., p.42.
9. About 89 acres of this land were fielden and the rest was meadow. See P.R.O., E 317/Essex/12 (1650 survey and rental of Dedham Hall), pp.9-12; P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fol a59; 60/739, mem.25v; E.R.O., T/M 343.
10. Rendall, op.cit., p.33; P.R.O., E 317/Essex/12, p.12; estimate of number based on profits of Dedham Hall derived from the fee per head which amounted to £1 in 1650. This gives a figure of 480 cattle, which should be multiplied by 1.5 since one third of the half year ground was in Overhall and Netherhall; for the horses see P.R.O., DL 30/60/739, mem.29.
11. E.R.O., D/ACW 2/146; D/ABW 42/53; Rendall, op.cit., p.35; P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fol. a130; DL 30/60/738, mem.4; DL 30/739, mem.29.
12. There are no records of court leets for the years 1594, 1599, 1600, 1603-12, 1614, or 1625-39.
13. In the hundred of Lexden, to which Dedham belonged, there were fourteen parishes with more than one manor as opposed to sixteen which had only one. See Philip Morant, The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex (two vols 1768), ii, 159-248; Rendall, op.cit., pp.7-9; ibid., pp.34-5.
14. E.R.O., D/Q 23/4, pp.17, 21; D/P 26/28/1; Ken Powell

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and Chris Cook, English Historical Facts: 1485-1603 (1977), p.104; W.C.Metcalf ed., The Visitations of Suffolk: 1561, 1577, 1612 (Exeter, 1882), p.176; E.R.O., D/P 26/28/1; P.R.O., PROB 11/72, q.4 (will of Thomas Seckford).

15. P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fols a265, 270; DL 44/697 (survey of the manor of Dedham Hall, 1605, unfoliated).
16. Ibid. gives the annual revenue of Dedham Hall as £37,10s,3d, nearly three quarters of which was composed of rents for tenements. In 1573 the annual rent of Overhall and Netherhall was about £33.
17. P.R.O., DL 43/2/21, final leaf of survey; E.R.O., T/P 64/19; D/DC 14/14 (rentals and court roll of the manor of Faites and Wades); E.R.O., T/P 64/21; P.R.O., PROB 11/52, q.3.
18. P.R.O., DL 43/3/14, p.11; E.R.O., D/DC 14/14, mem.29; P.R.O., DL 43/2/21. Wades contained about sixteen acres and Jupes about thirteen.
19. P.R.O., DL 4/16/18; DL 30/60/739, mems21-21v.
20. E.R.O., D/DC 14/14, mem.34; ibid., mems 30, 31v; P.R.O., DL 30/60/739, mem.7.
21. P.R.O., E 317/Essex/12, p.2; ibid., p.12; DL 44/697.
22. Rendall, op.cit., pp.8-9; ibid., p.50; P.R.O., DL 30/739, mem 25v, DL 43/3/14, pp.6-10 (for area of Westfield); DL 30/61/746, fol. 31v (for area of Hallfield which pertains solely to Dedham Hall); ibid., fol.33v and DL 43/3/14, p.7 (for area of Southfield).

23. P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fol a59; E 317/Essex/12, p.12; DL 43/2/21 (Agnes Wood): DL 43/2/22 (Dedham Hall rental of 1592), fol.15v.
24. These tenements comprised about 900 acres of the land in severalty according to an estimate based on the 1573 and 1592 rentals; of the twenty four tenements containing five or more acres listed in the 1592 Dedham Hall rental, eighteen had been divided into smaller closes by the tenant; E.R.O., T/M 161/4 shows the tenements of Lorebridge field and Crossfield being used as meadow having been converted from arable to pasture.
25. E.R.O., D/CT 113A, p.2; P.R.O., DL 30/60/739, mem.29; Rendall, op.cit., p.33.
26. E.R.O., D/ABW 42/53 (Ralph Orris); 50/1o2 (John Gybes); 40/87 (Margaret Watson); 31/109 (Thomas Robertson); P.R.O., PROB 11/159, q.54; 11/97, q.24; 11/145, q.13; 11/84, q.80; 11/62, q.49 (John Wilson, Edmund Sherman, John Pye, William Butter and Ralph Starling); PROB 4/7798 (Inventory of John Hudson; 4/596 (Inventory of Thomas Browne).
27. Kerridge, op.cit., p.79.
28. A.P.C., 1597-8, p.69; E.A.Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, The Population History of England: 1541-1871. A reconstruction (1981), p.672 (Fig A10).
29. Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge, 1974), p.155 (Graph 5).

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30. Peter Bowden, "Statistical Appendix", in Joan Thirsk ed., Agrarian History ...IV (Cambridge, 1967), pp.819-820 (Table 1); Spufford, op.cit., p.79 (Graph 3).
31. P.R.O., DL 30/60/739, mem.17; DL 30/61/746, fol. a40; DL 30/60/742, mem.10; DL 30/60/742, mem.27v; PROB 11/91, q.23 (will of Lewis Sparhawk).
32. P.R.O., PROB 11/88, q.89 (Thomas Glover); 11/74, q.93 (William Goldingham); 11/84, q.80 (William Butter); 11/76, q.51 (Henry Sherman senior); 11/84, q.67 (Stephen Upcher); 11/101, q.16 (Dr Edmund Chapman); E.R.O, D/ABW 32/18 (John Rye or Rey); D/ABW 20/149 (William Hall); P.R.O., PROB 11/109, q.40 (Christopher Burrough of East Bergholt).
33. See Appendix 1.
34. Spufford, op.cit., pp.165-67; Wrightson and Levine, p.27; Appendix 1.
35. In the letter from the Privy Council to the justices of Norfolk concerning the 1597 dearth at Dedham it is stated that there are 200 householders in the parish (A.P.C., 1597-8, p.69); In the Viewe of the State of the Clargie within the Countie of Essex (1604), p.3 a figure of 800 communicants is given for the parish. If this figure is multiplied by a third according to Wrigley and Schofield's estimate for the proportion of the population under fourteen (op.cit., p.528, Table A3.1) and the product divided by 4.73 (the median figure of the hundred parish sample investigated by Peter Laslett, in idem, "Mean household size in England since the Sixteenth Century", in idem and Richard Wall

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eds, Household and family in past time (Cambridge, 1972), p.133) the number of households works out at 254.

36. For the rental see Appendix 1; for the actions against the builders of cottages P.R.O, DL 30/470/3 (estreats of manorial records, unfoliated), leets of 1618, 1620, 1621.
37. Spufford, op.cit., pp.88-90, 161-164; P.R.O., PROB 11/84, q.80 (William Butter); 11/57, q.38.
38. Rendall, op.cit., p.33; the same custom obtained across the river in East Bergholt (T.F.Paterson, East Bergholt in Suffolk (Cambridge, 1923), p.44). For the prevalence of this custom in the Home Counties see O.E.D., Borough English; E.R.O., D/ABW 21/99 (Laurance Judye).
39. P.R.O., PROB 11/38, q.5 (Thomas Butter): 11/84, q.80 (William Butter).
40. G.H.Rendall, Dedham described and deciphered (Colchester, 1937), p.20; idem, History, p.11; E.R.O., T/M 161/4; P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fol.221v; Ordinance Survey, 1:25,000 First Series, TM 03.
41. Rendall, op.cit., p.33; P.R.O., PROB 11/64, q.12 (Robert Starling); 11/88, q.89 (Thomas Glover); E.R.O, D/ABW 24/190 (Thomas Ludkin senior); P.R.O., PROB 11/159, q.36 (Thomas Glover).
42. E.R.O., D/ABW 40/37 (Agnes Wood); M.W.Barley, "Rural housing in England", in Thirsk ed., Agrarian History, p.699; P.R.O., DL 30/60/738, mem.2v; DL 30/61/746, fol. 33v; DL 30/60/742, mems 8v, 10, 13; DL 30/61/746, fols

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- a91, a130, a150; P.R.O., PROB 11/116, q.43. Henry Fenn, son of Simon, may still have been holding the house in 1650 (E.317/Essex/12, p.9; P.R.O., E179/111/509, mem2).
43. P.R.O., DL 43/2/21, fifth leaf of survey; Barley, op.cit., pp.729, 739.
44. E.R.O., D/ABW 16/53 (Thomas Garrard); D/ABW 28/319 (John Payne alias Barker); Wrightson and Levine, p.28.
45. D.E. Underdown, "The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in early Modern England" in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson eds, Order and Disorder in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1985), p.126; Thirsk, op.cit., in Thirsk ed., Agrarian History ...IV, pp.6-7; Terling provides an example of an enclosed, corn producing, parish (Wrightson and Levine, pp.23-31).
46. Felix Hull, Agriculture and Rural Society in Essex: 1560-1640, (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1950) pp.405-419.
47. Of the ninety six resident male tenants of the two manors recorded in the rentals of 1592 (P.R.O., DL 43/2/22) fifty eight are entered in the manorial records as homage jurors.
48. For an appeal to local loyalty in a sermon preached at Dedham, see Thomas Hooker, "The Faithfull Covenanter" in George H. Williams et al eds, Thomas Hooker; Writings in England and Holland: 1626-33 (Cambridge Mass., 1975), p.195.

Notes for Chapter 2. Notes on pp.25-26

1. P.R.O., SP 16/529/117; Bod., Firth MS C.4 (Essex Lieutenancy Book), p.491.
2. For this estimate of the population of Dedham see above, chapter 1., note 35. The Hearth Tax assessment of 1671 suggests that the population of Dedham was still about 1,200 at that date. See E.R.O., Q/R Th 5. The relative size of the population of Langham has been estimated from the Subsidy roll of 1622 and the 1636 Ship Money Assessment. See P.R.O., E 179/112/588; E.R.O., T/A 42.
3. For the range of professional services offered by market towns in early modern England see Peter Clark and Paul Slack, English Towns in transition, 1500-1700 (Oxford, 1976), pp.19-23.
4. For towns within fifteen miles of Dedham engaged in the production of coloured broadcloth see J.E.Pilgrim, The Cloth Industry of Essex and Suffolk, 1558-1640 (M.A. dissertation, University of London, 1938), pp.47-8. Petition of the Clothiers and others, Inhabitants of the County of Suffolk ... and the Towns of Dedham and Langham to the Honourable House of Commons (1642). About half a dozen other parishes, scattered through the county of Suffolk, were also engaged in the manufacture of such cloth. See ibid., p.47; W.S.R.O., In 3/1/46 (inventory, Richard Payne of Boxted); In 3/1/99 (inventory, Henry Weste of Badwell Ash); In 3/6/295 (inventory, John Flegg of Eye); In 3/7/55 (inventory, Andrew Sergent of Mildenhall); P.R.O., PROB 4/6018 (inventory, Simon Rosier of Needham Market);

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PROB 4/12614 (inventory, William Coe of Mildenhall);

PROB 4/12409 (inventory, John Redmore of Glemsford).

5. Pilgrim, Cloth Industry, p.91; Bod., Firth MS C.4, pp.489-90; Pilgrim, Cloth Industry, pp.72-6.
6. Two Suffolk writers who spoke as if each clothier normally provided work for several hundred people were Robert Reyce and Thomas Carew. See Pilgrim, Cloth Industry, p.63; Carew, 'A Caveat for Clothiers' in idem, Certain Godly and Necessary Sermons (1603), sig. V4v.
7. For the Springs of Lavenham see V.C.H., Suffolk, ii, 256.
8. P.R.O., SP 14/128/50. Note that I have assumed that there were 250 households in the parish as is indicated by the Viewe of the State of the Clargie within the countie of Essex (1604), p.3 and the 1671 Hearth Tax assessment (E.R.O., Q/R Th 5). For Jack of Newbury and his fantastically large household workforce see Peter Laslett, The World we have lost (second edition, 1971), pp.161-2.
9. Sir Henry Ellis ed., John Norden, Speculi Britanniae Pars: An Historical and Chorographical Description of the County of Essex, Camden Society, 9 (1840), 9.
10. In 1575 the Colchester archdeaconry court priced cows at £1,13s,4d each and ewes at 3s,4d each. Calves were priced at 5s each and lambs at 1s,8d (E.R.O., D/ACA 6, fol. 166v). See also Peter Bowden, 'Statistical Appendix', in Joan Thirsk ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales: vol. iv, 1500-1640 (Cambridge,

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1967), pp.869, 834-8 (Table 4).

11. P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fol. a179; PROB 4/7798 (inventory, John Hudson); PROB 4/8985 (inventory, Stephen Howe).
12. For the buying of wool from Richard Banes or Baynes, a stapler who dealt in the fine 'march' wools of Shropshire and Staffordshire see P.R.O., Req 2/261/26; P.J.Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England (1962), p.81. For complaints about engrossing and price raising see Pilgrim, Cloth Industry, pp.57, 69-70; Bowden, Wool Trade, p.165. Such complaints tended to be made when trade was slack and the price of cloth depressed.
13. Eric Kerridge, Textile Manufacture in Early Modern England (Manchester, 1985), pp.17-8; P.R.O., SP 1/232, p.17; S.R., 27 Henry VIII, cap. 13; P.R.O., SP 12/106/48.
14. Kerridge, Textile Manufactures, pp.36-7; P.R.O., SP 14/131/40I.
15. Pilgrim, Cloth Industry, p.14. One part of dye stuff produced gave a plunket dye, two parts produced blue and four parts produced azure. See ibid., p.13.
16. P.R.O., DL 30/60/739, mems 17v, 29v. Dedham possessed a fulling mill before the middle of the fifteenth century when Sir John Fastolf, then lord of the manor of Dedham Hall, rebuilt it. Kerridge noted that fulling mills came into use earlier in England than they did in Flanders where, the country being so flat, there was less advantage to be gained by using water power. See

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- G.H.Rendall, Dedham in History (Colchester, 1937), p.32; Kerridge, Textile Manufactures, p.36.
17. S.R., 8 Elizabeth, cap. 6; Barbara McClemagham, The Springs of Lavenham and the Suffolk Cloth Trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Ipswich, 1924), p.21.
  18. P.R.O., SP 12/106/48; S.R., 5 and 6 Edward VI, cap. 6; J.F.Larkin and P.L.Hughes, Tudor Royal Proclamations (three vols, New Haven, Conn., 1964-9), iii, 54; P.R.O., SP 16/192/42.
  19. Laslett, World, pp.23-54. For a concise definition of social class as it existed in England following the Industrial Revolution, see E.P.Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1965), pp.9-11.
  20. For the status of carding and spinning as by-employments see P.R.O., SP 12/106/48; V.C.H., Suffolk, ii, 258; Kerridge, Textile Manufactures, p.212.
  21. For the status of weavers and shearmen as adult householders see A.P.C., 1616-7, 126; Bod., Firth MS C.4, p.495.
  22. Kerridge, Textile Manufactures, pp.184-5.
  23. Carew, Caveat, sig. V2; ibid., sigs V2-4; ibid., sigs X-Xv. Note that Carew calls bays and says 'Dutch worke' indicating that the ability to produce good cloth of this kind was felt to be a special skill possessed by the Dutch immigrants. For the cuts in the remuneration given to baymakers during the 1629 depression see Bod., Firth MS C.4, pp.495, 504, 511.
  24. William Hunt, The Puritan Moment, The Coming of

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Revolution in an English County (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), p.59; P.R.O., SP 14/127/102. The Council instructed the justices of the clothing hundreds of Suffolk to put down all "tumultuous and disorderlie assemblies" of outworkers (Pilgrim, Cloth Industry, p.67). For the threat of disturbances among the Essex outworkers see P.R.O., SP 14/137/13.

25. For the reduction in the remuneration paid to the baymakers during 1629 see note 23 above. For the standstill in trade and the fears expressed by the Witham clothiers see Bod., Firth MS C.4, pp.489-90.
26. Ibid., pp.501-4; P.R.O., SP 16/192/26.
27. For the petitions see Bod., Firth MS C.4, pp.494-5, 504-5. For the perplexity of Warwick and the deputy lieutenants see ibid., pp.509-11.
28. P.R.O., SP 1/51, fol. 128v.
29. Thomas Carew asserted that if the clothiers chose to have the whole process of manufacture performed by their domestic servants "they could not have the tenth part done that is now". See Caveat, sig. X2v. For the employment of household servants as a way of forcing down the wages of outworkers see Bod., Firth MS C.4, p.511.
30. Carew, Caveat, sig X8; P.R.O., PROB 11/86, q.89 (will, Thomas Glover); PROB 11/115, q.43 (will, Simon Fenn); PROB 11/101, q.16 (will, Edmund Chapman); PROB 11/143, q.19 (will John Anger). The only clothier from East Bergholt to leave bequests to his outworkers was John Goodwyn who left seven weavers and shearmen 40s each in

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1600. See P.R.O., PROB 11/96, q.39.

31. P.R.O., SP 14/72/70; Kerridge, Textile Manufactures, pp.36-7; V.C.H., Suffolk, ii, p.260. For a discussion of the dispute which brought about the imposition of this embargo see G.D.Ramsey, 'The Foreign Policy of Elizabeth I', in Christopher Haigh ed., The Reign of Elizabeth I (1984), pp.154-7.
32. D.M.Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors, 1547-1603 (1983), p.288. Palliser gives the port its Polish name of Elblag. For the name 'lunski' see J.K.Fedorowicz, England's Baltic trade in the early seventeenth century: A study in Anglo-Polish Commercial Diplomacy (Cambridge, 1980), pp.142-3.
33. Palliser, England of Elizabeth, p.287; P.R.O., SP 14/72/70; SP 12/209/102. These coarse cloths were often exported unfinished until this practice was forbidden by the statute of 1566. See Kerridge, Textile Manufactures, p.17; S.R., 8 Elizabeth, cap. 6.
34. Pilgrim, Cloth Industry, p.201; Henryk Zins, England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan era, trans. H.C.Stevens (Manchester, 1972), p.178; ibid., p.174; B.E.Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642: A study in the instability of a mercantile economy (Cambridge, 1959), p.267 (Table 12).
35. P.R.O., Req 2, 296/64; 405/11; 412/84. Libbeus Dimpleby was the sixteenth most highly rated of the 180 inhabitants of Dedham assessed for Ship Money in 1636. See E.R.O., T/A 42.
36. P.R.O., SP 14/128/80. The Subsidy roll (P.R.O.,

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E 179/112/588), the Ship Money roll (E.R.O., T/A 42) and the accounts of the Dedham overseers and churchwardens accounts (E.R.O., D/P 26/5/1), have been used to determine which of the clothiers listed lived in one of the three parishes. The clothiers who lived in East Bergholt, whose residence is established by their appearance in the parish book of that town (W.S.R.O., FB 191/A1/1) provided 6-7% of the cloths listed.

37. Zins, op.cit., p.185 (Table 7. 12); P.R.O., SP 12/209/93; SP 16/306/73.
38. Fedorowicz, Baltic Trade, pp.38-44. The figures for the annual increase in the number of 'Suffolk' broadcloths shipped through the Sound is based on Zins, op.cit., p.185 (Table 7. 12).
39. T.S.Willan, The Early History of the Russia Company, 1553-1603 (Manchester, 1956), pp.53, 211, 252.
40. Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the age of Philip II, trans. Sian Reynolds (two vols, Fontana/Collins edition, 1975), i, pp.621-6; P.R.O., SP 14/72/70.
41. Carew, Caveat, sig. X3v, P.R.O., PROB 11/84, q.80 (will, William Butter); PROB 11/88, q.89 (will, Thomas Glover); PROB 11/96, q. 39 (will, John Goodwyn).
42. Carew, Caveat, sigs X5, V7.
43. R.W.K.Hinton, The Eastland trade and the Common Weal in the seventeenth century (Cambridge, 1959), p.5; Peter Bowden, 'Statistical Appendix', in Thirsk ed. Agrarian History, pp.815-821 (Table 1); Zins, op.cit.,

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p.185 (Table 7.12); Hinton, Eastland Trade, pp.226-230 (Appendix D).

44. Ibid., p.36; Fedorowicz, Baltic Trade, p.92 (Table 6.2); Hinton, Eastland Trade, pp.227-8 (App. D); Zins, op.cit., p.185 (Table 7. 12); Fedorowicz, Baltic Trade, pp.142-3, Supple, Commercial Crisis, p.267 (Table 12); Pilgrim, Cloth Industry, p.180; P.R.O., SP 14/72/70.
45. Supple, Commercial Crisis, pp.76-7; Hinton, Eastland Trade, p.228 (App. D); Zins, op.cit., p.185 (Table 7.12); Hinton, Eastland Trade, pp.27, 174. For the merchants' complaint that the clothiers were demanding too high a selling price for their cloth see P.R.O., SP 14/131/40.
46. J.D.Gould, 'The Trade Depression of the Early 1620s', E.H.R., second series, 7 (1959), 90 ; Hinton, Eastland Trade, p.228 (App. D); Geoffrey Parker et al., The Thirty Years War (1984); Chronology, p.xxix, Fedorowicz, Baltic Trade, pp.176, 190.
47. P.R.O., E 134, Easter, 5 Car. I, suit brought by the Eastland Merchants against three Ipswich clothiers charged with interloping; Bod., Firth MS C. 4.
48. Hinton, Eastland Trade, p.228 (App. D); Fedorowicz, Baltic Trade, pp.230, 232; ibid., pp.92-6.
49. Calculation based on Hinton, Eastland Trade, p.228 (App. D); Pilgrim, Cloth Trade, p.70.
50. Hunt, Puritan Moment, p.61.

Notes for Chapter 3. Notes on pp.41-44

1. J.W.Kaye ed., The life and correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe, late Governor General of India, Governor of Jamaica and Governor General of Canada, (two vols. 1854), ii, 191; Anthony Fletcher, Reform in the provinces: The Government of Stuart England (1986), p.3.
2. S.R., 27 Henry VIII c.25, 5 & 6 Edward VI c.2, 2 & 3 Philip and Mary c.5, 5 Elizabeth c.3, 14 Elizabeth c.5, 18 Elizabeth c.3, 39 Elizabeth c.3, 43 Elizabeth c.2.
3. S.R., 2 & 3 Philip and Mary c.8, I.
4. Huntington Library, MS EL 6162, fols 34<sup>a</sup>v-36<sup>a</sup>; S.R., 39 Elizabeth c.3, I: Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The parish and the county (1924), p.222 for the monthly meetings of the 'Company of the Four and Twenty' of Braintree, the best documented close vestry in Essex.
5. Huntington Library, MS EL 6162, fol. 35<sup>a</sup>v.
6. Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (1967), pp.168-76, p.194; John Browne, History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the churches in Norfolk and Suffolk (1877), henceforward Browne, pp.18-20.
7. Collinson, Puritan Movement, p.213; B.L. MS, Lansd 25, no 30; Albert Peel ed., The Seconde Parte of a Register (two vols, Cambridge, 1915), i, 143-6; E.R.O., D/ABW 4/260, will of William Bettes parson of Wivenhoe witnessed by Chapman and Upcher. I am indebted to Mark Byford for this reference; G.R.Rendall, Dedham in

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History (Colchester, 1937), p.55; P.R.O., Prob 11/92, q.97, will of William Cardinall.

8. Usher, pp.27-8, Dowe was ultimately beneficed at Stratford St Mary in 1588 N.R.O., Reg/14.20, fol 159v.
9. Venn, part 1, iii, 250 for Laurance Newman; ibid., pt 1, iii, 240 for Robert Lewis; ibid., part 1, iv, 216 for William Tay; Newcourt, ii, 365 for Thomas Farrar; G.L., MS 9531/13, pt 1, fol. 205v for Parker's institution. See Appendix ii, *infra* for further information on the members of the Conference.
10. Of the thirteen who subscribed the order establishing the Dedham Conference seven, Edmund Chapman, Thomas Farrer, Richard Dowe, Thomas Stoughton, Anthony Morse and Richard Parker lived in the four parishes. For Morse's residence in Stratford see Usher, p.54. For Stoughton's at East Bergholt see Usher, pp.29, 59. By the beginning of 1585 John Tilney the curate of East Bergholt had joined the brethren and with two members from outside the four parishes having left the Conference and two others joined the proportion from the four parishes was eight out of fourteen. The departure of William Negus of Ipswich and Bartimaeus Andrews of Wenham, Usher, pp.43-7, left the four parishes with a still greater majority of the members, a situation which continued until the end of the Conference.
11. Usher, pp.25-27; Browne, op.cit., pp.18-20.
12. Usher, p.92; Collinson, Puritan Movement, pp.318-20.
13. Usher, pp.26, 42, 43, 47, 55.
14. Andrew Oxenbridge, who had been imprisoned at Wisbech

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for refusing the oath of supremacy in 1583, subsequently took the oath and agreed to submit to conference with Protestants about the truth of his profession. He was sent to confer with Chapman, apparently on the initiative of John Stubbs of Norfolk, in early 1585. See Strype, Annals, iii, pt 1, 276-7, J.R.L., English MS 874 fols 34 and ff; Glover was imprisoned by Whitgift early in 1586 but soon after released at the request of Lord Burghley Strype, Annals, iii, pt 1 634-5. Glover's chief heresy, taught in his pamphlet A Present preservative against the pleasant, but yet most pestilent poyson, of the privie libertines, or carnall Gospellers (1584?) was that the regenerate were wholly free from sin. Only those were in a state of salvation "which are in the state of true repentence ..., holy and blamelesse before God", ibid., sig. Ciiv. The Puritan clergy who denied this he called "libertine teachers", ibid., sig. A2. Glover may have derived this belief from the conception of the covenant taught by his mentor Robert Browne, this covenant being conditional on the believer's obedience to God's laws. See A booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are unto Turkes and Papists and Heathen folke (Middleburgh, 1582), sig. C4. Glover died soon after his release from prison. See Stephen Bredwell, A detection of Edward Glovers hereticall confection, lately contrived and proferred to the Church of England under the name of A Present Preservative ... together with an admonition to the

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followers of Glover and Browne (1586), p.20.

15. Directory (1644), sig. A4.
16. Usher, pp.43-6; ibid., p.47; ibid., p.55.
17. Ibid., p.69; J.R.L., English ms 874, fol 55.
18. Usher, p.38; ibid, pp.31, 39.
19. Usher, pp.61, 63, 66, 67, 71, 72, 73 for examples of matters deferred during the last three years of the Conference.
20. Usher, p.45; ibid., p.47.
21. E.R.O., D/ACR 6, fols 33v-34, will, of Thomas Webbe; P.R.O., Prob 11/23, fol. 170.
22. G.L., MS 9537/1, fol. 28v; G.L., MS 9531/12, fol. 464. I owe these two references to Brett Usher; Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1555-7, p.216.
23. E.R.O., D/ABW 25/180, 31/109; P.R.O., Prob 11/39, fol. 47.
24. Foxe, pp.382-3, 405-6, 412-3.
25. G.L., MS 9537/2, fol. 65v. I owe this reference to Brett Usher.
26. P.R.O., E337/4/Eliz 5, fols 44-45; Valor Ecclesiasticus, (three vols. 1810-17), i, p.444.
27. G.L., MSS 9531/13, pt 1, fol. 137v. I owe this reference to Brett Usher; G.L.R.O., DL/C/333, fols 26v 132v; G.L., MS 9531 pt 1, fol. 191. I owe these two references to Brett Usher; E.R.O., D/ACA 10, fols 58, 62.
28. Usher, p45; Directory, sig. A2v.
29. Loc.cit.
30. (Edmund Chapman), A breefe Catechisme so necessary to

be learned even of the simple sort, that whosoever can not, or will not attaine to the same, is not to be counted a good Christian, much lesse to be admitted to the Supper of the Lorde (1582); Chapman's Catechism was enlarged and reissued the following year entitled A Catechisme with a Prayer annexed, meete for all Christian families. It is chiefly noticeable for Chapman's difficulty with the article of faith in the Catholic Church. One should not profess to believe in the Church but only that there is a Universal Church he instructs the catechumen. See Catechism and Prayer, sig A5-A5v; Bartimaeus Andrews, A very short and pithie Catechisme: verie profitable for all that will come prepared to the Supper of the Lord ... (1586); Usher, p.28.

31. Ibid., pp.95; 87-8; N.R.O., Reg/14. 20, fol. 300 for Parker's institution to Kettringham. Chapman died before Parker had completed his redaction of the Conference papers. See E.R.O., D/P26/1/1, Burials, p.38; Usher, p.xvi.
32. Usher, pp.48, 53, 55; ibid., pp.57, 59, 61, 65, 66 for Chapman's general questions: ibid., pp.61, 62, 63, 69, 72 for Parker's Dedham questions.
33. P.L.Hughes and J.F.Larkin eds, Tudor Royal Proclamations (three vols, New Haven, Conn. 1964-9), ii, 127. Canons 77-9 of 1604 virtually repeat the Injunctions. See Edward Cardwell ed., Synodalia: A collection of Articles of Religion, Canons and Proceedings of Convocations in the Province of

Canterbury, 1547-1717 (Oxford, 1842), pp.291-2.

34. E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fol. 13, 116; Usher, pp.84-5;  
D.A.Cressy, Education and literacy in London and East Anglia, 1580-1700 (2 vols Ph.D dissertation University of Cambridge, 1973), ii, computer print out, unpaginated; E.R.O. D/ACA 26, fol. 131v.
35. G.L., MS 9537/5, fol. 63; 9537/6, fol. 57.
36. E.R.O., D/Q23/15/1, fol 1v; V.C.H., Essex, ii 505.  
These documents indicate that in the late 1580s the schoolmaster at Dedham received a stipend of £20 while his colleague at Colchester received £16; E.R.O., D/Y2/4, pp.101, 103, 135, 143, 149, 173, 193; Newcourt, ii, 374.
37. Usher, p.57; C.A.Jones, A History of Dedham (Colchester, 1907), p.124 records Gale's appointment as master, February 18 1589/90; Usher, p.67.
38. Jones, History of Dedham, p.124; N.R.O., Reg. 14.20, fol. 274v; E.R.O., D/ACA 21, fol. 406v; D/Q23/15/1, fol. 2; D/ACA 21, fol. 477v.
39. Directory, sig. A2v; Albert Peel ed., Tracts Ascribed to Richard Bancroft, (Cambridge, 1953), p.39.
40. Collinson, Puritan Movement, p.299; D.H.Fleming ed., Register of the Minister, elders and deacons of the Christian congregation of St Andrews: Comprising the proceedings of the kirk session and of the Court of the Superintendent of Fife, Fothrik and Strathearn, 1559-1600, (two vols. Edinburgh, 1889-90); I, xxii-iii; quotation from eighth head of the First Book of Discipline of 1560, reproduced in ibid., loc.cit.

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41. J.R.L., English MS 874, fol. 53; ibid., fol. 52v-53.
42. Ibid., fols 49-50; ibid., fols 44-44v; Usher, pp.99-100.
43. J.R.L., English MS 874, fol. 49, article four; ibid., fol. 49v, article eleven. (Compare Usher, p.99, article three); ibid., fol. 49v, article fourteen and ibid., fol. 45, article eight, Usher, p.100, article fourteen; J.R.L., English MS 874 fol. 49, article five and ibid., fol. 44, article two, Usher, p.99, article four.
44. Huntington Library, MS El 6162, fols 34<sup>a</sup>v-36<sup>a</sup>; Usher, pp.99-100; W.O.Ault, 'Open-field Husbandry and the Village Community': Appendix, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, 55 (1965), 90.
45. William Littlebury's will, P.R.O., PROB 11/52, q.32; John Wood senior, buried 18 March 1576/7, E.R.O., D/P 26/1/1, (Burials), p.18; Ralph Starling, husbandman and clothier, buried 27 October 1580, ibid., p.22; John Browne senior, buried 2 January 1580/1, loc.cit., Michael Upcher senior, clothier, buried 20 June 1575, ibid., p.17; Richard Wood, will proved as of East Bergholt 18 June 1584, ibid., 67, fols 94-94v; the five who appear in both lists are William Butter, Henry Sherman senior, Pearce Butter son of William, Richard and John Upcher, all clothiers of Dedham. See P.R.O., PROB 11/52, q.32, Usher, p.101.
46. E.R.O., D/ACA 35, fol. 61; ibid., 3, fol. 57v; P.R.O., DL 30/60/739, mem. 19; ibid., 61/743, mem. 6.

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47. Ibid., 746, fol. a29v; ibid., fol. a72v; PROB 11/71, fols 7v-8v.
48. QSR IVa, 17; P.R.O., DL 30/61/739, mem. 29; Usher, p.99, article eight.
49. Henry Sherman senior, who with his son Edmund subscribed the Orders, had married a sister of William Butter who subscribed along with his son Pearce. See B.L.Stratton, Transatlantic Shermans (New York, 1969), chart B; P.R.O., PROB 11/38, q.5, will of Thomas Butter (William's father); ibid., 96, q.68, will of Pearce Butter. The third family, the Upchers, was represented by the brothers John and Stephen, and their nephew Richard. See P.R.O., PROB 11/57, q.38, will of Michael Upcher senior.
50. G.L.R.O., DL/C/213, p.633 gives his age as twenty five in May 1590. This is probably a mistake for thirty five since his father made him executor of his will in June 1575 which he would have been unlikely to do had his been a boy of ten or eleven. See P.R.O., PROB 11/57, q.38.
51. J.R.L., English MS, fol. 44v; William and Pearce Butter, John Upcher and Henry Sherman left idiosyncratic preambles. See P.R.O., PROB 11/84, q.80; ibid., 96, q.68; ibid., 71, q.41; ibid., 76, q.51. Of the other four Richard Clark, Stephen Upcher and Edmund Sherman left common form preambles and Richard Upcher left no preamble at all. See E.R.O., D/ABW 10/172; P.R.O., PROB 11/84, q.67; ibid., 97, q.24; ibid., 118, q.68. The other ancient, Thomas Allen, had left Dedham

- and was living at Virley, near Peldon, when he made his will in 1602. See F.G.Emmison ed., Elizabethan Life: Wills of Essex gentry and yeomen preserved in the Essex Record Office (Chelmsford, 1980), p.114.
52. These were Pearce Butter and Edmund Sherman who both made their wills in 1599.
  53. E.R.O., D/ACA 19, fols 71, 88, 98v, 118v, 128, 171, 183, 404; ibid., fols 88, 161, 4 November 1590-April 13 1591.
  54. Usher, p.100; Martin Ingram, 'Religion, communities and moral discipline in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England: Case studies', in Kaspar von Greyerz ed, Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe (1984), p.190 and passim.
  55. Usher, p.99; J.R.L., English MS 874, fol. 44v.
  56. QSR, XVIII, 183-4; ibid., XXb, 252; ibid., XXa, 130.
  57. An account of the manors of Manningtree written in 1728 asserts that the manor of Sheddinghoo held a leet until the end of the seventeenth century after which it stopped meeting and the records were lost. See E.R.O., D/DHW. T4/8.
  58. P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fol. 175; E.R.O., D/ACA 4, 5, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33.
  59. Usher, pp.65, 89.
  60. The trend in presentments for this offence was broadly similar for Dedham and Manningtree until the 1630s when there was another surge in the second town. Note that Manningtree cases include cases from the hamlet of Mistley which belonged to the same parish.

61. For the August recess see E.R.O., D/ACA, *passim*. The quarter bill system seems to have been an innovation of the 1580s and may have derived from a 1581 Privy Council order that parishes certify all recusants within their boundaries once a quarter. See B.W.Quintrell, The government of the County of Essex, 1603-1642 (Ph.D.dissertation, University of London, 1965), pp.167-8. For references to such bills see E.R.O., D/ACA 11, fols 13, 108; 14, fols 87v, 137v, 139v, 187.
62. J.P.Anglin, 'The Essex Puritan Movement and the "Bawdy" courts', in A.J.Slavin ed., Tudor men and institutions: Studies in English law and government (Baton Rouge, 1972), 183, note 43; J.R.L., English MS, fol. 53; Usher, p.73.
63. A procedure for estimating the number of brides pregnant at marriage is set out by P.E.H.Hair, 'Bridal Pregnancy in earlier rural England further examined', Population Studies, 24 (1970), 68-70. This technique has been followed except that no apparent first baptisms have been counted as such when occurring more than thirty six months after marriage because of the defective character of the parish registers; the incompleteness of the registers is shown by the case of John Stanton's wife who, according to the register, had her first child baptised in May 1594 but who was presented with her husband for ante nuptial pregnancy in February 1592-3. See E.R.O., D/P 26/1/1, baptisms, p.43; D/ACA 19, fol. 431v.

64. Peter Laslett, 'The bastardy prone sub society', in Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen and R.M.Smith eds, Bastardy and its Comparative History (1980), 220; David Levine and Keith Wrightson, 'The social context of illegitimacy in Early Modern England', in *ibid.*, 163.
65. Peter Laslett, The World we have lost (Second Edition, 1971), pp.150-52; E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fol. 257. Note that the rigorist Thomas Upcher was prepared to vouch for the probity of the couple; Hair, 'Bridal Pregnancy', 61, gives a range of 13-26% for the period 1500-1700.
66. Levine and Wrightson, 'The social context of illegitimacy', 164.
67. E.R.O., D/ACA 14, fols 79v, 83v (Browne), 89, 94v, 96, 123v. Browne and his wife may have been denied the Eucharist by Parker for this offence. See E.R.O., D/ACA 14, fol. 70v.
68. Keith Wrightson and David Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700 (1979), p.133.
69. Peel, Seconde Parte, vol II. 162; E.R.O., D/ACA 21, fol. 41v; A Viewe of the State of the Clargie within the Countie of Essex (1604), p.3.
70. E.R.O., D/P 26/1/1, baptisms and burials; Peter Laslett, 'Introduction: Comparing illegitimacy over time and between cultures', in Laslett et al., Bastardy, 14, Table 1.1(a) gives a rate of 1.95%, 1560-79, based on a ninety eight parish sample. A national rate of 3.1%, 1590-9, is given in the same table; Levine and Wrightson, 'Social context', 163 and 165 (Fig 5.1).

71. Wrightson and Levine, Terling, p.133.
72. E.R.O., D/ACA 5, fol. 89v (Dedham); D/ACA 8, fols 113, 114, 114v, 118v, 119, 119v, 124v, 125, 125v, 135, 155v, 251v, 263, 311v (Manningtree).
73. E.R.O., D/ACA 9, fols 193, 226, 10, fols 5, 105; 14, fols 26, 37, 85. Seven of the ten cases were presented before the promulgation of the Orders. There were five cases in the 1590s and eight in the 1600s.
74. Usher, p.53; E.R.O., D/ACA 39, fol. 146v records the detection in May 1617 of the wealthy clothier George Lewes for bringing home a piece of cloth on the Sabbath.
75. E.R.O., D/ACA 9, fol. 126v; 14, fols 70v, 73v; 19, fols 12v, 159, 225; 24; fol. 59v; 26, fols 58v, 124v; 31, fol. 97v; 33, fol. 7. For the Manningtree cases see E.R.O., D/ACA 14, fols 95, 159; 19, fols 133, 285; 24, fol. 104; 26, fols 145v, 149; 29, fol. 370v. These give a total of two individuals presented during the 1580s, four during the 1590s and three during the 1600s.
76. E.R.O., Q/RL v4; v7; v15; v20; P.R.O., SP 16/529/117.
77. Aylmer enjoined the vicar of Dedham to wear the surplice and observe the order of the Prayer Book at the beginning of 1583 and threatened that he would be called before the High Commission if he failed to conform. He was not in fact proceeded against but during the 1586 visitation he was threatened with deprivation for his refusal to wear the surplice. See Usher, p.101; Peel, Seconde Parte, ii, 164. Such harrassment would have been conducive to the frame of mind which led

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Parker to inform William Tay that "I see a miserable desolation like to come upon us" at the beginning of 1588. See Usher, pp.83-4. For the Profession see J.R.L., English MS 874, fols 44-5.

78. Usher, pp.48-9; ibid., p.62; J.R.L., English MS, fol.51.
79. E.R.O., D/ACA 14, fols 77v, 154; 17, fol 16; Usher, p.84. E.R.O., D/ACA 14, fol. 233v; 17, fol.85.
80. In drawing up interrogatories for the promoted suit of Martin v Parker Parker charged Ellinot with being a simpleton and easily influenced. See G.L.R.O., DL/C/213, pp.645, 646. For the contumacies of the church officers in failing to make returns see E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fols 84v, 96, 105v, 116v, 130v. For Ellinot's admission see E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fol. 156. For Parker's assertion see ibid., fol. 191. For Parker's theft of the surplice from the sexton see ibid., fol. 293v. For the contretemps between Parker and Upcher see ibid., fol. 295.
81. Collinson, Puritan Movement, pp.438-9. E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fols 105, 237; G.L.R.O., DL/C; 213, pp.634, 646.
82. On the canonical penalty for ministers guilty of sexual offences see Martin Ingram, Ecclesiastical justice in Wiltshire, 1600-1640, with special reference to cases concerning sex and marriage (Ph.D.dissertation, Oxford University, 1976), p.159. For Parker's resignation see G.L., MS 9531/13, pt 1, fol 251. For his performance of penance see E.R.O., D/ACA 19, fols 101, 117.
83. J.R.L., English MS 874, fol. 31; Usher, pp.45-6;

- Browne, p.125; E.R.O., D/ACA 24, fols 5v, 186.
84. Ibid., 26, fol. 91; G.L.R.O., DL/C/338, fol. 105.
85. For Robert Wright's carrer see Venn, pt 1, iv, 176 and William Hunt, The Puritan Moment: the coming of revolution in an English County (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp.96, 103. E.R.O., D/ACV 3, fol. 57; Viewe, p.3. Powell's successor, Thomas Ledsam, resigned the vicarage after a month and the next incumbent, Henry Sage, allowed the vicarage house to fall into ruin. See G.L., MS 9531/14, fols 63, 79v; E.R.O., D/ACA 31, fol. 28.
86. For Cottesford's leading role in parish affairs see G.H.Rendall, 'Dedham in the seventeenth century: Part 1.', Essex Review, 39 (1930), 77. He remained vicar of Dedham until his death in 1641. See Newcourt, ii, 210. Edmund Chapman died on 7 November 1602 and John Rogers, his successor, became lecturer in 1605. See Rendall, Dedham in History, pp.63, 88.
87. In the interrogatories drawn up for Martin v Parker the vicar claimed that Upcher's encouragement of the suit was motivated by malice. See G.L.R.O., DL/C/213, pp.644, 646.

1. 'A mournefull epitaph upon the death of that reverend worthy Pastor Mr John Rogers, late preacher of God's word at Dedham in Essex ...' (1642): printed in H.F.Waters, Genealogical Gleanings in England (Boston, Mass. 1901), pp.234-6; G.H.Rendall, Dedham in History (Colchester, 1937), pp.133 (genealogical table), 97-8; Giles Firmin, The Real Christian, or a Treatise of Effectual Calling (1670).
2. Rendall, op.cit., 100-4, 129-32; Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (New York; facsimile edition, 1972), pt 3, pp.19-20.
3. Harold Smith, The Ecclesiastical History of Essex (Colchester, 1932?), p.26; G.H.Williams, 'The life of Thomas Hooker in England and Holland', in idem et al. eds, Thomas Hooker: Writings in England and Holland, 1626-1633 (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp.6, 12-14, 20-4; Smith, op.cit., pp.26, 39.
4. The works consulted were the following: John Rogers, The Doctrine of Faith (second edition, 1627), henceforward listed as Doctrine, and A Godly and Fruitful Exposition upon all the First Epistle of Peter (1650), henceforward listed as Exposition; Daniel Rogers, The Practicall Catechisme (1632), henceforward listed as Catechism, and A Treatise of the Two Sacraments of the Gospel (1633), henceforward listed as Two Sacraments; Thomas Hooker, G.H.Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings.
5. Norman Pettit, The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life (New Haven, Connecticut,

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- 1966), pp.36, 75; William Fenner, A Treatise of the Affections (1642), p.197; Catechism, pt 3, p.108; Doctrine, p.213; Sargent Bush, Jr, The Writings of Thomas Hooker: Spiritual adventure in two worlds (Wisconsin, 1980), p.123 for Hooker's belief that Baptism constituted a seal of grace for regeneration.
6. Doctrine, pp.315, 520, 6-10; Catechism, pt 3, p.131.
  7. John Rogers, preface to B.F., God's Treasurie Displayed (1630) (henceforward Preface), sig. A5; Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, docs vi and vii.
  8. Ibid., pp.203, 232-3; Doctrine, p.224.
  9. D.N.B., Adam Harsnett; Harsnett, A Touchstone of Grace (second edition, 1635), p.130.
  10. Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, p.222; Fenner, Treatise, pp.3, 99.
  11. D.N.B., Nehemiah Rogers; Smith, Ecclesiastical History, pp.42, 147; Nehemiah Rogers, 'The Indulgent Father...', in idem, The True Convert (1632), pp.170-262. Compare Doctrine, pp.60-200.
  12. Nehemiah Rogers, op.cit., p.277. Rogers is careful to combine his advocacy of private confession to ministers with an attack on "Popish Auricular Confession" as a device of human policy. See Rogers, loc.cit.
  13. Exposition, p.660; Doctrine, p.507, sig. A10.
  14. Pettit, Heart Prepared, pp.44, 37.
  15. William Perkins, A Golden Chaine (second edition, 1612), pp.401, 403; Nehemiah Rogers, 'Indulgent Father', pp.170-1, 123; Exposition, p.82.
  16. Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, pp.271-2, 290.

17. Doctrine, p.19; Catechism, pt 2, p.236.
18. Exposition, p.169; Nehemiah Rogers, op.cit., p.349.
19. Pettit, op.cit., p.53; Catechism, pt 1, pp.71-2; Doctrine, pp.121-2; Catechism, pt 1, p.77; Doctrine, p.90; Nehemiah Rogers, 'Indulgent Father', p.169.
20. Doctrine, p.90; Nehemiah Rogers, op.cit., p.170; Doctrine, p.85. Sometimes however, God, by the exercise of His inscrutable will, determines that the better disposed among the hearers of the Word shall suffer worse terrors than the visibly more sinful.
21. Doctrine, p.122.
22. Ibid., p.125, Nehemiah Rogers, op.cit., p.158; Doctrine, pp.157-73, esp. p.162; ibid., pp.172-3.
23. Bush, op.cit., pp.186-203; ibid., p.172.
24. Pettit, op.cit., p.54; Richard Rogers, Seaven Treatises (third edition, 1610), p.125; Perkins, Golden Chaine, pp.379, 377.
25. Doctrine, p.23; ibid., pp.127-8, sig. A12.
26. Pettit, op.cit., p.61, notes that neither Richard Rogers nor the other pioneer preerationist, Arthur Hildersam, clearly defined the place in the ordo salutis occupied by those seeking regeneration. Richard Rogers stated that though the gifts of preparation are not of faith, "yet they are not without it" (Seaven Treatises, p.19).
27. Doctrine, p.205; ibid., p.250; ibid., p.249. See 2 Chronicles, 15; 16.
28. Nehemiah Rogers, 'The Lost Sheep' in idem, The True Convert, p.192; idem, 'Indulgent Father', p.156.

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29. Doctrine, p.340; Catechism, pt 2, p.214; Pettit, op.cit., pp.100-1.
30. Ibid., pp.127-9, 131; Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, Mass.; second edition, 1954), pp.404-5; Pettit, op.cit., p.139.
31. Bush, op.cit., p.161; Doctrine, p.153; Catechism, pt 2, p.234.
32. Exposition, p.660; Nehemiah Rogers, 'Indulgent Father', p.226; Catechism, pt 2, p.234.
33. Catechism, pt 2, p.101; Bush, op.cit., p.200.
34. Catechism, pt 2, p.232; ibid., p.22.
35. Harsnett, Touchstone, p.294; ibid., p.11; ibid., sig. A5v; Fenner, Treatise, pp.49, 53, 55; ibid., p.7.
36. Richard A.Muller, 'Perkins' A Golden Chaine: Predestinarian System or schematized ordo salutis?', Sixteenth Century Journal, 9 (1978), 77; Perkins, Golden Chaine, pp.393-4.
37. Exposition, p.270; Catechism, pt 3, p.19.
38. Perkins, Golden Chaine, pp.372-4, 395.
39. Exposition, p.52; Bush, op.cit., p.220-1.
40. Exposition, p.213; Harsnett, Touchstone, p.31; Exposition, p.362; J.Sears McGee, The Godly Man in Tudor and Stuart England (New Haven, Connecticut, 1976), pp.107, 251.
41. Catechism, pt 3, p.166; ibid., p.163; ibid., pt 2, p.129; Genesis, 25; 23.
42. Harsnett, Touchstone, pp.161-2; ibid., p.161.
43. Ephesians 6; 11-17; Catechism, pt 3, pp.168-9; Exposition, p.675; ibid., p.669; Fenner, Treatise,

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44. Catechism, pt 2, p.135; Doctrine, p.225; Exposition, p.598.
45. Exposition, p.455; Nehemiah Rogers, 'Indulgent Father', p.305.
46. Exposition, p.216.
47. Richard Rogers, Seaven Treatises, p.205; Exposition, pp.469, 476.
48. Doctrine, p.99; ibid., p.490.
49. Harsnett, Touchstone, p.141; Nehemiah Rogers, 'Lost Sheep', p.98.
50. Richard Rogers, Seaven Treatises, p.205; ibid., pp.397-8.
51. Exposition, p.529; Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, p.144.
52. Exposition, p.449.
53. Firmin, Real Christian, p.68; Exposition, p.529; Catechism, pt 3, p.71.
54. Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, p.113; Exposition, pp.335-7.
55. Catechism, pt 2, p.209; Hooker, 'The Carnal Hypocrite', in Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, pp.91-123, esp p.118. The editors doubtfully assign this sermon to the year 1626, near the beginning of Hooker's brief ministry at Chelmsford.
56. Exposition, p.293; Nehemiah Rogers, 'Indulgent Father', p.106.
57. Exposition, p.6; ibid., p.490.
58. Richard Rogers, Seaven Treatises, p.177; Two

Sacraments, pt 2, pp.11, 14.

59. Doctrine, p.295. Richard Parker had earlier incurred excommunication and a High Commission suit against him for denying the Eucharist to a supposed evil liver rather than one merely ill instructed in doctrine. See E.R.O., D/ACA14, fols 70v, 77v, 154, 233v; 17, fols 16, 54.
60. Smith, Ecclesiastical History, p.45; Pettit, op.cit., pp.101-4. For the careers of Weld and Shepherd see D.N.B., Thomas Weld, Thomas Shepard (sic). For the restricted target of Weld's sermons see Edmund S.Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and domestic relations in seventeenth century New England (New York; revised edition, 1966), pp.174-5. See idem, Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan idea (New York, 1963), pp.88-100 for an account of the development and character of the examination of prospective church members to see whether they had experienced the recognized stages of conversion. For Sidrach Simpson see ibid., p.72 and Exposition, sigs A2-2v.
61. Michael McGiffert, 'God's Controversy with Jacobean England', A.H.R., 88 (1983), 1151-2; idem 'Grace and Works: The rise and division of covenant divinity in Elizabethan Puritanism', Harvard Theological Review, 75 (1982), 463-502, esp. 483-4, 492-5; Two Sacraments, pt 1, p.74; Doctrine, p.213; Pettit, op.cit., pp.92, 75.
62. Exposition, p.168; Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, p.252, Miller, New England Mind, op.cit., for this comment on the provisional character of a

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collective covenant.

63. Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, p.237, ibid., docs vi and vii give the texts of these sermons. For the fate of Bohemia and the Palatinate see ibid., pp.232-3.
64. Preface, sig. A5; Doctrine, p.43.
65. Preface, sig, A5v; Smith, Ecclesiastical History, pp.25-6. Nehemiah Rogers, 'Indulgent Father', p.141; Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings, pp.202, 195.
66. Exposition, p.241; Doctrine, p.399.
67. Williams et al. eds, Hooker: Writings; p.236; Exposition, pp.337, 532. In 1641 however, Stephen Marshall of Finchingfield (about twenty five miles from Dedham) warned the House of Commons that even if it acted to suppress idolatory and prophaneness the Lord might still refuse to spare England just as he brought down Judah despite Josiah's reformation. See Stephen Marshall, Reformation and Desolation (published, 1642), pp.1, 8.
68. Catechism, pt 2, p.181; ibid., pp.195, 204; ibid., pt 3, p.192.
69. Doctrine, pp.264-5, 268, 452.
70. Exposition, pp.62, 241, 487; ibid., p.596; ibid., p.6; ibid., p.582. For Foxe's chronology of the binding of Satan and the waxing power of the Antichrist see V.Norskov.Olsen, John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church (Berkeley, Calif., 1973), pp.69-73.
71. Doctrine, pp.11, 244-5.
72. Harsnett, Touchstone, p.86; Doctrine, p.423.

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73. Harsnett, Touchstone, p.52; Exposition, p.423.
74. Rendall, Dedham in History, p.112; ibid., p.104;  
E.R.O., D/ACA 47, fols 28, 34v, 97v; Ernest Axon ed.,  
Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier of Denton, Chetham  
Society, 97 (1937), 50; Exposition, p.486.
75. Waters, Genealogical Gleanings, p.235; Pettit, op.cit.,  
p.186.
76. Firmin, Real Christian, p.153 (see Doctrine, sig. A5v);  
Benjamin Brook, The lives of the Puritans (three  
volumes, 1813), ii, 422; Firmin, op.cit., sig. B2v.

1. John Rogers, A Godly and Fruitful Exposition upon all the First Epistle of Peter (1650), p.231; ibid., p.169.
2. For the sense of diffuse numinousness experienced by members of the unreformed church see Keith Thomas, Religion and the decline of magic (Peregrine books, 1978), pp.28-57. For Calvin's conviction that God was unknowable, except in so far as He had chosen to reveal Himself in Scripture, see Francois Wendel, Calvin, trans. Philip Mairet (Collins/Fontana, 1965), pp.152-4; John Bossy has argued that the Lutheran doctrine of the atonement emphasised its arbitrary and penal character in contrast to the Anselmian exposition of the dogma in terms of kinship which indicated the interpenetration of the divine and human spheres. See Bossy, Christianity in the West (Oxford, 1985), pp.92-3.
3. For a brief exposition of the centrality of the preaching and discussion of the Word in Reformed religion see Richard Rogers, Seaven Treatises (third edition, 1610), pp.175-6.
4. G.H.Rendall, 'The Church of St Mary, Dedham', Essex Review, 28 (1919), 137-42; idem 'The Church of St Mary, Dedham', continued, ibid., 29 (1920), 3-7.
5. Foxe, iv, 706-7. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, Suffolk and the Tudors (Oxford, 1986), pp.154-5.
6. E.S.R.O., W10/138. Spere's bequest of his soul to the Holy Trinity rather than to Mary and the saints, perhaps formulated by Sir John Adrian, the parish priest who drew up the will, indicates that Protestant doctrines were already influential in the town.

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T.F.Paterson, East Bergholt in Suffolk (Cambridge, 1923), pp.90-1; P.R.O., C4/45. I am grateful to Diarmaid MacCulloch for this reference.

7. For the hybrid preambles see E.S.R.O., W15/143 (William Coke) and P.R.O., PROB 11/35, fol. 170 John Soffham.
8. P.R.O., PROB 11/38, fol. 23v; E.R.O., D/ABW 25/180.
9. Spufford, 'The scribes of villagers' wills in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their influence', Local Population Studies, 7 (1971), 28-43. The substance of this article was reprinted in idem, Contrasting Communities (Cambridge, 1974), pp.320-334.
10. For evidence of Edward Riche acting as a proctor for the Suffolk archdeaconry court see the wills of Margaret Goodwin and Francis Linckollne (E.S.R.O., W 25/147; W 28/130). For similar evidence with respect to John Phillippes see the will of William Gladden (E.S.R.O., W 70/50).
11. For an example of the short preamble employed by John Stevenson see the will of Daniel Backon (E.S.R.O., W 69/13. For his longer type of preamble see the will of Alice Barnes (E.S.R.O., W 62/168).
12. The four wills were those of Thomas Bateman, Edward Shoppe, Anne Trafford and Margaret Burrough. See E.S.R.O., W 22/122; W 25/100; W 21/309; N.R.O., 111 Woodstocke.)
13. E.S.R.O., W 38/107. The scribe of this will was one Richard Bragge who also drew up the will of Elizabeth Cole of Dedham. See E.R.O., D/ACW 3/13.
14. For Chute's career as schoolmaster see E.R.O., D/Q

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23/15/1, fols 73<sup>a</sup>v, 74<sup>a</sup>. He drew up the first will he wrote for an inhabitant of Dedham in 1614 and the last in 1638. See the wills of Thomas Robertson and Abraham Watson (E.R.O., D/ABW 32/250; D/ABW 56/215. For the clothworker William Warner see the will he drew up for himself in 1648 (E.R.O., D/ACW 15/60). For the clothier Issac Ham see the will of Richard Petfield (E.R.O., D/ACW 15/195).

15. 39% of male testators from Dedham (and 38% of those from East Bergholt) bequeathed a total of £50 or more. This may be compared with the 37% of those inhabitants of Dedham assessed for the Subsidy of 1524/5 and the Hearth Tax of 1671 who may be assigned to the first two of the four wealth categories distinguished by Wrightson and Levine. See P.R.O., E 179/108/154; E.R.O., Q/R Th 5; Wrightson and Levine, pp.33-5. Moreover those who bequeathed less than £50 tended to belong to the occupational class assigned by Wrightson and Levine to categories III and IV, namely craftsmen (including weavers and shearmen), husbandmen and labourers. There were, however, some exceptions to this rule. Thus Robert Tespen, a yeoman, left a total of only £40 and John Reynolds, a clothier, left £42. See E.R.O., D/ABW 38/41; D/ABW 44/250.
16. E.R.O., D/ABW 9/246; P.R.O., PROB 11/71, q.41; J.R.L., English MS 874, fols 44-45; P.R.O., PROB 11/68, q.12. For the relationship between John and Michael Upcher see the will of Michael's father, Michael Upcher the elder (P.R.O., PROB 11/57, q.38).

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17. E.R.O., D/ABW 29/121; P.R.O., PROB 11/66, q.20; E.R.O., D/ABW 9/228.
18. Ibid., D/ABW 34/316.
19. E.R.O., DP 26/1/1 (marriages), p.10; P.R.O. PROB 11/66, q.34.
20. Ibid., 11/62, q.49. Compare The Articles of Religion, Article XVII.
21. Ibid., 11/84, q.80. For Calvin's allegorization of the descent into hell see Wendel, op.cit., pp.82-3. Note that Butter was one of those who signed the 'profession' as was Henry Sherman the elder who acknowledged the "God of comforte (Holy Ghost) whiche hath sealed me up to the everlastinge covenante of eternall ioyes". See J.R.L., English MS 874, fol. 45; P.R.O., PROB 11/76, q.51.
22. P.R.O., PROB 11/165, q.53 (will of George Cole).
23. Ibid.; E.R.O., D/ABW 24/190 (will of Thomas Ludkin).
24. See the wills of John Goodwin, William Holloway, Robert Lincoln, George Hewburd and Samuel Skynner. (P.R.O., PROB 11/96, q.39; 11/113, q.24; 11/78, q.69; 11/94, q.54; 11/113, q.26).
25. P.R.O., PROB 11/69, q.24.
26. E.R.O., D/ACR 6, fol. 37; P.R.O., PROB 11/57, q.38.
27. P.R.O., PROB 11/88, q.89; 11/66, q.20; E.R.O., D/ABW 36/146.
28. E.R.O., D/ABW 29/121. Since Parker drew up this will it is perhaps surprising that he did not secure a legacy for Chapman as well as one for himself.
29. E.R.O., D/ABW 49/78; D/ACR 7, fol. 180.

30. See will of John Norden (P.R.O., PROB 11/78, q.91. One inhabitant of Dedham, the clothier John Pye, did leave £5 for the repair of the church at Manningtree. See P.R.O., PROB 11/145, q.13.
31. E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fol. 110; 26, fol. 186v. For the levying of rates for the repair of the church fabric see E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fol. 299v; 29, fol. 17; D/P 26/5/1 (churchwardens' accounts), pp.1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22.
32. V.C.H. Essex, ii, 110, C.Fell Smith, 'A note on Manningtree in 1611', Essex Review, 15 (1906), 155; V.C.H. Essex, ii, 110.
33. Edmund Chapman, A forme of prayer to be used in all Christian families, (1583), sig. C.
34. John Rogers, Exposition, p.62.
35. P.R.O., PROB 11/84, q.80; 11/45, q.13; E.R.O., D/ABW 43/185; 53/210.
36. Note however that William Butter was summoned before the archdeaconry court for his disorderly conduct in taking upon himself to bury a dead parishioner at a time when Parker was in defiance of the canons of the Church of England, suspended from the exercise of his ministry. Clearly a wealthy and pious inhabitant of Dedham was prepared to outrage the ecclesiastical authorities. See E.R.O., D/ACA 14, fols 252, 261v; Usher, p.83.
37. E.R.O., D/ACA 3, fol. 17v; 17, fol 224. For Parker's refusal to admit other parishioners to Communion see E.R.O., D/ACA 14, fol. 77v; G.L.R.O., DL/C/300, p.505.

38. For Parker's suspension see the order of the archdeacon's official for the sequestration of the fruits of the benefice of Dedham (E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fol. 237v, 17 October 1589). In December it was reported that the cure was unserved and in May 1590 Parker was still suspended (E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fol. 266; 19, fol. 4). The two men who attended service on the other side of the Stour were Thomas Sheelde the glazier and John Lufkin, a tippler. See E.R.O., D/ACA 19, fols 69v, 110; P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fol.211.
39. E.R.O., D/ACA 39, fols 1v, 114.
40. For examples of the formation of such antipuritan groups see Christopher Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the people', in idem ed., The Reign of Elizabeth I (1984), pp.215-8.
41. E.R.O., D/ACA 19, fols 100, 160. For Bradley's Papistry see his claim "that those that suffred in Quene Mares tyme were rebelles". (E.R.O. D/ACA 19, fol. 147). For Gedge's testimony see G.R.L.O., DL/C/213, p.628.
42. E.R.O., D/ACA 19, fol. 37v; 24, fols 8v, 204v.
43. G.L.R.O., DL/C/300, pp.313, 381-4; DL/C/301, p.295. I am grateful to Brett Usher for drawing my attention to this case.
44. E.R.O., D/ACA 17, fol. 299v.
45. Ibid., 14, fol. 85; 24, fol. 374; 50, fol. 216. For a description of the game of barley break see Thomas Wright ed., A Dictionary of obsolete and provincial English (1857), p.167.
46. For Firmin's relationship with John Rogers see

G.H.Rendall, A History of Dedham (Colchester, 1937), pp.98-100. Firmin, The Real Christian or a Treatise of Effectual Calling, (1670), p.162. For further stories of extraordinary popular ignorance see Keith Thomas, op.cit., pp.194-6.

47. Hosea 4; 1; Fenner, A Treatise of the Affections or The Soules Pulse (1642), p.189.
48. John Rogers, A Treatise of Love (1629), p.213; Richard Rogers, Seaven Treatises, p.191.
49. Christopher Hill, 'William Perkins and the poor' in idem, Puritanism and Revolution (Peregrine books, 1986), p.214.
50. "Who would looke for any other than loathsome life in the greatest number?" demanded Richard Rogers, "Christ himselfe affirming that his flocke is but small". See Seaven Treatises, p.221.
51. Compared to medieval preachers who customarily estimated the number of the elect at *one in a thousand*, Reformed divines who estimated the number at one in twenty seem most moderate. See G.G.Coulton, Medieval Panorama, (Cambridge, 1938), p.418; Patrick Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1988), pp.144-5.

1. Robert Allen, The Oderifferous Garden of Charity (1603), sig. A3v.
2. Tim Wales, 'Poverty, poor relief and the life-cycle: Some evidence from seventeenth-century Norfolk', in Richard M. Smith ed., Land, Kinship and Life-cycle (Cambridge, 1984), pp.351-88; Anthony Fletcher, Reform in the Provinces (New Haven, Conn. 1986), pp.183-201.
3. Wales, op.cit., p.354.
4. Fletcher, op.cit., pp.185-6.
5. Wales, op.cit., p.397; Fletcher, op.cit., p.186.
6. T.E.D., ii, 397; Fletcher, op.cit., p.213.
7. A.L.Beier, The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England (1983), p.4; David Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors, 1557-1603 (1983), p.127.
8. Robert Allen, op.cit., sig. A2v. For other examples of the literary presentation of the 'vagrant' stereotype, see William Hunt, The Puritan Moment: The coming of Revolution in an English County (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp.44, 51; Fletcher, op.cit., p.208.
9. "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." Hebrews, 13; 2; Felicity Heal, 'The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England', P&P, 102 (1984), 76.
10. Heal, op.cit., 87-8. In his A Treatise of Love (1629) John Rogers claimed that "it's a great disorder in some great mens' houses keeping open house at Christmas that the rude, idle and prophane come thither to meate" and commit "a great deale of sinne ... in their

unseasonable returning home, besides their rudenesse there." (Treatise, pp.212-3.)

11. Heal, op.cit., 84-6.
12. Rogers, Treatise, pp.223-4; Allen, op.cit., p.41. For further examples of divines who argued that the primary concern of the Christian benefactor should be with the welfare of the godly see Heal, op.cit., 83.
13. Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in pre-Revolutionary England (1969), p.280; Heal op.cit., p.84.
14. For the panegyric see J.E.Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (Fontana/Collins edition, 1976), p.36. Note that the Earl was indirectly linked to the parish of Dedham since William Cardinall of Egmonton, a native of that parish and brother in law of the lecturer, Edmund Chapman, served on the Council of the North under the Earl's presidency. See E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 39; G.H.Rendall, Dedham in History (Colchester, 1937), p.58.
15. Usher, p.100; E.R.O., D/ACA 52, fol. 94.
16. Allen, op.cit., p.42; W.K.Jordan, The Charities of Rural England, 1480-1660 (1961), p.96,
17. E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fols 39-40v. Note, however that just after the end of the period under study, in 1642 Mr John Chapman, the son of the lecturer, gave £100 for the benefit of the poor as a non-testamentary gift. For the relationship between the two see the will of Edmund Chapman (P.R.O., PROB 11/101, q.16). For the record of donations to the East Bergholt town stock, see

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T.F.Paterson, East Bergholt in Suffolk (Cambridge, 1923), p.121.

18. For those testators for whom the ministers acted as scribes see the wills of John Upcher (P.R.O., PROB 11/71, q.41); Robert Smith (P.R.O., PROB 11/66, q.20); James Smith (P.R.O., PROB 11/69, q.61); Michael Upcher (P.R.O., PROB 11/68, q.12); Issac Clark (E.R.O. D/ABW 9/246); William Cole (E.R.O. D/ABW 9/228); Margaret Starling (E.R.O., D/ABW 34/316); John Warner (E.R.O., D/ABW 40/81). For those subscribers of the 'profession' making wills before 1600 see the wills of Pearce Butter (P.R.O., PROB 11/96, q.68); William Butter (P.R.O., PROB 11/84, q.80); Henry Sherman (P.R.O., PROB 11/76, q.51); Edmund Sherman (P.R.O., PROB 11/97, q.24); John Upcher (see above); Stephen Upcher (P.R.O., PROB 11/84, q.67).
19. For John Pye see P.R.O., PROB 11/145, q.13.
20. For Savage and Lane see E.S.R.O., W 38/107; E.R.O., D/ABW 24/11.
21. Rogers, Treatise, p.42. Rogers' subordination of the far to the near would provide a plausible reason for ignoring the claims of the stranger poor.
22. S.R., 27 Henry VIII, cap.25.
23. Will of John Anger, P.R.O.; PROB 11/143, q.19; Ernest Axon ed., Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier, Chetham Society, 97 (1937), 47-52. For Robert Alefounder's will see P.R.O., PROB 11/157/49. Perhaps Robert Alefounder had heard the preaching of Jeremiah Dyke of Epping, who was fierce in his attacks on the behaviour

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of lay impropiators, and so decided to make his bequest for the purchase of impropriations. See Dyke, A Counterpoison against Covetousnes (1619), pp.54, 56.

24. See the wills of Edmund Chapman (see above) and Simon Fenn (P.R.O., PROB 11/115, q.43).
25. For William Butter's will and that of John Anger see above.
26. Jordan, Charities, pp.72-5.
27. For Littlebury's will see P.R.O., PROB 11/52, q.52.
28. For a record of the lawsuit and of the loans made from the young beginners' stock see E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fols 5,6,6v.
29. S.R., 18 Elizabeth, cap. 3; 39 Elizabeth, cap. 3.
30. See the wills of Henry Sherman (above); Thomas Glover (P.R.O., PROB 11/88, q.89); Pearce Butter (above); Simon Fenn (above); Edmund Chapman (above); Henry Sherman junior (E.R.O., D/ACA 36/146); William Glover (P.R.O., PROB 11/113, q.39); E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 15. By 1604 £45 had been bequeathed to this stock by testators and in that year the governors contributed £5 towards its increase but the origin of the other £50 is a mystery.
31. For Martyr's views see Allen, op.cit., p.37. For Bucer's see Heal, op.cit., p.83.
32. For the bequest of Brocks and Brewses see Littlebury's will. For the establishing of the 'Row' almshouses see E.R.O., D/P 26/25/73.
33. E.R.O., D/P 26/25/44; D/P 26/5/1 (accounts of overseers for the poor, unpaginated), account given 27 April 1629.

34. For the first reference to the existence of parish overseers in Dedham see the will of Simon Fenn (above). For their first account see E.R.O., D/P 26/5/1 (accounts of overseers), account given 20 July, 1618.
35. For the need to increase the rent paid by the tenant of Brocks and Brewses see Littlebury's will (above). For the accounts of 1588 and 1614 see E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fols 144, 148v. For the extraordinary payment of 1622 see ibid., 150v.
36. See ibid., fols 144 ff. Tim Wales, op.cit., pp.355-356. The twenty inhabitants of North Walsham who received parish relief in 1621 were much outnumbered by the seventy eight who received small sums from the town land called Piggs Farm. There were two distinct systems of poor relief. See Wales, op.cit., p.359.
37. E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol 70v; Paterson, East Bergholt, p.114.
38. Ibid., fol. 73.
39. W.A.B.Jones, Hadleigh through the ages (Ipswich, 1977), p.33. Hadleigh was in fact chartered as a corporate town in 1618. See Hugh Pigot, 'Hadleigh, the town; the church; and the great men who have been born in, or connected with the parish', P.S.I.A., 3 (1859), 19.
40. E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fols 70v-71; QSR, XIXa, 57.
41. E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 71.
42. Will of Roger Moptete (P.R.O., PROB 11/86, q.65); E.S.R.O., FB 191/A1/1, fols 3v, 4v.
43. E.R.O., D/P 26/5/1 (accounts of overseers), accounts for

the years given; Wales, op.cit., p.376.

44. S.R., 5 and 6 Edward VI, cap. 6; 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 5; 5 Elizabeth, cap. 3; E.R.O., D/Y 2/2, p.41.
45. Usher, p.99; E.S.R.O., FB 191/A1/1, fol 1.
46. For the depressed state of the broadcloth industry during the 1620s see chapter two above.
47. The combination of generous provision for the poor and determined effort to restrict their numbers by preventing the building of cottages and treating bastard bearers with severity was practised by the parish officers of the Wiltshire parish of Keevil during the period 1560-1640. See Martin Ingram, 'Religion, Communities and Moral Discipline in late Sixteenth- and early Seventeenth-Century England: Case studies', in Kaspar von Greyerz ed., Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe (1984), pp.185-6.
48. For the small number of bastards born in Dedham see chapter three above.
49. P.R.O., DL 30/60/739, mem. 19.
50. Ibid., mem. 29.
51. P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fols 159, a15, a56, a216v.
52. S.R. 31 Elizabeth, cap. 7; P.R.O. DL 30/61/746, fol a216v; E.S.R.O., HA 6/51/4/4.17, mem. 87v.
53. Usher, p.100; P.R.O., DL 30/60/740, mem. 16v.
54. P.R.O., DL 30/470/3; QSR, XXc, 456. Such presentments were very likely connected with the reluctance of the early seventeenth century Essex bench to licence to erection of new cottages without the statutory four

- acres of ground. See Fletcher, op.cit., p.202.
55. Rogers, Treatise, pp.71-2.
  56. Ibid., p.226; Usher, p.100.
  57. For examples of such searches see P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fols 221, 221v; 60/740, mem. 16v.
  58. P.R.O., Req 2/181/73. For another account of this case see Mildred Campbell, The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts (Redwood press edition, Trowbridge, 1967), p.322. The author has misread Dedham as Codham.
  59. While Dedham contained over two hundred households in the early seventeenth century (see chapter one above) Manningtree possessed only one hundred at the same period. See C.Fell.Smith, 'A note on Manningtree in 1611', Essex Review, 15 (1906), 154. Mistleigh, where the parish church lay, was a small detached hamlet. See E.R.O., T/A 42 (Ship Money Assessment of 1636-7).
  60. J.S.Cockburn, ed., Calendar of Assize Records, Essex Indictments: Elizabeth I (1978), p.204; QSR, X, 82, 85; Cockburn, op.cit., 247-8, 255-6.
  61. Thomas, Religion and the decline of Magic (Peregrine edition, 1978), pp.652-669. Cockburn, op.cit., p.198; for the prevalence of indictments for witchcraft in Essex, in comparison with other counties see, J.A.Sharpe, Crime in Early Modern England (1984), p.55 (Table 1).
  62. John Rogers, A Godly and Fruitful Exposition upon all the First Epistle of Peter (1650), p.157.

1. Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England: 1560-1640' P&P, 28 (1964), 41-80; Parliamentary Papers, Reports from Commissioners (1867-8), 13i App. 4, 36-90. For the number of refoundations during the 1540s and 1550s see also A.F. Leach, English Schools at the Reformation (1896), extracts from Chantry certificates and warrants, pp.62-82.
2. For the large number of private schoolmasters operating in particular regions see David Cressy, Education and literacy in London and East Anglia: 1580-1700 (Ph.D dissertation, University of Cambridge, two vols, 1973), i, 100, 117; ii (unpaginated computer printout), passim; Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities (Cambridge, 1974), pp.171-91; Stone, op.cit., 46-7. As well as purely private schools there was an intermediate category of schools which possessed no separate endowment but received a regular income from the town estates of the parishes in which they were situated. See Joan Simon, 'Town estates and schools in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', in Brian Simon, ed., Education in Leicestershire: 1540-1940 (Leicester, 1968), pp.3-26. The grammar school at Hadleigh in Suffolk, about seven miles from Dedham, appears to have been of this intermediate type. See W.A.B. Jones, Hadleigh, Suffolk, Viking royal town, medieval wool centre, Jacobean borough and Archbishop's peculiar (typescript deposited at E.S.R.O., 1978), pp.83-4. For the predominance of curates and men just

out of university among schoolmasters see Cressy, Education, i, 154.

3. Cressy, Education, ii; C.Fell.Smith, 'Schools', V.C.H., Essex, ii, 510, 530-41; J.P.Anglin, 'Frustrated Ideals: the case of Elizabethan grammar school foundations'. History of Education, 11 (1982), 267-80.
4. The universities were admitting somewhere between 800 and 900 new students a year during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This probably made up less than one percent of the university age population. See D.M.Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth (1983), pp.45 (Table 2.2), 363 (Table 12.1). E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 15, specifying the teaching duties which the elementary schoolmaster, John Hargrave, was to perform in return for an annual grant from the revenues of the governors of Dedham Grammar School.
5. David Cressy, Literacy and the social order: Reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge, 1980), pp.19, 35-40. Contemporary opinion regarded a grammar school education as having near universal utility. John Dod and Robert Cleaver asserted that "it is found by experience, which is the best schoolmaister, that unto what occupation or science soever any young man shall bee put, the more skill and knowledge he hath in the Liberal Sciences, so much the more shall he learne his occupation; and the more readie and handsomer shall hee be about the same". See A Godlie Forme of Householde Government (1612), p.330.

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6. For the Colchester Grammar School see E.R.O., T/A 46; Smith, op.cit., 503.
7. E.R.O., D/Q 23/4; P.R.O., DL 30/60/738, mem. 2; 739, mem. 3v.
8. E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 5; D/Q 23/4.
9. E.R.O., D/P 26/25/24; Smith, op.cit., 505; E.R.O., D/Q 23/4; D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 1v; G.L., MS 9537/5, fol. 63; MS 9537/6, fol. 57.
10. E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 1; ibid., fol. 47. The two masters who did not possess masters degrees were Richard Ravens, who held the office for nearly six years between 1593 and 1599, and William Wise, appointed in May 1631, who held it for less than a year before being given a financial inducement to depart.
11. A Viewe of the State of the Clargie within the Countie of Essex (1604), p.3. In the parochial inquisition of 1650 Dedham was rated twentieth out of thirty parishes assessed in Lexden hundred. See Harold Smith, The Ecclesiastical History of Essex under the Long Parliament and Commonwealth (Colchester, 1932), pp.308-12.
12. Anclin, op.cit., 269; E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 68; ibid., fols 69-71. Money was spent on such matters as the erection of a memorial to Doctor Chapman and the maintenance of parishioners who had been sent to the house of correction in Hadleigh.
13. E.R.O., D/P 26/25/46; D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 71; ibid., fols 16, 71; Cressy, Education, ii; P.R.O., SP 16/520/70.
14. F.J.Furnivall ed., Harrison's Description of England in Shakspere's youth, New Shakspere Society, two vols

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(1877), i, 1, 77; D.N.B., William Harrison; E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 68; ibid., fol. 6; P.R.O., PROB 11/92, q.97; E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 39; D/P 26/1/1 (Burials), p.38; D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 69.

15. Ibid., fols 18-18v, 68-84. Despite the fact the Cardinall's will had specified St John's as the College which should be attended by exhibitioners six of the fourteen attended Emmanuel, three went to Trinity, two to St Catherine's, one to Queens' and only one to St John's while the college attended by the fourteenth student is not recorded. See Venn, i, 14 (William Aldridge), 32 (John Angier), 322 (John Chapman), 346 (Thomas Clark); ii, 25 (Samuel Deacon); iii, 116 (John Lufkin), 399 (Nicholas Prigge), 479 (Nathaniel Rogers), 480 (Samuel Rogers); iv, 62 (Edmund Sherman, John Sherman, Samuel Sherman), 394 (Anthony Whiting). Edmund Sherman was to return to Dedham Grammar School as schoolmaster.
16. Stone, op.cit., 71; P.R.O., PROB 11/92, q.97.
17. The claim that the governors reserved the free places for their own children and the children of other parish notables was made by Humphrey in 1610 and repeated in 1649. E.R.O., D/P 26/25/46; P.R.O., SP 16/520/70. Margaret Spufford points out that families below yeoman status were likely to be too dependent on the income produced by the labour of their children to allow those children to become full time scholars for any length of time. See Contrasting Communities, pp.172-3.
18. Cressy, Education, i, 184. The foundation statutes of

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the grammar schools at Dedham and of Bury St Edmunds specifically excluded illiterates. See E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 2; N.R.O., MSC 1/13, fol. 4v.

19. Cressy, Literacy, p.11; Usher, p.100; J.R.L., Eng. MS 874, fol. 49v.
20. P.R.O., DL 43/2/22, fol. 4v; G.L.R.O., DL/C/366, fol. 44; P.R.O., PROB 11/97, q.24; E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 15; ibid., fols 70-70v.
21. Ibid., fol. 73v for the record of payment towards the repair of the English schoolhouse; for occasional payments to English teachers see ibid., fols 71, 72, 73<sup>a</sup>v, 74<sup>a</sup>, 80.
22. For the first record of Chute's residence see E.R.O., D/ABW 32/250 (will of Thomas Robertson, weaver). For the last see E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 80. Chute was never elected to any of the offices of grammar school governor, churchwarden or overseer. See E.R.O., D/P 26/5/1 passim; D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 244v.
23. N.R.O., SUN 2 (a), fol. 19. Ravens was still resident in East Bergholt in 1589 when he acted as a witness of Lettice Dykes' grant (E.S.R.O., GB 2/466/1). P.R.O., PROB 11/39, q.96; T.F.Paterson, East Bergholt in Suffolk (Cambridge, 1923), p.98.
24. E.S.R.O., GB 2/466/1; E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 15.
25. Paterson, op.cit., p.97; E.S.R.O., EG 3/L 3/1/8; P.R.O. PROB 11/109, q.40.
26. E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 15; Cressy, Literacy, pp.19-25.

27. E.R.O. D/Y 2/4, pp.149-50; ibid., D/Q 23/15/1, fol. 40v. For Vossius and Scaliger see Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh', in idem, Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans (Fontana edition, 1989), pp.145, 156-61. The grammar school governors showed some broadmindedness in purchasing a book by so notorious an Arminian as Vossius.
28. E.R.O., D/Q 23/15/1, fol.78v.
29. R.S.Schofield, 'Dimensions of illiteracy', Explorations in Economic History, 10 (1973), 440-1.
30. The procedure followed is that specified in Wrightson and Levine, pp.147-8 except that testators have been excluded from consideration since a man on his death bed was unlikely to be able to sign his name even if he had previously been fully literate. See Spufford, Contrasting Communities, pp.196-7. Men endorsing documents with their initials have been counted as illiterate.
31. The East Bergholt parish book, which records the names of parish officers appointed during the seventeenth century, is rated unfit for production but the archivists of the East Suffolk Record Office generously allowed me to inspect it. I have counted overseers and churchwardens in both Dedham and East Bergholt as members of the elite of their respective parishes while the feoffees of the educational endowments established in East Bergholt have been treated as being equivalent in status to the Dedham Grammar School governors who

have been counted as forming part of the parish elite of Dedham.

32. Cressy, Literacy, pp.119-21 (Tables 6.1, 6.4, 6.5); ibid., p.7 for the way in which the acquisition of literacy led to a broadening of men's mental horizons.
33. Both the parish notables and the other inhabitants of Dedham tended to start to play a part in the affairs of the parish after attaining the age of thirty. Thus John Anger, who was baptised in April 1576, became a grammar school governor in June 1609, while the weaver John Orris, who was baptised in July 1564, first acted as homage juror in October 1594. See E.R.O., DP 26/1/1 (Baptisms), pp.23, 7; D/Q 23/i5/1, fol. 244v; P.R.O., DL 30/61/746, fol. a132v. David Cressy has adopted the figure of ten years for his standard 'age of a schoolboy'. See Cressy, Literacy, p.157. From the combination of these two facts a time lag of twenty years may be derived.
34. The figure of 13% illiteracy among all male inhabitants of Dedham during the 1630s and 1640s may be contrasted with the 63% illiteracy rate obtaining in the sixteen Essex parishes where the subscription returns for the Protestation or the Vow and Covenant, which were imposed between 1641 and 1643. The illiteracy rate in Dedham was more comparable with that obtaining in the

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four London parish with their mean rate of 22%. See Cressy, Literacy, pp.66-8, 195-6, 198.

35. For the inadequacy of ecclesiastical records as a measure of the availability of teachers see Rosemary O'Day, 'Church records and the history of education in Early Modern England: A problem in methodology', History of Education, 2 (1973), 118-21.
36. The 52% male illiteracy rate prevailing in East Bergholt during the twenty years after 1620 was identical to the rate recorded through the subscription of the Vow and Covenant by the inhabitants of Brantham, the detached township which belonged to a common parish with East Bergholt. See Cressy, Literacy, p.200.
37. Ibid., pp.128-9; E.S.R.O., GB 2/466/1. Katherine Barker, Lettice Dykes' mother, was however able to sign her own will. See E.S.R.O., W 35/52.
38. Cressy, Literacy, pp.183-6.
39. See chapter two. The weaver Robert Orris was owed sums of money varying from two shillings to £4.10s, by four individuals when he made his will in 1595. Robert's brother, the ploughman Adam Orris was owed money by ten individuals in February 1593/4 and himself owed money to three others none of the sums amounting to more than thirteen shillings. See E.R.O., D/ABW 42/58; D/ACW 2/146.
40. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, pp.212-3.
41. Despite the increased importance of the Bible however only thirteen Dedham testators (or 6% of the total number) specifically bequeathed Bibles or books of

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divinity to their heirs during the period from 1560-1650. Seven of the thirteen drew up their wills in or after 1630 making up 10% of the testators of those two decades. Thus there was a notable increase in such bequests as illiteracy went in to a steep decline.

42. For the assertion that illiteracy was a block against goodness see John Rogers, A Godly and fruitful exposition upon all the First Epistle of Peter (1650), p.247.

1. Wrightson and Levine, p.76; E.S.R.O., W86/103 (will of Christopher Lewis); E.R.O., D/ABW 55/153 (will of Ann Wilson).
2. Keith Thomas, Religion and the decline of Magic (Peregrine edition, 1978), pp.661-4, 673; Alan Macfarlane, The family life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth Century clergyman. An essay in Historical Anthropology (Cambridge, 1970), p.150.
3. Keith Wrightson, "Kinship in an English village: Terling, Essex: 1500-1700", in R.M.Smith ed, Land, Kinship and Life - Cycle. (Cambridge, 1984) p.332; Macfarlane, op.cit., pp.153-60.
4. The wills utilized include those registered at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (P.R.O., PROB 11, 43-180); those proved in the court of the Bishop of London's Commissary in Essex and Hertfordshire (E.R.O., D/ABW 6-57); those proved in the archdeaconry court of Colchester (E.R.O., D/ACW 3-15, D/ACR 5-7; those proved in the archdeaconry court of Suffolk (E.S.R.O., W 18-86); and those proved in the consistory court of Norwich (N.R.O., Microfilm registers 59-65).
5. John Bossy, Christianity in the West: 1400 - 1700 (Oxford, 1985), pp.117-8; Macfarlane, op.cit., p.145; E.R.O., D/ABW 57/31.
6. David Cressy, "Kinship and kin interaction in early modern England", P&P, 113 (1986), 59.
7. Wrightson, op.cit., p.324.
8. Wrightson and Levine, pp.133-6 gives the method for defining these categories. For the Subsidy assessment

of 1524/5 and the Hearth Tax assessment of 1671 see P.R.O., E 179/109/154; E.R.O., Q/R Th 5.

9. Cicely Howell, "Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands, 1280 - 1700" in Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk and E.P.Thompson eds, Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200 - 1800 (Cambridge, 1976), pp.140-1.
10. Wrightson and Levine, pp.99-100.
11. E.S.R.O., W 38/107; W 86/103.
12. The two ministers were appointed joint supervisors by Elizabeth Seache in 1620 and by John Anger (Angier) in 1624. (E.R.O., D/ABW 43/199; P.R.O., PROB 11/143, q.19.) Rogers also acted as executor for Richard Cooper in 1626 (E.R.O., D/ABW 47/36).
13. Wrightson and Levine, pp.101-2.
14. E.R.O., Q/RLv 15; QSR, XVIII, 168.
15. For Thomas Rande as surety see QSR, XVIII, 144, 168, 226; for Robert Rande QSR, XVIII, 126, 144, 168, 226. For the fact that the two men were friends rather than kinsmen see the will of Robert Rande (E.R.O., D/ABW 32/248).
16. For recognizances of John Bundocke see QSR, XVIII, 33, 70, 79. For those of Turner see QSR, XVI, 221, XVII, 144, XVIII, 41.
17. For Bundocke as surety see QSR, XVIII, 45, 57, 97. For Turner QSR, XVIII, 185. For the association between Bundocke and Wilkinson E.R.O., D/ACA 24, fol. 214v.
18. For the purgation of Orris see E.R.O., D/ACA 48, fol. 169. For the detections of Maidstone E.R.O., D/ACA 41,

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fol. 30; 49, fol. 55v.

19. Cressy, op.cit., 52.
20. For will of Robert Alefounder see P.R.O., PROB 11/157, q.49.
21. The fourteen were Thomas Morris (E.R.O., D/ACR 7/180); Hugh May (E.R.O., D/ABW 26/155); Henry Sherman (E.R.O., D/ABW 36/146); John Gybes (E.R.O., D/ABW 50/102); Ann Wilson (E.R.O., D/ABW 55/153); Mrs Dorothy Rogers (E.R.O., D/ABW 57/31); Ann Anger (or Angier) (E.R.O., D/ABW 47/230); William Glover (P.R.O., PROB 11/113, q.39); Simon Fenn (P.R.O., PROB 11/116, q.43); John Anger (or Angier) (P.R.O., PROB 11/143, q.19); John Pye (P.R.O., PROB 11/145, q.13); Robert Alefounder (P.R.O., PROB 11/157, q.49); John Wilkinson (P.R.O., PROB 11/172, q.122); William Fisher (P.R.O., PROB 11/178, q.99).
22. The will of Hugh May was proved in 1605. That of Thomas Morris was drawn up in 1580. The wills of John and Ann Anger were drafted in 1624, that of John Pye in 1625, that of John Gybes in 1631, that of Robert Alefounder in 1630, that of John Wilkinson in 1636, that of William Fisher in 1638 and that of Mrs Rogers in 1640.
23. For lists of Grammar School governors see E.R.O., D/Q23/4, p.7; D/Q23/15/1, fol. 244v.
24. Joseph Morse received bequests from William Glover, John Pye, John Anger and Ann Anger. Isaac Ham and his children were remembered by John Pye, Ann Anger and Mrs Rogers.
25. E.R.O., Q/SR 257/73; APC, 1627, 360-1, 374; 1627-8, 49;

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P.R.O., SP 16/39/3Iv; 76/13II.

26. E.R.O., D/ACA 49, fol. 34v.
27. N.C.P.Tyack, Migration from East Anglia to New England before 1660, (Ph.D.dissertation, University of London, 1951), Appendix 1, p.xli.
28. QSR, XXc, 508; E.R.O., D/ACA 54, fol. 9v.
29. David Cressy has emphasised that the character of kin recognition in early modern England was informal and the language imprecise. This lack of structural rigidity would tend to promote local and individual variety in the acknowledgement of kinship ties. See Cressy, op.cit., 66-8.
30. John Rogers' preface to his Treatise of Love (1629) is an encomium to the flourishing of good neighbourhood among his congregation "without rents or divisions, sidings or part taking, in peace and unity these three and twenty years of my abode". This he attributed to "the fruit of the Ministry of the Word". See Rogers, Treatise, sigs A3-A4.

1. J.T.Cliffe, The Puritan Gentry (1984), p.152; Richard Cust, The Forced Loan and English Politics: 1626-1628 (Oxford, 1987), pp.185, 328-31.
2. William Hunt, The Puritan Moment (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp.178, 187, 190, 193; Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Laudianism and political power', in idem, Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans (Fontana/Collins edition, 1989), pp.162, 166.
3. For the Montagu affair see Marc Lewis Schwartz, The Religious Thought of the Protestant Laity in England, 1590-1640 (Ph.D dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1965), pp.19-21; Hunt, op.cit., pp.179, 188; Trevor-Roper, op.cit., p.63. For Wren and Bargrave see Cust, op.cit., p.66.
4. Hunt, op.cit., p.273; Thomas Hooker, 'The Danger of Desertion', in George.H.Williams et al. eds, Thomas Hooker: Writings in England and Holland: 1626-1633 (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), p.244; John Rogers, A Godly and Fruitful Exposition upon all the First Epistle of Peter (1650), p.582.
5. For James' via media approach to religious controversy see Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', J.B.S., 24 (1985), 170-1; Richard Rogers, Seaven Treatises (third edition, 1610), sig. A3; John Rogers, Exposition, 343. James' status as a godly prince was bolstered by his sponsorship of a new translation of the Bible. See Fincham and Lake, op.cit., 181; Authorized Version, Epistle dedicatory.
6. For the Book of Sports see S.R.Gardiner, History of England from the accession of James I to the outbreak of the Civil War (ten vols, 1883-4), iii, 248-52. For

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the Directions to Preachers see J.P.Kenyon ed., The Stuart Constitution (Cambridge, 1966), pp.145-6.

7. P.R.O., SP 16/199/50I. Innes became vicar of Dovercourt in 1618 (Newcourt, ii, 220) and was soon at odds with the godly of the town. See E.R.O., D/ABA 2, fol. 92.
8. Hunt, op.cit., p.201; P.R.O., SP 16/457/4I. It is worth noting that this recusant was married to a soldier in the royal army. See P.R.O., SP 16/457/3.
9. For an attempt to explain Charles' commitment to uniformity see J.P.Kenyon, The Stuarts (Fontana/Collins edition, 1966), p.77. For the Catholic circle at Court see Anthony Fletcher, The outbreak of the English Civil War (1981), p.xxii.
10. John Rogers, Exposition, p.317. J.P.Sommerville, Politics and Ideology in England: 1603-1640 (1986), pp.127-31.
11. P.R.O., SP 16/39/3I; 54/47; 76/13I. The total of forty loan resisters from Dedham given by Richard Cust (op.cit., p.266, Table 1) appears to be based on miscounting.
12. For the pastoral economy of Ardleigh see Sir Henry Ellis ed., Speculi Britanniae Pars: An Historical and Chorographical Description of the county of Essex by John Norden, 1594, Camden Society, 9 (1840), 9. The only other resister in the hundred was Sir Harbottle Grimston of Bradfield, a member of the county elite and connection of the Earl of Warwick. See Cust, op.cit., pp.199, 262-3.
13. The number of Dedham inhabitants assessed to pay

subsidy was 53 in 1623, 51 in 1625 and 45 in 1628, giving a mean total for the decade of 49.6. See P.R.O., E.179/112/588; 607; 638. For the wills of Wilson, Cole and Alefounder see P.R.O., PROB 11/159, q.54; 164, q.53; 157, q.49.

14. For the justification of the loan as a response to military exigency see Cust, op.cit., pp.47-8. For the fear of invasion shown by the inhabitants of Essex see Hunt, op.cit., pp.190-1. For the actual depredations wrought by the Dunkirk privateers during the 1620s see Felix Hull, Agriculture and rural society in Essex, 1560-1640 (Ph.D dissertation, University of London, 1950), p.201.
15. Cust, op.cit., pp.56-7, 145-6; P.R.O., SP 16/57/1.
16. A.P.C. 1627, 360-1, 374; 1627-8, 49; P.R.O., PROB 11/180, q.125.
17. Among those arrested John Wilkinson and Richard Backler describe themselves as clothiers in their wills (P.R.O., PROB 11/172, q.122; 180, q.125). Thomas Browne appears on a list of manufacturers of coloured cloth compiled in 1622 (P.R.O., SP 14/128/80) while a 'Freeman junior' who features in the same list may be identified with the John Freeman of Dedham committed in June 1627. John Freeman's father, Robert Freeman, died in 1634. See E.R.O., D/ABW 52/154. For the unrest of 1620-2 see P.R.O., SP 14/137/13; 127/102. For the petitions from the clothiers' employees see Hunt, op.cit., p.203; E.R.O., Q/SR 257/73.

18. Though he was an Arminian in doctrine Mountaigne showed nothing of the partisan zeal characteristic of Laud. See N.R.N.Tyacke, Anti Calvinists (Oxford, 1987), pp.144, 192; Paul.S.Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships: The politics of religious dissent: 1660-1662 (Stanford, Calif., 1970), p.240. His first visitation articles show no hostility towards the lecturers in his diocese and inquired only if such had been allowed by episcopal authority. See Articles for the first visitation of George, Bishop of London (1621), p.87. When Laud became bishop in 1628 he divided his clergy into an Orthodox and a Puritan group, the category being indicated by the initialling of a letter 'O' or a letter 'P' against the name of each man in his list. See G.R.Rendall, Dedham in History (Colchester, 1937), p.124.
19. This estimate of the proportion of Essex clergy inclined to nonconformity is given in Kenneth Wayne Shipps, Lay Patronage of East Anglian Puritan clerics in pre-revolutionary England (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Yale, 1971), p.143; Harold Smith, The Ecclesiastical History of Essex under the Long Parliament and Commonwealth (Colchester, 1932?) claims that only two incumbents were deprived during Laud's episcopate (Smith op.cit., p.47).
20. Smith, op.cit., pp.23-6, counts eight lecturers without cure who were preaching in the late 1620s. For the Royal Instructions see W.Scott and J.Bliss eds, The Works of the Most Reverend father in God William Laud,

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D.D.Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (seven vols, Oxford, 1847-60),v, 307-9.

21. The case of John Rogers (see below p. ) implies that Laud regarded such subscription as sufficient evidence of submission. For Hooker see G.L.R.O., DL/C/343, fol. 84 (stating that his deprivation was due to his refusal to subscribe the 1604 articles). For Shepherd see Smith, op.cit., pp.46-7. One Walter Atwood was admitted curate of Wethersfield and licensed to preach on 5 April 1632; almost certainly he was designed as the replacement for a deprived or silenced Daniel Rogers. See G.L.R.O., DL/C/343, fol. 132; P.R.O., SP 16/218/43; E.R.O., D/ABA 5, loose sheet dated March 1631/2.
22. Daniel Neal, The History of the Puritans (five vols, 1793-7), ii, 251; E.R.O., D/ACA 47, fol. 97; Smith, op.cit., pp.43-4; P.R.O., SP 16/218/43. For Aylett's career see Brian.P.Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England: 1603-41. A political study (Oxford, 1973), p.207.
23. E.R.O., D/P 26/5/1 (churchwardens' accounts), pp.13-14; G.H.Rendall, 'Dedham in the seventeenth century: Church plate, furniture and accessories', Essex Review, 39 (1930), 129-31; E.R.O., D/ACV 5.
24. For these refusals see E.R.O., D/ACA 47, fol. 97v; 48, fol. 152; 49, fol. 160; 52, fol. 82. The two sentences which Cottesford may have regarded as too mild derived from instances of ante nuptial incontinence. The guilty couple in each case were ordered to confess their fault to the minister and churchwardens (E.R.O., D/ACA 46,

fol. 163; 49, fol. 151). In 1620 John Rogers had ordered a couple to make confession to the whole congregation of a similar offence (E.R.O., D/ACA 41, fol. 195v).

25. Christopher Hill, 'Occasional Conformity and the Grindalian tradition', in idem, Religion and Politics in Seventeenth Century England (Brighton, 1986), p.308; John Rogers, Exposition, p.279; Herbert, Church Militant, lines 235-6.
26. John Pym, for example, viewed Arminianism and Popery as essentially identical and therefore regarded the hierarchy as Popish. Fletcher, Outbreak, p.xxiv.
27. N.C.P.Tyack, Migration from East Anglia to New England before 1660 (Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1951), Appendix i. Note that my own total, derived from the information on emigrants from Dedham given in Appendix i, gives a maximum of forty nine migrants from the town whereas Tyack himself gives a maximum of fifty five (Appendix ii, p.iii).
28. David Cressy, Coming over: Migration and communication between England and New England in the seventeenth century (Cambridge, 1987), p.15; Bertha.L.Stratton, Transatlantic Shermans (Staten Island, N.Y., 1969), Chart B; P.R.O., DL 4/16/18, p.2. The remaining three migrants descended from members of the parish elite, included a grandson of the lecturer, a son of the John Anger who also fathered the preacher John Ang(i)er of Denton, and Samuel Sparhawk, brother of the fiery opponent of Laudianism, Edward Sparhawk. See P.R.O.,

- PROB 11/143, q.19; 173, q.22; Ernest Axon ed., Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier of Denton, Chetham Society, 97 (1937), pp.1-3, 47-52; E.R.O., D/P 26/1/1 (Baptisms), pp.47, 52; A.G.Matthews, Calamy Revised (Oxford, 1934), pp.453-4.
29. P.R.O., SP 16/276/1; 306/73-73I; G.E.Aylmer, Rebellion or Revolution? (Oxford, 1986), p.6.
30. P.R.O., SP 16/306/73; 288/63-63I; V.A.Rowe, 'Robert, Second Earl of Warwick and the payment of Ship Money in Essex', T.E.A.S., Series 3, vol. 1 (1964-5), 160-3; Hunt, Puritan Moment, pp.271-3.
31. E.R.O., T/A 42; P.R.O., E 179/112/588; 607. 178 Dedham householders were assessed to pay Ship Money in 1636-7 (E.R.O., T/A 42).
32. Tyacke, Anti Calvinists, pp.201-10; Trevor Roper 'Laudianism', pp.72, 94; William Prynne, A Quench-Coale (Amsterdam, 1637), pp.44, 312 notes the use of the word altar by half a dozen Laudian writers.
33. Tyack, op.cit., p.208; P.R.O., SP 16/327/101. For kelvedon see E.R.O., D/ACV 5, fol. 37.
34. E.R.O., D/ACA 51, fol. 27v. For the holders of cures in Colchester see G.L., MS 9537/14-15, call books for the archiepiscopal visitation of 1636 and the episcopal visitation of 1637. Three of the beneficed clergy recorded in these books (Stephen Nettles, Thomas Talcoate and Theophilus Roberts), had petitioned against nonconformity during the controversy over Hooker's deprivation in 1629. Another, Thomas Newcomen, was nearly lynched in August 1642 as a suspected

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- Papist. Samuel Cock of St Giles was to be sequestered as a scandalous minister. Talcoate, Roberts and Newcomen each held one cure in addition to their benefices. William Eyre and Gabriel Honeyfold held no benefice in the town but each served a cure there. Both had petitioned for conformity. See P.R.O., SP 16/152/4; Smith, Ecclesiastical History, pp.67, 115.
35. P.R.O., SP 16/223/4; 229/123. The verses are calendared as of 1632 but were almost certainly written during the winter of 1635-6 since they refer to the railing of the communion table in the parish church of St Nicholas, the completion of which railing was certified to the archdeaconry court on 6 March 1635/6 (E.R.O., D/ACA 51, fol. 61). For Roberts' service as surrogate see E.R.O., D/ACA 49, fol. 86; 50, fols 113v, 196; 51, fol. 36; 52, fol. 60. For the mobbing see Smith, Ecclesiastical History, p.67.
36. E.R.O., D/ACA 51, fol. 73v. Aylett later had cause to regret his toughness since the House of Lords was to order him to pay damages to the man's widow in 1641 (Smith, op.cit., pp.62-3).
37. E.R.O., D/ACA 51, fols 61, 67; Smith, op.cit. 413-6; Bod. Tanner MS 70, fols 107-11).
38. E.R.O., D/ACA 52, fols 107v, 130v, 147, 147v; 52, fols 154, 166v, 186, 199; 53, fols 14, 153, 184. For Langham see E.R.O., D/ACA 52, fol. 107v; 53, fol. 135.
39. E.R.O., D/ACA 53, fols 163, 182v, 200.
40. For plot phobia see Robin Clifton, 'The popular fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', P&P, 52'

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(1971), 25-6. For the Colchester stirs see P.R.O., SP 16/458/12-3.

41. John Rogers died on 18 October 1638. Newcomen, brother of the Colchester Laudian was admitted to his place on 28 February 1636/7 while nominally taking a curacy in order to appease the hierarchy. See Rendall, Dedham in History, pp.129, 134; G.L.R.O., DL/C/343, fol. 223. In the archiepiscopal visitation call book, however, Newcomen is returned simply as lecturer (G.L., 9537/14, fol. 4v). For Newcomen's sermon see Hunt, Puritan Moment, p.283.
42. P.R.O., SP 16/459/41; 464/79-79I: 465/4-4I.
43. P.R.O., SP 16/464/51; 466/112.
44. For an examination of the stereotype figures of the Cavalier/Swordsman and Roundhead/Puritan see David Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion. Popular politics and culture in England: 1603-1660 (Oxford, 1985), pp.142-4. P.R.O., SP 16/466/93.
45. For the popular perception that the Government had become arbitrary and tyrannical see Underdown, op.cit. pp.124-8.
46. Anthony Fletcher, 'Godly priorities', T.L.S. (1983), 720. Rogers, Exposition, pp.316, 340. For the conservative character of Puritan affirmation of the value of a national church as a bulwark against the radical sectarian tradition see Hill, op.cit. p.308.
47. Rogers Exposition, pp.582, 596-7, Hunt, op.cit., p283. For an example of Foxean "true obedience", in disobedience combined with expressions of loyalty and

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readiness to submit to violence see the 'Supplication of the inhabitants of Norfolk', in Foxe, viii, 121-9.

48. For Newcomen's analogy see Hunt, op.cit., p.296. For the strength of commitment to the Parliamentary cause among the inhabitants of Dedham see 'The Siege of Colchester [a contemporary account]', T.E.A.S., New Series, 4 (1893), 209-10.

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1. Patrick Collinson, 'The Godly: Aspects of popular Protestantism', in idem, Godly People (1983), pp.4-5; J.Sears McGee, The Godly Man in Stuart England (New Haven, Conn., 1976), pp.211-221.
2. John Rogers, A Godly and Fruitful Exposition upon all the First Epistle of Peter (1650), p.336; John Dod and Robert Cleaver, A Godlie Forme of Householde Government (1612), pp.310-11, 314. No orthodox divine, however, would endorse Robert Browne's claim that the covenant of marriage was broken "if by keeping together the one cannot hold the true religion through the untowardnes of the other". See Browne, A booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians (Middleburgh, 1582), sig. K2v. For a couple who acted according to Browne's principles, abandoning their former spouses because they were unregenerate, and agreeing to live together as man and wife see Martin Ingram, Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England (Cambridge, 1987), p.251.
3. Patrick Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England (1988), pp.146-7; Richard Rogers, Seaven Treatises (third edition, 1610), pp.125-42. The categories were childhood, youth and old age in faith; gross offenders, ignorant and careless professors, men of civil life, and schismatics and ordinate livers, among the unregenerate. John Rogers, Exposition, p.267.

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4. Patrick Collinson, Birthpangs, pp.148-150. When the parishoners of Kingston on Thames denounced their lecturer, John Udall, to the High Commission they claimed that Udall had sponsored the emergence of a godly group who <sup>called</sup> ~~elled~~ themselves the 'Children of God' and refused to associate with the other inhabitants. Had the emergence of an antipuritan group in this town been brought about because the godly had shunned the society of the visibly unregenerate or had the coalescence of a group which rejected Udall and his divinity led those who revered their preacher to decline to associate with the members of such a group? See Albert Peel, The Seconde Parte of a Register (two vols, Cambridge, 1915), ii, 39-47; Benjamin Brook, The Lives of the Puritans (three vols, 1813), iii, 3-23.
5. See above, pp. 114, 169-71. For Giles Firmin's anecdote about John Knewstubs see Firmin, The Real Christian (1670), pp.67-8.
6. John Rogers, Exposition, p.693.
7. See above, pp.117.
8. See above, pp.29-30; p.18; pp.143-7.
9. For the term 'the household of faith' see Robert Allen, The Oderifferous Garden of Charitie (1603), p.41. For the giving of legacies to godchildren by testators of Dedham see pp.155-6.
10. See above, p.115. For slackness in the observance of godly religion by the young people of other parishes see Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford, 1982), pp.228-230. For the failure of the

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churchwardens to present those who did not compel their children to attend catechism classes see E.R.O., D/ACA 21, fol. 4336v. For Simon Fenn see above, p.32.

11. See above, p.145. For John Rogers' assertion that rich men should devote part of their charity to the education of the children of the poor see Rogers, Exposition, p.247. For the Grammar School see above, pp.138-9; pp.50-2. For the exhibition see pp.142-3.
12. See above, pp.134-5; pp.123-6; pp.121-2.
13. See above, pp.22-3; p.3.
14. See above, pp.102-9; p.109.
15. For the lecturers of Colchester and Wethersfield see Harold Smith, The Ecclesiastical History of Essex under the Long Parliament and Commonwealth (Colchester, 1932), pp.23, 26.
16. Usher, p.99; John Rogers, Exposition, p.449.
17. Loc. cit.; John Rogers, Treatise, sigs A2-A4.
18. See above, pp.57-63. For the text about the city on a hill, famously applied to the Massachusetts Bay Colony by John Winthrop, see Matthew, 5; 14.

## APPENDIX 1

## Landholding in Dedham, 1570-1650.

## A. Holdings in the manor of Overhall and Netherhall, 1573

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total acreage
<u>30 acres or more</u>					
Richard Clarke	16a	37a	12a	-	65a
Margaret Godman	-	43.75a	4.5a	2m	48.5a
William Rande	7.25a	38.25a	1.25a	2c 2m 2wd	46.75a
Michael Upcher	42a	-	-	-	42a
John Warner	33.75a	5a	-	1c 1/2h 1m 3a alnet	41.75a
John Whitlock	6.25a	33.5a	0.75a	1m & gdn	40.5a
William Neverd	23a	5a	1.25a	1wd house 10a grovet	39.25a
Robert Crowe	-	34.25a	-	1m	34.25a
Katherine Hussey	16a	15.5a	2a	1m	33.25a
<u>15 - 29 acres</u>					
Ralph Starling	12.5a	16a	1.25a	2c 1wd	29.75a
Anne Foteman	-	22a	3.75a	-	25.75a
William Butter	19a	4a	2a	-	25a
William Bayning	22a	-	0.75a	1c 1m	22.75a
Henry Sherman	8.5a	8a	1a	1c 1m 3a grovet	20.5a
Arthur Gilgate	20a	-	-	1m	20a
Edmund Robinson	16.5a	-	-	3a alnet	19.5a
John Lewes	19a	-	-	1/2t	19a
Anthony Morse	17a	-	-	1m & yd lt.	17a

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total acreage
<u>5 - 15 acres</u>					
Robert Forth	14a	-	-	-	14a
Robert Smyth	9a	-	-	1m 1c 4a grovet	13a
John Chandler	12a	0.25a	-	1m	12.25a
Ann Webb	3a	9a	-	-	12a
John Garrard	9.25a	-	2a	1m & yd	11.25a
James Baxter	11a	-	-	1c & gdn	11a
Robert Crowe	10a	-	-	-	10a
Thomas Lufkin	10a	-	-	-	10a
Edward Watson	-	10a	-	-	10a
John Lufkin	6a	0.5a	-	1m 1w 3.25a grovet	9.75a
Robert Starling	3.5a	4a	1	grove	8.5a
John Woodhouse	2.25	5a	1.5a	2m	8.75a
Richard Thurston	-	5a	3a	1m	8a
Robert Webbe	3a	5a	-	1m	8a
John Bigge	-	6a	-	-	6a
Richard Cole	-	-	3a	3a pasture	6a
Sir Thomas Nevill	-	-	6a	-	6a
Nicholas Fince	6a	-	-	-	6a
Richard Rome	6a	-	-	1c 1/2h	6a
Robert Lufkin	-	5a	-	-	5a
John Upcher	-	4a	1a	1/2m 2 govets	5a
John Rye	4a	-	1a	1c	5a

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total acreage
<u>2 - 4 acres</u>					
Thomas Craddock	4.5a	-	-	1m & orch	4.5a
William Levons	4.5a	-	-	1t	4.5a
Hugh May	3.5a	0.75a	-	-	4.25a
Alice Borage	-	4a	-	1 wd	4a
Francis Mannock esq.	-	-	4a	-	4a
Stephan Upcher	-	4a	-	1/2m	4a
John Baker	-	-	3a	1/2h	3a
Marion Robertson	3a	-	-	1h & gdn	3a
Thomas Rochester	2a	1a	-	1t	3a
Michael Went	3a	-	-	-	3a
Faith Robertson	2.5a	-	-	1/2t	2.5a
Thomas Barker	-	-	2a	-	2a
Hugh Creame	-	2a	-	1/2t	2a
Edward Lucas gent.	2a	-	-	1b	2a
William Littlebury gent.	-	2a	-	1m	2a
William May	2a	-	-	-	2a
Robert Shinglewood	-	2a	-	-	2a
John Webb	2a	-	-	1m	2a
<u>Under 2 acres</u>					
Edward Waldegrave esq.	-	-	1.75a	-	1.75a
Anne Bond	0.5a	1a	-	1c	1.5a
Barbara Browne	-	1.5a	-	-	1.5a
Julian Jeffries	-	-	1.5a	-	1.5a
Richard Starling	-	-	1.25a	-	1.25a

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total acreage
<u>2 - 4 acres</u> (cont'd)					
John Furton	1a	-	-	1c & gdn	1a
Robert Ham	1a	-	-	Bakery & gdn	1a
William Hill	-	-	1a	-	1a
Robert Kettle	-	-	1a	-	1a
Edward Morse	-	-	0.75a	-	0.75a
Richard Salie	0.5a	-	-	1m & gdn	0.5a
Bartholomew Waye	-	0.5a	-	-	0.5a
Richard Clarke of Lawford	-	-	0.25a	-	0.25a
Richard Collet	-	0.25a	-	-	0.25a
Robert Derby	-	0.25a	-	-	0.25a
Robert Haling	0.25a	-	-	1c & gdn	0.25a
John Spencer	0.25a	-	-	1c	0.25a
Bartholomew Wattes	-	0.25a	-	-	0.25a
Adam Aylmer	-	-	-	1h	-
John Borage	-	-	-	1c	-
James Bragge	-	-	-	1h	-
Giles Brook	-	-	-	1c & gdn	-
Widow Cole	-	-	-	1c	-
John Ellinot	-	-	-	1/2h & gdn	-
John Hasell	-	-	-	1/2h	-
John Hunne	-	-	-	pt h	-
Robert Littlebury	-	-	-	pt h	-
Thomas Pepper	-	-	-	1m & croft	-
William Ravens	-	-	-	1c & gdn	-
John Ruddock	-	-	-	2 pightles	-
Lewis Sparhawk	-	-	-	1h & gdn	-
John Webbe	-	-	-	pt h	-
Henry Webbe	-	-	-	1h	-
John Wood	-	-	-	1 alnet	-
TOTAL (92 tenants)	419a	330a	68.5a	26.25a	842a

## APPENDIX 1

## B. Holdings of tenants of Dedham Hall, 1592

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total Holding	
					Dedham Hall	Overhall & Netherhall
<u>30 acres or more</u>						
Thomas Glover	11a	17.5a	35a	2m	63.5a	17a
Ann Goldingham	17.5a	29a	7a	2c	53.5a	22a
Henry Colman	-	50a	0.5a	1c 1m	50.5a	-
Thomas Oldham	21a	-	20a	1/4bt	41a	5.25a
Laurence Hussey	34a	-	0.75a	2c 1m wdhouse	34.75a	62a
Richard Clark	1.5a	30.5a	2a	1m grovet	34a	26a
George Cole	20.5a	10a	-	3m	30.5a	pightle
<u>15-29 acres</u>						
Robert Sherman	13a	14a	1.5a	1m	28.5a	1m
Henry Sherman senior	25a	-	-	2c	25a	0.5a
Christopher Burrough	10a	1a	6a	2m	17a	22a
George Bigges	15a	-	-	1m	15a	1.5a
Samuel Cooper	15a	-	-	5c 1m	15a	-
<u>5 - 14 acres</u>						
Edmund Sherman	12.5a	-	-	-	12.5a	8a
William Butter	-	1a	10a	2c	11a	22.5a
John Green	11a	-	-	-	11a	-
Humphrey Seckford	8a	-	2.5a	-	10.5a	12a
Thomas Cole	9a	-	1a	granary	9a	5.25a
John Browne	8a	-	-	1m	8a	-

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total Dedham Hall	Holding Overhall & Netherhall
<u>5 - 14 acres (cont'd)</u>						
Thomas Linzell	7a	-	-	1c 1m	7a	-
Mary Chapman	6.5a	-	-	1c	6.5a	-
Christopher Cooper	3a	-	3a	-	6a	-
William Bentley	5a	-	-	1m	5a	-
Thomas Lufkin	5a	-	-	3 pighs	5a	0.75a
<u>2 -4 acres</u>						
John Derby	4a	-	-	1m	4a	-
Jonas Goldingham	4a	-	-	1c	4a	-
John Stevens	-	-	3.5a	1c	3.5a	-
Robert Alefounder	-	-	3a	-	3a	20a grove
Richard Clark of Lawford	3a	-	-	1c	3a	0.5a
John Heckford	-	-	3a	-	3a	1c
William Judye	-	-	3a	1/3c	3a	-
Margaret Goodman	2a	-	0.75a	1/2c	2.75a	3a
Thomas Barker	-	-	0.5a	1m	2.5a	2a
Henry Sherman Jr	-	-	2.5a	-	2.5a	-
William Anger	2a	-	-	1m	2a	-
Robert Wyles	2a	-	-	1c	2a	-

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total Holding	
					Dedham Hall	Overhall & Netherhall
<u>Under 2 acres</u>						
Thomas Garrard	-	-	1.5a	1 1/2m	1.5a	12.5a 2 crofts
Ralph Harrison	-	1	1	1c	1a	-
Anthony Morse	1	-	-	1c 1/2t	1a	17a
Edmund Pearson	0.75a	0.25a	-	-	1a	-
John Perpoint	1	-	-	1c	1a	0.75a
John Orris	0.75a	0.25a	-	1/2m		9a 1c
Robert Skinner	-	1	-	-		4.75a 1m
Lewis Sparhawk	1	1	-	-		10.5a grove
William Stowe	-	-	1	-	1a	-
Henry Windham	-	-	1	-	1a	2a
John Baker	-	0.5a	-	1c	0.5a	-
Pearce Butter	-	-	-	1m	-	-
John Murton	-	0.5a	-	1c	0.5a	-
John Frost	-	-	-	1t	-	-
William Hall	-	-	-	1c&yd	-	1a
Richard Hankin	-	-	-	1c	-	-
Ann Rogers	-	-	-	1/3c	-	-
Clement Wood	-	-	-	1/3c	-	-
<b>TOTAL (54 tenants)</b>	<b>279a</b>	<b>156.75a</b>	<b>104.5a</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>546.25</b>	<b>287.75a</b>

APPENDIX 1

c. Holdings in the manor of Dedham Hall, 1650.

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total acreage
<u>30 acres or more</u>					
Henry Colman	2a	50a	0.5a	-	52.5a
John Stallwood	5.75a	30.5a	4.5a	1m	40.25a
John Alefounder	13.5a	31a	3a	-	39.5a
<u>15 - 29 acres</u>					
Widow Glover	3a	-	21a	1m & hopyard	24a
Mr. Goldingham	23.5a	-	-	1m 2c	23.5a
Edward Sherman	7a	14a	-	1m	21a
Robert Stevens	10a	-	7.5a	3m 2c 2 pightles	17.5a
Daniel Cole	6a	10a	-	1m 1c	16a
Edmund Fisher	10a	6a	-	1c grove	16a
Robert Webb	16a	-	-	-	16a
Thomas Walford	-	15.5a	-	1m	15.5a
<u>5 - 14 acres</u>					
Henry Sherman	13a	-	1.5a	-	14.5a
Mr. Thurston	7a	-	7.5a	1m & gdn	14.5a
George Cole Senior	10a	3a	-	2c	13a
Clement Fenn	11a	-	1.5a	1m	12.5a
Edmund Sherman	12a	-	-	1m	12a
William Glover	3a	0.5a	8a	-	11.5a
John Siday	10a	-	-	-	10a
Nathaniel Sherman	9a	-	-	1h	9a
Judith Eaton	-	8a	-	-	8a

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total acreage
<u>5 - 14 acres (cont'd)</u>					
James Powell	8a	-	-	1t	8a
Ezekial Sherman	7.25a	-	-	-	7.25a
George Cole Jr.	-	1a	6a	-	7a
Widow Sherman	5.5a	-	-	-	5.5a
Bezaliel Bentley	5a	-	-	1c	5a
John Cross Sr.	4a	-	1a	-	5a
Samuel Deacon	5a	-	-	-	5a
Roger Fyrmin	5a	-	-	1t & gdn	5a
John Upcher	4a	1a	-	1m	5a
<u>2 - 4 acres</u>					
Mr. Childs	-	-	4a	-	4a
John Cross Jr.	4a	-	4a	-	4a
Mr. Gulson	4a	-	-	-	4a
John Nudland	-	-	4a	-	4a
William Leech	-	-	3.75a	-	3.75a
George Lewis	-	-	3.25a	-	3.25a
Daniel Boxey	3a	-	-	1c 1t	3a
Mr. Chapman	3a	-	-	-	3a
Whitlock Cole	-	-	3a	-	3a
Ezekial Sherman Jr.	-	-	3a	-	3a
John Sydney gent.	-	-	3a	-	3a

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total acreage
Samuel Ludkin	-	2.5a	-	1/2m	2.5a
James Wrench	-	2.5a	-	1/2m	2.5a
Clement Gobbies	-	2a	-	-	2a
Nathaniel Runting	2a	-	-	1c	2a
John Sherman	-	2a	-	1c	2a
Thomas Wattes	-	2a	-	1m	2a
William Younge	2a	-	-	1m	2a
<u>Under 2 acres</u>					
Mr. Bruning	-	1.75a	-	-	1.75a
Richard Heckford	-	0.75a	1ac	-	1.75a
John Cole	-	-	1.5a	-	1.5a
George Dunne gent.	-	1.5a	-	-	1.5a
Samuel Pearson	1.5a	-	-	1c	1.5a
John Sharpe	1.5a	-	-	pt c	1.5a
Samuel Sharpe	1.5a	-	-	1c	1.5a
Lancelot Ward	1.5a	-	-	1c 1t	1.5a
Ezekiel Cole	-	-	1a	-	1a
Samuel Fenn	-	-	1a	1c & gdn	1a
Nathaniel Heckford	-	1a	-	-	1a
Mr. Oddey	-	1a	-	1m	1a
Mr. Reeve	-	1a	-	-	1a
Widow Aufield	-	0.5a	-	1c	0.5a
Robert Stevens Jr.	0.5a	-	-	1m	0.5a
Widow Elmes	0.25a	-	-	1t	0.25a
John Nunn	0.5a	-	-	1c & gdn 1t	0.25a

Name of tenant	close	arable	meadow	other	Total acreage
John Alderton	-	-	-	2c	-
Mr. Basse	-	-	-	1m	-
Robert Beale	-	-	-	1c	-
Stephen Boreham	-	-	-	1c	-
Robert Browne	-	-	-	1c & gdn	-
Barnaby Bowtell	-	-	-	1c	-
John Chamberlain	-	-	-	1c	-
Henry Collison	-	-	-	1c	-
John Eldred gent.	-	-	-	1c 1m 2gdns	-
William Exiber	-	-	-	1c	-
Edward Fuller	-	-	-	1c	-
- Gull	-	-	-	shop	-
Widow Harrison	-	-	-	1c	-
Mr. Long	-	-	-	almshouses	-
Thomas Maukin	-	-	-	1t	-
John Salmon	-	-	-	1c	-
Widow Sayer	-	-	-	1c	-
Vicar	-	-	-	1m & gdn	-
TOTAL (82 tenants)	244.5a	188a	95.5a	-	532.5a

#### Abbreviations employed

a = acre; b = building; bt = birchet; c = cottage; gdn = garden;  
h = house; m = messuage; pt = part; orch = orchard; pigh = pightle;  
t = tenement; wd = wood; wdhouse = woadhouse; yd = yard

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## APPENDIX 2

### The members of the Dedham Conference

Those who belonged to the Dedham Conference may be divided into two categories. The core membership numbered eleven. These individuals remained associated with the Conference throughout its existence. They engaged in dealings with outsiders on behalf of the Conference as a whole and all, except one, of those who engaged in the debate with Dr. Uxenbridge the Papist, the dispute over the validity of written catechisms and the conference over whether Bartimaeus Andrewes should leave his flock in Great Wenham and become lecturer at Great Yarmouth, belonged to this category. In addition, all these classed as core members acted as either speaker or moderator at the meetings of the Conference on ten or more occasions. By contrast the other ten members of the Conference only belonged to it for a part of its duration, did not engage in dealings with outsiders and acted as speaker or moderator on eight or fewer occasions. Nine of the ten did not participate in any of the three debates previously mentioned. These were the fringe members.

[Sources: Usher, passim; J.R.L., English MS 874, fols 29-30v, 34-7.]

## The Core Members

### 1. Edmund Chapman

The most distinguished member of the Conference, Chapman had taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1569, become associated with Thomas Cartwright and defended his controversial lectures. From 1569-1576 he was a canon of Norwich and was deprived by Bishop Edmund Freake. In July 1578 he took his Doctorate of Divinity from Oxford University and either in that year or the previous year he was appointed lecturer of Dedham, which was the native town of his brother-in-law, William Cardinall esquire. He remained lecturer there until his death in November 1602. He was one of those who represented the Conference in its dealings with the godly of Cambridge and with Cricke of East Bergholt, was deputed by the Conference in 1586 to solicit the aid of two local gentry in lobbying against the suspension of ministers for failing to wear the surplice. He seems to have been responsible for persuading the authorities to allow Dr. Uxenbridge to come to Dedham in 1585 to confer with Cricke, Stoughton and Dowe, while the 1583 debate about written catechisms was occasioned by a 'little catechisme' he had composed. Together with Cricke and Farrar he was authorised by the Conference to talk with the people of Great Wenham about their opinion of Andrewes' prospective departure, but he played no part in the subsequent discussion among the

1. Edmund Chapman (continued)

brethren of the Conference about whether Andrewes might leave the benefice. He acted six times as moderator and seven times as speaker.

[Sources: Strype, i, pt.2, 373, J.R.L., English MS 874, fol.34; Usher, passim; Venn, i, 321, G.H. Rendell, Dedham in History (Colchester, 1937), pp.57, 63; P.R.O., PROB 11/92, q.97 (will of William Cardinall, 1598).]

2. Richard Cricke

Chapman's peer in scholarship, Cricke had been Greek lecturer in Oxford University and chaplain to John Parhhurst, Bishop of Norwich. In 1573 he preached a Paul's Cross sermon in defence of Cartwright. In 1578 he took his Doctorate of Divinity from Oxford University (two days after the award of a similar degree to Chapman). At the inception of the Dedham Conference in 1582 he was acting as supernumerary preacher in the town of East Bergholt and after August 1587 he became curate there, his predecessor, John Tilney, having been displaced by the inhabitants. In 1586 he and Chapman were deputed to solicit the aid of the two gentlemen in lobbying against the suspension of those who refused the surplice. Also with Chapman he was authorized by the Conference to discuss Andrewes' departure with the inhabitants of Great Wenham and he played a notable part in the subsequent debate when he strongly opposed Andrewes' departure. He also engaged

2. Richard Cricke (continued)

in dispute with Dr. Uxenbridge but did not take part in the debate about the validity of written catechisms.

He was appointed moderator seven times and speaker six times. His will was proved in January 1591/2.

[Sources: Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses (four vols, Oxford, 1891-2), i, 349; Millar Maclure, The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1532-1642 (Toronto, 1958), pp.208-9; Usher, passim; J.R.L., English MS 874, fols. 34v-37; N.R.O., NCC, 199 Andrewes (will of Richard Cricke).]

3. Richard Dowe

Graduating M.A. from Corpus Christie College, Cambridge in 1573, Dowe served as vicar of Emneth, near Wisbech but, following Freake's campaign to compel ministers to subscribe to the lawfulness of the Thirty Nine Articles and the Prayer Book, he left that parish and at the inception of the Dedham Conference he was lecturing at Higham, a couple of miles from Dedham. By October 1584 he was living in the neighbouring parish of Stratford St. Mary and, in February 1587/8, he was instituted as rector there. He resigned the benefice in June 1606 and died before 11 May, 1609. In August 1584 he and Thomas Stoughton were deputed by the Conference to remonstrate with the gentry of Suffolk about the number of 'ill ministers' in the county. He engaged in dispute with Dr. Uxenbridge, made a lengthy statement of his reasons for regarding the use of written catechisms by ministers for the instruction of the

3. Richard Dowe (continued)

laity as unlawful. He opposed Andrewes' departure from Great Wenham. He was six times moderator and eight times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, i, 70; Albert Peel, The Seconde Parte of a Register (two vols, Cambridge 1915), i, 95-7; N.R.O., Reg/14. 20, fol.159v; 15.21, fol. 27v; W.S.R.O., W 45/30 (will of Richard Dowe); Usher, passim; J.R.L., English MS 874, fols 34v-37.]

4. Thomas Farrar

Also called Oxford, he was ordained priest under the latter name in January 1559/60. In 1562 he graduated M.A. from Corpus Christie College, Cambridge and from 1563 to 1572 he was rector of Shrimpling in Norfolk. Removing to Essex, he was briefly vicar of Boxted before being instituted to Langham in January 1573. He remained there until he died in 1608. Farrar does not appear to have acted on behalf of the Conference in any dealings with outsiders. He engaged in the debate over the validity of written catechisms and opposed their use in church. He did not participate in the dispute with Uxenbridge (though he was among those nominated to "conferre with him") nor in the controversy over Andrewes' departure from Great Wenham. He was appointed six times moderator and five times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, i, 62; G.L., MS 9531/13, pt 1, fols 169- 169v; Usher, passim.]

5. Robert Lewis

Ordained priest in February 1572/3, Robert Lewis graduated M.A. from Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge in 1575. He became vicar of Colchester St. Peter's in 1579. He left the parish before 26 May, 1589. In 1598 he became rector of Rushbrook, near Bury St. Edmunds where he remained until his death in 1618. In 1583 he was one of the two members of the Conference deputed to seek legal advice on the lawfulness of its meetings. He was nominated to take part in the dispute with Uxenbridge but, like Farrar, he did not in fact engage the Papist in debate. He thought it lawful for ministers to use written catechisms in the instruction of the "ruder sorte" and in the debate about Andrewes' departure from Great Wenham was the only speaker to uphold that minister's right to abandon his flock. He was nominated seven times moderator and six times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iii, 81; G.L., MS 9531/13, pt 1, fol. 244; J.R.L., English MS 874, fol.30; Usher, passim.]

6. Anthony Morse

He graduated M.A. from Christ's College, Cambridge in 1582 and during the period of the Conference lived with his mother in Stratford St. Mary, except for a period in 1585 when he acted as curate of Peldon and a period in 1587 when he may have been domestic chaplain to a Mr. Forth of Butley. In February 1596/7 he was instituted rector of Hinderclay on the Northern border

6. Anthony Morse (continued)

of Suffolk where he remained until 1604. He was one of the three members of the Conference deputed to consult with the godly of Cambridge about the character of the Sabbath. He did not speak in any of the three key debates. He was four times moderator and six times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iii, 216; Usher, passim; N.R.O., Reg/14. 20, fol. 249; 15. 21, fol. 15.]

7. Laurence Newman

Graduating M.A. from Queen's College, Cambridge, he became vicar of Coggeshall, about fifteen miles from Dedham, in 1575 and remained there until his death in 1600. In 1583 he was nominated to confer with the godly of London about how to respond to the demand for subscription to Whigift's three articles. In 1585 he was one of two members of the Conference deputed to represent it at a meeting in Cambridge. He did not, however, speak in any of the three key debates. He was five times moderator and six times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iii, 250; Usher, passim.]

8. Richard Parker

Ordained priest in 1579, Parker graduated M.A. from St. John's College, Cambridge in 1581. In June 1582, six months before the first meeting of the Conference, he became vicar of Dedham. After his forced resignation from that benefice before 15 October, 1590, he became

8. Richard Parker (continued)

vicar of Ketteringham, near Norwich, in June 1602. His successor as vicar of that parish was instituted in 8 November, 1611. Parker has been counted as a core member since he acted as redactor of the Conference papers and since he remained a member of the Conference throughout its existence. However, he neither represented the Conference in any dealings with outsiders, nor engaged in any of the three key debates. He was five times moderator and six times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iii, 307; G.L., MS 9531/13, pt 1, fols. 205v, 251; N.R.O., Ref/14. 20, fol 300; N.R.O., VSC 2/4, fol. 101; Usher, passim.]

9. Henry Sandes

The only core member without a university degree, Sandes served as curate in Boxford, about ten miles from Dedham, during the years of the Conference. William Bird, then rector there, seems to have been his father-in-law. Sandes continued to serve as an unbeneficed minister, either at Boxford or in the adjacent parish of Groton, until his death in 1626. He was a member of a conference of Suffolk ministers as well as of the Dedham Conference. Despite his lack of academic qualifications he was sufficiently confident of his learning to dispute Cricke's view that the Church might change the day of the Sabbath. With Newman, he was nominated to represent the Conference at

9. Henry Sandes (continued)

the 1585 Cambridge meeting. He was not one of those nominated to engage in the dispute with Uxenbridge, nor did he speak on the matter of Andrewes' departure. In the debate about written catechisms he argued that it was lawful for ministers to use such works. He was five times moderator and seven times speaker.

[Sources: Usher, passim; Robert C. Winthrop, Life and Letters of John Winthrop (Boston, 1864), pp.34-5; N.R.O., NCC, 296 Mittings (will of Henry Sandes); John H. Primus, 'The Dedham Sabbath Debate', The Sixteenth Century Journal, 17 (1986), 87-102.]

10. Thomas Stoughton

He graduated M.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1580 and was ordained priest in February 1581/2. During the years of the Dedham Conference he was resident at East Bergholt and was closely associated with Cricke. In 1585 he was solicited to take a living in Kent, his native county. Protracted negotiations led nowhere. On the death of Newman in 1600, Stoughton succeeded him at Coggeshall but was deprived for nonconformity before April 1606. Stoughton was one of the three members of the Conference sent in 1583 to consult the godly of Cambridge about the status of the Sabbath. He was one of those nominated to take part in the debate with Uxenbridge but, in fact, took no part in that colloquy. He opposed Andrewes' departure from Great Wenham but played no part in the debate about

10. Thomas Stoughton (continued)

written catechisms. He was four times moderator and six times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iv, 173; Usher, passim; Patrick Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England (1988), p. ix; G.L., MS 9531/14, fols. 22-22v, 92-92v.]

11. William Tay

Instituted rector of Peldon, about four miles South of Colchester, in May 1569, Tay graduated M.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1571. He continued to hold the benefice of Peldon until his death in 1594. With Lewis he was appointed in 1583 to seek legal advice as to the legality of the meetings. He was among those who condemned Andrewes' departure from Great Wenham but he played no part in the other debates. He was four times moderator and eight times speaker.

[Sources: G.L., MS 9531/13, pl 1, fol. 150; Venn, iv, 150; G.L.R.O., DL/C/335, fol. 181v; Usher, passim.]

### The Fringe Members

1. Bartimaeus Andrewes

A sizar of Jesus College, Cambridge, Andrewes was ordained priest in 1576. He was instituted rector of Great Wenham in June 1578. He was a member of the Conference from its foundation until he left Wenham to

1. Bartimaeus Andrewes (continued)

become lecturer of Great Yarmouth at the beginning of 1585. Like the other fringe members he was not appointed as representative of the Conference in any dealings with outsiders. He was twice moderator and twice speaker.

[Sources: Venn, i. 29; N.R.O., Reg/14. 20, fol. 26v; Usher, passim.]

2. William Bird

A pensioner and perhaps a B.A. of Christ's College, Cambridge, Bird was rector of Boxford from 1563 until his death in 1600. First mentioned in the Conference minutes as having been appointed speaker for the thirty-sixth meeting he is not recorded as ever having subscribed the Conference orders though this is perhaps simply an error made by the redactor. Bird remained a member until the end of the Conference. He was twice moderator and once speaker and was appointed speaker on two other occasions, but was absent on the appointed days.

[Sources: Venn, i, 156; N.R.O., Reg/14. 20, fol. 285; Usher, passim.]

3. Ranulf Catlin

Graduating M.A. of Clare College, Cambridge in 1580, Catlin was instituted rector of Great Wenham in October 1585 and remained rector there until his death in 1613. He was admitted a member of the Dedham

3. Ranulf Catlin (continued)

Conference in February 1585/6. He was an active member, serving three times as moderator and five times as speaker during the three remaining years of the Conference.

[Sources: Venn, i, 71, N.R.O., Reg/14.20, fol. 129v; Usher, passim.]

4. George Farrar

The brother of Thomas Farrar of Langham George, Farrar was not a university graduate. He was instituted rector of Holbrook in Suffolk, about eight miles from Dedham, on 30th March, 1586, and was still there in 1604. In December of that year he was admitted to the Conference after his brother had spoken for him, but the following March he was dropped from membership since he had declined to subscribe the Conference orders. He did not serve as either moderator or speaker.

[Sources: Usher, passim; N.R.O., Reg/14. 20, fol. 136; N.R.O., VSC 1, fol. 33v.]

5. Arthur Gale

Graduating M.A. from Christ's College, Cambridge, Gale served as master of Dedham Grammar School from February 1588/9 until September 1593. From 1598 to 1622 he was vicar of Semer in North Suffolk. Admitted a member of the Conference in June 1586, Gale never served as moderator and was once speaker.

[Sources: Venn, ii, 188; C.A. Jones, A History of Dedham (Colchester, 1907), p.124; Usher, passim.]

6. Thomas Lowe

Graduating B.A. from Clare College, Cambridge in 1576 and ordained priest in 1577, Lowe became rector of Colchester St. Leonard's in May 1582 and held the benefice until his death in 1615. A founder member of the Dedham Conference, Lowe had ceased to attend meetings By August 1584. Having acquired the benefice of Colchester, Mary Magdalene in 1586 he was listed as a pluralist in the Survey of the Essex ministry. He was never moderator, but was once speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iii, 110; Richard Newcourt, Repertorium Ecclesiasticum (two vols. 1708-1710, p.173; J.P. Anglin, 'The Essex Puritan Movement and the "Bawdy" courts', in A.J. Salvin ed., Tudor Men and Institutions (Baton Rouge, La, 1972), pp. 181-2, note 37; Usher, passim; Albert Peel ed., The Seconde Parte of a Register (two vols, Cambridge, 1915), ii, 162.]

7. William Negus

Graduating B.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1578, Negus became assistant lecturer at Ipswich in 1584 and is first referred to as a member of the Conference in June of that year. In the Spring of 1585 he left Ipswich to take a benefice at Leigh, near Southend (where he remained until his death in 1616 though deprived of the benefice in 1609), and thereafter took no further part in the meetings of the Conference. The only fringe member to play a part in a key debate, he denied Andrewes' right to leave Great

7. William Negus (continued)

Wenham on the same day that he declared his own intention to leave Ipswich. He never acted as moderator but was three times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iii, 240; D.N.B. (William Negus); Usher, passim.]

8. Edmund Salmon

Graduating B.A. from Jesus College, Cambridge in 1577, Salmon was ordained priest in 1585 and instituted rector of Erwarton, a couple of miles East of Holbrook. He held the benefice until he died in 1612. Admitted a member of the Conference in 1612 he was three times moderator and three times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iv, 8; N.R.O., VSC 1, fol.33; N.R.O., NCC 255 Coker (will of Edmund Salmon); Usher, passim]

9. John Tilney

Graduating M.A. of Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1580, Tilney was ordained priest at the beginning of 1581. In 1584 he was acting as curate of East Bergholt and in April of that year is first indicated to be a member of the Conference. He was ejected from his curacy by the inhabitants of East Bergholt, perhaps at the instigation of Cricke and Stoughton, in the Summer of 1587. He was twice moderator and four times speaker.

[Sources: Venn, iv, 243; Albert Peel, The Seconde Parte of a Register, (two vols, Cambridge, 1915), 242; Usher, passim.]

10. Thomas Tye

Perhaps to be identified with the schoolmaster of the same name living at Thorrington, about seven miles Southeast of Colchester, Tye was a founder member of the Conference but ceased to attend after April 1584. He was once moderator and once speaker.

[Sources: E.R.O., D/ACA 24, fols 97, 125; Usher, passim.]

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