

EATON HASTINGS: A DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGE

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THE failure of the earlier volumes of the Victoria County History to give adequate attention to social and economic matters in general, and to the question of deserted villages in particular, has been recognised for some years.¹ To this category of neglect the Berkshire volumes contribute, and it is the purpose of this article to examine the fate of one depopulated settlement in the county, though of the existence or non-existence of an inhabited village within the parish of Eaton Hastings the Victoria County History says nothing.²

Eaton Hastings (SU 264985) is situated in north-west Berkshire some two and a half miles north-west of Faringdon, and geographical factors played an important part in both its settlement and desertion. Oxford Clay dominates as the soil of the parish and the attendant poor drainage is accentuated by the insignificance of the surface slope toward the Thames. The limited capacity and heaviness of the soil, and the risk of flooding, contribute to make this an area now largely under grass of variable quality. On the basis of these facts and the modern map it has been asserted that 'no villages developed on the river' in this area because the dry sites and arable land of the Corallian Ridge to the south were too close an alternative settlement attraction.³ However, in reality, the few houses and scattered farms cited as evidence in the case of Eaton Hastings represent only the modern residue of a substantial medieval village, basing itself in large measure on arable farming.⁴

It is proposed to examine the developments at Eaton Hastings by studying three reasonably well-defined periods: its expansion and condition up to the early fourteenth century; its subsequent contraction and actual desertion, completed by the first part of the sixteenth

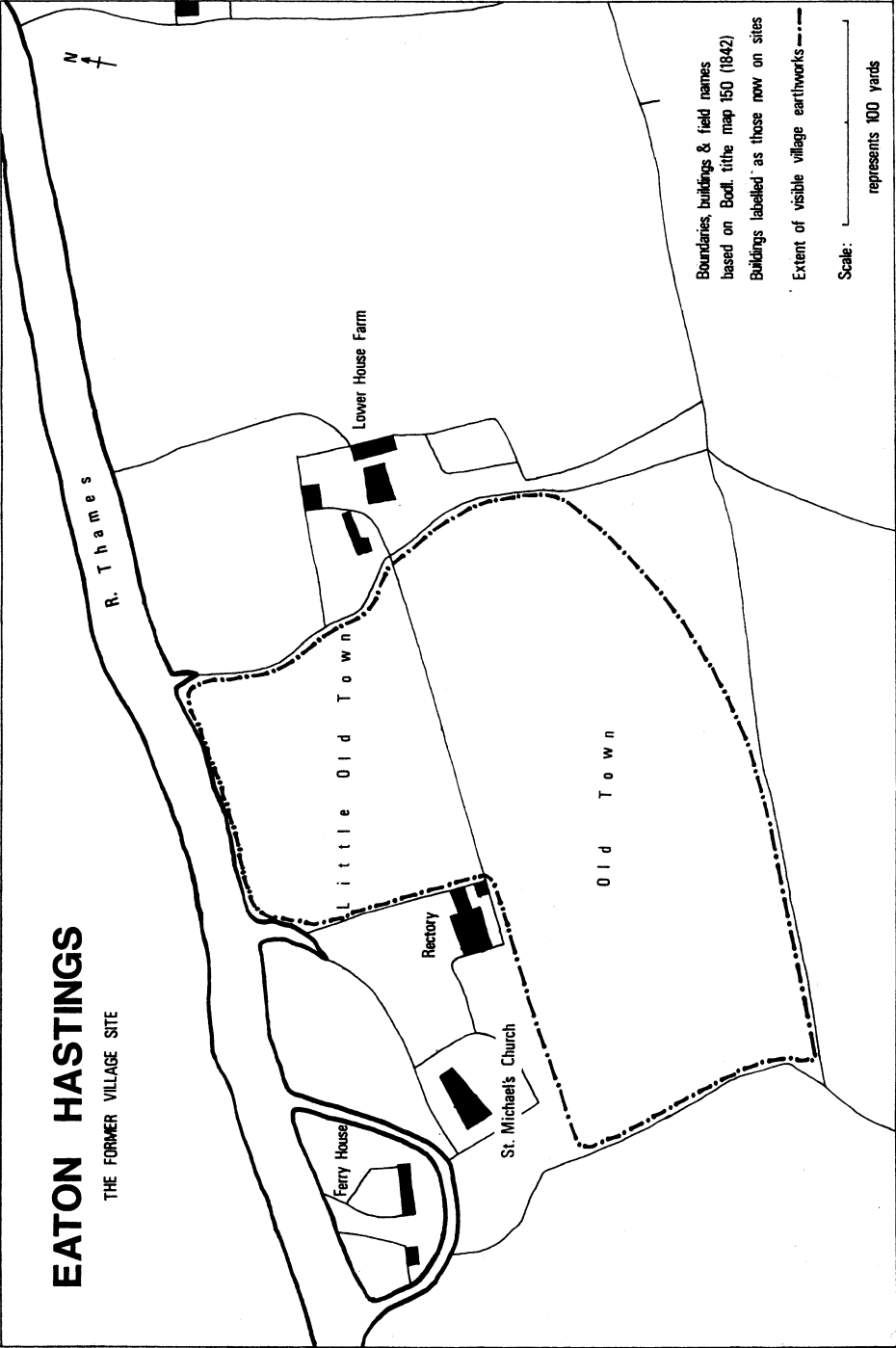
century; and, finally, developments since that date.

THE VILLAGE BEFORE THE BLACK DEATH

The earliest mention of the village occurs in 1086 in the Domesday Survey,⁵ but just when it had come into existence is uncertain. The basic element in its name, Eaton, means tun (a homestead or village) by a river,⁶ its Thame-side situation distinguishing it from other tuns. As a place-name element 'tun' was used over several centuries, so little light is shed on the date of foundation of the settlement, but the late rather than the early part of the Anglo-Saxon period is most likely.⁷ The second element in its name is derived from the Hastings family who, holding the manor in 1086, retained it until 1278⁸ when it passed by marriage to the Blackenhams.⁹ In 1297 it passed, again by marriage, to the St. Philiberts who held it until 1358.¹⁰ Under these lords there seems to have been one subtenancy. Domesday Book records that a holding worth twenty shillings had been given by the previous lord Ponz to Westminster Abbey,¹¹ and in 1333 John Thurstayn, a village resident, held a messuage and carucate within the manor for the service of one-fifth of a knight,¹² but there is nothing to show that these are the same holding.

The village itself seems to have been nucleated in the neighbourhood of the church, an assumption supported by the existing earthworks there. Evidence for the size of the settlement is sparse after the Domesday Book record of twenty-nine households on the manor and subtenancy in 1086.¹³ Further documentation on population is lacking until 1294 when the sequence of surviving subsidy rolls for Berkshire begins. The persons mentioned in these taxation returns are only those

EATON HASTINGS: A DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGE



paying; an unknown but probably larger proportion of the inhabitants are not recorded. The rolls for 1294, 1327 and 1332 give the number of taxpayers in the vill as twenty-seven (at least), twenty-six and twenty-seven respectively,¹⁴ figures at least establishing a minimum indicative of reasonable size. The settlement was included in the *Nomina Villarum* of 1316,¹⁵ and the size of its tax quota when fixed in 1334 further illustrates that this was no 'pigmy' village relative to others in the county, for at £4 4s. 6½d. it was slightly above the average assessment.¹⁶ In 1327 and 1332 the number of its payers was high, though its actual payment was slightly low relative to those of villages in the immediate vicinity.

However, the best indication of the village's size can be obtained from a manorial extent or survey, made in 1333 on the death of John de St. Philibert, in which are recorded nine free tenants, eighteen virgaters, five half-virgaters and seven cottars.¹⁷ The total of thirty-nine households may be compared with the twenty-nine of 1086 to give a broad impression of increase, but it is possible that in 1333 Eaton had already passed its population peak since the general trend in many areas turned downward early in the fourteenth century, even before the catastrophe of the Black Death. This extent of 1333 is also the best source of information on features of the village and the layout of its fields. The entry in *Domesday Book*¹⁸ refers to two fisheries, worth sixteen shillings, and two are again recorded. One in the Thames was worth £1 6s. 8d., whilst another 'in a river beside the Thames' was worth 8s., subsequent evidence suggesting that this latter was in one of the manor's drainage ditches.¹⁹ No mill was recorded in 1086 but one certainly existed by the earlier fourteenth century, for William le Mulleward was a taxpayer in 1332,²⁰ and in the following year a water-mill, worth £1 6s. 8d. per annum nett, was mentioned. This extent also provides the sole available insight for this period into the arrangement of the village's fields: the 406 acres of demesne arable are

described as lying dispersed, 200 acres in 'Westfeld', 206 in 'Estfeld'. The open-field system, based on two fields, prevailed at this date.

It seems certain that arable farming played a large part in the economy of the village in this period. The *Domesday* entry records nine ploughs at work, although 148 acres were said to be meadow (a high figure explicable by the riverside location), and in the carucage of 1220 payment was liable on eleven ploughs.²¹ The extent of 1333 supports the importance of arable land-use suggested by these details. The lord's demesne then contained 406 acres of arable (the 200 in the West field being worth annually four pence each sown, a penny each as pasture; the 206 acres in the East field threepence and a penny respectively), forty acres of meadow (worth 3s. 4d. each), forty acres of wood, and a several pasture. The area of pasture is unrecorded but, valued at 8s. in all, it is unlikely to have been very extensive.

A bailiff's account referring to the church provides information about crops and stock.²² Concerning the former, wheat, barley, dredge, oats, peas and beans, concerning the latter, horses, oxen, pigs and lambs amongst others are recorded. This statement of the income and expenditure for 1297-8 also records commodities such as eels, honey and doves received, and gives the purchase prices of a new-equipped plough as 4s. 6d., and of a new cart as 11s. 1½d.

THE VILLAGE FROM THE BLACK DEATH TO ITS DESERTION

For most of this period tenure of the manor was by one family, the Trussells. Acquired initially by them in 1358²³ it passed by a female heir to the de Penbrugges in 1363,²⁴ but in 1386 Robert Trussell was said to have held the manor, acquired for life and a year, from Fulk Penbrugge.²⁵ Eaton was included among the possessions of a Robert Trussell in 1398-9,²⁶ but in 1401-2 Fulk Penbrugge was said to hold it directly of the king.²⁷ Fulk held it until his death in 1408-9,²⁸ but by 1428 the Trussells were again in possession²⁹ and their

EATON HASTINGS: A DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGE

tenure lasted until 1507.³⁰ Subsequently the manor passed by marriage to John de Vere and his wife Elizabeth,³¹ by whom it was leased to Sir Thomas Fettiplace for some period before 1524.³² Between 1544 and 1546 Eaton was the subject of three sales. The first was by the de Veres to Henry VIII for £2000.³³ In 1545 he resold it, at a considerable loss, to Sir Thomas Seymour for £1193 12s. 2d.,³⁴ while in the following year Seymour obtained £2800 for it from Thomas Wenman.³⁵ Of these manorial holders, the Trussells are perhaps of significance since some other villages held by them in the fifteenth century are now deserted,³⁶ and the connection of Fettiplace and the Wenmans with Eaton is certainly very important.³⁷ The sub-tenancy noted earlier can still be traced intermittently. In 1378-9 the Thurstayns were holding a tenement and carucate of Penbrugge,³⁸ and in 1486 Thomas Fermar or Richardes was said to have held a messuage and thirty acres of William Trussell.³⁹

The desertion of the village was not directly caused by the Black Death. The allowances given on the tax quota in 1351 and 1352 indicate that Eaton had not suffered undue immediate effects: with reliefs of 20s. and 23s. the percentages allowed were 24.7% and 28.4% in the respective years, as against an average (for all quotas on the county roll of 1334) of 35% and 29%.⁴⁰ The implied picture here receives general support from a bailiff's account of 1354-5⁴¹ which refers to the works of six free men, to those of a number of servile tenants (of whom there may have been ten or fifteen),⁴² and to only one person's tenement as vacant and in the lord's hand. Low profits are in some entries explained as due to 'the dearth of buyers', and reduced values as since 'the pestilence'. Poll tax returns would have provided a useful pointer to the village's condition towards the end of the fourteenth century, but these have not survived. However, population decline may well have been a feature of this period and of the fifteenth century, perhaps through slow retreat from relatively marginal land, or through depopulating action by the Trussells. The lack of evi-

dence concerning the village's size is not relieved until the early sixteenth century: it was then claimed in an enclosure case that a township of thirty households had just been destroyed.⁴³ The subsidy records for this hundred in 1524 and 1525 are not extant, but in 1540-1 Eaton Hastings was not separately assessed,⁴⁴ and in 1542-3 only four men paid, all small sums.⁴⁵ Essentially, the village had become deserted.

In the thinly documented period before the earlier sixteenth century there is little evidence concerning the village's fields, beyond the naming in 1354-5 of meadow, such as that in Westmede and Whecham and Milham, and pasture as in Oxenlese and at Jackeswere.⁴⁶ However, more can be learned of the mill and fisheries. In the late fourteenth century⁴⁷ the two fisheries, described as Natherwater in the Thames and another in the ditches around the manor, still existed, as did the mill, though all had dropped to a lower valuation after the Black Death. The water mill and 'fishings' are again mentioned in the sale of the manor in 1546.⁴⁸

Between the mid-fourteenth and the earlier sixteenth centuries the manor experienced agricultural changes whereby pasture assumed the dominant place in its economy, though the dearth of evidence for much of the period makes dating difficult. It seems unlikely that radical change immediately followed the Black Death. The bailiff's account of 1354-5⁴⁹ shows an arable demesne still at 400 acres, of which 162 were actually under crop, 81½ were fallow prior to sowing, and 156½ were fallow as pasture, the whole being valued at 75s. Eleven ploughs are also recorded. Five pastures (one at Kelmscot, north of the Thames) are mentioned, but an acreage is given for only one (ten acres). The various meadows listed total 73½ acres. Crops grown included wheat, barley, pulses, berecorn and oats, and the variety of stock ranges from oxen to cygnets. But by 1388 change was occurring, most obviously on the demesne.⁵⁰ It had increased in size to 560 acres, of which 160 remained arable worth 4d. each, and 400 were described

as fallow for pasture worth 20s. in all.⁵¹ Demesne meadow, valued at 2s. per acre, constituted sixty-four acres, and woodland thirty. The sub-tenancy was described in 1486 as having twenty acres of arable and ten of meadow.⁵² But as in the case of population, the land-use situation becomes clear again only in the sixteenth century, when a very different situation is shown.

How far this movement towards pasture progressed in the fifteenth century is indeterminable, but real depopulation struck Eaton Hastings in the early sixteenth century, more specifically at some time in the period 1509 to 1523, if weight can be given to a contemporary complaint. The evidence is derived from a case in Star Chamber in which Richard Wenman, on behalf of the freeholders of Eaton, sought redress against Sir Thomas Fettiplace, lessee of the manor from the de Veres.⁵³ The charges made were that Fettiplace had enclosed two hundred acres of arable, thus depriving the freeholders of their rights of common on it; he had impounded four hundred of their sheep; he was attempting to monopolize the common and had overcharged it; despite their tenure of a quarter of the manor the freeholders could keep little or no stock. Unless the king offered remedy, Wenman claimed, Fettiplace's actions would cause 'the destrucc(i)on of the seyde Towen' of Eaton wheryn nowe be many inhabitants dwellers & maynteners of howses of husbondry'. In reply Fettiplace claimed that the complaint was untrue, insufficient etc. He denied the enclosure and stated that both Wenman and he had actions pending at common law for this matter and for trespass respectively. He also declared that 'the freeholders be but ij persons in all whois londs the same Richard hath purchesid & holdith in ferme of the said ij persons'. Wenman followed up with another counter. There were three freeholders apart from himself who should have common on the enclosed ground, but Fettiplace had stopped up the gaps to prevent their access. He continued that, whereas formerly the lord or farmer and all the customary tenants (the lands of all of which

parties Fettiplace is implied to hold) used to have a maximum of 2500 sheep 'upon the said ground', Sir Thomas now had 3500 at least. He added that 'wher of old tyme ther hath ben xxx howsolds ther is now lefte but only the maner whyche is the sheppards lodgyng and one howse whyche the said Rychard Wayneman hath byldyd and the parsonage.'

There are clearly certain problems here. For example, did the depopulation actually occur in the time between Wenman's bill and his reply or was he using an already old situation to blacken Fettiplace; did 'many houses of husbandry' manage to coexist with a flock of 2500 sheep? The answers are not to be found, but desertion was an accomplished fact by the 1540s. The available evidence seems to suggest indirectly an increase in the manor's profitability, conceivably connected with a change in land-use, in the early sixteenth century. Inquisitions post mortem for 1500 and 1507⁵⁴ give its value (i.e. the potential annual income to be derived from it) as £20, but the sale prices of the 1540s, ranging from 60 to 140 times this amount, seem indicative of a higher figure. The activities of Fettiplace and Wenman may well have proved fatal to the survival of the village as a community. If Fettiplace did maintain a flock of 3500 sheep there can have been little land left for arable farming, and the complainant Wenman himself probably had little love for 'husbandry'. He was a woolgrower and woolbuyer whose actions at Caswell (near Witney, Oxon), where he was reported in 1517 for the conversion to pasture of twenty acres, are suspected of completing depopulation there.⁵⁵ This Star Chamber case may in fact be one in which two enclosers were fighting each other over a village which lay by now beneath the grass. The episode was rounded off in 1546 when Thomas Wenman of 'Carswell' purchased the manor for £2800.⁵⁶ Details of the estate had been given in the sale of 1544: all the figures then quoted were clearly vastly exaggerated and rounded, but the pasture to arable ratio of three to one is striking.⁵⁷

EATON HASTINGS: A DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGE

THE PARISH SINCE DESERTION

The situation of essentially no population and one-man ownership did not remain fixed. Today Eaton Hastings, though without a village, is not an empty parish. However, the change to predominantly pasture land-use, naturally most suitable though not practised earlier for reasons including population pressure, was to be permanent.

The Wenmans held the manor for most of the period up to 1600 (not continually because of disputes), after which it was held by the Norreyses till 1628, and then by Henry Marten.⁵⁸ The estates of his family were sold in 1674,⁵⁹ after which the descent is uncertain until the end of the eighteenth century. Evidence concerning population is almost entirely lacking until the hearth tax returns of the 1660s.⁶⁰ According to these there were then sixteen households in the parish, of which thirteen actually paid.⁶¹ Single households were returned as having ten and five fire-hearths each; five had three each. This evidence for small-scale repopulation is supported by the returns of the ecclesiastical census of 1676 according to which there were fifty inhabitants over the age of sixteen.⁶² The form taken by this resettlement cannot be certainly established until 1761 when Rocque's map reveals a number of scattered farms.⁶³ Buildings are shown apparently on the sites of the present Church Hill, Lower House, Crabtree, Philip's, Kilmester's and Stud Farms and at the Grange, with some others that included a limited number on the main road to the south. Since this date the basic settlement pattern, characterised by very little nucleation, has not changed substantially. Within it the population has increased, but has fluctuated and remained fairly low. In 1801 thirty families in twenty-two houses made up a population of 137,⁶⁴ in 1820 an increased number were said to inhabit twenty cottages and five farmhouses,⁶⁵ in 1841, 161 people occupied thirty houses, and at the last full census there were one hundred and ten persons in thirty houses in the parish.⁶⁶ Of the two established features of

the medieval village, the mill and fisheries, there seems to be no direct reference to the mill after 1546; but the Thames fishery continued to be mentioned as late as the early eighteenth century.⁶⁷

The creation of a small number of farms by sale or lease was probably proceeding in the seventeenth century, and the lands of these were apparently enclosed. An inquisition into Henry Marten's possessions in 1646 detailed only a total of 160 acres as held by him in the manor,⁶⁸ while a rental of 1650 names two non-rentpaying tenants, Brasenose College Oxford holding former Wenman lands, and John Saunders gentleman lands formerly William Greene's by the latter's purchase from Wenman.⁶⁹ In 1721 a quit-claim shows the College leasing out a farm in the parish.⁷⁰ Typical transactions in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries involved a tenement and 347 acres in 1625,⁷¹ two-thirds of two messuages with 210 acres,⁷² one-third of a messuage with fifty-three and one with one hundred acres,⁷³ all in 1686, and a farm with approximately one hundred acres in 1729.⁷⁴ The enclosed nature of lands is at times made quite clear: in 1601 a 160-acre close of pasture called London Way is mentioned;⁷⁵ and in 1625 two pastures called Galloway Hill Fields of 265 acres and two closes of thirty.⁷⁶ The precise nature of land-use in the parish is difficult to determine but the large pasture closes recorded in the early seventeenth century and the description of Marten's manorial lands in 1646⁷⁷ as 110 acres of pasture, ten of meadow and forty of wood are suggestive. Arable farming clearly still had a place in the area but Rocque's map of 1761 shows grassland predominant except in a small bloc between the main road and the river.⁷⁸ In the 1820s Clarke recorded that more than half of the unwooded area of approximately 1270 acres was pasture,⁷⁹ and the Victoria County History, citing figures for 1905, gives the arable acreage as 143 and the pasture as 629.⁸⁰ Grass, best suited to the soil, remains the chief feature of land-use. The area of woodland is now also much greater

JOHN BROOKS

than earlier: it normally covered about forty acres up to the end of the eighteenth century, but seems to have increased to over two hundred acres by the late 1820s.⁸¹

Finally a word must be said about the village site as it is today, centred at SU 26439853. In 1830 the curate of the church stated that certain foundations, which he suspected to be traces of a village, were visible in a field called the 'Old Town' near the river.⁸² The foundations are no longer to be seen on the surface but an area of uneven ground, surrounded by ridge and furrow (which has recently been somewhat reduced), can be seen on aerial photographs⁸³ and on the ground. Spaced clumps of nettles, probably indicative of fire-hearths, can be observed,⁸⁴ and stonework, thought to represent building foundations, was reported by a farmer when a trench was dug across the field.⁸⁵

In respect of its apparent cause and period of depopulation Eaton Hastings can be classified among the majority of deserted villages, but as regards its former size it is more unusual: the settlement that was 'eaten up' by sheep had not previously compared badly with its neighbours that survived.

REFERENCES

- ¹ For a discussion of sites in the county as a whole see M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, 'Introduction to a first list of deserted medieval village sites in Berkshire', *Berks. Arch. Journ.*, 60 (1962), pp. 92-7.
- ² *Vict. County Hist. Berks.*, iv. p. 528, ff., (1924).
- ³ J. Stephenson, *The Land of Britain. Report of the Land Utilization Survey of Britain. Part 78 Berkshire*, p. 71, London 1936.
- ⁴ Buscot, similarly described by Stephenson as a minor settlement, was also previously much larger.
- ⁵ *Domesday Book Berkshire facsim.*, p. 11, Southampton 1863.
- ⁶ E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, Oxford 1951.
- ⁷ M. Staveley, *Pre-Domesday Geography in Northern Berkshire*, p. 8, unpub. M.A. thesis, Reading 1965, suggests that the Berkshire side of the Oxford Clay Vale was not developed until late Saxon times, in contrast to the Oxfordshire side where there was greater gravel covering.
- ⁸ *V.C.H.*, iv. 528-9; *The Book of Fees*, i. 50, 292, 459, London 1920; ii. 844, 847, 857, London 1923; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, i. 15, London 1812.

- ⁹ *Cal. Inquis. post mortem Edw. II*, ii. no. 266, London 1906.
- ¹⁰ *V.C.H.*, iv. 529; *Cal. Inquis. miscell.*, i. no. 1774, Hereford 1916.
- ¹¹ *D.B.*, p. 11.
- ¹² *I.p.m. Edw. III*, vii. no. 532 (p. 367), London 1909.
- ¹³ *D.B.*, p. 11.
- ¹⁴ Public Record Office E.179/73/5 fo. 3^v (partly defective); E.179/73/6 fo. 9^r; E.179/73/7 fo. 8^{r-v}.
- ¹⁵ *Feudal Aids*, i. 50, 1899.
- ¹⁶ P.R.O., E.179/73/9. There were 256 separate quotas for the area then constituting Berkshire, paying on average £4 os. 11½d.
- ¹⁷ P.R.O., C.135/35/35.
- ¹⁸ *D.B.*, p. 11.
- ¹⁹ P.R.O., S.C.6/748/7; *Inq. Misc.*, v. no. 109, London 1962.
- ²⁰ P.R.O., E.179/73/7 fo. 8^{r-v}.
- ²¹ *D.B.*, p. 11; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 292, 300.
- ²² P.R.O., S.C.6/748/6.
- ²³ *V.C.H.*, iv. 529.
- ²⁴ *I.p.m. Edw. III*, xi. no. 533, London 1935.
- ²⁵ *Inq. Misc.*, v. no. 109.
- ²⁶ *I.p.m.*, Vol. 3. 258, London 1821.
- ²⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i. 56.
- ²⁸ *I.p.m.*, Vol. 3. 323.
- ²⁹ *Feud. Aids*, i. 68.
- ³⁰ *V.C.H.*, iv. 529.
- ³¹ *V.C.H.*, iv. 529.
- ³² *v. infra*.
- ³³ P.R.O., E.326/12912.
- ³⁴ *Letters and Papers, For. and Dom., Hen. VIII, XX*, i. 125. 15, London 1905.
- ³⁵ P.R.O., E.326/10695.
- ³⁶ D.M.V. Research Group notes on Eaton Hastings cite Billesley Trussell (Warwks.), Elmesthorpe (Leics.) and Shottesbrooke (Berks.). But the main depopulating action at Shottesbrooke was in fact in the early eighteenth century.
- ³⁷ *v. infra*.
- ³⁸ *Inq. Misc.*, iv. no. 72, London 1957; *I.p.m.*, Vol. 3. 16, London 1821.
- ³⁹ *I.p.m. Hen. VII*, i. no. 169, London 1898.
- ⁴⁰ P.R.O., E.179/73/33 and /32.
- ⁴¹ P.R.O., S.C.6/748/7.
- ⁴² Groups of five men are variously termed serfs, customary tenants, and cottars, but the last two types are apparently distinguished at one point.
- ⁴³ P.R.O., Sta. Cha. 2/24/202. m. 1-3.
- ⁴⁴ P.R.O., E.179/73/150.
- ⁴⁵ P.R.O., E.179/73/166A.
- ⁴⁶ P.R.O., S.C.6/748/7.
- ⁴⁷ P.R.O., S.C.6/748/7; P.R.O., C.145/240.
- ⁴⁸ P.R.O., E.326/10695. In the sale of 1545 (P.R.O., E.326/12912) the fishery is unmentioned, but reference is made to two mills: however, all the figures given seem grossly inflated, e.g. the manor's acreage totals 5100 acres.

EATON HASTINGS: A DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGE

- ⁴⁹ P.R.O., S.C.6/748/7.
- ⁵⁰ *Inq. Misc.*, v. 109; P.R.O., C.145/240.
- ⁵¹ It is at first sight difficult to square these values with those given for the Thurstayn subtenancy in 1378 (*Inq. Misc.*, iv. 72). The eighty acres of his carucate were valued at 1½d. each, the four acres of his pasture at 2s. each, but this 'pasture' was probably meadow, which was valued at 2s. per acre in 1388.
- ⁵² *I.p.m. Hen. VII*, i. no. 169.
- ⁵³ P.R.O., Sta. Cha. 2/24/202 m. 1-3. The document is dated as *temp.* Henry VIII, the de Veres did not gain possession of the manor till after 1507, and Sir Thomas Fettiplace died in Dec. 1523 (*V.C.H.*, iv. 481).
- ⁵⁴ *I.p.m. Hen. VII*, iii. nos. 735 and 230.
- ⁵⁵ K. J. Allison, M. W. Beresford, J. G. Hurst and others, *The D.M.V.s of Oxon.*, p. 33, Leic. Univ. Dept. of Eng. Loc. Hist. Occ. Paper 17, Leicester 1965.
- ⁵⁶ P.R.O., E.326/10695.
- ⁵⁷ P.R.O., E.326/12912.
- ⁵⁸ *V.C.H.*, iv. 529-30.
- ⁵⁹ Berkshire Record Office, D/ELs T2/5.
- ⁶⁰ It probably remained low in the later sixteenth century. When Shrivenham hundred provided 100 men for the musters in 1569, Eaton contributed only one, though the average for the seventeen assessments was nearly six men (P.R.O., S.P. 12/64/6).
- ⁶¹ P.R.O., E.179/243/24. p. 106; E.179/243/25. 723; E.179/243/26. i. 201; E.179/Roll 76/460.
- ⁶² W. Money, 'A Religious Census of the County of Berks. in 1676', *Berks., Bucks., and Oxon. Arch. Journ.*, v. (1899-1900), p. 57.
- ⁶³ J. Rocque, *A Topog. Survey of the Co. of Berks.*, map xii., London 1761.
- ⁶⁴ *Popul. Census Abstract*, Enumer. i., Berks. pp. 6-13, London 1802.
- ⁶⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Berks. c. 7, W. Clarke, Berks. Paroch. Hist., i. fo. 132^v, c. 1827-30.
- ⁶⁶ *Census 1851*, Popul. Tables i., Berks. pp. 62-75, London 1852; *Census 1961 Berks.*, pp. 3-5, London 1964.
- ⁶⁷ 1646, P.R.O., E.178/6142; 1686, Brit. Mus. Add. Ch. 19232 and Bodl. MS. ch. Berks. 746; 1711, B.M. Add. Ch. 19240; 1717, B.M. Add. Ch. 19243.
- ⁶⁸ P.R.O., E.178/6142.
- ⁶⁹ Berks R.O., D/EPb E2 p. 148.
- ⁷⁰ Bodl. MS. ch. Berks. 637.
- ⁷¹ Berks. R.O., D/ELl T28.
- ⁷² B.M. Add. Ch. 19232.
- ⁷³ Bodl. MS. ch. Berks. 746.
- ⁷⁴ Berks. R.O., D/EW T1.
- ⁷⁵ Bodl. MS. ch. Berks. 632.
- ⁷⁶ Berks. R.O., D/ELl T28.
- ⁷⁷ P.R.O., E.178/6142.
- ⁷⁸ Rocque, map xii.
- ⁷⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Berks. c. 7, Clarke *op. cit.*, fo. 132^v.
- ⁸⁰ *V.C.H.*, iv. 528.
- ⁸¹ Clarke, *op. cit.*, fo. 132^v. His figures are 1500 acres for the total area of the parish, and c. 1270 acres of land with the woodland excluded.
- ⁸² Clarke, *op. cit.*, fo. 169^v.
- ⁸³ R.A.F., 106G/UK/1721/6044 (1946).
- ⁸⁴ Site visited 20th August, 1967.
- ⁸⁵ G. H. Pitcher, Ordnance Surv. Chessington Arch. Dept., Record Card SU 29 NE No. 11, 21st May, 1964.