THE BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF HENRY OXINDEN OF BARHAM

JUDITH ROBERTS

Henry Oxinden of Barham (1608-1670) was a prolific letter writer and note maker. From his correspondence and, more particularly, from the notes he kept in his common place book,[1] in his account of the changes he made to his property[2] and in the description of his house and estate at Great Maydekin[3] which he prepared prior to its sale in 1663,[4] it is possible to reconstruct a detailed record of his building and garden making activities over a period of about thirty years. Extracts from these documents have been quoted extensively[5] but there has been no systematic survey of Oxinden's building and gardening endeavours nor any assessment of the impact these had on an existing house and landscape. By taking all of Oxinden's papers together it is possible to reconstruct the changes he made to his house and its setting within a wider social context. What emerges is a picture of a country gentleman's intense enjoyment of the quality of his estate and the social standing it conferred on him.

Henry Oxinden, who was the head of a junior branch of his family, lived through the turbulent times of the mid-seventeenth century and was grieved by the political turmoil which divided and separated families. Although he supported Parliament during the Civil War and made one attempt at election as a Member of Parliament himself, Oxinden was on the fringes of politics and was more closely concerned with his social position within his own circle of country gentry. Oxinden had no love of London nor for the intrigue of court politics but he was alive to the value of his connections with a wider and more influential circle of relations and friends and, like all his contemporaries, made every effort to manipulate this intricate social network in times of trouble. Oxinden's main preoccupation, and the great satisfaction of his life, was with the improvements he made to his house and estate. Like many country gentlemen, Oxinden was an antiquarian with an interest in genealogy and the record he kept of his own, his father's and his grandfather's building work and the simple

ceremonies he held to mark the planting of trees in his garden and orchard, are part of a sense of continuity shared by his contemporaries. Such a sense of connection would have made the eventual sale of the principal part of Oxinden's estate to a Greenwich merchant, in order to clear debts incurred in litigation, all the more distressful.[6]

Oxinden's estate of just over 600 acres of arable, pasture and woodland, lay in the parishes of Barham, Denton and Elham and secured him an income of about £300-400 a year. The estate had been purchased by Oxinden's maternal grandfather, James Brooker, in 1563 and included the principal house, Great Maydekin, and a second house which Oxinden described as, 'now since built with brick in Denton street'.[7] This house is variously referred to as Little Maydekin, the Red House and the Brick House, and was occupied by Oxinden's mother during the 1630s until she moved back to Great Maydekin, where she died in 1642. Oxinden himself increased the building stock of the estate by constructing a number of houses which were leased out to tenants with parcels of land ranging from seven to a hundred and fourteen acres.

Great Maydekin (**Plate I**) lies on the border of Barham and Denton

PLATE I

The present entry front to Maydekin facing the Canterbury-Folkestone Road

PLATE II

The South front of Maydekin with yew trees in the garden

(TR 215475); the approach is now directly from the Canterbury to Folkestone Road (A260) and it overlooks Broome Park to the north.[8] A new wing was added or an existing one remodelled in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century and behind this there is a timber framed structure, of several periods and builds, partly brick underbuilt and tile hung with large gables and a tile roof (**Plate II**). There are substantial garden earthworks of unknown date to the north and south of the house and the surrounding garden walls are of knapped flint.[9] Little Maydekin is on the east side of the Canterbury to Folkestone road slightly to the north of Great Maydekin (**Plate III**). The house is of several builds and the brick walls probably reflect Oxinden's modifications to an existing timber-framed building. The

PLATE III

Little Maydekin

garden layout illustrated in a 1746 plan of Little Maydekin (**Fig. 1**) matches exactly the description given by Oxinden in his common place book.[10]

Oxinden inherited his estate on the death of his father, Richard Oxinden, in 1629 and immediately launched a programme of building works and garden and estate improvements. These were concentrated around the 1630s although they continued almost until he was forced to sell in 1663. On the sale of Great Maydekin and the bulk of the estate, Oxinden moved to Little Maydekin where he continued to garden with undiminished energy.

Great Maydekin is a timber-framed house and may already have been old when it was purchased by Oxinden's grandfather, James Brooker, in 1563. The quality of the structure was a source of pride to Oxinden; in the sale document he emphasised that the timber is of oak with no ash or elm. James Brooker had already added to the house by the 1580s but perhaps the most significant period of modernisation and structural alteration was undertaken by Oxindens's father, Richard, in the 1620s when he constructed chimneys at the south side of the house and: 'Builded from the ground the Hall & Studie & staire case at great Maydeken, & the rooms over them'.[11] This may represent

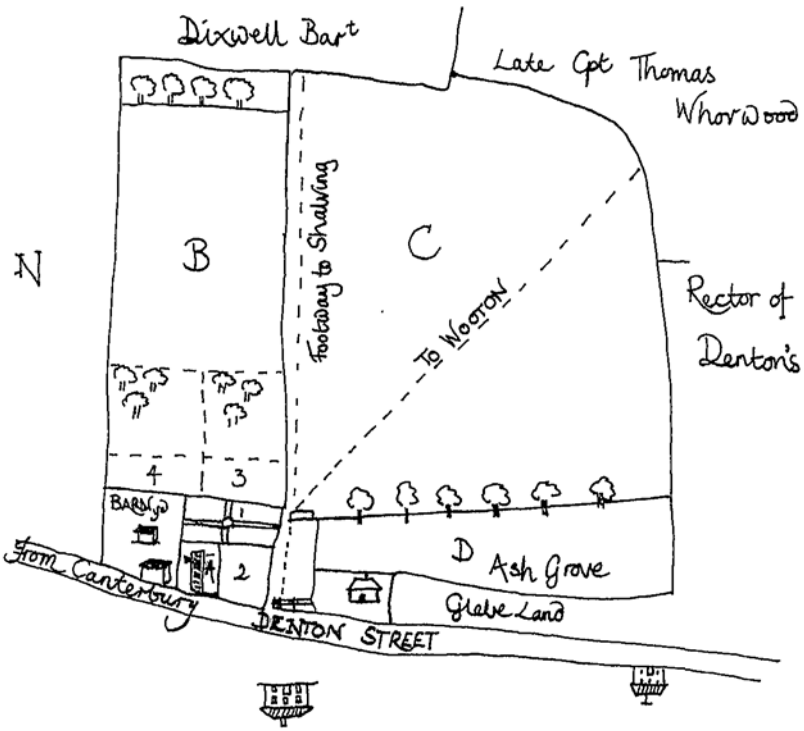


Fig. 1 Sketch of the layout of Little Maydekin based on the 1746 plan. Key, as marked on original plan: [A] House called Little Maydeken, yard and garden; [B] Sion Fields and Orchards; [C] the six Acres; [D] the Other House with the Ash Grove; [1] garden; [2] court; [3] orchard, Queen's Delight; [4] orchard, Golden Pipin.

the demolition and rebuild of the existing hall or signal a newly built extension to the house and a re-arrangement of the internal space. The adaptation of the hall and the insertion of brick stacks was well established in Kent by the second half of the sixteenth century and it is likely that Richard Oxinden was, at this date, engaged in new building rather than creating a floored hall for the first time.[12] The elaboration of the stair and its incorporation within the main body of the house is one of the distinguishing features of house adaptation and building in the early seventeenth century and is an indicator of the restructuring of rooms and status space within the house. The importance of the stairs in terms of capital and social investment is

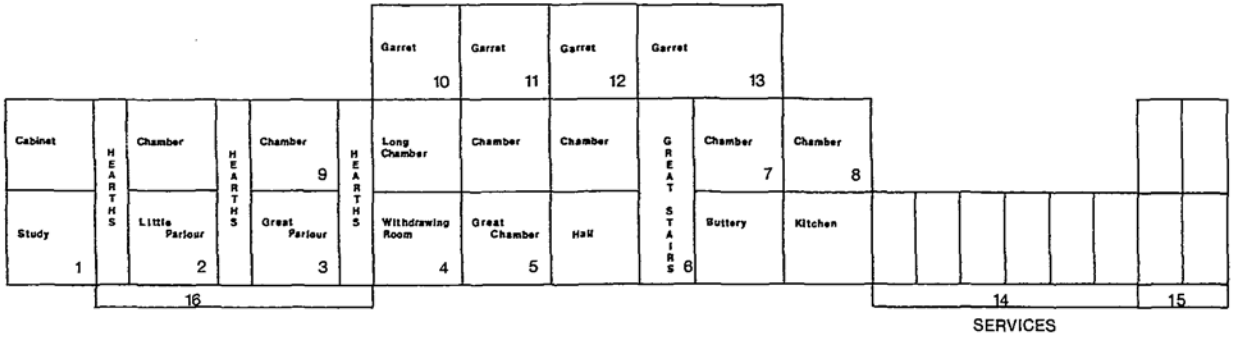
reflected in Henry Oxinden's record that the structure incorporated 'at least 13 Tunn of Timber'[13] at a cost of £41 16*s*. 4*d*. The Great Maydekin inherited by Henry Oxinden in 1629 was a very different house from the one purchased by his grandfather. Not only had the house been extended but there had been major adaptations to its structure and improvements in the heating arrangements. Great Maydekin, like the majority of houses in Kent by this date, had been turned from a medieval into a modern house. What Henry Oxinden did was to engage in the completion of this revolution.

The concern with the decorative quality of the staircase and the redefinition of the hall as an entrance and display room for the stairs, rather than a communal living area, is an indication of the radical restructuring of social as well as structural space in the house during this period. Oxinden's activities illustrate a preoccupation with improvements in heating both ground floor and upper chambers,[14] with the quality of fenestration and, in particular, with linking the house with the garden. Oxinden's work, unlike that of his father and grandfather, was not primarily structural but was concerned with the redefinition of space within the house by the creation of new room partitions, new windows and improvements in decorative quality. The trend towards room specialisation at Great Maydekin had begun in the 1620s with creation of a study and a closet. By the 1630s Oxinden had converted that part of the house built by his grandfather in 1580 to make a 'withdrawing room' and had opened up windows and doors between it and the garden and had made his wife a closet of her own (**Fig. 2**).

These improvements in the status and private room space of the house in turn generated the need for a relocation of both service accommodation and household servants. In parallel with his development of specialised social space, Oxinden also relocated and improved the service space at Great Maydekin by paving and partitioning a series of butteries, larders and cellars. More particularly, his building accounts show that he was engaged in creating upper chambers over the services and partitioning the garret in order to create storage space and service accommodation. The creation of specialised service space and the utilisation of vertical space was a well established trend in Kent by this period and garret chambers, in particular, were often used for the storage of, for example, cheese or apples, signalling increasing specialisation in food production.[15] What Oxinden's accounts document is an example of the social transformation of domestic space at this period, the increasing concern with privacy and the trend towards the separation of the family and the household.

The changes Oxinden made to Great Maydekin were clearly not ad

THE BUILDING WORKS OF HENRY OXINDEN
(MANSION HOUSE ONLY)



1 Wainscot Study and Cabinet 1641

2 Birthed Chamber added new partition wall and painted green 1641

3 Wainscot 1640 Two windows added 1633

4 New stonework and two new windows 1633. Ceiled and door to garden added 1640

5 New window 1633

6 Built the Great Stairs 1633

7 New window 1633

8 Birthed 1641

9 Wainscot and closet added 1640

10–13 Birthed 1641

14 Paved and partitioned buttery, dry larder, strong beer cellar, wall larder, wine cellar, small beer cellar 1633

15 New built brewhouse and milkhouse with chambers over 1633

16 Built new hearths 1633

Fig. 2 Summary of the changes made to Great Maydekin by Henry Oxinden.

hoc but were part of a planned regime of building work designed to link the house with the garden. Oxinden was clearly as concerned with the external expression of the hierarchy of space as he was with its internal quality. That he had some pretensions towards architectural expression is suggested by the copy of Serlio he kept in his library and by the definition of a formal approach to the house by the creation of a paved court and a porch.[16] Similarly, he manipulated materials and decorative quality externally to define important rooms.

Oxinden's documentation of his building works is all the more informative for the record it preserves of his gardening activities, the relocation of agricultural and service buildings and the planting up of his estate. Oxinden's record has particularly significance since it coincides with an upsurge of publications written to introduce new farming and management techniques to the established gentry or serve as manuals for those who, like Edward Ady who purchased Great Maydekin, had recently acquired an estate from the profits of law or commerce.[17] One such publication was Gervase Markham's *The English Husbandman.*[18] Markham who describes himself as 'only a horseman', was a prolific writer on estate and agricultural matters[19] and had a close understanding of Kent and the Kentish Weald.[20] He wrote *The English Husbandman* when he was about forty years old and in a sense his work reflects developments of the late Tudor period, but the book was reprinted numerous times throughout the seventeenth century and Markham incorporated sections from it in a number of his later works. Although the title refers to '*Husbandman*' it is clear from its contents that Markham's intention was to produce a design and practice manual for owner-managers of small estates. His descriptions of the embellishments which could 'make descant' on the design of his basic 'modell of a plaine country mans house' and his references to 'men of dignitie, who in Architecture are able wonderfully to controle me', show that he was equally aware of the gentry market for his works. A comparison of the changes made by Oxinden at Barham with the model estate described by Markham allows us to move beyond an analysis of the house and assess the development of Great Maydekin within its garden and landscape setting. Markham's description of the component parts of the estate is summarised in **Fig. 3**. At the core of the estate is a double cross-wing house which retains its open hall, apparently heated by a rear stack, suggesting that open halls were not necessarily uncommon in the early decades of the seventeenth century. What is interesting in Markham's description is the way in which the gardens and estate are structured around the house ('all things in a comely convenientness about'), indicative of the arrangement Oxinden was constructing at Great Maydekin.

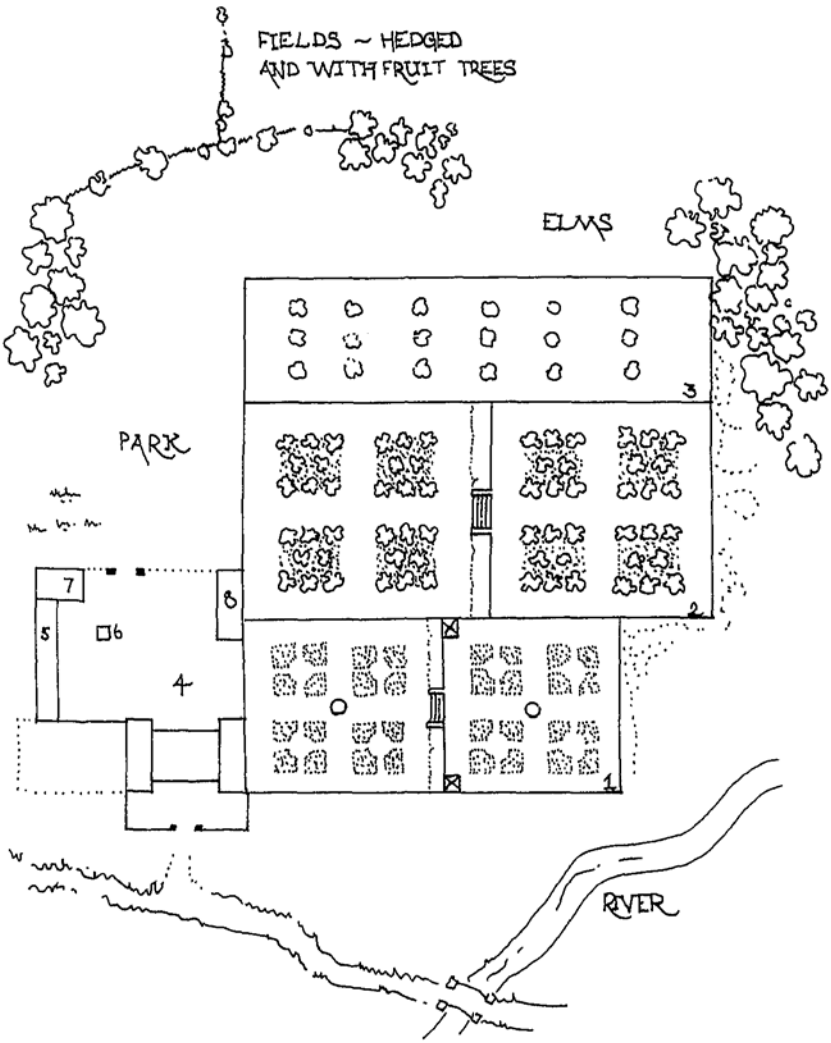


Fig. 3 The setting of a rural estate based on *The English Husbandman* by Gervase Markham.

An important consideration is the relationship of the service buildings and those buildings associated with the management of a rural estate. For ease of use, buildings such as the dovecote, stables and barns have to be relatively close to the house but there is clearly a social as well as a spatial separation. This is, perhaps, connected more

with the increasing emphasis on the architectural quality of the garden and orchard than with any ideological concern, as later in the eighteenth century, with the complete separation of service buildings and the house. It is, however, part of that trend. Throughout the 1630s and 1640s, Oxinden was engaged in either the repair or rebuilding of the range of agricultural buildings grouped around Great Maydekin. This work included modifications to the stables and rebuilding the 'Old Barn which was ready to fall'[21] as well as work on, for example, the dovecote, well house and malt house. What is significant is that, in almost every case, he took the opportunity to move the service building further away from the house. The barn was moved, the malthouse was moved because it was too close to the withdrawing room and new walls were constructed redefining the space around the house as pleasure garden or orchard.

Much of the work to create a pleasure garden was undertaken in the 1630s and appears to be an integral part of Oxinden's plans for restructuring the rooms in the house. Creating the garden included the construction of stone walls and involved a certain amount of earth moving to make a terrace. This garden also included a summerhouse which overlooked Denton Street and was directly linked with the status rooms of the house by a door from the withdrawing room and a visual link through the windows of the library. This garden covered an area of about half an acre and was the principal flower garden but it also included several yew trees close to the parlour, eight walnut trees before the study, twenty five pear trees along the terrace walk and a vine trained around the summerhouse.[22] The direct connection between the garden and rooms such as the parlour and withdrawing room is part of a pragmatic as well as an aesthetic design. Proximity to the house provided shelter for fruit but the connection between house and garden was also valued for the prospect it provided from all the best rooms. There is a preoccupation with health running throughout Markham's work and a very clear appreciation of the role of the garden in enhancing the internal environment of the house, a connection clearly demonstrated by Oxinden's arrangement of doors and windows at Great Maydekin.

Although there is no plan of the layout of the gardens and orchards at Great Maydekin it is probable that they reflected, on a larger scale, those of Little Maydekin. These gardens had been made initially by Oxinden's mother in the 1630s, they were supplied with fruit trees in the 1640s from the gardens at Great Maydekin, where Oxinden had a nursery, and were developed by Oxinden himself in the 1660s when he moved to Little Maydekin following the sale of the estate to Edward Ady. That Oxinden was an enthusiastic gardener himself is clear

from the intense interest he takes in the garden making activities of his neighbours. He kept a detailed record of the trees planted by Sir Basil Dixwell in the creation of his park and orchard at Broome Park immediately to the north of Great Maydekin, he exchanged trees and plants with his neighbours and kept a record of where they had been planted and he took a gardener's delight in the fact that the yield from his fruit trees was greater than that of his neighbours.

In addition to the pleasure garden and kitchen garden, there were a number of specialist gardens at Great Maydekin including a hop garden, orchards and a pear garden together covering around two and a half acres. Oxinden's hop garden covered about half an acre and was likely to supply domestic needs rather than be part of any commercial concern. However, the hop garden is indicative of considerable capital outlay and its management was likely to be one of the most labour intensive areas of the garden.[23] The status of the hop garden, at least in the early seventeenth century, is reflected by Markham in *The English Husbandman* where the hop garden is included within the overall garden design and located close to the house. There was also 'a Heartychoke garden' at Great Maydekin. Artichokes had been introduced from Italy and were highly fashionable usually requiring walled enclosures and taking up a great deal of space.[24] Following his move to Little Maydekin, Oxinden devoted space in the flower garden for the cultivation of artichokes and records that he had, 'five dozen, & they lasted till September the 29th; had 24 at dinner, Heartichocks are to be slipped and dunged at Simon & Jude'.[25] Like most of his contemporaries, however, Oxinden was primarily concerned with the management of his orchard and fruit gardens. Oxinden's orchards were not a commercial venture but were intended to supply the household only. In addition to the long lists of the varieties of pear planted in his pear garden and elsewhere about the estate, Oxinden also makes several references to fruit trees being planted and trained along the garden walls and against the walls of the house, and his orchard also included quince, warden trees, medlars and a 'nutmeg peach tree'. It is clear from the numerous entries in his common place book that the cultivation of the orchard was one of his most enduring pleasures. The management of the orchard was one of the principal concerns of contemporary garden literature and a theme to which contemporary writers devoted a great deal of space. Oxinden's orchard, of something over an acre of ground, stood on the north side of Great Maydekin and contained pears and apples. Although he records the varieties he planted and sometimes the location outside the orchard, for example against the pigeon house wall or next to the bakehouse, Oxinden says little about the design and plan of his orchard. However,

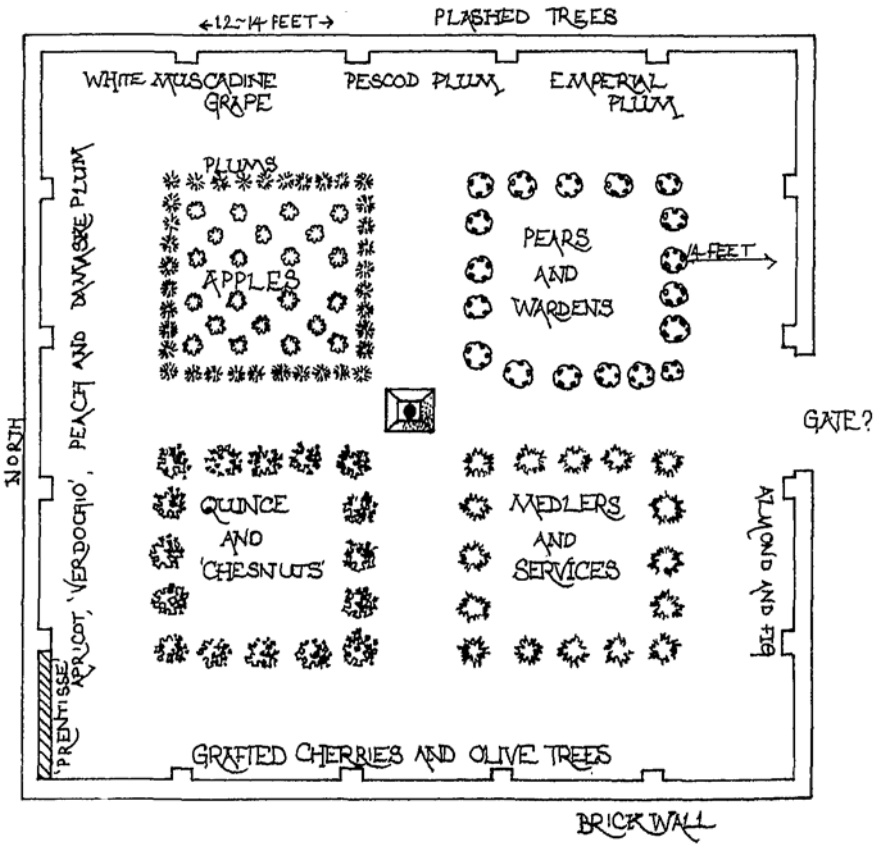


Fig. 4 Reconstruction of the plan of a 'simple' orchard based on *The English Husbandman* by Gervase Markham.

from the Little Maydekin plan together with the very detailed description of the orchard Markham includes in *The English Husbandman* it is possible to construct a picture of Oxinden's orchard. Markham advocates a design based on the unit of a square which could be subdivided into quarters for different varieties or multiplied to create larger orchards (**Fig. 4**).

Markham's arrangements are for a simple orchard divided into quarters by alley ways. The orchard has a brick wall with 'outshots' every twelve to fourteen feet. Markham does not discuss the design of these 'outshots' and they may simply be buttresses which also give some shelter to growing trees. Every inch of the walls was used for plashing

and Markham includes nuts and plums within the design. Within the orchard there is a hierarchy of trees with the row of plum trees providing a fence or guard for the apples or pear trees within each quarter. The quarters are then subdivided into early and late varieties and the trees planted at equal distances in rows to facilitate ease of management and efficient production. In his description of a Kentish orchard, Samuel Hartlib recommends planting the trees about twenty or thirty feet apart and, like William Lawson, an earlier exponent of the art of orchard management, describes the underplanting of the orchard, for example with saffron, liquorice, roots, flowers and herbs to maximise the space while the trees were being established.

Oxinden's orchards and gardens occupied about half of the five acres of ground surrounding Great Maydekin and their layout and management would have had an important impact on the quality and furnishing of the setting of his mansion house. Concern with the creation of a healthy environment around the house is one of the main preoccupations of many authors and, quite apart from the actual crop, orchards were promoted for the contribution they made to the general health of the household by their 'fresh & wholsome Ayers'[26] and as places in which to refresh both the mind and the body. Interest in the symbolic as well as the productive value of the orchard is a pronounced theme in much to the contemporary garden literature. Markham, for example, is as concerned with the promotion of the combined 'pleasure and profit' of the orchard as are other authors and this is a theme which is particularly developed by Ralph Austen, an Oxford divine and nurseryman in his '*A Treatise on Fruit Trees*' which includes a discussion of the spiritual value of the orchard.[27] The creation of order, profit and pleasure in the rural estate reflects the desire for stability and order in society and a well ordered and productive estate would be read as tangible evidence of the owner's fulfilment of his social responsibilities as a landowner and employer.

The enjoyment of an ordered estate spreads beyond the gardens and orchards surrounding the house and includes the wider estate environment. In *The English Husbandman,* Markham sets the house and working core of the estate in a well wooded landscape adorned with walks of elm, plane trees, oak, ask and walnut and suggests extending the walks out into the surrounding countryside along fields hedged with whitethorn and set with ash, maple, beech and also apple trees, plums and wardens. What Markham describes is a landscape in which the productivity of the estate can be appreciated and active pursuits such as hunting combined with the quieter leisure pursuits of walking and viewing. The creation of such a landscape is echoed in the re-ordering of hedges and planting which Oxinden undertook on his

Barham estate. The 1630s and 1640s are characterised by activity such as the relaying of hedges set with apple, cherry and walnut trees. Sycamore[28] and buckbeech as well as oak and ash were planted in the fields, and a summer house, called the 'round house,' was built some distance from the house. The 'connieground', was 'well stored with game, adorned with several groves & walkes'[29] ten acres of which were made into a cherry garden. The cherry garden, apart from enhancing the amenity of the estate, also increased its value. In the description of the estate prepared prior to its sale, Oxinden values the conniegground at about 11*s*. an acre whereas the cherry garden is valued at £1 an acre although he estimates that the future value could be as much as £4 an acre.[30] What Oxinden had developed, and what he and his contemporaries were able to read, was a planned, though not formal, landscape in which each component part was connected by a network of walks along hedgerows planted with fruit trees or through groves of oak and ash.

The nature and structure of the landscape around the house was an important social as well as economic indicator. The ability to share the enjoyment of the landscape and its produce either by exchanging trees or in gifts of game and produce was one of the important activities which defined social status and bound together the gentry community. Oxinden was an active participant in this community, lending his spaniels to his neighbour James Hales when he had temporarily given up hunting, and receiving in return many promises of the availability of good sport in the future, as well as both giving and receiving numerous gifts of fruit trees. The ability to bring economic as well as aesthetic order to the productive landscape was one of the defining characteristics of gentry status and is described in much of the contemporary literature as playing a vital part in contributing to the spiritual as well as the economic health of the nation. Austen promoted the planting of orchards as one of the ways in which a landowner could establish a 'good name' or a reputation within his community. One way of achieving such a position was, as Oxinden practised so assiduously, by making gifts, but planting trees had the benefit of permanence since trees and orchards, 'abide when friends, riches, life and all is lost'.[31] The idea of planting to create a record or a monument to family endeavour is reflected throughout Oxinden's common place book in his references to trees and orchards planted by his father and grandfather as well as his own ceremonial tree planting frequently witnessed by his sons. It was in this way that the gentry like Oxinden were able to leave behind them 'such a work, that many ages after your death, shall record your love of your Country'.[32] For men like Oxinden 'Country' did not mean the nation but their

county[33] and it was through the management of their buildings and estates that they were able not only to shape the physical structure of their county but also express their intense loyalty to it.[34]

The study of vernacular architecture has focused, of course, principally on the analysis of buildings and on the definition of chronological development and regional trends. Accounts such as Henry Oxinden's together with more general works of estate management combined with estate plans and field survey create an intersection of planes of evidence which remind us that houses did not exist in isolation but merged with, and were a part of, a wider landscape. By linking field study with the records of individual estates and contemporary literature it is possible to broaden the base of both the study of vernacular buildings and garden history. Only through such a 'marriage between fieldwork and documents'[35] is it possible to understand something of contemporary priorities and set developments in house design within their wider social as well as physical setting.

NOTES

[1] Commonplace and Memorandum Book of Henry Oxinden, British Library, (BL) Add MS 54332.

[2] Centre for Kentish Studies (CKS) U47/3 E1.

[3] Various spellings are used for the house. 'Maydekin', as used in this paper, is that adopted by Gardiner, D., *The Oxinden and Peyton Letters*, London, 1937.

[4] CKS, U47/3 E3.

[5] For example: Everitt, A. M., *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion 1640-1660*, Leicester University Press, 1966 and Chalklin, C. W., *Seventeenth Century Kent, A Social and Economic History*, Rochester, 1965, reprinted, 1978.

[6] See Everitt and Chalklin, note 5 above.

[7] BL, Add MS 54332.

[8] Oxinden records the building work undertaken by Sir Basil Dixwell at Broome Court in his Commonplace book.

[9] Gardiner assumed that these walls were those built by Henry Oxinden. However, most of the present garden walls are of knapped flint which was not a material mentioned by Oxinden when describing the walls and courts he made. The owner (1992) thought that the walls were modern. Part of the grounds were sold off for development some time ago. Oswald, 'Country Houses of Kent', *Country Life*, 1933, 46, says the house was pulled down 'a century ago'. However, the position of the present house matches that of the Tithe Map (*c.* 1840) and the descriptions in Oxinden's accounts.

[10] CKS, U 898 P3. 1746 plan of Little Maydekin owned by Lee Warley. One of Oxindens' daughters married a John Warly, butcher and grazier. Igglesden, C., *A Saunter Through Kent with Pen and Pencil*, Ashford, 1929, Vol. XXIII, pp. 18-19.

[11] BL, Add MS 54332.

[12] For a discussion of approaches to the conversion of the medieval hall see: Roberts, J., *Tenterden Houses: A Study of the Domestic Buildings of a Kent Parish in Their Social and Economic Setting*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Nottingham University, 1990.

[13] BL, Ass MS 54332.

[14] Oxinden constructed a series of new hearths in 1633.

[15] Roberts, *op. cit.* (see note 12), 163-222.

[16] Serlio (1475-1554) was a Bolognese painter who became and architect. His *Seven Books on Architecture* was published posthumously in 1584.

[17] For a discussion of contemporary books relating to the management of the rural estate, see G. E. Fussell, *The Old Farming Books from Fitzherbert to Tull*, London, 1947.

[18] Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman*, 1613 (Reprinted, Garland Publishing, New York, 1982).

[19] Fussell, *op. cit.* (see note 17) for a full discussion of Markham's publications.

[20] Markham's *The Improvement of the Weald of Kent*, London, 1649. Internal evidence in the *English Husbandman* (see note 18) suggests a close knowledge of the area around Maidstone.

[21] BL, Add MS 54332.

[22] Oxinden had a special affection for yews and kept measurements of the girth and height of the yews in his garden, BL, Add MS 54332.

[23] Chalklin, *op. cit.* (see note 5), pp. 92-93 and J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1500-1640*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 535-536. Markham was also familiar with hop growing and refers to Reginald (or Reginalde) Scot's *A Perfite Platforme of a Hop Garden*, London, 1576. Markham refers to returns of £5 per annum depending on the size of the hop garden.

[24] C. Anne Wilson (ed.), *The Country House Kitchen Garden 1600-1950*, Sutton, 1998, p. 152.

[25] CKS U47/3 E2 – the feast of St Simon and St Jude is on October 28th.

[26] Ralph Austen (d. 1676) *A Treatise of Fruit Trees together with The Spiritual Use of an Orchard*, Oxford, 1653 . Reprinted, Garland Publishing, 1982.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Sycamores were introduced from France by the end of the fifteenth century.

[29] CKS U47/3 E3.

[30] Austen, *op. cit.* (see note 26) suggests that the planting of an orchard could result in 'vast profit, where it is diligently, and skilfully undertaken'.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[32] William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, London, 1618. Reprinted Garland Publishing, 1982.

[33] Everitt, A. M., *The Local Community and The Great Rebellion*, Historical Association Publication, 1969, p. 6.

[34] The sense of loss and dislocation resulting from the sale of Great Maydekin and the Barham estate is suggested in Oxinden's letter to his son Thomas. The perceived disgrace was clearly more keenly felt by Oxinden's brother than by himself. Gardiner, *The Oxinden and Peyton Letters, 1642-1670,* Letter CXCIX, pp. 312-315.

[35] Hoskins, W., *Fieldwork in Local History*, London, 1982 (2nd Edition), p. 94.