

SIR ANTHONY WAGNER
GARTER KING OF ARMS

DRAKE IN ENGLAND
REVISED EDITION

CONCORD
New Hampshire Historical Society
1970

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Prefatory Note

SIR ANTHONY R. WAGNER

Garter King of Arms

WHEN the New Hampshire Historical Society published the first edition of *Drake in England* in 1963 this was more a preliminary report than a definitive history of the family. Further work, described in the first chapter, has enabled Colonel James Frank Drake's pedigree to be completed so far as the surviving evidence permits.

With the successful completion of the work on the pedigree for registration in the College of Arms Colonel Drake asked that some additional material should be prepared setting out the new information gained in the last five years. In view of the tentative nature of the earlier book it was soon evident that only the first chapter of this could be retained without substantial alteration and that a completely new book was desirable. To this he agreed and the present revised edition has been, with his accustomed generosity, given to the New Hampshire Historical Society. The Society, in its turn, is pleased to be able to offer to the public the first history of this family in Essex during four centuries with the knowledge that such a detailed study of a medieval villein family is perhaps unique and should prove of value to other historians.

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance given by the Public Record Office, Essex Record Office and British Museum and the many parish priests in Essex who made the records in their custody available to his staff. Also to the editors of the Victoria County History for Essex who kindly read the third chapter in manuscript although they cannot be responsible for any errors which may occur therein. As before the research was carried out by Mr. Thomas Woodard, M.V.O., assisted by Mr. F. S. Andrus and John A. Goodall, F.S.A., who also prepared draft text for the present edition.

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Charts

Key Pedigree of Drake of Great Waltham in the Thirteenth Century	<i>between 58 & 59</i>
Key Pedigree of Drake of Essex, England	<i>between 62 & 63</i>

The Search and the Methods Used

THE work commissioned by Colonel James Frank Drake, and sustained by his continued persistence and encouragement, has at last been brought to a successful conclusion. In 1963 the book *Drake in England* was published by the New Hampshire Historical Society and this set out the conclusions which had been reached at that stage, some of them tentative suggestions rather than proven fact, although parts, especially the first two chapters, have not been affected by the later work. (The first of these, on the origin and distribution of the name, is reprinted here and the second has been used in the preparation of the second chapter of the present book.) Hardly had the former volume been issued when Colonel Drake asked for further searches to be initiated to try to identify the wife of the immigrant Robert Drake and, secondly, to trace his ancestors.

At that time only the immigrant's father, William Drake of Halstead, was known. Although others of the name had been found to be living at Great Waltham, about fourteen miles distant, from the thirteenth century, insufficient evidence had been found to join them together. When the work was started again, while some clues to the possible identity of Robert Drake's wife were found, it soon became obvious that, given time and patience, the second line of inquiry, into his antecedents, showed signs of promise. When this was reported to Colonel Drake he agreed that the second objective, to establish who William Drake's parents were, should be pursued.

The proved facts concerning William Drake of Halstead, which provided the starting point for future research, were that he married Joan Merylls there on 12 October 1578 and was buried in Elmstead on 3 November 1616. The fact that his children did not stay there but moved to Colchester suggested that he had not long been associated with Halstead.

It was also evident that he must have been born between about 1550 and 1557. Although the parish registers for Halstead do not begin until 1564 the absence of the name from the Lay Subsidy roll for 1523-24, the most complete one for the sixteenth century, confirmed the inference already drawn, namely that the origins of William Drake had to be sought for elsewhere.

About this time the systematic searching of all the available parish registers, and other records which might help by bringing to light any persons called Drake living between Halstead and Great Waltham, was being carried out. In theory all the parishes should have had registers from 1540 or 1558 but many of the ancient parishes have lost the early books, and in the London Diocese the transcripts which should have been sent each year to the Bishop from 1597 were not regularly kept so that any gaps in the originals cannot be filled by reference to them. Two circumstances aided the success of this part of the work. Of the twenty or so parishes involved only eight had lost the early registers and the Essex Record Office had published, with the British Record Society, an index to all the Essex wills before 1720 with an index of places. It would, of course, have been possible to search for the wills of testators living in the parishes without this help but it would have been a far slower and more laborious matter. Even so the number to be looked at for stray references to the name of Drake amounted to several hundred. Further information was obtained from the Lay Subsidy rolls in the Public Record Office, and many other records arising from the confiscation and dispersal of Church property during the Reformation were examined in the hope of finding lists of tenants or purchasers in the chosen group of parishes.

This work revealed that there was a family of Drake living in Black and White Notley, almost exactly half way between Great Waltham and Halstead, and that among them was a William Drake born about 1550. Much, however, had to be done before it was possible to prove his relationship to the other two families.

An encouraging aspect of the extensive work which had been carried out in 1963-64 was that, while many parishes had been examined, relatively few references to the name had been found. When these were plotted on a map they were roughly on a line from Great Waltham to Halstead and only in Black and White Notley did there appear to be a settled family other than at Great Waltham. Since no direct connection could be established between Robert Drake's father William and that

latter line the family at the two Notleys became of immediate concern. There was indeed a contemporary William Drake at Great Waltham but his will showed that he went on living there, that he did not have a son Robert, and that his grandchildren were baptized there. In this way he could be eliminated. All this evidence suggested that there had been a gradual drift of the family starting from Great Waltham and moving across the country.

Further research on the family at the Notleys, utilizing the fragmentary remains of the manorial records, provided an explanation for William Drake's leaving the parish and for his younger brother John Drake's succeeding to their father's property there, namely that the latter was lame. The Court Rolls also mentioned a Thomas Everard of Much, i.e. Great, Waltham taking land there in 1588, and earlier another of this name had married Joan Drake, the mother of William and John. Here was evidence of intercourse between the two places and similar links were found with Colchester, to which Robert Drake, William's son, later moved, which strengthened the theory of connection between the various families by showing that they were not alone in their movements. The Christian name patterns of the various branches of the family which gradually fell into place also helped. Earlier a Chancery Suit of 1688 had been found which showed that there was then a family settled at Braintree and that certain of the witnesses were "either dead, gone beyond the seas or into places remote"—which witnesses would have been contemporary with Robert Drake the immigrant. Once this family had been found to descend from the Black Notley line the evidence was complete and the pedigree set out could be submitted to the College of Arms examiners, who accepted it for registration in the records of the College of Arms.

It is a remarkable descent for its length, complexity and interest, and not least in the part played by legal proceedings in two continents in showing the way to its solution.

Once the pedigree from Edmund Drake had been accepted it was important to add the medieval portion of the pedigree which had been tentatively reconstructed in the former book. Before drafting this earlier pedigree the evidences from the Great Waltham Court Rolls collected some years ago were carefully restudied. This was done by making short extracts of all the material, in chronological order, on separate sheets for each person concerned. In this way a series of outline biographies was gradually built up to form the basis of the revised pedigree which, for the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, now differs in some respects from that previously given. When completed the draft was submitted to the College Examiners and was duly accepted for registration with the later part described above.

In analyzing the evidence certain factors had to be borne in mind. First, with two exceptions, the evidence available was limited to the Court Rolls for the manor of Great Waltham which, though a remarkably full series, still had many gaps, particularly in the earliest period before the mid-fourteenth century. Secondly, in combining the material into a pedigree no more people were assumed to have existed than was strictly necessary according to the evidence. The lands they held and the lists of tenants doing homage in 1400 and being fined for non-attendance in 1413 bore out the wisdom of this and helped materially in sorting out a number of entries relating to contemporaries with the same Christian names.

Origin and Distribution of the Surname of Drake

THE basis of a survey of the distribution in England of the surname Drake must be to select records of different dates, which cover the whole country fairly evenly and deal with most classes of society, yet are capable of being searched without overwhelming labor. This selection is not easy, particularly for earlier dates, and is not helped by the fact that the editing and printing of records of the most suitable kinds has seldom been undertaken on a national basis, but for the most part only in a somewhat haphazard way by local antiquarian societies to suit county or local interests.

Of such records the most suitable for our purpose were thought to be the taxation assessments, which were made throughout the country at different dates, for the purpose of particular levies or subsidies, and generally known as the Lay Subsidy Rolls, of which the original manuscript rolls are preserved in vast numbers in the Public Record Office in London. Unfortunately comparatively few have been copied, edited or printed.

The first of these taxes to take the form which became the pattern for subsequent centuries was that of a fifteenth granted in 1217 at a Great Council by the lords spiritual and temporal, the free tenants and "all others," to Henry III shortly after his accession, in return for his confirmation of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forests. From this time onwards taxes of a fifteenth, tenth or other percentage, were requested by the King at increasingly frequent intervals of time, as the burden of government and the problems of national administration increased in scale and complexity. Often they were only granted after considerable discussion in the Great Council and in return for some concession by the King, but, having been granted, they were borne proportionately to the value of their property, by the great majority of property holders, regardless of feudal status.¹

The unit of taxation was the shire, with its ancient administrative districts, the hundreds, in turn subdivided into boroughs and tithings (sometimes loosely called townships) together forming the earliest units of local government and police which the Norman conquerors took over from their Saxon predecessors. As new assessments were generally made at each new grant of taxes, the amounts to be raised were difficult to forecast. When a fifteenth was granted in 1314-15 a new valuation was made of every tithing, borough and city in the kingdom, and this remained the standard rate henceforth, so that every tithing and borough knew what proportion would be required from it whenever Parliament granted an aid or subsidy to the King. Of the early assessments some of the fullest and most complete are those for 1322-23, 1327-28, and 1332-33. These have been printed for certain counties and exist for almost all, though not necessarily for each of these years.

While many of the rolls record only the county or hundredal totals, a number list the names of the taxpayers assessed in each tithing, the value of their taxable lands or goods or wages, and the percentage of tax payable. In the Middle Ages people were taxed in each tithing in which they held property, but under the Tudors the returns were made only in those tithings in which they principally resided. These rolls are consequently of the greatest value for genealogical research, telling us not only where a person lived and owned property, but also something of his social and financial standing.

In the reign of Henry VIII, in 1524, the basis of assessment was changed and the tax was no longer imposed directly on property, but on persons according to the reputed value of their realty and personality, generally at the rate of 4s. in the pound on lands and 2s. 8d. on goods, those of aliens being valued at a double rate, while subsidies from the clergy were generally at the rate of 4s. in the pound according to the valuation of their livings. Because of the new assessment made at this time, the Subsidy Rolls of these years are very full and thus of particular importance. After 1524 the basis of assessment remained unchanged, so that as time went on they ceased to reflect accurately the current value of the person's lands or goods, but nevertheless give a useful picture of their relative standing. This form of taxation was discontinued after 1663 and thereafter a period of experiment followed until taxes were assessed and raised on a somewhat different basis.

The Parish Registers of the Tudor period and the Protestation returns

of 1641-42 show that there were many more people of substance living in a parish than appeared in the taxation returns, and the absence of a person's name from the Lay Subsidy Roll cannot therefore be taken as evidence that he was not living in the parish. In view of this we must accept the earlier rolls as being incomplete returns of the inhabitants of the borough or tithing. For instance, the Patent Rolls and the Assize Rolls show Drakes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who escape mention in any likely Subsidy Roll of the period.

The other classes of public records, which were scanned for this purpose, have mostly been calendared and printed. Those for the early period are the Book of Fees, covering the years from 1198 to 1293, and Feudal Aids, covering the years from 1284 to 1431, though both deal mainly with persons holding by knight service or serjeantry, and so are somewhat limited in scope. The Close Rolls stretch in an unbroken series from 1204 to 1903 and contain the "file copies" of the letters close, i.e. folded or closed up, which were sent in the King's name to individuals, and relate to administrative matters of a personal nature, as well as containing enrolled copies of privately held charters or deeds.

The Feet of Fines, which begin about 1196 and continue in an unbroken series throughout the period in which we are interested, record conveyances of land, contain much useful genealogical material and produced many Drake references. The Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, comprising deeds from the seized muniments of the dissolved religious houses, deeds of purchase and exchange, and leases, proved another useful source. The Curia Regis Rolls, of which calendars have been printed only from 1189 to 1226, record early law suits heard in the King's Court and gave us some of the earliest Drake references, while the Chancery Proceedings did the same for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Much other source material was also searched.

The medieval spelling of names was largely phonetic and in this case took the forms Drake, Drak, Drach, or Drac, "c" and "ch" being Norman spellings for the sound "k," and all these renderings of the name can be regarded as true forms of Drake. Drag has been included as a possible variant of the name, although it is also the known early form of Drax, the earliest form of this Yorkshire place name being Ealdedrege, "the old dray or drag." The Drax names have only been noticed briefly when they occur, as this is clearly not the original form for Drake. The surnames Dragon and Dragon occur at a very early period in Devon, Sussex, Kent,

Essex and Durham, but disappear from the records shortly after the end of the thirteenth century. With the exception of Durham, all these counties were the homes of well-established families of Drake, so that Dragun and Dragon can be regarded as early forms of the name.

DISTRIBUTION IN SOUTHWEST ENGLAND

In CORNWALL the earliest reference found so far is in the Subsidy Roll of 1327, where the name occurs in Penwith hundred, in the forms Stephen de Drech and Andrew Drake; in Kerrier hundred, as John le Drake; and in the hundred of West as Thomas Drake. The Patent Rolls of 1336 record John Drake as a conventional tenant of land held of the Earl of Cornwall in the manors of Calstock and Moresk, just across the border from Tavistock. The surname disappears from the records examined until it makes a brief reappearance in the sixteenth century, in a Chancery Suit. There is no record of the name in the Duchy of Cornwall Muster Roll of 1538.

In DEVON the name is well established throughout the county. The earliest record found is in the Assize Roll of 1237-38, when a Reginald le Drake was holding land in Tiverton. In the same roll a Ralph le Drake is mentioned, while a Roger le Drake is recorded in the Assize Roll of 1273-74. The name next appears in the Close Roll of 1274, when a William Dragun was murdered at some place not stated, but his assailant apparently got off by benefit of clergy.

At the assessment for the Aid of 1303, Roger le Drake was holding half a knight's fee at Harbournford in South Brent, in Stanborough hundred, and the Subsidy Roll of 1327 records a Mathew Drake, and that of 1332 records a Martin Drake both in the same hundred. The latter Subsidy Roll also shows a Robert Drake in the adjacent Ermington hundred, who may have been ancestor to that Hugh Drake who held one third knight's fee in Bigbury, in that hundred in 1428, as well as part of Luscombe in Rattery, while in the same year a John Drake was holding half a knight's fee at Marley in Rattery.²

The Patent Roll of 1327 records a Reginald Drake who, with others, broke the close of the Prior of Montacute at Kerswell, in the southeast of the county. He may well be identical with the man of this name who was a monk of Tavistock Abbey in the time of Edward II and Edward III, for they were a high-living and spirited community. In the Patent Roll of 1335 we find that Thomas Drake, a monk of Tavistock, together with the

Abbots of Tavistock, Buckland and Buckfast, and a party of the more prominent Devon gentry, got into trouble with the Justices for poaching deer in Hugh de Audley's free chase of Dartmoor.

The name is widely distributed in the county throughout the fifteenth century and becomes very common by the seventeenth century. During this latter period the surname is found in more than 115 parishes, the greatest concentrations being at Awliscombe (between 1697 and 1801), Axminster (1660-1809), Aylesbeare (1585-1748), Barnstaple (1679-1800), Churchstanton (1641-1809), Colyton (1558-1753), Coleridge (1557-1697), Cruwys Morchard (1552-1763), Cullompton (1690-1797), Exeter (1477-1836), Exmouth (1554-1662), Farway (1574-1736), Gittisham (1653-85), Harpford (1598-1695), Hemyock (1806-36), Ide (1524-1724), Kenton (1680-1816), Littleham (1542-1797), Musbury (1578-1733), Newton St. Cyres (1571-1743), Otterton (1562-1672), Ottery St. Mary (1630-1818), Plymouth (1573-1742), Rewe (1578-1722), Salcombe Regis (1624-1711), Teignmouth (1722-1846), Topsham (1616-1782), Totnes (1306-1480), Upottery (1592-1825), Whitchurch (1564-1738), Withycombe Raleigh (1536-1722). Further research would undoubtedly throw up more records of the name, both earlier and later and in other parishes. The surname continues in the county to this day.

Of the place names only Drakelane and Drakeford in Bovey Tracy, which first appears in the records in 1399, are likely to be early formations. Drakeland Corner in Plympton St. Mary is late, possibly named after a member of the Drake family living in the parish in 1374, while Drake's Island in Plymouth Sound was certainly named after Sir Francis Drake. Drake's Farm in Ide, in Exminster hundred, is a place name formation after a late medieval owner, as is also Drake's Farm in Musbury, in Axminster hundred, probably named after some member of the family of Drake of Ashe in that parish.

Sir Francis Drake, as the most illustrious bearer of the name in Devon, naturally excites curiosity as to the origins of his family, but they remain obstinately wrapped in obscurity. William Camden,³ the great Elizabethan antiquary, says that "this Drake (that I may report no more than what I have heard from himselfe) was born of meane parentage in the County of Devonshire," and this appears to be supported by the Visitation of 1564, which completely ignores the family, and the Visitation of 1620 which does not even record his father's Christian name. While much further research remains to be done on the Admiral's pedigree we have,

nevertheless, something to go on. One of the best of the earlier studies of the family and career of Sir Francis Drake is that by H. H. Drake,⁴ who discusses at some length his probable ancestry. While it is difficult to go all the way with Dr. Drake, he makes a persuasive case for supposing the Admiral's family to have been of better standing than stated by Camden or usually conceded by later authorities. Lady Elliott-Drake's work on the immediate ancestry, family and collateral descendants of Sir Francis Drake is indispensable and includes some original documents and a useful if somewhat conjectural sketch pedigree.⁵

The Admiral's family sprang from Crowndale, a small estate lying about a mile to the south of Tavistock and originally carved out of the demesne lands of the Abbey as a holding for a servile tenant. It is tempting to see a possible connection with the family of that John Drake who was assessed for the Subsidies of 1327 and 1332 in nearby Lifton hundred, for it was only after 1116 that the Abbot's barony acquired the status of a separate hundred, distinct from that of Lifton. H. H. Drake states that in 1330 Ralph, the son of John Drake, held land in Lamerton parish, adjoining Tavistock.⁶ The John Drake who was holding property in 1336 at Calstock, on the other side of the Tamar from Crowndale, was probably related. The Subsidy of 1373 shows Richard Drake's as the highest assessment in Tavistock hundred, clear indication that he was a man of some standing. Two other Drakes were parsons in the neighborhood in the later years of this century, while the Assize Roll of 1434-35 records a Walter Drake of Tavistock. The earliest tenant of the name who can be definitely identified with Crowndale was Henry Drake, who was granted a lease of the land in 1441. Forty years later a new lease was granted to Simon Drake, possibly his grandson, who was still in occupation in 1519, when John Drake (who may have been his son or nephew) was granted the reversion, to be held during his own life and that of his wife Margery and son John.

Edmund Drake, whom the Subsidy Roll for 1544 shows to have been living in Tavistock parish, was apparently a younger son of John and Margery. In 1548, with an accomplice, he waylaid and robbed a neighbor, stole a horse and fled the county. His friends obtained a pardon for him and he finally settled in Kent, putting it about that he had left Devon to avoid religious persecution.⁷ He finally became vicar of Upchurch in Kent in 1560 and died in January 1566-67. He had twelve children, of whom Sir Francis is thought to have been the eldest, but this

is by no means certain. Sir Francis died childless and his heir was his brother Thomas Drake, whose descendants continued until recent times. The Drakes of Crowndale, who appear to be descended from a brother of Edmund, flourished in the county through succeeding centuries and descendants are believed to be still existing.

In 1581 Letters Patent were drafted for Queen Elizabeth I to grant a coat of arms and crest to Sir Francis Drake who had recently been knighted. Two copies of the proposed text are known, differing slightly from each other, and both made by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, 1570–88.⁸ After a long preamble on the nature of coats of arms and their antecedents in classical antiquity, which was much reduced in the second version, the drafts set out how the Queen was “desirous to leave all posteretie the markes and tokens of our especiall favor towards him, . . . have further thought it good by these presentes, to assigne unto him Armes and tokens of vertue and honor, answerable to the greatnes of his said Navigacions and enterprises.” The arms and crest to be granted were then blazoned and the Kings and Heralds of Arms commanded to register the name in their books. The draft Letters Patent being dated “the [blank] day of June, the xxiiird yere of owr reigne” (i.e. 1581). No mention of the enrolment of the grant can be found in the index to the Patent Rolls for that year. Neither can any warrant for the issue of such Letters Patent be found in either May or June 1581,⁹ nor is any reference made to the grant in the Calendar of State Papers Domestic for that year.¹⁰ All of which appears to confirm a note by Glover at the head of his first copy of the draft that, “This draughte tooke none effect, it was never used.”¹¹ Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms 1567–93, however, commenced his certificate of the arms having been registered by him with a definite statement that the same had been granted by the Queen.¹²

This certificate by Clarenceux Cooke to the effect that he had registered the arms granted to Sir Francis Drake by the Queen also exists in two recensions, one being longer than the other. Both of these were copied by Glover into his book and a note explains their relationship to each other: “This Instrument above written was abridged and made shorter in forme heerafter expressed, and delyvered unto Sr Francys Drake under the hand of Robert Cooke Clarencieulx. And after beinge the second tyme newly made and fayre written for the sayd Sr Francys, this clause followenge was added unto it.”¹³ The arms so certified are blazoned as “Sable a fece wavy argent betweene two starres gold:¹⁴ the

healme adourned with a globe terrestriall upon the height wherof in a shippe vnder sayle, trayned aboute the same with golden haulsers by the direction of a hand appeeringe owte of the clowdes all in proper colour *the upper haulf of*¹⁵ a read dragon sheweth it self regardinge the sayd direction, with these wordes Auxilio diuino.”¹⁶ The original, unaltered, blazon agrees with that in the first and second drafts for the Letters Patent, the change in the color of the stars in the arms being also found in the second draft.¹⁷

The inclusion of the red dragon in the design of the arms is especially interesting for the texts of both the proposed grants by the Queen are phrased in such a manner as to suggest a grant to a “new man” without hereditary arms or crest which could be augmented by royal favor. The inclusion of a demi-dragon alluding to the name but also to the arms of the family of Drake of Ashe with which kinship was claimed by the grantee, but which could not be proved, is also in keeping with this. We know from other sources that Sir Francis was on good terms with Sir Bernard Drake of Ashe and described the younger brother of the latter in his will as “cousin” (in the sixteenth century the latter term was used quite loosely), which inclines one to give credence to the interpolation in Clarenceux Cooke’s certificate. This reads “Notwithstandinge that the said Sr Francys Drake, beinge wellborne and descended of worthie ancestors such as have of longe tyme born Armes as tokens of their race and progenie, which lykewyse to him by iust descent and prerogatyve of birth ar duly desyred, may for the Armes of his surname and family beare Argent a Wever dragon volant gules with the difference of a third brother,¹⁸ as I am credibly enfourmed by the testimony of Bernard Drake of [blank] in the Countie of Devon Esquire chief of that Cotearmure, and sondrey other of that family of wurshippe and goode credict.”¹⁹ There was much controversy over this addition in the nineteenth century.²⁰ Sir Francis certainly made the claim and in 1592 sealed several letters with a small round signet bearing the two coats of arms quarterly with the wivern in the first and fourth quarters.²¹ Later in 1595, he used a larger seal with the same quartered arms on the shield and, on the helm an eagle displayed, the crest borne by the Drakes of Ashe.²²

Against this evidence, however, three things must be set. First the fact that at no time, until the last minute alteration, was any indication given that the Queen’s grant was merely an augmentation of honor. Secondly, when his “posteritie” (issue of his brother Thomas Drake of Buckland)

entered their pedigree in the Visitation of Devon in 1620 the arms and crest allowed were those granted in 1581 without the wivern quartering.²³ Thirdly a great-grandson of Sir Bernard told John Prince the Devon historian that his ancestor "gave Sir Francis a box on the year" for usurping his arms.²⁴ It is perhaps significant that apart from the Ashmolean manuscript and one in the College of Arms,²⁵ the sixteenth and seventeenth century copies of the grant in the College of Arms and British Museum make no mention of the interpolation.²⁶ From this and the Visitation of 1620 the conclusion may perhaps be drawn that the document drawn up by Clarenceux Cooke, as finally issued, did omit the proposed interpolation and that the attempt to obtain recognition of the connection with the Drakes of Ashe was the cause of the fracas related by Prince.

It seems, therefore, that no relationship was established between the Drakes of Ashe in Musbury, away in the southeast of Devon, and the Drakes of Crowndale. The Visitation of 1564 records a descent for the former from John Drake who married the heiress of Billett of Ashe, probably in the early years of the fifteenth century. They apparently came from Exmouth and also held lands at Otterton, a few miles to the east along the coast. This is not a very ancient pedigree as those of Devon families go, but like so many of the Devon gentry the fortunes of the Drakes of Ashe were buttressed by a series of prudent marriages with ancient neighboring families. Sir Bernard Drake, like his namesake, one of that gallant band of seamen that Elizabethan Devon produced, was its brightest ornament. His great-granddaughter Elizabeth married the Cavalier Colonel, Sir Winston Churchill, and produced the first Duke of Marlborough. The family continued for many descents in the county.

Of the other families of the name in Devon the most eminent were the Drakes of Barnstaple, who produced a mayor of the town in 1679 and included among their numerous descendants the late Sir William Richard Drake, F.R.S.²⁷ Much useful work, largely based on Parish Register abstracts, has been done by Miss Daphne Drake on families of the name in Devon, Dorset and Somerset.²⁸

IN DORSET the name was pretty well established by the thirteenth century, the earliest reference being in the Curia Regis Rolls to a William le Drake, locality not stated.

The Adam Drake who was party to a Fine in Dorset and Somerset in 1228 is probably identical with the Adam le Drake who is mentioned in the Pipe Roll for these two counties in 1230. Another early reference is to

John Drake, a burgess of Bridport in 1265. The Subsidy of 1333-34 records Roger Drake in Milborne Stileham tithing in Bere Regis, who may well have been the ancestor of Thomas and George Drake who took the Protestation oath in Bere Regis in 1641. The Geoffrey Drake who was assessed for Subsidy in 1333 in Milborne St. Andrew tithing in Puddletown hundred is probably the progenitor of the Drakes who flourished in this parish in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, while Nicholas Drake in Yetminster tithing in the hundred of that name, living in 1333 may have been ancestor of the Drakes living in that parish in the sixteenth century. By the seventeenth century the name is found in at least thirty-six different parishes distributed over the county, the greater concentrations being in Bere Regis, Blandford St. Mary, Cranborne, Hilton, Longburton, Milborne St. Andrew, More Critchell and Wambrook (the family resident in this parish seems to have moved to Surrey). No place name bearing any resemblance to Drake is known in Dorset.

In SOMERSET Adam le Drake (who is noticed under Dorset) is recorded in 1230, while a Peter Drake was tried before the Justices in 1283 for a murder in Somerset. Walter le Drake, who got into trouble in 1299 for cutting down the Abbot of Glastonbury's trees at Mere, may be an ancestor of that John Drake who was living in Mere in the early years of Charles I's reign. The Subsidy Roll of 1327 records Nicholas, Stephen and William Drake, all in Othery tithing in Whitley hundred, and John Drake in Ilminster. By the seventeenth century, Drakes are found in twenty-eight parishes, of which the greatest concentrations were in Bridgewater, Chard, Cheddon (from whom were descended the Drakes of London, whose pedigree was registered at the Visitation of London of 1633-34), Donyatt, Ilminster and Pitminster (these last are believed to be descended from the Drakes of Littleham in Devon). No such place name is known in Somerset.

In WILTSHIRE the earliest record of the name found is in the Close Roll of 1235, when a certain John le Draker was slain and a William Drake and his wife were evidently involved. The Patent Roll of 1245 shows Adam le Drake holding land at Bishopstone in the northeast of the county: he may be identical with the man of this name recorded in Dorset some twenty years earlier. A few references to the name have been found at the end of the thirteenth century, while the Subsidy Roll of 1332-33 records a Richard Dragg living in the tithing of Boyton in Heytesbury hundred, and John le Drake at Bremhill and Richard le Drake at Slaughterford,

both in Chippenham hundred. No one of the name, other than David Drake at Newton Tony, is recorded anywhere in the county in the Subsidy Roll of 1576, nor in the Subsidies of the first two decades of the seventeenth century. There is a Drax House in the parish of Orcheston St. George in Heytesbury hundred. More significant is the place name Drake North in the parish of Damerham (on the southern borders of the county and transferred in modern times to Hampshire), the Old English form of which is Drakenhorde, which evidently preserves some ancient legend of a dragon hoard or treasure. It is just possible that some of the Drakes of Wiltshire, Hampshire and Dorset may have derived their names from this place.

DISTRIBUTION IN SOUTHEAST ENGLAND

IN HAMPSHIRE the earliest record of the surname found anywhere in England is that of Leuing Drache, recorded about 1150 in the Winchester "Domesday Book" (Liber Winton). The Curia Regis Roll of 1220 records a Ranulf Drake and his wife concerned in a plea of land at Ybinge [sic] in the county, while the Close Roll of 1222 records the murder of Martin le Drake, the son of Simon le Drake. The Subsidy Roll of 1332-33 gives John le Drake at Oxenborne in East Meon hundred, John le Draghe at Compton in Kinge's Somborne hundred and Elias le Draghe in Buddlesgate hundred. Apart from a Thomas Drake who was claiming property in Hampshire at the end of the fifteenth century, the Subsidies of 1620-28 only record a John Drake at Sarson and Tidworth near Andover and a William Drake at Hurstborne in the extreme north of the county. The name has only been found in three other parishes between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but in the eighteenth century a family of Drake became well established at Beaulieu. The place name Drake North in South Damerham, which at the time when the records were compiled was in Wiltshire, has been dealt with under that county.

IN SUSSEX the name was well established by the thirteenth century, the earliest to be found in the records being Simon le Drake, a fisherman of Sussex, who, in 1229, was given a permit to leave the port of Yarmouth in Norfolk, with his boat, for Shoreham in Sussex. The Tax Roll of 1296 records a John le Drake living at New Shoreham who may be identical with, or father of, that John Drake living in the borough of Shoreham in 1332. A few miles away to the west, along the south coast, Adam Dragon who was assessed in the tithing of Roffey may have given

his name to Dragon's Farm in Cowfold, a few miles away to the north-east. On the other hand the occurrence of Dragon's Green and Dragon's Farm in Shipley parish, also nearby, makes one wonder whether this may not be an original place name. Adam le Drake, a man of moderate substance, who was assessed in the south tithing of Rotherfield hundred in 1296, almost certainly held that ferling of land, some eighty-three acres in extent, which to this day is represented by two fields in Hayward's Farm in Rotherfield parish, called "The Drake," or sometimes "Little Drake." Unfortunately the records are insufficient to enable us to say whether this place name is of natural formation from some local feature or event, or whether the holding was named after the tenant, probably the latter. The Tax Return of 1327 records a William Drake, again a fairly substantial member of the community, and a John Drake, the poorest, in the township of Rotherfield, who may have been son or grandson of Adam le Drake, but by 1332 only William Drake remained there. In 1327 we find a Juliana Drag living in the tithing of Preston with Hove, who was probably related to John Drak and Simon Drak, who were living there in 1332.

The Drakes of Rotherfield flourished for several centuries and in 1407-08 we find Juliana, the widow of Thomas Drake, holding land in dower there, but by Tudor times they had died out of the parish. In the fourteenth century the name is found in the west of the county at or connected with Easebourne, Bepton and Fernhurst, and at Hailsham in the east, while in the early years of the sixteenth century a family of the name seems to have been established at Worthing, possibly descendants of the medieval Drakes of Shoreham.

In KENT a John Dragun and his wife were mentioned in 1271 in a Fine concerning land in the county. The Tax Roll of 1332 records a Thomas Drak in Larkfield hundred. The name is found once in the middle years of the fifteenth century and again in the early years of the sixteenth, but it was neither widespread nor established in the county. The Subsidy Rolls of 1623-28 record no one of the name. There is no place name of this formation in the county. When Edmund Drake fled from Devon in 1548, he settled at Rochester and subsequently became vicar of Upchurch, but his numerous family all appear to have forsaken it when they grew up. Although Sir Francis Drake spent much of his youth in the county or in its coastal trading ships, he cannot be accounted a Kentish man.

There are two place names in SURREY, Drakehull (dragon hill?) in Artington near Godalming, which is mentioned in a charter of 1318, and Dragberry (Drakebergh) in Merstham, mentioned in 1384, but no one of the name occurs in the medieval Tax Rolls as resident in any parish, and it is not until 1628 that we find the name established in the county, when the Subsidy Roll records Francis Drake, esq., as resident at Esher, and Edward Drake, gent., Mary Drake, widow, and John Drake, all resident in Reigate parish, but neither family was of local origin.

The Visitation of Surrey in 1623 gives a short pedigree of Edward Drake of Reigate, describing him as the son of Henry Drake "of the house of the Drakes of Devonshire," and was allowed the arms of the Drakes of Ashe, argent, a wivern (here called a "fire drake") gules. Mary Drake, the widow, was his mother, and John Drake evidently his brother. Another brother Robert Drake settled at Merstham, nearby. The family evidently failed to register their arms at the Visitation of 1662-68, or had moved elsewhere by then.

Francis Drake of Esher, who died in 1634, was the son of Richard Drake of Esher, the third son of John Drake of Ashe and brother of Sir Bernard Drake. They were, consequently, entitled to the arms, argent, a wivern gules. The family apparently died out in heiresses within a couple of generations.²⁹

No record of Drake, in any form, has been found in BERKSHIRE at any period covered by the search.

In LONDON & MIDDLESEX the name has not been noted before the middle of the sixteenth century, which suggests that it then came in from elsewhere.

One of the most detailed surveys of London was made in 1638, for the purpose of estimating the rental value of the houses in each parish and the actual tithe paid.³⁰ It shows us that people named Drake, mostly of moderately substantial means, were living in six different parishes within the City of London, and this argues that some, at least, of the families must have resided there for two or more generations.

The Visitation of London of 1633-34 registered a pedigree of Roger Drake, clothworker, then residing in Bread Street Ward in the City of London, who was the son of Richard Drake of Cheddon in Somerset, who himself was the son of a Drake of Bugden in Huntingdonshire. Their arms were: argent, a wivern between flaunches gules.

DISTRIBUTION IN ESSEX AND THE EASTERN COUNTIES

In ESSEX the earliest record of the name is in 1261, when Walter Dragon and Margery his wife were concerned in a conveyance of property at Southcreek (possibly Southey Creek on the Blackwater estuary). The 1327 Tax Return shows three families of the name established in the county: Robert Drake in Prittlewell and Milton tithing, now part of Southend-on-Sea; Nicholas le Drake at Great Waltham, in the middle of the county, the ancestor of the Drakes of Great Waltham, who flourished there in Elizabeth's reign and later; and Andrew le Drake at Terling, some four miles to the east.

The John Drake of Boreham who was living in 1379 may have been related to these last two families, as the parish of Boreham adjoins Terling and Little Waltham, and he is probably identical with the man of the same name who, a few years earlier, had been concerned in a conveyance of land in Boreham and in neighboring Hatfield Peverel. Almost a century later, in 1453 and again in 1462, we find a Thomas Drakes of Halstead acting as a trustee of lands in the parishes of Boreham, Great Baddow and Sandon. The Drakes of Halstead (from which parish the family of the emigrant Robert Drake of New Hampshire originated) were descended from the same family as the medieval Drakes of 1327. Although the Lay Subsidies of the first half of the seventeenth century only record a Mathew Drakes in Lachington and Lawling tithing, to the south of the Blackwater estuary, in 1623-24, we know from the Parish Registers that there were well-established families of Drake at Great Waltham in the later years of Elizabeth's reign and at Little Waltham in the middle years of the sixteenth century. Similarly we know that in Tudor times there were other flourishing families of the name at White Notley, Black Notley, Stisted, Great Tey, Maldon and Halstead. The place name Drake's Farm in Little Waltham parish is probably of late formation after the family who lived there, but whether Drake's Hill in Navestock parish, in the west of the county is of similar origin, or of more ancient formation, is difficult to say in the absence of sufficient evidence.

The SUFFOLK Tax Roll of 1327 records a Robert Drake as one of the more well-to-do residents of Thwaite township, in the middle of the county; while William Drake and John Drake were people of slender means in Shimpling township, in west Suffolk near the Essex border. These last two were probably closely related to Andrew Drake of Shimp-

ling who, with Joan his wife, was party to a Fine regarding property in nearby Alpling in 1332-33. John Drake of Northales, in the east of the county, was party to a Fine in 1377-78, regarding property at Pakefield, Kirkley and Carlton Colville, on the coast near Lowestoft, and was probably related to Richard Drake of Carlton Colville, mentioned in the Patent Rolls in 1314-15. The John Drake of Norwich who was party to a Fine in 1402-03 regarding property at Gazeley, near the Cambridge border of Suffolk and at Icklingham near Mildenhall, may possibly be identical with the John Drax, serjeant at arms, who was similarly concerned in property in Mildenhall in 1419-20. The Subsidy Roll of 1524 shows Roger Drake taxed on his goods in Stradbroke, which is not so far from Thwaite; while Robert Drake, who was taxed on goods in Sudburne tithing, was quite near Lowestoft and may be connected with the John Drake of 1377-78. Thomas Drake, tailor, of Bury St. Edmunds, is the only other of the name recorded in this Subsidy. The Robert Drake who was defendant in a Suit regarding land in Occold, midway between Thwaite and Stradbroke, may be identical with Robert Drake of Sudburne. There is no known place name in the county.

The NORFOLK records show the name to be well established and widespread through the county from the early years of the thirteenth century, when Roger Drake, merchant, is found at Runhall, in the middle of the county in 1225. Fifty years later we find the name established in Norwich, when the Close Rolls record a Walter Drak who held property in the city and was hanged for felony in 1275. Richard Drag, who was also spelled Dragge, of Happisborough, on the coast, was concerned in property in St. Julian's parish, Norwich, in 1292-93, 1306, 1308 and 1318, which seems to suggest that Drag may be a variant of Drake. Although the Tax Roll of 1332 does not record anyone of the name in Norwich, the lists of Freemen give us Adam Drake, shearman, 1378-79; John Drake in 1370-71. The John Drake, barber, who was made a Freeman in 1405-06 is probably identical with that John Drake of Norwich who was concerned in a property transaction at Gazeley and Icklingham in Suffolk in 1402-03. His son Richard, also a barber, was made Freeman in 1450-51, and others of the name appear in the lists into Tudor times.

The Tax Roll of 1332, which is somewhat difficult to read, records people of this name in ten different parishes, the biggest spread of any county at this period. On the shore of the Wash at Snethisham there is Richard Drake, while round the coast at Wells next the Sea is William

Dracke(?). The Walter de Drax at neighboring Stiffkey probably came from the Yorkshire family of that name. Further along the coast at Southrepps, near Cromer, is Warin Drack(?), while a few miles to the southeast are Edmund Drake and William Drake at Honing, the latter of whom held a fraction of a knight's fee there in 1346. Lawrence Drake of Honing, who was party to a Fine concerning land in nearby Witton in 1381, and Nicholas Drake of North Walsham, who was similarly concerned in land at Honing in 1383, were probably closely related. At the other end of the Norfolk coast, in Southmiddleleat tithing in Great Yarmouth, is John Drax. Inland at Witton(?) is Robert Drake and in the southeast of the county is William Drake at Moulton with John Drake and Adam Drake at nearby Pulham. This last is probably identical with the Adam Drake of Pulham who was on trial in 1299 for breaking down of Robert Tweteshall's house.

The Feet of Fines record many of the name in different parts of the county throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as do the early Chancery Proceedings, which carry them well into the sixteenth century. The Subsidy Rolls of 1605-06 record Anne Drake, widow, at Cranworth, in the center of the county; while the Subsidy Rolls of 1623-24 and 1625-26 record Thomas Drake in the parish of St. Giles, Norwich, probably a descendant of that Walter Drake who was hanged there in 1275. As the later Subsidies usually only returned the taxpayers in the tithing in which they resided, the Thomas Drake in St. Simonds, Norwich, may be a different person. There was also Robert Drake in St. Pauls, Norwich. At Gunthrope, towards the north coast, was Robert Drake, while at Stalham, in the east of the county, Thomas Drake was returned as the most important resident of his tithing. Richard Drake was at nearby Hickling. Richard Drake, gent., of Witton, probably a different man, and John Drake in the next tithing of Ridlington, may both have been descendants of the earlier Drakes of Honing, which adjoined them.

The sturdy yeomen of earlier days were making their way in the world and Thomas Drake, gent., was at Drayton. Richard Drake of Redenhall tithing may well have descended from the medieval Drakes of Pulham nearby, whose descendant John Drake of Pulham, gent., heads the pedigree recorded at the Herald's Visitation of Norfolk in 1563; his son removed to nearby Fornsett, and his grandson and great-grandson were of Hardley, but this family seem to have died out in heiresses. Their arms were registered as azure, a wivern with wings expanded or. There

can have been no connection with the Drakes of Ashe in Devon, but the coat is a canting one on drake=dragon=wivern.

In CAMBRIDGESHIRE the name is first found in the Hundred Rolls of 1278-79, which record a Semann Drake as holding a house and plot of land in Fordham, by the Suffolk border, as an under tenant of the Honour of Richmond. In 1327, Richard Drake was assessed for tax at Kirtling, a few miles away and not so far from Gazeley, suggesting a possible connection with the Drakes of Suffolk. Thomas Drake at Lolworth, to the northwest of Cambridge, may possibly be identical with the Thomas Drak who was assessed in the tithing of Witcham, Coveny and Maned, a few miles to the north near Ely, whose property lay next to that of William Drake at Sutton and Mepal. The Widow Drake who was assessed for the Subsidy of 1629 at Doddington may have married a descendant of this family. The place name Drake's Farm in Whittlesey parish, in the northwest of the county, may be of late formation after the family, of whom Robert Drake appears in a Court Roll of 1390.

John Drake of Wisbech, whose will was proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1488, may have been connected with the Drakes of Norfolk, for he was party to a Fine regarding land at Emneth, over the border.

The Hundred Rolls for HUNTINGDONSHIRE record Geoffrey Drake, William Drake and William Drake, junior, as cottar tenants of the Bishop of Lincoln in this county in 1280-81. The Subsidy Roll of 1327 records a cluster of four families of Drake, in the north of the county who may be connected with the Drakes of Whittlesey in Cambridgeshire, some five miles away; William Drake at Orton Waterville, Isabel Drake at Alwalton, Thomas Drake at Stanground and Reginald Drake at Farcet(?). There are no later records of the name, nor are any such place names known in the county.

In BEDFORDSHIRE John de Dragun of Berecote (probably Burcot in Bucks.) was a juror at the Inquisition post mortem on the lands of Geoffrey de Lucy in 1284; while William Drake and his wife were parties to a Fine in 1297 regarding property at Kempston Hardwick, near Bedford. Apart from a late fourteenth or fifteenth century Chancery Suit concerning the rescue of Robert Drake from the custody of the bailiff of Dunstable, and a Suit in 1501-04 brought by the executors of Richard Drayke of London, no further records of the name have been noted in this county.

No Drakes have been found in HERTFORDSHIRE before 1485-1500, when the executors of Richard Drakes, late Merchant of the Staple of Calais, were parties to a Fine regarding lands in the county. There is no likely place name in this county.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE MIDLANDS

IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE the earliest record to be found is of a Walter le Drake involved in a property transaction at High Wycombe in 1226. The John Dragoun recorded in the Patent Roll of 1316 as having held land in Burcot may be identical with, or son of, the juror of 1284 in Bedfordshire. No such place name is known in the county. Not until the end of the seventeenth century has the name been met with again, when it appears on several occasions in the Buckinghamshire Sessions Records, the most important being Sir William Drake, Bart., of Amersham.

OXFORDSHIRE provides no records of Drakes before 1628, when the Subsidy shows Ann Drake, widow, at Chadlington, in the northwest of the county. The place name Drakehordfurlong in Sandford may be of similar origin to the Drakehorde in Wiltshire (q.v.).

IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE there is an early record, in 1198, of a Robert Draac. The next occurrence is in 1327, when the Tax Roll shows William Drake at Charleton, Thomas Drake at Malton and John Drake at Fiddington in the north of the county, while an Inquisition of 1387 describes William Drake of Lechlade as a "common robber" in Gloucestershire. The William Drake who was plaintiff in a Chancery Suit at Bristol in the middle years of the fifteenth century may well have come from elsewhere. The place name Drakestone near Stinchcombe Hill is evidently of ancient formation.

No Drakes have been found in HERFORDSHIRE, nor are any such place names known in the county.

On the other hand the name is well represented in WORCESTERSHIRE, the earliest record being of Roger Drake who witnessed two grants of land to Bordesley Abbey in and about 1274-75. He is probably identical with the Roger Drake who was assessed for the Tax of 1275 in Tenbury, in the northwest of the county. Robert Drake was assessed in the manor of Bromsgrove and Kings Norton a few miles away in the north. At the same time Henry Drake was taxed at Upton on Severn, and he may also be the man of this name who was assessed in the tithing of Martin Husingtree in Pershore hundred, in the southern part of the county, while

Richard Drake, probably his son, was assessed here in 1327. The William le Drake who was taxed at Drake's Broughton, also in Pershore hundred, is clearly identical with the man of this name who witnessed two grants of land in Pershore about the end of this century. In this roll the place name is rendered as Broctone so that it acquired its prefix at some later date from William le Drake or his family. The place name Drakelow in Wolverly, in the north of the county, is of ancient formation, probably meaning dragon hill or barrow, and so irrelevant to our enquiry.

The William Drake who was assessed for tax in 1327, at Bredon, is probably related to the Drakes of Pershore hundred, while Edith Drake, assessed at Madresfield was probably connected by marriage with one or other of the families recorded in his hundred in 1275. The hamlet of Drake's Cross, to the south of Worcester, may be a place name of late formation, after some member of the families established in Pershore hundred. The surname fades out after this and is not found in any of the subsequent Subsidies, the last record noticed being the burial at Defford in 1611 of Thomas Drake "a poor beggar man."

In WARWICKSHIRE a David Drake occurs in the Pipe Roll of 1190 and a Roger Drake in 1192, but in neither case connected with a locality. The Robert Drake who occurs in the Pipe Roll between 1195 and 1209 appears in the Curia Regis Rolls as concerned in a plea of land at Coleshill, in the north of the county, in 1206, and this is picked up in the Pipe Roll of 1207. He was undoubtedly connected with Absolon Drak, whom the Patent Roll of 1229 recorded as plaintiff in an assize of novel disseisin regarding property in Coleshill. Alan Drake and Richard Drake, who were taxed in 1332 in the neighboring tithing of Nether Whitacre, can be regarded as probably descended from the foregoing, while Margery Drake, who was taxed at Tamworth, in the far north of the county, may have been connected. Peter Drake of Solihull, a few miles the other side of Coleshill, who made a grant of land there in 1340-41 was also probably of this family. Although no later medieval records have been found, the family persisted in this locality through the centuries and the Subsidy of 1620 records William Drake at nearby Grendon. No likely place name is known in this county, for Drakenegge in Kingsbury, which is some five miles north of Coleshill, does not seem likely to give rise to a Drake surname.

No family of this name has been found in NORTHAMPTONSHIRE until the end of the fifteenth century, when we find a John Drake, gent.,

of Castor, near Oundle, on the northeast border of the county, a few miles from that other group in north Huntingdonshire, with whom they may be connected. No other likely residents of the name have been noted, nor is there any such place name in the county.

In RUTLAND the Tax Roll of 1327 records Roger Drage and Alan Drake, both in the tithing of Martinsthorpe, which again may suggest that the former is a variant of the name, while Roger Drake is taxed in Bisbrook (Butillesbrokes) a few miles away. No subsequent records of the name have been found.

The Drake recorded in 1275 in LEICESTERSHIRE may only have come to the county through marriage. The next reference is not until the middle years of the fifteenth century and insufficient from which to draw any inferences. There is no place name in the county.

No Drakes have come to light in STAFFORDSHIRE before 1518, nor are there any such place names. In SHROPSHIRE no records have been found of the family or place name at any time during the period searched. Similarly in CHESHIRE the only record of the name, in 1308-09, tells us little. In DERBYSHIRE, too, the name does not appear before 1547, which is too late for any useful deductions to be drawn. There is a place name Drakelow in the county, but it is irrelevant to the present study.

The Pipe Rolls of 1184-86 record a Robert Drake and Malger his brother in NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, while the Patent Roll of 1293 records a pardon for the man who killed William Drake of Litton in self defence. No further references have been noted until 1503, when the burial of John Drake of Aslacton, in the south of the county, is recorded. The place name Drakehole, in Winton, is only met with in a record of 1695 and its significance cannot be assessed.

In LINCOLNSHIRE a Simon de Drakeia was concerned in an assize of novel disseisin in the county in 1223, and his name, unless this is a clerical error, indicates derivation from a place name. Unfortunately this is one of the counties where little work has been done on the local place names, so that it is not possible to say if it might be of local origin or not. The name le Dragoner occurs in the Close Roll of 1273 and le Dracur in that of 1251, both in this county, but it seems unlikely that they are early forms of Drake.

The Tax Roll of 1327 records John Drak taxed in the tithing of East Deeping, on the southern border of the county, with Thomas Drak, William Drak, Walter Drak and Richard Drak all taxed in nearby Irn-

ham. A few miles to the other side of Market Deeping we find Walter Drake assessed at Croyland, Peter Drake at Moulton, Roger Drake at Whaplode and Robert Drake at Fleet, in 1332. All these are near those other concentrations of Drakes in the northern parts of Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. The Tax Roll of 1327 also records William Drak at East Keal, with Robert Drake and Peter Drake assessed at Harpswell, while Emma Drake was at East Halton. In St. Edmunds parish in the City of Lincoln, Robert de Drax was taxed and this clearly indicated a Yorkshire origin for him, from the place of that name and so no true Drake. Another, Adam de Drax, is found at Barton upon Humber. The patent Rolls of 1334 record that Gilbert Drake and William his son, with others, were accused of assault at Hemswell, in the north of the county. They were evidently a turbulent family, for in 1373 a William Drake of Hemswell and a Hugo Drake of Hemswell were in trouble at Kirton for misdemeanors. No record has been found of the name, in any form, in subsequent centuries.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE NORTH

IN NORTHUMBERLAND the references are comparatively few. The earliest (unless we accept Robert Dragges in 1291) is Robert Drake in 1292-93, possibly the same man. In 1320 it appears in the form Draks and in 1384-85 as Dracus. After that the name disappears from the records of this county. There are no place names of Drake or its variants.

The name is rare in CUMBERLAND. Two persons of the name, evidently closely related, are found holding land at Skelton in 1294, but no further records of it have been noted, nor are there any such place names in the county.

IN DURHAM, apart from a Peter Dragon in 1304, the name is not recorded throughout the period searched, nor is there any Drake place name. Similarly in WESTMORLAND the name has not been found, and in LANCASHIRE only two records, one of 1246 of a Roger Drake and the other of 1332 of a Richard le Drake, both in the south of the county, have come to light. It is unlikely that the place name Drakeholm, on the coast in Heysham parish, many miles away in the north of the county, has any connection with them.

There is no record of the name in the North Riding of YORKSHIRE at any time during the period searched, but the place name Drakedale is found in Ampleforth. In the West Riding a Matilda de Drak occurs at

Drax in 1221 and this place, the early forms of which were Ealdrege, Drac, Draces, Drach and Drax, gave its name to a family found in the West Riding from the early thirteenth century to the end of the period searched. In the East Riding a Peter Drake occurs in 1299, but the name in this form does not recur until ca. 1570. There is no place name Drake, as such, anywhere in the county.

Up to Tudor times the name Drax was sometimes spelled Drakes and the Visitation of the North of 1563-64 records a pedigree of Drax, who claimed an improbable descent from "Geofferey Drakes of Cenomania in France." Their arms were: checky or and azure, on a chief gules a plume of three ostrich feathers issuant of the first. The Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665 records a pedigree of five generations of Drake of Ripon and Halifax, headed by . . . Drake of Halley Green, co. Yorks, and ending with John Drake, Sub-Dean of Ripon and Samuel Drake, Vicar of Pontefract. They claimed the same arms as Drake of Ashe in Devon, but were unable to substantiate it, as the Heralds noted, "respice given for prooffe of these Armes, but no prooffe made."

ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME

This survey of the distribution of the surname Drake brings out the fact that it was well established and widespread through England by the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the west country it is well represented in Devon, as well as in Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire. Hampshire has produced the earliest reference, and its main concentration in the southeast is in that county and in Sussex. In the eastern counties the name is again pretty thick on the ground, particularly in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Huntingdonshire. In the midlands, apart from Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire, the name is much rarer, while in the north it has hardly been found.

The other fact which emerges is that bearers of the surname were people of moderate status, the middling and richer freeholders who became the yeomen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. None held land by knight service before the fourteenth century and then only to an insignificant extent. Such people did not move much about the country but tended to keep to the neighborhoods in which their ancestors had dwelt. They are likely to have been of English stock and their families, if not their surnames, to have been rooted in the country before the Normans

came. Their common language would thus be English and not the Norman-French of their masters.

This is borne out by the surname Drake which, in any of its possible meanings, is of old English Origin. It occurs as frequently in the Saxon areas of Wessex as it does in Essex and East Anglia, and in the latter case is not influenced by the Danish element.

The earliest occurrence takes the form *Drache* (Hants 1150), *Draac* (Notts 1184, Glos. 1198) and *Drake* (Warwicks 1190). As Norman renderings of the sound "k" were often "c" or "ch," this gives us the name in its pure form at a very early period, before surnames were commonly assumed. Some of the forms noticed, such as *Druk*, may be due to an error of clerk, transcriber or printer, and "de" may also occasionally be an error for "le" in the few occasions when it occurs. By the following century the forms *Drake* and *le Drake* predominate. In both centuries the names *Dragon* and *Dragun* are met with, only to disappear by the latter part of the fourteenth century, and, as they both appear in counties where the name *Drake* is common (except in the case of Durham), it seems possible that this may be a variant of it, perhaps the result of a quasi-latinization of the name by the medieval clerks, in the belief that that was its real meaning.

The fact that the form "le Drake" persisted, in many different places, up to the early fourteenth century, indicates that it was a nickname rather than a territorial description. Place names formed with *Drake* or *Dragon* and their variants are not common in England and none of them seems likely to have given rise to this surname, which was so well established at an early date in places where no such place names are known to exist.

It has been surmised³¹ that the name might be a metonym for *Draker*, the Standard bearer, on the analogy of the dragon standard of the Wessex kings, or the dragon standard borne in procession at certain church festivals in the Middle Ages. If the former, we should expect to find the name at a much earlier period, moreover the warrior who bore the ruler's standard was usually a man of much greater standing than those medieval *Drakes* we have found so far. If the latter, we should have to suppose a larger number of standard bearers than seems likely and moreover presume that the appointment was generally hereditary to make the name stick. There is no evidence of this.

The name *Drax* may, in some cases, be a variant of *Drake*, *Drakes*, but mostly it derives from the place name *Drax* in the West Riding of

Yorkshire, which in turn derives from "*drege*," Ealdedrege, the dray or drag, a portage between the Ouse and Aire, which meet nearby, from Old English *dragu*. Some Drake names may also derive from this root, where other rivers meet, but the etymology of place names deriving from this root suggests that this did not happen.

This surname still remains something of a mystery and for the present we must accept as most likely the simpler suggestion that it was a nickname from the bird, in the same way as the surname Duck, Heron or Raven, rather than a development of the Old English *draca*, "dragon," tempting though it is to accept it. Lamb and Bull, which could be metonymics for lamb-herd and bull-herd, raise the question whether there might be some derivation from drake-herd, but this would presuppose that the keeping of ducks and their attendant drakes was a full-time job for many villagers in the Middle Ages, and this seems most unlikely. Perhaps it was awarded by their neighbors to those rare characters in the Middle Ages who could actually swim, fisherfolk living along the coasts and rivers, who took to it like a duck to water, a form of recreation which was held against King Edward II by his contemporaries, who regarded it as so eccentric as to be noteworthy.

NOTES

1. S. K. Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England* (New Haven, 1951), is one of the best and most detailed surveys of taxation in theory and practice under Henry II, Richard I and John, while J. A. C. Vincent, *Lancashire Lay Subsidies* (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, xxvii), gives one of the best accounts of the taxes raised during the following century.
2. Feudal Aids, I, 350, 405, 445, 452.
3. William Camden, *Annales, The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth, Queene of England* etc. (1625) ed. II, 417. In this context "mean" connotes "middle class" rather than low parentage, which squares with Drake's known yeoman ancestry.
4. Dr. H. H. Drake, *Sir Francis Drake*, a paper read to the Exeter Archaeological Institute in 1873. He included a most valuable analysis of Drake's captains and their relationships to himself and each other.
5. Lady Eliot-Drake, *The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake* (1911). E. F. F. Benson, *Sir Francis Drake*, goes into the question of his date of birth and gives a useful bibliography. A. E. W. Mason, *The Life of Sir Francis Drake*, is a good contribution to his biography, while two recent, though brief, accounts by James A. Williamson, *Sir Francis Drake*, and Christopher Lloyd, *Sir Francis Drake*, are both readable.
6. Dr. H. H. Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 9, but this statement requires investigation as his reference appears to be incorrect.
7. This was the reason given by Sir Francis Drake to Camden, but I think Mr. H. P. R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, pp. 250, 270, has probably hit on the true story. I have also followed his list of the early holders of Crowndale. J. L. Vivian, *Visitations of the County of Devon*, gives two Edmunds, father and son, but this seems unlikely.
8. Bodleian. Ashmole MS. 834, ff. 44v and 220v.
9. P.R.O.: *Chancery Warrants*, C.82/1370-71.
10. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth I*, II (1581-90).
11. Ashmole MS. 834, f. 44v.
12. *Ibid.*, ff. 37v and 38v.
13. *Ibid.*, f. 38v.
14. Altered to argent (silver) in the second draft.
15. Deleted in the second draft.
16. *Ibid.*, f. 38v.
17. *Ibid.*, f. 221v.
18. That is a mullet.
19. Ashmole MS. 834, f. 35v.
20. *Herald and Genealogist*, viii; *Archaeological Journal*, xxx; and *The Genealogist*, vol. I, all *passim*.
21. Brit. Mus. Landsdowne MS. 70, ff. 94-95, 98-99 and 170-180.
22. Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 4762, f. 132.
23. London. Coll. Arm. MS. I.C. I, f. 189.
24. John Prince, *The Worthies of Devon* (1st ed.), p. 245.
25. Coll. Arm. MS. F. 12, ff. 163-4, cited by Dr. H. H. Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
26. College of Arms: *Old Grants* f. 82; *Misc. Grts.* I, f. 57v, and II, f. 181v. Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 1154, f. 20v; 1172, f. 5v; 1422, f. 4; 1476, f. 111v.
27. Sir W. R. Drake, *Devonshire Notes and Notelets* (privately printed), containing numerous transcripts of original material on many Devon families but badly indexed.
28. Miss D. Drake typescript notebook, *Drake*, in the Library of the Society of Genealogists Ac. 23927.
29. Sir W. R. Drake, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-70, who gives a plate of the delightful Elizabethan monument to Richard Drake which was in St. George's Church, Esher.
30. Cod. Lambeth 272, ed. T. D. Dale, *The Inhabitants of London in 1638*.
31. Dr. P. H. Reaney, *Dictionary of British Surnames*.

Great Waltham in the Middle Ages

SINCE the greater part of the narrative pedigree recounted in the succeeding chapters will be concerned with the medieval inhabitants of Great Waltham it may be helpful to the reader if we pause to sketch, however lightly, the background to their brief annals. In the urban dominated civilization of the present day it needs a conscious and instructed effort of the imagination if the daily life and recorded acts of our ancestors are to be fully intelligible. With so great an accumulation of records the parish of Great Waltham is well provided with the material, not just for a brief chapter, but for a book.

The parishes of Great and Little Waltham do not emerge as distinct areas until the end of the twelfth century;¹ they lie about three miles north of Chelmsford, and Waltham was among the larger areas in the County of Essex described in Domesday Book in 1086. In 1851 the two parishes contained 9562 acres, of which Great Waltham accounted for 7335,² and their greatest width, from northwest to southeast, over seven miles. Anciently this would have been heavily wooded and even today the copses and well-timbered hedgerows are the dominant impression of the landscape. The soil is clay with chalk about one foot below the surface which produces a fertile loam when worked and the parish is well supplied with water by the river Chelmer which runs through it from north to south and the Walthamby Brook entering the parish near Pleshey in the west and running across to join the Chelmer a little to the north of the main village. Most of the land lies about 200 feet above sea level, cut into by the river and brook. The Roman road from Chelmsford to Braintree cut across the parishes in a northeasterly direction and another road forked to the northwest leading to Dunmow. This ran along the west side of the Chelmer through Howe Street and Ford End with roads running west to Pleshey and north to Hertford End and Littley. From the latter another

road ran south to Little Waltham on the east bank. Except when approaching the fords or bridges these roads keep to the shoulder of the valleys seldom less than 150 feet above sea level, thus avoiding the alluvial plain liable to flooding in winter. A network of minor roads serves the outlying farms and it is probable that many of these also provided access to the fields of the medieval manors.

Heavily wooded—the name Waltham derives from the Anglo-Saxon word for a forest homestead or enclosure—the land did not attract early settlement. A scatter of Roman finds have been made along the line of their road, and the traces of their buildings, from which the re-used bricks in the parish Church may have come, were found in Little Waltham and near Pleshey. The introduction of a stronger, wheeled plough by the Saxons made the exploitation of these heavy soils possible and by the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066 there were flourishing settlements. The chalk underlying the clay produced, as has been said, a natural and fertile loam soil and the Elizabethan surveyor and map-maker, John Norden, found at the end of the sixteenth century that: “This shire (Essex) is most fatt, frutefull, and full of profitable thinges, exceding (as farr as I can finde) anie other shire, for the generall commodeties, and the plentie. . . . It is to be noted how the particuler comodeties are, as it were, quartered out, and possess severall places within the Shire. . . . Therdlie, the hundreds of Uttlesforde, *Chelmerforde* (i.e. Chelmsford in which lay Waltham), Claveringe, and those partes are reasonable apt for corne, and especiallie Uttlesforde hundred, the reste are here and there much interlaced with woodes and rugged groundes.”³ A character which has not altered substantially today.

From the consideration of the land which is, with the equipment of the settlers, the most important factor in determining the pattern of settlement we turn to the men and their organization. The romantic view of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England dear to the historians of the last century, of groups of free peasant farmers reduced to serfdom by foreign invaders, has died hard and must be rejected. The evidence of the oldest Saxon settlement names shows them to have come in groups organized by and being known as the men of their leader and, in some cases, apparently indicating the migration of a tribal group. About twenty-four place names in Essex are accepted as falling into this category, those nearest to the Walthams lying between Brentwood and Chelmsford and about seven miles to the southwest.⁴ It is not known exactly when the clearing

and settlement of the forest in the Walthams started, for no documents relating to them have been found earlier than Domesday Book compiled between 1085 and 1086. In this, however, we learn that a certain Edward had held Chatham in 1065. Later known as Chatham Hall, the name of the manor derives from the British word for wood, *Cet*, and the Saxon *ham(m)* a homestead or enclosure.⁵ The same name in hybrid form as Waltham. This use of British roots is very rare in Essex, but similar names are found in Kent (Chatham) and Lancashire (Cheetham)⁶ and the existence of tautological forms, e.g. Chetwode in Buckinghamshire, suggest that in the former places not only the word but also its meaning was known. The place names in Hertfordshire, which shares a similar settlement pattern with Essex, both being heavily wooded counties, show the survival of the native British population, although to a greater extent aided by the survival of a Romano-British Kingdom in the Chilterns until 571, and that the native population was not driven out or exterminated. Although Essex was invaded earlier and settled more densely by the Saxons it would appear that in the forest the remnants of the British inhabitants lingered on to give at least some of their names to their supplanters.⁷ It is significant that Chatham Hall lies between the Roman Road and the Chelmer, two factors governing the position of the early Saxon settlements by aiding their advance.

In 1065 the Walthams were divided between six lords, in Great Waltham besides Chatham already mentioned, other estates were held by Ansgar, Ulwin and Ulsi. Ansgar, a prominent tenant under S. Edward the Confessor, was the Staller, the guardian of the King's person and standard.⁸ Little Waltham was then held by two lords, Stanhard and Lefstan, whose lands were given to the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury in Suffolk and Eustace Count of Boulogne respectively.

According to the eighteenth-century historian of the County, Philip Morant, the parish of Great Waltham contained the following manors or sub-manors:

- (i) Waltham or Waltham-Bury;
- (ii) Warners als. Waleys;
- (iii) Hide Hall;
- (iv) Southouse;
- (v) Langleys or Marshalls;
- (vi) The Rectory;
- (vii) Chatham Hall.⁹

The full history of all these manors is not known at present and the following account of their origins and descent has been based for the most part on the existing County histories supplemented by a certain amount of research in the original records.

In 1086 when the Domesday Book was compiled the parish of Great Waltham was held by two of William's tenants in chief, holding immediately from him, and was further divided into five tenements originating from before the Conquest. These divisions will be considered under their heads:

A. LANDS OF GEOFFREY OF MANDEVILLE¹⁰

(i) Waltham, held as a manor and eight hides by Geoffrey in demesne, was the estate later known as the manor of Great Waltham or Waltham Bury.

(ii) Chatham, held as a manor and as two hides, thirty acres, by his tenant Walter. This was later held by a junior branch of the Mandeville family.

(iii) One hide and fifty acres held with soke (i.e. the right to the profits of jurisdiction) before the Conquest and then held by Roger as Geoffrey's tenant. It is probably to be identified with the manor of Southouse which was held in Socage of Great Waltham in 1448.¹¹ All these formed part of the great Honour of Mandeville, sometimes called of Essex after their Earldom, the *caput* or chief administrative center of which lay across the parish boundary in Pleshey.

B. LANDS OF ROBERT SON OF CORBUTIO¹²

(i) One hide and thirty acres held of him by W[. . .];

(ii) Thirty acres of which he "took possession" (*invasit*);
neither of which have been identified.

The Honour of Mandeville, or of Essex, descended through the Say and FitzPiers families to the Bohuns created Earls of Essex before 1239.¹³ The lands continued in this family until the extinction of the male line in the person of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, who died on 16 January 1373 leaving two daughters, Eleanor and Mary, then aged seven and four (or two) years old respectively.¹⁴

According to his Inquisition post mortem the Great Waltham estates were then divided as follows.

(i) The manor of Great Waltham, held of the King in chief by un-

known services. This is the first of the Domesday fees and was held in 1212 by Geoffrey son of Piers "in his barony" which doubtless explains the statement about the services.¹⁵

Eleanor married Thomas Duke of Gloucester who died in 1397 and had by him a daughter Ann who carried the property to her husband Edmund Earl of Stafford and secondly to William Count of Eu. Both Eleanor and Ann received the manors in Great Waltham on the death of their respective husbands.¹⁶ The second of Humphrey de Bohun's daughters married Henry Duke of Lancaster, later Henry VI, and their son Henry V after a suit in Chancery was awarded the lands, and an order for them to be taken into his hands was given to the escheator of Essex on 13 May 1421.¹⁷ Thereafter the manors were held by the crown and were usually granted to successive Queens in dower until their sale to private purchasers.

(ii) One-fifth fee held by Edmund Warner who is first mentioned as holding local administrative posts about this time.¹⁸ It is possible that he was descended from Stephen le Warener of Pleshey who acquired land in Great Waltham together with his wife by a fine levied in 1286.¹⁹ The land specified in the Inquisition, however, was the manor of Waleys, later called Warners, the former name being retained for it long after it had been held by the latter family.²⁰ In 1374 lands formerly of John Waleys in Great Waltham were quitclaimed to Edmund Warner and Joan his wife a daughter of John Waleys.²¹ This John Waleys was presumably descended from the John le Waleys who made a fine with the then Earl of Essex for a half virgate of land in Great Waltham in 1236 and who was mentioned twelve years later as the owner of a mill there.²² Since a mill was one of the more valuable perquisites of a manor it may be concluded that he held one in Great Waltham under the Earls of Essex. Another John le Waleys of the same place made a fine for other lands there in 1316²³ but, while it is safe to conjecture that all these persons were related, insufficient evidence has so far been found to show the full line of the descent.

(iii) One-eighth fee held by Peter atte Hyde. The history of this manor is very obscure. In 1324, while the lands of Humphrey de Bohun (slain at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1321 having espoused the cause of the Earl of Lancaster in his rebellion against Edward II) had escheated to the crown an Inquisition was taken on the death of one James de la Hyde who died on 2 August leaving a widow Emma and a daughter Elizabeth

aged 6 to inherit his lands in Great Waltham held as $\frac{1}{8}$ of a knight's fee. The wardship of the lands and the heir were given to Robert de Hemenhale and in 1330 a further Inquisition called Elizabeth "de Hemenhale" and it is possible that she had married one of her guardian's sons.²⁴ If this was so then the Peter atte Hyde in 1373 may have been her son who had taken his grandfather's name with his land. Nothing is known for certain though about their relationship, nor of his to the Thomas at Hyde mentioned in documents of 1377 and 1416.²⁵

Thereafter the descent of the manor is unknown until it is found in 1623 being held by a John Hankin of the Honour of Tutbury (sic).²⁶

(iv) One-tenth fee held by Simon de la Roterie. No mention is made of any such person in the descents given by Morant.

(v) One twenty-third fee held by the Abbot of Walden to whose predecessor the rectory was given by Geoffrey de Mandeville and confirmed by Stephen.²⁷ Upon the suppression of the Religious Houses it came first into the hands of Sir Richard Rich and next to Sir Thomas Pope who settled it upon his foundation of Trinity College at Oxford.²⁸

It is curious that no mention is made of the sub-manors of Southouse, which was held by the Bybbesworth family from before 1336 to 1485 when the male line failed,²⁹ or of Langleys alias Marshalls. Nothing is said by Morant about the descent of this manor between 1336 and 1421³⁰ and it is possible, therefore, that it may be represented here by the fee of Simon de la Roterie.

All of the foregoing were held as manors of the manor of Great Waltham but the next was held directly of the Honour of Mandeville.

(vi) Chatham, which was held by Sir Thomas de Mandeville the elder with Broomfield, Black Notley and Radleigh as $4\frac{1}{4}$ fees. In 1303 another Thomas de Mandeville is recorded as holding Broomfield and Chatham for one fee and paying 40s. for the same,³¹ and the estimate of Chatham as a half fee would agree with the hidage given for the same in Domesday Book for the manor if it is reckoned that five hides was the normal size of a knight's fee. In 1399 Thomas son and heir of Thomas de Mandeville died and the manor passed to one of his daughters and heirs, Alice, and the issue of her second marriage with Roger Spice whose grandson died in 1485 leaving a daughter Philippa aged one as his heir.³² Nothing more was known of this manor to Morant until it was found ca. 1566 in the possession of Richard Lord Rich who died in that year.

The surviving Court Rolls and other records for the six manors in

Great Waltham have been listed in the Bibliography at the end of the book and, as is usual, they are unevenly represented. For three of them, Warners alias Waleys, Southouse and Langleys or Marshalls, none have been traced and those of the Rectory prior to 1564 probably disappeared during the Reformation and subsequent changes in tenure. While the Court Rolls are invaluable for tracing the history of individual holdings, as the present book bears witness, and provide much information about their lives for a general view of the manor they are not such a good source as the less frequently compiled Surveys or Extents.

The Manorial Survey or Extent was one of the most valued records of the lord and, if not a map as might be expected in more recent times, an important instrument in developing the agricultural policy of the manor. In the thirteenth century there was an agrarian "revolution" which was at least as important as the later and better-known achievements of the eighteenth century.³³

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that one of the earliest and longest sections of Walter of Henley's *Husbandry* written in the mid-thirteenth century was devoted to the subject. "Survey your lands and tenements by true and sworn men. First survey your courts, gardens, dove-houses, curtilages, what they are worth yearly beyond the valuation, and then how many acres are in the demesne, and how much is in each 'coture' (a division of the demesne arable land varying in size) and What they should be worth yearly: and how many acres of pasture, and what they are worth yearly, and all other several pastures, and what they are worth yearly, and wood, what you can sell without loss and destruction, and what it is worth yearly beyond the return, and free tenants, how much each holds and by what service, and customary tenants, how much each holds and by what services, and let customs be put in money. And of all other definite things put what they are worth yearly."³⁴ The bailiffs were also to state how much and how many kinds of corn were sown and the number of ploughs needed. The Survey therefore covered much the same ground as the Domesday Inquest of 1086, which was William the Conqueror's Survey of his newly acquired lordship of England. While this appears to have been an innovation in England the practice had been established on the continent by Charlemagne and at least from the thirteenth century was widely copied by the lords of manors both lay and ecclesiastical. Abbreviated versions of these detailed Surveys were commonly included in the Inquisitions post mortem held after the death of

one of the King's tenants in chief, that is someone who held his land of whatever size directly of the King, to ascertain the character of the tenure, the next heir, and the services or other rights due to the King. Summarizing the rents and services of the undertenants the amount of detail varies from Inquisition to Inquisition. The more detailed are, however, comparable in the amount of information given to that found in Domesday or the Surveys made for the lord of the manor. Probably the latter, if such existed for the manors concerned, were made available to the Escheator, the royal official responsible for taking the Inquisition, and the jurors.

For the principal manor of Great Waltham we are fortunate in having, not only the information gathered for Domesday and a manorial survey of 1328,³⁵ but also a series of Inquisitions. Of the latter the one taken on 19 February 1336 on the death of John de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex is full and sufficiently close in date to the Survey of 1328 to supply some of the defects therein.³⁶ A translation of the unpublished text is given in Appendix II. Later surveys were taken between 1563 and 1616-17 but by then the immediate ancestors of Colonel Drake had left Great Waltham.³⁷

The boundaries of the manors in Great Waltham are not known exactly and must have been extremely complicated. A rental of Hydehall manor taken on 5 January 1483 enumerated eight tenements with land lying in several fields, and one piece in Little Waltham,³⁸ the rents amounting to 4s. 2d. From both the Survey of 1328 and the Extent in 1336 it is clear that the principal manor of Waltham Bury also crossed the parish boundary and this may account for the farm called, after a previous tenant, Drakes in that parish. While it is possible that a full analysis of the Surveys and Court Rolls would provide sufficient material to reconstruct the bounds of the fields and crofts this would be a major undertaking and has not been ventured upon here.

The entries for what was later to be called Great Waltham in Domesday Book have been analyzed in Appendix I and demonstrate some of the improvements which Geoffrey de Mandeville had made. It is notoriously difficult to find out exactly what some of the statistics given there really meant either to the compilers or in comparison with later figures, differently expressed, in Surveys and Extents.

The population in 1086 consisted of 1 freeman, 77 villeins, 52 bordars and 21 serfs. These were precise categories and the later legal equation

of *servus* (serf or slave) with *villanus* (villein) must be set aside. The exact connotation must have varied but where the numbers are small they may have been housed on and worked the demesne.³⁹ It is perhaps significant that if they are omitted the number of households would total 130 and that the 1327 taxation was paid by 124 heads of households.⁴⁰ Maitland suggested that to estimate the actual population indicated by these figures they should be multiplied by five, which would give a total of 650 with 21 serfs. The Poll Tax of 1377, which was levied at 4d. a head on all aged 14 years and above, produced £8.15.8. from Great Waltham and there were then 527 persons assessed.⁴¹ This was after the Black Death of 1349 in which perhaps a quarter or a third of the population perished, and allowance would need to be made for the children under 14 and it has been suggested that this was roughly one-third of the population.⁴² On this basis the total for Great Waltham in 1377 would have been 780 and before the Black Death probably over 1000. These estimates are confirmed, and the changes in the status of the tenants explained, by the 1336 Extent of the principal manor in Great Waltham. This enumerates the services of rents due from 351 tenants divided in two main classes, the customary tenants and the molmen. The former, again subdivided, as is shown both by the Extent and the Survey of 1328, into 54 doing the major customary works and 76 and 78 the minor customs. These divisions probably correspond, in part at least, to the villeins and bordars of Domesday Book. The Survey also shows that the tenorial pattern had become very complex with the holdings fragmented so that few held their land in the undivided units to which the services had originally been assigned. A further complication lay in that the same tenants held different parts of their land by both major and minor customs. It was probably this, together with the consideration that a paid laborer was more reliable, that had led to the creation of the new class of molmen. (The reasons were roughly the same as those which had led the King to prefer scutage, which enabled him to pay for mercenaries, to be paid rather than the personal service under rigid conditions from his knights for which the "shield-money" was a substitute.)

A small number of the molmen (the word derives from a Kentish dialect word *Mul* or rent), 36 in all, were released from all services and a further 107 still owed certain services during the autumn harvest either personally or by finding others.⁴³ An important feature of their tenure at least from the lawyers' point of view, was that "the tenure of the molmen

appears distinguished not only by the nature of its services but also by its certainty."⁴⁴ The uncertainty lay in that, while the services due from the unfree tenant were fixed by the custom of the manor, the lord could order them to do one of several services at his, the lord's, wish.⁴⁵ It was into this, relatively speaking, privileged class that we find the Drakes of Great Waltham entering in the thirteenth century.

A rough guide to the prosperity of the inhabitants is provided by the taxation of 1327.⁴⁶ The basis of the assessment was a twentieth part of the value of their moveable goods, certain essential items being excepted, and an analysis of the past relating to Great Waltham will be found in Appendix IV. The sums paid ranged from the Earl of Hereford's 13s. 6d. (for goods valued at £13.10.) to the 6½d. (for goods valued at only 10s. 10d.) and were paid at forty-eight different rates. Only 18 paid the tax on goods valued at £2 or above and 52 on goods valued at £1 to £1.15.5. The greater number, 54, were taxed on goods worth less than 18s. 9d. Nicholas Drake (2) was assessed on goods worth £1.2.11. and was to be numbered among the more substantial tenants. The type and individual value of the goods which the villagers might possess in the mid-fourteenth century is shown by an inventory written on a small piece of parchment sewn to the membrane with the view of Frank pledge for the manor of Great Waltham on 14 July 1355.⁴⁷ Then the "goods found in the house of John Grenewey" comprised:

8 lbs of undyed wool, by estimation	s. d.	2 piercers (<i>perseris</i> : some form of awl)	
worth		and 1 adze, worth	6.
1 brass cauldron (<i>olla</i>), worth	3. 4.	1 bow (a new bow cost 18d. at this	
3 brass dishes, worth	3. 4.	time), worth	3.
1 little posset (a small cooking vessel)	3. 0.	2 worn chests, worth	1. 0.
worth		woolen cloth and linen, worth	2. 6.
2 small wooden kegs, worth	1. 0.	1 piglet	1. 0.
1 pewter pot	8.	1 leg of bacon and a half	1. 6.
3 worn tripods (for cooking)	2.	3 roods of wheat and 1 acre of oats	- -
1 axe and 3 hatchets, worth	5.	(no value given as the crop would	
	1. 3.	still be standing)	

The goods were valued at 19s. 11d. A few years later, in 1362, another inventory provides a list of the farm implements owned by Robert Swayne:⁴⁸

1 plough, with a coulter and plough-	s. d.	1 pot and 1 dish of brass, worth	2. 0.
share, worth		1 bushell (measure) bound with iron,	
1 plain cart	2. 0.	worth	4.
1 (winnowing) fan with a flail, worth	3. 4.	1 woolpack, containing 1 quarter,	
Harness for 1 cart horse, 1 spade, 1 fork	6.	worth	1. 0.
(not valued)	- -	1 vat and 1 little vat, worth	1. 6.
1 mattock, worth	10.	1 falchion (or billhook) and 1 axe,	
		worth	1. 0.

Valued at 12s. 6d., it will be seen how the small amounts of the taxation were arrived at and the lists show clearly the kind of implements and household equipment which they had. It is significant that it is not until the mid-fifteenth century that the clothes and furnishings are mentioned in greater detail and an account of the goods stolen from Lawrence Pawlyn⁴⁹ lists the following:

1 pair of knives in one sheath, worth	s. d.	One bow, worth	14.
one hood parted of red and blue cloth,	16.	One "lynnyng" of blanket for one robe,	
worth		worth	22.
One shirt, worth	2. 8.	One pair of shoes named "boteux",	
One pair of hose of burnet (a woolen	12.	worth	14.
cloth), worth	16.	One chest of Estriche board, ⁵⁰ worth	2. 8.

When reading these early inventories of household goods it has to be remembered that furniture in the modern sense of tables, chairs, etc. was very sparsely provided even in the royal palaces.

Turning from the people to the land the way in which the figures are given in Domesday Book makes it very difficult to be certain what areas were involved and the translation of arable expressed in terms of plough teams into acres quite impossible. The woodland was still extensive, capable of feeding 1330 pigs, and it is evident that this was much reduced by the fourteenth century. In 1065 there had been 6 ploughs on the demesne, 42 belonging to the men on Geoffrey de Mandeville's manor and a further 7½ on the sub-manors; by 1086 these had all been reduced but no satisfactory explanation of these and other estimates based on the plough-teams has been found. The numbers certainly indicate a large area under cultivation and in the 1336 Extent the demesne arable amounted to 920 acres 3 roods. The plough-teams consisted of eight beasts, although more were used on the heavy Essex soils at a later date and it is probable that, as in the fourteenth century, they were divided between the plough and harrows.⁵¹

The meadow, situated in the fields bordering the rivers, only totalled 65 acres in Domesday Book while the 1336 Extent records 58½ acres in the demesne alone. At that time there was also enclosed pasture available, one park with over 14 acres being reserved for the plough oxen and another 26½ acres for the cows.

The improvements made by Geoffrey de Mandeville are also shown. The proximity to Pleshey where his castle was being built, and which was to be his and his successors' principal seat in the county, prompted the creation of a vineyard. This, however, like its fellows did not long retain

its original purpose but survived as a field name at least until the sixteenth century. Another improvement was the introduction of 20 bee-hives where there had been none in 1065. This was part of a deliberate policy for the number of hives on his other main estates at High Easter (Pleshey) and Saffron Walden were also increased.⁵² Their produce was important, for honey was the primary source for sweetening food in the medieval kitchen and large quantities of beeswax were needed for the candles burnt in huge numbers at church services, not to mention domestic lighting where they were supplemented by tallow candles, and for sealing deeds. Considering the course taken by the river Chelmer through the greater length of the manor it is surprising that no fishery was reported here as elsewhere in the county. By 1336 the Extent shows that this had been remedied although it was worth only 3s. per annum and this low return may explain its absence among the profitable items listed in Domesday Book. The Court Rolls however show that illegal fishing occurred and the devices used confiscated. In 1402 John Hunt the fisherman (*piscenarius*), probably the authorized fisher rather than a retailer, was fined for overcharging.⁵³

The river was not, however, neglected, for there were four water mills there in 1065 and 1086. Two belonged to Geoffrey and one each to Roger and Robert son of Corbutio. In 1336 there were three mills listed, "the Great Mill" worth £5 per annum, another at Little Waltham worth £3 and a "fuller's mill" valued at the same amount. The water mill had been introduced into England by the eighth century, the first definite record of one being found in a charter by Ethelbert of Kent in 762. They were not, however, universal in 1086 and their numbers in relation to the suggested distribution of the population indicate that they must have been supplemented by the use of domestic hand-mills or querns.⁵⁴

The Lord's mill was an important part of the rural economy of the Middle Ages and the miller, as readers of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* will recall, an unpopular character: "Well could he stolen corn and tollen thrice, And yet he had a thumb of gold, pardee."⁵⁵

Sir Anthony FitzHerbert, writing in the early sixteenth century, lightly dismissed the miller's toll taken from the corn he ground: "And there be so many diversities of takying of tolle that I wyll nat take upon me to tell how, but also to remytte it to men of lawe to show the diversities, but dout ye nat, the mylners whyll be no losers."⁵⁶

This appears to have been a constant grievance with countrymen and

dwellers in seigneurial towns bound to the suit of the Lord's mill and forbidden to take their corn elsewhere or to grind it at home. The "Manner of holding a Court Baron and View of Frankpledge," first published 1510, instructed the steward to ask the Jurors whether: "there be any myllers amonge you that use to take excessyve toll otherwyse than they ought to do by ryght ye shall do us to wete (cause us to know)." ⁵⁷

Since mills were among the objects for attack whenever the people rioted, it would seem that such provisions were not particularly effective in relieving their complaints. At this time the mills at Great Waltham would have been powered by water for, although windmills had been introduced from the East by the mid-twelfth century, they never wholly displaced the older form. The necessity of ordering the tenants to attend the lord's mill, if only to remind them of the obligation even when not known or suspected to be failing in it, is obvious.

The dams and sluices needed for the running of a water mill are necessarily expensive to make and so the sites do not change over the centuries and even when abandoned will leave clear traces. The Great Mill was probably located a little to the north of Howe Street where Mill House stands today. ⁵⁸ This site would have been sufficiently close to the center of the populated area there and at Church End on the south side of Langleys Park. The Little Waltham Mill was nearer to the southern boundaries of the parish with Broomfield. ⁵⁹ It is, however, possible that it may originally have been nearer to the village where Waltham Weir is. ⁶⁰ A third mill, perhaps one of those mentioned in Domesday as belonging to Roger or Robert, was near Absol Bridge ⁶¹ now called Felstead Mill. Two other mills, "Prylle-melle" and a freehold one belonging to Thomas Berwyk, are mentioned in the Court rolls ⁶² and would have been on one or the other of these sites for the small buildings of the medieval mills meant that more than one could be served by the same race. ⁶³

The presence of a fulling mill is of greater interest and indicates that Great Waltham was among the earliest centers of the woollen industry in the county. Geoffrey de Mandeville had introduced a flock of 132 sheep into his demesne at Great Waltham ⁶⁴ and from the beginning of the fourteenth century the policy of the English Kings had been to encourage the making of cloth at home rather than the export of wool and the importing of finished material from Flanders and Italy. In the early years of the century "Le Domesday de Gyppewyz" (Ipswich) referred to "cloths of Coggeshale, Maldonn, Colecester, Sudbery, and the other cloths that

are bought in the country" paying 1d. per piece on the quay.⁶⁵ By the sixteenth century the industry had largely been concentrated in the towns in north Essex, and Norden lists six, including Halstead and Colchester to which members of the Drake family moved and where they were connected with the trade, as "theis especiall clothing townes."⁶⁶ The most likely site for the fulling mill is at Hartford End⁶⁷ which would have been inconveniently sited in relation to the settlements for a corn mill.

Although the main occupation of the inhabitants was the cultivation of the land other trades were followed and can be reviewed briefly. Except when used to distinguish two persons with identical names the blacksmiths, however important for the community, do not appear in the Court Rolls, doubtless because they were not named among those whose activities the jurors had to report on to the Court Leet. It is, however, noteworthy that two forges, at Littley and Church Ends were working about 1400 and that both belonged to members of the Drake family. For the same reason few references are found to the carpenters who, among other work, would be responsible for the timber framing of the houses a good many of which can still be seen in the parish. Likewise we learn from the list of chief pledges for the tithings in 1399 that one "John atte hyll" was a "colyer," that is a charcoal burner who was presumably named from, and whose occupation gave name to, Colyer's hill in the parish.⁶⁸

Much more information is given about the brewers, bakers and butchers. The jurors are the Court Leet being required to make presentment: "Of all comyn bakers amonge you that make unholysom brede for mannes body and kepe not the assyse . . . Also of all bruers and tapsters that brue and kepe not the assyse and sell by cuppes dysshes and bolles (bowls) and by measures unsealed. . . . Also of all bochers (butchers) fysshers or any other vytelers [thot] sell vytayles corrupte and not holsom for mannes body or sell to excessively . . . Also of all white towers (sellers and makers of white glove leather) that sell not good chaffer (merchandise) . . . Also of all cordwayners and artyfycers that make not good chaffer for the people . . ."⁶⁹ The most regular and numerous of these presentments refer to brewing and the fines are exacted with such regularity that it would appear to have been an early form of licensing. In Great Waltham the hamlets were regularly grouped into three areas: 1. North End, with Rophey and Forth Ends; 2. South End with Church End; 3. Littley End with Howe Street. In the period studied by Mr. Clark (1377-1413)

each of these had five common or habitual brewers with others being presented occasionally.⁷⁰ Baking was not infrequently combined with brewing and each of the three areas had a bakery. About five or six butchers were fined each Leet for overcharging, but their distribution within the manor is not clear.⁷¹

As might be expected in an area of woodland, with many oaks, tanners were active and were presented from time to time for their excessive profits, defined in the Court Leet of 1422 as "a profit of more than a penny in the shilling."⁷² White-tawyers also worked in the manor and were likewise fined, on one occasion the offence being specified as selling harvest gloves "badly sewn to the deception of the people."⁷³

So far we have considered in turn the land, its cultivation, the people and their occupations and this has led to the consideration of the manor as a judicial unit. Medieval England was covered by a complex system of jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and secular, whose boundaries seldom coincided. The manor might be coterminous with the parish, or the parish might, as here in Great Waltham, contain several manors. The manor and parish normally lay in a single Hundred which, at a very remote time, may have literally been the land of a hundred families.

In his *Ecclesiastical History* the Venerable Bede normally expresses the size of territories by families or "hides" in the Saxon version and by the tenth century the shires were divided into "hundreds" with a recognized place in local administration.⁷⁴ This was the basic unit of royal justice and administration which is still reflected in some administrative divisions, especially the Registrar General's districts, at the present day. The Hundred had its own court, which unless granted by the King to a favored lord, was a royal one. To this came the men of the Hundred for the view of Frankpledge and to deal with petty criminal business. In many, perhaps most cases, the right to transact this business had been granted to the lords of the more important manors by about 1300.⁷⁵ Hence the addition to the normal memorial Courts of the twice yearly Court Leet with view of Frankpledge.

We have already seen how the jurors kept a close watch, particularly over the victualling trades, by their presentments, and the full charge to them was long and detailed covering all kinds of minor, and not so minor, offences against the King's Peace and public order. The poaching of game, petty thefts and public nuisances such as obstructing the roads and commons with dung heaps and even digging holes in the road for chalk and

gravel to the public danger were all reviewed.⁷⁶ The more serious offences would be transferred to the Assizes for few lords in England had a grant of all judicial rights, especially that of the gallows, made to them. The Court Leet, therefore, affected all the tenants and it is probable that none escaped being presented at some time during their life even if only for anti-social behavior such as failing to scour their ditches and so render the road liable to flooding. Indeed all boys of the age of twelve years had to attend the View of Frankpledge and be sworn in "tithing." This was the system whereby the male population, originally no doubt in groups of ten families within the Hundred, were sworn to keep the King's Peace and to be responsible for the fines of the other members of the tithing if they fled. The system can be traced back to the Anglo-Saxon laws⁷⁷ and the tithing had a definite boundary within the Hundred, which probably antedates the manorial or parochial boundaries, and was used as late as the seventeenth century in some parts of the country for the basis of taxation returns.⁷⁸ These boundaries have never been examined in detail and are, perhaps, impossible to reconstruct. However they do explain certain anomalies in the records where it is clear that a given tithing had less or more than ten men. At the Court the chief pledge or guarantor was their spokesman and "for themselves and their tithing-men they present to the lord for a common fine at the rate of a penny a head up to this day."⁷⁹ There were 30 tithings in Great Waltham and the payments recorded by Mr. Clark varied greatly and showed that at that period (1397-1409) the average number for the tithing was well below ten men.

The Court Baron of the manor met more frequently, although it is doubtful if it ever met once every three weeks as the lawyers suggest, and the months of July to September when the harvest would be being gathered have few meetings recorded. The Courts for Great Waltham were held at Pleshey Castle about two miles away from the main center of the population. Here the earth-works raised by Geoffrey de Mandeville still enclose the village⁸⁰ and the castle mound with its ditch and the inner bailey are well preserved. The buildings were ruinous in the sixteenth century and have all gone save for the fifteenth-century brick bridge which gives access to the mound from the bailey.⁸¹ In the later twelfth century a rectangular keep was built on the mound and the foundations of this and other buildings in the bailey have been excavated but a full report of the most recent work has still to be published. The only evidence for the appearance of the castle in its original form is a drawing of an eleva-

tion with battlements, string-course and main door with a larger detail at the side of a window found on one of the Court Rolls of the manor.⁸² The court, held on 23 November 1284, was written over this drawing. Parchment was costly and the Earl's master mason presumably had scrapped some old plans no longer needed and these had been seized upon by the clerks. The Courts may have been held in the great Hall of the Castle, or in a building in the bailey, certainly those in the winter months must have taken place under cover.

After the jurors were sworn they proceeded to present the absentees, the names of any tenants dying since the last Court and whether any rents, customs or services had been withheld for which distraint could be made. They were also charged to report on waste in the woods, if tenements were being allowed to decay, or if the tenants were seeking to evade their future duty by having children educated for the priesthood.⁸³ The transfer of all land held by unfree or quasi-free tenure had to be made in the Court or before the bailiff and other witnesses who were bound to report the transaction at the next Court. This was most commonly used for surrenders to the heir when a tenant was dying. Although the tenure was hedged about with so many restrictions it developed in various ways on different manors and certainly by the end of the period we are considering most of the transactions affecting free land, leases for years or lives, devisal to trustees and the like, had been adapted to the forms required by the manor Court.

In the earlier part of our period the tenants would also go to Pleshey for goods they needed and could not obtain in the parish. An extent of Pleshey made on 24 June 1274 records: "And there is there a market every Saturday throughout the year (and on) the ninth day of the feast of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul (8 July) in tallage and stallage worth 5s. per annum."⁸⁴ The Extent gives a detailed rental for Pleshey and, although partly illegible when copied for Gough's edition, this includes many shops and stalls near the castle ditch and one "fresshameb," probably a flesh-shambles or area set aside for butchers. During the fifteenth century, the castle was no longer the seat of a great magnate, and the market decayed so that when Norden wrote his *Description of Essex* in 1594 it had ceased to exist.⁸⁵ At Chelmsford a Friday Market had been established in 1199, and the men of Little Waltham were taking their earn there in 1274, and this no doubt replaced Pleshey as the main market for the district.^{85a}

Something has already been said about the moveable goods owned

by the inhabitants of Great Waltham and in closing this brief survey of the background to the family history which follows something should be added as to their houses and the parish church where they worshipped. Essex is richly endowed with late medieval and Tudor domestic buildings and Great Waltham is no exception. Naturally these represent the more substantial dwellings and have frequently been added to and modernized. On the south side of the church a row of cottages is divided by a narrow entry and it is here that the house of "John Drake dwelling next the stile of Great Waltham church" in 1429 was probably situated. The present buildings are perhaps rather later but probably keep much the same scheme. A fairly complete list of the surviving houses is given in the Report of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments but detailed studies of individual houses in the parish have not been made.⁸⁶

The parish church is exceptionally large for a Norman village church and reflects in this the ambition and pride of the Mandevilles.⁸⁷ Although much altered, especially by the restorations of the last century, the main dimensions have remained unchanged from the time of its building about 1100. Originally it consisted of the western tower, nave and chancel. The nave is exceptionally wide and remains of the Norman fabric in the tower and especially the two blocked windows in the east wall of the chancel, their heads turned with reused Roman brick and cut into by the later east window, show it to be an original feature of the building. In the south porch the bowl of the Norman font, found in 1961 when the floor was being repaired, can be seen. About 1350 the south aisle was added, and about a century later the pews, of which 30 remain, were installed and the chancel arch enlarged. The north aisle was only added in the nineteenth century. On the eve of the Reformation the south porch was added and the clerestory of the nave repaired or rebuilt between 1520 and 1530.

Except for the pews and a paten of 1521 among the church plate with some panels from the screen nothing has survived in the church of the glass, paintings, images and vestments which would have filled it with color. Even the pews would probably not be recognized by their original occupants stripped of their paint. Unfortunately the inventories of parish church goods made in 1552 as a prelude to their confiscation are poorly preserved for Essex and none have been found for Great Waltham. The wills of the parishioners made before the Reformation alone give us some idea of the appearance of the interior by their bequests to the lights burning before their favorite saints. Other features of the interior can be de-

duced from the fabric, the enlarged chancel arch and the stairs leading up to the Rood left so that the lights kept burning there could be tended, or the canonical requirements.

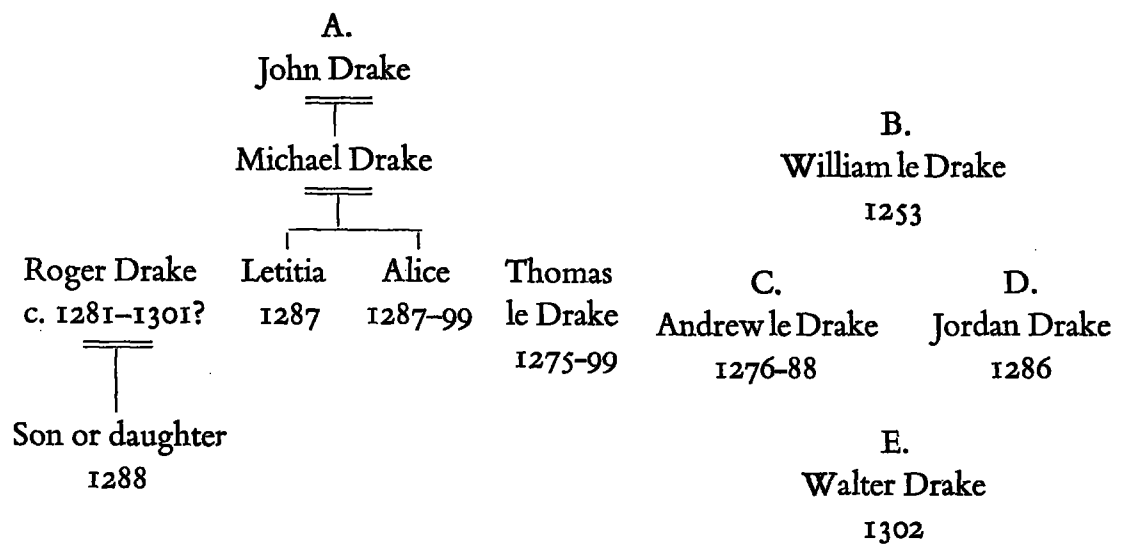
The church was dedicated to Our Lady and S. Laurence and their images would be on either side of the high altar⁸⁸ above which the pyx with the Blessed Sacrament would hang veiled in silk or other fine materials. Lights also burned before the images of SS. John Baptist,⁸⁹ Anne, Michael, Our Lady of Pity, the Holy Trinity and the “ymage of the Holy Cruxifix at the south door.”⁹⁰ A later bequest by Amy Barnard to the latter in 1483 suggests that it may have been more elaborate than a simple crucifix: “To the light burning before the Holy Cross next to the door of the church and the Passion of the Lord called ‘le passion’ light.”⁹¹ A description which recalls to mind that of the great image at the back of the high altar at Long Melford church in Suffolk: “there was a goodly mount, made of one great Tree, and set up to the foot of the window there, carved very artificially, with The Store of Christ’s Passion, representing the horsemen with their swords, and the footmen etc. as they used Christ on the Mount of Calvary.”⁹² Unfortunately for us few cared to record these things, like Richard Martin of Long Melford or the former monk, author of the *Rites of Durham*, and so our knowledge is the less.

NOTES

1. English Place-Name Society, *Essex*, xii (1935), 270-271.
2. *Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables*, I (1852), div. iv, p. 16.
3. *Norden's Description of Essex* (1594), Camden Soc. (1840), pp. 7-8.
4. K. Cameron, *English Place-Names* (1963), p. 69, Fryerning, etc.
5. English Place-Name Society, *Essex*, p. 271.
6. Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
7. For the settlement in Hertfordshire v. L. M. Munby, "The Landscape of Hertfordshire." *Hertfordshire Past and Present*, viii (1968), 2-11.
8. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iii. 424, cited by W. Page, *London its origin and early development* (1923), p. 61. Page gives much information about him and his political activities.
9. P. Morant, *History of Essex*, II (1768), 82 ff.
10. *Victoria County History*, Essex, I. 505-506.
11. Morant, *op. cit.*, p. 86, citing an I.p.m. of 27 Henry VI for John Bibbesworth, cf. *Cal. I.p.m.* (Record Com.), III, 239, n. 35.
12. *V.C.H.*, *op. cit.*, p. 546.
13. I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies* (1960), pp. 71-72, s.v. Pleshey, and *The Complete Peerage*, s.v. Essex and Hereford.
14. *Cal. I.p.m.*, XIII, n. 167, pp. 135, and 143-145.
15. *Book of Fees*, I, 122, the uncertainty attached to tenure by barony is discussed by I. J. Sanders in his *Feudal Military Service in England* (1956), *passim*.
16. *Cal. Close Rolls, 1396-99*, p. 183 and 1404-05, p. 227.
17. *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1413-22*, p. 389.
18. *Ibid.*, viii, 42, mainpernor for the procurators of the Abbess of Caen 14 Nov. 1369; *Ibid.*, 198 commissioner for collecting a 15th and 10th in Essex 6 Jan. 1373.
19. *Essex Fines*, II, 56.
20. I.p.m. 15 June 1473 on John Warner who held, *inter alia*, "the manor of Waleyse . . . in Great Waltham."
21. *C.C.R. 1374-77*, p. 96.
22. *Essex Fines*, I, 540, 980.
23. *Ibid.*, II, 534.
24. *Cal. I.p.m.*, VI, nn. 565-566, and VII, n. 305; *C.F.R.*, III, 337.
25. Morant, *op. cit.*, p. 85, "Ex cartis Sam. Tufnel Arm.," which may now be in the Essex Record Office.
26. *Ibid.*, "Dutchy Book."
27. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Cauley etc.), IV, 148 and 151.
28. Morant, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 86, "Ex rotulis Curia de Waltham" ca. 10 Edward III; and *Cal. I.p.m.*, Henry VII, I, 72, being there described as the "Manor of Southous in Great Waltham, held of the King, as the manor of Plasse (sic for Pleshey the caput of the Mandeville Honour), parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, in socage, viz. by service of 12s. yearly, and for a fine for holding a courtleet within the said manor." It was earlier, 1361, described as being held by service of 6s. 8d. yearly and must have been quite small (*Cal. I.p.m.*, XI, 43).
30. Morant, *op. cit.*, p. 86 but no authorities are there cited. The information may derive from the Court Rolls.
31. *Feudal Aids*, II, 134.
32. Inquisitions post mortem cited by Morant, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
33. R. A. L. Smith, "The Benedictine contribution to medieval English agriculture," in his *Collected Papers* (1947), pp. 103 ff.
34. E. Lamond, *Walter of Henley's Husbandry* (1890), p. 7.
35. For an account of this and the problems found in using it v. Appendix III.
36. C. 135/48/2 m. 15.
37. E.R.O., D/DTu 254 (1563); D/DGe M 273 (1577), D/DGe M 274 (1584) and D/DTu 255 (c. 1616-17).
38. E.R.O.
39. F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1960), p. 59.
40. v.i., p. 47.
41. E. 179/107/46 m. 5.
42. M. W. Beresford, *Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes* (1963), p. 24.
43. Some account of these tenants will be found in an article by Vinogradoff in *The English Historical Review*, I (1886), 733; and in K. C. Newton, *Thaxted in the fourteenth century* (1960), pp. 12-15.
44. Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, p. 737.
45. W. S. Holdsworth, *Historical Introduction to the Land Law* (1927), p. 17.
46. E. 179/107/13 m. 18d. A brief introduction to these records is given by Beresford, *op. cit.*
47. D.L. 30/64/S11.
48. D.L. 30/65/S11.
49. D/DTu 242, m. 55d.
50. Soft timber imported from the Baltic.
51. H. G. Richardson, "The medieval plough-team," *History*, NS. 26 (1941-42), p. 287 f.
52. From 10-17 and 4 to 30 respectively (*V.C.H.*, Essex, I, 383, 509, n. 6).
53. A. Clark, "Great Waltham five centuries ago," *Essex Review*, XIII (1904), 74-75.
54. M. T. Hodgen, "Domesday Water Mills," *Antiquity*, XIII (1939), 261 f.
55. Lines 562-563; Tollen=take toll; *pardee*=*pardieu*, certainly.
56. Cited by D. Smith, *English Windmills*, II (1932), 10.
57. Reprinted by the Manorial Society, 1915, p. 11.
58. O.S. I: 25000 Sheet TL 61, ref. 695150.

59. *Ibid.*, TL 71, ref. 711115.
60. *Ibid.*, 710125.
61. *Ibid.*, TL 61, ref. 671195.
62. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
63. Hodgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-272.
64. The livestock enumerated were those in demesne, not the whole including the beasts of the tenants. H. C. Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England*, (1952), p. 255.
65. Cited in *V.C.H. Essex*, I, 381.
66. *Op. cit.*, p. 9.
67. TL 61, ref. 685174.
68. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
69. *Modus tenendi Curia Baronum*, 1510 (1915), pp. 8-9.
70. *Op. cit.*, p. 208.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
73. *Loc. cit.*
74. E.g., Bk. I. c. 25 where the size of the Isle of Thanet is given, "according to the customary English computation it is of 600 families." "The ordinance concerning the administration of a hundred" promulgated by Edgar in the tenth century is given in A. J. Robertson, *Laws of the Kings of England* (1925), p. 17.
75. H. M. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (1963), discusses the origins and relationship of these rights.
76. A model charge, which has been quoted above, can be read in the *Modus tenendi Curia Baronum*, pp. 6-12.
77. F. L. Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (1922), p. 159; Robertson, *Laws*, p. 185.
78. Cf. the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Dorset and Hampshire in particular.
79. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
80. From which the name derives. English Place-Names Soc., *Essex*, p. 489.
81. R. Gough, *History and Antiquities of Pleshy*, 1803.
82. DL 30/62/787. It is hoped to publish this with a commentary shortly.
83. *Modus tenendi Curia Baronum*, pp. 2-6.
84. Gough, *op. cit.*, Appx. p. 91.
85. *Op. cit.*, p. 14.
- 85a. *Rot. Chart. (Ric. Com.)*, p. 17; *Rot. Hund. (Ibid.)* I, 143. My thanks are due to the editors of the *V.C.H.* for Essex for drawing my attention to these passages.
86. *Essex*, II (1921), 106-112.
87. The nave is 101 ft. 9 in. long by 32 ft. 6 in. wide.
88. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Bk. III. tit. 27, c.ii. That of "S. Mary in the chancel" being mentioned in 1433 (John Lytell, D/AER I f. 175^b).
89. Richd. Bouwer, 1433, D/EW I/98; D/AER I f. 174.
90. Richd. Attewode, 1473, D/AEW I/203.
91. D/AER I f. 116.
92. R. Martin, "The State of Melford Church," *The Gentleman's Magazine Library, English Topography: Suffolk* (ed. G. L. Gomme) (1899), p. 250. He died in 1580.

Key Pedigree of Drake of Great Waltham in the Thirteenth Century



FOLD OUT FOR REFERENCE
while reading "The Family
of Drake of Great Waltham
in the Thirteenth Century"

The Family of Drake of Great Waltham in the Thirteenth Century

THE Court Rolls of the manor of Great Waltham, on which we are almost wholly dependent for information about the family before the sixteenth century, are a remarkably full series, beginning in 1248 though not complete.¹ The manor belonged to the great family of the Mandevilles and their successors, the Earls of Essex, until 1373 and passed to Henry V in 1421. The Courts were held, not in the village as was usual, but at Pleshy, the main residence of the Earls in their county, about two miles away. This long continued tenure with few changes, and the fact that the rolls would have been kept at Pleshy with the other estate and family records, explains their unusual preservation. The missing years in the latter fifteenth century may be explained by the manor having been leased at those times and the farmer either failing, or not being required, to deliver up the rolls on the expiration of his tenure.

It has not, therefore, been possible to make a connected pedigree of the family during the thirteenth century and, unless further rolls are found, which is not likely, this will always be so. The scattered references which have been found show that the surname was known in Great Waltham throughout the thirteenth century and it is certain that the Nicholas Drake who died in 1302 was related to them, even if we cannot say in what degree. Accordingly they have been separated and not included in the main pedigree.

A. THE DESCENDANTS OF JOHN DRAKE

At the Manor Court held on 24 February 1287 we learn that "Letitia and Alice the daughters of Michael Drake petition for their right in a 'cotland'² which Robert Molond holds, because John the father of the said Michael held the said land of the Earl in villeinage." They paid 2s. to the Lord for an Inquisition (enquiry) to see if their right could be established,

which it was, and a further 2s. for entry.³ One ROGER DRAKE (q.v.) was their pledge, or guarantor, for the payment of the fine. Later in the same year Letitia paid a fine for another inquisition with Roger Drake as her pledge and he was also named as one of the jurors (7 and 30 June).⁴ No more is heard of Letitia but on 11 June 1299 Alice Drake paid a fine of 6d. for entry into a messuage surrendered by THOMAS LE DRAKE.⁵ He appears first in 1275-76 when he paid a fine for the right to buy one rod of land⁶ and at the same Court in 1299 surrendered a messuage formerly held by one Saer of Oxenbreg to the Lord who then granted it as we have seen, to Alice Drake.

ROGER DRAKE whom we have seen acting with Letitia and Alice Drake, appears more often in the surviving rolls. On 4 October 1281 he was, with others, assigned to keep the suit of Waltham mill.⁷

Roger Drake is named several times in the Court Rolls between 1281 and 1289 apart from the instances already mentioned. Of these the most interesting are those which find him named with a certain Ralph Symond. On 20 November 1282 they were pledges for Simon son of Ranulf Mose who fined for the right of entry to his father's land when he died.⁸ Similarly in September 1283 they acted for the daughter of Adam Turnator in like case.⁹ On 24 February 1287 Roger was fined 3d. "for trespass in Lytlehey" and his pledge was Ralph Symund.¹⁰ This type of association in the Manor Court is, as we shall see again, significant in helping to determine relationships. Since the person who acted as pledge or guarantor for another made himself liable to the fine or other penalty if he whom he had so guaranteed defaulted it is evident that they must have been close friends, if not relations. Now, in a list of the "Brewers of Waltham" presented at the Court on 23 October 1288¹¹ we find a son or daughter of Roger Drake named and fined the customary 6d. The Latin contraction *fil'* can be expanded either as *filius* (son) or *filia* (daughter) and in the absence of the Christian name the precise meaning cannot be given. Although it is true that medieval brewers in the villages were frequently women, men also were presented and indeed the name of ANDREW DRAKE (q.v.) occurs in this list.

If it was certain that the writer meant to refer to a son of Roger Drake then it may be that he was that Nicholas Drake (1) who heads the main line of the family. From the transactions related above concerning the lands of Letitia and Alice Drake it would seem likely that he was related to them. They claimed a cotland which had been held by their

grandfather and we see that Nicholas Drake also had held a cotland which passed on his death in 1302 to his son Nicholas Drake (2). Turning to the latter's career we will see that one G. Symund acted as his pledge on at least two occasions. On the other hand it is apparent that the elder Nicholas must have been married by about 1280 at the latest for his son to have been of age and married in 1302. It is not likely that a married man, and by implication a householder, would be referred to as the son of another in an entry of this character. However, the other similarities between them remained and, of the various Drakes known to have been living in Great Waltham in the thirteenth century, this is certainly the most likely group for Nicholas to have been connected with.

It would appear that Roger Drake may have been living as late as 1301 for at the Court on 18 February in that year, a grant was made of two acres "lying next to the messuage of Roger Drake."¹²

B. WILLIAM LE DRAKE

He is only known from two entries in the Court held on 19 July 1253 when he was named as a juror concerning a disputed acre. At the same Court he gave on his own behalf: "to the lord Earl 4s. to have an inquisition made to see whether he had made a fine to the Lord Earl for holding his land for his whole life. All the customary tenants say on oath that the said William had made a fine for 16s. in the time of Richard of Pleshey was the constable of the lord Earl for Pleshey."¹³

Nothing more is known of him or of the transaction, which must have taken place some years before or else the need for the inquisition would not arise. Normally a villein tenant held his lands for life and it may be that the transaction was really concerned with the commuting of the customary services. A little later, in 1287, Letitia and Alice Drake paid a fine of 2s. for one cotland and this would represent the yearly value if rented. William Drake appears to have paid something like eight years rentable value for his privilege, perhaps he lived longer than expected and the steward was trying to get him to do the commuted services.

C. ANDREW LE DRAKE

Of whom little is known. Fined for an unspecified transgression on 29 September 1276, he was later named as a pledge at a Court held on 10 June 1288, and on 23 October 1288 was fined 6d. as one of the "Brewers of Waltham."¹⁴

D. JORDAN DRAKE

Apart from a reference to him on 10 October 1286,¹⁵ when he was concerned with one Ralph Mawne in a plea about a loss of timber, nothing is known of him.

E. WALTER DRAKE

On 14 June 1302 he granted in the Court: "to John Wystock all his land to hold from next Michaelmas for 12 years next ensuing. He also granted him a half of all the aforesaid land to hold to him and his heirs after the end of the said 12 years if this should be agreeable to the Earl."¹⁶

From the nature of the transaction it would appear that he had licence to leave the manor and his name does not appear in the fourteenth century.

NOTES

1. For a list of the missing years v. Bibliography.

2. I.e. the land, about 5 acres, which was held with the cot or cottage by the cottars.

3. D.L. 30/62/763.

4. *Ibid.* and 764.

5. *Ibid.*, 772.

6. *Ibid.*, 753.

7. *Ibid.*, 757.

8. *Ibid.*, 759.

9. *Ibid.*, 760, the roll is partly illegible, the Court was held on a day before S. Michael (29 September).

10. *Ibid.*, 763.

11. *Ibid.*, 765.

12. *Ibid.*, 773.

13. *Ibid.*, 750.

14. *Ibid.*, 753, 764.

15. *Ibid.*, 763.

16. *Ibid.*, 774.

FOLD OUT

Key Pedigree of
Drake of Essex,
England

The Family of Drake of Great Waltham in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

ONCE the beginning of the fourteenth century is reached the Court Rolls have fewer breaks in their sequence and it becomes possible to present a connected pedigree of the family. No longer will isolated references to the name with possible but unprovable links be all that they produce to tantalize the reader with evasive promises. Here, then, it is possible to begin the story of a family originating in Essex and, after some three centuries had passed, beginning anew in the New World yet doubtless carrying with them the heritage of their forbears. In the second Key Pedigree it will be seen that each of the principal members, through whom the various lines pass, have been numbered and these numbers precede their name in the narrative pedigree which follows. The principles on which it is based have been described in Chapter I.

I. NICHOLAS DRAKE

Nothing has been found in the thirteenth-century Court Rolls relating to him during his life, unless he was the "fil' Rogeri Drake" discussed above.¹ He was dead before the Court held on 14 June 1302,² although then unnamed, and at that on 26 November 1303 "Agnes who was the wife of Nicholas Drake" (an usual way of describing a widow in medieval records) paid a fine of 12d. "to the lord for help against Thomas att Brok."³ In the Court for 19 March 1304 we find her as the plaintiff in a plea of debt, the defendant being Thomas, evidently the occasion of her needing the help of the lord's Court. Her pledges, that is guarantors that her action was not frivolous and would be prosecuted, were named as G. Symund and John ate Hulle. At later Courts in 1304, as "Agnes la Draka" or "Agnes Drake," the suit was continued and a counter plea against her was alleged by Thomas "ate Brocks" or "of the Broks." Unfortunately, as is so often the case with medieval lawsuits, the outcome is not known. It

is probable that she survived her husband for some years since, on 7 November 1319, an "Agnes Drake" was presented with others and found guilty of "A trespass made on the lord's . . . corn in the grange at Waltham."⁴

2. NICHOLAS DRAKE OR LE DRAKE

At the Court held on 14 June 1302 he gave 4s. for his entry fine "upon one cotland which his father held," his pledge being G. Symund.⁵ The entry fine usually represented the rentable value of the holding for a year. At the same Court his wife, who is not named, was fined the customary 6d. for brewing. Nicholas must have been a good farmer and have prospered, for three years later we find him paying another 2s. for entry on three rods of land lying at "Eldo land by Graunger's land" and agreeing to pay a half-penny annually at Michaelmas for increment. Again G. Symund was one of his pledges, the other being Walter Wrungy.⁶ Then, at the Court held on 29 October 1317 he is named as one of the sureties for William atte Bregge, who "received the lord's great mill and the farm from Michaelmas last past for two years thence ensuing . . . paying to the lord annually during the said two years 32 quarters of corn and 12 quarters of [word illegible]."⁷ The mill was not only important to the lord for such returns but also represented the most costly building, other than his house or the parish church, which he would need to provide for his manor. The need to find sureties for its safety as well as the income, whether in money or in kind as here, is obvious and the sureties would be drawn from among the more substantial tenants.

In *Drake in England* the question of who was Nicholas's father was left open, although the present solution was advanced. During the re-study of the evidence the following considerations were thought to make the fact that he was the son of the first Nicholas Drake reasonably certain, a view which was accepted by the College of Arms examiners. The given facts are that he was of age, married, and his father dead before 14 June 1302. At the Courts in 1303 the widow of Nicholas Drake is named and G. Symund acts as her pledge, as he does for the second Nicholas. Now she cannot have been the widow of the latter, for no report of his death or of the admission of an heir was found in the intervening Courts, and the conclusion that she was his mother followed. The link being strengthened by G. Symund, who must have been a close friend of the family, agreeing to act as their pledge.

It is unfortunate that the Court Rolls for 1305-16, 1320-25 and 1330 have not survived so that the full details of his transactions could be traced, for it would appear that he was the founder of the family's fortunes in the ways open to the manorial tenant of his day.

He is named in the taxation roll of 1327 when 124 of the inhabitants of Great Waltham were assessed to pay the twentieth part of the value of their moveable goods, certain items being excepted, paying 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.⁸ so that his goods were then worth rather more than £1.2.11. An analysis of all the assessments is given in Appendix IV.

In the next year, or at any rate shortly afterwards, a Survey or Extent of the Manor was made. The original has not survived but a slightly later copy, incomplete at the beginning, was written on the back of a parchment roll made from various scraps shortly after 1354.⁹ This has never been edited and some of the problems posed by it still remain to be answered; a short account of it will be found in Appendix III. The entry for Nicholas Drake is found among those for the Molmen, that is customary tenants who had commuted all their labor services for payments in money,¹⁰ and reads: "Nicholas Drake holds 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land of granger land, 2 acres of Blachche land and 7 acres of Symon Geffray's land. And renders by the year 2s. 6d., that is to say equally at the four terms."

Formerly he had held some land for which only part of the labor services had been commuted but this was now owned by Maud "Cissor" (the Taylor).

Among the entries for the Molmen is one for Juliana Drake, the only other occurrence of the name in the Survey, who held a small piece of land (a blot obscures the details) for which a halfpenny was paid each Michaelmas. Her name was not found in the Court Rolls and the most probable explanation is that she was the unnamed wife of Nicholas Drake presented for brewing in 1302.

Issue:

- i. Robert Drake (3)
- ii. William Drake (4)

3. ROBERT DRAKE OR LE DRAKE

At the Court held on 25 April 1331 "Robert son and heir of Nicholas Drake" paid his entry fine for the "land of mollond [. . . of which] his father died seised."¹¹ The entry is not only so badly faded as to be partly illegible, even with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp, but the parchment is

torn so that some of the text is wholly lost. The final state of his father's lands is thereby lost and we do not know exactly what he had inherited. Like his father he also added to his original holding, and his wife Elen appears to have held some land in her own right, for on 12 June 1337 we find one John Geffray surrendering to the lord "one croft of land which he had acquired of Elen Drake."¹²

On 6 March 1340 we find him defending a suit brought by Agnes Welynough concerning Cockescroft which he had purchased from her in the Court of 21 April 1337 and for which 8d. annual rent was due to her.¹³ Two years later, on 5 October 1342, Giles the Fullere granted the reversion of "one acre of land lying in Estwode then occupied by Julian Androw."¹⁴ Some land in the same place had earlier been granted to his father and was the subject of a plea levied by William Symund on 17 December 1360 to which the jurors replied on 10 May 1361 that "Robert Drake holds three acres of land in a certain field called Great Estwode . . . and that the said William may recover two acres of land of the said five acres" (which Robert had claimed were his).¹⁵ So that both claimants were guilty of wrongful claims and were fined.

A sure sign of the steadily rising status of the family, and a more important one even than his father becoming one of the Molmen some time before the Survey of the manor described above, is revealed by the proceedings in the Court on 12 May 1357. "Robert Drake a bondman of the lord comes and exhibits a certain charter by which he acquired various tenements, (namely 1 acre of rue pasture, a certain lane called Parkers lane and 1 acre of land and pasture—*interlined*), in Little Leghs."¹⁶ His right to it was disputed by John and Thomas Lucas and the land was taken into the lord's hands. "And upon this comes the said Robert and shows his charters and muniments by which he demonstrates that the said John and Thomas have no right in the said lands and tenements. Therefore the said Robert is admitted at a new rent, paying 6d. rent at the Feast of Michaelmas annually." This entry is especially interesting as illustrating the way in which the old distinctions between bond and free tenants were gradually being eroded. We have already seen how in the former century some of the villeins commuted their labor services, or the most onerous of them, for a money payment. This at once undermined one of the criteria used by the lawyers, the lack of control over his daily activities, to distinguish the unfree from the free tenant. The unfree tenant could not plead in the King's Courts, except when indicted for major felony, and

his land could not legally be alienated by charter. Here, however, we find Robert Drake, still technically his lord's bondman, holding some of his lands by charter, not by surrender and seisin given in the Manor Court.

Robert Drake appears in the lists of those paying pannage, small sums for the right to turn a specified number of pigs or piglets to forage in the woods, from 1385 to 1392, the year of his death.

His wife Elen, to whom reference has already been made, joined with her husband in a plea of debt against Adam son of John Adam and Alice his wife at the Court held on 22 September 1351.¹⁷ The defendants did not appear. She is mentioned for the last time in 1376 in the surrender made with her husband to *John Drake* (6) their son. The date of her death is not known.

Issue:

- i. William Drake (7)
- ii. John Drake (8)
- iii. Joan

Who was of marriageable age by 25 May 1374 when Denis Keneton or Keveton was presented for having married her, presumably without having paid the merchet or fine due to the lord on the marriage of his bond tenants.¹⁸

4. WILLIAM DRAKE

The proof that William was the brother of the last mentioned Robert Drake (3) rests, not on any direct statement in the Court Rolls, but in the accumulation of a number of small pieces of evidence which, if taken singly, are not in themselves of sufficient weight to support this conclusion but are convincing when taken together. First there is the fact that whereas in the previous century several members of the family are found in the Court Rolls the evidence of the latter, with that of the 1327 taxation and the slightly later Survey, revealed only Nicholas Drake, his wife, and his son and heir Robert in the manor between 1302 and 1351. Thus, although not complete, a sufficient number of the Court Rolls have survived to confirm the evidence of the taxation and Survey that only Nicholas Drake was then living in the manor. Secondly both are roughly contemporary, Robert Drake appearing in the rolls 1331-92 and William Drake 1351-75. Finally on several occasions Robert Drake acts as the pledge for both William and John son of William Drake who also, like Robert Drake, acquired land formerly held by Alice Weynough or Welynough.

At the Court held on 22 September 1351 Robert and William Drake were jointly named as jurors in a plea concerning damage done to the property held by John the Parker while he was in France. Later we read in the proceedings that Peter Sabright and his wife Alice surrendered: "one building, courtyard and 4 acres of land once Alice Weynough's, to the use of William Drake"¹⁹ for which he paid the entry of 2s. He was then married with a daughter of sufficient age to be joined with him in a surrender to their use made in the Court on 21 March 1352. "To this Court came Johnson of William Blache and surrendered into the lord's hands 4 day works of land with a certain house thereon called Strongpoynteshamstal to the use of William Drake and Alice his daughter. . . . And they give 12d. for a fine for entry."²⁰ Evidently William was following the example of his father and brother in adding to his holding. At the Court on 31 May 1352 "John the Clerk, Rector of the church of Rothyng Margaret" (Margaret Roding about 6 miles west of Great Waltham) surrendered "a certain tenement which fell to him by hereditary right after the deaths of Joan and Agnes daughters of John Welynough in the township of Great Waltham, also one cottage situated at Gyldefordebrigg" to the use of William Drake who paid 13s. 4d. for his entry.²¹ At the same Court William surrendered Rattiscroft with some land which he must have acquired before 1351 at one of the Courts whose records are lost.

A more significant surrender was made by him in the Court held on 14 November 1355 when he surrendered "an acre of grove called Graingeresgrove" to Benedict of Saldeford²² for we have seen that in the Survey Nicholas Drake had held some land called after Grainger or Graunger an earlier tenant. In 1365-66 he was presented for not having kept certain houses on his holding in good repair and a time limit was set for the work under a penalty of 5s. and Robert Drake acted as his pledge.²³ His last actions recorded in the Court Rolls were on 1 June 1368 when he surrendered a cottage and 2 acres "lately Robert Percer's" to the use of one John Golston and quitclaimed 18d. annual rent from a croft called Cokkesest to Robert Drake.²⁴ Earlier, as we have seen (p. 66 above), Robert Drake had purchased Cokescroft from Alice Welynough and the two crofts are doubtless the same.

William Drake died before 3 May 1375 when his widow Agnes released to Thomas Genewey her right and claim "in one parcel of wood called Graungersgrove of the dower of William Drake once her hus-

band.”²⁵ She was first named in the Court held on 31 May 1352, being presented for raising “a hue upon Beatrice the Baker,” the roll says “justly” but this must be an error since she was fined 3d.²⁶ At Courts on 3 April 1376 and 5 November 1381 she surrendered small pieces of land to John Coton and John Smith and was presented for brewing from 1382 to 1397.

Issue:

- i. John Drake (5)
- ii. William Drake

Of whom nothing is known except that in the Court held on 30 June 1385 the Roll relates: “It is presented against John Drake and William Drake that they shall reply to the lord as to why they disturbed the constables of the peace in the execution of their duty.”²⁷

- iii. Alice Drake

Named in a surrender to her father 21 May 1352.

- iv. Agnes

At the Court held on 11 March 1383 “John Drake was admitted tenant in one empty piece of ground as his right and heritage after the death of Agnes Drake his sister,” paying an entry fine of 12d.²⁸

It was at this point that the most difficult part of the medieval descent occurred. Both Robert and William Drake had sons called John and, after the initial entries relating to them in 1376 and 1389 respectively, their parentage was no longer referred to in the Court Rolls. Between 1376 and 1430 the name John Drake constantly appeared in the Rolls, sometimes with a variety of suffixes intended to distinguish them:

1. John Drake, 1365–1436.
 2. John Drake, Smith, 1385–1427.
 3. John Drake of Hoo or Hoostrete, 1392–1419.
 4. John Drake of Litleheys, Smith, ca. 1396 and 1415–34.
 5. John Drake of Eldfeldstret, 1400.
 6. John Drake, Smith, junior, 1411–27.
 7. John Drake of Cherchende, Smith, 1414–40.
 8. John Drake, senior, 1418.
 9. John Drake dwelling next the stile of Great Waltham church, 1429.
- Fortunately it was not necessary to rely solely on the land transactions, which are not always precise enough in the designation of the properties

concerned, to reduce this muddled situation (doubtless quite clear to their contemporaries) to order. At the Court held on 18 December 1400, the first after a new lord had received the manor, a list of the tenants who did homage was included and only three were called Drake: John Drake, William Drake and John Drake *Smyth*.²⁹ In a list of those fined for default of Court, who failed to attend, on 18 January 1413 we again find only three called Drake: John Drake, William Drake and John Drake *for Welynoves (sic)*.³⁰ This confirmed that there were but two John Drakes living in Great Waltham round about 1400 and a close study of the entries made it possible to sort out, at least for the important items, which transactions belonged to which John Drake.

The long period of activity assigned to John son of Robert Drake (8) is remarkable but the family as a whole seem to have had a good record for longevity. Also it must be remembered that the Court Rolls are complete from 1381 to 1455 so that had there been a succession of another John (son of John son of Robert) this would have been found. Further, the naming of him as Chief Pledge for Littlehay in 1415-16 and 1425-32 should indicate that the John Drake so designated was a tenant of some seniority and substance, for it is likely that only such a person would be called upon for this office.

Before returning to consider the history of the senior lines, stemming from the sons of Robert Drake (3), let us return to the eldest son of William Drake (4).

5. JOHN DRAKE

He is named for the first time in the Court Rolls on 18 December 1365 when he was given a day "to repair one capital house on his tenement under a penalty of 5s. by the pledge of Robert Drake"³¹ his uncle. Admitted to the land vacant by the death of his sister Agnes (4. iv) he was frequently mentioned in the Court Rolls from 1379 to 1411. He was cited with William Drake his brother in the Courts held on 30 June and 3 August 1385³² and on 15 May 1387 surrendered a messuage and 14 acres, "parcel of a tement [called] Graungeres" to the use of John Coton and John Tannere.³³ At the Court held on 23 November 1389 one John Bollard was fined 4d. "because he occupied 2 acres of land, of the concession of John son of William Drake," without having had the license of the lord.³⁴

In the list of tenants doing homage to a new lord at the Court of 18

December 1400, for which they were summoned on 28 July, John Drake is named. Later, on 18 January 1413 he was fined for making default of Court as John Drake for Welynowes (*sic*).³⁰ The last certain reference to him is in the Court held on 5 April 1415 when John Whelere of Felsted (about 4 miles to the north) and his wife Joan surrendered an enclosed croft called "Childescroft" to his use.³⁵

The name of his wife is unknown but those of his two sons are given in the Rolls.

Issue:

- i. John Drake (6)
- ii. Roger Drake

Presented as the son of John Drake as "aged 12 years and more and not in tithing," on 4 June 1411 and orders for him to be received in tithing were made on 21 July and 8 October 1411.³⁶

6. JOHN SON OF JOHN DRAKE

Presented at Courts held on 1 December 1401 and 15 March 1402 as not being in tithing he was presented for various minor offences at Courts held between 1414 and 1440 being then described as John Drake of Cherchende, smith.

As John Drake a parcel of the meadow called Adgores was leased to him for 6 years by John Sandre³⁷ at a Court held on 3 November 1423. This meadow was apparently held by service of supplying beer to the Queen, being the lord of the manor, and at the Court on 1 March 1428 we find an order being made for "John son of John Drake, Smyth" to appear at the next Court as the officials had seized his hay for not supplying the ale due.³⁸

At a Court held on 1 June 1429 John Warrenger the beadle reported that one William Porter had surrendered to him, in the presence of *inter alia* John Drake of Litelhay, a garden called Nelysgardyn to the use of "John Drake dwelling next the stile of the church of Great Waltham" to be held by the old services.³⁹

His wife Joan was presented, but not named, for brewing in 1419 and 1420 and survived her husband. At the Court held on 17 October 1471 it was found that John Drake had surrendered a tenement called "Nalys" to her, then lying on his death bed,⁴⁰ and in the Court on 26 January 1475 Joan Drake, a widow, surrendered "Neeles" to John Rose. Her date of death is not known.

Issue:

- i. John Drake
- ii. Thomas Drake
- iii. William Drake

All presented at Courts held on 23 May 1437 and 5 June 1438 as not being in tithing.

Returning to the main line and the two sons of Robert Drake (3), we treat first of the elder.

7. WILLIAM DRAKE

At the Court held on 3 July 1392 the jurors presented that: "Robert Brake (*sic*) who held of the lord six acres of land, parcel of a tenement of Simondyslond, has died, after whose death comes William Drake (*sic*) son and heir of the said Robert and asks for the said six acres of land as his right and heritage."⁴¹ They agreed that this was indeed the case and he was duly admitted paying his entry fine of 2s.

William Drake was regularly named in the Court Rolls between 1393 and 1420, usually for paying pannage on two pigs or piglets, or for minor offences such as leaving a dung heap on the common.⁴² A curious entry, on 27 November 1410, shows him being presented for having three pigs aged 8 years, i.e. which were too old to be productive.⁴³ As we have seen he was named with his brother and cousin John Drake in the list of those doing homage in 1400 and likewise partnering them in being fined for default of Court in 1413. Between 1407 and 1408 he was fined for failing to do his office as aletaster and again in 1416 and 1418 for the same offence. (As this involved sitting in a pool of the ale being tasted to find if there was too much sugar, in which case the leather breeches would stick to the bench, the reluctance of aletasters to fulfill their office is perhaps understandable.)

His wife's name is unknown but when he died in 1420 he was succeeded by a son Edmund having apparently further enfranchised his land.

Issue:

- i. Edmund Drake (9)

8. JOHN DRAKE OF HOO STREET AND LITTLEHEY

At the Court held on 19 September 1376: "Robert Drake and Elen his wife and Philip Page and Elen his wife [surrendered] into the hands of the lord all the lands and tenements which were lately Thomas Symond's,

except 1 acre in Rachest, to the use of John son of Robert Drake,"⁴⁴ for which he paid an entry fine of 5s. Later, on 3 July 1392, he acquired "one messuage with adjacent yards in the Hoostrete formerly John Fanner's" from John Rede paying 2s. for his entry fine.⁴⁵ This property he surrendered, as John Drake of Hoo, to the use of John Dove at the Court on 4 June 1411.⁴⁶ He was still called "of Hoo" as late as 1413. Earlier, on 29 April 1410, John Brode surrendered a cottage next the great mill to his use⁴⁷ and this John Drake surrendered on 26 September 1419 to the use of Richard Brode. The Court Roll states that the surrender was made out of Court by "John Drake of Branktre" (Braintree, some 7 miles northeast of Great Waltham).⁴⁸ He did not, however, leave Great Waltham permanently and still retained property there.

Between 1385 and 1408 he is recorded as paying pannage for varying numbers of pigs or piglets, and was presented for leaving a dung heap on the common, a not uncommon offence, in 1392 and again in 1398.

Before 5 December 1393 John Spayne surrendered to his use: "one croft of enclosed land containing one acre of land called 'marchaliscroft' and a piece of land called Rechakre and one encroachment (purpresture) lying towards Balisgate" for which he paid an entry fine of 12d.,⁴⁹ being then called John Drake, smith. As we have seen he did homage for his lands in 1400 and was fined for default of Court in 1413 in company with his brother William and cousin John Drake who was also a blacksmith.

In 1424, at a Court held on 8 June, he acquired more lands in Great Waltham. John Trendhen had surrendered a parcel of a half virgate called Symondysgyffrey to his use out of Court and John Lefchild 1 acre in Lytelhey called Moremed and a quarter of land once Henry atte Melle's.⁵⁰ Later in the same year, on 30 September, John Drake, Smyth, was ordered to repair his house called Gybbelottes.

John Drake served as Chief Pledge for Littlehey in 1415-16 and again between 1425 and 1432. The date of his death is not known.

Margaret his wife is first named in a surrender made jointly with her husband, at the Court on 7 May 1414, of a cottage and two acres (formerly Isabell Roger's) to the use of Richard Messyngham.⁵¹ On 5 March 1434 she was presented for having taken two cows from the pound where they had been placed for the non-payment of a rent for meadow and, on 1 June, jointly with her husband to answer a charge of breaking the Queen's Park.⁵² Her husband was dead before 23 December 1445 for she was then in possession of his lands which were seised because she had demised them

without licence. From this we find that she was possessed of a tenement and 8 acres of land once Simon Giffrey's, a parcel of a half virgate of Mollond once John Lifchild's, 1 acre of meadow parcel of Gebelottes and Marschalles croft.⁵³ Apparently having confiscated them from John Hawkyn who was occupying them without licence, they were returned to her for on 12 April 1446 she is reported as having died since the last Court seised of these lands.

Issue:

i. Thomas Drake, Smith

Presented for not being in tithing on 8 June 1419 he was returned as his mother's heir in 1446 but was not admitted to the reversion of the lands formerly held by his parents until 30 July 1448.⁵⁴ Little is known of him and the delay in taking up the reversion suggests that his activities then lay outside the manor. On 10 December 1467 a toft, late of John Drake, demised by him to John Hawkyn without licence, was seised and this, or another, in Lanecroft field was surrendered by him to the same out of Court before 17 October 1471.⁵⁵ Of his marriage and death nothing is known but he had a son:

a. Thomas Drake

Who was presented as not in tithing in Littlehey on 14 June 1470.

ii. John Drake, Smith, junior

Presented on 4 June 1411 as not in tithing and ordered to be received in tithing at Courts held on 21 July and 8 October in the same year. At the Court held on 8 June 1419 he was again presented for the same and on one held on 20 January 1427 for trespass with his pigs.

9. EDMUND DRAKE

He was presented on 23 May 1415 and 11 June 1416 for living in the lordship and not being sworn in a tithing and, on 3 June 1417, his father was fined for receiving him without his being in tithing.

At the Court held on 2 May 1420 the jurors presented that his father William had died holding 9 acres of land "as if free by service of 2s. 6d. yearly" with 9 other acres of the tenement of Eldefeldes for the same service "and that Edmund is the son and next heir of the same and is of full age." Being present he was duly admitted paying his entry fine of

2s. 6d.⁵⁶ He was summoned on 26 July, and on 18 November 1422 did homage. He was mentioned constantly in the Court Rolls from 1420 to 1471 when, on 17 October⁵⁷ it was returned by the jurors that he had died since the last Court.

Joan Drake his wife was presented for the assizes of bread and ale between 1424 and 1438 and, at the Court held on 8 June 1441 as “a common scold and disturber of the peace.”⁵⁸ She survived her husband, to whose lands she had the reversion according to the terms of his death-bed surrender, and it was reported to the Court on 28 August 1481⁵⁹ that she had died since the previous Court.

Issue:

i. Thomas Drake (10)

See the next chapter, “The Descendants of Thomas Drake of Great Waltham.”

ii. William Drake (15)

See the last chapter, “The Expansion of the Family, Being an Account of the Descendants of William Drake in Essex and New England.”

Since with Edmund Drake’s two sons the family starts to divide to a much greater extent than before and to settle in other parishes and manors they will be treated in separate chapters.

NOTES

1. V.s. pp. 60-1.
2. See under Nicholas Drake (2).
3. D.L. 30/62/777.
4. *Ibid.*, 788.
5. *Ibid.*, 774.
6. *Ibid.*, 778.
7. *Ibid.*, 786.
8. E. 179/107/13 m. 18d.
9. B. M. Cotton Charter xiii. 5.
10. V.s., pp. 46-7.
11. D.L. 30/63/792.
12. *Ibid.*, 797.
13. *Ibid.*, 799.
14. *Ibid.*, 800.
15. D.L. 30/65/817.
16. D.L. 30/64/813.
17. *Ibid.*, 807.
18. D.L. 30/66/828.
19. D.L. 30/64/807.
20. *Ibid.*, 808.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, 812.
23. D.L. 30/65/822.
24. *Ibid.*, 824.
25. D.L. 30/66/829.
26. D.L. 30/64/808.
27. D.L. 30/67/837.
28. D.L. 30/66/835.
29. D/DTu 240.
30. *Ibid.*
31. D.L. 30/65/822.
32. D.L. 30/67/837.
33. *Ibid.*, 839.
34. *Ibid.*, 842.
35. D/DTu 241.
36. *Ibid.*, 240.
37. *Ibid.*, 241.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. D/DTu 244.
41. D.L. 30/67/844.
42. D.L. 30/68/850.
43. D/DTu 240.
44. D.L. 30/66/829.
45. D.L. 30/67/844.
46. D/DTu 240.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, 241.
49. D.L. 30/68/846.
50. D/DTu 242.
51. *Ibid.*, 241.
52. *Ibid.*, 242.
53. *Ibid.*, 243.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, 244.
56. *Ibid.*, 241.
57. *Ibid.*, 244.
58. *Ibid.*, 242.
59. *Ibid.*, 244.

The Descendants of Thomas Drake of Great Waltham

AT the end of the fifteenth century the family divided but, whereas in the fourteenth century both branches had remained in the same parish, now the junior line left Great Waltham. While they retained an interest in lands there for a few generations their main interests, and therefore the evidence for them, has to be looked for elsewhere. Accordingly they will be described in the next chapter.

The Drakes who remained in Great Waltham, with whom alone we are concerned at present, remained there for at least six generations. The line was not examined for the later period, that is after 1633, once it was established that William Drake the father of the immigrant Robert did not come from this line. The progenitor was

10. THOMAS DRAKE

Whose father Edmund Drake (9) was presented as having died since the last Court on 17 October 1471 "and none came to claim his lands."¹ Thomas must then have been living outside of the manor for it is not until the Court held on 7 August 1477 that he petitioned as his father's son and heir to be admitted to the tenement called Drakes which was held freely by charter.²

Owing to the loss of the Court Rolls for the years 1484-1509 it has not been possible to find either the name of his wife or the date of his death.

Issue:

i. Thomas Drake (11)

11. THOMAS DRAKE

At the Court held on 29 May 1477 he was presented for not being in tithing and was described as the servant, i.e. apprentice, of one John Glas-

cok.³ The loss of the records mentioned above has meant that nothing more has been found about him.

Issue:

- i. Thomas Drake (12)

12. THOMAS DRAKE

Presented at Courts held on 31 May 1509, 23 May 1510 and 12 June 1511 as not being in tithing,⁴ the loss of the Court Rolls again means that little is known of his activities. His position, like that of his father, in the pedigree is attested by the descent of Drakes to his son. In 1523 an attempt was made to introduce a new form of tax assessment which would be more realistic than the old one which had not been substantially altered since 1334. The new tax, which was to be paid by all earning more than £1 a year, was assessed on lands, goods or wages, whichever was the greatest sum. Not all of the rolls are complete but in that for Chelmsford Hundred, in which Great Waltham lay, we find 118 persons assessed there including: "Thomas Drayke in londes (worth) 26s. 8d. (paid) 6d."⁵

Issue:

- i. William Drake (13)
- ii. Thomas Drake

Mentioned in the will of his brother 1583.

13. WILLIAM DRAKE

First appears in the Sessions records for Essex serving as one of the jurymen for the Chelmsford Hundred on 18 December 1574, 18 December 1575, 26 April 1576 and was summoned to serve at the General Sessions held on 5 July 1576 as "William Drake of Great Waltham Husbandman."

In the Survey of Great Waltham manor taken on 30 March 1577 we find that: "William Drake holdeth of the lorde frelie by dede one messuage, and certain free landes called Drakes in Littleyend, by fealtie sute to court, and paieth therfore yearlie att the said feastes (Ladyday, 25 March, and Michaelmas, 29 September) 3s. 9d."⁶ This, in showing that he was holding the same property that Thomas Drake (10) held in 1477, was of great importance in helping to establish this line of the family during the period when the Court Rolls were lost. Also there were three Thomas's in succession and not two which is paralleled by the pattern of the generations in the junior branch and supported by the presentation of two Thomas Drakes in 1477.

William Drake witnessed the will of William Mynton of Great Waltham on 17 February 1582 and, as William Drake of Great Waltham yeoman, made his own will on 10 February 1583 which was proved on 21 March following in the Archdeaconry Court of Essex. He was buried at Great Waltham on 17 February 1583.

His wife Elizabeth was the executrix of her husband's will and married, secondly, Richard Edwardes. By her husband's will she was devised Drakes as her dower and, in the Survey taken on 30 March 1584, is shown with her second husband holding the same.⁷

Issue:

- i. Dorothy
Baptized at Great Waltham 8 January 1570 and mentioned, but not named, in her father's will.
- ii. A daughter
Mentioned but not named in her father's will 1583 then under 20 years of age.
- iii. William Drake (14)
- iv. Margaret
Baptized at Great Waltham 10 March 1583.

14. WILLIAM DRAKE

Baptized at Great Waltham on 6 March 1577 he was mentioned in his father's will as his eldest son, a precaution lest the child his wife was bearing was a son, and to have his lands called Drakes after his mother's death. In the Subsidy of 1610-11 he paid 2s. for his lands valued at 20s., that is for "Drakes in Littlelyende," for which he appears as the tenant in an undated Survey of the manor made about 1616 or 1617.⁸

He was buried at Great Waltham on 1 August 1633 having been twice married and making his will on 25 July 1633 which was proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Essex on 30 April 1634 by his elder son and his second wife.

By Susan Everard, whom he married on 26 January 1601 at Great Waltham, and who was buried there on 4 November in the same year he had one daughter. His second wife Eleanor was married to him at Good Easter in Essex in 1603 and survived her husband having borne him eight children all of whom were living at his death and were mentioned in his will.

Issue by Susan Everard his first wife:

i. Susan

Baptized at Great Waltham 4 November 1601 she was mentioned in her father's will as the wife of John Marion.

Issue by Eleanor his second wife:

ii. Eleanor

Baptized at Great Waltham 26 December 1604.

iii. Agnes

Baptized at Great Waltham 22 February 1607.

iv. William Drake

Baptized at Great Waltham 14 May 1609.

v. John Drake

Baptized at Great Waltham 19 January 1612.

vi. Edmund Drake

Baptized at Great Waltham 18 September 1614.

vii. Thomas Drake

Baptized at Great Waltham 2 March 1617.

viii. Robert Drake

Baptized at Great Waltham 29 October 1620.

ix. Sarah

Baptized at Great Waltham 16 March 1623.

NOTES

1. D/DTu 244, m.30.

2. *Ibid.*, m.45.

3. *Ibid.*, m.46.

4. D/DHn/M.151, mm.58, 56 and 54.

5. P.R.O., E. 179/108/151.

6. D/DGe/M 273, p. 29.

7. D/DGe/M 274, f. 11v.

8. D/DTu 255, f. 10v.

The Expansion of the Family, Being an Account of the Descendants of William Drake in Essex and New England

RETURNING to the second son of Edmund Drake (9), William, and his descendants we come to the most important part of the pedigree and that which presented the greatest difficulties in its solution. This has already been referred to briefly in Chapter One and was in some respects a similar problem to that already discussed of the two John Drakes living in Great Waltham at the opening of the fifteenth century.¹ Alike in the presence of contemporaries with a Christian name in common but unlike, and more complicated, in that they dwelt in different places.

15. WILLIAM DRAKE

He was first mentioned (in relation to his parents) in a surrender made by his father Edmund Drake on his death-bed, of his lands called Eldefeldes and Grangerys to the use of his wife Joan and after her death to William Drake their son. This was reported to the Court held on 21 May 1472, a year after Edmund's death, and ten years later he petitioned at the Court held on 14 February 1482 to be admitted to these lands.² Earlier, on 1 August 1469, it was recorded that one William Somerset had died having surrendered his tenement and croft called "Goldstones" to William Drake, the latter paying 3 marks 16s. 8d. (£2.16.8.) to Margaret Somerset the widow.³ He was presented at Court on 22 May 1483 for not doing his office as ale taster and fined the usual 2d.⁴ With the other tenants he did homage for his lands at a Court held on 22 September 1509 and died before that held on 19 December 1510 when his lands were seized since no one came to claim them.⁵ At the latter Court we learn that he had sold two acres of timber in "Grangerysgrove" for £3.3.4. contrary to his tenure and to the loss of the Queen who then held the manor.

The name of his wife, whom he must have married before 1465, is not known but he had

Issue:

- i. Thomas Drake (16)
- ii. Joan

Who, being then married to Roger Bregge, had the croft called "Golstones" surrendered to them by her brother at the Court held on 14 January 1512.⁶

16. THOMAS DRAKE

As Thomas Drakes he was presented for not being in tithing and aged 12 years and more at the Court held on 29 May 1477.⁷ It is interesting that, like his uncle and namesake Thomas Drake (10), he was apparently not living in the manor when his father died in 1510, for two years passed before he claimed his inheritance and, as we have seen, made provision for his sister's dower. The record of his admission to the lands and woods lately held by his father, to which he was admitted as the son and next heir, are described in detail on the Court Roll and is of interest in demonstrating this continuity of tenure in the family. "To this Court comes Thomas Drake the son and heir of William Drake late of Lytelhey and is admitted by himself (i.e. in person) to nine acres of land, parcell of a half virgate of land called Eldefeldys, one acre and a half of land, parcell of Grangerys; two acres of land of the Blacche land; seven acres of land, parcell of a half virgate of land called Symon Jeffreyes: one grove of wood and pasture containing two acres and a half called Grangerysgrove, and one croft of land containing one acre of land and a half called Grovecroft, parcell of a half virgate called Eldefeldes as his (word illegible) and inheritance."⁸ "Eldfeldys" is almost certainly to be identified with "Eldo land" held by Nicholas Drake (2) who also held "Granger land" and a parcel of "Symon Geffray's land" ca. 1328.⁹

Thomas Drake was elected to serve as Constable at the Court held on 15 June 1512 and appears in the Court Rolls as a juror several times between 1513 and 1522.¹⁰ He also acquired a croft containing two acres called Arnelles or Arngelles in the Rectory Manor of Great Waltham for which he paid a yearly rent of 18d.¹¹ At the Court held on 5 February 1515 he did homage for a cotland containing 5 acres with three houses called Saches which he held in the right of his wife Agnes Butler.¹² He died, leaving a will which has not survived, before the Court held at Great

Waltham on 1 June 1542 when his death was reported and the will mentioned in a subsequent surrender.¹³

At some time before his death Thomas Drake had settled at Slamsey in White Notley. This manor had belonged to Lees or Leighs Priory in Essex and, when leased by the Prior and Convent to Richard Duke on 12 May 1525, was held by "Thomas Colette of Moche (i.e. Great) Waltham" whose term had five years to run.¹⁴ After the suppression of the Priory the "manor of Slamesey als. Slamondesey als. Slampsey Oldhall and Brent-hall" was granted by Letters Patent to Sir Richard Rich, the King's Solicitor-general and steward of Great Waltham, to hold as the twentieth part of a knight's fee.¹⁵ There was, therefore, ample reason for a tenant at Great Waltham acquiring other lands in White Notley. From the Lay Subsidy of 1523-24¹⁶ we know that neither Thomas nor any other Drake was taxed at White Notley but Agnes Drake was taxed there in 1543-44 and Thomas Drake buried there on 27 November 1541.

Agnes Drake was the widow of a William Butler when she married Thomas Drake. The date is not known but we have seen that her second husband did homage for her lands in 1515 and at the Court held on 5 November 1522 she surrendered her interest in Saches to her husband reference being made to an earlier surrender in 1502-03 (when the Court Rolls are lost) to his use.¹⁷ In the Lay Subsidy of 1543-44¹⁸ Agnes Drake paid 4d. for her lands in White Notley and she was buried there, a widow, on 30 September 1550.

Issue:

- i. Thomas Drake (17)
- ii. William Drake (19)
- iii. Clemence
Buried at White Notley 22 November 1541
- iv. John Drake (21)

17. THOMAS DRAKE

Before the Court held on 3 June 1544, together with William and John Drake, he had surrendered their father's lands called Saches and before that on 28 May 1545 surrendered 9 acres of land with 2 acres called "Grangeryscrofts" to the use of William Drake.¹⁹ Having thus disposed of his share of his father's lands he settled at Little Waltham. There, by his wife Elizabeth who survived him and executed his will in 1571, he had four of their eight children baptized before settling at Langford some

eight miles to the south east. He was buried at Langford on 16 March 1571 having made a will on 5 March just before his death. From the latter, and also the fact that one of his children was baptized at Little Waltham in 1554 and buried as a "maiden" twenty years later at Langford the identity of the two families is certain.

Issue:

- i. Elizabeth
Baptized at Little Waltham 18 May 1547.
- ii. Samuel Drake
Baptized at Little Waltham 10 July 1549 and there buried 8 February 1553.
- iii. William Drake (18)
- iv. Ellen
Baptized at Little Waltham 4 December 1554 and buried at Langford 7 May 1574, a "mayden."
- v. Samuel Drake
Baptized at Langford on 11 February 1559 no further mention of him was found in the register. As Samuel Drake of Great Tey in Essex (about 11 miles to the north), laborer, he was presented at the Colchester Petty Sessions on 10 March 1582 but defaulted.²⁰ The surname Drake does not appear in the Great Tey registers, which start in 1558, before his marriage there to Margaret Griggs on 26 January 1583. Since the extensive searches made did not reveal another Samuel Drake who could have been her husband the connection was certain. He was buried at Great Tey on 2 December 1588 having had four children by his wife Margaret, the daughter of William and Margerie Griggs who had been baptized there 8 October 1565, and whose burial or second marriage has not been traced.
 - a. Margerie
Baptized at Great Tey 9 June 1583.
 - b. Frances
Baptized at Great Tey 4 April 1585.
 - c. Mary
Baptized at Great Tey 23 May 1586.
 - d. Allen Drake
Baptized at Great Tey 16 September 1588 and buried there 19 March 1591.

vi. Leonard Drake

Baptized at Langford 24 April 1562.

vii. Henry Drake

Baptized at Langford 22 July 1565.

18. WILLIAM DRAKE

Baptized at Little Waltham on 27 July 1552 his will, made as William Drakes of Hawkwell, yeoman, on 26 March 1602 and proved on 4 May 1603 in the Commissary Court of London showed him to be still owning a house at Little Waltham then occupied by William Forde.²¹ He had married and by his wife Anne, who proved his will, had four children all under 21 years of age. It was interesting to find that one of them was called Nathaniel, the name of the immigrant Robert Drake's eldest son, and this strengthened the hypothesis that he was connected with this family.

Issue:

i. James Drake

Named as the eldest son in his father's will.

ii. Hezekiah or Ezekias Drake

Baptized at Langford 9 November 1593.

iii. Nathaniel Drake

iv. Thomas Drake

Both named in their father's will.

Returning to the younger sons of Thomas Drake and Agnes of White Notley we come to

19. WILLIAM DRAKE

He was presented for being over twelve years of age and not in tithing at Courts held in Great Waltham on 9 June 1530, 1 June 1531 and was finally sworn in tithing on 5 June 1532.²² At the Court held on 1 June 1542 when his father's death was returned he was admitted to his lands by virtue of a surrender made out of Court to the use of Thomas Drake's will.²³ He joined with Thomas and John Drake his brothers in a surrender out of Court of Saches before 3 June 1544 and at the Court held on 28 May 1545 had licence to lease his late father's lands for three years.²⁴ Thereafter he disappears from the records of Great Waltham. At White Notley, to which as we have seen his mother had moved on the death of her husband, presumably because this was her old home, he was assessed for the

Lay Subsidy of 1543–44 paying 4d. for his goods.²⁵ In the same Subsidy for Black Notley we find “William Drake of White Notley” paying 2s. on goods “for a bequest to John Drake.”²⁶ Presumably this was his son John, not his brother, but no will was found which explained this curious entry.

William Drake was buried at White Notley on 23 September 1555 and was survived by his wife Joan who married secondly Thomas Everard of the same place. Thomas Everard made his will on 10 July 1573, by which time his wife was dead, leaving bequests to the poor of several Essex parishes (Black and White Notley, Stisted, Roothing and Fyfield) as well as his Drake step-children. Proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Colchester on 11 March 1574²⁷ this was one of the most vital clues in identifying the parents of William Drake of Halstead in that it showed William Drake of White Notley with two sons, one of them named after him, and only one of whom, John Drake, remained in White Notley.

Issue:

- i. William Drake (20)
- ii. Agnes
Mentioned as married to Brown in her stepfather's will.
- iii. Barbary
Mentioned as married to Wilbore in her stepfather's will.
- iv. Agnes
Mentioned as married to Holle in her stepfather's will and her marriage to John Hall was recorded at Gosfield in Essex 4 June 1573.
- v. Mary
Mentioned as married to Everard in her stepfather's will and her marriage to William Everard recorded at High Roothing in Essex 1565.
- vi. Brigit
Mentioned in her stepfather's will.
- vii. Joan
Buried at White Notley 23 September 1555.
- viii. Dennis
Buried at White Notley 15 February 1556.
- ix. John Drake
Mentioned in the will of his stepfather and a witness to that of Henry Canytt of Black Notley 29 May 1577.²⁸ At a Court for

White Notley held on 30 September 1577²⁹ John Drake was the Chief Pledge, so that he had succeeded to his father's property by this time, and in a Court for Black Notley on 21 May 1589, he was described as "Johannes Drake claudus" that is the lame or cripple.³⁰ He died sometime before 1612-16 when lands lately held by him were surrendered by Thomas Pattys-son.³¹

He married Susanna Nevell at White Notley 4 February 1674 and had issue by her.

Issue:

- a. Edward Drake
Baptized at White Notley 10 May 1579.
- b. John Drake
Baptized at Felstead 16 June 1582 and buried 28 November in the same year at White Notley.
- c. Robert Drake
Baptized at Felstead 25 July 1585.
- d. Peter Drake
Baptized at Felstead 7 September 1589.

20. WILLIAM DRAKE

Mentioned in the first place among the children of his late wife by Thomas Everard, his stepfather, in 1573 it would have been expected that he would have succeeded to his father Thomas Drake's lands there. However, as we have seen, this was not the case and the younger son John Drake remained at White Notley. It would seem likely that, in view of the latter being lame and also his having married a local girl, William let him take up their father's property. From the original searches made before the book *Drake in England* was written in 1963, we knew that there was a William Drake living at Halstead where he had married Joan Merrylls on 12 October 1578. Now this William Drake would have been born about 1550-57, and although the Halstead parish registers do not start until 1564, the absence of the surname in the 1523-24 Lay Subsidy showed that his origins had to be looked for elsewhere. In the course of the extensive searches in parish registers and other records related in Chapter One only three William Drakes, whose dates were approximately the same as those of William Drake of Halstead, were found. The elimination of William Drake of Great Waltham (13) and William Drake of Little Waltham and

Hawkwell (18) showed that he had to be identified with the son of William Drake of White Notley (19) with whom we are now concerned. Finally the establishment of the Drakes of Braintree, one of whom claimed in 1688 that the witnesses of his Chancery Suit were "either dead, gone beyond the seas or into places remote,"⁴¹ as descendants of his uncle John Drake (21) closed the circle of evidence.

William Drake was presented for default of residence on 6 April 1592 and fined on inhabited houses in the manor Court of Abell in Halstead 30 December 1600. Earlier, on 1 February 1579, he was named as witness to the apprenticeship of Tobias son of Richard Ebbes of Sandy in Bedfordshire a woollen draper, to Thomas Wilkinson of Colchester, linen draper.³²

Although traces of Puritan influence can be seen in the introduction of Old Testament names for children in some of the branches of the family, William Drake and his wife are the first to be identified with the extreme Puritans who rejected the established Church of England. In the records of the Archdeacon of Colchester's Court we find them being fined for not attending the parish Church in 1611 and later, in 1615, he was presented by the Churchwardens of Elmstead "for not coming orderly to Church on the Sabbath Daye" and was duly fined 12d. on 28 June 1615.³³ He was buried at Elmstead on 3 November 1616.

His wife Joan died at the beginning of the next year and was buried on 30 March 1617 at Elmstead. Her will made as Joan Merills late the wife of William Drake deceased dated 16 March 1617 was proved later in the same year in the Commissary Court of the Bishop of London.³⁴

Their eldest son ROBERT DRAKE was baptized at Halstead on 23 July 1581, emigrated to New England settling at Hampton dying there on 14 January 1668. FROM WHOM DESCENDS COLONEL JAMES FRANK DRAKE.

It now remains to trace the final line of the family which was descended from John Drake (21) the third son of Thomas Drake (17).

21. JOHN DRAKE

Of whom little trace has been found. He was living before 3 June 1544 when he was joined with his brothers Thomas and William Drake in a surrender out of Court of their father's land called Saches,³⁵ and may have been the John Drake for whose bequest William Drake paid 2s. on goods in the Lay Subsidy of 1543-44 at Black Notley.³⁶

Issue:

i. Thomas Drake

Baptized at White Notley 25 February 1545 he is found holding three crofts of customary land there late part of Collybrookes and Worlinges for a rent of 22d. and 3s. 8d. and a free tenement with three crofts called Frenches alias Shrubbes at a rent of 13d. in a rental of Black Notley dated 21 May 1588. The sale of the latter to him was rather belatedly presented at the Court held on 31 May 1589. The vendor being Richard French, hence the alias. At a Court held on 10 June 1590 he is named as one of the homagers and was earlier elected Constable in May 1589.³⁷

He married Ellen Pasfield or Passeld at Black Notley on 27 June 1589 but the dates of their deaths are not known.

Issue:

a. Ann

Baptized at Black Notley 3 May 1590.

b. Thomas Drake

Baptized at Black Notley 2 January 1592 he was named in the Ship Money Returns of 1636-37 and had issue by his wife Mary, who was buried at Black Notley on 5 October 1652.

bi. Thomas Drake

Baptized at Black Notley 18 January 1639.

bii. Mary

Baptized at Black Notley 2 March 1641.

biii. Rebecca

Baptized at Black Notley 29 December 1643.

biv. Ann

Baptized at Black Notley 16 November 1645.

bv. William Drake

Baptized at Black Notley 18 June 1648 and there buried in November 1649.

bvi. Elizabeth

Baptized at Black Notley 6 July 1651.

ii. Robert Drake (22)

22. ROBERT DRAKE

Baptized at Black Notley on 17 February 1594, he was a witness at an Assize concerning a theft there held in 1627³⁸ and mentioned in the Ship Money Returns of 1636–37. He held the messuage called Collybrokes and died seised as of fee of a messuage in Black Notley granted to him or his ancestors by the Earls of Warwick. He made his will on 11 May 1664 but this was not proved until 24 February 1688 in the Commissary Court of the Bishop of London.³⁹ He married Elizabeth Marshe of Rivenhall, spelt phonetically in the register as Rifnall, at Halstead on 10 December 1617 and she was living in 1664 when he made his will.

Issue:

i. William Drake

Baptized at White Notley 26 February 1618 and, although the eldest son and heir living in December 1688, was not named in his father's will.

ii. Robert Drake

Baptized at Black Notley 17 August 1650 and married there on 5 June 1651 to Elizabeth Beckwith of Braintree. Mentioned in the Sessions records for 1651 as Robert Drake of Braintree maltster, having unlawfully paid to Henry Josslin a piece of money for a guinea, the same appearing not to be so.⁴⁰ Buried at Black Notley 31 March 1664.

Issue:

a. Robert Drake

Devised Collybrooks in Black Notley by his grandfather's will in 1664, then occupied by his uncle John Drake, and to pay his uncle Jeremiah Drake, £20. As Robert Drake of Braintree maltster he petitioned in Chancery on 4 December 1688 for Collybrooks his uncle William Drake, being the Testator's eldest son, having possessed himself of the original deed and threatening to sell the land. He concludes: "and for that matters of discovery of this nature are properly and only examinable in this Court the truth being onely knowne to the said Confederates or *your Orators witnesses that should prove the truth therof are either dead gonn beyond the*

seas or into places remoat” and asked for his uncle and the would-be purchasers to be summoned to answer his complaint.⁴¹ No further documents in the case have been traced.

- iii. Elizabeth
Baptized at Black Notley 14 February 1622.
- iv. Thomas Drake
Baptized at Black Notley 27 May 1624 and there buried 26 April 1630.
- v. Christopher Drake
Baptized at Black Notley 7 February 1627 and buried there 10 February 1631.
- vi. Jeremy Drake
Baptized at Black Notley 7 April 1628 and mentioned in his father's will.
- vii. John Drake
Baptized at Black Notley 25 March 1631 and devised land called Youngs purchased from Thomas Burridge.
- viii. Elizabeth
Baptized at Black Notley 17 January 1634.

NOTES

1. V.s., p. 69 ff.
2. D/DTu 244, mm.32 and 59.
3. *Ibid.*, m.24d.
4. *Ibid.*, m.63.
5. D/DHh/M.151, mm.59 and 57d.
6. *Ibid.*, M.55.
7. D/DTu 244, m.46.
8. D/DHh/M.151 m.55.
9. V.s., pp. 64-5.
10. D/DHh/M.151, m.53d. and passim.
11. D/DB/M 146, a Rental dated 2 May 1558 when the property was held by Henry Drake.
12. D/DHh/M. 151, m.48.
13. *Ibid.*, m.5d.
14. S.C.6/952, m.39d. Account of Richard Duke 1535-36.
15. C66/674, m.38, dated at Westminster 25 June 1537.
16. E. 179/108/154.
17. D/DHh/M.151, m.32.
18. E. 179/108/249.
19. D/DHh/M.151, mm.3, 2.
20. E.R.O., Cal. of County Records, Sessions 1581-82, pp. 115, 117.
21. D/ABW 12/290.
22. D/DHh/M.151, mm.22, 21 and 19.
23. *Ibid.*, m.5d.
24. *Ibid.*, m.3 and 2.
25. E. 179/108/249.
26. *Ibid.*
27. 386 CR6.
28. 35 CK 7.
29. D/DC/2/30.
30. D/DHu/M.88-94.
31. D/DC/2/31-34.
32. Colchester Borough Records.
33. D/ACA 36 f. 146^b.
34. 280 BW 26. Printed in full in A. S. Thompson, *The Drake Family of New Hampshire* (1962), pp. 15-16.
35. D/DHh/M.151, m.3.
36. V.s., p. 86.
37. D/DHu M92.
38. Ass. 35/69/T62.
39. 189 BW 72.
40. Q/SR 171/60d/71-2.
41. C8/350/125.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Tenants	GREAT WALTHAM										
	MEN							LAND			
	Free	Villeins		Bordars		Serfs		Ploughs		Woodland	Meadow
		1065	1086	1065	1086	1065	1086	1065	1086	(No. of swine)	
Geoffrey de Mandeville	—	72	72	28	28	14	13	6	5	1,200	44 ac.
Tenants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	42	36	—	—
Hubert*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	½	—	—
Walter*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	½	—	—
Turchill*	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	½	—	—
Roger	—	3	3	4	6	1	1	2	1½	—	7 ac.
Tenants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
Walter (Chatham)	—	—	2	2	5	6	6	2	2	100	6 ac.
Tenants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
Robert son of Corbutio	—	1	—	9	11	1	1	1	1	30	8 ac.
Tenant	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ranulf	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	½	½	—	—

*Each holding a half virgate

IN DOMESDAY BOOK

Vineyards	Mills	STOCK										Bee-hives†		VALUE	
		Rounceys		Cows		Swine		Goats		Sheep†		1086		1065	1086
		1065	1086	1065	1086	1065	1086	1065	1086	1086					
10 arpents	2	5	3	12	11	50	60	80	70	132	20	£50	£60		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5s.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5s.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<hr/>															
-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	£2	£3		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<hr/>															
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	£2	£3		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<hr/>															
-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	£1.10s.	£2		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4s.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

†None in 1065

Appendix II

EXTENT OF GREAT WALTHAM, 19 FEBRUARY 1336

C 135/ 48/ 2 m. 15. In which manor [of Great Waltham] (is) a Capital messuage with the easement of the houses worth 13s. 4d. per annum.

Item, there are in the same (manor) two gardens whence the grass [*herbag'*] is worth 12d. p.a. and the fruit of the same when it is in season is worth 2s. p.a.

Item, there is there a curtilage that is worth 12d. p.a.

Item, one Dovecot that is worth 3s. 4d. p.a.

And there are in demesne in the same (manor) 920 acres and 3 roods of separate arable land [*de terr' arrab' & seperal*] worth £23.4½d. p.a., price the acre 6d.

And there are in the demesne there of meadow for hay [*prato falcal'*] viz: in Cherchemede 10 acres worth 15s. p.a., price the acre 18d.; in the meadow called Neumade 5 acres and elsewhere 20 acres worth 41s. 8d. p.a., price the acre 20d.; in lytelmade 4 acres and a half; in Shepenmade 4 acres and a half; in the meadow called at Childemade 14 acres and a half; and in Little Waltham 4 acres. Sum of the acres 61 acres and a half worth £4. 2s. 6d. p.a., price the acre 3s. And there are there 21 acres and a half of separate pastures worth 13s. 4d. p.a. And there is there 1 Park in which are 14 acres 1 rood and a half of enclosed pasture for the oxen and heifers for the ploughs of the said manor.

Item 26 acres and a half of enclosed pasture for the cows of the same manor worth 55s. p.a., price the acre 16d.

Item there are in the same (manor) 67 acres of wood whence it is possible in any year to sell 5 acres of underwood that is worth 5s. p.a.

And the pannage in the same when it is ready is worth 6s. 8d. p.a.

And there is another Park whence the pasture, if there are no deer in

the same, worth 40s. p.a. And it is possible to sell in the same 10 acres of underwood in any year and it is worth 33s. 4d. p.a., price the acre 3s. 4d. The pannage in the same when it is ready is worth 10s. p.a.

Item there is there a certain grove called Moumesseye containing 9 acres and a half that is worth nothing p.a.

And there is a certain water mill called the Great Mill. And one meadow called Mulnemedede containing 1 acre and a half and a certain piece of pasture between the said Mill and the outer sluices of the same mill that is worth 100s. p.a.

Item another mill at Little Waltham that is worth 60s. p.a.

Item there are there 6 acres of (arable) land 1 acre 1 rood of pasture and remainder [*reliquum*] of 4 acres of meadow worth 26s. p.a.

Item one fuller's mill that is worth 60s. p.a.

Item there is there one fishery in the river between Warve, Lampol and Wynkford that is worth 3s. p.a.

Item there is there 2s. rent at the terms of Easter and S. Michael equally, the increase of the farm of 2 acres of (arable) land.

And there are there rents of assize as well of the free as of the molmen and customary (tenants) £28. 16s. 2d. p.a. to be paid at Five terms of the year, viz: the Nativity of the Lord £6. 11s. 11½d., Easter £7. 11s. 3¼d. Pentecost 6s. 8d., Nativity of S. John Baptist £6. 11s. 11½d. and S. Michael £7. 14s. 3¾d.

And there are there of customary rents from the feast of S. Andrew of a certain custom called vackage [? or *lactagium*] (milk rent) 23.6d., viz: of certain customary tenant one virgate of land 12d. for whatever custom every customary (tenant) shall have allowance of one work.

And there are there of rents at Hockeday of a certain custom called Wardpeny 4s. 11½d.

Item there are there of rents of S. Michael two plough shares price 16d.

And there is there of rent at the Nativity of the Lord 1 lb. of pepper price 12d. and 1 lb. of cumin price 1d. And at Easter 1 pair of gilt spurs price 6d. And there are there of rents at the feast of Easter 37 capons that are worth 9s. 3d. p.a. each worth 3d.

And there are there 54 customary tenants holding between them 23 virgates and a half of land who render by the year between the feast of All Saints and the feast of the Purification of Blessed Mary, of a certain custom called Foddermalt 70 quarters of oats or malt of oats, accounting to the

quarter for 7 bushels of local common measure worth £4. 13s. p.a., price the quarter containing 7 bushels, 16d.; viz: for certain virgates 3 quarters for that custom. The 54 customary (tenants) aforesaid shall have allowance for every virgate of land of 4 works, if rendering oats. And they shall measure the oats or malt aforesaid by the bushel or by the customary coomb in the Castle of Pleshey to this (purpose) assigned of old time, and if rendering malt, they shall render the same mulct [*mulucum* ?] and it is the same quarter according to the local common measure 61 quarters 5 bushels and a half.

And there are there of rents at the feast of Pentecost of the aforesaid 54 customary (tenants) 33 hogastr' (Two year old sheep) and a half, female, the custom which is worth 19s. 7d., price 10d. each (sheep), and they shall have allowance for each one work. And the aforesaid 54 customary (tenants) shall plough annually 235 acres of (arable) land, that is worth 117s. 10d. p.a., price the acre 6d. And allowance to them for every acre 1 work.

And there are there 76 various customary tenants who make between the feast of S. Michael and the Gule (first day) of August, viz: 429 works worth £13. 7s. 10¾d. p.a., price the work ½d.

Items 4s. 11 ½d. for 60d. of certain customs coming of the said 117 molmen.

Item there are there 78 various customary tenants who make between the Gule of August and S. Michael, viz: for 8 weeks and 3 days 1678 works that are worth £6. 19s. 10d., price (the work) 1d.

Item there are there 107 customary molmen and cottars whence 54 major customary (tenants) hold between them 24 virgates and a half of land of which every of them shall find 4 men against each virgate. And 52 of every of them shall find 1 man and for 2 men for one boonwork in Autumn for reaping the lord's corn. To 9 meals of the lord in the day.

Item there are there 37 molmen who shall reap, bind and shock in Autumn 5 acres 3 roods and a half of wheat and 5 acres 3 roods and a half of oats worth 2s. 11 ¼d. that (is) worth the acre 3d.

Item 20d. of the works of 7 molmen released there. And there are there 2s. 5d. of the works of 29 molmen released there.

Item there is there a certain custom that all customary molmen and cottars, apart from those who hold that virgate of land that is called Graungeresierd shall give at the feast of S. Luke the Evangelist for every pig of the age of one year that they have had (since) the last feast of S. Michael 1d. and for every pig of the age of half a year ½d. And when

once they have given payment for pannage they shall never give pannage again, and that custom is worth 12s. p.a.

Item the Jurors say that there are divers other works for which nothing (is accounted).

Appendix III

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY SURVEY OF GREAT WALTHAM

Cotton Charter xiii. 5 is a valuable collection of material relating to Essex covering, in fragmentary form, many topics and extending in time from about the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth centuries. It appears to have been made up after 1347-48 or perhaps 1354, from scraps for the purpose of making a copy of a Survey of the manor of Great Waltham on the back of the roll.

The documents used to make up the roll comprise the following items.

- (1) Lists of foresters and other officials, fees and customary tenants in the Forest districts of Essex, including Waltham (Holy Cross) c. 1249-50.
- (2) An account of the collectors of the subsidy on wool in Essex, undated but first levied in 1338. The writing extends to the back of membrane 7 and interrupts the Survey.
- (3) Part of evidence concerning stolen goods taken at Colchester c. 1345-48.
- (4) Orders to tenants "anno. 26-7," probably 1352-54.
- (5) Presentments made at an assize in 1340-41 or 1341-42.

These presumably represent odds and ends in the office at Pleshey which were sewn together to make up a roll for a copy of the Great Waltham manor Survey, which also included Little Waltham.

It is unfortunate that the roll appears always to have been rolled up so that the Survey was on the back, the outside, and that the first membrane in consequence is so badly worn as to be almost completely illegible even when ultra-violet light is used. The script most closely resembles that used in the earlier part of Edward III's reign and the copy must have been made by a clerk, whose hand was then formed, shortly after 1348 or 1354

if the regnal years in item 4 on the face of the roll refer to Edward III. Sufficient of the first membrane can be deciphered to show that it related to the demesne lands, the parks and mills.

This is followed by a list of the Free tenants' 109 names, several repeated for their various holdings, being given. Next come the Molmen 93 in all, some of whom had already appeared as Free tenants. A further 49, again duplicating in part the previous list, are noted as Molmen owing certain works, and the survey closes with short lists of the Customary tenants (42), those owing the Minor Customs (11 names) and finally the Customary Cottars (19 names). In many cases the names are the same as those being taxed in 1327 and the presence of Nicholas Drake shows that the Survey was made before 1331. The extent made on the 30 March 1577 refers to "the olde Extent made the seconde daie of Julie, Anno regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum secundo"—1328.¹ The probability is that this is a copy of this Survey.

1. D/D Ge/M 273 p. 20.

Appendix IV

THE 1327 TAXATION OF GREAT WALTHAM

Numbers Taxed	Rate	Value of Moveable	Order
1	13s. 6d.	£13.10s.	1
1	6s. 1d.	£6. 1s. 8d.	2
3	5s.	£5.	3
1	3s. 4d.	£3. 6s. 8d.	4
1	3s. ¼d.	£3. 0s. 5d.	5
4	3s.	£3.	6
2	2s. 6¼d.	£2. 10s. 5d.	7
1	2s. 6d.	£2. 10s.	8
1	2s. 3¼d.	£2. 5s. 5d.	9
3	2s.	£2.	10
1	1s. 9¼d.	£1. 15s. 5d.	11
3	1s. 9d.	£1. 15s.	12
1	1s. 7½d.	£1. 12s. 6d.	13
2	1s. 6½d.	£1. 10s. 10d.	14
9	1s. 6d.	£1. 10s.	15
1	1s. 5¾d.	£1. 9s. 7d.	16
1	1s. 5½d.	£1. 9s. 2d.	17
1	1s. 5¼d.	£1. 8s. 9d.	18
1	1s. 5d.	£1. 8s. 4d.	19
1	1s. 4¾d.	£1. 7s. 11d.	20
2	1s. 4d.	£1. 6s. 8d.	21
1	1s. 3¾d.	£1. 6s. 3d.	22
1	1s. 3¼d.	£1. 5s. 5d.	23

Numbers Taxed	Rate	Value of Moveable	Order
1	1s. 3d.	£1. 5s.	24
1	1s. 1¾d.	£1. 2s. 11d.	25
2	1s. 1¼d.	£1. 2s. 1d.	26
1	1s. 1d.	£1. 1s. 8d.	27
1	1s. ¾d.	£1. 1s. 3d.	28
4	1s. ½d.	£1. 0s. 10d.	29
1	1s. ¼d.	£1. 0s. 5d.	30
16	1s.	£1.	31
2	11¼d.	18s. 9d.	32
2	11d.	18s. 4d.	33
6	10¾d.	17s. 11d.	34
3	10d.	16s. 8d.	35
2	9¾d.	16s. 3d.	36
2	9½d.	15s. 10d.	37
8	9d.	15s.	38
1	8¾d.	14s. 7d.	39
2	8½d.	14s. 2d.	40
3	8¼d.	13s. 9d.	41
8	8d.	13s. 4d.	42
4	7¾d.	12s. 11d.	43
1	7½d.	12s. 6d.	44
1	7¼d.	12s. 1d.	45
5	7d.	11s. 8d.	46
1	6¾d.	11s. 3d.	47
2	6½d.	10s. 10d.	48

Abbreviations and Bibliography

I. PRIMARY SOURCES: THE MANORIAL RECORDS

- (i) *Great Waltham*:
(a) *Court Rolls*: 1248–1546. P.R.O. ref: D.L. 30 and E.R.O., ref: D /DTu etc.
Hiatii 1251, 1254–56, 1263, 1268–70, 1273, 1277–78, 1280–96, 1307–11, 1315–16, 1322–25, 1455–62, 1484–1509, 1540–42.
(b) *Estreats of Court Rolls*: 1488–92. P.R.O.
(c) *Accounts*: 1397–1540. P.R.O. and B.M.
Hiatii 1399–1402, 1403–07, 1414–38, 1441–42, 1443–54, 1455–60, 1481–87, 1488–89.
(d) *Extents*: 1328. B.M.*
1563, 1577, }
1584, c. 1616 } E.R.O.
*v. Appx. III for an account of this document.
- (ii) *Warners als. Waleys*:
No records have been found for this manor.
- (iii) *Hyde Hall*:
Owing to the small size of the manor, there were only eight tenants, it is unlikely that courts were ever held.
(a) *Rentals*: 1483, c. 1500. E.R.O.
- (iv–v) *Southouse and Langleys or Marshalls*:
No records have been found for these manors.
- (vi) *Rectory*:
The loss of the medieval records of this manor is probably to be explained by the disruption of the suppression.
(a) *Court Rolls*: 1564–65, 1600–01. Trinity Coll., Oxford.

- (b) *Court Book*: 1584-1623. B.M.
Either an incomplete record or the courts were held at irregular intervals.
- (c) *Rental*: 1558. E.R.O.
- (vii) *Chatham Hall*:
After the manor of Great Waltham this was the largest of the other manors in the parish and the records are accordingly fairly well preserved.
- (a) *Court Rolls*: 1308-1632. E.R.O.
Hiatii 1422-60, 1466-1554, and 1556-97. They have not been examined between 1328 and 1412.
- (b) *Release of the manor*: 1452. B.M.

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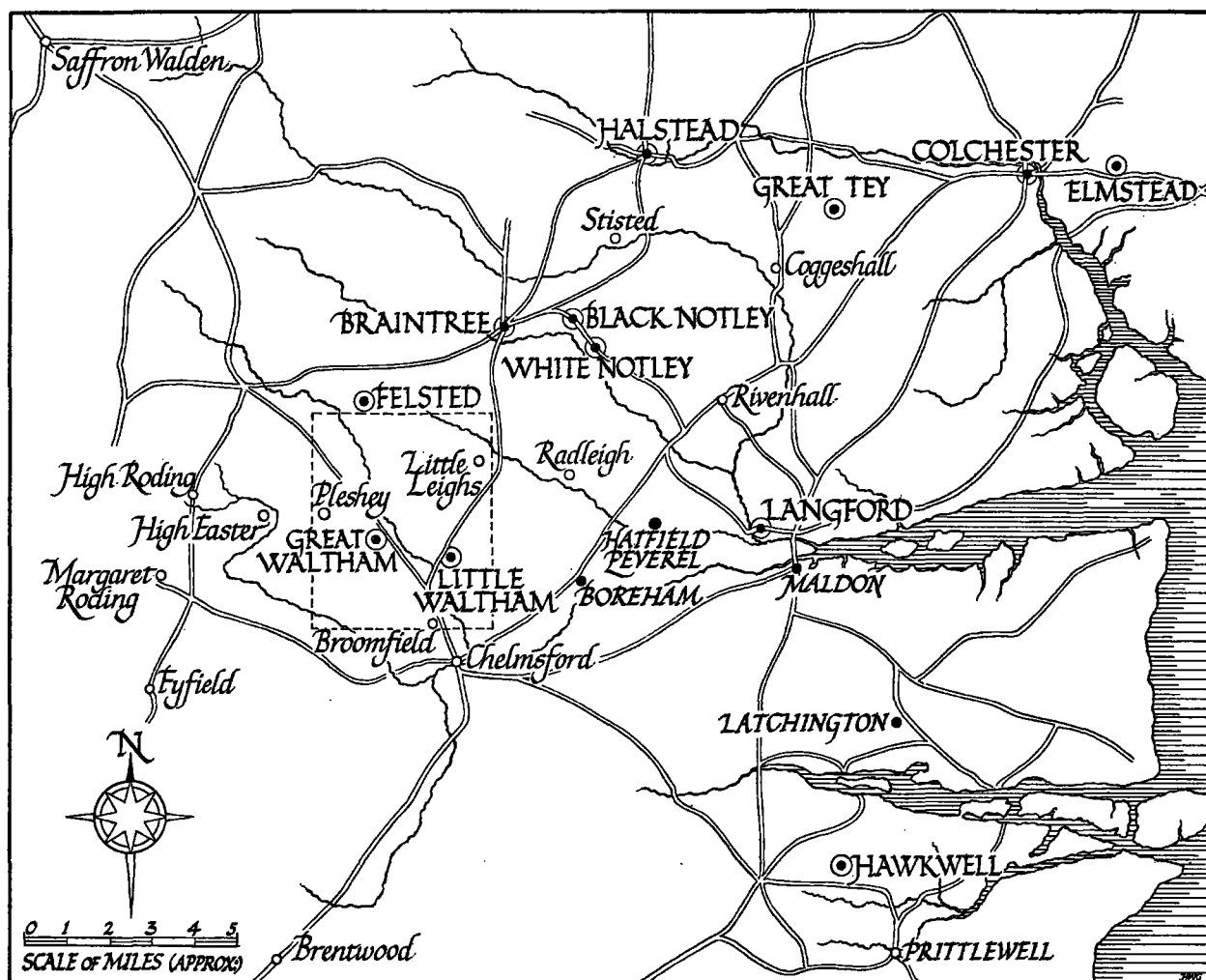
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MAPS

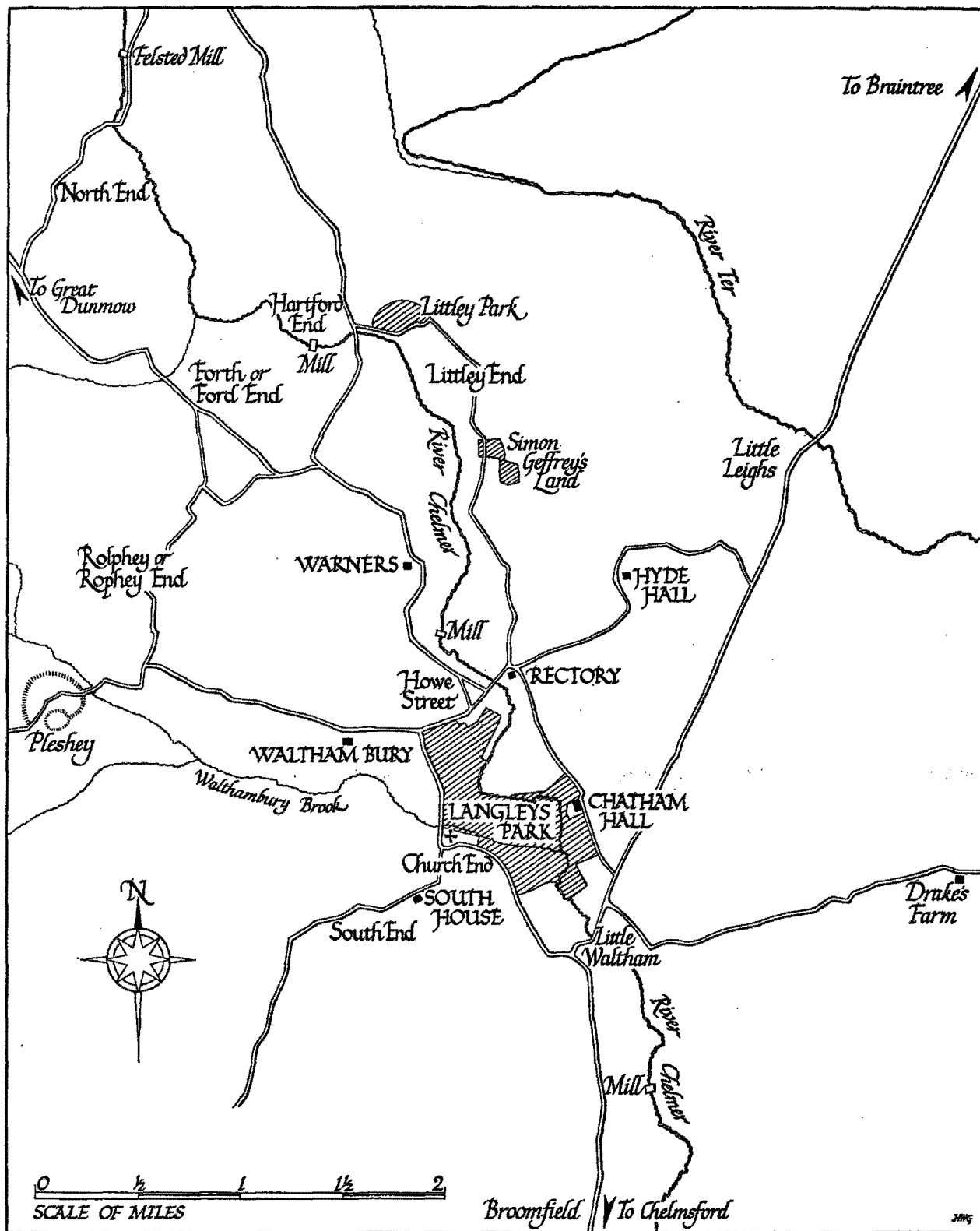


I MAP OF PART OF ESSEX

Drawn from the Map by John Norden. 1594

Key

- ⊙ GREAT WALTHAM = Places where the family dwelt
- MALDON = Places where the surname was found
- Pleshey = Places mentioned in the text
- = Area enlarged in Map II



II MAP OF THE MANOR AND PARISH OF GREAT WALTHAM

Key

WALTHAM BURY = Manors
Howe Street = Tithings

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The names in pages 13-36 have not been indexed except where presenting unusual forms.
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KEY PEDIGREE OF DRAKE OF ESSEX, ENGLAND

