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**‘COMMOTION TIME’
THE ENGLISH RISINGS
OF 1549**

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Chronology

Date	Events
1548	
6 April	Rising at Helston (Cornwall), culminating in murder of William Body.
17 May	General pardon issued to Helston rebels.
22 May – 21 June	Foolishness about the Order of Communion (issued 8 March) creates a seditious uproar at Glapthorn, Northamptonshire.
21-26 May	Insurrection at Northaw and Cheshunt, Hertfordshire
1 June	John Hales' 1 st enclosure commission issued for Bucks., Oxon., Berks., Beds., Northants., Warwicks., and Leics.
July/August	Rumoured enclosure disturbances in Buckinghamshire, Warwickshire etc.
20 December	Rioters at Botley and Hamble, Hampshire pardoned.
1549	
11 April	Royal proclamation promises enclosure enquiry
14-23 April	Ruislip enclosure protest (Middlesex).
1-8 May	Landbeach disorders, Cambridgeshire
5-8 May	Enclosure riot at Frome, Somerset. Disorder spreads throughout Somerset, Wiltshire, Bristol, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Lincolnshire etc.
11 May	Somerset gentry mustered to combat disturbances.
12 May	Hursley Park enclosure riot, Hampshire.
15 May	Hampshire JPs warned to be ready to repress rioters.
c.15 May	Watch appointed in Southampton.
17 May	Somerset and Wiltshire rebels suppressed?
19 May	Insurrection against the mayor and enclosures at Bristol.
22/23 May	Proclamation ordering enclosure rioters to be prosecuted by the sword.
25 May	William Herbert's park at Wilton, Wiltshire destroyed by rebels during Salisbury Rising.
26 May	Riots at Overton, Hampshire.
Late May	Sussex rises.
28 May	Imperial Ambassador reports that 5,000 men have risen in the North.
10 June	Introduction of 1549 Prayer Book in parish churches
11 June	Western Rebellion begins at Bodmin (Cornwall) and Sampford Courtenay (Devon).
13 June	South-west Somerset remains uneasy.
Early June	Rising at Odiham, Hampshire: John Norton's East Tisted residence attacked.
14 June	General pardon proclaimed for spring enclosure rioters.
15 June	Odiham disorders suppressed by Sir John Thynne. Pardon sent into Hampshire.
25 June	Pardon sent to Sussex rebels at Chichester.
30 June	Surrey JPs ordered to equip forces.
1 July	Gentry from the Thames Valley, Home Counties, and East Anglia summoned to Windsor.
1-15 July	The 'commotion time' spreads throughout the realm: major rebellions in the South-West, East Anglia, Cambridgeshire, Kent, Essex, Sussex, Surrey, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Berkshire, Warwickshire etc.
1 July- 25 August	Feverish letter-writing concerning the rebellion in Kent.
2 July	Proclamation: rioters to suffer extreme punishment as high traitors.
2-16 July	Siege of Exeter. Oxfordshire rebels destroy Thame and Rycote parks.
2 July – 9 September	London watch upgraded.
4 July	Renewed stirs in Hampshire, Essex and Devon.
5 July	Somerset replies to Essex rebels' petition and grants their demands.
6 July	Norfolk rebels gather at Wymondham.

7 July	Pardon offered to Oxfordshire rebels.
8 July	John Hales' 2 nd enclosure commission issued.
9-16 July	Cambridge enclosure rising.
10 July	Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Hampshire and Surrey declared quiet. Essex enclosure commissioners request authority to take action against enclosures. Fresh outbreaks of disorder in Buckinghamshire.
Shortly after 10 July	Somerset reassures Hampshire commons about the general pardon.
11 July	Ordinance granted to the Corporation of London to guard the city.
12 July	Forces diverted from the south-west to suppress the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising. Commons begin to stir in Warwickshire. Robert Kett establishes his camp at Mousehold Heath, Norfolk.
13 July-27 August	Enfield enclosure riot (Middlesex).
14 July	Rebel camps established at Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.
15 July	Rebel camp established at Downham Market, Norfolk.
16 July	Pardon sent to Cambridgeshire rebels. Precautions taken at the Tower of London; London Corporation petitions Protector Somerset for weapons.
17 July	Enclosure commissioners receive Kent rebel articles at Canterbury.
18 July	Kent articles sent to Somerset. Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rebels defeated by Lord Grey at Chipping Norton, Oxford. Declaration of martial law in London.
18-23 July	Judicial proceedings against Buckinghamshire rebels.
19 July	Executions appointed in Oxfordshire. London under close guard. Uproar at Saffron Walden, Essex.
c.20 July	Pardon carried into Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire.
21 July	Cranmer preaches against the rebellion at St Pauls.
22 July	Disorder continues in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Kent. Two Essex and Kent rebels executed in London. Royal proclamation naming bailiffs, constables and headboroughs as procurers of the commotions.
23 July	Edward VI rides through London to allay fears about his death.
25 July	Plans laid for Seamer Rising (Yorkshire).
27 July	Individual pardons granted to Buckinghamshire rebels.
6-12 August	Abortive Winchester-Sussex Rebellion
7 August	Some Oxfordshire rebels reportedly executed by this date.
10 August	Cranmer preaches against the rebellions at St Paul's.
15 August	General pardon carried twice to the 3 Essex rebel camps. Separate pardon carried to rebels around Maidstone, Kent. Money distributed to the poor commons in their camp at Canterbury. Lincolnshire rebels destroyed John Hassilwood's enclosure at Kirkby Underwood whilst he was in Norfolk fighting Kett.
16 August	Main body of western rebels defeated at Sampford Courtenay, Devon. Four rebels arraigned at the Guildhall and condemned of high treason as captains of the Norfolk, Suffolk and Oxfordshire rebellions.
19 August	Battle against the western ringleaders at Launceston.
20-27 August	John Bury's Rising at Kingweston, Somerset
21 August	Pardon offered to Yorkshire rebels.
22 August	Rebel executions in London.
27 August	Kett's Rebellion defeated at Dussindale
29 August	Western Rebellion finally defeated at Kingweston, Somerset. Executions in Somerset and Dorset
31 August	6 Essex rebels executed under martial law.
12-19 September	Arraignment and execution of Leicestershire and Rutland rebels.
21 September	Yorkshire ringleaders executed at York.
7 December	Robert Kett executed at Norwich Castle.

1550

27 January John Bury hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn.

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Abstract

This thesis is focused on the smaller, lesser-known risings throughout southern, eastern and midland England, investigating the nature, scale and experience of rebellion in the years 1548-49. More specifically, it aims to demonstrate the significance of the risings outside Norfolk, Suffolk and the West and, in giving these so-called 'lesser stirs' the more systematic analysis they deserve, to build up a more complete picture of the mid-Tudor 'crisis' of 1549. It is argued that this wider geographical focus is the key to understanding the 'commotion time'.

The analysis is organised according to broad geographical clusters of risings. Beginning with a detailed case study of the insurrection at Northaw, Hertfordshire in 1548, the thesis sweeps across the 1549 disorders in southern England; the eastern counties; the Thames Valley; Hertfordshire, Middlesex and London; and the Midlands and the North. Microhistories of local disorder are linked to the general picture to convey the movement's significance. This 'episodic' approach results largely from the extraordinarily fragmented evidence relating to the risings. The rich body of evidence in the records of the prerogative courts has been supplemented by State Paper material, elite correspondence, chamberlains' accounts, consistory court depositions, books of remembrance, proceedings of courts of Burghmote, aldermen and common council, and chronicle accounts, among other sources.

An alternative typology of protest is offered, which takes seriously the sheer scale of disorder, elaborates the response of the authorities, and recognises important generic similarities in the rebels' organisation, action and mentalities. The thesis concludes that the commotion time's significance lies not only in its sheer scale but also in its 'half-life'. Even after the movement had been quelled, its spirit lived on in popular and official memory, allowing a number of after-shocks to trouble the realm between 1550 and 1596 and leaving a permanent mark on the authorities' response to disorder.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AgHR</i>	<i>Agricultural History Review.</i>
<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council.</i>
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
BL	British Library.
C	Records of the Court of Chancery.
CCCC	Corpus Christi College Cambridge, Parker Library.
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives.
Cheke, <i>Hurt of Sedition</i>	Sir John Cheke, <i>The Hurt of Sedition how grievous it is to a commonwealth</i> (1549), repr. in Holinshed's <i>Chronicles</i> 3, pp.987-1011.
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office.
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography.
Cranmer, <i>Writings</i>	J.E. Cox (ed.), <i>Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer</i> , Parker Society, vol. 24 (Cambridge, 1846).
Crowley, <i>Select Works</i>	J.M. Cowper (ed.), <i>The Select Works of Robert Crowley</i> , Early English Text Society (London, 1872).
CS	Camden Society publications.
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls.</i>
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic.</i>
<i>CSPSp.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Spanish.</i>
<i>CSP Ven.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Venetian.</i>
DL	Records of the Duchy of Lancaster.
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
E	Records of the Court of Exchequer.
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review.</i>
Edw. VI, <i>Chronicle</i>	W.K. Jordan (ed.), <i>The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI</i> (London, 1966).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review.</i>
EKAO	East Kent Archives Office, Dover.
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office, Lewes.
Foxe, <i>Acts and Monuments</i>	John Foxe, <i>Actes and Monuments</i> , ed. S.R.C. Cattley & Rev. G. Townshend (8 vols., London, 1837-41).
<i>Greyfriars Chronicle</i>	J.G. Nichols (ed.), <i>Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London</i> , CS os 53 (London, 1851).
Hales, <i>Defence</i>	John Hales, <i>Defence</i> , printed in E. Lamond (ed.), <i>A Discourse on the Commonweal of This Realm of England</i> (Cambridge, 1893).
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal.</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntingdon Library Quarterly.</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
Holinshed, <i>Chronicles</i>	Raphael Holinshed, <i>The First and Second Volumes of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande, 1587</i> , ed. H. Ellis (London, 1807-08), vol. 3.
Hooker, <i>Description</i>	John Vowell alias Hooker, <i>The Description of the City of Exeter</i> , ed. W.J. Harte, J.W. Schopp & H. Tapley-Soper (Devon & Cornwall Record Society, 1919), pt. 2.

<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies.</i>
<i>JEccH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</i>
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval & Renaissance Studies.</i>
<i>JSH</i>	<i>Journal of Social History.</i>
<i>LAAS</i>	<i>Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers.</i>
Latimer, <i>Sermons</i>	Rev. G.E. Corrie (ed.), <i>Sermons by Hugh Latimer</i> , Parker Society vol. 16 (Cambridge, 1844).
<i>L&P</i>	J.S. Brewer <i>et al</i> (eds), <i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII 1509-47</i> (23 vols., London, 1862-1932).
NS	New Series.
OED	Oxford English Dictionary.
<i>Original Letters</i>	H. Robinson (ed.), <i>Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation</i> , Parker Society, (2 vols., Cambridge, 1846-47).
os	Old Series.
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present.</i>
Pocock, <i>Troubles with the Prayer Book</i>	N. Pocock (ed.), <i>Troubles Connected With the Prayer Book of 1549</i> , CS NS 37 (London, 1884).
PRO	Public Record Office.
PS	Parker Society publications.
REQ	Records of the Court of Requests.
RO	Record Office.
SCA	Southampton City Archives.
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal.</i>
<i>SH</i>	<i>Southern History.</i>
SHC	Surrey History Centre, Woking.
Sotherton, <i>Commoyson in Norfolk</i>	B.L. Beer, "The Commoyson in Norfolk, 1549": A Narrative of Popular Rebellion in Sixteenth-Century, <i>JMRS</i> 6 (1976), 73-99.
SP 10	State Papers for the Reign of Edward VI.
STAC	Records of the Court of Star Chamber.
<i>SYAC</i>	<i>Surrey Archaeological Collections.</i>
<i>SXAC</i>	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections.</i>
<i>TBGAS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.</i>
TRP 1	P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin (eds), <i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i> (2 vols., New Haven, 1964), vol. 1.
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History.</i>
Wriothesley, <i>Chronicle</i>	Charles Wriothesley, <i>A Chronicle of England</i> , ed. W.D. Hamilton, CS NS 20 (London, 1877), vol. 2.
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office, Chichester

Epigraph

HOW I BESECHE YOU COULDE MY WORDES MAKE THIS
GENERALL INSURRECTION FOR COMMENS? IS IT
POSSIBLE THAT WORDES SHULDE WORKE BEFORE
THEY BE VTTRED, OR IS IT POSSIBLE THAT WORDES
SHULDE WORKE WHER THEY BE NOT HERDE, AND
WHER THEY BE SPOKEN HAUE NO OPERATION? WHAS
THER NOT LONGE BEFORE THIS COMMYSSYON WAS
SENT FORTHE AN INSURRECTION IN HERTFORDSHIRE
FOR THE COMENS AT NORTHall AND CHESTHUNT?

John Hales, *Defence*: BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.297

The Nature, Scale and Experience of Rebellion in 1549

I: The Geography and Chronology of the 1548-49 Commotions

Whilst contemporaries acknowledged the East Anglian and South-Western rebellions as part of ‘a general plague of rebelling’ affecting ‘all the parties of England’ in 1549, few historians have done so.¹ Despite MacCulloch’s important work setting Kett’s Rebellion in context, the 1549 risings outside Norfolk, Suffolk and the West remain little investigated.² Yet the dimensions of the 1549 disorders are staggering. Over twenty-five counties stretching from Kent and Hampshire in the south, to the midlands, and as far north as Yorkshire, saw popular protests expressing a variety of discontents and enthusiasms, making 1549 truly ‘a time of popular commotion’.³

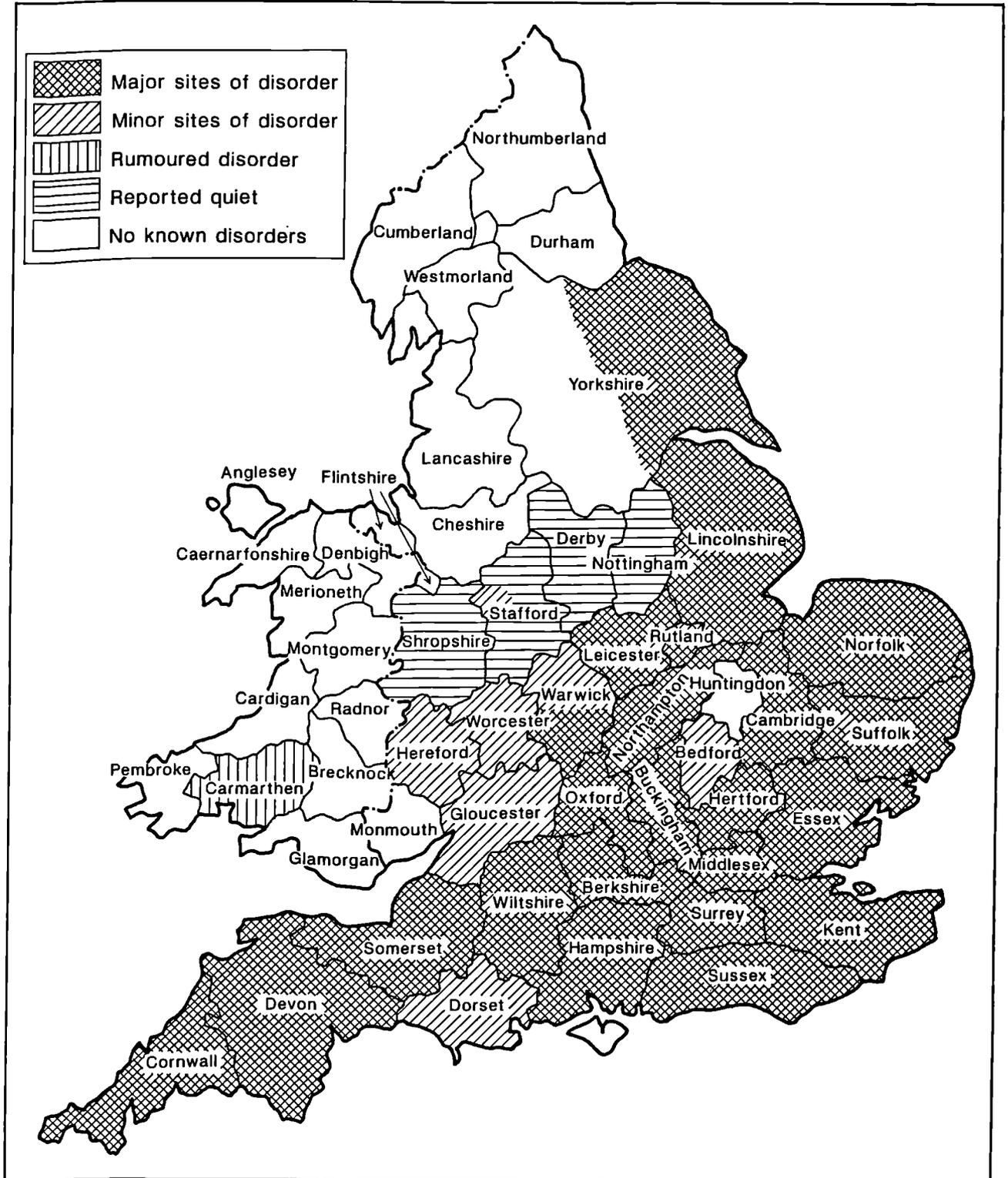
Historians have overlooked, marginalised or misinterpreted these events, largely due to an over-dependence on the narrative accounts of Sotherton and Hooker, which form

¹ Quoting Sir John Markham to the Earl of Rutland, 1 August 1549, *HMC 12th Report, Appendix 4, Rutland 1*, p.42. Notably, John Stow recognised the wide geographical scope of the 1549 rebellions: *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (London, 1565), ff.210v-213v and *The Chronicles of England* (London, 1580), pp.1040-47; as did the Earl of Arundel’s biographer: L. Stone, ‘Patriarchy and Paternalism in Tudor England: The Earl of Arundel and the Peasants Revolt of 1549’, *JBS* 14 (1974), 22. See also John Burcher to Henry Bullinger, 25 August 1549: *Original Letters*, p.655.

² D. MacCulloch, ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context’, reprinted in P. Slack (ed.), *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.39-62; ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context: A Rejoinder’, repr. Slack (ed.), *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order*, pp.68-76; *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986), ch.10; *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven and London, 1996), ch.10; A. Fletcher & D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (4th edn., London, 1997), pp.50-80.

³ B.L. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England During the Reign of Edward VI* (Kent, Ohio, 1982), p.140. Quoting MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.429. For other comments on the geographical extent of the 1549 disorders see A.R. Greenwood, ‘A Study of the Rebel Petitions of 1549’ (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1990), p.11; J. Cornwall, ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context: A Comment’, repr. in Slack (ed.), *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order*, p.63; R.B. Manning, ‘Violence and Social Conflict in Mid-Tudor Rebellions’, *JBS* 16:2 (Spring 1977), 20; J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (London, 1984), p.133 and n. 46.

MAP 1.1 'COMMOTION TIME', 1549



the basis of what MacCulloch has termed the 'tunnel history' of the two major rebellions.⁴ The scattered and fragmentary nature of the evidence relating to the risings in 'all other parts of all the realm' has led historians such as Jordan and Cornwall to dismiss these disturbances as insignificant, although MacCulloch's detailed reconstruction of the Suffolk disorders suggests otherwise. Existing evidence indicates that popular protests in the South, the Midlands and Yorkshire were serious or potentially serious outbreaks of disorder, which may have grown to the menacing proportions of the Norfolk and Western rebellions under different circumstances. In giving these so-called 'lesser stirs' the more systematic analysis they deserve, it is hoped to build up a more complete picture of the response to the 'crisis' of 1549.⁵

An outline of the geographical extent and chronology of the 1548-49 risings establishes the central importance of the 'commotion time' as the most extensive outbreak of disorder in the sixteenth century (map 1.1), and, arguably, as the most serious disturbances England had experienced since 1381. Although the term 'comocion tyme' was used to describe the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536-37, the phrase was recycled and much more aptly applied to the troubles of 1549.⁶ Stow noted that the commotions of 1549 extended from Whitsun until September, although there is little certainty among

⁴ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', pp.39-40.

⁵ The term 'lesser stirs' is used by W.K. Jordan in his *Edward VI, The Young King: The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London, 1968), p.439. J. Cornwall also wrongly implies that the risings outside Norfolk were of little significance: 'Kett's Rebellion: A Comment', 67; *Revolt of The Peasantry 1549* (London, 1977), p.236. Cf. R.B. Manning, 'The Rebellions of 1549 in England', *SCJ* 10:2 (1979), 93.

⁶ PRO E 36/120, f.91r. I am grateful to Peter Marshall for this reference. For another 1536 example, see the *OED* definition of 'commotion'. Contemporaries referred to the events of the summer of 1549 variously as the 'comocion tyme', the 'rebellyon tyme', 'the tyme of the generall rebellion', 'the rebelliose tyme', 'the campyng tyme' or 'the rysyng of the people'. These terms came into use in 1549 and continued to be applied to the events of this year well into the 1590s. See, for example: PRO STAC 3/4/44, STAC 3/5/57, STAC 3/7/53, E 178/2244, C 1/1279/78, C 1/1272/49-50, C 1/1367/82; CLRO Repertory 12 (1), Journal 16, Letter Book R; WSRO Petworth House Archives 5450; SCA SC 5/3/1, f.89r; CCA X.10.5 and Woodruff List 12/3; C.H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1843), p.43; F. Rose Troup, *The Western Rebellion* (London, 1913), p.304 n.3; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 7, pp.12-13. A.J.A. Malkiewicz, 'An Eye Witness's Account of the Coup d'État of October 1549', *EHR* 70, no.277 (Oct. 1955), 602; Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.67. Thus, the 1549 rebels were termed 'commotioners': Cheke, *Hurt of Sediton*, p.991 and Crowley, *Select Works*, pp.21-23.

contemporaries or historians as to the exact chronology of the events of 1549.⁷ As MacCulloch has noted, 'a mark of how widespread and sudden' the disorders became 'is that various contemporary commentators said that they began variously in Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Suffolk or Kent'.⁸ We need to establish something of the chronology of events in order to gain an impression of how the disorders spread. If England was a tinderbox, set alight by several separate sparks in various parts of the realm in 1548 and spring 1549, was it rumour and news that fanned the flames and intensified the fire in July 1549? Considering the mechanics by which the disorders spread should, in turn, throw light on the issue of whether these risings were sympathetic responses triggered by the two major rebellions or whether they developed their own internal dynamic and should be seen as important in their own right. Arguably, it is more plausible that Kett's Rebellion and the South-Western Rebellion were triggered by the so-called 'lesser' risings.⁹

Although there is fragmentary evidence of outbreaks of disorder occurring as early as March 1547 'in many places of the kinges realme', the 1548-49 risings will be the focus here.¹⁰ We need to distinguish between the 1548, spring 1549, summer 1549, and autumn 1549 disturbances, and to identify these as four distinct phases of the 'commotion time'.¹¹ Thus, according to John Hales, 1548 saw the first insurrection at

⁷ C.L. Kingsford (ed.), *Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow*, Camden Miscellany 12 (London, 1910), p.17.

⁸ Quoting MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.429; Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.64; Hales, *Defence*, p.lviii; M.A.S. Hume (ed.), *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England* (London, 1889), pp.170-71; BL Additional MS 48023, f.351r, Francis Godwin, *Annals of England* (London, 1675), p.134.

⁹ The news of successful anti-enclosure action in Kent encouraged the commons of East Anglia to assemble for similar action: Sotherton, 'Commoysen in Norfolk', p.80; M.L. Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (London, 1975), p.84 n.5. Similarly, 'nothing more encouraged [the Western rebels], then they looked all other people being sturred upp in other parties': 'R.L.', *A Copy of a Letter*, printed in Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, p.489.

¹⁰ A copy of a letter from the council to county magistrates dated 8 March 1547, written on the occasion of recent disorders in many parts of the kingdom, urged the local authorities to be more vigilant against disorders: SHC Zg 109/1/22.

¹¹ The chronological account presented here is based on the following works: Bush, *Government Policy*, pp.84-99; A. Charlesworth (ed.), *An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain, 1548-1900* (London, 1983), pp.29-31; Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, pp.8-11, 40, 68-9, 88-9, 126-30, 142, 153, 188; Fletcher &

Northaw and Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, as well as enclosure riots in Buckinghamshire and outbreaks of disorder in both Northamptonshire and Hampshire.¹² Minor disturbances were reported in the Midlands, the West Country and the south-east in April 1549. These were followed by the more serious disorders at Frome (Somerset) in the second week of May. Sir William Herbert's response to the Wilton disturbances seems to have spread the protests throughout Somerset, Wiltshire and beyond so that, by late May, the disorders encompassed Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire and Rutland.

Widespread as they were, the spring disorders had been mostly suppressed by the end of May. The promise of redress produced a temporary calm. After sporadic enclosure rioting in June 1549 at Chichester, Odiham (Hampshire), and Witley Park (Surrey), contemporaneous to the disorders at Bodmin and Sampford Courtenay, this peace collapsed in July when, 'with astonishing speed from 7 July and during the following week, mass uprisings swept through precisely the areas from which the gentry had been summoned to Windsor on 1 July – the Thames Valley, the home counties, and also north to the furthest reaches of East Anglia'.¹³ Historians have variously described 'rioting' in Essex and Cambridgeshire; 'lesser risings' in Yorkshire, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Middlesex and Hertfordshire; and 'rebellion' in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire at this time, whilst the South-West disturbances even threatened to spread into Wales.¹⁴ That camps were set up in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Devon, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire, and 'large areas of the heartland of the kingdom' fell under the control of great assemblies of commoners during the

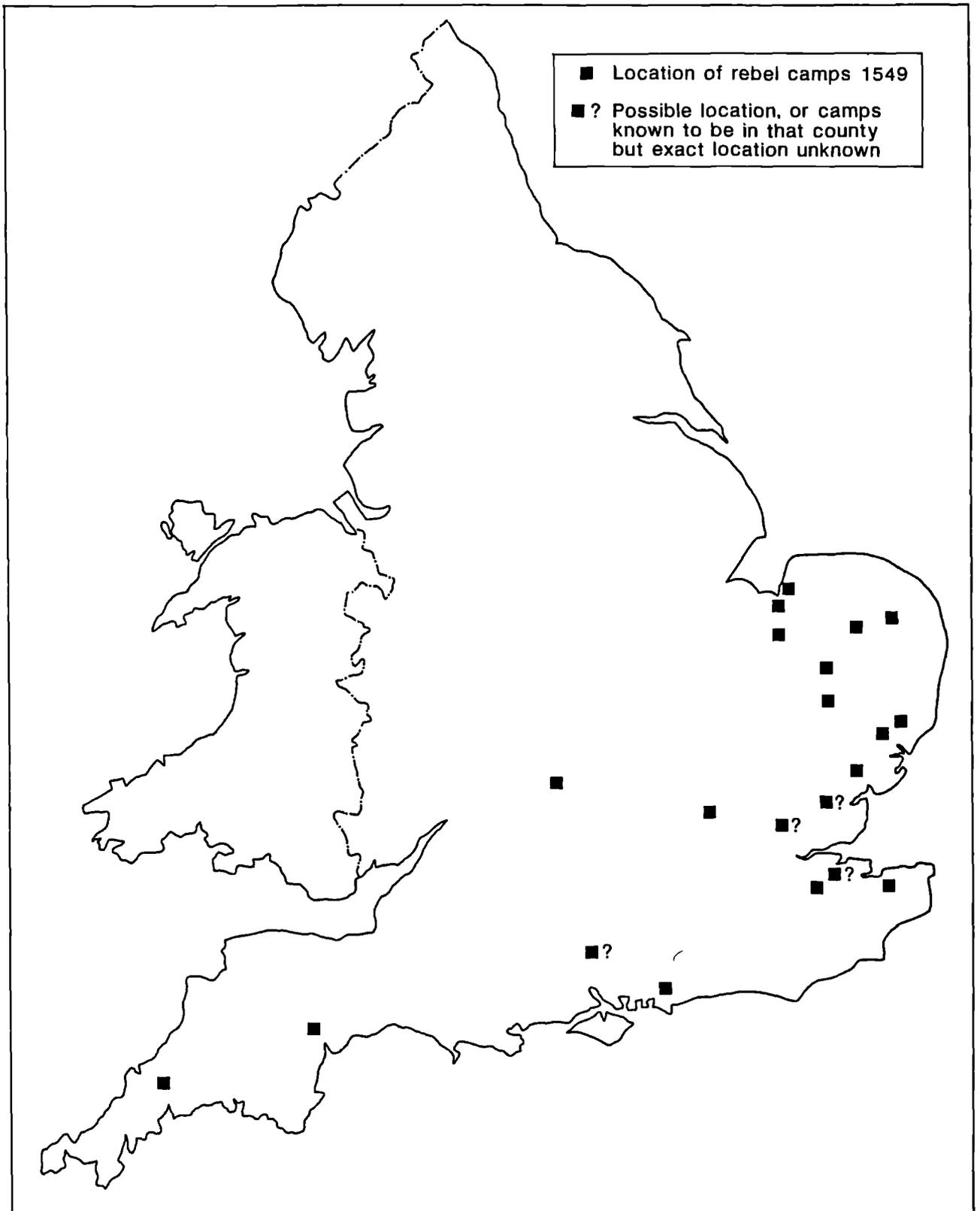
MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.64-67; Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', p.11; Jordan, *Edward VI*, pp.439-53; S.K. Land, *Ket's Rebellion: The Norfolk Rising of 1549* (Ipswich, 1977), pp.26-29; Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, pp.97, 138 & n.1, 139, 166, 234, 242, 245, 262, 389-90, 407.

¹² Hales, *Defence*, p.lviii.

¹³ Quoting Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.65. Cf. MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.429. For the summons of the gentry to Windsor, see SP 10/8/2.

¹⁴ Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', p.11. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 7, pp.6, 13.

MAP 1.2 LOCATION OF REBEL CAMPS, 1549



'camping time' of July and August, is testimony to the significance of the summer commotions,¹⁵ as is the sheer number of petitions (sixteen in all) drawn up by the various rebels: no earlier or later revolt boasts anything truly comparable (map 1.2).¹⁶ However, fresh outbreaks of 'rioting' in Leicestershire, Rutland, Lincolnshire and Somerset in the autumn of 1549 and the continuation of disturbances into 1552 in Buckinghamshire suggest that, whilst the 'commotion time' focus should be retained, establishing the context of the stirs case by case requires ranging both backwards and forwards in time. Paradoxically, it is because of the sheer scale of the 1549 commotions that the evidence is so fragmentary. Ironically, where the government was unable to deal with disorder it went unrecorded. The gaps in our knowledge show just how out of control the situation was.¹⁷

II: Historiographical Issues

Turning from the geography to the historiography of the 'commotion time', it is all too apparent that the exclusive focus on Kett's Rebellion and the South-Western Rebellion has severely distorted our historical picture of the 1548-49 rebellions. In shifting the focus away from the well-known East Anglian and Western rebellions to the disorders in other parts of the realm, I hope to return to what the 1549 discontents were really about, rather than becoming fixated upon their atypical resolution by violence in Norfolk and Devon. Indeed, the tendency to judge the seriousness of disorder only on the basis of the severity of the authorities' response is a particular weakness of the existing historiography, which has caused historians such as Jordan, Bush, Cornwall,

¹⁵ Quoting MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.432.

¹⁶ Petitions were drawn up by the Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Essex and Kentish commons. in addition to the six petitions of the Western rebels and the four petitions produced by the Norfolk and Suffolk men. Only six rebel petitions are extant.

¹⁷ We can only begin to gauge the scale of the Yorkshire Rising, for example, because John Foxe gained access to the documents and chose to record it: chapter 7.

Beer and Manning to underestimate the disorders outside the West, East Anglia, and the Thames Valley.¹⁸ Although my approach (which omits the Norfolk, Suffolk and South-Western disorders, except for comparative purposes) represents a radical departure from the traditional historiography and may at first seem eccentric, it aims to throw a new slant on 1549 as an historical problem.

Since the sheer geographical extent of the 1549 risings makes the study of the 'commotion time' a vast task, I hope to combine a broad overview of the 1548-49 commotions with a closer focus on the outstanding areas of open disorder in Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Essex, Sussex, Hampshire and North Yorkshire.¹⁹ In this way I hope both to elucidate something of the nature, scale and experience of rebellion in 1549 and to imaginatively recreate the full horror of the year as it appeared to the government. Kett's Rebellion and the Western Rebellion represent only two fragments of a mosaic which, when carefully pieced together, might reveal the more colourful pattern of the 'commotion time'.

What, then, is the historiographical context for this new study of 1549? Just over four hundred and fifty years on, it is a particularly apt juncture at which to reconsider the mid-Tudor rebellions. In 1994, Collinson's call for a social history 'with the politics put back' opened the way for 'a fuller, deeper history of early modern authority, governance and political culture', spear-headed by historians such as Wrightson and Walter and seized upon by a new generation of scholars.²⁰ At the same time, history has become more willing to embrace the conceptual models of leading anthropologists, sociologists, and political theorists, most notably those of J.C. Scott, whose depictions of the 'arts of

¹⁸ Rather, as will become clear in chapter 2, the limits of action were imposed by the protestors themselves.

¹⁹ See section IV below for a fuller discussion of my aims and methods.

resistance' and the 'weapons of the weak' have done much to illuminate the historical study of popular protest.²¹ This 'post-revisionist moment', in which social and political history have become firmly fused, has finally begun to filter down from its original forefront – the Stuart period – and to impact on the more conventional historiography of the mid-Tudor period. Such promising beginnings can be seen in the work of Shagan, Wood and Hoyle.²² The 1549 rebellions, which provide a unique window into the interaction between governors and governed, are a perfect candidate for renewal by 'the new social history of politics'.

It is over two decades since MacCulloch first challenged the established view of the 1549 rebellions. Since this time (until very recently) contributions to the historiographical debate have been sparse and insignificant. A long historiography of the 1549 rebellions exists, stretching from Russell's *Kett's Rebellion* (1859) and Rose-Troup's study of the Western Rebellion (1913), but this is far from satisfactory.²³ The literature on Kett's Rebellion is more extensive than that on the South-West due to Marxist interest in the Norfolk Revolt as a 'class war' pitching tenants against landlords.²⁴ By contrast, the Western Rebellion has been largely dismissed as a straightforward religious revolt, with historical writing from Rose-Troup through to

²⁰ Quoting Patrick Collinson, 'De Republica Anglorum: Or History With the Politics Put Back', in Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London, 1994), p.14.

²¹ J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven & London, 1990); *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven & London, 1985). For an historical application, see John Walter, 'Public Transcripts, Popular Agency and the Politics of Subsistence in Early Modern England', in Michael Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.123-48.

²² Ethan H. Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: New Sources and New Perspectives', *EHR* 114, no.455 (Feb. 1999), 34-63 and 'Rumours and Popular Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII', in Tim Harris (ed.) *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp.30-66. Andy Wood, *Insurrection, Sedition and Popular Political Culture in Tudor England: The 1549 Rebellions and the Ideology of Popular Protest* (forthcoming, Cambridge University Press, 2003); *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520-1770* (Cambridge, 1999); "'Poore men woll speke one daye": Plebeian Languages of Deference and Defiance in England, c.1520-1640', in Harris (ed.), *Politics of the Excluded*, pp.67-98. R.W. Hoyle, 'Agrarian Agitation in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Norfolk: A Petition of 1553', *HJ* 44:1 (2001), 223-38 and 'Popular Politics in Early Sixteenth-Century England: Some Leaps in the Dark' (an unpublished paper).

²³ F.W. Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk* (London, 1859); Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*.

Caraman falling into the tradition of Catholic romanticism.²⁵ Although historians have tended to assume that the revolt constitutes a cut and dried issue on which there is no further work to be done, Youings' 1979 article shows that many important questions remain unanswered.²⁶ Even the two 'major' rebellions have been relatively neglected in recent times.²⁷ There has been no full-scale treatment of Kett's Rebellion since Land's book was published in 1977, whilst the only full-length studies of the South-Western Rebellion since Rose-Troup are those by Caraman and Sturt, both of which add little to our understanding.²⁸

No real attempt has been made to compare the two major rebellions of 1549, let alone to begin to visualise the overall pattern of the 'commotion time'.²⁹ Beer sets the two rebellions in the wider context of unrest in Edward VI's reign as a whole, an approach that promises much but delivers little. He deals with events in East Anglia and the West separately and fails to integrate them with the lesser risings.³⁰ The idea of two completely contrasting models of rebellion lies at the heart of the problem: whilst the West rose in defence of the faith, the people of East Anglia rose because they wanted everything in common.³¹ Categorising revolt as 'religious' or 'socio-economic' imposes

²⁴ R. Groves, *Rebels' Oak: The Story of the Great Rebellion of 1549* (London, 1947), p.99.

²⁵ P. Caraman, *The Western Rising 1549: The Prayer Book Rebellion* (Tiverton, 1994).

²⁶ Joyce Youings, 'The South-Western Rebellion of 1549', *SH* 1 (1979), 99-122. These questions include the identification of the leaders, the relative importance of religious, social and economic grievances, and the role played by factional conflicts among the gentry.

²⁷ Especially in comparison with Bush and Hoyle's extensive work on the Pilgrimage of Grace. Most recently, M.L. Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Rebel Armies of October 1536* (Manchester, 1996); M.L. Bush & D. Bownes, *The Defeat of the Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Postpardon Revolts of December 1536 to March 1537 and Their Effect* (Hull, 1999); R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001).

²⁸ Land, *Kett's Rebellion*; Caraman, *Western Rising*; J. Sturt, *The Revolt in the West: The Western Rebellion of 1549* (Exeter, 1987). Two recent theses do raise central issues: Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions'; H.M. Speight, 'Local Government and Politics in Devon and Cornwall, 1509-49, with Special Reference to the South Western Rebellion of 1549' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 1991).

²⁹ Greenwood's study of the rebel petitions, Beer's *Rebellion and Riot* and Cornwall's *Revolt of the Peasantry* represent the latest attempts to deal with the East Anglian and South-Western disturbances concurrently.

³⁰ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*. Cornwall's *Revolt of the Peasantry* and Greenwood's doctoral study of the rebel petitions are similarly divided into two halves.

³¹ Hooker, *Description of Exeter*, p.56; Cranmer, *Writings*, p.192; Cheke, *Hurt of Sedition*, p.990; Crowley, *Select Works*, p.142.

a false dichotomy, especially if, as Hindle implies, economics was considered ‘a branch of applied morality’ in Tudor times.³² Rather than trying to establish whether rebellion was religious or socio-economic, we need to look at how these concerns fused together to allow discontent to escalate into rebellion.³³

At this point, the validity of MacCulloch’s distinction between ‘pro-’ and ‘anti-government’ risings should be considered as an alternative typology.³⁴ MacCulloch suggests that the authorities identified two types of risings in 1549 and developed two different strategies of response. The ‘pro-government’ risings in the eastern counties shared the commonwealth rhetoric of Somerset, Cranmer, Hales and their circle, and were not generally opposed to the Reformation. They aimed to enforce the law and implement governmental enclosure policy, and they exhibited at least a flavour of reformed religion.³⁵ These risings, MacCulloch argues, produced an ambivalent response from the evangelicals, who intervened in the camps and sent preachers to negotiate with the rebels. Thus, Cranmer saw the eastern rebels as godly but misled.³⁶ That a certain amount of sympathy was felt for their grievances, and that the commotions were, to some extent, acknowledged as understandable, is evident from the writings of reformers such as Robert Crowley.³⁷ By contrast, the ‘anti-establishment’ risings in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, Hampshire and Yorkshire, led by rebels of the conservative religion, directly opposed government religious policy and aimed to destroy everything that the regime had achieved. These provoked a

³² Quoting Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2000), p.55. See also Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.58-79.

³³ Penry Williams argues that it is pointless and anachronistic to try to establish whether the Pilgrimage of Grace was a religious or socio-economic rebellion in *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979), ch.10.

³⁴ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp.433-38 and *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 1999), pp.120-22.

³⁵ See also Nicholas Tyacke, ‘Re-Thinking the “English Reformation”’, in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London, 1998), pp.1-32.

³⁶ Cranmer, *Writings*, pp.190-202.

³⁷ Crowley, *Select Works*.

straightforward approach. Rebellion was condemned outright as sinful, and the rebels were viewed as a hostile and dangerous force.³⁸

There is a certain amount of truth in this distinction. Yet to paint a black and white picture of 'loyal' 'Protestant' risings in the eastern counties and 'disloyal' 'Catholic' risings in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, Hampshire and Yorkshire is to oversimplify matters, especially when similarities between Kett's Rebellion and the South-Western Rebellion show there was considerable overlap in the nature of movements with different religious outlooks.³⁹ In particular, the model of organisational difference – the static organisation of the camps in the east *versus* the more fluid organisation in the west – has been successfully overturned by Duffy.⁴⁰ Furthermore, religious identities were not so well moulded in the mid-Tudor period as MacCulloch previously allowed. Few of the rebels, even in East Anglia, would have labelled themselves 'Protestants'.⁴¹ Hence Duffy's insightful remark that the 'Protestant' rhetoric, the adoption of the 1549 Prayer Book, and the singing of the *Te Deum* at Mousehold Heath were in stark contrast to the 'Wymondhamgame' - a celebration of 'the abrogated and doubly illegal' feast of the translation of St Thomas Becket's relics -

³⁸ Cranmer and Philip Nichols' answers to the South-Western rebels provide examples: Cranmer, *Writings*, pp.163-187; Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.141-193.

³⁹ For these similarities see my 'Problematizing the 1549 Rebellions' (MA dissertation, University of Warwick, 1997) and Ethan H. Shagan, 'Popular Politics and the English Reformation, c.1525-1553' (PhD thesis, University of Princeton, 2000), p.500. Shagan almost hits the mark in stating that looking at 'both sets of rebellions as different permutations of the same basic elements creates a clearer understanding of their contexts and meanings' (although I do not agree with his overall picture of 'two distinct constellations' of rebellion in 1549: p.499, and his notion of the vast differences in the political strategies of the rebels in the east and the west undermines his earlier argument establishing the common ground between the two major rebellions: p.501). Cornwall identifies two types of protest in 1549: the 'loyal' and the 'disloyal': *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.40.

⁴⁰ Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath, Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven & London, 2001), pp.129-38. For another reference to camps in the west, see C 1/1367/82.

⁴¹ Shagan, 'Popular Politics', p.500. MacCulloch's most recent work consciously eschews the word 'Protestant' as an anachronism before Mary's reign: *Tudor Church Militant*, p.2.

at which Kett's Rebellion came into being. Was 1549 a case of 'policy' in the East *versus* 'piety' in the West?⁴²

Viewing only the Catholic risings as true rebellions produces a narrow definition of 'rebellion', which is problematic for our purposes. This narrow definition, based largely on the self-perception, aims and mentality of the protestors in the eastern counties, fails to take into account the fact that the rebellion in the south-east was seen as a rebellion by the authorities. In fact, the East Anglian Rebellion was seen as the more threatening movement in that the rebels were appropriating government to themselves, raising fears that the 'fourth sort of people' were capable of independent action and self-government. And were the responses to the two types of risings really so very different? In dealing with the 1549 commotions, the local and central authorities combined strategies of negotiation and persuasion, repression and reprisal, albeit in differing proportions. Distinguishing between these two alternative strategies of response creates artificial categories which are unhelpful for a comparative study of the nature and scale of disorder in 1549. In real terms, MacCulloch's distinction between 'pro-' and 'anti-government' protests moves us little beyond the 'socio-economic' – 'religious' dichotomy rejected above.

A detailed reconstruction of the various disorders of 1549 may also reveal the commotioners to have been more radical than MacCulloch's portrayal of the Norfolk and Suffolk revolts suggests. MacCulloch's work (like all historical writing) was a product of its time. Following Hobsbawm's major study, MacCulloch was understandably concerned to demonstrate the insurgents' relative sophistication and refute the thesis that Kett and his followers were no more than 'primitive rebels' and

⁴² Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, pp.130-31. See also Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 34-63.

their protest 'ambiguous', 'blind' or 'groping'.⁴³ This unspoken interest created a tendency to overemphasise the orderliness of the East Anglian Rebellion, an imbalance which, in the light of Reay and Wood's recent concerns, may now need to be partly redressed.⁴⁴ We shall see, for example, that the Northaw episode, which appears on the surface a peaceful demonstration well within the constraints of accepted popular politics, harboured a darker, more violent side and was underlaid by surprisingly radical assumptions.⁴⁵

Yet MacCulloch's overarching thesis concerning the geographical extent of the 1549 rebellions and their generic similarities still stands, and will be extended here, beyond the reaches of East Anglia to encompass the South, the Midlands and Yorkshire. As MacCulloch has shown, the East Anglian and South-Western disturbances may have had a wider reference. The speed at which the disorders spread through the realm suggests 'a co-ordinated move behind this great explosion rather than a series of spontaneous outbreaks', and raises the question of just how far this co-ordination extended.⁴⁶ Might the fragmentary evidence relating to the 1549 risings in other parts of the realm hint at a broad correlation with the social composition, organisation, mentalities, and motivating concerns of the two major rebellions? Is there some common thread by which we might weave the 1548-49 rebellions together?

Now, in the light of 'the new social history of politics', interest in the 'commotion time' is gradually being reawakened. Shagan's important rediscovery of copies of nine letters sent by Protector Somerset into the various rebel camps; Duffy's recent

⁴³ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 3rd edn. (Manchester, 1971), p.2.

⁴⁴ Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London, 1998), chapter 6. Wood, *Insurrection, Sedition and Popular Political Culture* (forthcoming).

⁴⁵ Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ Quoting MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p.300.

reinterpretation of an extraordinary entry in the Morebath churchwardens' accounts, revealing the parishioners' active participation in the rebel camp at St David's Down near Exeter; and Wood's ongoing research all make it an exciting climate in which to be writing about the 'commotion time'.⁴⁷ One further development in the recent historiography provides the context for this new study of the 'commotion time': the reopening of the debate surrounding Protector Somerset, a controversy sparked by Shagan's interpretation of his 'policy of popularity'.⁴⁸ My thesis builds on (and challenges) MacCulloch and Youings' work, whilst addressing Beer and Manning's inadequacies, and complementing Shagan and Wood's 'post-revisionist' approaches. Far from being a closed subject, the commotions of 1549 represent 'manie bottomlesse whirlpooles of mischief', through which the historian still has to wade.⁴⁹

III: The Nature and Scale of Disorder: A Question of Definitions and Categories?

In widening the geography of the rebellions I hope to offer an alternative means of conceptualising 1549 which will redress the imbalance in the traditional historiography, and enrich our understanding of the 'commotion time'. This new typology of protest will require a sophisticated conceptual framework if it is to take seriously the sheer scale of disorder. The merits and demerits of contemporary, anthropological and historiographical categorisations of popular protest need to be assessed before we begin to consider which conceptual tools to use in constructing this comparative study. It is clear from even a cursory glance that the 'commotion time' of 1549 encompasses a

⁴⁷ Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, pp.127-45.

⁴⁸ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 34-63; M.L. Bush, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: A Post-Revision Questioned', *EHR* 115, no. 460 (Feb. 2000), 103-12; G.W. Bernard, 'New Perspectives or Old Complexities', *EHR* 115, no. 460 (Feb. 2000), 113-20; Ethan H. Shagan, "'Popularity" and the 1549 Rebellions Revisited', *EHR* 115, no. 460 (Feb. 2000), 121-33.

⁴⁹ Quoting Cheke, *Hurt of Sedition*, p.993.

wide range of disorder extending from disputes, rumour, unlawful assembly, seditious words, conspiracy, 'ordinary' and 'large-scale' riots, risings and revolts to abortive and actual rebellions, whether small-scale or regional. Since little real attempt has been made to delineate different forms or degrees of popular disorder in the existing historiography, this dissertation aims to consider how useful these categories might be for a comparative analysis of the 1549 disorders.⁵⁰ How can we distinguish between different forms or degrees of disorder, and are these differences only of scale or also of nature? Should we deal with popular protest as a single multi-faceted phenomenon, representing its various forms as points on a spectrum of disorder? Or are disputes, riots, risings and rebellions qualitatively different - entirely separate phenomena?

Within the overall category of insubordination, four possible strategies for categorising popular protest can be identified. These strategies arise from definitions offered by contemporary legal terminology; by contemporary polemical works; by the anthropological typology which has largely emerged from the work of E.P. Thompson; and lastly, by the now substantial historiography of protest in early modern England and Europe.⁵¹ Before embarking on an analysis of the 1549 risings it is helpful to consider the relative utility of each of these four definitional strategies in turn.

Turning first to contemporary legal terminology: the imprecise nature of contemporary legal definitions has generated confusion in both contemporary and historical portrayals of popular disorder. Three stages in public order offences – unlawful assembly, rout, and riot - were recognised in legal theory. Yet riot was defined

⁵⁰ For example, Jordan discusses the two major rebellions and the 'lesser stirs' in his *Edward VI*, pp.439-53. Beer's study of popular disorder in Edward VI's reign - the most comprehensive narrative of the 1548-49 risings - offers no theoretical basis for comparing the types of protest he identifies ('rebellion', 'riot', 'conspiracy' and 'lesser manifestations' of discontent) and differs little in real terms from Jordan's model: *Rebellion and Riot*, p.ix.

widely as a gathering of three or more people with the intention of breaking the peace.⁵² Whilst a riot which affected a single village was classed as a misdemeanour, clear legal provision for protests directed against a common purpose was lacking. Such protests could be dealt with as 'riot', involving trespass; as treason, where the participants were well-armed and could feasibly be accused of levying war against the king; or as compassing and imagining the king's death, where there was evidence of men conspiring together. Tudor legal definitions rested on the distinction between 'public' and 'private' protest.⁵³ Thus protest confined to the local community was classed as riot and misdemeanour; whilst protest involving broader resistance (for example where other communities were persuaded to join in a general attack against a principle such as enclosure) was rebellion and, therefore, treason.⁵⁴ The 1549 commotions were more than a series of enclosure riots; they broke out of the confines of the local community and became more generalised protests. In the eyes of the Tudor government, the 'commotion time' constituted serious disorder.

Furthermore, these legal definitions disintegrated in times of crisis. The proliferation of statutes and proclamations issued in 1549 testifies to the panic engendered by the commotions. Thus, a proclamation of 22 May 1549 ordered enclosure rioters to be prosecuted 'by the sword, and with all force and extremity'; two proclamations ordered

⁵¹ The strategies outlined here are largely based on John Stevenson's discussion of the types of definition available for the study of popular disturbances in his *Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1832* (2nd edn., London, 1992), pp.5-12.

⁵² The Court of Star Chamber considered the basic elements of a riot to be present when three or more persons assembled together intending and attempting to perform an unlawful act by force. If three persons conspired to do so, but only two perpetrated the act, the court could still find a riot since the procurers of riots were considered as guilty as actual rioters. The rioters' intention was evidently more significant than their number. It was not necessary to prove use of force or violence to obtain a conviction. Proof that provocative or intimidating words were accompanied by the bearing of weapons was considered sufficient: R.B. Manning, *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford, 1988), pp.56-57.

⁵³ The legal definitions as presented here are based on the discussion in Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.55-57; J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in Seventeenth-Century England: A County Study* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.71-88 and *Crime in Early Modern England*, pp.131-39; J. Bohstedt, *Riots and Community Politics in England and Wales 1790-1810* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983), pp.4-7.

martial law against future rioters in June and July; and another ordered martial law specifically against officers raising unlawful assemblies.⁵⁵ As of 2 July 1549, 'those who sought revenge against profiteers by force, riots, menace or unlawful assembly' were to suffer 'extreme punishment' as 'high traitors'. Rewards were even offered for the arrest of rumour-mongers.⁵⁶ Statutes passed in response to the 1549 commotions redefined legal definitions. It became felony without benefit of clergy for twelve or more persons to remain assembled and attempt to destroy enclosures, parks and deer, to pull down houses, or to burn barns or stacks of grain for an hour after being ordered to disperse by a justice. It was high treason for forty or more persons to remain assembled for more than two hours attempting to break down enclosures, damage parks, destroy fishponds, kill game or burn hayricks after being ordered by proclamation to disperse.⁵⁷ Prophecies written or spoken with the intent of inciting rebellion were classed as misprision of treason and received fines and a year's imprisonment for a first offence and life imprisonment and forfeit of goods on the second. These severe sanctions suggest that the disorders were regarded as serious.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ An example might be Odiham, Hampshire where the June 1549 riots involved rioters from 100 parishes in the area and many who were 'unknown in the same contrey': chapter 3.

⁵⁵ Martial law supplanted common law when the king's banner was unfurled. It applied to battlefields, sites of rebellion, and the verges of all royal palaces. During 'emergencies' provost-marshals became hangmen. At the time of the suppression of the 1549 rebellions popular rumour depicted provost-marshals such as Sir Anthony Kingston travelling around the countryside with wagon-loads of halters for dealing out summary justice to rebels: Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.73, 179 & n.45. See also, L. Boynton, 'The Tudor Provost- Marshal', *EHR* 77 (1962), 437-55; M.H. Keen, 'Treason Trials Under the Law of Arms', *TRHS* 5th ser. (1962), 85-103.

⁵⁶ *TRP* 1, nos. 333, 334, 336, 337, 341, 342. The definition of sedition was widened in time of rebellion, allowing the Bailiff of Romford to be executed for repeating an apparently innocent rumour: R.B. Manning, 'The Origins of the Doctrine of Sedition', *Albion* 12:2 (Summer 1980), 107 n.33: the severity of the punishment may reflect the fact that the offence was committed within 12 miles of a royal palace while the king's banner was displayed in time of rebellion. For the various definitions of sedition, see also P. Hamburger, 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press', *Stanford Law Review*, 37:2 (February 1985), 661-765. On the Bailiff of Romford, see chapters 4 and 6 below.

⁵⁷ Act 3 & 4 Edw. VI: see Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.55-56. The 1549 rebellions were followed by the enactment of severe game laws, making it a felony to break the head of a fishpond or to enter and attempt to hunt in the king's forest or any park, in disguise or at night: Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.285-86.

⁵⁸ For a discussion of the statutes, see J. Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason: An Introduction* (Toronto & London, 1979), pp.48-53 and Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, pp.190-201.

Perhaps a second strategy of categorising arising from definitions offered by contemporary polemical works, might prove more useful. Yet the indiscriminate use of terms such as ‘stir’, ‘hurly-burly’, ‘commotion’, ‘troubles’, ‘tumult’, ‘uproar’ and ‘rebellion’ in contemporary accounts suggests that the Tudor government was not concerned with accurately portraying the scale of disorder, but rather with exaggerating its extent and misrepresenting its nature for polemical purposes.⁵⁹ For example, Richard Morison’s *Remedy for Sedition* and John Cheke’s *Hurt of Sedition* lay much emphasis on the Tudor theory of obligation and the great chain of being, reflecting fears of unleashing the many-headed monster. Fear of the potential consequences of protest in a society which lacked a police force or standing army to deal with such disorders, led seditious utterances to be regarded as heralding a more generalised attack on the social order; a world turned upside down.⁶⁰

In viewing the 1549 disturbances through the lens of the Tudor telescope, we are confronted with the problem of conflicting definitions arising from the differing perceptions of the participants and their suppressers. As MacCulloch states, the rebels in eastern England did not see themselves as ‘rebels’. Yet, in the eyes of the Tudor authorities, the Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent and Essex protestors were rebels of ‘a more pernicious sort’ than the ‘anti-government’ insurgents in Devon, Cornwall, Hampshire, Yorkshire, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.⁶¹ It should be borne in mind that ‘radical protest in the early modern period appealed not to perceptions utterly alien to those in

⁵⁹ See the *OED* for definitions of these terms.

⁶⁰ Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.7-12; W.G. Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (2nd edn., London, 1969), pp.145-56, 169-225; G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (London, 1972), pp.199-207; Cheke, *Hurt of Sedition*, pp.987-1011; C. Hill, ‘The Many-Headed Monster’ repr. in C. Hill, *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (2nd edn., New Haven & London, 1991), pp.181-204; J.M. Robertson (ed.), *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon* (London, 1905), pp.751-54.

⁶¹ Quoting from the articles sent to the Bishop of London (2 August, 1549): SP 10/8/36-37. Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.73; MacCulloch, ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context’, 61-62.

official circles but rather drew unacceptable conclusions from those same perceptions'.⁶²

The third strategy of categorising disorder, Thompson's 'anthropological' approach, aims to examine crowd behaviour in its own terms rather than those imposed from above and, as such, offers a means of counter-balancing contemporary polemical definitions.⁶³ Yet this approach raises obvious problems. Given that little evidence has been left by the rebels themselves, our knowledge of the 1549 rebellions is indirect. Even rebel grievances can only be reconstructed from central responses to the six rebel petitions (from outside Norfolk, Suffolk and the West), no longer extant.⁶⁴ The historian of popular protest is left to try to illuminate rebel motivation and mentality largely from central records. The source materials utilised here reflect the fact that 1549 is largely a matter of representation. Thus, what follows will be as much an investigation into the ways in which disorder was imagined in the dialogue between governors and governed, and of the interplay between rhetoric and reality, as a reconstruction of the events of the disorders themselves.⁶⁵

Lastly, different types of protest have been dealt with in different ways in the existing historiography of popular protest. Yet recent work on the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596 and the Midland Revolt of 1607 reveals a cross-over in the distinction between

⁶² Quoting Stephen Greenblatt, 'Murdering Peasants: Status, Genre and the Representation of Rebellion', *Representations* 1:1 (February 1983), 21.

⁶³ E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy', repr. in his *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), pp.185-258.

⁶⁴ A total of 16 known petitions were submitted in 1549, not 12 as Greenwood argues. These petitions are important not only because they represent the 'vox populi', providing the key 'to a fuller understanding of rebel motivation and mentality', but also because they represent the last of the rebel petitions of the Tudor period. 'It was during the popular rebellions in the Tudor period that the formulation of petitions became a ritualised part of popular protest'; a characteristic that was clearly at its height during the 1549 disturbances. This tradition died out after 1549: Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', p.18. See DL 3/56/G1, ff.53-74 for reference to the Hampshire supplication; BL M485/39 (Cecil Papers, vol. 150, f.117) for the Kentish petition, and *HMC Bath* 4, pp.109-10 for the Frome petition. Replies to the Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire and Essex petitions are printed by Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 53-63.

⁶⁵ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 34-53. These issues are addressed in Ch. 2.

riots, risings and rebellion, which suggests the need for rethinking these categories.⁶⁶ Lack of agreement about how historians should classify disorder results in a vast array of definitions. Applying a historiographical typology in which boundaries drawn between forms of disorder shift according to every different perspective, does little to illuminate the varying patterns of the 1549 risings. For example, how should we determine 'where small-scale rebellion ... shades off into riot'?⁶⁷ A means of generalising about the nature of riot, revolt and rebellion is necessary to allow us to perceive of popular protest as a more integrated whole.⁶⁸ Beik's 'culture of popular protest', Hindle's notion of 'riot as a continuation of litigation by other means', Scott's 'parameters of resistance', and Rollison's continuum linking gossip, political satire, rough music, riots, disputes, festivals, insurrections, rebellions and revolutions provide springboards for such an approach.⁶⁹

All four types of definition available to the historian for the study of popular protest are to some extent problematic. However, used carefully, they still have much to offer. In combining contemporary and anthropological perceptions it should be possible to begin to integrate 'top down' and 'bottom up' approaches to the 1549 disorders, and so to build up a more complete picture of the response to the 'crisis' of 1549. Yet, in order

⁶⁶ J. Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?: The Oxfordshire Rising of 1596', *P&P* 107 (May 1985), 90-143. For the Midland Revolt see Charlesworth, *Atlas of Rural Protest*, pp.33-36; Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.229-52; Victor V. Magagna, *Communities of Grain: Rural Rebellion in Comparative Perspective* (New York & London, 1991), pp.119-21.

⁶⁷ Quoting P. Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500-1660* vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1982), p.20. Scott raises the question of where compliance ends and resistance begins: *Weapons of the Weak*, pp.289-90. Manning discusses the point at which 'village revolts' coalesced into 'regional rebellions': *Village Revolts*, p.2. See also B. Sharp 'Popular Protest in Seventeenth-Century England', in B. Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1985), pp.271-303.

⁶⁸ Patterns of grain riots and enclosure riots have been thoroughly investigated: J. Walter & K. Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England', *P&P* 71 (May 1976), 22-42; B. Sharp, *In Contempt of All Authority: Rural Artisans and Riot in the West of England 1586-1660* (Los Angeles & London, 1980); Sharp, 'Popular Protest'; R.B. Manning, 'Patterns of Violence in Early Tudor Enclosure Riots', *Albion* 5 (1974), 120-33.

⁶⁹ W. Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: The Culture of Retribution* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.6-13. S. Hindle, 'Persuasion and Protest in the Caddington Common Enclosure Dispute, 1635-1639', *P&P* 158 (Feb. 1998), 37-78. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p.299. D. Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire 1500-1800* (London, 1992), p.202.

to generalise effectively about the nature of riot, revolt and rebellion in 1549, existing schemes of categorisation may need a certain amount of reconsideration.

IV: Aims and Methods

Having considered all the available tools, how are we going to set about constructing our typology of protest? In order to allow for a comparative analysis of the 1549 disorders it is necessary to consider the ways in which we might best convey an impression of both the nature and scale of disorder, especially since these two factors are inextricably entwined in determining the significance and the relative level of threat presented by each of the various 1549 disturbances. The example of the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596 suggests that nature could be as important as scale in determining government action.

What criteria might be useful for measuring disorder in 1549? On the basis of whether disturbances encompassed a single village, a local community, a county or a region; whether they lasted for hours, days, weeks or months; whether they were spontaneous outbursts or more organised movements; and depending on crowd size, the magnitude and scope of rebel aims and demands, and the government's reaction, it may be possible to construct some kind of spectrum of disorder. These criteria are not without their associated problems. Whilst examining the authorities' response to the various outbreaks is perhaps the best way to measure the level of threat the 1549 commotions were perceived as posing to the social and political hierarchy, the authorities' tendency to minimise events and gloss over disorder, or to exaggerate events and misrepresent the nature of disorder for polemical purposes, makes this a

somewhat unreliable rule.⁷⁰ Similarly, contemporary estimates of crowd size were never intended to be accurate, but only to convey a sense of whether groups of protestors were too large to be handled by local authorities. Much rested on the insurgents' professed intentions, whilst words and actions did not always correspond, allowing the seriousness of events to be misconstrued.⁷¹ Clearly outcome cannot be used as a means of measuring the 1549 disturbances, many of which were suppressed in their early stages. Due to unintended consequences such as repression, disorder cannot be measured simply by the 'profundity of ruptures' created in the way that Bercé suggests; it must be measured both in terms of its intentions and its consequences.⁷²

Consideration of the scale of disorder must coincide with consideration of its nature: did the different forms of popular protest evinced in 1549 share common characteristics? An investigation into the relative balance of religious, socio-economic, political, local and national issues; the function of protest as a politics of the defence of community (a means of renegotiating the local balance of power, and a meting out of justice);⁷³ the limited or generalised nature of rebel aims and demands; whether the commotions were 'justified' or 'irrational', conservative or radical, restrained or violent, chaotic or organised, static or mobile; and whether they shared common targets and similarities in social composition, should reveal both the general and the distinctive features of the 1549 risings. Do urban and rural manifestations of discontent during the 1549 'crisis' differ in their form and nature? Can we discern any regional characteristics

⁷⁰ Sharp advocates government response as the 'best measure' of the significance of disorder: *In Contempt of All Authority*, p.3. For a discussion of local authorities' eagerness to cover up disorder, see MacCulloch. 'Kett's Rebellion: A Rejoinder', pp.73-74. For the minimising of affairs, see the Privy Council's letters to Lord Russell, 10 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.22-24 and to Paget on 4 July 1549: SP 68/4, pp.950-51. Sotherton's 'Commoysen in Norfolk' epitomises the misrepresentation of rebel activities.

⁷¹ Seditious utterances and threats of violence against the gentry often formed part of the 'theatre' of riot: K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 1982), pp.173-82; Wood, 'Poore men', pp.67-98.

⁷² Quoting Yves-Marie Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: An Essay On the History of Political Violence*, trans. Joseph Bergin (Manchester, 1987).

⁷³ Magagna, *Communities of Grain*, pp.106-09; Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution*, p.117.

or distinct patterns of protest from the available evidence? Broad similarities of function, social composition, organisation, action, targets and mentality; the coincidence in timing; and hints of collaboration between various groups of rebels, suggest some sort of relationship between the risings. Although we should allow plenty of room for regional variation, Shagan's recent research suggests that a general explanation may well be found in the relationship between government policy and popular response.⁷⁴

One of the aims of this dissertation will be to place the troubles in their local contexts since the two most obvious authorities in this field, Manning and Beer, have failed to do so.⁷⁵ Insights into the local contexts of the Northaw and Watford episodes, gleaned from Star Chamber and Requests suits, reveal that there was much more to these risings than at first meets the eye. Arguably, it is the richness of the local colour that adds most to our understanding of the experience of rebellion in 1548-49.⁷⁶ It is hoped to suggest the importance, not only of the local histories and consciousness underpinning the various episodes of the 'commotion time', but also of the possible links between them. Cornwall's emphasis on the particularism of the 1549 'stirs' and Gay's picture of an 'impotent congeries of riots' wrongly imply that the risings outside Norfolk were of little significance, though 'the outbreak of disorder in what the Greyfriars Chronicler called "all other parts of all the realm" constituted a massive challenge to Protector Somerset's government'.⁷⁷ Whilst in some cases the troubles were as much rooted in local personal rivalries as major or national issues, consideration of the level of translocal cohesion and the degree of thematic unity displayed by the 1549 risings should help establish whether any patterns can be discerned. Is there a single

⁷⁴ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 34-63.

⁷⁵ Manning, 'Violence and Social Conflict'; 'The Rebellions of 1549'; *Village Revolts. Beer, Rebellion and Riot*. Beer acknowledges that local studies are needed in order to reveal patterns of discontent, especially where grievances are localised or obscure: *Rebellion and Riot*, p.213.

⁷⁶ See chapters 2 and 6.

explanation for 1549, or are all these episodes so diverse that they need to be understood independently? It will be argued that although there is never a single explanation behind any historical phenomenon, in this case there are important generic and organisational similarities to the 1549 rebellions which transcend local difference.

Since it is the historian's task not only to impose patterns on the past, but also to recognise diversity, it will be necessary to find an interpretation of these risings which accounts for both their general and their distinctive features. As far as sources permit, the risings will be compared and contrasted according to the following criteria: social composition of leadership and participation; geographical focus of rebel action; aims, demands and targets; forms and degree of rebel organisation; rebel mentality; and the response of the authorities.⁷⁸ It is hoped that analysis of these six factors (identified by Zagorin as basic to the typological differentiation of early modern rebellion) will provide a starting point for clarifying the varying patterns of the 1549 risings.

Rather than searching for an elusive general theory of revolt, a comparative approach should merely presuppose 'some common and analogous features'.⁷⁹ Used in this way, it should prove both useful and important in clarifying the nature of rebellion in the mid-Tudor period. The statement that 'it is precisely the notion of breaking down our limited views that is one of the most attractive goals of comparative history' is of particular importance to the 'commotion time', given the existing historiography's failure to recognise the wider context of the two major rebellions.⁸⁰ Although it might prove useful to examine the local risings in terms of the models of Kett's Rebellion and

⁷⁷ Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, pp.236, 240; 'Kett's Rebellion: A Comment', 67. E.F. Gay, 'The Midland Revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation of 1607', *TRHS* NS 18 (1904), 209. See also Manning, 'Rebellions of 1549', 99.

⁷⁸ Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers* 1, pp.39-40.

⁷⁹ Quoting Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers* 1, p.57. This dissertation proceeds from the assumption that it is helpful for historians to classify revolt, to identify common forms, and to impose patterns on the past.

the South-Western Rebellion, it is arguably these smaller, less (or, paradoxically, more) successful risings which are typical of unrest in the Tudor period as a whole and, as such, are crucial to our understanding.⁸¹ Rather than forcing the risings into a predetermined theoretical model, Zagorin's approach encourages the adoption of a working hypothesis, which allows room for diversity and variation and should serve to illuminate the varying patterns of the 1549 risings. A comparative and thematic approach of this kind, combined with meticulous and detailed archival research, is the way forward for the 'commotion time' of 1549 as an historical problem.

Rollison's model of a continuum linking gossip, political satire, rough music, riots, disputes, festivals, insurrections, rebellions and revolutions provides a useful tool for conceptualising the 'commotion time'. In 1549, we can see a spectrum of disorder in which riots, risings and rebellions are connected to everyday struggles and are exceptional only in terms of their scale and intensity. 'Everyday resistance' provides the common foundation upon which all other forms of protest grow, so that, rather than disputes, riot, revolt and rebellion being entirely separate phenomena, it is political and social circumstances which shape strategies of resistance and determine the scale and significance of disorder.⁸² How do we get from one point on this spectrum to another? The escalation of disorder might depend on, among other factors: the initial response of the local authorities, rumour, gatherings, leadership, and the movement of people between affected regions. Given that droplets representing localised disturbances could run together with droplets produced by other storms, be swept along in the current and create the full flood of the 'commotion time', it is important not only to try to delineate

⁸⁰ Quoting M.O. Gately, A. Lloyd Moote & J.E. Willis, Jr., 'Seventeenth-Century Peasant "Furies": Some Problems of Comparative History', *P&P* 51 (1971), 80.

⁸¹ For the argument that successful rebel strategies limited certain protests, see chapter 2.

⁸² Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p.273.

various forms of resistance but also to show how they were related to one another.⁸³ A number of disputes, riots, small disturbances and 'micro-revolts' in 1548 and the spring of 1549 evidently formed part of the process of disorder which culminated in the rebellions of July 1549.⁸⁴

The central question of why localised disorder was able to escalate into regional rebellion in East Anglia, the South-West, and the Thames Valley, and why it was unable to do so elsewhere, will be addressed. The risings in Kent, Sussex, Landbeach (Cambridgeshire) and Seamer (Yorkshire), among others, suggest that more than the general climate was involved in translating widespread discontent into actual rebellion in 1549, and that the level of popular discontent was not the crucial variable.⁸⁵ At the risk of oversimplifying a complex process it will be argued that two distinct types of factors aid the propagation of revolt. 'Structural' factors, including geographical location and the breakdown of local government, might result in a lack of action to prevent the spread of disorder, whilst 'contingent' factors such as rumour, gatherings, charismatic leadership and an established tradition of revolt may provide the internal dynamic of the movement. Neither a 'structural' nor a 'contingent' explanation alone is sufficient; only where these factors occur in conjunction is rebellion a likely end product. Speight's recent work on the 1549 rebellions, however, has suggested that weak local government and the lack of a strong resident nobility might have been the

⁸³ J.R. Ravensdale, 'Landbeach in 1549: Ket's Rebellion in Miniature', in L. Munby (ed.), *East Anglian Studies* (Cambridge, 1968), p.115.

⁸⁴ For M. Foisol's use of the term 'micro-revolt' to describe the small disturbances, frequent in France, that were sometimes the forerunner to rebellion, see Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers* 1, p.19.

⁸⁵ Zagorin's statement that riot expanded into rebellion due to 'the predisposing religio-political and conjunctural climate' fails to explain why similar discontents and a shared general climate resulted only in localised disorder in the Midlands, the South and Yorkshire in 1549: *Rebels and Rulers* 1, p.209. Whilst there is reason to believe that socio-economic change may have had more impact in East Anglia than the rest of the realm, there is no reason to believe that the South-West was more concerned about the Latin Mass than Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire or Hampshire, for example.

crucial variable in allowing localised disorder to escalate into provincial rebellion in the South-West and East Anglia.⁸⁶

By implication, we will be concerned to investigate whether the disorders in the rest of the realm were contained by strong aristocratic leadership. Did strong aristocratic leadership and the swift response of the local gentry prevent these movements from throwing up leaders of Kett's quality or developing the internal dynamic necessary to translate localised disorder into regional rebellion, so that the 1549 stirs in the rest of the realm remained mainly small, brief and confined? The 'structural' and 'contingent' factors identified as important in the propagation of revolt in the east and the west may have been lacking in the 'lesser' commotions, although it is not intended, by any means, to imply the existence of a universal equation through which the complex and varied processes involved in the escalation of disorder can be understood. Alternatively, we need to consider whether Speight's thesis is an oversimplification which falters when extended more widely to other parts of the realm.⁸⁷

Ultimately, the goal is to discern whether a tentative typology of disorder can be established for 1549; to see how the generally assumed polarities of 'socio-economic' and 'religious', 'pro-' and 'anti-government' protest stand up in these other cases. None of the 1549 stirs can be understood in terms of a mono-causal explanation. Arguably, Kett's Rebellion and the South-Western Rebellion can no longer be held up as two alternative taxonomies of revolt between which the so-called 'lesser' risings can be distributed. Whether case studies of the more substantial disorders in the South, the

⁸⁶ Speight, 'Local Government and Politics', pp.5-6, 246; MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 45-47, 56-58.

⁸⁷ Especially given that Hampshire and Kent were just as deeply factionalised as the South-West, and that the gentry were largely absent from the Thames Valley, the Home Counties, and eastern England in July 1549: P. Clark, *English Provincial Society From the Reformation to the Revolution* (Hassocks, 1977), pp.78-86; R.H. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction: Religious Changes, National Politics and the Development of

Midlands, and Yorkshire might themselves be held up as various types under which lesser disturbances can be grouped will need careful consideration.

Langton's kaleidoscope metaphor encapsulates the methodological agenda behind this re-investigation of 1549. We need to find a frame to contain the pieces (the various 1549 risings) jumbled on the work bench, and a structure within that frame to enable the pieces to be moved around in search of patterns. Overlaying the three primary colours, each varying in shade, across identically shaped pieces of transparent film is sufficient 'to produce all possible colours, arranged in the most complex of patterns'. Thus, similar ingredients mixed in varying proportions could create a great variety of disorder during the 'commotion time'. Though the 1549 risings may display an intricacy of differences, this is not inconsistent with a general pattern.⁸⁸

This dissertation will attempt to construct a typology of disorder which will, in turn, have wider implications for our understanding of popular politics.⁸⁹ A provisional scheme of conceptualisation has been utilised from the outset to provide the framework for detailed archival research on the risings outside East Anglia and the South-West, applying a continuum model to the spectrum of disorder displayed in 1548-49. Categorising disorder within this continuum, although problematic, remains useful for a comparative analysis of the 1549 disorders. These categories do not represent watertight definitions, but rather act as analytical tools for comparative purposes, designed only to give the historian some impression of the nature and scale of disorder.⁹⁰ It is important to allow for a certain fluidity of boundaries between categories, which are perhaps best

Local Factionalism in Hampshire, 1485-1570' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1982), pp.244, 248-49. See chapters 3, 4, 5 and 8 for a fuller discussion.

⁸⁸ John Langton, 'The Historical Geography of European Peasantries, 1400-1800', in Tom Scott (ed.), *The Peasantries of Europe from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London & New York, 1998), pp.375, 379.

⁸⁹ J. Walter, 'Popular Opposition to Enclosure', an unpublished paper delivered at 'The Demise of the Peasant Farmer?' Day School (Oxford University Dept. for Continuing Education, 4 April 1998).

represented as volatile points on a spectrum. Adopting Wilson's method of 'concept criticism', the terms of the questions raised here will be modified to create a 'dialogue between concept and evidence'.⁹¹ Flexible hypotheses, a cautious application of concepts, and open-ended categories will provide a solid methodological foundation on which to build a comparative analysis of the 1549 risings.

Three main themes underlie this study: the process of escalation and dissemination by which the various local risings fused to create the 'commotion time' of 1549; the representation of disorder in mid-Tudor society; and patterns of interaction between state and society in Tudor England. These themes should help to throw new light on the recent major debates surrounding Edward VI's hitherto neglected reign.⁹² In particular, was 'the Good Duke', Protector Somerset, responsible for the 1549 rebellions? Did his 'policy of popularity' go too far in encouraging the commons and drawing them into political participation? To what extent did this unusual attitude and policy towards the insurgents precipitate his downfall? And should we regard the 'commotion time' as a symptom of a wider mid-Tudor crisis? In the course of the discussion I hope to illustrate the longer-term significance of the 1549 rebellions in English history: in shaping government response to popular disorder and on the development of the state, the law of treason, and the emergence of local, regional and national identities.

⁹⁰ Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers* 1, p.17.

⁹¹ 'The process of moderating one's working concepts in the practical process of research through an active encounter with the historical materials': A. Wilson, *Rethinking Social History: English Society, 1570-1920 and Its Interpretation* (Manchester, 1993), p.296. See also, E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory: or an orrery of errors* (new edn., London, 1995) and 'Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context', *Midland History* 1 (1971-72), 43-46, which notes that the comparative method is especially useful to the historian, despite its dangers. Taking up abstract concepts and making generalisations is a risk worth taking, although new concepts must be put into specific historical contexts to make or break theories.

⁹² The most important new full-length studies of Edward VI's reign are Jennifer Loach's *Edward VI*, edited by George Bernard and Penry Williams (New Haven & London, 1999) and MacCulloch's *Tudor Church Militant*.

The following discussion seeks to identify geographical clusters of risings, to bring out any possible links between them and to highlight any general or regional characteristics. Accordingly, the analysis will be organised in terms of the following broad geographical regions: the southern counties, the eastern counties, the central counties, the midland counties, and the northern counties. These are not intended to be hard and fast divisions. Rather, counties such as Kent, Cambridgeshire, Middlesex, Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire suggest that the risings were not necessarily contained within a region. These examples reflect a certain fluidity in the boundaries, which rebel activity could transcend to build bridges between one area of disorder and another.⁹³ I loosely adopt Phythian-Adams' concept of the 'cultural province' here, in devising a scheme classifying the English provinces on the basis of cultural and political geography rather than jurisdictional or agricultural region.⁹⁴ In our geographical clusters we might expect to find a shared (but not homogeneous) set of cultural traits and influences, which will allow us to consider the extent to which 'communal cultural defensiveness' informed the protestors' actions.⁹⁵ The arrangement of the 1549 risings within broad 'geographical clusters' seems ideal, reflecting both the dynamic of rebellion as it occurred on the ground and the pattern of governmental response, particularly as the magnates' role in quelling the disturbances seems largely to reflect

⁹³ These geographical clusters follow contemporary perceptions as far as possible. The disadvantages of this approach are two-fold. First, breaking down the 'commotion time' into its component parts may impair our sense of the movement as a whole. Secondly, a geographical structure is adopted here at the expense of a chronological account that might perhaps impart a greater understanding of how events snowballed in 1549.

⁹⁴ 'An unambiguously definable area, which is spatially greater in compass than that occupied by any one local society, yet of sufficiently limited geographical extent as still to represent a meaningful context for its inhabitants, and with which may be associated a set of distinguishable cultural traits', including 'a shared susceptibility to the same outside influences': Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Introduction: An Agenda For English Local History', in Charles Phythian-Adams (ed.), *Societies, Culture and Kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Leicester, 1993), p.9.

⁹⁵ This term is Mark Stoyles': 'The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall', *JBS* 34:4 (October 1999), 423-44.

their own regional power bases in each 'country' and also to prefigure the subsequent commissions for lord lieutenants after the militia act of 1558.⁹⁶

The dissertation proceeds from microcosm to macrocosm, widening the telescopic lens to reveal the geographical spread of the 'commotion time'. Chapter two, which provides a detailed case study of the spark at Northaw and Cheshunt, Hertfordshire in 1548, is followed by a broader sweep of the 1549 disorders across southern England (chapter three), the eastern counties (chapter four), the Thames Valley (chapter five), Hertfordshire, Middlesex and London (chapter six), and the Midlands and the North (chapter seven). Chapter eight constructs a tentative typology of disorder for 1548-49, giving careful consideration to the issue of whether case studies of the more substantial disorders in the Midlands, the South and Yorkshire might provide types under which lesser disturbances can be grouped. The overall picture of 1549 will be discussed, and important questions concerning the meaning and impact of the 'commotion time' will be raised. Each chapter is accompanied by a series of maps.⁹⁷ Chapters two to eight map the geographical extent of the 1548-49 risings and their inter-relationship in space; the issue of their contextualisation in time is contemplated in the epilogue (chapter 9), which points towards the long-term fallout of 1549.⁹⁸

In this broad survey of the lie of the land in 1549, I hope to strike a balance between in-depth case studies and more general discussion, to link microhistories of local disorder to the overall picture and to bring chronological sense and shape to the argument. The 'episodic' approach I have adopted results largely from the

⁹⁶ The establishment of lord lieutenants may well have been a response to the 1549 rebellions: see SP 10/8/33; Williams, *Tudor Regime*, pp.416-17; Bush, *Government Policy*, p.127 and note 1; G. Scott Thomson, *Lord Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Tudor Local Administration* (London, 1923), chapter 2; and chapter 8 below.

⁹⁷ Lists of rebels are provided in the appendices below, where these are considered to substantially add to our knowledge of the 1548-49 commotions.

extraordinarily fragmented evidence relating to the 1549 risings. Even those episodes considered here to be well-documented are, by more general standards, very poorly documented. Much of the evidence on which the thesis depends has been gleaned from the records of the prerogative courts, principally the courts of Star Chamber, Chancery, and Requests, but also the Exchequer and the court of the Duchy of Lancaster. This rich yet problematic body of source-material has been supplemented with State Paper material, elite correspondence, chamberlains' accounts, consistory court depositions, books of remembrance and the proceedings of the courts of Burghmote, aldermen and common council, amongst other sources.⁹⁹ Whilst snippets of fresh information on events in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, East Sussex and elsewhere have come to light, the main purpose of the thesis has been to re-work the existing body of evidence; to pull the diverse threads of material together through a conceptual model, which provides a starting point for an alternative approach to the 'commotion time' of 1549.

Part of my analytical strategy follows Burke's notion of a 'braided narrative', a notion best exemplified by Walter's *Understanding Popular Violence*.¹⁰⁰ I aim to offer a 'braided narrative' (a narrative interweaved with analysis) of the 1549 risings in which some individual episodes are treated at greater length than others, creating a textured argument. I hope to present a plausible hypothesis while simultaneously acknowledging the limitations of the evidence upon which I draw. The complexity of local economic context and the subtleties of an argument linking localised episodes of disorder to the

⁹⁸ On the importance of contextualising the 1549 rebellions in time and space, see MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion: A Rejoinder', 70.

⁹⁹ This study attempts to draw on a wide variety of sources following Professor MacCulloch's suggestion that it is necessary to make use of state papers, central court, and local records in order to avoid the 'tunnel history' of the traditional historiography: 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 39-40.

¹⁰⁰ The phrase 'braided narrative' is Peter Burke's: 'History of Events and the Revival of Narrative', in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives in Historical Writing* (Oxford, 1992), p.163. For a useful brief discussion, see John Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester Plunderers* (Cambridge, 1999), pp.6-9.

notion of a more general crisis makes Walter's the best working model for the approach I have tried to develop. Since Walter had the advantage of working within a geographically circumscribed area (the Stour Valley and Colchester) he could offer an account of popular disorder that was both micro-history and braided narrative, something that it will not be possible to do here in an approach that is, of necessity, much more geographically extensive.¹⁰¹ And yet it is this wide geographical focus that provides the key to understanding 1549.

¹⁰¹ Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence*.

Prologue: 'Insurrection for the Comens'

In the fortnight preceding Whitsun of 1548, rumours of an impending enclosure commission were bruited about the Hertfordshire parishes of Northaw and Cheshunt. On hearing that Sir William Cavendish, lord of the manor of Northaw, had obtained a royal commission to enclose part of Northaw Great Waste, the commoners of Northaw, Cheshunt, North Mimms, and other surrounding villages determined to defend their pasture rights, whatever the cost.

After a false start on Whit Sunday, a crowd of five hundred armed rioters gathered outside Cavendish's house at Northaw on Monday 21 May, mistakenly believing the commissioners to be inside. Encamping themselves here between the hours of one and six in the afternoon, they laid siege to the house, threatening to burn down the building if Cavendish refused to come out to them. The protestors, duly admonished to disperse, instead stubbornly declared their intention to withstand the commission. Even at this early stage it is apparent that Cavendish's proposed enclosure was not the only grievance fuelling the protest. Later the same day the rioters proceeded to the free warren adjoining Cavendish's house, where, in a concrete expression of their 'great hate and dedlye dyspleasure' against Cavendish, they wrought a scene of violent devastation, slaughtering a thousand of Cavendish's rabbits and destroying the burrows with gunpowder.¹ The next day sixty persons, led by two Cheshunt constables, again entered Cavendish's warren, this time killing a further three hundred rabbits amidst a volley of bone-chilling war cries.

¹ STAC 3/1/49: bill of complaint of Sir William Cavendish.

This was just the beginning. Rumour had already created 'a collective predisposition to emotion', now, a concrete incident - the commission itself - served as a catalyst in the escalation of disorder.² The unrest reached its apogee on Wednesday 23 May, when, on their arrival at Northaw Common, the commissioners found themselves confronted by an armed crowd of seven hundred protestors, messengers having been sent as far afield as Middlesex and Essex in order to drum up support. The commissioners were forced to flee, leaving the commission unexecuted. What had begun as a localised enclosure riot had escalated into a full-scale 'insurrection for the comens', founded on the dangerous notion that the commission, having been issued during Edward VI's minority, 'was of no force or valydyte' and need not be obeyed.³ And, despite the protestors' apparent victory, the disorder continued. A series of further minor incidents took place during the nights of 25 and 26 May, in which Cavendish was disturbed by a terrible 'hallowyng, cryeng and yellyng' outside his house, six of his horses were let loose, and yet more of his rabbits were brutally slaughtered.

The outcome of this episode remains largely shrouded in mystery. Sir William Cavendish brought charges of riot, rout, rebellion, unlawful assembly, seditious words, assault, affray and felony against a total of ninety-five men in the courts of Star Chamber and King's Bench. Whilst the outcome of the Star Chamber action is unknown, there is at least some indication that the King's Bench suit proceeded to trial.⁴ Beyond the fact that a number of the protestors, probably the ringleaders, were said to have been incarcerated in the Fleet and other prisons, little is known of their fate. The insurgents may have triumphed by direct action in the short term, but was their victory upheld or overturned by the courts? Were Cavendish's 'wrongs' reformed, as the

² M. Mollat and P. Wolff, *Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1973), p.292.

³ Quoting Hales: BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.297 and STAC 3/1/49: bill. See also STAC 10/16, f.190r: deposition of William Allen; f.186v: deposition of Thomas Harrockes.

commissioners had promised? Or was Northaw Common enclosed? Although these issues cannot be satisfactorily resolved until new evidence comes to light, the surviving body of evidence permits a uniquely rich and textured discussion of the Northaw Rising, both as an instance of local disorder in and of itself, and in relation to the wider pattern of disorder in 1549. It was at Northaw, I will argue, that one of the first sparks of the ‘commotion time’ ignited.



This chapter provides a micro-historical account of the Northaw and Cheshunt Rising as the springboard to launch this study of the ‘commotion time’. The documentation relating to the Northaw case is both richly textured and voluminous, making the episode particularly well-suited to this kind of microscopic treatment.⁵ These Star Chamber records allow us a rare insight into the causation, context, mechanics, nature, scale and significance of this local rising. They are not, however, without their associated difficulties. The community itself provides two different versions of the events of May 1548, making an historical definition of the Northaw episode problematic. Was it a community protest by the Northaw and Cheshunt tenants in defence of their common rights, carried out with the sanction of the local constables, or the prosecution’s large-scale riot, rising or rebellion? These two conflicting narratives (which do, nevertheless, contain some degree of consensus) are the inevitable product of the adversarial nature of court evidence. Although there is an underlying reality behind these competing

⁴ STAC 3/1/49, bill; KB 9/980, ff.21-22. A full list of participants, and other persons mentioned in the STAC 3, STAC 10 and KB 9 proceedings, appears in the appendix.

⁵ Two substantial depositions books discovered among 21 unsorted boxes of STAC 10 material at the PRO add flesh to a suit in the main STAC 3 series. These depositions books can be found in STAC 10/16, ff.133-200. They flesh out considerably the STAC 3/1/49 suit. I am extremely grateful to Professor Ethan Shagan of Northwestern University for bringing the STAC 10 and KB 9 material to my attention. Since the time of writing, Shagan has uncovered another part of this suit in a folder labelled ‘STAC 3: piece numbers not known’, in the box with STAC 3/1/76-112: Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), p.281 n.40. Unfortunately, Shagan’s book appeared too late for this

narratives, they are, in effect, ‘Star Chamber strategies’.⁶ Whilst Sir William Cavendish clearly embellished the Northaw episode for rhetorical effect, the protestors were understandably concerned to diminish the disorder in the authorities’ eyes. Both narratives need to be read in conjunction to reveal the differing concepts of order and disorder which lie behind the protestors’ and local governors’ perceptions of events and to appreciate the ambiguities and unspoken interests of the Star Chamber litigation. The nature of the source material reminds us that the ‘commotion time’ is largely a matter of representation. Understanding the different ways in which disorder was imagined in Mid-Tudor England is crucial to a reconstruction of the 1548-49 rebellions.⁷

The aims of this chapter are two-fold: to provide a ‘braided narrative’ of the Northaw episode, interspersed with an interrogation of the sources, and to emphasise both the innate interest of the episode and its wider significance for the ‘commotion time’ as a whole. I hope to suggest the importance not only of the local history and consciousness underpinning the episode, but also of the continuities between the Northaw Rising and the Hertfordshire and Middlesex Rebellion of 1549.⁸ The 1548 rising introduces all the main themes, and at least some of the protagonists, of the ‘commotion time’, and these little-known events at Northaw are integral to an explanation of the origins of the 1549 commotions. The following discussion accordingly seeks to explore the causation and context of the Northaw Rising; to analyse its immediate catalyst; to investigate the

material to be incorporated here. I hope to write an article on the Northaw and Cheshunt disturbances in the future.

⁶ Hindle, *State and Social Change*, pp.82-85. For other pertinent examples of competing narratives, see David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford, 2000). The Northaw discovery substantiates MacCulloch’s claim that ‘most fresh information on what was happening [in 1549] must be culled from the vast and miscellaneous treasure-house of gossip and scandal contained in the records of the central courts of Chancery and Star Chamber’: ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context’, p.40 and ‘Kett’s Rebellion: A Rejoinder’, p.69 – where MacCulloch usefully spells out the shortcomings of this type of evidence.

⁷ A point well made by Shagan’s important article, ‘Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions’.

⁸ On these continuities, see chapters 6 and 9.

mechanics and infrastructure of the movement; and, finally, to demonstrate the protest's relationship to the 'commotion time' of 1549.

I: Causation and Context: The Local Roots of the 1548 Rising

It is over twenty years since MacCulloch's Suffolk study first brought to our attention the importance of examining the local roots of the 1549 disturbances.⁹ Yet this is something that the two most obvious recent authorities in the field, Manning and Beer, have failed to do.¹⁰ The Northaw records are a valuable find: they allow us to dig down just deep enough below the surface of events to catch a glimmer of the spring from which the 1548 disturbances welled.

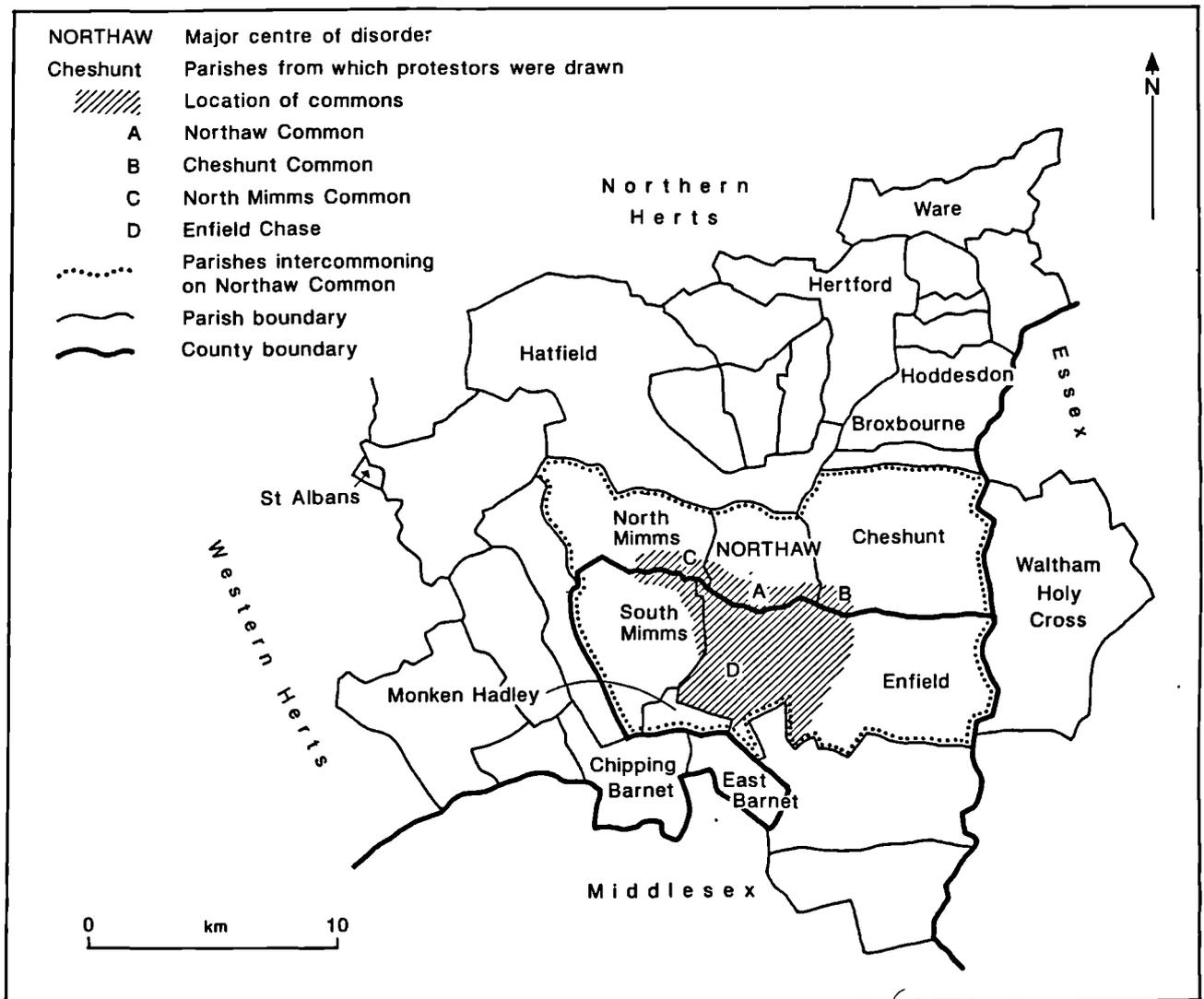
The rising centred on a small cluster of parishes – Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms – in the south-eastern corner of Hertfordshire, bordering on Middlesex and Essex. Northaw Common provided the focal point of the rising, which drew in the neighbouring Middlesex parishes of Enfield, South Mimms and Monken Hadley, the Essex parish of Waltham Holy Cross, and a number of other local Hertfordshire parishes (see map 2.1). The parish of Northaw, a wooded, hilly area of heavy soils, has been described as a residual area of isolated 'primitive' farming where goat-keeping was a local peculiarity as late as the 1550s and 1560s, and where arable cultivation consisted almost entirely of small areas of oats.¹¹ Cheshunt – the most southernmost of the Lea Valley parishes – was quite highly commercialised by comparison, partly as a

⁹ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion: A Rejoinder', 70-71. See also chapter 9 below.

¹⁰ Manning, *Village Revolts*; Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*.

¹¹ Paul Glennie, 'Continuity and Change in Hertfordshire Agriculture, 1550-1700: I – Patterns of Agricultural Production', *AgHR* 36 (1988), 74.

MAP 2.1 'INSURRECTION FOR THE COMENS', 1548



result of the movement of people and commodities along the River Lea to the capital.¹² An emergent 'agrarian capitalism' may have been in evidence in mid-sixteenth-century Cheshunt. Price and rent changes fostered the growth of a group of substantial yeomen farmers, who built up large, increasingly specialised holdings through the land market, and whose social, cultural and economic interests were, as a result, no longer necessarily compatible with those of their immediate social inferiors.¹³

A 1556 survey of the manor of Northaw can usefully be compared with Glennie's analysis of a 1562 field book for Cheshunt parish. What is most striking about the Northaw survey is that it records an unusually high number of tenants by indenture, and that each tenant held an unusually large amount of land.¹⁴ In Cheshunt, by contrast, the leasehold sector was small and most land remained copyhold and secure until the 1560s. From the early sixteenth century tenant landholding in Cheshunt was dominated by a group of local farming families, the two most prominent of which - the Chares and the Lowens - together accounted for 19 of the 152 landholders, occupying a total of 625 acres in 1562.¹⁵ These families actively participated in, and probably led, the 1548 rising.

¹² On the importance of the Lea Valley's trade connections with London, see D.O. Pam, 'Tudor Enfield: The Maltmen and the Lea Navigation', *Edmonton Hundred Historical Society Occasional Papers* NS 18 (1971).

¹³ Paul Glennie, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism: Manorial Land Markets and the Acquisition of Land in the Lea Valley c.1450-c.1560', *Continuity and Change* 3:1 (1988), 11-40. The existence of a comparable 'emergent agrarian capitalism' in Norfolk has been demonstrated by Jane Whittle: 'The Development of Agrarian Capitalism in England from c.1450-c.1580' (D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1995). Whittle rightly emphasises the 'fuzziness of social distinctions' in sixteenth-century rural society: p.315. On these issues, see also R.W. Hoyle, 'Tenure and the Land Market in Early Modern England: Or a Late Contribution to the Brenner Debate', *EcHR*, 2nd series, 43 (February 1990), 1-20.

¹⁴ E 315/391, ff.18v-24r, *VCH Herts.* 4, p.216. Tenants by indenture were leaseholders who by definition had no claim on customary rights, which were the perquisites of copyholders. I am grateful to Professor Richard Hoyle for this definition. The incompatibility between tenant right and indentures may be of some importance in the context of the 1548 rising (see below).

¹⁵ Glennie, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', 26-27, 30 and n.38. The Lowen family had branches in Cheshunt, Northaw and Cuffley: E 315/391, ff.18v-24r.

Despite a local history of enclosure from at least the early 1520s, there is no evidence to suggest that the process caused discontent in Northaw and Cheshunt until the 1540s. After purchasing the manors of Northaw, Cuffley and Childwick in February 1540, Sir William Cavendish enclosed 120 acres of Northaw Common four years later, provoking the first in a series of local enclosure riots.¹⁶ Cavendish may well have been one of the ‘new’ type of landlords who rode roughshod over local custom, like so many of the rebels’ other targets in 1548-49.¹⁷ The nature of the encloser, as much as the act of enclosure, could provoke hostility. Newcomers who had risen on the spoils of the Dissolution were often targeted, and Cavendish had received a grant from Robert Catton, abbot of St Albans, prior to purchasing the manor of Northaw from the Crown when the abbey was dissolved in December 1539.¹⁸ Cavendish’s position as auditor of the Court of Augmentations did not cast him in a favourable light, leaving him open to accusations of misappropriation, and making him an ideal target for the ‘commonwealthmen’.¹⁹

Cavendish’s enclosing activities were just one aspect of a more general disinclination to meet the community’s expectations.²⁰ References to Cavendish’s ‘wrongs’ - his unprecedented use and overstocking of the common - suggest that he disregarded the traditional bond of good lordship, putting ‘commodity’ above ‘commonwealth’.²¹ In overcharging the common Cavendish impaired the ground ‘to the ruin of the poor’, whilst his warreners prevented the commoners from seeking their livestock on the waste. Perhaps the 1548 protest at Northaw was a means of re-establishing traditional

¹⁶ E 117/14/44; C66/687, mm.25-27; Sir Henry Chauncy, *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 2nd edn. (London & Bishop’s Stortford, 1826, repr. Dorking 1975), vol. 2, pp.384-85; *VCH Herts.* 2, pp.358-59 and 4, pp.215-16. For the 1544 riots, see STAC 2/9, ff.79-80.

¹⁷ Compare Sir Richard Lee: chapter 6.

¹⁸ E 41/277.

¹⁹ I use the term ‘commonwealthmen’ loosely here.

²⁰ Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”’, 142.

²¹ For examples of overstocking in seventeenth-century Lincolnshire, see Joan Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London, 1957), pp.112-23.

social obligations and procuring social justice and good government, much like Kett's Rebellion. The rioters showed disdain only for Cavendish, rather than authority in general: they made professions of loyalty to Sir Anthony Denny, privy councillor and JP for Hertfordshire.²² Where the activities of local justices like Cavendish stirred up trouble things did not bode well for the government, who relied on such figures to keep the public peace in the provinces.²³

A brief overview of the 1544 riots might help to reconstruct the local context of the 1548 disorders, especially since these common rights issues resurfaced in 1548 and 1579.²⁴ When Cavendish enclosed 120 acres of Northaw Common in 1544, the tenants reacted by filling in part of the ditch to preserve access to the common to pasture their livestock. On 15 January, approximately 200 villagers from Northaw, Cheshunt, North Mimms and Waltham (in Cheshunt parish) gathered together, threatening to burn down Cavendish's house and bury him in a ditch. Burying Cavendish in a ditch was a symbolic threat, laden with meaning. Hedges were often buried in ditches during enclosure riots, but it was unusual to threaten to bury the encloser. The idea of bestial interment was designed to inspire a deep-rooted horror in Cavendish, to imply that his unneighbourly behaviour would exclude him from the community of the Christian dead, and to indicate that he had forfeited his right to personal dignity and local respect in failing to uphold the obligation of good lordship.²⁵ Cavendish, however, was undeterred and cast the ditch open again, provoking a further riot on 21 January, when Cavendish's wife and servants were allegedly assaulted. The Cheshunt tenants filled in the newly

²² The Case of John Grevys, husbandman vs. Sir William Cavendish of Chatsworth (STAC 3/5/60) is an interesting aside to the Northaw episode. In an ironic inversion of the situation at Northaw, Cavendish, played the part of enclosure rioter, using riot and violence to maintain his right to enclosed pasture at Beeley in Derbyshire, the very tactics he condemned at Northaw in 1548. For a summary, see Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.39-40. Perhaps Cavendish was driven out of Hertfordshire by local animosity soon after the 1548 rising.

²³ For the involvement of justices in the 1549 commotions, see especially the Watford dispute: Ch. 6.

²⁴ STAC 2/9, ff.79-80. The 1544 riots have previously escaped historical notice. On 1579, see Ch. 9.

constructed ditches, proclaiming their right to common, and setting in motion what was to become a long, drawn-out dispute.

To reach a final settlement, a commission was ordered to mark out the proposed enclosure from Northaw Common after the Court of General Surveyors deemed it lawful for Cavendish to enclose and improve a 'reasonable porcion' of the common, leaving the tenants 'sufficyent' for their needs.²⁶ 'Reasonable' and 'sufficient' were, however, relative terms, open to interpretation, and the success of such a solution depended on a consensus that was evidently lacking at Northaw in 1544-48.²⁷ Before the commission was issued, the Court of General Surveyors was amalgamated with the Court of Augmentations and, in the ensuing bureaucratic upheaval, the Northaw commission was left unexecuted.²⁸ Thus, the dispute continued well into March 1548, when the commission was re-issued (probably in Chancery).²⁹ In 1548, the tenants denied Cavendish's right to enclose 500 acres of the common, protesting that this would leave them insufficient common. They denied all knowledge of a consensual enclosure agreement in the Court of General Surveyors, perhaps having received no offer of

²⁵ On the deep-rooted horror of bestial interment (burial without ceremony and outside consecrated ground) in early modern English society, see Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions*, p.119.

²⁶ STAC 3/1/49, bill.

²⁷ For example, as late as 1603, the Chancellor still refused to set down what constituted a 'reasonable' fine, whilst Latimer's 1549 'Sermon On the Plough' raised the issue of who should decide what was reasonable: Hindle, *State and Social Change*, p.60. For examples of opposition to enclosure launched on the grounds of such ambiguities, see Eric Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* (London, 1969), pp.94-95.

²⁸ The Court of General Surveyors and the Court of Augmentations were amalgamated in January 1547: *L&P* 21:2, no. 771, although *L&P* 21:2, no. 338 and Rosemary O'Day, *The Longman Companion to The Tudor Age* (London & New York, 1995), pp.113, 253 suggest an earlier merger by November 1546. Cavendish was Treasurer of the Court of General Surveyors 19 February 1546 – 2 January 1547: S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509-1558* (London, 1982), 1, p.597.

²⁹ STAC 3/1/49 bill; KB 9/980, f.22. Cavendish claimed that the commission was re-issued by Edward VI's letters patent on 4 March 1548, but attempts to trace the commission have so far proved unfruitful. The commissioners addressed a letter to Sir Richard Rich, suggesting they were returnable to Chancery, as was the case with Wolsey's enclosure commission of 1517 and Hales' (unrelated) commission of June 1548. On 1517, see J.J. Scarisbrick, 'Cardinal Wolsey and the Common Weal', in E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht & J.J. Scarisbrick (eds), *Wealth and Power in Tudor England* (London, 1978), pp.51-52. On 1548, see *TRP* 1, nos. 309, 327, 338; *CPR Edw. VI*, 1, pp.419-20; BL Lansdowne MS 238, ff.305-25v; SP 10/4/33, SP 10/8/10-11, SP 10/8/24-25. A list of the Northaw enclosure commissioners can be found in the appendix. On the process of enclosure by commission more generally, see Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems*, pp.113-17.

compensation.³⁰ Can we regard the Northaw dispute as a case where enclosure by agreement provoked genuine resistance?³¹ The evidence hints that the tenants objected to the extent of the enclosure, rather than the principle.³² The Northaw enclosure commission is unusual in that it escalated the situation, precipitating further protest, whereas many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century enclosure disputes were resolved in this way.

The issue of common rights was clearly central to the battle over Northaw Common, indicating a thematic unity and local continuity between the 1544 and 1548 disorders. If Northaw Common formed the battleground in the struggles of the 1540s, then contested claims to common rights fuelled the war. The battle-lines, however, remain far from clear. Whilst the Cheshunt tenants claimed common rights by virtue of their copyholds, Cavendish refuted this claim in Star Chamber, declaring them to be tenants at will (and copyholders of Henry VIII) whose rights were held solely at the discretion of the lord (during Henry VIII's lifetime).³³ Whether or not the tenants held by copy of court roll 'according to the custom of the manor' is difficult to determine.³⁴

Appreciating the size, value and customary usage of Northaw Common, and the practice of intercommoning on the three 'Great Wastes' of Northaw, Cheshunt and

³⁰ STAC 3/1/49, answer of William Curle, John Tompson, Henry Dellow ... John Adam *et al* (hereafter answer 1); the writ and several answers of William Curle, John Tompson, Henry Dellow ... Thomas Knolton *et al* (hereafter answer 2).

³¹ The Caddington Common enclosure dispute of 1635-39 provides another example: Hindle, 'Persuasion and Protest'.

³² Was there a point at which enclosure became intolerable even where there was no objection to the principle or does the arbitrary nature of the 'improvement' explain the Cheshunt tenants' grievance? Cf. Enfield (Middlesex): chapter 6.

³³ STAC 3/1/49, bill.

³⁴ If their copies were not customary the Cheshunt tenants were no more than tenants at will and had no rights of common. Cavendish's account of the Court of General Surveyors' ruling concerning the tenants' landholding status is, however, very confusing. The implication is that the tenants' rights were extinguished on Henry VIII's death: STAC 3/1/49, bill. It remains possible that the tenants were demesne copyholders who occupied the lord's land, as seems to have been the case at Enfield: Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems*, pp.45-46, 87-97; ch. 6 below.

North Mimms, is imperative to envisage these hazy battle-lines.³⁵ In the Mid-Tudor period, Northaw Common and Cheshunt Common encompassed approximately 2,000 acres apiece, whilst North Mimms Common contained some 1,500 acres, making the three adjoining commons a staggering 5,500 acres in total.³⁶ Additionally, Northaw Common formed part of Enfield Chase, a large expanse of ground stretching over the western half of the Middlesex parish of Enfield, which adjoined the common fields of Cheshunt, South Mimms and Monken Hadley (map 2.1).³⁷

It was customary for each of the lords of the three manors of Northaw (Cavendish), Cheshunt (Sir John Gates) and North Mimms (Elizabeth, widow of John Coningsby, former sheriff of Hertfordshire) to take the best livestock in the three 'grete wastes' every third year.³⁸ However, the lords of the three manors had 'not usyd synce the tyme of mynde of man to put any catall or bestes uppon the grete waste'. It was because Cavendish's use of the common was unprecedented that it was regarded as wrong, provoking full-scale opposition. Kett made a similar demand that 'no lord of no manor shall comon upon the Comons' in 1549.³⁹ By contrast, the tenants and inhabitants of Northaw, Cheshunt, North Mimms and the manor of Brookmans (in North Mimms parish) claimed to have always had common of pasture without number for all their cattle and beasts at all times of the year in the three great wastes of Northaw, Cheshunt

³⁵ For a comparable Lincolnshire dispute concerning intercommoning in 1610, see Hindle, *State and Social Change*, pp.80-81.

³⁶ One estimate puts the total acreage of the 3 commons as high as 6,000 acres: STAC 3/1/49, answer 1.

³⁷ Northaw Common adjoined Cheshunt Common on the east (a large area in the extreme west of the parish), North Mimms Common on the west, and Enfield Chase on the south: *VCH Herts.* 2, pp.251, 255, 357; *VCH Herts.* 3, p.441; *VCH Middlesex* 5, pp.276, 290-91, 298. On the Enfield tenants' rights in Northaw Common, see chapter 6. For an example of the practice of intercommoning in the Lincolnshire Fens, see Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, pp.25-28.

³⁸ A similar arrangement seems to have been in place at Tyttenhanger in the neighbouring parish of Ridge in 1549: chapter 6.

³⁹ 'Kett's Demands Being in Rebellion', article 3; see also articles 11 and 13: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.144-45. As Greenwood has argued, article 11 (that 'all ffreholders and copieholders may take the profights of all comons' i.e. that *only* tenants should have the right of common pasture) clearly reflects the interests of a peasant elite: 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', pp.334-35, 343. These demands were partially retracted in a Norfolk petition of 1553 (articles 4 and 5): Hoyle 'Agrarian Agitation', 236-37 and n.36.

and North Mimms.⁴⁰ A later piece of evidence reveals that the Enfield tenants also claimed pasture rights in Northaw Common.⁴¹

That the inhabitants of Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms attached considerable importance to their rights of common is evident from the lengths to which they were prepared to go in their defence in 1544 and 1548. Yet the Star Chamber proceedings reveal confusion about right of common, which had probably been loosely defined in village by-law until the point of Cavendish's enclosure. In taking his suit to the Court of General Surveyors after the 1544 riots, Cavendish sought (and achieved) a more precise definition of pasturage entitlements in Northaw waste. The crux of the matter was whether rights of common extended to 'mere inhabitants' of these three manors or only to tenants (and whether 'non-tenants' or 'strangers' participated in the protests). The necessity of having an interest in the common to justify involvement in protest might well muddy the waters in terms of claims made. Accordingly, the protestors portrayed themselves as intercommoners by reason of their several tenures.

A common of the size of Northaw Common was bound to attract people from quite a distance to exploit the waste, either legally or illegally, especially at a time of price inflation and population mobility such as the 1540s. This might explain the involvement of Middlesex and Essex men in the 1548 riots and the references to 'strangers' among the crowd. A large common like Northaw Common also raised the problem of regulation. Caddington in the 1630s provides a good analogy, where the lack of regulation enabled 'foreigners' to illegally exploit the common so that it was no longer

⁴⁰ John Burley, who put forward the case for the tenants of Brookmans, may have been stretching the truth in his own self-interest. Burley held lands at North Mimms, which belonged to the manor of Brookmans. Brookmans was owned by Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Great Admiral. Seymour was at Cavendish's house at Northaw at the time of the 1548 riots. It was his servant, William Clark, who was sent out to negotiate with the protestors: STAC 3/1/49, bill and answer 2.

⁴¹ DL 43/7/4. See chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of this evidence.

of any profit to the commoners themselves.⁴² Were usage rights restricted on Northaw Common as a result of the 1544 and 1548 disputes?

It has been suggested that the Earl of Pembroke's attempt to limit the tenants' stint caused the 1544 and 1548 riots.⁴³ Landlords used manorial court restrictions to limit the number of beasts the tenantry could put on the waste when they became concerned that their rights were being encroached upon by the tenants' heavy use of the common. Overgrazing is likely to have occurred at Northaw Common given that the tenants (and perhaps, in practice, the inhabitants) had right of common pasture for all kinds of livestock 'without number'.⁴⁴ In such cases, both parties could plead that overgrazing was mutually disadvantageous. Whereas, at Caddington, the dean and chapter of St Paul's cathedral lamented that the common was of little profit due to overgrazing and lack of regulation, at Northaw the tenants made this claim, accusing Cavendish of overstocking Northaw Common and impairing the land, 'so that the comon to the comyners is worsse then it was wount to be before'.⁴⁵ Initially, stinting agreements were intended to prevent enclosure, but enclosure became the only solution for common rights to remain meaningful.⁴⁶ Thus, stinting was a cause of trouble, not only at Northaw, but in Oxfordshire in 1596 and at Caddington in the 1630s.⁴⁷

⁴² Hindle, 'Persuasion and Protest'.

⁴³ The Earl of Pembroke was the farmer of the manor of Northaw: *VCH Herts.* 4, pp.215-16. Cf. Barbara Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait* (London, 1955), pp.171-73.

⁴⁴ The custom was still defined in this way in 1556, suggesting that the 1548 rising did not result in a restriction of usage rights on Northaw Common. According to a 1556 survey, Northaw Common Wood was seven miles in circumference and well wooded with oaks (this may be the Great Wood in the north of the parish rather than the common in the south). The demesne farmer's right to common in the woods of Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms for all kinds of livestock without number was worth twenty pounds a year and he made his rent from the lops and shreddings of hornbeam. The 1556 survey again raises the possibility of conflicting definitions of common rights, since the same right was said to have been held by every *tenant* of the manor (although only tenants by indenture appear to have held housebote - the right to take wood from the common to repair their tenements): E 315/391, ff.23v-24r.

⁴⁵ William Lowen: STAC 10/16, f.153r: deposition of William Lowen.

⁴⁶ Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, pp.38-39.

⁴⁷ Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?'; Hindle, 'Persuasion and Protest'.

Although the organised defence of common rights could demonstrate a strong sense of community, common rights issues could just as easily create social division.⁴⁸ When pasture became scarce, especially where more than one village shared a common and overgrazing had, inevitably, occurred⁴⁹ – as was presumably the case at Northaw – conflict could arise between copyholders and cottagers, in which the tenants rallied together to protect their use rights against ‘strangers’ and ‘mere inhabitants’.⁵⁰ It was claimed, in 1548, that the tenants and inhabitants of the manors of Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms had customarily used Northaw Common: an uncertain definition of common rights by any terms. Perhaps Cavendish strove to restrict use-rights to the tenants and to redefine or clarify custom through enclosure.⁵¹ This would explain why opposition to the enclosure commission transcended local boundaries, and why ‘strangers’ and ‘non-tenants’ featured among the crowd.⁵² The precise nature of the relationship between the tenants, inhabitants and ‘strangers’ probably cannot now be determined, especially since, in yet another Star Chamber strategy, the ringleaders were quick to write non-tenants out of the story.⁵³ Cross-currents and conflicts of interest were probably at work between the tenant ‘elite’ and the commoners, just as they were in East Anglia the following year.⁵⁴ Whilst the inhabitants’ and outsiders’ participation in the protest may have been encouraged as a means of bolstering the crowd, their use of Northaw Common was at most grudgingly tolerated, suggesting that a fluid notion of

⁴⁸ This is shown by the trend towards stinting which, backed by the judgement in Gateward’s case (1607), excluded cottagers from access to common: E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), pp.121-22, 130-32, 134-35, 138.

⁴⁹ Thirsk’s *English Peasant Farming* contains a number of interesting examples of overgrazing by landlords, including that of the suggestively named John Cheetham: pp.36-39.

⁵⁰ This type of social differentiation, which redefined community, became increasingly common in the course of the seventeenth century.

⁵¹ Whereas village by-laws expressed common rights in such loose or uncertain terms, legal definitions were much more precise. As Thompson remarks, although the decision in Gateward’s case may not have affected actual practices, it could strip the landless commoner of any rights ‘if a case came to the courts, or at the point of enclosure’: *Customs in Common*, pp.134-35.

⁵² On the participation of ‘strangers’ and men ‘of Foren towns’, see STAC 10/16, f.179r.

⁵³ The prosecution witnesses bring our attention to the participation of non-tenants and outsiders (to exaggerate the extent of the disorder), whilst the defence witnesses deny that any such persons numbered amongst the crowd (to diminish the scale of the rising). For the defence deposition book, see STAC 10/16, ff.133-166; the prosecution deposition book is at ff.167-200.

community – defined as much by exclusion as inclusion – operated in Northaw and its vicinity in the 1540s.⁵⁵

Alternatively, was the protest an attempt to restrain Cavendish's rights to common pasture? Precautions to prevent landlords overstocking the commons were sometimes achieved by tenant legal action, although there is no evidence that the Northaw and Cheshunt tenants had previously taken Cavendish to court.⁵⁶ Since the tenants could not impose restrictions on Cavendish in his manor court (where use of the common was controlled) and were apparently unable to avail themselves of the opportunity for redress offered by the central courts (probably due to the expense and trouble involved), protest was the only realistic option. In that the tenants were imposing restrictions on their lord, the protest represented a symbolic inversion of the workings of the manor court, lending a kind of legalism to the protestors' action. Protest, then, was a form of community politics, and custom was the byword of the protestors' political language.⁵⁷

The Northaw rising could feasibly have been construed as rebellion. The protest broke out of the confines of the local community, other communities were persuaded to join in what became a more general attack against the principle of enclosure (as represented by opposition to the royal enclosure commission), and the participants were

⁵⁴ Kett's Demands were hardly representative of the whole body of East Anglian commons.

⁵⁵ By contrast, Glennie has argued that the court rolls suggest that the larger Cheshunt tenants 'joined with poorer tenants on matters such as the maintenance of common rights and the regulation of stints on the common pasture and waste'. He has also found the lay subsidy of 1545-46 to reveal little social differentiation in early sixteenth-century Cheshunt: 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', 30-33. Although the involvement of members of the Chare and Lowen families might suggest a community protest in which the larger tenants joined with, and led, their poorer neighbours, the 1548 rising requires a more complex model of social relations than Glennie allows for.

⁵⁶ Hoyle has found that sixteenth-century equity courts did take the claims of peasants seriously, and offered protection to copyholders. Yet, even if the courts *might* be sympathetic, support was difficult to mobilise without the necessary patronage networks: 'Tenure and the Land Market', 3-6, 17. See also Thompson, *Customs in Common*, p.131.

⁵⁷ Andy Wood, 'The Place of Custom in Plebeian Political Culture: England, 1550-1800', *Social History* 22:1 (January 1997), 46-60; 'Custom, Identity and Resistance: English Free Miners and Their Law, c.1550-1800', in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.249-85; *The Politics of Social Conflict*, Chs. 6-13.

so well-armed that they could easily have been accused of levying war against the king. This makes the lenient response all the more astonishing. Either Somerset was too preoccupied with the Scottish campaign and the threat of French invasion to turn his attention to what was apparently a typical village revolt or, otherwise, the government remained completely oblivious to the 'crisis' brewing up in Hertfordshire in 1548.⁵⁸

II: The Enclosure Commission as Catalyst: Attitudes and Opposition

Why the parishioners of Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms chose to rise in 1544 and 1548 rather than at any other time, and why their grievances remained latent in the intervening period, needs further consideration. The trouble that had been brewing from 1544 finally boiled over when the enclosure commissioners arrived on 23 May 1548. Rumours of a commission that was about to be executed, rather than issued, were the immediate provocation for the Northaw Rising, strengthening the case for the outstanding commission described by Cavendish (said to have been re-issued on 4 March 1548).⁵⁹ Apparently, it was Cavendish's servants who spread the news of the commission, raising fears that Cavendish would subsequently 'inclose a gret part of the common'.⁶⁰ It was on these fears that the rumours fed. The tenants were uncertain about the exact timing of the commission. They gathered first outside Cavendish's house at Northaw on Monday 21 May, mistakenly believing the commissioners to be inside, before re-grouping the following Wednesday. When questioned as to the cause of their

⁵⁸ But see SP 10/4/10. Cf. the response to Helston, discussed below. That the local authorities had become more nervous about gatherings by the spring and early summer of 1549 is clear from events at Gazeley and Cavenham in Suffolk: MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 43.

⁵⁹ STAC 10/16, f.158v. The protestors variously claim to have first heard news of the commission between 16 and 23 May. The majority of deponents heard the rumour on Whit Sunday or Monday, although Hugh Finch claims to have learnt about the commission from William Lowen a fortnight before Whitsun: STAC 10/16, f.179r. Other similar examples, referring to 'the common brute and voyce' of 'the commyng down of the commission', are at f.145r and f.150r.

⁶⁰ STAC 10/16, f.137v. James Patterson encouraged William Lowen to accompany him to the waste ground at Northaw 'for the commissioners wyl be on the comen and master Cavendishe wyll take awaye the same yf we make not peticion to the saide commissioners for the same': f.152v.

assembly on 23 May, the protestors answered ‘generally wythe one voyse’ that they knew the Common ‘shold at that daye be taken from them’.⁶¹ According to one prosecution witness, the rebels encamped themselves at Northaw Common between 21 and 23 May, hence the authorities’ concern to establish whether the insurgents had procured provisions. This small-scale example of camping is highly significant in light of the static organisation adopted during the ‘campyng time’ of 1549.⁶²

The purpose of the commission was to enclose, rather than throw open, part of Northaw Common, or at least to survey the waste with a view to later doing so. Although it is unclear whether the commissioners were invested with full authority to enclose the common, Sir Roger Chomley’s promise to the protestors that the commissioners ‘wolde take awaye no part of ther common that day [23 May]’ indicates that their powers were restricted to ear-marking an area for enclosure. The implication is that the enclosure process would go ahead at a later date.⁶³ The commission’s purpose explains the protestors’ angry reaction (they would surely have dropped their objections if they found that the commissioners came to lay open the common) and provides a stark contrast to Hales’ anti-enclosure commission for the Midlands, issued only a week after the failure of the Northaw commission.⁶⁴

⁶¹ STAC 10/16, ff.189v-190r.

⁶² STAC 10/16, f.170v: deposition of James Butler.

⁶³ STAC 10/16, f.136v: deposition of William Curle. However, a number of other statements cast doubt on this interpretation: see below. Presumably the enclosure would have taken place once the survey had been completed and the commissioners had made their returns. Cavendish’s testimony also suggests the limited powers of the commission: STAC 3/1/49, bill. The protestors were a little hazy concerning the exact nature of the commission, but whether they gathered with the intention of hindering the survey or preventing the enclosure itself makes little difference in real terms.

⁶⁴ The inclusion of a number of well-known enclosers (Sir Richard Lee, Henry Parker) among the commissioners cannot have done much to allay the community’s fears. On Lee, see chapter 6. For Parker’s enclosing activity in Norfolk prior to Kett’s Rebellion, see S.T. Bindoff, *Kett’s Rebellion 1549* (London, 1949), p.9; Joan Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales vol. 4, 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967), p.338.

On their arrival at Northaw Common the commissioners were confronted by an armed crowd of 700 protestors.⁶⁵ Cavendish claimed they had ‘riotously assembled’ there ‘in manner of a commotion or insurrection’, with the explicit intention of preventing the commission from being executed. Their resistance to a royal commission and to royal power *per se* made the protestors ‘rebels’ rather than ‘rioters’ in Cavendish’s eyes.⁶⁶ The protestors portrayed themselves as petitioners, who came to the common only ‘to desire them [the commissioners] to be good to them for the right of ther common’.⁶⁷ Their intention, should this petition fail, was to appeal directly to the Privy Council, rather than to offer open resistance.⁶⁸ Representations, again, were all important to the cases of both opposing parties.

Furthermore, the protest was founded on the ‘legalistic’ objection ‘that the same commysyon beyng made by yor highness beyng within age was of no force or valydyte’ and need not be obeyed.⁶⁹ Henry Dellow, one of the chief rebels indicted in King’s Bench, believed that ‘yf the commysysoners wold gyve eny of ther common awaye it shold be smally to master Cavendysshe profhytt or commodyte ffor they wold defend it & kepe it untyll the Kinges majestie came to hys Full age’.⁷⁰ This general consensus that no new commissions could be legally made by the government until Edward VI came of age is a secularisation of the claim made most prominently by Stephen Gardiner (as well as at Helston and in the Western rebels’ 1549 articles) that no religious alterations could be accepted as legal until Edward VI reached his majority.⁷¹

⁶⁵ STAC 10/16, f.184v: deposition of William Saunders.

⁶⁶ STAC 3/1/49, bill.

⁶⁷ STAC 10/16, f.141r. The defendants all make similar claims as to their intentions. Other examples include those at ff.133, 138, 143v.

⁶⁸ STAC 10/16, f.140v.

⁶⁹ STAC 3/1/49, bill. STAC 10/16, ff.172v-173r, f.175v.

⁷⁰ STAC 10/16, f.172v. Cf. the statement that ‘wheras the lordshypp of Chesthunt was now sold they trostyd it when the kyng came to age he wold have it agayn’: STAC 10/16, f.190r.

⁷¹ J.A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London, 1926), pp.144-71; G. Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), pp.249-64; Richard Rex, ‘The Crisis of Obedience: God’s Word and Henry’s Reformation’, *HJ* 39:4 (1996), 863-894; D.N.J.

The Northaw and Cheshunt protestors adapted the mainstay of the conservative argument against the Reformation, taking this argument to extremes in order to sanction agrarian protest,⁷² providing evidence of a level of political acumen and a relatively sophisticated set of validating precepts. Their misappropriation of Gardiner's ideas demonstrates that, whilst popular protest drew on tradition, it was also capable of 'invention' or adaptation.⁷³ The Northaw and Cheshunt protestors' use of conservative rhetoric probably cannot be taken as an indication of an affinity with Catholicism – rather the rioters appealed to Sir Anthony Denny and Sir John Gates (both in their capacity as justices and privy councillors and as known evangelicals) – but as a strategy designed to oppose any new laws or innovations of which the commons disapproved.⁷⁴

Cavendish claimed the protestors understood the nature of the royal commission. They were aware that the commissioners came to Northaw Common on 23 May to designate part of the waste to Cavendish, 'whyche thing they said they wolde nott suffre butt rather wolde in withstanding therof dye all upon the place'.⁷⁵ The importance of the tenants' right of common can be judged from the strength of their words. The protestors told John Cock (one of the commissioners, and Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1548) that 'they wold rather dye and be also hangyd in the same place than they wold lose theyr sayd common'. Such sentiments are echoed in the form of

MacCulloch, 'Two Dons in Politics: Thomas Cranmer and Stephen Gardiner, 1503-1533', *HJ* 37:1 (1994), 1-22. The timing of Gardiner's arrest, on 30 June 1548, is interesting in the Northaw context. For another example concerning the introduction of altars in Hampshire, see C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), p.177.

⁷² In much the same way that the Commonwealth Rebellion reinterpreted the rhetoric of Somerset's circle for its own ends the following year: chapter 4. The same argument concerning what was appropriate during the minority was constructed in different terms by the 1548-49 rebels: chapter 8.

⁷³ Reay, *Popular Cultures*, p.196. Cf. the way in which Luther's ideas were championed by the rebels during the German Peasants' War of 1525: see P. Blickle, trans. T.A. Brady and H.C. Eric Midelfort, *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants War from a New Perspective* (London, 1985).

⁷⁴ P.C. Swensen, 'Patronage from the Privy Chamber: Sir Anthony Denny and Religious Reform', *JBS* 27 (1988), 25-44; N.P. Sil, 'Sir Anthony Denny: A Tudor Servant in Office', *Renaissance and Reformation* NS 8:3 (1984), 190-201; N.P. Sil, 'The Rise and Fall of Sir John Gates', *HJ* 24:4 (1981), 929-43; M.K. Riordan, 'Confessionalisation at the Court of Edward VI: the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber', an unpublished paper given at the *Reformation Studies Colloquium* (University of Warwick, 4 April 2000).

⁷⁵ STAC 3/1/49, bill.

reported speech throughout the plaintiffs' depositions.⁷⁶ The sub-text of the depositions reveals that the protestors were willing to risk a traitor's death as rebels in defence of their right of common, should this be required. Such fighting talk seems to undermine the protestors' peaceful self-portrait, but the act of gathering and petitioning always carried an implicit threat of violence and, unless the petitioners' demands were met, disorder was the inevitable outcome.⁷⁷ In fact, the protestors' armed resistance was so great that the delegation of commissioners sent to negotiate with them was forced to return to their company.⁷⁸ Neither did the commissioners find security in numbers. When the whole body returned to persuade the insurgents to disperse, the rebels threatened them 'so menacingly' that they fled, leaving the commission unexecuted.⁷⁹ The commissioners wrote to the Chancellor, informing him of their proceedings in this ill-fated commission and it was obvious to all involved that the protestors had achieved an immediate triumph.

The claim that the commissioners promised the tenants and inhabitants 'to see a reformation of such wronges [struck out] thinges as master Candisshe dyd to them' casts doubt on Cavendish's account of the commission's original purpose. Perhaps the commissioners came rather to investigate the tenants' complaints that Cavendish had been overcharging the common with rabbits and sheep.⁸⁰ This might explain why

⁷⁶ STAC 10/16, ff.190r, 188v, 169r, 175v.

⁷⁷ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pp.95-96.

⁷⁸ The delegation consisted of Sir Richard Lee, Sir John Peryent and Sir Ralph Rowlett, according to Cavendish: STAC 3/1/49, bill. Sir Roger Cholmley and Henry Parker are also mentioned as members of the delegation: STAC 10/16, f.136r.

⁷⁹ STAC 3/1/49, bill. The protestors allegedly remained armed whilst in the presence of the commissioners on the Wednesday: STAC 10/16, ff.176r, 182r. The commissioners' servants are said to have conveyed William Saunders to safety after he was attacked in or near Northaw Church: STAC 10/16, ff.178v, 181r, 185r. The Cheshunt tenants' belief that 'it was the best polysye for them to gather together in grete nombres supposyng when the commyssoners shold see so many they wold not nor durst not execute the Kinges Commysyon ne gyve awaye eny parte of ther common' was well-founded: STAC 10/16, ff.168v-169r. It was commonly held 'that yf they stake not to gether lyke men theyr common shold be given ffrom them': f.169v.

⁸⁰ STAC 10/16, f.153r: deposition of William Lowen.

Cholmley told the protestors that 'he came not to gyve away theyr commen'.⁸¹ The whole community pulled together in defence of its common rights, perhaps accounting for the protest's phenomenal success.⁸² However, the participants' representation of the protest may gloss over inherent tensions within the ranks of the commons. Whether Cavendish was likely to be the sole beneficiary of the enclosure, or whether there was a wider community division between those who would benefit and those who would not, has implications for regarding the protest as community politics. Some kind of conflict of interest might be expected between the yeomen ringleaders, such as the Chares and the Lowens, and their poorer neighbours. The prosecution argued that support for the rising resulted as much from coercion as popular endorsement and this attempt to invalidate the justification of a community protest may have some grounds.⁸³

Considering the scope and magnitude of the rebels' aims involves examining the language of plebeian defiance expressed in the Star Chamber depositions. Whilst petitioning was the protestors' professed intention, their armed assembly and their evident willingness to lay down their lives in the defence of their common carried an implicit threat. Whilst the participants emphasised the limited function of protest – to prevent the commission, and to defend their rights to Northaw Common – the cause of the commons transcended local differences, drew in outside support and became more generalised, making the 1548 rising at Northaw truly an 'insurrection for the comens'.⁸⁴ We need to distinguish between rhetoric and reality; between the protestors' words and actions; and between the protest's original intentions and the form the movement took as it progressed.

⁸¹ STAC 10/16, f.155r. Cholmley is said to have promised the protestors that 'they shuld not lose any part of ther Common' (f.147r), and that the commissioners 'wold take away no part of the Common' (f.142r).

⁸² According to Magagna, 'the enclosure riot signalled the determination of the community to protect its definition of property and hold to account landlords, middlemen and other outsiders who linked the community to wider social networks': *Communities of Grain*, p.260.

⁸³ See Reay, *Popular Cultures*, p.196.

The rebels' pronouncements about Protector Somerset (and the language in which they are couched) are particularly revealing of their assumptions and of the nature and significance of the rising as a whole. At first, Henry Dellow's statement that 'yf my lord protectors grace were there present he shold gyve none of theyr common a waye', but 'that they wold kepe it and use it as they had done before tymes', might be taken as an expression of Somerset's popularity.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, other accounts of the words spoken on this occasion suggest that a more sceptical reading is called for. Several deponents claim to have heard Henry Dellow and other protestors say that:

the kynges majestie nor my lord protector had nothyng to dooe to gyve theyr common from them and also sayd that yf my lord protector had grauntyd forthe eny commysyson they wold obaye none for that the kynges majestie (as they sayd) was within age.⁸⁶

Cavendish made similar claims.⁸⁷ These statements suggest that even if Protector Somerset had been present at Northaw Common the tenants and inhabitants would not have given up their common, or perhaps that if Somerset had been there he might have given their common away, but he had no authority to do so. Thus, the Northaw protestors' attitudes confirm Shagan's view of Somerset's precarious political position.⁸⁸

The protestors made good use of the common voice to allow themselves greater licence in anonymity and to legitimise their criticism, but this does not mask their lack of subordination in flouting Protector Somerset's authority.⁸⁹ Perhaps it would not be

⁸⁴ Quoting Hales: BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.297. Enclosure grievances in a common of this size were bound to attract a whole number of communities and sub-communities with varying levels of interest.

⁸⁵ STAC 10/16, f.172v.

⁸⁶ STAC 10/16, f.190r. See also STAC 10/16, ff.183r and 186v.

⁸⁷ STAC 3/1/49, bill.

⁸⁸ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 36-7, 47-8.

⁸⁹ There are plenty of examples of individual speech being rearticulated within the common voice in the STAC 10 depositions. Many of these examples come from the bill of complaint and the prosecution

too far-fetched to speculate that Somerset's distinct policy of 'popular politics' came into being in May 1548 in response to the challenge thrown down by the Northaw insurgents. The rising may have resulted from frustrated expectations. It was perhaps the contrast between Somerset's self-image as benevolent protector of the poor commons and the stark reality of detrimental enclosure on the ground (carried out at Northaw in his name) that so infuriated the Cheshunt tenants.⁹⁰ If the protestors were justified in distinguishing between the propaganda ideal and the actual implication of Somerset's policies, the picture of the 'Good Duke' may need to be revised. Evidently, the Northaw and Cheshunt rebels' assumptions were dangerous. Their resistance to change during the minority took on a wider application than at Helston, legitimising open insubordination to the Protector himself. This kind of justification paved the way for the 1549 rebellions.

III: The Mechanics, Dynamics and Infrastructure of the Rising

Now that we have reached an understanding of the causation and local context of the 1548 rising, its immediate catalyst, and the participants' aims, demands, targets and assumptions, we shall turn to the mechanics of the rising and, in particular, to the forms and degree of rebel organisation, the geographical focus of rebel action, the social composition of leadership and participation, and the response of the authorities. Why was localised disorder able to escalate into 'an insurrection for the commons' at Northaw and Cheshunt in 1548? The movement needed an inner dynamic to grow and this inner dynamic was supplied by rumour, news, gatherings, festivals, charismatic leadership,

deposition book, reflecting the fact that elite opinion found social disorder synonymous with collective speech: Wood, 'Poore men', p.88. For an interesting discussion of the common voice, see Peter Marshall, 'Discord and Stability in an Elizabethan Parish: John Otes and Carnaby, 1563-1600', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 71 (1999), 185-99.

⁹⁰ Somerset's image as champion of the poor was partly created by the disparking of Hampton Court Chase in response to poor men's complaints: chapter 6.

and a local tradition of revolt on which popular memory could draw. These were the mechanics by which revolt spread from village to county and beyond.

Organisation, Action and Escalation

Rumour provided the spark for the 1548 rising. The role of rumour and news in the oral culture of Tudor England should not be underestimated.⁹¹ Rumour was often the spark for the ringing of church bells and the lighting of beacons which summoned the commons to revolt: it was certainly important in generating the rebellions in East Anglia, the South-West and Yorkshire the following year.⁹² Northaw and Cheshunt were strategically placed to receive external news although, in this case, the rumours seem to have originated locally. If rumours of the commission were circulating in Northaw and Cheshunt a fortnight before Whitsun, the tenants would certainly have had time to plan their course of action. The authorities had no access to the arena of common speech, and could never be sure how a particular rumour began.⁹³ Nevertheless, the Star Chamber material suggests that women and servants acted as the rumour-mongers at Northaw in May 1548. What Cavendish's servants intended by circulating news of their master's proposed enclosure is difficult to determine.⁹⁴ Yet their activities justify Sir Thomas Smith's concerns about the role of serving men in

⁹¹ A large and growing literature exists on oral culture. The best recent work includes: A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000); A. Bellany, "'Raylinge Rymes and Vaunting Verse": Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603-1628', in K. Sharpe & P. Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London, 1994), pp.285-310; R. Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *P&P* 112 (1986), 60-90; A. Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *P&P* 145 (1994), 47-83. For the role of rumour and news in the Tudor period, see Elton, *Policy and Police*, pp.46-170; Shagan, 'Rumours and Popular Politics', pp.30-66. On the role of oral and literate culture in the English Rising of 1381, see S. Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (London, 1994).

⁹² Sotherton, 'Commoysen in Norfolk', p.89; 'R.L.', 'Coype of a Letter': Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, p.489. Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.10, 15-18; Hooker, *Description*, pp.57, 61-62; TRP 1, nos. 337, 352. On the role of rumour and prophecy in the Seamer Rebellion, see chapter 7. Other examples include the Great Rumour of 1377 and Lincolnshire in 1536.

⁹³ Wood, 'Poore men', pp.88-89.

⁹⁴ STAC 10/16, ff.137v, 167v, 175v. It is unclear whether these serving-men were in any way implicated in the rising. They appear to have been targeted, rather than recruited, in the course of the protest.

stirring up discontent in 1549.⁹⁵ Women also played a central part in passing on news of the rising, probably through market-place gossip.⁹⁶ For example, Richard Wilkenson heard from his wife and other local women that John Pett had declared the enclosure commission to be invalid, something which later became 'the common report'.⁹⁷

Communal gatherings at Northaw and Cheshunt may have roused the commons to collective action in 1548. The act of gathering emboldened them: by the visual impact of collective power, conveyed by force of numbers, and by the measure of anonymity and licence it provided, which lessened fear of retaliation.⁹⁸ Estimates of crowd size at the various gatherings at Northaw Common are as high as 700, and these assemblies lasted for at least five hours after the protestors had been asked to disperse, legally constituting a riot. The timing of the rising was also far from accidental. Whitsun was a notoriously dead time of the year in the agrarian calendar, as well as being empty ecclesiastically.⁹⁹ Significantly, the Western Rebellion also began the day after Whit Sunday in 1549.¹⁰⁰ The Whitsun ales and festivities in south-eastern Hertfordshire would have attracted inhabitants from the surrounding towns and villages, causing large numbers of people to gather in a holiday spirit (another possible explanation for the presence of 'strangers' amongst the crowd) and giving expression to communal solidarity, which could spill over into actions against authority given the right

⁹⁵ SP 10/8/33.

⁹⁶ For the implications of female networks, social gatherings and gossiping, see Bernard Capp, 'Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern England', in Griffiths, Fox and Hindle (eds), *Experience of Authority*, pp.117-45; R.A. Houlbrooke, 'Women's Social Life and Common Action in England from the Fifteenth Century to the Eve of the Civil War', *Continuity and Change* 1 (1986), 171-89.

⁹⁷ STAC 10/16, f.175v.

⁹⁸ As Scott states, 'there is every reason to believe that such gatherings are, in fact, an incitement to boldness by subordinates', making the Tudor authorities justified in their fear that assemblies promoted revolt: *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.65.

⁹⁹ Corpus Christi excepted.

¹⁰⁰ For events in Sampford Courtenay, Caraman, *Western Rising*, pp.37-39. Like Caraman, Speight suggests that Whit Monday was a church ale day: 'Local Government and Politics', p.201. Cf. Lavenham in 1571: *CPR Eliz. I*, 5, no. 1818 (p.210).

circumstances.¹⁰¹ Such festive gatherings provided a structure and a cover for resistance. Most importantly, they provided the opportunity to discuss grievances, recruit mass support, and spread rumours or plans of a rising. The enclosure commission could be expected to have been the main topic of conversation on Whit Sunday in 1548.¹⁰²

The protestors set off from Northaw Church on Whit Monday, gathering in the churchyard after morning service to discuss the enclosure commission and organise themselves to march on Northaw Common.¹⁰³ The ringleaders later returned to John Lowen's house in Cuffley, where they devised a strategy of protest, finalised at Cheshunt manor court the following day.¹⁰⁴ A group of protestors gathered to shoot at Northaw Common the same day: the perfect pretext for bearing arms.¹⁰⁵ At least part of the crowd encamped themselves on Northaw Common between 21 and 23 May (in what may be a precursor of the 'campyng tyme' of 1549), drinking the beer provided by Mrs Dacres and perhaps stewing Cavendish's rabbits.¹⁰⁶ Feasting, games and commensality evidently played a large part in the rising's organisation.

¹⁰¹ See Steve Hindle, 'Custom, Festival and Protest in Early Modern England: The Little Budworth Wakes, St Peter's Day, 1596', *Rural History* 6:2 (1995), 155-78. For the role the feasts of Sts Peter, Paul and Bartholomew and the Whitsun games in Cade's Revolt, I.M.W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford 1991), pp.77-8, 83, 88, 123, 139.

¹⁰² Plans for Kett's Rebellion were probably laid during the 'conference' at 'Wymondham Game': Sotherton 'Commoysen in Norfolk', 80-81. On festival and revolt more generally, see C. Dyer, 'The Rising of 1381 in Suffolk: Its Origins and Participants', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History* (1988), 274-87; Margaret Aston, 'Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni: Heresy and the Peasants' Revolt', *P&P* 143 (1994), 1-47; T. Pettitt, 'Here Comes I, Jack Straw: English Folk Drama and Social Revolt', *Folklore* 95:1 (1984), 3-17.

¹⁰³ 600-700 commons gathered outside Northaw Church on Wednesday 23 May, the site of the alleged attack on William Saunders: STAC 10/16, f.175r, 184v-185r. The church seems to have been central to the rising.

¹⁰⁴ Several of the defendants deposed that they were at Cheshunt Manor Court on the Tuesday. The manorial court provided a good opportunity for the Cheshunt tenants to gather, recruit support, and finalise the plan of action for the protest on Wednesday: STAC 10/16, f.139r. Ironically, it was not unusual for the law day of a manorial court to be the occasion of a riot: Manning, 'Violence and Social Conflict', 22.

¹⁰⁵ STAC 3/1/49, bill and answer of John Burley and Thomas Knolton (hereafter answer 3). It is probably no coincidence that the abortive rising at Walsingham in 1537 was also organised under cover of an archery competition: *L&P* 4:1, no.1125, p.521.

¹⁰⁶ Mrs Dacres was probably the wife of George Dacres, lord of the manors of St Andrew and La Mote in the parish of Cheshunt). The interrogatories were concerned to establish whether the protestors were well-

Another factor made Whitsun 1548 a good time to choose for a rising in south-east Hertfordshire: the absence of Sir Anthony Denny at court.¹⁰⁷ The benefits of Denny's absence were likely to have been two-fold. Without Denny's aristocratic leadership, a delay in the local authorities' response could be expected, and the protestors perhaps hoped Denny might intervene on their behalf at court. All the evidence points towards prior planning. However, it is impossible to determine how long this planning had been going on, or who laid the initial plans for the rising, not least because of the participants' conspiracy of silence.¹⁰⁸

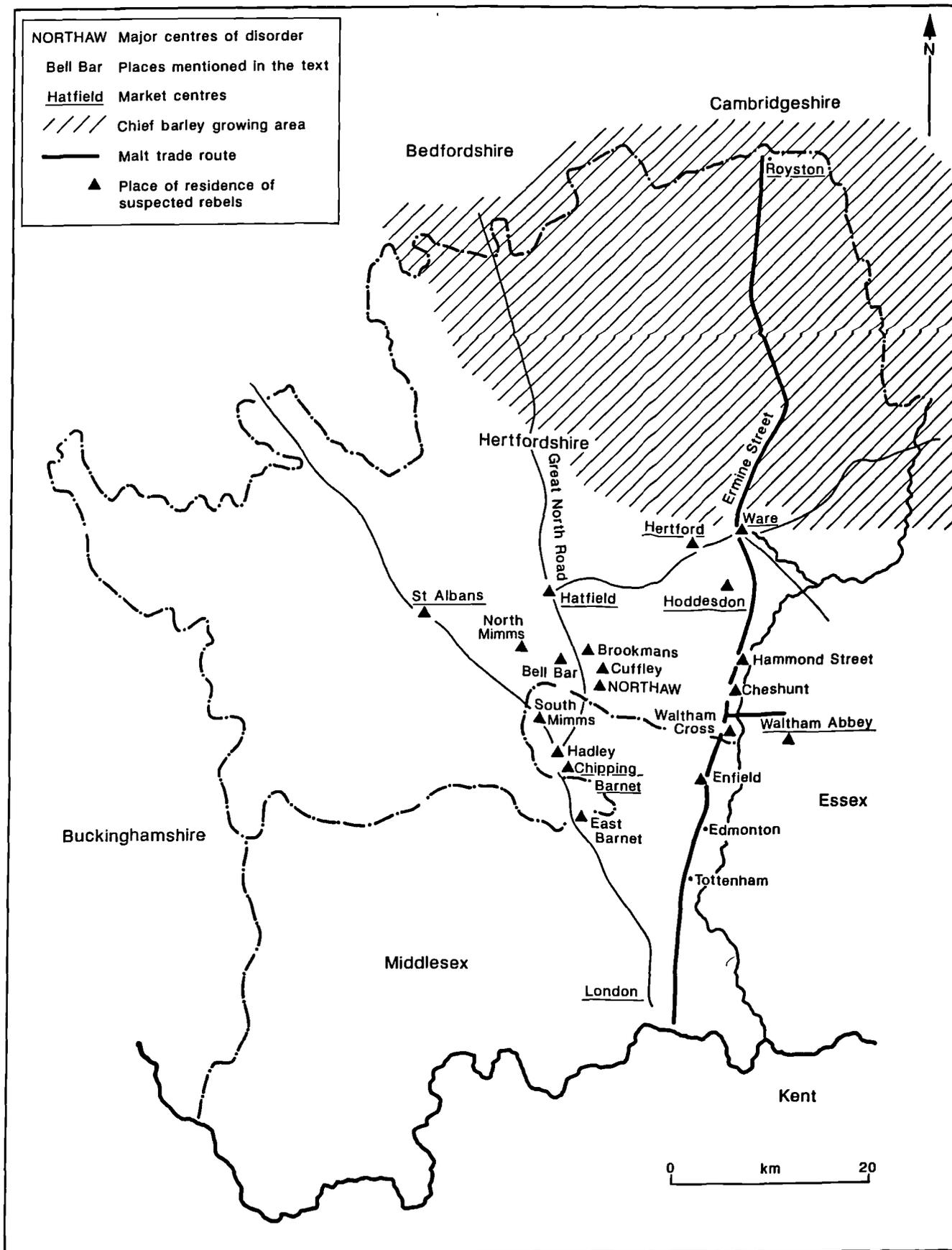
The Geographical Focus of the Rising

Whilst the 1548 rising began as a localised enclosure protest centred on the parishes of Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms, the geographical focus rapidly widened to encompass the counties of Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Essex. The cause of Northaw Common drew support from the Hertfordshire communities of Northaw, Cuffley, Cheshunt, Waltham Cross, North Mimms, Hoddesdon, St Albans, Hertford, Hatfield, Ware, Chipping Barnet and East Barnet; from the Middlesex communities of Enfield, South Mimms and Monken Hadley; and from Waltham Holy Cross in Essex (map 2.2).¹⁰⁹ The plaintiffs' depositions, which stress this broad geographical focus and exaggerate the rising's scale, provide a stark contrast to the defendants' depositions, which play down the significance of the rising, insisting that the participants were drawn only from Northaw and Cheshunt, in a village revolt.

provisioned, but there is nothing concrete to suggest food supplies were brought to the camp: STAC 10/16, f.170v. On the Dacres, see *VCH Herts.* 3, p.453. In addition to providing a practical solution to the rebels' provisioning problems, eating rabbit meat – the preserve of the aristocracy – was, in itself, a form of social protest: Mark Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.255-56, 301.

¹⁰⁷ STAC 10/16, f.189r: deposition of William Allen.

MAP 2.2 THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE NORTHAW RISING



The dispatch of messengers from Northaw into other Hertfordshire parishes, and as far afield as Middlesex and Essex, provides evidence of a relatively sophisticated infrastructure of mobilisation. If James Butler is to be believed, the protestors succeeded in directly recruiting support over a much wider area than Northaw and Cheshunt.¹¹⁰ Support may even have come from Waltham Abbey.¹¹¹ What were the reasons for this successful mobilisation? The Northaw and Cheshunt rebels used similar tactics to those adopted by Bartholomew Steer during the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596.¹¹² Their success (in contrast to Steer's failure) was attributable mainly to a shared experience of enclosure in the affected areas of Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Essex, a network of roads and ways, established trade links, kinship ties, the practice of intercommoning and, last but not least, a local tradition of protest.

It may seem odd that the cause of enclosure attracted such widespread support in 1548, given that Hertfordshire, Essex and Middlesex had long been enclosed counties.¹¹³ Although enclosure was not a large-scale problem in this region, it is, as Walter has so persuasively argued, the poor's '*mental map of enclosure*' with which we should be concerned.¹¹⁴ Popular awareness of the issue of enclosure is evident in Northaw, Cheshunt and Enfield. For example, the right of the four Middlesex parishes

¹⁰⁸ The participants were careful to portray their action as spontaneous. The only hint comes from the rumours circulating in Northaw and Cheshunt two weeks before the rising.

¹⁰⁹ STAC 10/16, f.169v: deposition of James Butler.

¹¹⁰ STAC 10/16, f.170v. It was reported that Richard Colle, a servant of William Chare, was sent to the town of North Mimms as a messenger.

¹¹¹ Two men 'of Waltham Abbey' supported the rioters. Shagan has established that John Holywell and John Baker were not canons of the abbey, and they do not seem to have received any leases of the abbey. This suggests that they came from the parish of Waltham Abbey (otherwise known as Waltham Holy Cross), rather than the abbey itself. Holywell and Baker gave money to John Smith of Cheshunt, the 'principal doer', probably for the common purse for the Star Chamber suit, rather than to finance the rising. It may be significant that the demesne lands of Waltham Abbey were granted to Anthony Denny, to whom the rioters appealed: *CPR Edw. VI*, 1, pp.243-45; *CSPD Edw. VI*, no. 28; *L&P* 15, p.1027 (no.394); *L&P* 16, p.727; *L&P* 17, p.692; *VCH Essex* 2, p.170.

¹¹² On Bartholomew Steer and the abortive rising of 1596, see Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 102-08.

¹¹³ Thirsk, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 4, pp.49-55.

¹¹⁴ Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 109 (Walter's italics). For the application of this notion, see also Hindle, *State and Social Change*, p.45.

of Enfield, Edmonton, Monken Hadley and South Mimms to intercommon on Enfield Chase had been challenged c.1540.¹¹⁵ Such local experiences amounted to a common experience of enclosure which transcended county boundaries. This common experience allowed the cause of the commons to become generalised in 1548, widening the geographical focus and participation of the movement. The grievances expressed by the Northaw and Cheshunt tenants struck a chord with the people of Middlesex and Essex, resulting in something approaching a regional rising.¹¹⁶

The location of Northaw and Cheshunt on the main road from London (via Enfield, Hoddesdon, Ware, and Hertford) to the North explains how crowds of 200-700 people came to assemble at Northaw Common. The Great North Road was fed by a network of interconnecting roads serving St Albans, Hatfield, Barnet, South Mimms, Hadley and Waltham Abbey: the communities from which outside support for the rising was drawn (map 2.2). These were the roads by which villagers travelled to and from the region's markets at Ware, Hatfield, Hertford, Hoddesdon, St Albans, Chipping Barnet and Waltham Abbey: towns which were all caught up in the disorders.¹¹⁷

These interconnections were strengthened by the malt trade, which was particularly important to the area (map 2.2). Later evidence reveals that credit and kinship networks operated between the maltmen of Cheshunt and Enfield. For example, the Curle and Curtes families, the 'leading maltmen of the district', had branches in both towns.¹¹⁸ Certain local families, such as the Lowens, the Pryors and the Wilsons, were well-represented in the rising, and continuities are apparent in the families represented in the

¹¹⁵ D.O. Pam, 'The Fight for Common Rights in Enfield and Edmonton, 1400-1600', *Edmonton Hundred Historical Society Occasional Papers* NS 27 (1974), 7.

¹¹⁶ Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 117.

¹¹⁷ See also chapter 6.

¹¹⁸ Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 5. See also chapter 6.

1544, 1548 and 1579 disorders, suggesting that kinship ties were an important factor.¹¹⁹ Additionally, there was a local tradition of protest in Northaw and Cheshunt. This tradition, which stretched from the 1381 rising to the riots of 1544, was not explicitly invoked at Northaw and Cheshunt in 1548, as in Oxfordshire during 1596, but it may still have been an implicit motivating force which helped shape the rising. Although recruitment cut across county boundaries it remained focused on a well-defined area, namely the corners of south-eastern Hertfordshire, north-eastern Middlesex, and south-western Essex, which shared the same experiences and grievances. This was arguably one of the principal reasons for the rising's success.

Social Composition

Who were the protestors? In 1548, as in 1549, the leaders were substantial yeomen and local officeholders with a stake in the community. The 'chief procurers' of the Northaw Rising: John Adam, William Curle, Thomas Curtes, John Smith, and John Thompson were all Cheshunt yeomen. There is abundant evidence to suggest that the wealthiest Northaw and Cheshunt families (including the Chares and the Lowens) were prominent in the rising.¹²⁰ Since the protest was led by those of considerable economic and social standing, it upheld the established parish hierarchy (the protestors showed a certain level of respect in following the advice of their parochial leaders). This may explain the high-degree of organisation (in particular, the ability to draw on the system of parochial or hundredal musters in recruiting and arming the rebel force), and the

¹¹⁹ Especially since a number of rioters are defined in terms of their relations to others. For example, Thomas Lowen the elder is described as John Thompson's father-in-law. Lowen's sons, Thomas and John, were involved in the 1544 riots: see the lists of participants in the appendix for these and other examples.

¹²⁰ For the wealth and land-holding status of Northaw and Cheshunt tenants, see E 315/391, ff.18v-24r; Glennie, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', 26-30 and P.D. Glennie, 'A Commercialising Agrarian Region: Late Medieval and Early Modern Hertfordshire' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1983), pp.316-37. It may be significant that both Hertfordshire and Norfolk were at the forefront of developments in agrarian capitalism: Glennie, 'Commercialising Agrarian Region'; Whittle, 'Development of Agrarian Capitalism'.

generally well-ordered nature of the protest. In view of anxieties about the constables' rebellious activities in 1549, it is hardly surprising to find that John Chare (Chief Constable of the Hundred of Hertford), John Thompson (High Constable of Cheshunt), Thomas Knolton (High Constable of North Mimms), William Curle (constable of Cheshunt) and John Burley (constable of North Mimms) were all indicted before King's Bench for their part in the Northaw Rising the previous year.¹²¹

Support was drawn from the middling ranks of society, making the Northaw Rising a well-organised protest by the middling sort. On the basis of the Star Chamber evidence, the main body of the rebel leadership consisted of yeomen.¹²² That maltmen provided a strong element of the participation is suggested by the involvement of William Curle and Thomas Curtes of Cheshunt, and Thomas Fuller of Hoddesdon. Such men, along with craftsmen (such as weavers, tailors, brick-layers, barbers, lathe-cleavers, and, ironically, a paler) who were at the very centre of village society, would have had large-scale contacts through which they could appeal to a broader base of support. Whilst yeomen provided the backbone of the Northaw Rising, the rank and file of husbandmen, craftsmen, labourers and servants formed the sinews which held it together.¹²³ This broad base of support was an important factor in the successful propagation of disorder.¹²⁴

It has already been stated that the presence of women among the 1544 crowd underlines the fundamental role Northaw Great Waste played in providing for the

¹²¹ TRP 1, no. 342. KB 9/980, ff.21-22. Thomas Knolton also appears as Thomas Knowden.

¹²² Although their status is commonly diminished to that of husbandmen in the King's Bench indictments.

¹²³ Craftsmen, labourers and servants are not as well represented in the list of rebels as we might expect, probably because it was the leaders rather than the rank and file who were targeted. The list of protestors provided in the appendix is not, therefore, representative of the social composition of the rank and file.

¹²⁴ The social composition of the Northaw Rising contrasts with that of the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596, confirming Walter's thesis concerning the failure of Steer's rising: 'A "Rising of the People"?', 120. On yeoman leadership, see also Steve Gunn, 'Peers, Commons and Gentry in the Lincolnshire Revolt of 1536', *P&P* 123 (May 1989), 52-79; Hindle, *State and Social Change*, pp.226-27.

subsistence needs of the commoners.¹²⁵ The records of the ‘commotion time’ are almost invariably silent on the issue of female participation.¹²⁶ Mention of women was probably made in Star Chamber with the intention of justifying the 1544 riots in these terms, a strategy almost synonymous with pleading poverty to mitigate criminal offence.¹²⁷ The role of women in the 1548 rising is harder to establish, although Mother Marshall’s contribution to the common purse and Mrs Dacres’ provision of beer suggests, at the very least, a behind-the-scenes role in the protest’s organisation.¹²⁸

The participation of ‘strangers’ or non-tenants in the rising is of especial significance.¹²⁹ Considering how the deponents use the term ‘strangers’ or ‘foreigners’ may promote understanding of how they defined themselves and their community in terms of the ‘other’. Since a narrow definition of community was required for the tenants to retain exclusive rights to Northaw Common, the Northaw case provides an example of a community defined negatively by the exclusion of those who did not legally hold right of common. Yet, since messengers were deliberately sent outside the immediate area to drum up support, the strangers’ involvement can be explained by the rebels’ own recruitment tactics. Perhaps the tenants were trying to have it both ways: this was a dangerous policy, which all too easily could have jeopardised their attempt to

¹²⁵ For a different example of the relationship between poverty and hedge-breaking, see Steve Hindle, ‘Hierarchy and Community in the Elizabethan Parish: The Swallowfield Articles of 1596’, *HJ* 42:3 (September 1999), 839 (article 18).

¹²⁶ Although this does not imply that they did not participate. See the enclosure riot at Hursley Park, Hampshire: Chapter 3. For the role of women in enclosure riots more generally, see Capp, ‘Separate Domains’, pp.121-23; Houlbrooke, ‘Women’s Social Life’, 176-86; J. Bohstedt, ‘Gender, Household and Community Politics: Women in English Riots, 1790-1810’, *P&P* 120 (August 1988), 88-122; Wood, ‘Poore men’, pp.76-77.

¹²⁷ See Hindle, *State and Social Change*, 39.

¹²⁸ The Dacres connection hints at an element of gentry complicity or rivalry in the rising, which may have reached Sir Anthony Denny himself. There was some kind of animosity between Cavendish and George Dacres of St Andrews and La Mote in Cheshunt, which might transpire to represent a lack of sympathy between Cavendish and Dacres’ kinsman, Denny, who looked favourably on the rebels: *VCH Herts.* 2, p.343; 3, p.453. George Dacres was related by marriage to Sir Anthony Denny: Sil, ‘Sir Anthony Denny’, 191.

¹²⁹ Compare the riot at Odiham, Hampshire: Chapter 3.

portray the rising as a community protest.¹³⁰ To be successful the protest needed to draw on a wide base of support from a broad geographical area. Either the organisers acted with this in mind, and the ‘strangers’ came to Northaw Common in response to the agitators’ call to strengthen the protest, or they came uninvited. If they came uninvited, was their support welcomed, providing strength in numbers, or did their ‘illegal’ claims to common rights cause resentment? Cross currents of interest within the wider community of protest lie at the heart of the issue. The involvement of ‘strangers’ brought anonymity to the crowd, giving it greater licence. Their very effectiveness in achieving this end makes it difficult to determine the social and geographic base of the Northaw Rising. After all, it was unlikely that ‘strangers’ from outside the local community would ever have been brought to justice.¹³¹

On one level, the Northaw Rising was a community protest. The substantial tenant farmers united with, and led, their poorer neighbours in defence of the common against Cavendish’s encroachments. Wrightson’s ‘two concepts of order’ seem not to apply here until we remove the topsoil and dig down a little further.¹³² At this lower level the cracks in what is effectively an idealised version of community become apparent. The conflicting definitions of community offered by the 1548 rebels provide a glimpse of the cross-currents of interest at work between the tenants and inhabitants and between the parishioners of Northaw and Cheshunt and the ‘strangers’ or outsiders who, in practice, claimed rights to Northaw Common. Within what was apparently a homogenous rebel body, we begin to see tensions arising from the conflicting interests

¹³⁰ Although outsiders could always be blamed for any violent offences.

¹³¹ The Star Chamber deponents were unable to name those participants who came from ‘foreign’ towns, or to determine precisely which towns and villages they came from. See, for example, STAC 10/16, ff.134v, 145v, 146v, 153r, 169v-170r.

¹³² K. Wrightson, ‘Two Concepts of Order’: Justices, Constables and Jurymen in Seventeenth Century England’, in J. Brewer & J. Styles (eds), *An Ungovernable People: The English and Their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1980), pp.21-46. The Northaw and Cheshunt constables were evidently willing to sanction resistance to the royal commission in order to protect their own interests in the common, which, in this case, apparently coincided with those of the tenants.

of a whole range of communities and sub-communities.¹³³ This said, the broad social and geographical base of the Northaw Rising, and its yeoman leadership, may account for its success.

Strategies of Protest

The strategy of protest adopted at Northaw and Cheshunt in 1548 revolved firmly around petitioning. The protestors' declared intention was, first, to petition the king's commissioners over their right of common, and, if this failed, to make further suit to the king and council.¹³⁴ Whilst the first phase of the protest involved verbal petitioning, the second phase, to which the protest never progressed, would presumably have entailed drawing up and presenting a formal written petition or list of grievances, comparable to Kett's Demands and the South-Western articles. It is only because the protestors were successful in achieving their immediate ends through petitioning, intimidation and selective violence that the disorder at Northaw did not reach the proportions of the 1549 rebellions and, hence, no grievance list exists. How many more grievance lists would we have if verbal petitioning had been a less successful strategy during the 'commotion time' of 1549? The grievances of 1548 may have resurfaced during the Hertfordshire-Middlesex Rebellion the following year, when they were certainly put in writing. Unfortunately, this petition is no longer extant.

To whom were the Northaw and Cheshunt protestors appealing in 1548? In a general sense the commons appealed to the crown's local agents to reinstate good order and good lordship. They hoped to enlist the support of Sir Anthony Denny and Sir John Gates, privy councillors who resided locally, indicating the interactive nature of

¹³³ See also section II above. Cf. Marshall, 'Discord and Stability', 188-92.

¹³⁴ STAC 10/16, ff.136r, 140v: depositions of William Curle, John Tompson (nos. 25 & 26).

government in mid-Tudor society. Although Denny and Gates were both evangelicals, there is no evidence to suggest that the protestors couched their grievances in Protestant terms to win their favour: a strategy adopted by the Norfolk and Essex rebels the following year.¹³⁵ Rather, the Northaw and Cheshunt tenants drew on more traditional, well-tested forms of humility and conciliation in their rhetoric, addressing Denny repeatedly as ‘theyr especyall good master’. They trusted that Denny and Gates ‘wold doo for them all that they cold’ in their fight against Cavendish, perhaps contrasting the good lordship of established aristocrats such as Denny and Gates, with the false pride, covetousness and commodity of ‘new’ men such as Cavendish.¹³⁶ The protestors put much emphasis on their good relationship with Denny, and this special relationship seems to have paid off: Denny apparently sanctioned their cause as just.¹³⁷ William Saunders voiced the common report that if Denny had not been the protestors’ good master ‘they supposed master Cavendysse wold have hangyd a nombre of them at that tyme’. The indication is that Denny intervened on the rioters’ behalf at court, or was popularly perceived as having done so.¹³⁸ Denny, it would seem, acted as an intermediary between the central and local authorities in this matter.

Petitioning, however, was generally insufficient unless backed up with violence, or the threat of violence. Indeed, that the protestors were so well-armed says much about the nature and scale of the episode, which could easily have turned into an insurrection of the proportions of the East Anglian and South-Western rebellions of the following year, had the rebels’ demands not been met. On 23 May, the rebels confronted the

¹³⁵ Denny and Gates were particularly influential as gentlemen of the privy chamber in the mid-to-late 1540s because they held the dry stamp, giving them control of access to the monarch and, therefore, to all the documents he was expected to sign: Sil, ‘Rise and Fall of Sir John Gates’, 933. On Essex, see Ch. 4.

¹³⁶ In declaring that if Denny opposed them it must be their own fault, the protestors were giving yet another nod to the rule of law and the society of orders. They merely petitioned Denny, and left it to his discretion as JP and privy councillor to decide if their petition was just: STAC 10/16, f.171r.

¹³⁷ The rebels’ statement that ‘yf he had nott bene good master to them it had byne wrong on ther parts’ may imply that Denny sanctioned their cause as just: STAC 10/16, f.171r.

¹³⁸ STAC 10/16, ff.171r, 175v, 185v, 189r.

commissioners 'in battell araye' at Northaw Common, carrying the usual bills, staves, pitchforks, mattocks, swords, daggers, shovels, spades, bows and arrows.¹³⁹ If we are to believe William Saunders, at least one of them (John Pettitt) carried a handgun, which was fired in the course of the disturbances.¹⁴⁰ These allegations of armed affray, and particularly the charge that they carried handguns, were a Star Chamber strategy designed to bring an orderly protest within the cognisance of the court. Saunders deliberately exaggerated the 'military' style of the protest, pointedly alleging the illegal use of a handgun.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, he suggests that the rebels developed a military strategy: the first wave of protestors (including horsemen and watchmen) had the support of back-up forces on the other side of the hill, who would 'rescue them that went before yf they nedyd'.¹⁴²

The military preparedness of the rebel force reveals much about its social composition, as well as its organisation. As Cornwall has shown, only men of substance possessed bows, bills and handguns, and the necessary skill to use them.¹⁴³ And only substantial men were obliged to purchase their own harness. This confirms what we already know about the rebel leadership. The insurgents were led by a core of wealthy yeomen, many of whom were also parish constables, and, thus, experienced in the business of parish politics: in raising musters and in mobilising parish defences.¹⁴⁴ The rebels may have acquired the gunpowder used in the rabbit burrows from stocks in the parish armouries, suggesting that the authorities' concerns that gunpowder and ordnance

¹³⁹ STAC 10/16, f.184v.

¹⁴⁰ STAC 10/16, ff.140r, 172r, 174r, 176v, 183r.

¹⁴¹ An Edwardian Statute had been made specifically against shooting with guns.

¹⁴² STAC 10/16, ff.183-4. This force of reservists may explain the references to men hiding in the woods.

¹⁴³ Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.97.

¹⁴⁴ That the rebels were particularly resourceful in equipping themselves for battle is indicated by Cavendish's complaint that his horses were stolen after they had been made ready for war. The Morebath parishioners may similarly have equipped themselves with harness under cover of the musters raised by the West Country gentry, including Sir Hugh Paulet, on behalf of the crown in July 1549: Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, pp.136-37. Cf. the Caldecote case: chapter 4.

might fall into the wrong hands during the 'commotion time' were well founded.¹⁴⁵ The context of the Scottish campaign and the fear of French invasion is important in explaining why the rebels had such ready access to arms in May 1548.¹⁴⁶ Preoccupation with the Scots may also explain why there was so little central interest in the dangerous events at Northaw.

Following Reay's claim that the violent and threatening element of riot has been overlooked in the recent historiography, it is necessary to give careful consideration to the level of violence prevalent in the Northaw episode and to its nature.¹⁴⁷ The protestors' intentions may be partly discernible from the forms of violence they adopted. MacCulloch has emphasised the order within the East Anglian risings. His interpretation stands for most of the 1549 risings, and probably should not be overturned: the lack of bloodshed (except at Seamer) during such widespread disorder is remarkable.¹⁴⁸ However, the implicit threat, rather than the overt use of violence, is vital in considering the 1548-49 risings.

The petitioning at Northaw carried just such an implicit threat. It is of symbolic importance that the protestors did not put their weapons down during their negotiations with the commissioners.¹⁴⁹ Protest itself was a form of negotiation, and violence, or the threat of violence, was integral to the bargaining process. This combination of

¹⁴⁵ See chapters 3 and 6. Bartholomew Steer and the Oxfordshire conspirators demonstrated a comparable knowledge of the whereabouts of armour, ordnance, and horses in 1596: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 99-100, 107; chapter 9.

¹⁴⁶ French intervention was expected by March/April, although it did not materialise until late June: Bush, *Government Policy*, pp.25-26. STAC 10/16, f.141v. Cf. the episode at Keele, Staffordshire: chapter 7. A circular to the sheriffs and JPs in May 1548 concerning the beacons and fears of a French invasion may explain Chare's statement about the readiness of the harness. The 1548 circular ordered to JPs to 'have a good eye and a speciall regard to the doinges of the common people' and to take immediate action against any riots or unlawful assemblies: SP 10/4/10. The local authorities at Northaw obviously failed in this duty.

¹⁴⁷ Reay, *Popular Cultures*, pp.189-90, 195-96.

¹⁴⁸ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 53. Wood emphasises this restraint, and the genuineness of the protestors' moral values in 1549: 'Poore men', p.92.

¹⁴⁹ STAC 10/16, f.181v.

persuasion and intimidation created 'a delicate balance between discipline and disorder'.¹⁵⁰ Had negotiation and intimidation alone proved insufficient to procure their ends, the protestors would have been forced to resort to violence or back down. Although violence often escalated disorder, and brought with it unintended consequences, it could lead to success.¹⁵¹

This is not to say that the Northaw Rising was without its violent aspects. The destruction of Cavendish's rabbit warrens shows that pent up frustrations concerning social grievances could not be restrained in 1548. The use of gunpowder in the burrows suggests an unusual level of violence. Assaults were also allegedly made on Cavendish's servants and on his chaplain, Sir William Saunders.¹⁵² Such violence against persons was beyond the realms of the ordinary enclosure riot. However, the violence at Northaw was largely circumscribed and symbolic. It served, and was intended as, a warning. The Northaw episode does not compare with the serious disorder at Helston in 1548 or at Seamer the following year. The violence was not general or without purpose: it was directed against specific and symbolic targets, and these targets were generally reflective of the rebels' aims. In 1548, rabbits were targeted as a social nuisance.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Reay, *Popular Cultures*, pp.195-96.

¹⁵¹ Magagna, *Communities of Grain*, p.259.

¹⁵² Robert Harrison was one of the alleged victims: STAC 3/1/49, bill and answer 1. Saunders claimed he was struck on the head and threatened with a pitchfork by a group of the rebels on his way out of the church on 23 May: STAC 10/16, f.184v-185r. As always, there are two sides to the story, and James Wilson, a protestor, claimed to have been maimed by Cavendish's servants: STAC 3/1/49, answer 3. A proclamation ordering punishment for assaults on clergy and scholars had been issued on 12 November 1547: TRP 1, no. 292.

¹⁵³ Cf. Kett's demands (article 23) and the 1553 Norfolk petition (article 5): Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.146; Hoyle, 'Agrarian Agitation', 237. On rabbits as a social nuisance, see Mark Bailey, 'The Rabbit and the Medieval East Anglian Economy', *AgHR* 36 (1998), 1-20; Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, pp.100, 299-301; John Sheail, 'Rabbits and Agriculture in Post-Medieval England', *Journal of Historical Geography* 4:4 (1978), 343-55. This was possibly also a grievance at Tyttenhanger, Sopwell, and Enfield in 1549: ch. 6. On the 1549 Bill for limiting the ownership of rabbit warrens, see below. Protest was used as a preventive measure in 1548: hence the anomaly of an enclosure riot in which no enclosures were cast down.

The semiology of protest provides a useful insight into the cultural context of the Northaw Rising. The mid-Tudor elite perceived of disorder in terms of noise, and a positive cacophony was raised at Northaw in 1548.¹⁵⁴ The rebels' 'hallowyng', 'cryeng', 'yellyng', 'hoopyng' and gunfire, was loud, inharmonious and intimidating.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, it was invested with cultural meaning, forming part of a 'culture of retribution'.¹⁵⁶ The 'halloing' outside Cavendish's house on 25-26 May represented ritual humiliation.¹⁵⁷ Gunpowder, by comparison, was dishonourable and levelling: its use in Cavendish's warrens added insult to injury (especially if the gunpowder was his). The Northaw rebels put 'representative violence' and intimidation tactics to good effect.¹⁵⁸ Verbal threats (to hew Cavendish 'as small as fleshe to the pott') and substantial property damage gave them the upper-hand in the bargaining process.¹⁵⁹

The Northaw and Cheshunt rebels were motivated by a concern for justice and good lordship; their organisation remained within the established parish hierarchy; and the violence within the protest was largely symbolic. Rebel action was informed and legitimated by notions of legality, namely the validity of change during Edward VI's minority. Cavendish was shamed for putting 'commodity' before 'commonwealth', in a fledgling version of the commonwealth rhetoric adopted by the eastern rebels in 1549.¹⁶⁰ The rebels paid lip-service to deference, whilst questioning Cavendish's 'true gentility' and his right to his position in local society.¹⁶¹ The Northaw Rising was largely confined within the accepted protocol of popular politics. Although the rebels'

¹⁵⁴ *Versus* the ideal of quiet, consensus, and order: Wood, 'Poore men', p.88; K. Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England', in Griffiths, Fox & Hindle (eds), *Experience of Authority*, pp.18-19. For an example of the pairing of noise and quiet in another context, see John Craig, 'Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: Worship in the English Parish 1547-1603', an unpublished paper given at the *Reformation Studies Colloquium* (University of Warwick, 5 April 2000).

¹⁵⁵ STAC 10/16, ff.176v; 180r, 183r.

¹⁵⁶ Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France*.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Hindle, 'Custom, Festival and Protest', 167-68.

¹⁵⁸ Magagna, *Communities of Grain*, pp.258-62.

¹⁵⁹ STAC 3/1/49, bill; STAC 10/16, ff.171, 176v, 181v, 183v; STAC 2/9, ff.79-80. Magagna, *Communities of Grain*, p.105.

assaults on individuals and their radical 'doctrine' of resistance transcended these bounds, they sought to bring Cavendish to account.¹⁶²

The Response of the Authorities

The authorities' response to the Northaw Rising was an integral part of the process of disorder. Cavendish's response to the 1544 and 1548 protests was typical. In 1544, he sought to obtain a royal enclosure commission to arbitrate the dispute; in 1548 he fought back in the central courts. Cavendish brought his Star Chamber action because his plans to enclose Northaw Common had been frustrated, at least in the short term. As a result of the protest, the commission was left unexecuted. Whether Cavendish's litigation resolved the problem, or whether the Northaw enclosure dispute smouldered for three decades, before erupting again in 1579, is unclear.¹⁶³

Did Cavendish escalate the protest? Lack of trust made negotiation difficult: four of Cavendish's servants were held as pledges during the Whit Monday negotiations.¹⁶⁴ When he sent for a dozen Cheshunt men an hour after the crowd assembled outside his house, they only consented once they had received their pledges, and sent only four representatives. The rest of the company waited at Cavendish's gate and became restless when the talks lasted longer than expected, fearing their delegates had been detained underhandedly.¹⁶⁵ The negotiations presumably went badly, since the protestors destroyed Cavendish's warren later that evening.

¹⁶⁰ Chapter 4.

¹⁶¹ The best work on plebeian languages of deference and defiance is Wood's: 'Poore men'.

¹⁶² Magagna, *Communities of Grain*, p.262.

¹⁶³ Opposition to enclosure could pass into the realm of local folklore and remain latent until it was required again: Magagna, *Communities of Grain*, pp.105-06.

¹⁶⁴ Taking pledges may have been a tried and tested tactic of popular protest. It was also used in Norfolk in 1549 to give the commons greater bargaining power, when L'Estrange was forced to leave his brother and son at Mousehold Heath: SP 10/8/60.

¹⁶⁵ 'For that the said iiij persons taryed somewhat long wyth master Cavendyshe the rest of the Company sayd they wold pull doune master Cavensysse hows [and fetch them out] yf he sent them nott away the

It was left to William Allen, a royal messenger, to try to appease the crowd and mobilise the local justices to quell the disorder. The crowd might have been more responsive had Denny been at home to deal with events. When Allen realised the crowd was beyond his control, he rode to Denny's house at Cheshunt but, finding him absent, rode on to Hoddesdon to fetch another justice, causing considerable delay. John Cock spent an hour persuading the rebels to disperse, but they declared 'that where ther was one man that day on the next daye ther shold be an C. men'.¹⁶⁶ A delegation of enclosure commissioners met with a similar response the following Wednesday. The policy of appeasement failed because the local balance of power had shifted in favour of the protestors, whose sheer force of numbers gave them great bargaining power, especially with the constables' weight behind them. The local power base, on which parochial order depended, was divided in May 1548. It was not until Sir Roger Cholmley (Lord Chief Baron) offered assurances and promised reform that the protestors finally dispersed.¹⁶⁷

The Privy Council's reaction to the Northaw Rising is unknown: no correspondence between the magistracy and the centre survives. The local authorities probably strove to keep the conflict out of the public record, given that the justices were severely rebuked for failing to contain a similar outbreak in 1579.¹⁶⁸ Cavendish had no scruples in taking the protestors before the central courts when it served his interests, but did little to disclose information to the appropriate authorities at the time of the rising. The Northaw commissioners did, however, report the circumstances which prevented them from

soner': STAC 10/16, ff.177, 183v-184r (depositions of Stephen Cowper and William Saunders). Cf. the protestors' account of the meeting at ff.135v, 138v.

¹⁶⁶ The events described in this paragraph are reconstructed on the basis of William Allen's deposition: STAC 10/16, ff.188-190.

¹⁶⁷ STAC 10/16, ff.136, 142v (no. 28).

¹⁶⁸ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion: A Rejoinder', 73. On 1579, see chapter 9 below. Lord Norris, the target of the 1596 rising, was particularly coy about the Oxfordshire disorders. He informed the council that he had contained the situation when he had blatantly allowed things to get out of control: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 126.

executing their commission to the Chancellor, and it is strongly suggested that Sir Anthony Denny acted as intermediary between the central and local authorities in this matter, tempering Cavendish's retribution. Thus, the Council was apparently kept informed.

Whilst the lack of evidence makes it difficult to reconstruct the rising as it appeared to the government, it does reveal a flaw in the traditional historiography of the 1548-49 risings. It has been held as a general axiom that the differences between the 1548 and 1549 risings can be judged by gauging government response; yet the limits of action were imposed by the protestors themselves. The Northaw and Cheshunt tenants were careful to keep their protest within circumscribed limits and to present it in a certain way. The existing records only allow us to piece together the rising as it appeared to the target and the participants, which is problematic. However, the rising must have appeared threatening to the government because it proved that successful independent political action by the middling sort was possible, albeit in a limited capacity.¹⁶⁹

The prosecutions in Star Chamber and King's Bench seem to have been for riot rather than rebellion, although these terms were used interchangeably in the King's Bench indictments and probably do not help to determine how events at Northaw were legally defined by contemporaries. The protestors were indicted before King's Bench for riotously, routously, tumultuously and rebelliously assembling at Northaw, armed in the manner of warfare and insurrection.¹⁷⁰ In Star Chamber they were described as riotous and disobedient persons who assembled with force and arms, in warlike fashion, in the manner of a commotion and insurrection, uttered seditious words in contempt of

¹⁶⁹ Kett's Rebellion was regarded by some contemporaries as a greater threat than the Western Rebellion for the same reason. See, for example, the articles sent to the Bishop of London, August 1549: *CSPD Edw. VI*, no.334, p.128.

¹⁷⁰ KB 9/980, ff.21-22.

royal authority, denied the commission, and proved themselves disobedient rebels unto the king.¹⁷¹ The King's Bench and Star Chamber records reveal the confusion generated by contemporary legal definitions (and Tudor tautology), when unlawful assembly, rout and riot – the three recognised stages in public order offences – were used, in practice, without distinction.

Some protestors were apparently imprisoned but, beyond this, little is known of their fate.¹⁷² There is nothing to suggest that any executions took place as a result of the Northaw Rising, despite fears that Cavendish 'wold have hangyd a nombre of them at that tyme', and probably only the ringleaders were imprisoned.¹⁷³ A number of participants appear as landholders in a 1556 survey of Northaw and presumably had not forfeited their lands as rebels. Why were there so few repercussions? Perhaps the popular perception that Denny intervened on the insurgents' behalf was not unfounded. Alternatively, events at Northaw may have been overshadowed by those at Helston, or the threat of French invasion.¹⁷⁴ If a harsher line had been taken against the Northaw disturbances would it have discouraged the commons from rebelling in 1549?

Despite the rebels' lenient treatment, the Star Chamber interrogatories (which are no longer extant) hint at a high level of anxiety concerning the rising, with their allegations of conspiracy and concerns about camps. The Northaw Rising was, in contemporary idiom, an 'insurrection for the comens': an incipient or limited armed rebellion against constituted authority.¹⁷⁵ Yet, the interrogatories (as reconstructed from the depositions) should not be taken at face value. Rather than presenting a truthful picture of events,

¹⁷¹ STAC 3/1/49, bill. Here, the term 'rioters' is perhaps used more frequently than 'rebels'. However, the protestors' opposition to the commission and their failure to recognise Somerset's authority clearly made them 'rebels' in the authorities' eyes.

¹⁷² STAC 10/16, f.140r: deposition of John Tompson.

¹⁷³ STAC 10/16, f.185v: deposition of William Saunders.

¹⁷⁴ For a brief summary of events at Helston, see Beer, *Rebellion and Riot* pp.46-48. The responses to the Northaw and Helston disorders are compared below.

they reveal Cavendish's portrayal of the rising. Indications of conspiracy, prior planning, agitation and camping were singled out, embellished, and perhaps even partly fabricated, as aspects of the disorder in which the court would be particularly interested. For example, in alleging the existence of a common purse Cavendish played on the legal system in the knowledge that common purses, which became increasingly common over the course of the sixteenth century, were judged as evidence of conspiracy.¹⁷⁶ To some extent, Cavendish's account was shaped by official definitions of disorder. He skilfully wove the events of the Northaw rising into a narrative that played on the authorities' fears.

The protestors triumphed by direct action in the short term, procuring a promise that Cavendish's 'wrongs' would be reformed,¹⁷⁷ but was their triumph upheld or overturned by the courts of Star Chamber and King's Bench?¹⁷⁸ A chance reference to payments made on 24-25 July 1549 for mowing and stoving 'in the great close at Northawe' opens up several possibilities. Cavendish was apparently successful in enclosing part of Northaw Common between May 1548 and the height of the 'commotion time' in July 1549, but whether this constituted a partial restoration of the 1544 enclosure, or whether the 1548 enclosure went ahead, is less certain. The reference to 'the great close' indicates that there may have been several enclosures in different parts of the common

¹⁷⁵ BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.297. For this definition of an insurrection: *OED* 7, pp.1060-61.

¹⁷⁶ Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.77-81. Camps were associated with levying war against the king, whilst evidence of prior planning and agitation could be moulded to fit the legal definition of a public protest. The interrogatories were concerned to establish who the 'Counsellors' or 'procurers' of the rising were (nos. 19-20), whether the promise of friendship had been used to bear in this matter (nos. 11, 29-30), and whether agitators had been sent to persuade other communities to join in a general attack on the principle of enclosure (no. 9): see, for example, STAC 10/16, ff.145r-147r, deposition of Simon Prior. The defendants argued that they came to protect the common, and their neighbours' interests, of their own free will: f.139v.

¹⁷⁷ That this was not necessarily an empty promise is suggested by the parallel course of the 1579 disorders: chapter 9. Somerset's promise to the 1549 rebels remained unfulfilled. In promising a parliament to reform the commons' grievances, Somerset overstretched the tolerance of the political nation and brought about his own downfall. For a fuller discussion of Somerset's policy towards the 1549 risings, see chapter 8.

¹⁷⁸ STAC 10/16, ff. 183-84, 188: deposition of William Lowen.

by this time (or that part of the 1544 enclosure still stood).¹⁷⁹ Perhaps the ‘Great Close’ represented a compromise, although Northaw Common remained a contentious local issue in 1579, and may have been the scene of disturbances during the St Albans section of the ‘commotion time’ in July 1549.¹⁸⁰

It is perhaps best left to contemporaries to assess the magnitude of the Northaw Rising. Cavendish described it as ‘the most perylous example that hath beene of many yeres seene’. His fear that the Northaw episode would encourage ‘open rebellyon of greate nombre of lyke rebelles’ was prophetic.¹⁸¹ Northaw’s true significance lies in its relation to the ‘generall Insurrection for comens’ in 1549.¹⁸²

IV: Northaw and the ‘Generall Insurrection for Comens’, 1549

John Hales, ‘commonwealth man’ and enclosure commissioner, has long been regarded as the scapegoat for the ‘generall Insurrection’ which spread throughout Southern England, the Midlands, and beyond in 1548-49. On the basis of ‘new’ evidence presented here, it is possible to partially vindicate Hales of responsibility for the 1548-49 rebellions. In his *Defence*, Hales claimed that the inflammatory rhetoric of his address to the enclosure commissioners was not the spark which set the rebellion alight, however much it may have served to fan the flames in 1549, for: ‘Whas ther not longe before this Commyssyon was sent forthe an insurrection in hertfordshire for the comens

¹⁷⁹ SP 46/5, part 2, f.12r and Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, pp.171-73. Much depends on whether the whole of Northaw Common was enclosed in 1544, or only part of it. Six men, including Thomas Allen, received payments for stoving. It is interesting to note that a Thomas Allen was indicted for riot in 1579. Given the resistance to the 1548 enclosure it seems likely that the other four labourers were not local men. Stover is defined as hay made from clover, or broken straw or stubble from thrashed corn, according to locality: *OED* 16, p.809

¹⁸⁰ Chapters 6 and 9.

¹⁸¹ STAC 3/1/49, bill.

¹⁸² Quoting Hales: BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.297r.

at northall and Chesthunt?’¹⁸³ The enclosure commissions should not be entirely absolved of culpability; rather the later 1549 commission helped fuel the ‘commotion time’.¹⁸⁴ These newly discovered Star Chamber proceedings substantiate Hales’ claim.

One of the first sparks of the ‘commotion time’ thus glimmered at Northaw and Cheshunt. Yet Hales’ testimony has been largely ignored by contemporaries and more recent historians, and the rising at Northaw and Cheshunt remains little known.¹⁸⁵ This incongruity is perhaps explained by Walter’s statement that, since authority is always the first historian of rebellion, the process inevitably becomes skewed.¹⁸⁶ We have inherited the view that Hales’ idiom of commonwealth and social justice was to blame for the 1548-49 rebellions.¹⁸⁷ The events at Northaw have been ignored by posterity, cloaked in the Earl of Warwick’s conspiracy of silence, woven to implicate Hales. Warwick’s interpretation has passed into established history, causing subsequent commentators to deflate an episode which bordered on rebellion into a matter of little historical importance.¹⁸⁸ The Star Chamber depositions reveal an alternative picture. They allow us to fill in the gaps and to reveal bias or subtleties in the established evidence. Bush is sadly mistaken in thinking that we can judge the value of the evidence simply by its weight.¹⁸⁹ The ‘old’ material must be reinterpreted in light of the ‘new’ (to explain inconsistencies on the basis of the unspoken interest of the source) if we are to piece together the varied experience of rebellion in England in 1548-49. The Northaw episode, long disregarded, needs to be written back into the history of the rebellions

¹⁸³ Quoting Hales: BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.297r-v.

¹⁸⁴ Especially in Kent: chapter 4.

¹⁸⁵ The rising at Northaw and Cheshunt is briefly noted by Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.148 and *VCH Herts.* 2, p.23. Shagan has given the rising a slightly fuller treatment: ‘Popular Politics’, pp.507-14; cf. *Popular Politics*, p.281.

¹⁸⁶ Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”?’ 137-39.

¹⁸⁷ See for example Manning, ‘Patterns of Violence’, 132.

¹⁸⁸ BL Lansdowne MS 238, ff.219-26. In direct contrast to the abortive Oxfordshire Rising of 1596, which Coke hailed out of all proportion: chapter 9. On Warwick, see also chapters 4, 5 and 8.

¹⁸⁹ Bush, ‘Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: A Post-Revision Questioned’, 103-04; Bernard, ‘New Perspectives or Old Complexities’, 114.

and, preferably, placed at its centre, as it is crucial to our understanding of the 'commotion time'.

Hales acknowledges 1548 as the beginning of the 'commotion time', where contemporary chronicle accounts variously claim that the May stirs in Wiltshire, Suffolk or Kent, in 1549, constituted 'the fountain of the uproar'.¹⁹⁰ Even MacCulloch makes no mention of the 1548 disorders in his recent work.¹⁹¹ The 1548 disorders have been almost entirely eclipsed by the events of 1549, which surely must have distorted our picture of the 'commotion time'.¹⁹² Taking Hales as our authority we can at last put an end to all the confusion and ascribe the beginnings of the 'commotion time' to 1548. This may throw a whole new light on our interpretations.

It is important to remember that Northaw was not the only scene of disorder in 1548. In addition to the well-known outbreak at Helston in April, the forest village of Glapthorn, Northamptonshire saw 'a follishnes about the masse & sacrament' in the spring and Buckinghamshire experienced enclosure rioting during August, whilst the first signs of unrest in Hampshire came in the vicinity of Southampton in late 1548.¹⁹³ It is surely of some significance that the Northaw Rising broke out only four days after the Cornish rebels were pardoned.¹⁹⁴ Did the relative leniency with which the Helston rioters were treated encourage action at Northaw? Or did the Helston rioters' open up

¹⁹⁰ M. Bryn Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais from 1545 to 1550', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University* 12:1 (1950), 61; BL Additional MS 48023, f.351r, Godwin, *Annals*, p.134.

¹⁹¹ MacCulloch mistakenly attributes the Northaw rising to spring 1549, taking Strype as his source: *Cranmer*, p.429 & n; Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.64.

¹⁹² For example, Helston is diminished in importance in Speight's thesis, and then written out in her 1996 article. Speight follows Holinshed, in arguing that the Helston episode is only important in that the western rebels of 1549 had failed to learn from the events of 1548: *Chronicles* 3, p.917; Speight, 'Local Government and Politics', pp.181-85; H.M. Speight, 'Local Government and the South-Western Rebellion of 1549', *SH* 18 (1996), 1-23.

¹⁹³ Quoting SP 46/5/268. On Hampshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire, see chapters 3 and 5. For new evidence of disorder at Great Yarmouth in 1548, see Wood, *Insurrection, Sedition and Popular Political Culture*.

¹⁹⁴ *TRP* 1 no.308 (17 May 1548). The general pardon named 30 exceptions. 7 were executed: Speight, 'Local Government and Politics', p.184.

opportunities for resistance to change during Edward VI's minority to be applied in a broader secular form to justify agrarian protest?

That rebellion is not an event, but a process, is clearly shown by the Northaw episode. Thus, the question is one of escalation: how did the movement develop and gather pace during 1548. Clear threads connect the Northaw Rising with the Hertfordshire and Middlesex disturbances of 1549, in the same way that Helston formed a prelude to rebellion in the South-West. Likewise, the enclosure rioting in Buckinghamshire in the summer of 1548 foreshadows the attacks on aristocratic parks at Thame, Rycote and Wing the following year, whilst the Glapthorn episode may reflect the religious aspects of the Thames Valley Rebellion.

Both Northaw and Helston were serious outbreaks of disorder. Rather than dismissing the 1548 disorders as forerunners to the 1549 rebellions,¹⁹⁵ we need to understand how they formed part of a process of disorder culminating in the 'commotion time'. The Helston rising revealed the 'administrative paralysis' of the Cornish magistracy, which weakened their authority 'in the face of serious disorder' the following year.¹⁹⁶ Arguably, the Northaw Rising represented a similar testing of the waters, before a weakened State permitted full-scale rebellion in Hertfordshire in 1549.

On the basis of this reconstruction and analysis of the Northaw Rising, its centrality to the commotion time can be affirmed. The Hertfordshire disorders cannot be dismissed as 'lesser stirs'. Nor could the rising at Northaw be considered an

¹⁹⁵ As Arthurson, Beer, Fritze, Loach, Speight and Vere Woodman have done: Ian Arthurson, 'Fear and Loathing in West Cornwall: Seven New Letters on the 1548 Rising', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* NS 2, vol. 3, parts 3 & 4 (2000), 68; Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.151; Fritze, 'Faith and Faction', p.239; Loach, *Edward VI*, p.65; Speight, 'Local Government and Politics', p.182; A. Vere Woodman, 'The Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising', *Oxoniensia* 22 (1957), 78.

¹⁹⁶ Quoting Speight, 'Local Government and Politics', p.185; see also p.183.

inauspicious beginning. Rebellion in Hertfordshire was potentially very dangerous, given its proximity to and connections with London. Furthermore, the Northaw Rising may have had implications beyond its immediate aims, accelerating Somerset's programme of agrarian reform.¹⁹⁷

Whilst the Northaw episode was considered a riot, and the records of the rising passed into the King's Bench term indictments files, the Helston protestors were condemned as rebels and the records of their trial accordingly found their way into the *Baga de Secretis*, which contained the files of 'state trials', especially on indictment for treason.¹⁹⁸ The legal treatment of the two risings underlines the fundamental distinction the authorities drew between them, putting Helston on a par with the East Anglian and South-Western rebellions.¹⁹⁹

How do events at Northaw fit into the larger framework of popular protest? Hertfordshire has received little attention from historians as a centre of disorder in 1549. A recently discovered letter from the Council to the St Albans' rebels sheds important

¹⁹⁷ It may be more than coincidence that the first enclosure commission was issued on 1 June 1548, hot on the tail of the Northaw rising, to gather information to be presented in parliament for the reform of enclosures. Similarly, it is tempting to see some connection with the Bill for limiting the ownership of rabbit warrens (February-March 1549). Was this legislation a central response to the events at Northaw in particular or to a more widely prevalent agrarian grievance? The bill strikes a chord with article 23 of Kett's Demands and article 5 of the 1553 Norfolk petition. If Somerset sponsored the bill, perhaps it could be seen as part of his strategy to represent himself as the champion of the commons: Bush, *Government Policy*, pp.50-51.

¹⁹⁸ Also for very serious felonies. The Northaw proceedings arose from a private bill of complaint, submitted to the jurors as a *billa vera* in ordinary term indictments. In Star Chamber, where there was *prima facie* evidence of riot, the plaintiff could allege malfeasance in another court, and it is likely that the Northaw case proceeded in Star Chamber and King's Bench simultaneously, as part of the ongoing dispute between Cavendish and the Cheshunt tenants. It may have been brought into King's Bench from Star Chamber due to the court's superior criminal jurisdiction or the suit may have been frustrated in King's Bench due to expense. The Star Chamber bill is undated (depositions were taken on 22-23 June and 30 Nov. 1548). The King's Bench indictment is dated 21 May 1548, although the bill rehearses the events of 23 May. Both suits were brought by Cavendish.

¹⁹⁹ There were obvious differences between Northaw and Helston, which governed central response. Violence escalated into murder at Helston and bell-ringing and the 'hue and cry' proclaimed the rebels' intention to levy war against the king and kill the gentlemen. The Cornishmen protested against a generalised principle, rejecting all new laws (and Somerset's authority), whilst the focus was narrowed to a particular commission at Northaw. News of the Northaw Rising was spread by word of mouth, making

light on the process of disorder in Hertfordshire in July 1549.²⁰⁰ A Watford dispute reveals the local response to religious change, whilst episodes at Tyttenhanger and Enfield offer some tantalising hints about the wider pattern of rebellion in Hertfordshire and Middlesex.²⁰¹ The regional characteristics of the Hertfordshire disturbances suggest a strong thread connecting events at Northaw in 1548 with the Hertfordshire section of the ‘commotion time’ in 1549. The rising at Northaw was the prologue to the St Albans Rebellion, as Helston was the prologue to the South-Western Rebellion. Speight is mistaken to question this relationship on the grounds that the scale, location, leadership and participation of the risings are not identical; here the rebels’ justification is the obvious connection.²⁰²

How did an apparently localised, if large-scale, enclosure rising escalate into the full-scale rebellions of 1549, and why did this transition take place in 1548-49? The Northaw episode provides the starting point for an investigation of how rebellion was ‘first kindled’, how it ‘sparkled and became a flame’, and what permitted ‘the furthering and strengthening of riots, mutinies, commotions and hurlieburlies’.²⁰³ Northaw could be characterised as a local rising which collapsed internally due to a lack of resolution on the part of the insurgents, much like Helston and Attleborough.²⁰⁴ The protestors had no aims beyond preventing the enclosure of Northaw Common and readily dispersed once their limited objectives had been achieved, but it was their very success in achieving these limited objectives that made these episodes important. These initial successes revealed the first ‘cracks in the wainscoting of power’, which crumbled in the

it impossible to trace its source; leaving a paper trail was more dangerous: *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, Appendix 2 (London, 1843), pp.217-19, 221-23.

²⁰⁰ Shagan, ‘Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions’, p.61 (Letter 7).

²⁰¹ See chapter 6.

²⁰² Speight, ‘Local Government and Politics’, p.182.

²⁰³ Quoting Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, p.926.

²⁰⁴ See my ‘Problematising the 1549 Rebellions’, p.19 and Bindoff, *Ket’s Rebellion*, p.3.

face of full-scale rebellion in 1549.²⁰⁵ A perceived alteration in the balance of power, confirmed by small advances that went relatively unchecked by the authorities,²⁰⁶ raised the prospect that successful resistance would lead to re-negotiation of the terms of subordination, encouraging its acceleration. The common people's changing expectations of the balance of power were a necessary prerequisite for open rebellion in 1549. The insufficiencies of central and local government provided vital time for the movements to grow and created the impression that the structure of authority was no longer inevitable. An unravelling of power and a lack of controlling forces left the way open for the 1549 rebellions.

²⁰⁵ Quoting Wrightson, 'Politics of the Parish', p.35.

²⁰⁶ For example at Northaw, Helston, Attleborough, Great Yarmouth, Buckinghamshire and Botley and Hamble.

‘A General Plage of Rebelling’: The Stirs in the South

The ripples of disorder experienced at Northaw, Helston, and elsewhere in 1548 were followed by a wave of widespread and serious rioting throughout England in the spring of 1549. Various contemporary accounts indicate that the southern counties played a central role in the ‘commotion time’. Edward VI believed that the spring risings began in Wiltshire and spread through Sussex, Hampshire and Kent into the Midlands and the East. According to Hales and Holinshed, however, the county of Somerset was the fountain of disorder.¹ Regardless of the exact sequence of events, the spring stirs swelled into a cascade, which, sweeping all that came into its path, created the full flood of the ‘commotion time’. Thus, by midsummer, John Markham was able to report that there was ‘a general plage of rebelling in the East, West and South parts’.²

Historians, however, have treated the southern stirs only as an aside to the South-Western and East Anglian rebellions. The following discussion accordingly seeks to examine the disorders in Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Bristol and Hampshire in their own terms. Acknowledging the significance of these southern stirs requires rethinking the geography and chronology of the 1549 risings. The South-Western Rebellion will be viewed, not as an isolated revolt in a remote corner of the realm, but as an integral part of a much broader rising. Beginning in the West, the chapter will pan over much of southern England, from Somerset to Hampshire (map 3.1). This panoramic view, combined with close-ups of local episodes, should create an impression of the nature, scale and experience of rebellion in the southern counties in 1549.

¹ Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.12. Hales, *Defence*, p.lvi. Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, pp.916-17.

I: Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Bristol

The Somerset-Wiltshire Rising

The spring risings in Somerset, Wiltshire and Bristol arose from misunderstandings and frustrated expectations. A proclamation of 11 April 1549, calling for a diligent enquiry to redress enclosures and punish enclosers, raised the commons' hopes of improvement. These were quickly dashed, and the commons became impatient to see the penal laws 'straightly' executed against enclosers in the promised manner.³ Infuriated by the magistrates' continued inactivity, and under cover of the proclamation, the commons of Somerset, Wiltshire, Bristol and elsewhere took it upon themselves to enforce the enclosure statutes by direct action.

On 5 May, a crowd of some two hundred artificers assembled at Frome and threw down hedges and fences.⁴ Notions of legality informed the rioters' action. They claimed to have acted lawfully and with royal sanction, 'for they had heard of a proclamation sent into the country whereby they and all others were authorised "so to do"'.⁵ The following day, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Lord Stourton, Mr Horner and Robert Crouch intervened to defuse this explosive situation, persuading the rebels that 'they had mistaken the proclamation', which only appointed commissions of enquiry.⁶ In a show of understanding the magistrates instructed the rebels to present their grievances

² Quoting Sir John Markham to the earl of Rutland, 1 August 1549: *HMC 12th Report, Appendix 4, Rutland 1* (hereafter *HMC Rutland 1*), p.42.

³ *TRP 1*, no.327.

⁴ Richard Fulmerston to Protector Somerset, 8 May 1549: *HMC Bath 4*, pp.109-10. All subsequent details and quotations are from this source, unless otherwise indicated. Frome was a populous market town with four annual fairs, famous for manufacturing woollen cloth. The manor and hundred of Frome was held by the Leversege's; Edward Leversege died seized of the lands on 29 August 1549. Sir John Thynne held lands in Frome belonging to the chantries of St Andrew and St John the Baptist: John Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, vol. 2 (Bath, 1791), pp.185-98.

⁵ The reference is to the anti-enclosure proclamation of 11 April 1549.

to Lord Stourton.⁷ However, the four or five ringleaders who presented the petition at Stourton's house on 8 May were tricked into identifying themselves and committed to gaol.

The magistrates' strategy ultimately backfired. As a result of their duplicity a localised outbreak, which might easily have been contained, escalated into a generalised protest. It is hardly surprising that the commons raised the stakes in the southern counties after this betrayal. With the danger increasing, sterner measures were called for. All the gentry of the shire, their servants, and the 'honest yeomen' among their tenantry, were summoned to the Quarter Sessions the following Saturday (11 May) to muster a force to combat the disturbances.⁸

The authorities underestimated the nature and scale of the disorder. After the Frome episode disaffection spread rapidly throughout Somerset and Wiltshire, setting in motion 'the first major series of rioting' of 1549.⁹ By 15 May, the Council, hearing that 'sondry light folkes of the counties of somerset and willshir have attempted to stire in great cumpanies uppon pretence of libertie by proclamacions against enclosures', warned Hampshire justices to be 'in arredines' to repress 'those lewde folkes' with the power of the shire.¹⁰ During these disturbances the rebels proceeded to 'brake up certeine parks of sir William Herbert and the lord Sturton', including Herbert's park at Washern, Wilton. Altogether, the Somerset and Wiltshire rising lasted for two to three

⁶ William Barlow was appointed to the see of Bath and Wells on 3 February 1547. 'A zealous professor and preacher of the reformed religion', he fled to Germany in Mary's reign: W. Phelps, *The History and Antiquities of Somersetshire*, vol. 1 (London, 1836), pp.122-24.

⁷ The Frome petition was a response to an aristocratic initiative rather than a spontaneous popular decision: Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', pp.12-13. Cf. Kent and Essex: chapter 4.

⁸ *HMC Bath* 4, p.110.

⁹ Quoting Charlesworth, *Atlas of Rural Protest*, p.29.

¹⁰ The Council to the Sheriffs and JPs of Hampshire, 15 May 1549: SCA SC 2/9/2/34.

weeks. It was quelled only when Sir William Herbert 'sluie and executed manie of those rebellious people'.¹¹

The Council's anxiety about these events is evident from a warrant issued to Sir William Herbert's man on 17 May 'for his ridinge in post to and fro the commocion in Somerset shire'.¹² Information evidently flowed with speed and regularity between the localities and the centre during the rising. The Council was kept well informed of the state of affairs in Somerset and Wiltshire, explaining their astute response. They offered a soothing cocktail of admonishment and clemency in contrast to the bitter medicine initially administered to the commons by Stourton and Herbert. Yet by 23 May the situation had become so threatening that the government was forced to issue a royal proclamation against 'disobedient and seditious persons, assembling themselves together unlawfully in some parts of the realm' who had, 'under pretense' of the enclosure proclamation of 11 April, 'taken upon them his majesty's authority, presumed to pluck his highness's sword out of his hand', and so gone about to chastise and correct whom they have thought good'.¹³ In response to the spring risings in Somerset, Wiltshire, Bristol and elsewhere Somerset adopted a conciliatory policy, promising to reform enclosures at a convenient time.

A temporary calm was produced and the rioters had all but submitted by 14 June, when a further proclamation pardoned the 'rude and ignorant people', accepting that 'this outrage was done rather of folly and misunderstanding' and 'at the instigation and motion of certain lewd and seditious persons, than of malice or any evil will'. Surprisingly, the rioters' grievances were recognised as genuine. The authorities

¹¹ Quoting Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, p.917. See also Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, p.13. John Stow, *The Annales of England* (London, 1592), p.1006; *Chronicles of England*, p.1040.

¹² E 101/76/35 (2nd foliation), f.74; SP 38/1, f.1v.

¹³ TRP 1, no. 333.

objected, not to the commons' cause, but their method.¹⁴ The real danger was that news of successful popular anti-enclosure action would spread, encouraging similar action elsewhere.

The southern commotioners appealed to the government's enclosure proclamations to compel the magistrates to enforce existing measures; to regulate the activities of enclosers as they were duty-bound to do.¹⁵ On the one hand, the rioters' objectives were conservative, limited and deferential. In appealing to the authorities they outwardly demonstrated their respect for the established hierarchies. On the other hand, in taking action to enforce the laws, the commons directly challenged the hierarchy of governors and governed that underpinned the Tudor monarchy. It was Kett's success in demonstrating that East Anglia could be fairly governed that led the governing classes to regard his followers as 'a more pernicious sort' than the western rebels.¹⁶ In 1548, the Hertfordshire commons appealed to Denny and Gates as intermediaries in soliciting government support against Cavendish; by spring 1549 the government itself had become an imagined ally.¹⁷

¹⁴ *TRP* 1, no. 334.

¹⁵ Shagan, 'Popular Politics', pp.517-18. The southern rioters appealed to the government's enclosure proclamations in much the same way as grain rioters later appealed to the authorities to alleviate dearth and poverty, and specifically, to bring into force the emergency measures of the Book of Orders of 1586: J. Walter, 'Grain Riots and Popular Attitudes to the Law: Maldon and the Crisis of 1629', in Brewer & Styles (eds), *An Ungovernable People*, pp.47-84.

¹⁶ Quoting SP 10/8/37. See Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.73; MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 61-62.

¹⁷ Shagan, 'Popular Politics', pp.517-18. According to Shagan this alliance was 'of great importance in shaping the rebellions of 1549'.

Other Parts of the Shire

Much of Somerset was affected by disorder. The rising spread rapidly from Frome to reach the far south-western corner of the county in May and early June.¹⁸ In some parts of the shire unlawful assemblies and enclosure rioting allegedly echoed commonwealth rhetoric. In “lewde and unfytinge talke” the rebels asked “why shulde oone manne have all and an other nothings?”¹⁹ Such reports give weight to the connection, drawn by contemporaries, between the enclosure proclamation of 11 April and the spring risings in the South. The government acknowledged that ‘the greediness of some persons, blind and ignorant in brotherly love and charity’, prevented the enclosure statutes from being enforced. The southern protestors mirrored these words.²⁰ Here lay the seeds of the commonwealth rhetoric expressed fully by the eastern rebels during the ‘Rebellion of Commonwealth’ in July 1549.²¹

The Somerset rebels had equally strong links with the western men, who boasted that 10,000 Somerset and Dorset men would support them in July 1549. Certainly a proclamation urged the people of these two counties to fight against the ‘rank rebels and papists of Devon’ on pain of being deemed traitors, and forfeiting their lands, copyholds and goods to the Crown.²² Russell was unable to levy men in Somerset due to ‘the evill inclynation of the people’, many of whom were not afraid ‘openly to speak such traterous words agaynst the kyng and in favour of the trayterous rebels’. Drastic

¹⁸ Sir Hugh Paulet was forced to remain at his residence in Hinton St George until the middle of June for the ‘more assured staie’ of his ‘nere neighbours’: Paulet to Sir John Thynne, 13 June 1549: BL M904/1 (Thynne Papers, vol. 2). John Hooper was kept from home by ‘a commotion of the people against the government’: Hooper to Henry Bullinger, 25 June 1549: *Original Letters*, p.66.

¹⁹ *HMC Bath* 4, pp.109-110. The Somerset rebels boasted that any men that were imprisoned would be released by a thousand others.

²⁰ *TRP* 1, no. 327.

²¹ See chapter 4 below.

²² Council to Lord Russell, 22 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.32. The Council was concerned that Russell was unable to prevent Somerset and Dorset men from joining forces with the western rebels. He only expected to raise 1,000 foot soldiers and 600-700 horses from Somerset and

measures were called for: the Council advised that only executions would put an end to such traitorous talk.²³ John Bury's rising at Kingweston in late August provides the context for these concerns.²⁴

The Somerset rebels failed *en masse* to join forces with the rebels further west, although the execution of a number of Cornish and Devonshire rebels at several Somerset towns suggests a connection.²⁵ Holinshed argued that the cause of the Somerset rebels ('being onelie about plucking downe of inclosures, and inlarging of commons') was divided from the religious cause of the western rebels.²⁶ Yet the seventeenth-century historian, Francis Godwin, noted that both Devon and Somerset were embroiled in the 1549 commotions and that 'Devonshire and Cornwall with some additions out of Somersetshire' had armed fifteen thousand men to besiege Exeter on the 'same pretences' as the eastern rebels.²⁷

According to Hayward's seventeenth-century account, the 1500 rebels who survived the 'carnage' at Clyst Heath²⁸ fled to Minehead and sailed up the river to Bridgwater, where they attempted 'to set up the Sedition again.'²⁹ It is feasible that John Bury landed at Bridgwater, gathering support en route, before setting up camp at

Dorset, although he was advised to procure as many horses from the region as possible to prevent 'thennemy' getting them: p.31.

²³ Two or three men were to be executed as traitors: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.40

²⁴ Hooker, *Description of Exeter*, p.95.

²⁵ Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, pp. 317-19. Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, p.917.

²⁶ This is an oversimplification of the complex motives of the South-Western rebels. The defence of the traditional religion, opposition to the tax on sheep and cloth, and complaints about dearth were among the various strands of the South-Western Rebellion: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.12-13, 61; M.W. Beresford, 'The Poll Tax and Census of Sheep, 1549', *AgHR* 1 (1953), 9-18; 2, (1954), 15-29. Stow believed enclosure, as well as religious change, to be a cause of unrest in Devon: B.L. Beer, 'John Stow and the Tudor Rebellions, 1549-1569', *JBS* 27:4 (October 1988), 356-57.

²⁷ Quoting Godwin, *Annals*, pp.134, 136. The best contemporary account of the siege of Exeter can be found in Hooker's *Description of Exeter*, pp.55-79.

²⁸ Somerset and Dorset men evidently took part in the battle. Paulet 'was prevy that v^e of somerset and dorset caryed awaye the [wounded] with them yn one day from clyst': Hugh Paulet to Sir John Thynne, 20 August 1549: BL M904/1.

²⁹ Sir John Hayward, *The Life and Reign of King Edward VI* (2nd edn., London, 1719), p.295. Hayward's tendency to embellish and misrepresent events makes his account of the 1549 rebellions unreliable. By 27

Kingweston.³⁰ There was certainly reason to presuppose that support for a new rising would be forthcoming. Disorder had been narrowly averted here in mid-summer, when a crowd of artificers and inhabitants gathered at Bridgwater to protest about the rising price of grain.³¹

The town's officers had allegedly permitted grain to be shipped out of the port contrary to a royal proclamation, which the mayor failed to publish until 10 June 1549.³² One incident particularly brought matters to a head. On 18 June, a fleet of seven Irish ships was loaded with wheat, malt and beans at Bridgwater. Whilst the mayor and water bailiff seized the cargo for the king, John White, a corrupt comptroller, allowed the Irishmen to depart with their grain.³³ These offences so enraged the artificers that they 'were mynded to have made a common pursse to bere the charges of a sute to be made to the kynges councell for the staying of carrydge of corne'.³⁴ The mayor, fearing what might come of this, sent for the artificers, heard their complaint, and appeased them by fixing the price of wheat at 14*d.* the bushel.³⁵

However, the officers reneged on their promise after only two days, allowing 'so mucche grayne' out of the port that the price of wheat rose to 2*s.* 8*d.* the bushel. This

August, Lord Russell had dispatched part of Herbert's force to repress the rebels at Minehead: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.66.

³⁰ Wincanton, near Kingweston, had earlier been the scene of agrarian troubles mirroring those at Landbeach, Cambridgeshire in 1549 (see chapter 4 below). In May 1547, Richard Zouch wrongfully enclosed part of the grounds belonging to the manor of Roundhill, denying Lord Stourton's tenants their common pasture. He felled the timber on the wastes (which the tenants used for fuel, hedgebote, ploughbote and cartbote) and drove their cattle into 'a suspicious pounce'. The husbandmen of Roundhill dared not 'attempte to plucke downe' Zouch's enclosure 'for fear of murder or man slaughter or lest he shulde procure [them] to be indyted of Ryot for doing of the said lawfull acte'. The commons were bolder by spring 1549: STAC 3/3/80; STAC 3/7/100; C 1/1197/52.

³¹ Henry Roberts vs. John White (comptroller), David Hobbes (searcher), and John Newport (mayor of Bridgwater): E 111/38.

³² E 111/38, 'An informacyon and complaynte ageynste the offycers of Brygewater with advertysment of the smalle regarde they have had unto the kynges maiestyes proclamacions for restaynte aswell of grayne as whet malte and beanys as also of lether and tawlowe'. The royal proclamation had been received on 12 January. See also the depositions of Richard Thomas and John Newport.

³³ E 111/38: information, John White's answer, and Henry Roberts' replication.

³⁴ E 111/38: deposition of Richard Thomas.

³⁵ E 111/38: depositions of John Newport and Richard Thomas

affected prices in other local markets 'to the undoing of all the poore commons and artyfycers of the townes therabouts'.³⁶ The outcome of this episode remains obscure, but some of Bridgwater's disgruntled artificers and inhabitants may have joined Bury on his march to Kingweston, in the hope that their grievances would be redressed.³⁷ As Hugh Paulet remarked, 'the people shewe themselves to be very tykell and redy to ryse agayn yn sondry places yf they myght receve comfort of eny convenyent ayde'.³⁸

The preparations for a renewed rising in north Devon and Somerset were brought to Lord Russell's attention on 20 August. Paulet was not, however, unduly alarmed by the Kingweston rising, considering 'thes dragges but tryffels yn comparison of the rest that ys passed'.³⁹ Somerset informed Sir Philip Hoby that, whilst the Devonshire rebels had been 'well chastised & appeased' and the people were flocking to Lord Russell in their hundreds and thousands to obtain their pardon, 'Bury and one or two more of their blind gydes that escaped from the sword have attempted in the meane seson to stirr up Somersetshire and have gotten ther a band or campe'.⁴⁰

In playing down the seriousness of the Kingweston rising these reports contradict the trial records' alarmist tone. Perhaps Paulet and Somerset were anxious to demonstrate that the situation had been brought under control, whereas, with hindsight, the true scale of the rising was acknowledged. Thus, on 26 November 1549 Bury, a Devonshire gentleman, was found guilty of 'machinating to raise rebellion' and levying war against the king. On 27 August, he raised 'a great multitude' at Kingweston (and other Somerset towns) by proclamation and hue and cry who, 'with arms and banners

³⁶ E 111/38: information.

³⁷ The Exchequer commission is dated 4 December 1549.

³⁸ Paulet to Thynne, 20 August 1549: BL M904/1. Paulet believed the West should be 'kept yn staye by a good power for a tyme', but Russell was instructed to diminish his forces, especially those from Somerset and Dorset, who would 'most fayntly fight agaynst the Devonshyre men', and needed gentlemen to 'kepe them [in] due obedyence and ordre': Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.47, 54-55.

³⁹ Paulet to Thynne, 20 August 1549: BL M904/1.

displayed', had slain several of Lord Russell's men.⁴¹ Bury was finally hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn on 27 January 1550.⁴²

Somerset experienced the government's reprisals at first hand, since many of the Kingweston insurgents were executed locally. The accounts of Sir John Thynne, Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, provide particulars of the expenses incurred in executing the 1549 rebels. On 29 August, a hundred and four of the Kingweston prisoners were escorted from Bruton to Wells. A further two prisoners were conveyed from Bruton to Bath, where 'they suffered as was appointed'.⁴³ At Frome, payment was made for execution irons, 'wood for fire to burn the entrails', and a pan and trivet to seethe the limbs; whilst similar payments were made at Mells, Beckington, Shepton Mallet, Wells, and Glastonbury.⁴⁴

The pattern of execution sites makes for interesting analysis in relation to the five known centres of disorder in Somerset. Executions took place at Frome (the scene of the first outbreak of disorder) and at Bath, Wells, Shepton Mallet, Mells and Beckington, all of which could be considered its satellites. Likewise, Ilchester and Bruton were perhaps drawn into the Kingweston rising, whilst executions at Ilminster were probably reprisals for the uproar around Hinton St George. The execution trail closely followed the path of Bury's rebel force, with rebels suffering at Exford, Dunster and Minehead, where many of the western rebels fled; at Bridgwater, where Bury landed; and at the nearby towns of

⁴⁰ Somerset to Sir Phillip Hoby, 23 August 1549: BL Harley MS 523, f.52r.

⁴¹ *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, Appendix 2, p.222. Hooker's account makes no mention of Bury in connection with the Kingweston rising. Bury was incarcerated in the Tower on 8 September, where he remained a prisoner on 22 October 1549: SP 10/9/48. Wriothesley gives 25 November as the date of the arraignment: *Chronicle 2*, p.30.

⁴² Wriothesley, *Chronicle 2*, p. 32.

⁴³ A poor man was paid 4s. 4d. for his services and for the irons to hang the rebels with: E 368/327, m.177d.

⁴⁴ E 368/327, m.177d. Thynne personally oversaw these executions. He records losses in purchasing irons to hang those rebels who were pardoned. The execution of John Donne, 'a notable rebellious', at Exford, was entrusted to Thomas Bocher: Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, p.498. John Catrowe was rewarded for

Taunton, North Curry, Wiveliscombe and Milverton (map 3.1). Clearly, Thynne chose the execution sites carefully for the maximum deterrent effect.⁴⁵

Beer has stated that, of all the southern counties, only Dorset escaped disorder during the spring and summer of 1549.⁴⁶ Yet Lord Russell heard rumours of trouble, even in Dorset, whilst he was in the West in July 1549. These were sufficiently alarming to provoke concern that ordnance stored in the Isle of Purbeck should be moved to Corfe Castle or Poole, lest it should fall into the wrong hands.⁴⁷ It was also feared, perhaps with some grounds, that Sir John Arundel would raise Dorset and join forces with the Western Rebellion.⁴⁸ The obvious threat facing the Privy Council was that the Western Rebellion would spread into Somerset, Dorset and beyond. After all, Lord Russell had originally been despatched to the West to keep the counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset and Dorset 'in good order and quiet'; a task in which he had failed spectacularly, by any measure.⁴⁹ Thus, Somerset and Dorset lay at the centre of the Council's strategy for the containment of disorder, acting as the base of the Royalist forces.⁵⁰

apprehending 'oone Richard donne a stirrer of sedition' on 18 August 1549: E 101/76/35, 2nd foliation, no.113; E 315/258, f.80. Perhaps there was some connection between John and Richard Donne.

⁴⁵ Compare the executions on Enslow Hill in 1596: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 128.

⁴⁶ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.152.

⁴⁷ Council to Lord Russell, 28 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.29. The implication is that the rebels threatened to capture this ordnance. Russell was required 'to have a good respect to the suyertie of the town and port of Poole in Dorssetshire' during early August: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.47, 49.

⁴⁸ Council to Lord Russell, 27 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.38-39 and see pp.23, 26. Sir John, cousin of Humphrey Arundel, ignored a summons to take the field and admitted that 'he caused two masses to be sayd' and a procession to be held on Corpus Christi day when the rebels first stirred in Devon. Sir John's chief residence was at Lanherne, Cornwall, but he may have been in Dorset when trouble broke out: Loach, *Edward VI*, p.75; Speight, 'Local Government and Politics', pp.193, 225-28.

⁴⁹ Instructions to Lord Russell from the Council, 24 June 1549: SP 10/7/40. Speight, 'Local Government and the South-Western Rebellion'. On Russell's ineffectiveness as Lord President of the Council of the West, see D. Willen, 'Lord Russell and the Western Counties 1539-1555', *JBS* 15:1 (1975), 26-45.

⁵⁰ Sherborne was considered a 'convenient' base for the royal forces to prevent the rebellion spreading from Devon into Somerset, Wiltshire or Dorset: Lord Russell to the Council, 24 June 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.11-12.

The impact of the South-Western Rebellion was widely felt in Somerset and Dorset. The assizes were disrupted in this part of the realm during the ‘commotion time’, and a substantial number of complaints were launched in Chancery in its wake. Thynne was advised that, since ‘kett is come upp and the westerne rebelles also, ye shall have no assises at all this yere’, although Paulet was later more optimistic.⁵¹ Chancery proceedings arising from the rebellion in the West reveal that its echoes were still reverberating around the southern counties as late as 1553-55. These complaints, mainly centred on confiscated goods and lands, but also including grievances concerning pardons, wills, and marriage licences, provide an insight into the local experience of the rebellion on a more personal level.⁵²

In the mid-1540s, John Taylor purchased a featherbed, a flockbed, two gowns, three ale barrels, and four ‘lyrons’ from John Brown, the parson of Langton, Dorset. Brown kept these goods for Taylor’s use ‘untyll ye late commocyon in the countey of Devon’, when he was slain. After Brown’s death, Robert Brayleghe, clerk craftily engineered a plot to seize Taylor’s goods, aided by two accomplices. On the pretext that Lord Russell had given them all Brown’s goods as a gift (presumably in forfeiture for his role in the rebellion), they took all the parson’s possessions, dividing them between themselves. For Taylor, then, the ‘commotion time’ was a cause of great personal loss; as a ‘very poor man’ he may not have been able to replace the six pounds worth of goods he had lost by underhand means.⁵³ On a different level, this suit suggests that the cause of the

⁵¹ William Crailles to Sir John Thynne, 8 August 1549; Hugh Paulet to Sir John Thynne, 20 August 1549: BL M904/1. For disruption to the petty courts of Ipswich and the archdeaconry of Suffolk, see MacCulloch. ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context’, pp.42-3. According to Arthurson, ‘the suspension of the law was a mark of civil war’: ‘Fear and Loathing in West Cornwall’, 77.

⁵² Chancery suits arising from the Western Rebellion include: C 1/1387/14 (Langton, Dorset); C 1/1215/8 (Latters, Carmarthenshire); C 1/1216/55 (Cornwall: *damaged*); C 1/1272/49-50 (Cornwall); C 1/1272/78-82 (Littleham, Devon); C 1/1367/82 (Cornwall); C 1/1368/79 (Holsworthy, Devon); C 1/1369/11-20 (Bittadon, Devon); and C 1/1383/2 (Cornwall).

⁵³ C 1/1387/14. The western rebels’ forfeitures were proclaimed on 11 July 1549: *TRP* 1, no.339. There are many examples of this kind of opportunism in the Chancery suits arising from the Western and East Anglian rebellions.

Somerset and Dorset men was not divided from the religious cause of the western rebels, as Holinshed would have us believe. Somerset should not be regarded simply as one of 'the other Counties infected with the reliques' of the South-Western Rebellion; rather events here, and in neighbouring Wiltshire, may have sparked off, and shaped the course of, the 'commotion time'.⁵⁴ It is to the Wiltshire disturbances that we now turn.

The Salisbury Rising

According to the 'soldier of Calais', Sir William Herbert ordered the mayor of Salisbury to muster the townsmen suddenly in early May 1549. All weapons were confiscated and stockpiled in Herbert's 'stronghouse' at nearby Wilton, where he had arbitrarily enclosed the townsmen's common land to make a great park around the former nunnery at Washern Grange.⁵⁵ John Paston suggests that unrest in the county resulted from enclosing parks and common land, reporting on 25 May that 'a grete number of the commonse' had 'pluckyd downe Sir Wyllyam Harberde's parke that ys abowte hys newe howse, and dyverse other parkysse and commonse that be inclosyd in that cuntre'.⁵⁶ Significantly, the first enclosures to be cast down in Wiltshire were those of the much-hated Herbert, an upstart who fled to France and became a soldier of fortune before receiving extensive monastic estates on his return, on account of his

⁵⁴ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, p.136.

⁵⁵ Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais', p.61. I owe this reference to Diarmaid MacCulloch. Herbert and his wife received estates belonging to Wilton Abbey in 1542 and 1544, destroying the monastic buildings to build a new mansion: *DNB* 9, pp.671-74. In 1544, they acquired the borough of Wilton: Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 2, p.342. According to Straton, Washern Park was made by enclosing a whole village and evicting the tenants: C.R. Straton, *Survey of the Lands of William first Earl of Pembroke*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1909), pp.xlv-xlvi, 12-18; *VCH Wilts.* 4, pp.48-49. However, Kerridge states that Washern was never more than a hamlet and only the site of the grange and part of the demesnes were enclosed in the park: Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems*, p.100.

⁵⁶ *HMC Rutland* 1, p.36. Paston thought the rebels were 'downe or shalbe very shortely'. Although the outbreak at Wilton seems to have been a response to arbitrary enclosure, Wiltshire saw little of the contentious enclosure found in the Midlands: *VCH Wilts* 4, pp.3, 49.

marriage to Catherine Parr's sister.⁵⁷ Herbert's military preparations may well have been the immediate trigger for the rising. The rebels perhaps had a sinister intention in targeting Herbert's house at Wilton: procuring arms for a siege on Salisbury, to be launched, possibly, from their 'camp' at Harnham Hill.⁵⁸

The inflammatory nature of the process of enclosing common land was recognised by the Duke of Somerset, whose enlargement of Savernake Park was carried out with much greater diplomacy.⁵⁹ Somerset had originally proposed emparking nearly a square mile of waste when he began building his country house at Bedwyn Brail in November 1548. However, he scaled down these plans to ensure that the Wilton tenants did not lose all their common pasture.⁶⁰ Herbert would have done well to learn from Somerset's example. Enclosure by agreement at Savernake proceeded peacefully, whereas Herbert's arbitrary measures caused an explosion around Salisbury in 1549.⁶¹ Somerset's actions surely encouraged the Wiltshire commons in their belief that the 'Good Duke' was on their side.

Rebel activity around Wilton seems to have been remarkably restrained. The Wiltshire enclosure rioters inflicted no physical harm and sought to transform their resistance to lesser authorities into an act of loyalty to the Crown. Appealing to the

⁵⁷ Manning, 'Rebellions of 1549', 98. *DNB* 9, pp.671-74. Herbert was on bad terms with Lord Stourton (another target of the Somerset and Wiltshire rioters), which must have made creating a united front impossible.

⁵⁸ Cf. the attack on Sir John Williams' house at Rycote, Oxfordshire: chapter 5. On Harnham Hill as the possible site of the rising, see R.C. Hoare, *Modern History of Wiltshire*, vol. 6:1 (London, 1845), p.261. Harnham Down is mentioned in a survey of Washern manor: Straton, *Survey* 1, p.16.

⁵⁹ Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems*, p.101. Tenants displaced by the emparkment at Savernake received other land as compensation; this was also the case with Thynne's emparkment at Longleat: *VCH Wilts.* 4, pp.48-49.

⁶⁰ Somerset's new mansion was built on a site between the villages of Great Bedwyn and Wilton in North Wiltshire: Straton, *Survey* 1, p.xlvi; Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.499. Cf. Shagan, 'Popular Politics', pp.521-22. The original proposal would have deprived the tenants of common pasture for over a hundred cattle.

⁶¹ Enclosure by agreement was successfully accomplished at Whaddon in 1548, although there are instances where this type of enclosure caused disputes in Wiltshire. Henry VIII's emparkment at Vastern, and the subsequent disparkment by the Englefields, resulted in a long drawn-out dispute with the townfolk of Wooton Bassett: *VCH Wilts.* 4, pp.47-49.

'good justice' of the paternalistic king, the rebels proclaimed that they would 'obaye the Kynges majeste and my lord Protector with alle the counselle', but would 'nat have ther commonse and ther growendes to be inclosyd and so taken from them'.⁶² Their rebellion provides an example of how 'an apparently conservative myth counselling passivity' became, in 1549, 'a basis for defiance and rebellion', 'publicly justified by faithful allegiance to the monarch'.⁶³ Given Paston's opinion that 'noyther gentyll man nor yet a man of any substanse' was amongst them, it is all the more significant that the rebels should have been able to legitimate their actions.⁶⁴

Herbert's violent response was evidently out of all proportion, given the peaceful nature of the protest. In massacring the protestors Herbert succeeded in translating a localised enclosure protest into more generalised disorder encompassing much of the South, whereas Somerset's conciliatory policy quietened the spring stirs elsewhere.⁶⁵ Herbert, himself, became the common target of the Wiltshire, Hampshire and Sussex rebels. The spark at Wilton, which aroused the resentment of the commons, 'flared into a blaze against the gentry who were despoiling them everywhere'.⁶⁶

⁶² Quoting John Paston: *HMC Rutland 1*, p.36. On the myth of the just king and the king deceived, see Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution*, pp.28-33.

⁶³ Quoting Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.98.

⁶⁴ Quoting John Paston: *HMC Rutland 1*, p.36. Of course, this should not be taken as conclusive evidence of the social composition of the Wiltshire stirs.

⁶⁵ On hearing of the attack on his park, Herbert came to Wilton with two-hundred men in harness, who attacked the commons at his command: Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais', pp.61-2. Herbert's violent tendencies are evident from an earlier episode: *DNB 9*, pp.671-74. Cf. Lord Grey's handling of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion: chapter 5.

⁶⁶ Quoting Elis Gryffudd: Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais', p.62. For other accounts of Herbert's response see Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.12; Holinshed, *Chronicles 3*, p.917. Herbert apparently acted on his own initiative as JP for Wiltshire: Bush, *Government Policy*, p.96 (Bush mistakenly states that serious disorder was averted by Herbert's response). He later raised a force of 2,000 men from his Welsh estates to aid Russell at Exeter: *DNB 9*, pp.671-74; Bindoff, *House of Commons 2*, pp.341-42. Herbert had been ordered to raise a further 2,000 men from Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, but many of the Wiltshire men were 'doubtfull and holowe herted' and inclined to 'turne to the rebells part': Council to Lord Russell, 27 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.44-45; cf. pp.23, 32.

Bristol

Unrest in Bristol reflects a variation on the pattern of the rural outbreaks in Somerset and Wiltshire.⁶⁷ It was the young townsmen who broke down the hedges and ditches near the city in May 1549 and organised an insurrection against the mayor.⁶⁸ The episode was thought significant enough to warrant an entry in Wriothesley's *Chronicle* and in at least two Bristol calendars,⁶⁹ which recorded 'some remarkable occurrences' in the city.⁷⁰ Since few events are entered in the calendars we might infer that the 1549 riot was considered an important episode in Bristol's history.

Two calendar accounts, the 'Mathew manuscript'⁷¹ and the 'Hooke manuscript',⁷² tell a similar story of the 'great rising' in the city. On 19 May, 'a companie of Bristol people', mostly young men, pulled down all the enclosures around the city and withstood the mayor and aldermen. The insurrection apparently ended in an armed clash in 'the Marsh'.⁷³ Within four days all the chief ringleaders had been apprehended. Some were imprisoned in Newgate (Bristol), whilst others were sent to London. None,

⁶⁷ Cf. Southampton below.

⁶⁸ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, p.13. William Pikes and William Jay are named as mayor in 1549 in conflicting calendars: A.E. Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars', *TBGAS*, 19 (1894-95), 132-33.

⁶⁹ Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars'; Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, p.13. These calendars (which exist also for Coventry, London, and Oxford) were, effectively, lists of the mayors and sheriffs of Bristol.

⁷⁰ It was customary in some medieval and early modern towns for the town clerk to be commissioned to collect together information about the early history of their towns. For general discussion of the Bristol Calendars see Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars, 105-07; the introduction to Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar by Robert Ricart, Town Clerk of Bristol 18 Edw. IV*, CS NS 5 (London, 1872), p.xiii; S. Seyer, *Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol*, vol. 1 (Bristol 1823), pp. x-xii. Bristol Record Office and Bristol Reference Library hold further manuscript calendars and chronicles. Unfortunately, the city's Great Audit Books have not survived for the years 1549-60, whilst the Ordinances of the Common Council contain no reference to the riot: Francis Bickley (ed.), *The Little Red Book of Bristol* (Bristol, 1900); E.W.W. Veale, *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, 5 vols. (Bristol, 1931-53).

⁷¹ A manuscript calendar from 1220-1774: Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars', p.132. Captain William Mathew acquired the MS in 1722 and compiled the entries from 1684-1722: p.106.

⁷² A Calendar, with notes on the history of Bristol, from AD 1203 to 1740, compiled by Andrew Hooke c. 1740 (formerly Bristol Museum MS 655): Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars', pp.106, 132 n.2. Hudd does not print this calendar. Nicholas Freeman held some pasture land within 'the kynges mershe called estmarshe and westmarshe nygh the cytie', until it was seized by Henry Brayne; an act which caused considerable contention: REQ 2/4/225 (Temp. Edw. VI).

⁷³ This location suggests parallels with the Southampton salt marsh dispute discussed below.

however, were executed. The ringleaders' imprisonment testifies to the significance of the episode in the local authorities' eyes and provides some hope of tracing them.

Possible causes of the Bristol outbreak are suggested (if only indirectly) by the 'Fox manuscript'.⁷⁴ In 1550, 'wheat was sold for 4s. 8d. per Bushel which greatly distressed the Poor' of the city, although the mayor took action to cushion the inhabitants from full market prices. The pestilence of Easter-Michaelmas the following year, which 'carried off many hundreds every week', suggests that this measure was insufficient to stave off disease even if it averted famine. We might conclude that poverty and hunger were at least contributory factors in stirring up general discontent in 1549.⁷⁵ According to Richard Fulmerston, unpaid soldiers contributed significantly to the general level of disaffection in the city. A band of soldiers engaged for service in Ireland and discharged at Bristol roamed the streets 'with ill favoured talk', refusing to return home until they received payment.⁷⁶

Preparations for the city's defence, including rebuilding the gates, arming the castle and walls with guns, and establishing night and day watches, may have discouraged internal disorder.⁷⁷ The mayor and city council were thus able to restore order very quickly, without resorting to capital punishment. William Chester's particular efforts to obtain pardons for the city's enclosure rioters may explain why none of the insurgents

⁷⁴ A calendar contained in a manuscript book in the possession of Mr F.F. Fox of Yate House: printed Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars', pp.106, 140-41.

⁷⁵ Hudd, 'Two Bristol Calendars', p.141; Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol* 2, p.232. John Walter, 'The Social Economy of Dearth in Early Modern England', in J. Walter & R. Schofield (eds), *Famine, Disease and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.113-18. See also the discussion of London: chapter 6 below. For a relevant case study, see P. Slack, 'The Local Incidence of Epidemic Disease: The Case of Bristol, 1540-1650', in *The Plague Reconsidered: A New Look at Its Origins and Effects in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (Local Population Studies Supplement, Matlock, 1977), pp.49-62.

⁷⁶ Quoting Richard Fulmerston to Somerset, 8 May 1549: *HMC Bath* 4, p.110. Cf. Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.10. Fulmerston states that the soldiers were "prestet towards Irelande". Presumably they were discharged at Bristol when their services were no longer needed. The *OED* definition of 'prest' is: to engage men for military service on land or at sea by giving part-payment or earnest-money in advance.

were executed. The Bristol oligarchy were demonstrably proud of their success in containing disorder, in stark contrast to Lord Russell's difficulties in quelling the West. Outside assistance came from Lord Grey and his band of three hundred men, passing through Bristol on their way into Devon in June 1549. Grey's presence may have bolstered the mayor's efforts, especially if he recruited the city's disgruntled soldiers into his army.⁷⁸

Bristol remained quiet at the height of the South-Western Rebellion in July 1549. So much so that Bristol Castle was considered a royal stronghold.⁷⁹ Likewise, the Bristol mint played an important role in Lord Russell's effort against the western rebels.⁸⁰ However, this show of loyalty to the Crown in the summer of 1549 was not enough to prevent a new outbreak of sedition in the city in March 1550, concerning two seditious bills. Although the contents of these bills are not disclosed, they may have been intended to incite the people of Bristol to rebellion whilst the memory of the spring risings was still fresh. The Council obviously took the matter seriously, instructing the mayor to find the authors of the bills and to be 'redy and hable in all eventes to resist the leawd attemptates of the sedytious'.⁸¹ Since we hear no more of this matter, we must presume that the mayor of Bristol was again successful in curbing disorder.⁸²

⁷⁷ Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol* 2, pp.230-32. Seyer quotes at length from an unspecified manuscript, which may be the Hooke manuscript.

⁷⁸ Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol*, 2, pp.230-32. Lord Grey's band of men at Bristol had originally been intended for service in Scotland. From Bristol, they marched to Honiton, where they suppressed the western rebels. Captain Spinosa's soldiers were also billeted on the city: Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, pp.158-59.

⁷⁹ Council to Lord Russell, 22 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.33.

⁸⁰ On 10 July, the mint delivered £100 to Russell, to be dispersed amongst gentlemen commended for service against the rebels; whilst, two days later, the Council ordered the mint's Treasurer to provide Russell with money to levy footmen for the relief of Exeter. Three Exeter merchants procured Russell 'a masse of monye' from the merchants of Bristol, Lyme Regis and Taunton: Council to Lord Russell, 10 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p. 22; Somerset to Lord Russell, 12 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.25; Hooker, *Description of Exeter*, p.83.

⁸¹ APC 2, p.421 (29 March 1550).

⁸² The city's officers were not always so efficient in dealing with outbreaks of disorder: STAC 2/19/106.

II: Hampshire

According to Jordan, whilst Hampshire saw no ‘full-scale rising’, the disaffection in the county was ‘more virulent’ than in neighbouring Wiltshire. Significantly, it was never quite contained, largely due to the lack of strong territorial leadership in a county torn apart by political and religious factionalism.⁸³ In fact, Hampshire ranks foremost amongst the English counties, both in terms of the sheer number of outbreaks of disorder it saw in 1548-49, and in the relation these episodes bear to the general pattern. It may be useful to regard Hampshire as a prism, refracting the white light of the ‘commotion time’ into the spectrum of colours which make up its constituent parts. The richness of the evidence relating to a wide variety of episodes of disorder justifies a more extended treatment of the Hampshire Rebellion.

The first signs of unrest in Hampshire came in late 1548, in the form of a disturbance at Botley and Hamble. Seventeen men were pardoned of treasons, conspiracies and riots on 20 December 1548. Although we know nothing of the rioters’ grievances or the nature of their offence, the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* provides some insight into the social composition of the riot. Of the seventeen men named in the pardon, nine were ‘labourers’ and four were ‘husbandmen’; the remainder consisted of a brewer, a tanner, a mariner and a horse-gelder.⁸⁴ At first glance, this episode may appear

⁸³ Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.450. Fritze, ‘Faith and Faction’, chapter 6.

⁸⁴ *CPR Edw. VI*, 1, p.292. The rioters are listed as follows: William Satridge of Hamble, ‘husbandman’; Richard Peers of Hamble, ‘beer brewer’; Thomas Locke of Botley, ‘labourer’; Robert Hendy of Northstoneham, ‘husbandman’; John Barrey of Shedfeld, ‘tanner’; William Eyles of Shotshall, ‘husbandman’; John Knyght of Botley, ‘labourer’; Roger Wryght of Hounde, ‘labourer’; William Tylborowe of Netley, ‘husbandman’; William Bulbecke of Fayrethorpe, ‘labourer’; William Badslad of Botley, ‘labourer’; George Baker of Winchester, ‘labourer’; Edward Browninge of Botley, ‘labourer’; Nicholas Hendy of Northstoneham, ‘labourer’; Robert Vyall of Botley, ‘horse-gelder’ and Christopher Laughton of Hamble, ‘mariner’.

to be little more than symptomatic of the endemic level of disorder in Tudor England.⁸⁵ However, it was regarded as serious enough to warrant the application of the law, probably because the rioters came from nine different villages in the Southampton area, allowing the protest to overspill the confines of a single community. Thus, Fritze is perhaps justified in regarding this incident as the forerunner of the 1549 commotions, although, as Speight argues, there may be no direct thread connecting the earlier and later movements in terms of their nature, scale, geographical location, or social composition.⁸⁶ Rather, the authorities' reaction was the crucial factor in determining whether these localised protests escalated into more serious disorder.

A second apparently unrelated enclosure riot broke out at Hursley Park just west of Winchester, on 12 May 1549.⁸⁷ This riot seems to have been more of a dispute between rival gentry (along the lines of the early Tudor enclosure riots studied by Manning) than a spontaneous popular protest.⁸⁸ On the night of 12 May, Agnes, wife of Thomas Sternhold, gathered together thirty-five servants from Hursley and Slackstead in Farley to break down the rail fence of Thomas Neve, a servant of Stephen Gardiner.⁸⁹ Between the hours of eleven at night and three in the morning, the protestors set upon the fences and hedges of Hursley Park.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ This may explain why the incident has been largely ignored in the secondary literature. Apart from Fritze, ('Faith and Faction', p.239) the only historian to make mention of the disturbance at Botley and Hamble is Land: *Ket's Rebellion*, p.27.

⁸⁶ Fritze, 'Faith and Faction', p.239. Speight, 'Local Government and Politics', p.182.

⁸⁷ This account of the Hursley Park enclosure riot is based on STAC 3/2/34. Cf. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction', pp.240-42.

⁸⁸ Manning, 'Patterns of Violence', 120-133.

⁸⁹ In 1544, Thomas Sternhold leased the Hampshire manor of Merdon in Hursley; he later purchased the manor of Slackstead (in Farley parish) from Sir Ralph Sadler between 1547 and August 1549: Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 3, p.383; *DNB* 18, pp.1110-11. He died on 23 August 1549, leaving his property in Hampshire and Bodmin to his wife Agnes and his two daughters. The Star Chamber proceedings may have been underway before Sternhold's death. The first bill describes Agnes as Thomas' wife, whilst a second bill, apparently redrafted after his decease, refers to her as the widow of the late Thomas Sternhold: Bindoff, *House of Commons* 3, p.383; *DNB* 18, p.1110. Thomas Neve had served Gardiner for 18 years and appeared as a defence witness at Gardiner's trial: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 6, p.252.

⁹⁰ STAC 3/2/34: Thomas Neve's bill of complaint. The 'rioters' claimed to have been in the park for only 1-2 hours: depositions of Agnes Sternhold, John Wilmote and Thomas Symmes. The riot took place under cover of darkness night. On the issue of disguise, see E.P. Thompson, 'The Crime of Anonymity'

The background to the riot lies in a complex web of animosities. Gardiner had granted Neve the keepership of Hursley Park in 1545, but Sternhold had an equally strong claim to the land, having been granted rights of pasture by Henry VIII.⁹¹ This provided the spark for the Hursley Park riot, though an element of religious and political animosity may also have served to fan the flames of discontent. Sternhold, the author of the metrical psalter of 1549, was a committed Protestant who had aided John Philpot against Gardiner. He was thus religiously, politically and personally objectionable to Gardiner, who also begrudged that an episcopal grant had fallen into unauthorised hands.⁹²

Subsequently, Gardiner ordered an enclosure to be made across ‘the bredthe of all tholle parke’, leaving Sternhold insufficient pasture for his livestock. Although Sternhold threatened to take his complaint to the Council, Gardiner and Neve steadfastly refused to pull down the enclosure, overcharged the park, and committed other such ‘noysaunces’.⁹³ As always, there were two sides to the story. Neve claimed only to have enclosed thirty-three acres to preserve the grass from the royal deer that roamed freely in the rest of the park.

in D. Hay *et al.* (eds), *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth Century England* (London, 1975), pp.255-344 and *Customs in Common*, pp.66-69.

⁹¹ Germaine Gardiner had received a grant from his uncle (the Bishop of Winchester) in 1541 entitling him to pasture 28 cattle in the park. He was arrested in early December 1543, found guilty of denying the Royal Supremacy in February 1544, and executed shortly after. On 11 June 1544, the bishop's leases of the manor of Merdon in Hursley and warrens near Overton were granted to Thomas Sternhold: Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, p.212 & n.14. STAC 3/2/34 gives 24 June 1544 as the date of the grant: answers of Agnes Sternhold, John Light, and John Wylmotte. Neve claims to have been granted the keepership of the park and its lodge for his lifetime on 1 March 1545; he received a grant of the herbage of the park for forty years on 16 September 1547.

⁹² Thomas Sternhold dedicated the first edition of his metrical version of the psalms to Edward VI; his will was witnessed by Edward Whitchurch, its printer. Sternhold was unsuccessfully indicted for heresy in March 1543 for his involvement with the Windsor Martyrs. His connections included Sir Philip Hoby and the poet William Grey, both of whom belonged to the same Protestant circle: Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 3, p.383; Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, pp.184, 212. On Sternhold and the metrical psalms, see also Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), pp.96, 108-09 and MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, pp.12-13.

⁹³ STAC 3/2/34: answer of Agnes Sternhold.

In the midst of his agrarian troubles, Sternhold was summoned to court. Before his departure he instructed his wife that she 'shuld rather cause the said Rayles & inclosures to be pulled downe & taken away then to suffre his cattall to be distroyde & loste'. In accordance with these instructions, Agnes Sternhold and her servants cast down the bishop's rails.⁹⁴ The company went to considerable lengths to ensure that their actions would not be misconstrued, reclaiming their master's pasture 'in quyete & peaceable manner'.⁹⁵ Yet the job was done with an unusual degree of thoroughness. The rails and posts were cast down and then carefully cut into pieces to prevent them being reused.⁹⁶ In an appeal to tradition, the rioters argued that their actions were intended to allow Hursley Park to 'lye open as yt was accustomyd'.⁹⁷ Furthermore, Agnes argued that, even if she had committed a riot, this offence was pardoned by the general pardon of 14 June 1549.⁹⁸

Despite a warning of 15 May 1549 ordering the sheriffs and justices to have the full power of Hampshire ready to repress anyone who might be stirred to 'evill attemptes' by the Somerset and Wiltshire rebels,⁹⁹ it was reported only eleven days later that 'dyverce frayle persons in Overton and other places of the shere have lately shewed their mysorder and disobedyence by routing & gathering togethers doing unlawfull dedes ayenst the kinges peace'.¹⁰⁰ In response to these riotous assemblies the constables

⁹⁴ This is one of the few 1549 riots with female leadership. On written instructions as a justification for revolt, cf. King's Somborne below.

⁹⁵ STAC 3/2/34: answer of Agnes Sternhold.

⁹⁶ STAC 3/2/34: deposition of Agnes Sternhold.

⁹⁷ The Star Chamber found in favour of Neve, who had 'the keeping of Horsley Park', the herbage, and other rights in 1551: deposition of Thomas Neve at the 20th session against Gardiner: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 6, p.253. Neve held these rights by patent of the Bishop of Winchester.

⁹⁸ STAC 3/2/34: rejoinder of Agnes Sternhold. On the pardons issued to enclosure rioters and unlawful assemblers see *TRP* 1, nos. 334 (14 June 1549), 340 (12 July 1549), 341 (16 July 1549); *Grey Friars Chronicle*, pp.59-60.

⁹⁹ SCA SC 2/9/2/34.

¹⁰⁰ Lord St John and Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton to the Mayor of Southampton and John Mylle, 26 May 1549: SCA SC 2/9/2/36. Cornwall dates the Overton riots to 20 May: *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.10. Charlesworth also states that disturbances had spread to Hampshire by this date: *Atlas of Rural Protest*, p.29. Popular unrest at Overton may have been connected with enclosure, since this was an area of large-scale sheep farming: Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.157. There were also rabbit warrens near

were alerted, the watches increased, and the justices commanded to assemble sufficient strength to put down any further disorders. Interestingly, the constables and justices were instructed to act discreetly in case their preparations sparked rumour or fear amongst the commons.¹⁰¹ A panic reaction may, however, have spread amongst the gentry on the news of the stirs: an undated letter, written by Francis Dawtrey of Portswood immediately upon receipt of letters from the Council, urged the mayor of Southampton to prepare to defend the shire against 'suche yvell dysposed parsons whiche arre rysen now to the dysquietinge of the whole realme'.¹⁰²

Southampton itself was another centre of popular unrest during May and June 1549. The impetus behind this outbreak was a dispute over the salt-marsh that lay between the town's eastern wall and the Itchen estuary.¹⁰³ The salt-marsh had been a source of friction since 1490, its partial enclosure had been the cause of two earlier riots in December 1500 and May 1517, and the dispute was still raging in 1581.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the

Overton: n.91 above. Thirsk states that, 'as early as Henry VIII's reign, the downland farmers of Hampshire were engaged in large-scale capitalist farming': *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 4, p.65.

¹⁰¹ SCA SC 2/9/2/36. On John Mylle (town clerk and recorder 1509-d.1551), see Colin Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and the Trading Community A.D. 1000-1600* (London, 1973), pp.208, 251-52. The gentry were concerned that gathering the power of the shire might alarm the people, so preparations were to be made 'discreetly without rumour'.

¹⁰² SCA SC 2/9/2/37. Francis Dawtrey (d.1569) was made burgess of Southampton in 1535. He acquired the site of St Denys Priory and the Manor of Portswood in 1538 and served as sheriff of Hampshire in 1548: R.C. Anderson, *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Southampton, 1921), p.70 n.2; Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p.212. The Dawtrey family were involved in disputes over the common: E.R. Aubrey (ed.), *Speed's History of Southampton*, (Southampton, 1909), p.91 n.1.

¹⁰³ On the location of the saltmarsh, see F.J.C. Hearnshaw (ed.), *Court Leet Records, 1550-1577*, vol. 1:1 (Southampton, 1905), p.xviii. On the common lands, see J. Silvester Davies, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton & London, 1883), pp.48-59.

¹⁰⁴ The burgesses of Southampton were determined to retain their claim over the Saltmarsh against the Warden of God's House (St Julian's Hospital) and individuals who enclosed part of it: Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records* 1:1, p.xviii. The dispute began c.1490; the saltmarsh remained common until John Perchard's first mayoralty (1516): Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records* 1:1, 1550 (no.1), pp.2-4. For papers, depositions and deeds concerning the salt marsh, 1500-08, see SCA SC 4/2/314-332 and SC 2/1/4, ff.39-42. On the 1517 riot, see A.L. Merson (ed.), *The Third Book of Remembrances of Southampton, 1514-1602* vol. 1 (Southampton, 1952), pp.20-26, 33, 37, 51; *L&P Addenda* 1:1, nos. 185, 188; *HMC 11th Report*, Appendix 3, pp.108-10; K. Pickthorne, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1951), pp.21-22. An abortive attempt to lay the marsh common was made in 1530-32. On the continuation of the dispute, see SCA SC/TC/1/1-11; F.J.C Hearnshaw & D.M. Hearnshaw (eds), *Court Leet Records, 1578-1602* (Southampton, 1906), 1:2, 1581 (no. 40), p.209; A.L. Merson (ed.), *The Third Book of Remembrances of Southampton, 1514-1602* vol. 2 (Southampton, 1955), nos. 286, 288, 298, 301, 303-04, 317. Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp.50-51, 197-98, 205, 218. The burgesses' rights of common were

1549 disorders represent one battle in a much longer struggle for the commons. Only by investigating the local context will an understanding of the nature of the Southampton protest and its relation to the 'general crisis' of 1549 be reached.

Thomas Bettes, a gentleman farmer of Northam, apparently rekindled discontents already deeply entrenched amongst Southampton's population.¹⁰⁵ In 1549, the townspeople complained that Bettes kept too many sheep on the salt-marsh and accused him of using public pasture for private gain. The case came before the Court Leet, which ruled, in May 1549, that Bettes was only entitled to keep two beasts on the salt-marsh at any one time.¹⁰⁶ The townspeople must, then, have felt particularly aggrieved when their victory in the Court Leet was overturned by the mayor and the council on 14 June and Bettes was given the right to pasture two hundred sheep on the salt-marsh until 1 August.¹⁰⁷ On 29 April 1550, the Court Leet repeated its ruling. Additionally, it commanded that Bettes, Thomas Fuller, William Dutery and Peter Croker were to be fined five shillings each time they put their cattle on any of the town's commons.¹⁰⁸ They did not heed the warning. On 21 April 1551, Bettes and Fuller were presented for continuing 'to oppress the Common with sheep' and Dutery was presented for the same offence regarding swine and horses. All three were fined five shillings.¹⁰⁹

The Southampton dispute was far more complex than the protest against Bettes suggests. The concern may have been the issue of common rights in general, not just on the salt-marsh, but also, and perhaps more importantly, on the great 'Heath' or

defended in the High Court as late as 1969: Platt, *Medieval Southampton* (dedication). Cf. Cambridgeshire and Colchester: chapter 4.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Bettes farmed the former St Denys lands at Northam from c.1539/40. He held these lands, and others, from Sir Francis Dawtrey: Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, p.234.

¹⁰⁶ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records* 1:1, 1550 nos. 2 & 7 (p.4); 1551 no.4 (p.22).

¹⁰⁷ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp.50-51; Merson, *Third Book of Remembrances* 2, pp.20-21. The quotation is taken from Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records* 1:1, 1550 no.2, p.4.

¹⁰⁸ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records* 1:1, 1550 nos. 2 & 5.

¹⁰⁹ Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records* 1:1, 1551 nos. 2 & 3.

'Common' in the north-west of the borough.¹¹⁰ The episode raises some interesting questions. For example, how was the trouble contained? And why did the townspeople not resort to direct action against Bettes and his fellow offenders when it is obvious that their discontent did not simply fade away? What, if any, were the local constraints which served to set the 'parameters of resistance' in this instance? We know only that the town officials deemed it necessary in May 1549 to appoint two watchmen to keep the walls, and four to walk the streets at night (especially near the castle).¹¹¹ It remains possible that the inhabitants of Southampton did take their protest further and we have yet to hear of it. The only real indication of the seriousness of the Southampton disorders comes from an allowance of 37*s. 9d.* granted to the mayor, Edmund Bishop, in consideration of the 'grete costes expences labores and paynes sustayned by hym in the tyme of the commocion of the commons'.¹¹²

The Hampshire disorders clearly escalated to new proportions during the summer of 1549. By mid-June, the counties of Hampshire, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Surrey and Buckinghamshire (among others) were experiencing widespread unrest. In Hampshire, the trouble apparently started with a serious rising at Odiham in early June 1549. This protest involved rioters from a hundred parishes in the area and many who were

¹¹⁰ SCA SC/TC/1/1-11. Sir Francis Dawtrey's enclosure of 100 acres of St Denys Wood, Bevis Castle, and marsh beside Bettes' house was part of the problem. The Bettes' farm at Northam and St Denys Wood formerly belonged to the priory. In c.1576 Richard Netley deposed that Thomas Bettes had kept a flock of 60 sheep on Southampton Common: SC/TC/1/3. Hearnshaw, *Court Leet Records* 1:1, p.xviii.

¹¹¹ On 'parameters of resistance' (factors discouraging open confrontation), see Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p.299; *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.86. For details of the watch, see Merson, *Third Book of Remembrances* 2, pp.19-20. Cf. SCA SC 2/9/2/36, which ordered the watches in every town and borough of Hampshire to be well kept according to the statute 'and with more number then hath hertofore been accustomed' in May 1549.

¹¹² SCA SC 5/3/1, f.89r. The town's gates, towers and walls were fortified with 'basketts', faggots, earth, demi-cannons, demi-culverins, and gunners. Watergate, Watergate Tower, God's House Tower, and the town walls between Bedillis gate and Westgate were important strategic sites. Ordnance and shot was procured from William Levet, rector of Ringmer and Buxted (Sussex), and gun-maker. The aldermen were to take the names of all strangers who came to Southampton: *Third Book of Remembrances* 2, pp.21-22 & n.2. Cf. Canterbury: chapter 4.

‘unknown in the same contrey’.¹¹³ This alone would have sufficed to set alarm bells ringing for mid-Tudor governors. According to Tudor law, a protest involving broader resistance, where other communities were persuaded to join in a general attack, was rebellion and, therefore, treason. Taken in this light, the Odiham episode was unmistakably a public protest and a serious disorder.¹¹⁴

A large crowd attacked John Norton’s East Tisted residence, trespassing on his land, killing or stealing his sheep, carrying off his property and burning down his barn, in true riotous fashion.¹¹⁵ Since Norton (a JP) was a reputed oppressor of the poor, it is unsurprising that he should have been singled out as the target of the rising.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, Michael Sone and Thomas Pecoock, the two ringleaders, were already involved in some sort of a dispute with Norton.¹¹⁷ Although no details of the leaders’ recruitment strategy are known, the sheer level of support for the riot confirms Norton’s unpopularity in the area, and indicates that a fair degree of planning and organisation may have taken place. Despite its threatening appearance to the Hampshire gentry, the Odiham riot seems to have collapsed internally due to a lack of resolution on the part of the insurgents. With no aims beyond exacting revenge on Norton, the rioters readily accepted Sir John Thynne’s pardon and dispersed once their immediate objectives had been achieved.

¹¹³ STAC 3/1/76, bill of complaint of George Rythe. It is unclear what Rythe may have had to gain from exaggerating the scale of the outbreak. However, in emphasising the role of strangers, he may have been trying to protect the Odiham men from the law. It is unlikely that strangers from outside the local community would ever have been brought to justice. On the issue of strangers, see chapter 2.

¹¹⁴ This account of the Odiham disorders is based on STAC 3/1/76 and STAC 3/4/89. Cf. Fritze, ‘Faith and Faction’, pp.244–47.

¹¹⁵ STAC 3/4/89, bill of complaint of John Norton, and STAC 3/1/76. Sir Richard Norton was the intended target of a conspiracy planned in the Meon Valley in 1586. The conspirators intended to ‘put downe Sir Richard Norton’s houses’, before proceeding to Winchester to let the recusants out of prison and to slay the Bishop, priests and gentlemen. Scarcity of corn was the trigger for the rising, but it was feared that the rebels intended to restore the mass: H.T. White, ‘A Hampshire Plot’, *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 12 (1934), 54–60.

¹¹⁶ This leads Fritze to conclude that the Odiham rioters possessed more affinity with the East Anglian than the South-Western rebels: ‘Faith and Faction’, p.245.

However, allegations of gentry complicity suggest that the Odiham rising had more far-reaching implications. George Rythe, another local JP, proclaimed Norton ‘the noughtyst mane in the countrey and an oppressor of povertye’. Norton retaliated, accusing Rythe of having used ‘falsse talys’ to stir ‘the lewdyst rebelles’ against him, and having interceded with Protector Somerset on the ringleaders’ behalf after their apprehension.¹¹⁸ Rythe counter-sued, claiming that Norton had extorted unduly large sums from the rebels in compensation for his losses; that this issue was still in dispute in April 1551 is particularly revealing of the ‘half-life’ of the conflict.¹¹⁹ Whilst Rythe may have had a certain amount of sympathy for the insurgents, establishing just how far his interest stretched is a difficult task given the evidential basis - two conflicting accounts in a Star Chamber case founded largely on malice.¹²⁰

These allegations of complicity may have arisen from fears of a plot by Somerset’s circle. In the aftermath of the October coup the Council accused Thynne (one of Somerset’s trusted ‘lieutenants’ in Hampshire) of having encouraged the rebels ‘to pluck down Norton’s park or spoil his house’,¹²¹ although Somerset had earlier congratulated Thynne on his effective handling of the Odiham disorders, sending him the king’s free pardon on 15 June to enable him keep his promise to the rebels.¹²²

¹¹⁷ STAC 3/4/89, interrogatory no.2.

¹¹⁸ STAC 3/4/89, bill of complaint of John Norton, answer of George Rythe and interrogatories nos. 8, 20, 21; STAC 3/1/76, answer of John Norton.

¹¹⁹ According to Rythe, Norton threatened his neighbours and illegally extorted sums of three to five pounds from each of them, raising a total of two hundred pounds. Norton denied the accusation: STAC 3/1/76, bill of complaint of George Rythe, answer of John Norton, and interrogatories and deposition of John Norton nos. 15-20 (the deposition is dated 18 April 1551).

¹²⁰ Cf. the role of Denny and Cecil in the Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire disorders: chapters 2 and 4. William Chester took a similar role in the Bristol rising: above. This issue will probably remain unresolved. On the role of the gentry, see Manning, ‘Patterns of Violence’, 120-33.

¹²¹ Thynne’s answer to the Council, 28 November 1549: *HMC Bath* 4, p.112. Thynne defended himself against these allegations, saying that he gave no licence to the rebels, but did all that was in his power to stay them, as Nicholas L’Estrange (another of Somerset’s ‘lieutenants’) could testify. Thynne remained faithful to Somerset after his downfall. He was arrested twice on 13 October 1549 and 16 October 1551: *DNB* 19, pp.845-46.

¹²² Somerset to Thynne, 15 June 1549: *HMC Bath* 4, p.111.

Behind the Council's accusation against Thynne lay an implicit attack on Somerset and his policy of pardons.

The Odiham protest could be explained on a number of different levels. First, as a straight-forward enclosure riot against a hated gentry figure, bolstered by government rhetoric against 'covetousness' and 'commodity'. Secondly, as the outcome of a personal quarrel between Rythe and Norton, which may have encouraged Rythe to champion the cause of the commons.¹²³ Thirdly, as a dispute between two justices with conflicting religious and political outlooks. Rythe, an outsider and a 'Protestant', served the Protector;¹²⁴ whilst Norton, a member of an old established Hampshire family, was a leading supporter of Stephen Gardiner.¹²⁵ Thus, the conflict was connected with dissension in the highest echelons of Tudor government. It was a local manifestation of the central power struggle between the Bishop of Winchester and Protector Somerset; a struggle which represented the battle between the old religion and the new.¹²⁶

Protests evidently flared up again in Hampshire in early July 1549. On 4 July, the Council informed Paget of renewed 'styrres' in Hampshire, Devonshire and Essex. Some rebels had already been appeased, whilst others were expected to disperse imminently, so no 'greatt mater' was likely to ensue.¹²⁷ Yet Somerset's letter to the 'Rebells in Hampshire' hints that a rebel camp operated in the county (possibly at

¹²³ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.157.

¹²⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 6, pp.226-27. R.H. Fritze, "'A Rare Example of Godlyness Amongst Gentlemen": The Role of the Kingsmill and Gifford Families in Promoting the Reformation in Hampshire', in Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1987), p.151. See also R.H. Fritze, 'The Role of Family and Religion in the Local Politics of Early Elizabethan England: The Case of Hampshire in the 1560s', *HJ* 25:2 (1982), 274.

¹²⁵ The Norton family of East Tisted were closely connected with the Bishop Winchester and later founded a recusant dynasty: Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, p.83 n.46. John Norton was reported to have replaced William Paulet as high steward of the diocese of Winchester under Stephen Gardiner in 1539. Norton testified loyally on Gardiner's behalf during the 1551 trial and received an annuity from him: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 6, pp.226-27; *CPR Edw. VI*, 4, pp.178-80.

¹²⁶ Fritze, 'Faith and Faction', p.243. The religious predilections of the rioters are less certain, although the fact that Norton, a leading conservative, was singled out as the target suggests that the rioters were more likely to have acted out of evangelical than conservative belief: p.246.

Southampton or Winchester) until 10 July, when the Hampshire rebels supposedly confessed their fault, submitted, and declared themselves for religion.¹²⁸

Somerset wrote to the recently-pacified Hampshire commons shortly after 10 July rejoicing that they had received the king's pardon.¹²⁹ The Hampshire men may have been addressed as 'rebells', but the letter was written in a spirit of paternalism. Somerset bargained with the Hampshire rebels, reminding them that their pardon was conditional on their remaining quiet subjects.¹³⁰ The Protector went to great lengths to reassure the Hampshire rebels. Any doubts they may have had about the validity of their pardon (because each offender had not received his own individual pardon under the great seal), as a result either of ignorance or seditious rumours, were relayed by the assurance that even 'if his Majestie might gaine a million of golde to breake one iot of it with the poorest creature in all his realme' he would not violate a pardon made upon his honour.¹³¹ The Hampshire commons were even promised indemnity from the local justices and gentlemen, who were explicitly ordered not to molest them.¹³²

Although Somerset's letter to the Hampshire rebels provides no indication of their grievances, a rising at King's Somborne, near Winchester, at the height of the 'commotion time', may suggest something of the nature of their activity. According to a 1552 survey of King's Somborne Park, there were 'no dere in the park, for as much as it

¹²⁷ SP 68/4, pp.951-52; BL Cotton Titus MS BV, f.33r.

¹²⁸ Southampton is the more likely location for the camp, if we are to believe that this contingent of the Hampshire rebels declared themselves for the 'Protestant' religion and were ready to fight against the western rebels: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.24.

¹²⁹ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', letter 8 (61-2). Since Somerset was clearly not responding to a petition (cf. Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex), his letter gives no indication of the Hampshire rebels' grievances or the nature of their protest.

¹³⁰ This message was reinforced by the thinly veiled threat that, had the rebels rejected the offer of a pardon, they would all have 'perished bothe in soule and bodie': Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', letter 8 (61-2).

¹³¹ The Hampshire commons were offered a reward of 20 crowns for apprehending the rumour-mongers who attempted to undermine the pardons, in accordance with the proclamation of 8 July: TRP 1, no.337. See Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 39 for the argument that this proclamation was made specifically against rumours that the 1549 pardons were invalid.

was destroyed and the pale broken at the time of the rebellion'. Interestingly, the surveyor believed the park was 'worthy to be letten if it were desparked', suggesting possible motivations for the 1549 enclosure protest.¹³³ The impact of the insurgents' activity should not be underestimated. It was not until 1591 that the park was reported to be 'furnyshed with 215 dere ... the pale beinge well repayred'.¹³⁴

Two new suits, which add significantly to our knowledge of the King's Somborne rising, have recently come to light.¹³⁵ Richard Gifford sued Thomas Smythe, Richard Mody and John Sturte, tenants of King's Somborne manor, in the court of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1550. Then, in 1553, the tenants counter-sued Gifford (bailiff of the manor and keeper of the park) and Robert Pistor (the woodward of Pernholt Woods). The matter at issue was a disputed title to common pasture in Standen, Carles Hall, Ruggs, Attenwood, Lokkisfrysd, the Street Marsh, and Zales; and the right to timber, coal, rabbits, deer and pasture in Pernholt Woods. These suits confirm that the king's park at Somborne was broken open and his two hundred deer slaughtered during the 'commotion time' in July 1549.¹³⁶ It is difficult to determine who was responsible for this destruction. The evidence suggests three plausible scenarios, all of which are based on the same sequence of events. It is the ways in which these events are represented that is particularly illuminating.

According to the tenants, the deer were destroyed by a company of Gifford's servants, who killed the king's bucks in Somborne Park before the rebels arrived to hunt there. John Cooke protected the deer from the rebels until one of Gifford's servants

¹³² Cf. Chichester: chapter 4.

¹³³ DL 42/108, f.13v.

¹³⁴ DL 42/116, f.4.

¹³⁵ DL 3/56/G1, ff.53-74. These suits were overlooked by Beer, although he refers to the related decree in DL 5/8, f.292: *Rebellion and Riot*, pp.202-03.

ordered him to leave. The same servant commanded the rebels to kill all the deer in the park and, on completing their work, they were rewarded with two barrels of beer. In Thomas Smythe's alternative scenario, the attack was carried out by Gifford's neighbours in response to rumours of the imminent arrival of a company of Sussex rebels. According to Smythe, Cooke spent two days in Somborne Park during 'the rebellion tyme', trying to safeguard the king's deer. One of Gifford's servants told Cooke that Gifford had sent written instructions to his wife that his neighbours should have the deer, 'by cause there were a gret company of Rebelles commyng out of Sussex thether who wold distroye all and do muche harme besides'. Cooke was asked to leave the park. The following night, all the deer were destroyed, and Mrs Gifford sent two barrels of beer to 'the doers therof'.

In Gifford's scenario, the events of July 1549 are construed as spontaneous rebel activity. The 'rebellyous' slew the deer, under the leadership of Cooke and Captain Hewes of Romsey, whilst Gifford was in London answering the tenants' suit against him.¹³⁷ Cooke had allegedly procured a warrant for Hewes and other rebels to hunt three or four bucks in the park.¹³⁸ This 'was the chefest cause of the distruction of the holle park' because the rebels remained at their sport for two whole days, until no deer were left.¹³⁹ The following week, Cooke had Captain Hewes and some of the rebels to dinner, providing an occasion for grievances to be aired and strategy discussed. After this meeting the rebels claimed half the park as their common, pasturing their livestock there until they were removed by a special commission. Significantly, Gifford claimed that

¹³⁶ On the symbolism of deer, see Dan Beaver, 'The Great Deer Massacre: Animals, Honor, and Communication in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies* 38:2 (April 1999), 187-216. Beaver's work helps to contextualise the King's Somborne dispute in cultural terms.

¹³⁷ Smythe's statement that Gifford wrote home to his wife appears to verify this.

¹³⁸ The reference to the 'warrant' procured by Cooke is curious. Was it a genuine warrant issued by the king's officers, or a popular warrant issued by the rebels (comparable to those issued by Kett) in a parody of legal procedure intended to legitimate their action?

¹³⁹ The rising was a determined effort to reclaim common rights, since all the deer were slain: Beaver, 'Great Deer Massacre', 206.

Cooke drew up the rebels' supplication and presented it to Sir Thomas Wriothesley as lieutenant of the shire.

More is known of the rising's aftermath than of its course. Whilst the King's Somborne tenants claimed ancient rights to common pasture in Attenwood, Marsh Street and Zales, the Duchy court found their claim insufficient, upholding Gifford's title to the land as part of the demesne of the manor. The dispute was not peacefully resolved when the court ordered Gifford to take possession of the common in 1550.¹⁴⁰ Although Sir John Gates granted Gifford a warrant permitting him to fell oaks in Pernholt Woods to repair the pale of Somborne Park, it seems unlikely that Gifford repaired the pale since three further warrants were issued in August and September 1552 for restocking Somborne Park with deer and securing the fences.¹⁴¹

The King's Somborne rising is especially interesting, raising important questions concerning the process of disorder, the role of rumour, organisation, rebel mentalities, and the authorities' response. As at Northaw, the rising had a prehistory. A commission of enquiry into the dispute issued in February 1548 suggests a long-standing dispute at law, which escalated into direct action during the 'commotion time', when Gifford was conveniently absent.¹⁴² The rising lasted for at least a fortnight before the situation was temporarily resolved by a commission of enquiry, although the dispute resurfaced in the

¹⁴⁰ DL 5/8, f.292. The Giffords were a well established Hampshire family by the late fifteenth century. Richard Gifford of King's Somborne was a first cousin of John Kingsmill II, who was at the centre of a growing network of magisterial gentry with Protestant leanings in Hampshire during the early 1540s. Richard Gifford married Anne Goring, the daughter of Sir William Goring of Burton, Sussex, a committed Protestant by the early 1530s. Gifford's children made a significant contribution to the Protestant cause in Hampshire: Fritze, 'Godlyness Amongst Gentlemen', pp.145, 148-49, 152-53. On Sir William Goring, see chapter 4 below.

¹⁴¹ BL Royal MS 18C 24, ff.252-53. The warrant ordered the tenants to carry the timber from Pernholt Woods to Somborne Park, since they had helped to destroy the pale. In August, a warrant was made to the master of the game at Gillingham Chase to deliver a hundred deer 'for the replenishing of Sumborne parke in hampshier'. The deer were apparently conveyed to the park by the toll officers the following month, at which time the vice-chamberlain was instructed 'to take ordre for the bestowing of the sayd deare in the sayd parke and for the suer fencing of the same'.

¹⁴² DL 42/96, ff.10-12.

Duchy Chamber in 1553. The events of 1549 need to be seen as part of process of disorder, which reverberated between legal and extra-legal action.

The rumour concerning the Sussex rebels is intriguing, especially in light of a possible connection with the abortive Winchester-Sussex Rebellion of early August 1549, the plans for which may have been circulating in the Winchester district in July. Much depends on the exact timing of the King's Somborne rising. If it occurred in late July, the rumoured rebel army may prove to be Flynt's contingent of the Winchester-Sussex Rebellion.¹⁴³ News of the approaching Sussex rebel army apparently triggered the King's Somborne rising, offering encouragement to the Hampshire commons or prompting Gifford to order the massacre.

The Duchy evidence offers tantalising hints concerning rebel leadership and mentality. Who was the mysterious Captain Hewes of Romsey who was so instrumental in the rising? Was he a rebel captain or a naval man? And was he a Welshman, or did he act under an assumed name? Captain Hewes may prove to be as elusive as Captain Commonwealth or Captain Redcap, whose true identities may never be revealed.¹⁴⁴ It remains possible that Hewes was the 'Kett' of Hampshire; the leader of the Southampton camp.

Most significant of all, Gifford's allusion to a rebel supplication raises the possibility of a sixth rebel petition in 1549, of which nothing is known.¹⁴⁵ Even Somerset's reply to the Hampshire rebels contains no specific mention of a Hampshire petition.¹⁴⁶ The

¹⁴³ The rising cannot be dated precisely from the Duchy suit, although Gifford's reference to an earlier suit at the time of the rising offers some hope of a more definitive dating. Alternatively, Gifford's fears may have been sparked by the establishment of a rebel camp at Chichester in late June: see chapter 4. On the Winchester-Sussex Rebellion, see below.

¹⁴⁴ See chapters 4 and 6.

¹⁴⁵ Excluding Kett's petition and the petitions of the western rebels.

¹⁴⁶ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', letter 8, pp.61-62.

King's Somborne supplication provides some clues about the nature of the rising but, because it is unclear to whom the petition was addressed, it is difficult to determine whether the rising was dealt with locally or centrally. Whatever the case, Wriothesley was an interesting choice of recipient or intermediary in 1549. Much concerning the insurgents' religious convictions could be read into this choice. Whilst the Hertfordshire and Essex commons appealed to known evangelicals, the rebels in this part of Hampshire took their complaints to a leading conservative.¹⁴⁷ Could the King's Somborne commotioners be characterised as 'conservative' enclosure protestors?¹⁴⁸

The abortive Winchester-Sussex Rebellion confirms that conservative religious feeling played a central role in the commotions around Winchester. On 6 August 1549, John Garnham met Andrew Blackman and Richard Sylver at the Sign of the Crown in Winchester, boasting that he had 'ten thowsande men in a redyness' to march on Salisbury and 'strike of the Maier's heade'. Behind this seditious alehouse talk lay a well-planned conspiracy to raise Hampshire and Sussex in support of the western rebels. After beheading the mayor, the Hampshire and Sussex men proposed to join forces with their western counterparts to destroy 'all the villaynes whiche begon agaynst the westron men', especially Sir William Herbert.¹⁴⁹

The leaders of the rebellion, Garnham, a Winchester carpenter, and Flynt of Sussex clearly expected to draw support from across Hampshire and Sussex.¹⁵⁰ Whilst

¹⁴⁷ Wriothesley, who lived at nearby Titchfield, was a stolid opponent of Somerset's religious and social policy. He was prominent in the intrigues that led to Somerset's fall: *DNB* 21, pp.1063-69. By contrast, Denny and Gates were closely linked with the Protector: chapters 2 and 4.

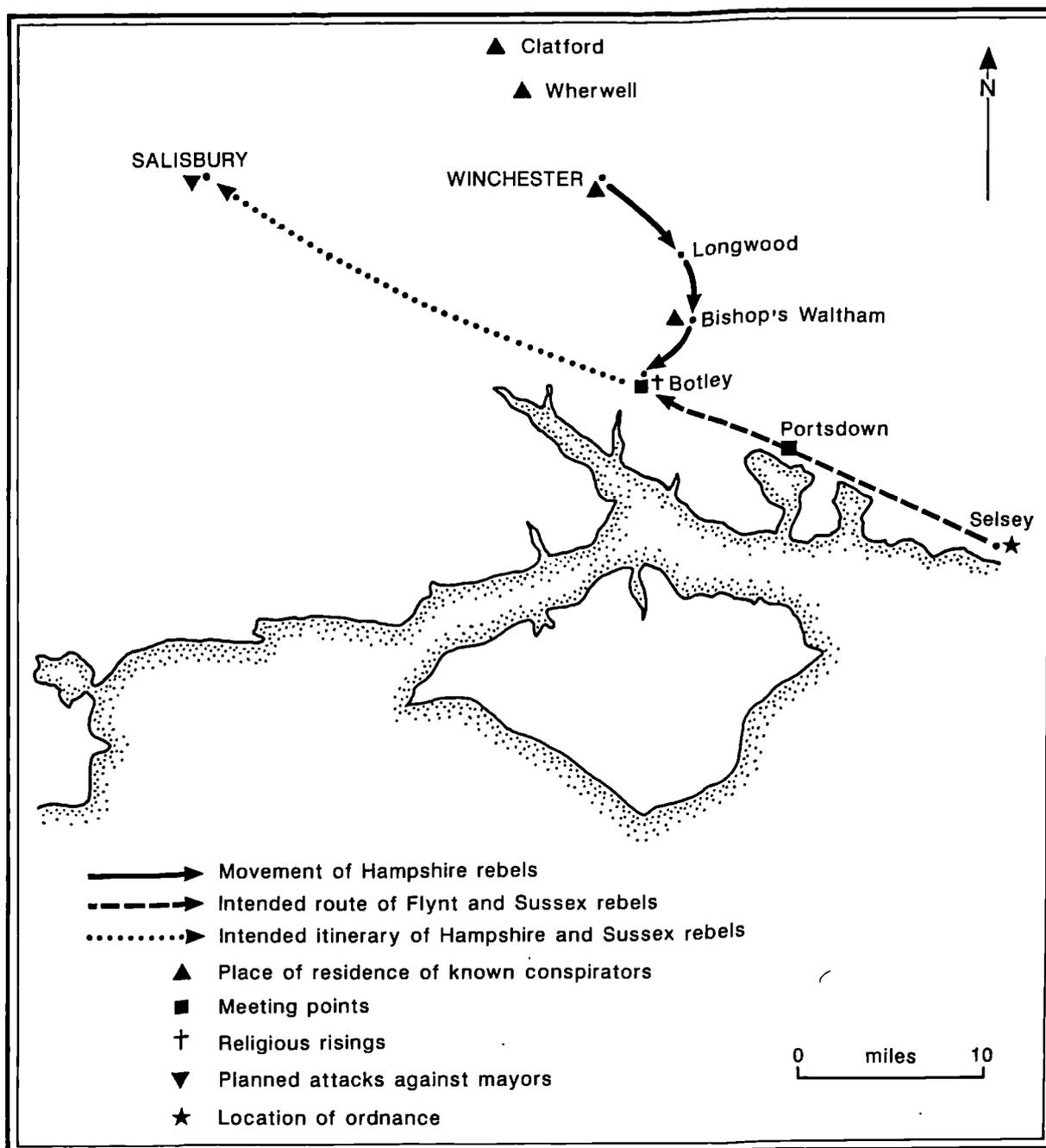
¹⁴⁸ As opposed to the 'Protestant' enclosure protestors at Hursley and Odiham. Cf. the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion: chapter 5.

¹⁴⁹ The following narrative is reconstructed from the depositions of Andrew Blakman and Richard Sylver: SP 10/8/41. All quotations are taken from this source, unless otherwise stated. William Kente was mayor of Salisbury in 1549, but it is not known why he was so unpopular: I owe this information to Martyn Henderson, Archive Information Assistant at Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, and to the staff of Salisbury Reference Library.

¹⁵⁰ Flynt's social status is unknown, although he was apparently literate.

MAP 3.2

THE ABORTIVE WINCHESTER-SUSSEX REBELLION OF AUGUST 1549



Garnham agitated in Winchester alehouses, Flynt was expected to bring ‘a greate sight’ of rebels out of Sussex. Furthermore, there are suggestive hints that Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was the intended figure-head of the rebellion.¹⁵¹ Garnham confidently asserted that ‘we shall have all the bishoppes tenants full and hole’, and Bishop’s Waltham and Botley had pronounced themselves ready to rise.

The plans for the rising reveal a surprising degree of organisation, although the movement never progressed beyond its initial stages. The rebels were to assemble at Portsdown Hill, where they would presumably have finalised their plans. The Hampshire rebels then proposed to march from Winchester to Botley the following Sunday (10 August) to meet Flynt and his Sussex contingent, before proceeding to Salisbury to attack the mayor.¹⁵² En route, at Longwood, the rebels intended to send for two barrels of beer from the warden and chancellor of Winchester Cathedral, which they would pretend to seize by force. Rather than beer, these barrels would contain coins. The implication is that the priests would fill the barrels with money to fund the rebellion. The local priesthood were to be enlisted not to lead the rebellion, but rather to finance it: an aspect of clerical involvement which has been little investigated and may have a bearing on events in the South-West and Oxfordshire in 1549 (map 3.2).

On 10 August, Garnham arrived at Botley, where he and a Bishop’s Waltham man resolved ‘to make a banner of the fyve wounds’ with a priest kneeling to the host, conveying something of the religious flavour of the rebellion. Jordán has proclaimed this to be no more than an indication of a ‘casual interest in the banner of the western rebels’ and yet, in a remarkably similar incident in April 1537, two Hamble men allegedly encouraged Carpyssacke to make a banner of the five wounds of Christ in

¹⁵¹ Gardiner was, of course, in prison at this time.

support of the northern rebels. Perhaps we should see the adoption of the banner of the five wounds in 1549 in terms of a local tradition of religious unrest, centred on Botley and Hamble. The symbolism of the Winchester-Sussex Rebellion may well have drawn on memories of the 1537 conspiracy, which forced Cornish justices to plead with Cromwell to allow the people of St Keverne to hold their saint's day.¹⁵³ In 1537, the banner had served a dual function as petition and call to arms. The assumption, in 1549, was that it could do so again.¹⁵⁴

If the plans for the Winchester-Sussex Rebellion were so well-laid, and the movement had both a generalised cause and a justifying ideology, why did it collapse? In the final analysis, the rebellion's success hinged on Flynt; only he knew 'the hole matter'. Thus, when Flynt failed to appear at Botley on the appointed day, things did not bode well. Most likely, Flynt was captured before the Sussex section of the rebellion could get off the ground. Flynt of Sussex, 'a seditious stirrer' is known to have been imprisoned in the Fleet 'for being a doer amongst the rebelles'.¹⁵⁵ Garnham, Blackman and Sylver were quickly apprehended, appearing before the king to make their confessions on 12 August, only two days after the appointed date of the rising. News of the planned rebellion must have reached the authorities' ears. Rumours that the commons planned to rise under a banner to the call of a trumpet probably rang alarm bells, sparking fears that the Hampshire, Sussex and western men conspired to levy war

¹⁵² Garnham had sent word to Flynt to bring a trumpeter to head the rebel army, along with five pieces of ordnance from Selsey Church (see Ch. 4). Carts were also to be procured from local farmers.

¹⁵³ *L&P* 12:1, nos. 1001 & 1126; *VCH Hants.* 5, p.324. The banner made at St Keverne, Cornwall in 1537 seems to have been more elaborate than Garnham's banner. It showed 'the picture of Christ with his wounds abroad and a banner in his hand, Our Lady in the one side holding her breast in her hand, St John a Baptist in the other side, the King's grace and the Queen kneeling, and all the commonalty kneeling, with scripture above their heads, making their petition to the picture of Christ that it would please the King's grace that they might have their holidays'.

¹⁵⁴ As well as revealing a local tradition of religious disaffection in this part of Hampshire (which might encourage us to rethink the nature of the 1548 stirs), these two episodes suggest a special connection between the western and Hampshire commons, which owed as much to trade links (and a hatred of Herbert) as to religious sympathies. Carpyssacke and John Treglosacke were selling fish at Hamble market in 1537: *L&P* 12:1, no.1001.

¹⁵⁵ *APC* 3, pp.383-84.

against the king.¹⁵⁶ These fears were fuelled by the symbolism of the banner of the five wounds and its association with the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the authorities apparently acted swiftly enough to avert full-scale rebellion.¹⁵⁷

Jordan has argued that ‘this strange blending of local anarchy, unexpressed grievances, the plundering of a [conservative] cathedral’, a ‘casual interest’ in the western rebels’ banner, ‘tavern boastings, a half-formed [but] sound strategic sense’, and ‘a thirsting for violent adventure’ suggests ‘the infinitely complex causes’ of the 1549 rebellions.¹⁵⁸ His assessment of the significance of the abortive Winchester-Sussex Rebellion is correct only in one respect: its complexity. The Winchester-Sussex Rebellion was an organised movement, united under the banner of the five wounds of Christ, backed by the cathedral, and with the central aim of aiding the western rebels in their retaliation against Herbert. The Winchester-Sussex conspiracy raised the spectre of a general rebellion against heresy: thus Thomas Richardson of Plaitford was committed to the Tower for speaking in favour of the western rebels.¹⁵⁹

Disorder in Hampshire was not quelled with the failure of the Winchester-Sussex Rebellion. The Council wrote to the mayor of Southampton on 7 August 1550, concerning a reported conversation between Parkyns, the keeper of Crockham Park in Berkshire, and his aunt, Margaret Welles, on 17 July. When his aunt asked him ‘what newes were abrode’, Parkyns told her of ‘a sturre that shuld be in this Realme before Mighlemas next greater then the sturre of the last yeares’.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Cf. the riot at Cambridge, raised by the sound of a drum: chapter 4.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. the abortive Seamer Rebellion: chapter 7.

¹⁵⁸ Quoting Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.451.

¹⁵⁹ SP 10/9/48. John Unthanke, parson of Headley, was imprisoned for a vision, believed by Shagan to represent a belated attempt to revive the Maid of Kent’s strategy: ‘Popular Politics’, p.532.

¹⁶⁰ Anderson, *Letters*, nos. 48-49. Margaret Welles was the wife of Thomas Welles, Junior who was admitted a burgess of Southampton in 1535, held a customership here in 1539-40 and served as sheriff in 1547-48. Welles, a conservative JP, had close connections with Wriothesley: Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp.208, 260. For sedition and conspiracy in Hampshire during 1552, see *APC* 4, p.45.

Clearly, ‘the picture of popular discontent that emerges in Hampshire [is] a mosaic of religious and social unrest’, and this religious unrest represents an unusual concoction of conservative and evangelical feeling.¹⁶¹ The complexity of the Hampshire stir underlines the county’s significant place in any attempt to generalise about the nature and scale of disorder in England in 1549, and serves to remind us of the importance of local context in understanding the ‘commotion time’. The mingled flavours of the various Hampshire protests are a reflection, at the grass-roots of society, of the religious and political confusion within the higher echelons of the county community and perhaps even within the State itself.

Political and religious division among the gentry was instrumental in allowing disorder to escalate into open rebellion in Hampshire during July and August 1549.¹⁶² The depth of mistrust among the gentry is particularly well illustrated by John Norton. Conservatives like Norton, who found themselves targets of the commons’ wrath, regarded the 1549 risings as plots by Somerset’s followers.¹⁶³ Mirroring these concerns, the government suspected (perhaps with some grounds) that Bishop Gardiner’s servants and tenants were stirring up discontent in the district of Winchester, though John Clyffe deposed in 1551 that Gardiner’s servants took up arms only ‘at such times as the commotion was in ... Southampton and Surrey’, when some of them went to Wriothesley’s aid in ‘the repressing of the rebels’.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Quoting Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.158. Hampshire is too often cited simply as an example of conservative unrest following the pattern of the Western Rebellion, and treated (even by MacCulloch) as anomalous to the general pattern of the ‘commotion time’ of 1549: Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.174; Gay, ‘Midland Revolt’, p.203; C.S.L. Davies, ‘The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered’, reprinted in Slack (ed.), *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order*, p.38; MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p.300.

¹⁶² Fritze, ‘Faith and Faction’, chapter 6. According to Land, disturbances in Hampshire, where no strong representative of authority appeared to oppose them, continued for some weeks’ in the summer of 1549: *Ket’s Rebellion*, p.28; Jordan also notes ‘the want of strong territorial leadership in the county’: *Edward VI*, p.450.

¹⁶³ Fritze, ‘Faith and Faction’, pp.246, 251.

¹⁶⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 6, p.245. On Easter Day 1548, Gardiner was summoned before the Council to answer reports that his servants had been ‘kindling up of the people’s minds against things set forth by the King’s Majesty’s authority: Muller, *Stephen Gardiner*, p.172. See also Youings, ‘South-Western Rebellion’, 104, 117.

Although Gardiner had no direct link with the Hampshire Rebellion, it remains possible that the conservative rebels in Hampshire and the West regarded Gardiner as their figure-head and embraced his resistance to religious change during the minority. Indeed, that Gardiner was the patron of Friar Wigg, who agitated at Winchester and Southampton in 1549, is surely no coincidence; whilst unrest in the county in 1550 was fuelled by seditious talk in support of Gardiner.¹⁶⁵ Both Sir Thomas Wriothesley and Sir John Thynne played a central role in pacifying the Hampshire risings, suggesting that the government acknowledged the religious complexity of the 1549 commotions in this most factious of counties.¹⁶⁶

III: The Nature and Scale of Disorder in the South

The southern risings reveal an assortment of agrarian and religious concerns (both ‘Catholic’ and ‘Protestant’), in various combinations, representing perhaps the most complex pattern of disorder of all our geographical clusters. Whilst allowing for a multiplicity of motives, the risings share certain common features. Although many of these local protests grew out of personal animosities, the commons of Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire were clearly united by their hatred of Sir William Herbert, whose violent retaliation against the spring protestors caused disorder to snowball

¹⁶⁵ SCA SC 2/9/2/39-40. ‘Friar’ Wigg was the rector of Millbrook, a parish just west of Southampton. He was imprisoned in Winchester gaol in 1548, having attracted the ire of local Protestants such as John Milles, John Foster, Robert Reneger and John Kingsmill. Wigg may have been away from Hampshire during the ‘commotion time’: Fritze, ‘Faith and Faction’, pp.237-39 The conversation between Parkyns and Margaret Welles on 17 July 1550 concerned the President in Wales, the Bishop of Winchester and the plot for a new rising: Anderson, *Letters*, no. 48. The destruction of altars was opposed in a parish near Winchester in November 1550 on the grounds that Edward VI had been led astray by wicked advisers, ‘but when he cometh once of age, he will see another rule, and hang up an hundred of such heretic knaves’: Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.177, citing J. Bale, *An Expostulation agaynste a Franticke Papyst of Hampshyre* (1552), sig. Bi.

¹⁶⁶ Wriothesley, a leading conservative, was out of favour at court at this time. Thynne was Somerset’s ‘principal instrument and councillor’: *APC* 2, 343. Thynne also oversaw the rebel executions in Somerset as Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset: see above. Lord St John, the Earl of Southampton, Sir John Thynne and Nicholas L’Estrange were dispatched to Hampshire in response to the spring risings. Thynne pacified the June risings by punishing the ringleaders, hearing grievances, promising remedy, and procuring a pardon for those who returned home.

throughout the southern counties in the summer of 1549. Hatred of Herbert became the overwhelming unifying factor in the South. To some extent, the Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire risings were also fuelled by a desire to aid the western rebels.

In contrast to Herbert's violence, the southern rebels demonstrated a concern for order and legality that was remarked upon by contemporaries. The protests at Frome, Wilton, Bristol, Hursley and King's Somborne were informed by a sense of justice. Like their East Anglian counterparts, the southern protestors thought their 'owne fantasies the kings commandementes', claiming their objective to be the enforcement of the king's laws.¹⁶⁷ The rebels' belief that they had the 'Good Duke' on their side was perhaps not unfounded. Various royal proclamations denouncing enclosures, the issue of the enclosure commissions, and the offer of a general pardon to all those who acted in anticipation of them confirmed the conviction that their aims and those of the government coincided. The rioters and rebels demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of these proclamations and pardons in 1549.¹⁶⁸

And what of the claim that no men of status were amongst the protestors? The Council's fears about disorderly clothiers and artificers are reflected in what little evidence we have of the social composition of the rank and file.¹⁶⁹ Whilst the preponderance of artificers and servants in the southern disturbances is noteworthy, particularly at Frome, Bridgwater, Hursley, Winchester, and King's Somborne, various episodes suggest that rebel leaders such as Captain Hewes, Flynt, and Friar Wigg were

¹⁶⁷ Cheke, *Hurt of Sedition*, p.993. The rebels wanted to ensure that the 'goode lawes, statutes, proclamacions' designed to protect the common people were not disregarded by the justices of the peace, perceiving themselves as the government's allies: Kett's Demands, article 27: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.146.

¹⁶⁸ TRP 1 nos. 309, 327, 334, 341; Latimer, *Sermons* p.101; Crowley, *Select Works*, p.144. See the example of Agnes Sternhold, above.

¹⁶⁹ Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.10. *L&P Addenda* 1:1, no.185; Pickthorne, *Early Tudor Government*, p.22. Discontent among clothworkers overspilled into disorder in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire in 1549: chapter 7.

drawn from the middling ranks of society, and that members of the clergy were involved. Lesser gentry, such as the Sternholds and the Giffords, were clearly implicated in the anti-enclosure violence committed by their servants, tenants and neighbours. Furthermore, there is sufficient evidence to hint that leading members of the Hampshire gentry may have played a role in stirring up disorder, mirroring the polarisation of forces in the South-West.¹⁷⁰

Why did the risings in Somerset and Wiltshire fizzle out, whereas disorder threatened to escalate into full-scale rebellion in Hampshire in July and August 1549? Was it the lack of strong aristocratic leadership and the factious state of local government in Hampshire that encouraged disorder? Or did the Hampshire movement possess an internal dynamic that was lacking in Somerset and Wiltshire? Unfortunately, too little is known of the events of the southern commotions to answer these questions definitively. However, the Kingweston Rising suggests that, after the harsh repression of the Frome and Salisbury risings in spring 1549, the commons of Somerset and Wiltshire needed outside encouragement to consider rising again. By contrast, the Hampshire commons took the initiative in setting up their own camp in July 1549 (possibly spurred on by news of the Sussex rebels' imminent arrival).

The southern counties provided a bridge between the western and eastern rebellions, perhaps explaining their 'variegated matrix of motives'.¹⁷¹ The South-West and East Anglia represented the two furthest points on the spectrum of disorder displayed in the South. Kett's Rebellion reflected the pattern of the spring disturbances in Somerset and Wiltshire, developing the 'evangelical' outlook of one contingent of the Hampshire rebels into an overtly 'Protestant' programme. In the South-West, as in parts of

¹⁷⁰ Youings, 'South-Western Rebellion', 116-117.

¹⁷¹ Quoting P. Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, (Oxford, 1994), p.79.

Hampshire, similar agrarian concerns were later eclipsed by the cause of heresy. The case of Hampshire, in particular, warns against holding up East Anglia and the West as two completely contrasting models of rebellion. In Hampshire, local, national, political, religious, social and economic issues fused together to ignite disorder. The comfortable co-existence of these grievances owed much to the rebels' broader concern for 'commonwealth' in 1549.

The 'Rebellion of Comenwelthe'

Moving eastwards, this chapter investigates the nature and scale of disorder in Sussex, Surrey, Cambridgeshire, Essex and Kent, paying special attention to the motivation and mentality of the south-eastern insurgents. Detailed empirical discussion of the somewhat obscure episodes in Sussex and Surrey, Cambridgeshire, Essex and Kent precedes a more general analysis of the pattern of disorder in the east, addressing its association with commonwealth and Protestant rhetoric. The south-eastern stirrs offered a critique of the state of the Mid-Tudor Commonwealth. From camps across the south-east, the rebels (led by agitators known as 'commonwealth men') voiced their commonwealth concerns, launching, in July 1549, what became popularly known as the 'Rebellion of Comenwelthe'.

I: Sussex and Surrey

Sussex

In early August 1549, John Garnham of Winchester and one Flynt of Sussex conspired to raise a rebellion to assassinate the mayor of Salisbury and Sir William Herbert. Flynt's Sussex contingent failed to materialise at Botley, and the rebellion collapsed. However, Flynt's role, and the plan to seize ordnance from Selsey church, reveal that Sussex was heavily caught up in the 'commotion time'.¹ Other evidence relating to the Sussex disorders is scattered and fragmentary, although the fear of foreign invasion,

¹ SP 10/8/41; chapter 3. The parish church of St Peter was located at Church Norton, Selsey: Frances Mee, *A History of Selsey* (Chichester, 1988), pp.27-28. The church also had an earlier association with

MAP 4.1 THE 'REBELLION OF COMENWELTHE'



aided by internal disorder, was very real here,² and these stirs may have had a wider significance as part of the 'Rebellion of Commonwealth'.³

Risings broke out in Sussex during the spring and early summer of 1549.⁴ According to Edward VI, the Sussex commons rose shortly after their Wiltshire counterparts had been suppressed by Herbert, probably around the end of May.⁵ Somerset's letter to George Day, Bishop of Chichester, suggests that the disorder continued well into the summer, and was far from easily quelled.⁶ He informed Bishop Day that the Chichester men who had been brought to London for their involvement in illegal assemblies had been sent home, with reassurances that they were pardoned on condition of their good behaviour.⁷ The pardon was sent to Chichester, perhaps indicating that the Sussex rebels had established their camp there.⁸

insurrection. The rector participated in Cade's Rebellion, and was pardoned on 30 October 1450: Mee, *History of Selsey*, p.19.

² The lord lieutenant ordered the beacons to be watched and the soldiers to be ready at an hour's notice, whilst the authorities at Rye were occupied with fortifying the town: *VCH Sussex* 1, p.516. For evidence that this was a perennial concern, see the copy of Henry VIII's order re. bearers on the coast in 1546: East Sussex RO, Lewes: SAS/CP 182.

³ Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais', 60. The 'Soldier of Calais' presents almost a sympathetic account of the rebellions. According to Fletcher and MacCulloch, the 1549 commotions in eastern England encompassed Sussex as well as Essex, Kent, the Thames Valley and East Anglia: *Tudor Rebellions*, p.123.

⁴ For the Sussex background, see C.E. Brent, 'Employment, Land Tenure and Population in Eastern Sussex, 1540-1640' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 1973); Colin Brent, 'Devastating Epidemic in the Countryside of Eastern Sussex between Harvest Years 1558 and 1640', *Local Population Studies* 14 (Spring, 1975), 42-48; Cynthia B. Herrup, *The Common Peace: Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1987), Ch. 2; J. Cornwall, 'The Ecclesdón Outrage: A Fresh Interpretation', *SXAC* 113 (1975), 7-15.

⁵ Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.12. See also Hales, *Defence*, p.lviii.

⁶ Somerset to George Day, 25 June 1549: *HMC Bath* 4, p.111. Bishop Day emerged as a defender of the traditional religion during Edward VI's reign. His refusal to enforce the order for the destruction of altars in his diocese resulted in his incarceration in the Fleet in December 1550: MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp.379, 396-97, 408, 459, 484.

⁷ *HMC Bath* 4, p.111; Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.451 n.2.

⁸ Somerset instructed the Sussex and Hampshire justices not to molest subjects for past offences: *HMC Bath* 4, p.111; Minute of a Letter to the Rebels in Hampshire, early July 1549 (letter 8); Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 61-2. Shagan suggests this may have provided the basis for the charge that Somerset 'caused a proclamation to be made against law and in favour of the rebels, that none of them should be sued by any for their offences in their rebellion': 10.

In the postscript to this letter Somerset emphasised that this was ‘the verie trewe copie’ of his ‘letters concerninge the King Majestties pardon’.⁹ Both letter and postscript appear to substantiate Shagan’s claim that the government feared that ‘the centrepiece of its policy, the offer of pardons, was being undermined’ by rumours of their falseness or invalidity.¹⁰ Perhaps the Chichester rebels doubted the pardon they had been offered in some respect, and hesitated before accepting it: the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rebels evidently had similar fears.¹¹

Existing evidence hints that outbreaks of disorder in the county were at least potentially serious. Protector Somerset had seen fit to examine some of the Chichester rebels in London, before pardoning them on condition of good behaviour.¹² Three Sussex rebels were dealt with more harshly. Richard Tomson of Harting, tilemaker, was imprisoned in the Tower of London.¹³ John Patchyn, a yeoman from Horsham, was tried for treason at Westminster on 2 December 1549; having been found guilty of compassing and imagining the king’s death, he was sentenced to execution at Tyburn.¹⁴ Lastly, Flynt of Sussex, co-conspirator of the Winchester-Sussex Rebellion, was committed to the Fleet Prison, where he remained in 1551 ‘for being a doer emongst the rebelles’.¹⁵

⁹ *HMC Bath* 4, p.111, postscript.

¹⁰ Quoting Shagan, ‘Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions’, 7. See also letter 8 (61-2) and *TRP* 1, no. 337.

¹¹ Somerset’s policy of pardons also met with mistrust in Oxfordshire, Hampshire, Norfolk and Suffolk: see chapters 3 and 5.

¹² *HMC Bath* 4, p.111.

¹³ *SP* 10/9/48.

¹⁴ *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, Appendix 2, p.223. In February 1549, the Privy Council ordered ‘that Pachinges wief of Sussex may have her husband’s cobbyholde, forfaict by attaindure, for the sustentacion of her and her vij childerne’: *APC* 2, p.381. Agnes Patching is referred to as ‘late the wife of John Patching’, and as tenant of parcels of land in Longham meadow and Redfelde, on 4 Aug. 1550: *CPR Edw. VI*, 4, pp.13-14. Patchyn is not listed as a prisoner in the 22 October report, nor was he one of the rebels released from the Tower in April 1550: *SP* 10/9/48; *APC* 3, p.21

¹⁵ *APC* 3, pp.383-84.

A 1580 biography of Henry Fitzallen, Earl of Arundel, suggests that the Sussex rebels were as well organised as their counterparts in the eastern counties. The Earl sent orders to the rebels 'where they were, in their camp' commanding them to disperse.¹⁶ Historians have claimed that several small rebel camps were formed in the county.¹⁷ As MacCulloch has argued, the static organisation of the 'campyng tyme' reveals much about the insurgents' intentions. Rather than showing aggressive intentions towards the government, the Sussex rebels sought only justice and good government, and were thus satisfied by the Earl of Arundel's dispensation of summary justice.¹⁸ In what has been described as 'the last recorded example of the persistent strength of feudalism ... a cohesive psychological bond in a face-to-face society', Arundel redressed 'all causes and disorders' in Sussex.¹⁹

Our detailed knowledge of the containment of the Sussex rising is exceptional, although Arundel's actions provide only a particularly successful example of Somerset's wider policy towards the 1549 commotions. In response to the risings, the Protector despatched leading figures at court, who were respected in their home counties, to negotiate with the rebels. Arundel was eminently qualified for this role in Sussex, since he commanded the 'dutiful affection' of the people as 'their ancient and chiefest lord'. Rather than resorting to armed force, Arundel relied on the exercise of 'good lordship', inviting the rebels to lay their grievances before him at Arundel Castle, where, in the great hall, he adjudicated individual complaints and meted out justice.²⁰

¹⁶ Quoting Stone, 'Patriarchy and Paternalism', 23. For the dating of this document, see M.A. Tierney, *History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel*, vol. 1 (London, 1834), p.319 note b. On the Earl of Arundel, see also J.G. Nichols, 'The Life of Henry Fitzallen, Last Earl of Arundel', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 103 part 2 (1833), 11-15, 118-24, 490-91.

¹⁷ MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p.302; Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.88; Jordan, *Edward VI*, pp.451-52; Land, *Ket's Rebellion*, p.28.

¹⁸ MacCulloch describes the formation of camps as a characteristic feature of the 1549 rebellions in the south-east as a whole: 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', p.47; *Suffolk and the Tudors*, pp.301-02.

¹⁹ Quoting Stone, 'Patriarchy and Paternalism', 22.

²⁰ 'Their complaints being most against certain gentlemen, and chiefly for enclosures': Stone, 'Patriarchy and Paternalism', 21, 23. Stone likens this scene to St Louis' dispensation of justice to his subjects under

Most importantly, Arundel's natural justice was scrupulously fair. On the one hand, gentlemen were ordered to destroy their enclosures 'where cause in truth was found'; which they 'willingly did'. On the other hand, the ringleaders were clapped in the stocks at Arundel and Chichester on market days, as a warning to others. This dispensation of impartial justice, added to Arundel's honourable reputation and his generous hospitality, might amount to the sum of his success. He 'quieted and suppressed the whole country to the contentment of all sorts'. Yet, was Arundel exceptional among mid-Tudor magnates? That the Earl 'thought it not convenient to reform with the sword', whilst 'in all other shires of England where any rebellion was that course was taken', stretches the truth; force was the exception, rather than the rule, in the response to the 'commotion time'. Arundel's action reflects the normal business of government in the localities; he simply settled the crisis in Sussex in the expected manner.²¹ Somerset's policy was not misguided; strong aristocratic leadership could prevent localised disorder from over-spilling into regional rebellion.²²

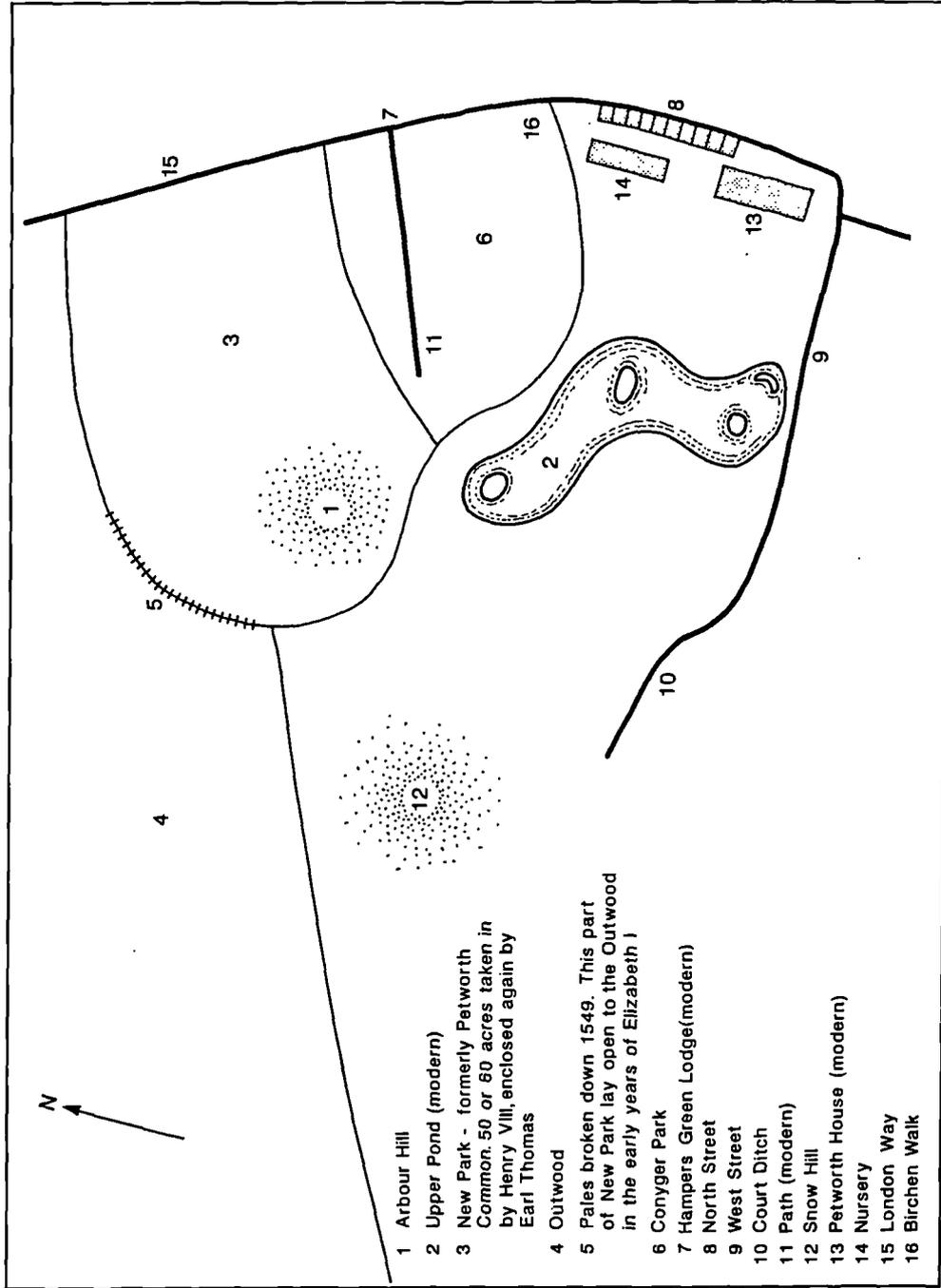
Petworth

Our knowledge of the 'commotion time' in Petworth, West Sussex also comes from a much later dispute between Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, and his

an oak tree in thirteenth-century France. Perhaps the author had the same comparison in mind. On Arundel's despatch and his response to the Sussex stirs, see Bush, *Government Policy*, p.89. The Earl is said to have had sufficient armed force at this command to put down the rebels, although the tenantry were unreliable: Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.88.

²¹ Quoting Stone, 'Patriarchy and Paternalism', 20-21. Whilst the traditional bonds of paternalism and deference remained exceptionally strong in Sussex, it would be premature to argue that these bonds had lost their hold elsewhere. Recent research makes it clear that government normally worked through social relations, not through the naked expression of power. It was only where a breakdown of the expected obligations of governors and governed occurred, as in Norfolk and Devon, that the normal means of keeping the peace failed and repression became necessary. One of the reasons that many of the so-called 'minor risings' have largely escaped the notice of historians may be that, whilst force was used against the Norfolk, south-western and Thames Valley rebels, many of the outbreaks in the other parts of the realm were settled in a more peaceful and less dramatic manner. See also Kent, below.

²² With hindsight, it was fortuitous that Arundel's name was erased from the list of Sussex gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Had he been away from home, the whole history of the 'commotion time' in Sussex could have been very different. A considerable number of important Sussex



MAP 4.2 ENCLOSURE AND DISPARKMENT AT PETWORTH

Source: Peter Jerrome, *Cloakbag and Common Purse: Enclosure & Copyhold in 16th Century Petworth* (Petworth, Sussex, 1979), pp.20-21

tenants. A series of Chancery depositions taken in 1596 reveal that the pales surrounding Petworth Park were cast down by the Sussex rebels in 1549.²³ This type of evidence provides a rare opportunity to access a local community's collective memory of the 'commotion time', and to discover what the events of 1549 might have meant.

'A greate parte' (50-60 acres) of Petworth Common was enclosed by Henry VIII to enlarge the Conyger Park, and the tenants were compensated with other, apparently better quality, lands in 'Buscage'.²⁴ Although all the indicators point towards enclosure by agreement, the tenants appear to have become disgruntled by 1549 (exactly why is unclear). Almost fifty years later, Thomas Read of Petworth recalled 'that at or about the insurreccion or comocion tyme the pales that were sett uppe about the said wastes and commons in king henrye the eightes tyme were broke downe againe and the wastes layd to common'.²⁵ News of the disorder evidently spread quickly. William Bullacker was living ten miles from the town when reports reached him that 'in the tyme of the Commotion about the second yeere of kinge Edward the Sixte', some of the 'enlarged pales' on the west side of the Conyger Park 'were pulled downe'. The rebels' activity took on a new political currency in light of the ninth earl's aggressive improvement programme. Presumably the new enclosure brought back memories of the old one, and of the 1549 rebellion. Moreover, physical marks left on the landscape served as a

magistrates were called to Windsor, including Lord de la Warr, Sir John Gage, Sir Richard Sackville, Sir William Goring and Sir Anthony Windsor: SP 10/8/2.

²³ WSRO, Petworth House Archives (PHA) 5450. These depositions are unfoliated and unnumbered and henceforth will be cited by name of deponent only. The whole dispute is discussed at length by Peter Jerrome, *Cloakbag and Common Purse: Enclosure and Copyhold in 16th Century Petworth* (Petworth, Sussex, 1979). For a brief summary, see Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.63-64, 78-79, 113, 137-38, 273.

²⁴ Petworth Common adjoined the Conyger Park on its north-west side: see map 4.2. Henry VIII enlarged the park by taking in common land on the west side of the park. He also enclosed a small grove of 'great trees' from the common, known as Arbour Hill; a banqueting house was built here shortly afterwards. The tenants also had common of estover, herbage, pannage and mast in the Outwood, a waste ground to the west and north-west of Conyger Park. After the rebels threw down the pales, the park lay open to the Outwood: PHA 5450, depositions of William Bullacker, Hugh Marshall and Henry Appsey. 'Buscage' was apparently within the manor of Petworth: deposition of John Wiltshire. Bullacker claimed to have seen copies of the grant to the tenants of 30-40 acres of land here (his brother was surveyor of the king's lands in Sussex).

²⁵ PHA 5450: deposition of Thomas Read.

constant reminder of the hated enclosure. In 1569, the 'olde rayles and other stumpes' still marked where the original enclosure had stood.²⁶ Clearly 1549 was emblazoned in the communal memory, although some inhabitants, such as John Wiltshire, were a little hazy regarding the facts: he mistakenly believed that the pales erected in Henry VIII's reign stood 'untill the troubles grewe abowt the Rysinge in the north' (1569).²⁷

The depositions are disappointingly vague on the issue of who the 1549 rebels were. Thomas Read knew neither 'by whose dyrreccion' the pales were broken down, nor 'who they were that brake downe the pales whether the rebells or who ells'.²⁸ Whether this was the result of a local conspiracy of silence or a genuine lack of knowledge regarding the perpetrators' identity remains indeterminable. A similar shroud of mystery surrounds the identity of the 'Commonwealth men' who instigated the anti-enclosure action at Netherfield Down in East Sussex. Yet, the Petworth rebels achieved a longer-lasting success than their counterparts at Netherfield. Whereas the enclosure at Netherfield Down was repaired soon after the 'commotion time', the Conyger Park at Petworth remained common land for some twenty years. After the rebellion, it was lawful 'for any of the customary tenantes of the honor of Petworthe' to pasture their cattle there.²⁹

Netherfield

The disorder was not confined to West Sussex. In the archive of the earls of Ashburnham there are papers of the earl as Lord of the Manor of Netherfield in Battle, East Sussex, which contain correspondence and papers concerning disputes over the ownership of Netherfield Down in 1609, 1715, 1730 and 1818. These papers include

²⁶ PHA 5450: deposition of Henry Appsley.

²⁷ PHA 5450: deposition of John Wiltshire.

²⁸ PHA 5450: deposition of Thomas Read.

depositions of seven witnesses in 1609 which refer, *inter alia*, to the breaking down of hedges by 'the Commonwealth men' in 1549.³⁰ The depositions suggest that two parcels of Netherfield Down were thrown open by 'the Commonwealth men' in July 1549.³¹ a ground called Callis, enclosed by Sir William Finch, c.1545, and a field and wood beside Dacfould Gate, enclosed by the same man a year previously. The protestors took action only against recent enclosures.³² Enclosure may well have been a popular grievance at Netherfield in 1549-50, especially if the process had taken place within recent memory, and common rights to fire-wood and pasture were subsequently lost. Whether herbage should be paid, or whether the common was free to all men, was obviously still a point of contention in 1609.³³ Netherfield Down was probably enclosed for rental income, since cottages were afterwards built there.³⁴

Although the depositions are intriguing, they offer nothing more than a few tantalising hints as to what was actually going on in Netherfield during the mid-sixteenth century and present obvious interpretative difficulties, especially as it has not proved possible to examine them in conjunction with other evidence. Deconstructing the meaning of the term 'Commonwealth men' in this context will be crucial in determining how the Netherfield episode relates to the overall pattern of the

²⁹ PHA 5450: deposition of Jeffrey Hawkins. Cf. King's Somborne, Hampshire: Ch. 3.

³⁰ East Sussex Record Office, Lewes: ASH 590 (1). I am grateful to Roger Davey, County Archivist for bringing these depositions to my attention. It is likely that this suit was heard in Exchequer, Chancery or Requests and that the depositions are a duplicate set of the proceedings. These depositions are cited by name of deponent only.

³¹ The events described clearly relate to 1549, although they are here dated c.1550. The depositions could have been taken in 1608 and engrossed in 1609, or the deponents may have fixed on 59 rather than 60 years ago to convey a sense of specificity. Cf. the Petworth depositions: WSRO, PHA 5450.

³² According to Thomas Natley, 'the hedges [around Callis] were pulled up, & laid open by the Commonwealth men, by cause [before] yt was ynclosed by one mr ffynche it lay comon to the kinges hie way'. Finch's other enclosure was 'thrown open by the Comon wealthes men ... about 59. yeres agoe', so that the land could revert to common: ASH 590 (1). Before Finch's enclosures, the whole of Netherfield Down had lain open between Mile Oak and Collingham Cross. Sir William Finch was lord of the manor at the time of these enclosures: *VCH Sussex* 9, p.107.

³³ ASH 590 (1), especially the depositions of Thomas Ashbornham, Thomas Natley, Richard Reve, Robert Dannyell and Thomas Friend, who all agreed that it had always been 'free for everyman to keepe Cattell one the downe'. Herbage was the fee paid to the manorial court for the right of pasture on common land. For a definition, see *OED* 7, p.154.

‘commotion time’. These commonwealth men may have been participants in the ‘Rebellion of Commonwealth’ in July 1549, who adopted the rhetoric of commonwealth as their language of protest. They could possibly have been members of Somerset’s ‘circle’, who expounded a moral economy.³⁵ The waste was laid open because it had been taken from the king’s highway, suggesting official rather than popular action.³⁶ The episode may be connected to the enclosure commission led by Sir Thomas Darcy and Sir Thomas Gates,³⁷ who called for letters of authorisation from Somerset and the Council to ‘disclose and sett open commons and highways’.³⁸ Most probably, however, these were the East Sussex equivalent of Latimer, the ‘Commonwealth of Kent’ – popular figures at work in the countryside during the mid-sixteenth century who called themselves ‘commonwealth men’ or ‘councillors of the commonwealth’.³⁹ Richard Reve’s deposition indicates that they were probably outsiders who came into Netherfield, rather than members of the community.⁴⁰

³⁴ Cottages were built ‘at the ende of Netherfild downe towards Battell’ after the enclosure: ASH 590 (1), deposition of Thomas Ashbornham.

³⁵ G.R. Elton, ‘Reform and the “Commonwealth-Men” of Edward VI’s Reign’ in G.R. Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1983), pp.234-53. Bush, *Government Policy*, pp.61-73. Historians have been uneasy about using the term ‘Commonwealth party’ since Elton. Whilst he is probably right to say that no coherent commonwealth ‘party’ or programme existed in Edward’s reign, the term ‘commonwealth men’ was current amongst contemporaries.

³⁶ Was the breaking down of hedges at Netherfield an ‘official’ response to popular pressure and, specifically, to the discontent and disorder of 1549? If the dispute was settled at law, with the court ruling in favour of the tenants, this activity may represent the execution of a decree issued by the lord of the manor, the Quarter Sessions or the prerogative courts. However, the success of the Netherfield tenants was evidently short-lived. Soon afterwards, Sir William Finch enclosed the waste again, suggesting that the Commonwealth men’s disclosure, at the height of the ‘commotion time’, had been illegal: ASH 590 (1), deposition of Richard Reve.

³⁷ Bush, *Government Policy*, pp.46-47. Bush suggests that the commission led by Darcy and Gates encompassed the counties of Kent and Sussex: p.47, n.40. However, the Kentish commissioners are named as Edward Wotton, Anthony St. Leger, James Hales, George Harper and John Norton: BL M485/39 vol. 150, f.117; *HMC Hatfield 1*, p.237. Since John Gates and Sir Thomas Darcy were both Essex JPs it is likely that this county was covered by the commission.

³⁸ SP 10/8/24. Bush, *Government Policy*, p.47.

³⁹ Corpus Christi College Oxford MS 256, ff.154-55. These comments have been attributed to John Twyne: P. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), p.13; Clark, *English Provincial Society*, p.79. However, Christine Butler, the college archivist, has established that these folios are not written in John Twyne Senior’s hand. The tabula capitulorum appears to have been added to the manuscript at the time of binding and seems to be unconnected with the rest of the volume.

⁴⁰ This was a common claim or legal fiction, designed to bring enclosure disputes into the jurisdiction of the royal courts. Cf. Kirkby Underwood, Lincolnshire: chapter 7.

What is the significance of the Netherfield episode for our understanding of the ‘commotion time’ as a whole? The Netherfield episode provides striking evidence of the folk memory of commotion and, since the cause in this particular part of East Sussex was strongly labelled as ‘commonwealth’, part of the episode’s significance lies in its contribution to the wider debate concerning the idiom of commonwealth and social justice. The survival of the term ‘commonwealth’, used to describe the ‘commotion time’ in a local context sixty years on, might have much to tell us about the changing meaning of the term, its undeniable contemporary currency in 1549, and what 1549 represented in terms of the concept of ‘commonwealth’.⁴¹ In fact, the Netherfield depositions suggest that there might be much truth in John Norden’s well-known rhetorical question: ‘is not every manor a little commonwealth, wherof the tenants are the members, the land the body and the lord the head?’⁴²

Surrey

There is little direct evidence of discontent in neighbouring Surrey,⁴³ although the county certainly saw ‘considerable endemic disaffection’ during the ‘commotion time’.⁴⁴ This disaffection was of a nature and scale sufficient to provoke the Privy Council’s concern. In March 1547, the Council warned the Surrey magistrates to have ‘a more diligent eye’ to their charge, in light of ‘sondry light attemptates misordres and offenses doon and committed in many places of the kinges Majesties Realme’, which were likely ‘to be occacions of further inconveniences within shorte tyme’.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See below.

⁴² John Norden, *The Surveiors Dialogue* (London, 1618), p.27: cited Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems*, p.31.

⁴³ SP 10/7/44.

⁴⁴ Quoting Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.447.

⁴⁵ Surrey History Centre, Woking Zg 109/1/22 (Loseley MS vol. XII, no. 4). For the suggestion that this letter may have been a standardised circular, see the discussion of the Herefordshire disorders: Ch. 6.

The Council's fears were justified: risings broke out in Surrey in May and June 1549.⁴⁶ Whilst Arundel reported that 'the honest promise faythfully to serve the king', he felt it necessary to call for effective 'devyses' to be soon employed, that 'the rest' might follow suit.⁴⁷ Only a day later, on 30 June, the Council ordered Sir Christopher More, and other justices, to gather and equip as large a force of horsemen and footmen as possible from amongst their friends, clients, servants and tenants, to be ready to serve at an hour's notice.⁴⁸ However, such levies were, effectively, useless, since the government could hardly afford to trust them in a time of such widespread commotion: thus, they were never actually called.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Surrey's leading magistrates were called away to Windsor the following day, leaving the county virtually defenceless.⁵⁰

Trouble had, in fact, already broken out in Surrey. These hasty preparations for the containment of rebellion followed an earlier dispute over enclosure of common land, in response to the proclamation of 11 April 1549, in which the Earl of Warwick's hand is apparent.⁵¹ Although this episode remains somewhat obscure, it appears that land in Surrey had been recently emparked for the purposes of hunting, eliminating common rights in favour of gentry and aristocratic privilege.⁵² Warwick's enclosing activities

⁴⁶ Contemporary references include Hales' *Defence*, p.lviii; Somerset to Lord Russell, 10 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.24; Alexander Neville, *Norfolke Furies, or A View of Kett's Campe* (1595) trans. R.W. Minister (London, 1615), sig. C3^r. Hales argued that Sussex and Surrey had risen before his commission began work.

⁴⁷ SP 10/7/44. Unfortunately, no clues as to the exact nature of these devices are given.

⁴⁸ SHC, Loseley MS 2014/6.

⁴⁹ Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.447.

⁵⁰ Lord William Howard, Sir John Gage, Sir Thomas Cawarden, Sir Thomas Pope, Sir Matthew Browne, Sir Christopher More, Sir Robert Curson, John Carell, Nicholas Legh, Henry Polsted, Thomas Saunders, William Sackville, Richard Taverner, John Eston, Lawrence Stoughton, John Tingilden and James Skinner: SP 10/8/2. Pope, More and Legh, the three 'chief personages' in Surrey, were religious conservatives. Cawarden, perhaps the most important of the new JPs in 1547, was a Protestant Londoner with holdings in Surrey, who had risen rapidly in Henry VIII's reign. He served as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1547. Taverner of London and Norbiton (Surrey) wrote a number of reformist works in the 1530s. His marriage to Margaret, daughter of Walter Lambert of Chertsey, provided Surrey connections: William Baxter Robison, 'The Justices of the Peace of Surrey in National and County Politics, 1483-1570' (PhD thesis, Louisiana State University, 1983), pp.253-58.

⁵¹ This account is based on SP 10/7/35, and all quotations are taken from this source. Robison identifies this as a Surrey dispute: 'JPs of Surrey', p.265.

⁵² Unfortunately it has not proved possible to identify the park in question. In itself an interesting and intriguing local dispute, this episode may have wider implications for our understanding of the

were at the root of this local animosity. On 18 June 1549, Warwick complained to William Cecil that a man named 'Christofer' had addressed a bill to the master of the Court of Chancery 'concerning the mares and colttes'.⁵³ The same man (who was clearly disadvantaged by the emparkment since he grazed livestock there) had earlier reacted to the loss of grazing rights by sowing oats in 'the fayreste pasture' of one of the parks. 'Christofer', 'the veryste varlet of theym all', apparently encouraged others to plough and sow the land in protest against the loss of grazing rights and to hamper hunting there.⁵⁴

Warwick sought to cast 'Christofer' as a troublemaker and to blacken his motives, suggesting that he acted out of self-interest, motivated by his personal loss of income from the thirty or forty cattle he kept in one of the parks. Warwick stressed that 'Christofer's' neighbours lacked sympathy with his protest (although events suggest otherwise) and even tainted him with the tar of corruption in his execution of some local office.⁵⁵ This emphasis on 'commodity', the *bête noir* of the so-called 'commonwealth men', may have been specifically designed to appeal to Protector Somerset. The self-interested nature of Warwick's concern in the matter is revealed in a postscript. He clearly anticipated, or had already received, a grant of the rights there. However,

'commotion time' of 1549. Warwick's lamentation that, had it not been for Somerset's pleasure, he would never have allowed the park to have been ploughed, hints not only at a possible connection between this localised episode and a power struggle at the highest level of Tudor politics, but also at a more general interpretation of the Protector himself.

⁵³ The reference to 'the lorde grete master' suggests that the bill was addressed to the Master of Requests: Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p.89; O'Day, *Tudor Age*, p.153. Requests was the court for poor men's justice. It was Somerset's policy to encourage people to complain to this court: see SP 10/8/4.

⁵⁴ The *OED* definition of 'varlet' is interesting: the word, originally designating a serving man, is used here in a perjorative sense as an abusive form of address (a person of low, mean, or knavish disposition; a knave, a rogue, a rascal). Christofer presumably thought it would be more difficult to remove crops than livestock; Warwick subsequently accused him of spoiling pasture that would have yielded large amounts of hay. Cf. the Caddington Common enclosure dispute: Hindle, 'Persuasion and Protest', 55-58.

⁵⁵ The exact nature of the office Christofer held is unclear. He may possibly have been keeper of the park. Supposedly he had 'made good gayne of his offyce nat moche for the kinges advantage'.

opposition to Warwick came not only from the commons, but also from a number of more powerful local residents, who boasted that they would keep the parks from him.⁵⁶

Henry Polsted's reference to 'thes late sturres about Gilford' (July 1549) provides further evidence of disorder in the county.⁵⁷ Interestingly, he seems to suggest that these disorders resulted, at least in part, from the lack of strong resident justices and reliable gentlemen in Surrey. He complained to Cecil in August 1549 that 'the partyes of Gilford ffarneham Godalmyng Chertsey and thother paryshes thereaboutes are veray weak of men of worship'. Following the death of Sir Christopher More, Polsted requested more Justices of the Peace to be appointed in these areas, naming William More, John Vaughan, John Birch, John Agmondesham, and Lord Arundel as suitable candidates for the commission. Notably, Arundel was recommended precisely because he had done 'veray moche good' at the time of the Guildford stirs. Arundel, perhaps similarly troubled by local weakness, was concerned about the membership of the commission of oyer and terminer appointed by the end of June 1549, the issue of which suggests a considerable degree of disorder, although apparently no executions were carried out. Arundel opposed Sir William Goring's appointment because he was not renowned for administering good justice, and asked Petre to encourage him to withdraw.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ These included John Skinner and Anthony Browne. The animosity between Skinner and Warwick may have owed something to religious differences. Although religion did not divide Surrey into factions during Edward's reign (cf. Hants.), it served to deepen existing political or personal divisions: Robison, 'JPs of Surrey', p.265; for the composition of the Surrey bench in 1547-49, see pp.253-62 and appendix 1. Enclosure was also 'a sore point at this time between two local JPs, Sir Thomas Cawarden and William Sackville', a member of the largely conservative Howard faction: Robison, 'JPs of Surrey', pp.257, 264. William Sackville complained to Star Chamber about the destruction of hedges on land belonging to the manor of Caterham between 1547 and 1553: STAC 3/3/49.

⁵⁷ This account and all quotations are taken from SP 10/8/48: Henry Polsted to William Cecil, 29 August 1549, unless otherwise stated. Henry Polsted of Guildford was newly appointed to the Surrey commission of the peace on 26 May 1547, and was a member of the quorum. He was closely linked to the Mores: Robison, 'JPs of Surrey', pp.257, 261 and appendix 1.

⁵⁸ SP 10/7/44. There is much confusion among historians as to the exact significance of Arundel's statement concerning Sir William Goring and the commission. The wording in the manuscript is unclear: whether it reads 'his fame soundeth *it...*' or 'his fame sowndeth *not ...*' is a matter of controversy. According to Cornwall, Arundel was concerned about Goring's appointment to the commission because

Arundel's concerns clearly highlight the importance of personal politics in the face-to-face society of mid-Tudor England. He was right to give such weight to the matter, given that a Herbert, a Northumberland, or a Carew could ignite the flames of rebellion just as surely as an Arundel or a Grey could snuff them out. Polsted and Arundel's picture of events in Surrey hints at the kind of fundamental collapse in local government that enabled localised disorder to escalate into rebellion in Kent, Hampshire, the South-West and Norfolk in 1549.⁵⁹ Polsted lamented the lack of a common gaol in Surrey or Sussex, which, in his opinion, allowed a great many wrong-doers to go unpunished.⁶⁰

An Elizabethan source provides additional evidence of 'a fairly serious riot' at Witley Park, south of Godalming, in July 1549, during which the 'rebels' threw down fences surrounding the former common.⁶¹ It has been suggested that the rioters' grievance grew from Henry VIII's creation of two parks at Nonsuch Palace;⁶² that these were objections to the extension of an old enclosure,⁶³ or that there was dissatisfaction concerning the collection of a grant for the king from the county of eight pence in the

he lacked a popular reputation for the administration of good justice: *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.88 and Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.14 (where Sir William Goring has been read Sir William George). Cf. Jordan, who argues that Arundel requested that Goring should be included in the commission because he was respected by the people for his fair administration of justice: *Edward VI*, p.447. If Goring was not for the commission, why would Arundel be writing to Petre to get him removed? Robison has speculated that the people's dislike of Goring may have had religious grounds, since Goring was 'an ardent Protestant and dedicated adherent of the Seymours'. However, there is no real indication to suggest that the Surrey rebels were conservative in their sympathies: 'JPs of Surrey', pp.264-65. On the apparent lack of executions, see Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.154.

⁵⁹ For Herbert's role in the South, see Ch. 2. For Kent and Hampshire, see below and ch. 2. For Norfolk and the South-West, see my 'Problematising the 1549 Rebellions', pp.9-19.

⁶⁰ SP 10/8/48.

⁶¹ Quoting Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.88. SHC, Loseley MS 2014/6 (30 June, 1549).

⁶² Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.447; *VCH Surrey* 4, p.430; *VCH Surrey* 3, p.268.

⁶³ *VCH Surrey* 4, p.430. Witley Park was said to have been six miles in circuit: PRO LR 2/190, f.134v. In 1596, the park contained approximately 400 acres, consisting of 100 acres of pasture, 2 acres of meadow, and 298 acres of woodland and heathland: E 178/2259. That enclosure for parks was a particular grievance in Surrey is suggested by disturbances at Henley and Woking: *VCH Surrey* 4, p.430. Both Henley and Woking were substantial deer parks in 1607: BL Harley MS 3749. Manning notes that 'attacks upon aristocratic parks in the Weald of Sussex and Surrey were frequent in the mid-Tudor period': *Village Revolts*, p.48.

pound from every cloth's value in July 1549, since both Guildford and Godalming were centres of the Surrey cloth industry.⁶⁴

Robert Johnson, an old inhabitant, referred to the 1549 riots at Witley, stating that there had been no common highway from Rake Mill through Sattenham Farm in Witley 'untyll the tyme of the generall Rebellion in theis partes' when the 'parke of witley was pulled downe'.⁶⁵ This 'somewhat obscure allusion to a bygone political event' not only reveals that the 'commotion time' was still relatively fresh in the inhabitants' minds as late as 1577, it also raises the possibility that the 1549 disorders at Witley, like those in Cambridge, were in some way associated with re-establishing common rights of way.⁶⁶ On the basis of Robert Johnson's testimony it might be safe to assume that at least some contemporaries perceived of these disorders, not in terms of isolated outbreaks, but as having a wider reference and significance. Events in Surrey, Sussex and beyond may have been regarded as a cluster of risings, or as part of a more-or-less unified protest movement focused on the southern or south-eastern counties. On 10 July, with a naïve optimism (in view of later events in Hampshire), the Council assured Lord Russell that Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Hampshire and Surrey had been quietened.⁶⁷ Clearly, unrest continued at Witley after 1549. 'One Holowaie of Witlegh' was imprisoned in May 1551, for 'lewde practises and talkes tending unto rebellion'.⁶⁸ Perhaps 'Holowaie' had also been instrumental in stirring up trouble two years earlier.

⁶⁴ SHC, Loseley MS 2014/7. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.155.

⁶⁵ E 178/2244. Robert Johnson's deposition forms part of a dispute between Thomas Jones, gent., the farmer of the manor of Witley and John Mellarshe of Rake in Witley, yeoman, over a pond and a way through the demesnes of Witley manor, investigated by a special commission of the Exchequer in 1576 (depositions taken in 1577). For a detailed account of the dispute and its background, see Montague S. Giuseppi, 'Rake in Witley With Some Notices of its Former Owners and of the Ironworks on Witley and Thursley Heaths', *SYAC* 18 (1903), 11-22. Witley Park was in use as a deer park by the 1560s, but it is not known to have been stocked with deer as early as 1549. The pales of the park had been restored by 1596: E 178/2259.

⁶⁶ Quoting Giuseppi, 'Rake in Witley', 17. Cf. the complaints at Cambridge and Ely: below.

⁶⁷ Council to Lord Russell, 10 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.24 and note a.

⁶⁸ *APC* 3, p.272. This is probably the Henry Holewey listed as a copyhold tenant of Witley manor in the 1547/48 survey: LR 2/190, f.134v. He seems to have been released, since a Henry Holloway of

II: Cambridgeshire, Essex and Kent

Cambridgeshire

Cambridge and Barnwell

Moving northwards, fragmentary evidence relating to events in Cambridge suggests that the disorders in this county were far more serious than at first appears. On 9 July ‘warning was given in all colleges that the companyes shulde go to their bookes & talke of no newes concerning upprysing’.⁶⁹ Dr Redman’s lecture on the first psalm was rudely interrupted at nine o’clock the following morning,⁷⁰ when he, along with other heads of colleges, was suddenly summoned by the vice-chancellor to prevent a crowd of six hundred pulling down ‘b[ailiff] smythes close’ at Barnwell.⁷¹ The disorder was not easily quelled: the vice-chancellor and the mayor ‘met twyse that day’ in St Mary’s church ‘abowt that matter’, which ‘at lenth [sic.] was hardly pacyfied’.⁷² Unusually, the town and university put aside their differences and joined forces to restore order in July 1549.

This commotion at Barnwell took the local and central authorities by surprise. The task force assembled to deal with the disorder consisted of those heads of colleges who happened to be present at the ‘common scholes’ at the time of the outbreak, reflecting a

Chiddingfold, husbandman, aged 68 years, was a deponent in the Exchequer proceedings between Thomas Jones and John Mellarshe in 1576-77: Giuseppi, ‘Rake in Witley’, 16.

⁶⁹ CCCC MS 106, f.490r cr. (recto of 3rd unfoliated folio after f.490).

⁷⁰ Dr Redman was master of Trinity College by 1550/51: Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.54.

⁷¹ Bailiff Smith has not been conclusively identified. MacCulloch has suggested to me (personal communication) that he was the Dr Smith who preceded Matthew Parker as vice-chancellor; R. Masters, *The History of the College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary, commonly called Bene’t, in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1753), p.79. According to Cooper, there was no bailiff of this name at the time of the disorders. Alexander Smyth was bailiff in 1546-47; Thomas Smyth in 1547-48; and Andrew Smyth in 1549-50. Cooper suggests that officeholders retained the title and that the close near Fenditton which Thomas Smyth had leased for twenty years in 1547 was the target of the riot: *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.36 n.4. The crowd numbered 600, rather than the 200 Cooper proposes: p.36.

real degree of panic. Cranmer had dispatched Martin Bucer to Cambridge only two days earlier, revealing that the disorders which swept through East Anglia in the first week of July were completely unanticipated by the centre. Arriving at Christ's College on 8 July, Bucer awoke the following day to find the colleges abuzz with the news of commotion and promptly fled to Ely to seek sanctuary.⁷³

All this sounds very innocent – no more than an ‘ordinary’ or ‘large-scale’ enclosure riot, which was suppressed in its early stages.⁷⁴ Yet the 1549 protestors may have drawn on a dangerous precedent. This episode is remarkably reminiscent of an earlier incident in 1381, when the rebels marched to Barnwell Priory and broke down the close there. The only difference was that the mayor led the rebels in the assault on Barnwell Priory in 1381, whereas his successor led the efforts to suppress the rebels in 1549.⁷⁵

The Cambridge commons drew up a petition of grievances, entitled ‘Complayntes at the Insurrection’, although it is unclear at exactly what point in the protest these articles were submitted to the enclosure commissioners.⁷⁶ From these articles, and from a collection of ballads and verses sung by the commotioners, we can gain an insight into the nature of the rebels’ grievances and the character of the south-eastern disturbances. Together, these sources reflect the diverging social and economic interests of the Corporation and the inhabitants. It was ‘the false flattering freemen of Cambridge’ who were ‘the open and secret enemies of the poor’.⁷⁷ The way in which the rebels chose to represent their demands deserves consideration. Ravensdale makes the valid point that the Cambridge rebels’ list of grievances may have been shaped, to some degree, by the

⁷² CCCC MS 106, f.409cr.

⁷³ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.431.

⁷⁴ For an earlier violent enclosure riot at Cambridge on 26 March 1549 involving a close allegedly leased by the master and fellows of Benet (Corpus Christi) College, see STAC 2/26/413.

⁷⁵ R.B. Dobson (ed.), *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke, 1983), pp.42, 242.

⁷⁶ Cambridge's ‘Complayntes at the Insurrection’ are reproduced in the appendix below.

⁷⁷ Quoting from a ballad printed by Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 5, p.286: cited *VCH Cambs.* 3, p.14.

enclosure commissioners' expectations, in much the same way that the Essex and Norfolk rebels dressed their demands in 'commonwealth' ideology and garnished them in the language of 'Protestantism' to appeal to Protector Somerset.⁷⁸

Many of the enclosures the rebels plucked down in July 1549 were of recent standing: the heads of colleges, the mayor and the townsmen debated enclosing the town's commons in June 1548. Whilst the freemen of Cambridge may have given their consent to the enclosures, the poorer commons obviously had no say in the matter, creating a division between the Corporation, the University and the freemen, on the one hand, and the commoners on the other.⁷⁹ Of the thirty-three formal articles drawn up by the Cambridgeshire commons, the fifth explains the immediate catalyst of the rising:

We fynde that a close that was late taken in bye baylyff Smythe owte of the common, ought to be layde open and to be common again, as heretofore it hathe beene accustomed

Yet the complaints reveal a concern about enclosure in its widest sense. The Cambridge inhabitants were anxious to defend the right of shack on common lands (articles 4, 6, 27, 28); to restore common lands, ways, and 'bawls' (articles 10, 14, 20, 21, 23-26, 33); to prevent 'bawls' and cartways being ploughed up in Cambridge Field, and parts of the common highway from being enclosed (articles 16-19, 32); and to procure compensation for enclosed common lands (articles 3, 22). Their grievances concerned the overstocking of the commons (articles 7 and 8); the decay of houses of husbandry and almshouses (articles 1, 9, 12, 29); the landowners' tendency to sever the houses, lands and sheepgates of their farms (articles 2, 31);⁸⁰ and more general offences such as 'the common Jakes' built on part of the common green behind Trinity College

⁷⁸ Ravensdale, 'Landbeach in 1549', p.98. On Essex, see below.

⁷⁹ CCCC MS 106, ff.287-88.

⁸⁰ Presumably a form of rackrenting.

(article 15). The commoners also wanted to protect Cambridge Common from use by 'strangers' (article 30).

These complaints suggest that population growth had put unsustainable demands on the common, creating a local conflict over land use. The immediate solution – the 'improvement' and enclosure of parcels of the common land – disenfranchised the poorer inhabitants from the common. This redefinition of community caused the inhabitants to rise in 1549. Who were the offenders and the rebels' targets? Those charged with unlawful enclosure in 1549 included Mr Recorder Hynde, who overstocked Cambridge Common; Richard Brackyn, the mayor; two former mayors, Ralph Bickerdike and John Faune; Thomas Kimbolde, a common councillor; Smyth, a former bailiff; and four Cambridge Colleges.⁸¹ Whilst some complaints (such as the small enclosures made from the common and overstocking) reflect those of the East Anglian and Midland rebels, others (such as the conflict over land use and the colleges' reclamation and development of 'the Backs') were more specific to Cambridge and closer in nature to the localised grievances at Landbeach, Sleaford or Northaw.⁸²

'Jack of the North', a dialogue in verse, provides a clear statement of the insurgents' aims and the rhetoric of social justice which informed their actions, largely confirming the impression of the protest given by the thirty-three articles.⁸³ The Cambridge rebels tore up the stakes which marked out the new enclosures on the town's commons, casting them into the river. The rebels believed that they did 'but ryght'. Their poverty, and the injustice and illegality of the enclosures (which were made without consent),

⁸¹ Thomas Kimbolde, later mayor of Cambridge was in trouble with the Council in 1551, partly for spreading rumours 'to occation the people to sturre that ther Commons shulde be taken from them and geven to the welthest of thuniversitie'. These rumours 'entred into light heades, and dawngerous talke hathe alrebye folowed': SP 10/13/68. The offending colleges were Jesus, Trinity, King's and Queen's.

⁸² This paragraph is largely based on Ravensdale's analysis: 'Landbeach in 1549', pp.97-98.

⁸³ What follows is based upon the reported speech of 'Jake of the Northe Beyonde the Style': Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, pp.40-42. All quotations are from this source, unless otherwise indicated.

enabled them to act in 'gud conscyence'. In restoring to the poor their rightful commons, the rebels made 'all thynges well orderyd' again.

The insurrection protested against the injustice of 'this covetous nacyon', where covetous men encroached upon the commons and took 'other mennes landes' into their own hands. The social obligations of good lordship were in tatters in mid-Tudor Cambridge, and the rising was a warning of what was to come if the enclosers did not reform themselves. A particular grievance was held against the bailiffs of Cambridge (both present and former), who were singled out as targets during the 'commotion time'. In enclosing and engrossing the commons from the poor, they gave 'yll example to the cowntrye' and set themselves up for a fall. Elite commonwealth rhetoric was clearly echoed at a baser level in the Cambridge commotions,⁸⁴ as it was elsewhere in East Anglia, although without the overt 'Protestantism' with which the Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk rebels dressed their demands. The Cambridgeshire section of the stirs shared the commonwealth concerns of the South-Eastern Rebellion, with a more specific emphasis on the town's bailiffs as enclosure offenders. This difference in emphasis may be explained by the urban setting, and is broadly comparable to the anti-authoritarian tendencies of enclosure rioting at Southampton, Bristol and Colchester. The Cambridge insurgents may even have broken into the town's gaol to release prisoners.⁸⁵ The immediate parallel (religious outlook possibly excepted) is with events in Oxford. Perhaps the Cambridge students joined in the Barnwell enclosure rising, like their Oxford counterparts.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Tyacke, 'Re-thinking the "English Reformation"', p.19

⁸⁵ There is a payment 'for mendinge of the prison after the prisoners brake out' in the Treasurer's Accounts: Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.43. Cf. the Kent and Essex rebels' intentions. For a similar supposition regarding Middlesex, see chapter 6.

⁸⁶ Cf. chapter 5.

This picture of protest opens a window into a hitherto hidden world. Jack of the North, a reputed murderous felon, declared himself 'a Hedge-breaker'. To vindicate the slander on his name, he and his faithful company of 'wrastelers' went about the country at night, casting down hedges and ditches. The 1549 rebels could take courage from the fact that Jack of the North's 'busyness' was despatched quickly and effectively. In Cambridge, as in Norfolk and the South-West, the rebels combined a serious purpose with merriment: it was 'worthe a playe' to watch the stakes being washed away by the river.⁸⁷

The Cambridge stir may have had a much wider reference than is immediately apparent. The authorities sent Edward Loft to the Thetford camp 'as a scout watche', fearing that the Cambridge commons would join forces with their Norfolk counterparts.⁸⁸ And, intriguingly, 'Jack of the North' returned to Stamford once his work in Cambridgeshire was done,⁸⁹ hinting at a link between the East Anglian and Lincolnshire disorders. Stamford was not far removed from the centre of the Leicestershire and Rutland Rebellion, and roving agitators like Jack of the North probably played an important role in disseminating disorder throughout the realm in 1549.⁹⁰

The Cambridge commotion provoked an immediate reaction, testifying to its significance. The mayor and vice-chancellor wasted no time in informing Protector Somerset of the disorders, despatching a letter on the very day of the rising. Three days later, Somerset congratulated the mayor and vice-chancellor for their 'good wyse

⁸⁷ The 'campyng tyme' in Norfolk may have been associated with football: MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p.302, n.38. The South-Western Rebellion was rebuffed as a midsummer game: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.170.

⁸⁸ Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.43.

⁸⁹ Other participants, such as Tom of Trumpington Street, were evidently more local.

⁹⁰ The Lincolnshire and Rutland Rebellion is examined in chapter 7.

dealing'.⁹¹ As Somerset proclaimed, the Cambridge 'mysorders' were 'the more part easely holpen att the begynning'.⁹² To consolidate this peace and further appease the commons, a royal commission was issued 'for the redresse of unlawfull inclosures and suche enormities'.⁹³ Paradoxically, the Cambridgeshire commons may have acted in anticipation of this very commission in July 1549 (as was the case with the April enclosure proclamation and the spring disorders). It is surely no coincidence that the Cambridgeshire stirs began on 9 July, the day after Hales' second enclosure commission was issued. News of successful anti-enclosure action in Kent perhaps encouraged the Cambridgeshire commons, like their Norfolk counterparts.⁹⁴

The Cambridgeshire commotions were met with 'both mercye and justice'. The mayor and vice-chancellor were invested with the power to redress 'any manifest unlawfull inclosures of late made', but were also instructed to 'bend' their 'poure and force' if the commons failed to return to order. Neither did the town's authorities escape rebuke. They had failed to provide an example of 'virtue, godlinesse and obedience' for the guidance of the 'rude' and the 'ignorant', which was 'no small chardge'.⁹⁵ Was infighting amongst the town's local governors partly to blame for the 1549 commotions?

On 16 July, Somerset despatched a pardon, 'graunted to certayne persons lately offending within the Countye of Cambridge', in response to William Cecil's appeal for clemency. Cecil apparently used his influence at court to temper the town's retribution, as Denny had done at Northaw the previous year.⁹⁶ Some of the offenders were less fortunate, probably suffering the extreme penalty of the law. Whilst the University and

⁹¹ Somerset to the Mayor and vice-chancellor, 13 July 1549: Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.36.

⁹² Council to the Devonshire JPs, 26 June 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p. 12.

⁹³ Somerset to the Mayor and vice-chancellor, 13 July 1549: Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.37.

⁹⁴ Sotherton, 'Commoyson in Norfolk', p.80

⁹⁵ Somerset to the Mayor and vice-chancellor, 13 July 1549: Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.37.

⁹⁶ Somerset to Cecil, 16 July 1549. Cecil wrote the day before to request the pardon: Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.37. Cf. William Chester's role in the Bristol riots: chapter 3.

the town shared the costs of procuring the general pardon, additional payments were made 'for carrying out of Gallows, & for a newe rope' and 'for setting up and bryngyng in of yt agene'.⁹⁷ Contrary to Bush's belief, the Cambridgeshire episode was not a small, locally contained disturbance. Central government was called upon from the rising's inception, although the Sheriff of Cambridge apparently proceeded with his policy of retribution, regardless of Somerset's advice. The Cambridgeshire troubles had presumably been suppressed by the time the Earl of Warwick reached Cambridge in late August,⁹⁸ although the town was probably still reeling from expenses incurred 'in the commocion tyme at Barnewell', including the cost of employing watchmen.⁹⁹

The 1549 commotions had a more positive outcome in the long-term. As a result of direct action, poorer inhabitants (even those without ploughland) won the right to use the town commons. No person was to pasture sheep on the greens behind Jesus, Trinity and Queen's Colleges, Midsummer Green, Sturbridge Green, Coldham's pastures, Coe-fen, or Trumpington Ford, on pain of a fine of 20s. for every score of sheep.¹⁰⁰ Detailed provisions were made on Hock Tuesday 1551 for pasturing sheep, kine and oxen on the town's other greens and commons.¹⁰¹ In Cambridge, the 'commotion time' represented a battle over the definition of community and common rights, reflecting the concerns of the Northaw Rising in 1548, and leading on to a consideration of the better-known disorders at Landbeach, whose course, character and resolution were very similar.

⁹⁷ Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge 2*, pp.37, 43. Other Cambridgeshire rebels were sent to the tolbooth.

⁹⁷ Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge 2*, p.43. Richard Bowman (the keeper of the tolbooth or town prison) and others were paid 20s. for their expenses in carrying up the rebels. Unfortunately, the number, names and social status of those Cambridgeshire insurgents executed and pardoned have not survived. Three rebels from Stow were transported to London on 25 July: *APC 2*, p.303.

⁹⁸ The Earl of Warwick entered Norwich on 24 August 1549. The mayor and aldermen welcomed him with a gift, and rewarded his trumpeters: Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge 2*, p.43.

⁹⁹ Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge 2*, p.43. The expenses incurred by the mayor of Cambridge are comparable with those of the mayors of Canterbury and Southampton: see below and chapter 3.

¹⁰⁰ Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge 2*, p.46. Later orders were made in 1579 and 1583: pp.369-70, 391-93.

¹⁰¹ Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge 2*, pp.54-55.

Landbeach

The nearby village of Landbeach saw protracted and violent troubles in the spring and summer of 1549, which Ravensdale has aptly termed a miniature Kett's Rebellion.¹⁰² In early May 1549, the tenants of Landbeach resorted to direct action against Richard Kirby, lord of the manor of Brays: an uncompromising man who rode roughshod over local custom, representing 'the archetypal grasping landlord'.¹⁰³ Whereas the lord of Brays had customarily pastured no more than six or seven hundred sheep on Landbeach Common, Kirby 'so overcharged' the waste with 'straungers sheepe' that the tenants and inhabitants had insufficient pasture.

Between 1 and 3 May, the tenants drove the strangers' sheep off the common and impounded them in a nearby lordship, perhaps as much to get their grievances heard in Star Chamber as an end in itself. The court of Star Chamber may have provided the only hope of a favourable settlement if the poor tenants and inhabitants were unable 'to stand againste' Kirby, a 'well alied and frended' gentleman.¹⁰⁴ The tenants exhibited a whole catalogue of grievances against Kirby on 8 June, complaining that they had 'long sustayned his onreasonable oppression'.¹⁰⁵ Kirby, 'beinge so small a frend to ye Comon weale', enclosed common ways and lands, enlarged his holdings by ploughing

¹⁰² Ravensdale, 'Landbeach in 1549', pp.94-116.

¹⁰³ Quoting Tyacke, 'Rethinking the "English Reformation"', p.19. Richard Kirby's roots in the village were shallow. As a newly grown gentleman whose father came from London in Henry VIII's reign, he lacked the kind of local connections which brought dignity and respect: Ravensdale, 'Landbeach in 1549', p.99. Cf. the antagonistic activities of Robert Carr of Sleaford, Lincolnshire: chapter 7.

¹⁰⁴ STAC 3/6/17; STAC 2/24/250; CCCC MS 35, bundle 194a. On 8 June 1549, the tenants complained that Kirby had been 'a great dysturber of the peace' and had recently vexed them with a suit and writs compelling the poorest inhabitants to appear in London (presumably the Star Chamber suit). They feared that Kirby had 'more process in store' against them. Instead of appearing before Somerset on the appointed day in Chancery, Kirby rode to Haddenham 'to make mery' with his son-in-law, to 'wery the tenantes' who were already in London. Kirby apparently tried to stall proceedings further by feigning illness. He had also fetched process from King's Bench against them. His three sons-in-law put up £200-£300 for the legal battle: CCCC MS 35, bundle 194b: 'complaints against Mr Richard Kirby in a Chancery suit with the inhabitants' (2nd, un-numbered set of articles). For evidence of Kirby's litigiousness, see C 1/1333/31 and C 1/1356/17-19.

neighbouring lands,¹⁰⁶ allowed his tenements to fall into decay, took the profits from the commons, extorted the poor, and refused to keep the watch.¹⁰⁷ He overcharged the common with 1,500 'foryneres' sheep, took sixty great cattle in agistment, and pastured large numbers of his own cattle there, so that the inhabitants' livestock had only 'half ther full fedyng'.¹⁰⁸

The disorder escalated on 8 June, when Kirby's men drove the inhabitants' cattle off the common into his pound, demanding a repleve or bribe for their release, 'to stire up summe uprore'.¹⁰⁹ The inhabitants tried to curb Kirby's 'ragynge & furieuse behavyor',¹¹⁰ but he threatened to call in reinforcements from other towns. Thus, a relatively commonplace battle over the commons divided the village into two opposing factions; these called on outside support, widening the geographical focus of the conflict, and almost causing a local civil war.¹¹¹

The situation in Landbeach was like a pressure cooker building up steam, but why did it suddenly explode into open violence in May 1549? Presumably a satisfactory

¹⁰⁵ CCCC MS 35, bundle 194b. Two sets of articles are included: the first is a list of 33 complaints, whilst the second repeats the last four articles of the first and contains further reference to the legal process. All subsequent references are to the former articles. Cf. the Sleaford 'schedule': chapter 7.

¹⁰⁶ Articles 13-15. It was customary for the inhabitants to put their hogs to the shack after harvest, but Kirby proceeded to impound any of the town's hogs he found around his home, although this land formed part of the common (article 24). Kirby had enclosed a 22 acre field and a lane beside Bell's Close, taking the profits from the sale of the timber to himself: CCCC MS 35, bundle 194b (letter concerning the town house and church lot).

¹⁰⁷ Articles 1-8, 18, 26, 29. The defendants claimed that Kirby had only four tenants in Landbeach and these held only small parcels of land: STAC 2/24/250.

¹⁰⁸ Articles 9-11 and STAC 2/24/250. That Cottenham and Waterbeach relieved the situation by allowing the inhabitants of Landbeach access to their larger fens suggests that local communities pulled together in the face of oppression and became embroiled in the 1548-49 disorders.

¹⁰⁹ Quoting article 17. For the inhabitants' view of the riot, see articles 17-23 and STAC 2/24/250 (of which the answer in CCCC MS 35, bundle 194a is a copy). For more details, see the separate catalogue of 'injuries done by mayster Rychard Kyrkbye by poundyng of the inhabytors catell of land bech': CCCC MS 35, bundle 194b.

¹¹⁰ Quoting article 17. Apparently Kirby's violence knew no bounds: his men stooped to assaulting a group of women at the Town's End: article 22. Not even the 'grevous plagis' which had befallen his family served to stop Kirby in his tracks: article 33. The wives' involvement indicates that the Landbeach disturbances were community protests: article 21.

settlement could not be reached in the courts,¹¹² and news of the enclosure proclamations encouraged the Landbeach commons, whilst the master and fellows of Corpus Christi College may have fuelled the disorders.¹¹³ The dispute was a struggle between the 'old' and the 'new' styles of land ownership (represented by Kirby and the college respectively) - between custom and 'commodity' - which focused on the injustice of Kirby's activities.¹¹⁴

Why did this miniature Kett's Rebellion vaporise away into nothing, and why did the Landbeach protestors fail to join forces with Kett, when their grievances closely reflected those of the Norfolk and Suffolk rebels? Matthew Parker, master of Corpus Christi College and rector of the parish, quickly defused the situation and contained the Landbeach disorders.¹¹⁵ Like Arundel, Parker commanded sufficient dignity and respect in his local community to draw on the traditional bonds of paternalism and deference in appeasing the rebels. He struck at the heart of the matter, constructing a new Field Book in October 1549, which clarified and redefined old customs and common rights.¹¹⁶ It was a local solution to what remained, essentially, a local conflict.

¹¹¹ Article 22 and Ravensdale, 'Landbeach in 1549', p.111. Kirby called in a band of armed men from other towns to lie in wait for the townsmen when they tried to enter the common. He also drew on kinship networks: his son-in-law's servants were 'redy to make ffrayes & riots' in Landbeach. See also n.108.

¹¹² That Kirby failed to agree to the 'Ordinances and Pains' for the stinting of the commons made at the Court Leet in 1548 is the most likely explanation as to why regulations, which allowed the tenants and inhabitants to pasture three of their own sheep and two others per acre of the common, became a dead letter. The lawsuits of 1549 make no claim that the commons were stinted: Ravensdale, 'Landbeach in 1549', pp.112-13.

¹¹³ Corpus Christi College owned the manor of Landbeach at this time, including the common, which contained approximately 2,000 acres. All the defendants (except Nicholas Auger) were tenants of the master and fellows. Some of the rioters claimed that the college had encouraged them to participate in the disorders: STAC 2/24/250. Cf. the role played by Magdalen College in the 1549 commotions in Oxford: chapter 5.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Northaw: chapter 2.

¹¹⁵ Matthew Parker was elected Master of Corpus Christi College and vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1544 and was presented to the living of Landbeach the following year. He was elected vice-chancellor again in 1548 and visited Kett's camp at Mousehold, where he 'inveighed' against the rebels in 1549, urging them to 'temperance and sobriety': Masters, *History of the College of Corpus Christi*, pp.75, 80-82; John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1821), pp.34-35, 51-54; *DNB* 5, pp.254-64. Neither Masters nor Strype give an account of Parker's role in the suppression of the Landbeach disorders.

¹¹⁶ The new Field Book was completed by 1 October 1549. Four copies survive: Ravensdale, 'Landbeach in 1549', p.112.

The Landbeach protestors' grievances were localised, leaving Cambridgeshire on the fringes of the East Anglian insurrection. Undoubtedly, their articles echoed Kett's concerns about the overstocking of the commons. Both sets of protestors sought to prevent their lords from commoning upon the commons, called for rents and fines to be set at reasonable rates, and hoped to protect their fishing and wildfowling rights. The Landbeach articles outnumbered Kett's Demands, but were far more particularised: they were directed against Kirby rather than local misgovernment in general.¹¹⁷ Some complaints, specific to the fens, were couched in deferential terms to win the officials' favour,¹¹⁸ although the Landbeach articles lacked the sophisticated 'Protestant' rhetoric of the Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk rebels.

The potentially explosive nature of the situation was recognised, and the matter was dealt with urgently.¹¹⁹ Without Parker's intervention, Landbeach (like Wymondham) might 'have started a local torrent which could have swept up Cambridge's discontents'. Parker was as instrumental in containing disorder in Cambridgeshire as Arundel was in Sussex. His very success has meant that the Cambridgeshire section of the 'commotion time' has almost been forgotten.¹²⁰

Caldecote

Another interesting episode took place at Caldecote in south-west Cambridgeshire, in 1549.¹²¹ 'At the tyme of the commocyon at Norwyche', Robert Peck (clerk of the peace for Cambridgeshire) seized a chalice belonging to Caldecote church and mortgaged it in

¹¹⁷ Cf. the Sleaford articles: chapter 7.

¹¹⁸ For example, the inhabitants sought to protect their wildfowling rights, lamenting that, without their fill of white meat, they lacked the strength to do the king's service: article 12.

¹¹⁹ The copy of the bill held at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge is dated 7 May 1549, only four days after the riot: CCCC MS 35, bundle 194a.

¹²⁰ Quoting Ravensdale, 'Landbeach in 1549', p.115.

¹²¹ The following account is based on C 1/1379/91-92 and C 1/1385/37.

Cambridge, to equip four men 'to serve the kyng for the suppressyon of the same Rebellious persones'.¹²² Since Caldecote was but 'a very small vyllage' of nine households, church goods had to be pawned to raise funds to equip the soldiers the village had been ordered to provide against the Norfolk rebels.¹²³ Caldecote, provides a pointed comparison to Morebath, where the parish equipped and financed five young men to join the western rebels in their camp at St David's Down.¹²⁴ Whether Peck appropriated the chalice 'to his owne use profytt & commodyte', or whether the inhabitants 'refused to redeme' it from the pawnbroker, was debated in two subsequent Chancery suits.¹²⁵

Peck's position as clerk of the peace may have earned him a reputation for encouraging dispute in his own financial interest.¹²⁶ Perhaps misgovernment by local officials was a grievance in Caldecote in 1549, as well as in Norfolk and Suffolk. Certain inhabitants claimed that Peck had wrongfully extorted money from them in 1553, 'for the mayntenance of the late Rebellion of the duke of Northumberland' and 'the suretie of quene Jane', whose bid for the throne was supported by Peck's master, Frances Hynd (lord of Caldecote). Peck ordered the four husbandmen 'to endeavor theymselves wythall dylygence to serve the same low rebellious Duke', threatening them with the loss of their lives, lands and possessions, if they failed to comply.¹²⁷ The Caldecote episode hints at the interplay between local and national politics in July 1553,

¹²² Evidence from parishes in east Cornwall reveals that churchwardens paid their soldiers' wages by raising loans from pawning or selling parish chalices and pyxes, in response to the Helston disorders in 1548: Arthurson 'Fear and Loathing in West Cornwall', 77.

¹²³ Maurice Buckett, one of the plaintiffs, was one of the four soldiers: C 1/1379-92.

¹²⁴ Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, pp.137-38.

¹²⁵ The two chancery suits generated by the Caldecote dispute were brought in 1553 and 1554. According to Peck, the chalice was purchased by George Crede, though the inhabitants claimed Peck refused to return it to them: C 1/1379/91-92.

¹²⁶ This is understandable, considering that the clerk of the peace took fees and tended to monopolise the office for a considerable time. For evidence concerning Peck's reputation (and how contemporaries viewed the role and proceedings of agitators and rumour-mongers, especially weavers), see C 1/1335/65-67 (1553).

¹²⁷ Apparently, the four men did what was asked of them because Peck 'was offyicer in the same shere'. The four marks they handed over for Northumberland's rebellion was never repaid: C 1/1385/37.

and reveals how the ‘commotion time’ and Northumberland’s conspiracy were tied up, at least in this particular context. Events at Caldecote illustrate how the pressure of the rebellions fuelled, and became embroiled in, local disputes.

Ely

Whilst Cambridge, Landbeach, Caldecote and Stow were rocked by disorder in the summer of 1549,¹²⁸ the Isle of Ely apparently remained an oasis of order, largely due to the bailiff, William Saunders’, expenditure on arms and watchmen.¹²⁹ These precautions were seemingly sufficient to prevent open disorder in Ely, despite the rising tide of discontent. Ely was ripe for disorder: the 1549 enclosure commission received over seventy complaints, most concerning small enclosures in the town’s open fields: the loss of rights of shack over enclosed lands was a primary concern.¹³⁰ Small intakes of land from the wastes and fens also caused disgruntlement, and, like Kirby, a number of landholders were accused of overstocking the commons.¹³¹ In several cases, parts of common streams had been enclosed and ‘hurdels’ built to facilitate private fishing.¹³² However, the loss of public rights of way formed the commonest complaint. Approximately twenty rights of way had been obliterated by enclosures or resulted in illegal demands for payment, a common grievance in Cambridgeshire.¹³³ Additionally, Bishop West had antagonistically emparked 180 acres of common land at Chettisham

¹²⁸ On 25 July 1549, a warrant for 10s was granted to Mr Banester’s man for bringing three rebels to London from nearby Stow: *APC* 2, p.303. See map 4.1.

¹²⁹ BL Additional Charter Roll 34274, m.1: bailiffs’ accounts, 1548-49.

¹³⁰ For these complaints, see *VCH Cambs.* 4, pp.40-41, on which the following discussion is based. The complaints involved the demesne farms, the hamlets of Chettisham and Stuntney, and small plots in the town or open fields. Approximately 329 acres had been enclosed in Ely, 1486-1548. Most resentment related to pre-Edwardian enclosures.

¹³¹ Cf. Landbeach and article 29 of Kett’s Demands: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.146.

¹³² See article 17 of Kett’s Demands: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.145. A similar grievance sparked a riot at Wargrave in Berkshire in 1547: Ch. 5.

¹³³ Cf. the Cambridge articles: above.

Bushes prior to being appointed an enclosure commissioner.¹³⁴ ‘The whole body of evidence conveys the impression of much petty irritation, occasioned as often by go-ahead small men as by large land holders; of serious oppression in a few cases; and of dangerous loss of public trust in the paternal integrity of local rule’, which makes the fact that Ely remained quiet in 1549 all the more remarkable.¹³⁵ Vigilance averted major disorder, though the ingredients for popular protest were abundant.¹³⁶

Essex

Saffron Walden

Meanwhile, across the border in Essex, an ‘uprore’ at Saffron Walden set the county alight in July 1549. Sir Thomas Smith (a native of Saffron Walden) was laid up at Eton with the sweating sickness at the time of the rebellions, but was probably kept well-informed of events by family members, and remains our only reliable source.¹³⁷ According to Smith, seditious watchmen instigated the disorder. They did ‘all the mischief themselves, beyng for the most part of that nombre that hath nothyng’. Smith was chiefly concerned with the poor quality of the watch. These were men who had nothing to lose, and everything to gain, from stirring up disorder. They waited for the cover of nightfall to ‘consult how thei may Invent som mischief’, and prevented gentlemen and their servants from travelling freely about the county, perhaps to hinder their attempts to suppress the rebels. All this suggests that the eastern insurgents utilised

¹³⁴ *VCH Cambs.* 4, p.40 n.99. The bishop, prior and almoner emerged from the enclosure commission with tarnished reputations.

¹³⁵ Quoting *VCH Cambs.* 4, p.41. Jordan argues that small yeomen farmers who aggregated fields from various pieces of land were the main target: *Edward VI*, pp.413-14.

¹³⁶ Cf. London: chapter 6.

¹³⁷ What follows is based upon Sir Thomas Smith’s letter to William Cecil, written from Eton on 19 July 1549: SP 10/8/33. My transcription differs from Tytler’s: P.F. Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary, with the contemporary history of Europe, illustrated in a series of original letters*, vol. 1 (London, 1839), pp.185-89. I follow C.S. Knighton in identifying Saffron Walden as the site of the disorder to which Smith refers: *CSPD Edw. VI*, no. 330 (p.127).

a reliable and well-established local network – the watch - to spread the word of rebellion from town to town in 1549.

With the flourish of a literary man, Smith describes the ‘loyterers’, ‘ronabouts’ and ‘camp men’ who agitated disorder. His rich language paints a vivid picture of the process of dissemination in 1549. A great number of ‘ronabouts’ roved about the country, running from place to place, town to town, and shire to shire stirring up rumours, raising tales, and spreading news to move loyal subjects to rebellion. Smith imagined the ringleaders to be lewd ruffians and vagabonds, revealing how disorder was imagined and represented by a leading Tudor statesman.¹³⁸ Latimer’s activities in Kent suggest that this story was not entirely a work of fiction.¹³⁹ Indeed, Smith’s reference to the ‘camp men’ suggests that the Essex disorders were fuelled by wider connections with the Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kentish rebellions.

It was not only the quality, but also the quantity, of watchmen that disturbed Smith. In his eyes, the Saffron Walden disorders resulted from an over-abundance of watchmen. Comotions occurred where the watch exceeded commandments (as in Essex), whilst all was quiet where the watch had been ‘laid down’. Smith’s solution was simple. The justices should prevent unauthorised watchmen moving about the country at night, and ‘no man shuld wache’ without ‘a speciall commaundment’. Such preventative measures were difficult to implement in practice, and Smith hints at more general opposition to dismantling the watch - hardly surprising, considering that the watch traditionally raised the alarm of foreign or rebel invasion. A reliable watch was needed, but this was probably hard to come by in 1549, given the spread of disorder through the ranks of the ‘middling sort’. Infuriatingly, the only possible known

¹³⁸ On Sir Thomas Smith, see Mary Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor Intellectual in Office* (London, 1964).

reference to a Saffron Walden rebel is a pardon issued to William Argent, a cobbler, labourer or shoemaker of Saffron Walden, on 27 July.¹⁴⁰

The timing of the Saffron Walden stirs, and Edward VI's letter to the noblemen of 6 August, suggest an alternative explanation for the disorder. Edward VI commanded the gentlemen to assemble at Saffron Walden on 17 August, armed and ready to fight against Kett, the self-styled 'king' of Norfolk and Suffolk.¹⁴¹ Two days later (if the date of Smith's letter to Cecil is anything to go by), Saffron Walden became embroiled in uproar and tumult. Perhaps 'the agitated preparations' of the gentry contributed directly to the disorders at Saffron Walden in 1549.¹⁴²

A 1548 dispute, in which the 'owte ronnynges' of the manor of Walden were destroyed in a struggle over grazing rights, provides the only indication of the disorder's nature.¹⁴³ Sir George Norton, lord of the manor of Walden 'being a man of covetouse and gredye mynde' had wrongfully manured and occupied sixteen acres of pasture land leased jointly to James Williamson and John Smith, destroying their cattle and the corn which had been growing there. When Norton's livestock were found destroying the corn and grass, and the lessees lawfully impounded them, he sent his servants to break down the gates of the pound, 'without makyng any recompence' to Williamson and Smith, beat their servants, impounded their cattle, and annually withheld from them 'one lode of tymber'. Norton had also 'hewen up' Williamson's 'hedges trees and owte Ronnynges' to increase his adjoining land, allowed all the manor's barns and houses of

¹³⁹ On Latimer, 'the Commonwealth of Kent', see below.

¹⁴⁰ Although Argent's offences are not specifically stated, the fact that his pardon follows those issued to a number of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Norfolk rebels strongly suggests that he participated in the Rebellion of Commonwealth: *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.147.

¹⁴¹ Bodl. MS Smith 69, f.265. Edward VI's letter closely followed a proclamation instructing the gentlemen of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk to return to their homes: BL Cotton Titus MS BII, f.4 (16 August 1549).

¹⁴² Quoting MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.431.

husbandry to fall into disrepair, and wrought the 'utter enpoverishment & undoing' of 'diverse of his pore tenants'. This Chancery suit echoes the localised agrarian concerns voiced at Landbeach (and in Surrey) and embraces, in microcosm, the idiom of 'commonwealth' and social justice, which characterised the Rebellion of Commonwealth.

Colchester

Despite a lack of documentary evidence (neither the county nor the Colchester Quarter Sessions have survived for 1549) there are sufficient hints in the few extant records to suggest that Colchester fell into rebel hands in July 1549.¹⁴⁴ A Chancery suit between Jerome Gylberd, gentleman and Roger and Margaret Grace, creates the impression that, at Colchester (as at Bury St Edmunds, Yarmouth and nearby Bures), the rebels pillaged houses and restored them to the poor, dispensing their own brand of social justice.¹⁴⁵ The Graces had been given the deeds to Gylberd's messuage in Holy Trinity parish for safe keeping 'in the late tyme of Rebellion', but instead they burned the deed book so that it would never return to Gylberd's hands.¹⁴⁶ Destroying documents was a tried and tested rebel tactic, used widely in 1381. The Colchester case is remarkably similar to Chancery cases arising from the West Country in the wake of the South-Western Rebellion, suggesting that this 'weapon of resistance' was also employed by the 1549 rebels.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ C 1/1187/15-17. All subsequent quotations are taken from this source. For the decree, see C 78/5/38. The decree dates the exhibition of the bill to 18 June 1548.

¹⁴⁴ The Council heard of renewed stirs in Essex on 4 July 1549: BL Cotton Titus MS BV, f.33r.

¹⁴⁵ C 1/1352/88-90.

¹⁴⁶ Jerome Gilbert of Colchester was charged as the author of a seditious bill thrown in the streets of Chelmsford: the affair was considered serious enough for Sir John Gates to be sent down from London to investigate: *APC* 3, 161 (25 November 1550). Other similar bills had been found at Colchester in October 1550: *APC* 3, 138.

¹⁴⁷ Chancery cases arising out of the Western Rebellion include: C 1/1215/8; C 1/1216/55; C 1/1272/49-50; C 1/1272/78-82; C 1/1367/82; C 1/1368/79; C 1/1369/11-20; C 1/1383/2. Cf. the colourful episode at Bures, just across the Suffolk border: STAC 3/3/15; MacCulloch: *Kett's Rebellion in Context*, 43. A similar riot concerning a forcible ouster from a house in the suburbs of Colchester, which began on 4 May

Colchester certainly became embroiled in the ‘commotion time’, although few details of events in the town have survived. This lack of documentation is intriguing. Towns such as Colchester and Yarmouth seem to have done everything in their power to gloss over and minimalise disorder, perhaps going so far as to destroy their records, demonstrating the selective memory of the ‘commotion time’. Irregularity in the survival of Colchester’s records suggests the town may have censored its archives during or just after the ‘commotion time’. Whilst the records of Colchester’s town government are largely intact for the early and late sixteenth century, almost nothing survives for the mid-Tudor period. The same is true for Yarmouth, where records were routinely kept from 1550 onwards, but very little survives from 1549. This type of censorship was not beyond the realms of possibility: the Yarmouth governors tried to excise references to their activities during the Marian succession, whilst Sir Christopher Trychay attempted to obliterate the incriminating word ‘campe’ from Morebath’s parish accounts in the wake of the South-Western Rebellion.¹⁴⁸ Through deliberately forgetting the ‘commotion time’, town officials could avoid reprimands and reprisals for disloyalty, and protect their town’s reputation from allegations of complicity in rebel activity (allegations which certainly plagued Norwich in the aftermath of Kett’s Rebellion). This selective remembering of 1549 lies behind the historiographical tendency to marginalise the disorders outside Norfolk and the West.

All this notwithstanding, fragmentary evidence indicates that Colchester was a major centre of disorder in 1549. It was probably at Colchester that the Essex rebels gathered, formed a camp, and drew up their list of grievances. Although the Essex rebels’ petition is no longer extant, its style and contents can be partially reconstructed from the

1549 and lasted a month, may possibly be regarded as a pre-emptive strike: STAC 2/23/122. For the interrogatories and depositions relating to this suit (*ex parte* Marion Smythe vs. Lewes Kempe), see the brown paper folder marked ‘papers and fragments’ in the STAC 3/7/61-104 box.

government reply of 5 July.¹⁴⁹ These articles were drawn up by the mysterious ‘William Essex’ (perhaps the pseudonym of the captain of the Essex rebels),¹⁵⁰ and submitted to the Council by the enclosure commissioners, Sir Thomas Darcy and Sir John Gates, shortly before 5 July. The timing is crucial. The Essex commons submitted their petition before Kett’s rebels began to gather at Wymondham on 6 July. Was Essex, then, the precedent for the form of protest adopted throughout the south-east in the summer of 1549? Was it here that the ‘camping’ movement originated? And were the activities of the Essex and Kentish insurgents the trigger which sparked emulation in Norfolk? Perhaps events in Essex, rather than Norfolk, should be regarded as the beginning of the so-called ‘Kett’s Rebellion’.

It was because petitioning proved a successful strategy at Colchester in 1549, as it had at Northaw in 1548, that the Essex commotions did not escalate into disorder of the proportions of Kett’s Rebellion or the Western Rebellion. It was the Essex rebels’ very success that prescribed the limits of the ‘commotion time’ in the county. The Essex insurgents clearly succeeded in representing themselves as ‘humble petitioners’, who, having declared their grievances in ‘speciall articles’, patiently awaited reform. The implication is that this gathering, which took place in the initial stages of the ‘commotion time’, was a peaceful mass demonstration, rather than an armed insurrection. Despite the language of social hierarchy which permeates the Council’s reply, the Essex commons were apparently not considered to be ‘unnatural’ rebels who had forgotten their duty of obedience. In the Council’s eyes, the Essex Rebellion remained confined within the accepted limits of popular politics.

¹⁴⁸ I am grateful to Andy Wood for sharing his knowledge of the Yarmouth records. On Morebath, see Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, p.138. Compare the case of London: chapter 6.

¹⁴⁹ What follows is based on my reading of the Council’s reply to ‘the seditious persones in Essex’, 5 July 1549: Shagan, ‘Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions’ (letter 9), 62–63.

On 5 July, the Essex commons were informed that their demands had been 'graunted and condescended unto'. Was it the language and tone of William Essex's articles that produced the desired result, or were their demands considered just? It is clear from the Council's reply that the Essex rebels framed their demands by recourse to 'sondrie textes of scripture' and that, on the whole, the Council responded positively to these citations, remarking 'that ye doe acknowledge the Gospell whiche ye saye ye greatlie hunger'. Yet, as the Council posed the question: did the rebels' adoption of the gospels 'proceade from the harte', or was it 'only a recytall of textes' for their 'present purpose'?¹⁵¹ This question cannot be answered definitively: it is difficult to distinguish between rhetoric and reality to gain an impression of rebel intentions that were obviously never meant to be fully understood.

This may have been a strategy of protest (based on a genuine evangelical outlook: Protestantism was after all closely tied up with commonwealth ideology). Another complementary statement in the Council's reply hints that, in contrast to the western rebels' (and Northaw protestors') open disavowel of Protector Somerset's authority to introduce change during the minority, the Essex rebels praised the godliness of the young Josiah, proclaiming their loyalty to Edward VI, who was more fit to rule than 'kings of much elder years'.¹⁵²

It may be more than coincidence that the Essex rebels put their trust in Sir John Gates (to whom the Northaw protestors had appealed).¹⁵³ Gates was a favoured local justice (and a known evangelical) with links at court, who could act as intermediary between commons and government. This trust in Gates was not misplaced. Fearing that

¹⁵⁰ Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', p.13.

¹⁵¹ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 9), 62.

¹⁵² Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 9), 62.

¹⁵³ Chapter 2.

the people would 'be brought in more rage than bifore' if their expectations were frustrated, Darcy and Gates asked the Council to despatch letters, on 10 July, authorising them to command the sheriff of Essex 'to pulle downe' as many of the king's and other men's parks as were 'worthie the pulling downe', 'to disclose and sett open commons and highe ways', and to call those who had offended against the enclosure statutes before them.¹⁵⁴

Darcy and Gates received the commons' grievances, strongly suggesting that enclosure was the predominant concern of the Essex rebellion: a hypothesis that can now be strengthened on the basis of Walter's study of popular violence in Colchester. As Walter has observed, the enclosure of Colchester's common lands 'may have played some part in what appears to have been a hitherto unremarked echo of the 1549 rebellions'.¹⁵⁵ In a process that mirrors the long-term resolution of the Cambridge enclosure revolt, mid-sixteenth-century conflict over Colchester's common fields resulted in an attempted bill in Parliament and, subsequently, a ruling that prevented the Corporation from selling or enclosing any of the commons without the consent of the majority of the common council.¹⁵⁶ This concern for consensus is also evident in the Privy Council's final ruling over the enclosure of Cambridge's greens, fens and commons.

¹⁵⁴ The commission led by Darcy and Gates clearly encompassed Essex. This power of redress distinguished the 1549 commission from its 1548 precedent: Hales, *Defence*, p.lvi, lxi. Their concern for 'the people' and the promises 'made unto them' hints that Darcy and Gates may have been widely regarded as champions of the commons, although their concern for the people and the promises 'made unto them' arose partly from 'ferre lest the peple will thinke we do but onlie delay tyme with them'. Darcy later played a central role in the commission of *oyer and terminer* in Essex in September 1549: below. For Somerset's instructions to the enclosure commissioners, see SP 10/8/11, SP 10/8/25.

¹⁵⁵ Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence*, p.78. Essex and Kent had been amongst those counties which first saw enclosure risings in spring 1549: Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, p.917.

¹⁵⁶ Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, vol. 1 (1768, reprinted 1978), p.94 & note F.

An earlier attempt to enclose and rent out the half-year lands had met with opposition in Colchester in 1538 and, when a further 100 acres of the town's fields were enclosed between the late sixteenth century and the 1630s, the freeburgesses renewed their resistance, despite the Corporation's efforts to appease popular criticism by assigning the rents to poor relief (a strategy also adopted by the Cambridge Corporation in 1583).¹⁵⁷ Enclosure and stinting - the immediate solutions to the problem of population pressure on town lands - restricted rights of common (especially over the half-year lands) and, inevitably, sparked discontent. Neither did they solve the problem. Despite a series of stints beginning in 1573, illegal pasturing on the commons continued unabated into the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁸

This evidence suggests that, in Essex, as in Cambridgeshire, a local solution was called for to redress grievances which had fuelled regional rebellion. Resolving 'the crisis of 1549' was clearly a long and intricate process in the localities. Whilst Matthew Parker's Field Book settled the Landbeach situation in October 1549, conflicts over the town commons at Southampton, Cambridge and Colchester dragged on until the 1570s, the 1580s and the 1630s respectively.¹⁵⁹

The pattern of response gives an impression of the scale of the Essex Rebellion. The general pardon was carried twice into Essex before 15 August.¹⁶⁰ The rebellion's true scale emerges from the chamberlain's account of the expenses incurred in bringing the

¹⁵⁷ Half-year lands were commonable between Lammas (12 August) and Candlemas (14 February), although the dates were probably more flexible in practice. For a detailed discussion of the management of Colchester's half-year lands to c.1790, see *VCH Essex* 9, pp.257-58. The half-year lands, which were located around the walls of the town, are said to have contained some 500 acres: Morant, *History of Essex*, p.92.

¹⁵⁸ Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence*, pp.78-80.

¹⁵⁹ On Southampton, see chapter 3.

¹⁶⁰ 'To the commons assembled there in three severall places': E 101/76/35, 2nd foliation, f.111; *APC* 2, p.313. The main rebel camp was probably at Colchester. Other likely locations include Maldon and Braintree (see map 4.1).

Colchester rebels to justice.¹⁶¹ On 31 August 1549, the Earl of Oxford and Sir Thomas Darcy sat ‘uppon the atteyntment by lawe marshall of vj persones’. All six were hanged, ‘one at every of the foure gates’.¹⁶² A new pillory was made ‘for women’ at this time, and set up alongside the existing one. Might we infer that women were implicated in the Colchester disorders, and that a number of them were subjected to lesser punishment?

The rebels’ goods were made forfeit at a sessions of the peace held after 29 November. A number of ‘lesser’ rebels, indicted by juries at Brentwood and Chelmsford, also had their goods confiscated.¹⁶³ A commission of *oyer and terminer* for the shire was appointed to sit at Brentwood, and Lord Rich made arrangements for conveying the two ringleaders – William Essex and Nicholas Moore – there, under heavy guard. Essex’s ‘boye’ was to be sent down with them to give evidence against his master.¹⁶⁴ The Privy Council was evidently still none the wiser concerning Essex’s role in the ‘Rebellion of Commonwealth’; the commission was almost certainly intended to disclose the identity and intentions of the rebel leadership. The outcome of the trial was

¹⁶¹ BL Stowe MS 829, ff.24r-32r. This source was first brought to historical attention by M.S. Byford, ‘The Price of Protestantism: Assessing the Impact of Religious Change on Elizabethan Essex: The Cases of Heydon and Colchester’ (DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1988), pp.109-10. The following discussion owes much to Byford’s work.

¹⁶² Henry Lyard, a goldsmith; William Smyth, a tallow chandler; John ?Y[n]stance; Richard Tillett; William Johnson; and Robert Horsley. The name of a further rebel, Thomas Baryn[gton], was struck out of John Maynard’s account. Lyard is known to have suffered at the east gate. The remaining two were hanged at the ‘Galhouse’ set up next to the pillory in the market place.

¹⁶³ These included: Richard Baryngton, who was sent to prison after his trial at Chelmsford; Peter Cleyshe; and the notorious trouble-maker, Nicholas Moore of Colchester, indicted at Brentwood ‘for beyng of counsell to the insurreccions’. Both Peter Cleyshe *alias* Jenkyn, ‘shomaker’, and Robert (*sic.*?) Baryngton, ‘cowper’, of Colchester, were pardoned on 27 December 1549: *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.2. Moore was sent to London, where he remained a prisoner in the Tower, alongside William Essex, the author of the July petition and the probable leader of the Essex rebels, on 18 September 1549: BL Stowe MS 829, f.29v. Further payments to James Brown for bringing up Alleyn of Essex on 25 July, and for bringing up certain seditious persons on 30 December 1549 probably relate to the rebellion: *APC* 2, p.303; E 315/258, f.83r.

¹⁶⁴ Presumably the John Kokks, ‘late servant to William Essex’ who is listed as a prisoner in the Tower at the end of October 1549: BL Cotton Titus MS BII, f.67. Kokks does not appear in the SP 10/9/48 list. Lord Rich remained in Essex until at least 18 September to quieten the rebels, although he is known to have left the county by 6 October: M.E. Coyle, ‘Sir Richard Lord Rich’ (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1965), pp.125-26.

a foregone conclusion. Darcy and his fellow commissioners had already determined that 'Essex showld suffer at Malden and More at Brayntrey'.¹⁶⁵

These executions and pardons give a partial impression of the Essex rebellion's extent and composition. The insurgents were predominantly drawn from Colchester, but came also from other Essex towns, including Saffron Walden, Southminster, and Burnham-on-Crouch.¹⁶⁶ Payne, a Suffolk rebel, was executed at Waltham, suggesting that Waltham may also have been a centre of disorder.¹⁶⁷ Something may be said of the Essex rebels' social composition, although this is unlikely to be wholly representative. The rebel leadership apparently consisted of at least moderately prosperous men. A goldsmith and tallow chandler executed at Colchester each held goods worth five pounds or more; whilst Nicholas Moore, a scrivener (and formerly a freeman of Colchester), was obviously wealthy enough to take 'very many old and blynd titles and suytes' before Chancery, the bailiffs of the town and borough, and the Baas courts, acting as a 'comen councillor'.¹⁶⁸

The apparent reversal in government policy towards the Essex rebels requires explanation. If disorder is a process rather than an event, it follows that government reaction, a part of this process, had also to evolve and adapt at various different stages

¹⁶⁵ Richard Lord Rich (Lord Chancellor) to William Cecil, Leigh, 18 September 1549: SP 10/8/61.

¹⁶⁶ Individual pardons were issued to William Argent, 'cobler', 'laborer' or 'shomaker' of Saffron Walden, on 27 July: *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.147; and to two shoemakers, John Johnson of Southminster and John Petchie of Burnham-on-Crouch, in January 1550: BL Royal MS 18C 24, f.19r. These men were obviously rebels who had been sentenced to execution but later secured a reprieve.

¹⁶⁷ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, p.20; Stow, *Chronicles of England* (1580), p.1041; *APC* 2, p.311. MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 47. This is an interesting aspersion given the involvement of the parish of Waltham Holy Cross in the Northaw Rising, and the rumoured dissolution of Waltham Forest which encouraged the commons to kill the deer there in 1548: chapter 2; *TRP* 1, no. 311 (17 June 1548).

¹⁶⁸ W. Gurney Benham (ed.), *The Red Paper Book of Colchester* (Colchester, 1902), pp.132-36. The chamberlains' accounts include a payment 'for ridyng to London to serche & enqyre of the sute that Nicholas Moore sued the towne of Colchester': BL Stowe MS 829, f.32r. Moore was not learned in the law. That he was an unscrupulous 'popular' lawyer is suggested by the fact that he bargained with his clients to amass the profits to himself. The preponderance of shoemakers amongst the rank and file is noteworthy, especially in light of what we know about the Berkshire conspiracy: chapter 5.

of the 'commotion time'. Somerset's initial conciliatory response to the rebels' petition was a reaction to a large-scale peaceful demonstration, an isolated incident of disorder. At this early stage in the 'commotion time', the government had no idea of what was to come. By late July, when rebellion encompassed the realm, it was clearly another matter. Indeed, the issue of a commission of *oyer and terminer* puts the Essex Rebellion on a par with the Midland Rising of 1607. The chamberlains' accounts provide a hint of the violence committed during the Essex Rebellion. Colchester's east bridge may have been damaged by the rebels: it took twelve days' work to repair the following November.¹⁶⁹

The bailiff of Romford was executed by martial law at Aldgate for discussing news of the situation in Essex (however innocent his remarks), suggesting that rumours of the Essex commotions reached the capital.¹⁷⁰ A similar (but less drastic) incident in Colchester testifies to the strong links forged between the Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk rebels. On 6 August, Sir John Chaundeler, parson of Gayton Thorpe travelled to Colchester, where he dined at William Browne's house, in the company of Roger Peerson, a Colchester priest; John Robinson, the parson of Tadeston, Suffolk; and Richard Kent of Sturton, Suffolk. Over supper, Chaundeler boasted about the size of the rebel camps at Bury St Edmunds and Norwich, and criticised the Council for refusing to hear the camp men's complaints, in what was evidently an attempt to re-ignite the rebellion in Essex. The Colchester and Suffolk men were promptly apprehended the next day, but Chaundeler, the Norfolk agitator, had already fled.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ BL Stowe MS 829, f.29v. A 'grete post' at the north bridge also had to be shored up in January 1550: f.30r.

¹⁷⁰ John Stow, *The Survey of London*, ed. Ernest Rhys (London, 1965), p.131; *Annals of England* (1605), p.1005. Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, pp.18-19. See also chapter 6.

¹⁷¹ BL Lansdowne MS vol. 2, no.25. Other agitators include Thomas Putto, a Colchester tanner, whose seditious preaching caused the Council considerable concern: *APC* 2, p.298; Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, pp.12, 19.

Kent¹⁷²

Boxley Park

The Privy Council seriously underestimated the scale of the eastern commotions in July 1549: Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Kent were the very heartland of the ‘campyng tyme’.¹⁷³ An intriguing set of Elizabethan interrogatories and depositions suggests that Penenden Heath was the site of a Kentish rebel camp.¹⁷⁴ The heath - an ancient shire meeting place located at the centre of Kent, steeped in a tradition of popular revolt – was the obvious choice for a camp in 1549. It was here that Wat Tyler raised his Kentish forces in 1381, and Jack Cade mustered his rebel army in 1450.¹⁷⁵ More sinisterly, Penenden Heath was the site of the gallows; some of the Boxley and Maidstone rebels may have met their fates here in 1549.¹⁷⁶ These Elizabethan depositions (which bear comparison with other *ex post facto* depositions concerning the ‘commotion time’ at Witley Park, Petworth, and Netherfield) are revealing of the anti-enclosure activity at Boxley Park in 1549.

The central question at issue in this 1588 dispute over Boxley Park was whether Sir Thomas Wyatt’s enclosures were thrown open ‘in the tyme of the Rebellyon of Comonwelth’, and which enclosed grounds or commons ‘were throwne open by the

¹⁷² For the background, see T.R. Murphy, ‘The Maintenance of Order in Early Tudor Kent, 1509-1538’ (PhD thesis, Northwestern University, 1975); M.L. Zell, ‘Church and Gentry in Reformation Kent, 1533-1553 (PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974).

¹⁷³ Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.32. See also Jordan, *Edward VI*, pp.443, 446.

¹⁷⁴ E 133/6/815; E 134/30 & 31 ELIZ I/MICH/19; E 134/31 ELIZ I/HIL/16.

¹⁷⁵ J. Cave-Brown, *The History of Boxley Parish* (Maidstone, 1892), pp.14, 24-26. This tradition of popular disorder continued at least until 1828. The Patent Roll of those pardoned in Cade’s Rebellion supports the identification of Penenden Heath as the mustering-place. Many of the rebels came from Maidstone and the surrounding villages, including Boxley itself. The heath was the only open space suited for such a purpose. Cf. Enslow Hill’s significance to the Oxfordshire rebels of 1596: Ch. 9. More work needs to be done to discover whether other open air meeting places used by the 1549 rebels, such as Portsdown Hill in Hampshire and Netherfield Down in Sussex, were associated with similar traditions.

¹⁷⁶ Elizabeth Melling (ed.), *Kentish Sources VI: Crime and Punishment* (Maidstone, 1969), p.162 and plate IV.

people in that Rebellyon with in the parishe of Boxley'.¹⁷⁷ According to the deponents, the twelve acre parcel of woodland lying between Boxley Park and Penenden Heath, enclosed (out of Penenden Heath to Boxley Park) by Robert Fenton (the farmer of Newenham Court) at Wyatt's order c.1542-48, 'was not throwen open in the tyme of rebellion of comon welthe'; whilst the 'Three Corner Croft', another little croft, three parcels of Penenden Heath (two of which belonged to the manor of Newenham Court), and a parcel of land in the hands of Mr Fisher of Detlyng 'were then cast open and thrown downe by the people in that rebellion'.¹⁷⁸

The identity of the encloser; and the method, date and purpose of the enclosure may be important in determining why only certain enclosures were targeted by the Boxley rebels in 1549. A distinction might usefully be drawn between enclosure by agreement ('beneficial' enclosure) and arbitrary ('detrimental') enclosure.¹⁷⁹ Robert Byshoppe suggests that the method of enclosure may have been the deciding factor, declaring that Robert Fenton severed and enclosed the twelve acre parcel of woodland from Penenden Heath 'by consent of the neighbors and tenants there', so that they might have wood for fuel.¹⁸⁰ Felix Fisher had advised him that enclosing the woodland would ensure 'the better growthe of the wood'.¹⁸¹ All this points towards enclosure by agreement, designed to preserve the tenants' common of estover. By contrast, the targeted enclosures may have been arbitrary enclosures that were detrimental to common rights.

The depositions contain tantalising hints about the insurgents' attitudes towards enclosure in this part of Kent. Whilst recent enclosure action might spark the most

¹⁷⁷ E 133/6/815: interrogatory no. 13.

¹⁷⁸ E 133/6/815: depositions of John Fletcher and Clement Hawswod (no.13). E 134/30 & 31 ELIZ I/MICH/19: depositions of John Burloche and Robert Lock.

¹⁷⁹ M.W. Beresford, 'Habitation versus Improvement', in F.J. Fisher (ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1961), pp.40-69.

¹⁸⁰ E 134/30 & 31 ELIZ I/MICH/19: deposition of Robert Byshoppe.

¹⁸¹ E 134/30 & 31 ELIZ I/MICH/19: deposition of David Sommer.

hostility, long-standing enclosures were just as likely to have been cast down as symbols of social injustice. Thus, it is not too surprising that the parcel of woodland which was not cast open in 1549 had only been recently enclosed. There are hints that Wyatt may have been singled out as a target.¹⁸² He fined his tenants for trespassing on their former common, probably increasing local hostility.¹⁸³ Furthermore, he may have enclosed Boxley Park to facilitate large-scale sheep-farming, a particular grievance of the East Anglian and South-Western rebels.¹⁸⁴ The hedge of Boxley Park was repaired two or three times, implying that it was cast down more than once, in 1549 or subsequently.¹⁸⁵ The Boxley disorders should not be dismissed as ‘lesser stirs’: a King at Arms was sent into Kent to pacify the rebels around Maidstone, carrying their separate pardon, on 15 August 1549.¹⁸⁶ Maidstone was clearly a major centre of revolt in July 1549, and the destruction of Boxley Park occupied a special place in popular memory.

Canterbury

Fragmentary evidence relating to Canterbury’s experience of the ‘commotion time’ reflects a rich variety of rebel activity in July 1549. The Kentish rebels gathered in a ‘Campe that was by Caunterbury’, giving rise to fears that they intended to besiege the town, like their counterparts at Norwich and Exeter. Almost thirty years later, old inhabitants recalled that ‘at the rebellyon tyme yt was noysed that the Rebelles wold come in at the breche in the town walles by nyght which beyng understood by the

¹⁸² On Wyatt and the Boxley Park estate, see Cave-Brown, *History of Boxley*, pp.4-12. Notably, the estate comprised the former abbey lands. Ironically, Sir Thomas Wyatt, who suppressed the Kent rebels in 1549, was executed for high treason as a rebel in 1554.

¹⁸³ Wyatt accrued the profits of Park Wood from the time of the enclosure: E 133/6/815, deposition of Clement Hawswod.

¹⁸⁴ E 133/6/815: depositions of Richard Shawe, John Fletcher and Clement Hawswod.

¹⁸⁵ E 134/30 & 31 ELIZ I/MICH/19: deposition of John Fletcher.

¹⁸⁶ *APC* 2, p.314.

mayor and offycers of the cytty, they caused a trenche to be caste and made at the same breche' to keep the rebels out, and kept watch there by night as a precaution.¹⁸⁷

The Kentish rebels presumably prepared their set of articles at the Canterbury camp.¹⁸⁸ The county's enclosure commissioners wrote to Somerset on 18 July, enclosing 'certain articles' addressed to the king by the Kentish commons. As in Essex, the commons' grievances were relayed to court by enclosure commissioners, indicating that they were largely agrarian: the hedge breaking at Boxley Park and Sheppey support this. Cheyney, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, was blamed for having 'taken all the commons in Kent', forcing 'the poor people', who had nowhere to pasture their cattle, to sell him their stock. Cheyney was evidently a large-scale sheep farmer, whose monopoly of the meat market drove up prices and caused much local discontent. News travelled fast, and 'over five hundred villagers' proceeded, armed, 'to the Lord Warden's parks' at Sheppey, 'knocked all the fences down', and put their cattle to pasture in the open fields to reclaim their former commons. The Privy Council acknowledged the justice of the people's action, and their victory became 'known all over the country'.¹⁸⁹ Kent may well have been the 'fountain of this general uproar' in the summer of 1549.¹⁹⁰ As Sotherton noted, rumours of anti-enclosure action in Kent precipitated similar action in Norfolk.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Woodruff List 12/3: depositions of Edward Carpenter, William Hart, John Hopper and Thomas Wryght (1572-73).

¹⁸⁸ Seditious bills and letters had been cast at Babshill near Canterbury in 1547-49: CCA CC/FA 14, f.113; *APC* 2, p.505. Lawrence Atwood, an East Malling man was committed to the Marshalsea for speaking certain seditious words in spring 1549: *APC* 2, p.404.

¹⁸⁹ Hume (ed.), *Chronicle of Henry VIII*, pp.170-71. Paget was accused in Northamptonshire: Ch. 5. This episode clearly relates to the spring or summer of 1549, rather than to 1548 as Clark has stated: *English Provincial Society*, p.78. It is possible that events at Sheppey triggered the issue of the second enclosure commission, in light of the fact that the Council 'considered that if affairs were not mended the same thing would happen all over the kingdom'. A business journey from Oundle to Sandwich was possible between 10 and 13 June, perhaps dating the Sheppey disorders to later this month or very early July: SP 46/5 part 2, f.11r.

¹⁹⁰ Godwin, *Annals of England*, p.134.

Like their Cambridge counterparts, the Canterbury rebels harboured some more localised grievances within this general framework. In what may have been an uncontrolled expression of frustration, the Canterbury rebels destroyed 'a shelve of ostres [oysters]' in the creek in Newington parish during July 1549. John Honeywood deposed in 1552 that, before the rebels destroyed the fishery 'in the tyme of the last commotion', he 'dyd gather Ostres there in lyke sorte as other men did in common'.¹⁹² The Canterbury commons evidently claimed the right to dredge for oysters in this particular creek and this rather unusual incident adds a peculiar local twist to the general pattern of common rights protests in 1549.

Whilst breaking down hedges was a sure means of restoring common rights, destroying oyster farms was less convincingly so. In wreaking such destruction the Canterbury rebels apparently acted to the detriment of their own common rights, although this violent outburst may represent a symbolic social protest. Most likely, the rebels seized the oysters and feasted upon them before carrying out their work. A Colchester tradition may help to explain the Canterbury rebels' action. At Merseaystone, around March each year, the River Colne was proclaimed shut and dredging oysters was forbidden until the feast of Mary Magdalene (24 July). After this date, inhabitants were required to take licences in a process known as the 'setting of the Colne'.¹⁹³ If the Canterbury rebels acted before 24 July, they may have been protesting about a similar curtailment of their access rights to Newington creek.

¹⁹¹ Sotherton, 'Commoyson in Norfolk', p.80. See also, Neville, *Norfolke Furies*, sig. Bv.; Hume (ed.), *Chronicle of Henry VIII*, p.180.

¹⁹² CCA X.10.5, f.78r. In the consistory court depositions book Honeywood's statement that 'the ostres in the vj yerres cometh to the valor of xijd.' is struck out and replaced with 'the anchorage and ostres the tythes therof commethe to nothing for ther ys no suche tythe due'. Resistance evidently continued on a smaller scale into 1552.

¹⁹³ Morant, *History of Essex*, p.90.

The only direct evidence concerning the Kent petition's nature comes from an incidental remark in a Council letter of 22 July, directed to Lord Russell in the west: 'no lenger then yesterdaye sume of the Countres hereabouts, as Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Kent, were not in so good ordre and quiet as we wold wyshe, although theyr articles be not suche as your matters, raves and spoylinge of Townes' but 'to have one man to have but one ferme lands at theyr owne parych and such lyke'.¹⁹⁴ Given that no such demand appears in Kett's Demands or the articles of the western rebels, might we assume that this was a particular concern of the Kentish rebels?¹⁹⁵ The 'Soldier of Calais' writes, in his chronicle, that 'the men of Kent and Norfolk failed to bring order into the chattels and farms of the nobility' as they had intended.¹⁹⁶

As MacCulloch has suggested, some clues as to the timing of the Kentish commotions are provided by a list of charges 'of journeys in post' which reveal a flurry of activity amongst the gentlemen and commissioners of Kent between 22 June and 25 August 1549.¹⁹⁷ The letter-writing, which began on 9 April, became feverish after 1 July.¹⁹⁸ Fifty-five journeys are detailed in all, conveying letters to Sir Anthony St Leger, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Edward Wotton and to the 'commissioners at Canterbury'. St Leger, Wotton, Wyatt, and Cheyney were apparently most active in repressing the Kentish rebels. Given that Wyatt and Cheyney were two of the rebels' main targets, their involvement is hardly surprising. The town clerk and Peter Wilkinson rode to the Council at Richmond 'touchyng the rebellyous that lay besydes caunterbury', whilst Richard Ashendon was despatched to London 'for artyllery to defend theseid Citie

¹⁹⁴ Council to Lord Russell, 22 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles Connected With the Prayer Book*, p.32.

¹⁹⁵ 'Augmenting the price of day labour' was another concern: William Camden, *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth* (London, 1675), p.625.

¹⁹⁶ Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais', 63.

¹⁹⁷ E 101/76/35, 1st foliation, ff.6-8. I am grateful to Diarmaid MacCulloch for his help in locating this source. The list contains a letter from members of the Council to Sir John Williams, treasurer of Augmentations (9 Jan. 1549), concerning the payment of Roger Hawes, appointed by Cheyney and Wotton to bear letters between the commissioners during the Kentish Rebellion.

agenst theseid rebels’, adding to the impression of panic engendered by the 1549 commotions.¹⁹⁹

In the first instance, enclosure commissioners were despatched to pacify the Kentishmen. The commission, headed by Wotton, was sitting at Canterbury by 17 July 1549 (when they received the commons’ articles). The following day, Wotton informed Somerset that the commons had behaved rudely to the King at Arms. Letters of assurance and a large amount of small coin were distributed to encourage the rebels to disperse. On 3 August, the controller of Canterbury mint distributed a hundred pounds to appease the rebels.²⁰⁰ On 15 August, Gilbert Dethick, Norroy King at Arms journeyed ‘in to Kent, to the commons assembled there and to the Comyssoners at Canterbury’, distributing ‘to the poorest of the commons xls. in reward’.²⁰¹ Beer was also delivered to the Canterbury camp, at the mayor’s commandment, ‘for the quyetnes of the late rebelles’.²⁰² However, it is unlikely that the Canterbury camp broke up much before the middle of August.²⁰³

Paralleling Matthew Parker’s efforts at Mousehold Heath, Richard Turner, Cranmer’s protégé, ‘preched twise in the Campe that was by Caunterbery’ in July 1549, ‘for the which the rebelles wolde have hanged hym’.²⁰⁴ In despatching Protestant preachers to the eastern rebels’ camps, it has been argued, the government demonstrated its ambivalent response to the ‘gospellers’ protest.²⁰⁵ Yet there is little concrete evidence of the rebels’ religious outlook or intentions. Whilst Parker appealed to the

¹⁹⁸ The letters of 9-11 April may represent orders to bring Joan Bocher (the maid of Kent) up to London: MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.424 n.33.

¹⁹⁹ CCA CC/FA 14, f.114v (chamberlains’ accounts 1548-49).

²⁰⁰ Kent commissioners to Somerset, 18 July 1549: BL MF 485/39 (Cecil Papers, vol. 150, f.117). £100 was given to Bush, who was employed to pacifying the commons: *APC* 2, p.308 (3 August 1549).

²⁰¹ E 101/76/35, 2nd foliation, f.111.

²⁰² CCA CC/AC 2, f.60r (Court of Burghmote minutes, 9 June 1550).

²⁰³ *HMC Rutland* 1, p.42.

²⁰⁴ *HMC Bath* 2, p.14.

doctrine of obedience in condemning the Norfolk Rebellion, both he and Turner met with a less than favourable reaction in the rebel camps. Their sermonising provides no clear indication of the evangelical overtones of the Kent or Norfolk rebellions. This strategy resulted from Wyatt's failure to prevent regional rebellion through force, as much as the south-eastern rebels' 'pro-government' policies. A policy of persuasion may have been adopted in the summer of 1549 as an alternative (and more promising) means of appeasing the rebels.

This conciliatory approach was combined with harsher measures. The commissioners called for a copy of the proclamation against tale-bearers, 'the acte concernyng the rebells' was proclaimed from the pulpit of St Mary Bredon and other Canterbury churches, and the Kentish ringleaders were forced into service in Boulogne in October 1549.²⁰⁶ No record of Canterbury executions survives, although an unnamed Kentish rebel was hanged by martial law in London, at 'the bridge foot' into Southwark on 22 July.²⁰⁷ Is it because the commissioners successfully resolved the Kent Rebellion that we know so little of the Kentish rebels? The names of only a few rebels have survived. William Tipsall and his associate, Wylson (who were involved in the forcible possession of St Lawrence's hospital in Canterbury in 1550), are said to have been 'very busy in the time of the laste commocion in Kent'.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp.432-34.

²⁰⁶ Act 3 & 4 Edw. VI, c. 5. An inventory of parish goods made in 1552 reveals that St Mary Bredon in Canterbury still held 'one boke of the acte concernyng the rebells': *Archaeologia Cantiana* 8, p.121.

²⁰⁷ *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p.60; cf. Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, p.18. On Anthony Roberts of Tonbridge, see chapter 6. Three of the 'leude persons' who conspired to assemble at Heathfield on Whit Monday 1550 to raise 'a new rebellion' were executed on 14 May: *APC* 3, p.35; Stow, *Summarie* (1565), f.214r. William Cowper also attempted an insurrection at Sandwich in this time: East Kent Archives Office, Dover sa/AC 3, ff.243ff., 250. For unrest at New Romney and Sandwich in 1551-52, see sa/AC 3, ff.207, 238, 241; sa/AC 4, f.21; NR/JB 5 (unfoliated, Jan. 1551).

²⁰⁸ A pardon was granted to Thomas Brode for 'felonies, rebellions, etc' on 30 May 1550: *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.418. In 1550, Tipsall, Wylson, John Banbury, Walter Crumwell, and other former rebels forcibly took possession of the hospital from the prioress: STAC 3/4/44, answer of John Culpepper and Christopher Curthorp to the bill of complaint of William Tipsall. For further details of this later dispute, see also STAC 3/5/59 and REQ 2/16/5.

The activities of Latimer, 'the Commonwealth of Kent', best illuminate the nature, scale and experience of rebellion in Kent. Latimer, who was apt to 'runne uppe and downe the contrye', collecting the 'bylles of complaynte of dyvers of hys souerte' indicates that the popular leaders and commonwealth agitators were located at the very centre of the village community and commanded a high degree of respect.²¹⁰ Other similar figures, including George Fletcher and Nicholas Moore of Colchester, may have been operating elsewhere in south-east England.²¹¹ As a popular lawyer, Moore prosecuted poor men's suits to restore their former rights and titles. His activities provoked considerable concern in the town and borough of Colchester, suggesting that Latimer's was not an isolated case. Was Latimer (who has yet to be conclusively identified) the 'Captain Commonwealth' who led the south-eastern insurgents? It is tempting to make the connection.

Latimer's example suggests that we need to modify the idea of two separate worlds of 'high' and 'low' politics co-existing in Tudor England. Aucher's anxiety about 'these men called Comonwelthes and there adherentes' centred on Latimer's boast that he was Somerset's spokesman. As he travelled the countryside, speaking at alehouses, Latimer had the Protector's 'name in hys mouthe'.²¹² Latimer's 'evyll accustomyd mischefes' and 'the errors committed by fugitives and traitors calling themselves councillors of the commonwealth' were legitimised and sanctioned by an association (real or imagined)

²⁰⁹ This discussion is based upon the analysis of Alsop, Beer and Nash: J.D. Alsop, 'Communication: Latimer, the "Commonwealth of Kent" and the 1549 Rebellions', *HJ* 28:2 (1985), 379-83. B.L. Beer & R.J. Nash., 'Hugh Latimer and the Lusty Knave of Kent: The Commonwealth Movement of 1549', *BIHR* 52 (1979), 175-78.

²¹⁰ Sir Anthony Aucher to Sir John Thynne, 15 September 1549: BL M904/1: Longleat House MSS, Thynne Papers vol. 2, 1542-57.

²¹¹ For George Fletcher, see Anthony Aucher to William Cecil, 10 September 1549: SP 10/8/56.

²¹² SP 10/8/56; Aucher to Thynne, 15 September 1549: BL M904/1.

with the Protector's regime.²¹³ His boast rings true: a warrant for four pounds was paid 'unto Latymer otherwise called comen welthe of kente', in reward for pacifying the Kentish rebels.²¹⁴

Alsop suggests that Latimer was employed as part of Somerset's appeasement policy, that he secured pardons for some of the insurgents, received popular complaints, and used Somerset's name to pacify the Kentish commons. This apparent reliance on popular agitators to quieten the county was a dangerous policy, which alienated the local establishment. The payments to Latimer, and Aucher's enraged response, reveal that Somerset was balancing on a knife edge in July 1549. Nothing could be more revealing of the Protector's precarious position. In sponsoring Latimer, Somerset tipped the scales too far in favour of the commons and lost the backing of the political nation, without whom he could no longer survive in power. On his inevitable fall in October 1549 Somerset was charged with comforting and encouraging the rebels by giving them his own money and 'promising them fees, rewards and services'.²¹⁵ As the most detailed example of the more generalised activities of the 'councillors of the commonwealth', Latimer's case is revealing of the interaction between popular politics and government policy in 1549. In Kent, the 1549 disorders were stirred up and put down by popular commonwealth activists. The south-eastern rebels were clearly rebels with a cause, and that cause was the commonwealth.

²¹³ Aucher to Thynne, 15 September 1549: BL M904/1; Corpus Christi College Oxford MS 256, ff.154-55.

²¹⁴ E 101/76/35, 2nd foliation, f.27.

²¹⁵ Quoting Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 6, p.291: cited by Alsop, 'Latimer, the "Commonwealth of Kent"', 383.

III: Rhetoric Versus Reality?

The Idiom of 'Commonwealth' and Social Justice in the South-Eastern Rebellion

In July 1549, the commons of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex and Cambridgeshire rose 'under a captain they called Common-wealth and made havoc on the wild beasts in many of the parks in these parts'.²¹⁶ The 'Rebellion of Comenwelthe' in south-eastern England was raised by agitators who called themselves 'commonwealth men', 'commonwealths' or 'councillors of the commonwealth', the most famous of whom was Latimer, 'the Commonwealth of Kent'. These 'runabouts' roved around the region tearing up hedges and fences, filling in ditches, and reclaiming commons, rights, titles and property for the poor in their own popular brand of Christian social justice.²¹⁷

The south-eastern commotioners framed their articles and demands in 'commonwealth' rhetoric, and justified their action in terms of 'commonwealth' ideology. In so doing, they drew on an established tradition in popular revolt. The notion of commonwealth was trumpeted in 1381, when Wat Tyler called for a society of the king and 'the true commons'; in 1450 by Jack Cade, who proclaimed that 'all the realm shall be in common'; and in 1536, by the Pilgrims of Grace, who rose up for 'the commonweal'. However, the 1549 rebels took this a step further. Echoing the official complaint literature of mid-Tudor writers and statesmen, the south-eastern commons represented their rebellion as a defence of 'a moral economy corrupted by the forces of covetousness'. Covetousness became synonymous with the process of enclosure, which

²¹⁶ Quoting Elis Gruffydd: Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais', 61.

²¹⁷ For an interesting discussion of the rhetoric of commonwealth in Tudor England, see MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, pp.122-26.

threatened 'traditional conceptions of social and economic order on the manorial estate'.²¹⁸

In the context of a broadening definition of 'commonwealth', and in light of the complicity between government policy and popular politics, the poor commons' language of complaint took on 'the status of a cultural authority', creating the potential for a radical and subversive movement.²¹⁹ No wonder Sir Anthony Aucher and Sir John Cheke raised fears about the policies of the 'men called comon welthes'. There are sufficient hints in the surviving source material to suggest that the commotions in Surrey, Sussex, Cambridgeshire, Essex and Kent were connected by a common leadership and a common language, although a rich variety of more localised grievances sheltered under this broad umbrella of 'commonwealth' concerns. The south-eastern rebellion was a 'Rebellion of Commonwealth': a contemporary label, applied both by the participants and their repressors, which persisted into the seventeenth century and beyond.

The south-east saw the heaviest concentration of rebel camps, established at regional, administrative and judicial centres to administer social justice; the Kentish commons still talked of establishing a rebel camp to remedy grievances in 1596.²²⁰ The practice of formulating petitions was also most marked here. Whilst the rebels represented their protests as peaceful mass demonstrations, cloaking their demands in the language of humility, subservience and Protestantism, the very act of petitioning became menacing when carried out by large crowds of armed commoners, accompanied by symbolic violence.

²¹⁸ Quoting McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, pp.46, 42. Much of this section is based on McRae's perceptive analysis of the changing meaning of the term 'commonwealth' in the mid-Tudor period.

²¹⁹ Quoting McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, p.50.

²²⁰ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 44, 47.

Rather than demonstrating an ambivalent response to the eastern rebels (although this may be true to some extent of Kent, where force was unsuccessfully used against the commons in the spring), the government perceived the commons of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk as the most ‘pernicious sort’ of rebels, precisely because they misappropriated official rhetoric, turning the government’s own discourse against it, and putting it to radical ends.²²¹ The idiom of commonwealth and social justice made the Rebellion of Commonwealth dangerous: the rebels drew unacceptable conclusions from elite ideology to justify radical revolt,²²² seeking immediate reformation, of their own authority, when they ought to have awaited Parliamentary redress.²²³ They challenged authority as openly as the western rebels. As Cheke stated: ‘who can perswade where treason is above reason, and ... commotioners are better than commissioners, and common woe is named commonwealth?’.²²⁴ Yet the regime tried to play the rebels at their own game, emphasising that rebellion was detrimental to the commonwealth and against the word of God. The central tenet of scripture, to which the commons pledged themselves, was obedience to authority, however corrupt that authority might be.

The prominent role of the ‘commonwealth men’ made the experience of 1549 discomfiting for the local gentry. Their association with the government (whether actual or feigned) made them dangerous; whilst their ability to implement reform raised fears that the ‘fourth sort of men’ would take it upon themselves to rule the commonwealth. As respectable yeomen located at the centre of their communities, the ‘commonwealths’ drew the disgruntled commons further into political participation than even Somerset intended. In demonstrating that the south-east could be fairly governed,

²²¹ Quoting from the articles sent to the Bishop of London on 9 August 1549: *CSPD Edw. VI*, no. 334. See also McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, p.49.

²²² Greenblatt, ‘Murdering Peasants’, 21.

²²³ Council to Lord Russell, 22 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.32.

they earned the governing classes' condemnation,²²⁵ and in stirring up disorder throughout the realm, they raised the spectre of civil war in 1549.

The generalised cause of 'commonwealth', the sophisticated political culture of the rebel leadership, their high degree of organisation, and their skilful use of an established infrastructure of mobilisation (the watch) - together with a power vacuum created by the absence of large numbers of Kent, Essex, Surrey and Sussex gentry in early July - enabled local risings in the towns and villages of south-eastern England to develop into regional rebellion.²²⁶ The Rebellion of Commonwealth was overshadowed by Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk (if indeed these were separate movements) due to the limits the participants placed on their actions to achieve the optimum success. Remarkably, the Landbeach, Cambridge, Colchester, and Canterbury rebels achieved their ends in the long term. A relatively small group of ringleaders paid the ultimate price for this success, whilst the majority reaped the rewards.

The Religious Complexity of the Rebellion of Commonwealth

The protestors' cause became tinged with evangelism in the atmosphere of Edward VI's reformation. MacCulloch argues that, 'the further east one goes, the more positive enthusiasm for the new religion one finds among the camps, despite the clear sense of anger which their yeoman and merchant leadership expressed against the irresponsible conduct of the governing elite, whatever its religious complexion'.²²⁷ How well formed

²²⁴ Cheke, *Hurt of Sedition*, p.991.

²²⁵ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 61-62.

²²⁶ SP 10/8/2. Those summoned to Windsor on 1 July included: 18 Surrey and 20 Sussex gentry (see above); 24 Essex gentry led by William Parr, Lord Rich, the Earl of Oxford, and Lord Morley; and 27 Kentish gentry (of an original 68), led by Cranmer, Cheyney, St Leger, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Thomas Moyle and Sir William Finch, and including Wyatt and Aucher - it is unclear why this list was so drastically revised. In the case of Kent, a factionalised local government and a rupture between the local magistracy and the centre (Cheyney vs. Cranmer) were important factors; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp.199-205, 448, 544; cf. Hampshire: chapter 3.

²²⁷ Quoting MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.432. See Tyacke, 'Rethinking the "English Reformation"', p.13.

religious identities were at a time of considerable upheaval in the church needs consideration. Can we draw a clear distinction between the 'Protestant' outlook of the eastern rebels and the 'Catholicism' of their counterparts in the west?

The Protestant overtones of the 'Rebellion of Commonwealth', most evident in the language of the Essex rebels' petition (sent to the Council through the mediation of Gates, a known evangelical), cannot be denied. The rebels of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Cambridgeshire, Surrey and Sussex were amongst those who, by 10 July 1549, had declared themselves ready to lay down their lives against the western rebels.²²⁸ They were the acknowledged 'gospellers' of whom the Council, Cranmer, and Calvin speak.²²⁹ And yet, if we delve beneath these hints of Protestantism, we find a much murkier picture. Plans for Kett's 'Protestant' Rebellion were laid at the abrogated feast of the translation of St Thomas Becket, whilst Kett was involved in an earlier dispute over Wymondham Abbey.²³⁰ Anti-enclosure activity was concentrated on former abbey estates, for example at Boxley, Battle, Sheppey and Wymondham, and the Protestant preachers who were sent into the camps at Canterbury and Norwich entered at considerable risk to their lives. Furthermore, there are veiled indications of Princess Mary's complicity in the south-eastern, as well as the south-western disturbances, and the region rose in her support in 1553 (although this can be largely explained in terms of opposition to Northumberland, as is clear from the Caldecote episode).²³¹

All this suggests that the south-eastern rebels' religious outlook was not as straightforwardly evangelical as MacCulloch would have us believe. We need to allow for a

²²⁸ Council to Lord Russell, 10 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.24. The rebels had not even submitted at this early stage in the rebellion.

²²⁹ Somerset to the Essex rebels, 5 July 1549: Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 9), 62; John Calvin to Somerset, 22 October 1549: SP 10/5/8; Cranmer, *Writings*, pp.189, 195, 197.

²³⁰ Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, p.130. R.P. Mander, 'Wymondham Abbey and the Robert Kett Rebellion of 1549', *East Anglian Magazine* 6 (1947), 605-10.

²³¹ SP 10/8/30; MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion: A Rejoinder', 76. For Caldecote, see above.

much greater degree of religious complexity in the Rebellion of Commonwealth and in the 'commotion time' as a whole (as we shall see when we turn to the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion).²³² The south-eastern rebellion was a 'Rebellion of Commonwealth', not an overtly 'Protestant' movement and, where it became tinged with the language of Protestantism, this was largely the result of a strategy of protest which drew (selectively) on official rhetoric. The rebels were motivated, not by Protestantism, but by a looser form of popular Christian humanism: their own distinctive blend of commonwealth ideology and more traditional Christian social ethics.

²³² Chapter 5.

***‘By instigation of sundery preists for these
matyers of religion’? The Oxfordshire and
Buckinghamshire Rising***

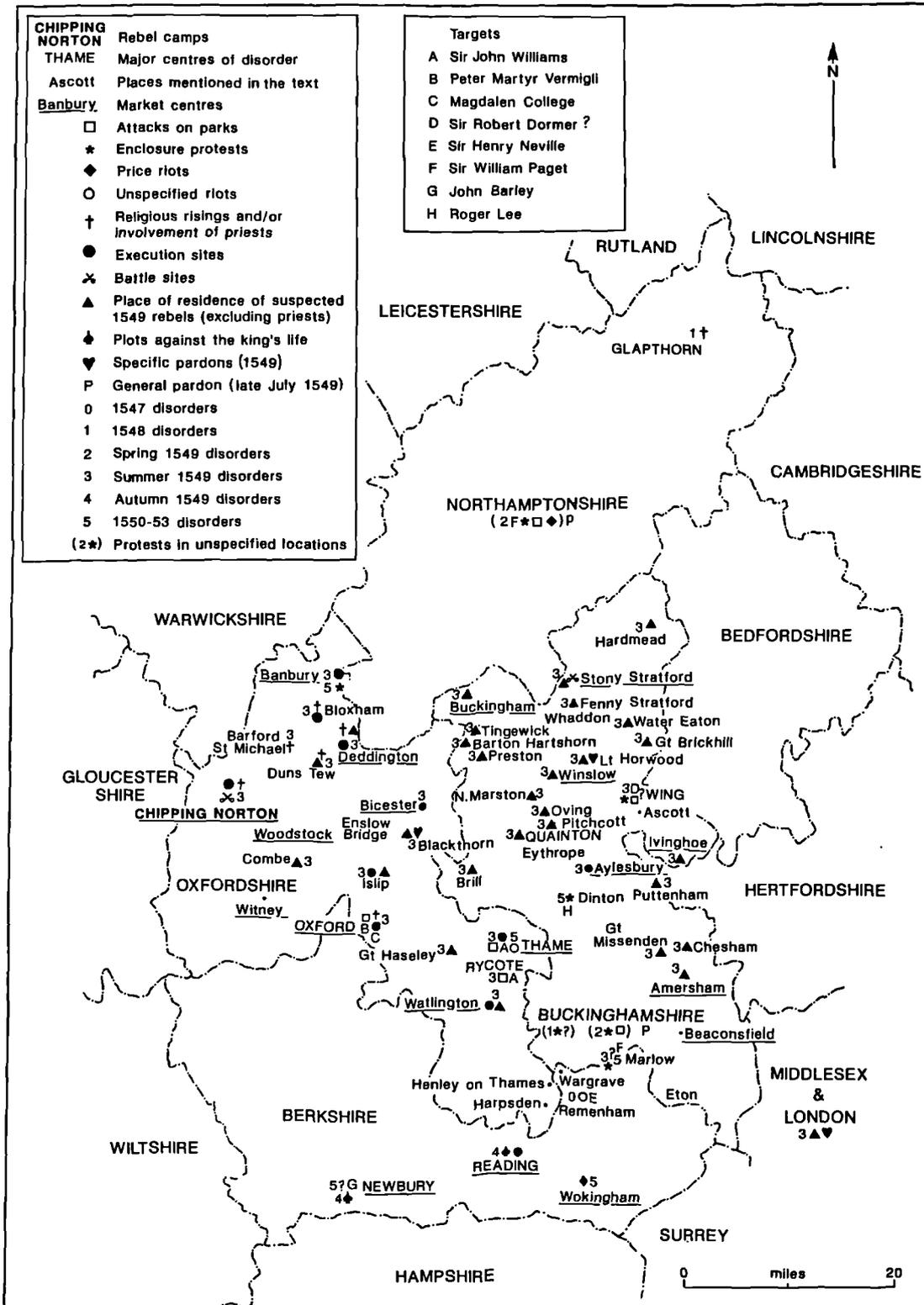
Disorder swept through the central counties of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Berkshire and Bedfordshire like a storm in 1548-49. Thunder rumbled through Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire from May 1549 onwards, when the commons of those counties gathered their strength, broke down enclosures, cast down ditches, killed the deer they found in the parks, and generally created havoc.¹ The storm reached its apogee in the summer of 1549, striking first over Buckinghamshire. The rebels ‘made miserable spoil and committed many violences’ against gentry estates around Wing.² Additional flashpoints occurred at Fenny Stratford, Great Brickhill, Buckingham, Barton Hartshorn, Preston Bissett, Little Horwood, Winslow, North Marston, Oving, Quainton, Pitchcott, Brill, Ivinghoe, Great Missenden, Chesham, Amersham and Water Eaton (and possibly at Puttenham, Hertfordshire).³ The storm intensified as it progressed, leaving Oxfordshire to reap the full whirlwind of the ‘commotion time’. The rebels reached Oxford itself, plundering the lands of Magdalen College and causing Peter Martyr, the renowned Protestant theologian, to flee the city in fear of his life. Sir John Williams’ parks at Thame and Rycote were swept up in the path of the tornado’s destruction and the rebels moved on, first to Woodstock, and then to Chipping Norton, where they remained in their camp until they were defeated by Lord

¹ Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, pp.916-17.

² Quoting Henry Clifford, *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, ed. Rev. Joseph Stevenson (London 1887), p.46

³ Bodl. MS E Museo 57, ff.109-113.

MAP 5.1 DISORDER IN THE CENTRAL COUNTIES, 1547-53



Grey's forces on 18 July.⁴ Tranquillity was then at least partially restored: executions were appointed in Oxfordshire the following day, although disorder continued in Berkshire well into the autumn (see map 5.1).⁵

Since the Thames Valley lay at the real geographical centre of the 1549 rebellions the commotions here might well represent the true nature of the movement, rather than simply reflecting cross-currents emanating from East Anglia and the South-West, as Gay has suggested.⁶ Furthermore, the timing of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire disorders is crucial in the wider context of 1549, providing the lynchpin on which the government's success or failure in quelling the 'commotion time' rested. The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising is arguably the most significant of the 1549 risings because of its geography and its timing.

Geographically, the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion had a wider reference than has been recognised, encompassing Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Berkshire.⁷ These five central counties were united by a 'shared experience' of enclosure. A mid-sixteenth century pamphlet identifies Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire as the counties most affected by enclosure, an assertion validated by the enclosure enquiries of 1517, 1566 and 1607, which show Berkshire and Bedfordshire were also significantly affected.⁸ A manuscript chronicle amongst John

⁴ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *The Common Places*, trans. Anthony Marten (London, 1583), sig.Qqij^v; CCCC MS 127, ff.425-27; BL Harley MS 540, f.11.

⁵ SP 10/8/32. For Berkshire, see *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, Appendix 2, pp.223-24.

⁶ Gay, 'Midland Revolt', 209.

⁷ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.158; Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.128.

⁸ Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 116-17. The surviving returns of the 1517-19 enclosure commissions show Northants., Oxon., Warwicks., Bucks., Berks. and Beds. to have been significantly affected. Returns survive for Warwicks. in 1548-49 and Bucks. in 1566. The returns for 1607 reveal Northants. to have been the worst affected of the Midland counties, whilst Beds. and Bucks. suffered to a lesser extent. Northants., Beds., Bucks. and Warwicks. attracted notice consistently, whilst Oxon. and Berks. featured largely in the 1517-19 commission, were included in the tillage statutes of 1597, but were passed over in 1607: Thirsk, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 4, pp.240-43, 247-55. Cf. the Midland Revolt: Walter, 'Popular Opposition to Enclosure'; Hindle, 'Persuasion and Protest', 46.

Stow's collections suggests that the commotions in the central counties acted as a bridge, forging connections with the risings in the rest of the realm.⁹ The commons of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Somerset arose in great numbers against Sir John Williams, a hated Oxfordshire landowner, in early July 1549.¹⁰ Whilst Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire gentlemen were advised to join forces against the rebels at the outset of the summer commotions, orders were later issued for the appeasement and execution of troublemakers in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire.¹¹ Significantly, the king's pardon was carried into Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire at the end of July.¹² This establishes the five central counties as a distinct geographical cluster of disorders.

The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising has traditionally been paired with the South-Western Rebellion as a 'religious' rising, in opposition to the 'agrarian' troubles in the east. John Ab Ulmis talks of the 'enemies of religion' in the south-west and 'the Oxfordshire papists' in one breath.¹³ Historians have reinforced contemporary understandings that the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising diverged from the general pattern of the 'commotion time'.¹⁴ The case is put forward most vehemently by Woodman. In his view, the unrest in 1549 was largely socio-economic in nature, and the South-Western and Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rebellions - 'the direct outcome of changes in religion' - were aberrations. Furthermore, Woodman assumes that the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising, 'like that in the west, was wholly on account

⁹ See chapter 7 for the disorders in the Midlands.

¹⁰ BL Harley MS 540, f.11: printed in Kingsford (ed.), *Two London Chronicles*, p.18. See also Beer, 'John Stow and the Tudor Rebellions'.

¹¹ SP 10/8/9; SP 10/8/32.

¹² E 315/258, f.80; *APC* 2, p.307.

¹³ John Ab Ulmis to Henry Bullinger, Oxford, 7 August 1549: *Original Letters*, p.391. See also A.G. Dickens, 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', repr. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London, 1982), p.299; *CSP Ven.* 5, p.568.

of religion', a premise resting on an unqualified acceptance of Somerset's assessment, although Somerset was ill-informed about the nature of risings in other parts of the realm.¹⁵ This chapter will challenge the certainty of this dichotomy: first, by asking how Somerset's portrayal of a religious rising can be married with the agrarian troubles of 1548 in the area and, secondly, by considering the propaganda element of contemporary portrayals of the Thames Valley Rising, particularly why the priests were held up as scapegoats.¹⁶

Another shortcoming of the existing historiography is its tendency to treat the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising as a distraction from the two major rebellions and, hence, to underestimate its significance. It is generally assumed that deploying military force to deal with 'lesser' insurrections like these delayed the suppression of the 'principal' East Anglian and South-Western rebellions.¹⁷ The government clearly felt that these new risings represented a more serious threat than the disorder in the distant south-west. Thus, Somerset informed Lord Russell on 12 July that the horsemen and footmen he had been promised under Lord Grey had been diverted to deal with the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire stir.¹⁸

¹⁴ The majority of accounts of the 1549 risings treat the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising as an extension of the Western Rebellion: see Loach, *Edward VI*, pp.70-78.

¹⁵ Woodman, 'Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising', 78, 84. See also R.W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*, vol. 3 (3rd edn., Oxford, 1895-1902), p.44; Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, p.407; Bush, *Government Policy*, pp.84-85 & n.7; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.432. Youings has argued convincingly that the South-Western Rebellion was not wholly on account of religion: 'South-Western Rebellion'. Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.26. For Somerset's uncertainty about the nature of the 1549 risings, see chapters 7 and 8.

¹⁶ Somerset to Lord Russell, 12 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.26; BL Harley MS 540, f.11r; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 5, p.738; Camden, *History of the most renowned and victorious Princess Elizabeth*, p.625.

¹⁷ Manning, 'Rebellions of 1549', 93. See also Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.57; Neville, *Norfolkes Furies*, sig. C³.

¹⁸ Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.26-27.

Somerset's decision to use force against the rebels reveals the rising's significance. The Thames Valley was given precedence over the Western Rebellion due to its proximity to the capital. Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire was the greater threat, and was dealt with as such, but, ironically, historians pass over it with little interest precisely because it was so quickly repressed. Had Lord Grey not been diverted, the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising might well have been the major rebellion of 1549, and the Western Rebellion one of the so-called 'lesser stirs'. This chapter attempts to restore the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising to its rightful place.

The lack of evidence relating to these significant disturbances is problematic. The few contemporary accounts of the rising are neither detailed nor informative, and later accounts, such as Foxe's, draw on only a small collection of original manuscripts.¹⁹ Much of the surviving evidence is fragmentary and raises as many questions as it answers. The little evidence we do have is weighted towards Oxfordshire, but a JP's notebook recently discovered in the Bodleian Library hints at the importance of events in Buckinghamshire.²⁰ Very little is known about the 1549 stirs in Berkshire and Northamptonshire, although these counties were evidently affected, and no real details of the Bedfordshire disorders have as yet come to light. However, it is clear that we should not underestimate the significance of the rising due to lack of evidence.

¹⁹ Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.24, 26-27, 29; BL Harley MS 540, f.11r, SP 10/8/9; SP 10/8/32; SP 10/8/33; *Original Letters*, p.391; Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, p.46; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 5, p.738; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.13; Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, pp.916-17; Arthur Lord Grey, *A Commentary of the Services and Charges of William Lord Grey of Wilton* (written between 1562 and 1577), ed. Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, CS os 40 (London, 1847), p.17.

²⁰ Bodl. MS E Museo 57, ff.96r-117r. I am indebted to Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch for bringing this important source to my attention.

I. Gathering Clouds: The 1548 Commotions

The commotions in the central counties fell into three distinct phases, with 1548 and spring 1549 disorders in Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire culminating in a regional rebellion embracing both agrarian and religious discontents in July 1549. Woodman has proclaimed that ‘the commotions of 1548 were of no great moment’ and ‘should not be confused with those of the following year’.²¹ Yet, there was evidently a process of disorder at work in the central counties between 1548 and 1549, comparable to that which transformed the localised outbreak at Northaw into the St Albans Rebellion.²²

Historians’ focus on Kett’s Rebellion and the Western Rebellion has focused attention on 1549, although the process of commotion was at work in rural communities for the preceding twelve months, with both social and religious discontent brewing in Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire, Hampshire and Cornwall. Here, again, it is necessary to draw attention to the importance of the 1548 disorders. These must be understood in their own right as part of a process of disorder with roots and continuities in the locale.²³ Disorder does not spring from nowhere and disappear just as suddenly. Grievances linger on, but are either diverted into other channels, such as the courts or petitions (as at Barton Hartshorn, Buckinghamshire 1549-c.1550), or remain latent to reappear at the next opportune moment (as in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire: 1549, 1550-52 and 1596).

Since rebellion is not an event but a process, how did it gather pace between 1548 and 1549? Clear threads connect the 1548 and 1549 disorders in the Thames Valley.

²¹ Woodman, ‘Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising’, 78.

²² See chapters 2 and 6.

The enclosure rioting in Buckinghamshire in the summer of 1548 foreshadows the attacks on Thame and Rycote parks and the severe damage inflicted on gentry lands around Wing. Yet social and economic grievances formed only one strand of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising. The Glapthorn episode, dismissed by Loach as an aberration amongst the agrarian disorders of 1548, reflects the religious aspect of this rebellion.²⁴ These incidences of disorder should be regarded as preludes to 1549.²⁵

Before launching into a detailed examination of the various episodes of disorder in the central counties in 1548, it is useful to consider their causation and context in more general terms. The causes of unrest in 1547-48 were apparently threefold: first, the religious changes introduced by the Somerset regime, namely the Order for Communion, the Chantries Act, and the removal of images from parish churches; secondly, enclosure and related grievances, brought to the fore by Hales' first enclosure commission; and, lastly a mixture of more localised grievances over common rights.

The Reformation in the parishes was met with a certain amount of popular indignation in both Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire. *The Order for Communion*, issued by royal proclamation on 8 March 1548 and appointed for use from Easter of the same year, broke with tradition in introducing English prayers to the Latin mass and requiring communion in both kinds for the laity.²⁶ The Chantries Act had a great impact on Buckinghamshire in particular, sweeping away seven chantry chapels,

²³ For these continuities in the central counties, see below and chapter 9.

²⁴ Loach, *Edward VI*, p.65.

²⁵ For a detailed case study, see chapter 2. Shagan makes no mention of the Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire disturbances in his discussion of the 'dress rehearsals' of 1548: 'Popular Politics', p.502.

²⁶ TRP 1, no. 300; CSPD Edw. VI, no. 97; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-1580* (New Haven & London, 1992), p.459. The Order for Communion was the precursor to the Prayer Book of 1549. Easter Sunday fell on 1 April in 1548.

four of which provided services for remote communities.²⁷ This must have been a blow for the inhabitants of Dagnall in Edlesborough, many of whom lived four miles from the church and depended on the chapel for ‘their divine service’.²⁸ The removal of images from parish churches was another highly visible change which certainly did not meet with the approval of John Bisse, who was released from the Fleet in 1547 to declare his fault in having ‘spoken and doone inconveniently against the taken [*sic.*] down of images abused’ in his parish church at High Wycombe (Buckinghamshire).²⁹

The importance of enclosure in the five counties is considered above, and localised common rights grievances were also probably involved. A Star Chamber case of November 1547 concerned an unlawful assembly and riotous fishing at Sir Henry Neville’s pond at Wargrave in Berkshire on St Clement’s Day.³⁰ This was part of a controversy over the water bailiff’s customary rights to one draught of fish a year within every creek that fed into or out of the Thames between Staines Bridge, Middlesex and Cirencester, Gloucester, perhaps foreshadowing article 17 of Kett’s demands: ‘We praye that Ryvers may be ffree and comon to all men for fyshyng and passage’.³¹

Glaphorn, May-June 1548

In May 1548, the forest village of Glaphorn in Northamptonshire saw a ‘certeyn follisshnes aboute the masse & sacrament tending to a kinde of sedicious uprore’,

²⁷ The chantry chapels at Eythrope, Ditton, Colnbrook, Dagnall, Aston and Fenny Stratford, and the Matthew Stratton Chantry in the chapel of St John the Baptist in Buckingham.

²⁸ Similarly, the inhabitants of Aston (Ivinghoe), Colnbrook and Fenny Stratford, depended on chantry chapels. Eleven churches (Stoke Poges, Dorney, High Wycombe, Edlesborough, Chalfont St Peter, Buckingham, Thornton, Newport Pagnell, Hanslope, Aylesbury and Olney) were also deprived of an assistant priest: *VCH Bucks.* 1, pp.306-08. See map 5.2 for locations. Cf. Sleaford, Lincolnshire: Ch. 7.

²⁹ *APC* 2, p.147. *VCH Bucks.* 1, p.309. For a dispute at Watford concerning the removal of images, see chapter 6.

³⁰ STAC 3/1/102. The rioters were drawn from Henley on Thames and Harpsden in Oxfordshire, and Remenham in Berkshire (map 5.1).

³¹ Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.144-46.

probably relating to the Order for the Communion.³² This suggests a connection with the conservative religious sentiment of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire movement of the following year, although the possibility should not be overstated on the basis of such slender evidence.

The Glapthorn episode provided an early warning that the government was introducing change at its peril. This warning went unheeded, probably because the Privy Council underestimated the disorder. Although Master Wade despatched Sir Thomas Brudenell's letters to Somerset sometime before 22 May, the Council considered itself 'earnestly buysyed with maters of a more importaunce', so Wade returned to his master to await a written communication, which he finally received four weeks later. Somerset had read Brudenell's letter, commending his wisdom and John Johnson's soberness 'in the pacifieng of the mater so honestlye' and requiring them to 'kepe the thing at that staye still' until further instructions arrived from the Council.³³ His commendations were premature.³⁴

This crucial delay in the Council's response allowed the disorder to continue virtually unchecked for a month. On 21 June, Somerset wrote to Brudenell of disorder at Glapthorn and ordered the ringleaders to be imprisoned 'for a season untill they be taught to studie and applye to quietnes and godlynes'.³⁵ Somerset's association between quietness and godliness is interesting, perhaps making the connection between

³² SP 46/5/268. The outbreak can be dated to before 18 May 1549.

³³ SP 46/5/268.

³⁴ On Sir Thomas Brudenell (lord of the manor of Glapthorn) and John Johnson (tenant of the manor house and demesnes from 1544, and merchant of the staple of Calais), see M.E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640* (Oxford, 1956), pp.137-50, 159; Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, chs. 1, 4 & 7. The demesnes Johnson rented consisted of 100 acres of arable and pasture in the open fields, 14 acres of meadow and 81 acres of enclosed pasture. He was a sheep-farmer who produced wool for export. Despite Brudenell's consolidation of his Glapthorn estate before 1549, there is no evidence of agrarian grievances. His tenants continued to hold at will according to the custom of the manor until 1606, rents were nominal (and remained unaltered from the early 16thC-1630), and fines

Catholicism and disorder.³⁶ Punishment came too late and was too lenient to deter further action in 1549.

Rumoured Agrarian Upheavals on Hales' Circuit, July 1548

In contrast to the 'follisshnes aboute the masse' at Glapthorn, agrarian upheavals were rumoured in Buckinghamshire in July 1548: a response to Hales' first enclosure commission, issued on 1 June for the counties of Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire.³⁷ Somerset took the rumours seriously, ordering the commissioners to retrace their steps, reassure the inhabitants that the king took 'to hart their benefit', and remind them of their duty of obedience.³⁸ Hales dismissed the rumours as unfounded, declaring the people on his circuit to be 'most tractable obedient and quyet' and that, if the JPs and preachers were better minded to further the Reformation, 'all these ymaginacions & suspicions of sedition' would be proved 'utterly false'.³⁹

The idea that Hales' commonwealth rhetoric stirred up the 1548-49 commotions seems to have originated with the Earl of Warwick, who alleged that Hales had served to 'kyndle and sturre' the commons against the gentry.⁴⁰ Hales denied this charge, accurately predicting that, unless the Council provided remedy, the poor would 'provide

could not be demanded of them since they were granted no definite term. For Johnson's connection with Northaw Common, see SP 46/5, pt. 2, f.12r; Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, pp.171-73; Ch. 2 above.

³⁵ SP 46/1/171.

³⁶ On the role of Protestant propaganda in the portrayal of 'conservative' risings, see below.

³⁷ For a copy of the commission, see BL Lansdowne MS 238, ff.307-08. The king's instructions to the commissioners are at ff.315-316r (printed *CPR Edw. VI*, 1, pp.419-20). The issue of the commission was accompanied by a proclamation against enclosures: ff.305-06 and *TRP* 1, no. 309.

³⁸ Somerset to Hales and the enclosure commissioners in Oxon., Berks., Warwicks., Leics., Beds., Bucks., and Northants., 21 August 1548: BL Lansdowne MS 238, ff.319r-320r.

³⁹ Hales to Somerset, 24 July 1548: SP 10/4/33. See also Hales to Somerset, 25 August 1548: BL Lansdowne MS 238, ff.320v-322r. Reluctance to enforce the Reformation in the localities may have been a particular problem in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, where there were a considerable number of Catholic JPs: see the list of targets and repressers in the appendix below. Lord Rich criticised the laxness of the JPs in this regard: Foxe, *Acts & Monuments*, 5, pp.724-26.

[it] for them selves' by 'unleyfull meanes'.⁴¹ Whilst Hales commanded the commons not 'to be executors of the lawe' in pulling down hedges and pales, some of the 'chief poyntes' of his exhortation could have encouraged the commons to consider their actions justified.⁴² Hales announced that the commission's purpose was to execute the existing enclosure statutes, and attributed the ills of enclosure, depopulation, dearth, and excessive rents to the greed of those 'so moche gyven to theyr owne pryvat profet, that they passe nothinge on to the commenwelthe'. He believed his commissioners were administering medicine prescribed by the government to treat a commonwealth afflicted with private profit.⁴³ The rioters and rebels of 1548-49 saw themselves in a similar role, targeting those covetous 'new' landowners whose wealth and lands were derived from 'commodity'.

Perhaps the rumoured disturbances in the central and Midland counties in 1548 were a ruse devised by Warwick to stir up trouble for Somerset. Whilst Warwick blamed Hales (and Somerset, by association) for the 'commotion time', many of his contemporaries 'thoughte that the displeasure of the Earle of Warwyke conceyved against the Lorde protectouyr in the tyme of the rebellion was a great cause of the trouble at this tyme'.⁴⁴ Setting the events of 1548 in the context of the October 1549 coup d'état, it becomes clear just how much Warwick stood to gain. Whether the rumoured agrarian upheavals provide early evidence of Warwick's conniving in pursuit of power, or whether they serve as an example of how factional infighting within the Council opened up political space for the commons to make their voice heard, remains open to interpretation.

⁴⁰ Hales to Warwick, Fladbury, Worcestershire, 12 August 1548: BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.322r.

⁴¹ BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.323r. See also Somerset's charge at f.319.

⁴² BL Lansdowne MS 238, ff.309r-14v, 316r-19v, 322r-26r. Quotation at f. 325r.

⁴³ BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.309r.

⁴⁴ Thomas Cooper, *Chronicle, conteyninge the whole discourse of the histories as well of this realme as all other countries ... from the beginning of kyng henrie the eightes raigne unto the death of Queene Marie* (London, 1560), f.346r. Cooper's *Chronicle* is a continuation of Thomas Lanquet's *Chronicle*.

Determining the extent to which the enclosure commissions served to trigger and legitimise disorder is no easier, although they may have encouraged the commons to believe that Somerset was on their side, providing them with a degree of official licence for their protests. Certainly, Hales' commonwealth rhetoric seems to have struck a chord with rebel mentality. It is hardly coincidental that the only enclosure commission to go ahead in the summer of 1548 did so in those counties severely affected by enclosure. Here, disappointment that the commission 'extended onely to enquer, and not to here and determyne', must have been hard felt.⁴⁵ And, since the commission was the occasion for large assemblies of commons,⁴⁶ these gatherings could easily have transformed into protests when the commons' expectations of redress were frustrated.

II. 'This lewde matier of Bucks and Oxfordshire': The Storm Breaks, 1549

Whilst rumour and seditious words provided the breeding ground for commotion in 1548, a temporary power vacuum provided the opportunity for full-scale rebellion in July 1549. The enclosure proclamations of June 1548 and April 1549 had failed to deliver the promised reform.⁴⁷ The commons were driven to desperation, and the central counties became embroiled in 'thinconveniences' Somerset had feared.⁴⁸ Despite all the warning signs, the gentry were caught by surprise. Indeed, it was their 'agitated preparations', flocking *en masse* to Windsor on 1 July, that precipitated the Thames Valley Rising.⁴⁹ The royal summons left the counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire

⁴⁵ Hales, *Defence*, p.lxi.

⁴⁶ Hales acknowledged that 'in so great a multitude it is no marveill though some be lewed': BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.320v.

⁴⁷ SP 10/4/33. Former encloser offenders had been pardoned on condition of future reform, but 'the rich' soon 'retourned to ther olde vomyte': Hales, *Defence*, pp.lxi-lxii.

⁴⁸ BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.319v.

⁴⁹ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.431.

and Oxfordshire almost devoid of gentlemen - with alarming consequences.⁵⁰ The gentry's absence at this crucial juncture allowed the 'commotion time' its initial success in a region too close to the capital for comfort.⁵¹ Once this window of opportunity had opened, rumour, gatherings, charismatic leadership, and the second enclosure commission of 8 July all helped translate localised disorder into general resistance.

Northamptonshire, Spring 1549

The 'lewde matier of Bucks and Oxfordshire' began with a series of agrarian tumults in Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire during the spring of 1549.⁵² The London butchers summoned before Somerset and the Council to explain the high price of mutton at the end of March accused Sir William Paget in Northamptonshire and Cheyney in Kent. Paget was 'notorious' for his enclosing activities in Northamptonshire prior to the 1549 risings, and may well have been a target of the Northamptonshire rebels. He was held to have enclosed so many commons that the poor people were left with nowhere to pasture their livestock, and bought up large numbers of sheep, forcing up prices.⁵³ This complaint echoes the lament that 'a great multitude' of sheep and oxen had been 'brought into a few mens handes', allowing them to 'holde them deare and

⁵⁰ A total of 79 gentlemen were summoned to Windsor from these three counties (28 from Berkshire - headed by Sir Thomas Smith - 41 from Buckinghamshire, and 10 from Oxfordshire): SP 10/8/2.

⁵¹ Many of the gentlemen who normally resided in the disaffected areas were away from home at the time of the outbreak, including: in Oxfordshire, Sir John Williams of Rycote, William Barentine of Little Haseley; Richard Fiennes of Broughton Castle, Leonard Chamberlain of Woodstock and Shirburn; and the Buckinghamshire justices Sir Robert Dormer of Wing, Sir Anthony Lee of Quarrendon, George and Ralph Gifford of Middle Claydon, Sir John Cheyney of Amersham, Roger Lee of Quarrendon, Thomas Pygott of Doddershall, Paul Dayrell of Lillingstone Dayrell; and Lord Grey of Whaddon. Other Oxfordshire gentry (Vincent Power of Bletchingdon, William Fermor of Somerton, and John Denton of Ambrosden) remained at home but failed to take prompt action. Presumably they found themselves powerless in the face of the massive demonstrations in the Thames Valley.

⁵² Quoting Somerset to Lord Russell, 12 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.27. Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, pp.916-17.

⁵³ Hume (ed.), *Chronicle of Henry VIII*, pp.169-71. Paget may have bought up as many as 5,000-6,000 sheep, causing the price of a sheep to rise from 8 groats to 10s. On Cheyney, see chapter 4. For other examples, see Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.403; cf. article 29 of Kett's Demands: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.146.

tarye ther avauntage of the markt'.⁵⁴ Perhaps the protestors began to adopt Commonwealth rhetoric and mould it into their programme of Christian social ethics as early as March 1549. Little is known of rebel activity in Northamptonshire in 1549, although a pardon was granted to the Northamptonshire rebels at the end of July.⁵⁵ The fact that it was deemed necessary to publish such a pardon throws doubt on Jordan's assessment that the Northamptonshire disorders represent minor episodes, involving property damage but no organised violence.⁵⁶

The new enclosure commission, established on 8 July, at a crucial point in the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising, triggered the escalation of disorder. It is hardly surprising that contemporaries were concerned about the commission's timing, and that Hales was berated for carrying it out at the height of the 'commotion time'.⁵⁷ Rumours of the impending commission (this time empowered to hear and determine, redress and reform) and the failure of Hales' agrarian bills could have triggered the enclosure protests of July 1549.⁵⁸

The allegations made against Hales in 1548 were repeated in 1549: that he had procured the commons 'to be redressours of ther owne injuryes' and 'to take upon them to be executours of the lawes'.⁵⁹ Hales' defence was that 'the last yeare when no maner of thyng was donnne, the lyke tales wer spredde ageynst me'. He could not 'but

⁵⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.306r. See also f.314v.

⁵⁵ E 315/258, f.80; *APC* 2, p.307.

⁵⁶ Jordan, *Edward VI*, pp.447-48.

⁵⁷ Hales, *Defence*, p.lvi.

⁵⁸ SP/10/8/10: copy of the instructions to the commissioners. See also SP 10/8/11-23, a letter relating to the commission dated July 1549. Bush argues that the enclosure commissioners did not get to work until September, although these communications suggest otherwise: Bush, *Government Policy*, p.46. The commission in Kent was certainly underway by July: chapter 4. Although Hales' Midland commission clearly operated, returns are only extant for Warwickshire: Dugdale's notes of the evidence laid before the Warwickshire commissioners, including Hales, can be found in I.S. Leadam (ed.), *The Domesday of Enclosures, 1517-18*, vol. 2 (London, 1897), pp.656-66.

⁵⁹ Hales, *Defence*, p.lviii.

marveyle' at why he was suspected 'to be the author of all these seditious',⁶⁰ and asked how his words could have made 'this generall Insurrection for commens', when there had been risings at Northaw in 1548 and in the south of England in 1549 before the counties under the Commission became infected, and when many places where the commission had sat remained quiet.⁶¹ Just how far Hales can be held responsible for the disorder in the central and Midland counties is difficult to determine. Loach is probably justified in stating that, whilst the issuing of the second commission 'hampered the ability of the authorities to handle the unrest effectively', 'there is no clear evidence of a causal link between the commission and agrarian unrest'.⁶²

Buckinghamshire

Until recently our knowledge of the Buckinghamshire section of the 1549 rising was confined to Henry Clifford's narrative of the disorder around Wing and a pardon issued to five Little Horwood rebels.⁶³ However, a JP's notebook suggests that the disturbances in Buckinghamshire were far more widespread than has previously been thought. Sites of rebel activity apparently peppered the whole county, with rebels being drawn from as far afield as Stony Stratford, Buckingham, Quainton, Brill, Ivinghoe, Amersham and Eton (map 5.2).⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Hales, *Defence*, pp.lvi, lvii.

⁶¹ Hales, *Defence*, p.lviii.

⁶² Quoting Loach, *Edward VI*, pp.84-86. On responsibility for the 1549 risings, see chapter 8.

⁶³ Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, pp.45-46. *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.147.

⁶⁴ Bodl. MS E Museo 57, ff.109r-113v.

MAP 5.2 DISORDER IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, JULY 1549



WING Major centres of disorder
Eton Places mentioned in text
Olney Market centre
 □ Attacks on parks
 ★ Enclosure protests
 † Dissolved chantries
 ● Execution sites
 ✕ Battle sites
 ▲ Place of residence of suspected rebels
 ♥ Specific pardons granted to rebels
 Targets:
 D Sir Robert Dormer? F Sir William Paget
 Repressors' residences
 1 Lord Grey 2 John Cheyney
 3 Paul Dayrell 4 Sir Robert Dormer
 5 George Gifford 6 Ralph Gifford
 7 Richard Greenway 8 Sir Anthony Lee
 9 Roger Lee 10 Thomas Pigott

Wing and the Dormers

The only surviving narrative of events at Wing is a manuscript biography of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria (1538-1613), written by Henry Clifford, her devoted servant, between 1613 and 1616. Clifford's information was derived from a mixture of 'approved histories', trustworthy authorities and personal knowledge, and the treatise was written out of duty and obligation to the duchess.⁶⁵

This intriguing episode has not entirely escaped historians' notice. Woodman regarded the trouble at Wing as an example of the 'insignificant' agrarian disorders of 1548, although the episode can probably be dated to early July 1549 from internal evidence.⁶⁶ The exact location of the events Clifford describes is less certain. Beer places them at the Dormer house at Eythrope Park. However, all other evidence points towards Wing, the main residence of the Sir Robert Dormer who served as sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1522, 1531 and 1538, and with whom we are chiefly concerned.⁶⁷

According to Clifford, the 1549 rebels spared the Dormer estate at Wing, whilst the lands and parks of neighbouring gentry suffered severe damage at the hands of the

⁶⁵ Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, pp.v-xviii, 1-3. Clifford's preface is addressed to Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon and Lord Baron of Wing, the son of Sir Robert, although the treatise had originally been dedicated to Charles' great-grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Dormer. On Sir Robert Dormer, see also Elliot Viney, *The Sheriffs of Buckinghamshire* (Aylesbury, 1965), p.85. The family and estate papers at Rowsham, Oxfordshire (the seat of the Cotterill-Dormers) may contain further references to the events of 1549. As this material is unlisted, it has not been possible to utilise it here.

⁶⁶ Sir Robert's absence at Windsor, and the account of the causes and course of the 1549 rebellions which precedes the narrative of events at Wing: Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, pp.44-45; Woodman, 'Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising', 78.

⁶⁷ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.150. I am grateful to Hugh Hanley for his help with this matter. Robert Dormer is described as being 'of Wing' in the list of sheriffs. His son, Sir William, apparently resided at Eythrope, Stone (1553, 1568): H.A. Hanley, *The Buckinghamshire Sheriffs* (Aylesbury, 1992), p.38. See also, Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 2, pp.52-53; A.C. Chibnall (ed.), *The Certificate of Musters for Buckinghamshire in 1522* (Aylesbury, 1973), p.162; W.H. Reynolds (ed.), *The Visitation of the County of Buckingham Made in 1634* (London, 1909), pp.40-41; N. Pevsner & E. Williamson, *The Buildings of Buckinghamshire* (2nd edn., London, 1994), pp.61-2, 142-43, 321-22, 751-52; E.M. Elvey, 'Early Records of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham', in E.M. Elvey (ed.), *The Courts of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham, 1483-1523* (Aylesbury, 1971), p.58.

commotioners.⁶⁸ This suggests considerable rebel activity in central and eastern Buckinghamshire. Sir Robert appears to have been absent at the time of the rebellion: he was summoned to Windsor on 1 July.⁶⁹ In his absence, villagers flocked to the Dormer house at Wing, offering to protect Lady Jane and safeguard her house during the uprising. Uncertain of the rebels' intentions, Lady Jane fortified the house. This precaution turned out to be unnecessary: the rebels assured her that she 'should have no pain nor fear' because 'her charity and good works were a sufficient guard and preservation of her person'.⁷⁰ The rebels' objective was to 'restore to the Commons that which was their own'. Their targets were those who had wrongfully taken 'what belonged to the people in common'.

Clifford's account is important in at least two respects. It provides evidence of the little-known disturbances in Buckinghamshire during the 'commotion time', which can now be confirmed from another source, detailing judicial proceedings against suspected rebels from a substantial number of Buckinghamshire parishes.⁷¹ Additionally, it indicates how the 'commotion time' was remembered by seventeenth-century commentators. Despite Clifford's lack of literary acclaim, he skilfully contrasts the Dormer episode with a generalised picture of rebel behaviour, couched in traditional anti-rebel rhetoric. Clifford, himself a humble servant, appears to side with the rebels (who were 'disgusted with this strange change in religion' and 'discontented with political government') against those gentlemen who 'took advantage of the times' in appropriating commons.⁷²

⁶⁸ Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, pp.45-46. Except where otherwise noted, all subsequent quotations are from this source.

⁶⁹ SP 10/8/2.

⁷⁰ Clifford attributes the events of 1549 solely to 'the fame' of Lady Jane's 'hospitality and charity': *Life of Jane Dormer*, p.44.

⁷¹ Bodl. MS E Museo 57, ff.109-113. This important source is discussed more fully below.

⁷² Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, pp.44-45.

The crux of the matter is how far Clifford's eulogy to the Duchess of Feria can be trusted as a source. Clifford could only have heard the Dormer family's version of the events of 1549 second-hand.⁷³ Allowing room for embellishment associated with family honour, Sir Robert Dormer may have been an intended target. Dormer fits the bill for a typical rebel target in many respects. As a wool-merchant and large-scale sheep farmer, he purchased the manor of Wing in 1515 to increase his grazing facilities, settled there in 1524, and soon after enclosed Wing Park, perhaps making himself an unpopular encloser.⁷⁴ Bush cites the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising as an example of a rising 'sparked off by specific opposition to a local figure ("the merchant Dormer") who was not of the long-established gentry but on the make as a landowner'.⁷⁵ Yet, according to Clifford, the Dormer family was 'of the most ancient nobility of England, and worthy of esteem, both in descent of blood and effects of valour and virtue', and Sir Robert was 'a chief man of his country' who was 'beloved and honoured by his neighbours'. Furthermore, Sir Robert and his wife, Lady Jane, were Catholics renowned for their charity and hospitality.⁷⁶ The house at Wing was 'a refuge to all distressed and persecuted Catholics', whilst Lady Jane was 'full of pity and compassion to the poor, and ever gracious and charitable to her tenants and neighbours'.⁷⁷ If we are to believe Clifford, the rebels spared the Dormer estate, but did they do so out of respect for the

⁷³ Clifford did not enter the service of the Duchess of Feria until c.1605.

⁷⁴ *VCH Bucks.* 3, p.450. In 1548, the chantry commissioners reported that the chapel at Eythrope was 'of no great necessity except for the household of Robert Dormer'. This may have been another local grievance: *VCH Bucks.* 4, p.117. A Sir John Dormer of Long Crendon was one of the seven leading enclosers subjected to exemplary prosecution in Star Chamber after the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 131 n.144.

⁷⁵ Bush, *Government Policy*, p.85. The rise of the Dormer family has been briefly documented by Elvey, 'Early Records of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham', p.58. See also the appendix.

⁷⁶ Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, pp.5, 8-9. During Edward VI's reign, Sir Robert was occupied by hospitality and works of charity and could not be 'brought to follow, flatter, or yield to the disordered desires' of the Protector': p.11. W.K. Jordan argues that the Dormer family epitomised the charitable tradition, which was stronger in Buckinghamshire than elsewhere: *The Charities of Rural England, 1480-1660* (London, 1961), pp.29-40. For a more recent assessment, see Steve Hindle, 'Dearth, Fasting and Alms: The Campaign for General Hospitality in Late Elizabethan England', *P&P* 172 (August 2001), 44-86.

⁷⁷ Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, pp.15, 17.

Dormers' good lordship or their Catholic faith (or were these two practices synonymous in the popular mind)?

Other Parts of Buckinghamshire

Bodleian MS E Museo 57 suggests that the Buckinghamshire rising's focus was wider than even Clifford imagined. This manuscript, which appears to be a JP's notebook, contains memoranda and records of sessions held in various parts of Buckinghamshire before Sir Anthony Lee and Sir Robert Dormer in 1548-49, and was probably kept by Lee in his capacity as *custos rotulorum*.⁷⁸

Amongst those who were bound over to keep the peace to the king's liege people at the various sessions held in the county between 18 and 23 July,⁷⁹ were three Little Horwood men (John Cooper, John Warde and George Wylliat), known to have participated in the 1549 rebellion.⁸⁰ The list of offenders from other parishes may be suggestive both of the locations of disorder in Buckinghamshire in 1549, and the people who took part in these disturbances.⁸¹ Hence: Buckingham, Fenny Stratford, Great

⁷⁸ Bodl. MS E Museo 57, ff.96r-116v. The July 1549 sessions are at ff.109-113. For the identification of Lee as *custos rotulorum*, see f.96r. The Custos Rotulorum was the member of the quorum appointed to keep the records of the justices: O'Day, *The Tudor Age*, p.144; J.S. Cockburn, *A History of English Assizes from 1558 to 1714* (Cambridge, 1972), pp.59-60, 67. Alternatively, the notebook could have been compiled by the Clerk of the Peace. According to Sir Leon Edgar Stephens, John Lyon was Clerk of the Peace for Bucks. in 1541-47, and Anthony Hornyhold in 1551-c.1555. No Clerk is given for 1549: *The Clerks of the Counties, 1360-1960* (Warwick, 1961). However, Anthony Hornyhold's signature appears in Bodl. MS E Museo 57 at ff.57, 96v, 102r, 103v. I would like to thank Sally Mason of Bucks. RO for her help in this matter.

⁷⁹ The timing is crucial. The recognisances were issued on 18, 19, 21 and 23 July. Lord Grey defeated the rebels at Chipping Norton on 18 July, and gave order for the execution of certain Oxfordshire ringleaders the following day. Recognisances were issued to a number of Little Horwood rebels who later received the king's pardon on 27 July. All those who were bound over in late July, after the rebellion had been quelled, could have been suspected of disorder. The fact that the offenders were not bound over to a particular party, but to all the king's liege people, is suggestive of a more general offence against the peace than assault or affray.

⁸⁰ John Cowper, John Warde, George Williat, Thomas Wylliat and Edmund Barton of Little Horwood were pardoned on 27 July for all treasons, insurrections, and other offences committed before 18 July, along with Thomas Knyghtley, a London leatherseller: *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.147.

⁸¹ The same formula is used for Cooper, Warde, Williat and the other offenders, and the offenders' names are (unusually) grouped by parish, indicating that the parishes listed were sites of disorder, and that the

**TABLE 5.1: A BREAKDOWN OF THE PLACES OF RESIDENCE OF SUSPECTED
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE REBELS, JULY 1549**

PARISH	NO. OF REBELS	SOCIAL COMPOSITION
Quainton	40	23 husbandmen, 10 labourers, 3 tailors, 3 shoemakers, 1 weaver
Oving	15	14 husbandmen, 1 labourer
Pitchcott	11	11 husbandmen
Ivinghoe	9	4 husbandmen, a weaver, a mercer, a tallow chandler, a shoemaker, a smith
Fenny Stratford	8	2 shoemakers, a barber, an inn-holder, a butcher, a yeoman, a husbandman, a labourer
Great Brickhill	7	7 husbandmen
Eton	6	6 husbandmen
Little Horwood	6	2 yeomen (incl. a constable), a husbandman, a butcher, 2 rebels of unknown status
Barton Hartshorn	5	5 husbandmen
Brill	4	2 labourers, a husbandman, a tailor
Buckingham	4	A butcher, a fletcher, a tailor, a labourer
Preston Bissett	4	4 husbandmen
Great Missenden	3	2 labourers, a wheeler
North Marston	3	3 husbandmen
Amersham	1	A labourer
Chesham	1	A labourer
Hardmead	1	A husbandman
Stony Stratford	1	A baker
Tingewick	1	A tailor
Winslow	1	A tanner
Unknown, Bucks.	1	A carpenter
London	1	A leatherseller
Puttenham (Herts.)	1	A husbandman
TOTAL	134	

Brickhill, Barton Hartshorn, Preston Bissett, Little Horwood, Winslow, North Marston, Oving, Pitchcott, Quainton, Brill, Ivinghoe, Great Missenden, Chesham, Amersham and Eton (Water Eaton) all appear to have been centres of disorder, whilst additional rebels were drawn from the satellite villages of Hardmead, Stony Stratford and Tingewick. With far the greatest concentration (30%) of suspected rebels originating from Quainton, this parish can probably be designated a major centre of disorder in 1549 (map 5.2 and table 5.1). Lord Grey's lands at Whaddon and Fenny Stratford may even have been targeted. Five rebels from nearby Little Horwood were pardoned on 27 July for treasons and insurrections committed before 18 July and, perhaps more significantly, a cluster of offenders from Fenny Stratford, Tingewick and Eaton were bound over to Lord Grey to keep the peace on 22 and 23 July.⁸² As keeper of Whaddon Chase, Grey would have made an understandable target. The Chase, which extended over approximately 22,000 acres (including Great Horwood, Whaddon and Shenley commons), fell into disrepair in the sixteenth century, perhaps permitting the deer to destroy the commoners' crops.⁸³

The implication of these judicial proceedings is that the great majority of the Buckinghamshire commotioners (*many of whom must have numbered amongst the rank and file*) were bound over to attend the next Quarter Sessions, where indictments would have been brought against them.⁸⁴ The suspected rebels, grouped by parish, appeared before a panel of two to four justices, paid a fee of twelve pence, and were

rebels were being bound over systematically, parish by parish. A full list of the Buckinghamshire rebels is provided in the appendix.

⁸² *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.147. Bodl. MS E Museo 57, f.110 and appendix. For Lord Grey's connection with Whaddon and Fenny Stratford, see Arthur Lord Grey's *Commentary*, p.xiii and Pevsner & Williamson, *Buildings of Buckinghamshire*, pp.745-46. The Greys also held the neighbouring manor of Eaton. The rebels described as of 'Eton' may have been tenants of this manor.

⁸³ Michael Reed, *The Buckinghamshire Landscape* (London, 1979), pp.127-28. Grey's son, Arthur, was involved in a famous dispute over Whaddon Chase in 1573: R.B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford, 1993), pp.88-90, 119.

systematically bound over for amounts ranging from ten to forty pounds, both to keep the peace and to appear at a later date (with the exception of a small minority who appear to have been released from their obligation). The date on which batches of recognisances were issued is carefully recorded.⁸⁵ Sir Anthony Lee, Sir Robert Dormer, George Gifford, Thomas Pygott, John Cheyney, Roger Lee, Ralph Gifford, Richard Greneway and Paul Dayrell made up the team of justices who were presumably called in to investigate the 1549 commotions.⁸⁶ That they travelled from place to place over a period of five days, visiting the county's troublespots, and bringing the rebels to justice, probably reflects the issue of a special commission of enquiry, the exact terms of which remain unclear.⁸⁷

Unfortunately, no real indication of the rebels' activity can be gleaned from this source. However, a Star Chamber complaint made by the inhabitants of Barton Hartshorn hints that the rebels of north-west Buckinghamshire, at least, may have been enclosure protestors. These tenants complained c.1550 that the lord of the manor had 'wrongfully enclosed' approximately thirty acres of land, denying them their rights of pasture and obstructing their normal path from the village to the church. Their landlord was described as being of a 'covetous mind', and allegedly inflicted bodily harm on one of the tenants in the resulting affray. This case suggests that the Barton Hartshorn rebels were aggrieved by enclosure in 1549, and that their protest was driven into the more respectable arena of the law courts after the 'commotion time' had subsided. Equally, it

⁸⁴ The JP's notebook is a very significant find for the history of the 'commotion time', and for judicial history more generally. Both lists of rank and file rebels and sixteenth-century judicial records are rarities. For example, Quarter Sessions records do not survive for Buckinghamshire before 1678.

⁸⁵ This source is similar in form to the early Cheshire recognisance books of the 1560s and 1570s, which list the names of persons who appeared and the names of those to whom they were bound: Steve Hindle's observation.

⁸⁶ All of these men had been summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549: SP 10/8/2. For biographical details, see the appendix.

⁸⁷ Special commissions could be issued at any time, often to investigate instances of riot. A special commission was issued to investigate the Midland Revolt of 1607: Cockburn, *History of English Assizes*, p.61 and n.2.

illustrates the way in which social and religious grievances could have become entangled during the Buckinghamshire rebellion, since enclosure, as well as the dissolution of the chantries, could have an impact on a local community's access to divine service.⁸⁸

The Escalation of Disorder

Disorder escalated at an alarming rate in the Thames Valley. The government was increasingly anxious between 7 and 12 July. Signs of nerves are evident even before this, in an order for the repression of commotions in Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, 'if any such happen'.⁸⁹ These three counties must have been regarded as particular troublespots to warrant a specialised plan of action.⁹⁰ The question is why this apparently well-laid contingency plan failed to curb disorder in July 1549. Presumably the JPs and local officers had neither the time nor the resources to put the Council's precautionary measures into place, and failed to react quickly enough to the outbreak of disorder.

⁸⁸ STAC 4/5/8. On the broader social and economic history of Buckinghamshire, see John Broad, 'Alternate Husbandry and Permanent Pasture in the Midlands, 1650-1800', *AgHR* 28 (1980), 77-89; 'The Fate of the Midland Yeoman: Tenants, Copyholders, and Freeholders as Farmers in North Buckinghamshire, 1620-1800', *Continuity & Change* 14:3 (1999), 325-47; 'Parish Economies of Welfare, 1650-1834', *HJ* 42:4 (December 1999), 985-1006; 'Housing the Rural Poor in Southern England, 1650-1850', *AgHR* 48:2 (2000), 151-70. Michael Reed, 'Enclosure in North Buckinghamshire, 1550-1750', *AgHR* 32 (1984), 133-44 and *The Buckinghamshire Landscape*, chs. 5-6; M.W. Beresford, 'Glebe Terriers and Open-Field Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 15 (1947-52), 283-98 and 'Glebe Terriers and Open-Field Buckinghamshire, With a Summary List of Deserted Villages in the County', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 16 (1953-60), 5-28. J. Cornwall, 'The Early Tudor Gentry', *Ec.HR* 2nd ser. 17:1 (1964), 456-75.

⁸⁹ SP 10/8/9. This document is undated, but was probably written before 7 July. If, however, Jordan and Knighton are correct in dating the order to 8/9 July, the warning to the Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire came *ex post facto*, the day after Somerset's address to the Oxfordshire rebels: *Edward VI*, p.447 n.5; *CSPD Edw. VI*, no. 306, p.124. Rose Troup dates the order to 11 June, the day after the Sampford Courtenay protest: *Western Rebellion*, p.139. The wording of the order hints that trouble was expected in Oxfordshire, particularly in the market towns. Paget's advice that Somerset should go in person, with forces, first into Berkshire, appoint a commission of *oyer and terminer*, and progress from shire to shire, hints that Berkshire was troubled during the rising: SP 10/8/4.

⁹⁰ It has generally been assumed that this order was an extension of the proclamation of 8 July, which charged JPs, sheriffs and bailiffs to be diligent in the apprehension of 'renegades, tale-tellers and seditious

Somerset's address to the Oxfordshire commons on 7 July reveals that unlawful assemblies had already taken place in that county. Whilst Somerset asked the commons to acknowledge their offences and become petitioners for the redress of their grievances, it is clear that these were not fresh outbreaks, since the king's pardon had already been sent into Oxfordshire. Somerset underestimated the Oxfordshire rebellion, assuming the commons 'wold not so be seduced longe in disobedience'.⁹¹ His policy of pardons met with mistrust in Oxfordshire, probably due to the memory of Henry VIII's betrayal in 1537, although the gentry's duplicity was another factor.⁹²

By 10 July, Somerset believed the rebels to have been 'appeased and throughly quieted in all places, saving only in Buckingham shyre', where 'a fewe lyght persons' had 'nuely assembled'. Again, Somerset underestimated the scale of the disorder, naively hoping that the Buckinghamshire stir would be over within two or three days.⁹³ He was roughly shaken out of his complacency by 12 July. In the space of two short days, Somerset went from describing the disorder as a small assembly (of enclosure protestors) in Buckinghamshire, to characterising it as a regional rebellion, instigated by priests, 'for these matyers of religion'. Somerset's anxiety about the religious nature of the rising changed his priorities, causing him to keep Lord Grey's forces back from the south-west.⁹⁴

persons' (*TRP* 1, no. 337). If the order concerning Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire predated 7 July, as seems likely, it takes on far greater significance.

⁹¹ Minute to the Commons in Oxfordshire, 7 July 1549: Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 4), 58.

⁹² On the commons' general mistrust of pardons in 1549, see MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, pp.45-46; Sotherton, 'Commoyson in Norfolk', 94; Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, p.983; Foxe, *Acts & Monuments* 5, p.794; chapter 3 below (Hampshire).

⁹³ Council to Lord Russell, 10 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.24.

⁹⁴ Somerset to Lord Russell, 12 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.26-27. That Russell was instructed to keep the rising (or its nature) to himself is intriguing, especially in light of the lack of documentation relating to the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire commotions. Perhaps Somerset exercised an unusual degree of censorship over events, fearing that, if the news spread, it would add fuel to the fire in the south-west and increase the danger of an alliance being forged between the Thames Valley and western rebels.

Oxfordshire

Oxford

The rebels reached Oxford in what may have been a concerted march on the regional capital, comparable to those at Exeter, Norwich and Canterbury.⁹⁵ The Protestant theologian, Peter Martyr, was forced to flee the city after the disputation over the Eucharist proved to be a Pandora's box from which religious disaffection was unleashed. Martyr presupposed an alliance between the western and Oxfordshire rebels, fearing a united front against Protestantism. Thus, in his *Common Places*, he emphasises the violent and threatening nature of the commotion. As a foreigner and a Protestant, Martyr was amongst those singled out by the rebels. He obviously took the rebels' threats seriously, only returning to Oxford after the rebellion had been repressed.⁹⁶

One stream of historiography holds Martyr responsible for stirring up rebellion in Oxfordshire. In Dickens' words: 'in Oxfordshire the local clergy were angered by the opinions enunciated at Oxford by the foreign Reformer Peter Martyr. They managed to call out a force of insurgents and several of them ended their lives dangling on ropes from their church-steeple'.⁹⁷ Undeniably, Martyr played a central role in the 1549 disturbances, suggesting that debates over religion were an important contributory factor in creating unrest in conservative Oxford.⁹⁸ Martyr as much as admits his own culpability. When his adversaries ('the Papistes of whom there were yet a great number

⁹⁵ On Canterbury, see chapter 4.

⁹⁶ This account is based upon Peter Martyr Vermigli's *Common Places*, sig. Qqij^v.

⁹⁷ A.G. Dickens. *The English Reformation* (2nd edn., London, 1989), p.246. See also Dixon, *History of the Church of England* 3, pp.66-67.

⁹⁸ Oxfordshire was a conservative county with a conservative university in the mid-Tudor period. The county was home to an unusually large number of Catholic families, and later became an important centre of recusancy. *VCH Oxon.* 1, pp.444-45.

in Oxford’) asked him to dispute against the real presence, he answered that he could not do so without informing the king, ‘especially since it seemed to tend unto sedition’. Once the date for the disputation had been set, the ‘papists’ commanded the people to be ready ‘to make clamors and tumult’, so that the students of all the colleges and others flocked to the disputation that they might be prepared ‘if perchance any uprore should arise’.⁹⁹

Martyr was not the only rebel target in the city of Oxford. Magdalen College stood alone in resisting the rebels in July 1549 and suffered the consequences.¹⁰⁰ The fellows watched the college’s lands being plundered, fearing for their lives. They emphasised their blamelessness in a letter to Cranmer, implying that the fellows of other Oxford colleges may have sided with, or even led, the rebels. It is probably safe to assume that Archbishop Cranmer had rebuked the colleges in general, or Magdalen in particular, for instigating or fuelling the disorder. The question is why Magdalen was singled out by the rebels as a target in the first place.¹⁰¹ Perhaps the college was considered an oppressive landowner, or had an association with the hated Martyr. Alternatively, the rebels may have hoped to gain the fellows’ support and turned on them when they met with resistance.

Thame and Rycote

One London chronicler’s account of rebel activities at nearby Thame and Rycote suggests that the stirs in Oxford were part of a more general regional rebellion.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Common Places*, sig. Qq^r-Qqij^v.

¹⁰⁰ CCCC MS 127, ff.425-27. I am grateful to Professor MacCulloch for sharing his notes on this source with me. I use his translation from the original Latin.

¹⁰¹ Magdalen Grove Deer Park could possibly have been the rebels’ target.

¹⁰² BL Harley MS 540, ff.10v-11r. All subsequent quotations are from this source. This story of the sparking of Thame and Rycote appears amongst Stow’s historical collections. It forms part of an anonymous London Chronicle for 1548-55, printed by Kingsford as *Two London Chronicles*, pp.17-19.

During the siege of Exeter (which began on 2 July 1549), the commons of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Somerset, and elsewhere, 'arose in great nombres & with great angre towards Sir John Wyllyams dysparked his parke called Thame parke', killing all his deer. From Thame, they proceeded to Williams' residence at Rycote, where they 'dysparked ye park called Rycote park' and again slaughtered all his deer.¹⁰³ In a rare episode of house-breaking in 1549, the rebels 'entered into ye place and dranke theyr fyll of wyne ale & bere'.¹⁰⁴ The festivities evidently concluded with feasting, since the rebels 'slew manye shepe & ete them'.¹⁰⁵ The protest was, above all, highly symbolic. In slaying and consuming Williams' sheep, the rebels may have been protesting about the rising price of meat, as earlier at Northamptonshire.

The commons of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Somerset were united by their hatred of Sir John Williams, MP for Oxfordshire and Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations. Williams took on the role of common target in the central counties, in much the same way as Sir William Herbert had done in the South.¹⁰⁶ Williams was undoubtedly a hated landowner. He had recently established himself in the Thame area, using his position as visitor of the monasteries to build up vast estates on the profits of the Dissolution, was a large-scale sheep farmer, and had created several

The Thame and Oxfordshire disturbances are not included in Stow's *Summarie of his Annales*: Kingsford, *Two London Chronicles*, pp.v-viii.

¹⁰³ The mystery of the location of Rycote Park House, which was built in the 1520s and dismantled between 1779 and 1807, was recently solved by Channel 4's *Time Team: The Bucks Advertiser/Gazette*, 16 February 2001.

¹⁰⁴ An incidence of house-breaking was also alleged at Norwich: C.E. Moreton, 'Mid-Tudor Trespass: A Break-in at Norwich', *EHR* 108 (April 1993), 387-98. See also Sotherton, 'Commoyson in Norfolk', 91-92.

¹⁰⁵ Compare Sotherton's account of rebel feasting at Mousehold Heath: 'Commoyson in Norfolk', 84.

¹⁰⁶ On Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Sussex, see chapters 3-4.

deer parks out of valuable common land.¹⁰⁷ It is hardly surprising that Williams was a target of the 1549 rebels.¹⁰⁸

Events at Thame and Rycote closely mirror those at King's Somborne in Hampshire, where the king's park was broken open and his two hundred deer slaughtered during the 'commotion time'.¹⁰⁹ These more or less contemporaneous attacks on deer parks were probably both protests over land and use-rights and expressions of social criticism.¹¹⁰ Only the conflation of common rights conflicts could explain the Oxfordshire and Hampshire rebels' tenacity in massacring all the deer in the parks at Thame, Rycote and King's Somborne – incidences which must surely have contributed to the strengthening of the Game Laws in the wake of the 1549 rebellions.¹¹¹ As Beaver has shown, deer were a 'symbol of aristocratic dignity and honour' in early modern society, hence deer massacres, as inversions of the hunt, 'mocked aristocratic pride and honour'.¹¹² Since Williams was a 'new' landowner who had enriched himself through the profits of the Dissolution, this kind of mockery was very apt in Oxfordshire in 1549. In a direct inversion of the Dormer episode at Wing, the Thame and Rycote rebels used symbolic violence as a means of condemning Williams' lack of good lordship.

¹⁰⁷ Jehan Scheyfve to the Emperor, 26 October 1551: *CSPSp* 10 p.389. For biographical details, see the appendix. Walter provides a useful account of the background to these disorders: 'A "Rising of the People"?', 114.

¹⁰⁸ Sir John Williams was involved in a dispute over the enclosure of common land at Dunchurch in October 1549: chapter 7.

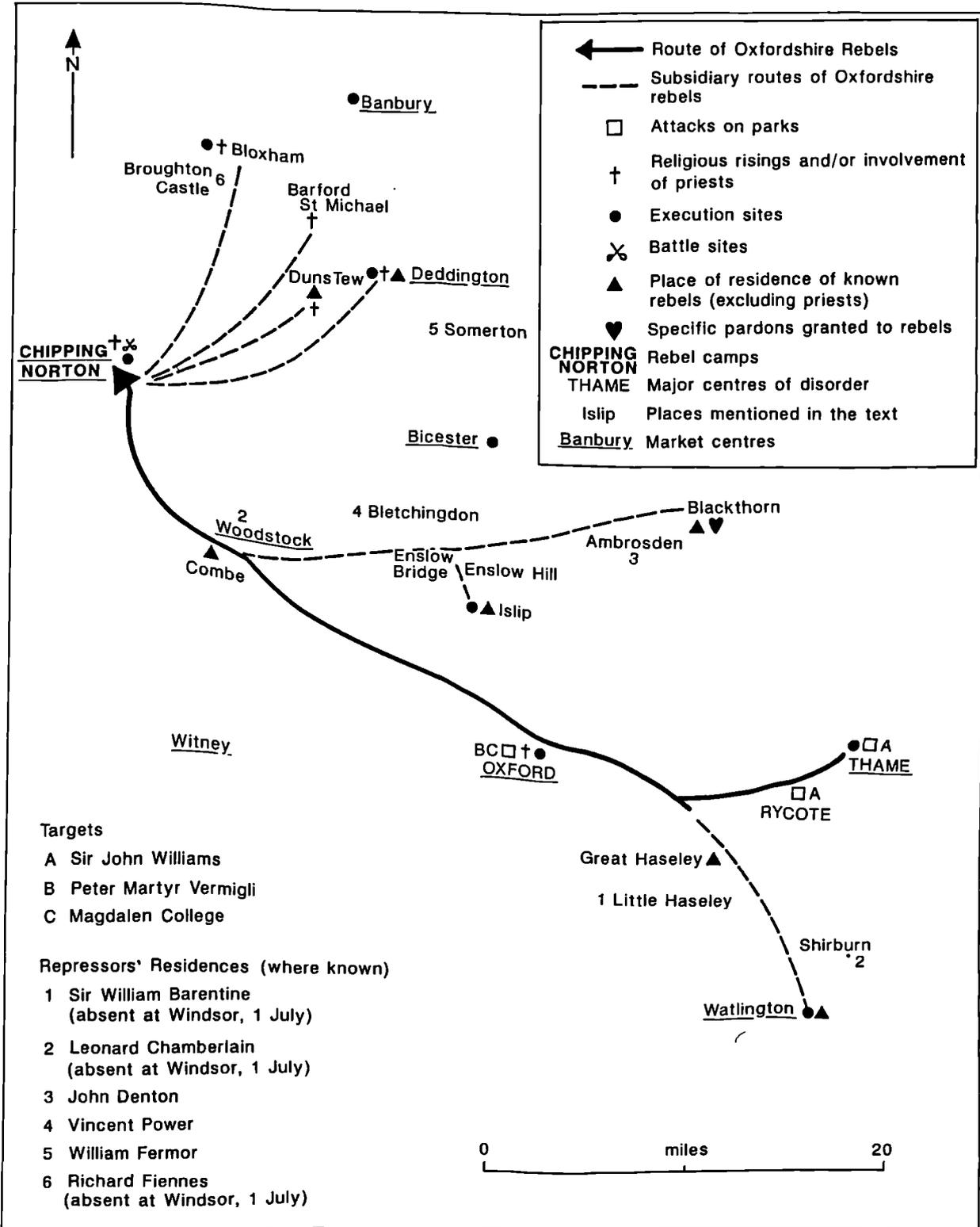
¹⁰⁹ On King's Somborne, see chapter 3. Deer were said to have been taken 'in greate numbre' to Kett's camp at Mousehold Heath: Sotherton, 'Commoysen in Norfolk', 84.

¹¹⁰ Walter argues that emparkment out of the open fields triggered rebel activity at Thame and Rycote: 'A "Rising of the People"?', 114. Conflicts over use rights may have included common of turbary (which was essential to the commoners' survival, but harmful to deer) and the deer's destruction of corn: Beaver, 'Great Deer Massacre', 206. Cf. the complaints about rabbits at Northaw: Ch. 2.

¹¹¹ The widespread destruction of deer parks and game in 1549 precipitated the revival of capital punishment as the penalty for game offences specified in the Game Laws of 1539 and 1540, for three years: Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, p.64.

¹¹² Beaver, 'Great Deer Massacre', 197. Much of this paragraph is based on Beaver's analysis. Since there is no evidence as to how the deer were slain at Thame, Rycote or King's Somborne, it is impossible to determine whether the rebels followed the ritualistic procedures of the hunt, such as the assay or ritual dissection of the deer, or subverted them: Beaver, 'Great Deer Massacre', 191-92; Ch. 3. See also Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, pp.17, 210, 230.

MAP 5.3 ROUTE OF THE OXFORDSHIRE REBELS, JULY 1549



From Rycote, the rebels moved on to Woodstock.¹¹³ Here, they received news that Lord Grey's forces were approaching. Whilst many fled in terror, a hard core of rebels 'encampyd themselves' at Chipping Norton, where Lord Grey finally overtook them, capturing the ringleaders, Thomas Bowldry and William Bowlar (map 5.3).¹¹⁴ Although the exact date of the battle at Chipping Norton is uncertain, the rebels had clearly been defeated by 18 July, when Somerset heard that Lord Grey had 'chased the Rebels of Bucks, Oxfordshire, and these parties to their houses, and taken cc. of them'.¹¹⁵ Lord Grey issued orders for appeasing and executing Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and Northamptonshire rebels at Witney the following day. Whilst Somerset hints at the size of the crowd, which must have been significantly greater than two hundred in number, it is clear from Grey's order that the rebel force consisted of Northamptonshire, Berkshire (and, possibly, Bedfordshire) men, in addition to those of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.¹¹⁶

The Nature and Scale of Disorder

Turning to a more general analysis of the rising's nature and scale, it is evident that the disorder in the central counties amounted to a 'conscious full-scale rebellion', which was all the more threatening for its proximity to London.¹¹⁷ Edward VI's inclusion of the Oxfordshire rising alongside the disorders in Devonshire, Norfolk and Yorkshire suggests that the king rated the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion as one of

¹¹³ Rebels from as far afield as Watlington, Great Haseley, Blackthorn, Deddington, Barford St Michael, Bloxham, Duns Tew and Combe converged on Woodstock in July 1549.

¹¹⁴ BL Harley MS 540, f.11r. Thomas Bowldry of Great Haseley, a wealthy yeoman, was sentenced to execution at Oxford on 19 July. William Bowlar of Watlington was sentenced to execution at Watlington the same day. Bowldry is said to have been hanged and quartered, whilst Bowlar was later pardoned.

¹¹⁵ Council to Lord Russell, 18 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.29.

¹¹⁶ SP 10/8/32. The massacre did not deter three Berkshire men from 'machinating and compassing the king's death' in November 1549. The conspirators (Thomas Bonam, a Reading shoemaker, and William Turnar and Thomas Wattes, Newbury weavers), were arrested and charged with conspiring against the king at Reading and Newbury on 20 November. All three were convicted in the court of King's Bench on 10 December and sentenced to execution at Reading as traitors: *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Appendix 2*, pp.223-24.

the most threatening outbreaks of disorder in 1549.¹¹⁸ Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire were awash with disorder in July, and this spilt over into the surrounding counties, giving the rising both a regional focus and a broad social base.

Moreover, the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rising was an organised movement with appointed leaders, a generalised cause, a political culture, and a sophisticated infrastructure of mobilisation. The rebels established a camp, like Kett's famous camp at Mousehold Heath, and may have drawn up their own grievance list. Although we have no clear indication of the scope and magnitude of rebel intentions, the authorities regarded the movement as anti-government and anti-hierarchical in nature. Even the rising's timing was not left to chance: it was planned to take advantage of the gentry's absence at Windsor.¹¹⁹ And, if the mass departure of the Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire gentry on 1 July marked the beginning of the Thames Valley disorders, the movement lasted for almost three weeks – a far cry from the short-lived affair of the traditional historiography.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Quoting MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.429; see also *Tudor Church Militant*, p.44.

¹¹⁸ Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.13.

¹¹⁹ That the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising was contemporaneous with the major rebellions in Norfolk and the South-West was also a crucial factor in its escalation. These two factors may be related, if MacCulloch is right to assume that the intention was to create an army to go into the south-west: *Cranmer*, pp.430-32; cf. Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, 126. Contemporary commentators lay much emphasis on the fact that the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rising erupted during the siege of Exeter (2 July-16 August), whilst the movement had clearly taken on the proportions of a full-scale rebellion by the time the Wymondham disorders erupted and the king replied to the western rebels' articles on 8 July: BL Harley MS 540, f.11r; Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, p.963; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 5, p.731.

¹²⁰ Even after the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rebels had been defeated on 18 July, the government struggled to restore order. Somerset still delayed sending Russell the foreign mercenaries he required, 'partlye for the disorder of these parties hereabouts': Somerset to Lord Russell, 18 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.29-30.

Motivation

Although the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising has been described as a straightforward case, the participants' motives are far from clear. Somerset's reply to the rebels' grievances provides no real hints, leaving us to reconstruct the rebels' mentality from their recorded activity. Some indication of rebel grievances can be gleaned from the various episodes of disorder in 1548-49, with enclosure, high rents and prices, and religious innovations prominent on the rebels' list of priorities.¹²¹ Clearly, the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising was far from 'onlye concernyng relygyon'.¹²² In fact, there is no real evidence that the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire insurgents followed the western rebels in rejecting the new Prayer Book and demanding the restoration of the Latin mass.¹²³

If a rebel petition was drawn up in the Thames Valley, it no longer survives, and there is little hope of reconstructing the commons' grievances from the Council's reply of 7 July. In fact, it is unclear whether a grievance list had been drawn up at this early stage of the rebellion, since the Council invited the Oxfordshire commons to become 'sutors and petitioners' for the redress of their griefs.¹²⁴ Significantly, Somerset's reply was addressed to 'the commons in Oxfordshire'. Beer argues that it was almost

¹²¹ For the aftermaths of the 'commotion time', see below and chapter 9.

¹²² Quoting Hooker, *Description of Exeter*, p.56. The religious complexion of the central counties was complex. Buckinghamshire was traditionally a Lollard heartland, whilst Oxfordshire, a conservative county with a conservative university, became an important centre of recusancy in Elizabeth's reign. For a more balanced picture, see Margaret Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995), ch.7 (a case study of the religious complexion of Buckinghamshire from late medieval Lollardy to the late seventeenth-century Quakers which, unfortunately, omits the sixteenth century) and Alexandra F. Johnston & Sally-Beth MacLean, 'Reformation and Resistance in Thames/Severn Parishes: The Dramatic Witness', in Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs & Beat A. Kümin (eds), *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), pp.178-200.

¹²³ Especially in view of the earlier episode at Glapthorn. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.150; cf. Woodman, 'Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising', 84. Loach regards the 1549 Prayer Book as 'a misjudgement': *Edward VI*, p.84. It is probably reasonable to assume that the introduction of the Prayer Book in June 1549 was a factor in stirring up religious discontent, and that news of the South-Western Rebellion spurred the rebels on.

¹²⁴ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 4), 58. It was not until this time that Mr Rainsford was appointed to declare the commons' suits to the Council.

certainly delivered to the assembly at the Chipping Norton camp, implying that any grievance list was probably devised solely by the Oxfordshire ringleaders, affecting its content and the cohesiveness of the movement. If the Buckinghamshire rebels' more 'secular' grievances were underrepresented, they may have broken away to form their own splinter movement.¹²⁵

Somerset's initial benevolence, and the tone of his letter, suggest that he was responding to enclosure grievances, rather than religious demands, as does the inclusion of this letter alongside eight others relating to the 'Protestant, 'pro-government' risings in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire and Hampshire in July 1549.¹²⁶ So, did Somerset misread the signals in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1549? It was not until 12 July that he began to talk of a religious rising led by priests, which might explain the rapid progression from negotiation to the use of force.¹²⁷ The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising was not a straightforward, unambiguous matter for the Council, however hard they strove to make it appear so. Initial confusion over the disorder's nature evoked a mixed response and, ultimately, a complete policy reversal. Somerset believed that whilst the commons arose in 1549 'first seking redresse of enclosures', they had 'in some places by seditious priests and other yvel peple set forth to seke restitution of tholde bluddy lawes'.¹²⁸ Was Somerset right in thinking that the clergy harnessed more general discontent, narrowing the focus of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion and shaping its course?¹²⁹

¹²⁵ This would explain why the Buckinghamshire insurgents were allegedly routed in a separate battle near Stony Stratford: Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais', 62.

¹²⁶ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.432; *Tudor Church Militant*, pp.44-45.

¹²⁷ Presumably the Oxfordshire commons refused Somerset's offer of a pardon.

¹²⁸ This assessment of the situation in the south-west on 11 June 1549 sums up Somerset's perception of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising: SP 10/7/31.

¹²⁹ The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rising may have followed the pattern of the Western Rebellion, in which broad socio-economic, agrarian and religious concerns were narrowed by the ringleaders' adoption of heresy as a generalised cause. On the influence of the priests in the various sets of articles drawn up by the western rebels, see Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', part 1.

Just what role did religion play in legitimising the protest? Arguably, the rebels appealed to religion in its wider sense as a 'system of moral values' or a 'branch of applied morality', in much the same way as 'commonwealth men' like Hales and Latimer.¹³⁰ Religion was closely tied up with notions of popular justice, explaining why 'agrarian' and 'religious' concerns were able to coincide in the Thames Valley commotions. The politics of rebellion were concerned with duty and obligation, providing a moral critique of mid-Tudor society. The rebels defined themselves as a moral and political collectivity in 1549 (as the 'poor' or 'true' commons), and targeted those 'rich' men who offended against the moral order and intended their 'spiritual' and 'material' destruction. The rebels' restraint in the face of the government's violence reveals their genuine attachment to the moral values for which they stood.¹³¹

Organisation

We know from other evidence that there was a camp in Oxfordshire, although the precise location of this camp has been a matter for debate.¹³² Woodman's identification of Enslow Hill as the possible site of the 1549 camp has generally been superseded by Beer's assertion that the rebels camped at Chipping Norton.¹³³ This debate may prove academic, if, as seems likely, the camp at Enslow Hill moved to Chipping Norton in response to Lord Grey's approaching army.¹³⁴ Since the date on which the Oxfordshire

¹³⁰ Quoting Hindle, *State and Social Change*, p.55. See also McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, pp.58-79; J. Bak & G. Benecke, *Religion and Rural Revolt* (Manchester, 1984), pp.2-13. For Hales' commonwealth rhetoric, see above. On Latimer, see *Sermons*.

¹³¹ Wood, 'Poore men', p.92.

¹³² SP 10/8/33.

¹³³ BL Harley MS 540, f.11r, Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 4), p.58; Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.150. Cf. Woodman, 'Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising', 80. That Enslow Hill was the site of the 1549 camp is suggested by Bartholomew Steer's choice of this location for the site of the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596: see Ch. 9. Enslow Hill was a traditional meeting place (like Penenden Heath) and a strategic site, well-served by communications. By contrast, there is little to suggest why Chipping Norton might have been chosen by the rebels: the market town seems to have no particular association with local government or the administration of justice. The Buckinghamshire rebels may have set up their own camp.

¹³⁴ In Norfolk, the camp at Castle Rising moved to Downham Market: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.65.

camp was established is unknown, we cannot say with certainty whether it pre- or post-dated the establishment of Kett's camp at Mousehold Heath, or the other camps in Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent and Sussex, although it is possible that the camping movement began in Oxfordshire, especially if Beer is right to argue that it was to this assembly of commons that the Council offered pardon on 7 July.¹³⁵

The camp in the Thames Valley is indicative of important generic and organisational similarities between the 1549 rebellions, which transcend local difference. The Oxfordshire camp provides a connection with the 'campyng tyme' in East Anglia, despite the difference in the rebels' religious outlook. Furthermore, it suggests that the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising was a more-or-less static and orderly affair, which may have been focused on Oxford as the regional capital, and which sought to establish justice and good governance at local and national levels.¹³⁶ This concern with order contrasted with 'the festive spirit' present amongst the rebellious commoners at Thame, Rycote and elsewhere. To 'camp' in 1549 was both to rebel and to play, hence Nichols' dismissal of the 1549 rebellions as 'midsummer games'.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Kett's camp at Mousehold was established on 12 July, by which time the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising was well underway: Sotherton, 'Commoysen in Norfolk', 80, 82. Other camps at Ipswich (Suffolk) and Downham Market (Norfolk) were in existence by 14 and 15 July. Those at Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) and Hingham (central Norfolk) were probably set up at the same time: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.65-67. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.150. On Sussex and Kent, see chapter 4. For locations, see map 1.2.

¹³⁶ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 48; *Suffolk and the Tudors*, pp.300-02. See also chapter 8.

¹³⁷ MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p.302, n.38. Philip Nichols, 'Answer to the Commoners of Devonshire and Cornwall': Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.170.

Leadership

According to Foxe, the stir in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire was engendered 'by such like popish priests as Holmes and his fellows'.¹³⁸ At least five priests are known to have been ringleaders in Oxfordshire in 1549, although Holmes, himself, has remained remarkably elusive. As churchmen, Webbe, Joyes, Tomson, Wade and Matthew may well have been especially skilled in inspiring and stirring their flocks: an important quality given the sensitivity of the common people to the spoken word in Tudor society.¹³⁹

In order to translate a limited situation into a generalised movement, rebel leaders had to possess 'a sort of vocation', a faith in a mission or cause.¹⁴⁰ Bowldrey and Bowlar's strong convictions against injustice and the Oxfordshire clergy's defence of traditional religion drew on, and gave expression to, existing discontents. The leaders' declaration of this 'hidden transcript' allowed the commons to 'recognise the full extent to which their claims, their dreams, their anger was shared by others', creating a community of common interests'.¹⁴¹ The shared assumptions underlying the protests could become more generalised, widening their appeal, and so enabling the escalation of disorder into regional rebellion. Drawing up a grievance list at Chipping Norton created the generalised cause necessary for major rebellion. In this way, the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire captains were able to hold the rebels together and give them a defined purpose. Men like George Williatt, the constable of Little Horwood, may also have been

¹³⁸ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 5, p.738. Holmes is not amongst the list of Oxfordshire priests sentenced to execution.

¹³⁹ Mollat & Wolff, *Popular Revolutions*, pp.295, 299-302. Cf. Welsh in the south-west: Youngs, 'The South-Western Rebellion', 121-22. Powerful, inspired speech could be the root of rebellion: Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, p.95. The power ascribed to Hales' address to the commons in stirring up rebellion in 1548-49, together with proclamations against seditious words, show that the authorities were only too aware that words encouraged disorder: see above and *TRP* 1, nos. 281, 337, 352.

¹⁴⁰ Mollat & Wolff, *Popular Revolutions*, p.301.

¹⁴¹ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.223.

integral in shaping the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion. We just know too little as yet of the role played by Williatt and other figures in the Buckinghamshire disturbances.¹⁴²

Undeniably, the clergy formed a more important element in the leadership of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising than in the Southern, Eastern, and Midland disorders.¹⁴³ At first, this seems to suggest a fundamental disparity in the social composition of what MacCulloch describes as the two sets of 1549 risings. However, broadly speaking, it was the yeoman 'class' which provided most of the parish clergy in mid-Tudor England.¹⁴⁴ Thus, Latimer could state that 'by yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and has been chiefly maintained'.¹⁴⁵ These prosperous yeomen held a pre-eminent position in the local community in terms of their role in local administration, while the parish priest commanded a similar ascendancy over his parishioners by virtue of his role as spiritual adviser. The clergy occupied a central position in village life, making them able to establish themselves as defenders of communal interests. Parish priests were comparable to the yeomanry not only in terms of their wealth, but also in their role as natural leaders of the community.¹⁴⁶

Loach notes that 'even if the government was correct in attributing a considerable share of the blame for the risings in the South-West and Oxfordshire and

¹⁴² More work needs to be done before the Buckinghamshire leaders can be identified.

¹⁴³ More so than in the south-west, if the number of executions are anything to go by. 23 clerics are known to have been involved in the Western Rebellion, but apparently only Robert Welsh, the vicar of St Thomas' in Exeter, was singled out for execution: Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', pp.372-74, 378-82; Hooker, *Description of Exeter*, p.94; Youings, 'South-Western Rebellion', 120-22.

¹⁴⁴ J. Cornwall has shown that the beneficed clergy, from which the principal rebel captains in the south-west were drawn 'approximated', in material terms, 'to the middling sort of tenant farmer' who was so prominent in the East Anglian disorders: *Wealth and Society in Early Sixteenth-Century England* (London, 1988), p.91; see also Greenwood, 'Study of the Rebel Petitions', p.136, table 3.6. It is probably safe to assume that Cornwall's findings apply to the Oxfordshire ringleaders.

¹⁴⁵ Latimer, *Sermons*, p.102.

¹⁴⁶ Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution*, p.68. See also Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, pp.204-07 and C.F. Richmond, 'The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism in the Archives of Magdalen College, Oxford: a note', *History Workshop Journal* 37 (Spring 1994), 166-67.

Buckinghamshire to the instigation of priests, it is still not clear why priests in those particular areas should be more opposed to the new Prayer Book than were their colleagues elsewhere, or if a large number of priests everywhere were opposed to the Book, why parishioners in these central and south-western areas were so susceptible to clerical objections'.¹⁴⁷ Recent research has suggested that there were many resident priests in the south-west, and that priests were more involved in education here than in other parts of the realm.¹⁴⁸ Further work on the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire clergy may serve to confirm or refute this hypothesis. Did the clergy exercise a firmer hold on the people in the Thames Valley than elsewhere? Since the Prayer Book 'confirmed and deepened a striking visual and oral break with the past', it is perhaps unsurprising that 'it was much disliked in areas where attachment to traditional religion was strong', including the Thames Valley.¹⁴⁹

Social Composition

Until recently, we had only a very small sample of rebels on which to base an analysis of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising's social composition. A list of more than a hundred rank and file Buckinghamshire rebels in Bodleian MS E Museo 57 now supplements this.¹⁵⁰ The implications of clerical and yeoman leadership have already been discussed, so it will suffice to say that James Webbe, the vicar of Barford St Michael, was probably the chief captain of the Oxfordshire rebels. Interestingly, a craftsman and a weaver may also have numbered amongst the upper ranks of the Oxfordshire rebels. In Oxfordshire, five of the thirteen known rebels were clerics, and

¹⁴⁷ Quoting Loach, *Edward VI*, p.77.

¹⁴⁸ Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, pp.50-51; R. Whiting, *Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.232-33. In fact, there is no real evidence to suggest that the Buckinghamshire clergy were involved in the rebellion, although their Oxfordshire counterparts paid dearly for their part in the movement.

¹⁴⁹ Quoting Loach, *Edward VI*, p.78.

¹⁵⁰ See the appendix.

**TABLE 5.2: A BREAKDOWN OF THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF REBELS IN
OXFORDSHIRE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE AND BERKSHIRE, 1549**

REBELS	OXON.	BUCKS.	BERKS.
Agricultural Occupations			
Yeomen	1	3	
Husbandmen	2	81	
Labourers		19	
Rural officials (constables)		1	
Total	3	104	0
Non-Agricultural Occupations			
Artisans:			
Tailors		6	
Shoemakers		5	1
Butchers		3	
Bakers		1	
Inn Holders		1	
Weavers	1	2	2
Mercers		1	
Carpenters		1	
Wheelers		1	
Smiths		1	
Fletchers		1	
Tanners		1	
Leathersellers		1	
Chandlers		1	
Craftsmen	1		
Total no. artisans	2	26	3
Clerics	5		
Total	7	26	3
Unknown social status	3	2	
TOTAL NO. REBELS	13	132	3

there is some evidence to suggest that students were among the protestors in Oxford itself.¹⁵¹ In Buckinghamshire, by contrast, the majority of suspected rebels were husbandmen, labourers and artisans, although George Williatt, a yeomen, was, significantly, constable of Little Horwood.¹⁵² The Berkshire conspirators of autumn 1549 consisted of two Newbury weavers and a Reading shoemaker (table 5.2).¹⁵³ Priests, prosperous yeomen, lesser officials, husbandmen and craftsmen represented a natural leadership for communal action by virtue of their very location at the centre of village society: these were respectable men with a stake in the community.

Recruitment Networks

The correlation between market centres and sites of disorder in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1549 suggests the rebels established a fairly sophisticated recruitment network. As Wood has noted, ‘would-be rebels typically planned to gather in a market town, take control of the church bells, “ring awake”, assemble a crowd, march to nearby villages to gather more followers, and descend upon the “rich men”’.¹⁵⁴ The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rebels gathered at various market towns, including: Thame, Oxford, Woodstock, Chipping Norton, Buckingham, and Amersham, drawing in supporters from their satellite villages (maps 5.2 and 5.3) – a factor which

¹⁵¹ SP 10/8/32. No social status is given for the other Oxfordshire ringleaders named in Lord Grey’s order. On the involvement of students and fellows of the Oxford colleges, see above.

¹⁵² A proclamation labelling parish constables as the ‘sturrers and caryers abroade of the Rumours to bring the people in an uproare’ was passed on 22 July 1549: *TRP* 1, no. 342. A similar concern regarding the ambivalent performance of the middling sort in their local peace-keeping role is voiced by Richard Carew, who deemed ‘the constables’ command and example’ responsible for drawing ‘many of the not-worst meaning people into the extremest breach of duty’: cited in Whiting, *Blind Devotion of the People*, p.215. For East Anglian examples, see MacCulloch, ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context’, 51. Manning argues that parish constables were also prominent among the leaders of the Cornish rebels: ‘Rebellions of 1549’, 97. For a general assessment of the local officials’ role in maintaining order, see Wrightson, ‘Two Concepts of Order’.

¹⁵³ Bodl. MS E Museo 57, ff.109-113; *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.147. The amounts for which the Buckinghamshire rebels were bound over to keep the peace at various sessions in late July do not seem generally to have been reflective of social status. Rather, they may have been determined by the level of participation. *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, Appendix 2, pp.223-24. Cf. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.193, table 3.

¹⁵⁴ Wood, ‘Poore men’, p.70. This quotation is taken from an earlier draft of Wood’s article.

may explain the large concentration of craftsmen among the crowd.¹⁵⁵ Thame, a market town on the Oxfordshire-Buckinghamshire border, was particularly well-placed for the dissemination of disorder, and must have had important implications for the infrastructure of mobilisation across these two counties and beyond.¹⁵⁶ The flow of the Oxfordshire rebels (map 5.3), indicates how the rebel force swelled in numbers as it marched from Thame to Chipping Norton, whilst clusters of disorder in the vicinity of gentry residences hint at the anti-gentry intentions of the rebels.¹⁵⁷ Although it is not immediately apparent where the Oxfordshire rebels were heading before Lord Grey stopped them in their tracks, they may have intended to unite with the Warwickshire rebels, who shared their experience of enclosure.¹⁵⁸ Whether the Buckinghamshire rebels joined forces with their Oxfordshire counterparts or formed their own splinter movement is unclear. The only hint is provided by the 'Soldier of Calais', who believed the Buckinghamshire rebels to have been defeated in a separate battle at Stony Stratford in mid-July.¹⁵⁹

Events in 1549 suggest that the Council was right to fear that rumour, news and disorder would spread through the market towns of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire.¹⁶⁰ An examination of the infrastructure of the abortive Oxfordshire Rising of 1596 might allow us to make some useful inferences concerning the mobilisation of the 1549 rebellion, for which, unfortunately, there is little real evidence.¹⁶¹ In 1596, a

¹⁵⁵ I follow Thirsk's comprehensive list of market centres: *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 4, pp.473, 475. On the importance of market towns in early modern society, see p.488. All the execution sites in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire were market towns, except Bloxham and Islip.

¹⁵⁶ Being only fourteen miles from Oxford and forty-six miles from London, Thame was open to both regional and national influences: *VCH Oxon.* 7, p.160.

¹⁵⁷ The rebels' itinerary might be indicative of their intended targets, as in 1596: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 126. Some kind of relationship can be seen between the sites of disorder and the residences of the local gentry, many of whom acted to repress the rebels in late July: maps 5.1-5.3.

¹⁵⁸ The Warwickshire stir was contemporaneous with the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising: chapter 7.

¹⁵⁹ Davies, 'Calais and Boulogne', 62.

¹⁶⁰ SP 10/8/9. The constables were instructed to ensure that the market towns did not stir, whilst the gentlemen were to lay spies in market towns and thoroughfares.

¹⁶¹ This comparison is based on Walter's account of the 1596 rising: 'A "Rising of the People"?', 102-06.

constellation of roads and ways radiated out from Bletchington, the centre of the rising, along which people and ideas could move. These roads and ways fed into the main London road, bringing news of disorders in the capital and elsewhere. Interestingly, Stony Stratford, Fenny Stratford and Little Brickhill, three Buckinghamshire towns affected by disorder in 1549, lay on Watling Street, one of the busiest roads in England.¹⁶² Rumours and news concerning the commotions in other parts of the realm could have easily reached the ears of the north Buckinghamshire commons. Fairs at Banbury, Bicester, Oxford and Woodstock also brought villagers into the towns and provided opportunities for discussion, planning, and the generalisation of discontents. The rising must have been the main topic of conversation.¹⁶³ Furthermore, Walter has revealed that the 1596 disorders hint at movement between Oxfordshire and Northampton, a factor which may be of particular importance in appreciating the wider links between the central counties during the ‘commotion time’.¹⁶⁴

Level of Violence

Violence, or more accurately, the threat of violence, was integral to the bargaining process in 1549. Plunder, violence, threats, excessive eating and drinking, insult and obscenity defined a ‘plebeian rebel culture’ in 1549. However, this rebel culture clearly had its limits. Thus, the rebels slaughtered Sir John Williams’ sheep and deer at Thame and Rycote, broke into his house, and feasted on his wine and mutton, but inflicted no harm on Williams himself. Violence was directed against property, not persons, during the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion. The rebels destroyed Williams’ deer parks and plundered the lands of Magdalen College. Yet, only verbal threats were issued against targets such as Martyr. Moreover, the rebels’ targets were specific and

¹⁶² Elvey, ‘Early Records of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham’, p.60.

¹⁶³ On the role of communal gatherings, see Ch. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”?’, 117, n.90.

reflective of their aims. Whilst Williams represented a new and unpopular class of landholders which sprang up after the Dissolution, Martyr embodied everything about the Protestant Reformation that the insurgents hated. Contemporary accounts emphasise the violent nature of the rebellion, but these almost certainly exaggerate the level of violence for official purposes. Somerset's telling remark that Russell should weaken the western rebels 'by spreading abroad rumors of their devious behaviours' to discourage the commons from joining them, reveals propaganda to have been a double-edged sword wielded by the authorities against the commotioners in 1549.¹⁶⁵ That the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rebels were armed can only be inferred from Bartholomew Steer's incidental reference to an earlier rising in Oxfordshire in which the rebels were persuaded to lay down their arms.¹⁶⁶

III. Weathering the Storm: Repression and Reprisals

Records of the Rebellion

That authority was the first historian of the Thames Valley Rebellion has skewed our understanding of its nature and scale, more so than with the other 1549 risings.¹⁶⁷ The records emphasise repression and reprisal, rather than the rebellion itself. An anonymous London chronicle provides the only real detail of rebel activity in Oxfordshire, though it is unclear how the chronicler came to hear of it. Whilst Foxe's account mentions the rebellion's suppression, he makes little of events in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.¹⁶⁸ Ironically, where the government dealt quickly and effectively with disorder, it went largely unrecorded.

¹⁶⁵ Council to Lord Russell, 10 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.23.

¹⁶⁶ Manning, *Village Revolts*, p.223.

¹⁶⁷ Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 137-39.

¹⁶⁸ This is surprising, considering that the rising could have served his didactic purpose, turning the association between Protestantism and sedition on its head. Cf. the Seamer Rising: chapter 7. Foxe was

Official concerns have so shaped our knowledge of events in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire that it is difficult to hear the voices of the participants themselves. This created an image of a violent anti-government movement, led by priests - outright treason. Memory is, however, a political resource and, whilst there is an underlying reality beneath the rhetoric, the reality of the past is shaped by selectivity. The official message that popular rebellion was doomed to failure and bloodshed reasserted elite power over the commons in 1549, closing the opportunity for legitimate resistance created by contradictions within the 'public transcript'. The government needed to ensure that the commons had learnt their lesson. The memory of bloodshed would deter further action, forcing the commons to consider the consequences of overt disorder before taking action.

Beer has touched on the way in which Protestant propaganda has shaped the record of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising, noting 'the tendency of reformers to blame Catholics for all opposition'.¹⁶⁹ This issue deserves serious contemplation. How far should we accept the official picture of a Catholic rising instigated by priests? As early as August 1548 Hales voiced his fears that the 'papists' might undermine the work of the enclosure commission, whilst Cranmer wildly remarked that 'papists' from the western camp stirred up the East Anglian disorders of the following summer.¹⁷⁰ The three replies to the western rebels, drawn up by the king, Cranmer, and Philip Nichols were all written in the emotive language of militant Protestantism.¹⁷¹ In the king's message to the rebels of Devon and Cornwall, heresy and popery became synonymous

probably unable to acquire much relevant information. I would like to thank Dr Tom Freeman for discussing Foxe's treatment of the risings at length with me.

¹⁶⁹ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.150.

¹⁷⁰ BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.321r; Cranmer, *Writings*, p.189.

¹⁷¹ The King's message to the rebels of Devon and Cornwall is printed by Holinshed: *Chronicles* 3, pp.919-26. Cranmer's reply to the fifteen articles of the western rebels can be found in his *Writings*, pp.163-87. Nichols' 'Answer to the Commoners of Devonshire and Cornwall', is printed in Pocock, *Troubles Connected With the Prayer Book*, pp.141-93. For Nichols' authorship, see G. Scheurweghs, 'On

with sedition and treason. The rebels are characterised throughout this Protestant literature as ‘simple and plain-meaning countrymen’ deceived by cunning priests.¹⁷² It was the priests who spread rumours of taxes on sheep, cattle, food and drink, ‘to kindle the coles of malice and hatred betwixt the king and his subjects’.¹⁷³

The idea of rebellion as a conspiracy instigated by priests was arguably more palatable to elite minds than the idea of genuine popular disorder in the mid-Tudor period.¹⁷⁴ It was easier to deal with disorder if there was a clear scapegoat to target.¹⁷⁵ Philip Nichols stooped to ‘crude anticlerical propaganda’,¹⁷⁶ whilst John Cheke debunked the traditional role of priests as the leaders, teachers and guides of their parishioners.¹⁷⁷ The temptation to blame the priests for sedition must have been great in 1549, especially in those parts of the realm where the ‘suddes of mennes tradicions’ proved most resilient.¹⁷⁸ The reformers were all too eager to seize upon the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising as a means of refuting the equation between Protestantism and sedition. Writers such as Edward VI, Cranmer, Nichols, Foxe and Cheke all strove to establish a strong causal link between Catholicism, sedition and treason.¹⁷⁹ The

An Answer to the Articles of the Rebels of Cornwall and Devonshire’, *British Museum Quarterly*, 8 (1933-34), 24-25

¹⁷² Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.141, 157, 161, 162, 168. Cranmer, *Writings*, pp.163, 164, 166, 179. Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, pp.920-21. These are but a few examples.

¹⁷³ Quoting Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, p.924. See also Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 5, p.736. Nichols similarly refers to the priests as agents of the Antichrist, ‘blood-suckers’ and ‘whelps of the Romish litter’: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.141, 142, 157, 176.

¹⁷⁴ John Burcher received news on 25 September 1549 that the rebellion was over, and ‘the principal perpetrators’ were being brought to punishment; ‘especially those impure mass-priests, who stirred up the people’: *Original Letters*, p.658.

¹⁷⁵ *Original Letters*, p.730. Cf. Nichols’ Answer: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, pp.146, 151.

¹⁷⁶ Quoting MacCulloch and Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.60. For a comparable continental example of anticlerical propaganda, see Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Political Propaganda in the German Reformation* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1993).

¹⁷⁷ See Nichols on auricular confession: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.151. Cheke remarked to the western rebels, ‘they that teach you blind you ... your blind guides would lead you still’: *Hurt of Sedition*, pp.988-89. Cf. Nichols: ‘if the blind lead the blind both fall in the ditch’: pp.154-55.

¹⁷⁸ Quoting Nichols, ‘Answer’: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.176.

¹⁷⁹ The Protestant propagandists failed to make any distinction between the Roman Catholic and Henrician religions, allowing them to denounce the south-western rebels as ‘papists’ though they made no call for the repeal of the Act of Supremacy or for reconciliation with Rome. For the articles, see Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.139-41.

official history of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising was, then, a resounding propaganda triumph.

If we cannot trust Protestant polemical works to paint an accurate picture of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising, what can be said of our other main source, the celebratory accounts of the rebels' defeat? Most accounts of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising exalt Lord Grey's exploits, largely because they were state-sponsored or commissioned by Grey's descendants. In what was to become a set-piece exposition of events, Somerset commended Lord Grey for having 'chased the Rebels of Bucks, Oxfordshire, and these parties to their houses, and taken cc. of them', together with 'a dosen of the ring leders'.¹⁸⁰ Foxe and Holinshed closely echo Somerset's account, suggesting that all subsequent narratives sprang from this one source. Later commentators, such as Dugdale and Hayward, simply embellished Edward VI's succinct account, which noted that 'to Oxfordshire the Lord Grey of Wilton was sent with 1,500 horsemen and footmen; whose coming, with the assembling of the gentlemen of the country, did so abash the rebels that more than half of them ran their ways, and [of the] others that tarried were some slain, some taken and some hanged'.¹⁸¹

Our historical memory of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising is undoubtedly shaped by official propaganda, but what significance does the elite's deliberate attempt to remember the rebellion have for our understanding of 1549? Whilst the priests' role, the rebels' defeat, and the subsequent executions are recorded for posterity, the exact geography, chronology, and course of the rebellion; the precise

¹⁸⁰ Somerset to Lord Russell, 18 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.29. William Forest's eye-witness account of Lord Grey's massacre counters the official celebratory accounts of the rebels' defeat: Woodman, 'Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising', 82.

¹⁸¹ Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.13; Arthur Lord Grey, *Commentary*, pp.viii (citing Dugdale), 17; Hayward, *Life and Reign of King Edward VI*, p.292. The *DNB* entry for Lord Grey reflects this tradition, combining the accounts of Edward VI, Somerset, Foxe and the *Commentary*. Peter Martyr saw the defeat of the rebels as a triumph for Protestantism. He mentions two armies raised against the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rebels, where all other accounts refer only to Lord Grey's force: *Common Places*, sig.Qqij^v.

details of the rebels' activity, and the scope of their aims, were forgotten. The way in which the Thames Valley Rebellion was remembered served the authorities' didactic purposes.

The Response of the Authorities

Was it because the trouble in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire was perceived as a religious rising that it met with such a harsh response, or because of the disorder's proximity to the capital? The answer is probably that these two factors made for a particularly dangerous combination in 1549, but did the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising really justify this heavy-handed response? In the wake of Lord Grey's brutal massacre, the government blended a subtle cocktail of summary executions, judicial proceedings and pardons for the commons, with which to wash down the bitter pill of defeat. The policy of retribution was combined with a policy of appeasement.

The use of force in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire marked the first move away from the conciliatory policy used so successfully in the spring of 1549 (Rich in Essex and Herbert in Somerset and Wiltshire had acted harshly on their own initiative),¹⁸² although Somerset had initially established a dialogue with the Thames Valley rebels as he had done with the Hertfordshire, Hampshire, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk insurgents.¹⁸³ Whereas Herbert's intervention aggravated the southern disorders, Grey's action was 'ruthless but efficient'.¹⁸⁴ As Cornwall notes, the 'Oxfordshire incident' was

¹⁸² See chapters 3 and 4.

¹⁸³ This was not the uncomplicated response that MacCulloch suggests. Somerset's reaction to the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire indicates that MacCulloch's identification of two distinct strategies of response to the 1549 risings is an oversimplification: *Cranmer*, pp.432-40. See chapters 4 and 8.

¹⁸⁴ Quoting Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.129. Sir Thomas Smith proclaimed Grey's actions to be 'better then x^m proclamacions or pardons for the quietyng of the people': SP 10/8/3. The best discussion of Somerset's policy of pardons is Shagan's 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions'.

settled a matter of days after Grey's arrival.¹⁸⁵ Unlike Rich and Herbert, Lord Grey was clearly sent as lieutenant into Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire in July 1549, following Somerset's policy of despatching local gentry to put down the risings. The bloodbath he created at Chipping Norton had official backing, proving that the government 'had no compunction' in using troops against the 1549 rebels, where they were available.¹⁸⁶ Lord Grey's success had much to do with his reputation. 'The gentlemen of the country' flocked to support him because 'he was so generally known to be a man of valour and fortune'.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, Grey's ability as a soldier may explain why the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion was so successfully suppressed: he was held to be 'the best soldier in England'.¹⁸⁸ However, his band of 'strangers' might just as easily have stirred up discontent as suppressed it. Somerset's principal reason for withholding 'thalmaynes' from Lord Russell after 18 July was 'that they be odyous to our people abrode'.¹⁸⁹

The government's policy of retribution centred on a number of towns scattered throughout the rebellious central counties. The punishment was, however, very much weighted against the Oxfordshire rebels and few, if any, details of the repression in Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, (Bedfordshire) and Northamptonshire are known.¹⁹⁰ Exemplary punishment of the ringleaders was combined with pardons for the rank and

¹⁸⁵ Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.129.

¹⁸⁶ Quoting Bush, *Government Policy*, p.89.

¹⁸⁷ Quoting Dugdale, *Baron* i. p.714, cited in Arthur Lord Grey's *Commentary*, p.viii.

¹⁸⁸ Quoting Jehan Scheyfve to the Emperor, 26 October 1551: *CSPSp* 10, p.389. Cf. the Marquis of Northampton's and Sir Peter Carew's mishandling of the situations in Norfolk and Devonshire, which turned vast popular demonstrations into full-scale rebellions: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.52-53, 69. For Grey's distinguished military career, see *DNB* 8, pp.656-58.

¹⁸⁹ Quoting Somerset to Lord Russell, 18 July 1549: Pocock, *Troubles Connected With the Prayer Book*, p.29. See also *CSPSp* 9, p.406 and chapter 6.

¹⁹⁰ Lord Grey's order of 19 July was taken 'for thappesing and execucion of the evell disposed people' within the counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire: SP 10/8/32. The following discussion is based upon this order, except where specific references are cited. Grey handed over fifteen or so of his two hundred prisoners for exemplary punishment, probably under martial law. The death toll may have been considerably higher, as these were *further* executions. There is no evidence of any trials, except in the case of James Webbe, vicar of Barford St Michael. The rebels may have been

file. Fifteen Oxfordshire rebels (and later three Berkshire conspirators) faced the gallows, one Buckinghamshire rebel was imprisoned and nine Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire insurgents were specifically pardoned.¹⁹¹ The locations and patterns of the rebel executions reveal much about the authorities' perception and portrayal of the rising.

At least five Oxfordshire priests were sentenced to execution as principal stirrers in July 1549: Henry Joyes, vicar of Chipping Norton; Sir Henry Mathew, parish priest of Deddington; Richard Tomson, vicar of Duns Tew; John Wade, parish priest of Bloxham; and James Webbe, vicar of Barford St Michael (table 5.3).¹⁹² Significantly, Webbe was the only Oxfordshire or Buckinghamshire rebel known to have been tried in London and, of the four rebels arraigned at the Guildhall on 16 August and condemned of high treason as 'rebelles and captaines of Norfolke, Suffolke, and Oxfordshire', only Webbe was executed outside London, at Aylesbury.¹⁹³ Presumably Webbe was treated differently because he was a clergyman. His fate was orchestrated to make an impact on the local population, albeit in Buckinghamshire rather than Oxfordshire: a fact which hints at the scale and significance of the Buckinghamshire disorders.

Two of these Oxfordshire priests, Henry Joyes and John Wade, were sentenced to hang from the steeples of their churches at Chipping Norton and Bloxham. The

executed by the four marshals who had been appointed for this purpose earlier in July: SP 10/8/9. Perhaps the Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire captains had already been dealt with.

¹⁹¹ The evidence suggests a serious conspiracy centred on Reading and Newbury in November 1549, no details of which seem to survive: *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, Appendix 2, pp.223-24

¹⁹² Foxe names eight priests as the 'principal stirrers' of the rebellion in the west, but adds that there were many more: *Acts and Monuments*, 5, pp.730-31. Robert Welsh, the vicar of St Thomas' (Exeter) was singled out for execution as 'an Archcapytayn' and 'pryncypall doer': Hooker, *Description of Exeter*, pp.91-92. Youings suspects that contemporary accounts of the large numbers of priests involved in the west were exaggerated: 'South-Western Rebellion', 120-22. Rose-Troup found few examples of institutions to benefices in 1549-50: *Western Rebellion*, 497-502. Sir Henry Mathew's position in Deddington is uncertain. He was neither the vicar in 1549, nor the priest of the former Trinity Guild, dissolved in 1548: H.M. Colvin, *A History of Deddington, Oxfordshire* (London, 1963), p.97.

¹⁹³ Wriothlesley, *Chronicle 2*, p.21. On William Gates and John Allen, see chapters 3 and 6.

TABLE 5.3: OXFORDSHIRE REBELS SENTENCED TO EXECUTION

Name	Place of Residence	Social Status	Appointed Place of Execution	Fate
Boolar, William (Bowlar)	Watlington	Unknown	Watlington	Later pardoned
Bowldry, Thomas (Bouldrey)	Great Haseley	Wealthy yeoman	Oxford	Hanged and quartered
Brokyns, John	Islip	Craftsman	Islip	Unknown
Joyes, Henry	Chipping Norton	Vicar	The steeple at Chipping Norton	Executed for high treason shortly before 31 August 1549. (Died of natural causes: Diocesan Register).
Mathew, Sir Henrie	Deddington	Parish priest	Deddington	Unknown
Raves, George	Duns Tew	Unknown	Banbury	Probably later pardoned. Made a will in 1558.
Tomson, Richard	Duns Tew	Vicar	Banbury	Eventually pardoned. Resigned his living in 1554.
Wade, John	Bloxham	Parish priest	The steeple at Bloxham	Eventually pardoned. Living at Bloxham in 1553.
Webbe, James	Barford St Michael	Vicar	Aylesbury	Arraigned at the Guildhall, 16 August. Sent to Aylesbury to be hanged, drawn and quartered, 22 August 1549.
White, John	Combe	Unknown	Banbury	Unknown
Whyttington, Richard	Deddington	Weaver	Bicester	Unknown
Two others of the most seditious	Unknown	Unknown	Thame	Unknown
Two others of the most seditious	Unknown	Unknown	Oxford	Unknown

intention may have been to stage a display involving the same pomp and ceremony with which Robert Welsh was hanged from the tower of St Thomas' Church, Exeter.¹⁹⁴ As a visual re-embodiment of the regime's association between Catholicism and treason, Joyes and Wade's executions would have provided a potent symbol, representing another propaganda triumph for the authorities, although it is doubtful that these sentences were carried out.¹⁹⁵ In targeting the Oxfordshire clergy as the ringleaders of the Thames Valley Rebellion, and removing them from their parishes, the government may have hoped to cut the tendrils of Catholicism, planting Protestant preachers in their stead. Was Dixon right to speculate that 'many livings in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire were rendered vacant by the suspension of the incumbents from the steeples of their churches'?¹⁹⁶ Only careful scrutiny of the diocesan records will tell. Institutions to benefices in the central counties in the wake of the 'commotion time' may reveal whether any Berkshire, Buckinghamshire or Northamptonshire priests were executed, and whether these men, and others like them, were replaced with reformist-minded clergy.

The number of Oxfordshire laymen sentenced to execution slightly outnumbered the clergy assigned the same fate, suggesting that we should not take the official propaganda at face value and regard the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion as solely 'uppon instigation of sundery preists for these matyers of religion'. Ten 'of the most seditious' laymen were singled out for exemplary punishment (table 5.3). Thus, the authorities recognised the importance of yeomen, craftsmen and weavers in the 1549

¹⁹⁴ Hooker, *Description of Exeter*, p.94. This punishment was not reserved for clergymen in 1549. William Kett was 'likewise hanged on the toppe of Windham [Wymondham] Steeple', whilst his brother, Robert, was 'hanged in cheynes on the toppe of Norwich Castell': Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), p.1045.

¹⁹⁵ Henry Joyes was reported to have been executed for high treason shortly before 31 August 1549 (*CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.117), although his death is attributed to natural causes in the Diocesan Register. John Wade was probably eventually pardoned, since he was apparently still living at Bloxham in 1553: Woodman, 'Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising', 83 & n.22. For the fates of the other Oxfordshire rebels, see table 5.3.

disorders. It is significant that at least two of this number, Bowlar and Bowldry, were allegedly captains at the breaking up of Thame and Rycote parks. In sentencing them to execution for their part in the rising, the government seems to have anticipated the formalisation of the treatment of enclosure rioters in 1579 and 1596.¹⁹⁷

The sites of execution were carefully selected by Lord Grey for strategic effect. Watlington, Oxford, Islip, Chipping Norton, Deddington, Banbury, Bloxham, Bicester, Thame, Aylesbury and Reading were all either major centres of disorder, rebel towns, or market centres for the satellite villages from which the rebels were drawn, whilst certain priests were hung from their steeples. All these sites were chosen to produce the maximum impact on a local and regional level (maps 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3). Whilst some rebels were to meet their fate in their own towns, others were punished away from their places of residence as a means of intimidating other communities (table 5.3).¹⁹⁸

On the basis of the existing evidence, Oxfordshire was clearly the focus of Grey's wrath, but what can Lord Grey's choice of Oxfordshire towns tell us about the geographical focus of the 1549 rebellion? Thame was one of the focal points of the rising and 'the fact that "two of the most seditious" were ordered to "suffer at Thame" for their part in the Oxfordshire outbreak of 1549 suggests that the crown may have had a special reason for choosing Thame as the place to stage a spectacle calculated to deter revolt'.¹⁹⁹ It is possible to attribute religious indignation and agrarian discontent to the Thame disorders. The town lay 'at the centre of an area with a considerable history of depopulation and enclosure for sheep',²⁰⁰ and there is evidence that at least some of the

¹⁹⁶ Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, 3, p.67. It is possible that separate orders, related to Lord Grey's order of 19 July, were issued for these counties, which have now been lost.

¹⁹⁷ See chapters 8 and 9.

¹⁹⁸ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.185.

¹⁹⁹ Quoting *VCH Oxon.* 1, p.160.

²⁰⁰ Quoting Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 114.

leading townsmen were out of sympathy with the Henrician and Edwardian reformations. The churchwardens made determined efforts to protect the wealth of the church and guild from royal confiscations and forestalled the chantry commissioners by selling church goods.²⁰¹ That the commons, rather than the priests, provided the initial impetus for the Oxfordshire rising of 1549 is suggested by the vicar, Dr Goodrugge, who, when asked on what authority he kept a solemn feast in the church in celebration of St Thomas Becket in 1537, replied confidently that ‘the people would have it so’.²⁰²

The executions of the Oxfordshire rebels named in Grey’s order were to be carried out on the next market day in the appointed towns. Market day would have drawn a substantial crowd, ensuring a wide audience for the executions and increasing the impact on the commons. Afterwards, the rebels’ heads were ‘to be sett upp in the highest place’ in each town ‘for the more terror of the saide evell people’.²⁰³ However, there is no evidence to suggest that any executions took place in Oxfordshire before the first week of August, with two rebels suffering their fate on 16 and 31 of that month. The restoration of order took some time after Grey’s victory on 18 July. John Ab Ulmis expressed relief on 7 August that ‘the Oxfordshire papists are at last reduced to order, many of them having been apprehended, and some gibbeted, and their heads fastened to the walls’.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ *VCH Oxon.* 1, p.160. For disaffection in Thame at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, see Woodman, ‘Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising’, 83. Woodman speculates that Robert Johns may also have participated in the 1549 rising, identifying him as the Robert Johnson who was examined by the Council concerning insurrection in May 1550: see below. Very little church property remained for the commissioners to seize in 1553. The town’s reluctance to replace its altar with a communion table provides a further example of its conservatism: Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.177.

²⁰² Depositions ‘Touching the seditious persons of Thame’: *L&P* 12:2, no. 357, pp.143-44.

²⁰³ SP 10/8/32.

²⁰⁴ John Ab Ulmis to Henry Bullinger, Oxford, 7 August 1549: *Original Letters*, p.391.

Surprisingly, a number of the repressers, including Sir William Barentine, Leonard Chamberlain and William Fermor, were probably Catholics.²⁰⁵ Why did Lord Grey appoint such figures to oversee the rebel executions? Possibly their appointment was intended to demonstrate a lack of gentry support for the rebels' religious cause. On the other hand, they may, themselves, have been targeted as enclosers during the 'commotion time'. Barantine and Fermor were notorious enclosers, as was Vincent Power of Bletchington.²⁰⁶ Clearly, the regime was still forced to rely on conservative JPs to keep order in 1549, many of whom, according to Lord Rich, were 'content to wink' at disorder that they might 'hinder' the progress of the Reformation.²⁰⁷ This kind of foot-dragging on the part of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire justices may well explain why disorder was able to escalate into regional rebellion here.

The authorities' retribution was, however, combined with a measure of mercy. Whilst the ringleaders were singled out for execution as a warning to others, the rank and file were either pardoned or (in the case of the Buckinghamshire rebels) subjected to judicial proceedings, in the traditional manner.²⁰⁸ Edmund Bluemantle, one of the king's officers at arms, received payment on 4 August for his services in carrying the royal pardon into Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire and publishing it there for fifteen days.²⁰⁹ That the pardon was carried into Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire confirms the wider geographical focus of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising and the significance of the events in these counties. It is somewhat puzzling, however, that the royal pardon was not published in Oxfordshire –

²⁰⁵ The Barantine, Chamberlain and Fermor families are known to have been leading recusants in Elizabeth's reign.

²⁰⁶ On the Power family's aggressive enclosing activities between 1544 and 1558, and their connection with the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596, see chapter 9.

²⁰⁷ Quoting Lord Chancellor Rich's admonition to the justices: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 5, p.724.

²⁰⁸ See the discussion of judicial proceedings in Buckinghamshire above.

²⁰⁹ The pardon must have been carried into Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire on or around 21 July: E 315/258, f.80; *APC* 2, p.307.

the centre of the rising – although it is possible that separate pardons were issued for the Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire and Berkshire commons.

A small number of specific pardons were granted to groups of rebels, presumably in addition, and subsequent to, the general pardon of late July. These provide important information on the Buckinghamshire rebels. On 27 July 1549, Thomas Kyghtley, a London leatherseller, George Williat, John Cowper, Thomas Williate, John Warde and Edmund Barton – all of the parish of Little Horwood, Buckinghamshire – were pardoned of all treasons, insurrections and other offences committed before 18 July. Their lands and goods, which they had forfeited as rebels, were also restored to them.²¹⁰ This testifies to the role of the Buckinghamshire commons in the rising, and hints at the involvement of outsiders. Perhaps Kyghtley brought news from London, or returned there with news of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire troubles. Whatever the case, his participation in the Little Horwood stirs provides clear evidence of the mobility which helped to disseminate disorder in 1549.²¹¹ Unusually, William Bowlar, a rebel captain, ‘afterwards had his pardon’.²¹²

²¹⁰ *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.147.

²¹¹ Another Buckinghamshire rebel, William Hychecocke, languished in the Tower well into October 1549, having been committed for conspiracies and seditious words SP 10/9/48. He was probably indicted, tried and possibly executed, although no record of his trial exists: Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.188. On 14 August, a similar pardon was granted to two Blackthorn husbandmen, Geoffrey Marshe and Richard Noddes, for offences committed before 20 July: *CPR Edw. VI*, 3, p.147.

²¹² BL Harley MS 540, f.11r.

IV. Tranquillity Restored: ‘The Experience of Defeat’

When the government’s struggle to restore order was finally over, what marks were left on the political landscape? By widening our chronological scope to encompass the immediate aftermath of the ‘commotion time’ in 1550-53, we may begin to build up an impression of how the central counties were affected by the ‘experience of defeat’ in 1549. The commotions of 1549 resounded into the early 1550s and, ultimately, in 1596.²¹³ These later episodes can be used to provide insights into the nature of grievances in 1549 and to establish connections between the disorders. They demonstrate the government’s sensitivity to disorder in this region in the wake of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising. The involvement of the Northamptonshire commons in the attempted insurrection in Leicestershire and Rutland in September 1551, in particular, hints at the wider reference of the 1549 disorders.²¹⁴ Since there is no suggestion that religious motivations were involved, these aftermaths may bear out the view that Somerset’s assessment of the 1549 rebellion was too one-sided, and that socio-economic and agrarian grievances figured as largely as religion in 1549.

In May 1550, Thomas Lovett came before the Council to disclose ‘a conspiracie for rebellion of divers shires’, naming Robert Johnson and Thomas Jackson of Thame amongst the chief conspirators.²¹⁵ The Council ordered another enquiry into a riot near Banbury the same year. George Davers and the inhabitants of Knothrop had destroyed the ditches enclosing the demesne lands around Banbury Castle. The enquiry was to establish whether they had any lawful claim to common in the demesnes.²¹⁶ Banbury

²¹³ On 1596, see chapter 9.

²¹⁴ Chapter 7.

²¹⁵ Possibly Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Berkshire, as in 1549. *APC* 3, pp.31, 34.

²¹⁶ *APC* 3, p.181. Beer identifies Knothrop as Calthorpe and suggests that the situation was not resolved until at least 22 August 1552, when the Council appointed the Surveyor for Oxfordshire in the Court of

was clearly disaffected during the 'commotion time': the town was singled out as a site of execution in 1549. This later incident suggests that enclosure grievances may have been a factor in the Banbury area in 1549, although priests from nearby Deddington, Barford St Michael, Duns Tew and Bloxham were all sentenced to execution as ringleaders.

Meanwhile, in Buckinghamshire, Sir William Paget's incomplete enclosures at Marlow came under attack in 1551. The Buckinghamshire justices were ordered 'to remove suche as have by force, sence the Lorde Pagetes committing, entered the mannour of Great Marlowe, and to put suche other in possession againe thereof as were in it before the sayd Lord Pagetes sequestracion'.²¹⁷ Paget, a Privy Councillor and an encloser, may have been a target in Buckinghamshire, as well as Northamptonshire, in 1549.²¹⁸ The inhabitants of Marlow are known to have complained to the Council of 'certain wrongs that had been offered them' the following year.²¹⁹ The Buckinghamshire justices were not, however, adept at preventing such troubles. Richard Greneway (one of the justices who had dealt with the county's rebels in 1549) broke down Ralph Lee's hedges in March 1551 out of sympathy for the 'poore men'.²²⁰

Berkshire was similarly troubled. Repercussions of the 'commotion time' occurred both at Wokingham in 1551, and at Newbury in 1553. The Wokingham conspiracy for the reduction of rents and prices throws light on other possible grievances in the central counties in 1549, establishes a connection between Berkshire and Buckinghamshire,

Augmentations to determine whether the inhabitants of Calthorpe had right of common in the fields of Essendon (*APC* 4, pp.115-16), although there is, no real evidence of a connection: *Rebellion and Riot*, p.202.

²¹⁷ *APC* 3, pp.414-15, 461.

²¹⁸ According to Jordan, Paget's enclosures 'were thrown down during the risings of 1549': *Edward VI*, p.414.

²¹⁹ *VCH Bucks.* 1, p.309. The complaint was possibly made in connection with the alienation of church lands, since the matter was referred to the Court of Augmentations

²²⁰ *APC* 3, pp.247, 252. The exact location of this dispute is undisclosed.

and shares a common theme with the discontent in Northamptonshire expressed by the London butchers earlier that year. The Council's overreaction to the 1551 conspiracy (regarded as a serious anti-gentry rising that warranted executions) reveals that it was thrown into a state of nervous anxiety by the events of 1549.²²¹ At any other time, and in any other climate, the Wokingham episode would have been dealt with more sympathetically as a plea for economic reform.

A later riot at Newbury,²²² concerning the 'reformation of misrule and enormities' in the town, may reflect the more localised urban traditions of disorder at work during the 'commotion time'.²²³ The mechanics of the riot are particularly revealing. A crowd of thirty marched into Newbury on St Nicholas' Day (6 December 1553), armed, and led by a piper.²²⁴ After assaulting John Barley, the former constable, they dispersed.²²⁵ Later that night a crowd of two hundred or more assembled (probably via the retaining system), and the rioters returned to within a mile of the town to wreak further vengeance.²²⁶ Verbal threats were made against the 'rich churles' and substantial townsmen the following day.²²⁷ In 1553, as in 1549, all local attempts to suppress the disorder were abandoned due to the menacing nature of the crowd.²²⁸

²²¹ Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.78. Herne was pardoned on 29 April 1552: *CPR* 4, p.343.

²²² REQ 2/16/25. The riot definitely dates to Edward VI's reign, but cannot be dated precisely. All attempts to trace John Barley, the former constable of Newbury, have failed (although I would like to thank Jeremy Taylor of Berkshire RO for his help in this matter). Of the three bills contained in the suit, one is addressed to the king, and two to the queen, suggesting that the riot dates to the last year of Edward's reign, and unrest continued into Mary's reign.

²²³ John Barley's supplication for the 'reformation of misrule and enormities' in the town and his enforcement of the proclamation against retainers appear to have been the rioters' major grievances.

²²⁴ St Nicholas' day had been a particular focus of reformist attention. The feast day was targeted in Henry VIII's 1541 proclamation against boy bishops: Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp.430-31.

²²⁵ The former constable of Newbury was beaten in an episode comparable to the attack on the mayor of Bristol, or the planned attack on the mayor of Salisbury: chapter 3.

²²⁶ The Cheyney family were clearly implicated in the disorders. Sir Robert Cheyney and his brother, Roger, gathered a crowd of their former retainers, whilst Sir Robert's son, John, was allegedly one of the ringleaders.

²²⁷ In attempt to provide religious justification for what was essentially an anti-authoritarian protest, the Newbury rioters proclaimed that 'by goddes bloode' they would 'not faille' to have the lives of another six or seven 'churles'. John Cheyney also threatened to slay a number of the king's tenants 'if he shuld forsake the kinges landes ther by terme of his lif': REQ 2/16/25.

²²⁸ Fears could only have been heightened by memories of the plot against the king laid in the town four years earlier: *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, Appendix 2, pp.223-24, and above.

Conclusion

How should we see the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion in relation to the wider pattern of the 'commotion time'? The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising 'grew from a variegated matrix of motives' into a 'hybrid' movement that comfortably combined agrarian and religious grievances.²²⁹ This fusion was possible because both rested on a fundamental belief in moral economics, which was closely tied with the notion of popular justice in rebel culture. Thus, the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising goes some way towards challenging the certainty of the dichotomy established by the traditional historiography. In the final analysis, the question is not whether the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rebellion was an enclosure protest by 'the camp men' or a religious rising instigated by the priests, rather, the important point is that it was both these things. Religious and secular grievances were as strongly fused in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire as they were in the eastern counties in 1549. The sheer scale of the movement could be attributed to its multi-faceted appeal.

It has been argued here that the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising is pivotal to our understanding of the 'commotion time' as a whole, both because of its intrinsic and extrinsic importance. Whilst this chapter has established the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising as a serious threat in its own right, the next chapter will examine the extent to which the disorder in the Thames Valley precipitated emergency measures for the defence of the capital. What impact did the commotions in the central counties have on 'all the parts near London'?

²²⁹ Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, p.79.

'All the Parts Near London'

Fresh outbreaks of rebellion swept through Hertfordshire, Middlesex, the Thames Valley, Kent, Essex and Sussex so that disorder alarmingly engulfed 'all the parts near London' in early July 1549.¹ This chapter investigates the disorders in Hertfordshire, Middlesex and London. It aims to consider disorder as a process by raising the question of how an apparently localised, if large-scale, enclosure rising at Northaw in 1548 escalated into full-scale rebellion in Hertfordshire and beyond the following year.² If the Northaw episode created a ripple of unrest in 1548, which rose to a cascade of disorder in 1549, it will be necessary to consider in what direction the water flowed outwards from its source in Hertfordshire and by what currents and cross-currents other counties were swept into the flood. Connections between the Hertfordshire and Middlesex disorders in 1548-49 will be drawn out as far as possible. Although MacCulloch rightly notes the difficulties associated with establishing connections between the 1549 risings, it is hoped that enough hints will be provided by the evidence to suggest some degree of co-ordination behind the commotions.³

London will be the focus of the second half of the chapter. The government evidently feared for the safety of the capital during the 'commotion time', but was this a response to the widespread external disorder of early July 1549, or to internal discontent and insubordination? In order to establish the extent to which this fear for London's safety

¹ Quoting Sir John Markham to the Earl of Rutland, 1 August 1549: *HMC Rutland* 1, p.42. According to the 'Soldier of Calais', the common people 'were complaining and murmuring in large numbers in all districts within a hundred miles of London': Davies, 'Boulogne and Calais', 60. For the timing of these outbreaks, which might establish their relevance to events in London, see SP 10/4/180 (Council to Paget, 4 July 1549): Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.24 note a; cf. p.32. See also chapters 3-5.

² See the case study of Northaw in 1548: chapter 2.

³ On the problems of establishing connections between the risings, see MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, pp.300-02.

was justified, both the level of religious and socio-economic disaffection within the capital, and the extent of the threat posed to it by provincial rebel forces, must be gauged. The question of how London was able to hold out against the rebels needs careful consideration. Was it the city's three-fold contingency plan of preventative, containment and defence measures which provided the necessary strength to withstand disorder, or were the Londoners' grievances so particular that they had little sympathy with the rebels in the rest of the realm? Whether London should be regarded as a special case in 1549, or whether events in the capital reflect the pattern of the 'commotion time' more generally, may rest upon the utility of distinguishing between urban and rural disorder. It is hoped that studying the capital in microcosm, on the basis of its unusually voluminous and detailed administrative records, will allow us to begin to reconstruct the full horror of 'the crisis' of 1549 as it appeared to the government.

I: The Escalation of Localised Disorder Into Regional Rebellion: The Example of Hertfordshire and Middlesex

It was Hales' opinion that the 1548 riots in Northaw and Cheshunt began the 'generall Insurrection' against enclosures which spread throughout southern and midland England in 1549.⁴ Although Hales makes a clear distinction between the 1548 and 1549 disorders in Hertfordshire, continuities in both the geographical area covered by the disorders and in the nature of the protestors' grievances suggest that they were connected.⁵ The attempt to reconstruct the events of the Hertfordshire and Middlesex Rebellion from a series of flashpoints at Northaw in 1548, and at neighbouring Tyttenhanger, St Albans, Watford and Enfield the following year, is important yet

⁴ Quoting Hales, *Defence*, p.lviii. See chapter 2.

⁵ Hales, *Defence*, p.lviii. Edward VI also noted that the 1549 disorders encompassed Hertfordshire: *Chronicle*, p.12.

problematic. The gradual escalation of disorder, from the stirs at Northaw in May 1548 to the height of the St Albans Rebellion in July 1549, challenges MacCulloch's picture of how quickly the 'commotion time' snowballed in the summer of 1549.⁶ The government and the gentry should have been prepared, had they heeded the warning signs. Instead, rebellion swept like a torrent through much of the south, the Thames Valley, the east and the west.

How did an apparently localised, if large-scale enclosure rising at Northaw in 1548 escalate into the full-scale rebellions of 1549? Four factors were involved in this transition: the initial success of the 1548 protest; the dissemination of news of this success; the licence given by government action; and, lastly, the fracturing of political power.⁷ The Northaw episode had clearly demonstrated that 'popular politics' (a subtle blend of petitioning with a level of coercion or an implied threat) could actually work, raising hopes and inciting similar action elsewhere.⁸ News of the protestors' triumph must have spread rapidly, given Northaw's position on the high road from London to the north, engendering a popular mood of confidence bolstered by the government's enclosure proclamations and commissions in 1549.⁹ In achieving their limited objectives, the protestors at Northaw had succeeded in renegotiating the local balance of

⁶ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp.429-33. The timing of the Hertfordshire disorders can be gauged from the fact that John Johnson's servant had no apparent trouble in making a journey from Oundle (Northamptonshire) to Sandwich (Kent), via Hertfordshire and London, between 10 and 13 June 1549. On 11 June, he stopped at Ware, one of several communities from which the protestors had been drawn in 1548, situated on the main road from London to the North: SP 46/5, part 2, f.11r.

⁷ Manning has suggested that anti-aristocratic sentiment and rumour underlay the translation of village revolts into major rebellions: *Village Revolts*, p.311. For evidence that the spring risings and news of the enclosure commissions in Somerset and Kent influenced the western and East Anglian rebels, see Sotherton, 'Commoysen in Norfolk', 80 and 'R.L.', 'Copy of A Letter': Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, p.489. Walter states that a fracturing of political authority and the licence (or rumour) of government action was necessary for a general enclosure rising: 'A "Rising of the People"?', 139-40.

⁸ See Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.96 for this definition.

⁹ Peter Lawson has drawn attention to the heavy migrant traffic on this road (Ermine Street), the principal through-route to York: 'Property Crime and Hard Times in England, 1559-1624', *Law and History Review* 4 (1986), 122-23.

power.¹⁰ Had the authorities dealt harshly with the 1548 episode, disorder might have been contained. However, their response was simply too lenient to deter further action when the opportunity arose.

Together, the insufficiencies of central and local government not only provided vital time for the movement to develop, but also, and more importantly, created the impression that the structure of authority prevalent in Tudor society was no longer inevitable. A perceived alteration in the balance of power, confirmed by small advances which went relatively unchecked by the authorities in 1548, raised the prospect that successful resistance would lead to re-negotiation of the terms of subordination, thus encouraging the acceleration of disorder.¹¹ The common people's changing expectations of the balance of power were, then, a necessary prerequisite for open rebellion in 1549. 'The unravelling of power and the disappearance of general controlling forces' left the way open for the 1549 rebellions.¹² That the rebels found that 'success bred success' might help to explain why the climate was so ripe for nation-wide disorder in 1549.¹³ Only a detailed investigation of the constituent components of the Hertfordshire and Middlesex rebellion, however, will serve to confirm or refute this hypothesis.

The 'Riot' at Tyttenhanger, 1549

On 24 November 1549, the Council issued a number of St Albans and North Mimms' men with recognisances, on the condition that they should repair the lodge and pale of the park at Tyttenhanger in the parish of Ridge. This episode of fence-breaking may or may not constitute a 'riot' - it is clear that at least six people were known to have

¹⁰ The protestors triumphed over Cavendish and obtained a promise of reformation from the local gentlemen serving on the commission: chapter 2.

¹¹ At Northaw, Glapthorn, Buckinghamshire, Botley and Hamble, and Helston.

¹² Quoting Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution*, p.11.

¹³ Quoting Land, *Ket's Rebellion*, p.30.

been involved.¹⁴ Although the exact timing of this incident cannot be determined, the fence breaking at Tyttenhanger may have taken place during the St Albans Rebellion of July 1549. The geographical association with the disorder at Northaw and St Albans can be more confidently asserted, given the relative proximity of these parishes.¹⁵ Furthermore, a certain typological similarity can be seen: the action taken at Tyttenhanger was directed against a park, and perhaps, more specifically, a warren.¹⁶ The reason why the men of North Mimms and St Albans rioted at Tyttenhanger in 1549 is at least partly clear from the location of both the warren and the park. Whilst the warren at Tyttenhanger adjoined North Mimms on the north,¹⁷ Tyttenhanger Park extended into the parish of St Peter's, part of which lay within the boundaries of the town of St Albans.¹⁸

The target of the riot, Sir Thomas Pope, aroused local hostility by enriching himself from abbey grants and thus becoming 'one of the richest commoners of his time'.¹⁹ In 1547, he was granted the manor and park of Tyttenhanger, with its rabbit warren.²⁰ Presumably Tyttenhanger had been recently re-imparked, possibly for the purpose of keeping coneyes there, since the abbot's deer park is known to have been thrown open at the suppression of St Albans Abbey.²¹ That the lord of Tyttenhanger had all profits of

¹⁴ Recognisances were issued to William Marsten, Richard Grub, Thomas Smyth, Thomas Brock and Stephen Cartelege of St Albans, and Richard Mayour of North Mimms: *APC* 2, p.361. This incident has previously escaped the notice of historians.

¹⁵ The high road from London to St Albans also ran through the parish of Ridge: *VCH Herts.* 2, p.386.

¹⁶ In July 1549 the rebels near St Albans threatened to attack Sir Richard Lee's Park, whilst the 1548 riots were directed against Sir William Cavendish's warren at Northaw: see chapter 2 and below.

¹⁷ *VCH Herts.* 2, p.387.

¹⁸ *CPR Edw. VI*, 1, p.116. *VCH Herts.* 2, p.412. Sir Richard Lee's estates at Sopwell and Newland Squillers lay in the parish of St Peter's. Tyttenhanger Park covered 244 acres in 1500: *VCH Herts.* 2, p.389.

¹⁹ Quoting *VCH Herts.* 2, p.388. Sir Thomas Pope received the surrender of St Albans on 5 December 1539 and opportunistically obtained grants of the abbey lands. He also owned the manor of Black Hide or Corsers, on the border with the parish of North Mimms, which he purchased from Sir Richard Lee in 1547. This manor had formerly belonged to Sopwell nunnery.

²⁰ *CPR Edw. VI*, 1, p.116 (23 July 1547). Pope also received all the rabbits of Ridge Hill Grange.

²¹ *VCH Herts.* 4, p.279. It is unclear whether the warren was contained within the park. Bailey notes that enclosed deer-parks were ideal for breeding rabbits: 'The Rabbit', 4. Some impression of the size of the warren can be gained from John Bowman's undertaking to leave it stocked with 1,000 coneyes at the end of his lease: *VCH Herts.* 2, p.387.

the coneyes on Colney Heath hints at the nature of the grievances which fuelled the 1549 'riot'. The heath contained about four hundred acres and lay between Tyttenhanger Park and Knollys ground.²² The establishment of a colony of rabbits on the common may have been the cause of the friction, given the destructive tendencies of rabbits.²³ Alternatively, the trouble may have stemmed from a complicated medieval arrangement allowing the lords of Tyttenhanger and North Mimms the right to 'drive' all cattle on the common in alternate years. The rioters may have been trying to recover their cattle from the pound at Tyttenhanger without having to pay fines for those animals for which they had no right of common.²⁴ Unfortunately, unless more light can be shed on this episode from other sources, little more than mere supposition can be offered.

The St Albans Rebellion, July 1549

In July 1549 Hertfordshire rebels gathered near St Albans threatened to 'disparke and uncloze certaine closures and especiallie the parke of Sir Richard Lees knighte'.²⁵ Sopwell Park, the nucleus of Lee's extensive estate in and around St Albans, was most probably the rebels' intended target.²⁶ The Halimote Court of the Soke of Park had

²² A small part of the common called Colney Heath extended into the parish of North Mimms: *VCH Herts.* 2, pp.251, 389.

²³ On the destructive tendencies of rabbits, see Bailey, 'The Rabbit', 6-7, 18; Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, pp.100, 299-301; Sheail, 'Rabbits and Agriculture', 352-55; Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, pp.152-55.

²⁴ This arrangement was introduced after a dispute between the abbot of St Albans and Thomas Knolles, lord of the manor of North Mimms, over rights of chase in Colney (Tyttenhanger) Heath in 1427-28. As late as 1657, the lord of Tyttenhanger had the right of driving all cattle on the common once a year for two years together, and the lord of North Mimms had this right in the third year. All cattle taken in the drifts were brought to the pound at Tyttenhanger: *VCH Herts.* 2, p.387; 4, pp.214-15.

²⁵ A copy of the Council's letter to the 'Rebells besides st Albons', dated 11 July, is the only known evidence concerning the Hertfordshire Rebellion in 1549. This letter has been transcribed by Shagan: 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 7), 61.

²⁶ Henry VIII granted Lee Sopwell Priory in 1540, after which date it became the nucleus of his estate. Lee accumulated five manors and more than 14,000 acres in Hertfordshire, most of them around St Albans, before his death in 1575. In the decade after 1548 Lee is said to have led a retired life in Hertfordshire. He demolished the monastic buildings of St Albans and used the materials for the repair and enlargement of Sopwell Nunnery, which he renamed Lee's Place. There is some discrepancy as to whether Sopwell Park was attacked by the 1549 rebels, since Lee only created a park around his house (enclosed with a wall made from the stone of the priory church and buildings) in 1562. However, his father, also Sir Richard, had lived at Sopwell, suggesting the existence of an earlier house and park: Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 2, p.511; *VCH Herts.* 2, pp.413, 470 & n.15; *DNB* 32, p.811.

traditionally been held under the ash tree in the Great Court of the abbey, making St Albans a natural point of assembly for the commons. As Miller acknowledges, 'the great Ash Tree is symbolic as the hub around which turned, not only the trivial misdeeds, but also the daily labours and social activities of scores of villages'.²⁷ If the Hertfordshire rebels gathered under the great Ash Tree, it is tempting to draw comparisons with the famous Oak of Reformation at Mousehold.²⁸ Halimote courts were also held at Tyttenhanger and Northaw, suggesting a link between sites of disorder and court-leet jurisdiction in Hertfordshire, comparable to the establishment of rebel camps at administrative and assize centres in Kent, Norfolk and Suffolk.²⁹ The timing of this 1549 outbreak was not accidental. Rather, the rebels chose to rise during early July, at a time when a power vacuum was temporarily created in the county, since twenty-three members of the Hertfordshire gentry, including Denny, Cavendish, Parker, Sadler and Lee, had been summoned to Windsor on 1 July.³⁰

The government's response to the rebels' grievances suggests that enclosure was in fact their main (but not necessarily their only) concern.³¹ A contemporary plan of Sopwell Hall shows two warrens, one stocked with rabbits, and the other with deer; thus the St Albans' rebels may well have shared the grievances of the Tyttenhanger and

²⁷ Edward Miller, 'The Estates of the Abbey of St. Alban', *Transactions of the Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society* (1938), 293.

²⁸ See Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.120.

²⁹ The soke of Park was the most important of the three sokes into which the lands around St Albans Abbey were divided. It was made up of the abbey's manors to the south-east of St Albans, extending into the parishes of Ridge and Northaw. Tyttenhanger was the caput of the soke: *VCH Herts.* 2, p.322; cf. Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.67, 119-20. Although Sir Richard Lee was granted a portion of the site of the monastery on 5 March 1549-50, the abbey court remained in the possession of the Crown: *VCH Herts.* 2, pp.58, 488, 510-11; 3, p.413. The rebels also had the precedent of the 1381 Rising to draw upon, in which parks were destroyed and a rabbit was strung up on the gates of St Albans Abbey: Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, p.301.

³⁰ SP 10/8/2. Of these 23, at least 16 are known to have been JPs for Hertfordshire at this time. The Commission of the Peace for Hertfordshire is reproduced in the appendix below.

³¹ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 7), 40, 61. John Thomas, a royal servant, carried the petition to Westminster before 11 July. Although the bearer has not been conclusively identified, Shagan suggests he may be the John Thomas of London who was assessed at £200 in goods in 1548: 61 n.1.

Northaw rioters.³² At first sight Lee appears to be an unusual target for the commons in that he was a native of Hertfordshire rather than an outsider. Yet, having been granted the manors of Hexton and Newland Squillers and monastic property from Sopwell nunnery and St Albans' Abbey, by Henry VIII in 1544, he had come to be regarded as a rising courtier, rewarded by the Crown at the expense of the local community.³³ As such he differed little in real terms from the 'new' type of landowner or the social upstart whose concern for 'commodity' was seen as detrimental to the commonwealth.

Furthermore, in mentioning Lee, whom Somerset had rebuked the previous May, Shagan argues that the rebels may have been trying 'to take advantage of both court politics and Somerset's well-publicised eagerness to appease them'. Thus 'the commons, aware of court gossip involving a local gentleman, may have tailored their demands to match the Protector's presumed predilections in an attempt to score points in an ongoing local dispute'.³⁴ Whilst the Hertfordshire commons had appealed to Sir Anthony Denny and Sir John Gates as intermediaries at Northaw in 1548, in an attempt to gain government allies in their struggle against Sir William Cavendish, this strategy was clearly pushed to its logical conclusion at St Albans, 'with the government itself now imagined as an ally'.³⁵

Even though Lee was probably not a large-scale encloser, his activities provoked a violent reaction from his neighbours. His earlier role as a commissioner for enclosure at

³² See *VCH Herts.* 2, pp.412-13, where the plan is reproduced in part.

³³ Lee belonged to a well-established Hertfordshire family, and was the son of Richard Lee of Sopwell. He was a leading military surveyor and a favourite of Henry VIII, as well as a JP (1543-61) and an MP (1545) for Hertfordshire. The majority of the grants on which his wealth was founded were rewards for his service in Scotland, Calais and Boulogne between 1544 and 1547. During the short time that Lee occupied the post of receiver general of the court of wards in 1544, he paid £3,250 to the crown for land in Hertfordshire and elsewhere: Bindoff, *House of Commons* 2, pp.511-13; *DNB* 32, pp.810-12. For Hexton, see BL Additional MS 6223, f.22r and Anne Ashley Cooper, *A Harvest of Hexton* (Hitchin, 1986), pp.90-91, who rightly assumes that Lee was an absentee landlord.

³⁴ Quoting Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 41. For the altercation between Somerset and Lee, see SP 10/7/5.

Northaw in May 1548 may have aroused hostility.³⁶ Tempers were raised to the point where the Privy Council felt it necessary to warn the 'Rebells besides st Albons' to avoid direct action and seek redress of legitimate grievances from the enclosure commissioners instead. On the one hand, Somerset assured the rebels that if they followed his advice 'we will not faile but be meanes your griefs shalbe redressed'. On the other hand, he threatened extreme punishment should the Hertfordshire commons continue to seek their own redress.³⁷

The Watford Dispute, 1546-51

'At the tyme of the risyng of the people' in July 1549, John Warren of Watford established himself as a 'grete favorer' of the commons.³⁸ The controversy between Henry Heydon, a justice of the peace, and Warren, a tenant farmer, extended from 1546 until 1551.³⁹ Yet the disaffection in Hertfordshire in 1549 provided the opportunity for what was essentially a personal dispute between the two Watford men to escalate out of all proportion.⁴⁰ Both cases suggest that the opportunity was seized in 1549 to play out existing inter-personal rivalries by means of conflict, where they might normally have been settled by arbitration or recourse to law. In Watford, in particular, a temporary

³⁵ Quoting Shagan, 'Popular Politics', p.517.

³⁶ For a list of the commissioners and a discussion of their activities, see chapter 2 and the appendix. Lee later accompanied the Marquis of Northampton on his expedition against the Norfolk rebels in August 1549: Bindoff, *House of Commons* 2, p.512.

³⁷ Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' (letter 7), 61.

³⁸ STAC 3/5/57: deposition of John Pratty.

³⁹ This controversy is reconstructed on the basis of REQ 2/15/93 and STAC 3/7/53. Cf. the brief accounts provided by Manning, 'Violence and Social Conflict', 34-35 and Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, pp.148-49. Henry Heydon (by 1507-1559) was a substantial gentleman whose family had been established in Watford since the fourteenth century. The Grove was his principal Watford manor. Heydon, a JP for Herts. 1539-*d.*, formerly held the office of receiver of St Albans Abbey: Bindoff, *House of Commons* 2, pp.353-54; *VCH Herts.* 2, p.462. Bindoff believes that Heydon was a religious conservative; a significant aspersion in view of the events of 1547-49. In the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, Heydon brought a slander suit against Sir Richard Lee, who called him 'a knave and a berer of all fallse and noughtie matters in that contre': STAC 2/25/188. Whether this case sheds any light on Heydon's character is open to debate. Further details of Heydon and Warren's holdings in Watford can be found in a 1556 survey: E 315/391, ff.11v-16v.

⁴⁰ Slander and defamation was central in this case. That Heydon was a JP made such slander all the more harmful: this may have been an occupational hazard.

power vacuum was crucial in allowing discontent to spill over into disorder.⁴¹ The Watford litigation, begun in the courts of Star Chamber and Requests in 1551, ‘affords a rare insight into the individual grievances that often aggravated popular unrest’.⁴² This episode establishes the importance of local context in understanding the 1549 risings.

The quarrel began in 1546 when Heydon requested Warren to leave the farm he had leased. Despite this, the two remained on good terms until Warren ‘earnestly set forthe the kynges prosedynges concernynge the plukyng downe of images’ shortly before All Saints Day 1547.⁴³ At this point, Warren complained to Sir William Paget and the Council that Heydon, as justice of the peace, refused to permit images to be removed from the parish church. When Paget asked Warren, Pratt, Brown and Fletcher ‘what Images they had pullyd downe’, Warren replied ‘that they hadd plokyd downe fowre tabernacles “yea”, quoth the seyde Master Heydon “and the trynitye also”’. Paget agreed that the Trinity “was the chefyest thyng that ought to be plokeyde downe”.⁴⁴ Warren’s actions might not reflect a pure concern for matters of religion: the churchwarden recalled that it was Warren, not Heydon, who had shown the greater attachment to images when the Edwardian Injunctions were issued.⁴⁵ Manning implies that Warren falsely accused Heydon and two local constables of failing to enforce the Edwardian

⁴¹ In July 1549, the ‘justices of the peace in thes partes wer ether at Norwyche in the kynges service ther or out of the contre’: REQ 2/15/93, answer of Henry Heydon.

⁴² Quoting Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.148.

⁴³ REQ 2/15/93: answer of Henry Heydon. I quote here from the deposition of Gifés Brown. The Royal Injunctions had been issued a few months earlier, in July 1547.

⁴⁴ REQ 2/15/93: deposition of John Pratt. Images of the Trinity (usually a God/Father holding a crucified Christ with a Holy Spirit/Dove) were regarded as particularly theologically offensive by reformers, see Margaret Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988), pp.53n, 75-6, 78-9, 99-100, 107, 131, 138, 335, 432. Warren, and other ‘lyght persons’, were also accused of pulling down an image of St. John the Baptist that stood in the new aisle of Watford Church: REQ 2/15/93, deposition of Myles Hurleston.

⁴⁵ According to John Morsyn, the churchwarden, ‘warren was moste of any man ageynst’ the Injunctions. When Morsyn met Warren in Watford church and asked him about various images, Warren declared himself ‘much ageynst the pullyng downe of them’. This discussion hints at the churchwarden’s uncertainty as to which ‘venerated’ images should be taken down: STAC 3/7/53, deposition of John Morsyn.

Injunctions as revenge for the expulsion from his tenancy.⁴⁶ Warren, however, believed he had been expelled from his farm because he supported the pulling down of images.⁴⁷

Clearly, the dispute hinged on the interpretation and implementation of the Edwardian Injunctions at the local level. Such local clashes were the inevitable result of the lack of clarity in official policy.⁴⁸ Presumably the vicar of Watford proclaimed from the pulpit that only venerated images should be taken down, but this raised problems of definition, and it is difficult to see how local officers could have set the parameters of permissible action.⁴⁹ The pace of change in parish churches was the issue. Heydon wanted religious change to be implemented 'quietly' and lawfully. By contrast, Warren seems to have been an over-enthusiastic iconoclast who ran ahead of the official Reformation in his total rejection of 'golden goddesses'.⁵⁰ Indeed, Heydon rebuked Warren for the very reason that he went 'rashely before a lawe' in plucking down images in an 'unrewly' fashion. In Heydon's opinion, such unruly behaviour encouraged popular disorder.⁵¹

However, it was not until 1549 that the conflict intensified. Warren became a great troublemaker during the 'commotion time'. Two Watford constables deposed in the

⁴⁶ Manning, 'Violence and Social Conflict', 34. Warren was expelled from the farm twice, in November 1547 and March 1548. The conflict became bitter and protracted after Heydon repossessed Warren's house in March 1548. There is evidence that the wives also became involved in the dispute. When Mrs Heydon refused to allow the Warrens to collect their belongings, Mrs Warren protested to Protector Somerset (perhaps due to his cultivated self-image as protector of the poor), who ordered Heydon to return the goods: Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 43; 'Popular Politics', pp.520-23. For other examples, see Hampton Court (Middlesex) below and *APC* 2, 540. ✓

⁴⁷ REQ 2/15/93, deposition of Spencer of Westminster.

⁴⁸ Injunctions 3, 28; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp.450-51.

⁴⁹ The vicar proclaimed the Royal Injunctions, enquired whether the parishioners knew of any images in Watford Church that should be taken down, and told them to inform either him or the churchwardens: STAC 3/7/53, deposition of Thomas Hurst.

⁵⁰ STAC 3/7/53, deposition of William Causon of Watford. A total ban on images was not extended to the whole kingdom until February 1548. A similar dispute took place at Carmarthen in 1549. George Constantine, 'not regarding the dangerous time of rebellion in other places', pulled down the altar in Carmarthen church and set up a communion table. 'Fearing tumult', Bishop Ferrar restored the communion table to its former position: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 7, p.12. See also Andrew J. Brown, *Robert Ferrar: Yorkshire Monk, Reformation Bishop and Martyr in Wales, c.1500-1555* (London, 1997), pp.105-08.

Court of Star Chamber in 1551 that, ‘at the tyme of the last rebellion or rysyng of the people’ they dared not discipline Warren (or his associate Giles Brown) after one of their number was arrested twice ‘for executyng his office’ on Brown, who ‘had offendyd the kynges lawes at that tyme’.⁵² Warren and Brown were a well-established partnership and the constables suspected, probably with just cause, that Warren masterminded this challenge to authority.⁵³ Warren established himself as ‘a grete favorer of the people that rose’ in 1549 and no one was willing to meddle with him. Indeed, that summer, Warren took advantage of the insurgents’ support to further his dispute with Heydon, denouncing Heydon as a ‘false justice’, an ‘extorcyoner’ and a ‘theif’, in the parish church, armed with a list of goods allegedly retained by him in contravention of Somerset’s May 1548 order.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, Warren was arrested for ‘unlawful mysdemeanor’ at the height of the Norfolk rebellion in July 1549, ‘seyng he behaveyd hymself after suche a sort towardes the kynges officers in that busy tyme’.⁵⁵ This suggests that, where possible, agitators were apprehended to prevent the further escalation of disorder in the provinces. After the ‘commotion time’ had been largely suppressed, the Watford struggle moved into the more respectable arena of the law courts. Accusations of embracery suggest that the dispute was due to be heard in a common law court in 1550.⁵⁶ In the following year,

⁵¹ REQ 2/15/93: deposition of Edward Mansell. STAC 3/7/53: deposition of John Morsyn.

⁵² STAC 3/7/53: depositions of Ralph Ewar and John Pratty, constables.

⁵³ According to John Pratty, ‘as long as the sayd Warren and Gylles Broune dwelt to gether in the Towne ther was muche trowble & busynes’: STAC 3/7/53.

⁵⁴ REQ 2/15/93: deposition of John Evan. Heydon claimed to have returned Warren’s goods immediately after receiving Somerset’s letters in late May 1548: REQ 2/15/93, answer of Henry Heydon; STAC 3/7/53, bill attached to William Causon’s deposition, depositions of Alice Huddelston, Ralph Ewar. Cf. REQ 2/15/93, depositions of Robert Marten, Spencer of Westminster, and Miles Hurleston.

⁵⁵ REQ 2/15/93, answer of Henry Heydon. STAC 3/7/53: deposition of Ralph Ewar. Warren was put in St Albans’ gaol.

⁵⁶ Warren alleged that Heydon instructed the jurors not to appear, although Heydon had delivered the summons at St Albans during Easter term 1550. The bailiff’s deputies later reported that they were too busy to appear that day, so Heydon was unable to proceed further and, because he could not find a convenient time to pursue his suit, the action presumably came to nothing: REQ 2/15/93, answer and replication; STAC 3/7/53, depositions of William Lovedaie, Christopher Plough and William Everston.

Heydon found thirty-three deponents willing to testify before Star Chamber that Warren was a troublemaker who refused to live peacefully with his neighbours, provoking Warren to launch a counter-suit in the Court of Requests relying on testimonials that he had always lived quietly and had caused no trouble.

The Watford dispute provides an insight into how inter-personal rivalries could become entangled in the intricately woven web of more generalised popular disorder, as well as illustrating the intractable relationship between government policy and popular response, and the wrangle over the implementation of reform in the parishes. On the basis of the existing evidence alone, it seems that the county of Hertfordshire experienced serious popular disorder of just such a diversified nature during the 'commotion time' of 1549.

Middlesex

A petition from the inhabitants of Staines to the Council in June 1549 suggests that the Middlesex disturbances acted as a link between the disorders in the southern region, London and the central counties. The inhabitants had been ordered 'to pluck upp the Comen bridge at Stanys for the savfgarde of the realme' against enemies. The county provided a real, as well as a metaphorical bridge, by which rebels from the southern counties could cross the Thames and threaten the capital. Despite the Council's obvious anxiety, the bridge remained standing, since the town promised to appoint a scout to warn of any approaching army.⁵⁷ Earlier signs of discontent had also been seen in Middlesex. In May 1548 the Crown disparked the royal chase at Hampton Court in

Heydon had three different actions against Warren, for debt, trespass and slander, over a year before the dispute reached the Court of Requests in 1551: REQ 2/15/93, answer.

⁵⁷ SP 10/7/46. Cf. Malkiewicz, who states that 'Staines bridge had been damaged, and may even have been destroyed during the peasant risings of the summer': 'Eye-Witness's Account', 606 n.2. The road to

response to ‘diverse Supplicacions’ of ‘many pore men’. The decision to move the royal deer to the forest of Windsor constituted a victory for the local residents, who recovered the land at the old rents.⁵⁸

The Ruislip Enclosure Protest, 14-23 April 1549

At Ruislip, in April, a group of more than sixteen persons assembled to cast down enclosures around several pastures made by Thomas Strete soon after he came into possession of the lease of former priory lands. From 14-23 April, the tenants of Ruislip demonstrated their tenacity in defending the customary law which enshrined their common rights.⁵⁹ After plucking down the hedge enclosing ‘Wyndmyllfelde’ on 14 April, the rioters returned five days later to destroy the gate and remove its lock and chain, bringing their cattle to graze on Strete’s pastures the following day. They resisted his servants’ attempts to impound the tenants’ cattle in an episode which echoes events in Landbeach, Cambridgeshire in 1549.⁶⁰ After a brief respite on Easter Saturday and Sunday, the rioters again took a great iron hammer to the locked gate on 22 April (Easter Monday). Interestingly, the rioters repeated this ‘whole ritual’ on two other closes at ‘Churchefelde’ and ‘Cogmores’ the same day.⁶¹

Windsor led through Staines. Edward VI reportedly travelled from Richmond to Windsor on 19 July 1549: *CSPSp* 9, p.406. His residence at Windsor made Staines bridge a delicate matter.

⁵⁸ *APC* 2, pp.190. The petitioners claimed that since their commons, meadows and pastures had been enclosed to make the chase in the last years of Henry VIII’s reign, and their parishes became ‘overlade’ with deer, ‘very many householdes of the same parishes be lett fall down, the families decayed, and the Kinges liege people miche diminissed; the cuntre therabout in maner made desolate’. The deer were moved to Windsor Chase during the summer, and the pale surrounding Hampton Court Chase was to be ‘taken away’ the following Michaelmas, after which time the land reverted to the parishioners. See Shagan, ‘Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions’, 43 and nn.3-4; ‘Popular Politics’, pp.521-22.

⁵⁹ This episode is reconstructed on the basis of STAC 3/3/48.

⁶⁰ See chapter 4.

⁶¹ STAC 3/3/48: bill. Cf. the brief summary in Manning, ‘Patterns of Violence’, 130-31. One of Strete’s servants was allegedly assaulted at Wyndmyllfelde on 23 April. A similar assault on Cavendish’s clerk was alleged to have taken place at Northaw in 1548: see chapter 2.

Whilst the disorder at Ruislip is not directly connected to the ‘commotion time’, it is of intrinsic interest and may have important things to tell us about the local dynamics of commotion. If we regard the Ruislip episode as a concerted protest, rather than a series of isolated and spontaneous incidents, then something of the underlying mechanics of the protest might be reconstructed. Events unfolded slowly at Ruislip and much of the action, and the exchange of news behind it, centred on the parish church - the focal point of the community during Easter.⁶² Beginning with the opening of a gate in ‘Wyndmyllfelde’ on Palm Sunday (14 April), and fuelled by assaults and by the goading of one of Thomas Strete’s servants, the situation escalated on Good Friday.⁶³ When John Ferne, a labourer, complained to John Wheler ‘that his cove lacked meate & his stover was spent’, the two men resolved to put their kine to pasture in ‘Wyndmyllfelde’ the following day, and, on 20 April, thirteen of the tenants took their cattle to the field.⁶⁴

The protest was largely peaceful, and the tenants were careful to ensure that their action remained within circumscribed bounds. Rather than descending on the pasture in a disorderly crowd, they took turns to lead their cattle into ‘Wyndmyllfelde’ in an orderly fashion. What is more, they showed a strange reverence for Strete’s corn, keeping their cattle to the unsown part of the ground, to avoid reprisals.⁶⁵ The protest

⁶² For example, John Parker opened the gate to Wyndmyllfelde on his way home from church on Palm Sunday; John Ferne and John Wheler resolved to act on their way home from church on Good Friday; and William Gayler (Strete’s servant) delivered his threatening proclamation in the churchyard, so that it reached a wide audience: STAC 3/3/48, answer of John Ferne *et al.* For the role of the Whitsun and St James’ day festivities in the organisation of the Northaw rising and the Seamer rebellion, see chapters 2 and 7.

⁶³ John Parker, the labourer who opened the gate, was so badly assaulted by one of Strete’s servants that ‘he was not able to earn his lyving a good space after’. On the following Tuesday (16 April), Parker was beaten again, so that the same servant ‘tooke suche acorage in mysusing his force upon suche pore wretches that he made his bost openly in the Churcheyarde there before a grete parte of the parishe ... that if he had mett with any of the Churles or knaves of the said parish of Ruyslipe he wolde have served them lykewise’: STAC 3/3/48, answer.

⁶⁴ ‘Stover’ refers generally to winter fodder for cattle. Ferne alleged that the field was now common.

⁶⁵ By contrast, Strete and Gayler alleged that the inhabitants’ cattle had destroyed the corn. According to the depositions, approximately 16-18 acres of Wyndmyllfelde and Churchefelde had been sown with oats, beans and tares. It is impossible to estimate what proportion of the total acreage this constitutes, although

had a strong sense of morality and justice about it. John Parker thought nothing of opening the gate to 'Wyndmyllfelde' because it barred a common way through the fields which 'oughte to be open to all the Kinges liege people'; the same gate was destroyed a second time after Strete had it locked up. Similarly, only three of the five great arable fields belonging to the manor of Ruislip ('Wyndmyllfelde' and the two fields known as Cogmores) were targeted in April 1549, on the grounds that Strete had wrongfully enclosed these fields and kept them in severalty in a year when they should have lain fallow, as common.⁶⁶

Poverty and desperation gave further weight to the protestors' cause and provided the main justification for direct action. The protestors lamented in exaggerated rhetoric that, having just come through 'suche an harde wynter', their 'stover was spent and wasted', and they had no pasture in which to put so much as a cow each in order to sustain their families. It was this sheer desperation which drove the protestors to resist Strete's servants in 'Wyndmyllfelde' on 20 April. Fearing that Strete's men had come to impound their cattle, and that the cattle would be starved to death (as Strete had

we know that the five great arable fields at Ruislip amounted to 700 acres: STAC 3/3/48, answer. Cf. the deliberate trampling of Sir Thomas Wroth's grass during the Enfield disorders. Ironically, Strete's livestock appear to have caused as much damage to the crop as the tenants' cattle. Several of his hogs, sheep, mares, colts and horses had been seen in the corn at various times. James Osmond saw Strete's shepherd drive 300 sheep out of the corn and into the fold 'at folding tyme'; according to William Gayler, the inhabitants had opened the foldcourse. The protestors are also accused of having shorn the sheep for their wool, perhaps as a symbol of Strete's covetousness and commodity. Similar grievances arose from large-scale sheep-farming in Norfolk.

⁶⁶ Since Churchfelde had been parcel of Wyndmyllfelde 'tyme oute of mynde of man', it was held that it should also have lain fallow in 1549. The defendants claimed that it was customary for certain fields to lie fallow every year, in accordance with the season of tillage adopted there (Wyndmyllfelde, Churchfelde and Cogmores should have lain fallow from Michaelmas 1548 until Michaelmas 1549). During fallow years, the tenants of the manor, the freeholders and copyholders of the parish and all other inhabitants in the parish who dwelt in any freehold or copyhold held of the manor had the right to pasture their livestock in the fallow fields by means of their tenancies. This 'prescription usage & custome' had been lawfully found before the escheator of the Shire of Middlesex and set down in writing by 'a certen order' taken before the king's commissioners, allegedly in John Smith's possession in 1549: STAC 3/3/48, answer. Strete denied that an order had been made and, even if it had, he and his lessees would not have been 'therby bounden': STAC 3/3/48, replication. The defendants refer to 'the comen ffilde at Ryseslyp' called Wyndmyllfelde, whilst Strete alleged that Wyndmyllfelde formed part of the demesne lands: STAC 3/3/48, bill.

threatened), the protestors withstood them ‘forasmuche as they thoughte themselves undone’ if their cattle were destroyed.⁶⁷

As a lessee, Strete may have been targeted due to a tenuous commitment to the local community, which allowed him to put speculative interest and private profit ahead of the communal good.⁶⁸ Strete is certainly portrayed as the villain of the piece. He was insensitive to the inhabitants’ plight and, like Richard Kirby or Robert Carr, he encapsulates the spiritual and material means by which ‘the rich’ intended the destruction of ‘the poor commons’ in 1549.⁶⁹ In enclosing and sowing part of ‘Wyndmyllfelde’ in March 1549, ‘for his owne onely lucre & proffit’, Strete intended both the ‘breaking & interupcion’ of its customary usage and the ‘undoing’ of the poor inhabitants of the manor, who were excluded from the field where they had formerly had common.⁷⁰ This direct challenge to manorial custom, held ‘tyme oute of mynde of man’, threatened to erode the very foundations upon which this local community had been constructed.⁷¹ Furthermore, the defendants skilfully employed the rhetoric of depopulation to show that Strete’s behaviour endangered the community in a far more literal sense, causing the poor inhabitants of the parish to fear that they would be forced ‘to forsake their lyvinges & dwellinges’.⁷²

⁶⁷ An order had apparently already been made by the Council in Star Chamber: depositions of William Gayler, Thomas Porter, John Nicholas and James Osmond.

⁶⁸ Manning, ‘Patterns of Violence’, 130-31.

⁶⁹ For Richard Kirby of Landbeach (Cambridgeshire) and Robert Carr of Sleaford (Lincolnshire), see chapters 4 and 7.

⁷⁰ Cf. the Surrey episode discussed in chapter 4: an interesting inversion of the Ruislip situation, in which disputed land was sown by the ‘rioters’, rather than the encloser.

⁷¹ The defendants emphasised that these customs had been put into writing. Cf. the Enfield agreement. Strete was only prepared to allow the tenants access to their common if they took ‘the premysses in ferme of hym’ and paid the accustomed ‘yerely rent’, which they refused to do: STAC 3/3/48, replication.

⁷² The ‘honest & substunciall inhabitantes’ of Ruislip petitioned Strete a number of times, asking him to allow the fields to be used according to custom. Strete replied ‘that if they coulde not lyve with oute their Comen there then they might avoide the towne & dwell ells where so they sholde not lyve upon that that he payed his rent for’: STAC 3/3/48, answer. On the rhetoric of depopulation, see TRP 1, no. 309 and Scarisbrick, ‘Cardinal Wolsey and the Common Weal’, pp.45-67. The Ruislip defendants were flagging up a discourse to which the judges would be particularly sensitive.

The Enclosure Riot at Enfield, 13 July 1549

In a similar incident at the height of the 'commotion time' on 13 July, more than twenty armed men rioted in Enfield on the Middlesex-Hertfordshire border, destroying the fences, ditches and grass of Sir Thomas Wroth. The inhabitants of Enfield threw down hedges and filled in ditches around a twelve acre piece of land called the 'Rabbettes mores' and a seven acre pasture called 'welgate lease', leaving the lands 'to lye open as a waste & comen grounde'.⁷³ The matter was considered serious enough to warrant the attention of the Privy Council in late August 1549, and for four of the ringleaders of the Enfield riot to be committed to prison.⁷⁴ In order to understand this episode it is necessary to set it in its local context and to consider its wider significance in relation to the Hertfordshire commotions of 1548-49.

The Enfield enclosure riot differed from the Ruislip episode in that it was more clearly a last resort on the part of the participants. It was only after a favourable legal settlement had failed that the tenants were driven to take direct action during the 'crisis' of 1549. Robert Wood, gentleman, and other tenants of Durants manor, Enfield lodged a complaint against Sir Thomas Wroth in the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster in autumn 1547, concerning a long-standing controversy over rights of common pasture on certain

⁷³ DL 1/27, f.59.

⁷⁴ An entry in the *Acts of the Privy Council* for 27 August reveals that the Council heard a complaint of riot made by Sir Thomas Wroth against the Enfield tenants. The Council upheld that an earlier Duchy decree made by Sir William Paget (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1547-52) should be adhered to (presumably DL 5/8, ff.113-15: discussed below), ordering the four ringleaders to be imprisoned and six lesser rioters to be bound over to keep the peace. The chronology is puzzling. Although the date is given as 27 August 1548, Beer regards this as the Privy Council's consideration of the 1549 riot detailed in DL 1/27, f.59. However, only two of the 1549 rioters' surnames appear in the *APC* list: Boynyerde (but Edward, not Edmund) and Whyte (but Robert, not John). This begs the question of whether the episode should be considered a separate riot: *APC* 2, pp.219-20; Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.154; cf. Land, *Ket's Rebellion*, p. 27, where this episode is dated to late summer 1548. For a list of rioters, see the appendix below. Sir William Paget was also Master Forester of Enfield Chase in 1549: R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, vol. 1 (London, 1953), pp.394, 612.

of the manor's lands.⁷⁵ On 6 May 1546, the manor court had agreed that Wroth could enclose the twenty-four acres of the demesne of Durants manor between 'horshowe garden' and 'welgate lease', on the north side of his house. He was ordered to leave to the tenants, on the south side, a right of way and a pasture called 'welgate lease', but was permitted to enclose two crofts called 'hoggescroftes', three crofts called 'Rabbettes mores' and a field called 'Crouchefelde'. In return for their surrender of common right on the enclosed lands, Wroth was required to pay 6*d.* per acre to the inhabitants of the town. Additionally, he was to allow them to enjoy common with all beasts on his other lands, where they had traditionally done so.⁷⁶

The Enfield tenants took the agreement to the Duchy of Lancaster to be ratified (in order to force Sir Thomas Wroth to accept it as legally binding), since the manorial court proceedings were 'bare matters in wrytting and not of Recorde'.⁷⁷ In this way they hoped to ensure that Wroth neither carried out further enclosures nor denied them their due payment. In light of this apparently generous settlement, it seems all the more significant that it was the hedges around 'welgate lease' and 'Rabbettes mores' that were cast down during the 1549 riot. The events of 13 July lead us to assume that the 1547 settlement had broken down. The question is why?⁷⁸ The most obvious explanation is that Wroth reneged on the agreement in some way. Even more intriguing

⁷⁵ That John Bate and Robert Marshall appear amongst the 1547 petitioners and the 1549 rioters suggests that they may have been leaders.

⁷⁶ DL 5/8, ff.113-15. The list of petitioners is reproduced in the appendix below.

⁷⁷ DL 5/8, ff.113-15. The complainants stressed that the Duchy's decree 'shulde perpetually remayn amonges the Recordes of the saide Courte for and as a perpetuall centens ordre Juggement accorde agreement and memorye had and made betwyne the saide parties to be kepte for evermore' (f.114). The ratification of enclosures before the manor court, and the legal sanction given by the Duchy's special commission, is described by Kerridge: *Agrarian Problems*, pp.112-16. On the authority of writing, see A. Fox, 'Custom, Memory and the Authority of Writing', in Griffiths, Fox & Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority*, pp.89-116. On the Duchy's attitudes towards written agreements, see Andy Wood, 'Custom and the Social Organisation of Writing in Early Modern England', *TRHS* 6th Series 9 (1999), 257-70. The Duchy was in the habit of ratifying customs more-or-less indiscriminately in the Edwardian and Marian period, often very much in the interests of the tenants. This policy stored up trouble for later, especially in the 1620s, when the Crown started to exploit its Duchy estates, only to find that its predecessors had foolishly granted all sorts of ill-advised rights to the tenants.

is the fact that Wroth was being held to account for enclosing part of the demesne, rather than common land.⁷⁹ In 1572, John Taylor was presented at the manor court for enclosing fifty-two acres of demesne and ordered to lay the fields open for common upon pain of a fine of a hundred shillings for every acre that remained enclosed.⁸⁰ Clearly there was some kind of tradition attaching common rights to demesne land in Enfield and Edmonton, which triggered the tenants to take direct action against Wroth's enclosures in 1549.⁸¹

Enfield boasted a strong tradition of resistance to enclosure stretching back to 1475, much of which was associated with the enclosing activity of the powerful Wroth family whose connection with Durants manor dates from at least 1401.⁸² Discontent arose from enclosures on Durants manor in the sixteenth century in particular. Prior to the July 1549 riot directed against Sir Thomas Wroth, politician and 'ardent Protestant',⁸³ John Wroth of Durants had been accused in 1514 of enclosing forty acres and barring cattle

⁷⁸ Enclosure at Enfield was collusive and Wroth apparently agreed to everything the tenants asked of him. Cf. Beresford, 'Habitation versus Improvement'.

⁷⁹ Enclosure of demesne is rare in the central records of the Duchy, although by leasing demesnes or manors as a whole the Duchy made it possible for the lessee to enclose: Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, p.307.

⁸⁰ An earlier incident in 1528, in which an enclosure at Oldbury (parcel of the demesne of the manor of Enfield) was challenged, sheds some light on this enigma. Prior to 1528, the demesne had been leased out among the tenants so, when John Taylor (farmer of the demesne) announced his intention to cultivate the land, it aroused their resentment. When John Taylor refused to comply with the manor court ruling, the case was taken before the duchy court, which found in his favour (he was receiver to the Duchy in Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey and London). The tenants refused to accept the loss of their common fields and in 1584, when Henry Middlemore took the lease of the manor house and demesne of Enfield, they opened Hammonds Leys, Longcroft and Fisherfield. For 1528 and 1572, see Pam, 'The Fight for Common Rights', 9-10.

⁸¹ It had been common practice to parcel out demesnes in non-customary copyholds in the Midlands. Yet, since demesne land arrented by copy was held by copy of court roll at the will of the lord, but *not* according to the custom of the manor, these tenants would not normally have any claim to common rights or legal protection: Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems*, pp.44-46, 86-87, 90.

⁸² Threats to grazing rights had often resulted in violence in Enfield and Edmonton. The inhabitants of Enfield led the opposition to Sir Richard Charlton, lord of Dephams in Edmonton in 1475 and cast down the fences of Sir Thomas Bouchier, Charlton's successor, c.1493, claiming sanction of the court of the Duchy of Lancaster. Later, in 1563, the commoners of Edmonton blocked the entrance to the marshes to exclude cattle from Enfield: *VCH Middlesex* 5, p.233. For the Wroth family connection with Durants, see *VCH Middlesex* 5, p.225.

⁸³ Quoting *VCH Middlesex*, 5, p.246. Durants manor passed to Sir Thomas Wroth (1518-73) in 1535, and then to his son Robert (?1540-1606). On Sir Thomas Wroth, see D.O. Pam, 'Protestant Gentlemen: The Wroths of Durants Arbour Enfield and Loughton Essex', *Edmonton Hundred Historical Society*

from his fields in open seasons whilst, in 1589, Sir Robert Wroth (son of Sir Thomas) was reported to have been 'the greatest encloser of common fields in the parish'.⁸⁴

This incident may form an interesting connection with the riots at Northaw and Cheshunt in Hertfordshire the previous year, and with the 1549 commotions at Tyttenhanger. Clearly, many of the Northaw rioters came from Enfield, just the other side of the Hertfordshire-Middlesex border.⁸⁵ The Duchy of Lancaster bill includes a list of participants which, when checked against the Northaw and Cheshunt list, reveals strong kinship links between the three communities. For example, the Cordells, Wilsons, Smiths, Forsters and Woodhams feature amongst those rioters active both at Northaw in 1544 and 1548 and at Enfield in 1549.⁸⁶ The open common in the south of the parish of Northaw formed part of Enfield Chase, a large expanse of land stretching across the Middlesex border, whilst the parish of Ridge, where disorder broke out at Tyttenhanger in 1549, was also partly bordered on its eastern side by the county of Middlesex. Furthermore, the warren belonging to the manor of Tyttenhanger adjoined Crouchfield on the west.⁸⁷ Although one of the enclosures the Enfield inhabitants cast down in 1549 was known as the 'rabettes mores', there is no evidence to suggest that it was being used as a warren at the time, or that the violence carried out in rabbit warrens at Northaw was replicated during the Enfield disorders, tempting though it may be to make this connection. Thus, whilst there is no definite thematic link between the

Occasional Papers NS 26 (1973), 4-10; Bindoff, *House of Commons* 3, pp.667-68; *DNB* 21, pp.1078-80. Wroth was a gentleman of the privy chamber 1547-49 and sat in the parliament of 1547-52.

⁸⁴ *VCH Middlesex*, 5, p.233. Pam, 'The Fight for Common Rights', 10; Manning, *Village Revolts*, p.69. In 1589, twenty-nine rioters were arraigned before Robert Wroth and Henry Middlemore, the enclosers they were protesting against; twenty-four were sent to Newgate Gaol. However, Sir Robert Wroth was instrumental in devising the poor law: Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, p.42 and n.54; Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York, 1988), p.126; Pam, 'Protestant Gentlemen', 13-21; P.W. Hasler, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1558-1603* (3 vols., London, 1981), 3, p.661.

⁸⁵ STAC 10/16, f.169v: deposition of James Butler.

⁸⁶ The Curle and Curtes families, 'the leading maltmen' of the district had branches in Cheshunt, Enfield and Edmonton: Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 5. Links in surnames between later Enfield evidence (DL 43/7/4) and the Northaw material may strengthen this hypothesis: appendix.

⁸⁷ *VCH Herts.* 2, pp.386-87. This may be Crouchfield in Enfield.

disorders at Northaw and Enfield in this regard, it seems likely that the success of the Northaw protest encouraged anti-enclosure action at nearby Enfield, and that both episodes formed part of a wider protest aimed at redefining local communities through common rights.

The practice of intercommoning forged strong links between communities such as Northaw, Cheshunt, North Mimms and Enfield, engendering an ambiguous ‘cultural communal defensiveness’ in May 1548, since the Enfield inhabitants appear to have numbered amongst the ‘strangers’ whom the Northaw tenants were trying to exclude from their common.⁸⁸ This connection is reinforced by the fact that, whilst Enfield was tied to the Middlesex parishes of Edmonton, Monken Hadley and South Mimms by shared rights of common in Enfield Chase,⁸⁹ it was claimed as late as 1572 that:

there ys a place callyd the acre bredthe in whiche place by the auntyent custom the tenantes of Enfield dyd putte their hogges every yere in fawnyng tyme by reason of whiche place beinge a comon we had intrest of comon within Northall or Chesthonte wood so that yf the hogges or cattall of eny tenante of Enfield had strayed into any of those woodes or commons they had them agayne quietly.

Thus it was that the Enfield tenants had had ‘so large a skope of common’ within Northaw and Cheshunt woods; after the enclosure of Acre Breadth any of their cattle which happened to stray into these woods or commons were ‘imedyatly impownded harryed vexed and grevowsly hurte’.⁹⁰ From 1548 onwards the Enfield commoners became embroiled in a battle for common rights in Northaw Common, in addition to

⁸⁸ The term ‘cultural communal defensiveness’ is used by Stoye: ‘The Dissidence of Despair’. On May 1548, see chapter 2.

⁸⁹ Pam, ‘The Fight for Common Rights’, 6-8. The right of intercommon between these four parishes was first challenged c.1540.

⁹⁰ DL 43/7/4: survey of Enfield, 1572. The Acre Breadth was a 12 acre piece of land on the north side of Enfield Chase, lying between the Chase and Northaw Wood: Pam, ‘The Fight for Common Rights’, 6.

their longstanding campaign to retain their rights in Saysmarsh, Edmonton.⁹¹ That the inhabitants of Enfield were defending themselves on both these fronts and against the ‘internal enemy’, Sir Thomas Wroth, reveals the importance they attached to their common rights. From this example, the precarious nature of the balance struck between communities of interest and internal divisions within the Hertfordshire and Middlesex Rebellion becomes only too apparent. Arguably, charismatic leadership was the key to tipping the balance in favour of a community of interest, and a mysterious ‘Captain Red Cap’ may have provided just such leadership in 1549.⁹²

A later piece of evidence allows us to speculate that the Middlesex stirs may have been more serious than these apparently isolated outbreaks suggest. In an entry dated 20 April 1550, the *Acts of the Privy Council* recorded:

that Captaine Redde Cappe, one of the rebelles of the last yere, having been in prison at Westminster, was nowe sett at libertie, and of late had been in sundrie places of Middlesex wheare the commons had feasted him.⁹³

Although nothing certain can be stated of Captain Red Cap’s role in the Middlesex ‘rebellion’ of 1549, his ability to attract enthusiastic crowds throughout the county and his evident popularity with the commons indicate that he could be regarded as a charismatic leader. Perhaps he succeeded in establishing ‘a social bond of genuine

⁹¹ On the struggle to maintain rights of common in Edmonton, see Pam, ‘Fight For Common Rights’, 4-5, 10. The dispute over Saysmarsh, which began at the start of the fifteenth century, was finally brought before the court of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1575. That the dispute between Northaw and Enfield was of a similar character is suggested by the Enfield tenants’ complaint, in 1572, ‘that thynhabytauntes of Northall have newly made a gate at Cowpers Lane very hurtefull for the tenantes of Enfield’: DL 43/7/4.

⁹² The Middlesex rebels followed the custom of naming rebel leaders to preserve their anonymity. Other examples include Captain Poverty in 1536, Captain Commonwealth in 1549 (see chapter 4), and Captain Pouch in 1607. The red cap may be significant in terms of sumptuary legislation, religion (a possible association with a cardinal’s cap) or the bloodying of heads. Alternatively, Captain Red Cap may simply have worn a red cap. Captain Pouch was so named because of the reputedly magical contents of the leather pouch he carried to defend the Midland rebels: Manning, *Village Revolts*, p.233. On Captain Poverty, see M.L. Bush, ‘Captain Poverty and the Pilgrimage of Grace’, *Historical Research* 65 (1992), 17-36.

mutuality' between himself and his followers, in holding the Middlesex rebels together, and in giving them the defined purpose necessary to translate a limited situation into a more generalised movement.⁹⁴ That Captain Redcap was released in April 1550, only a few months after the leaders of the East Anglian and South-Western rebellions had been executed, and at a time when disorder was still rumbling in Kent, is intriguing;⁹⁵ the shroud of mystery surrounding the circumstances of his release perhaps even more so. The Privy Council evidently remained clueless as to the identity of his liberator, suggesting that his release was unauthorised; beyond this the possibilities are endless.⁹⁶ However it was achieved, the commons obviously welcomed the captain's release, which they celebrated in true style, feasting him at various places in Middlesex. What is surprising is that the Council failed to re-apprehend him on hearing reports of his jaunt through Middlesex. Even such slender evidence provides sufficient hints of the significance of this episode to warrant its further investigation, especially in light of the county's close proximity to London.

The Nature, Scale and Experience of Rebellion in Hertfordshire and Middlesex

That the 1549 rebellion in Hertfordshire was not a repercussion but a continuation of disorder is strongly suggested by the geographical focus of the movement, centred on Tyttenhanger, St Albans and Watford, and by the nature of the grievances involved. Wider links with the disturbances at Enfield are a real possibility, especially considering

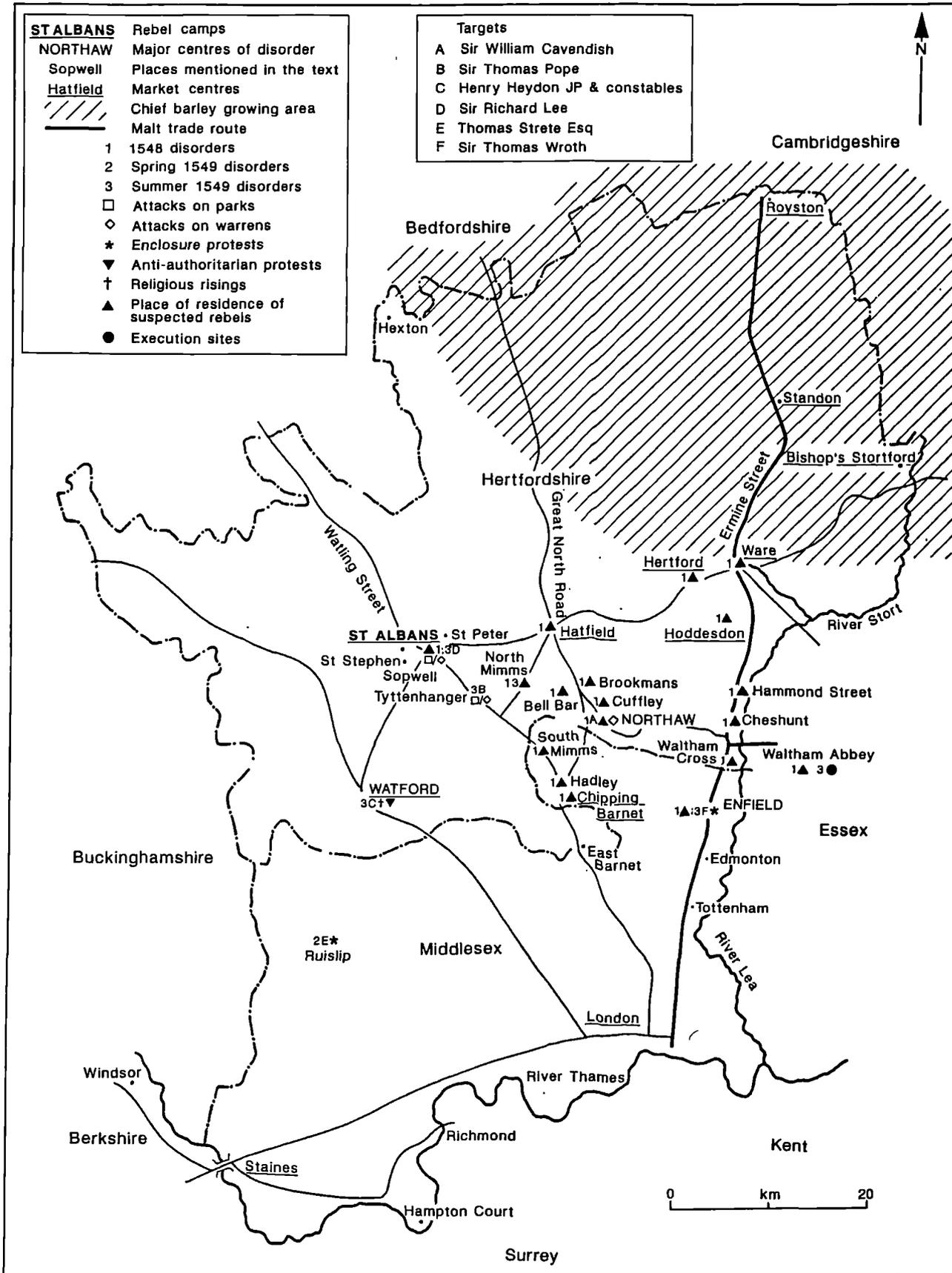
⁹³ *APC* 3, p.6.

⁹⁴ Quoting Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.222. This bond was partly built up by feasting and commensality. Cf. the Northaw episode: Ch. 2.

⁹⁵ Robert and William Kett were executed around 2 December 1549; Humphrey Arundel, Thomas Holmes, Winslade and Bury met the same fate on 27 January 1550: Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, pp.30-32. Four Suffolk rebels were released from the Tower in April 1550: *APC* 3, p.21.

⁹⁶ A group of former rebels may even have stormed the gaol or bribed the gaoler. Escaping from prison in Westminster must have been quite a feat, although Captain Red Cap's release may have resulted from the incompetence of the prison regime.

MAP 6.1 THE HERTFORDSHIRE-MIDDLESEX REBELLION



the involvement of Middlesex men in the 1548 and 1579 riots at Northaw,⁹⁷ the interconnections between the Lea Valley communities forged by the malt trade,⁹⁸ and Sir Thomas Wroth's established pattern of landholding in Hertfordshire and Middlesex.⁹⁹ Whilst news of the 1548 disorders at Northaw may have served to encourage emulation at Enfield and Ruislip, the large-scale contacts of the Lea Valley maltmen may have played an equivalent role to the East Anglian butchers in spreading the rising.¹⁰⁰ A connection with the Middlesex disturbances is feasible, should a gathering have taken place on the open common in the south of the parish of Northaw which formed part of Enfield Chase, a large expanse of land stretching across the Middlesex border (map 6.1).¹⁰¹

These riots raise the possibility of a localised tradition of disorder, centred on Cheshunt and Northaw, extending a generation or more either side of the 1549

⁹⁷ A further collaborative protest involving men from Enfield, Cheshunt and Waltham Abbey occurred in 1581. Three men from Cheshunt, and another from Waltham Abbey, were accused of attempting to fire Waltham Lock in September 1581, bolstering the Enfield maltmen's protest against the River Lea navigation project and causing the government to fear that Robert Wroth and the maltmen would 'sturre rebellion': Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 8-9.

⁹⁸ For Northaw in 1548 and 1579, see chapters 2 and 9. On the Lea Valley and the malt trade, see Glennie, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', 11-40 and 'A Commercialising Agrarian Region'. The will of William Hunsden, mealman of Enfield (d.1573) provides evidence of credit networks operating between Enfield and Cheshunt: Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 6.

⁹⁹ Wroth's landholdings spread across both counties: in May 1540 he was granted the manor of Beaumont Hall in Cheshunt and Wormley, formerly in the possession of the hospital of St Mary without Bishopsgate; a capital messuage with its lands in Enfield, previously held by the Abbey of Thorney, Cambridgeshire; and land and tenements in Cheshunt called Brakenoke. He received the house of an estate called the Chamberlain's Fee in Enfield in 1540 and the manor of Highbury the following year. In 1542 he became bailiff of the manor of Ware (Herts.) and keeper of the park and deer there, and secured the lease of the manor of Tewin (Herts.): Pam, 'Protestant Gentlemen', 5; *VCH Herts.* 3, p.452; *VCH Middlesex* 5, p.229.

¹⁰⁰ MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 52; *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p.301. It has already been noted that William Curle, the leader of the 1548 rising was a wealthy maltman, as was Thomas Fuller of Cheshunt. Other craftsmen and tradesmen among the rioters who were likely to have had wide-scale contacts include leathersellers, weavers, tailors, colliers, bricklayers, painters, barbers, palers and lathe cleavers. Unfortunately the occupations of the Enfield rioters are not given, so no real comparison can be made. However, incidental information suggests that the following petitioners and rioters at Enfield may well have had connections with the malt trade: Thomas Cordell, Reynold and Richard Wyberd, Christopher and William Woodham, John Hodge and John Honesdon. The Wyberds were one of the most important maltmen families in Enfield by the early 1580s: Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 3-9. The bulk of the malt trade for the London market was centred in Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Royston (Cambridgeshire) was an important centre for malt during the sixteenth century. From here, it passed through Stanstead, Bishop's Stortford, Hertford, Ware, Enfield, Edmonton and Tottenham before reaching London: Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 2; map 6.1.

¹⁰¹ *VCH Herts.* 2, p.357 and 3, p.441.

rebellion.¹⁰² Both parishes had been at the centre of the Hertfordshire section of the 1381 Rising (the men of Tyttenhanger were also among those who received charters from the abbey in 1381)¹⁰³ and a similar episode to the 1548 riot occurred in the same villages in 1579. Cheshunt provides an example of a community with a long-established tradition of popular protest against enclosure, stretching from 1548 to 1799.¹⁰⁴ This established tradition of revolt might explain why the rebellion remained geographically localised around the Hertfordshire-Middlesex border, even in 1549. Shared cultural assumptions may have underlain the insurrection, serving to create a community of common interests and widen its appeal, whilst at the same time setting the very boundaries of the movement and preventing a common alliance with the Thames Valley or other groups of rebels.

The St Albans Rebellion may have had a much wider reference than has previously been thought, although just how far this co-ordination extended is not clear. Although the 1549 disorders in Hertfordshire are poorly documented, there are sufficient hints to speculate that there may have been some connection behind the risings in Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex. These three counties form a loose geographical cluster, overlapping with the 'Rebellion of Commonwealth' to the south-east. Essex, on the fringes of the cluster, provided a link with the disorders in Kent, Sussex and Surrey, in which the idiom of commonwealth and Protestant rhetoric was more clearly defined. The execution of Payne, a leading Suffolk rebel, at Waltham on 16 August 1549 raises

¹⁰² Cf. Lavenham and Brent Eleigh in west Suffolk as an example of parishes linked by a shared tradition of popular disorder: MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 52-53; *Suffolk and the Tudors*, Ch. 10.

¹⁰³ By 14 June 1381, representatives from the neighbouring villages were arriving in St Albans, including men from Northaw, Tyttenhanger and South Mimms (Middlesex): *VCH Herts.* 4, pp.199, 201. William Fyffe of Cheshunt broke into a house during the rebellion and there were serious disorders at Waltham Cross: J.A. Tregelles, *A History of Hoddesdon in the County of Hertfordshire* (Hertford, 1908), p.304; cf. chapter 2.

¹⁰⁴ For 1381 see Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.148; *VCH Herts.* 2, p.15 and 4, pp.199, 201. See chapter 9 below for the 1579 riot at Northaw. The anti-enclosure riots at Cheshunt in 1611, 1617 and 1623 are detailed in Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, pp.206-07 and *VCH Herts.* 3, p.448. For 1799, see Thompson, 'The Crime of Anonymity', pp.313-14.

the possibility that Waltham may have been a centre of the Essex rebellion – an important point considering the earlier involvement of Waltham Abbey men in the 1548 episode at Northaw.¹⁰⁵ If we take charismatic leadership to have been a crucial variable in allowing localised disorder to escalate into regional rebellion in 1549, the examples of Captain Red Cap and Captain Commonwealth suggest that the so-called ‘lesser stirs’ were capable of throwing up leaders of a similar quality to Robert Kett in the east or Robert Welsh in the west.¹⁰⁶

II: Disorder and Defence in the City Of London

The government evidently feared for the safety of the capital during the ‘commotion time’, but was this a response to the widespread external disorder of early July 1549 or to internal discontent and insubordination? Whilst Rose-Troup argues, somewhat unconvincingly, that it was the Western Rebellion which caused the mayor and aldermen to begin their weekly inspection of the night watch on 3 July 1549,¹⁰⁷ Cornwall portrays defence preparations in London as a response to the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising.¹⁰⁸ In fact, according to Wriothesley, precautions were taken ‘for the preservation and savegard of the citie because of the rebellion in divers places of this realme’.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Wriothesley, *Chronicle 2*, p.20; MacCulloch, ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context’, 47.

¹⁰⁶ I follow Youngs’ possible identification of the vicar of St Thomas as ‘the real leader’ of the western rebels: ‘South-Western Rebellion’, 99, 117, 121. Cf. Greenwood, ‘Study of the Rebel Petitions’, p.127; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments 5*, pp.730-31.

¹⁰⁷ Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, p.320. For details of the inspection of the watch, see Wriothesley, *Chronicle 2*, p.15.

¹⁰⁸ Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, pp.127-28. For the timing of the outbreak of rebellion in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, see chapter 5 above. MacCulloch states that there was no hint of official alarm in London until after the Sampford Courtney protest of 9-10 June: *Cranmer*, p.430. In fact, the records of the Corporation suggest that the city authorities showed little real concern about the commotions until July: Corporation of London Record Office (CLRO) Journal 16, Repertory 12 (1), Letter Book R.

¹⁰⁹ Quoting Wriothesley, *Chronicle 2*, p.15.

Yet, rebellious activity in the provinces would have been insufficient to cause alarm unless the London authorities had grounds to fear that discontented city dwellers might make common cause with the rebels. Rather than an either/or scenario, it was the combined threat of internal and external disorder which prompted extra vigilance on the part of the authorities, along with the memory of the 'Evil May Day' riots of 1517.¹¹⁰ How justified was this fear?¹¹¹ According to Brigden, suffering was acute in London during the 'styrryng tyme'. Between 1544 and 1551 prices increased by eighty-nine percent in the capital, and high prices hit people hard.¹¹² A proclamation of 2 July lamented 'that of late the prices of all manner of victual necessary for man's sustenance be so heightened and raised ... that ... very great loss and damage must needs chance to his majesty's loving subjects'.¹¹³ There is also evidence of considerable discontent among the artificers and victuallers of the city, who petitioned the Privy Council in early July, and were assured that their grievances would be considered at the next parliament.¹¹⁴ Faced with similar conditions, the citizens of Norwich had seen fit to join forces with Kett and his followers.

The Council may have been justified in fearing that a convergence of religious and socio-economic disaffection would produce more serious disturbances than those seen the previous summer, especially if the unstable elements of London society: the

¹¹⁰ B.L. Beer, 'London and the Rebellions of 1548-1549', *JBS* 12:1 (November 1972), 38 argues that security preparations were both a response to conditions within the city and a reaction to the rebellions in the countryside. For London's tradition of unrest see Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, pp.164-65.

¹¹¹ Looking forward to the apprentice riots of 1595 might justify the authorities' fears. The best account is Ian Archer's *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.1-9. Manning regards the Apprentices' Insurrection of 1595 as 'the most dangerous urban uprising of the century': *Village Revolts*, p.201. See also Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 92. Some parallels can be drawn with the disorders at Bristol and Salisbury in 1549, where the mayor was the intended target. Bristol saw youths and discontented soldiers joining forces in 1549, as they did in London in 1595: Ch. 3.

¹¹² Susan Brigden: *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), p.490. For use of the phrase 'styrryng tyme', see CLRO, Rep. 12 (1), f.108v.

¹¹³ *TRP* 1, no.336. Due to the Essex rebellion, the only cheese at Bartholomew Fair in 1549 was inferior cheese from London houses: *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p.62. On scarcity and high prices see also Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.445.

vagabonds, servants, apprentices and religious radicals, made common cause. Furthermore, there some was evidence of internal disorder and complicity with the rebels. Instigators, agitators and suspected rebels do seem to have been at work in the city. John Wheatley, a saddler, was committed to ward in Newgate on 5 August 1549, 'for that he entysed mens servantes & apprentices to repayre & go with hym to the rebelles at Norwhiche'.¹¹⁵

Given that Londoners were most affected by the propaganda effort to popularise religious reform, the eastern rebels could have won their support.¹¹⁶ The power of the pulpit was recognised by government and Londoners alike, with sermons at St Paul's Cross, 'the very ark and watch tower of this realm', drawing huge crowds in 1548-49.¹¹⁷ London was arguably the one place where the government had direct control over the pulpit, a fact which may well help to explain the city's luke-warm reaction to the 'commotion time'. Cranmer ascended the pulpit twice in July 1549 to declare that the rebellions had been incited by popish priests, a line which may have gone down well with a populace that had been 'protestantised' early.¹¹⁸ And yet, even in London, the

¹¹⁴ CLRO Letter Book R, f.19r (11 July 1549). The city authorities were instructed to publish this promise among the artificers and victuallers, 'wylling & requyryng them quyetye to steye therupon & to contente thym selves & their hole famylyes in the meane season'.

¹¹⁵ CLRO Rep. 12 (1), f.122r. Anthony Roberts of Tonbridge, Kent was also apprehended as a suspected rebel in late July: CLRO Rep. 12 (1) f.110r (18 July 1549); Journal 16, f.28v (1 August 1549). Roberts, a soldier returning from Boulogne, was deemed a suspicious and idle tavern-haunter. London taverns and alehouses provided an excellent forum for travellers to disseminate news of the provincial rebellions. Thus, London inn-keepers were ordered to 'give a good ear to all such talk as their guests shall have' in the wake of Wyatt's Rebellion: Ian Archer, 'Popular Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Paul Griffiths & Mark S.R. Jenner (eds.), *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2000), p.29. In 1536, news of the Lincolnshire rising spread to London, where the priests advertised and advocated the Pilgrims' cause: Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp.250-51. On Thomas Kyghtley, a London leather-seller, see chapter 5.

¹¹⁶ On the flood of Protestant polemical works between 1548 and 1549 and the Protestant monopoly of the pulpit, see J.N. King, 'Freedom of the Press, Protestant Propaganda, and Protector Somerset', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 40 (1976-77), 1-9.

¹¹⁷ Archer, 'Popular Politics', pp.37-38.

¹¹⁸ Cranmer preached against the rebellions at St Paul's on 21 July and 10 August 1549. On the first occasion he 'made a narracyon of thoyes that dyd rysse in dyvers places within the realme', whilst his second sermon was concerned to illustrate that the Western Rebellion 'cam of poppych prestes'. On 31 August, Cranmer sent his chaplain, John Joseph, to preach in his place. Joseph's sermon, which was intended to subdue 'them that dyd rysse in alle iij. places', reiterated Cranmer's claim that 'the occasyone came by popysse prestes': *Grey Friars Chronicle*, pp.60, 61, 62.

government's control of the pulpit was precarious, to the extent that preaching had to be suspended in late 1548 when 'the pulpits rang with the clash of competing religious opinions'.¹¹⁹ When public discussion got out of control it spiralled into isolated incidents of insubordination and popular iconoclasm. Large crowds gathered to hear the 'lewd' preaching of humble lay men (such as 'the cordwainer who spouted scripture in St Paul's in July 1549'), alarming the Somerset regime. Preaching had played a vital role in galvanising people to action in 1517 and 1536, and it was feared that it could do so again in 1549.¹²⁰

If there was a propitious climate of opinion in the city, why did London not openly rebel and why did no external rebel force follow the examples of 1381, 1450 and 1497 in launching an attack on the capital?¹²¹ Perhaps Londoners were simply too 'self-interested and parochial' to contemplate any form of common action, despite certain shared grievances.¹²² Otherwise, the risk of direct action may have been too great, given their proximity to court. The provincial rebels' preoccupation with local misgovernment might explain why London was not a target in 1549, as it had been in 1381: hence the static organisation of the 'campyng tyme'.¹²³ In 1596, Bartholomew Steer clearly planned to seize armour and munitions from Lord Norris' house at Rycote in

¹¹⁹ Quoting Archer, 'Popular Politics', pp.37-38.

¹²⁰ For this, and other examples, see *APC* 2, p.298; Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, pp.12, 13; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 493; Archer, 'Popular Politics', p.30; Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.17. Dr Bele's Spital sermon in 1517 and Thomas Kendall's sermon at Louth provided the triggers for the 'Evil May Day' riots and the Lincolnshire Revolt of 1536: Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, p.95; cf. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p.104. The lewd and slanderous railings of a preacher named Huntingdon caused concern. He apparently used the pulpit to launch a public campaign against the mayor and aldermen: CLRO Rep. 12 (1), ff.79r, 104v-105r.

¹²¹ See Dobson (ed.), *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*; Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion*; I. Arthurson, 'The Rising of 1497: A Revolt of the Peasantry?', in J. Rosenthal & C. Richmond (eds.), *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1987), pp.1-18; D.A. Lockett, 'Crown Patronage and Political Morality in Early Tudor England: The Case of Giles, Lord Daubeney', *EHR* 110, no.437 (June 1995), 587.

¹²² Archer, 'Popular Politics', p.28.

¹²³ There was no equivalent of official figures like Simon Sudbery (lord chancellor) or Robert Hales (treasurer) against whom the rebels wished to vent their hatred in 1549. Neither was there a single unifying national issue equivalent to the hated poll tax of 1381. Rather, Somerset was seen to be on the commons' side in their fight against enclosure. For the significance of the rebels' static organisation in 1549, see MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 47-49.

Oxfordshire, march on London, and join forces with the rebel apprentices.¹²⁴ To understand why the capital remained relatively quiet during the ‘commotion time’ of 1549 we need to consider how disorder was prevented or contained within the city and what precautions were taken to discourage an attempt on the capital. The unusual extent of these prevention, containment, and defence measures reflects the Privy Council’s concern for the security of the capital in 1549 and their fear that London would be overrun by invading rebels, or turn to rebellion itself.

Since prevention was better than cure, a whole array of measures were put in place to ward off disorder in the capital. The watch was upgraded from 2 July until 9 September and the mayor and aldermen patrolled the streets ‘for the schuyng of daunger’ at this time.¹²⁵ Curfews were imposed; games, plays, and buckler-playing were prohibited as possible rallying calls to revolt; and the wrestling at Bartholomew Fair was ‘holly sparyd this year’.¹²⁶ Perhaps most importantly, arrangements were made for provisioning the city during the crisis of July-August 1549. The aldermen asked that the royal proclamation concerning prices be revoked at this time.¹²⁷ Householders were ordered to furnish themselves with enough food for a month; brewers and bakers were to procure enough malt and grain to serve the city for the same time span; butchers were permitted to take oxen and sheep for the city’s provision; and special provision was made for the city’s ‘bandes’, ‘hostes’ and prisoners. Furthermore, the evidence suggests

¹²⁴ Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”?’ , pp.90, 99-101, 126-27.

¹²⁵ CLRO Journal 16, ff.15v, 23r, 24v; Rep. 12 (1), ff.94r, 97v, 102v, 105v, 111r, 112r, 114r, 114v-115r, 117r-v, 122v, 138v; Letter Book R, ff.8v-9r, 10v, 11r-v, 13v, 14r-v, 15, 22v, 24v. The sheriffs of Middlesex were commanded to make similar watch in the borderlands.

¹²⁶ CLRO Rep. 12 (1), ff.115r, 116r, 120r, 124v, 125r, 128r, 130r, 130v; Letter Book R, ff.9r, 32v. The city authorities seem to have been particularly sensitive to any expression of disobedience towards the mayor and his officers in July and August 1549: CLRO Journal 16, f.17v; Rep. 12 (1), ff.90v, 91r, 98r, 99r, 108v, 123v. On the household as an agency in the maintenance of order, see Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp.216-17. Buckler playing began the ‘Evil May Day’ riots of 1517: Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p.494.

¹²⁷ TRP 1, no.336 (2 July 1549).

that London made some sort of sustained effort at poor relief during the summer of 1549.¹²⁸

In addition to the plans for securing Staines bridge,¹²⁹ the city's gates were 'made stronge', the ditches were cleared, and a false drawbridge constructed 'in case nede shulde requyre by reason of the sterynge of the people (which god defende) to cast downe thother'.¹³⁰ To prevent an attack from the Thames, the watermen were ordered to leave their boats on the north bank of the river.¹³¹ The city's 'habylimentes of warre' were made ready, bolstered by twelve pieces of ordnance received from the Council. Gunpowder was appropriated to the city's use and Somerset petitioned for additional pikes and hagbutters 'for the savfe garde of the Citie'.¹³² On 19 July, with rebellion rife in England, London was reportedly closely guarded.¹³³ Stringent military preparations were made to ensure the king's safety, both *en route* to, and at, Windsor Castle.

¹²⁸ CLRO Journal 16, f.26r; Rep 12 (1), ff.106v, 110v, 114r-v, 115r, 121v-129r; Letter Book R, ff.13r, 14v, 19r, 25v, 28r, 32r-v. According to Hooker, the poor hungry commons of Exeter almost yielded to the rebels. The collection of a weekly poor rate for their relief, the provision of food at little or no cost, and the division of any cattle brought into the city among them, prevented the commons from joining forces with the rebels: *Description of Exeter*, p.80. Payments to the poor were crucial in the pacification of the Canterbury rebels: chapter 4. On poor relief in late Medieval and Early Modern London more generally, see J.A.F. Thompson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *JEccH* 16 (1965), 175-95; Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, pp.163, 166, 170; P. Slack, 'Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-1558', in J. Loach & P. Tittler (eds.), *The Mid-Tudor Polity c.1540-1560* (London, 1980), pp.94-115; M.K. McIntosh, 'Local Responses to the Poor in Late Medieval and Tudor England', *Continuity & Change* 3:2 (1998), 209-45.

¹²⁹ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, pp.15-23. *Grey Friars Chronicle*, pp.60-61. Robert Fabyan, *The Chronicle of Fabyan* (London, 1559), p.554. Compare the precautions taken at Southampton and Canterbury: chapters 3 and 4.

¹³⁰ CLRO Journal 16, ff.25v, 32r. Rep. 12 (1), ff.102r, 104v, 106v, 121r, 126v, 133r, 135v; Letter Book R, ff.11v, 31v. The town ditches, which were vital to the city's defence 'at this present daungerous tyme', were 'stopped up' to 'the no lytell perell' of the city and its inhabitants. In 1554, the drawbridge across London Bridge was cast down 'not just through fear of rebel incursion, but in case "some light headed citizens" should join the rebel cause': Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p.539. Three hundred men guarded the bridge night and day during Wyatt's Rebellion: p.542.

¹³¹ CLRO Rep. 12 (1), f.105v; Letter Book R, f.12r.

¹³² CLRO Letter Book R, ff.11v, 12r-v, 13r, 14r, 15r, 19v, 20r, 24r; Journal 16, f.20v, 24v; Rep. 12 (1), ff.102v, 105v, 106v, 107v, 108r-v, 113r, 115r, 116r-17r, 121v. In 1554, the mayor issued a warrant to the companies for the provision of men, 'such as they had equipped during the "stirring time" in 1549'. Six hundred men were marshalled at Leadenhall on 27 January: Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p.537. Brigden estimates that 2,000 men were required for the defence of London: p.539. Similarities in response to the 1536, 1549 and 1554 disorders suggest that London had an emergency contingency plan in the event of rebellion, which could be quickly put into effect. For this comparison, see Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp.248-54, 534-45.

¹³³ Van der Delft to the Emperor, 19 July 1549: *CSPSp* 9, p.406.

Precautions had been taken at the Tower three days earlier: gunpowder and artillery was to be sent from the ships in the event of a 'sturr'.¹³⁴ These preparations were, undoubtedly, designed to withstand a siege. Steps were also taken to thwart the rebels' attempts at mobilisation. The watch was to ensure that no weapons, gunpowder or artillery passed out of the city.¹³⁵

These measures, and the declaration of martial law on 18 July, reflect a high degree of anxiety in the capital. The oppressive atmosphere in London during the summer of 1549 is best illustrated by the case of the bailiff of Romford, who was executed at Aldgate by martial law, simply for relaying the news 'that many men be up in Essex, but thanks be to God, all is in good quiet about us'.¹³⁶ The provincial rebels were seen to pose a real threat to the city in July. City officials expected a siege and feared that the loyalty of the citizenry might waver. Whether the authorities should get all the credit for London's relative tranquillity is doubtful. Van der Delft suggests that the Kent and Essex rebels reached Elton, near Greenwich, and threatened 'to come to London'.¹³⁷ Londoners, however, had their own specific grievances, which made a union with the provincial rebels unrealistic. It is unlikely that city-dwellers would have identified with the rebels' enclosure grievances; whilst they were probably too 'protestantised' to

¹³⁴ APC 2, pp.301-02 (15 July 1549). Access was strictly controlled, the gates shut, extra armed guards procured to keep watch over the prisoners, and the Tower itself heavily fortified. Artificers were prohibited from carrying weapons; priests had been forced to surrender their arms in 1536: Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p.251.

¹³⁵ CLRO Letter Book R, f.25r; Rep. 12 (1), ff.103r, 104r, 110r, 119r. That ordnance lay in the streets of Southwark and gunpowder passed through the hands of grocers, clothworkers and inn-keepers in 1549 sheds light on the availability of munitions at Northaw the previous year: see chapter 2.

¹³⁶ The royal proclamation of 16 July 1549 was apparently proclaimed in London two days later: TRP 1, no.341; Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, p.15. On the bailiff of Romford, see Stow, *Survey of London*, p.131. According to Wriothesley (pp.18-20) and the *Grey Friars Chronicle* (p.60), two rebels from Essex and Kent were hanged by martial law on 22 July. A number of provincial rebels were also executed in the city as a warning to its inhabitants, on 16 and 22 August 1549. Four of the western rebel captains and Robert Bell of Gazeley, Suffolk, were later put to death at Tyburn: Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, pp.20-21, 32; Stow, *Summarie* (1565), f.213r. The atmosphere in London was so highly charged with rumour that Edward VI was forced to ride through the city on 23 July to allay fears that he was dead: Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.11.

¹³⁷ Van der Delft to the Emperor, 19 July 1549: *CSPSp* 9, p.405.

identify with the cause of the Oxfordshire rebels. The threat of common action was probably no more than a phantom, but it loomed large in the official mind.

The relationship between the city of London and central government had an important part to play in shaping the response to disorder in 1549. The city authorities were aware that if they lost internal control they risked royal intervention and, subsequently, the city's autonomy. After the experience of the 'Evil May Day' riots of 1517 the authorities were understandably anxious to handle any further outbreaks of disorder themselves.¹³⁸ This experience might explain why London paid such 'careful attention to its own defences' in 1549: its watch and trained bands were made ready to counter any spread of the provincial rebellions.¹³⁹ Since London's inhabitants were so well armed, preventing them from uniting with the rebels was imperative.¹⁴⁰ With much of the state's artillery stored in the capital, it would have been disastrous had London fallen to the rebels. It is hardly surprising that the city's defence was considered paramount.¹⁴¹

However, all the indications suggest that the Corporation of London and central government collaborated successfully when faced with disorder in the mid-sixteenth century. When the Lord Mayor and aldermen informed the Council of a conspiracy

¹³⁸ The crowd overpowered the city's forces on May Day 1517, allowing Surrey and Norfolk to enter the city by force, to quell the disturbances. The city authorities learnt quickly from their mistakes. In September, 3,000 householders were put in harness to avert further disorder: Sybil M. Jack, *Towns in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Basingstoke, 1996), p.95. For a recent assessment of relations between the city and the Crown, see Archer, 'Popular Politics', pp.32-35.

¹³⁹ Quoting Jack, *Towns in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, p.95. Manning argues that the memory of the 'Evil May Day' riots of 1517 fostered vigilance, so that 'London remained remarkably quiet during the rebellions of 1549', although the situation was 'dangerous': *Village Revolts*, p.199. The authorities may well have looked back to the events of 1381, 1450 and 1497. On the Londoners' ambivalence towards Wyatt's force in 1554, see Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.86-87; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp.537-45; D. Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (2nd edn., Bangor, 1992), pp.72-80.

¹⁴⁰ The city continued to provide troops for royal armies until the Civil War. Even after the Restoration, many citizens possessed arms: Jack, *Towns in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, p.95.

¹⁴¹ On 13 July 1549, the aldermen and citizens lamented that they were 'at suche hyghe & grete charges ... for the defence of the Citie' that they were unable to make a grant towards the funding of those soldiers who had recently come from 'Albonye' to serve the king: CLRO Rep. 12 (1), f.106v.

within the city on 12 April 1551, the Council charged them to establish night watches, correct vagabonds, repulse foreigners coming into the realm, and reform disorder in the churches: these remedies were implemented by the following month.¹⁴² Similar collaborative measures were implemented in the summer of 1549. On 11 July 1549, the Privy Council granted the Corporation twelve pieces of ordnance from the Tower to guard the city,¹⁴³ whilst, four days later, the mayor and aldermen petitioned the Protector to allow them to borrow two hundred pikes and two hundred hagbutters for the same purpose.¹⁴⁴ This collaborative defence of London enabled the capital to stand firm during the widespread disturbances of the ‘commotion time’.

This concern to deal with disorder internally might explain the sheer volume of detailed administrative records relating to the ‘commotion time’ of 1549. Whereas other towns seem to have done everything in their power to gloss over and minimise disorder, perhaps even going as far as to destroy records (as at Colchester, where the rebels took the town, but no records survive),¹⁴⁵ the London aldermen and common council made every effort to ensure that their endeavours against disorder were carefully preserved for posterity.¹⁴⁶ To this end, the city authorities may have exaggerated the threat of both internal and external disorder since, in demonstrating that they had the

¹⁴² *APC* 3, pp.256-57. See the discussion of the 1551 insurrection below. In October 1551, the Council and the mayor discussed the best way of dealing with any ‘vayne brutes’ that might be spread by seditious persons: *APC* 3, p.390.

¹⁴³ *CLRO* Rep. 12 (1), f.105v; Letter Book R, f.12r. On 19/20 July 1549, it was appointed that John Sendall, master gunner of the city, should be paid 3s. 4d. a day in respect of his command of the twelve pieces of ordnance borrowed from the Privy Council: Rep. 12 (1), f.113r; Letter Book R, f.14r. These were recalled by the Council on 5 August; others were issued in their place: Rep. 12 (1), f.121v.

¹⁴⁴ *CLRO* Rep. 12 (1), f.108v; Letter Book R, f.13r (15 July 1549).

¹⁴⁵ See chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion. The destruction of records provided the best means of eradicating a difficult set of memories. Town officials may have been eager to avoid reprisals for disloyalty, and to protect their town’s reputation from allegations of complicity in rebel activity.

¹⁴⁶ Some records outlining preparations for the defence of Canterbury do survive, but, apart from the chamberlains’ accounts, most of our knowledge is gleaned from fragments in later borough court cases rather than the records of the administration itself. Unfortunately, London’s accounts only survive for 1535-36 and 1562-78, so the expense of defending the capital in the ‘commotion time’ of 1549 cannot be compared with that of defending smaller provincial towns like Canterbury or Southampton: see chapters 3 and 4. On the Court of Aldermen and the Court of Common Council, see Manning, *Village Revolts*, p.191.

situation under control, they could earn the acclaim and aid of central government, whilst ensuring that Somerset's regime had no pretence on which to storm the city. Whether these records provide concrete evidence of a greater level of anxiety in the capital than elsewhere is uncertain, but it seems safe to say that the interests of the capital came first in 1549, especially if we compare London's monumental efforts with the lax preparations for the defence of Warwick, discussed below.¹⁴⁷

The city's journals, letter books and repertories abound with references to the 'commotion time' of 1549, revealing the impact of the rebellions on the administration of the capital. The records are littered with phrases such as: 'durynge this tyme of unquyetnes', 'at this present daungerous tyme', 'in the tyme of this rebellyon of the people', 'duryng this troublesome season', 'duryng this commocion of the people', and 'duryng the tyme of this commocion & rebellyon'.¹⁴⁸ The frequency with which this phraseology was used creates a sense of the commotion time's all-encompassing influence on the contemporary mindset; everything was subject to the halter of commotion. Almost all administrative action in this troubled year was taken 'by reason of the sterryng of the people', suggesting that much of the normal business of the city was put on hold until London was freed from the grip of a fear-inspired temporary paralysis.¹⁴⁹

A later abortive rebellion in London and its environs provides substance for much interesting speculation regarding the 'commotion time' of 1549, highlighting, in particular, just how dangerous the situation in the capital was then.¹⁵⁰ In mid-April 1551

¹⁴⁷ Chapter 7.

¹⁴⁸ The entries in the city's repertories, journals and letter books for July-September 1549 contain no fewer than forty references to the 'commotion time', all of which are variations on the phrases quoted here: CLRO Rep. 12 (1), Journal 16, Letter Book R.

¹⁴⁹ Quoting CLRO Letter Book R, f.11r, Rep. 12 (1), f.104v.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. the Uppingham incident: chapter 7.

plans were discovered for a new insurrection within a thirty or forty mile radius of London. These 'peasants' had 'formed a project to get together a force of 10,000 or 12,000, finish off all the gentry of the neighbourhood, and march to London to the assistance of the people of that city'.¹⁵¹ This plot draws our attention to the threatening aspects of rebel political culture and the central place of 'bloodthirsty revenge fantasies' in plebeian social criticism, and suggests that the city authorities may have been justified in fearing a rebel invasion in 1549. This is especially true in light of the renewed rebellion that broke out in Essex and Kent in late July 1549. The commons of these counties reached Elton, pulled down the enclosures of one of the King's parks and threatened 'to come to London to get their prisoners'.¹⁵² The Imperial Ambassador rightly assessed that 'this would be disastrous, considering that the town is over full of people who ask for nothing better than an opportunity of sacking it'.¹⁵³ Presumably the same could be said of 1551 when, in a climate of poverty and want, the people, evidently 'very bitter against the Government of the realm', proclaimed that they would 'rather die than live in such a plight'.¹⁵⁴

The Londoners conspired to rise 'against the strangers of the City' on May Day, reflecting a tradition of disorder peculiar to the capital, encapsulated by the notorious 'Evil May Day' riots of 1517.¹⁵⁵ Xenophobia was a constituent component in London's instability and a running theme in its riots and popular protests between 1381 and 1635

¹⁵¹ Advices sent by Jehan Scheyfve, 21 April 1551: *CSPSp* 10, p.279. A brief account of the abortive May Day rising, and other rumblings of discontent in London in spring 1551, is given by Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.205.

¹⁵² CLRO Letter Book R, f.13v; Rep. 12 (1), f.112r (19 July 1549).

¹⁵³ Van der Delft to the Emperor, 19 July 1549: *CSPSp* 9, p.405. London's population in 1550 has been estimated at 70,000: Manning, *Village Revolts*, p.189.

¹⁵⁴ Advices sent by Jehan Scheyfve, 21 April 1551: *CSPSp* 10, p.279. The concern was that the London disorders would spark off other protests, since there were 'plenty of folk ready to rise' in 1551.

¹⁵⁵ Quoting Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.59. On the 'Evil May Day' riots of 1517 and the long-standing and deep-seated xenophobia from which they sprang, see Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp.4-5; Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.194-99.

at the very least.¹⁵⁶ This overspilled into the rest of the realm in 1549 when foreign mercenaries were recruited to fight against the rebels. At the height of the ‘commotion time’, Van der Delft lamented that things in England were ‘all the worse because the people are angry that Dimock’s infantry and other foreign troops are employed against the English; and they are so resentful that they say they won’t leave a foreigner alive in England’.¹⁵⁷

In the end, the 1551 conspiracy came to nothing. After one of the ringleaders informed on his co-conspirators, four artisans and mechanics were hanged.¹⁵⁸ Yet the authorities remained wary of further disquiet following these reprisals. By 12 May, orders had been issued that all English vagrants should return to their birthplace, or to the locality where they had resided for the last three years, under threat of dire penalty. The sessions of the city’s law-courts, normally held every three months, were postponed until Michaelmas ‘to prevent the peasants from gathering together’ and, more importantly, ‘to enable the gentlemen to stay in the country and keep an eye on them’ – a lesson evidently learnt from the experience of 1549, *when the absence of the gentry allowed disorder to escalate with astonishing speed during July*.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ See Archer’s discussion of xenophobia as the basic underlying assumption of Londoners’ political consciousness: ‘Popular Politics’, pp.30-31.

¹⁵⁷ Van der Delft to the Emperor, 19 July 1549: *CSPSp* 9, p.406. His fears were echoed by Jehan Scheyfve, his counter-part in 1551: *CSPSp* 10, p.291. Cf. the Privy Council’s order for the repulsion of foreigners from the realm: *APC* 3, p.257.

¹⁵⁸ Some ‘lewide personnes’ were reportedly ‘in holde’ by 12 April 1551: *APC* 3, pp.256-57. The four ringleaders had been arrested and sent to London by 21 April 1551. They were hanged at some time before 12 May: *CSPSp* 10, pp.279, 291. Scheyfve provides some other hints about the social composition of the rank-and-file. An assembly of ‘ruffians and serving-men’ held in London instigated revolt, whilst vagabonds, captains and disbanded soldiers had been seized to prevent them from joining forces with the rebels. Attention has already been drawn to the role of the serving-men in the 1549 risings: chapters 2, 3, 4, 7.

¹⁵⁹ *CSPSp* 10, pp.290-91. Cf. *APC* 3, pp.256-57. A large number of gentlemen from the counties of Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Kent had been ordered to repair to Windsor on 1 July 1549: SP 10/8/2. In 1550, Trinity term was adjourned until Michaelmas ‘for that the gentlemen should kepe the Comons from commotion’: Stow, *Annales* (1605), p.1019.

Constables were ordered to seize anyone who repeated rumours of discord between the Council and Lords Shrewsbury and Derby.¹⁶⁰ The earls seem to have been the rallying point for rebellion in spring 1551.¹⁶¹ In this respect, the 1551 rebellion, with its hint of gentry complicity, deserves comparison with the supposedly ‘popular’ disorders of the ‘commotion time’. In 1551, as in 1549, we see a convergence between ‘high’ and ‘low’ politics, which suggests that this distinction can be misleading. In the same way as rumours of the altercation between Sir Richard Lee and Somerset provided fuel for the St Albans Rebellion in 1549, news of the discord between the Council, Shrewsbury and Derby gave hope to the commons in 1551. In both cases, the rebels’ political culture clearly drew on the machinery of ‘elite’ politics.¹⁶²

Should London be considered a special case in 1549? There was certainly a divergence between the relative quiet of the capital and the cacophonous disorder in the rest of the realm. Barbaro’s report on England in May 1551 explains this divergence simply yet perceptively, making the point that ‘Londoners are more inclined to obedience, because they are nearer the Court’.¹⁶³ There is a certain amount of truth in this statement. Order was easier to uphold at the centre than in the provinces, where the government was forced to rely on local officers to keep the peace.¹⁶⁴ Potential for

¹⁶⁰ According to Loach, Somerset reached an understanding with Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby in April 1551, both of whom were uneasy about the drift towards a more Protestant religious policy. Warwick apparently neutralised their complaints within a few weeks: *Edward VI*, p.102. However, Scheyfve states that the Council had ‘openly tried’ to have the earls ‘surprised and arrested’: *CSPSp* 10, p.279.

¹⁶¹ The earls were ‘powerful and popular, not only with the people, but secretly with many prominent personages’: *CSPSp* 10, p.279. A proclamation was made to calm the commons and to placate the earls of Shrewsbury and Derby. According to the Council, this was a false rumour circulated by ‘wicked persons’ for ‘a seditious purpose’. The proclamation declared that Shrewsbury and Derby had told the Council ‘that they were ready to come to Court at the King’s and Council’s pleasure, as most humble and obedient servants of his Majesty’: *CSPSp* 10, p.291. On the Earl of Shrewsbury’s role in keeping the North Midlands quiet in 1549, see chapter 7.

¹⁶² For St Albans, see above. The rebels’ appropriation of ‘Commonwealth’ rhetoric, another example of this convergence, is discussed in chapter 4.

¹⁶³ *CSP Ven.* 5, p.345.

¹⁶⁴ For the best recent work on the keeping of the public peace in the localities, see Wrightson, ‘Politics of the Parish’ and Steve Hindle, ‘The Keeping of the Public Peace’, in Fox, Griffiths & Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority*, pp.10-46 and 213-48; Herrup, *The Common Peace*.

disorder was as great in the metropolis as elsewhere but, because the authorities were unusually sensitive to that potential, London remained relatively quiet. In fact, so many of the realm's provincial governors were in London or Windsor in July 1549 that a power vacuum was created in the provinces, leaving them vulnerable to serious disorder.¹⁶⁵

Was London's experience of the 'commotion time' qualitatively different to that of provincial England? Recent scholarship emphasises that London's sheer size meant that its character and experience was not just quantitatively but qualitatively different from that of other towns, and has suppressed the distinction between town and countryside in favour of emphasising the distinctiveness of London over and above the rest of the urban sector.¹⁶⁶ This distinctiveness had a bearing on the nature of the capital's grievances in 1549. Unlike provincial towns such as Colchester, Bristol and Southampton, London did not have its own common fields, making it unlikely that its inhabitants would ever have been caught up in anti-enclosure activity central to many of the 1549 risings.¹⁶⁷ Londoners might have sympathised with the 'Protestant rhetoric' of the eastern rebels had this rhetoric not been so closely tied to enclosure grievances. Londoners' grievances remained too distinct to encourage them to back the provincial rebels wholeheartedly. City dwellers supported certain aspects of the provincial rebels' programme, but could not endorse their cause *per se*. 'Special regard' was taken for London in 1549, as it had been in 1536, although in both events Londoners offered little more than verbal support for the provincial rebels and, had it come to battle, 'would

¹⁶⁵ Orders were issued for all aldermen and chief commoners to return to London 'with all spede for the savfe custodie of the Citie in the tyme of this styrring of the people': CLRO Letter Book R, ff.12v, 32r; Rep. 12(1), ff.106v, 122v. It is interesting that these orders (of 13 July and 5 August) closely followed the outbreak of disorder in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

¹⁶⁶ For recent scholarship, see Griffiths and Jenner (eds), *Londinopolis*.

¹⁶⁷ The common fields created problems in Colchester, whilst the 1549 disorders at Bristol and Southampton both concerned common marshes: Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence*, pp.78-80; chapters 3 and 4 above. The kind of violent anti-authoritarian sentiment expressed against the mayors of Bristol, Southampton and Salisbury is not evident in London in 1549: cf. chapter 3.

have fought faintly'.¹⁶⁸ Disaffection was not translated into open disorder in the capital in the summer of 1549 because its citizens simply 'had too much to lose'.¹⁶⁹ London's reaction to the rebellions was pivotal in late summer 1549, swinging the balance of power back from the rebels to the government. London is perhaps best used as a gauge for measuring the government response to the 'commotion time', rather than as a case study of popular disorder.

III: Conclusion

By 1 August 1549, Sir John Markham was able to report that 'Kent, Sussex, Essex and all the parts near London ... pray for the King's most gracious pardon'. Only the Cornish, Devonshire and Norfolk rebels held out still.¹⁷⁰ Markham's sigh of relief was, however, a little premature. The Norfolk Rebellion continued until the battle of Dussindale on 27 August, whilst the Western Rebellion was only finally put down on 29 August.¹⁷¹ One of the most threatening episodes of the 'commotion time' – the Seamer rising – was still to break out, in the last throes of the East Anglian and Western rebellions, whilst Leicestershire and Rutland were the scene of an equally alarming full-scale rebellion in September 1549. The floodwaters of the 'commotion time' had further to spread before they slowly ebbed away, leaving the realm to count the cost of the damage they had wreaked.

¹⁶⁸ Quoting Marmaduke Neville: cited in Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p.252.

¹⁶⁹ Quoting Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p.252. In 1554, Wyatt may have been repulsed through fear of a sack rather than antipathy to his cause: Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies*, pp.76-77.

¹⁷⁰ *HMC Rutland* 1, p.42.

¹⁷¹ At Kingweston, Somerset. The main body of the western rebels had been defeated at Sampford Courtenay on 16 August. The ringleaders evaded capture until the 'fray' at Launceston on 19 August; others, who remained armed at Bodmin, fled into Somerset to rekindle the rebellion: Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, pp.291-305. On the rising at Kingweston, see chapter 3. The best summary of events at Dussindale can be found in Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.70-71.

'A Wonderfull Hate Against Gentilmen':

The Midlands and the North

The Midlands and the North perhaps best reflect the variety and complexity of disorder encapsulated in the 'commotion time' of 1549. The causes of the uproars in this region are uncertain, partly due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. However, as fragments of a mosaic which, when carefully pieced together, might reveal a more complete picture of the response to the 'crisis of 1549', these intriguing yet elusive episodes deserve further attention. Contemporaries acknowledged a 'general plage of rebelling' throughout England, although historians have tended to marginalise events outside the South.¹ This chapter will investigate whether the Midland and Northern disturbances were anything more than 'an impotent congeries of local riots'.²

Unrest encompassed much of the Midlands in 1549 (map 7.1). Although the disturbances in several of these counties have been described as 'so minor that information about the rebels was not reported', regional patterns of protest can still be discerned.³ We should be careful, however, not to deduce the non-existence or insignificance of disturbances from the paucity of evidence pertaining to them, especially before detailed local research has been carried out.⁴ Contemporary accounts of the risings in the Midland counties indicate the possibility of meaningfully subdividing the region into four parts: those counties in the south of the region which

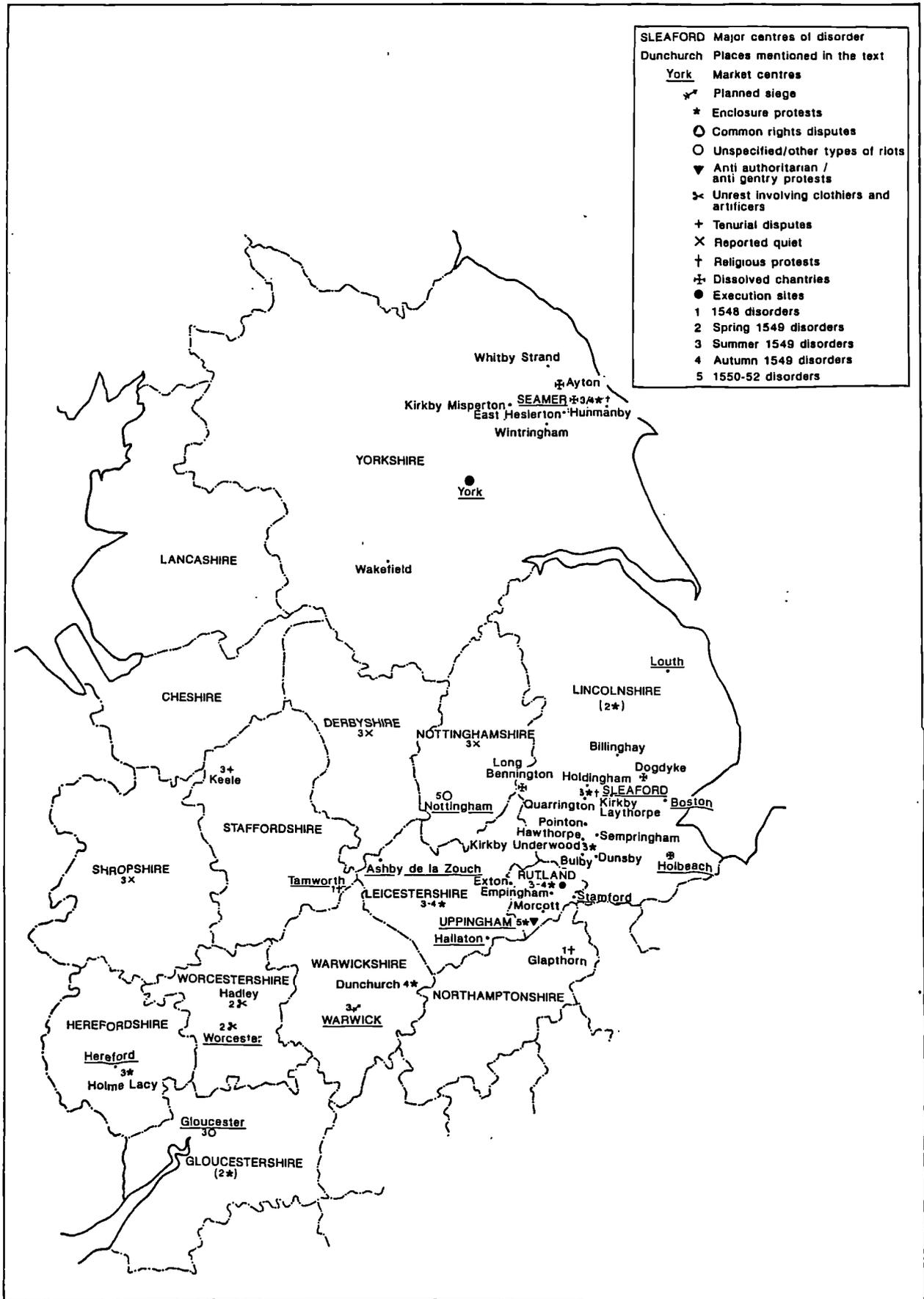
¹ Quoting Sir John Markham: *HMC Rutland 1*, p.42.

² Quoting Gay, 'Midland Revolt', 209.

³ Quoting Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.151.

⁴ This point is made more generally by Rollison, *Local Origins of Modern Society*, p.218. MacCulloch's work on the Suffolk disturbances provides a good example.

MAP 7.1 DISORDER IN THE MIDLANDS AND THE NORTH



could be said to have acted as bridges between the central and Midland disturbances;⁵ the West Midlands; the North Midlands; and Leicestershire and Rutland. Nor did the northern counties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire escape disorder.⁶ With the rising at Seamer in Yorkshire, the realm was completely engulfed in tumult. This chapter addresses the disorders in the three Midland regions outlined above and provides an overview of events in the North, with a more detailed case study of the Seamer rebellion.

I: The Midlands

The West Midlands

In addition to the stirs in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire,⁷ ‘minor disturbances’ broke out in the west of the region, in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Herefordshire and Warwickshire.⁸ In Gloucestershire there had been risings against enclosures in spring 1549, and complaints that farmers were becoming clothiers and clothiers, weavers.⁹ The journeymen weavers of Worcester complained that they had been laid off, despite ‘an olde order emonge them’ that each loom should be worked by

⁵ See chapter 5.

⁶ Charlesworth has argued that Lancashire deserves historical attention, although the 1548-1552 turbary disputes he cites reveal no direct link with the ‘commotion time’: *Atlas of Rural Protest*, p.31. See also *VCH Lancs.* 2, pp.287-89.

⁷ See chapter 5.

⁸ Charlesworth, *Atlas of Rural Protest*, p.29. Few details of events in Worcestershire are known, although Edward VI, Hales, and Strype included the county in their lists of areas affected by disorder during the ‘commotion time’: Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.12; Hales, *Defence*, p.lviii; John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion and its Reformation Under the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary I*, vol. 2:1 (London, 1816), p.269. Edward VI’s account dates the Worcestershire stirs to spring 1549.

⁹ Hales argued that the Gloucestershire and Worcestershire stirs pre-dated his second enclosure commission issued in early July 1549: *Defence*, p.lviii. *VCH Gloucs.* 2 misdates the risings to 1548: pp.164-65. The scale of enclosure in the county is demonstrated by the fact that 3,650 acres on the estates of 22 landlords had been enclosed by 1517. The existence of bondmen in Gloucestershire until 1574 may have some relevance for the 1549 risings: see D. MacCulloch, ‘Bond Men Under the Tudors’, in C. Cross, D. Loades & J.J. Scarisbrick (eds), *Law and Government Under the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.91-109; A. Savine, ‘Bond Men Under the Tudors’, *TRHS* 2nd series 17 (1903), 235-89. For the impact of the Chantries Act in the county, *VCH Gloucs.* 2, pp.27-28.

a journeyman and his apprentice, because they required wages to support their wives and children, unlike the apprentices. Other more general complaints poured in. Some complained that ‘a few men had in ther handes a great manye mens lyvynges’, some that ‘one man occupied dyvers occupations’, and others that ‘artificers and clothiers wer nowe also ploughmen and grasyers’.¹⁰ This high level of discontent was translated into open disorder,¹¹ revealing the wisdom behind the Council’s decision to give Lord Russell special charge to ensure that clothiers, dyers, weavers, fullers and other artificers were kept occupied in the west.¹²

One of the earliest notices of disorder comes from Herefordshire. On 3 March 1547, the Privy Council advised John Scudamore and other Herefordshire justices to step up their activities against disorder, in view of uprisings elsewhere.¹³ A letter addressed to the magistrates of Surrey, using the exact same wording, bears this date, suggesting that the Herefordshire letter may have been a standardised circular, and we should not read too much into it.¹⁴ Even if Herefordshire cannot be hailed as the birthplace of the ‘commotion time’, as Shagan suggests, the county was certainly affected by the disturbances.¹⁵ John Higgins, indicted in 1550 for his role in an enclosure riot at Hereford, stood accused of seditiously inciting others to pull down hedges. His defence, ‘that by the King’s proclamation all enclosures were to be broken up’, hints at a degree of overlap in the justifying beliefs of the Warwickshire and Herefordshire rioters.¹⁶

¹⁰ Hales, *Defence*, pp.lxv-lxvi. All these complaints were heard in the House of Commons to no avail.

¹¹ Five Gloucester men were rewarded in 1549 for bringing up ‘a singing man, being a rebell’: *APC* 2, p.318 (24 August 1549). Cf. the emphasis on oral culture discussed in chapters 1 and 4.

¹² Instructions from the Council to Lord Russell, 23 June 1549: Pocock, *Troubles With the Prayer Book*, p.10. For the role of artificers in the disturbances at Frome and Bridgwater in Somerset, see chapter 3.

¹³ C 115/101, no. 7602. This letter was first noticed by Shagan: ‘Popular Politics’, p.515, n.26. John Scudamore of Holme Lacy (d.1571) had been a Herefordshire JP since 1539 and served as the county’s sheriff in 1540.

¹⁴ For the Privy Council’s letter to the magistrates of Surrey, see SHC Zg 109/1/22 (Loseley MSS vol. XII, no.4) and chapter 4. This is an exact copy of the Herefordshire letter (with slight variation in spelling). Both letters are dated at Somerset Palace and are signed by the same Privy Councillors.

On 12 July 1549, it was reported that the commons ‘begynn to stirre in warwykshere’.¹⁷ This places the Warwickshire stir at the height of the ‘commotion time’, contemporaneous to the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising, and reveals the level of planning and organisation behind the disturbance, the rebels’ motivation, and the social composition of the crowd. The rebels intended to besiege Warwick the following Sunday, when more people would have been available to bolster the attempt, because the town was not yet ready at their commandment. Having met unexpected resistance from the inhabitants, it seems that the rebels planned to spoil the town to get provisions to sustain their rebellion, and perhaps to entice the townsmen to join their ranks. The central role of the serving-men in this outbreak was particularly alarming to Tudor minds, and gave credence to Sir Thomas Smith’s fears that such men were not to be trusted.¹⁸

Warwick’s account of events gives the impression that preparations for the containment of disorder were made in a last-minute frenzy. This may explain why he resorted to a show of force, rather than negotiation. Perhaps things had already got too out of hand to be quelled by appeasement. The fragmentary nature of the evidence relating to the Warwickshire disorders should not lead us to dismiss them as minor disturbances. Rather, the implication here is that a single rebel host was moving on the

¹⁵ Shagan mistakenly attributes this letter to 3 March 1549 and, thus, reads far too much into it.

¹⁶ *HMC 13th Report*, Appendix 4, pp.317-18. Cf. the Somerset and Wiltshire rising: Ch. 3.

¹⁷ Earl of Warwick to Sir John Thynne, Ely Palace, 12 July 1549: BL M904/1: Thynne Papers, vol. 1. The Warwickshire stir broke out only four days after the second enclosure commission was issued on 8 July. Warwickshire is the only county for which the 1549 returns are extant. Dugdale’s notes of the evidence laid before the Warwickshire commissioners can be found in Leadam, *Domesday of Inclosures*, 2, pp.656-66. Chapter 5 has shown that Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire and parts of Warwickshire were united by a ‘shared experience’ of enclosure, and that Warwickshire consistently attracted attention as one of the worst affected counties between 1517 and 1607.

¹⁸ Sir Thomas Smith to William Cecil, 19 July 1549: SP 10/8/33. See also chapter 4. The role of the serving-men in Warwickshire provides an interesting contrast to the hostility shown towards servants in the articles of the western rebels: Fletcher and MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.140 (article 13). The Oxfordshire Rising of 1596 remains the best example of a rising planned by serving-men: Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”?’, 99-100.

county town, following the pattern of the major rebellions in Kent, Norfolk, and Devon.¹⁹

Why did the planned siege of Warwick fail to materialise? Given the apparent power vacuum created by the Earl of Warwick's absence from the county at this time, it might be said that the rebels failed to make the most of their opportunity. This suggests two possibilities: either the townspeople's opposition was too strong to overcome, or the rebels lost their resolve for some reason, allowing the movement to fizzle out of its own accord.²⁰ Most probably, once their plans had become public knowledge, the risk of direct action simply became too great.²¹ Even if the delay before the arrival of Warwick's retinue had given the Warwickshire commons time to make the first move, the likelihood of the rebels achieving their objectives and evading capture would have been incredibly small.²²

What was the Earl of Warwick's role in this matter, and in the 1549 risings more generally? Something strikes off chord in Warwick's expression of sorrow on hearing of Somerset's continual trouble with 'thes upprores'. All too conveniently, Warwick professed himself too ill to leave his house at Ely Palace at the time of the disturbances. Warwick's reluctance to act is clear not only from his lackadaisical preparations for the defence of the county town, but also more overtly from his statement that 'yf that contry stirre I shalbe [able] to do no servis'.²³ If Warwick was plotting against the Protector

¹⁹ For the Kentish disorders, see chapter 4. The Earl's concern that Warwick Castle might not have been strong enough to withhold the rebels is revealing of the level of anxiety created by events in the heart of England. He wrote: 'I have sent in poste thorder to kepe the castel yf I can which ys but a very slender hous of strenght' [*sic.*]: BL M904/1 (12 July 1549).

²⁰ Cf. Exeter's loyalty during the Western Rebellion.

²¹ See Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, pp.189-92.

²² Somewhat strangely, the Earl of Warwick seems to have ordered his friends and servants to repair towards him at Ely, bringing his horses with them from Warwick Castle. The journey to Ely must have occasioned some delay before the Earl's forces arrived back at Warwick.

²³ BL M904/1 (12 July 1549).

even before his victory over Kett,²⁴ and if he initiated rumours concerning disturbances in Warwickshire and Buckinghamshire in 1548, it is understandable that 'moste men in those dayes thoughte that the displeasure of the Earle of Warwycke conceyved against the Lorde protectour in the tyme of the rebellion was a greate cause of the trouble at this tyme'.²⁵ If Warwick deliberately circulated false rumours in Buckinghamshire in 1548 with the sole intention of discrediting Hales and his 'patron', the Protector, and if his inactivity in Warwickshire was designed to create further trouble for an already overstretched regime, it could be that Warwick, not Somerset, was the more to blame for the 1549 risings, in these two counties at least.

Other outbreaks of disorder dotted the West and North Midlands. At Dunchurch in Warwickshire, the inhabitants 'wrongfully dispossessed' Sir John Williams of Hall Field, and occupied it 'with ther cattall'.²⁶ Williams was probably up to his old tricks, emparking Dunchurch for hunting purposes, eliminating common rights in favour of gentry and aristocratic privilege.²⁷ His deer parks at Thame and Rycote had already been forcibly disparked by the Oxfordshire rebels in July 1549, and this later enclosure dispute suggests a connection between the Midland and Thames Valley commotions: perhaps hatred of Williams united the rebels as hatred of Herbert had done in the

²⁴ James S. Berkman, 'Van der Delft's Message: a Reappraisal of the Attack on Protector Somerset', *BIHR* vol. 53, no.128 (November 1980), 247-52.

²⁵ Quoting Thomas Cooper, *Chronicle* (London, 1560), f.346r; cf. f.345r. In 1548, Warwick falsely reported that Hales' words stirred up the Warwickshire commons, whom Hales knew to be 'all in good quiet' because they made daily reports to him asking his advice: BL Lansdowne MS 238, f.320v. For evidence that Warwick's enclosing activities were the cause of disorder in 1549, see the discussion of events in Surrey (chapter 4). On the rumoured disturbances in Buckinghamshire, see chapter 5. Warwick's highly coloured interpretation of the 'commotion time' is discussed in chapter 2. See also Malkiewicz, 'Eye Witness's Account', 601 n.1.

²⁶ SP 46/2/68. Other sources that might help to shed light on this episode include: PRO SC 2/207/29 and SC 207/55 (manor court rolls for Dunchurch, 1, 2 & 5 Edw. VI); Birmingham City Archives 168255 (Bailiff's account roll, 1547); Northamptonshire RO, Records of the Buccleugh family (who owned the manor of Dunchurch until recent times). This was the first recorded enclosure riot in the county since 1525: *VCH Warwicks.*, 2, p.441. Dunchurch also saw enclosure riots in 1607 and 1609: Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.97-98, 245.

²⁷ Hall Field belonged to the manor of Dunchurch. The manor was granted to Sir John Williams in 1541, before being regranted to Anthony Stringer of London the same year. It remained with the Crown between 1543 and 1555: *VCH Warwicks.* 6, p.80. The inhabitants claimed to have common in Hall Field.

south.²⁸ Elsewhere, the suppression of the collegiate church and the seizure of church goods caused a stir at Tamworth, Staffordshire in 1548, until Somerset intervened to restore the plate and vestments,²⁹ whilst trouble arose at Keele when Sir William Sneyde and his tenants were ordered to prepare for service against the Norfolk rebels in July 1549: Edward Brett and four other copyholders 'riotously assembled themselves together arrayed in manner of war to resist'.³⁰

The North Midlands

By contrast, the Earl of Shrewsbury's strong aristocratic leadership explains why the North Midlands remained quiet, just as it had in 1536. The Council gratefully acknowledged that 'his Majesty's most loving and obedient subjects of the counties of Derby, Salop, Nottingham ... do remain in his Majesty's good peace and quiet order.' It would seem, on this basis, that due to the Earl of Shrewsbury's diligence alone, the North Midlands remained an isolated pocket of order during the 'commotion time' of 1549. Since the commons of these counties had not so much as petitioned the king for redress of their grievances, they had to be reassured that they would still benefit from the same reforms as the rioters in the rest of the realm, with the additional promise that the king, the Lord Protector and the Council would always be ready to do them what 'reasonable pleasure' they may, in recognition of their good behaviour.³¹

On emparkment as a particularly antagonistic form of enclosure, see Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.24-25, 288. Cf. the King's Somborne and Surrey enclosure disputes: chapters 3 and 4.

²⁸ For Thame and Rycote, see chapter 5.

²⁹ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.152 n.48. The Tamworth incident is presumably the grounds for Duffy's claim that the West Midlands saw smaller disturbances against religious changes: *Stripping of the Altars*, p.466. Without Somerset's intervention events in Tamworth could have led to another Helston or Seamer.

³⁰ STAC 3/3/35. Opportunists like Humphrey Comerforde took advantage of the king's pardon to forcibly seize lands in Staffordshire: Manning, 'Violence and Social Conflict', 34. Cf. Cornwall, 'The Ecclesdon Outrage' and the discussion of the Hursley Park enclosure riot (Hants.) in chapter 3 above.

³¹ Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 19 July 1549: printed in Edmund Lodge (ed.), *Illustrations of British History*, vol. 1 (London, 1838), pp.159-161. The king's 'good contentation' with his subjects in this region was to be openly proclaimed among them. All was not so quiet the following year when Sir Richard Maners reported disturbances in various places in Nottinghamshire, during which the constables rode two by two from parish to parish to raise the commons in the king's name: *APC* 3,

Leicestershire and Rutland

Yet the diligence of the local gentry does not seem to have prevented the development of ‘full-scale rebellion’ in Leicestershire and Rutland, which saw serious, repeated outbreaks of disorder during the ‘commotion time’, but which have received little attention from historians.³² Precautions taken in June 1549 ‘to prevent all inconvenyences’ in Leicestershire, including the publication of an enclosure proclamation by the sheriff and instructions for the gentry to remain in their houses appear to have failed.³³ Despite all sensible precautions, the preparations of the gentry may have served to stir up the Leicestershire commons, occurring as they did in an atmosphere already highly charged with rumour.³⁴ Although the ‘good quietnes of the Shires of leycester and Rutland’ had been restored by mid August,³⁵ it would be a mistake to assume, as Beer does, that the rebels had been thwarted ‘before a serious commotion could be organised’.³⁶ ‘A stir of divers confederators that had intended a rebellion within the counties of Rutland and Leicester’ was reported on 12 September, ‘for which rebellion there have already divers in the county of Rutland been condemned’. Several Leicestershire rebels were to be arraigned before the assizes the

p.31 (15 May 1550). It is somewhat ironic that the Earl of Shrewsbury should have been the rallying point for rebellion in spring 1551: *CSPSp* 10, p.291.

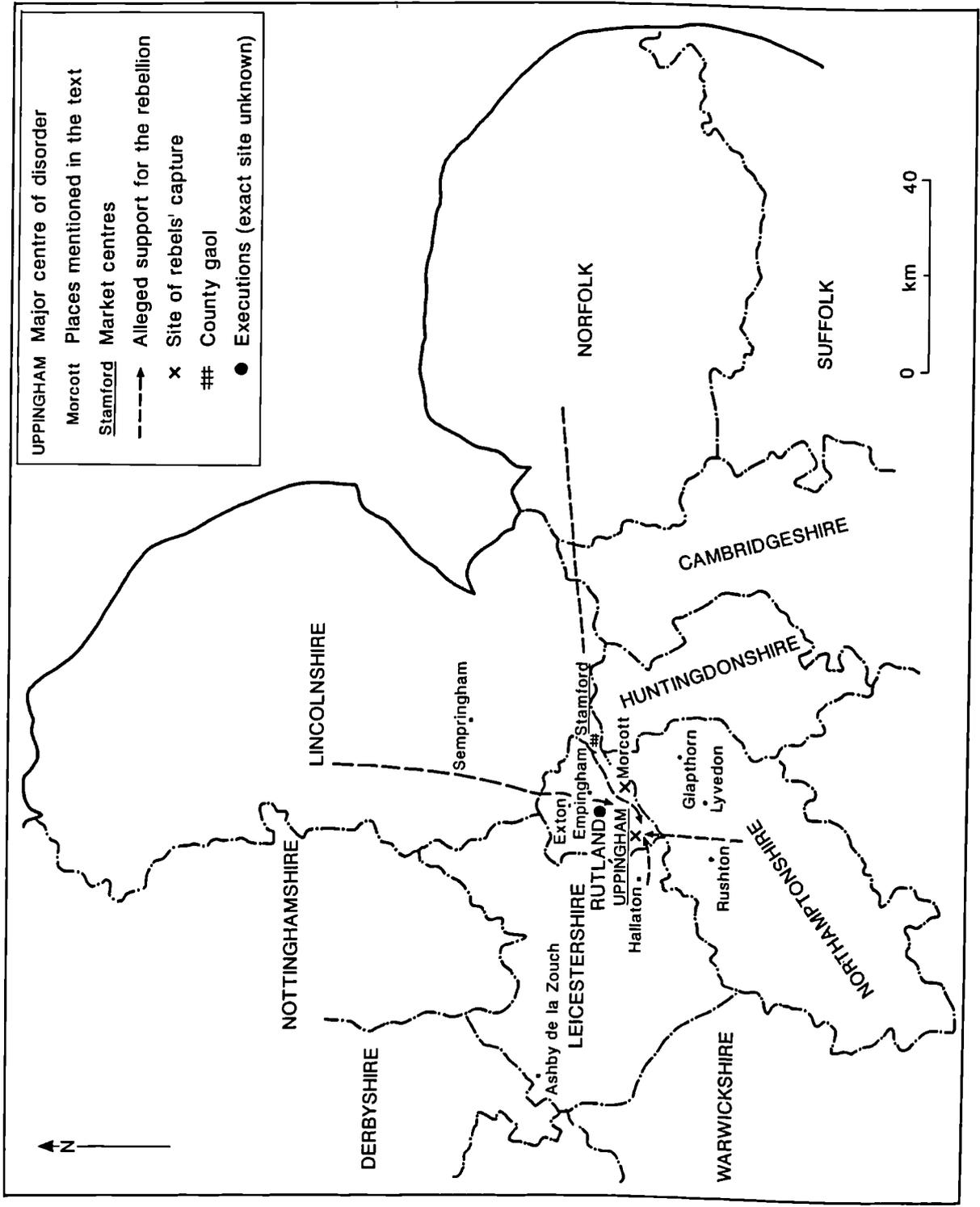
³² Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, p.138 n.1. *VCH Rutland* 1 notes ‘some considerable disturbance’ in 1549, although ‘very few Rutland details of this rising are known’, and states that it is not surprising that the people of Rutland were involved in the 1548–49 risings as there were probably enclosure disputes in the county at this time: pp.147, 181, 223. Cornwall talks of tremors in Leicestershire and Rutland in May 1549, in addition to the June disorders: *Revolt of the Peasantry*, pp.10, 68–9.

³³ The Duke of Somerset to the Marquis of Dorset and the Earl of Huntingdon, 11 June 1549: SP 10/7/31. This letter is endorsed ‘hast for lief’ three times; a clear reflection of the urgency of the matter. Sir Ambrose Cave is identified as sheriff of Leicestershire by Knighton: *CSPD Edw. VI*, no. 273, p.110 note. The proclamation to which the letter refers is probably the 22 May 1549 proclamation ordering the punishment of enclosure rioters: SP 10/7/18; *TRP* 1 no. 333 (dated 23 May).

³⁴ Popular fears that the gentlemen ‘wolde overrunne’ the commons before they could rise presumably were not alleviated. Cf. MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p.430.

³⁵ The Council to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, 19 August 1549: SP 10/8/46. Grey had written two days earlier to inform the Council of his earnest endeavours to bring Leicestershire and Rutland to a state of good order.

³⁶ Quoting Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.151.



MAP 7.2 THE LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND REBELLION

following week.³⁷ The use of the full force of the law against the rebels, and the spread of the disorder beyond a single county, suggests the rebellion was serious, both in terms of its nature and its scale.³⁸

Neither was the spirit of rebellion quickly laid to rest. A new insurrection was attempted in Leicestershire, Rutland, and Northamptonshire in 1551 (map 7.2).³⁹ The 1551 rebellion was apparently centred around Uppingham in Rutland, where measures had been taken to detect the confederacy. The Lieutenant of Northamptonshire uncovered the commons' plans the day before the insurrection was due to take place, allowing Sir John Harrington to apprehend one of the 'principalls' at Uppingham. A further six suspects were apprehended at Morcott, and elsewhere in Rutland, the following day. However, rumours of an assembly to be held on a plain near Uppingham that night soon reached the authorities' ears. The townsmen of Hallaton in Leicestershire intended to join forces with the rest of the rebels - thought to be four hundred strong - at 'the Broad', from whence they would call on certain gentlemen in order to wreak their revenge. The insurgents, however, failed to appear. Their plans seem to have been thwarted by the gentry's diligence a second time. Despite these measures, the region was still 'not all clere of stirars of Comosyon' by 2 September 1551, making it necessary for Lord Admiral Clinton to write to the justices instructing them to apprehend the suspects, and to urge Cecil's father to do the same at Stamford,

³⁷ Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon to Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, from Ashby de-la-Zouch, 12 September 1549: Lodge, *Illustrations*, p.163. This attempted rebellion suggests that Henry Grey's diligence may not have been sustained into the autumn, contrary to the Council's advice, although Grey and Hastings may have prevented the rebellion from getting off the ground: SP 10/8/46. Cf. the abortive Winchester-Sussex Rebellion: chapter 3.

³⁸ Cf. Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p.12, which states that the rebels were appeased by the gentlemen's 'fair persuasions'.

³⁹ Sir John Harrington to Lord Admiral Clinton, from Exton, 2 September 1551: Samuel Haynes, *A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1740), p.116.

Lincolnshire.⁴⁰ A number of would-be participants were safely in custody in Stamford the following day.⁴¹ Fears that the rebels would rise again continued to run high, especially as the Leicestershire and Rutland commons were known to have confederates and supporters as far afield as Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk.⁴²

Something of the nature, scale and experience of rebellion in Leicestershire and Rutland during the ‘commotion time’ can be gleaned from this later insurrection. From the 1551 evidence we might infer that the 1549 disorders involved crowds of several hundred people, that the rising was considered ‘anti-gentry’ in nature, and that it was serious enough to trigger panic reactions to rumoured disturbances two years on. It is likely that both the 1549 and 1551 protests hinged on the issue of enclosure. In fact, Sir John Harrington’s enclosing activities may have made him one of the intended targets of the 1551 rebellion.⁴³

The Nature and Scale of Disorder in the Midlands

What can be said of the nature and scale of disorder in the Midlands in 1549: can any regional patterns of protest be discerned? Gay has characterised the Midland Revolt as a

⁴⁰ Lord Admiral Clinton to Secretary Cecil, from Sempringham, 2 August (*sic.*) 1551; enclosing Sir John Harrington’s letter of 2 September. Haynes, *Collection of State Papers*, pp.114-16. On 22 February 1551, the Crown granted the property of Corpus Christi guild in Boston, Lincs. to Lord Admiral Clinton and, on 30 January 1552, that of the gilds of St. Mary, St. Peter and St. Paul to William Parr, Marquis of Northampton. R.B. Walker, ‘Reformation and Reaction in the County of Lincoln, 1547-1558’, *LAAS Reports & Papers*, NS 9 (1961), 53. These grants may be connected with Clinton and Northampton’s activities against the rebels in 1549.

⁴¹ Lord Admiral Clinton to Secretary Cecil, from Sempringham, 3 September 1551: SP 10/13/37. The conspirators had been examined by the aldermen of Stamford but, in light of their doubtful confession, Lord Clinton urged Cecil and his father to examine them further.

⁴² Lord Admiral Clinton to Secretary Cecil, 2 September 1551: Haynes, *Collection of State Papers*, pp.114-16.

⁴³ In 1545, Francis Mackworth complained that Harrington had ‘caused to be plucked up and cast down certain quicksetts in the common fields of Empingham’. Harrington enclosed five or six acres of Mackworth’s land, with the intention of appropriating these lands for his own use. It was common practice for landowners to attempt to consolidate their holdings in common fields by means of enclosure: *VCH Rutland* 1, p.221. Sir Thomas Tresham of Rushton, who was similarly concerned with the consolidation of his Northamptonshire estates may have been another target. On the Treshams, see the discussion of the 1549 disorders at Glapthorn (Northants.) in chapter 5.

disparate collection of local riots caught between cross currents of motive emanating from East Anglia and the South-West.⁴⁴ Challenging the idea of two such completely contrasting rebellions invalidates Gay's thesis, but he is right to recognise an interaction of religious and socio-economic concerns. Although Gay argues that the specific Midland grievance against depopulating enclosures of open fields was not strong enough to dominate the movement, and the existing evidence makes no mention of a generalised programme or a charismatic leader, we should be careful not to dismiss these disorders as a 'distracted Midland rebellion' on the basis of fragmentary evidence.⁴⁵ The possibility of co-ordinated action is suggested by links between Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising; by events in Leicestershire and Rutland in 1549; and by a further attempted insurrection in Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire in 1551. The 1549 commotions show some of the signs of regional co-operation evident in the Midland Revolt of 1607, rather than being a wholly disparate series of disturbances.⁴⁶

The Midlands reflects a whole spectrum of disorder, ranging from the opposition in Keele which, as Sneyde recognised, might easily have escalated into rebellion in such 'perilous and tumultuous times', to full-scale rebellion in Leicestershire and Rutland. At least in part, the response of local gentry figures, such as the earls of Huntingdon and Shrewsbury, prevented events from further escalating into regional rebellion in 1549.

⁴⁴ Gay, 'Midland Revolt', 209.

⁴⁵ Gay, 'Midland Revolt', 201.

⁴⁶ The Midland Revolt of 1607 was 'a co-ordinated series of enclosure riots': Charlesworth, *Atlas of Rural Protest*, p.33. Recent research reveals that the revolt was widespread, encompassing Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire, Derbyshire, and Worcestershire: Walter, 'Popular Opposition to Enclosure'; Hindle, 'Persuasion and Protest', 46-7.

II: The Northern Counties

In the traditional historiography of the 'commotion time' the Yorkshire rising has been regarded as an aberration, an isolated outbreak of disorder in the North of England, geographically detached from the main centres of rebellion in the Midlands and the South. However, put into the wider context of the disturbances experienced by nearby counties, the Seamer rising appears less of an anomaly.⁴⁷

Lincolnshire

Both Jordan and Land have argued that whilst there is evidence of 'smouldering disaffection' in Lincolnshire, no actual stirr occurred in the spring and summer of 1549, notwithstanding the slight aid given to Kett's Norfolk rebels.⁴⁸ However, according to Holinshed, Lincolnshire was amongst those counties where people first began 'to plaie these parts', assembling unlawfully to break open enclosures in response to the proclamation of 11 April 1549.⁴⁹ Wriothesley and Stow also talk of a 'commotion of the commens in Somersetshire and Lyncolneshire' in May 1549, 'concerning a proclymation for enclosures',⁵⁰ whilst rumours reached the Imperial Ambassador 'that a good five thousand men have risen in arms in the North'. If we assume that Van der Delft alludes to events in Lincolnshire (as seems plausible on the basis of internal

⁴⁷ Cheshire is one of the few English counties not considered in the existing secondary literature. We should not assume that Cheshire was unaffected by the 'commotion time'. Although no details of disturbances are known, neither does the county seem to have been reported quiet. The surviving equity pleadings in the Chester exchequer (PRO CHES) might provide new information.

⁴⁸ Jordan, *Edward VI*, p.449. Land, *Kett's Rebellion*, p.28. By contrast, Boston sold part of its plate and vestments to defray the expenditure on defence against Kett's rebels: Walker, 'Reformation and Reaction', 55. Cf. the episode at Caldecote (Cambs.): chapter 4.

⁴⁹ Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, pp.916-17. TRP 1, no.327, for the enclosure proclamation to which Holinshed refers.

⁵⁰ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 2, p.13. Stow, *Chronicles of England* (1580), p.1040; *Annales of England* (1592), p.1006; (1600, 1605), p.1005. Godwin, includes Lincolnshire amongst his list of counties infected with the 'contagion' of disorder in 1549: *Annals*, p.134. Lincolnshire seems to have offered surprisingly little open resistance to the progress of the Edwardian Reformation: Walker, 'Reformation and Reaction', 54-55. This is not to suggest that the people of Lincolnshire welcomed the Reformation. Rather, Walker

evidence), then the Lincolnshire rising, with its substantial, well-armed rebel force, is not to be belittled.⁵¹

Additional evidence of enclosure rioting can be gleaned from events at Kirkby Underwood, where twenty armed men took the opportunity to enter John Hassilwood's close whilst he was away fighting against Kett. On 15 August 1549, they destroyed hedges around a pasture Hassilwood had enclosed and, joined by herdsmen from the two neighbouring towns of Bulby and Hawthorpe, proceeded to bring more than a hundred and sixty 'cattle and beasts' to graze there. After Hassilwood had repaired the hedge, the commons destroyed it a second time, provoking a Star Chamber suit over the legality of the enclosure. In answer to accusations of enclosure rioting, the villagers stated that enclosure commissioners had declared the enclosures unlawful, ordered them to be taken down, and upheld the villagers' right of common, at a sessions held a fortnight earlier. Thus, events suggest that the Lincolnshire enclosure commissioners encouraged the commons to challenge the legality of Hassilwood's enclosure, providing the necessary justification for the villagers to take direct action. In light of this supposition, it is unfortunate that the outcome of the dispute is not known.⁵²

Walker has recorded a Lincolnshire outbreak similar in nature to the Seamer Rising, if less serious. This protest seems to have arisen from a motley assortment of factors

talks about 'the undeveloped state of local Protestantism' in Lincolnshire: 58. For a recent account of the Lincolnshire Rising of 1536, see Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, chapters 4-6.

⁵¹ Van der Delft to the Emperor, 28 May 1549: *CSPSp* 9, p.383. That the Imperial Ambassador had heard of large numbers gathering in the North is important, even if it was no more than a rumour. The precise location of these gatherings is unknown. However, the timing would appear to coincide with the Lincolnshire disturbances documented by Holinshed, Wriothesley and Stow. The rebellion at Seamer, the only other large protest movement to have been recorded in the North, took place three months later, in August 1549. Van der Delft draws attention to the contrast between the orderly behaviour of the northern protestors and the unruly behaviour of the Somerset commons ('the peasants in the west'), who launched a campaign of destruction against parks 'unfairly enclosed' by certain gentlemen earlier the same month. Cf. Sir John Markham, who stated on 1 August 1549, that 'those in the North as yet use themselves honestly': *HMC Rutland* 1, p.42.

including enclosure, personal animosity and the impact of the dissolution of the chantries on the people of the Lincolnshire fens.⁵³ Around mid-July 1549, the inhabitants of Sleaford and the surrounding villages petitioned against the extortions and enclosures of Robert Carr, a man of newly acquired wealth who was building a great estate out of Dissolution property.⁵⁴ At Dunsby, Carr had turned 'holye to shepe pasture' land which had formerly provided work for ten or twelve ploughs, dispossessing the poor inhabitants of their houses and decaying the town. Carr 'raysyd uppe' the 'goodly parishe church' at Dunsby and tore down and spoiled the chapel at Holdingham, the inhabitants of which town were at least a mile from Sleaford. He also demolished 'a fayre Church standing in a prytye town called ponton' for the sake of its lead, its stone, its furniture and its ornaments.⁵⁵ Carr's enthusiasm for iconoclasm ran ahead of the official Reformation, 'he having no Commission or other auctoritie' for his actions. It was his personal greed that drove him to such indiscriminate plunder.⁵⁶

⁵² STAC 3/1/85. The sessions were held at Stamford on 2 August 1549. For evidence of a deer park at Kirkby Underwood, see DL 42/96, f.28v. This case may have implications for our understanding of events at Netherfield Down in East Sussex: chapter 4

⁵³ These people were cut off from their mother churches and depended on chantries for access to the sacraments. However, many of these Fenland chapels were lost. Dogdyke chapel was closed, although Billingham church was three miles away and inaccessible during the winter floods, whilst the parish of Holbeach lost all three of its chapels, one of which was seven miles from the church. At Long Bennington the chapel was concealed, but once the service had ceased, the parishioners removed a bell and part of the lead roof: 'Reformation and Reaction', 51.

⁵⁴ Robert Carr, the son of a successful merchant, rose from the fringes of gentry society into the shire establishment through marriage and the acquisition of Dissolution property (starting with the purchase of Catley Priory in 1539): M.E. James, 'Obedience and Dissent in Henrician England: The Lincolnshire Rebellion, 1536', repr. in M.E. James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.213-14. A grant of former chantry land was made to Carr on 15 July 1549, including lands in New Sleaford, Holdingham, Quarrington, and Kirkby Laythorpe, Lincs., which had belonged to the chantry of St Mary in New Sleaford: *CPR Edw. VI*, 2, p.346. 15 July was not a good time to receive an unpopular land grant, at the height of the troubles in eastern England. The loss of these lands may well provide the basis for the inhabitants' petition against Carr. By Mary's reign, Carr was steward and bailiff of the manor of Sleaford, having there and in Holdingham and Pointon, 'all the rule and governance' under the king: STAC 4/3/8.

⁵⁵ Carr had recently purchased the manor and lordship of Dunsby, formerly held by the monastery of St John of Jerusalem, from Edward VI. 'Ponton' was probably the chapel at Pointon, parish Sempringham. The petition or 'schedule' is annexed to a bill of complaint in the court of Star Chamber: STAC 4/3/8, Francis Hussey of Sleaford (on the behalf of the parishioners of Dunsby, Pointon, Holdingham and Sleaford) vs. Robert Carr of Sleaford, gent. The bill and schedule form the basis of the discussion here. Lord John Hussey, who was executed for failing to suppress the Lincolnshire rebellion of 1536, resided at Sleaford: Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.159, 406-07. Carr had provided damning evidence against Lord Hussey in 1536. Francis Hussey's motives in championing the parishioners' cause may, then, have been partly personal: *L&P* 11, no.969.

⁵⁶ For another example, see the Watford dispute: chapter 6.

This was not the end of the matter. The inhabitants of Sleaford had a whole catalogue of grievances against Carr, which they later presented to Mary I in the form of a 'schedule' annexed to a bill of complaint brought before the Court of Star Chamber. This schedule is the closest thing we have to a list of grievances for the Lincolnshire rebels, but these grievances, although clearly defined, remain too localised and particular to explain a movement of the scale and proportions suggested by Van der Delft. However, fears that the 'olde Ancient Custome' of the manor was 'broken & alteryd' lay at the heart of the protest. As bailiff and steward of the manor of Sleaford, Carr withdrew the court rolls by which the inhabitants held their copyhold according to manorial custom, 'to thentent to defeat or defraude the tenantes of ther Right'. Additionally, the common people who came to Sleaford market were 'so pillyd polled & extorted' by Robert Carr and his servants that the town was falling into rack and ruin.⁵⁷

Although the Sleaford inhabitants shared Kett's concern for good justice, and theirs was a protest against local authority - with something of the flavour of the East Anglian rebellion - the protest in Sleaford targeted only one individual. It was with Carr's misconduct as a justice of the peace, rather than with local government *per se*, that they were discontented.⁵⁸ To the inhabitants of Sleaford, Robert Carr clearly personified all the evils associated with 'covetousness' and 'commodity' which seemed to threaten the very survival of their local community and customs.⁵⁹ In this respect the Sleaford

⁵⁷ STAC 4/3/8. Lord Admiral Clinton appears to have owned the manor of Sleaford. Robert Carr laboured to Lord Clinton to have the interest of the manor in fee farm, to the tenants' undoing.

⁵⁸ Other comparable cases concerning the misconduct of JPs occurred at Odiham (Hants.) and Watford (Herts.): see chapters 3 and 6. Thomas Spicer's activities as bailiff of Orford may have contributed to his imprisonment in the stocks during Kett's Rebellion. In ploughing up a way leading from Orford to Sudbourne in 1553, Spicer showed his propensity towards disregarding common rights: STAC 4/10/76, E 111/48, C 1/1392/34.

⁵⁹ Carr's bold ambition is evident from his activities as a captain of the commons in 1536. In the event, Carr betrayed both the commons and Lord Hussey to advance his own interests: *L&P* 11, no. 969; *L&P* 12:1, nos. 1012 (4i), 1087; Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.97, 162-63, 442-43; James 'Obedience and Dissent', pp.213-14.

episode perhaps mirrors events at Landbeach in Cambridgeshire. Sleaford was another 'Kett's Rebellion in miniature' (but with conservative rather than Protestant overtones).⁶⁰

Yorkshire

If the precise pattern of events in Lincolnshire remains hazy, John Foxe's detailed account of the Seamer Rising allows a full discussion of the nature, scale and experience of rebellion in Yorkshire.⁶¹ The Yorkshire rising of 1549 was narrowly confined geographically. It broke out in the vicinity of the village of Seamer and 'seems to have had no repercussions outside a small area' of approximately eighty square miles, 'to the north of the wolds, along the bounds of the North and East Ridings' (map 7.3).⁶²

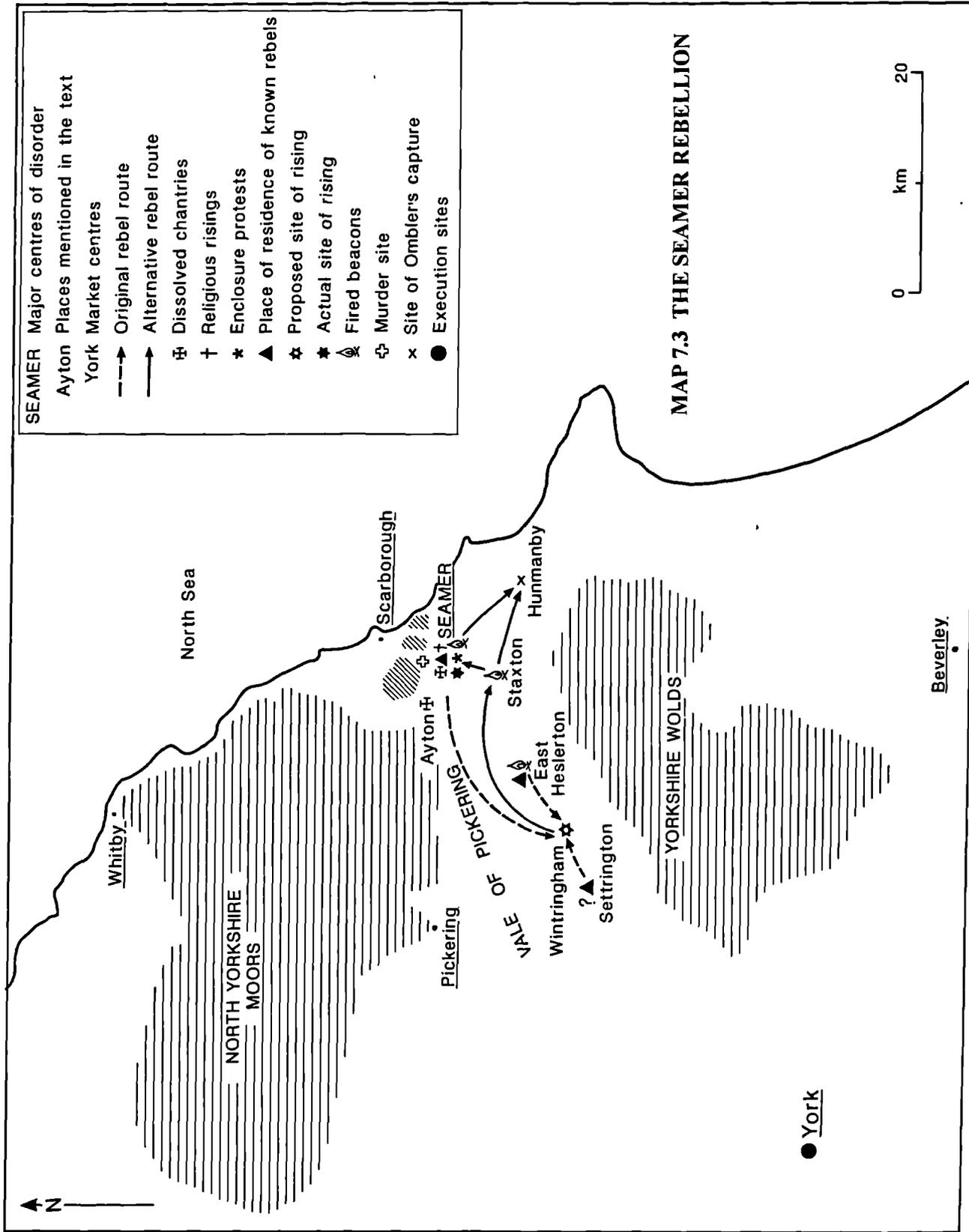
However, there are several reasons for regarding the Seamer rising as more than a riot, despite its narrow geographical focus.⁶³ First, the rising was intended to unite with

⁶⁰ On Landbeach as a 'Kett's Rebellion in miniature', see chapter 4.

⁶¹ Foxe's account of the Seamer Rebellion is reprinted by A.G. Dickens as 'Some Popular Reactions to the Edwardian Reformation in Yorkshire', in Dickens, *Reformation Studies*, pp.32-38. All references are to this account, except where otherwise given. I am grateful to Dr T.S. Freeman for generously sharing his knowledge of Foxe. Foxe's account (which first appeared in the 1570 edn. of *Acts and Monuments* and was reprinted without change in subsequent edns.) can be deemed largely accurate, although he may have omitted material or exaggerated details to suit his polemical purposes. Protector Somerset's letters to Sir Philip Hoby, Archbishop Holgate's apology to the Marian government and Sir Thomas Gargrave's articles for government in Yorkshire are important additional sources: BL Harley MS 523, ff.50r, 52v; SP 11/6, f.132r; SP 15/14, f.47 (no.15). See also Holinshed, *Chronicles* 3, pp.985-87 (largely based on Foxe's account). Stow is the only other chronicler to have noted the Seamer Rebellion. His account is less detailed and blander than Foxe's. Similarities in phraseology suggest that Stow selectively plagiarised parts of Foxe's account, or that this is an independent account based on some of the original sources Foxe used: Stow, *Chronicles of England* (1580), pp.1042-43; *Annales of England* (1592), p.1007, (1600, 1605), p.1006. Neither Foxe nor Holinshed are listed amongst Stow's sources in the 1600 edition of the *Annales*. B.L. Beer has argued that Foxe was 'consistently neglected' as a source by Stow: *Tudor England Observed: The World of John Stow* (Stroud, 1998), p.62.

⁶² Quoting Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.28. For the estimate of the size of this area see Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.159. Cf. events at Seamer in 1536: Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.224-25. The rising is misdated to 1548 in *VCH Yorks.* 2, p.485 and W. Page (ed.), *The Certificates of the Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries in the County of York*, part 1, Selden Society vol. 91 (1892), p.xvi.

⁶³ Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', pp.28-29.



the contemporaneous rebellions in East Anglia and the South-West.⁶⁴ Secondly, it lasted for several weeks before it was finally suppressed. Although the actual outbreak cannot be precisely dated, the plans for the rising were laid on 25 July and Foxe suggests that the movement was in progress for some time before and after the royal pardon was offered to the rebels on 21 August.⁶⁵ Thirdly, the rising was numerically large. Foxe estimates that the rebel force increased to 3,000 in number, whilst Archbishop Holgate refers to a commotion 'at Seimer in yorckeshier in kinge Edwarde the syxte tyme, whereas was tenne or twelve thowsand Rebelles up at the same tyme the commociens was in Northfolke, deaneshier, Cornewall and other placeis in manye partes of this realme'.⁶⁶ As Lord President of the Council of the North, Holgate may have had reason to exaggerate the extent of the disorder, although his estimate still indicates the rising's significance.

Although the Seamer rising has been characterised as a straightforward religious rebellion against government policy, its causes are still far from clear.⁶⁷ Defence of the conservative religion seems to have been a principal aim of the Seamer rebels.⁶⁸ Deep local resentments may have resulted from the recent dissolution of a large number of chantries in the area, including two in the castle at Seamer itself, whilst Dickens argues that general disaffection against the Reformation in the county increased in the late

⁶⁴ Dickens rightly argues that the date of the rising is 'of first rate importance': 'Some Popular Reactions', p.29 n.1. According to Edward VI, it was after he rode through London, in response to rumours of his death, that the commons rose in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire: *Chronicle*, p.13. The *Grey Friars Chronicle* dates this progress to 23 July 1549: p.60.

⁶⁵ Somerset wrote on 24 August that a commotion had been attempted in Yorkshire 'the weeke last past': BL Harley MS 523, f.52v.

⁶⁶ Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.36. SP 11/6, f.132r: articles of Robert Holgate, late Archbishop of York. In 1568, Sir Thomas Gargrave, Vice President of the Council of the North, cited the suppression of the Seamer rising as an argument for maintaining the council: SP 15/14, f.47 (no.15).

⁶⁷ For example Bush, *Government Policy*, pp.84-5. For the view that Yorkshire's 'independent traditions' contributed to outbreaks against the government, see *VCH Yorks.* 3, p.415. Violent episodes occurred at Seamer in 1319, 1549 and 1640-41: *VCH Yorks.* 2, p.485. Cf. the Cornish and Kentish traditions of disorder: Stoye, 'Dissidence of Despair'; chapter 4 above. Stoye argues that Yorkshire's record of insurrections pales into insignificance in comparison with Cornwall's: 441-42.

⁶⁸ Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.33.

1540s.⁶⁹ However, Somerset described the Seamer rising as an assembly of light persons, ‘for the matter of commons’, suggesting that more ‘secular’ concerns were also present. Allegedly, the Yorkshire commons had ‘attempted the pulling doune of certain hedges and pales’ like their counterparts in the Midlands and the South.⁷⁰ Other possible material motives include poverty and oppression.⁷¹ Not even Foxe attributes the rising solely to religion: rather the Yorkshire men were encouraged by ‘a blind and a phantasticall prophecie’ that the king, nobility and gentry would be swept away in a commotion, ‘to begyn at the South and North Seas of England’. News of the rebellions in Norfolk, Devonshire and ‘other places’ encouraged them in this belief.⁷² The influence of this radical anti-aristocratic prophecy should not be underestimated, although it is clear that Foxe seized on the rebels’ prophetic inspiration for his own didactic purpose – to demonstrate just how destructive ‘false prophecies’ could be.⁷³

⁶⁹ For the dissolved chantries and examples of opposition to their dissolution, see Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, pp.22-25, 30-31, 39 and W. Page (ed.), *Certificates of the Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries in the County of York*, part 2, Selden Society vol. 92 (1893), p.515. Duffy states that ‘there is little doubt that a major reason for the support they got was that the dissolution of the two local chantries deprived the people of a chapel at ease, the parish church being a mile away’: *Stripping of the Altars*, p.459. This is suggested by the fact that, after the rebellion had been put down, the villagers combined to thatch the Ayton chapel (lead had been removed from its roof in 1548), and they were still maintaining it by a self-imposed rate in the early seventeenth century: Dickens, *The English Reformation*, p.237.

⁷⁰ Protector Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby, 23 August 1549: BL Harley MS 523, f.50r. Cf. Somerset’s assessment of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising: chapter 5.

⁷¹ The tenantry’s protest against the oppression of Sir John Yorke in the Liberty of Whitby Strand in 1553 may have had its equivalents in the vicinity of Seamer in 1549, although there are no known cases: Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, p.30.

⁷² ‘Their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Devonshyre men in the West, meeting (as they entended) at one place’, would aid the implementation of their ‘traiterous devilshe devise’: Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, pp.33-34. This affiliation with the West was reinforced in June 1550, when ‘the peasants in the North and West’ were again ‘determined to rise in rebellion’. What is most revealing about the nature of the widespread disaffection in the summer of 1550 is that it sprung from the commons’ genuine disappointment ‘that the promises made to them’ in the wake of the ‘commotion time’ had not been fulfilled. Complaints made against the gentry in 1549 were reiterated the following year: Jehan Scheyfve to the Queen Dowager, June 24 1550: *CSPSp* 10, p.116. Unrest in the North and West followed a rising at Sittingbourne in Kent on 6 June. Evidently the commons dared not act, partly due to the gentry’s extra vigilance, and partly because the repercussions of the ‘commotion time’ were still fresh in their minds.

⁷³ Prophecy was ‘a major component’ of Foxe’s interpretation of history. He was concerned to establish the distinction between ‘true’ prophecy – which confirmed Protestant doctrines – and ‘false’ prophecy – which threatened the divinely established social order or strengthened ‘superstition’. I owe this observation to Tom Freeman. The threat of a realm ruled by a popularly elected governors (a parliament of the commons) played on elite fears of the ‘world turned upside down’.

Some insight into the nature of the Seamer rising can be gained from examining its social composition and organisation, and the rebels' objectives, targets and activities. 'The principal doers and raisers up' of the rebellion are thought to have been William Ombler, a yeoman of East Heselton; Thomas Dale, parish clerk of Seamer; and Stevenson of Seamer, Ombler's nephew and Dale's neighbour. Stevenson acted as intermediary between Ombler and Dale, who lived seven miles apart and were previously unacquainted. Support for the rebellion was expected to come from 'the rudest and poorest sort', who would be tempted by 'the spoyle of rich mens goods', and from those who wanted to see the old religion restored.⁷⁴

As with so many other commotions in this period, the leaders appear to have laid their plans for a stir under cover of games and festivities – in this case those of St James' day (25 July).⁷⁵ Successful tactics allowed the rebel force to increase from a handful of co-conspirators into an assembly several thousand strong.⁷⁶ First, the commons in the parishes of Seamer and Wintringham and the surrounding towns were roused. Plans were made to fire the beacons at Seamer and East Heselton and begin a rising at Wintringham, but Calverd's drunken alehouse boasting alerted Holgate and the local gentry, who prevented the Wintringham rebellion from getting off the ground.⁷⁷ However, the rebellion did not collapse; the rebels simply shifted the focus of their activity to Staxton, fired the beacon there, and assembled a large number of supporters. The insurgents moved from town to town, recruiting support partly by means of

⁷⁴ Quoting Foxe: Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.34. A Richard Stevenson was churchwarden of Seamer in 1552: Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.33 n.1.

⁷⁵ Dickens. 'Some Popular Reactions', p.33. A special 'reckoning' was made in the parish of Morebath 'about sent jamys day', for money laid out to finance its rebel contingent in mid-July: Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, p.135.

⁷⁶ This paragraph is based on Foxe's account: Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', pp.34-35.

⁷⁷ No clues to Calverd's identity are provided by Foxe or Dickens.

coercion and enlisting all men over sixteen years of age.⁷⁸ Ombler was riding from town to town ordering all constables and inhabitants to go to Hunmanby, in the king's name, when he was finally captured. It is significant that Ombler hoped to gain the support of such respectable figures, in light of a proclamation of 22 July 1549 naming the bailiffs, constables, and headboroughs as 'the very ringleaders and procurers' of the commotions.⁷⁹ Like Kett, Ombler succeeded in dissuading the majority of his followers from accepting the king's pardon for all offences committed before 21 August 1549, reflecting his strong, charismatic leadership.⁸⁰

The high level of organisation, and the scope and magnitude of the rebels' intentions indicate the serious nature of the Yorkshire movement. Whilst popular violence was remarkably restrained in the 1549 risings, the Seamer rising has been held up as 'a rare exception to the general rule'.⁸¹ It is known, probably from the details of confessions which are no longer extant, that the rebels intended to murder some gentlemen in their houses and others in churches. The Seamer rebels may have intended only 'to kill and destroy such Gentlemen & men of substaunce about them, as were favourers of the kynges procedynges, or which woulde resiste them', but their targets – gentry associated with the dissolution of Yorkshire chantries – were symbolic.⁸² For example, Matthew White, an outsider from Kent and a new type of landowner, had recently received a large grant of chantry lands in the county. He was also a chantry commissioner for Yorkshire, hated both as an agent of the government's religious

⁷⁸ Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.36. According to Foxe, those recruited were 'a rude rout of rascals out of the towns': p.35. The insurgents may have been closely following the procedure for raising musters.

⁷⁹ *TRP* 1, no. 342. Cf. the Nottinghamshire example cited in note 31.

⁸⁰ Cf. Somerset's somewhat stylised portrayal of the rebels' repentance. It is clear that the king had granted a pardon to the Seamer rebels by 24 August, after the rebels, 'with weping eyes' and 'upon their keenes' (sic), all together 'desired the gentilmen to obtain their pardon': BL Harley MS 523, f.52v. No copy of this pardon has survived. The wording used by Foxe indicates that the Seamer rebels benefited from the same general pardon as 'the rest of the rebels': Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.37.

reforms and for seizing chantry goods at Ayton and Seamer.⁸³ Only two of the four Yorkshire victims, Clopton and Savage, were allegedly attacked ‘without cause or quarell’.⁸⁴ In a humiliating act of retribution more akin to seventeenth-century French urban protests than the English risings of 1549, White, Berry, Clopton and Savage were seized from their beds at night, dragged about a mile to the wold, stripped of their clothes and purses and brutally murdered; their corpses left ‘in the playne fieldes for crowes to feede on’.⁸⁵ The Yorkshire rebellion thus gave Foxe the perfect opportunity to turn the equation between Protestantism and sedition on its head, allowing him to demonstrate that conservative rebels harboured the same violent, anti-hierarchical motivations that Catholic polemicists had long lain at Protestantism’s door.⁸⁶

Above all, the harsh level of repression employed against the Seamer rebels reveals the significance of the revolt. That the rising was contained by the ‘circumspect diligence’ of the local gentry, and without the intervention of central government, does not mean that it was any less serious, only that circumstances proved more fortuitous for

⁸¹ Quoting Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.121. Attention had been drawn to the murderous activity of the rebels by Sir Thomas Gargrave, who wrote in 1568 that ‘a grett number assembled & commytyd murdre’ at Seamer in 1549: SP 15/14, f.47 (no.15).

⁸² Quoting Foxe: Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, p.34.

⁸³ Bush, *Government Policy*, pp.85-6. Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, p.35 n. 1 & 4. Why Foxe stated that the rebels killed their four victims ‘without cause or quarrel’, despite Matthew White’s role in the dissolution of the chantries, is puzzling. Either Foxe knew nothing of White’s background, or he chose not to mention it (to enable him to show that the rebels acted out of hatred of the gentry rather than hatred of Protestantism). Berry was the servant of Walter Mildmay, another chantry commissioner: Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, p.36 n.3 & 4.

⁸⁴ Quoting Foxe: Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, p.36. Clopton and Savage have not been identified conclusively. Manning suggests Clopton was White’s brother-in-law and possibly a minor gentleman living near Seamer: ‘Violence and Social Conflict’, p.35 n.81; Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, p.36 n.1. Savage is possibly the William Savage who was admitted to the freedom of York as a merchant in 26 Henry VIII and whose will was proved on 3 Feb. 1549: Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, p.36 n.2.

⁸⁵ Quoting Foxe: Dickens, ‘Some Popular Reactions’, p.36. See Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France*. Duffy and Dixon mistakenly state that Matthew White’s wife was among the victims, although Foxe tells us that she buried her husband. The error probably arises from the fact that Clopton was the brother of White’s wife: *Stripping of the Altars*, p.459; *History of the Church*, 3, pp.94-95.

⁸⁶ This interpretation of Foxe’s account of the Seamer rebellion owes much to Tom Freeman. For an example of how seriously Foxe took the argument of his polemical adversaries and the lengths to which he would go to rebut it, see T.S. Freeman and M.J. Borges, “‘A Grave and heinous incident against our holy Catholic Faith’: Two Accounts of William Gardiner’s Desecration of the Portuguese Royal Chapel in 1552’, *Historical Research* 69 (1996), 7-8. See also chapter 5.

the Yorkshire gentry than for their counter-parts in the South.⁸⁷ Ombler, Thomas Dale and Henry Barton, and five other 'busye sturrers' were apprehended and taken to York, where they were executed on 21 September 1549.⁸⁸

Foxe uses the terms 'rebellion', 'commotion', 'tumult', and 'sturre' to describe the movement, all of which suggest a public disturbance raised by a multitude.⁸⁹ The movement grew out of a 'conspiracy' plotted by a few, and was widened in scope by Ombler's leadership, adopting 'heresy' as its generalised cause. In gathering support it swelled into a popular uprising, and might have grown further had it not been for the local gentry's intervention.⁹⁰ Historians have vastly underestimated the significance of this rising in describing it as 'an ill-conceived and virtually motiveless insurrection' or an 'inefficient rising'.⁹¹ The disorder in Yorkshire certainly amounted to a rebellion, if only localised rather than regional.⁹² It may have failed to spread beyond the vicinity of

⁸⁷ Quoting Foxe: Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.37. Somerset's version of events supports Foxe's. According to Somerset, the gentlemen 'were so soone' upon the rebels that the rising 'was streight repressed'. It was because the gentlemen gathered themselves together 'at the first mocion' that the stir was 'appeased without great difficultie': BL Harley MS 523, ff.50r, 52v. Sir Thomas Gargrave's 1568 account also attributes the repression of the rising to the speedy action of the gentlemen: SP 15/14, f.47 (no.15).

⁸⁸ John Dale, Robert Wright, William Peycocke, Wetherell and Edmund Buttrye. These surnames are found in local parish registers, such as those of Settrington: Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', pp.33 n.1, 38. Stevenson seems to have escaped execution. He probably claimed the king's pardon and returned home, along with many others whose names go unrecorded. Archbishop Holgate states that the commotion at Seamer was 'staide with executinge of eight parsons without anye charge to the kinge or loss to the countrie'. The level of repression used in 1549 was, however, less severe than that used against the Wakefield commotioners in 1541, fifteen of whom were executed (a large number considering that only 50-100 people were involved). Holgate obviously regarded the Wakefield plot as the greater threat, despite its failure to engage popular feeling, since the gentry and clergy-led rebels planned to murder him: SP 11/6, f.132r. Sir Thomas Gargrave also mentions 'to commociions' in Henry VIII and Edward VI's reigns [the Wakefield plot and the Seamer Rebellion] 'stayd by the counsaillies menes'. According to this account, the Wakefield plot was 'prevented' and the conspirators executed; 'a number' of the 1549 rebels were similarly executed: SP 15/14, f.47 (no.15). On the Wakefield commotion, see Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.48.

⁸⁹ Protector Somerset, likewise, describes the Seamer episode variously as a 'stirr' and a 'commociion': BL Harley MS 523, ff.50r, 52v.

⁹⁰ Quoting Foxe: Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.37.

⁹¹ Quoting Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, p.129; *VCH Yorks.* 3, p.415. According to Jordan, the Seamer rising was 'simply a murderous foray which collapsed at the first touch of almost automatically organised local resistance': *Edward VI*, p.453.

⁹² Its localised nature might also be inferred from the fact that Robert Parkyn's narrative makes no direct reference to the Seamer rising: Dickens, 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative', pp.299-300.

Seamer, but in terms of its nature and scale this rising could be counted among the most threatening episodes of the 'commotion time'.

The Seamer Rising remains a puzzling affair in many respects. Beer questions why a rising aimed at restoring Catholicism should have received so little support from the clergy. The Yorkshire rebels justified their actions in terms of a crusade against the Edwardian Reformation, but they do not seem to have restored the Latin mass in the areas which fell under their control.⁹³ The lack of physical destruction of hedges or property is surprising, when the Vale of Pickering was experiencing a similar process of enclosure and conversion to 'up and down' husbandry as the Midlands and the South.⁹⁴ And, whilst the rebels intended to destroy the gentry, no prominent Yorkshire families were targeted. Since so little evidence survives, many questions will evidently remain unanswered.⁹⁵

The Nature and Scale of Disorder in the North

Like the Midlands, the North saw a wide-ranging spectrum of protest, both legal and extra-legal, from petitioning at Sleaford to the Seamer and Lincolnshire rebellions. That the Lincolnshire rising was noted by a number of chroniclers suggests that contemporaries were only too aware of the significance of these commotions, something that is hardly surprising given that Lincolnshire formed the crucial gateway between rebellious East Anglia and the discontented North.

⁹³ Dickens, 'Some Popular Reactions', p.34.

⁹⁴ An earlier enclosure riot broke out at Kirkby Misperton (nr. Pickering) on 17 September 1531: STAC 2/29/183. Malham, a pewterer who moved into the gentry and became chamberlain and sheriff of York, was targeted as both new landowner and social upstart: Manning, 'Patterns of Violence', 130. For a dispute concerning the detention of deeds relating to the lands of a dissolved chantry in Kirkby Misperton church, see C 1/1206/79; Page, *Certificates of Chantries*, pt. 2, pp.515-16.

⁹⁵ Beer, *Rebellion and Riot*, p.161.

Lincolnshire's strategic position might also explain the nature of disorder in the North as a whole. Here, a smattering of religious issues, including the concern for chantries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, combined with agrarian and common rights grievances similar to those in the South and Midlands.⁹⁶ This interaction of socio-economic and religious concerns is most evident in the Sleaford episode, which encapsulates the spirit of the 'commotion time'. Perhaps Lincolnshire acted as the sluice gate, allowing news of the south-eastern disorders to gradually seep into the North.⁹⁷ Hints at wider co-ordination, links with other risings, and an awareness of what was happening elsewhere are certainly suggested by the Seamer Rising and the prophecy on which it depended. However, news of the commotions in the rest of the realm took too long to reach the North. Arguably, the Seamer rebellion would have been far more successful had it occurred in mid-July, rather than late August.⁹⁸ In fact, it could be said that timing was the Achilles heel of the northern commotions. Disorder affected different parts of the North at different times, but never quite managed to fuse into a concerted regional rebellion. This 'failure' does not detract from the conclusion that the northern disturbances (and Seamer in particular) should now be regarded as an integral part of the process of commotion in 1549.

The legacy of the Pilgrimage of Grace a dozen years earlier may have conditioned the North's response to the 'commotion time'. Events at Seamer suggest that the North was just as disgruntled as the Midlands and the South in 1549, yet disorder failed to set

⁹⁶ The northern disturbances also displayed a curious mixture of order and violence. Cf. the violent episode at Seamer with the orderliness described by Van der Delft.

⁹⁷ For the spread of news from Lincolnshire and the South into Yorkshire in 1536, see Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.176-79, 183-84, 429-30.

⁹⁸ In the case of Sleaford, the inhabitants were still petitioning about the events of 1549 at the beginning of Mary's reign. Sleaford shows the importance of considering the long term context of these disorders. 1549 often provides just a snap-shot into longer-fought struggles.

the region alight, as it had in 1536.⁹⁹ The impact of the great northern rebellion of 1536 was two-fold. First, the bitter experience of defeat in early 1537, and the unravelling of the 'outstanding victory' of the previous December, may have resulted in widespread dejection. Defeat was all the more difficult to swallow when it was snatched from the jaws of victory.¹⁰⁰ The northern commons' intervention in the political process in the 1530s had done nothing to arrest the pace of religious reformation or to reverse unwelcome agrarian trends, so what hope (in their eyes) did they have of achieving their objectives some two decades later? Secondly, the northern gentry were perhaps more sensitive to the possibility of rebellion and reacted more quickly to the early warning signs than their southern counterparts, spurred on in their vigilance by memories of the climate of suspicion created in late 1536 and the commons' attacks on their houses, lands, and livestock.¹⁰¹ The need to defend the border against the Scots may also explain why the north was not more widely disaffected.¹⁰² Revolt was too difficult and too dangerous to be met with general popular enthusiasm in the beleaguered northern counties in 1549.

In light of the Seamer rising, Somerset's protestation that the 1549 rebels 'conceyved a wonderfull hate against gentilmen' requires qualification. Just as class conflict is a necessary but not a sufficient explanation for the patterns of protest in the English Revolution, neither is it a satisfactory peg on which to pin the 1549 rebellions. Although

⁹⁹ The 1536-37 risings encompassed much of the North, from Lincolnshire and Lancashire, through all three Ridings of Yorkshire, to County Durham, Westmorland, and Cumberland. The best recent full-scale study is Hoyle's *Pilgrimage of Grace*.

¹⁰⁰ I follow Bush and Downes in my analysis: *The Defeat of the Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.i-ii. Ritual humiliation had been made a condition of the Lincolnshire rebels' clemency: Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.168-69.

¹⁰¹ For examples of anti-gentry activity in 1536-37, see Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.424, 443-45; Bush, *Defeat of the Pilgrimage of Grace*, p.26. The earls of Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Rutland and Lord Clinton, all of whom were involved in the suppression of the Lincolnshire Rising of 1536, exhibited a similar vigilance in the North Midlands in 1549: Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.167, 171 and above.

¹⁰² C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (London, 1975), p.143. This may go a long way towards explaining why Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and Durham seem largely to have been uninvolved in the 'commotion time'. On Cumberland and Westmorland, see Andrew

hatred of the gentry was evident both in 1549 and in the 1640s, the 1549 rebels carefully selected chantry commissioners and unscrupulous enclosers as their targets in the Midlands and the North.¹⁰³ Thus, there might well have been ‘a wonderfull hate against gentilmen’ in 1549, but some gentry were clearly more hated than others.

Appleby, ‘Agrarian Capitalism or Seigneurial Reaction? The Northwest of England, 1500-1700’, *American Historical Review* 80 (1975), 574-94.

¹⁰³ The Colchester plunderers made Catholic gentry the objects of their enmity during the revolution: Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence*, chapters 5-6.

Toward a Typology of Revolt for 1549

Kett's Rebellion and the South-Western Rebellion represent only two fragments of a mosaic, which when pieced together reveal the more colourful pattern of the 'commotion time'. Uncovering fragmentary evidence relating to the commotions in all other parts of the realm has been a painstaking process. Four centuries worth of dirt was dug through and the recovered ceramic pieces carefully cleaned, analysed and catalogued, before the task of piecing together could begin. Given our careful reconstruction from scattered scraps of manuscript evidence it is possible to piece together a mosaic with some pattern and meaning. The colours are somewhat faded, the pattern is indistinct, and many of the broken pieces do not readily fall into place. Yet in fitting these pieces together, however imperfectly, it is hoped that this chapter will present a more complete picture of the 'crisis' of 1549.

I: The Nature and Scale of Rebellion in 1549

This detailed investigation of the disorders outside East Anglia and the South-West has served to widen the geographical extent of the 'commotion time'. Almost thirty counties were affected across Southern, Eastern and Midland England. The staggering dimensions of the 1549 commotions may explain Protector Somerset's fall, making the 'commotion time' the only truly popular rebellion to overthrow a government (albeit unintentionally). The suspension of the law in 1548-50 testifies to the scale and significance of the 'commotion time', putting it almost on a par with the Civil War.

Rethinking the chronology of the ‘commotion time’ challenges the conventional picture of 1549 as comprising two major rebellions in East Anglia and the West, accompanied by a scattered series of ‘lesser’ risings in other parts of the realm. After initial sparks in Hertfordshire and elsewhere in 1548, the ‘commotion time’ spread widely throughout the spring and summer of 1549. Until more extensive local research has been carried out it is difficult to set the limits or boundaries of commotion with any degree of certainty, yet on the basis of existing knowledge it appears that both Wales and the far North remained largely untouched by open revolt. Whilst men from Herbert’s Welsh estates fought against the western rebels, the people of Carmarthen clearly remained attached to their rosary beads, providing some evidence of resistance to the Reformation and some grounds for anticipating Welsh sympathy with the western rebels.¹ As the Welsh shared the western rebels’ religious grievances (if not their agrarian discontents), perhaps their failure to join the rebellion was a matter of cultural difference or political circumstances. Equally the far north was perhaps too preoccupied with defending the English border against the Scots to embroil itself in the general upheaval of the ‘commotion time’.²

There was a spectrum of resistance within the widespread disorders which engulfed the rest of the realm in 1548–49. Rollison’s continuum model is a particularly useful tool for conceptualising the ‘commotion time’.³ Direct action formed only part of a much ‘broader “infrapolitics” of the ruled’.⁴ Open rebellion was the most powerful way in which the ruled could negotiate the exercise of power in Tudor England, but rebellion

¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 7, p.12; Brown, *Robert Ferrar*, pp.105–08. It was not until 1563 that legislation was passed sanctioning a Welsh prayer book and liturgy, which came into being in 1567/68, although an unofficial Welsh translation was probably widely in use from 1551. The Act of Uniformity did not, however, exclude Celtic languages and Cranmer accepted that the clergy should preach in the language of their congregation: Felicity Heal, ‘Languages and Accents in the British Reformation’, an unpublished paper given at the *Reformation Studies Colloquium* at the University of Warwick on 3 April 2000.

² Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p.143.

³ Rollison, *Local Origins of Modern Society*, p.202.

did not just spontaneously erupt in May and July 1549: it had a pre-history, which lay in the realms of rumour.⁵ The 'commotion time' had its roots in grumbling (about poverty, oppression, and injustice) and murmuring (against enclosers and agents of the Reformation) amongst the commons. At Landbeach, the tenants resorted to cursing Richard Kirby in their struggle against him. Grumbling and cursing shifted to the more formal negotiation of appeals to named individuals, such as Denny and Gates at Northaw, particularly where such individuals could act as intermediaries between the commons and their powerful opponents. The commons used verbal threats in bitter personal attacks against targets such as Sir William Cavendish, and these threats were weighted with a symbolism designed to deal a heavy blow to their victims. Thus, Cavendish (who disregarded his social obligations to his tenants in riding roughshod over their common rights) was threatened with bestial burial: a forceful metaphor for social exclusion from the community of the Christian commonwealth.

The formal weapon of petitioning was wielded as a mighty sword in 1549. No fewer than sixteen petitions were made *en masse* by the commons of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Hampshire, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire and Hertfordshire, from their military-style camps. Backed by arms, these petitions gave the commons considerable bargaining power. Behind MacCulloch's peaceful mass demonstrations lay the explicit threat that, unless the petitioners' demands were met, open violence would result. Thus, 'petitioning allowed the poor a more direct appeal to the public transcript', in which they echoed official denunciations of 'covetousness' and 'commodity' (and specifically, enclosure) as the cause of all the commonwealth's ills

⁴ Quoting Walter, 'Public Transcripts', p.123.

⁵ What follows is closely based on Walter's analysis, 'Public Transcripts', pp.123-48.

and appealed to the king to enforce the ‘good lawes’, made to protect them but wrought ineffective by corrupt local governors and gentlemen.⁶

In Somerset’s policy, and in the works of Crowley, Hales, and Latimer, the cause of ‘Protestantism’ and the commonwealth were closely fused.⁷ Showing ‘a refined sensitivity to shifts in the public transcript’ the Essex commons reflected this dual concern for a Protestant commonwealth, marking their rebellion out from the rudimentary commonwealth ideology adopted in Hertfordshire in 1548 and in the South in spring 1549.⁸ July 1549 was the turning point in the meaning of the term ‘commonwealth’. After this the concept was redefined in narrower terms. The Saffron Walden Ordinances of 1549 are representative of the muted form of commonwealth ideology that prevailed after the watershed of July 1549, and form part of the ‘post-Kett reaction’: a swing back towards the interpretation of commonwealth as political rather than social justice, occasioned by the radical appropriation of commonwealth rhetoric by the south-eastern rebels.⁹ It was because the rebels drew so effectively on government policy and rhetoric to justify their action that the ‘commotion time’ was so dangerous. The basis of their radical protest lay in the double meaning of ‘commonwealth’ in Tudor England. The rebels appealed not only to the public good (the *bonum publicum*), but also to ‘commonwealth’ (*respublica*) in its other sense as a body politic in which the whole people had a voice or interest.¹⁰ A weakness in the public transcript – at the point of conflict between this second meaning of

⁶ Quoting Walter, ‘Public Transcripts’, p.138, and article 27 of Kett’s Demands: Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.146.

⁷ Crowley, *Select Works*, pp.21-23, 129-76; Hales, *Defence*: BL Lansdowne MS 238, ff.291-326; Latimer, *Sermons*, pp.100-101, 247-49. See also Philip McNair, ‘Ochino on Sedition: An Italian Dialogue of the Sixteenth Century’, *Italian Studies* 15 (1960), 36-49.

⁸ Quoting Walter, ‘Public Transcripts’, p.138. On Hertfordshire and the South, see chapters 2 and 3.

⁹ M.K. McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour in England, 1370-1600* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.200-06. The Ordinances were written by Sir Thomas Smith, whose *Discourse of the Commonweal*, written at the height of the ‘commotion time’ in 1549, was revised before its anonymous publication in 1581. Cf. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, pp.153-58. On the post-Kett reaction, see Hindle, *State and Social Change*, p.56 and chapter 9 below.

commonwealth and Tudor notions of a social hierarchy of rulers and ruled in which the 'fourth sort' of men had no voice - legitimated the commons' extraordinary degree of political participation in 1549.

Petitioning clearly proved a successful strategy at Northaw in 1548, provoking an enquiry into Cavendish's enclosing activities, and in Essex, where the commons' demands were granted. Where petitioning failed to bring immediate redress, however, the commons resorted to three levels of violence. First, to the 'rhetoric' of violence, in which open threats of rebellion were made in the alehouse and other popular forums (as at Winchester). Secondly, to 'representative' violence, carried out against symbolic targets (notably hedges) and including tactics such as ritual humiliation. As a final resort, the rebels were driven to actual violence against persons and, exceptionally, to murder, in the course of the Seamer Rebellion.

The commons' complaints took far too long to reach the Council in 1549, partly because local governors were anxious to gloss over disorder to avoid the wrath of the centre, though the disturbances quickly became too large for them to handle. Since news of popular discontent did not flow as freely as it should have done between the provinces and the centre, remedy and redress were not immediately forthcoming. It was not until the situation was already out of hand that reports of popular disturbances began to flood in to Somerset and the Council and, even then, the nature and scale of disorder was misrepresented. Thus, Somerset found himself suddenly confronted with widespread disorder of massive proportions, considerably overstressing the resources of a government already fighting a war on two fronts. Somerset was fighting a losing battle, and it is hardly surprising that he struggled to restore order in the provinces. Yet his policy of pardons (combined with punishment of the ringleaders) and his promise of

¹⁰ Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, pp.12-14.

parliamentary redress did eventually quieten the commons, if perhaps a little late in the day.

Two structural factors were important in the escalation of disorder in 1549. First, the virtual breakdown of local government in East Anglia, the South-West, Hampshire and Kent and, second, the simultaneous occurrence of revolt in all parts of the kingdom, with all the logistical problems this entailed for Somerset's Council. Together, the insufficiencies of central and local government provided vital time for the movements to reach menacing proportions and, more importantly, created the impression that the structure of authority prevalent in Tudor society was no longer inevitable. The weakening of the state left the way open for the 1549 rebellions.

It was political circumstances, namely the minority, the lack of strong aristocratic leadership, the breakdown of local government, and the absence of the gentry from the Home Counties, that led grumbling, murmuring, and discontent to be translated into open rebellion in much of southern England in July 1549. Captain Commonwealth, Captain Redcap, William Essex and their fellows voiced the commons' pre-existing grievances, creating a community of common interests. The shared assumptions underlying various local protests widened their appeal, enabling them to escalate into regional rebellion. The drawing up of articles created the generalised cause necessary for major rebellion. In this way rebel captains held their (not necessarily homogenous) armies together, and gave them a defined purpose. Success bred success and where there was no opposing force the rebels prepared to march on regional capitals, for example at Warwick and Canterbury.

In 1548-49 we can see a spectrum of disorder in which riots, risings and rebellions are connected to 'everyday' forms of resistance and are exceptional only in terms of their scale and intensity. 'Everyday resistance' provided the common foundation upon which all other forms of protest grew, so that, rather than disputes, riot, revolt and rebellion being entirely separate phenomena, political and social circumstances shaped strategies of resistance and effectively determined the scale and significance of disorder.¹¹ 1548-49 was one of those rare and spectacular moments of complete rupture which allowed the English commons to burst forth on the public stage, and also provides a glimpse into the 'broader popular political culture' from which these riots and rebellions arose.¹² The 'commotion time' provides an exceptionally detailed picture of popular politics in Tudor England, which adds significantly to our understanding of the patterns of interaction between state and society in the early modern period. Following Walter and Rollison we can finally 'put the politics back' into social history.

How do we get from one volatile point on this spectrum to another? Evidently local quarrels and inter-personal rivalries could escalate into major riots or risings, given the 'crisis' situation and widespread discontent prevalent in 1549, as events in Watford demonstrate. Riot could be 'a continuation of litigation by other means', but it could also be a means of initiating litigation in the prerogative courts, as the Landbeach episode suggests.¹³ Likewise, popular protests which started as local riots in Hampshire, Buckinghamshire and Kent were able to escalate into rebellion due to the conjunction of 'structural' and 'contingent' factors. Here, the local authorities failed to contain the initial outbreaks, allowing the movements to develop their own internal dynamics. Under cover of the Whitsun festivities the Northaw and Cheshunt riots of 1548 drew in support from Middlesex and Essex, developed a generalised cause against enclosure on

¹¹ Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p.273.

¹² Quoting Walter, 'Public Transcripts', p.147.

the basis of a sophisticated political culture, and escalated into a regional rebellion centred upon the St Albans' camp the following year. A number of disputes, riots, and 'micro-revolts' in 1548 and the spring of 1549 clearly formed part of the process of disorder which culminated in the rebellions of July 1549. When the flood waters finally receded they left a debris of litigation in their wake, which at Northaw, Cambridge, Colchester and Southampton took several decades to end.

Did strong aristocratic leadership and the swift response of the local gentry prevent the disorders outside East Anglia and the West from growing to the same proportions as Kett's Rebellion or the Western Rebellion? I would dispute Speight's claim that weak local government and the lack of a strong resident nobility were the crucial variable in allowing localised discontent to escalate in East Anglia and the West.¹⁴ Rather, this was a much broader feature of provincial politics in the mid-sixteenth century, which allowed popular disorder to erupt and develop, but which did not determine its boundaries or limits.

This is not to deny that the lack of strong aristocratic leadership was important in allowing localised disorder to escalate into more widespread rebellion. However, we would be wrong to argue that strong aristocratic leadership and the swift response of the local gentry provided no opportunity for movements outside East Anglia and the West to throw up leaders of quality, or to develop the internal dynamic necessary to translate localised disorder into large-scale rebellion, causing the 1549 stirs in many parts of the realm to remain mainly small, brief and confined. On the contrary, one of the central tenets of this thesis is that many of the so-called 'lesser' disorders were far from minor.

¹³Quoting Hindle, 'Persuasion and Protest', 38.

¹⁴Speight, 'Local Government and Politics', pp.5-6, 246.

Where strong leadership was provided, for example, by the Earl of Arundel in Sussex, or Matthew Parker in Landbeach, Cambridgeshire, the 1549 commotions were contained. That these disorders did not develop into regional rebellions cannot be taken as evidence that they were potentially less serious; only that the gentry were less inept in handling the situation. Only when the gentry failed in their responsibility to contain disorder did government intervention become necessary, as was the case in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Somerset and possibly Hampshire. The risings in Yorkshire, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Sussex, Somerset and Wiltshire may well have become regional revolts on the scale of Kett's Rebellion or the South-Western Rebellion given more propitious circumstances.

The weakness of Speight's thesis lies in the assumption that the disorders outside East Anglia and the West were less significant when, on the basis of the evidence presented here, it seems evident that the disorders in many other parts of the realm followed the same form and grew to similar proportions. The Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, Essex, Kentish and Cambridgeshire rebels gathered in camps, attempted to march on regional capitals, petitioned the king, received general pardons, and were subjected to executions. We just know too little as yet about their activities. Speight falls foul of the 'tunnel history' which has informed so much of our thinking on the 1549 rebellions. Indeed, it is on the basis of a bias in the existing evidence that these disorders have been dismissed as insignificant 'stirs'. Although the evidence is scattered and fragmentary it is there, and it testifies that the disorders in other parts of the realm were as threatening or, potentially so, as those in East Anglia and the West.

If strong aristocratic leadership was not the crucial variable in determining the scale of disorder in 1549, what is the alternative explanation? The parameters of protest were

largely set by the protestors themselves. This was clearly the case at Northaw, where the tenants were careful to keep their protest within circumscribed limits and to present it in a certain way. These internal limits of action formed part of a strategy of resistance designed to increase the chances of success. It was the very success of the protests at Northaw in 1548, the South in the spring of 1549, and Essex in July 1549 that arrested their development, making the rebels lay down their arms, accept the royal pardon and revert to the status of loyal subjects. The differences between the 1548 and 1549 risings cannot be written on to events simply by gauging the government's response to the disorders. Rather, to understand the nature, scale and significance of the various disorders we need also to take into account the intentions and strategies of the commons themselves.

II: The Pattern of Disorder in 1549

Fragmentary evidence relating to the 1549 risings hints at a broad correlation in terms of their social composition, organisation, leadership, action and 'ideology'.

Social Composition

The disorders were distinguished by their lack of gentry leadership, making 1549 truly a time of 'popular' commotion. Somerset observed that 'not one gentilman or man of reputacion was ever amonge them'.¹⁵ Rather, the Council feared that the constables, bailiffs and headboroughs, on whom they relied for the enforcement of order, were 'the very ringleaders and procurers' of the risings.¹⁶ A substantial number of urban and rural artisans and craftsmen, including weavers, carpenters, shoemakers, tilemakers,

¹⁵ The Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby, 24 August 1549: BL Harley MS 523, f.53r.

¹⁶ TRP 1, no. 342, pp.476-77. See also Lord Rich's Admonition: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 5, pp.724-26.

scriveners, brewers, tanners, horsegelders and leather-sellers were also prominent among the rebels.

One important piece of contemporary evidence strongly suggests that the leadership of the 1549 rebellions may have come from a higher social level than Tudor propagandists would have us believe. Lord Thomas Seymour, alleged to have been planning a rebellion in 1548/9, advised the Marquis of Dorset to:

Trust not to much to the gentlemen for they have sumwhat to loose; but I would rather advise you to make muche of the head yeomen and frankelynes of the cuntrye, speceally those that be the ringeleaders, for they be the men that be best hable to perswade the multitude and may best bring the number.¹⁷

That yeomen were well-suited to act as the leaders of the 1549 rebellions was a politically astute observation on the part of Lord Seymour.

The popular leaders were respectable men with a stake in the community and a vested interest in the defence of parish custom. That the clergy formed a more important element in the leadership of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire and South-Western rebellions than in the Southern, Eastern and Midland disorders is undeniable, but does not represent a fundamental disparity in their social composition since, broadly speaking, it was the yeoman 'class' which provided most of the parish clergy in mid-Tudor England. In particular, Latimer 'the Commonwelthe of Kent' and his Hampshire equivalent, Friar Wigg, indicate that these popular leaders and agitators were located at the centre of the village community.

¹⁷ Depositions of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, January[?] 1549: SP 10/6/7.

Organisation and Leadership

If charismatic leadership was a crucial variable in allowing localised disorder to escalate into regional rebellion in 1549, the examples of Captain Redcap, Captain Commonwealth, William Essex and Jack of the North suggest that the so-called 'lesser stirs' were capable of throwing up leaders of a similar quality to Robert Kett in the east or Robert Welsh in the west. In particular, Captain Redcap's ability to attract enthusiastic crowds throughout Middlesex and his evident popularity with the commons suggests that he was a charismatic leader who succeeded in establishing a bond with his followers. As a literal embodiment of the cause of commonwealth, Captain Commonwealth became the focus of the South-Eastern Rebellion and a figure-head for the 'commotion time' as a whole. 'Jack of the North' similarly passed into folklore as a popular hero who broke down the hedges and pales of the rich to benefit the poor in Robin Hood fashion, whilst the powerful, inspired speech of the clergy was probably the root of rebellion in Oxfordshire.

On the basis of the existing evidence, the 1549 risings cannot be characterised as 'a plague and a furie amonge the vilest and worst sorte of men'.¹⁸ The conclusion that they were led by prosperous yeomen just outside the orbit of the local office-holding ranks, and that those who participated in the commotions were neither the poorest nor the most destitute, upholds and confirms MacCulloch's findings for Suffolk, although plenty of room should be allowed for a heterogeneity within the various rebel hosts in 1549, inadequately reflected in the records. The relatively well-off who had something to lose (copyholders concerned to protect their common rights; and those who sought to protect their investment in images and obits) formed the main rebel body. This is not to suggest that the risings did not attract the support of the poorer sections of society: servants,

labourers and husbandmen were involved in the 1548–49 disorders. Perhaps it would be safe to say that the widespread support of the commons reflected a cross-section of Tudor society, including the townsmen of Cambridge, Southampton and Bristol, as well as the peasantry to whom Cornwall attributes the revolt.¹⁹

The little that we know of rebel activities outside East Anglia and the South-West suggests that the rebels were motivated by similar concerns. As MacCulloch has shown, the formation of camps was so characteristic of the 1549 disorders that they were commonly known as the ‘campyng tyme’.²⁰ References to camps at Canterbury, Maidstone, Sittingbourne, Colchester, Chichester, Chipping Norton, St Albans, and possibly Southampton suggest that the rebels sought justice and good government. Furthermore, the locations of these camps were carefully chosen. In East Anglia they were centred on administrative and assize centres; in Hertfordshire they were associated with the halimote courts; and elsewhere camps were set up at traditional places of assembly, including Penenden Heath.

Petitions were a characteristic feature of 1549, more so than any other early modern rebellion. This tradition declined with the defeat of 1549: mass petitioning was no longer an accepted form of popular politics, probably because of its radical and violent associations. Perhaps this, as much as Walter’s social theory, explains why 1549 was the last of the Tudor popular rebellions.²¹ In the aftermath of the ‘commotion time’, open rebellion and mass petitioning was no longer likely to be a successful strategy, with an increased threat of retaliation. The response to 1549 perhaps curtailed the commons’ political options, causing them to return to grumbling, murmuring and riot as

¹⁸ The Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby, 24 August 1549: BL Harley MS 523, f.53r.

¹⁹ MacCulloch, ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context’. Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*.

²⁰ MacCulloch, ‘Kett’s Rebellion in Context’, 47–8.

²¹ See chapter 9.

a means of negotiation: a swingback against popular political participation which had far overstepped the mark in 1549.

Action and 'Ideology'

Fragmentary evidence relating to the risings suggests a considerable degree of order and restraint. The commons who rose in Kent, Surrey and Sussex under 'Captain Commonwealth' paid for all their food; whilst the Wiltshire enclosure rioters inflicted no harm on persons. Anti-gentry feeling is evident in many of the commotions, but rather than taking the form of indiscriminate action against the gentry *per se*, the 1549 rebels targeted those who were responsible for introducing disturbing innovations in religion, local government, or agrarian practises. It was the social upstart or 'new man' that was, generally speaking, the *bête noir* of the 1549 rebels: including Williams (Oxfordshire), Kirby (Cambridgeshire), and White (Yorkshire). Only in the Yorkshire rising were two of the four victims allegedly attacked 'without cause or quarel'.²²

Although the 1549 commotions cannot be characterised as a jacquerie, neither were they peaceful mass demonstrations. Violence, or the threat of violence, was integral to the bargaining process during the 'commotion time'. Explicit violence in the rabbit warrens at Northaw, and verbal threats that Cavendish would be buried in a ditch, reveal the 'darker side' of protest. Violence was used against deer at Thame, Rycote, and King's Somborne; the Oxfordshire rebels plundered the lands of Magdalene College; whilst threats were made to cut off the mayor of Salisbury's head, and five royal commissioners were brutally murdered and left to rot in Cornwall and Yorkshire. Many of these protests appear to have been fuelled by beer, feasting, games and frivolity, suggesting that the commons' activity grew out of 'a self-consciously plebeian rebel

²² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* 5, p.740.

culture'. Neither the threatening, levelling and bloodthirsty aspects of rebel activity nor their psychological impact should be underestimated. The result is a curious mix of 'order' and disorder in rebel behaviour, which reflects tensions between the yeoman leadership and the rank and file, and reveals the heterogeneity of rebel politics in 1549.

Notions of legality and justice informed rebel action, as at Frome, Somerset; the rhetoric of commonwealth gave its name to, and legitimated, the south-eastern disturbances; whilst the Yorkshire rebels justified their action in terms of a crusade against the 'new inventions, neither good nor godly' of the Edwardian Reformation. The 1549 rebels and their adherents perceived of themselves, and were perceived by others (albeit desultorily), as 'commonwealth men'. In 1549, the English commons rose up for the commonweal. In ensuring the better ordering of their 'little commonwealths', the rebels hoped to reform the commonwealth itself, making the 'commotion time' a radical protest.

Regional Variation and Coordination

The 1549 risings provide a plethora of examples. Only local context gives many of these episodes their meaning, as detailed investigations of the Watford and Sleaford disorders have shown. Reconstructing the local contexts of the 1549 disturbances (where possible) has revealed a depth to these local risings, which returns us to what the 1549 discontents were really all about. Appreciating the richness of the local colour is especially fruitful for understanding the 'commotion time'.

Can any regional patterns of protest be discerned on the basis of our geographical clusters? There was some local particularity, as in Kent, where there was concern about disgavelling: a process begun by Cheyney, the first target of the revolt. Cultural communal defensiveness was an issue in Kent and Cornwall in 1549: counties with

particularly strong local identities, which fostered resistance to government-enforced change and attempts to impose a national identity. The shared experience of enclosure in the Thames Valley and parts of the Midlands may have forged new provincial identities, allowing disorder to transcend local boundaries.

A three-tiered model of rural, urban and metropolitan protest best reflects the variety of disorder. The rural and urban protests share a broadly similar pattern. The main concern at Cambridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Bristol, and Southampton was still the commons, although the battle was more intense in the urban context, and the towns saw more open anti-authoritarianism. London, however, was clearly a special case in 1549: its citizens failed to identify fully with the rebel cause, whilst the city's well-oiled contingency plan prevented any real emergency in the government's heartland.

Important as local histories are, we must recall the possible links between the risings. References to 'the great and generall rebellion', 'the rebellion' which 'extended through all parts of England', 'the commocyon tyme', the 'rysyng of the people', 'the late detestable conflagation of intestine war', and 'the popular madness which had pervaded the realm', reveal that contemporaries viewed the 1549 disorders as component parts of a wider protest movement, a cohesive rebellion rather than a series of isolated outbreaks.²³ MacCulloch's work demonstrates that the East Anglian and South-Western disturbances may have had a wider reference than hitherto acknowledged. Coincidence in timing and the speed at which the disorders spread throughout the realm suggests 'a co-ordinated move behind this great explosion, not 'a series of spontaneous outbreaks of

²³ For these and similar phrases, see Cranmer, *Writings*, p.190; Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* 2, p.43; STAC 3/7/53; F.E. Warneford (ed.), *Star Chamber Suits of John and Thomas Warneford*, Wiltshire Record Society 48 (Trowbridge, 1993), p.31; CLRO Rep. 12 (1); Arthur Lord Grey, *Commentary*, p.17; *Original Letters*, pp.654-55; CPR 4, p.115; Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer*, p.45.

violence'. Just how far might this co-ordination have extended?²⁴ Although there is little direct evidence of co-ordination in the disorder which erupted in almost thirty counties, the large-scale contacts of the tradesmen who were prominent in the revolts, including the Hertfordshire and Middlesex maltmen, and common features such as the setting up of camps, allow us to speculate that there may have been some connection behind the risings. Whilst evidence of concerted planning over a wide geographical area is difficult to uncover, hints of collaboration are provided by the Seamer and Winchester rebellions. The fact that the Yorkshiremen were aware of the revolts in the South is significant, whilst the abortive Hampshire-Sussex Rebellion was raised to assist the western rebels. Just as hatred of Sir William Herbert fanned the flames of rebellion in the South, the Oxfordshire, Warwickshire and Somerset rebels found a common target in Sir John Williams: one man could forge many connections and set a whole region alight.

Although nothing conclusive can be said about the relationship between the 1549 risings, the evidence provides sufficient hints to warrant further investigation. Broad similarities in terms of function, social composition, organisation, and action, in addition to the coincidence in timing and hints of collaboration between various groups of rebels, suggest the possibility of some sort of relationship between the risings. The southern, eastern, central, midland and northern disturbances should not be regarded in isolation. Somerset men were allegedly involved in the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising, whilst William Gates, a shepherd from Hampton, Wiltshire was one of four rebels tried at the London Guildhall for treasonable activities in Norfolk, Suffolk and Oxfordshire. Gates' execution suggests that individuals could play an important role in building bridges between the risings. Connections were evidently forged between the southern, Thames Valley, Midland and eastern commotions in

²⁴ Quoting MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p.300.

1549.²⁵ Prophecy, rumour, news, gossip, the watch, roving agitators and general population mobility all played their part in disseminating disorder throughout the realm.

III: Toward A Typology of Revolt for 1549?

Similar ingredients were mixed in varying proportions to produce an intricate pattern and a colourful variety of disorder during the ‘commotion time’. It was clear even to contemporaries that the 1549 risings could not be understood in terms of a mono-causal explanation. Rather, they ‘grew from a variegated matrix of motives’ which remain far from clear.²⁶ Somerset considered ‘the causes and pretences’ of these ‘uproars and Risings’ ‘divers and uncertein, and so full of varietie ... that it is hard to write what it is.’ Whilst some rebels cried ‘plucke doune enclosures and parkes’ and rose ‘for their commons’, others pretended religion, and ‘a number wold rule ... and direct thinges as gentilmen have donne’.²⁷ Hales claimed it was ‘for thre sondrye causes that they make these Insurrections’. One set of rebels were ‘papystes’ who ‘wold have agen ther olde poperye’. A second set were ‘Anabaptistes and lybertynes’, who ‘wolde have all thinges commen’. And a third group were ‘certen poore men’ who sought relief from ‘the greate dearthe’.²⁸

The general social and economic climate of the mid 1540s has long been heralded the harbinger of the ‘commotion time’. Yet Wrightson has recently depicted a surprisingly positive picture of the mid-sixteenth-century experience as a period of ‘expanding economic opportunity and widely shared if not general material prosperity’. He argues that the English peasantry benefited from ‘a significant redistribution of a

²⁵ Stow: BL Harley MS 540, f.11r. Gates was executed at Tottenham on 22 August 1549: Wriothesley, *Chronicle 2*, p.21.

²⁶ Quoting Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, p.79.

²⁷ The Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby, 24 August 1549: BL Harley MS 523, f.52v.

rising national income towards agricultural producers', fostering an emergent agrarian capitalism. It was the yeomen of southern and eastern England, in particular, who profited most from the market: the same yeomen who led the rebels in 1549. The yeoman ringleaders fought from a position of strength during the 'commotion time', and were more successful in achieving their aims than Wrightson allows.²⁹

The 1549 rebels were not a homogenous force and the records echo a whole clamour of voices. In Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Somerset, Bristol, Kent, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire dearth and poverty were contributory factors, especially amongst the clothiers, weavers and artificers. Parochial collections were replaced by compulsory levies for the poor in Norwich in 1549 and in York in 1550, and a "book for the gathering of the money for the poor" was produced in Plymouth.³⁰

How useful are contemporary categories in differentiating between the various 1549 risings? Hales, Cranmer, Calvin, the Venetian ambassador and Barbaro all acknowledged that reformists as well as conservatives were rebelling in 1549.³¹ The general upheaval in the church was clearly reflected in the *complex religious character* of the commotions. However, propagandists of both persuasions attempted to use the 1549 rebellions as a weapon against their opponents, each arguing that the other's doctrine was the cause of the sedition. Indeed, the main fault of contemporary analysis was its tendency to see the 1549 risings in terms of binary opposites, resulting in the picture of two completely contrasting sets of rebellions.

²⁸ Hales, *Defence*, p.lvii.

²⁹ Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven & London, 2000), Ch. 6: quotation at p.141.

³⁰ Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, p.123.

³¹ John Calvin to Protector Somerset, 22 October 1549: SP 10/5/8; *CSP Ven.* 5, p.345; Cranmer, *Writings*, pp.189, 195, 197.

Defence of conservative religion was a principal aim of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, Seamer and Winchester risings, whilst the Essex Rebellion was overlaid by reformist religion. However, even Somerset conceded that more 'secular' concerns, such as dearth and enclosure, were present even in those protests where religion appeared the leading issue. The Seamer and Oxfordshire rebellions encompassed much the same concerns as a large number of the southern, eastern, and Midland risings, despite their difference in religious outlook; whilst the religious elements of the Sleaford and Watford protests suggest that it was the manner in which religious change was carried out, rather than the religious changes themselves, that caused unrest in many local communities, just as many of the enclosure risings protested at the nature rather than the general principle of enclosure. Furthermore, the Reformation could be regarded as an indirect cause of many mid-Tudor disorders in that it was the exploitation of former monastic land which underlay all the upheaval. The exploitation of monastic estates was almost certainly a factor in the 1549 rebellions, although this goes largely unspoken by the rebels. There was a marked contrast between the idealistic vision of benefits to the commonwealth and the reality of covetous landowners enclosing former monastic estates for private profit.³²

Whilst contemporaries allowed for change in the nature of the movement in its different phases, it was widely held that what began as an enclosure protest in the spring of 1549, grew to encompass religious concerns once the movement was commandeered by conservative clergy after the introduction of the Prayer Book on 10 June. The reality was more complicated. The controversy over the mass at Glapthorn and popular iconoclasm at Watford in 1548, together with the enclosure disturbances at Northaw, Botley and Buckinghamshire, suggest that the 'commotion time' was a cocktail of 'religious' and 'agrarian', 'conservative' and 'evangelical', concerns from its beginning.

³² On the 'commonwealth' rhetoric of the 1549 rebels, see chapter 4.

The Thames Valley and South-Western rebellions were not exceptions to the pattern, but reveal the same 'religious' and 'agrarian' ingredients as elsewhere, albeit mixed in different proportions. In Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hampshire, conservatism and evangelism blended together to produce the strange concoction of the 'commotion time'. Just as the 1548-49 risings demonstrate a spectrum of resistance, they reveal a spectrum of religious belief among the commons, to be expected during the Reformation.

Religion clearly played a role in legitimising many of the 1549 risings, although the 'Protestant' demands of the East Anglian and Essex commons represent a mirror image of the religious concerns of the Western, Winchester and Seamer rebels, whilst the outlooks of smaller religious disputes, such as those at Glapthorn and Caldecote are more difficult to determine. The succession of evangelical preachers at the Mousehold and Canterbury camps, and the Essex rebels' use of scripture to justify their demands gave the Eastern Rebellion its 'Protestant' overtones. By contrast, defence of the traditional religion lay at the heart of the Western, Winchester-Sussex and Seamer rebellions. The western rebels marched under the banner of the Five Wounds, and their counterparts at Winchester planned a similar pilgrimage-like procession to Salisbury. Religion played an important role in the mentalities of all the 1549 rebels, serving to legitimate the various revolts as crusades against heresy or loyal protests. The 'commotion time' was not a matter of policy in the east versus piety in the west, rather the rebellions contained a subtle blend of belief and strategy.

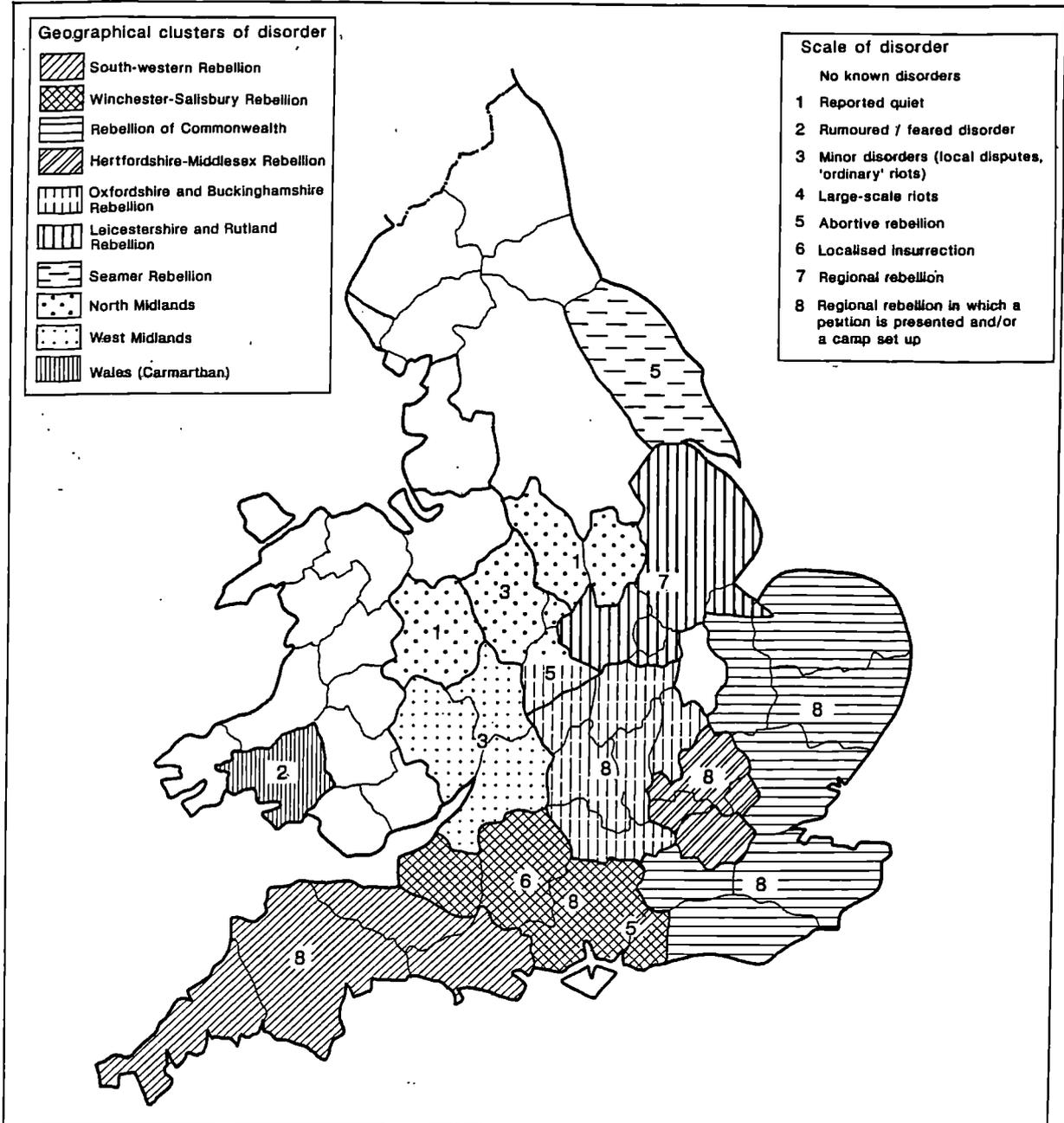
We could draw a distinction between religion as the 'aim', justification, programme, and 'major ideological underpinning' of the risings in the West, Hampshire, Oxfordshire and Yorkshire; as opposed to providing the form or 'frame' for rebel action

in the eastern counties. However, all the 1549 rebels drew on religion in its widest sense as a 'system of moral values'.³³ That the 1549 rebels saw religion as 'a branch of applied morality' is clear from Kett's demand 'thatt all bonde men may be made ffre for god made all ffre with his preciouus blode sheddyng' and from the rebels' shared dependence on Christian social ethics.³⁴ The disappearance of earlier social and economic demands in the western rebels' final manifesto, and the conflicting contemporary depictions of the nature of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising, indicates that the Devonshire, Cornish, and Thames Valley commons may have been driven by the belief that once heresy had been righted everything else would fall into place. Perhaps they conceived of the realm's economic and social problems in terms of a divine judgement against its heretical religious policy, whilst the rebels in the east put their faith in the evangelical solutions of the commonwealth writers. Either way, religion was closely tied up with popular justice in the rebels' mentalities.

This appeal to the commonwealth was the single most unifying factor of the 'commotion time'. The various riots, risings, and rebellions of 1548-49 reveal a characteristic commonwealth 'ideology', albeit at different stages of development and for different ends. Can a tentative typology of disorder be established for 1549 on this basis, allowing the 'commotion time' to be seen in technicolour rather than black and white? Although it is difficult to recreate the full complexity of the 1549 rebellions, a tentative typology of the better-documented disorders might be constructed on an 'ideological' basis (map 8.1). The 1548-49 disorders could be arranged in three broad groups, reflecting stages in the development of the concept of commonwealth. In Northaw, the South, the Midlands, and the North, the rebels adopted a rudimentary commonwealth ideology, appealing to specific enclosure proclamations, and resisting

³³ Quoting Bak & Benecke (eds), *Religion and Rural Revolt*, pp.4-5.

MAP 8.1 THE GEOGRAPHY AND SCALE OF DISORDER IN 1549



change during the minority in specific forms. In Seamer, Oxfordshire and the South-West, Gardiner's doctrine of resistance to religious change was used more overtly to legitimate 'Catholic' (enclosure) risings; whilst the south-eastern rebels appropriated a fully developed 'Protestant' commonwealth ideology from official rhetoric, put forward most explicitly in the Essex petition.

IV: The Experience of Rebellion

Although there is never a single explanation behind any historical phenomenon, there are important generic and organisational similarities to the 1549 rebellions which transcend local difference. Is there a more general explanation for the risings (beyond their coincidence in time, emulation, and long and short-term factors of causation) in which lies their meaning? Was Somerset's policy the overriding common factor in 1549? The historiography of the 1549 risings has been influenced by variant interpretations of Somerset and his policies, which have fluctuated over time. Whilst Bush deflated the idea of the 'Good Duke', MacCulloch and Shagan have reaffirmed it (with a twist), characterising Somerset's policy towards the risings as a rhetorical strategy of 'popularity'.³⁵ However, the Northaw protest reveals that this policy had not been perfected by May 1548.

May Somerset have learnt valuable lessons from the Northaw insurrection? This episode possibly brought home to him the vulnerability of his political position, revealing how dangerously thin the ice on which he was skating was and forcing him into a populist strategy (and a novel determination to successfully introduce his policy

³⁴ Quoting Hindle, *State and Social Change*, p.55 and Kett's Demands (article 16): Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.145.

³⁵ Bush, *Government Policy*; MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*; Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions' and 'Popularity and the 1549 Rebellions Revisited'.

of agrarian reform) as a means of preventing the ice from breaking.³⁶ The Northaw Rising was the first real occasion where Somerset's authority was overtly challenged in secular terms, although the same challenge had been made in religious terms at Helston a month earlier. Thus, the challenges to Somerset's authority (to introduce change of any kind) must have appeared to be coming thick and fast in 1548. This made the Northaw episode threatening, and raised the spectre of generalised rebellion justified in these terms, as Cavendish prophetically stated. The western rebels made a similar challenge to Somerset's authority to introduce religious change the following year, whilst Friar Wigg stirred up the Hampshire commons with traitorous talk 'of the limitation of the kinges majesties reigne'.³⁷ Justification of what was appropriate in a minority connects the 1548 and 1549 rebellions: the argument was just constructed in different terms ('secular' and 'religious') by different rebel groups. Resistance to change in the minority was the unifying feature of the 1548-49 commotions, legitimating a radical rejection of Somerset's authority in open revolt.

The commons used only one political strategy in 1549. Virtually all the rebels rejected the legitimacy of Somerset's government in slightly different terms, confirming the precariousness of his position.³⁸ The rebels drew on an alternative elite discourse – a political voice made available to them by the political and religious upheaval within the Reformation state. Thus, it was not just the 'Catholic' risings in the South-West, Winchester, Oxfordshire and Seamer that challenged the government in 1549. Almost all the 1549 risings constituted a challenge to the establishment. Only the Essex commons adopted a different strategy, appealing to the official image of Edward VI as the young Josiah to legitimate their action as a loyal protest. These were the two

³⁶ Bush, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: A Post-Revision Questioned', 107.

³⁷ SCA SC 2/9/2/39.

³⁸ Shagan, 'Popular Politics', p.501.

conflicting elite discourses of power in Mid-Tudor England on which the rebels could draw in voicing their concerns for the commonwealth.

Paget wrote to Somerset on 25 December 1548 complaining that the liberality of regime was encouraging disobedience among the commons, which was likely to erupt into disorder.³⁹ Somerset had to devise a strategy to overcome the difficulties of his political position as Protector. This called for a unique strategy, which Paget clearly did not support. Somerset placed himself as the hinge between the nobles on the one side of the see-saw and the commons on the other. In an attempt to shore up his position he tipped the see-saw too far in the favour of the commons (encouraging them to regard him as an ally and even using the very ringleaders and agitators of the disorders – the commonwealthmen - to quieten the commons in the summer of 1549). In so doing he upset the delicate balance on which Tudor government rested, incurring the outrage of Anthony Aucher, and ultimately brought about his own downfall. Had Somerset accepted the commons' support in October 1549, the realm would have become embroiled in civil war.

Was Somerset really to blame for the 1549 risings, or was this Warwick's clever propaganda trick? Just how far did Warwick go in stirring up discontent in Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire and Surrey? Did he deliberately circulate false rumours in 1548 with the sole intention of discrediting Hales and his 'patron', the Protector, and was his inactivity in Warwickshire designed to create further trouble for an already overstretched regime? The intriguing dispute over Warwick's park in Surrey perhaps comes closest to providing evidence of a link between these localised episodes and a power struggle between Warwick and Somerset, already being played out in June

³⁹ B.L. Beer (ed.), 'A Critique of the Protectorate: An Unpublished Letter of Sir William Paget to the Duke of Somerset', *HLQ* 34 (1971), 277-83. Cf. SP 10/7/5 and SP 10/8/4.

1549. Could it be that Warwick, not Somerset, was more to blame for the 1549 risings, in these three counties at least? With hindsight, we can see just how much Warwick had to gain from stirring up unrest. It was not beyond the Machiavellian Warwick to play such a sinister game where the highest political honours were at stake. 1549 can be understood only in terms of the patterns of interaction between state and society in Tudor England. It was undeniably ‘cracks in the wainscoting of power’,⁴⁰ both at the centre and in the localities, which allowed disorder to engulf the realm during the ‘commotion time’. The 1549 rebellions were a symptom of a deeper crisis in the mid-Tudor polity .

Force was used to a much greater extent by the government than the rebels in 1549. One of the reasons why the so-called ‘minor’ risings have been largely ignored is that repression was used only in Norfolk, the South-West, and the Thames Valley. Those risings that were settled in a more peaceful manner have escaped the notice of historians. In East Anglia and the South-West a breakdown in local government dissolved the contract of mutual obligation between governors and governed on which the normal methods of keeping the peace depended. By contrast, the Earl of Arundel’s actions demonstrate the normal business of local government: how crises were supposed to be settled in Tudor England. The government worked normally through social relations, not the naked expression of power. Somerset’s policy of despatching respected local gentry to their home counties to deal with the rebellions worked everywhere but Norfolk and Devon, where there was no-one to carry it out. Sir Thomas Smith outlined an elaborate system of response to the rebellions, calling on the Protector to appoint ‘two speciall men of trust in everie shire’ to enforce the proclamation against the rebels, and to rally the gentlemen, head yeomen and householders so that, on the first news of a stir, they could strike suddenly in the night

⁴⁰ Quoting Wrightson, ‘Politics of the Parish’, p.35.

to apprehend the stirrers.⁴¹ 1549 had illustrated that the state was not equipped to deal with such widespread disorder: in response, it formalised its forces of repression.⁴²

Evidently the ‘commotion time’ had a colossal impact on mid-Tudor society: it remained entrenched in the official and popular mind well into the seventeenth century. Yet, paradoxically, 1549 has left little mark on the official record. The experience of rebellion created a difficult set of memories for the authorities and the English commons and, for this reason, the memory of 1549 was selective. Only those risings that were resolved by bloodbaths or executions are recorded in contemporary chronicles, whilst at Colchester, Great Yarmouth, and Morebath (and almost certainly in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and elsewhere), deliberate attempts were made to erase memories of the local events of the ‘commotion time’ from the official record. This deliberate or structural amnesia on the part of the local authorities largely explains the strikingly poor record survival. Just as the rebels destroyed deeds and other documents during the rebellions, the local officials may have destroyed almost all evidence of their inhabitants’ complicity shortly afterwards. Arguably, their very success in ‘forgetting’ 1549 has impoverished our understanding of the ‘commotion time’.

The life force of the ‘commotion time’ came from the heart of the movement in the South and propelled through England’s arteries to the outlying limbs of the body politic: the South-West, East Anglia, the Thames Valley, and Yorkshire. It was in these four regions that the pulse throbbed strongest. Once the southern risings had been quelled, and the heart stopped beating, it was only a matter of time before the movement was left

⁴¹ Sir Thomas Smith to William Cecil, 19 July 1549: SP 10/8/33.

⁴² Scott Thomson, *Lords Lieutenant*, p.24. Strype assigned the establishment of the lord lieutenancy to July 1549, on the basis of commissions dated 24 July 1549 found in a Clerk of Crown’s book that is no longer extant: Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* 2:1, p.289. Cf. Bush, *Government Policy*, p.127 and n.1. For the 1551 commission, see BL Royal MS 18C 24, f.88v-90r (May 1551); APC 3, pp.237, 258-59 (14 April 1551); Scott Thomson, *Lords Lieutenant*, pp.31-32. The 1551 commissions provide evidence of the

lifeless. However, its spirit lived on in the popular and official memory, allowing ghostly apparitions of the 'commotion time' to haunt the realm in a variety of after-episodes between 1550 and 1579 and leaving a permanent mark on the authorities' response to disorder.⁴³

government's paranoia in the aftermath of 1549. Almost all the men to whom they were issued had been instrumental in repressing the risings in the spring and summer of 1549.

⁴³ Chapter 9.

Epilogue: Aftermaths

This thesis has placed the 1549 commotions in their local contexts whilst identifying more general patterns of popular protest. The preceding chapters have demonstrated how the immediate aftermaths of the ‘commotion time’ (the riots and attempted risings of 1550-53) can be used to shed light on the activities and motivations of the 1549 rebels. As MacCulloch’s seminal Suffolk study reveals, setting the 1549 commotions in context (in time as well as in place) is imperative for an historical understanding of the ‘commotion time’.¹ We need, then, to investigate both the roots and continuities of these protests in the locale.

Such an investigation may be possible in the case of Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms, the three Hertfordshire communities where, as we have seen, the ‘commotion time’ apparently originated. Chapter 2 attempted to trace the roots of the Northaw and Cheshunt disturbances back to 1544. Chapter 6 investigated how an apparently localised, if large-scale, enclosure rising at Northaw in 1548 escalated into full-scale rebellion in Hertfordshire and Middlesex the following year, whilst drawing attention to the long-established tradition of popular protest in these parishes. It is to the continuities flowing through the sequence of Hertfordshire rebellions in 1544, 1548-49 and 1579 and, in particular, to the little-known revolt at Northaw in 1579 which we now turn.²

¹ MacCulloch, ‘Kett’s Rebellion: A Rejoinder’, p.70.

² This episode has been briefly noted by Manning, but has never received a satisfactory treatment: *Hunters and Poachers*, p.69. It is reconstructed here partly on the basis of ‘new’ evidence - assize indictments and a copy of the Council’s letter to the justices of Hertfordshire and Middlesex: J.S. Cockburn (ed.), *Calendar of Assize Records: Hertfordshire Indictments, Elizabeth I* (London, 1975), nos. 175 and 176; ‘Letter 16’ in BL Additional MS 48018, ff.393v-395r. This manuscript is a book of precedents and letters gathered in 1575 by Robert Beale, one of the clerks of the Privy Council. Section O consists of ‘messages and letters written to Rebelles in the time of warres and commotions’. Although Ethan Shagan drew on this material in his ‘Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions’, the 1579 letter has escaped the notice of historians.

I: A 'Disordinatte Outraidge' at Northaw, March 1579³

Enclosure remained a grievance in Northaw long after the 1548 riots. 1579 saw a remarkably similar episode, in which the men of Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms destroyed the pale around the Earl of Warwick's park near his house at Northaw, which he had enclosed from common land.⁴ The rioters were quickly dispersed by Sir Christopher Hatton, the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, who happened to be nearby at Sopwell Hall.⁵ Hatton was commended for his 'careful and diligent service' in 'the dispersing and quieting of these rebellious and tumultuous persons'.⁶ However, many of the rioters had not returned to their homes by late April, leaving the Council fearful of renewed outbreaks of disorder.⁷

At first glance these disturbances appear to be nothing more than an 'ordinary' enclosure riot, yet the regime's extreme reaction to the events of 1579 tells another story. The government's correspondence concerning this outbreak of disorder spans the

³ Quoting *APC* 11, p.103. Another important source for this riot is an undated letter of Sir Christopher Hatton, probably written in early May 1579: cited in Sir Harris Nicolas, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton* (London, 1847), p.113. Hatton's secretary, Samuel Cox, kept a 'Letter Book' in which he transcribed all Hatton's correspondence 1577-88. Hatton's 'Letter Book' survives in the British Library as Additional MS 1589, and has been printed by Nicolas: see also Eric St John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton: Queen Elizabeth's Favourite* (London, 1946), pp.9, 362.

⁴ On 22 March a group of Cheshunt men broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding Dudley's close. A week later a smaller contingent of North Mimms and Hatfield men broke down 100 rods of paling: Cockburn. *Herts. Indictments*, nos. 175-76. A list of rioters can be found in the appendix. Unfortunately, no Hertfordshire Quarter Sessions Records survive before 1581. Dudley may not have been the only target. Reports of 'an outrage' upon Sir John Brocket's sheep reached Queen Elizabeth by late April: Francis Walsingham to Hatton, 23 April 1579: printed in Nicolas, *Memoirs*, p.115. Sir John Brocket (a Herts. JP from c.1561 and a member of the quorum by 1573; sheriff 1566-67 and 1581-82; Deputy Lord Lieutenant 1589-98) was the son of the Sir John Brocket of Hatfield who served as an enclosure commissioner at Northaw Common in May 1548. The family's main residence, Brocket Hall, Hatfield may have been the scene of this attack. Brocket had served on a commission to enquire into disturbances at St Albans in 1578: Hasler, *House of Commons* 1, pp.486-87.

⁵ Hatton was staying with Ralph Sadler, the Lord Lieutenant: *VCH Herts.* 2, p.412: Hasler, *House of Commons* 3, pp.318-21.

⁶ Earl of Leicester to Hatton (undated): printed in Nicolas, *Memoirs*, p.113. Hatton evidently left written orders with the justices of Hertfordshire and Middlesex (for the prevention of further disorder and to identify its cause and intent) before returning to court: BL Add. MS 48018, f.393v.

⁷ BL Add. MS 48018, f.394v. At the next sessions, the justices were to proclaim that the protestors should return home. If they did not do so within three days of this notice, they would face severe punishment.

period from 7 April to 21 June 1579.⁸ We might infer from this that the matter was regarded as serious. Hatton certainly found it to be ‘more than a trifling Pale matter’, and all the indications point to the fact that the regime rather considered itself to have made a lucky escape. The Earl of Leicester thought Hatton ‘in a most happy hour to prevent so great and dangerous a mischief as this lewd enterprise was like to have grown unto, both to her Majesty’s person and to her estate’, suggesting that the rebels may have had political as well as agrarian grievances (Warwick, the target of the rising, was, after all, a Privy Councillor and leading courtier).⁹ It was feared that unless ‘a full example’ was made of the rebellion, far worse would follow.¹⁰ The involvement of Hatton and the survival of the 1579 proceedings among the assize files strongly suggest that a special commission was issued to investigate the rising.¹¹

Why did the regime react in such an extreme way to 1579? Arguably, the memory of events at Northaw in 1548, which ignited the ‘commotion time’, triggered an unusual reaction in 1579 when the threat to public order was perceived as being very high. Disorder had swept across the realm in 1549 following a very similar episode at Northaw. The fear was that it could do so again, and that this time it might strike at the very heart of government (the Queen herself). Thus, Elizabeth was ‘bent to make her

⁸ *APC* 11, pp.95-6, 99, 103, 106, 110, 113-14, 169. ‘Letter 16’, BL Add. MS 48018, ff.393v-395r is dated only April 1579, although it was clearly written after Hatton had returned to court (23 April). The letter sent to the Justices of Hertfordshire and Middlesex ‘touching the late rebellion about Northawe’, on 26 April, probably refers to ‘Letter 16’ (headed ‘Minute to the justices of Hartforde shire and Middelsex: touching the repressinge of tumultes and vnlawfull assemblies of the comon people’): *APC* 11, p.110.

⁹ The language Leicester uses here hints at suspicion of conspiracy to levy war against the Queen. Cf. Coke’s legal construction of the Oxfordshire Rising, discussed below. Warwick had been admitted to the Privy Council in 1573: *DNB* 6, pp.97-98. He was also Leicester’s brother and, since Leicester was the Queen’s favourite, the attack on Warwick may have been a little too close for comfort. Cf. Manning, who argues that the protest, which targeted a deer park, was perceived as a symbolic attack upon aristocratic privilege and power; hence the vindictive response: *Hunters and Poachers*, p.69.

¹⁰ All quotations in this paragraph are taken from the Earl of Leicester’s undated letter to Hatton: printed in Nicolas, *Memoirs*, p.114. Leicester thought it was time for the Council ‘to look further into the dispositions of the common people further off, when so near at hand they will so audaciously take the Prince’s authority into their hands’.

¹¹ This commission may have been comparable to the special commission of *oyer and terminer* that was issued in reaction to the Midland Revolt of 1607. A commission had been issued to enquire into disturbances at St Albans the previous year (1578): Hasler, *House of Commons* 1, pp.486-87; *APC* 10, p.433. Lewd words were spoken against the mayor at an assembly in the town in 1580: *APC* 11, p.455.

subjects know that she can and will mix justice with mercy'.¹² The Council subsequently took order 'for the extending of such punishment upon the offenders as the quality of their offences requireth, and may serve for a terror to others'.¹³ Twenty-three rioters were brought before the Hertford Assizes on 30 March.¹⁴ Nine others were committed to various gaols on 7 April and examined on 'certeine interrogatories' for their misdemeanours in breaking down the Earl of Warwick's fences a few days later.¹⁵ Some prisoners were released after examination because they 'were not to be touched with the unlauffull facte'.¹⁶ The rest were delivered, first, to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex (3 May), and then on to the Sheriff of Hertfordshire at Chipping Barnet, where eight men were condemned on 4 May 1579.¹⁷ Of these, two were hanged at a nearby site and two were burnt in the hand, whilst the others languished in Hertford Gaol.¹⁸

Remiss constables seem to have taken the blame for the protest,¹⁹ which is variously termed 'a riotouse disorder', 'a disordinatte outraidge', 'the late disordred & rebellious assemblie at northam' and 'the late rebellion about Northhawe'.²⁰ The Council's letter to the Hertfordshire and Middlesex justices emphasises the head constables' duty to contain disorder and voices concerns about the performance of these officers. The

¹² Leicester to Hatton: printed in Nicolas, *Memoirs*, p.114.

¹³ Francis Walsingham to Hatton, 23 April 1579: printed in Nicolas, *Memoirs*, p.115. At this time, the Council was 'so troubled with St George's ceremonies' that they were unable to 'thoroughly consult upon matters of substance'.

¹⁴ Cockburn, *Herts. Indictments*, nos. 175 and 176. The names of two rioters (George Bowes and Thomas Grene) were subsequently struck out.

¹⁵ *APC* 11, pp.95-96 (7 April 1579). Three rioters are listed as prisoners in each of the following gaols: the Fleet, the Gate House and the Marshalsea. For the interrogatories, see p.99 (10 April 1579).

¹⁶ *APC* 11, p.103 (17 April 1579).

¹⁷ *APC* 11, p.113. (3 May 1579)

¹⁸ Eight rioters were charged as felons, but presumably only two (probably the captains) were convicted and executed as a deterrent. The lesser punishments of the remaining six indicate that their charges were commuted to misdemeanour riot: Hatton's undated letter, printed Nicolas, *Memoirs*, p.113. A further six rioters (who had appeared before Hatton at the same gaol delivery) were pardoned the following year, including Robert Mowsdale, one of those indicted at the Hertford Assizes: Cockburn, *Herts. Indictments*, no.176. *CPR Eliz. I*, 8, no. 1760, p.228 (12 Feb. 1580). These six men had been indicted for unlawful assembly and fence-breaking on 22 April.

¹⁹ BL Add. MS 48018, f.394r.

remiss were to be replaced by loyal men who were both willing and able to discharge the office. The justices were to oversee the appointment and formation of bands of constables at the next sessions. In 1579, as in 1549, the government was forced to rely on local officers whose commitment to the prevention of disorder left much to be desired.

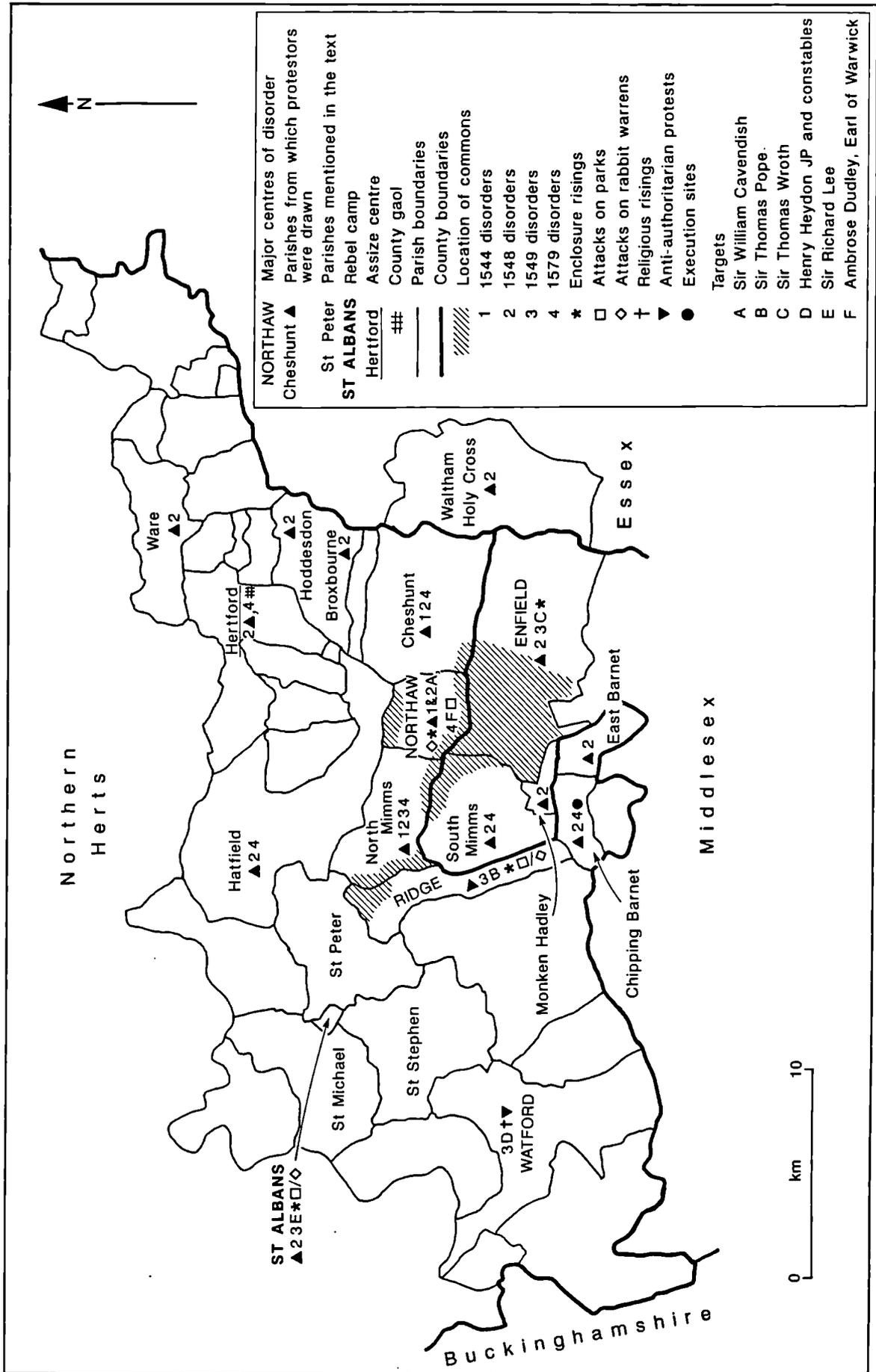
Despite the vindictiveness with which it was met, the protest seems to have been successful in provoking an enquiry into Warwick's enclosing activities (in the same way that the 1548 protest had forced the enclosure commissioners' hand on the matter of reform), although the outcome of this enquiry is unknown. On 21 June 1579, the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, the Hertfordshire Assize Justices and the Attorney General received orders 'to examyn the title of the Erle of Warwicke concerning an enclosure made by his Lordship at Northawe'.²¹ Perhaps it is not too much to speculate that the Northaw rebels finally achieved their objectives, albeit three decades after the 'commotion time'.

II: Patterns of Protest

The 1579 rising is a good example of an after-episode illuminating continuity in the locale.²² That continuities existed between the 1544, 1548 and 1579 protests is strongly suggested by their geographical focus, by kinship affinities amongst their participants, and by the nature of their grievances. In 1579, as in 1548, the rioters were drawn from a close-knit group of Hertfordshire and Middlesex border communities, namely: Northaw, Cheshunt, North Mimms, South Mimms, Hatfield and Chipping Barnet. All these

²⁰ BL Add. MS 48018, f.393v. *APC* 11, pp.103, 110, 114. Northam and Northall were sixteenth-century variants of Northaw.

²¹ *APC* 11, p.169 (21 April [*sic.*] 1579).



MAP 9.1 PATTERNS OF PROTEST, 1544-79

parishes are known to have actively participated in the 1548-49 disturbances (map 9.1).²³ Furthermore, many of those who protested in 1579 did so with either direct (personal experience) or second-generation knowledge (memories passed down from father to son) of the local events of thirty years before. In particular, the involvement of members of the Chare and Lowen families should be noted with regard to their prominent role in the 1544 and 1548 protests.²⁴

It is interesting, in the light of the 1548 protest, that after the crowd dispersed in 1579 some Hertfordshire 'rebels' evaded capture by fleeing into Middlesex and, *vice versa*, some Middlesex 'rebels' outmanoeuvred the authorities by remaining in Hertfordshire. In order that they should be apprehended and brought to justice, the Council instructed those justices residing on either side of the county boundary to give notice to their counterparts if any of these 'disordered persons' returned to their shire.²⁵ This demonstrates the close links between the two counties, which had been forged by intercommoning and the development of the malt trade, and strengthens the case for a regional rebellion put forward in chapter 6.

There is, however, a certain disparity in the social composition of the 1548 and 1579 protests. The rioters of 1579 appear to have been less substantial than their 1548

²² Lavenham in 1570 is the obvious analogy: MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 52-53; *Suffolk and the Tudors*, Ch. 10; D. MacCulloch, 'Power, Privilege and the County Community: County Politics in Elizabethan Suffolk' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1977), Chs. 3 and 8.

²³ The absence of Enfield from this list is notable, but does not necessarily preclude its inhabitants from involvement. Tenants of the manor of South Mimms may have enjoyed rights of common pasture for their cattle within Northaw Common as well as Enfield Chase: *VCH Middlesex* 5, pp.271, 291. At least 37 rioters were drawn from six or more parishes, making the 1579 disorders a 'public' protest. On the distinction between 'public' and 'private' protests, see chapter 1.

²⁴ Glennie, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', 26-28 and fig. 7; 'Commercialising Agrarian Region', pp.327, 334. Other names to appear throughout the series of Northaw disorders include Addams, Allen, Cockerell, Grene, Lansdale, Pett and Robertes: these are underlined in the list of 1579 participants. Cf. the 1544 and 1578 lists in the appendices.

²⁵ BL Add. MS 48018, f.394v. By 1579 the authorities clearly recognised the value of regional co-operation in preventing a recurrence of the 'commotion time'.

counterparts.²⁶ If we are to believe the official records, the 1579 crowd lacked the contingent of yeomen and husbandmen that was so characteristic of the ‘commotion time’. This apparent disparity could be explained in one of two ways. First, by an incomplete and inaccurate description of social status in the official records. We know that at least one rioter – Henry Garnet – was a yeoman with thirty acres of land, whilst the Chares and the Lowens, the ‘most prominent tenant families’ in Cheshunt (and probably once again the ringleaders), held more than 625 acres between them in 1562.²⁷ Secondly, as Walter has shown, one reason why rebellion occurred less frequently after 1569 might be that, as a result of increasing social economic and cultural differentiation, the interests of the ‘yeomen ringleaders’ became more closely aligned with the gentry than with their immediate social inferiors, causing conflict to move from direct action to the more respectable arena of the law court. Was this process already at work in Northaw and Cheshunt by 1579? And is this why the powerful local figures among the ‘middling sort’, who formed the backbone of the 1549 rebellions, were largely absent in 1579?²⁸

The 1544, 1548 and 1579 disorders were, however, almost identical in form and shared a common cause. All three anti-enclosure protests targeted a prominent local figure: Sir William Cavendish in the case of the 1540s and Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick in the case of 1579.²⁹ The grievance in 1544, 1548 and 1579 was, in fact, one and the same – the enclosure of Northaw Common. The inhabitants of Northaw, Cheshunt, North Mimms and the surrounding villages were clearly ready to fight for

²⁶ The list of participants includes 18 labourers, 2 carpenters, 2 weavers, a cooper and a shoemaker. Cf. the list of 1548 rioters in the appendix.

²⁷ Glennie, ‘In Search of Agrarian Capitalism’, pp.26-28, 30 n.38; ‘Commercialising Agrarian Region’, pp.328, 330.

²⁸ Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”?’, 120-23; Wrightson, *English Society*, 223-24; Fletcher & MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp.127-28. On the ‘middling sort’ more generally, see J. Barry & C.W. Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1984); Steve Hindle, ‘The Political Culture of the Middling Sort in English Rural Communities, c.1550-1700’, in Harris (ed.), *Politics of the Excluded*, pp.125-52.

their common rights at every challenge (whether by casting down pales and hedges, or filling in ditches), no matter how powerful the opponent. Given that memories of the 1548-49 rebellion are known to have remained fresh in the popular mind as late as 1569/70 (at Lavenham, Suffolk), 1588 (at Boxley, Kent), or even 1609 (at Netherfield, East Sussex), it is not too far-fetched to suppose that the 1579 rebels could have drawn on memories of the 'commotion time'.³⁰ Although nothing conclusive can be stated about the function of popular memory in fuelling the 1579 disorders, the evidence perhaps provides sufficient hints to allow us to suspect that a localised tradition of revolt, centred on the parishes of Northaw, Cheshunt and North Mimms, could have been a factor in their propagation.³¹

III: The Oxfordshire Rising, 1596

Another window onto popular and official memories of the 'commotion time' is opened by the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596. Bartholomew Steer 'thought yt fytt that the [1596] rising should be at Enslowe Hill' because 'he hadd heard that in former time there was a rising of the people at Enslowe hill' and that 'the people that there did Rise were persuaded to goe home, and were after hanged like dogges'.³² The memory of 1549 may help to explain why support failed so spectacularly to materialise for Steer's rising in

²⁹ The connection between the two targets was direct: Cavendish conveyed the manor of Northaw to Dudley in 1576: *VCH Herts.* 2, p.358.

³⁰ See chapter 4.

³¹ Cf. Lavenham and Brent Eleigh: MacCulloch, 'Kett's Rebellion in Context', 52-53; *Suffolk and the Tudors*, Ch. 10. A similar tradition is perhaps discernible in Cornwall. St Keverne, 'a repeatedly rebellious parish', was involved in the 1497, 1537 and 1548-49 disorders: Rose-Troup, *Western Rebellion*, pp.29, 122. Hernhill in Kent is another example of a community with a long-established tradition of disorder, in this case stretching from 1595 to 1818: I owe my knowledge of this to Steve Hindle. See P. Clark, 'Popular Protest and Disturbance in Kent, 1558-1640', *EcHR* 29:3 (1976), 365-81; S. Hipkin, "'Sitting on his Penny Rent': Conflict and Right of Common in Faversham Blean, 1595-1610", *Rural History* 11:1 (2000), 1-35; B. Reay, *The Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers: Rural Life and Protest in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford 1990), chs. 4, 6 and 9.

³² SP 12/262/4.

1596.³³ Steer reminded the commons of the consequences of 1549, inducing the ‘fatalistic acceptance of the status quo’ that he strove to overcome.³⁴ For their part, the authorities played along with the re-enactment: Richard Bradshaw and Robert Burton were hanged at Enslow Hill, within sight of the enclosures they had conspired to cast down.³⁵ Shockwaves of defeat must have reverberated throughout Oxfordshire in 1596, as they had done in 1549.

Both movements, 1549 and 1596, shared a common target: Rycote Park. Lord Norris’ house at Rycote, the main objective of Steer’s rebellion, had already been sacked in 1549. Lord Norris had married the daughter of Sir John Williams, the object of the rebels’ wrath in 1549. Norris inherited Williams’ considerable estate and his reputation as a large-scale sheep-farmer and encloser, so that he, like Williams before him, was ‘loathed by the people’. This provides evidence of continuity in the tradition of local disorder at Rycote between 1549 and 1596. Targets were singled out on the same basis in 1596 as in 1549. Those enclosers who fell foul of the rebels were up and coming gentlemen who rose on the profits of trade, the fruits of office, the spoils of the Dissolution, or a successful marriage.³⁶

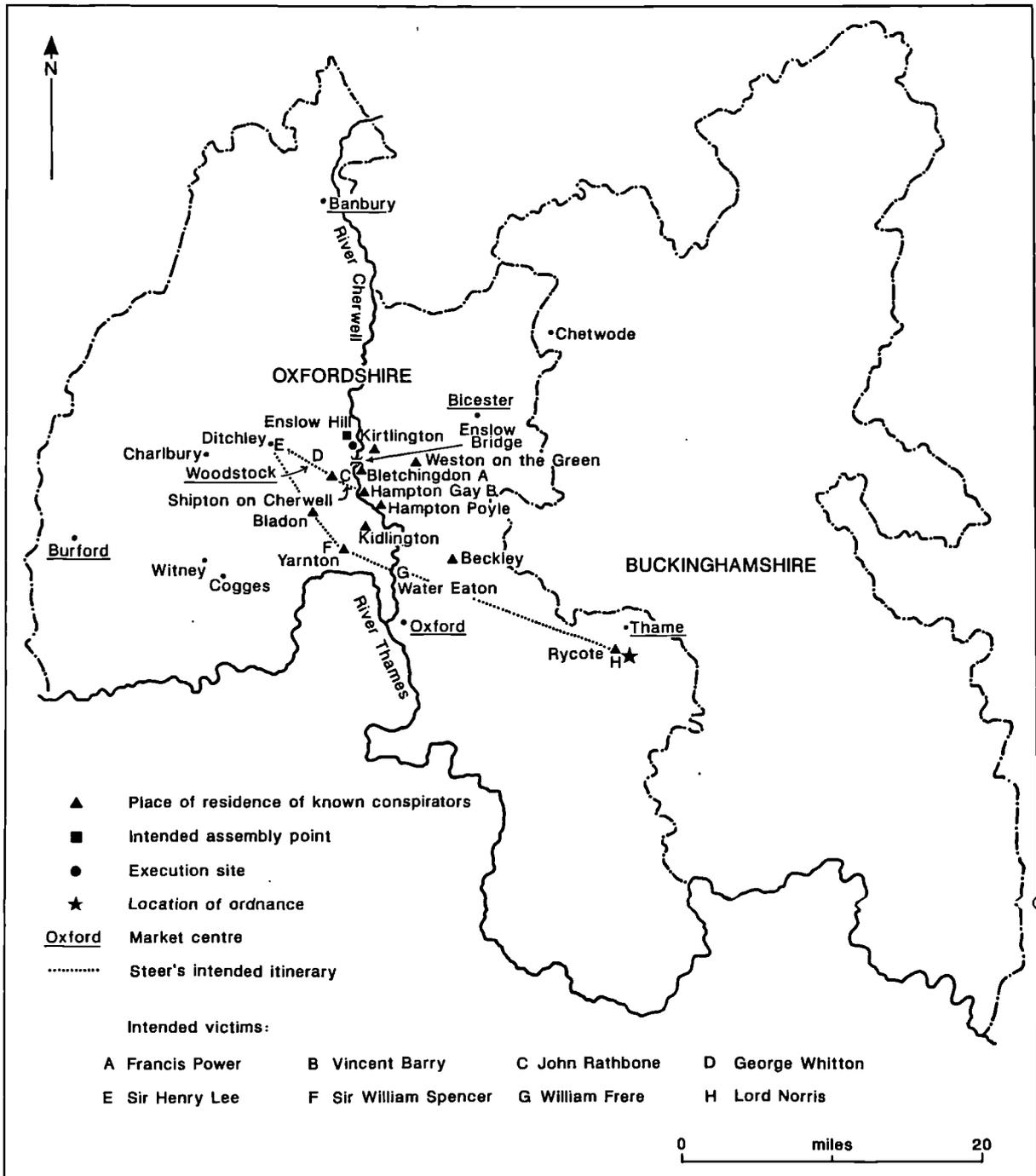
Furthermore, in 1596, as in 1549, there is some indication of collaboration between the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire commons. James Bradshaw, Steer’s second-in-command, was working as a miller at Chetwode in Buckinghamshire when plans were laid for the rising: the proximity of Chetwode to Tingewick, Barton Hartshorn and Preston Bissett – three of the villages from which the 1549 rebels were drawn – is

³³ Only four men gathered at Enslow Hill on the day appointed for the rising, although a larger assembly had taken place the previous Sunday: Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”’, 94, 101-02.

³⁴ Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”’, 107, 143. Steer also drew on a national and international tradition of revolt, emphasising popular successes and prophesying impending disorder: 108.

³⁵ Walter, ‘A “Rising of the People”’, 128-29.

MAP 9.2 THE OXFORDSHIRE RISING, 1596



Source:

John Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"? The Oxfordshire Rising of 1596', *P&P* 107 (May 1985), 103.

striking (map 9.2).³⁷ The geographical focus of the two risings is strikingly similar. Both protests occurred within the confines of the market towns of Bicester, Banbury, Woodstock, Witney and Oxford, reaching outwards to embrace Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, counties which shared Oxfordshire's experience of enclosure.³⁸ Recovering the commons' 'mental map of enclosure' begins to reveal the roots and continuities of the 'commotion time' in this locale.³⁹ To this extent, the abortive 'rising of the people' of 1596 could be considered an echo of the 'commotion time' of 1549, albeit a faint one. Walter has made a convincing case for the Oxfordshire rising's positive role in the genesis of the anti-enclosure statutes of 1597, which may have gone a long way towards redressing grievances first voiced by the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire rebels in 1548-49.⁴⁰

IV: The 'Post-Kett Reaction' ⁴¹

Although the 1548 and later risings are broadly comparable in terms of their nature and scale, they met with a very different response.⁴² These differing reactions are best explained by the experience of the 'commotion time'. The crucial lesson of 1549 was that the government had to be eternally vigilant. Events at Northaw in 1548 had shown

³⁶ In Norris' case, almost all these criteria applied. Incidentally, the Power family may have been another common target in 1549 and 1596, in view of their aggressive enclosing activities at Bletchingdon: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 110-12, 126, 128 n.132.

³⁷ Cf. map 5.2.

³⁸ Complaints against enclosure were also heard in Northamptonshire in 1596: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 117 and nn.90-91.

³⁹ This tradition of disorder continued well beyond 1596. In 1607, it was rumoured at Witney that the Northamptonshire diggers planned to come to Oxfordshire. That Yarnton and Bletchingdon were their intended destinations appears far from accidental in view of the events of 1596: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 143. The Oxfordshire commons were far from completely subdued by the repercussions of 1549 and 1596.

⁴⁰ 39 Elizabeth *cap.* 1 and *cap.* 2: Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 130-37. See chapter 2 for similar speculation concerning a possible connection between the Northaw Rising of 1548 and the Bill for limiting the ownership of rabbit warrens introduced in February / March 1549.

⁴¹ On the 'post-Kett reaction', see Hindle, *State and Social Change*, pp.55-56; McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, pp.49-57. For the commotion time's popular legacy, see especially Netherfield, Sussex and Boxley Park, Kent (Ch. 4); and more generally Walter Rye (ed.), *Depositions Taken Before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich 1549-67* (Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc., 1905), pp.20, 22, 30-31, 58; *CPR Eliz. I*, 5, no.1818; Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?'.

that even relatively minor episodes needed to be taken seriously. This lesson had been well and truly learnt by 1579. Memories of what had happened at Northaw thirty years earlier shaped the authorities' response to the 1579 rising, and to the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596: both of which were treated as matters of the utmost sensitivity.

This dissertation has attempted imaginatively to reconstruct the full horror of the 'commotion time' as it appeared to the government. Civil war had only narrowly been averted in 1549, to the extent that Protector Somerset (the proponent of 'popular politics') had to be offered up as a sacrificial lamb to the re-establishment of order. The balance of power had been fundamentally altered in favour of the commons, to a point that even Somerset himself could not in the end condone.⁴³ The prophecy of a popular parliament, in particular, fed the elite paranoia of 'a world turned upside down'.⁴⁴ In light of the horrifying experience of 1549 it is not too difficult to explain why the government was so much more concerned about the 'crisis' of the 1590s than it had been about the 'crisis' of the 1540s. Never again should the realm be engulfed so completely by disorder. Thus, the years following the 'commotion time' saw a gradual formalisation of the treatment of enclosure rioters. Whereas martial law had been used against the Oxfordshire rebels and the bailiff of Romford in 1549,⁴⁵ the disorder at Northaw in 1579 was apparently classified as felony riot. If this is indeed the case, then the 1579 rising is the only sixteenth-century protest for which enclosure rioters were hanged. As such, it takes on a monumental importance as a benchmark, not only in the

⁴² On the response to 1548, see chapter 2.

⁴³ On 8 October 1549, when 4,000 commons flocked to Somerset's aid, he turned them away: Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 51-53.

⁴⁴ See chapter 7. Shagan suspects that the October coup may have been designed to prevent the recalling of Parliament. It was at this Parliament, due to be called in the first week of October, that Somerset had promised to redress the rebels' grievances: 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions', 53 & n.1, 55.

⁴⁵ See chapters 4 and 5. Bowldry and Bowlar, two Oxfordshire enclosure rioters, were dealt with as traitors in 1549.

history of protest, but also in legal and political history more generally.⁴⁶ The abortive Oxfordshire Rising of 1596, however, met with an even more draconian response. The rising was construed as treason, through Coke's imaginative use of the law.⁴⁷ Its leaders were sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered for compassing war against the Queen.⁴⁸

The government's paranoia in the wake of the 'commotion time' goes some way towards explaining the paradox that, whilst minor episodes such as 1579 and 1596 produced a flurry of activity and an impressive array of indictments, trial documents and correspondence, the major rebellions of 1549 went poorly documented by comparison. This was partly a matter of perceptions. The government believed it was facing crises in the 1570s and the 1590s which were likely to result in large-scale popular disorder, a belief (partly fed by 1549) which forced them to treat popular grievances and signs of unrest seriously (by contrast 1549 had taken them unawares and quickly spiralled out of control). The authorities' response to the 1579 and 1596 disorders was conditioned both by the immediate context of this wider 'crisis' (whether real or imagined) and by past experience (the memory of 1549), a point that has implications for the 'context of time' approach and for the attempt to write the history of popular protest from central government records more generally.⁴⁹ Their experience of 1549 inspired a heavy-handed approach (essentially an over-reaction) to subsequent outbreaks of disorder, combined with a renewed concern to remedy the causes of unrest. It was the authorities'

⁴⁶ For a summary of the Edwardian (3 & 4 Edw. VI c.5), Marian and Elizabethan statutes (1 Mary, st. 2 c.12; revived by 1 Elizabeth I c.16) concerning enclosure rioters, see chapter 1. 1579 calls into question Manning's statement that there is no evidence of the statutory penalties being applied at Quarter Sessions or Assizes during Elizabeth's reign. Some of the participants in the Midland Revolt of 1607 were, however, charged with felony riot and charges of felony riot were brought against the Shrove Tuesday rioters in London in 1617, although the jury commuted this to misdemeanour riot: Manning, *Village Revolts*, pp.55-56, 204-07, 213-14, 227, 233-34, 311-12. We cannot be certain whether the Northaw rioters were charged with felony riot or treason, although the former seems more likely. Hatton states only that two men were hanged and makes no mention of them having been drawn and quartered.

⁴⁷ Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 129.

⁴⁸ Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 127-29.

⁴⁹ Walter, 'A "Rising of the People"?', 137-39.

all-too-apparent failure to contain the initial outbreaks of disorder in 1548 that prompted them to act swiftly and vindictively in 1579. The regime was clearly steering a tight ship in the last quarter of the sixteenth-century after a frightening near-total loss of control during the storms of the mid-Tudor period.

Epitaph

THE TWO CAPITAYNES, ARUNDELL AND KITE, WERE BROUGHT TO LONDON ABOUT ONE TYME: AND SO WAS THE PROPHECIE FULFILLED, THAT THEY AND THEIR COMPANY HAD GREAT AFFIANCE AND TRUST IN: THAT IS, THAT THEY SHOULD METE AT LONDON, WHICH THEY INTERPRETED TO PROSPERITIE AS CONQUEROURS AND NOT TO PUNISHMENT AS TRAYTOURS

John Stow, A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles (London, 1565), f.213v

Appendix 1: The Commissioners At Northaw, 23 May 1548

The Commission Appointed by Edward VI¹

The 14 men who actually served at Northaw Common on 23rd May 1548 are asterisked.

William Parr, Marquis of Northampton

Henry Parker, 10th Lord Morley

Sir Anthony Denny, knight (PC 24 Dec 1547: *CPR Edw. VI*, 2, p.96-7; MP for Herts.1547-d. 24 Oct. 1549)

*Sir Roger Cholmley, knight and Chief Baron of the Exchequer (London & Highgate, Middx.)

*Sir Henry Parker, knight (son of 10th Lord Morley, MP for Herts. 1539, 24 Oct.1549)

Sir Wymond Carew, knight

*Sir John Peryent, knight

*Sir Richard Lee, knight (of Sopwell, Herts. MP for Herts. 1545)

*Sir Ralph Rowlett, knight (MP for Herts. 1547)

*Sir John Butler, knight (of Watton at Stone, Herts. MP for Herts. Oct. 1553)

*Sir John Brocket, knight (of Wheathampstead & Brocket Hall, Hatfield, Herts. MP for Herts. Oct. 1553, 1555)

Richard Morison, esq.

*William Barley, esq. (son of Henry Barley of Albury, Herts.: MP for Herts. 1529)

*John Cock, esq. (of Broxbourne: MP for Herts. 1545, Jan. '52, Apr. '54, 1555; sheriff EX & Herts. '48-9)

*Edward Brocket, esq. (?MP for Herts. 1542)

*Thomas Skipwith, esq.

*Francis Southwell, esq. (MP for Herts. Apr.1554)

*John Kychen, esq.

*Richard Raynshawe, esq.

Commission of the Peace for Hertfordshire

The bill states that all the commissioners were Hertfordshire JPs.² The Commission of the Peace for Hertfordshire issued on 26 May 1547 was as follows:³

Edward, duke of Somerset

Sir William Paulet, knight

Lord St. John

Sir John Russell, knight, lord Russell

Thomas, lord Seymour

The Bishop of Ely

Henry Lord Morley

Sir Richard Rich, knight, lord Rich

Sir Anthony Denny, knight (1547-d. 10 Sept. 1549)

Sir Ralph Sadler, knight

Sir Richard Lyster, knight

¹ STAC 3/1/49, 1.21-26. Details given in brackets are from Bindoff, *House of Commons*. The following commissioners are also named in the STAC 10/16 depositions: Sir Roger Cholmley; the Lord Marquis (f.147v); Sir Richard Lee, Sir Ralph Rowlett, Sir John Peryent and Francis Southwell (f.136r).

² STAC 3/1/49, bill of complaint of Sir William Cavendish.

³ *CPR Edw. VI*, 1, p.84.

Sir Roger Cholmeley, knight
Sir Henry Parker, knight
Sir Giles Cappell, knight
Sir William Cavendysshe, knight
Sir Richard Page, knight
William Barley
Robert Chester
Ralph Rowlett
Francis Southwell
John Pen
Richard Rayshawe
George Ferrers
Edward Cappell
George Elyot
John Knyghton
Thomas Skipwithe
John Kychen
Henry Haydon
John Seymour
William Gery
John Fitzherbert

Other known Hertfordshire JPs include:

Sir Richard Lee, 1543-61.⁴

John Cock, 1540-d. 6 Sept. 1557. Also JP Middx, 1544.⁵

Sir John Brocket, 1540-d. 24 Mar. 1558.⁶

⁴ Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 2, p.511.

⁵ Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 1, p.662. Presumably John Cocke was the justice fetched by the king's messenger, William Allen, to deal with the protestors, in the absence of Sir Anthony Denny. In the depositions he appears only as 'Cocke': STAC 10/16, f.189r-190v.

⁶ Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 1, p.499.

Appendix 2: List of Participants in the Riots at Northaw, 15 and 21 January 1544

(71 named rioters from Cheshunt, Northaw, North Mimms and Waltham town, Herts.)

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	References
Adams, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Possible family connection with Thos., John: 1548 rioters. The Adam(s) family was among the largest Cheshunt families in 1483/4, although they were declining by the mid 16thC. Family represented in the 1548 and 1579 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79. Glennie, thesis, pp.320-21, 324.
Allyn, Robert	North Mimms	Yeoman	Possible connection with the weaver of Bell Bar, N. Mimms: 1548 rioter. Two William Allens are listed as tenants by indenture in the 1556 survey of Northaw (E 315/391, f.21v). Family represented in the 1548 and 1579 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Auncell, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Aungell?, Richard	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Ball, John	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Beale, Robert	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Bexfield, Thomas	North Mimms	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Busshewe, Simon	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, ff.170r, 186r.
Busshewe, Thomas (Bushes 1579)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Family represented in the 1548 riots. The surname Bushes appears amongst the 1579 rioters.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Busshewe, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots: indicted KB.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 3/1/49 bill; KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Byndon, Thomas	North Mimms	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Byndon, William (Byyddon)	North Mimms	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.

Chayer, John	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Active in the 1548 riots: indicted KB. Two other members of the Chare family, Thomas and William, were also involved in the 1548 protest. A John Chare of Cheshunt held 40 acres in 1562. The Chare family was one of the most prominent tenant families in Cheshunt. Holdings date from pre-1480. The Chares of Cheshunt were represented in the 1548 and 1579 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, ff.141r, 143v, 150v, 153v, 169v, 173r, 180v. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. Glennie, thesis, pp.320-21; 'Agrarian Capitalism', pp.26, 28, fig. 7a.
Chayer, Robert	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Robert Chare Sr. and Richard Chare Sr. held 76 acres between them in 1562.	STAC 2/9, f.79. Glennie, 'Agrarian capitalism', p.30, n.38.
Christofer, John	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Cock, George	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Any relation to John Cooke, JP 1548?	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Cook, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots: indicted KB. A John Cook also participated in the 1548 protest.	STAC 2/9, f.79. KB 9/980, f.21.
Cordell, Henry (Cordall)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	The Cordell family had modest holdings in Cheshunt before 1480.	STAC 2/9, f.79. Glennie, thesis, pp.320-21.
Cordell, John (Cordall)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	The son of John Cordell the elder took 5 rabbits during the 1548 riot. One of Robert Cordell's servants was also involved in the 1548 riot.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, f.171v for John Cordell's son.
Cordell, Simon	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Cordell, William (Cordall)	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Cosal?, Thomas (Cosell, Cosew)			Answers Cavendish's bill of complaint. Seised in his demesne as of fee of and in a tenement and 100 acres of arable, meadow and pasture in the town and manor of Cheshunt.	STAC 2/9, f.80.
Devonshire, Richard	North Mirmms	Yeoman	Possible family connection with Thomas & William of Cheshunt: 1548 rioters.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Feld, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Fetherstone, Richard	North Mirmms	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Finche, George	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Possible family connection with Hugh Fynteche of Northaw, a 1548 rioter.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Fletcher, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Possible family connection with John Fletcher, a 1548 rioter. Galfrus Carpenter surrendered to the use of Richard Fletcher a cottage & garden at Cockerams End and ½ an acre in 'le denge' c.1533.	STAC 2/9, f.79. Glennie thesis, p.325.
Flower, Richard	Waltham town, Herts.	Yeoman. King's servant		STAC 2/9, f.79.

Foster, Richard (Forster)	North Mimms	Yeoman	A Richard Foster of Northaw/Cheshunt was indicted for riot in KB in 1548. John, Richard and ? Thomas Fosters also participated in the 1548 protest. Richard Forster is listed as a juror in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, f.176v; STAC 3/1/49 bill; KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. E 315/391, f.18v.
Foster, Simon	Northaw	Yeoman	The Fosters of Northaw are represented in the 1548 riots. Simon & Thomas Forster are listed as copyholders in the 1556 survey of Northaw (1 June 37 Hen. VIII). Simon is also listed as a juror.	STAC 2/9, f.79. E 315/391, ff.18v, 19r.
French, Robert	Cheshunt	Yeoman (variously described as yeoman, husbandman, labourer in 1548)	Involved in the 1548 riots, along with William French. Robert was indicted for riot in KB, 1548.	STAC 2/9, f.79. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Golde, Peter	Waltham town, Herts.	Yeoman. King's servant		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Goldgret?, Thomas	Northaw	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Gray, John	Northaw	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, ff.176v, 186v.
Hewet, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Heynes, Thomas	Northaw	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Hide, John (Hyde)	Northaw	Yeoman (described as husbandman, labourer: 1548)	Involved in the 1548 riots: indicted KB. Listed as juror and copyholder of Cuffley in the 1556 survey of Northaw (30 June 31 Hen. VIII).	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. E 315/391, ff.18v, 20v.
Hide, William (Hidde)	Northaw	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Holder, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots, along with Anthony & Edward Holder.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Horseman, Robert	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Howe, Richard	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Huffet?, Robert JR?	Northaw	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Huntte, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Robert Huntte is listed as copyholder in the 1556 survey of Northaw (7 June 1 Edw. VI): E 315/391, f.19v.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Jeket, Richard	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.

Kelsey, Gervase	Cheshunt	Yeoman. King's servant	One of the chief defendants 1544. His father may have been the Gervase Kelsey who was steward in 1523-24, transferred land to the Fletcher & Lowen families between 1528 and 1536, and d.1545. Robert Kelsey had a modest holding in Cheshunt in 1483/4, which was enlarged by John Kelsey and his son, Gervase (as above), in the early 16 th C. John Kelsey acquired the land of John Mistelbroke c. 1500.	STAC 2/9, f.79. Glennie, thesis, pp.324, 332.
Lawe, Thomas	North Mimms	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Lent, Thomas	Northaw	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Lowen, John	Northaw	Yeoman	The Lowen family was one of the most prominent tenant families in Cheshunt. Presumably a branch of the family had also estd. itself in Northaw. The Lowen family were represented in the 1548 and 1579 riots. Four John Lowens are listed as copyholders of Cuffley in the 1556 survey of Northaw, two of these were tenants during Henry VIII's reign.	STAC 2/9, f.79. Glennie, thesis, p.320-22; 'Agrarian Capitalism', p.26. E 315/391, ff.18v, 20v.
Lowen, John	Northaw	Yeoman	Son of Thomas Lowen of Northaw. Thomas Lowen the elder of Northaw/Cuffley was indicted for riot in KB in 1548.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Lowen, Simon, the elder	Northaw	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots: indicted KB. Simon & Joanna Lowen are listed as copyholders of Cuffley (2 June 26 Hen. VIII) in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. E 315/391, f.20r.
Lowen, Thomas	Northaw	Yeoman	Son of Thomas Lowen of Northaw	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Lowen, William	Northaw	Yeoman	This may be the William Lowen Sr. who is listed as a juror in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 2/9, f.79. E 315/391, f.18v.
Meray, Anthony	Northaw	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Meray, John	Northaw	Yeoman	Two John Meries are listed as tenants by indenture in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 2/9, f.79. E 315/391, ff.22r, 23r.
Mooles, John (?Mullles)	North Mimms	Yeoman	A Christopher Mullles of Cheshunt is listed as a rioter in 1548.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Nedeham, John	Northaw	Yeoman	A Jacob Nedam is listed as a copyholder (30 June 31 Hen. VIII) in the 1556 survey of Northaw: E 315/391, f.20r.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Ovred, James	Northaw	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Parker, Roger	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots, along with a Richard Parker. Bought 18 acres in Cheshunt from Robert Collyns in 1544.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, f.170r. Glennie, thesis, p.327.
Patynson, James (?Patyrson)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	A James Paterson was involved in the 1548 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Plomer, Alan	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Rey, Henry	North Mimms	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Seare, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Possibly a variant spelling of Shere/Chare (John Chare: 1548 rioter).	STAC 2/9, f.79.

Sell, Henry	Cheshunt	Yeoman. King's servant	One of the chief defendants 1544. Answers Cavendish's bill of complaint. Tenant for life-term of a messuage and certain lands in Cheshunt, the reversion of which belonged to the king. In 1547, Edw. VI granted the reversion of the site of the manor of Cheshunt, then held by Henry Sell, yeoman, with the manor itself, to Sir John Gates. In 1544 he proclaimed the Cheshunt tenants' right of common for all kinds of beast, without number, on Northaw waste.	STAC 2/9, ff.79, 80. <i>VCH Herts.</i> 3, 441-58.
Skaunte, William (Skante, Skant)	Northaw	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, ff.176v, 186v.
Smyth, Richard (Smyth of Cheshunt 1548, Hatfield 1579)	North Mimms	Yeoman	Possible family connection with one of the John Smyths of Cheshunt who participated in the 1548 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Ussher, Edward	North Mimms	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Ussher, Thomas	North Mimms	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots: indicted KB.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 10/16, f. 177r; STAC 3/1/49 bill; KB 9/980, f.22.
Whittenstall, Oliver	Northaw	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.
Wilson, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman (described as yeoman, labourer: 1548)	Involved in the 1548 riots: indicted KB. Four Wilsons in total were represented in the 1548 disorders.	STAC 2/9, f.79. STAC 3/1/49 bill; KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Wodam, John	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Involved in the 1548 riots.	STAC 2/9, f.79.
Wryght, Thomas	North Mimms	Yeoman		STAC 2/9, f.79.

List of Targets, Victims and Repressers, Northaw 1544

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	References
Cavendish, William	Northaw	Esquire. Lord of the Manor of Northaw.	<p>Target of the 1544 and 1548 riots. Plaintiff, Star Chamber 1544, 1548. Enclosed c.500 acres of Northaw Waste Jan. 1544: the rioters filled up his ditches on 15 & 21 Jan.</p> <p>Took a lease of the manor of Northaw from the abbot of St Albans Mar. 1535; lived there from following autumn, and purchased the property in Feb. 1540.</p> <p>Auditor & receiver of monastic lands by 3 Dec. 1533; commr. tenths of spiritualities Herts. 1535, for monastic lands in Ireland 16 Aug. 1540-42.</p> <p>Auditor, ct. of augmentations 24 Apr. 1536-46.</p> <p>JP, liberty of St Albans 1540, Herts. & Derbys. 1554.</p> <p>Treasurer, the chamber 19 Feb. 1546-57, and ct. of gen. Surveyors 19 Feb. 1546-2 Jan. 1547.</p> <p>Kntd. 25 Apr. 1546.</p> <p>d. 25 Oct. 1557, no will has been found.</p>	<p>STAC 2/9, f.79, STAC 3/1/49; STAC 10/16, ff.133-200; KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. E 41/277, E 117/14/44 and C66/687, mm.25-27 for grants and purchase of the manor.</p> <p>Bindoff, <i>HC</i> 1, 597-99. <i>CSPD</i> nos. 44, 108, 137, 171, 298, 641, 838.</p> <p>STAC 3/5/60: John Greveys etc v. Sir William Cavendish - destruction of hedges at Beeley (Chatsworth), Derbys. Manning, <i>Village Revolts</i>, pp.39-40.</p>
Connisbey, John		Lord of the manor of North Mimms. JP for Herts.	<p>Caused the rioters to depart after the 1st riot on 15 Jan. 1544.</p> <p>Husband of the Elizabeth Conyngsby, widow, who owned North Mimms in 1548 (STAC 3/1/49 answers).</p>	<p>STAC 2/9, f.79. <i>VCH Herts.</i> 2, p.254.</p>
Johns, Hugh (Joyens)		Servant to William Cavendish	<p>Victim: chased the ¼ mile back to Cavendish's house by about 20 rioters, who cried "kill him, kill him", during the 2nd riot of 21 January 1544.</p>	<p>STAC 2/9, ff.79, 80.</p>
Stret, Roger (Srett)		Servant to William Cavendish	<p>Victim, allegedly struck by one of the rioters during the 2nd riot of 21 January 1544.</p>	<p>STAC 2/9, ff.79, 80.</p>

Appendix 3: List of Participants in the Northaw Rising, 1548

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other information	Refs.
[?], Richard	Cheshunt	Servant to Roger Bate		STAC 10/16, ff.168r, 170r, 174v.
[?], Thomas	Cheshunt	Servant to Robert Cordell (Cordall)		STAC 10/16, ff.168r, 170r, 174v.
Adam, John (Adams)	'at the Crosse' in Cheshunt / Hamond Street, Cheshunt	Yeoman	Defendant (answer 1). Accused of procuring the riots. Indicted KB. The Adam(s) family was among the largest Cheshunt families in 1483/4 (6 landholders) but was declining by the mid-16thC.	STAC 10/16, ff.138r, 152v, 170r, 179v, 180r, 180v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 3. KB 9/980 ff.21, 22. Glennie, thesis, pp.321, 329.
Adame, Thomas				STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3.
Allen, [?]	Bell Bar, North Mimms	Weaver		STAC 10/16, f.177r.
Amos, James	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.167v.
Anner?, James				STAC 10/16, f.152v.
Archer, William (Arthar)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Atkyns, Thomas	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Baker, John	Waltham Abbey		Gave money to Cheshunt men	STAC 10/16, f.176r.
Beane, Richard	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Beeton, John (Beton)	Cheshunt	Labourer / Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Brode, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman		STAC 3/1/49 bill.
Bunne, Thomas	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Burley, John	North Mimms	Bricklayer Yeoman 1 of the constables of North Mimms	Defendant (answers 2 & 3). Met with the group shooting on Northaw Common 22 May, whilst looking for Thomas Knolton's cattle. Witnessed the affray begun by Sir William Saunders etc., ordered him to keep the peace. Reported the incident to the lord chief baron, night of 22 May. Brought James Wilson before the lord chief baron, commissioners & JPs, 23 May. Denied participating in riots 22 & 23 May. Indicted KB.	STAC 10/16, ff.154v, 177r, 180v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 3. KB 9/980, f.22.

Busshewe, Simon	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Also involved in the 1544 riots at Northaw.	STAC 10/16, ff.170r, 186r. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Busshewe, William (Busshow)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB. Also involved in the 1544 riots.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 2. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Busshio, William	Cheshunt	Labourer	STAC 10 deponent	STAC 10/16, f.150r.
Butler, James (Butteller)	Cheshunt, then Northaw	Labourer / painter	STAC 10 deponent. With rebels on 21 May?	STAC 10/16, f.167v.
Carter, Henry	Cheshunt / Hoddesdon	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Chambre, [?]	Dwelling at the Checker, Waltham Cross			STAC 10/16, f.172r.
Chambre, Robert	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Chapman, Thomas	North Mimms / Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 10/16, f.177r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Chayer, John (Chayre, Chayr, Chare) the elder	Cheshunt	Yeoman Chief Constable of the hundred of Hertford	STAC 10 deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB. Also involved in the 1544 riots. The Chare family held land in Cheshunt pre-1480; listed as local tenants 1483/4.	STAC 10/16, ff.141r, 143v, 150v, 153v, 169v, 173r, 180v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 2. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. STAC 2/9, f.79. Glennie, thesis, pp.320-21.
Chayer, Thomas (Chayre)	Cheshunt	Husbandman Yeoman	STAC 10 deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB.	STAC 10/16, f.147v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 2. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Chayr, William			Possibly Glennie's William Chare Sr. of Cheshunt, d.1550, or his son William, a yeoman leatherseller, who inherited much of his father's acquired 18.5 acres. William Chare Jr. (d.1569) acquired 26.5 acres from Richard Houghton 1547-48 which formed the nucleus of his holding; also acquired nearly 130 acres from Hugh Eglysfield 1551-52 (total: c.185 acres). He remained the family's largest landholder in 1562 (121 acres).	STAC 10/16, f.173r. Glennie, 'Agrarian Capitalism', fig. 7a p.28, p.30 n.38); thesis, fig. 12.12 p.328.
Chester, George	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Clarke, William, the younger			A William Clarke is listed as a tenant by indenture in the 1556 survey of Northaw. Another entry relates to a Wm. Clarke who existed on Northaw Common (1 Aug. 5 Edw. VI). He made his rent from the 'loppes and shreddinges' of hornbeam in the common wood. Wm. Clark of Cheshunt held 199 acres by 1562, built up by himself, father, & grandfather since early 16thC (members of Clark family with modest holdings pre-1480). 1 st 2 stages of accumulation process financed by acting as estate administrators & rent-collectors for absentee Londoners whose lands were sub-let e.g. land leased to Wm.	STAC 10/16, ff.168r, 174v. E 315/391, ff.23r, 23v. Glennie, thesis, p.332; 'Agrarian Capitalism', p.27.

Cockrell, Robert (Cockerell, Cokerell)	Chesthunt	Yeoman	Clark (clerk, husbandman, yeoman) by Dame Cecily, widow of Wm. Redell, 1518. By 1540s Clark family farmed some of the lands they had administered in 1520s. One of largest Cheshunt families by 1669. Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Cok, George			Contributed 20s. to the common purse.	STAC 10/16, f.173r.
Coke, William	Chesthunt		The Coke family of Cheshunt had modest holdings pre-1480 and later became prominent.	STAC 10/16, ff.179v, 180r. Glennie, thesis, pp.320-21.
Colle, Richard	(?Cheshunt)	Servant to William Chayre	Messenger sent to North Mimms. The Colle family had modest holdings pre-1480 and later became prominent.	STAC 10/16, f.170v. Glennie, thesis, pp.320-21.
Cooke, John				STAC 3/1/49 bill.
Cooke, William	Chesthunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB. Also involved in the 1544 riots.	KB 9/980, f.21. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Cordell, [?], son of John Cordell, the elder (Cordall)	(?Cheshunt)		Possibly the Robert Cordell whose servant, Thomas, was named as one of the rioters (see above). Took 5 rabbits. NB John Cordell (yeoman of Cheshunt) was involved in the 1544 riots. The Cordell family had holdings in Cheshunt from pre 1480.	STAC 10/16, f.171v. STAC 2/9, f.79 for John Cordall. Glennie, thesis, pp.320-21.
Cowper, Stephan	Northaw	Labourer	STAC 10 deponent	STAC 10/16, f.176v.
Cranwell, John (Cranewell)	Chesthunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49, answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22
Croke, William				STAC 10/16, f.135r.
Curle, William	Chesthunt	Maltman; Yeoman; Constable of Cheshunt	STAC 10 Deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB. Accused of procuring the riots of 22, 25, 26 May.	STAC 10/16, ff.133, 138r, 138v, 143r, 143v, 153v, 154v, 159v, 169v, 170r, 173r, 175r, 179r, 179v, 180r, 180v, 188v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 3. KB 9/980, f.21, 22.
Curtes, Thomas (Curys, Curtyse, Curteys, Curteyse, (old Curtes)	Chesthunt	Yeoman	Defendant (answer 1). Indicted KB. Accused of procuring the riots.	STAC 10/16, ff.135r, 138r, 143b, 152v, 170r, 175r, 179v, 180r, 180v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 3. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Dacres, Mistress			Provided a barrel of beer for the rioters (21 May)	STAC 10/16, f.143v.
Dellow, Henry (Dellowe) (Dello)	Chesthunt	Yeoman / labourer	STAC 10 deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB.	STAC 10/16, ff.133, 140r, 143r, 148r, 148v, 149r, 150v, 168r, 170r, 171r, 172v, 174v, 175v, 186r, 186v, 188v, 189v. STAC 3/1/49 bill, answers 1 & 2. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.

Devonshire, Thomas (Devonsher, Denshyre)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Devonshire, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Eyre, Thomas	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Fisher, John	Cheshunt			STAC 3/1/49 bill.
Fletcher, John (Fletcher)	Waltham Cross, Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB. Possibly the son of Richard Fletcher who had the use of a cottage & garden at Cokerams End and ½ an acre in 'le denge' from c.1533/34.	STAC 10/16, f.170r. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. Glennie, thesis, p.325.
Foster, John (Forster)	Northaw (Cheshunt)	Yeoman / labourer	Indicted KB. Listed as copyhold tenant in 1556 survey of Northaw, with Alice, his wife (14 May 10 Henry VIII).	STAC 10/16, f.176v. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. E 315/391, f.18v.
Foster, Richard (Forster)	Northaw / Cheshunt	Yeoman / labourer	Indicted KB. ?Also involved in the 1544 riots. Listed as a juror in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 10/16, f.176v. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. STAC 2/9, f.79. E 315/391, f.18v.
Foster, Thomas (Forster)	Northaw / (Cheshunt)	Yeoman	Indicted KB. Listed as copyhold tenant in 1556 survey of Northaw, with Simon Forster (1 June 37 Henry VIII). Simon is listed as a juror.	STAC 10/16, ff.176v, 186v. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. E 315/391, ff.18v, 19r.
Foster, Thomas (Forster)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	KB 9/980, f.22.
Frenche, Robert	Cheshunt	Labourer Husbandman Yeoman	Indicted KB. Also involved in the 1544 riots.	KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Frenche, William	Cheshunt	Husbandman		STAC 3/1/49 bill.
Fuller, Thomas	Cheshunt		The Fuller family first appears in Cheshunt in c.1480. Thomas Fuller, maltman, acquired a holding of >60 acres in 2 years (1545-47) – much of this land had been sold to him by William Garnet Sr., maltman. By 1562 he held 59-60 acres and Thomas Jr. (yeoman), probably his nephew, held as much. Thos. Fuller Sr. & Thos. Fuller Jr. doubled their holdings 1550-62.	STAC 10/16, ff.173r, 180v. Glennie, thesis, p.330; 'Agrarian Capitalism', p.29, fig.7b.
Fuller, Thomas	Hoddesdon	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Fyntche, Hugh (Finche, Fynche)	Northaw	Yeoman	Deponent. Listed as copyholder of Cuffley (Easter term 19 Hen. VIII & 8 May 25 Hen. VIII) and tenant by indenture in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 10/16, f.179r. E 315/391, ff.20v, 22r.
Goldying, Robert	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r

Grave, John (Gray)	Northaw / Cheshunt	Yeoman	Also involved in the 1544 riots.	STAC 10/16, ff.176v, 186v. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Grene, Robert	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Haddon, John	Cheshunt / North Mimmis	Yeoman	One of the group shooting on Northaw Common 22 May. Indicted KB.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Hailles, John				STAC 3/1/49, answer 3.
Harrowkes, Thomas	Northaw	Yeoman	Deponent	STAC 10/16, f.186r.
Harryson, Thomas				STAC 10/16, f.168r.
Herons, Richard	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Hill, Robert (Hyll, Hylle, Hille)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB. Richard Hill listed as copyhold tenant & juror in 1556 survey of Northaw (E 315/391, ff.18v, 19v).	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Holder, Anthony	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Holder, Edward	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Holder, William	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Also involved in the 1544 riots.	STAC 10/16, f.170r. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Holywell, John	Waltham Abbey		Gave money to Cheshunt men	STAC 10/16, f.176r.
Horwod, Thomas	Cheshunt	Tailor		STAC 10/16, ff.170r, 174v.
Huytt, William (Hewet)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Also involved in the 1544 riots.	STAC 10/16, f.170r. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Hyde, John (Hrde)	Cheshunt Northaw	Husbandman Labourer	Indicted KB. Also involved in the 1544 riots. Listed as copyhold tenant of Cuffley (30 June 31 Hen. VIII) & juror in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. STAC 2/9, f.79. E 315/391, ff.18v, 20v.
Jeffrey, John	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, ff.170r, 172r.
Jeffrey, Thomas (Jefferey, Geffrey, Geffery), alias Carpenter	Cheshunt	Yeoman / labourer	STAC 10 Deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB. Killed one rabbit on Northaw common with his staff on his way home on 21 May.	STAC 10/16, ff.168r, 170r, 175r, 180v, 186r-v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 2. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Knolton, Thomas	North Mimmis	Constable of North Mimmis	Defendant (answers 2 & 3). Saw a group of men shooting in Northaw Common on 22 May sometime after 3pm, and asked them whether they had seen his lost cattle. Witnessed the affray begun by Sir William Saunders etc., ordered them to keep the peace. Reported the incident to the lord chief baron, night of 22 May. Denies participating in riots, 22, 23 May. Indicted KB.	STAC 3/1/49 answer 2; answer 3.
Knowden, Thomas (Knoden, Knodon)	Cheshunt	Yeoman High Constable of North Mimmis	Indicted KB.	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.

Kyng, Luke	Cheshunt				STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Landsdale, Thomas					STAC 10/16, f.167v.
Lowen, John	Cuffley			Four John Lowens are listed as copyholders of Cuffley in the 1556 survey of Northaw (Easter term 15 Hen. VIII; Easter term 20 Hen. VIII; 1 Sept. 5 Edw. VI: held 2 acres of common pasture of Northaw; 23 Apr. 1 Mary) and one as juror.	STAC 10/16, f.133v, 138v, 143v, 145v, 150v, 156r, 159r, 170v, 181v. E 315/391, ff.18v, 20v.
Lowen, John (the elder)	Northaw				STAC 10/16, ff.176v, 182v.
Lowen, John	Cheshunt Northaw	Yeoman		Defendant (answer 1). Indicted KB. John Lowen, yeoman, held 67.5 acres in Cheshunt in 1562.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. Glennie, 'Agrarian capitalism', p.30, n.38.
Lowen, Simon (the elder)	Cheshunt Northaw	Yeoman		Indicted KB. Also involved in the 1544 riots. Simon and Joanna Lowen are listed as copyholders of Cuffley (2 June 26 Hen. VIII) in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. STAC 2/9, f.79. E 315/391, f.20r.
Lowen, Simon (the younger)	Cheshunt ?Northaw	Yeoman		Indicted KB.	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Lowen, Simon	Cheshunt	Yeoman		Indicted KB.	STAC 10/16, f.182v. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Lowen, Thomas (the elder)	(Cuffley) Northaw	Yeoman		John Tompson's father-in-law. His sons, Thomas and John (yeomen), were involved in the 1544 riots. Indicted KB.	STAC 10/16, f.137v, 138v. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. STAC 2/9, f.79 for his sons.
Lowen, William				Son of Symon Lowen ?Sr. of Northaw. Indicted KB. A William Lowen is listed as copyholder of Cuffley (25 Apr. 7 Edw. VI) in the 1556 survey of Northaw; Wm. Lowen & Wm. Lowen Sr. are listed as jurors.	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.21. E 315/391, ff.18v, 20v.
Lowen, William, the elder	Cheshunt	Yeoman		Defendant (answer 1). Indicted KB.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, f.21.
Lowen, William, the younger	Cheshunt	Husbandman Yeoman		STAC 10 deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB.	STAC 10/16, f.140r, 152r, 170r, 179r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, f.21.
Lowyn, Robert, alias Symken	Cuffley				STAC 10/16, f.176v.
Marshall, Mother				Contributed to common purse	STAC 10/16, f.173r.
Marshall, Robert					STAC 10/16, ff.170r, 173r, 180v.
Marten, Thomas (Mertyn)	Dwelling at the Sign of the Swan, Waltham Cross, Cheshunt	Carpenter		Indicted KB	STAC 10/16, f.171v. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Marten, William (Merten, Merton)	Cheshunt	Yeoman			STAC 3/1/49 bill.

Martyn, John					STAC 3/1/49, answer 3.
Mason, Nycholas					STAC 10/16, f.168v
Moryson, John (Moreson, Morryson)	Cheshunt Northaw	Yeoman		Indicted KB. Listed as copyholder (6 Aug. 30 Hen. VIII, Easter term 22 Hen. VIII) and juror in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. E 315/391, ff.18v, 19r.
Mounte, John (Mownte, Muunte)	Cheshunt	Yeoman		One of the group shooting on Northaw Common 22 May. Attacked and injured by Sir William Saunders and 12 other of Cavendish's servants. Indicted KB.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Mulles, Christopher (Mullis)	Cheshunt				STAC 10/16, ff.133r, 135v, 140r, 169r, 170r, 171r.
Mychell, William (Michell)	Cheshunt	Yeoman		Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Norwood, Thomas (Norwod, Norwoode, Noword)	Cheshunt	Yeoman / labourer		Indicted KB	STAC 10/16, ff.167v, 169r, 170r, 174r, 174v. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Parker, Richard	Cheshunt	Tailor			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Parker, Roger	Cheshunt	Yeoman		Also involved in the 1544 riots.	STAC 10/16, f.170r. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Paterson, James					STAC 10/16, ff.152r, 152v.
Pecoocke, Cuenfer (Pecokk)	Cheshunt				STAC 10/16, ff.143v, 168r, 170r, 186r.
Pecoake, Turkesyke (Pecok)	Waltham (Holy) Cross, Essex / Waltham Cross, Cheshunt	Barber		Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Penyfather, Richard	Cheshunt				STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Pett, John (Pette) (Thomas: KB 9/980, f.22 sic)	Cheshunt	Labourer Husbandman		STAC 10 Deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB.	STAC 10/16, ff.134r, 140r, 143v, 148r, 148v, 149r, 158v, 170r, 171r, 175v, 180v, 186r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 2. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22 (sic Thomas).
Petyt, Robert (Petit, Pettit, Pettyt, Petyt)	Cheshunt (?Waltham Cross)	Labourer		Armed with a gun. Indicted KB	STAC 10/16, ff.135r, 144v, 153r, 159v, 166r, 170r, 174r, 174v, 186r. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Preston, Robert	Cheshunt	Collier			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Pryor, Albon' (Prior)	Northaw				STAC 10/16, f.176v.
Pryor, Hugh (Prior, Pryer)	Northaw	Lathe Cleaver Yeoman / labourer		STAC 10 Deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB. One of those asked the cause of the assembly by the commissioners ?23 May.	STAC 10/16, f.176v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 2. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.

Pryor, John	Northaw				STAC 10/16, f.176v.
Pryor, Symon(d) (Prior, Pryer)	Northaw		Paler? Yeoman / labourer	STAC 10 deponent. Defendant (answers 1 & 2). Indicted KB. One of those asked the cause of the assembly by the commissioners ?23 May. Simon Prior is listed as a juror in the 1556 survey of Northaw.	STAC 10/16, ff.145r, 176v, 186v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 2. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. E 315/391, f.18v.
Pynkeney, John	Cheshunt				STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Robert, John	Cheshunt		Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Roberts, Thomas	North Mimms				STAC 10/16, f.180v.
Robyns, John, the younger	North Mimms				STAC 10/16, f.154v.
Rose, John	Cheshunt		Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Rowdyng, Richard (Rowdyng, Rowdring, Rowdinge)	North Mimms / Cheshunt		Yeoman	One of the group of shooters on Northaw Common 22 May. Indicted KB.	STAC 10/16, f.177r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Ryche, Symond	North Mimms				STAC 10/16, f.177r.
Sawyar, Richard				Contributed to the common purse	STAC 10/16, f.173r.
Shawbroke, John	Cheshunt				STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Shere, John	Cheshunt		Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Skant, William (Skante)	Northaw / Cheshunt		Yeoman	Also involved in the 1544 riots.	STAC 10/16, f.176v, 186v. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Smythe, John					STAC 10/16, f.169r.
Smythe, John (2)	Cheshunt			Listed sep. to John Smythe the principal doer	STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Smythe, John (Smyth)	Cheshunt		Yeoman / labourer	'A pryncypall doer there'. Accused of procuring the riots. Indicted KB	STAC 10/16, ff.170r, 175v, 176r, 180v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 3. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Stanys, Richard	Cheshunt				STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Streamar, Edward (Streeme)	Cheshunt		Yeoman	Indicted KB.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Streeme, Edmund (Streme).				One of the group shooting on Northaw Common, 22 May. Attacked and injured by Sir William Saunders and 12 other of Cavendish's servants.	STAC 3/1/49 answer 3.
Sydney, John	Cheshunt		Yeoman	Indicted KB	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22.
Thomson, John (Thompson, Thomeson, Tompson, Tomson)	Cheshunt		Yeoman. High Constable of Cheshunt	STAC 10 Deponent. Defendant (answer 1). Indicted KB. Accused of procuring the riots.	STAC 10/16, ff.135r, 137v, 153v, 168r, 169v, 170r, 175r, 179v, 180r, 180v, 188r-v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 3. KB 9/980, f.21?, f.22.
Tranwell, John	Cheshunt		Yeoman		STAC 3/1/49 bill.

Ussher, Thomas	North Mimms / Cheshunt	Collier Yeoman	Indicted KB. Also involved in the 1544 riots.	STAC 10/16, f.177r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22. STAC 2/9, f.79.
Whytt, Robert	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, ff.168r, 170r, 174v.
Wood(h)am, John	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.134r, 170r.
Wylkenson, James				STAC 3/1/49, answer 3.
Wylkenson, John (Wilkenson, Wilkynson, Wylkynson)	Cheshunt	Yeoman	One of the group shooting on Northaw Common 22 May. Shot at by Sir William Saunders. Indicted KB.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3. KB 9/980, f.22.
Wylkynson, Richard	Cheshunt, then Hatfield	Labourer	Deponent	STAC 10/16, f.174r.
Wylson, Jacob	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Indicted KB	KB 9/980, f.22.
Wylson, James	Cheshunt	Yeoman	Maimed by Sir William Saunders and other of Cavendish's servants, 22 May. Given 10s. by the lord chief baron, commissioners & JPs on 23 May, after they had conducted an enquiry into the affray.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 3.
Wylson, John	Cheshunt			STAC 10/16, f.170r.
Wylson, William (Wilson)	Cheshunt	Yeoman / labourer	Defendant (answer 1). Indicted KB. Also involved in the 1544 riots.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, ff.21, 22. STAC 2/9, f.79.

List of Persons Otherwise Involved in the Northaw Rising, 1548

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	Refs.
Allen, Thomas		Cavendish's servant		STAC 10/16, f.154r.
Allen, William		King's messenger	STAC 10 deponent	STAC 10/16, f.188r.
Barley, William		Esq. JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Brokett, Edward (Broket, Brakett)		Esq. JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Brokett, John (Brockett)		Knight JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Butler, John		Knight JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Carewe, Wymond		Knight	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Cavendish, Sir William (Candisse, Cavendisse, Cavendish)	Northaw	Lord of the manor. Knight	Target of the 1548 riots and the earlier enclosure riots at Northaw in 1544. Plaintiff. Seised in his demesne as of fee of the manor of Northaw. Claimed to have right of freewarren within Northaw common. Overstocked the common with ?sheep and rabbits.	STAC 2/9, ff.79-80. STAC 3/1/49 bill, answer 1. STAC 10/16, ff.133-200. KB 9/980 f.21, f.22.
Cholmley, Sir Roger (Chomeley, Chomley, Cholmeley)		Knight Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer	Commissioner	STAC 10/16, ff.136r, 142v, 155r, 176r, 182r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, f.22.
Clark, William (Clerck, Clerc, Clerke, Cleroke)		Gent. Cavendish's kinsman / servant. Sir Thomas Seymour's servant.	On 21 May, informed the rioters that the commissioners were to arrive on 23 rd . Claimed the rioters came armed with pick axes to break into Cavendish's house on 23 May and that he was threatened verbally. Any connection with the rioter of the same name?	STAC 10/16, ff.135r, 135v, 138r, 138v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1.

Cocke, John (Mr Cocke) (Cok, Cokk)	Broxbourne	Esq.	Commissioner. Sheriff Essex and Herts. 1548-49. JP Herts. 1540-6 Sept. 1557. The justice fetched by the king's messenger, William Allen, to deal with the protestors, in the absence of Sir Anthony Denny. He failed to persuade the rioters to disperse on Monday 21 May. Seised in her demesne as of fee of the manor of North Mimms.	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22. STAC 10/16, ff.189r, 189v, 190r, 190v.
Conyngsby, Elizabeth	North Mimms	Widow		STAC 3/1/49 answer 1.
Denny, Sir Anthony (Deny)	Cheshunt	Knight.	Away from home at time of rising (at court). Appointed a commissioner. MP & JP for Herts. 1547-10 Sept./24 Oct. 1549. Privy Councillor.	STAC 10/16, ff.171r, 175r, 185v, 189r. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Gates, Sir John	Cheshunt	Knight. Privy Councillor	Seised of the manor of Cheshunt in his demesne as of fee.	STAC 10/16, f.171r. STAC 3/1/49 answer 1.
Haryson, Robert		Cavendish's servant	Assault victim.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1.
Kychen, John (Kechyn, Kechen)		Esq. JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Lee, Sir Richard (Ley)	Sopwell	Knight	Commissioner. JP Herts. 1543-61.	STAC 10/16, f.136r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, f.22.
Lloyd, Elles		Cavendish's servant	Assault victim.	STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1.
Moryson, Richard		Esq.	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Owen, John		Cavendish's horse-keeper	Pledge	STAC 10/16, f.177v.
Parker, Henry 10 th lord Morley			Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Parker, Sir Henry		Knight JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 10/16, ff.136r, 147r, 176r, 182r. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Parr, William Marquis of Northampton			Commissioner	STAC 10/16, f.147v. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, f.22.
Pery, Sir John			Talked with John Chare about readiness of harness	STAC 10/16, f.141v.
Peryent, Sir John (Perient, Perryent)		Knight JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 10/16, f.136r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, f.22.
Plottes, Edmund		Cavendish's servant	Pledge	STAC 10/16, f.177v.

Raynshawe, Richard		Esq. JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Rich, Sir Richard, lord Rich		Chancellor	The commissioners addressed their letter re. the unexecuted commission to Rich.	STAC 3/1/49 bill.
Rowlett, Sir Ralph (Rowlet, Rowlette)		Knight JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 10/16, ff.136r, 178v, 180v, 185r, 185r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answer 1. KB 9/980, f.22.
Saunders, William (Sawnders)	Northaw	Clerk, priest, Cavendish's chaplain	Deponent, pledge, assault victim. Attacked members of the group who were shooting on Northaw Common, 22 May, with 12 other of Cavendish's servants.	STAC 10/16, ff.177v, 178v?, 181r, 183r. STAC 3/1/49 bill; answers 1 & 3.
Skypwith, Thomas		Esq. JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.
Southwell, Francis (Sowthwell, Sothwell)		Esq. JP for Herts.	Commissioner	STAC 10/16, f.136r. STAC 3/1/49 bill. KB 9/980, f.22.

Appendix 4

Cambridge's 'Complayntes At The Insurrection'

Source: C.H. Cooper (ed.), *Annals of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1843), vol. 2, pp.38-40

1. Inprimis, we fynde that ther be iiij Awmessehowses decayed in Jesus Lane, whych ought to be upholden and maynteined by Mr Thomas Hutton.
2. Item, we fynde that the Master and Fellows of Jesus College have let ther ferme hollye with all commodities together, and the fermor thereof hathe letten the lande to certeyne persons and severed the dwellynge howse and the shepegate from the lande, so that the howse and shepegate be in divers mens handes, and lykewyse the closes be letten from the howse, and the hole is letten for x^{li}. x^s. by yere.
3. Item, we fynde that a pece of noysom grounde is taken in owte of the common and enclosed with a muddle wall at the ende of Jesus lane, for the whyche the incorporation of the towne is recompensed, but not the hole inhabytauntes of the towne whiche fynde themselves injured.
4. Item, we fynde that Andrew Lambes close is crofte lande and ought to lye open with the fylde at lamas as common.
5. Item, we fynde that a close that of late was taken in bye baylyff Smythe owte of the common, owght to be layde open and to be common again, as heretofore it hathe bene accustomed, the yerely rent is xxvj^s. viij^d.
6. Item, we fynde that Mr Bracken had of the prior and convente of Barnwell a portyon of grounde that before was layd open with the fylde at lamas, and was common arable land, upon whiche he hathe buylded certeyne howses and shoppes.
7. Item, we fynde that Mr Hynde unlawfully dothe bringe into Cambridge felde a flock of shepe to the number of vj or vij Cth, to the undoinge of the fermors and great hyndraunce of the inhabitauntes of Cambrydge.
8. Item, we fynde the said Mr Hynde after the come be inned and harvest don, bryngeth in his catall in great nombre and eateth uppe the common to like hyndraunce.
9. Item, we fynde that ther is an howse of husbandrye with xxx acres of lande therunto belonginge, nowe in the tenure of Wylliam Spyrink, decayed and not inhabited, nor hath bene these ij yeres, for then it was burned, the yerely rent is iiij^{li}.
10. Item, we fynde that Mr Braken hathe dymysed a lane called fysshores lane, and inclosed the samme whyche of late lay open and was common.

11. Item, we fynde that Maxwell kepeth a certayne grownde against the castle as common whyche ought to be common.
12. Item, we fynde that there is an howse decayed and fallen down, lying betwyxt the Greffyn, and the whyte Bull, nowe in the tenure of Mr Slegge, wherbye the towne in that streete is much defaced.
13. Item, we fynde that Trynitie College owght to pave the streete agaynst the gray freers, which of long tyme hath beene unpaved, to the great annoyance of the common welthe.
14. Item, we fynde that Trinitie college hath inclosed a common lane, which was a common course both for cart, horse and man, leadinge to the ryver, unto a common grene, and no recompense made therefore.
15. Item, we fynde that the seyde College dothe commonlye use to laye ther mucke and meanor on ther backe syde upon the foreseyde common grene, wher thei will suffer no man ells to do the lyke, and have builded a common Jakes apou part of the same.
16. Item, we fynde that Mr Muryell hath plowed uppe certayne bawlks and carte wayes in the feeelde.
17. Item, we fynde Mr Bykardyck hath plowed uppe the more parte of a bawlke behind the black freers of vij foote brode, betwyxt Jesus College grownde and Myhell howse grownde, and he hath dyched it in at both endes.
18. Item, we fynde that he hath eared upp a lyke bawlke in lyk manner, lying betwixt the Kinges hall grownde and Myhell howse grownde.
19. Item, we fynde also that the sayde Mr Bykardyck hath taken in and inclosed a portyon of the common hyghewayes at bothe ends of the sayde bawlke.
20. Item, we fynde there is another bawlke enclosed at bothe endes and plowed uppe, that leadeth from the forenamed bawlke, dyrectlye crossing the hyghewaye unto Barnwell cawsey and Jesus Grene.
21. Item, we fynde that the Kynges College hath taken in and inclosed Saynt Austen's lane, leadinge from the high streete unto the waterside, withowte recompense.
22. Item, we fynde that the Queens College have taken in a pece of common ground commonlye called Goslinge grene withowte recompense.
23. Item, we fynde that ther is another pece of lying withowt their pales and within the ryver that owght to be common.
24. Item, we fynde that there is a pece of grownde landed at the ende of Joh Thomas garden, now in the tenure of William Garlande, taken owte of the common ryver, paying therfore to the corporation of the towne, xvj^d.
25. Item, we fynde that Mr Fanne hath in his hands a pece of Maris grownde, whyche of late was common within these xvi yeres, the rent is vij^d.

26. Item, we fynde that Mr Osborne hath in his hands a lyke pece of Maris grownde, whyche of late was common, the rent wherof is lykewyse yerely vij^d.
27. Item, we fynde that one pece of common is inclosed now in the handes of Mr Mores, which hath been accustomed to lye common at Mydsomer.
28. Item, we fynde one berne now in the tenure of William Bradlye buylded on St Thomas lease, which was accustomed and owght to lye common at lamas.
29. Item, we fynde that a ferme howse called cotton hall, now in the tenure of Mr Fanne, is decayed and felle downe abowte xx^{ti}. yeres agon, not inhabyted and hath iiij^{xx} acres of lande longinge therunto, and is letten for v^{li}. bye yere.
30. Item, we fynde that beyonde Styrbrydge chappell, Dytton men have pulled downe a brydge, stopped the water, drowned the commons, and so enter upon Cambridge common.
31. Item, we fynde that Mistress Lacys of Barnwell hathe severed the lande and the shepe gate of her fermes, and the bayley Genings and John Bernes have done the lyke in ther fermes.
32. Item, we fynde that Mr Kymbalde hath walled and dyched upon the hyghwaye in Barnwell, wherbye the seyde waye is much straytened.
33. Mem. of a common balk throwe a pasture ground adjoyning next to Rutlands howse in little Marys nowe inhabited bi R. Tomlynson, which balke shulde be a weye to go to Thomas leyes and so forth on balkes to Jesus grene &c. which pasture is now purchased by the towne &c.

Appendix 5: Buckinghamshire Rebels, July 1549

(Bodl. MS E Museo 57, ff.109-113)

Key to justices:

JC John Cheyney
 PD Paul Darrell
 RD Robert Dormer
 GG George Gyfford
 RG Ralph Gyfford

RGr Richard Greneway
 AL Anthony Lee
 RL Roger Lee
 TP Thomas Pygott

Alli: bound over to all the king's liege people

Repetitions in italics

Name	Place of Residence	Social Status	Place of Sessions	Date of Sessions	Justices	Person(s) bound over to	Amount	Fine	Other
Archer, Thomas	Barton Hartshorn	Husbandman	Barton Hartshorn	18 July	AL, RD, RGr, PD	Alli	£40	12d	Not discharged
Hems, Thomas	Barton Hartshorn	Husbandman	Barton Hartshorn	18 July	AL, RD, RGr, PD	Alli	£40	12d	Not discharged
Paxton, Edward	Barton Hartshorn	Husbandman	Barton Hartshorn	18 July	AL, RD, RGr, PD	Alli	£20	12d	Not discharged
Warr[e], Roger	Barton Hartshorn	Husbandman	Barton Hartshorn	18 July	AL, RD, RGr, PD	Alli	£20	12d	Not discharged
Woodhouse, Thomas	Barton Hartshorn	Husbandman	Barton Hartshorn	18 July	AL, RD, RGr, PD	Alli	£20	12d	Not discharged
Brytwell, William	Great Brickhill	Husbandman	Grt Brickhill	18 July	GG, RL, RG	Alli	£40	4d	Not discharged
Carter, Henry	Great Brickhill	Husbandman	Grt Brickhill	18 July	GG, RL, RG	Alli	£40	12d	Not discharged
Cartwright, William	Great Brickhill	Husbandman	Grt Brickhill	18 July	GG, RL, RG	Alli	£40	12d	Not discharged
Chycheley, John	Great Brickhill	Husbandman	Grt Brickhill	18 July	GG, RL, RG	Alli	£40	8d	Not discharged
Sheparde, William	Great Brickhill	Husbandman	Grt Brickhill	18 July	GG, RL, RG	Alli	£40	12d	Not discharged
Kyrton, John	Great Brickhill	Husbandman	Grt Brickhill	18 July	GG, RL, RG	Alli	£40	12d	Not discharged
Watties, Thomas	Great Brickhill	Husbandman	Grt Brickhill	18 July	GG, RL, RG	Alli	£40	12d	Not discharged
Askyn, Hugh	North Marston	Husbandman	N Marston	18 July	GG, RL, RG	Alli	£40	12d	Not discharged

Corby, Thomas	North Marston	Husbandman	N Marston	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	8d	Not discharged
Robson, William	North Marston	Husbandman	N Marston	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Benett, Thomas	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Haddon, Richard	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Haddon, William	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Marchall, William	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Pendylbury, William	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	?	Not discharged
Pursell, Edward	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	12d	Discharged
Pursell, George	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	?	?
Pursell, Reginald	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	?	Discharged
Rede (Reede), John	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	?	Not discharged
Taylor, Richard	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Webbe, Roger	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Welder, William	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	?	?	Not discharged
Awdeley, Christopher	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Grene, Thomas	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Hylton, Nicholas	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Ivyattes, William	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
James, John	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Olyff, John	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Parott, Thomas	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Stapp, John	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	18 July	GG, RL, RG	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Alyn, William	Eton	Husbandman	Eton	19 July	AL, RD	All	£10	?	Not discharged
Kynge, John	Eton	Husbandman	Eton	19 July	AL, RD	All	£10	?	Not discharged
Philips, John	Eton	Husbandman	Eton	19 July	AL, RD	All	£10	?	Not discharged
<i>Phylips (Philips), William</i>	Eton	Husbandman	Eton	19 July	AL, RD	All	?	?	Not discharged
Cooper (Cowper), John	Little Horwood	Husbandman	Little Horwood	19 July	AL, RD, TP	All	?	12d	Not discharged. Pardoned 27 July for all treasons, insurrections, and other offences committed before 18 July: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.147.

Warde, John	Little Horwood	Butcher	Little Horwood	19 July	AL, RD, TP	All	£40	12d	Not discharged. Pardoned 27 July for all treasons, insurrections and other offences committed before 18 July: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.147.
Wylliat (Williat), George	Little Horwood	Yeoman. Constable of Little Horwood, 1548-49. (f.98v)	Little Horwood	19 July	AL, RD, TP	All	?	12d	Not discharged. Pardoned 27 July for all treasons, insurrections and other offences committed before 18 July: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.147.
Wylliyatt, Robert	Little Horwood	Yeoman	Little Horwood	19 July	AL, RD, TP	All	£20	12d	Not discharged. See also list of hundreds, towns & villages (f.85v): Robert Wylliatt's name appears beside Little Horwood (hundred of Muresley), marked with ?def.
Emmerton, Thomas	Winslow	Tanner	Winslow	19 July	AL, RD	All	£20	12d	Not discharged
Hogekyn, William	Fenny Stratford	Shoemaker	Winslow	19 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Mores, Lancelot	Amersham	Labourer	Amersham	21 July	AL, RD, RGr, RL	All	£20	?	Not discharged
Adkyns, Henry	Great Missenden	Wheeler	Great Missenden	21 July	AL, RD, RGr, RL	All	£10	?	Did not appear. Not discharged.
Lane, John	Great Missenden	Labourer	Great Missenden	21 July	AL, RD, RGr, RL	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Pratt, John	Great Missenden	Labourer	Great Missenden	21 July	AL, RD, RGr, RL	All	£10	?	Did not appear. Not discharged.

Deacon, Ralph	Ivinghoe	Husbandman	Ivinghoe	21 July	AL, RG, GG, RGr	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Parson, John	Ivinghoe	Shoemaker	Ivinghoe	21 July	AL, RG, GG, RGr	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Penley, Edward	Ivinghoe	Mercer	Ivinghoe	21 July	AL, RG, GG, RGr	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Pyng, Richard	Ivinghoe	Smith	Ivinghoe	21 July	AL, RG, GG, RGr	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Stevyns, William	Ivinghoe	Husbandman	Ivinghoe	21 July	AL, RG, GG, RGr	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Tompkyns, Thomas	Ivinghoe	Tallow Chandler	Ivinghoe	21 July	AL, RG, GG, RGr	All	£20	12d	Not discharged
<i>Hyllesdon, John</i>	Oving	Husbandman	Oving	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	5 marks	?	Not discharged
Hyllesdon, Thomas	Oving	Labourer	Oving	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	£20	?	Not discharged
<i>Rayner, John</i>	Oving	Labourer / Husbandman	Oving	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	£20	?	Not discharged
<i>Richardson, John</i>	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Oving	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	£10	?	Not discharged
Hartwell, William	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	5 marks	?	Not discharged
Hyllesdon, John	Oving	Husbandman	Pitchcott	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	40s	?	Not discharged
Parratt, John	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	40s	?	Not discharged
<i>Rayne[r], John</i>	Oving	Husbandman	Pitchcott	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	40s	?	Not discharged
<i>Richardson, John</i>	Pitchcott	Husbandman	Pitchcott	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	5 marks	?	Not discharged
<i>Richardson, John</i>	Oving	Husbandman	Pitchcott	21 July	AL, GG, RG, RL	All	40s	?	Not discharged
Brystowe, John	Buckingham	Butcher	Buckingham	22 July	AL, TP	All	£40	?	Discharged
Burrows, John	Buckingham	Taylor	Buckingham	22 July	AL, TP	All	£20	12d	Not discharged
Crek (Creke), John	Eton	Husbandman	Buckingham	22 July	AL, TP	All	£20	?	Discharged

Nelson, Henry	Buckingham	Fletcher	Buckingham	22 July	AL, TP	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Robyns, Thomas	Buckingham	Labourer	Buckingham	22 July	AL, TP	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
<i>Webb, John</i>	Tingewick	Taylor	Buckingham	22 July	AL, TP	All	£20	12d	Not discharged
Woodcrofte, William	Stony Stratford	Baker	Buckingham	22 July	AL, TP	All	£20	?	Discharged
Lucas, Thomas	Chesham	Labourer	Chesham	22 July	AL, TP	All	?	12d	Not discharged. 18 Aug 1549: recognition issued to Thomas Lucas of Chesham, husband- man: f.107v
<i>Brystowe, John</i>	Buckingham	Butcher	Eton	22 July	AL, TP	All	£20	?	Discharged
<i>Creke, John</i>	Eton	Husbandman	Eton (FS?)	22 July	AL, TP	All	£40	?	Discharged
Crek, Thomas	?Hardmead	Husbandman	Eton	22 July	AL, TP	All	£20	?	Discharged
Grenewoode, John	Eton	Husbandman	Eton	22 July	AL, TP	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£40	?	?
Grenewood, Richard	Fenny Stratford	Husbandman	Eton	22 July	AL, TP	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£20	?	?
Phyllyps, William	Eton	Husbandman	Eton	22 July	AL, TP	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£40	?	?
Bentley, John	Fenny Stratford	Labourer	Fenny Stratford	22 July	AL, TP	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£40	?	?
Palmer, John	Fenny Stratford	Shoemaker	Fenny Stratford	22 July	AL, TP	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£40	?	?
Phyllyps, Richard	Fenny Stratford	Yeoman	Fenny Stratford	22 July	AL, TP	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£20	?	?
Webb, John	Tingewick	Taylor	Fenny Stratford	22 July	AL, TP	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£20	?	?
Hardynge, Thomas	Ivinghoe	Weaver	Ivinghoe	22 July	AL, TP	All	£20	12d	Not discharged
Hawnett, Robert	Ivinghoe	Husbandman	Ivinghoe	22 July	AL, TP	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Hebs, Robert	Ivinghoe	Husbandman	Ivinghoe	22 July	AL, TP	All	£20	12d	Not discharged
Kyns, John	Fenny Stratford	Inn holder	Fenny Stratford	23 July	AL, JC	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£10	?	?
Shepley, Ralph	Fenny Stratford	Butcher	Fenny Stratford	23 July	AL, JC	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£10	?	?
Threder, Robert	Fenny Stratford	Barber	Fenny Stratford	23 July	AL, JC	William Lord Grey of Wilton	£20	?	?

Elward, John	Preston (Bissett)	Husbandman	Preston	23 July	AL, RGr, PD	All	£10	2s	Not discharged. Appeared before AL & RD, 18 July.
Herynge, Henry	Preston (Bissett)	Husbandman	Preston	23 July	AL, RGr, PD	All	£20	2s	Not discharged. Appeared before AL & RD on 18 July.
Warrfje, Fulco	Preston (Bissett)	Husbandman	Preston	23 July	AL, RGr, PD	All	£20	8d	Not discharged
Warrfje, Richard	Preston (Bissett)	Husbandman	Preston	23 July	AL, RGr, PD	All	£40	12d	Not discharged. Appeared before AL & RD, 18 July.
Gyles, Richard	Puttenham (Herts.)	Husbandman	Puttenham	23 July	AL, TP	Robert Hobbs	£40	12d	Not discharged
Alyn, John	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Browne, Robert	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Bushe, Thomas	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Clarke, John	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Clarke, John (Sr.)	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Clarke, John (Jr.)	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Corby, John	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Drewes (alias Whytt), John	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Drewes, Thomas	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Eton, Thomas	Quainton	Shoemaker	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Evans, John	Quainton	Shoemaker	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Eversby, William	Quainton	Shoemaker	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Eversley, Lawrence	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Franklyn, Hugh	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Hawkyns, John	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Hawkyns, Michael	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Hewes, Thomas	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	?	Did not appear. Not discharged.
Holden, Richard	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
James, Richard	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Longe, Edward	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Longe (alias Torner), Nicholas	Quainton	Taylor	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Mallett, Henry	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged

Maynborowe, Richard	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Perkyns, Henry	Quainton	Taylor	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Phyllyps (alias Bushe), Jeremy	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Pollyn, Peter	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Quynnton (Qwynton), John	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Sawnder, Edward	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Sherwoode, Roger	Quainton	Weaver	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Smythe, Thomas	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£40	12d	Not discharged
Snowe, Roger	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Spencer, John	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Torner (Turner), Jacob	Quainton	Taylor	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Towsey, Jacob	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Webster, Christopher	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
West, William	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Wever, Richard	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Wever, Thomas	Quainton	Husbandman	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Whelpley, Robert	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Wylson, Henry	Quainton	Labourer	Quainton	23 July	AL, RD	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Boresley, Peter	Brill	Labourer	Brill	24 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Charesley, Robert	Brill	Taylor	Brill	24 July	AL, TP	All	100s	12d	Not discharged
Dysshier, Richard	Brill	Husbandman	Brill	24 July	AL, TP	All	100s?	12d	Not discharged
Quaynton, William	Brill	Labourer	Brill	24 July	AL, TP	All	£10	12d	Not discharged
Hychecocke, William	Buckinghamshire	Carpenter							Imprisoned at the Tower of London by 22 Oct 1549: SP 10/9/48 Committed for conspiracies and seditious words. Probably indicted, tried, and even executed, but no trial or execution records extant: Beer, <i>Rebellion and Riot</i> , p.188.

Williatte (Wylliat), Thomas	Little Horwood									Fined 2s (f.99v) alongside Thomas Fermor of Chinnor, Roger Caryll of Northampton and John Robyns of Chetwode (12d), 20 July 1548? Pardoned 27 July for all treasons, insurrections and other offences committed before 18 July: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.147.
Barton, Edmund	Little Horwood									Pardoned 27 July for all treasons, insurrections and other offences committed before 18 July: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.147.
Kyghtley, Thomas	London									Pardoned 27 July for all treasons, insurrections and other offences committed before 18 July: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.147. As Kyghtley's name appears alongside those of the rebels from Little Horwood, it seems reasonable to assume that he was involved in the Buckinghamshire section of the rising.

List of Thames Valley Rebels, 1547-51

Name	Place of Residence	Social Status	Fate	Additional Information and References
Ansteye, Richard (Anstoye, Anstye, Austyn)	Henley upon Thames (Oxon.)	Labourer	Summoned to appear before Star Chamber.	Accused of unlawful assembly and riotous fishing at Henry Neville's pond at Wargrave, Berks., 23 Nov. 1547: STAC 3/1/102.
Bonam, Thomas (Bonham)	Reading (Berks.)	Shoemaker	Arrested and charged with 'machinating and compassing the King's death' on 20 Nov. 1549. Convicted on 10 Dec. and sentenced to execution at Reading.	<i>Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Appendix II</i> , pp.223-24. For a writ of subpoena issued on Thomas Bonham's behalf, see STAC 3/9/22.
Boolar, William (Bowlar)	Watlington (Oxon.)		Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution at Watlington on 19 July 1549. Later pardoned.	SP 10/8/32; BL Harl. MS 540, f. 11r (Stowe). One of the 'capitayns at the brakyngge upp the parks', along with Thomas Bouldrey.
Bowldry, Thomas (Bouldrey)	Great Haseley (Oxon.)	Wealthy yeoman	Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution at Oxford on 19 July 1549. Hanged and quartered.	SP 10/8/32; BL Harl. MS 540, f.11r (Stowe). Rebel leader. One of the 'capitayns at the brakyngge upp the parks'. Known from local deeds to be a small freeholder of yeoman class: <i>VCH Oxon.</i> , vol. 2, p.36. The will of his father (also Thomas) proved on 9 May 1538 shows the family to have had a considerable estate: Vere Woodman, 'Bucks. and Oxon. Rising', p.83 n.21.
Brokes, Richard	Oxford	Burgess		An action was brought in the Court of Chancery (1553-55) for calling Richard Brokes 'a rebell and a thief'. Although no real context is given (beyond the immediate dispute between George Owen and the City of Oxford concerning common in St Giles' field), this <i>may</i> be an allegation of Brokes' involvement in the 1549 rebellion: C 1/1395/15.
Brokyns, John	Islip (Oxon.)	Craftsman	Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution at Islip on 19 July 1549.	SP 10/8/32.
Broughton, John	Glaphorn (Northants.)		Sentenced to imprisonment 'for a season' (c.21 June 1548) as one of the ringleaders of the seditious uproar at Glaphorn, late May-June 1548.	SP 46/1/171. John Desborowe and Richard Trusse were believed to be the other ringleaders.

Champion, George	?Wokingham (Berks.)				Participated in the Wokingham rising of 17 August 1551: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 4, p.343.
Cheyne, John	Newbury (Berks.)	Son of Roger Cheyne	Summons to appear before King and Council to answer for riotous behaviour.		One of the rioters who marched into Newbury on 6 Dec. 1547 & attacked the former constable: REQ 2/16/25.
Cheyne, Robert	Newbury (Berks.)	Knight			Assisted the Newbury rioters in assembling a 200-strong force, 6-7 Dec. 1547. REQ 2/16/25.
Cheyne, Roger	Newbury (Berks.)	Brother of Robert Cheyne			Assisted the Newbury rioters in assembling a 200-strong force, 6-7 Dec. 1547. REQ 2/16/25.
Coon, Thomas	Newbury (Berks.)	Formerly retained by Sir Robert Cheyne, knight & Roger Cheyne, his brother.	Summons to appear before King and Council to answer for riotous behaviour.		One of the rioters who marched into Newbury on 6 Dec. 1547 & attacked the former constable: REQ 2/16/25.
Davers, George	Knothrop (Oxon.)		To be examined (24 Dec. 1550) concerning a riot near Banbury, in which Davers and other inhabitants of Knothrop riotously dug down the ditches enclosing the demesnes surrounding Banbury Castle, known as 'Elfingdell Eferme'.		The inquiry was to establish whether Davers and the other inhabitants had any lawful claim to common in the enclosed demesnes: <i>APC</i> 3, p.181.
Desborowe, John	Glaphorn (Northants.)		Sentenced to imprisonment 'for a season' (c.21 June 1548) as one of the ringleaders of the seditious uproar at Glaphorn, late May-June 1548.		SP 46/1/171.
Elmes, Anthony	Harden/Harpely (Oxon.)	Gentleman	Summons to appear before Star Chamber.		Accused of unlawful assembly and riotous fishing at Henry Neville's pond at Wargrave, Berks., 23 Nov. 1547: STAC 3/1/102.
Frewyn, Francis	Henley upon Thames (Oxon.)	Yeoman/Mercer Water bailiff of the Thames between Staines Bridge & Cirencester	Summons to appear before Star Chamber.		Accused of unlawful assembly and riotous fishing at Henry Neville's pond at Wargrave, Berks., 23 Nov. 1547: STAC 3/1/102.
Frewyn, Peter	Remenham (Berks.)	Miller	Summons to appear before Star Chamber.		Accused of unlawful assembly and riotous fishing at Henry Neville's pond at Wargrave, Berks., 23 Nov. 1547: STAC 3/1/102.

Graunger, John (Granger)	Henley upon Thames (Oxon.)	Fisherman	Summoned to appear before Star Chamber.	Accused of unlawful assembly and riotous fishing at Henry Neville's pond at Wargrave, Berks., 23 Nov. 1547: STAC 3/1/102.
Grenewaite, Mr		One of the Gentleman Ushers to the King.	Appeared before the Privy Council on 31 March 1551 charged with breaking up Ralph Lee's hedges in Bucks. Commanded on 6 April to make up the hedges again at his own cost.	Grenewaite alleged that Lee had unlawfully enclosed a common meadow to the prejudice of the inhabitants. He sent 2 of his men to break down the hedges and put their cattle in the field, so that the matter could be brought to law when Lee impounded the animals. When Grenewaite promised to repair the hedges, 'the poore men that for that matter had been committed to the Porter's Lodge were discharged'. It seems that Grenewaite was acting as champion of the poor in resisting Lee's enclosures and recovering the commoners' rights: <i>APC</i> 3, pp.247, 252. <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 4, p.343.
Herne, Isaac (alias Heyberne)	Beaconsfield (Bucks.)	Tanner	Indicted of having procured a rebellious assembly at Wokingham, Berks. on 17 Aug. 1551, for the reduction of rents and prices. Pardoned on 29 April for the felony.	Participated in the Wokingham rising of 17 August 1551: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 4, p.343.
Hore, Richard	?Wokingham (Berks.)			Accused of unlawful assembly and riotous fishing at Henry Neville's pond at Wargrave, Berks., 23 Nov. 1547: STAC 3/1/102.
Hugyns, John (Hodgekyns, Hodgkyns)	Henley upon Thames (Oxon.)	Labourer	Summoned to appear before Star Chamber.	<i>APC</i> 3, p.34; see also p.31 and the entry for Thomas Lovett below.
Jackson, Thomas	Thame (Oxon.)		Examined by Privy Council concerning the insurrection of May 1550. Found not guilty. Released on recognisance of £5.	One of the rioters who marched into Newbury on 6 Dec. 1547 & attacked the former constable: REQ 2/16/25.
Johnson, Richard	Newbury (Berks.)	Formerly retained by Sir Robert Cheyne, knight & Roger Cheyne, his brother.	Summoned to appear before King and Council to answer for riotous behaviour.	
Johnson, Robert	Thame (Oxon.)		Examined by Privy Council concerning the insurrection of May 1550. Found not guilty. Released on recognisance of £5.	<i>APC</i> 3, p.34; see also p.31 and the entry for Thomas Lovett below.

Joyes, Henry (Joyce)	Chipping Norton (Oxon.)	Vicar of Chipping Norton	Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution upon the steeple at Chipping Norton on 19 July 1549. Executed for high treason shortly before 31 August 1549, but died of natural causes according to the Diocesan Register.	SP 10/8/32; <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.117; Vere Woodman, 'Bucks. and Oxon. Rising', p.83 n.22. Probably a ringleader. When the four chantry priests in the parish church were pensioned off under the chantries act, the vicar of Chipping Norton was left to minister to 800 parishioners: Beer, <i>Rebellion and Riot</i> , p.150.
Lovett, Thomas	?Thame (Oxon.)		Committed to the Porter's custody.	Accused Robert Johnson and Thomas Jackson of Thame of 'a conspiracie for rebellion' in May 1550, but was apprehended himself whilst he justified his accusation and 'upon suspicion that he himself hath been a sterrer of like matter': <i>APC</i> 3, pp.31, 34.
Marsh, Geoffrey	Blackthorn (Oxon.)	Husbandman	Pardoned on 14 August 1549 for all offences committed before 20 July.	<i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.147.
Mathew, Henrie Sir	Deddington (Oxon.)	Parish priest	Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution at Deddington on 19 July 1549 (Initially Mathew was to be hanged at Bicester. Lord Grey evidently changed his mind, settling on Deddington as the preferred site).	SP 10/8/32. Mathew was neither the vicar of Deddington in 1549, nor the priest of the former Trinity Guild (dissolved 1548). His position in Deddington is uncertain, although 'he was presumably a priest whose livelihood had somehow been affected by the recent religious changes': H.M. Colvin, <i>History of Deddington</i> , p.97.
Morgan, John ap	Newbury (Berks.)	Formerly retained by Sir Robert Cheyne, knight & Roger Cheyne, his brother.	Summoned to appear before King and Council to answer for riotous behaviour.	One of the rioters who marched into Newbury on 6 Dec. 154? & attacked the former constable: REQ 2/16/25.
Mylam, James	?Wokingham (Berks.)			Participated in the Wokingham rising of 17 August 1551: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 4, p.343.
Noddes, Richard	Blackthorn (Oxon.)	Husbandman	Pardoned on 14 August 1549 for all offences committed before 20 July.	<i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 3, p.147.
Parkyns	Crockham (Berks.)	Keeper of Crockham Park		On 17 July 1550, told his aunt (Margaret Welles of Southampton) news of a rebellion to be greater than that of 1549: Anderson, <i>Letters</i> , nos. 48-49.
Raves, George	Duns Tew (Oxon.)		Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution at Banbury on 19 July 1549.	SP 10/8/32. Probably later pardoned. Made a will in 1558: Vere Woodman, 'Bucks. and Oxon. Rising', p.83.
Sheres, John	?Wokingham (Berks.)			Participated in the Wokingham rising of 17 August 1551: <i>CPR Edw. VI</i> , vol. 4, p.343.

Smythe, Alan (Smyth, Smith)	Henley upon Thames (Oxon.)	Labourer	Summoned to appear before Star Chamber.	Accused of unlawful assembly and riotous fishing at Henry Neville's pond at Wargrave, Berks., 23 Nov. 1547: STAC 3/1/102.
Tomson, Richard	Duns Tew (Oxon.)	Vicar of Duns Tew	Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution at Banbury on 19 July 1549. Eventually pardoned.	SP 10/8/32. Resigned his living in 1554 according to the Diocesan Register: Vere Woodman, 'Bucks. and Oxon. Rising', p.83.
Trusse, Richard	Glaphorn (Northants.)		Sentenced to imprisonment 'for a season' (c.21 June 1548) as one of the ringleaders of the seditious uproar at Glaphorn, late May-June 1548.	SP 46/1/171.
Turnar, William	Newbury (Berks.)	Weaver	Arrested and charged with 'machinating and compassing the King's death' on 20 Nov. 1549. Convicted on 10 Dec. and sentenced to execution at Reading.	<i>Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Appendix II, pp.223-24.</i>
Wade, John	Bloxham (Oxon.)	Parish priest of Bloxham	Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution upon the steeple at Bloxham on 19 July 1549. Eventually pardoned.	SP 10/8/32. Still living at Bloxham in 1553: Vere Woodman, 'Bucks. and Oxon. Rising' p.83.
Wattes, Thomas (Watts)	Newbury (Berks.)	Weaver	Arrested and charged with 'machinating and compassing the King's death' on 20 Nov. 1549. Convicted on 10 Dec. and sentenced to execution at Reading.	<i>Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Appendix II, pp.223-24.</i>
Webbe, James	Barford St Michael (Oxon.)	Vicar of Barford St Michael	Only Oxon./Bucks. rebel tried in London. Arraigned at the Guildhall, 16 August 1549. Condemned for high treason as the captain of the Oxfordshire rebels. Sent to Aylesbury on 22 August to be hanged, drawn and quartered.	Possibly the chief captain of the rebels. Wriothesley, <i>Chronicle II</i> , p.21. The Diocesan Register notes his attainder: Vere Woodman, 'Bucks. and Oxon. Rising', p.82, n.20.
Whetely, Thomas	?Wokingham (Berks.)			Participated in the Wokingham rising of 17 August 1551: <i>CPR Edw. VI, vol. 4, p.343.</i>
White, John	Combe (Oxon.)		Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution at Banbury on 19 July 1549.	SP 10/8/32
Whyttington, Richard	Deddington (Oxon.)	Weaver	Imprisoned. Sentenced to execution at Bicester on 19 July 1549.	SP 10/8/32
Four others of the most seditious	Oxon.		To be apprehended. Sentenced to execution at Thame on 19 July 1549.	SP 10/8/32

The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Rising, 1549: List of Targets and Repressors

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	References
Ardenne, John	Oxon.	Esquire	Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.	SP 10/8/32
Ashfelde, Humphrey	Oxon.	Esquire	Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.	SP 10/8/32
Barentyne, Sir William (1481-1549) (Barandynne, Barantine, Barrington)	Little Haseley, Oxon. and London.	Knight	One of the Oxfordshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels. Member of a long-established, leading Oxon. family. His house at Little Haseley was described as 'a right fair mansion place', but the Cotswold lands at Churchill were probably the main source of Barentyne's wealth. He was listed amongst the producers of Cotswold wool shipped to Calais (1533). The enclosure commission of 1517 found that he had enclosed and converted 300 acres of derelict arable land at Churchill on 16 Oct. 1512, more than trebling its value. He purchased the manor of Churchill, which had belonged to Bruern abbey, in 1544. Sheriff, Oxon. & Berks. 1511-12, 1526, 1542-3. Commr. Church goods 1549. JP Oxon. 1516- <i>d</i> . Knight of the Shire 1529. Headed list of Oxon. gentry called upon to lead militia against the Pilgrimage of Grace 1536. Dealt in monastic property, but only retained that at Warsgrove, nr. his home. The heads of the Barantine, Chamberlain and Fernor families, who had all participated in the execution of priests & other rebels in 1549, were leading recusants in Oxon. in Elizabeth's reign.	SP 10/8/2; SP 10/8/32 Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> , pp.378-79. <i>VCH Oxon.</i> 2, p.36.
Barley, John	Newbury (Berks.)	Former constable of Newbury	Barley's supplication for the 'reformation of misrule and enormities' in the town and his enforcement of the proclamation against retainers sparked the Newbury riot of 6 Dec. ?1553, during which he was assaulted and the 'rich churles' and substantial townsmen were verbally threatened.	REQ 2/16/25
Browne, Sir John	Oxon.	Knight	One of the Oxfordshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. and Bucks. rebels.	SP 10/8/2; SP 10/8/32
Chamberlain(e), Leonard (by 1504-61)	Shirburn & Woodstock, Oxon.	Esquire	One of the Oxfordshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels. Active in maintaining order in Oxon. 1549. Regular attendant at court 1532-1550s. JP Oxon. 1541-7, 1554- <i>d</i> . Sheriff Oxon. & Berks. 1546-7, 1552-3. Lt. Woodstock 1532-43 (jt.), 1543-55 (sole), 1555- <i>d</i> . (jt.). Asst. to lt. Of the Tower Oct-Dec. 1549, Oct. 1551. Marshal, army for relief of Boulogne 1549. Gov. Guernsey 25 Sept 1553- <i>d</i> . Declared for Mary 1553 and raised troops in her name. A leading Marian courtier. Will dated 22 May 1560: the Catholic preamble is probably a true indication of his beliefs, since the Chamberlain's became a recusant family.	SP 10/8/2; SP 10/8/32 Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> , pp.616-17.
Cheyne, John (Cheyne) (<i>d</i> .1578)	Shardeloes, Amersham (Bucks.)	Esquire	One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the 1549 commotions in that county. John Cheyne is stated to have been of Shardeloes in Amersham. This manor had been conveyed to his grandfather, Thomas Cheyne, in 1479. John settled the manor on himself, his wife Margaret, and their sons, Henry Timothy and William, in 1553. A John Cheyne was assessed at £13 6s 8d on his lands in Amersham in 1522. The Cheynes were an important and long-established Bucks. family, which found 9 sheriffs. They held the manors of Isehamstead Chenies, Chesham Bois, Drayton Beauchamp, Grove in Chesham, Amersham, and Cogenhoe (Northants.).	SP 10/8/2; Bodl. MS E Museo 57, f.107r. <i>VCH Bucks.</i> 3, p.149. <i>Certificate of Musters</i> , p.230. <i>Visitation of Bucks.</i> , pp.27, 153; Viney, <i>Sheriffs of Bucks.</i> , pp.42, 79-80; Jordan, <i>Charities</i> , p.36.

Coope, Sir Anthony	Oxon.			Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.	SP 10/8/32
Crooke[r], John	Oxon. or Chilton (Bucks.)	Knight, sheriff of Oxfordshire	Esquire	One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.	SP 10/8/2; SP 10/8/32
Darrell, Paul (Dayrell) (d. 1556)	Lillingstone Dayrell (Bucks.)	Esquire	Esquire	One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the 1549 commotions in that county. The Dayrells were established at Lillingstone from the middle of the 12thC, and also owned land in Buckingham, West Wycombe, Saunderton, Fawley, Aston Clinton and Fulmer. Paul's father, Thomas Dayrell, served as Sheriff in 1504, and his son, another Paul, in 1563 and 1580. His father was assessed at £40 on his lands and £50 on his goods, as lord of Lillingstone Dayrell, in 1522. Paul was himself assessed at £13 6s 8d on lands and £20 on goods. Succeeded to the manor of Lillingstone Dayrell in 1524. <i>m.</i> Margaret, da. of John Cheyney. A monument to Paul Dayrell (d. 1556) and his third wife, Dorothy (d. 1571) can be found in the middle of the chancel of Lillingstone Dayrell church.	SP 10/8/2; Bodl. MS Museo E 57 Gibbs, <i>Worthies of Bucks.</i> , p.123; Viney, <i>Sheriffs of Bucks.</i> , pp.40, 42, 43, 84. <i>VCH Bucks.</i> 3, p.486; 4, pp.189, 191. <i>Visitation of Bucks.</i> , pp.34, 36, 157; <i>Certificate of Masters</i> , p.43; Pevsner & Williamson, <i>Buildings of Bucks.</i> , p.61.
Denton, John (by 1514-76)	Ambrosden, Oxon.	Esquire	Esquire	Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels. JP Oxon. 1536-d. Escheator Oxon. & Berks. 1539-41, 1549-50. John Denton's father was a substantial landowner, mainly in Oxon., and had been sheriff of Oxon. & Berks. in 1526. In Dec. 1533, John inherited a lease at Caversfield (administratively a Bucks. parish until the 19thC, but geographically within Oxon., 1 mile north of Bicester) and the manors of Foscott (Bucks.) and Appleton (Berks.). He tried to concentrate his estates around Bicester through the purchase of former monastic property. He was described as of Blackthorn (3 miles from Bicester) when he received a grant on 25 Oct. 1542 of Nun's Place or King's End in Bicester and of Ambrosden nr. Bicester in exchange for his manor of Foscott and £58, although he must only have been a tenant since he did not receive the manor of Blackthorn until 1564.	SP 10/8/32 Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> 2, p.29.
Dorner, Lady Jane (d. 1571)	Wing (Bucks.)			Wife of Sir Robert Dorner (m. 1512). Da. of John Newdigate of Harefield, Middlesex (1541-1592) and Dame Amphyllis Nevill. During the 1549 rebellion, villagers flocked to Lady Jane's house at Wing to defend her and her house. The rebels did no harm to her estate, having promised her 'that her charity and good works, known to the whole country, were a sufficient guard and preservation of her person and family'. Her son, Sir William Dorner, gathered support to assist Queen Mary at Aylesbury in 1553. Lady Jane fled to Flanders with her granddaughter, the Duchess of Feria, in 1559. She lived as a religious exile in Louvain, where she was revered for her 'virtue, piety, charity, and other Christian works', until her death in 1571. Her brother, Sebastian Newdigate, a Carthusian monk, was executed for high treason; one of her sisters was brought before the judges for recusancy in 1581/2.	Clifford, <i>Life of Jane Dorner</i> , pp.5, 12-17, 19-38, 45-46. <i>DNB</i> 5, pp.1150-52 (refs. to Jane, Lady Dorner); <i>DNB</i> 14, pp.330-31.
Dorner, Sir Robert (1485/6-1552)	West Wycombe and Wing (Bucks.) and London	Knight (by 24 Sept. 1535)		According to Clifford's account, the Bucks. rebels spared Sir Robert's estate at Wing. Sir Robert seems to have been absent at the time of the rebellion. His absence may be explained by the fact that he was one of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. He was also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the commotions in that county in July 1549. Sir Robert was 'a chief man of his county' who was 'beloved and honoured by his neighbours'. He absented himself from court after Henry VIII's break from Rome, regarding the Dissolution as an 'unchristian act'. He 'avoided' being a Parliament man, allegedly turning down the position of knight of the shire. He is also said to have avoided buying abbey lands (with the exception of Aston Abbots, a manor not far from his	Clifford, <i>Life of Jane Dorner</i> , pp.5-12, 45-46; SP 10/8/2. Bodl. MS E Museo 57. <i>VCH Bucks.</i> 1, pp.306 n.3, 326 n.6; 2, pp.308, 311; 3, pp.57-60, 136, 450-53; 4, pp.63, 93-95, 108, 110-11, 113, 117. <i>Certificate of</i>

			<p>house). Sir Robert's house 'was a refuge and entertainment to all distressed and persecuted Catholics, both priests and others'. During Edward VI's reign, Sir Robert was occupied by hospitality and works of charity and could not be 'brought to follow, flatter, or yield to the disordered desires' of Protector Somerset. Clifford's claims, made c.1643 in a eulogy to Jane Dormer's Catholicism, are not entirely trustworthy. For example, it is difficult to reconcile the claim that Dormer avoided being a Part. man when he realised Henry VIII intended 'to carry all matters according to his passion', with some of the facts. If, as seems likely, this claim applied to the Parlt. of 1529, Dormer was in fact an MP. Whereas, the 1536 and 1542 Parlt. were less of an affront to religious conservatives. However, the Bucks. by-election which took place after the middle of 1532 may have provided an opportunity for Dormer to decline the vacant place. Whether he would have done so in protest is doubtful, since he remained in favour at court.</p> <p>MP Chipping (High) Wycombe 1529: his return reflected his standing in the neighbourhood, but may have been due to a royal nomination. Commr. subsidy, Bucks. 1512, 1514, 1524, 1546; benevolence 1544/5; musters 1546; relief 1550; other commissions 1535-47. Sheriff Beds. & Bucks. 1522-3, 1531-2, 1538-9. JP Bucks. 1536-<i>d</i>. Marshal and keeper of the falcons by <i>d</i>.</p> <p>Wool trade: The Dormers of Bucks. and Oxon. were prosperous wool merchants whose family business extended from Thame (Oxon.) and Wycombe to the City of London and beyond. Robert Dormer probably gained experience in the family business with his uncles Sir Michael & Peter Dormer, merchants of the staple. He was admitted to the Mercer's Co. by redemption in 1514. His purchase of the manor of Wing in 1515 increased his grazing facilities. The profits of his business were invested in landed property in Bucks.</p> <p>Land & property: Originally lived at West Wycombe, where the Dormer family (one of the most distinguished Bucks. families) had been established since the 13thC. Purchased the manor of Wing in 1515 and settled here by 1524, when he was assessed for the subsidy there on goods worth £233. Bought from the crown the rights to the manor of Ascott in Wing for £346 (1544). Ascott House/Hall, the seat of the Dormers, said to have been built on the site of Wing Priory, formerly stood in Wing Park, which was enclosed by Robert Dormer in the first half of the 16thC. Also owned property in Wingrave, Aston Abbotts, Wendover, Hughendon (manor: after the surrender of the priory, 1539), Quainton (Lee Grange 1539, formerly the manor-house of the abbots of Thame), Chesham, Edlesborough, Pitstone, Swanbourne, Marsh Gibbon, Great Brickhill, Beachendon and Ilmer (1538), and in the parish of St Thomas Apostle, London. Owned Eythrope manor in Waddesdon (a country seat of the Dormers) from 1535, where his son William (by 1514-75) – a JP for Bucks. 1547-75 – lived. Assessed at £160 on his lands in England and £467 on his goods in 1522. Furnished 2 great horses (15 July 1547); 1 light horse and 2 demulances (c. July 1548). Sir Robert Dormer and even his father, William (a woolman of West Wycombe), were beyond range of the jurisdiction of the Archdeaconry of Bucks.</p> <p>Died at Wing on 2 or 8 July 1552. Buried on 12 July as 'a great sheep master in Oxfordshire', according to Machlyn. An ostentatious monument with inscription was erected in Wing Church, described as being 'one of the finest of its period in England'.</p> <p>One of the Oxfordshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.</p> <p>Certified by the sheriff to possess £40 or more yearly (c. April 1548). Furnished 1 light horse (c. July 1548).</p>	<p><i>Musters for Buckinghamshire in 1522</i>: Robert Dormer, pp.84, 91, 96, 99, 110, 144, 145, (chief lord of Wing) 162, 176, 190, 264, 282, 288, 293, 294, 298. Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i>, pp.52-53. <i>CSPD Edw. VI</i>, nos. 44 (p.15), 137 (p.58), 841 (p.301). Pevsner & Williamson, <i>Buildings of Buckinghamshire</i>, pp.59, 61-63, 74, 142-43, 145, 321-22, 405, 609, 751-52 (see also plate 34). Elvey, 'Early Records of the Archdeaconry of Bucks.', 55-66. Bucks. RO D/C/1/104. <i>Visitation of Bucks.</i>, pp.40-41 for Sir Robert Dormer of Ascott, Wing. Viney, <i>Sheriffs of Bucks.</i>, pp. 40, 41, 85 for Sir Robert Dormer of Wing. Gibbs, <i>Worthies of Bucks.</i>, pp.133-34. For the Dormer family, see also <i>The Courts of the Archdeaconry of Buckinghamshire, 1483-1523</i>, pp.47, 56-57, 108, 213-14n.2, 293 (no.377B), 303.</p>
Dormer, William	Oxon.	Esquire	<p>SP 10/8/2; SP 10/8/32 <i>CSPD Edw. VI</i>, nos. 71 (p.21), 137 (p.56).</p>	

Fermor, William (by 1480-1552)	Somerton (Oxon.) and London	Esquire	<p>Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels. MP Oxon. 1539. Clerk of the crown and King's attorney KB 1508-42. JP Oxon. 1511-d., Oxford 1512-d. Sheriff Oxon. & Berks. 1533-4, 1543-4. Steward, manor of Islip, Oxon., Mar. 1540-d. Custos rot. Oxon., 1547.</p> <p>Inherited lands at Witney, where he was living in 1501. Soon afterwards, moved to Somerton, north Oxon., where he made his home and built a new manor house. Paid William Aston £287 for the reversion to a moiety of Somerton manor in Feb. 1504, which came into his possession when Aston died 1506. 'Sheep-farming was probably Fermor's main source of income from his estates; an account of the 1530s shows him to have been one of the county's largest exporters. He was, at different times, accused of converting arable land to pasture for enclosure both at Hardwick and at Somerton'. His office as clerk of the crown and King's attorney in the ct. of King's Bench brought him the reward of the 2nd moiety of Somerton manor in 1512.</p> <p>Fermor served regularly on commissions for the city and county of Oxford from 1512 onwards. He was one of the govt.'s trusted agents in Oxon., reporting to Cromwell in 1537 & 1540 re. alleged seditious speeches by a priest and a wool-winder. In 1536 he was summoned to raise 30 men for service against the northern rebels and in 1537 he was appointed to enquire into allegations of treason made against the abbots of Eynsham and Osney.</p> <p>Land purchases: Godington manor (Oxon.), Feb. 1541; Nethercote Grange, Steeple Aston (Oxon.) Mar. 1542; manor of Walton in Walton & King's Sutton (Northants.).</p> <p>The heads of the Barantine, Chamberlain and Fermor families, who had all participated in the execution of priests & other rebels in 1549, were leading recusants in Oxon. in Elizabeth's reign.</p>	SP 10/8/32 Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> 2, pp.127-28. <i>VCH Oxon.</i> 2, p.36.
Fynes, Richard (Fiennes) (1520-73)	Broughton Castle (Oxon.)	Esquire	<p>One of the Oxfordshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.</p> <p>MP Oxon. 1547. JP Oxon. 1544-47, 1558/9-d. Escheator Oxon. & Berks., 1546-7; sheriff 1550-51. His return for the county in 1547 may have resulted from his connection with the Norris family. His removal from the commission of the peace under Mary and restoration under Elizabeth suggest his sympathies were not Catholic. In 1564 he was one of the Oxon. gentry commended to Archb. Parker as being favourably disposed in religion. In 1563 & 1568 he obtained leases of the rectory, prebend and hundred of Banbury, thereby increasing his family's influence in north Oxon.</p>	SP 10/8/2; SP 10/8/32 Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> 2, pp.132-33.
Gibbons, Thomas	Oxon.	Esquire	<p>Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.</p>	SP 10/8/32

Greneway, Richard (Grenewale, Greenway) (d. 1552)	Dinton (Bucks.)	Esquire A gentleman usher to the king	One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the 1549 commotions in that county. Richard Greenway of Dinton was lord of Woodrow Manor in Amersham (from 1546), with which Leckhamstead descended. On the dissolution of Great Missenden Abbey, the site and lands were granted to Greenway in early 1541. He also held the manor of Hulcote on his death in 1551-52. A Thomas Greenway was assessed for the 1522 subsidy at Moreton Farm in Dinton on lands worth £82 and goods worth £100 and at Upton in Dinton on lands worth £3 6s 8d. A tomb to Richard Greenway and his wife, Joan, survives in Dinton church.	SP 10/8/2 Bodl. MS E Museo 57 <i>VCH Bucks.</i> 2, pp.280, 329, 343, 350, 353; 3, p.147; 4, p.182. <i>Certificate of Musters</i> , p.74; see also pp.72, 84, 91, 99, 104, 110, 127, 142, 152, 177.
Grey, Lord William (d. 1562)	Wilton (Wilts.) and Whaddon (Bucks.)	13 th Baron Grey de Wilton	Lord Grey (an accomplished soldier) was despatched at the head of 1500 horse and foot into Oxfordshire, where he used considerable severity to defeat the rebels. Shortly after, he issued an order concerning the execution of leading Oxfordshire rebels on 18 July 1549, before marching to the south-west to join forces with Lord Russell against the Devonshire and Cornish rebels. He was committed to the Tower in 1551 as a partisan of the Duke of Somerset, but was released after Somerset's execution. An interesting comparison can be made between the reputations of Sir William and his son, Arthur. Both men had a reputation for bloodthirstiness, but whereas William's severity against the Oxon. & Bucks. rebels heralded the praise of Sir Thomas Smith, Arthur was shackled with the notoriety of being 'a bloody man' who regarded the Queen's subjects 'no more than dogs', as a result of his handling of the Battle of Smerwick, 11 Nov. 1580. Grey's association with the Thames Valley region was cemented when Whaddon Hall passed to him in c.1546. His son, Arthur, is said to have incorporated in this substantial medieval house the dismantled fabric of another of his houses, Water Hall, Fenny Stratford.	SP 10/8/32; SP 10/8/33. <i>DNB</i> 8, pp.656-58. Arthur, Lord Grey, Commentary, pp.viii, 17. Pocock, <i>Troubles with the Prayer Book</i> , pp.25-27, 29-30. Canino, 'Reconstructing Lord Grey's Reputation', <i>16th C JI</i> , 29:1 (Spring 1998), 3-18. Pevsner & Williamson, <i>Buildings of Buckinghamshire</i> , pp.745-46. <i>VCH Bucks.</i> 3, pp.435-36, 439. Gibbs, <i>Worthies of Bucks</i> , p.179.
Gyfford, George (Gifford, Giffard) (by 1496-1557)	Middle Claydon (Bucks.)	Esquire	One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the 1549 commotions in that county. JP Bucks. 1532-d. MP Buckingham 1536; Bucks. 1554 (Apr.). Commr. tenths and spiritualities Bucks. 1535; suppression of monasteries Leics., Northants., Rutland, Warws., 1536-39; chantries Herefs., Worcs. 1546, Beds, Berks. 1548. Particular receiver, ct. augmentations 1536-54. Esquire of the body by 1547. An active figure in the court of augmentations during Edw. VI's reign (investigated for corruption 1552). In the 12 th C the first earls of Buckingham were Giffards. The family held the manors of Crendon, Chilton, Dorton, Policott, Winchendon, Whaddon, Horwood, Newton Longville. By 14thC other Giffards were established as Keepers of Whaddon Chase, an office which later went to the Pigotts. Another branch of the family held Twyford from c.1290. The family found four sheriffs (1417, 1446 1497, 1543). George Giffard held Middle Claydon (from 1542), Fulbrook manor (Hogshaw), Boycott manor (Stowe) and Gorral Grange (Biddlesden). Claydon House was probably built by his father, Roger Giffard, lessee under the first Sir Ralph Verney. Roger Gifford was assessed at £200 on his goods at Middle Claydon and 6s 8d on his lands at Steeple Claydon in 1522. He received a pension and knighthood in reward for his allegiance to Mary at her succession and procured his election as one of the knights for Bucks, spring 1534. He appointed the prior of St John Of Jerusalem as overseer of his will (made 20 Nov. 1556). D. 27 Dec. 1557. Buried at Middle Claydon.	SP 10/8/2; Bodl. MS E Museo 57. Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> 2, pp.212-13. <i>VCH Bucks.</i> 3, p.439, 4, pp.32, 33, 55, 236, 227. <i>Visitation of Bucks</i> , p.166. Viney, <i>Sheriffs of Bucks</i> , pp.36, 37, 39, 41, 91. <i>Certificate of Musters, 1522</i> , pp.56, 129. Gibbs, <i>Worthies of Bucks</i> , p.168
Gyfford, Ralph (by 1504-55/56)	Steeple Claydon (Bucks.)	Esquire	One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the 1549 commotions in that county.	SP 10/8/2; Bodl. MS E Museo 57. Bindoff, <i>House of</i>

Laughton, Ralph	Oxon.	Esquire	<p>MP Buckingham, 1545. Subsidy collector. Ashendon hundreds, 1525. Esquire of the body by 1547. Commr. relief, Bucks. 1550. Brother of George Giffard.</p> <p>Assessed on goods worth £10 in 1525 whilst living at Middle Claydon; his father, Roger, was assessed on goods worth £200. Marriage to Mary, da. of Sir Edward Chamberlain of Woodstock (Oxon.) brought him a modest estate. Settled at Steeple Claydon by 1543 where his elder brother John was lessee of the manor from the crown. In 1543 he was assessed for the subsidy on goods worth £40. Ralph Giffard's connection with Steeple Claydon became more secure on the death of his brother, John, in 1547. The leasehold of the manor was then granted to Sir William Paget, who surrendered the rights, with 1,100 acres of land and woodland to Ralph Giffard and Thomas Dampport, his neighbour. In 1554/55 Ralph acquired a new lease for forty years of the manor of Steeple Claydon, but died within the next eighteen months.</p> <p>Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.</p>	<p>Commons. 2, pp.213-14. VCH Bucks. 4, p.227.</p>
Lee, Sir Anthony (1510/11-1549)	Quarrendon and Burston in Aston Abbotts (Bucks.)	Knight (1539)	<p>One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the 1549 commotions in that county.</p> <p>MP Bucks. 1542, 1547. JP Bucks. 1539-d. Commr. benevolence 1544/45, chantries 1548, musters 1548. Custos rot. 20 Dec. 1548.</p> <p>The Lees had already been connected with Quarrendon for a century before Richard Lee obtained the crown lease of the manor in 1499. Sir Robert Lee (Sir Anthony's father), who succeeded in 1512, added four manors to the Quarrendon estate. In addition to being a courtier, sheepfarmer and enclosing landlord, Sir Robert was Sheriff of Bucks. and Beds. in 1522 (when he also served as Collector of the Anticipation) and 1533. He had an income of more than £100 from lands and fees in 10 different towns and villages in Bucks. He was assessed at £40 6s 8d on his lands at Fleet Marston and at £30 on lands at Quarrendon in 1522. Sir Anthony succeeded his father in 1539 and, on his death in 1549, was buried at Quarrendon. He left a large flock of sheep to his second wife, Anne. His son, Sir Henry (1530-1610, ktd. 1553), a renowned sheep farmer, was MP for Bucks. in 1558 and 1572, Master of the Ordnance, Privy Councillor, and champion to Queen Elizabeth. Sir Henry built the Lee mansion at Quarrendon, where Queen Elizabeth visited him in 1592.</p> <p>Sir Anthony Lee also acquired land in Fleet Marston (1540), Pitstone (1540), Stewkley (1544), Stone and Oving (1546), whilst Burston in Aston Abbotts was held with Quarrendon. In 1546 Lee bought extensive lands in Bucks. for £775 with John Croke.</p> <p>Lee was put on the Bucks. bench in 1539 and it was probably around this time that he was knighted. He was named second among the knights of his county who were to serve in the rearguard of the army in France in 1544. At the Buckinghamshire muster of 1546, he and his kinsman, Richard Greenway were jointly responsible for providing 300 men, one third of the total for the county. Although Lee was nominated, he was not pricked sheriff on 12 Nov. 1549, probably due to ill health. He died 12 days later.</p> <p>Lee's hedges (probably at Dinton) in Bucks. were broken up by Mr Grenewaie's men and the 'poore men' c.March 1551, in a common rights dispute.</p> <p>Ralph Lee and his wife Frances also held Saunderton and the manor of Mesles or Druels in Bledlow. He is described as of Saunderton in the 1634 pedigree. Moreton is best known as the first Lee residence in Bucks. Ralph's father, Thomas Lee, was assessed at £6 on lands at Moreton Farm in Dinton in 1522.</p>	<p>SP 10/8/32</p> <p>SP 10/8/2; Bodl. MS E Museo 57. Bindoff. House of Commons 2, pp.505-06. VCH Bucks. 2, p.308, 311; 3, pp.329, 408, 422; 4, pp.74-5, 87, 100. Viney, Sheriffs of Bucks., pp.101-02. Certificate of Musters, 1522, pp. 6, 66, 89, 90, 101, 119, 120, 123, 124, 193, 235, 360. Gibbs, Worthies of Bucks., pp.242-43. Jordan, Charities, p.53 n.2.</p>
Lee, Ralph (d. 1578)	Moreton, Dinton (Bucks.)			<p>APC 3, pp.247, 252. VCH Bucks. 2, pp.248, 278; 3, pp.93-94. Visitation of Bucks. pp.81-2. Certificate of Musters, 1522, p.74.</p>

Lee, Roger	Pitstone (Bucks.)	Esquire	One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the 1549 commotions in that county. In 1529 Francis Woodmaney conveyed the manor of Pitstone to Roger Lee. His nephew succeeded him by 1589. A Roger Lee had been assessed on lands at Fleet Marston and Aylesbury in 1522. A Father Roger Lee of Pitstone later entered the Society of Jesus.	SP 10/8/2; Bodl. MSE Museo 57. <i>VCH Bucks.</i> 1, p.316n; 3, p.409. <i>Certificate of Masters</i> , 1522, pp.66, 119.
Magdalen College	Oxford		The fellows of Magdalen College, who resisted the rebels with closed doors, 'sustained heavy ill will from the seditious multitude' in July 1549. The college's lands were plundered, and the fellows feared for their lives. In a letter to Cranmer, dated 7 March 1550, the fellows stress that they were in no way to blame for the rebellion.	CCCC MS 127, ff.425-27
Neville, Henry Sir (c.1520-93)	Billingbear and Wargrave, Berks.	Knight	Neville's pond at Wargrave was targeted by rioters, 23 Nov. 1547, whilst he was in France serving in the King's wars. Neville's commitment to Northumberland laid the basis of his position in Berkshire and his parliamentary career (returned as knight of the shire Mar. 1553). His lands in Berks. included the manors of Billingbear, Culham, Waltham St Lawrence, Warfield and Wargrave. Wargrave was restored to the bishop of Winchester in 1555.	STAC 3/1/102 Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> 3, pp.7-8.
Ogle, John Paget, William Sir (by 1506-63)	Oxon. Beadesert Park and Burton-upon Trent, Staffs., West Drayton, Mdx., London and Great Marlow (Bucks.)	Esquire Lord Paget of Beadesert (3 Dec. 1549)	Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels. According to Gammon, the tenants of Great Marlow 'rose at their first opportunity and took possession of the new fields' Paget had enclosed, perhaps in 1549. Paget's incomplete enclosures at Great Marlow were certainly thrown down some time before 14 Nov. 1551. The inhabitants of Great Marlow complained to the Privy Council of 'certain wronges that have byn offered them', possibly in connection with the alienation of church lands as the matter was referred to the court of Augmentations. Paget was notorious for his enclosing activities in Northamptonshire prior to the 1549 risings. He was held to have enclosed so many commons that the poor people were left with nowhere to pasture their livestock. Ironically, he was appointed to the committee for the bill concerning enclosures in the Lords in late 1549. JP Bucks. 1547-d. PC 23 Apr. 1543-d. Chancellor, ducty of Lancaster 1 July 1547 - July 1552. Comptroller of the Household 29 June 1547 - 3 Dec. 1549.	SP 10/8/32 <i>APC</i> 2, pp.2, 147; <i>APC</i> 3, pp.414-15; 461. <i>VCH Bucks.</i> 1, p.309; Hume (ed.), <i>Chronicle of Henry VIII</i> , p.171; S.R. Gammon, <i>Statesman and Schemer: William, First Lord Paget, Tudor Minister</i> (Newton Abbot, 1973), p.145. Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> . 3, pp.42-46.
Pollard, John	Oxon.	Esquire, Serjeant at law	Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.	SP 10/8/32
Power, Vincent Pygott, Thomas (Pigott) (d. 1559)	Oxon. Doddershall in Quainton and Grendon Underwood (Bucks.)	Esquire Esquire	Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels. One of the Buckinghamshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Also one of the Buckinghamshire justices called in to investigate the 1549 commotions in that county. Thomas Pigott was the son of Thomas Pigott, Sergeant at Law, of Whaddon (d. 1520) and his second wife, Elizabeth. On his mother's death c.1549, he inherited the manors of Grendon Underwood and Doddershall. In 1551, he settled at Doddershall, the house (built by his father c.1510) with which the family is primarily associated. He was sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire in 1552. The executors of Thomas Pigott, Sergeant at Law, were assessed at £25 14s 2d for the rent of Grendon Underwood in 1522, and his widow at £20 6s 8d on lands in Doddershall.	SP 10/8/32 SP 10/8/2; Bodl. MSE Museo 57, f.107r; <i>VCH Bucks.</i> , 4, pp.52, 93, 96. Viney, <i>Sheriffs of Bucks.</i> , pp.42, 111-12. <i>Visitation of Bucks.</i> , pp.100-101. <i>Certificate of Masters</i> , pp.115, 119, 127, 166, 197, 313. Jordan, <i>Charities</i> , pp.34-5. Gibbs, <i>Worthies of Bucks.</i> , p.324.
Raynsford, Sir William	Oxon.	Knight	One of the Oxfordshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Appointed by Lord Grey on 19	SP 10/8/2; SP 10/8/32

Vermigli, Peter Martyr	Oxford	Dr of Divinity	<p>July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels.</p> <p>Protestant theologian. Appointed by Cramer to interpret the scriptures at Oxford University, Nov. 1547. Led the disputation on the Eucharist at OU, which opened on 28 May 1549. Martyr was forced to flee Oxford in July 1549 after receiving death threats from the Oxfordshire rebels. He took refuge in London 'till the furious multitude of the seditious people was gone out of the Citie'.</p>	<p><i>The Common Places</i>, sig. Qqij^v</p>
Williams, Sir John (by 1503-59)	Rycote Park, Great Haseley and Thame (Oxon.)	Knight	<p>Unpopular landlord. Main target of the Oxon., Bucks., Beds., & Northants rebels, who dispersed his parks and killed his deer at Thame and Rycote (summer 1549). One of the Oxfordshire gentlemen summoned to Windsor on 1 July 1549. Appointed by Lord Grey on 19 July 1549 to oversee the execution of the Oxon. rebels. In light of Somerset's alleged leniency towards the rebels, it is not surprising that Williams was 1 of the 3 ordered to Windsor in Oct. 1549 to 'protect' the King and arrest Somerset.</p> <p>Acted against the Lincolnshire rebellion 1536; appointed to investigate allegations against the abbots of Eynsham & Osney and to sit with Sir John Dautesey (his neighbour at Thame) to hear charges of sedition at Thame 1537.</p> <p>The Williams' were a newly established family in the Thame region. John Williams m. Elizabeth Bledlow of Bledlow, Bucks. (5 miles from Thame) by July 1524; his sister, Anne m. William King of Thame by 1535; another sister was prioress of Studley by 1535.</p> <p>MP for Oxon. 1542, 1547, 1553 (Mar., Oct.). Bills concerning tithes, regrators & forestallers were committed to him during the 2nd session of the 1547 Parlt. on 22 Feb. & 1 Mar. 1549. In the 3rd session he was the recipient of a bill to encourage husbandry, 1st read on 4 Jan. 1550, and another for putting away old service books after its 2nd reading 14 Jan. Treasurer. ct. Augmentations Mar. 1544 - Jan. 1554. JP Bucks. 1535, Oxon. 1535-37, 1542-47 or later, Berks. 1544, Northants. 1554, Sheriff Oxon. & Berks. 1538-39, 1544-45, Sept.-Nov. 1553. Commr. subsidy Oxon. 1540, benevolence 1544/45.</p> <p>Visitor of monasteries 1538. A royal official who built up large estates from monastic lands from c.1530. 'He was assiduous in receiving the surrender of the monasteries and particularly, as master of the jewels, in ransacking their shrines'. Receiver, lands of Thame Abbey by 1535. Took the surrender of Woburn Abbey (May 1537) & eventually became the receiver of the property. Took the surrenders of Eynsham, Godstow, Osney, Studley & Thame in Oxon. Stripped Abingdon 7-11 Mar. 1538: reportedly left 100 barge-loads of spoils at the waterside. Pulled down and sold the materials of Gloucester Hall, Oxford 1542-57.</p> <p>Commr. for suppression of chantries Northants., Oxon., Rutland 1546, 1548: he and the inhabitants of Thame petitioned for the continuance of almshouses. Sir John was granted the property of the dissolved guild of St Christopher in 1550 and agreed to pay £10 13s 9d pa to support 6 paupers.</p> <p>Land & property: Secured lease of lands at Grafton (Northants.) 1528; reversion of lands at Upper Winchendon (Bucks.) 1532. Impressive series of grants & purchases began with the Dissolution. He had already bought Rycote Hall, which became his chief seat, from Giles Heron and had secured an interest in Thame abbey. His possession of Rycote was confirmed by an Act of 1539. Purchased Wytham (Berks.) from Leonard Chamberlain, 1538 and began to form a 2nd cluster of properties west of Oxford. Bought Thame & Notley abbeys from Somerset & Paget, 1547. His last major purchase was the priory of Marlow (1555).</p> <p>Arrested Oct. 1551, according to the Imperial ambassador, 'an act which, since Williams possessed a huge amount of livestock and was loathed by the people, was meant to show that the Duke of Northumberland wanted to ease the people's burdens', but no evidence of the arrest before 8 Apr. 1552. Remained in favour under Mary and Elizabeth. Created Lord Williams of Thame 1554. Buried at Thame 15 Nov. 1559.</p>	<p>BL Harl. MS 540, f.11r SP 10/8/2; SP 10/8/32 VCH Oxon. 7, pp.171, 217. Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> 3, pp. 620-23.</p>

Appendix 6: List of Petitioners and Rioters at Enfield, Middlesex, 1547-49

I: The Enfield Petitioners, Autumn 1547

The following persons (all tenants of the manor of Enfield) personally appeared before Sir William Paget to exhibit a bill in the Duchy of Lancaster (DL 5/8, f.113-115; Mich. 1 Edw. VI) Re. the contention between the tenants, headboroughs and inhabitants, and Sir Thomas Wroth (lord of Durants manor), concerning the right of common pasture on certain lands belonging to Durants manor in Enfield, from which an enclosure agreement resulted.

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	References
Alcoke, Edmund	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Bate, John	Enfield town		Also named as a participant in the riot at Enfield, 13 July 1549.	DL 5/8, f.113.
Butt, John	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Garrade, John	Enfield town	Baker		DL 5/8, f.113.
Hobson, Edmund	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Hodge, John	Enfield town	?Maltman	The name of John Hodge, maltman appears on an Enfield petition of 1585.	DL 5/8, f.113. Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 6.
Honesdon, John	Enfield town	?Maltman	Son of Henry Honesdon. Possibly a descendant of John Hunnesden, a wealthy Enfield maltman, d.1472.	DL 5/8, f.113. Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 3, 6.
Katcher, William	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Kyslynbery, Thomas	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Marshall, Robert	Enfield town		Possibly the Marshall named as a participant in the riot at Enfield, 13 July 1549.	DL 5/8, f.113.
Parris, William	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Potter, Simon	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Sare, John	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Sare, William	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Sokkell, Robert	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Spenser, John	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.
Taylor, John	Enfield town			DL 5/8, f.113.

Todde, Roland	Enfield town				DL 5/8, f.113.
Westbery, Richard	Enfield town				DL 5/8, f.113.
Wilson, William	Enfield town			A William Wilson of Cheshunt participated in the 1544 and 1548 riots at Northaw, Herts.	DL 5/8, f.113.
Wood, Robert	Enfield town	Gent.			DL 5/8, f.113.
Woodham, Christopher	Enfield town	?Maltman		A John Woodham of Cheshunt participated in the 1544 and 1548 riots at Northaw.	DL 5/8, f.113.
Woodham, William	Enfield town	?Maltman		The Woodhams of Ponders End were sometimes known by the alias Wilkinson. 3 Wilkinsons participated in the 1548 riots at Northaw. Thomas Wodham, maltman, was also a substantial farmer by 1557. The Aug 1581 protest against the movement of malt and grain from Herts. to London along the River Lea was allegedly organised from Richard Wodham's house in Green Street: Richard 'was a dealer in malt on a very considerable scale'.	DL 5/8, f.113. Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 3-5, 6, 8.

II: List of Rioters at Enfield, 13 July 1549

On 13 July 1549 the following inhabitants of Enfield threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease', both belonging to Sir Thomas Wroth. The list of participants given in Wroth's bill of complaint (DL 1/27, f.59 Mich. 1549) should be checked against the Northaw list. A separate list appears in the Acts of the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1548 *sic*. 1549 in connection with Sir Thomas Wroth's complaint of a riot against him. The chief authors of the riot were called before the court at Oatlands, where they were heard by Somerset and the Council. It was agreed that the disputing parties should adhere to the earlier Duchy of Lancaster decree (DL 5/8, ff. 113-15). B.L. Beer regards this as the Privy Council's consideration of the 1549 riot detailed in DL1/27, f.59. However, unless the punishments ordered by the Privy Council went unenforced, it is unclear why Wroth should have felt the need to complain to the court of the Duchy of Lancaster the following Autumn. The considerable amount of discrepancy between the two lists of rioters (only two of the surnames of the DL 1 rioters appear in the APC list) raises the possibility of two separate incidents.

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	References
Alforde, Robert	Enfield		Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Asplin, Thomas	Enfield		Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Named as one of 'the chief authors of the ryot'. To be committed to prison.	APC 1547-50, p.219.
Bate, John	Enfield		Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. John Bate is the only name to appear both among the petitioners of 1547 and the 1549 rioters (excepting Marshall): was he the leader of the tenants? A Roger Bate is mentioned in relation to the 1548 riots at Northaw: one of his servants was amongst the rioters.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Boynyerde, Edward	Enfield		Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. Edmund Moodham, <i>alias</i> Bonyard appears in the APC list (see entry under Moodham).	DL 1/27, f.59.
Cordall, Thomas (Cordell, Cordle)	Enfield	?Maltman	Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Named as one of 'the chief authors of the ryot'. To be committed to prison. The Cordells of Green Street, Enfield had been wealthy maltmen since the 15thC.	DL 1/27, f.59. APC 1547-50, p.219.

Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 3.

				Henry, John, Simon and William Cordell/Cordall of Cheshunt were involved in the 1544 riots at Northaw. Robert Cordell and the son of John Cordell of Cheshunt are mentioned among the 1548 rioters.	
Forster, Edward	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Forster, John	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. A John Fo(r)ster of Northaw was involved in the 1548 riots at Northaw, along with Richard and Thomas (+ another Thos. of Cheshunt?). Simon Fo(r)ster of Northaw and Richard Fo(r)ster of North Mimms are mentioned among the 1544 rioters at Northaw.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Forster, Robert	Enfield			Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Named as one of 'the chief authors of the ryot'. To be committed to prison.	APC 1547-50, p.219.
Haliday, John	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Haringford, Walter	Enfield			Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Bound over to the keep the peace. To appear in the Duchy Chamber on the first day of the next term. Recognisance issued.	APC 1547-50, pp.219-20.
Harper, Robert	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Johnson, John	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Lord, Henry	Enfield			Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Bound over to the keep the peace. To appear in the Duchy Chamber on the first day of the next term. Recognisance issued.	APC 1547-50, pp.219-20.

Marshall, [?Robert]	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. The MSS gives no Christian name but a Robert Marshall was amongst the 1547 petitioners. Robert Marshall of Cheshunt was one of the rioters at Northaw in 1548. Mother Marshall is also mentioned as having contributed to the common purse.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Moodam, Edmund, <i>alias</i> Bonyard	Enfield			Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Bound over to the keep the peace. To appear in the Duchy Chamber on the first day of the next term. Recognisance issued.	APC 1547-50, pp.219-20.
Preston, Robert	Enfield			Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Bound over to the keep the peace. To appear in the Duchy Chamber on the first day of the next term. Recognisance issued.	APC 1547-50, pp.219-20.
Robson, Thomas	Enfield			Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Bound over to the keep the peace. To appear in the Duchy Chamber on the first day of the next term. Recognisance issued.	APC 1547-50, pp.219-20.
Smythe, Thomas	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. Two John Smyths of Cheshunt were involved in the 1548 riots at Northaw. Richard Smyth of North Mimms participated in the 1544 riots at Northaw.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Sowthewad, William	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Taylor, Thomas	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Whyte, John	Enfield			Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Bound over to the keep the peace. To appear in the Duchy Chamber on the first day of the next term. Recognisance issued.	APC 1547-50, pp.219-20.

Whyte, Robert	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. A John Whyte appears in the APC list. Robert Whytt of Cheshunt was a rioter at Northaw in 1548.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Wyberde, Reynold	Enfield	?Maltman		Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'.	DL 1/27, f.59.
Wyberde, Richard	Enfield	?Maltman		Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. The Wyberds had become one of the most important maltmen families in Enfield by the early 1580s.	DL 1/27, f.59. Pam, 'Tudor Enfield', 3, 6, 8, 9
Wylson, Thomas (Wilson)	Enfield			Named in Sir Thomas Wroth's bill of complaint. On 13 July 1549 threw down hedges and filled in ditches around 'the Rabbettes mores' and 'welgate lease'. Appeared before the Privy Council 27 Aug. 1549. Named as one of the 'chief authors of the ryot'. To be committed to prison. The Wylson family of Cheshunt was well represented among the 1544 and 1548 rioters at Northaw (Jacob, Jas., John, W/m.)	DL 1/27, f.59. APC 1547-50, p.219.

III: The Target – Sir Thomas Wroth of Durants Manor, Enfield (1516-73)

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	References
Wroth, Sir Thomas	Durants Manor, Enfield (Edmonton Hundred, Mdx.)	Knight. Lord of Durants Manor.	<p><u>Career</u> MP for Mdx. 1545, 1547, Mar. 1553, 1559, 1563. Gent. usher of the chamber to Prince Edw. 1541-47, gent. of the privy chamber 1547-49, principal gent. 1549-53, standard bearer Jan-Nov 1549. Served on various commissions 1540-70. Jt. Ld. It. Mdx. 1551, 1552, 1553. One of Edw.'s principal favourites, in close attendance on him to July 1553. JP Mdx. 1558/9-d, EX 1561-d. Bailiff, manors of Enfield 1550-d, Ware (Herts.) 1551-53. Keeper, Syon House & steward, lordship of Isleworth Mdx., 1552-53. Steward, manors of Elsing & Worcesters in Enfield 1553-59, Edmonton 1553-d. Master forester, Enfield Chase 1553-59, woodward 1564-66. Keeper, manor of Elsing 1560-d.</p> <p><u>Religion</u> 'An ardent Protestant': exile during Mary's reign.</p> <p><u>Property and Lands:</u> Durants Manor, Enfield passed to Wroth 1535. Granted livery of his father's lands April 1540. Lord Rich secured for him the manors of Highbury (Mdx.) and Beaumont Hall, (Cheshunt) Herts. with the appurtenances in Cheshunt & Wormley, and lands in Cheshunt ('Brekenoks') and Enfield (chief messuage, house at 'the chamberlain's fee'), belonging to dissolved monasteries, 1540-41. Wroth held Beaumont Hall 1540-1572.</p> <p><u>Discontent caused by enclosures at Durants manor early 16thC.</u> 1514: John Wroth accused of enclosing 40a. and barring cattle from his fields in open seasons. 1548/49: 4 men imprisoned after a riot directed at Sir Thos. Wroth. 1589: Sir Robert Wroth I (c1539-1606), Thomas' eldest son, was said to have been the greatest encloser of common fields in the parish. Sir Robert Wroth I was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Robert Wroth II (c.1576-1614). It is ironic that someone so instrumental in the formation of the poor law of 1598 should come from an enclosing family.</p>	<p>DL 1/27, f.59 (W2). DL 5/8, f.113-15. DL 43/7/4</p> <p>APC 1547-50, pp.219-20.</p> <p>LP 14:2, 782. LP 15, 613 (9); 733 (64). LP 16, 1500 (50b).</p> <p>DNB 21, pp.1078-80. Bindoff, <i>House of Commons</i> 3, pp.667-68. Hasler, <i>House of Commons</i> 3, pp.658-63 (Robt. Wroth I), pp.663-64 (Robt. Wroth II), pp.664-65 (Thos. Wroth).</p> <p>VCH Herts. 3, p.452. VCH Mdx. 5, pp.225-26, 229, 233, 246.</p> <p>Pam, 'Fight for Common Rights', esp. 10. Pam, 'Protestant Gentlemen'. Reay, <i>Popular Cultures</i>, p.178. Slack, <i>From Reformation to Improvement</i>, p.42; <i>Poverty & Policy</i>, p.126.</p>

Appendix 7: List of Participants in the Riots at Northaw, March-April 1579

(37 named rioters from Cheshunt, North Mimms, Chipping Barnet, Hatfield (Herts.) and South Mimms (Midd.))

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	References
<u>Addams</u> , Thomas	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I</i> , no.175
<u>Allen</u> , Thomas	North Mimms	Weaver	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 29 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 100 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I</i> , no.176
Allen, <i>alias</i> Moore, William	Late of Chipping Barnet	Shoemaker	Pardoned 12 Feb. 1580, after appearing at the special gaol delivery of Hertford Castle held at Chipping Barnet on 4 May 1579. Indicted for taking part in an unlawful assembly and breaking down the pales enclosing certain lands of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, at Northaw on 22 April 1579.	<i>CPR Eliz. I</i> , vol. 8, no.1760 (12 Feb. 1580), p.228.
Axoll, William	North Mimms	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 29 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 100 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I</i> , no.176
Baker, Walter (Baker of Waltham Abbey 1548)	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I</i> , no.175
Bowes, George	Cheshunt	Cooper	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. <i>Name is crossed out.</i>	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I</i> , no.175
Bushes, William (Busshewe, Bushio: 1544, 1548)	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I</i> , no.175

Candye, John	Cheshunt	Carpenter	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
Chare, Robert	Cheshunt		Committed to the Fleet, 7 April 1579. The Chare and Lowen families were the 'most prominent tenant families' in Cheshunt. Together, they provided 19 landholders and held >625 acres in 1562. Robert Chare Sr. and Richard Chare Sr. held 76 acres between them in 1562.	APC 11, p.96. Glennie, 'Agrarian Capitalism', pp.26-28, 30 n.38; thesis, p.328, 330.
Chare, Robert (<i>sic</i>) Cocker, David	Cheshunt Late of Chipping Barnet		Committed to the Marshalsea, 7 April 1579. Pardoned 12 Feb. 1580, after appearing at the special gaol delivery of Hertford Castle held at Chipping Barnet on 4 May 1579. Indicted for taking part in an unlawful assembly and breaking down the pales enclosing certain lands of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, at Northaw on 22 April 1579.	APC 11, p.96. CPR <i>Eliz. I</i> , vol. 8, no.1760 (12 Feb. 1580), p.228.
Cockrell, William	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
Cockrell, Henry Dyche, John	Cheshunt North Mimms	Labourer	Committed to the Gate House, 7 April 1579. Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 29 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 100 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	APC 11, p.96. J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.176</i>
Garnet, Henry	Cheshunt		Committed to the Fleet, 7 April 1579. ?Yeoman farmer, son of William Garnet Sr. of Cheshunt, maltman - active in the land market. Henry Garnet owned c.30 acres by 1562 (fig.7b; 12.3a). The Garnet family first appeared in Cheshunt c.1480.	APC 11, p.96. Glennie, 'In search of agrarian capitalism', <i>Continuity & Change</i> 3:1, p.27, fig. 7b; thesis p.330, fig.12.3a.
Grene, Thomas	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. <i>Name is crossed out.</i>	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
Grubbe, Christopher	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
Haies, William	North Mimms		Committed to the Gate House, 7 April 1579.	APC 11, p.96.

Hale, Francis	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
Horsfall, Robert	Late of South Mimms, Midd.		Pardoned 12 Feb. 1580, after appearing at the special gaol delivery of Hertford Castle held at Chipping Barnet on 4 May 1579. Indicted for taking part in an unlawful assembly and breaking down the pales enclosing certain lands of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, at Northaw on 22 April 1579.	<i>CPR Eliz. I, vol. 8, no.1760 (12 Feb. 1580), p.228.</i>
James, Thomas	North Mimms		Committed to the Marshalsea, 7 April 1579.	<i>APC 11, p.96.</i>
Knyghte, William, Jr.	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
<u>Lansdale</u> , Thomas	Cheshunt	Carpenter	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
Leake, John	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
<u>Lower</u> , John	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown. John Lowen held >60 acres in Cheshunt by 1562.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175. Glennie, 'Agrarian capitalism', p.29 (fig.7a).</i>
Lowen, Nicholas	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>
Lowen, Richard	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no.175</i>

Lowen (or Pett), Robert	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown. Robert Lowen held well over 60 acres in Cheshunt by 1562.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no. 175.</i> Glennie, 'Agrarian capitalism', p.29 (fig. 7a).
Mousedale, Robert (Mowsdale)	North Mimms	Weaver	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 29 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 100 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown. Pardoned 12 Feb. 1580, after appearing at the special gaol delivery of Hertford Castle held at Chipping Barnet on 4 May 1579. Indicted for taking part in an unlawful assembly and breaking down the pales enclosing certain lands of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, at Northaw on 22 April 1579.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no. 176 CPR Eliz. I, vol. 8, no. 1760 (12 Feb. 1580), p.228.</i>
Parret, John	North Mimms		Committed to the Gate House, 7 April 1579.	<i>APC 11, p.96.</i>
Robertes, John, the younger	North Mimms		Committed to the Fleet, 7 April 1579.	<i>APC 11, p.96.</i>
Russell, James, the younger	Late of North Mimms		Pardoned 12 Feb. 1580, after appearing at the special gaol delivery of Hertford Castle held at Chipping Barnet on 4 May 1579. Indicted for taking part in an unlawful assembly and breaking down the pales enclosing certain lands of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, at Northaw on 22 April 1579.	<i>CPR Eliz. I, vol. 8, no. 1760 (12 Feb. 1580), p.228.</i>
Russell, William	Late of North Mimms		Pardoned 12 Feb. 1580, after appearing at the special gaol delivery of Hertford Castle held at Chipping Barnet on 4 May 1579. Indicted for taking part in an unlawful assembly and breaking down the pales enclosing certain lands of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, at Northaw on 22 April 1579.	<i>CPR Eliz. I, vol. 8, no. 1760 (12 Feb. 1580), p.228.</i>
Smythe, John (Smythe of N. Mimms 1544, Cheshunt 1548)	Hatfield	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 29 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 100 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no. 176</i>
Thorne, Nicholas	Cheshunt	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 22 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 60 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no. 175</i>
Trotte, Roger	North Mimms		Committed to the Marshalsea, 7 April 1579.	<i>APC 11, p.96.</i>
Tylar, Henry	Hatfield	Labourer	Indicted for riotous assembly and breaking enclosures at Hertford Assizes, 30 Mar. 1579. On the night of 29 Mar. 1579 riotously assembled at Northaw and broke down 100 rods of paling surrounding the close of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Verdict unknown.	J.S. Cockburn (ed.), <i>Calendar of Assize Records: Herts. Indictments, Eliz. I, no. 176</i>

List of Targets and Repressers: Northaw, 1579

Name	Residence	Social Status	Other Information	References
Dudley, Ambrose (?1528-1590)	Northaw	Earl of Warwick Lord of the manor of Northaw Knight	Target of the 1579 enclosure riots. The entire Northaw estate was granted to Ambrose Dudley in 1576. On 21 June 1579 the Privy Council ordered an enquiry into Warwick's enclosing activities – the outcome is unknown. Served with his father John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in repressing Kett's Rebellion 1549. Popularly known as the 'Good Lord Warwick', but the Cheshunt tenants obviously did not see him as such.	Cockburn, nos.175, 176. <i>APC</i> 11, pp.95-6, 99, 103, 169. <i>VCH Herts.</i> 4, p.216. <i>VCH Herts.</i> 2, p.358. <i>DNB</i> 6, pp.97-98. Chauncy, <i>Hist. Antiquities</i> , 2, pp.384-85
Hatton, Christopher Sir (c.1540-1591)	Holdenby & Kirby Hall, Northants.	Knight	Despatched to put down the riots. As a result 2 men were hanged, 2 burnt in the hand, 4 sent to gaol (Nicolas, Manning). Elizabeth was apparently pleased with the way that Hatton handled the situation (Brooks). A leading courtier: vice-chamberlain of the queen's household, privy councillor etc. Lord Chancellor 1587.	Nicolas, <i>Memoirs</i> , p.113. <i>VCH Herts.</i> 4, p.216. Manning, <i>Hunters & Poachers</i> , p.69. Brooks, <i>Hatton</i> , p.100. <i>DNB</i> 9, pp.159-62. Hasler, <i>House of Commons</i> 2, pp.276-79. Finch, <i>Northants. Families</i> , p.146.

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DL 5 Duchy of Lancaster, Entry Books of Decrees and Orders
DL 42 Duchy of Lancaster, Cartularies, Enrolments, Surveys and Other
Miscellaneous Books
DL 43 Duchy of Lancaster, Rentals and Surveys
E 36 Exchequer, Treasury of the Receipt, Miscellaneous Books
E 41 Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Ancient Deeds
E 101 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts
E 111 Exchequer, Council and Other Courts, Miscellaneous Equity
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E 117 Exchequer, Church Goods, Inventories and Miscellanea
E 133 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Barons' Depositions
E 134 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Depositions by Commission
E 178 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Special Commissions
E 315 Court of Augmentations, Miscellaneous Books
E 368 Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Special
Commissions
KB 9 King's Bench, Crown side, Indictments Files, Oyer and
Terminer Files and Informations Files
LR 2 Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue and Predecessors,
Miscellaneous Books, Henry V-1841
REQ 2 Requests, Pleadings
SP 10 State Papers Domestic, Edward VI
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