

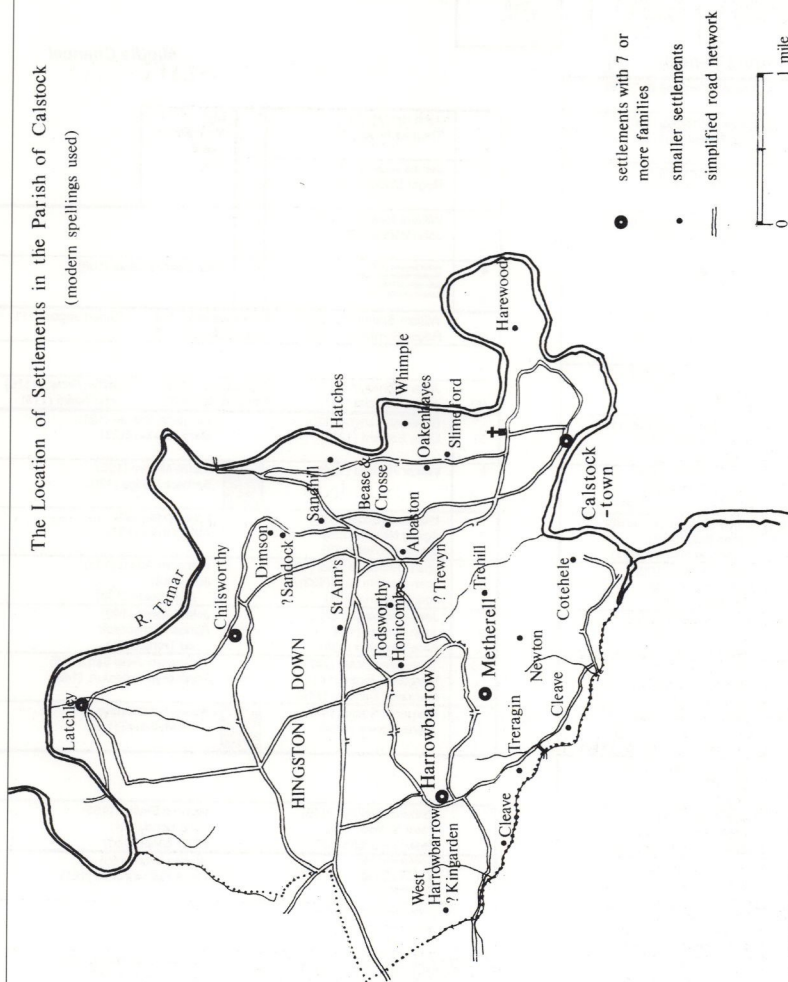
The Social Structure and Parish Community of St. Andrew's Church, Calstock, as Reconstituted from its Seating Plan, c.1587/8

Susan Pittman

The church seating plan of St. Andrew's, Calstock, dating from the late fifteen-eighties is the second oldest surviving church seating plan – the oldest being of 1569 for Trull in Somerset.¹ Soon after its deposition in Cornwall Record Office, P. L. Hull contributed two notes to Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries which included a description and reproduction of the plan, the parameters of its dating, the possible motivation behind its origin and its setting within the context of other early seating plans.² However, although researchers are beginning to recognise the importance of church seating plans in studying church interiors, little has been done to reconstruct the society for which the church seating plan was drawn up and whose essence was enshrined therein.³ This article derives from an M.A. dissertation which sought to reconstitute the church community of Calstock by using record linkage to recover information about members of the congregation and to examine what factors influenced the original seating arrangements.⁴ The inspiration for this research was the section of Richard Gough's 'History of Myddle' entitled 'Observations concerning the Seates in Myddle and the families to which they belong.'⁵

The task was not easy, not least because even basic sources such as the Assession rolls of the Duchy of Cornwall – Calstock being a Duchy manor – and the manor court rolls cover only limited periods, and the lack of parish registers and of wills and inventories before 1600 was a distinct disadvantage.⁶ On the other hand the Calstock parish archive contains copies of a wide range of documentary sources which would have taken years for any one individual to discover and prepare for research.

The Location of Settlements in the Parish of Calstock
(modern spellings used)



CALSTOCK CHURCH SEATING PLAN

Transcription - with numbers to identify individuals added

Sampson Webb (174) Roger Bealby (176) Peter Hussey (175) Robert Blighe (177) Anthony Marrying (178)		Pascoe Jane (169) Edmunds Adam (170) Anthony H (171) Philip Facye (172) Anthony Cusby (173)		
8d	(i)	8d	(i)	
North Chancel		(ii)		
1	The Warden's seate (179)	1	John Bartlett (97) Thomas Facy (98)	Mrs. Verchille's seate (99)
2	Edward Philipps (180) John Newet (181)	2s	James Adam (100) Roger Dodge (101)	
12d		2s	William Newett (102) John Wante (103)	
3	John Martyn (182) John Blighe (183)	3		
12d		4s	Walter Lampen (104) Stephen Honicombe (105) John Gnewel (109) Richard Streeke (107)	The Cleark's seate (108)
4	Nicholas Hawking (184) Griffyn Bond (185)	20d	William Stentafor (109) Roger Stentafor (112)	John Reccard (110) Peter Hellende (113)
5	John Smithe (186) John Sergente (187)			Robert Jagoe (111)
12d				
6	Thomas Collyn (188) John Knight Sen. (189)	2s	John Blighe (114) John Clenycke (117)	John Jagoe (115) Edmond Hill (118)
8d				Griffyn Prowte (116) John Adam (119)
7	John Bealby (190) Walter Slade (191) John Dodge (192)	5	Elizabeth Lanyne (120) Elnor Edward (122)	Elizabeth Steven (121) Mary Hawkin (123)
8	John Honicombe Sen. (193) Henry Strowte (194) John Facye (195)	6	Walter Hellond (124)	Sibye Martyn (125) Barbera Dodge (126)
8d		6d		
9	John Jefforde (196) James Webb (197) Phillip Honicombe (198)	7	Elizabeth Dodge (127) Agnes Newett (128) Joane Aychim (129)	Lore Bond (130) Alice Taylor (131)
10	Joane Knighte Sen. (199) Agnes Baker (200) Katheryne Newton (201)	8	Joan Honicomb Sen. (132) Joan Knighte Jun. (133) Joan Jefforde (134)	Katheryn Adam (135) Joan Tibb alias Slade (136)
11	Joane Penny (202) Sibly Speare (203) Ales Martyn (204)	9	Joan Bealby (137) Joan Grosse (138) Alice Bealby (139)	John Newett (140) Agnes Hornabrook de Trena (141)
12	Joane Ricarde (205) Elnor Harrye (206) Joane Facye de Crosse (207)	10	Thomasyn Blowy (142) Margarett Jogoe (143) Margarett Dabwyn (144)	Thomasyn Jane Sen. (145) Thomasyn Jane Jun. (146)
13	Mary Facye (208) Wilmott Jane (209) Margery Jane (210)	11	Margarett Slade (147) Joane Pittswill (148)	Agnes Hornabroke de Mytherell (149)
14	Margery Husaye (211) Margery Manning (212) Th. Facye for Hatches (213)			
15	Katheryne Taylor (214) Grace Wise (215) Ales John (216)			
16	Ales Knight (217) Sibley Edward (218) Margarett Jefferye (219)	2s	Richard Hamblin (150) Peter Syrpell (151) Pascoe Crape (152)	Richard Skellye (153) John Bond (154) Peter Baker (155)
17	Thomasyn Young (220) Joane Jagoe (221) Marye Hill (222)	12	Robert Speare (156) John Tisse (157) Thomas Newton (158) Philip Bealby (159)	Steven John (160) Griffe Hornabrooke (161)
18	Elnor Clynnick (223) Agnes Steven de M. (224) Rich. Streeke de Lat (225)	13	John Honycomb (162) John Honycomb (163)	
19	Roger Slade (226) Roger Bealby (227) Henry Richardes (228)			Richard Honycomb (164) Roger Glasse (165)
				John Dambrell (166) John Ricarde de Metherell (167)
			P Edgcombe (168)	

South Chancel

(i)

(ii)

Mr. Parson's seats (34)

3s

Robert Bond (35)
Griffyn Steven (36)
Sampson Hune (37)

John Harry (38)

James Davdyn (39)

18d

John Adam Jun. (40)

2s1d	Griffyn Prowt (41) John Bartlett (44)	Peter Doble (42) John Bloye (45)	John Steven (43)
1	Agnes Streeke (46) Joan Bond (48)	Thomasyn Adam (47) Joan Hune (49)	
8d			
2	Alice Sergent (50) Richorde Bartlett (51)	Elizabeth Streeke (52)	
4d			
3	Alice Lampen (53) Elizabeth Facye (54) Rabish Hawke (55)	Joan Smith (56) Grace Sergent (57)	
4	Joan Taylor (58) Alice Stentafor (59) Joan Collyn (60)	4d	Thomasin Blighe (61) Sampson Grills (62)
8d			
5	Joan Hill de Wympel (63) Joan Hill de My. (64) Joan Webb (65)	Joan Honycomb (66) Agnes Stentafor (67)	
6	Margery Jeele (68) Joan Harry (69) Joan Blighe (70)	Richard Cleere (71)	
4d			
7	Elizabeth Honycombe Jun. (72) Joan Collyn (73) Joan Master (74) Katherine Stedden (75)		
2d			

1	Richard Hawke (1) Marke Taylor (2) Anthony Bealberye (3)
2s	
2	John Adam (4) Thomas Grosse (5) Richard Skobbell (6)
2s	
3	John Hill (7) Robert Taylor (8) Robert Veale (9)
12d	
4	Roger Penrye (10) William Harrye (11) John Derrye (12)
18d	
5	Roger Marten (13) Thomas Honycomb (14) William Facye (15)
18d	
6	Elmor Hellonde (16) Joan Wente (17) Richorde Skobbell (18)
7	Joan Honycomb de Crosse (19) Margery Will (20) Katherine Derry (21)
4d	
8	Joan Facye de Calstock (22) Elizabeth Honycombe (23) Joan Harrye Sen. (24)
9	Joan Doble (25) Mary Adam (26) Mary Webb (27)
10	Thomasyn Beally (28) Joan Hannaford (29) Elizabeth Siple (30)

3s	William Hannaford (76) George Hornabroke (80) Edmond Brent (84)	Robert Mason (77) Regnold Keine (81)	Robert Edward (78) John Harry (82)	John Steven (79) William Keyne (83)
8				
9	Jone Bawden (85) Elizabeth Streeke (88) Agnes Pardowne (91)	Jone Reccarde(86) Thomasine Phillip (89) Rabbish Pardowne (92)	Grace Hornabroke (87) Sisiye Brent (90)	
10	Peter Mann (93) Lewes Hixe (94)			
4d				
11	John Slade (95) Thomas Prowte (96)			
4d				

Bawden
Maye
(31)
Oliver
Bennett
(32)
John
Speare
(33)

Calstock lies in East Cornwall and from ancient to modern times its parochial and manorial boundaries were co-extensive. The eastern and northern boundaries, eleven miles long, followed the deep water channel of the meandering Tamar, while its southern and western boundaries largely followed two streams from Hingston Down to the Tamar. These seventeen and a quarter circuitous miles enclosed 6138 acres, giving an area of about nine and a half square miles.⁷ The parish contained a mixture of dispersed and group settlements of which, in 1584, Calstock-town was one of the largest, with the church located on the hill above.⁸ Population figures are notoriously difficult to compile but the total population was likely to have been about 377 in 1588, based on the church seating plan which named 226 men and women – presumably including all communicants over the age of sixteen because of compulsory church attendance.⁹

Factors which might potentially be influential in determining the seating plan were identified as being gender, landholdings, sources of income other than from land, status, family, friendship and neighbourhood ties and, as the research advanced, the significance of life-cycle stages was added. However, the foundation of the subsequent analysis was the detailed work undertaken to compile profiles for as many of the congregation as possible from the records available. In all 189 people in the seating plan were mentioned in other documents, leaving thirty-seven listed on the plan and nowhere else.

At first glance one is impressed by the tightly packed congregation of 119 men and 107 women. That women featured as prominently as men in itself made this source unusual, as did the identification of all women by their own forenames, without distinguishing married from unmarried women. One of the most striking aspects of the plan was the separation of men from women, though the pattern was not uniform. The women were seated across the width of the church occupying neither the very front seats, with the exception of the Rector's wife(99), nor the very back.¹⁰ Unusually, four men were placed among the women.

Since all land in Calstock belonged to the Duchy, it was variation in extent and types of tenancy that led to differentiation between landholders. Assession Courts were held in the manor every seven years and were attended by the Duchy tenants wishing to renew, surrender or take up tenancies. The information recorded on the ensuing Assession rolls is invaluable for tracing landholding and fortunately the Assession years of 1584 and 1591 were conveniently close to the 1587/88 dating parameter of the plan to be of great use.¹¹ There were 147 holdings, mostly held by conventionary tenants but nine free tenants held substantial areas within the manor.

Undoubtedly the ownership or holding of property with the wealth and status this implied became the overriding criterion for placement as church seating plans evolved. Generalisations have been made that, even in the sixteenth century, seats were attached to property and that those nearest the front were more propertied than those at the rear with gradations between.¹²

Research showed that seats in Calstock church were not assigned in the same way. It may well have been impractical to allocate seats according to holdings because of the number of multiple landholders with twenty-three tenants having two holdings and another twenty-three having three or more. In addition, further intricate property sharing and accumulation of holdings, sometimes as a result of re-marriage, would have made it very difficult to base seating solely on specific properties.

Altogether eighty-two worshippers held land in 1584, so it is not surprising to find landholders spread throughout the church. It was consideration of the number of holdings rather than landholding itself that seems to have affected the allocation of seats. All thirteen landholders in the front of the south chancel(i) and the middle chancel held at least two properties, nine having more. [N.B. the term 'chancel' is used throughout to accord with the areas so described on the seating plan.] Those seated elsewhere towards the front of the church had one or two holdings. As would be expected the front seat next to the parson was occupied by a free and conventional tenant with considerable holdings named Robert Bond(35). Of the fourteen landholders at the back of the church, eleven had an interest in one holding, another two in two – leaving, as the exception, Peter Edgcumbe(168) whose holdings included the mansion at Cotehele, hundreds of acres of land, woods, three mills, a dovecote, the fishing rights along a stretch of the Tamar and the long lease of the Rectory and its land. His seat at the back might be explained by his withdrawal from Cotehele to Mount Edgcumbe, several miles away, and the presence of a private chapel in Cotehele – the seat in the parish church probably being allocated as a matter of courtesy and respect rather than in expectation that it would be regularly used.¹³

Like the male tenants, the eighteen women tenants occupied seats across the whole church but, unlike the men, no female tenant sat in the very back rows of the women's blocks. Half the women tenants were widows. The rest, with the exception of Elizabeth Lanyne(120) who inherited land from her father, were re-married widows, continuing to hold land in conjunction with their new partner until children of the previous marriage matured to take over their father's property.¹⁴

An attempt to refine the picture by identifying the twenty main

landholders proved to be very difficult because, despite the undoubted usefulness of the Assession rolls, areas of land could not be calculated because it was unknown whether the Cornish acreage given for each holding contained smaller holdings, expressed in English acres, within it.¹⁵ Also some entries for marsh, garden or close lacked acreages and, with shared occupancy, sub-division made it difficult to assess exactly what each individual held. Another uncertainty centred on the comparative value of each holding which might not necessarily be commensurate with its size since variable soil quality might affect productivity; holdings larger than the workable land could contain moorland waste, woodland or tin-workings. One example was that of Robert Jagoe's four and a half acres in Sandock of which one sixteenth comprised two closes and their appurtenances, an orchard, a meadow with adjacent orchard and a lane; one thirty-second comprised one barn and a dunghill place; and another sixteenth comprised one hall, the stall, two houses adjacent, an orchard, a garden and the mow-place.¹⁶ Obviously the four and a half acres contained valuable assets which far outweighed the size of the plot itself. Neither can the value of a holding be gathered from rents or Assession fines since these had been fixed in 1337 and had remained unaltered since.

While there was enough evidence to show that landholding was a significant factor influencing the seating plan, there was nothing to indicate that seating was attached solely to property or to property size. No clear pattern of gradation or stratification has emerged, although the larger landholders did tend to be grouped towards the front. Elsewhere throughout the church were groups of smaller landholders giving the general impression of a reasonably homogeneous society.

Of the many craftsmen and tradesmen who once served the small settlements scattered throughout the parish, evidence was sparse, especially for the fifteen-eighties, with only occasional documents giving an insight into the more diverse aspects of the economy outside agriculture, but of all occupations tinning features most prominently because of the Duchy interest and control of its activities through the Stannary Courts.¹⁷

About twenty-three members of the congregation were involved in the tin industry, at least at some time in their lives, but these were likely to represent only a fraction of participants. Evidence for some of the older members of the church dated back to the Tinnars' Muster Roll of 1539 while for others activity was recorded only after 1600.¹⁸

The tin industry demanded a wide range of skills and the rewards and status of those involved varied greatly. Among the lower status tinnars were workers and dressers of tin, who extracted black tin from the tin-ore by crushing the large ore-bearing stones and then smelting the crushed

coarse powder or the fine stream tin to produce blocks of white tin. Four tin dressers, all born and bred in the parish, sat in the church. At the time of the seating plan all held land by inheritance so none was totally dependent on the tinning. James Webb(197), aged fifty-four, sat in the back row of the men's block in the north chancel(ii) and Phillip Facye(172), in his forties, sat in the north chancel(i), both paying eight pence. John Derrye(12), in his sixties, and Thomas Honycomb(14), in his forties, sat in neighbouring rows towards the back of the men's block in the south chancel(ii) in eighteen pence. They had started dressing tin in their late teens, following their fathers' footsteps, and continued for fifty and even sixty years.¹⁹ Such long periods might indicate that their landholdings were insufficient to support themselves and their families

Two tenants of water-driven tinning mills sat in the church. John Bond(154) had a stamping mill (for reducing tin ore by pounding it into coarse powder) and a corn mill called Harrowbarrow Mills, and Joan Taylor(58), the widow of the previous tenant, had a half share in stamping and blowing mills at Treragin – a blowing mill being associated with a furnace for smelting the ore. Since John Bond(154) sat in the back block of the middle chancel, though paying a high rate of two shillings, and Joan Taylor(58) was in the middle row of the women's block in the south chancel(i), their status as tin mill holders did not seem to be rated very highly.

Given more prominence in the church were tin bounders, small producers who staked out and registered at the Stannary Courts areas of ground alongside streams from which they had sole rights to extract water-borne or exposed tin-ore. Five tin bounders were identified in the church from evidence dating from the fifteen-fifties.²⁰ By the late fifteen-eighties Griffyn Steven(36), Stephen Honicombe(105) and John Knight(?189) sat towards the front of the church and held land, while John Newett(140/181) and Phillip Beallye(159) were less well placed. The ages of these men was unknown but possibly tinning was used by younger members of established families to acquire extra earnings or was combined with landholding as an additional source of income.

The owners of tin-works acquired the highest status judging from the seating plan. The main mine owner in Calstock was Peter Edgcumbe(168) who controlled the Edgcumbe estates for forty-five years until his death in 1607 and whose tinning activities in Calstock can be traced back to 1560.²¹ Other tin-work owners were Marke Taylor(2), Griffyn Bond(185) and John Steven(43/79). Although Marke Taylor(2) only had a modest landholding, he sat in the row 1 of the south chancel(ii) and at his death was one of the wealthiest inhabitants with an inventory valued at over

£121, which included £66 worth of black and white tin.²² Men like him, who sat near the front without apparently being amongst the larger landholders might well be there because of the extra wealth generated by involvement in the tin industry.

A few examples among men unconnected with tinning whose occupations were known indicated further links between occupation and seating. Richard Hawke(1) an innkeeper and brewer, and Richard Skobbell(6), sub-tenant of Peter Edgcumbe(168) in Lovell's tucking or fulling mill used in the cloth industry, sat in the front rows of the south chancel(ii) in two shilling seats.²³ Both held only small amounts of land yet sat in a prominent positions, perhaps by virtue of their occupations. Another man well to the front was Walter Lampen(104), a miller at Cotehele Mills, who was first presented to the manorial court in 1593/1594 for not keeping his mill correctly for the grinding of corn.²⁴ He held no Assessionary land and was not a signatory to the seating plan, yet he sat in the most expensive four shilling row alongside the clerk's seat with three landed men, two of whom witnessed the seating plan. Apart from his occupation one cannot account for this position.

Two men who sat among the women seem to have had wealth and status beyond the parish. Richard Cleere(71), sub-tenant and collector of the lord's capons, geese and fish for Peter Edgcumbe(168), left bequests in his will to the parish churches of St. Tew and Rame rather than to the church at Calstock.²⁵ Sampson Grills(62), a tanner, had considerable landed interests in nine messuages in Calstock and owned numerous properties in Launceston where he was one of the richest men in town.²⁶ In 1585, just prior to the seating plan, he had served as Mayor of Launceston so it was unlikely that he was a regular worshipper at Calstock.²⁷ This might explain why, like Richard Cleere(71), he was placed alongside the women, and with the difficulty of travel, why his wife was not given a seat. Why Walter Hellond(124) and John Newett(140) sat with the women in the middle chancel, however, remains unexplained.

Despite knowing so few of the congregation's occupations, the case studies showed that the wealth or status concomitant with some occupations and the particular circumstances of individuals did seem to have been significant factors in determining the seating arrangements. A few of the apparent anomalies revealed in examining landholding alone were explained by taking into account the degree of affluence, from whatever source.

Only in exceptional circumstances is the varying status of each person within the social order recoverable, but the regard with which individuals were held by the community of Calstock might well have been reflected

in the seating plan.²⁸ One assumption made is that those with a higher social standing were placed in more favourable positions than those considered to be less worthy, but if status reflected the amount of land or wealth accumulated then both would be inextricable.²⁹ For Calstock, status may only tentatively be gauged by noting the positions of responsibility that were held in the church and in the manor, but in the absence of the Assession roll for 1591 and of the manorial court rolls from the fifteen-eighties, only an incomplete picture can be drawn from evidence based on the records of the late fifteen-seventies and early fifteen-nineties.

Before embarking on their seating plan in 1569 all the parishioners of Trull in Somerset agreed that a plan should be drawn up and chose certain men to use their discretion to seat everyone conveniently in the church.³⁰ From the evidence available, the parishioners of Calstock appear to have acted in much the same way. A document of 1612 setting a later church rate for Calstock, explicitly stated that the responsibility for seating arrangements rested with the churchwardens and the eight men of the parish and at the bottom the eight men signed in a block, while in another column the two churchwardens, followed by the sidesman, signed below the Rector.³¹ This corresponds very closely with the witnessing of the 1587/88 seating plan which was endorsed on the left by the Rector, Henry Verchill(34), Robert Bond(35), Sampson Hune(37) and Griffyn Steven(36), and on the right by seven rather than eight men. If parallel with the 1612 document Robert Bond(35) and Sampson Hune(36) were the churchwardens and Griffyn Steven(37) the sidesman.

When tracing where the church leaders were placed, the three were to be found alongside the Rector in the south chancel(i). Robert Bond(35), as has been noted, was a leading landholder and free tenant who first appeared in a position of responsibility as a member of the Assession jury for 1584. By the time of the seating plan he was playing an active part in the parish and in the manor of Calstock, where he was elected by the reeve four times as one of the two men to choose the jury at the court leet and also occasionally conducted manorial courts as the deputy for the Understeward. Griffyn Steven(36), the tin bounder, served on three Assession juries up to 1584 and was appointed as one of the two men to choose the jury at the court leet in 1577 and from 1590 to his death in 1591. Sampson Hune(37) held similar responsibilities but what made his record of service even more impressive was that it spanned over forty years. He took over land from his widowed mother, Agnes Hune, in 1556, when he was sixteen and so was about forty-seven at the time of the seating plan. He continued to serve on the manorial court jury until 1606, two years before his death.

That the seven men who witnessed the seating plan on the right

occupied the front four rows of the middle chancel confirmed assumptions about the importance given to the leading men in the church community. However, their landholdings and standing in the manorial community might have been equally influential. Five in the front three rows served on the Assession juries for 1577 and 1584 and on the manorial court juries of 1590–1592 and four on those of 1575–1577. John Edward(106) was unique in being the only local man to be appointed one of the Commissioners for the Assession held in 1577. The earliest indication that Richard Streeke(107) had special status was his inclusion in the parish hierarchy of 1587/1588 though he served as reeve in 1591. He had modest land-holdings but his expectation was considerable since his widowed mother, Agnes Streeke(46), had sizeable holdings in Calstock-ton from his father.

On what basis three others, John Wante(103), Walter Lampen(104) and Stephen Honicomb(105) should share these front four rows was more problematic. Stephen Honicomb(105) was a leading landholder, had tinning interests and served on manorial court juries in the late fifteen-seventies as well as the early fifteen-nineties, but neither of the others were recorded as jurymen. Walter Lampen's(104) occupation as a miller has already been discussed, but nothing of special note has been recorded for John Wante(103) except for his being a minor sub-tenant of the Edgcumbe family.³²

Since women were excluded from positions of responsibility in parish and manor, their status is unquantifiable on that basis. However, judging by the front women's rows in the south chancel(i) and the middle chancel land-holding and/or husband's status seemed to be the determining factors. Of the eight women four held land, five were married to men in the parson's and clerk's blocks, leaving only Joan Bond(48) who may have been the wife of Robert Bond (35). Of the five women in the second rows one held land, and four had husbands in the front three rows of men. After that distinctions blurred and the arrangement appeared to be less pointedly based on status.

The compilation of family networks was a complex operation not least because there were seventeen sets of duplicate and even three sets of triplicate names involving forty-three individuals on the plan, but more family networks were reconstituted than was at first thought possible. The separation of sexes in itself appeared indicative of the low priority given to the family relationship, both nuclear and extended, when determining the seating arrangements within the church. However, since numbers of individuals bear the same surname with a total of eighty-six surnames covering the congregation of 226, and with eight pairs sitting together, family relationships might not have been entirely ignored.

Looking at the surnames first, there was no obvious pattern of distribution by family. Men sharing the same row were not matched by women with a similar group of surnames, so one could not predict the position of wives, for example, from the men's positions.

Of the thirty-eight married couples traced, it was clear that marriage partnership played little part in influencing the seating plan. Husbands could be separated as widely apart from their wives as Sampson Webbe(174) at the front of the north chancel(i) from his wife, Mary(27), across the church and towards the back of the south chancel(ii), or be comparatively near like Sampson(37) and Joan Hune(49), both in the south chancel(i) with two rows between them. Only the parson(34) sat close to his wife(99), though separated by the aisle.

The wider family beyond these couples was evident in that eight had at least one son and eleven had one surviving parent in the church, although the Bealberyes and the Bakers were the only families found with three generations present.³³ A total of six relatives in the church was found for Joan Bealbery(137).³⁴ Occasionally kinship relationships by marriage rather than by blood were traced, e.g. Elizabeth Lanyne(120) and Mary Hawkin(123) were sisters-in-law and among the eight paired surnames, Agnes Streeke(46) was mother-in-law to Elizabeth Streeke(52) and Alice Sergeant(50) to Grace(57).

Amongst the women the premature death of a partner was not uncommon with eighteen women, at least 17 per cent of the total, being widows or re-married widows at the time the seating plan was drawn up. Agnes Baker (200) had been married twice before and Margery Will(20) and Agnes Streeke(46), were experiencing widowhood for a second time.³⁵ Whereas no multiple marriages were found for men until after the seating plan, it is inconceivable that all these women were marrying bachelors.

The extension of family networks and inter-family relationships as a result of multiple marriages would have been infinitely complicated with adjustments constantly being made in changing circumstances. Family and kinship ties might well be stronger than the available evidence revealed, especially among the women whose seating did not necessarily mirror that of the men. Yet even so it must be admitted that mother and daughter, such as Joan Smith(56) and Joan Bealberye(137), or father and son, such as John Blighe(?114/183) and Robert Blighe(177), were not sitting together. Overall the influence of the family on seating allocation appears to be slight with no consistent policy of grouping family and kin near each other in the church.

The multifarious relationships resulting from the activities of individuals at church, in the manor and at Assessions, at work, through marriage

or family bonds, within peer groups and between neighbours created intricate obligations and myriad responses which meshed society together. Given the formal nature of the surviving documents and their limited chronological coverage, while interaction was charted, close relationships between friends and kin remained irrecoverable.

Shared land interests between families not obviously related might bring them closer together with friendship leading to marriage and kinship. Mary Adam's(26) first mother-in-law, Thomasyn Adam(47) was a case in point. Her first husband, Roger Dawbyn, shared a messuage and fourteen acres in Chilsworthy with James Adam(100) who became her second husband within five months of Roger's death in 1559.³⁶ Similarly after the period of the seating plan, John Jagoe's(115) and Sampson Hune's(37) shared involvement in Sandock seems to have cemented the two families together with the marriages of Sampson's grandsons, John and Samuel Hune, with John's daughters, Rabbish and Grace Jagoe.³⁷ Such relationships intertwining families would have been going on for centuries and formed the basis of many a friendship which one feels was reflected, if not detected, in the seating plan.

With twenty or more scattered communities spread throughout the parish of Calstock, often consisting of two or three households isolated from the neighbouring settlements, close ties were likely to have developed between neighbours. To attend church, the chances were that they would have set out at about the same time for the same journey, so once inside the church it was possible that people living near each other also might have sat together.

In theory the manorial courts indicated that by custom tenants had to be resident on their holdings and fined those who were not. That the custom continued into the seventeenth century was evident from the case of Joan Smith(56) who was one of sixteen fined for not living on their customary tenements in 1606.³⁸ In practice how this really worked was impossible to judge. Sampson Grills(62) was possibly not the only man to live a full life outside Calstock and yet was shown as a resident of the manor, though one of his sons lived there permanently.³⁹ Others might have had similar arrangements. What happened with multiple holdings was also uncertain – one tenant could hardly have lived on each, but perhaps members of the wider family did. On the hypothesis that a tenant with one holding containing a messuage would have been resident there the likely places of residence of 161 worshippers were identified. The coverage was patchy towards the back of the church and for the women, but was good enough overall to observe that in most rows places of residence followed no pattern.

There were a few rows where neighbours sat together but whether by

choice or chance was difficult to decide. The coupling of Bawden Maye(31) and Oliver Bennett(32) from Calstock-town and of Peter Mann(93) and Lewes Hixe(94) from Metherell, the sole representative of their surname, likely to be elderly and sitting towards the back of the church, might have been influenced by residence. Another group of men in rows 3, 4 and 5 of the north chancel(ii) came from Metherell but as it was one of the largest settlements this might be a chance cluster. In sections of seating where women's places of residence have been pinpointed the random nature reflected that found for the men's seating. Marke Taylor(2) and Griffyn Bond(185) sitting on opposite sides of the church were both tin-work owners from Metherell, it might therefore be more than co-incidence that led their wives, Alice Taylor(131) and Lore Bond(132), to sit together.

The expectation that the pattern of settlement outside the church might have influenced the order of seating within was not fulfilled. There was no indication that priority was given to where people lived, rather it would appear that other factors played the determining role.

The provision of separate seating for different categories of the congregation such as children; young women and maidservants; young men, journeymen and apprentices; married women; and churching women being re-introduced into church life after child-birth, has been well attested.⁴⁰ Even where rank was the predominant influence behind the seating plan age might also be taken into consideration with older people sitting nearer the front than younger.⁴¹ The realisation that life cycle stages might be reflected in the seating plan for Calstock church developed during the compilation of the individual biographical profiles when it became apparent that certain rows of seats were occupied by men with many years of activity in the documents while in others sat men mentioned for the first time in the seating plan and who became active in the manorial court later. Although there was less evidence for women's activity the same trend was discerned.

The sparsity of evidence for years of birth made it impossible to draw any conclusions about the ages of all but twelve men in the church, and three of these being P. Edgcumbe (168), the Rector(34) and Sampson Grills(62) were atypical anyway. The year of death of about one-third was discovered but not the age at death. However, by noting when each person was first and last mentioned in the various documents a span of their period of activity was defined. Admittedly this was only a crude exercise based on the generalisation that an older person would have an earlier first record than a younger and that his or her activity would end before that of the younger person. There were bound to be many exceptions including premature deaths or spans being truncated by movement

in or out of the parish. Among the men, a son, such as Sampson Hune(37), might inherit early at the age of sixteen, or be thirty-seven like John Derrye(12) before acquiring property.⁴² For the women the activity span was complicated by maiden names, which were seldom recorded, changing at marriage and sometimes again at re-marriage, so that the same person might be recorded under two or three different surnames. Records of women's activity were also even more dependent upon the unpredictability of life and less indicative of age because documentary evidence only occurred if they inherited land from their fathers, such as did Elizabeth Lanyne(120) in 1584 from her father, Edward Phillippes(180), or if they were widowed and held land until handing over to a son or to a subsequent husband.

Despite the limitations of plotting the activity span period there were definite indications that the seating plan was influenced by life cycle patterns, although not in any easily predictable arrangement but with small clusters of people sharing similar life-cycle stages and backgrounds grouped throughout the church.

It might be predictable that experienced men were to be found towards the front of the church in both north and south chancels(ii) and in the front of the parson's and the clerk's blocks because they were also landholders of respectable socio-economic status, holding positions of responsibility and associating frequently through their attendance at the manorial court. This largish group of twenty to thirty moderately wealthy men of status, from whom the lay church leaders were chosen, played a key role in Calstock's affairs and despite being largely illiterate, (owning no books and making their marks on wills and on the seating plan), their houses, with moulded and carved granite features, showed a certain sophistication as did their awareness of the world beyond Calstock in their dealings with Duchy, Crown and Stannary.

Further refinement of analysis showed that there was a significant grouping of older men active very early, from the fifteen-thirties and fifteen-forties, in the north chancel(ii). That five of the eight there died in the fifteen-nineties reinforces the impression that they belonged to the same age group. In row 7, John Bealberye (190) aged 70, who died in 1599 in his eighties, was the oldest person whose age was known within the church.⁴³ In the south chancel(ii) three men active from the fifteen-thirties and fifteen-forties and dying between 1587/8 and 1591 sat together in row 3, while three active from the fifteen-fifties sat in row 4 behind them.⁴⁴

Men with the longest experience were also to be found in the back block of the middle chancel and the back rows of south chancel(i) and (ii) though generally the men there were less well recorded. At the very

back of the church nine of the eleven men had activity mainly pre-dating the seating plan, with seven ceasing shortly after. Moreover, six were the sole representatives of their surname, though three had sons who later took part in parish life. It would appear that here were grouped older widowers or unattached men of modest means holding a cottage, house and garden or small area of land. Oliver Bennett(32) had formerly been a land holder, while Bawden Maye(31), Peter Mann(93) and Lewes Hixe(94), who held property in 1584, relinquished it before the 1591 Assession.

Two rows in the back blocks of the church stood out as containing those with the fewest mentions in the documents. In the row in front of 8 and in row 9 of the south chancel(i) were seated nine men and eight women whose names appeared for the first or only time in the seating plan. Though all were landless in 1584, the men were paying the second highest seat rent of three shillings so they were unlikely to have been teenagers. It is more likely that they were beginning to establish themselves because William Hannaford(76), Robert Edward(78) and John Steven(79) took holdings at the 1591 Assession and all but two men appeared in documents after the seating plan. No family or marriage partner was traced for them within the church. From the activity spans it might be very tentatively suggested that these were mature but unattached worshippers. Limited corroborative evidence existed for William Hannaford(76), a tailor, and Regnold Keine(81) who both died in about 1618. The will of the former showed him to have been a widower with four children, two grandchildren and one great grandchild – only possible if he had been at least of marriageable age in the seating plan and wedded shortly after.⁴⁵ The Keine surname first appeared in the parish in the seating plan. Regnold Keine's(81) marriage to Joanna Lavers by 1590 was marked by a land transfer in the manorial court and not long after Regnold(81) occasionally served as a manorial court juryman and in 1603 became tithingman. Row 8 might perhaps have been a maidens' or servants' row, especially as only one woman was subsequently recorded – the implication being that others married later and cannot be traced by their maiden names or that they changed jobs and left the parish.

Six of the ten men in the side seats of the north chancel(i) appear to have been older sons with a parent or parents prominent in the church. Nine of the ten had land by the seating plan or acquired it shortly afterwards. Of the two whose ages have been discovered Peter Hussey(176) was thirty-one years old and Phillip Facye(172) forty-one.⁴⁶ Phillip Facye(172) had, since the age of twenty-four, shared holdings at Bease and Crosse with his widowed mother. In the seating plan his wife, Joan(206), and his re-married mother, Agnes Baker(200), sat in the north

chancel(ii). Anthonye Dawbyn's (173) father died between 1558 and 1559 so he must have been at least in his late twenties.⁴⁷ Edmund Adam (170), who had parents and wife in the church, died prematurely in 1589/90, predeceasing his parents, yet he had an inventory worth £69 2s. 4d., left legacies to his parents, brothers and half brothers totalling over £50 and had interests beyond the parish in Plymouth, St. Stephens, Saltash and Tavistock.⁴⁸ Clearly he was already building up a position of substance on his own account but it would seem that like others in the side seats of the north chancel(i), he was still in the shadow of the church elders, with potential for leadership but as yet untested. The same was probably true of those in the unnumbered rows of seats along the front cross aisle on both sides behind the parson's block and in front of row 5 but because there were more identical names there – John Harrye (38), John Adam (40 and 119), John Steven (43), John Bartlett (44) and John Blighe (114) – they could not be categorically differentiated from their same named counterparts. However, as a working hypothesis it was assumed that their more prominent fathers were sitting in seats of higher status ahead or towards the front of the south chancel(i) and the north chancel(ii).

From what was known of the marital status of women in the church, wives sat towards the front of the women's blocks in all the chancels. As has been noted, prominence was given to wives of the men of highest status and women holding property in their own right either from their father or deceased husband in the south chancel(ii) and the middle chancel. Joan Hune (49) had the longest activity span as the heiress of her father, Richard Streeke, from 1549; her marriage to Sampson Hune (37) from 1560 to 1608; through widowhood to 1618. Her foremost position in row 5 of the south chancel(i) might be due to her husband's status as churchwarden or sidesman, but might equally well have been determined by her inheritance. Though age as an influential factor for women's seating could not be determined, women, like the men, might have been grouped by life cycle stages. In this context it might be significant that three wives, Agnes Baker (200), Katheryne Newton (201) and Sibly Speare (203), were re-married widows with current husbands (155, 156, 158) sitting near each other in the back block of the middle chancel; and that Mary Adam (26) and Mary Webb (27) in row 9 of the south chancel(ii) were married to men in the side seats of the north chancel(i).

What has been demonstrated is that people from similar backgrounds, life cycle stages or marital status were more likely to be found in certain sections of seating than in others. There seemed to have been no seats allocated wholly for the anonymous poor; churching women might have sat to the front of the parson's or clerk's blocks or in the empty seats in

the north chancel(i); and if younger children were not interspersed with their parents there was room for them in the space beyond the front rows of the south chancel.

It was clear from examining the extent to which individual elements of Calstock's social structure might have influenced the seating plan of its church, that within Calstock, as elsewhere, there were overlapping communities with members of the church having multi-faceted relationships, reconciling a variety of obligations to become more rounded social characters.⁴⁹ It was not possible to explore each social group in depth, but the complexity of the social order was revealed in the seating plan.

That there were social distinctions in Calstock was apparent but to place individuals categorically within the specific stratifications of a typical rural society with any degree of precision was less easy.⁵⁰ Distinctions between tenants and non-tenants were blurred in Calstock because of the range of alternative, non-agricultural employment, as was evident from involvement in the tinning industry, for example. If the seating plan named the whole congregation then it pointed to a limited vertical social scale, lacking gentry above and the destitute below, but encompassing perhaps three fairly large, cohesive horizontal groups – the moderately wealthy; those with adequate incomes; and those at subsistence level. These broadly based socio-economic groups were, in turn, cross-cut by others centred on work, family, friends, residence, gender or life-cycle stages – all of which were taken into account when drawing up the seating plan, though in degrees that varied overall and from person to person.

Although trends, but no easily predictable pattern of social structure within the church have emerged, no doubt the congregation recognised the presence of separate groupings as parishioners assembled for worship. Across the front of the church, the moderately wealthy men were broadly divided by age, with those in their prime occupying front rows and the current leading church members dominating the parson's and clerk's blocks. The younger generation were concentrated in the seats on either side of the front cross aisle and in the north chancel(i), while the older generation, beyond their prime, sat just behind the front rows in the south chancel(ii) and north chancel(ii). Across the width of the church, behind the men, sat blocks of women – mainly married or widowed – with the partners of the moderately wealthy sitting towards the front of the south chancel(i) and middle chancel. Towards the back, separated from the main blocks of seating by another cross aisle, was one row of unattached, young women awkwardly placed amid three distinct groups of men, all perhaps with adequate incomes, but of differing age and marital status; older men, such as widowers, took the very back seats

while by the cross aisle in the south chancel(i) sat a row of landless, unattached, younger men, perhaps craftsmen or others not dependent on agriculture, and in the middle chancel was a block of more mature men, some married or with land, but who seemed to bear fewer positions of responsibility.

Within the church, the presence of members of the countless groups of which Calstock society was composed did not of itself create a separate community identity for the congregation. It was true that in some ways the seating arrangements reflected society outside, notably in the prominence given to men of wealth and status, but they also embodied value judgements and priorities unique to the church community. Family ties, friendships and place of residence counted less than the precedence given to men over women, and the recognition given to life-cycle stages. The segregation of the sexes and the splitting of families on entry would have an immediate physical, psychological and visual impact on the parishioners. It was the most striking feature on first observation of the seating plan and seemed to have been the rule in churches during the sixteenth century, although elsewhere, in the household, in agricultural tasks, in the market-place and at leisure men and women generally mixed.⁵¹

Though the seating plan was specific to only one year, age and life-cycle groups gave it a latent dynamism, with the group providing leadership not being exclusive but merging, on the one hand, with a group of older men who had once borne the responsibilities of those in their prime and, on the other hand, with a group of younger men who by inheritance and their own endeavours, were aspiring to succeed them. The tendency of those sharing similar life cycle-stages to be grouped together was the other important factor which most differentiated the structure of the church community from that of other communities within Calstock. There is ample evidence for the existence of single sex, age specific groups, such as of young men, maidens or wives functioning within parish churches, including Cornwall, from late medieval times and perhaps the seating plan reflected this.⁵² The young men were often made responsible for organising the Whitsun ales and they collaborated with the maidens in the dramatic production such as Robin Hood plays or those of St. George.⁵³ Such groups were not abolished with church guilds in 1548 and some remained actively involved in fund-raising for the maintenance of the parish church into the seventeenth century.⁵⁴

The overall impression of the church community was that, despite hierarchical overtones, it was fairly homogeneous and, certainly, without rigidity. There were no hard and fast rules dictating the allocation of seats; in the front were some men who appeared to have less land and who rarely held positions of responsibility; the rates paid were not strictly

graded from front to back of the church; to sit at the back meant sharing the area with the gentry family from Cotehele; and placed among the women were a few men whose status nevertheless appeared to have been unaffected.

Recognising and isolating separate elements that distinguished the church community from others in Calstock cannot recreate the essence of that community, which would be greater than the aggregate of its parts and enlivened, not by the social structure itself, but by its systems of values, its rituals and the vitality of its culture. To the church community, the impressive church of St. Andrew with its prominent tower was a familiar land-mark, a focal point serving all the settlements around it. As the only communal building it gave the congregation a shared sense of belonging and of continuity with the past, within a building erected by their ancestors who had worshipped there and who lay buried in the churchyard.⁵⁵ The church, therefore, stood as a powerful symbol of the community's spiritual life and aspirations.

The part the church played in the everyday lives of the inhabitants of Calstock sprang from its inclusive nature, with church attendance being the unifying factor. Participation through shared worship, festivities, the marking of life-cycle passages in the ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, marriage and burial and through money-raising activities for the maintenance of the church helped to bond the church community, but for Calstock little could be reconstructed.⁵⁶ Of major concern was the enforcement of moral standards by which a moral framework was set for the parishioners. Though the earliest extant Archdeaconry Act Book dated from 1593 ways of dealing with incontinency would have been the same during the fifteen-eighties with acts of public atonement for private shortcomings taking place in the parish church.⁵⁷ In 1599 a case in which 'the rehabilitation of the sinner was conducted in a blaze of publicity as a system of communal discipline' involved Mark Hawking, son of Nicholas Hawking (184), who, having admitted making Joan Streeke pregnant, was ordered 'to confess the crime in his parish church on Sunday next at the time of divine service, after putting on the usual garments, and to certify at the next court afterwards when he had married.'⁵⁸ Apart from religious ceremonies, other matters of importance were dealt with when the congregation met.⁵⁹ Though there were no surviving churchwardens' accounts for Calstock, occasional references in other documents indicated how close the parish church was to the hub of local affairs with the reeve proclaiming Duchy business and public notices relating to Stannary matters such as the washing of tin being read out there.⁶⁰

In the final analysis it was the seating plan itself that encapsulated

the church community of 1587/88. Having a particular seat might have enhanced devotional feeling and engendered a sense of community at Sunday worship with every person knowing that they had a place in the church.⁶¹ The community was prescribed through the inclusion of individual names and its physical boundaries set within the confines of the church building. In mental and emotional construct this community could operate beyond the church and especially in the parish from which the congregation was drawn but its centre of activity remained within it. The seating plan is the only evidence of the structure of that community and of its strength; the perception that it had of itself and the ability of its leaders to balance individual sensitivities with the need to regulate in an acceptable way for the benefit of the community.

The ten men who drew up the seating plan for Calstock church required tact, wisdom and patience to complete their task. They needed to have an intimate knowledge of the individuals involved because nowhere else would each person have been assessed and placed in order in the community so precisely. With so many factors to be taken into account the process would have been complicated, subtle and intricate. Certainly for Calstock church in the sixteenth century the assertion that seating plans were formulaic, being based mainly on property-holding, cannot be upheld.⁶²

The seating plan is of national interest because of its rarity and of special local importance as the only surviving document pertaining to the sixteenth century for Calstock church. To the worshippers it was of practical value as the first exemplar against which annual adjustments to the seating arrangements were made, but it was of symbolic significance too. It helped to maintain an awareness of community by conveying within it the means whereby the congregation could define and reappraise itself and by doing so establish and re-inforce its identity.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Andrew Butcher of the University of Kent in Canterbury for his guidance during the preparation of the dissertation and to Peter Mayer, Alistair Tinto and Caroline Vulliamy for sharing their detailed knowledge of the Calstock Parish Archive with me. Caroline Vulliamy produced the map of the parish for this article and Graham Isaac the computerised seating plan.

Notes

1. C[ornwall] R[ecord] O[ffice] DD P26/2/1; S[omerset] RO D/P/tru 24/5.
2. P. L. Hull, 'A plan of the seating in the parish church of Calstock, c. 1586-88, Part I', *D[evon and] C[ornwall] N[otes and] Q[queries]*, XXXV (1986), IX, 183. pp. 347-52; P. L. Hull, 'A plan of the seating in the parish church of Calstock, c. 1586-88, Part II', *DCNQ*, XXXV (1986), X, 195. pp. 377-83.
3. N. Yates, 'The Historical Value of Church Building Plans', *Archives*, XVIII (1987), 78, pp. 67-75; N. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900* (Oxford, 1991).
4. S. Pittman, *The Seating Plan of Calstock Parish Church, 1587/8*, (M.A. Dissertation, Medieval and Tudor Studies, University of Kent, Canterbury, 1995). Copy also available at Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro.
5. R. Gough, *The History of Myddle* (ed.) David Hey (Middlesex, 1981; first published 1834), p. 77.
6. Assession rolls :- D[uchy of] C[ornwall] O[ffice] - 482, 1500; 486, 1507; 496, 1528; P[ublic] RO - Exchequer 315 4/6, 1556; E306 3/1, 1563; E306 3/3, 1577; E306 3/5, 1584; E306 4/2, 1598; E306 4/4, 1618. Manor Court rolls :- PRO SC2 158/13, 1486-8, 1502-3; SC2 158/14, 1511-12, 1515-6, 1539-40, 1542-3, 1549-50; SC2 158/15, 1558-60, 1575-7; SC2 158/16/1 1589-92, /2 1593-4, /3 1594-5, /4 1596-7; SC2 158/18, 1603-1608; SC2 158/20, 1612-1618.
7. W. Lake, *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall* (Truro, 1867), p. 174.
8. M. W. Beresford, 'Dispersed and Group Settlement in Medieval Cornwall', *The Agricultural History Review*, XII (1964), pp. 13-27; W. G. Hoskins, *Provincial England* (1963); PRO E306 3/5.
9. E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 1-8; J. H. Bettley, *Church and Parish: an Introduction for Local Historians* (1987), p. 90.
10. The bracketed number after names refers to the number allocated by the author to each person on the seating plan.
11. Even though the Assession roll for 1591 is missing its entries can be extrapolated from the next Assession roll of 1598 which follows the normal custom of stating who held land at the previous Assession.
12. G. W. O. Addleshaw, F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (1948), p. 94; S. O. Addy, *Church and Manor: a Study in English Economic History* (1913), pp. 415-21; C. J. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts* (1913), p. 192; Gough, *op. cit.*, p. 77; R. L. Greaves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Minneapolis, 1981), p. 25; Yates, *loc. cit.*, pp. 37-8.
13. J. Lees-Milne, et al., *The National Trust - Cotehele* (1991), pp. 8, 18.
14. PRO E306 4/2.
15. J. Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall 1300-1500* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 18; P. L. Hull, ed., *The Caption of Seisin of the Duchy of Cornwall* (1337), *Devon and Cornwall Record Society*, 17 (1971), p. lxii; E. Smirke, 1862. 'Notice on the Old Land-measure Called a Cornish Acre', *44th Report of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (1862), appendix II pp. 29-40.

16. PRO SC2 158/16.
17. G. R. Lewis, *The Stannaries* (Truro, 1965, reprint of original 1908); R. R. Pennington, *Stannary Law: A History of the Mining Law of Devon and Cornwall* (Newton Abbot, 1973).
18. PRO E36/53; PRO E101, 1607.
19. PRO E314 4/Jas I./Hilary/15.
20. PRO SC2 158/15.
21. PRO SC2 158/15; CRO under M[ount] E[dgcumbe] various papers include mining interests e.g. ME1571; ME2496; ME2510; ME2513; ME2536; ME2361-2575; ME/Tin
22. CRO AP T4/1,2.
23. PRO SC2 158/15; CRO ME Ministers Accounts 3/4.
24. CRO ME685
25. CRO ME 685; CRO ME Ministers Accounts 3/4; CRO AP C118/1,2.
26. PRO P[erogative] C[ourt] of C[anterbury] 65, Dixy Prob, 11/84 ff. 160v-161v.
27. Richard Grylls pers. comm.
28. Gough *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8, 84.
29. Yates, *loc. cit.* p. 37.
30. SRO D/P/tru 24/5.
31. CRO ARD/TER/465.
32. CRO ME Ministers Accounts 3/4.
33. Margery Will (20) = mother of Agnes Baker (200), and Phillip Facye (172) = son of Agnes Baker (200), PRO E306 3/3; PRO E306 4/2. Joan Smith (56) = mother of Joan Bealbery (137), and Roger Bealbery (175/227) = son of Joan Bealbery(137), PRO E306 4/4.
34. As well as her mother and son cited above, her husband Anthony Bealberye (3), PRO E306 4/4; CRO AP G39; sister-in-law, Alice Bealbery (149), father-in-law, John Bealberye (190), PRO E306 3/5; and nephew by marriage, Roger Bealbery (175/227) were in the church, CRO AP B517.
35. PRO E306 3/1, PRO E306 3/3; PRO E306 3/3, PRO E306 4/2, British Record Society, *Archdeaconry of Cornwall Wills and Admininstrations Part I, 1569-1693* (1929) ; PRO E315 4/6, PRO E306 3/5.
36. PRO SC2 158/15.
37. CRO AP J218/1,2; AP J432/1,2.
38. PRO SC2 158/16, 12/10/1590.
39. CRO AP G49/1,2.
40. Addleshaw & Etchells, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 93; Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 191.
41. Addleshaw & Etchells, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
42. PRO E315 4/6; PRO E306 3/1; PRO E314/4.
43. PRO E134/36 Eliz. I.
44. D[evon] R[ecord] O[ffice] Chanter 855 ff. 497-499; PRO E134/Jas I / Hilary/15, 1606/7.
45. CRO AP H469/1,2.
46. DRO Chanter 860 f. 415 ; PRO E134/4.
47. PRO SC2 158/15,
48. CRO AP A150/1,2,3.

49. A. P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (1985), p. 27; A. Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 11-2.
50. Cf. K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (1982), p. 36.
51. SRO D/P/tru 24/5; Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 190; M. Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 156; Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
52. J. Mattingly, 'The Medieval Parish Guilds of Cornwall', *The Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, ns X, 3 (1989), pp. 290-329.
53. F. E. Halliday, ed., *Richard Carew of Anthony: The Survey of Cornwall etc.* (1953), p. 144; Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Mattingly *op. cit.*, p. 302.
54. *Ibid.* pp. 321-2.
55. D. G. Hey, *An English Rural Community; Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts* (Leicester, 1974), p. 219.
56. R. Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England; The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994).
57. CRO ARD 1
58. CRO ARD 2/347; R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People; Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 3; p. 54 usual garments = white sheet and white rod.
59. Addy, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-72; Bettley, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9.
60. British Library Additional MSS 24745, f9, Miscellaneous Papers Preserved in the Augmentation Office, Westminster, undated letter c. 1600; PRO E134 4/Jas I/Hilary/15 f. 4.
61. Addleshaw & Etchells, *op. cit.*, p. 90; J. M. Neale, *The History of Puses* (Cambridge, 1842), p. 1.
62. Addleshaw & Etchells, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Addy, *op. cit.*, pp. 415-421. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Hey, *loc. cit.*, pp. 2, 220; Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 36.