THE LOCAL HISTORY OF WORLINGWORTH, SUFFOLK, TO C. 1400 A.D.


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INTRODUCTION

Worlingworth lies in what used to be called High Suffolk, a tract of countryside towards the centre of the county noted for its heavy clay soils, about two hundred feet above sea-level. William White, the compiler of gazetteers and directories, described the fertility of the Bishop's Hundred, in which Worlingworth was situated, in 1844:

'It is well watered by several rivulets, has generally a strong loamy soil, well cultivated, and rising in picturesque undulations...'¹

Robert Ryece the topographer of Suffolk wrote c.1603 of these 'Midle parts' of the county that they were:

'Rich in pasture and plenty of meadowes, but their cheifest is corn grounds from all which riseth the gain that filleth their purses.'²

High Suffolk was not remarkable for extensive woodland but should certainly not be excluded from Ryece's general comment on the county that:

'Wood of all sorts was plentiful enough in every place, save towards the Champion'.³

Worlingworth is about 18 miles by road from Ipswich the county town, southwards, 20 miles west of the nearest medieval sea-port, Dunwich, and 28 miles east of Bury St. Edmunds. The Waveney valley and Norfolk lie ten miles to the north.

There is archaeological evidence within a short radius of Worlingworth of most phases of prehistoric occupation. Clearly the most important is the Lower Palaeolithic site at Hoxne (7 miles NW), the only site of this period in Britain or Europe.⁴ Field-walking within the parish of Worlingworth

³ ibidem, p.33. The Champion, open-field country, lay in W. Suffolk.
itself has produced neolithic and, possibly, palaeolithic flint flakes. 1 Significant Romano-British artefacts have been recovered from the eastern half of the parish. Place-name evidence for Worlingworth and its immediately surrounding villages suggests a 6th - 7th century Saxon settlement. Many of the parishes are large and contain one or more hamlets with their own greens, for example Stradbroke and Hoxne. Worlingworth was given by King Cnut to Bishop Aelfric IIInd of Elmham two decades before the Norman Conquest. It was Aelfric who granted it to the abbey of St Edmunds at Bury, in whose hands it remained until the Dissolution.

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(1) Information kindly supplied by G.I. Moss, Dept. of Conservation, Colchester Institute of Higher Education.
CHAPTER I

THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The earliest references to Worlingworth, which has an exceptionally good medieval and post-medieval MS collection are to be found in the will of Bishop Aelfric IInd of Elmham (1015-8) (1), previously mentioned, and a service book of 10th-11th century date (2) into which were copied, c.1044-65, a list of food rents owed to the Abbey of St. Edmunds by various of its manors. After this good beginning, Worlingworth featured in only one other surviving abbatial charter. (3) R.M. Thomson has suggested that the low survival figures of Bury St. Edmunds charters in general (176) compared with, for example, Lincoln cathedral (4,200) may be attributed with some confidence to the destruction of the abbey at the Dissolution instead of its conversion into a secular cathedral. (4) But the survival figure for Worlingworth perhaps requires further comment: it is possible that, because the village had been given in its entirety to the abbey at an early date and because the abbey subsequently preserved this particular member of its estate virtually intact as a matter of administrative policy, the circumstances which might occasion the creation of some categories of charter, particularly small grants of land to and from the abbey, were comparatively few.

Information on late-Saxon Worlingworth may be obtained from the Little Domesday Book, compiled largely in 1086. (5) This section of the Domesday survey covered Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk only, but required and

(1) B.L. Cott. Aug. ii 45.
(4) ibidem, pp. 3-4.
obtained from its compilers markedly more abundant and varied detail than was the case with the rest of the country.

Items referring to Worlingworth contained in the abbey's extant registers and customals compensate to some extent for the dearth of charter material. Of great importance are pieces of information contained in "Abbot Thomas' and Richard's Register", (1) for example, a survey of the demesne in 1250, (2) an extent of 1302 (3) and a comprehensive "Recognitions" list from the same year. (4) A charter of manumission of 1289 was copied into the "Black Register of the Vestry". (5) But the loss of the "Registrum Johannis Northwolde (1279 - 1301)" (6), which certainly contained Worlingworth material, is to be regretted.

What distinguishes Worlingworth's MS collection from many other excellent series of records (7) from the abbey's manors and dependencies is an item which is not strictly medieval at all. Previously held at Ipswich Borough Library and only recently re-united with the Henniker Collection at the Suffolk Record Office, the large-scale, anonymous Map of Worlingworth Manor c. 1605/6 is indeed a rarity. (8) Probably made in connection with an extent (9), the map contains written into many of the fields and other

(1) B.L. Harleian MS 230.
(2) ibidem, fol. 170.
(3) ibidem, fol. 150.
(4) ibidem, ff 172-3; undated, but compare the hand with fol. 56v to 59v. and the heading there:
"Recogniciones facte in Baronia Sancti Edmundi ad opus domini Thome Abbatis ibidem Anno Regni Regis Edwardi 30".
(5) C.U.L. Mm. IV. 19. fol 48v and 49.
(7) See, for example, the catalogue of Bacon MSS in the University of Chicago.
(8) S.R.O. IPS. HD417/33. See the Frontispiece (Map A).
(9) S.R.O. IPS. S1/2/7.14/15: may be the perfect copies (1611).
landscape features

1. references to page numbers in yet earlier extents and surveys. Most of these references are to an extent of "35 Henry VIII", clearly identifiable with an extant survey of the manor made in that year, 1543/4 (2), others to "6 Edward IV", now a fragmented extent for that year, 1466 (3).

The 1466 extent is particularly important in that the order in which the tenements are listed by name clearly follows the order to be found in two complete, earlier manorial extents, the one of c. 1400 (4) and the other 1410 (5). This same order of listing the tenements is to be found in the fragments of a much earlier extent of good calligraphic quality subsequently re-used as the covers to two later manuscripts (6). It is clear that the third membrane of this extent containing the names of the first twenty named free tenements has been lost.

On internal evidence, notably the inclusion of tenants who died in the Black Death, this earliest extent (7) may be dated c. 1355 (8). However, because some of the tenements bear the names of tenants who died in the first decade of the fourteenth century, it is likely that it, in its turn, took its order from an earlier document, possibly the extent mentioned in a court of 1311 (9) or to another model contained in one of the lost cartularies (10).

1. Sadly, this does not include either the oemesne or the glebe.
2. S.R.O. IPS. 51/2/7.4.
3. S.R.O. IPS. 51/2/7.3. Some fields contain references to both surveys or to others, now lost.
4. S.R.O. IPS. 51/2/7.2.
5. S.R.O. IPS. 51/2/7.1. The date is on the tail of the dorse.
6. S.R.O. IPS. 51/2/6.1 and 51/2/6.6.
7. It includes a customal.
8. Post-Black Death courts (S.R.O. IPS. 51/2/1.23) contain references to the making of an extent at that time.
10. See R.H. Thomson, op. cit., pp 7 - 13. The Registrum J. Northwolde (1279-1301) is the obvious choice. Professor D. Ochsinsky is opposed to the 'loss' theory, although she admits that this particular MS. may be the exception to the rule.
Together, the map of c.1505/6 (1) and the extents offer the substantial prospect of coming to understand a medieval community, especially when supported by the excellent series of court and account rolls. However, the map does not cover the hamlet, later the parish of Southolt which became subinfeudated from Worlingworth in the later 14th century. It is important to remember that manorial records dating from before the subinfeudation refer to an area larger than that covered by the map.

The large majority of the medieval records of Worlingworth are to be found in the Henniker Collection (2) at the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich (S.R.O. IPS.) (3). The earliest bundle(s) of manor court rolls have been lost (4), but from 1302 onwards there is extant an excellent series of rolls with but few gaps. (5) Apart from a small group of rolls, 1277-9 (6) and a solitary roll of 1322/3 (7), the compotus-rolls at Worlingworth do not commence their excellent sequence until 1325/6, (8) after which date

1. The field known as "Wollenlond" behind the N.E. edge of Worlingworth Green is dated "Regni Regis Jacobi III" in a hand used widely elsewhere on the Map.
2. Collection No. Sl/2.
3. This Worlingworth material was overlooked in the compilation of R.M. Thomson's The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk Records Society, Vol. XXI, 1980. It is intended to remedy this omission in an addendum to be published c. 1985.
4. Fragments of mid-13th century court rolls from neighbouring Monk Soham, a manor held by the Abbey of St. Edmunds often in very close administrative and agricultural collaboration with Worlingworth have been used as covers to later MSS (Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds branch, S.R.O./B.E.3/15.3/3.6). The second extant account-roll for Worlingworth, 1273-9 (S.R.O. IPS S1/2/9.1), confirmed that the courts were being held there then and that Ricardus Clericus accompanied the senescal.
5. S.R.O. IPS S1/2/1.1 - 1.13 and S1/2/1.22 -1.26. Dating individual courts is sometimes difficult owing to the use of obbatiq) years. It is probable that the abbatial year ended at Michaelmas and was not invariably calculated from the date of the abbot's election or of his re-possession of the temporalities.
8. S.R.O. IPS S1/2/9.3
there is only a small number of lost rolls before the reformation.

A few copies of Worlingworth court-rolls are to be found in the Iveagh Collection at Elveden Hall, Norfolk, and in small private collections at the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich. It is unfortunate that the pre-reformation churchwardens' accounts for Worlingworth have not survived, although selected entries were known to both Mr. Green, the 19th century historian of Framlingham, and to D.E. Davy. There is a considerable body of medieval deeds in Worlingworth Parish Records connected with the Town Lands Charity, almost exclusively copies of court-roll.

Taxation records contain useful information complementary to that obtained from manorial sources. Of particular value in this respect is the 1327 Subsidy Return: it is unfortunate that the poll tax and subsidy returns of the later fourteenth century for this part of Suffolk have been lost or were damaged in antiquity. Wills and inventories dated before 1400 have not survived in appreciable numbers from Worlingworth. However,

1. Two compotus-rools, formerly missing, have recently been put back with the Henniker Collection at the Suffolk Record Office (IPS.). One was discovered at the residence of the Henniker family at Thornham (Suffolk) and the other, formerly catalogued, at a "Famous London Auctioneer's Mart". Despite this and the notes (above) on 'missing' rolls, the view of Professor D. Oschinsky (seminar, University of East Anglia, March 1982) that some losses at least were caused by lack of clerical resources or administrative failure rather than by physical damage remains attractive.

2. 6 medieval copies of court-roll listed by parish in the Phillips Collection.

3. HA/1/7/13.8 (Horsehagh). HA 36:51/13/1 (Hilton Hamlet). And in, for example, the records of the neighbouring borough of Eye (S.R.O. IPS. Collection EE2).

4. Strenuous efforts continue to be made to trace the "Black Book" of Worlingworth known to have belonged to and to have been in the possession of Mr. Robt. Abbot Senior, of Moss Farm, Worlingworth, c. 1970.

5. See B.L. Davy Collection for Suffolk pp 430-431: a microfilm copy is held by S.R.O. IPS.

In Davy's day (mid-19th century) the churchwardens' accounts belonged to a Mr. Cupper of Worlingworth. This missing volume covered the years 1521-1692.

6. S.R.O. IPS. FC94/L1/1/1-21. FC 94/L1/2/1-62

there is extant a useful will of 1336-7 \(^1\) and two truly exceptional probate inventories following a murder in the village in 1390. \(^2\)

2. S.R.O. (IPS), S1/2/1.24 fol. 10v.
As already noted, Worlingworth entered recorded history when, by the will of Bishop Aelfric of Elmham (1), it was given to the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury. C.R. Hart (2) has followed F.E. Harmer (3) in differentiating between the various Anglo-Saxon Bishops Aelfric of Elmham and has concluded that this is the Will of Aelfric II (c 1023 - Christmas, 1038), suggesting a date 1035-1038 for this document (4). Worlingworth is also mentioned in the notes added to the service book dated by C.R. Hart to c.1044-1066 (5) which described the food rents owed to the abbey by the pre-Norman Conquest population of Worlingworth.

The spelling "WILRINGGAWERDA" in Aelfric II's will clearly places Worlingworth in the "-Inga-" group of Anglo-Saxon place-names. Mr. Barrie Cox has noted (6) that Worlingworth lies in the centre of the triangle formed by I. Margary's Roman Roads, numbers 3d, 34b and 35: such "inga" place-names, it is argued, represent colonies moving away from the Roman

4. Thomson, R.M., The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk Records Society, 1980 p.59 (no. 111), does not apparently follow Miss Harmer's differentiations between the Aelfrics, believing the document to be, probably, an authentic copy dated c 1038 - c 1070.
6. Cox, B., Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements, pub. English Place-Name Society, 1977, p. 70.
Roads (1) and villa sites into less accessible countryside more difficult to bring into cultivation: Mr. Cox thinks a 6th - 7th century date of origin appropriate.

The suffix "-WORTH", that is, a farm surrounded by a stockade (2), accords with the 6th - 7th century date of origin. There appears to be a consensus that, in Worlingworth's initial element "WILR-", there is a personal name (3), "WILHERE". It is disconcerting, therefore, to find the field name "WALCWORRTES" in a mid-thirteenth century context at one end of the village (4), and "WALLhill" in an early 14th century context at the other. It will clearly be necessary to consider the pre-Saxon archaeological finds at Worlingworth, for Ekwall and others associate this place-name element "WAL" with "British" survivals (5).

Romano-British artefacts have been recorded from four locations within the parish. Four coins, three probably of Allectus (293 - 7 A.D.) have been found near Lodge Cottage on the west side of the Horham Road (6), in association with an inhumation. A bronze Antoninianus of Philip I (244 - 249 A.D.) was found with worn sherds of rustic wares on the north side of

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1. The triangle may be much smaller than surmised by Mr. Cox, without endangering the "-inga-" hypothesis. Horham, with its former hamlet of Athelington (Worlingworth's northern neighbour) should date AD 400 - 650, and be on the line of a Roman road, like Soham to the S.W. of Worlingworth. Horham has, on its west, Denham and on its east, Stradbroke (Stretebroc in medieval MSS) and, further east, Wilby with its internal place-name, "Rode-Strete". See Margary I.D., Roman Roads in Britain, Vol. I, pp 234-238, pub. Phoenix House Ltd., 1955.
4. B.L. Harleian 230.
5. Ekwall E., op. cit.p. 471. Walpole (Suffolk) 'Pool of the Welsh'.
6. Suffolk Archaeological Unit Card Index (Ipswich) TM 23276856.
Stanway Green in 1982 (1). A fragment of a 1st century A.D. brooch was found in 1975 during an archaeological training excavation at Mill Farm (2). Possibly the most significant finds were the Romano-British sherds found near the rectory, that is, on the edge of Church Green in the very 'nucleus' of the village (See Map B) (3).

The medieval field-names associated with these Romano-British sites are all of interest. About 100 yards south from the Romano-British sherds found on the edge of Church Green were the demesne place-names "Wal worth" and "Wal worth went": the fields further east, shielding this "nucleus", were "Longworthing" and "Shortworthing". The fragment of brooch was discovered close to if not actually in the area known as "Walhell" (4). The inhumation at Lodge Cottage was, on Worlingworth demesne very near to "Wordelesmer" (5). The association of Romano-British artefacts with field-names containing either or both of the elements "Wal" or "Worth" is impressive. During the medieval period proper, Stanway (6) Green was invariably written as "Stanhaugh": if, I. Margary notwithstanding, there is a Romano-British road in this area of the parish it has yet to be identified. There is a very definite possibility that a

1. Identified by Mr. G. Moss, Colchester Institute of Higher Education. TM 237704.
2. Information from Mr. R.D. Carr, Suffolk Archaeological Unit, Bury St. Edmunds. TM 22766978.
   It should be noted that during building of bungalows on Stanway Green in the late 1960s, "Romano-British" finds including, possibly, kiln-wasters were reported by the owners of the site to Ipswich Museum. No visit by an archaeologist ensued and the finds have since been lost (despite strenuous efforts to rediscover them).
3. Suffolk Archaeological Unit Card Index (Ipswich).
4. This field-name survived until the date of the Tithe Map, 1837. (S.R.O. IPS. FC 94/Cl/5).
5. Possibly "Maere" (Boundary) of the "Worth" - the block of demesne land did end in this part of the parish.
substantial Romano-British farmstead if not a villa existed here, however; it is, perhaps, irritating that Tenement Cach on the west side of Stanway Green, known as "Oldsteads" in the fourteenth century and "Oyster Meadow and Close" (1) in the nineteenth, has not, so far, yielded a single Romano-British sherd to fieldwalkers (2). It should be noted in conclusion that three of these four Romano-British 'sites' were situated on the edge of medieval greens, half of them on demesne or glebe land and half of them alongside medieval roads. If, however, there were survivors from the Romano-British period as the "Wal" place-names above perhaps suggest, archaeology does not recognize their artefacts (3).

The charter by which Worlingworth entered history makes it clear that Worlingworth (with Southolt) had been given to Bishop Aelfric II (who gave it to the Abbey of St. Edmund) by King Cnut. It had been royal demesne. With its 'Berewic' in Monk Soham, bequeathed to the abbey by Bishop Aelfric III of Elmham (1039 - 1043) (4), Southolt and that part of Bedingfield (5) which belonged to St. Edmunds in the Little Domesday Book, Worlingworth was at the centre of a compact, if only moderately sized, estate. There is insufficient evidence to question whether the whole estate had once been royal demesne or whether it once formed one of the "Small Danish Hundreds"

1. Tithe Map 1837. (S.R.O. IPS. FC 94/C1/5).
2. A particular debt is owed to Miss K. Spandl of Wilby Green and Miss S. Ridgard of Dennington.
3. As a matter of record, two fragments of pudding-stone quern, one found in Fingle Street and the other on the western edge of 'Crouchfeld', have been identified as Medieval, not Romano-British, by the Suffolk Archaeological Unit..cw 10
   Monk Soham was shared by three lords at the time of the Domesday Book, St. Edmunds Abbey, The Liberty of St. Etheldreda and Hugh de Montfort.
5. 10 freemen with half a carucate and 2 bordars etcetera.
   One of 13 "estates" in Domesday Bedingfield.
suggested by D.C. Douglas (1). However, it should be said in support of
D.C. Douglas that the building called the "Letecote"(2), in which the
Worlingworth leets were held as late as the early 14th century (3), housed
courts attended by tenants from the whole 'Estate': Douglas identified the
East Anglian leet with the small Danish Hundred. The 'Letecote' was sited
(on Walhell) at a location central, not to Worlingworth, but to the whole
estate.

The information contained in the 10th-11th century service book (1044 -
1065) (4) is of great interest. It assessed the food rents owed to St.
Edmunds by its estates. With its 'Barwick Soham' (5), Worlingworth was
taxed to provide part of one month's food supply to the abbey in apparent
rotation with other vills or pairs of vills elsewhere in the estate. The
assessment for Worlingworth with Monk Soham was 'as much as' Barton (6):
viz. "4 metts (7) of good malting corn, one..., 2 swine, 4 geese and 20
hens". The corn, 3 tons according to a 14th-century table of measures in the
Pinchbeck Register (8), represents a substantial imposition, particularly

1. Douglas, D.C., "Fragments of an Anglo-Saxon survey from Bury St. Edmunds',
English Historical Review, 43, 1928, p.380
2. Ruinous after the Black Death. It stood on 'Colts' Tenement TM.
217683.
3. C.C.R. Court No. 006. S.R.O. IPS. S1/2/1.1. fol.2.
4. Hart C.R., op. cit. p.70. The text derives from the 'Regula Sancti
Benedicti' in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
5. 'Mid than beruica Saham' SeeDouglas D.C., op.cit. p. 382.
7. For a discussion of the "Mett", see Davis R.H.C., The Kalendar of
Abbot Samson , Camden Series Vol. LXXXIV, p. XXXVI. A 'summe' made a
mett, though sometimes 4 or 5 'summe' made a 'mett'. If the 'summe'
approximates to the 'seme' used in 13th century N. East Suffolk and
elsewhere and thought by J.L. Fisher, A Medieval Farming Glossary , p. 32
(under SEAM), to equal a quarter, then a 'Mett' was perhaps 1 ton.

"Summa continet 1 quarterium.
Met continet 3 quarteres.
Syve continet 2 bussellos".

II
when transport costs are also considered. There is no indication as to whether the agricultural products in the assessment were levied from the tenants or were produced on the demesne (1). A considerable degree of economic and social organisation is pre-supposed.

The Corpus Christi College MS coincides very closely in date with those details of Worlingworth to be extracted from the Little Domesday Book described as "Tempore Regis Edwardi" (1042 - 1066). Before the Norman Conquest the description of Worlingworth was as follows:

6 carucates of land with its soche
16 villeins
14 bordars
1 serf
2 plough-teams on the demesne
12 plough-teams belonging to the men
16 acres of meadow
Wood for 100 hogs
2 horses
8 beasts
24 hogs
25 sheep
33 goats
A soke-man with 20 acres
A church with 10 acres of free land

1. That the obligations of the 12-acre tenants, at least, had formerly involved malt-making is confirmed by a marginal note against Tenement 39 in the extent of c. 1355..."Et quod debent facere 6 quarteria brasei per vetus extentum." S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/6.1. This labour service had been deleted.
The manor is valued at 6 pounds.

It is a league long and 5 quarantenes broad.

It pays in gelt 10d.

However recent their origin, the carucates of Domesday Suffolk have been the focus of considerable debate. Neither the word 'Carucate' nor the word 'Acre' should be dismissed as notional or purely fiscal terms divorced from reality, according to Dr P. Warner, whose fieldwork and documentary research on the village of Bramfield near Halesworth, Suffolk, indicated that the 11th century acre was not greatly different from its modern counterpart and that the Domesday carucate employed there contained c.160 acres (1). Dr Warner has also pointed to the possible existence of a 160-acre carucate at Chippenhall (2) (in Fressingfield), another manor which belonged to the abbot of St. Edmunds, only nine miles from Worlingworth and with very similar soil characteristics.

If the 6 Domesday carucates at Worlingworth consisted of 160 acres each, or even the 120 acres thought to be the average for the county as a whole (3), considerable problems arise. In 1250 the demesne arable was stated to consist of 233 acres. (4) It is highly likely, therefore, that the Domesday carucates encompassed more than just the demesne arable. The unfree tenants were recorded in the extent of 1302 (5) as holding 381 acres. Even when this estimate of the unfree tenants' acreage, the Domesday glebe and the sokeman's 20 acres are added to the demesne arable,

(2) ibidem, p.153.
(4) B.L. Harl. 230 fol 185.
(5) B.L. Harl. 230 fol. 150
there is still a deficit of 316 acres against 6 carucates of 160 acres to be explained. One possible and tempting explanation is that the compilers of the Domesday Survey neglected to mention arable land held by free tenants: by c.1400 (1), the earliest opportunity to calculate the total acreage held by the free tenants, c.550 acres came under this category. If it is considered, therefore, that the Worlingworth carucates did contain 160 acres each, there is either the obligation to doubt the integrity of the Domesday Survey or to consider that a drastic reduction in the demesne acreage occurred between c.1086 and 1250.

Miss B. Dodwell has suggested a 100-acre carucate for 11th-century Suffolk (2) and this is certainly an attractive proposition for Worlingworth. For if the acreage held by customary tenure in 1302, 381 acres, is added to the demesne acreage of 1250, 233 acres, the difference in total between this and 6 carucates of 100 acres each is only 2%, a figure so low that it cannot be overlooked. It also preserves the integrity of the Domesday Survey in failing to record the existence of any free tenants at Worlingworth, a situation not unique in Suffolk (3) and removes the necessity of explaining a large-scale reduction in the size of the demesne. If these calculations based on the 100-acre carucate are accepted, it follows that the acreage of the demesne and the land held by customary tenure remained stable and largely impervious to change from at least the late-Saxon era to the mid-14th century, a concept made more credible by the knowledge that the Norman Conquest brought no change of lord to the vill.

(1) Extent, S.R.O. (FPS) Sl/2/7.2.
(3) The writer is obliged to Dr. P. Warner for pointing out that the vill of Blyford in Blything Hundred, Suffolk, had no free tenants in 1086.
But there is a further, perhaps startling, correlation between the pre-Domesday statistics for Worlingworth and, for example, the data contained in the *extent* of c. 1355 (1). According to the Domesday Survey, there were, before and after 1066, 16 villeins and 14 bordars in Worlingworth. Analysis of the labour services attached to the various groups of unfree tenants in the *extent* of c.1355 reveals that 16 tenements then took as their model the 12-acre Tenement of John Jerald (Appendix A no. 39) (2), the premier class of unfree tenement in 14th-century Worlingworth, and 14 other tenements were described either as 6-acre tenements (the models were Tenement 40, Robertus Allyd, and Tenement 83, Richard Hervy) or as performing half the works allotted to the Tenement of John Jerald (3). Furthermore, to these specified 30 unfree tenements alone was affixed the obligation to perform the office of reeve or red-reeve, arguably another test of these tenements' greater antiquity compared with the 22 other miscellaneous '12-acre' unfree tenements some of which owed no weekly labour services at all. The total acreage of 'werklond' belonging to the 30 specified unfree tenements in the *extent* of c.1355 was 391 acres, again differing very significantly by only 2½% from the estimate of land held by customary tenure in 1302. Although not conclusive, the evidence for the theory that the 30 unfree pre-Domesday tenements survived with later additions of land into the 14th century is, at the least, very suggestive.

Therefore it appears rational to argue further that not only the acreage of the demesne and the 30 specified unfree tenements remained stable between

(1) S.R.O. (IPS), S1/2/6.1 and 6.6
(2) Numbers 39, 41, 43 (part), 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61. Many of these tenements had more than the nominal 12 acres of 'Werklond'. Tenement 39 (John Jerald) had 17 acres to which weekly labour services were attached.
(3) Numbers 40, 42, 43(part), 44, 45, 52, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.
c.1065 and c.1355, but that their location remained unchanged also. Whatever arguments are put forward to explain the semi-isolation of church and manor house at Worlingworth, (1) there appears to be no extensive evidence that either the demesne fields or the messuages belonging to the 30 unfree tenements moved site. Since, with the assistance of the map of 1605-6 and the various extents and surveys, the locations of the 14th-century demesne and virtually all 90 tenements can be plotted with a high degree of accuracy (see appendices B and D) the basic plan of the late-Saxon village can be reconstructed (see Maps D, E and F). Archaeological excavation has, so far, given some support to the dating of sites in Worlingworth by documentary methods (see Chapter 10), but there has been no comprehensive and scientific excavation of the house site of any of the 30 unfree tenements above. (2)

Finally, another tenuous piece of evidence pointing to a possible early origin for the 30 unfree tenements may exist in the various manorial extents. It involves the occasional use of the term 'Acreware'. The term was employed in the extents with reference to only four unfree tenements, 41, 43a, 45b and 59. (3) With one exception, (4) possibly a mistake by the scrivener, acreages mentioned were strictly duodecimal.

(1) To be discussed in Chapter 3.
(2) An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1975 to excavate Tenement 45. Trial trenches were dug based on surface finds rather than trusting to the accuracy of the map of 1605-6. As a result, it is probable that, instead of the principal messuage, a short-lived 13th century - 14th-century cottage was partly excavated. No Thetford Ware was recovered from the site which might have indicated late-Saxon occupation.

(3) See Appendices A and B.
(4) In the extent of c.1400 (S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/7.2), the formula appears as: ..'Et facere pro XXII acre Ware predict. in omnibus sicut predictum tenementum quoncán Johannis Jerald..' In the extent c.1355 (S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/6.6) the acreage was written 'XII'. That the scrivener made a mistake is also suggested by the sum of the 'Acreware', 28 acres plus the molland, 5½ acres, exceeding the total stated acreage, 32 acres and 1 rood, of the whole tenement.
There is a possible implication in the formula used with reference to
Tenement 59 that it was common to all the tenements in the Jerald group at
least:

'...Item facit pro 12 acreware de terra predicta in omnibus sicut
predictum tenementum Johannis Jerald...' (1)

That the term 'Acreware' was connected with an assessment for taxation
rather than with an accurate attempt at land measurement appears to be
accepted by historians (2), although there appears to be no clear opinion
as to which 'geld' actually caused the term 'Acreware' to be created.
However, in the Worlingworth context, the question should be raised,
although there is no sound evidence to answer it, as to whether these few
examples represent residual references to 'Warland', an Old English term
for land belonging to an Anglo-Saxon estate but held by tenants rather than
being part of the demesne. (3) Obviously the point cannot be laboured, but
does argue in some slight degree for the Anglo-Saxon origins of the 12
and 6-acre unfree tenements at Worlingworth.

Occasional references to 'Acre ware' also occur in the manor court rolls
(4). Invariably duodecimal, the 14th century references were connected
only with unfree tenements in the John Jerald group. It should be noted
that, on present evidence, the words "virgate" and "fullond", which might
suggest that a 24-acre rather than a 12-acre unit had once been the
standard size of smallholding, did not occur in the medieval documents of
Worlingworth.

1. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/6.6.
2. Davis, R.H.C., The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds and
LXXIV, intro. p.33.
3. Aston, T.E., 'The Origins of the Manor in Britain' in: Essays in
4. For example, S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.6 fol.14, 1370: 'Dominus concessit Ricardo
le Cook tenementum vocatum Oldsted 12 acreware'. See Appendices A and B,
nc. 60.
CHAPTER III
INTRODUCTION TO THE MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY OF WORLINGWORTH

With the exception of the church and its furnishings, Worlingworth held no attractions for the early topographers of Suffolk and it is inevitably within the pages of the 19th century directories that the earliest detailed descriptions of the village are to be found. "Worlingworth", wrote William White in the 1844 issue of his "History, Gazetteer and Directory of Suffolk", "A large and well-built village, pleasantly situated near the source of a rivulet, 5 miles N.W. of Framlingham and 6½ miles N.E. of Debenham, has in its parish 786 souls, and 2,446 acres, 2 roods, 6 perches of fertile land. The large common here was enclosed in 1831-7 and from the luxuriant growth of the hedges and plantations, it can scarcely be distinguished from the old enclosures". It should be reiterated here that it is 28 miles east of Bury St. Edmunds, 20 miles west of Dunwich and 18 miles north of Ipswich, to all of which places the medieval villeins of Worlingworth were required to perform carrying-works. From north to south, the parish measures about 2 miles, slightly larger from east to west.

To borrow again from William White (2), Worlingworth was in Hoxne Hundred "in the Eastern Division of Suffolk, in the Deanery of Hoxne (4), the Archdeaconry of Suffolk, and in the Diocese of Norwich. Worlingworth was thus within the eleven eastern hundreds of medieval Suffolk, known as the "Geldable" (5), although it is evident that one abbot at least

1. Reduced by about 4 miles if using all available footpaths, bridleways etc; a route formerly covered daily, and return, by Mr. Bickers senior of Worlingworth and now (1983) of Bedfield.
3. In medieval MSS inc. Domesday Book, often referred to as the Bishop's (of Norwich) Hundred.
4. No medieval MSS of the deanery have survived.
5. Subject to the sheriffs taxation or geld.
considered it to be part and parcel of the Liberty of St. Edmund (1).

Entering the parish from the east (See Map D), the present-day traveller
(suggested itinerary marked in red) should notice Oak Farm on the left and
the modern bridge over the 'rivulet', which rises in Tannington to the
south and flows northward to join the River Dove (itself a tributary of the
Waveney), at Hoxne, before the hall complex comes into view on the right.
The woodland N.E. of the hall is 'Secondary', and post-medieval,
predominantly overgrown hornbeam coppice with some sweet chestnut. A few
yards further on the pre-reformation guild-hall, now lacking at least one
wing, is on the north, and the church and cemetery on the south behind
lightly-built cottages: this is the site of Church Green.

A painting in the church nave of 1810 depicts the village celebrating the
Jubilee of King George III in this part of the village (2). The only
buildings depicted are the hall, guildhall, church and 'A big oven-chimney
built for the occasion' (3). None of the cottages which now lend the
appearance of a nucleated village to the present-day traveller are included
in the painting, although cottages on the south-east side of the Church
Green were recorded in the map of 1605/6.

In the 14th century this space was apparently known as "Elmesgrene" (4):
"Elmesbrygge" may have survived long enough to be shown in the centre of
the Jubilee painting. An encroachment by Henry de Gisleham (5), rector of

p.187. "Dicunt quod Abbas de Sancto Edmundo non permittit ballivos Regis
intrare villatas de Wirlingworth et Saham Monachorum ad officia sua
facienda nec ad distringendum pro debitis Regis sicut debet".
2. See Scarfe N., The Suffolk Landscape, Hodder and Stoughton, 1972, Plate
4. Almost certainly from the tree, but there remains the possibility that
it was 'Alms' green.
5. Or Gislingham: some of the 14th century clerks were as confused by the
similarity in spelling of these two communities some 30 miles distant from
each other as many present-day visitors unfamiliar with the area.
Worlingworth in 1312, is of interest (1). Henry appears to have enclosed a strip between 30 and 50 yards long and 10 to 15 feet wide from the green. N. Pevsner (2) has suggested a date c.1300 for the chancel of Worlingworth Church. It is tempting to suggest that Henry de Gisleham extended the perimeter of the cemetery at the same time. Henry was a vigorous man who featured prominently in the manor court business of his day.

Unlike the New (19th century) Road to Horham (See Map D), the medieval road leading northwards from "Elmesgrene" hugged the south bank of the rivulet out into open country (3). On both sides of the road the land was solidly either glebe or demesne. Shortly after it was joined by a brook rising in Bedfield to the west, itself still quite capable of causing considerable flooding in winter, the rivulet was diverted into the medieval mill-dam (4). One of the finest views in the parish in summer (5) is to be had looking south-east from the mill-dam along the Hall Meadow to the slight rise in the ground on which sit the church, rectory and hall.

A few yards further north, Stanway Lane leaves the Horham road eastwards towards the community living round Stanway Green. Field-walking (6) of

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   "Loquela cum Abbate:
   Item presentant quod idem Henricus continuavit quendam purpresturam anno preterito apud Elmesgrene longitudine 6 perticat et latitudine ( ) uno loco et altero loco 15 pedum et tertio loco 10 pedum".
3. This road was closed in the 19th century and the 'New Road' cut straight down from the Rectory instead, almost bisecting the glebe.
4. The date of construction and, indeed, the existence of a watermill is difficult to prove. The extent of 1302 (Harleian MS 230 fol. 150) mentions only a demesne wind-mill. The field-names 'Meldam', 'Melcherne' etc, all in low-lying ground near the rivulet are certainly medieval, however. (Extent of 1466 S.R.O. IPS. S1/2/7.3).
5. Valley Farm. Mr. Havers.
6. By kind permission of Mr. M. Horvath.
the medieval sites round the edge of this green has so far produced rustic
pottery of the "13th and 14th centuries" with no sherd clearly identifiable
as Thetford Ware, to be expected if the settlement was in existence at the
time of the Domesday Book. The small hamlet of Hilton lay to the N.W. of
Stanway Green mostly in Wilby parish.

Returning to the Horham road (1), on the rising ground to the west of the
mill dam is the site of the medieval windmill of Worlingworth Manor built
in 1336-7 (2), still known as Mill Hill in 1837 (3). After leaving the
demesne lands near Beynenes Tenement (Lodge Farm), the land sloping
eastwards to the rivulet from the Horham Road was occupied by Crouch Field,
a moderately large expanse of strip-field (4). It is clear that this
"Feld" took its name from a cross, similar to the "Calvaires" of Normandy
which probably stood at the junction (perhaps formerly a cross-roads) of
Fingle Street with the Horham Road. Pilgrims travelling by Framlingham to
the shrine of St. Edmund of Hoxne (5) may have brought this cross into
existence, although its position overlooking the village's largest area of
open field suggests a more mundane origin.

On the eastern side of the rivulet beyond Crouch Field, sloe thickets
occupy meadows formerly belonging to the medieval tenantry of Worlingworth,
such as "Tunmanmedew". In the angle of land between the Horham Road on

1. The 1466 extent refers to this as the road from Framlingham to Hoxne.
3. S.R.O. IPS. FC94/C1/5. By the early 18th century the site of the
village windmill had moved to the centre of the Great Green a few yards
north of the mill remains on the property known as "Two Mills" (Mr. D.
Greenard).
4. The parish church still receives rent for former strips of glebe in
this field.
5. For an expose of the background to the claims associated with the
origins of this important shrine, see Scarfe N., op. cit., p. 154-5.
its west side and Fingle Street on its south, lay Beynenes Wood, an important patch of primary woodland in the 13th and 14th centuries: despite the demands of modern agriculture (1), the ditches here are still amongst the best primrose-bearing areas in the entire parish, although the woodland itself has long disappeared. A small, overgrown pit by the side of the Horham Road here may mark the site of the marl-pit used to supply the demesne with the top-dressing referred to in the &lambda;νρθνρ of 1250 (2).

In the Middle Ages, Fingle Street was lined on both sides from end to end with both free and customary tenements. One of the best documented of the free tenements, formerly John Honipots now Honeypots Farm, lay on the north side of Fingle Street at its junction with the Horham Road: a fine map of this farm in 1684, when it was known as "Godbolds-in-the-Wood" is deposited with the Suffolk Record Office (3). As late as the "Great" census of 1851, a substantial portion, 25%, of the population of Worlingworth lived along this now quiet lane, which did not lose its own public house (The Crown) until 1965. (4). Behind the tenements on the north side of Fingle Street, stretching northwards to the parish boundary with Athelington and westwards to Southolt, was a large expanse of common waste, the Horshawe,

1. A change of ownership during the compilation of this thesis has removed many features recognisable on the map of 1605/6.
2. B.L. Harleian MS.230 (See Appendix C).
4. There is a strong local opinion that the depopulation of Fingle Street was caused by planning policy immediately before the Second World War: "Having built exemplary new council houses (in 1938) within the parish, the District Council could not find tenants for them: a council survey of drinking ("Tea") ponds in Fingle Street showed most of them to be unfit and the occupiers fearing lest their houses would be condemned and that they would be evicted, were tempted to move into the new council properties: many of the old, possibly medieval, cottages were later demolished".
which was still being assarted at the close of the 14th century (1). Fingle Street was most densely populated in the early 14th century at its junction with the north-east corner of the Great Green.

The green was bordered on all sides by medieval tenements, very predominantly villein and most thinly spread on the north side with the Horshawe behind them. The original function of the building marked on the 1605/6 map in the centre of the green (see the frontispiece) has been lost with the disappearance of the earliest volume of Worlingworth churchwardens' accounts: it was later a windmill standing on town land.

The width of the medieval road linking Worlingworth Great Green with Southolt Green may still be observed towards the western limits of the parish, consisting of the modern roadway and the two long meadows flanking each side with their hedges and ditches. From the south-west corner of the Great Green, Parrock Lane led past the Oxfrith (itself bisected by Wood Way) to join a road leading to the market town of Debenham five miles distant. This S.W. corner of the parish was the main area of assart during the fourteenth century. The sites of two buildings should be mentioned: firstly the Letecote, which stood in the fields north of the road to Bedfield, and the curious little building depicted on the map of 1605/6 at the junction of Parrock Lane and Debenham Way (2); the documents give no indication as to its function (3).

1. Areas of commonly held land named, if not actually reserved, for different domestic species within the same parish are known elsewhere in Suffolk (e.g. Flixton-in-Southelmham). The surname "de Horsehawe" first appeared in Worlingworth in 1305. S.R.O. IPS. Sl/2/1.1. fol.13.
2. Wood Way and Debenham Way are still unsurfaced public roads of considerable botanical interest.
3. Its end chimney may indicate that it was no more than a cottage on the waste.
Another cross formerly stood at the S.E. corner (1) of the Great Green near the exit of the highway occasionally referred to as Long Street in the medieval documents and now known as Shop Street. A few yards north of this exit, a 'Packway' (2) also headed away N.E. from the Green towards the medieval windmill. At the 'Smithel', Shop Street turns sharply south, apparently to cross the brook from Bedfield, and leads to the junction with Swan Road where, on an interesting small patch of waste, stands the 19th century Cross Cottage (3). This is the site of the medieval White Cross. (4). This part of the village which included the smithy (Tenementum 71, Marshalls), the brook crossing and the White Cross, opposite which Worlingworth's only surviving public house still stands, (5) undoubtedly represents the centre of the working community in the medieval period. All that is missing from this nucleus is the church.

That the church and manor house are actually sited about half a mile away to the east in a separate nucleus is of the greatest interest. Without the benefit of archaeological excavation, it is a matter for conjecture whether the first Saxon settlement (including, just possibly, the first wooden church) was built near the White Cross or at the eastern extremity of the village near the present church. It may have been one of the early abbots of Bury St. Edmunds who deliberately brought together, almost as a separate community, the abbey's principal assets in the parish, manor house,

1. See Appendix B. Tenementum 68, John Godard atte Green, is sometimes described as "Ad Crucem".
2. Its straight line is attractive to the searchers for Roman roads. However, on present evidence, it appears to be no more than the direct access to the mill for the considerable medieval population dwelling round the Great Green. It does point in the direction of Stanway Green.
3. Ordnance Survey (latest edition) and oral tradition.
4. The extent of 1466 described Tenementum 43, John Arnold, as on the road leading from 'Wyrlyngwirthcherch' to 'le Whytegrosse'.
5. The White Swan. The building on this site marked on the map of 1605-6 (Frontispiece) was described in the survey of 1611 (S.R.O.(IPS) S1/2/7/14, fol. 28v, 2nd entry) as 'De novo edificato'.
church, demesne and rectory (1). It is very remarkable that of the 90 medieval tenements in Worlingworth, only one (Tenementum 83) was situated at all near to this concentration of abbatial property.

Behind the tenements lining the eastern side of Suddonstrete, now Swan Road, was one of the three principal areas of strip-field in the village, "Suddonfeld". A further block of strips known as "Carrfeld" was situated on the south side of "Eslyngstrete" which led from Bedfield eastwards across the southern fringes of Worlingworth parish towards Tannington. The easternmost strip of "Carrfield" survives as a copse (2).

Today, the landscape of Worlingworth is daily being altered to conform to that of its neighbour Tannington, whose terrain the landscape historian Norman Scarfe has aptly compared to 'A wide sweep of prairie, interrupted by a few exposed farmhouses.' (3) In very recent years, the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Economic Community has subsidised the virtual elimination of dairying with its attendant field crops such as hay and lucerne, encouraged the intensive culture of wheat and barley (now mercifully being broken by a partial switch to the intensive culture of rape) and effected the removal of miles of hedgerows. The building of lagoons for pig effluent has not altogether eliminated the pollution of many watercourses. Nevertheless, unlike Tannington, whose landscape was so opened up that it was once seriously considered for the site of London's third airport (one could argue that it was the needs of military aircraft rather than arable farming which caused its removal from the short-list), Worlingworth does have patches of older, gentle countryside, most of them

1. The writer is indebted to Miss B. Dodwell of Reading University for putting forward this suggestion concerning the village's two nuclei.
2. See Map A (Frontispiece) and Tithe Map of 1837. (S.R.O. IPS. FC94/C1/5).
largely attributable to the breeding, showing or racing of thoroughbred horses. It is rumoured that pension funds and assurance companies own much of the arable land. Farmers have long outnumbered farmworkers. The village's largest employer is an agricultural contractor.
CHAPTER IV

WORLINGWORTH 1066 - 1085

Very little change, social or economic, occurred at Worlingworth between the Norman Invasion in 1066 and 1085, the year in which the compilation of the Little Domesday Book began. The only sokeman may have disappeared, bee-hives were introduced and the value of the manor increased by 33%. All else was as before, 'Tempore Regis Edwardi'.

Of the 'missing' sokeman and his tenement of 20 acres little can be said. Perhaps it should be noted that the only tenement in the extent of c.1355 which contained exactly 20 acres was Tenementum 35 (1) then a free tenement in Southolt-cum-Bedingfield held by Sir Peter de Bedingfield. It is very doubtful whether an equation can be made between the Domesday sokeman's 20 acres and Tenementum 35 in the 14th century, however tempting it might be to suggest that the sokeman's probable disappearance was occasioned by his having broken away to form the first nucleus of the hamlet of Southolt or, slightly more feasibly, the Fleming's Hall estate in Bedingfield, home of the de Bedingfield family from the early 13th century (2). However, no sokemen were recorded in the Domesday entries for Bedingfield and although the compilers of the Domesday Survey appear to have been aware of Southolt's existence (3), they clearly confused it with Southwold and recorded no tenancies or other details at all. With the probable disappearance of the sokeman, the whole of the tenant population of Worlingworth held land entirely of servile status: there was not one free tenant.

1. See Appendix A.
2. A deed attached to a Worlingworth A/C Roll of 1381-2 (S1/2/9.72) (S.R.O. IPS), apparently a copy of a charter of Abbot Sampson c.1206 not included in his 'Kalendar' refers to 20 acres of arable land in Bedingfield granted to Gerard de Bedingfield. It is clear this is a grant of confirmation.
The geographical distribution of bee-hives in 11th century Suffolk appears to be a neglected field of study. In 1086, Worlingworth had 6 hives. It is possible that modern geographers and historians have actually followed the advice of the anonymous author of 'Husbandry' (1) and have ignored the Domesday bee, thinking the available information to be so incomplete as not to be worthy of consideration.

Reference to Map E indicates that the greatest concentrations of Domesday hives coincide well with the heavy clays of S.W. Suffolk and of central East Suffolk (where the greatest number of contiguous vills with bee-populations occurred). It may therefore be suggested, at the least, that the rich flora associated with heavy clay-lands was as much responsible for the pattern of distribution of Domesday hives in Suffolk as any lack of zeal on the part of the panels of surveyors in gathering information.

The surname 'Honipot' may be found in the manorial court-rolls of the early 14th century in Worlingworth (2). Honey and wax were sold by the manor in 1277/8 (3) and sporadically during the two decades before the Black Death. (4) It is perhaps an interesting postscript that the roadside verge outside Honeypots Farm (Appendix A (Free) Tenement No. 19) was declared a nature reserve in 1979 for its rich and varied flora (5).

1. See Oschinsky, D., Walter de Henley and other Treatises..., Oxford 1971, p.431, c.35. An interesting example of recording hives, wax and honey has recently been identified in Suffolk Record Office in a small group of 15th century compotus-rolls for the manor of Brackley in Dennington and Brundish (S.R.O. (IPS) HA30:50/22/20.8).
2. But not in the 'Recognitions' list of 1302. (B.L. Harleian 230,vol.172-3).
5. Suffolk Trust for Nature Conservation, List of Protected Roadside Verges, no. 55. (Trifolium Ochroleucon etc. (Sulphur Clover)). It is only two miles away from Tannington Lodge, where the 18th century Ipswich botanist W.B. Coyte (Coytes Gardens) conducted his experiment (W. Coyte: Hortus Botanicus Gippovicensis, pub. G. Jermyn 1796) into the "Natural produce of some grass-lands in High Suffolk": he was investigating the excellence of the local dairy products and attributed this excellence to the diversity of the flora.
The increase in its valuation between 1066 and 1085 was a phenomenon Worlingworth shared with the narrowest of majorities amongst its immediate neighbours. That the two largest such increases in value, Redlingfield (67%), held by Robert Malet, and Worlingworth (33%) both occurred in coterminous vills owned by large estates provides some evidence, perhaps, that the tidy, administratively convenient, vill was seen in the post-invasion period as an esteemed property. Arguably the least developed of this group of neighbouring vills, Wilby, actually declined in value over this same period by 20% (1).

Worlingworth (with Southolt) was bounded along most of its northern edge by Redlingfield and Horham (with Athelington): it was in these three vills that the largest herds of goats were recorded and, with one exception (2), the smallest areas of woodland: Redlingfield was the only vill of the eight where deforestation (by 50%) was actually recorded between 1066 and 1085. It is a point worthy of debate, therefore, that the Domesday goat was an actual tool of assart, not, as H.E. Hallam has inferred, a dairy animal (3).

G.K. Whitehead (4) has described the passing of a herd of goats as as ruinous to young trees and shrubs as a bush-fire; however, when recording the actual tree species selected by free choice for barking by a herd of Bagot (5) goats, Mr Whitehead noticed that they missed out birch (6), oak and older elms. If what was required by Domesday man was an (edible) animal which destroyed unwanted thickets and saplings but left alone

1. The probable Deserted Medieval Village/mispelling, WINBURGH, is included in this calculation.
2. i.e. Monk Soham (See Table A).
5. Allegedly imported into Britain, 11th century - 14th century.
6. Not a common tree, on account roll evidence, in medieval Suffolk.
'commercial' trees such as oak, then the Domesday goat would have suited the purpose well, for a short time. It is therefore tempting to suggest that the assarting of Worlingworth north of the Great Green and Fingle Street (Horshawe) was in progress in the late 11th century. After reducing the wildwood either to oak-and-elm woods or to a state where conversion to arable or pasture was that much the easier, the goat became redundant and disappeared completely (1). Neither coppiced woodland nor agriculture were compatible with goat-keeping (2).

Worlingworth's complements of Domesday sheep and hogs (see Table A) were below average compared with the neighbouring vills. However, compatible with the comparatively large demesne (6 carucates) and meadow (16 acres), the number of beasts (with rounceys) and plough-teams was significantly above average.

The pattern in Domesday Worlingworth of exclusively servile status amongst the tenants was repeated in three of the seven contiguous vills (See Table A). In vivid contrast, free tenants were already in a numerical majority at Horham (with Athelington), Wilby (with "Winburgh") and Bedingfield. It is to the emergence of free tenants at Worlingworth itself that the next chapter must in part be addressed.

The social and economic status of the Domesday church at Worlingworth, whose congregation were all the tenants of one of the largest and richest abbeys in Western Europe, is of interest: it had less than half the average acreage of glebe held by churches in the neighbouring vills. The abbey may have compensated for this by allowing it extra

1. See again Oschinsky D., op. cit., p.431, c.35.
income, such as through tithes, not calculated by the compiler(s) of the Domesday Inquest (1).

1. Note, however (Table A), that the church at Monk Soham, another church of which the abbot held the advowson, had the largest amount of glebe in the sample. Monk Soham was not a coterminus vill - only two thirds of the inhabitants were on the abbey's land.
A significant change in the relationship between Worlingworth and the abbey of St. Edmunds occurred at some point before the end of the 12th century, according to R.H.C. Davis (1), when the arrangement by which Worlingworth despatched to Bury St. Edmunds in monthly rotation with certain other vills an obligatory 'Ferm' of real foodstuffs (2) ceased. The 12 monthly 'Ferms' were replaced by 52 weekly 'Ferms' and Worlingworth was dropped from the list of food-providing vills. Worlingworth was also absent from the revised and detailed list 'Firme Maneriorum Conventus' (3) contained in the Pinchbeck Register of mid-14th century date but copied from a customal compiled post c.1265 (4).

Distance from Bury St. Edmunds is not a certain explanation of this change in arrangements, for the abbey's manor at Warkton near Kettering in Northamptonshire was still on the list of the abbey's 'Ferms' at the time of the compilation of the customal (above) (5). Comparing Warkton with Risby, (6), a vill only a few miles distant from Bury, however, it is clear that, with the exception of 43 hens owed by the vill, Warkton's food 'Ferms' had been commuted for money: Risby still owed 36½ seams of oat malt whereas Warkton was to pay 5 shillings 'Cornbote' in redress for wheat and oats. (7). No account-rolls for the manor of Warkton have survived.

(2) Discussed in Chapter II of this thesis.
(4) C.U.L. Add. 6006, ff 61-63. This customary has been dated to post-1265 by R.M. Thomson The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk Records Society, Vol. XXI, 1980, p.139.
(6) Ibidem, p. 344.
(7) Ibidem, p.345; 'De cornbote 5s. quelibet virgata 6 garbe scilicet 3 garbe de frumento et 3 de avena'.
which might have indicated whether or not the poultry was actually despatched to St. Edmunds or sold locally and the money sent in lieu.

A better explanation of the change of arrangements at Worlingworth may be provided by a later court-roll entry of 1306 (1) which clearly indicated that the manor was then sending corn to the port of Dunwich, very probably for export to London or the continental markets across the 'East Sea'. It could be argued that of all the St. Edmunds manors in Suffolk, Worlingworth, Monk Soham and Chippenhall were amongst the best placed to participate in this lucrative trade. The proliferation of market and fair charters in the early and middle years of the thirteenth century in Suffolk also indicated that the agricultural produce of Worlingworth could be sold very locally with little trouble if required.

An approximate date for the commutation of Worlingworth's food rents may be indicated by the grant in March 1200 (2) to the newly founded Hospital of St. Saviour's in Bury St. Edmunds of two thirds of the demesne tithes of Worlingworth. The grantor, Abbot Samson, is widely accredited with administrative and financial astuteness (4). It may well have been Samson also who, early in the 13th century, gave lands and rents in Worlingworth (5) to the chamberlain of the abbey, perhaps as a tactical and political distribution of the abbot's own wealth. It therefore appears distinctly possible that the reorganisation of Worlingworth's food-rents took place during Samson's administration of the abbey's affairs (1182-1211) and that

(1) S.R.O. (IPS). Sl/2/1.1. fol. 8. 'Convictum est per inquisicionem quod Johannes Dousyng debet averare dimidium quarterium apud Donewycum...et predictus Johannes noluit."
(2) Davis, R.H.C., op. cit.
(4) ibidem, p.60.
participation in the corn trade from the coastal ports of Suffolk may well have been a motive.

In 1085-6, no freemen were recorded as holding land in Worlingworth. But in 1302, according to Abbot Thomas' and Richard's Register (1), there were 50 free tenants, and 54 according to the recognitions list. Because the sum of the assised rents paid by the unfree tenants in 1302 represents only 35% of the assised rents paid by all the tenantry half a century earlier in 1250, (2) it is reasonable to assume that most but not all of the free tenements had been established by the mid-13th century. The period c.1100-1250 witnessed a very remarkable development of this class of tenement.

There is interesting evidence that free tenements were still being established after 1250. In 1289, the villein Alanus Stannard was manumitted (3): his old tenement was given to Galfridus Fysk (4) whose name it bore in the extent of c.1355, (Appendix A no. 47) whilst Stannard himself acquired 6 acres of 'Sensuelond' (rent land) to add to the 7 free acres he already held and this new holding became Tenementum 28, free tenement Stannard. That the list of free tenements contains a chronological element is borne out by Tenementum 30 'Pro Alleciis': there was no mention of any herring rent in the extent of 1250 (5).

The connection between the free tenements and assart is very strong. Free tenements 24, 25, 26 and 27 were clustered together in le Oxfrith, an area

1. B.L. Harl. 230, fol. 150.
2. ibidem fo. 185.
4. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.23 fol.2....'Item presentant quod quidem Alanus Stannard tenuit.....13 acras terre customarie que tradite fuerunt cuidam Galfrido Fysk...' (1336).
5. B.L. Harl. 230, fol. 185.
described specifically as assart in a court of March 1303 (1). Support for the chronological element in the listing of tenements may also be derived from the fact that the only unfree tenement in the 'Frith' was that held by John le Frith and numbered 82, the very last of the miscellaneous 12-acre tenements (See Map F). It appears probable that this part of the parish was cleared from the waste comparatively late, in the middle of the 13th century. It is very noticeable also that free tenements in the Oxfrith had very small acreages (2) compared with those listed elsewhere, and higher, in the extents.

The surnames of some free tenants and their tenements contain evidence for this connection with assart. At Stanway Green, for example, Tenements 21 (Basilia de Westwode) and 22 (R. de Stanhaugh) were situated on the northern edge of the Stanhaugh, one of Worlingworth's pieces of original woodland. Less obviously, Tenementum no. 1 (Robert Muryel) is still known as Wood Farm, although neither the medieval documents nor the map of 1605-6 indicate the existence of any woodland in that S.E. corner of the parish.

A feature of the free tenements in Worlingworth is that they were distributed throughout the parish. Along the southern edge of the village and in the area known as Oldcroft immediately S.W. of the commercial nucleus of the village (See Map D), there were patches of exclusively free tenure, whilst around the Great Green the free tenements were in a distinct minority (3). The high average acreage of the free tenements, 18.35 compared with

1. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.1 fol. 4. 'Liberi qui tenent terram in Le Fryt...Et quia datus est dominus intellegi quod predicte terre solebant esse de quodam assarto...'
2. The average acreage of Tenements 24-27 inc. was slightly in excess of 4 3/4 acres.
3. Of the 4 free tenements located round the Great Green, two (Tenementum no. 14 Lucas Randolf, and 17, Nythyngales Pictell) were recorded specifically as consisting of 'Mollond' (See Chapter VII).
11.6 acres for the 52 unfree tenements, tends to lend them a scattered appearance. Assart, not 'Danish' influence, is undoubtedly responsible for this, however. The surnames of the free tenants in the 14th century appear to be drawn from exactly the same pool as the unfree tenants. It appears to have been the case that the free tenements were created by local people who were not natives by blood from Worlingworth itself and their descendants. The acreages of their tenements tend to contain, like the unfree tenements, duodecimal features, but some decimal acreages are also to be noted.

It is important to note that only one tenant (Appendix A no. 20) was sited on the Horham road between the church and the junction with Fingle Street. Since most of the other roads in the parish, particularly Fingle Street itself, were thickly populated, this illustrates again the abbey's policy...

1. Locative surnames were not common amongst the free tenantry even as late as 1302. It is envisaged that many of Worlingworth's free tenants may originally have been drawn from the dependants and descendants of the many free tenants in vills within a 5-mile radius.

2. The compilers of the extents did not divide the free tenements of Worlingworth into groups by acreage (however nominal) in the same way that they classified the unfree tenements. The list of free tenements contains both geographical features and chronological elements. Of the 30 free tenements in the extent of c.1400, 3 had had total acreages corresponding precisely to duodecimal measurements. Tenements 12 (Robert Thurston) and 19 (John Honipott) both contained 24 acres and Tenement 26 (Semanus Chapel) 6 acres. Decimal measurements are to be noted in connection with Tenements 13 (Adam Thurston), 30 acres, 22 (R. Stanhaugh), 50 acres, and 24 (W. Hotte), 5 acres. Duodecimal acreages slightly outnumber decimal acreages when blocks of land within the total acreages of the tenements are considered. But this extension of the duodecimal/decimal discussion introduces complications. Tenementum 19 (John Honipott, above) had a block of 20 acres within its total acreage of 24 and Tenementum 12 (Robert Thurston, above) had within it a block of 18 acres 1 rood, exactly the same as a block within Tenementum 13 (Adam Thurston, above), which suggests that Tenements 12 and 13 were once part of the same tenement measuring 36½ acres, if their chief blocks are added, or 50 acres if their total acreage is added. There is insufficient evidence to develop the argument that the virgate or 'Fullond' of 24 acres was the basic tenement size in late Saxon Worlingworth and that the larger free tenements such as John Honipott (above) included holdings of the 16 villeins recorded in the Domesday Survey.
in the village of separating the manor house and demesne from the tenants' smallholdings. Had Worlingworth at all resembled the Forncett, Norfolk, of Miss F. Davenport's study (1), where the unfree tenants dwelled 'Close to the Manor House', the Horham road would have been lined with houses at least as far as the site of the earlier mill (Valley Farm). Only archaeological excavation will reveal whether the abbey at some point in time cleared the tenants living alongside roads within the parcel of the demesne (2) and resettled them, for example, round the Great Green.

This is an appropriate point, perhaps, to note that messuages built on tenements free and unfree did not form the total housing stock of the medieval period. Cottages, usually the abodes of the sub-tenantry, are not represented on Map F of this thesis. However, despite a small line of cottages round the northern edge of the churchyard shown on the map of 1605-6 (3), there is no substantial reason for locating cottages mentioned in the medieval documents other than on the road-frontage of the free and unfree tenements from which they were sublet.

The grant to St Saviour's Hospital by Abbot Samson of two thirds of the demesne tithes at Worlingworth came towards the end of a busy century of monastic foundation and endowment in Suffolk. A moderately large Benedictine Priory had been founded by Robert Malet at Eye (6 miles N.W.) during the reign of William the Conqueror (4) and in Redlingfield (the village neighbouring Worlingworth-cum-Southolt to the N.W.), formerly held by R. Malet, a Benedictine Nunnery (5) was founded in 1120. At Hoxne (7

2. Results of field-walking in the area have so far proved inconclusive.
3. See Map A (Frontispiece).
miles N) in 1101, Bishop Herbert de Losinga founded (or re-founded) a religious house (1) formerly dedicated to St Ethelbert but later conveniently adapted by him to meet the demands of the St Edmund cult. Most of the other foundations in the vicinity of Worlingworth, such as Wingfield College (2) and Bruisyard Abbey (3) were of 14th century origin: that no religious institution of any substance (4) should have existed at Framlingham (7 miles S.E.) was surely a matter of policy on the part of the Bigod family, Earls of Norfolk, presumably because of their more ancient connections with Thetford Priory. As the central stronghold of the Bigods, Framlingham Castle was much involved in the rebellions of 1173 (5) and 1216 (6).

Historians of church architecture record but few instances of rebuilding or expansion in Worlingworth and the surrounding villages during this period (7). An exception is Bedfield, the only vill in the group which had no church mentioned in the Little Domesday Book, where both Munro Cautley (8) and N. Pevsner mention the Norman North Door and Chancel. Pevsner's statement (9) that it was not until the early fourteenth century and the coming of the Decorated style that "Architectural events began to gather momentum in Suffolk" appears particularly true of Worlingworth and its environs.

There is, as noted previously, fairly substantial information in the form

1. V.C.H. Suffolk Vol. II, p.76. For an interpretation of the motives behind the re-dedication, considered blasphemous by present-day inhabitants of Hoxne, see Scarfe N., op. cit., p.154-5.
4. There was reputedly a hermitage.
7. i.e. Norman or late-Norman.
of market charters (1) that commercial activity increased substantially during the early thirteenth century in this part of Suffolk. The competition between the Bishop of Norwich's pre-Conquest market at Hoxne (7 miles) and Robert Malet's immediately post-Conquest market at Eye (6 miles) is recorded in the Little Domesday Book itself. To add to these, a market and fair at Debenham (5 miles S.W.) were chartered in 1221/2; as noted in Chapter III, a road leaving Worlingworth by its S.W. corner was known as 'Debenham Waie' in 1605/6 (2). Hugo Rufus (Rous) obtained a grant of market at Stradbroke (4 miles N.E.) in 1225. A grant of market for Laxfield (7 miles N.E.) was made in 1226. Very clearly, if growth in population matched the increase in market charters this area was experiencing a considerable economic expansion, although the mere grant of a fair or market on the Patent Rolls is not proof that an active and flourishing fair or market was actually established.

Some small corroboration of this increased economic activity is provided by the 'Day-Book Rolls' of the medieval Jewish community based at Norwich, 1225-6 (3). A comparatively small debt of one mark was owed by Walter son of Robert de Wirlingworth to Isaac son of Jurnet of Norwich (Eliab Ha Nadib). This sum pales by comparison with the seventy pounds (4) owed by Adam de Bedingfield to Aaron son of Abraham, one of eleven entries involving members of this emerging seigneurial family: it appears that borrowing founded the Bedingfield dynasty. These early 13th century commercial connections between Worlingworth, its neighbouring vills and the city of Norwich are important.

1. For a map of grants of market in medieval Suffolk, see Scarfe N. The Suffolk Landscape, Hodder & Stoughton, 1972, p.166.
4. Ibid. p.218.
CHAPTER VI

THE DEMESNE 1250 - 1302

The 11th century demesne at Worlingworth, as noted and discussed in previous chapters, consisted of six carucates containing 100 acres each. Almost certainly, the total of 600 acres included both the tenants' land and the manor farm which, it has been argued, remained of virtually the same size and in the same location as that given in the extent of 1250 written into the Register of Abbots Thom as and Richard (see Appendix C for a full transcript of this extent) and later documents (for evidences of the demesne pieces in 1250, see Appendix D). The Romano-British artefacts and coins found near the rectory and at Lodge Cottage on the demesne piece known as Beyneneswent provoke the conjecture that the medieval demesne could have included pre-Saxon landscape features. (1)

1. For a useful discussion of the fields and field systems which the Saxons took over from the Romano-British population, see: Taylor, C., Fields in the English Landscape, Archaeology in the Field Series, J.M. Dent and Sons, 1982, pp 68-69.
In 1250, the demesne had 233 1/4 acres of arable land and 15 acres of meadow, totalling 248 1/4 acres: in May 1302, a further extent recorded 236 acres of arable and 11 acres of meadow, totalling 247 acres. From this it is clear that, quite contrary to the accepted tenets of "Classical" manorial theory, no attempt was made at Worlingworth to expand the size of the arable element of the demesne throughout the thirteenth century.

The 1250 Extent also strongly suggests that the demesne arable was marled, if not cropped, in a 3-year rotation. In 1250, Hallecroft, Beyneneswent, Ty(wall)went and Melchethern, 63 1/4 acres in all, were described as "Marland anno presente". Alwinescroft, Redingg, Preestescroft, Grenescroft and Berecroft, 105 acres in total, were described as "Bona Terra". Neither Walcworthes, a field of 40 acres, nor Longgewithe (Longworthing), a field of 25 acres lying near it were described in exactly the same terms as the other two groups and may have formed a third group.

That this extent of 1250 did not employ either of the usual words for fallow, "Warectum" or "Frisca" is important, for it is distinctly possible that systematic marling, an effective but very labour-intensive method of restoring the fertility of arable land, may have been preferred to fallowing on the Worlingworth demesne of c 1250. By 1278-9 (3), however, the 'normal' practice of resting about one third of the demesne each year was being followed.

1. B.L. Harleian 230 p. 150.
2. Pasture is recorded in this extent (1302) at 11½ acres.
3. S.R.O. IPS. S1/2/9.1. Account roll 1277-8. Acreages sown with the various crops are not stated, but if the 20 semes (quarters) and 6 bushels of seed-wheat were sown at the usual density of 2 bushels per acre, then there were sown that year about 83 acres of wheat and, using similar calculations, 24 acres of peas and c. 66 acres of oats. The total sown, c.173 acres, was fractionally less than 3/4 of the stated acreage of the demesne arable in 1302.
A complete reconstruction of the demesne arable as defined in the extent of 1250 (See Map G) is difficult, for, as noted previously, documentary evidences for demesne lands (see Appendix D) were inferior to those referring to tenants' landholdings and the next extant survey of the demesne is dated 1543/4 \(^1\). There appears to be a case that, geographically, the demesne fields readily break down into 3 groups which may just represent 3 open-fields of some earlier period.

Alwinescroft, Berecroft, Hallecroft and Redingg all lay east of the rivulet and north of the east-west highway: in 1250, they contained 94 acres. Preastescroft, Longgewithe and Walcworthes lay south of the east-west highway: in 1250, they contained 80 acres, but the rectory, like the manor the property of St. Edmunds Abbey, also had land there. Melchethern, Tyewallewen, Beyneneswente and Grenescrof lay west of the rivulet and north of the east-west highway: in 1250, they contained 59 acres, but, if these 3 groups are to be considered as relics of Saxon open-fields, the 11-acre piece of glebe opposite the rectory would have to be added to this group. Reference to Map G indicates that in 1250 the marling rotation bore no relation to the above groupings of demesne fields \(^2\).

Two account-rolls from the period 1277-9 \(^3\) have survived, affording an insight into the functions of the Worlingworth demesne almost half a century before the main series of these rolls commenced. The earlier roll covered the full twelve months from Michaelmas 1277 to Michaelmas 1278 and

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1. S.R.O. IPS. S1/2/7.4.
2. Had the 1250 extent mentioned crops, a different picture may have emerged.
made it clear that earlier accounts have been lost. The later roll, on the evidence of the panel of assized rents, described transactions up to a point between the second and third of the 4 annual rent-days, no doubt near to the death of Abbot Simon de Luton in April 1279. Both rolls generally follow the "Westminster" or "Common" form in their arrangement of panels; however the earlier roll has only 3 panels describing all the manorial expenditure compared with 10 in the later roll. The differences in the expenditure panels reflect either the dissimilar standards of professional training between the abbey's auditors and clerks, or the lack of imposed uniformity of accountancy on the part of the abbey at that time.

The manorial income for the year 1277-8, totalling £43-0s-0d was divided into 12 panels. Arrears, whether they are to be understood as overdue debts collected during the year or as working capital (an ad hoc 'float') or some other accountancy device, amounted to 8.2% of income. The most lucrative panel was assized rents, 22% of all income. This included 10s. from the sale of a thousand herrings received in rent: subtraction of this herring-rent from the total income produces under "Assized rents" a sum larger by only one penny than the assized rents recorded in the extent of 1250. This suggests that in 1277/8 the free Tenement "Pro Alleciis" (No. 30 in Appendix A), or at least the services attached to it, was a very recent creation. That assized rents would not otherwise have risen as a source of manorial income during a period when it is often supposed that the population was increasing rapidly appears to

1. "De ar rerag iis precedent iis componi:"
2. i.e. as compared with the "Winchester" 'Forma Compoti': Oschinsky D.: Walter of Henley and Other Treatises etc., Oxford, 1971, p.225.
3. There appears to be a discrepancy of 1/4d.
confirm that the abbey was not considering a rentier policy. Sub-letting by recognized tenants was a regular part of life in 14th century Worlingworth, however, and any population "explosion" may have been accommodated using this device.

Closer examination of the panel recording livestock sales, at 17.8% the second largest panel, quickly dispels any idea that Worlingworth was a stock-rearing manor. The ox-shed had caught fire and the resulting sale of 7 burned horses\(^1\) and 5 burned oxen distorted this panel of the demesne that year. The fire also temporarily inflated the 'Underwood' panel (13.9% of total income) for not only were the charred ox-shed timbers sold but building a new 'ox-house' produced off-cuts which also found buyers.\(^2\)

'Subboscus' was a complex panel including escheats from carpenters' work at the wind-mill and parings from timber sent to the New Chapel at Bury St Edmunds\(^3\) sold to a tanner,\(^4\) in addition to the more usual sales of thorns and other underwood growing in various parts of the parish, Frithheg, Beynenysle and Stanhache.

1. "Staurum etc. vend...Et de 52s de 7 stottis combustis in boverio. Et de 40s de 5 bobus combustis in boverio". The high price of the scorched horses compared with the oxen (7s.5d.:8s.) tends to confirm archaeological evidence provided by Mr Geoffrey Moss, Lecturer at the Colchester Institute of Higher Education, that the medieval population of Worlingworth ate horse flesh.
2. "...Et de 8s.5d. de escaete novi bover. vend. prout patet per perticula per talliam contra Robertum Claviger...".
4. See Appendix A. Tenementum (Customary) No. 76, Henricus Barkere.
In this particular year 1277/8, manorial income from sales of cultivated field-crops was untypically low at just under 10% ('normality' was restored in the following year). Perquisites of court, a steady but not spectacular source of income, measured 14.4%.

Many of the items which would normally be found under small sales were added to the 'Forage' (5.1%) and 'Livestock' panels; viz: honey and beeswax, two tuns of old cider, cheese, and two woollen fleeces. Income from herbage constituted 3.9% of total income: possibly the most interesting detail from this panel was that young stock (horses and oxen) were grazing in woodland, principally at Stanhach (Stanthaugh).

Against the total income calculated at £43-0s-01/4d, expenses of £17-1s-1 3/4d were recorded. As mentioned above, there were only three expenses panels on this account and no attempt was made to balance income and expenditure as, in rough and ready fashion, was often the case. In fact, 93% of all expenditure was represented by the transfer to the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds of money accounted for by tallies. Whilst arrears of £3-10s-6 3/4d had been accounted under 'Income', only a round sum of £1 of these arrears was sent to the Abbey, suggesting, perhaps, that the remainder, if successfully collected, was retained to work as a 'float'.

After the panel of the lord's expenses at Michaelmas (4%), the remaining 3% of outgoings were listed under the 'Hospice'. A party of 2 carters, 2 horse-riders and 2 boys came with 2 long carts from Bury St Edmunds to fetch laths for the Chapel of St Mary at the Abbey: five men and a boy came to catch hares for three days in Lent (their greyhounds (leporarii) ate 5d of sops ("supanis") and their hounds ("brachetti") 2 bushels of
oats). With Thomas and Clement the carpenters (and at least two other unnamed carpenters and a boy) active in the village in felling timber for the lathes and picking out a mill-post, the implications for the study of building materials in all types of housing are obvious: it may be anticipated that the population of medieval Worlingworth lived in timber-framed buildings rather than in clay-lump "Hovella".

The cranger's account in 1277/8 dealt with wheat, barley (and malt), peas and oats in its field-crop section, and under livestock listed cart-horses, plough-stotts, oxen, cows and young oxen. It is clear from detail to be gleaned elsewhere in the account that the demesne kept or received geese, pigs and sheep.

In terms of the weight of each grain species amassed from both internal and external sources, Worlingworth was in 1277/8, a barley manor, by the margin of 1 a bushel more than oats. Comparing imports-plus-purchases with exports-plus-sales, Worlingworth had a surplus of wheat and peas, a deficit of barley, oats and malt; by overall weight there was a very small deficit balance of 4 quarters, 5 bushels of all crops. In terms of the amount of seed sown, Worlingworth was an oats manor. In terms of grain exported or sold, Worlingworth was a barley manor.

It is clear from the uses to which the grain was put other than seed, export and sale, that the demesne farm, employed as "full-time"(1) 'famuli'- 4 ploughmen, 1 carter, 1 daye and a swineherd: part-time famuli (2) mentioned were a harrower, cowman, a second carter and a boy to

1. i.e. receiving a weekly allowance of 'metecorn'.
2. i.e. receiving 'metecorn' substantially less than for 52 weeks a year.
keep the geese. It is plain that the disastrous fire in the cattle-sheds had dislocated the levels of livestock kept; at the end of the accounting process, the demesne had 2 cart-horses, 6 plough-stotts and 6 oxen, with no young stock mentioned at all.

Other calls on the manor's grain resources were made by the seneschal attending the view of frankpledge, the bailiff, Robert the Claviger, Symon Clericus who made 3 visits to attend to the account and by the homage when called to the 'Bene' works, for which they received their allowance of "Tunnemannemetecorn". Apart from Bury St Edmunds, journeys exporting or importing agricultural seed or products brought Worlingworth men in contact with Thorpe (Thorpe Abbots near Diss, Norfolk), Redgrave, Tivetshall and Monk Soham.

The account for the first seven months (approximately) of the Michaelmas Year 1278/9 (1) is different in several respects from its predecessors. There are ten panels for both the income and expenditure sections and the account is seemingly tuned to show a slight profit (i.e. a surplus of income over expenditure) of c. 6%. That the clerk should have progressed directly from "Vendiciones post ccmpotum" to "Liberaciones" before entering up the total of receipts (he did not subsequently include "Liberaciones" in receipts) was probably a mistake but might indicate that he had seen a model of the "Winchester" Form of Account (2) during his training.

In this (incomplete) year, sales of wheat at 55.7% of all manorial income dominated the receipts section. When the sales of barley and oats are added to these sales of wheat, sales of field-crops constituted over 70% of

1. S.R.O. (IPS. S1/2/9.1. (In the same bundle as the compotus-roll for 1277/8).
manorial income. Assized rents (11.1%), rent of the mill (3.7%) and perquisites of court (3.4%) were, because of the shortened span of the account, comparatively low. Sales of underwood, which this year contained nothing extraordinary, represented 5.2% of income, followed by sale of plough-works (Govelherthe) (1.8%), arrears (1.8%), malt (1.2%), sales after account (0.06%) and livestock (abnormally low because of the last year's fire) 0.5%.

An indication of just how profitable (in the modern sense) Worlingworth manor was to the abbey in a good year is indicated by the fact that, of all "expenditure", 80% was really the transfer of money produced by and on the manor despatched to Bury St Edmunds.

After "Liberaciones", the hospice panel (0.7%) recorded inter alia the expenses of a hunting party, including Thomas Custos of the "Speynelles" coming to catch hares and another to catch partridges. According to the seneschal's expenses (0.9%) two courts had already been held in this year before the closure of the account: the expenses of the bailiff and claviger amounted to 4% of total expenditure, the highest category other than "Liberaciones". The straightforward "Ploughs and Carts" panel (3.5%) contains the information that whereas the 2 cart-horses and 8 plough stotts were shod during this year, the oxen were not.

The costs of re-building the burnt-down ox-house dominated the building-costs panel (3.0%):
"In excavating clay for the new ox-house for 11 days, 22d.

In wattling the new ox-house, 2s.

In daubing it 2s. 2d.

In (more) daubing 4s. 8d.

In thatching it 5s. 4d.

In 2 carpenters making stalls & 'balkes' in the said house 2s. 4d.

In daubing the stalls in the new ox-house (piecework) 8d.

In hooks & hinges for the ox-house door 3d. (1)

(Total) (20s. 3d)

The stipends of the 'famuli' (0.5%), threshing and winnowing costs (2.9%) and costs of harvest (2.2%) completed the expenditure section.

Field crops listed in the Granger's Account of 1278/9 were wheat, rye, barley, peas and oats: this stock account was very much more sophisticated than in the previous year and included panels to account for cart-horses,


".. In woodwork on a house at Berwick 40 feet long 10s. 7d.
In 500 laths bought for it 22s. 4d.
In 1500 broadnails 15d.
In plastering 3s.
Rushes for the roof cost 4s. 3d.
In thatching it 12d.
In gemews & hinges 8d.
(24 winter .... carrying rushes from Beccles to Beruyck) 4s.

22s. 7½

(Total) (26s. 7½d)
stotts, oxen, pigs, piglets, geese, hens and eggs. A larder account followed to give details of pork in the ham, pork off-cuts, lard, steel, iron, salt and herrings.

In 1278/9, Worlingworth was a wheat manor: over 80 quarters were sold or exported to other manors, compared with 40 quarte of oats, 30 quarters of malt, over 13 quarters of barley and about 10 quarters of peas: the only commodity 'imported' was barley. Worlingworth had a surplus of about 40 tons of grains and legumes. Another export was that of firewood ("focale") to Redgrave. The rye, properly a crop grown on the lighter soils of the Sandlings (E. Suffolk) and the Brecklands (W. Suffolk), was imported and eaten locally but not grown. Only in terms of volume of seed reserved for planting was wheat relegated to second place, by oats. Unfortunately, the account does not state where and to whom the wheat was sold: quantities of peas and cereals, apart from small quantities sent for the king's use, moved to other manors belonging to the Abbot, Monk Soham, Thorpe Abbots, Coney Weston, Redgrave and Brockford, although an ox was sent on rather a longer journey to (Long) Melford and 26 pigs in-the-ham to Bury St Edmunds.

Some further information concerning the demesne at Worlingworth may be extracted from an extent of the manor made on 4 May 1302 (1). Comparisons of demesne arable and meadow with the extent of 1250 have already been made earlier in this chapter. In the intervening years it is pertinent to note that the stated acreage of arable demesne had increased by only 1% and the meadow had decreased by 27%: however, 'pasture' was not mentioned in 1250,

1. Harleian 230f.150.
but was included at 11½ acres in the calculations of 1302 (1), possibly explaining the discrepancy.

Demesne woodland was estimated to contain 46 acres in 1302, the underwood from which was calculated to yield for cutting 7 acres per annum, a 6 - 7 year rotation. These account-rolls of 1277-9 refer to demesne woodlands at Fritheg, which the map of 1605/6 (2) placed south of the rectory (6 acres), Benynysle, south-west of the junction of Finkle Street with the Horham Road (3), and at Stanhaugh, an area of the village where cropping of timber was common in the early and mid-14th century. Other wooded areas in the parish, Oxfrith and Horshawe, were not mentioned in the account-rolls: it is probable that these were communal woodlands.

The rent of the windmill, which had been valued at 45s per annum, had fallen to 14s 4d in 1302, a decrease which is difficult to explain except in terms of the numerous manor-court fines for breaking mill-suit (4).

Harvest-works demanded from the tenants in 1302 were in respect of 190 acres of demesne arable land per annum suggesting that, on average, 46 acres of uncultivated land (20%) were anticipated each year. To aid the movement of the various commodities about the region, the albott was still

1. "Item 7½ acr. pasture que vocantur Culeswe (cow-pasture - beautifully "corrupted" to 'Cowlizards' in the 18th century (See Map E)) cum Tewallehil que valent per annum 3s 9d.
Item 4a pasture ante magnas portas cum Elmesgrene et una vic inter terras dominicas que valent 6s.8d. per annum."

2. S.R.O. (IPS.) HD417/33. See Map G.

3. Map 1605/6: "Dominus tenet unam silvam voc Beyneys wood cont 14 acras 3 roods".

4. Fragments of hand quern are common on the medieval sites of Worlingworth, for example Tenement Strutts on which archaeological excavations were commenced in July 1982.
able to exact 54 carrying-works (averages) per annum. The total "value" of the manor was put at £25-10s-7 3/4d, showing an increase since 1085 very remarkably close to 1% per annum.
CHAPTER VII

CONDITIONS OF TENURE AND POPULATION GROWTH 1250 - 1302

In Chapter V, the rapid expansion in the numbers of free tenants in Worlingworth between c.1100 and 1250 was examined. A somewhat similar growth occurred in the number of unfree tenants during the same period. In 1085-6, the Domesday Book recorded the existence in Worlingworth of 30 unfree tenements (and 1 serf), 16 villeins and 14 bordars. But by c.1355, there were 52 unfree tenements in the village: the extent of 1302 listed 92 'Customarii nativi' (1).

The arguments have also been made that virtually no expansion in the acreage of the demesne farm occurred between the 11th and 14th centuries. As a result, it might be argued further, there was no urgent cause why new tenements granted to or created by native tenants 'de sanguine' and their descendants should be loaded with some, at least, of the labour works attached to, arguably, the earliest groups of unfree tenements (the Jerald, Allyd and Hervey groups). R.S. Gottfied (2) has noted the precedents, set by Abbot Samson at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, of abbots actually favouring 'commutations and cash relationships'. It should not be entirely surprising, therefore, if unfree tenements created in the 12th and 13th centuries at Worlingworth had obligations attached to them rather different from the tenements of late-Saxon origin. A greater emphasis on money rents rather than labour rents could be anticipated.

1. B.L. Har. 230. fols 172v-173.
The chronological element in the listing of free and unfree tenements at Worlingworth in the extents has already been discussed. With reference to the unfree tenements in particular, it was the practice, however small the acreage, to append tenements created later than the majority to the end of the list of 12-acre tenements, leaving the list of 6-acre tenements like 'Richard Hervy' without appendages. Tenement 79 (W. Emelet), for example, contained only 2 acres and half a rood. A mid-13th century date has already been suggested for the last of these miscellaneous, late 12-acre tenements, Tenementum 82, John dill Frith, in the assart of the Oxfirth.

Analysis of the unfree sections of the extents reveals that after the 12-acre and 6-acre tenements proper, a different type of unfree tenement did emerge of which the distinguishing features were that they owed no week works and their land was almost always described as 'Mollond'. There were 21 unfree mollond tenements (1) and 3 free mollond tenements (2). A comparison of money rents, exclusive of labour services, indicates that Tenementum 68, John Godard atte Grene, an unfree mollond tenement of 6 3/4 acres paid annually 1.85d. per acre, his free mollond neighbour Tenementum 14, Lucas Randolf, 8½ acres, paid 2d. per acre, whereas the older Tenementum 88, Crowenest, 6 acres (Richard Hervy group) paid only 0.45d. per acre (plus, of course, a lengthy list of labour works). Perhaps the most interesting unfree tenement of all at Worlingworth was the lowly listed Tenementum 81, John Phelip, which owed no labour services of any sort and paid for its 6½ acres at the rate of 4s. per annum, almost 7½d. per acre: this tenement was not described as mollond and the only discernible unfree element appears to be the personal status of John Phelip himself,

1. Appendix B nos. 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82.
for he may have been a cadet of the Phelip family of Dennington, two miles away, which rose from humble beginnings to considerable social heights in the 15th century (1).

The distribution of the mollond tenements in Worlingworth is of great interest (see Map C). It is clear that the tenements round the Great Green give some indication as to the age of the green itself. The north side and western exist, which included free mollond Tenementum 17 (Nythyngales Pictell), were exclusively mollond and thus may be provisionally dated to the period c.1100-c.1250. The east side of the green may be the latest of all for it includes both Tenementum 81 (above) and free Tenementum 28 (R. Stannard) effectively created in 1289 (2). The 'older' unfree tenements were sited near the S.E. and N.E. exits from the green along the sides of the roads. Tentatively, it may be suggested that the Great Green was cut from the waste during the 12th and 13th centuries. It might be argued with a great deal more confidence that mollond tenements were, like the free tenements, created by assart. The difference between unfree mollond tenements and free tenements, including free mollond tenements, rested between the personal status of the original assartors and, perhaps, the type of rent they were able to afford and negotiate with the lord at the outset. An important aspect of the Stannard manumission (3) was that whatever the change in status of the tenant (4), the status of

1. The tomb of William Phelip, Lord Bardolph, in Dennington Church reflects the high social position of the former Treasurer to King Henry V's household and the reputed manager of the said King's funeral. William Phelip died in 1441. Early in the 14th century, the Phelips appear to have been quite ordinary tenants of the manor of Dennington.
2. C.U.L. Mm. IV.19.48v-49.
3. Only two other manumissions at Worlingworth have survived on record. The index to Abbot William Curtey's (1390-1415) Register (See Hervey, F., The Pinchbeck Register, etc., Vol. II, p. 340-1) recorded the manumission of William Swanne in order to allow him to enter the priesthood, and of John Hervy.
4. The method by which R. Stannard acquired his freedom is not recorded.
the tenement was, at this stage in Worlingworth's development, to all intents and purposes immutable.

The list of "Recogniciones" (1) of Worlingworth made in 1302 for the use of the newly elected Abbot Thomas de Tottington is one of the corner-stones for the study of the village in the fourteenth century. The status, either free or native, and amount paid by each of 148 individuals is recorded (2). Of these, 49 were free tenants and 99 customary tenants, although 8 persons (or others identically named) had 2 tenements each: 28% of all the tenants were women. Of the 10 persons excused payment specifically because of poverty, "quia pauper", female customary tenants made the largest group: only 1 free tenant, a male, was so excused. Of the 11 individuals who paid most (3), 2 shillings or more, 9 were customary tenants, 4 were women.

However tempting it might be to base a series of statistical calculations on so clear a view of a medieval tenant body, the exercise would clearly have its limitations, for of the 152 individuals who appeared in the first 10 manor courts at Worlingworth nearest chronologically (1301-2) to the recognitions list, 66 were on the recognitions list and 86 others, who presumably (4) still owed suit of court, were not. The sub-tenantry, this

2. Note that the Extent made the same year (B.L. Harl. 230 p.150) mentioned only 50 free tenants and 56 customary tenants.
3. The MS offers no criteria of assessment, except money paid.
4. Of the 86, circa 40% had surnames which suggested they were outsiders, not junior members of tenant families. The legal apparatus by which these non-resident, non-tenant 'foreigners' were brought back to face charges brought against them in Worlingworth manor court has gone unrecorded. It is possible that offences committed by foreigners may have been dealt with on the spot by the "Decenarii" and the finds written into the fabric of the manor court afterwards. It is more likely, however, that neighbouring lords had an agreement between themselves that offences by their own tenants on the soil of their neighbour's manor should not go unanswered.
suggests, might have been at least as numerous as the recognized tenants. Despite the comparatively fine detail of the Little Domesday Inquisition perhaps only an incautious scholar would deny the possibility that a similar situation existed in 1085.

Whilst it is not claimed that all tenements were extensively sub-let some idea of the possible size of the concealed sub-tenant population may be gauged from the information that when the 12-acre customary (mollond) tenement of Matilda Dousying was in dispute with the lord in 1301 or 1303, there were no fewer than 6 sub-tenants (1): when the villein Matilda Thurstan sought to distrain her former sub-tenants, they also numbered 6 (2). Later in the fourteenth century, the evidence of the extent of c 1355 is that both free and customary tenements were extensively sub-divided and sub-let in this way. (3) Demographic calculations are further complicated by the certain knowledge that some individuals (c.f. Alexandra Fayr, footnotes below) were sub-tenants to more than one recognized tenant.

1. C.C.R. 004-11: "...Agneta Hirdeman 3 acres...
S.R.O. (Ips) ...Thomas Fayr 3 roods...
S1/2/1.1 fol. lv. ...Alexandra Fayr ¼ acre....
... William Roke and
   Roisia Brun 1 acre 1 rood...
   Margeria Cach.. ½ acre"

2. C.C.R. 035-09 (Mon. Dec. 2nd 1308)
S.R.O. (Ips) S1/2/1.1 fol. 16v.
"...Emma Thurston...
...William Thurston...
...Alexandra Fayr...
...Isabella Fayr....
...Peter Brun......
...Adam Sittard...."

3. S.R.O. (Ips) S1/2/6.1 and 6.6 for example No 26 (Appendix A) Free "Tenementum Semani Chapel continet 6 acras terre unde Johannes Gerard tenet 3 acras, Johannes Godard tenet 3 acras cum 1 piccolo".

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Perhaps the most practical way of estimating the population of Worlingworth c 1300 is to add to the 92 individual males of the 1302 recognitions list the 56 other men (only 16 had surnames of recognized families) who appeared in the first 10 manor-courts, to employ J.C. Russell's calculation, derived from the 1377 Poll-Tax Returns, that in the countryside the ratio of men to women was 105:100 and to increase the sum by one half in accordance with another of J.C. Russell's tenets that 33% of the total medieval population was under the legal age of 12 years (1). The resultant sum, 434, which may well be conservative (2), is not seriously at odds with the total obtained by applying H.E. Hallam's household multiplier (3) of 4.7 to the 106 tenants recorded in the 1302 extent, 499. Moreover, a male tenant body of circa 150 individuals over the age of 12 years supposes that, providing the tithings were being carefully maintained, there should have been 15 capital "hedges or "Decenarii" and this is precisely the number recorded in a court-roll of June 1304 (4). The population of Worlingworth in 1801 was 653, of Southolt 211.

Very much in line with R.A. McKinley's findings on the percentage of occupational surnames within samples of 14th century populations in East Anglia (5), only 13% of the free tenants and 11% of customary tenants recorded on the Worlingworth recognitions list of 1302 had surnames which could be placed in this category. From the free tenantry, "Molendinarius", "Bercarios", and "Faber" are reliable indications of the trade pursued: as R.A. McKinley has pointed out (6), "Hirdman" may be

2. There may have been other sub-tenants etc. who did not happen to have been involved in the business of the first ten selected courts.
3. Hallam, H.E., op.cit. p.64.
4. C.C.R. 017-01. Sl/2/1.1. fol. 7.
5. McKinley, R.A., Norfolk & Suffolk Surnames in the Middle Ages, Phillimore, 1975, p.32.
6. McKinley, R.A. op.cit., p. 34.
derived from a personal name (Aerdman) rather than the more obvious "keeper of cattle": the true occupation of Wolnodus le Sayere (occasionally spelled 'Sahiere' in the court-rolls) is uncertain for this surname could derive from the cloth industry \(^{(1)}\) (serge-maker), or from the timber trade (sawyer) \(^{(2)}\) or, simply, from agriculture (sower of seed) \(^{(3)}\). It is likely that the surname 'Le Barkere' which dominated the list of customary tenants' occupational surnames, is to be linked in this instance with tanning \(^{(4)}\) rather than the keeping of sheep. Tenementum le Barkere (Appendix A No. 76) although situated on the northern edge of the Great Green, lay to the south of that extensive tract of woodland and assart "le Horshawe". "Crudde" (Curd), "Bercarius" and "Faber" complete the list.

"Animal" nicknames, along with those derived from high rank, Popes, Kings and Bishops, formed a large group of surnames at Worlingworth. There were bulls ("Bole", "Bolle"), stotts, swans, ducks and cats ("Cach", "Schat", etc.). The largest group of surnames, however, was certainly that based on personal names, for example "Osbern", "Josep", "Gerard" and "Harald". Of the other large group, locative surnames, two thirds derived from villages elsewhere in East Anglia ("Rollesby", "Horkesley", "Gipping"), the remainder from local landscape features ("Frith", "Willowmere", "Brok", etc.). A substantial number of surnames defy simple categorisations of this nature ("Oudyn", "Benyne", and "Pingel"). The surnames of the sub-

1. McKinley, R.A., op.cit. p.44.
2. McKinley, R.A., op.cit. p.145. In 1278/9, (Account Roll), a hedge was sold to Galfridus le Syur under "sales of underwood". (S.R.O. (Ips. S1/2/9./1)
3. Old High German satan, saan, sawan, to sow (seed).
"...Subboscus venditus...Et de 12s.4d de eschetis venditis ad tannum de maeremio prostrato et misso apud Sanctum Edmundum ad novam capellam...."
tenants (1) follow exactly the same pattern, with occupational (2) surnames in noticeably short supply.

There was a strong geographical element in the way the 1302 recognitions list was drawn up. The first four customary tenants, surnamed "Gerningham", "Strut", "Cach" and "Fayr", may all be located with certainty on the north and west sides of Stanway Green (Tenements 63, 64, 60 and 61 respectively - Appendix A), in which case it is intriguing to note that Alan & Leticia Cock were listed next (door) to John and Richard Henne. The separation of the free from the customary tenants hinders an exact reconstruction of the itinerary followed by those who produced the list.

1. i.e. persons appearing in the sample of courts Nos. 1 - 10 inc. but not in the recognitions list of 1302.
2. "Brewster", "Capellanus", "Fenere" (Fanner?), "Faber", "Hirdman", "Waite".
Although references to wild-life, fauna and flora, are normally restricted by the very nature of the evidence to those species which either had a measurable value, for sport or for consumption, or posed a threat to crops or game, the information to be quarried from manorial documents on this subject can be substantial nevertheless. It was not until the "Act for the Preservation of Grain", 1565/6, that any systematic listings (of predatory species) can be anticipated.

At Worlingworth, there was no large expanse of water, still or flowing, a factor which no doubt curtailed the number of references to swans (1), ducks (2) and other species of feral or semi-feral waterfowl. Nor was there, as at Sibton Abbey (8 miles, E.) a purpose-built fishpond which might be raided by otters (3). Oral tradition in Worlingworth suggests that the Rectory Great Pond was the largest of the moats and "drinking"-ponds in the parish and because it was the rector, Simon de Draughton, who condoned the offence in 1330, it was probably here that Robert Kenteys had been caught fishing and was amerced 12d. in manor court (4).

1. Compotus-roll, Hollesley, 1295/6, P.R.O. SC6/998/28 (Stock account): "...Cyni: Et remanent 22, quorum 8 staggs et 4 erraverunt..." But 6 "Swennispites" were bought at Worlingworth in 1329/30 (S1/2/9.6).
2. Court rolls, Sogenhoe (in Ufford, near Woodbridge), 1380, Iveagh Collection ("Ufford", Rolls):"...ceperunt anates et lupos marinos in seperali aqua domini vocata Mellepool...", Flixton Priory Court Rolls S.R.O. (Ips), 1545. HAL2/C3/13:.... "Et quod idem Thomas utitur sagittis cum quoddam handegunne in seperali pastura domini et tenentium...et distruxit yoluptates et ioca domine infra eundem warrenum in effugiendo les fowles, viz. mallerdes, de teles et alia, ideo, etc..."
4. A description of the Great Pond is given in Ross, D., Monograph of the Church of Saint Mary, Worlingworth, 1887, p.53.
As noted in Chapter 5, there were in 1302 only 46 acres of demesne woodland in Worlingworth itself and they were divided into three parcels, Stanhaugh, Fritheg and Benyneslee: communal woodland still existed on the edges of the parish at Horsehagh and perhaps le Fryt although the former may also have been used by the demesne pigs. The modern parish of Southolt, still a hamlet of Worlingworth in the early fourteenth century, was certainly developing quickly then. Assarting by, inter alios, cadet branches of established tenant families from the parent community is probable. The management of the woodlands and thickets of Worlingworth was so important that, after the reeve, the manorial officer most often mentioned in the court-rolls was the "Woodsale" or "Venditor Bosci" (Heyward): from mill-timbers for export to others of the abbobot's manors, to building laths, from bark for the tanners to firewood for local and 'foreign' consumption, the cropping of the woodland was carefully organised.

In terms both of individual trees counted (2), and of the different species recorded, the oak heads the list closely followed by the ash. The various panels, particularly "Exitus Manerii", of the mid-14th century account-rolls show a very extensive felling of timber and selling of the offcuts (3)

2. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/23,fol.1 (1336):
"...Mis. 2s...De Johanne de Wilringworth pro damno facto in bosco domini per Johannem Orger manupastum suum succidentem et asportantem 67 quercos (in Benyneslee)..."
"...Exitus Manerii...20s de cropp. 21 quercorum prostratorum venditis.
14s.6d. de tann. eorundem vend.
2s.1ld. de cropp. 10 quercorum
2s.1ld. de tann. eorundem
7d. de crop. 3 quercorum
6d. de crop. 3 quercorum) et 12d. te tann.
2s.1ld. de crop. 5 quercorum)
accelerating towards and ending abruptly at the Black Death (1). Oak is the timber most often mentioned in this respect: oak from Worlingworth found its way into several vills in West Suffolk and Norfolk (2):

"...In the fodder of 12 horses of this manor and 2 carts for transporting 1 mill-post as far as Stanton for the manor of Tilney...7 bushels of oats expended"

"...And 12s.4d. received from the offcuts sold for tanning from timber cut down and sent to St Edmunds to the New Chapel" (3).

According to Ekwall, the village of Occold (5 miles) took its name from this species ("Acholt" - "Oak Copse"): three of England's oldest oak trees, the Sibton Oak, the Bramfield Oak and the Huntingfield (5 miles) oak (4) permit the conclusion that this tree was not only the most valuable but also a very widely distributed species in this area.

Despite its abundance, ash did not attract the attention of the abbey's auditors to anything like the same degree: its main use seems to have been in the manufacture of farm implements and as less costly building timber.

Were it not for early fourteenth-century references at Worlingworth to the place-names "Elmesbrigge" and "Elmesgrene", the evidence for the elm would be scant indeed, the largest number recorded in one reference being 4, in 1385 (5).

The willow (1) and the black poplar were widely grown and put to several uses. The use of willow as a quick-set may still be seen at Worlingworth today on what was the Great Green, a practice for which Walter Duck was amerced 6d. in 1310 (2) in connection, perhaps, with an attempted encroachment: extensive new ditches were cut by the demesne in 1336-7 and small willows and poplars bought for the accompanying hedges (3). Willows, like oaks, were remembered in local place-names: on the western limits of Worlingworth was the tenement later held by Andreas de Willommere and on the east the vill of Wilby (Willebegh - ring of willows).

Varieties of the willow and poplar families are also recorded. "Osyers" growing on a redundant mill-mount (4) (surely indicating the mill was on a wet spot) were sold probably for basket and related work (5). Both the white poplar (Abel) (6) and the aspen certainly grew in Worlingworth, the latter being mentioned in connection with the wasting of a tenement:

"For levelling a certain house worth 2s and cutting down 20 ashes, 3 apples and 1 aspen, worth 12d..." (7)

Of very great importance indeed as a fuel was the "Thorn": the office of "Woodsale" brought with it the task of apportioning "underwood" by the rood

1. For an appreciation of willow as a building timber, see Hartley, D., Made in England, Methuen, 1951, pp88-99.
"...Mis. 6d...Walterus Duck plantavit sallices in communia ubi communare non debet..."
3. A/C Roll Sl/2/9.10:
"...in 76 planticulis salicis et popeleys emptis ad idem..."
"...Et de 4d. de osyers venditis super montem molendini..."
"...et de 6 ruscis venditis..." In 1277/8 reference was made also to the purchase of a "Horsebasket".
"...pro 4 abellis et popillis..."
7. C.C.R. 032-15 Sl/2/1.1: fol. 15.
"...... abricando quendam domum ad valenciam 2s. et succidendo 20 fraxinos, 3 pomerios et 1 tremul. pretii 12d..."
between various tenants (1): thorn appears to be the wood most often
involved in subsequent court disputes (2). At Worlingworth, blackthorn
(sloe) thicket has always been the species which invades pasture (3) from
the hedge most successfully. It may have been particularly useful in that
it can be cut green and still burns fiercely. Thorn (a collective noun
for several species) was extensively used for hedging 4). Several species
of trees mentioned with reasonable frequency elsewhere in Medieval Suffolk,
aldor, hornbeam and holly do not, apparently, occur at Worlingworth. As noted
previously, fruit trees in derelict gardens are countered in the court and
account-rolls. It is clear that the manor House garden contained a few
pear-trees (5) and may have contemplated the establishment of a vineyard (6).

1. S.R.O. (IPS) Account Roll, Worlingworth 1325/6 S1/2/9.3:
4½ acres of underwold were sold to:-
Stephanus Peronel 3 roods (30d) Johannes de Stantawe ½R. (4d)
Walterus Frost ½ R. (5d) Johannes de Stantawe 3/4 R. (6d)
Jacobos Frost 1/4R. (2d) Herveus Crudde 3½ R. (2s)
Walterrus Martin 1R. (6d) Adam Sittard 2½R. (17d)
Henricus Armod ½R. (3d) Johannes Kenteys ja. (12d)
Willelmus Gerald ½R. (3d) Rogerus Reynald ½R. (5d)
Johannes Gerard ½R. (6d)
2. C.C.R. 042-13 S1/2/1.1:- fol. 18.
"...Compertum est per inquisicionem quod Petrus Broun prostravit et
asportavit spinas Willelmi Roke pretii Id. ad dampnum quod taxatur ad Id..."
3. The compiler of this thesis owns part of the former "Tunmannedew" which
boasts the finest sloe thickets for miles around.
A/C Roll S1/2/9.16: Minuta Expensa:
"..In spinis amputandis in pastura boum in salvacione pasture..9d..."
"...In stipendio unius homini per 6 dies pro fossatis sublevandis per loca
circa boscum de Stanhaughe cum spinis in eodem plantandis 9d...capiend per
diem 1½d..."
5. A/C Roll S1/2/9.12, 1339-40:
"...Fructus gardini...4 quarteria pomorum, 5 bussellos pirorum..."
6. S1/2/9.11. Account Roll 1336-7:
"...In expensis cuiusdam gardinarii dicti Comitis cum garcone suo
existentibus pro meremio prostando et virgis amputandis in bosco ad opus
dicti Comitis pro vineis reparandis et pro plantulis quercii colligend in
eodem per 4 dies..."
The Earl of Norfolk's Castle at Framlingham (7 miles) contained an extensive vineyard: it is more likely that the gardener was
seeking materials for this than establishing a vineyard at Worlingworth
Hall.
The parish does not appear to have contained plum or damson trees, but two villagers in the neighbouring village of Horham were amerced for "Excessive amputation" of a peach tree (1), a rare and esteemed plant indeed (2).

It is possible that other tree species for which the only apparent use was as firewood, such as field-maple, were widely distributed but only rarely mentioned by name (3): the indigenous nut-tree, hazel, is mentioned only once (the tenants of Worlingworth were not required as at Barking in Suffolk to gather hazel-nuts for their lord (4)).

Again, the nature of manorial documents makes it unlikely that plants other than trees are ever mentioned. However, the poisonous corn-cockle ("Kockel") was recorded in 1345/6 (5), and the weeding out of the nutritious (to animals) but unwanted "Herteclover" in 1243/4 (6). Cutting back brambles in the yard behind the hall stables was recorded in 1335/6 (7). Reeds for thatching had to be imported on apparently every occasion from many directions, for example Dunwich and Babwell (a suburb of Bury St. Edmunds) (8).

3. A/C Roll S1/2/9.20 (1349/50) "...Et de 12d. de 1000 virgis corul. vend. Et 2d. de ramis cuiusdam mapil apud Pacc.."
5. A/C Roll S1/2/9.17..."In kockel et vescur. colligend. ext. frumento"
Thomas Tusser, Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry , May (11th "verse"), "...The brake and the cockel, be noisome too much,
yet like unto boodle (corn marigold), no weed there is such..."
6. A/C Roll S1/2/9.15..."In sarclacione diversorum bladorum cum Herteclover (Herd-clover) abradicando ex avenis et pisis" - this need not have been a "weed".
7. A/C Roll S1/2/9.9..."In stipendio unius hominis pro uno die pro Rab (Rub) amputando in curia retro stabulum 2d..."
This could have been not brambles but "Rubia", madder.
8. A/C Roll S1/2/9.12, 1339-40:
"...In 200 garbis arundini de Babewell..."
The only verminous animal to be mentioned before the Act of 1565/6 was the rat. A very important reference indeed is provided by the Worlingworth account roll for 1343/4:

"In catching rats in the grange and granary because of the damage to the corn, 5d..." (1)

That this item should have been accounted for at all suggests that with the pestilence only five years away, Worlingworth had a rat problem.

The Manor of Worlingworth extended into Bedingfield and it is to this parish that one of the county's finest 16th century vermin accounts (now lost) formerly belonged (2). During the year 1568, the parishioners were reimbursed for killing 6 species of verminous mammals, 7 species of birds and a total of 13 snakes ("Asps") of unspecified variety. Numerically, mice head the list of mammals (171), followed by moles (46) and hedgehogs (14): the presence of polecats (2) in the area is corroborated by a Framlingham vermin account of 1578 (1) (3). One weasel and one rat only were caught by Bedingfield, a feat not equalled by either Framlingham or Cratfield (5 miles N.E.).

The only wild animal pursued for sport was the hare. It is worth noting that in the 13th century and the very early fourteenth century the hunting parties which descended on Worlingworth do not appear to have included any

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1. A/C Roll Sl/2/9.15: "..In ratonibus capiendis in grangia et granario pro destructione bladi, 5d.."
persons of high social status (1). But this situation changed. The expenses attending a visit to Worlingworth in 1337–8 by one of the Earl of Norfolk's retainers at Framlingham Castle was recorded in some detail (2):

"...In the wages of one of the Earl Marshal's grooms guarding one of the earl's chargers on the manor for 10 days, 15d. per day 1¼d. Item given to the awener of the said earl for removing the said charger, 12d. Item to his groom 6d.

In the expenses of certain gentlemen from the retinue of the said earl coming to hunt in the wood before the Feast of Purification, 12d".

The use of a war-horse in connection with coursing appears a little extreme and it would seem likely that fugitive deer had taken shelter in either Stanhaugh or Benyneslee. The Earls of Norfolk had deer parks at Framlingham and Earl Soham (3 miles), where there was a hunting lodge. The Bishops of Norwich had a deer park at Hoxne (5 miles NW). The Domesday parks at Eye (6m W) and, possibly, Dennington (2 miles, E) were still functioning in the fourteenth century. The Abbot of Bury was amongst the leading recipients of deer killed in Framlingham Deer Park in the 16th century (3).

1. S.R.O. (IPS) Worlingworth A/C S1/2/9.1, 1277/8:-

"...In expensis Johannis Styward, Adam le Ventrer, Willelmi Grussehart, Roberti garcon, Rogeri de la Grave, cum garcone Johannis Styward ad lepores capiendos per 3 dies in quadragesima 22¼d.

In supane empt. ad leporarios 5¼d.
In brachettis (hounds), 2 bussell. avene per talliam contra Johannem Styward.

2. A/C Roll S1/2/9.12. "...In vadimonis unius garconis dicti Comitis Marescalli custodientis unum dextranum eiusdem in maniero per 10 dies, 15d. per diem 1¼d. Item datum awenario dicti Comitis pro dicto dextrano removendo, 12d. Item garconi suo 6d. In expensis quorundem Gentil de famulis dicti Comitis superventium ad fugandum in bosco ante festum Purificacionis Beate Marie 12d..."

3. B.L. Add. 27451, 1515/16. There are other B.L. charters referring to this important park and others still in Pembroke College Cambridge Library.
Despite the reference to the reeve's privilege of having the rabbits left stranded in hay-cocks at the time of hay harvest, the true status of the rabbit in Medieval Worlingworth is very difficult to ascertain. On the documentary evidence, it was not a common animal. Neither is there any record of the fox until after the Black Death \(^{(1)}\).

Game birds at Worlingworth, the pheasant \(^{(2)}\) and partridge were highly prized: the abbot sought to excommunicate \(^{(3)}\) thieves of partridges on at least one occasion, a privilege usually reserved as far as poaching was concerned for the takers of deer. In 1339-40 \(^{(4)}\), the manor used 60 works to catch 7 pheasants and in 1345/6 \(^{(5)}\), none were caught at all. Management of the partridge stock seems to have been more careful, for the annual 'bag' was usually one or two score. Although doves were very occasionally recorded in connection with amercements in manor court \(^{(6)}\), the manor did not possess a dove-cot until late in the 14th-century.

The existence of a "Haukemeuwe", re-thatched in 1329-30 \(^{(7)}\), was no doubt incompatible with keeping doves and indicates where priorities lay. The

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1. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/9.21 (1351-2): some of the demesne geese were "Devorati per vulpem..."
2. A/C Roll Sl/2/9.5 (1328/9)
   "...In expensis unius hominis versus Sanctum Edmundum ad ducendum ibidem fesanos ld" The use of the verb "ducere" is unusual, perhaps, and raises the possibility that some of the birds were alive; but,
   "...In fesanis incidentis in bosco per vices, 36 opera..."
3. A/C Roll Sl/2/9.11 (1337-8) "...In stipendio unius hominis quer(entis) officiel. pro una littera habenda ad excomminicandum pro pertricibus furatis, ld."
6. C.C.R. 047-03:
   "...de Roberto Kyroun in mis. quia cepit 2 columbas cum laqueis"
7.S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/9.6:
   "...In stipendio unius cooperatoriis cum servitore suo pro 1 die cooperiend. super haukemeuwe et trephann. ad capellam..."
only type of hawk mentioned directly is the *sparrowhawk* (1):

"In the expenses of the said Richard (le Foulere) for searching for
sparrowhawks in the wood for 2 days by 1 tally..."

A ready market for nestling sparrowhawks is suggested by a court entry from Flixton near Bungay in 1380 (2). Amongst the visitors to Worlingworth in 1336-7 (3) was Walter Faukonn and his men suggesting that other predatory species may have been employed. It is not clear whether hawking was reserved for special visitors, for although the medieval clergy clearly spent a deal of time coursing hares (4), on present evidence it was the lay gentry who both hawked and coursedit was the lay gentry who both hawked and coursed. The Kennels (5) at Worlingworth hall were kept in good order.

The doubtful status of the rabbit and fox in pre-pestilence Worlingworth has been noted. Agricultural change after 1350 may well have affected the distribution of the rabbit and other species also, bringing, "by the date of the "Act for the Preservation of Grain" (1565/6), change in the predatory and other birds considered to be "vermin". Buzzards, for example, were entered in the vermin accounts of Bedingfield, Framlingham and Cratfield with no mention of a sparrowhawk. At Bedingfield, William Liverich caught a "Ryngtale" (Hen Harrier), for which he received 2d. (6). However, rooks

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1. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.16:
"In expensis dicti Ricardi pro inde sparveres scrutando in bosco per 2 dies 4d, per unam talliam..."
2. SRO (IPS) HA12/C3/7:
"Item inquirendum est quis intravit boscum domine et asportavit sperveres in nido..."
3. A/C Roll S1/2/9.10.
4. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.2: fol. 31v. Court Roll Worlingworth c Nativity of St Mary 1331:
"...Item presentant quod Johannes de FresingfeId, parsona de ecclesia de Bedefeld venit in warreniam domini et cepit lepores et pertrices..."
5. A/C Roll S1/2/9.15:
"In stipendio usu dominis pro pariete dil Kenelie et domum poletrie reparand..."
and crows (117) (1) were clearly considered the bird most verminous, followed (at Bedingfield) by magpies (22), jays (9) and bullfinches (6): four additional species were caught at Cratfield, "Hoddespyts", starlings, jackdaws and "Hauppes" (2).

1. Crows are mentioned frequently in Worlingworth A/C Rolls as a pest at seed-sowing times.
2. Holland, B.A., Cratfield Parish Papers, p.104. For "Hoddespyt" perhaps Thrush should be suggested on the extremely tenuous point that "Hod"(-medod) is a dialect word for snail. For "Hauppe", either "Horn-Pie", a dialect word for the Green Plover known in medieval records from the coastal area, or, perhaps, "Hoopoe".
By the early fourteenth century it is plain that, as a result of the increase since the late 11th century in the numbers of free tenements, 'Mollond' tenements and, perhaps, manumissions, the actual status of individual tenants at Worlingworth could be extremely difficult to assess, then and now. That 'Free' tenants could hold villein land, provided that they performed the obligatory labour works is quite clear. Similarly, villeins could hold 'Free' land and not infrequently sought to do so. The complexity of the situation is best illustrated, perhaps, by a court entry of 1319 (1) when, at the death of Roger Gold, his son Robert was admitted to the messuage and 8 acres of unfree land which formed Tenementum 45 (Appendix A - Golds) on payment of a horse as heriot (sic) worth 12s. Roger Gold, who apparently held no other land outside Tenementum Golds, was clearly described at his obit as 'Liber', a free man. It is not clear how, or how recently, despite being the tenant of a holding which then (2) consisted only of customary land, Roger Gold had acquired his personal freedom. The court made no reference to the personal status of the son.

1. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2.1.2. fol.9.
"... Rogerus Geld liber obit post ultimam curiam .... Et dicunt quod Robertus Gold filius eius est heres suus propinquior et est plene etatis.... Et dicunt quod dominus habebit meliorem bestiam pro herieto. Et predictus Robertus admissus est et fecit fidelitatem ut decet per villanum.

2. In c.1355, Tenementum Golds consisted of 82% customary land and 18% mollond.
Arguments as to the personal status of its individual tenants apart, the
manor required labour from them in order that the demesne should function
and the contemporary documents contain many items (1) of interest in this
respect. The free tenants of Worlingworth owed only one attendance at
court each year, which means that, compared with the villeins, the
documentation of this tenurial class is inevitably more thinly distributed.
However, it can be safely asserted that in terms of the size of tenements
they held they were a very mixed group indeed. Their holdings ranged in
size from the 50 acres of "Tenementum quondam Petri Heyward" to the
miniscule 1 acre of the tenement "Quondam W. Cutbert". In 1400 (2), the
30 Free tenements were held by 46 tenants: with the 8 additional free
tenants from Southolt-cum-Bedingfield (3), the total is very close to the
50 free tenants recorded in the extent of 1302. The 30 Free tenements at
Worlingworth itself contained 550½ acres, an average of 18.35 acres per
tenement, at an average rent of 2 1/4d. per acre. Whilst most of the land
they contained was described as 'Free', three tenements (Appendix A. Nos.
14, 15 and 17) consisted solely of "Mollond": the average acreage of this
"Mollond" group was fractionally above 4 acres, although there is no
evidence that the tenementum known as "Nightingale's Pightell" was ever

1. In order to collate this material, the court rolls 1301-1315 were
transcribed and coded for use with the computer lodged at the Suffolk
College of Higher Education, Ipswich. The abbreviation "C.C.R." (Computer
Court Reference) is used for rapid access to coded material alongside
conventional references to original manuscripts held at the Suffolk Record
Office.
2. The earliest extent containing the complete details of the Free
tenements.
3. "Members" of the Manor of Worlingworth.
built upon. If this particular holding is omitted from the calculations, the average acreage of mollond tenements rises to 5 3/4 acres.

Of the 30 free tenements in Worlingworth listed in the various extents, 16 still owed vestigial labour services in 1400: most of these 'works' were either plough or harvest 'benes', but the "Tenementum Quondam Roberti Thurston" (Appendix A. No.12), owed 2 plough-'benes', 1 harvest 'Bene' and a 'Carriage-Work' (1). Three tenements owed small poultry-rents in addition to their cash-rents: the Tenementum Pro Alleciis (Appendix A. No.30) paid its rent in herrings to be purchased at Great Yarmouth and taken to Bury St. Edmunds.

Cottages attached to the messuages of the free tenements appear, from the evidence of the extents, to be much more numerous than on customary tenements (2). This situation is contradicted by the contents of the manor Court rolls. However, it should be remembered that the extents are late fourteenth century and, as Miller and Hatcher have commented (3), the contents of extents often invite 'grave doubts' to be cast upon them. There is no reason to believe that the "apportionment" of tenements leading to fragmentation of holdings (many with their own dwellings) was any less rare on customary holdings than on tenements freely held.

The statistic used in Chapter VII that, of the 11 individuals taxed the most heavily in the Recognitions List of 1302, 9 were villeins, strongly challenges the assumption that, free of servile dues and for the

1. "Item (debet) 2 precarias caruce. Item debet cariare 1 carent. frumenti in grangiam domini..."
most part occupying the larger tenements, the free tenantry were the
wealthiest of the tenurial classes. Indeed, the average amount paid by
the villeins in 1302, 8d, was almost exactly the same as that paid by the
free tenants, although it has to be said that, somewhat mysteriously, no
figure at all is entered against the name of perhaps six of the wealthiest
members of the 'Free' class. Despite the supposed disadvantages of
villeinage, a vigorous villein household might rank amongst the most
heavily taxed establishments in the village.

Free tenants appeared less often in manor court. Nevertheless a count of
individual domesticated animals owned by members of each tenurial class
gleaned from court entries concerning over-commoning and trespass, etc.,
is of interest. "Villein" sheep greatly outnumbered "free" sheep, by
perhaps 5:1. Offending cattle also were much more likely to be owned by
villeins than by free tenants. Horses, on the other hand, and perhaps,
pigs, were more likely to be owned by a free tenant. References to field-
crops, including wheat, favoured the villeins.

Villeinage worked often in insidious ways. When Richard le Fenere died in
1302, a free tenant, his widow was obliged to quit the tenement "Because
the said Basilia was a villein" (1). As so often in manor court
proceedings all was not what it seemed, however, for it appears that the
person effecting the 'removal' was Elias, Richard's son. This plea
nevertheless underlines the complexity of this area of the law. Many
villeins in the early fourteenth century had acquired by lease or purchase
pieces of free land: that this was done with one eye on escaping from
villeinage, or at least villein labour-works, there is scant doubt:

"Pro eo quod dicta Basilia est villana domini..."
"...Matilda Hart did not inhabit the tenements which she held from the lord in villeinage but allows them to become ruinous and removes the chattels and goods existing and deriving from the said tenements to her free land...to the lord's damage...etc...." (1)

Moving house, literally to escape the villeinage of an oppressive lord, if only to the villeinage of another, is occasionally recorded in 14th century Suffolk (2).

The sub-divisions in the customary tenants were introduced in Chapter II. The 16 "12-acre" tenements like John Jerald's were equated with the 16 villeins T.R.E. and the 14 '6-acre' villeins with the 14 bordarii T.R.E.. In Chapter VII, the evolution of mollond was discussed and a 12th century date suggested (with some qualifications) for its inception. These groups, 12-acres "Like John Jerald", 12-acres "Robert Ayllid", 6-acres "Like Richard Hervy", Mollonders, and others should now be examined with reference to the extents of c1355 and 1400 (3).

"Mis. 12d. Matilda Hert quia non inhabitavit tenementa que tenet de villenagio domini sed permittit ea tenementa et bona et catalla in dictis tenementis villanis existentibus seu pervenientibus ad liberam terram suam attrahi ad damnun domini. Ideo...(etc)...."

2. Iveagh Collection, Elveden Hall, Norfolk. "UFFORD" rolls, 1375.
"Mis. 5s.4d. Turatores de Sutton (near Woodbridge) presentant quod Johannes Gyn amovebat quendam domum edificatam super bondagium domini et dictam domum construxit super bondagium Prioris de Ely sine licentia...."
The "Ufford" roll refers not to the Manor of Ufford as catalogued, but to Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk who later played a prominent part in the suppression of the "Peasants" Revolt in Suffolk and whose properties in the Sandlings area of Suffolk were widely attacked by the insurgents.

3. There were no examples at Worlingworth of the grade of unfree recorded at Horham in 1318 as "Anilepemen" (S.R.O. HA68:484/t. Ed.II) considered by R.E. Latham Revised Medieval Latin Word-List to be, possibly, bondsmen without tenements. See also Miller E. & Hatcher J., Medieval England, Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348, Longmans, p.44 and, especially, p.55 re "Anilepymen" of Littleport near Ely.
Of the 16 12-acre tenements proper "Like John Jerald", only one, Sampson Godard (No. 41) actually contained 12 acres exactly: the average acreage of this group was 20 1/4 acres at an average cash rent of ¼d per acre (plus services). None of this group had less than 12 acres.

Despite broad classification under "12-Acre" tenure, the tenements "Like Roberti Allyd" performed half the services attached to the "John Jerald" group and were, in effect, '6-acre' tenements, with the smallest tenement containing 6 3/4 acres: the average acreage of this group was 11 acres and the average cash-rent 3/4d per acre (plus services).

The five 6-acre tenements "Like Richard Hervy" for which details survive paid in all 1s 8d per annum cash (plus services) for 44 acres, an average tenement size of 8.8 acres at c. ¼d per acre per annum. All three groups mentioned so far carried with them the obligation to perform the office of reeve or messor: this was taken as a stamp of their antiquity compared with other customary groupings (see Chapter II).

Eighteen of the 22 miscellaneous (i.e. not like John Jerald nor Robert Ayllid) "12-acre" tenements listed in c. 1355 consisted solely of "mollond": the average size of this group was 8.0 acres and the average cash rent 1.8d per acre per annum. In very general terms, the classical villeins of Worlingworth paid about half their total rent in cash and half in labour, for the average cash rent per acre

1. The last 3 tenements (88-90) are defective on the extent of DL355.
paid by those customary tenants who had no mollond at all was almost exactly 1d (plus services) compared with the mollonders' 1. 8d.

Most of the labour-works exacted at Worlingworth were not extraordinary in nature, winter plough-works, spring plough-works, averages, threshing, summer and winter works, works connected with the hay-crop and corn harvest, the duty to perform the office of reeve or messor. Compared with villeins on nearby manors, for example Earl Soham, the schedule of works was not unduly onerous nor the wording of the contracts in the extents particularly detailed (1). True comparisons between tenants of different manors are very difficult to calculate, however. At Worlingworth, some works, such as winter-ploughing, could be commuted (on a temporary basis) for cash, others could be commuted likewise but a disincentive to do so was added in that a presumably valuable food or corn reward would be lost: some works were not commutable at all (all of these had food rewards), whilst others actually gave the villeins the opportunity to earn money from the lord. Very many of Suffolk's medieval extents contain references to strictly local labour-services of great interest: Worlingworth was no exception. In addition to dragging manure and wood, the 12-acre tenants were required, presumably because when their absentee landlord or his guests visited they visited in some force, to clean out the houses (sic) against the lord's arrival. One of the rewards for the onerous (2) duty

"...Et debet a Gula Augusti usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis 42 opera a solis ortu usque ad occasum preter quod ibit ad hospicium ad prandium suum et post prandium redibit ad opus suum et similiter faciet in estate..."

2. Augustinus Godard paid 6s.8d. not to perform the office of reeve in 1319.
S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.2 fol. 9.
"...3s.4d. De Augustino Godard de fine ut alleviatur ab officio preposti. plegii Willelmi Hotte et Ricardi Aylred..."
of serving as reeve or messor was to have the rakings-up of the hay-fields, the bottoms of the hay-cocks to the depth of the iron on a pitchfork and any rabbits which ran out \(^1\). At Earl Soham, again, the customary tenants had to mow grass for hay until it was all mown but only so far into (Soham) Mere as "He and his colleagues could go without getting their feet wet" \(^2\).

Only two tenements at Worlingworth had services attached to them much different from the great majority, "Tenementum quondam Roberti Porcharii" (No. 78) on the north side of Fingle Street and backing on to Horsehaugh, and "Tenementum Marshals" (No. 71), in the main (Shop) street near the crossing of "Le Brok". The tenant of Tenement Porchers was to feed the demesne pigs (presumably loose in Horsehaugh) for which he received a corn allowance 'Like any other famulus', and 6d rent rebate: he had also to find the cloths, dishes and cups for all the 'Bene' workers in harvest, no mean task \(^3\). Like Tenement Porchers, the Blacksmiths Tenement (Marshals) consisted solely of mollond for which a very low cash rent was paid, 5d for 19 3/4 acres: the occupant was required to make the iron-work each year for the demesne ploughs, a lock, a tripod and a beetle, for which the lord paid him either 3s or the real price, overall an arrangement which clearly reflects the economic importance of this particular occupation.

1. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/6.1
"...Item habebit fundum millionum feni spissionidis ferri unius pitchforke et cuniculos eorundem".
2. S.R.O. (IPS). HA66/3/1
"...tum longe versus maram quam ipse et socii sui potuerint ire sicco pede..."
3. There is no evidence as yet that he had to turn the cups and dishes, although "Turnour" is a Worlingworth surname in the early 14th century.
An abrupt comparison of the security of tenure experienced by the different classes of tenant is provided by a court entry of 1302 (1). For whatever reason, probably in order to revise their rents upwards, the lord required the 8 free tenants and 9 villein tenants with land in "Le Fryt" to prove their title; the grounds for challenging the free tenants' title was that the lord had been "Given to understand that their lands were once part of a demesne assart" (2); the free tenants denied this and the issue was sent to the lord's council (result unrecorded). The villeins, however, who paid for their land at the same rate, 3d per acre, as the free tenants and without any additional labour services, were found to hold only "At the will" of the lord and the reeve was ordered to seize their land; it appears that that menacing phrase "Ad voluntatem domini" may for once have been put to work. In practice, there were very few instances of tenant forfeiture (3), bastardy and outlawry being the usual cause, but the very numerous distrains on tenants' property often for offences unconnected with the small-holding itself, almost certainly meant that temporary loss of occupation or loss of profits, may have been fairly commonplace (4).

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2. "...Et quia datus est dominus intelligi quod predicte terre solebant esse de quodam assarro que predicti cessores sui solebant tenere in dominico..."
   This court entry refers to "le Oxfrith".
3. An account roll of 1390-1 lists and values the livestock and chattels of a deceased villein in forfeiture in some detail. Forfeitures because of bastardy occur at the death, only, of the bastard, his 'heir' being legally barred from his or her inheritance. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/9.47.
   "...Adhuc preest retinere in manu domini totum tenementum quod Johannes Eleyne capellanus tenant de villenagio domini pro contemptu facto domino Abbati et suis tenentibus de Wyrlyngworth falso apportando queddam mortuariam esse daturum ad opus Rectoris de Wyrlyngwyrth de Avelina Hotte de Wyrlyngwyrth ubi ex consuetudine non debet dare etc..."
In general, however, the villeins were secure in their tenancies for as long as they themselves desired it and, provided he or she paid the require heriot or money in lieu, so was their heir. The permanence one Worlingworth villein had felt is apparently reflected in a court entry where he referred to his small-holding as his "Demesne" (1)

"Alan Hirdeman his ancestor died seized of this property as in his desmesne.."

It was not rare for a villein to pay the lord to scrutinise the manor court rolls in order to have the conditions of his tenure clarified, cases which underline the sovereign importance, perhaps even the legal impartiality of these documents on some types of manor (2). As the daughters of the manumitted Alan Stannard discovered, failure to keep abreast with, and preserve safely, one's documents might lead to difficulties: 

"..A claim by the lord against Alice and Hillary Stannard and others in the schedule of Athelington that they were the lord's villeins was respited until the next court so that they could produce there the abbot's charter.." (3).

The reason why a villein might speak so apparently grandly of his tenement as his "demesne" is made clearer by various contemporary court-entries (4):

1. C.C.R. 023-04 S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.1 fol. 10. 
"...quia quidam Alanus Hirdman antecessor suus obiit inde seysitus ut in dominico suo..."

2. The difference in conditions experienced by tenants of a manor like Worlingworth with a large but distant landlord compared with a manor belonging to a small, resident, lay-lord, might be considerable.

3. C.C.R. 011-40 S1/2/1/1 fol.5. A later court entry (012-12) recorded that these ladies could not produce their charter of manumission then either, and the case continued for some time. In Chapter VII, it was noted that Alan Stannard's manumission was recorded (or copied) into one of the abbot's own Registers. (C.U.L. Mm.1V. 19 48v-49). The abbot had an obvious bureaucratic advantage.


81
"Fine 6d. from Nicholas Wylot for a fine in order that his tenementum called Bolles should be apportioned: pledge, the reeve. And it was ordained to the jurors that it should be apportioned..."

The results of such apportionments, deciding which of the villein landlord's sub-tenants should perform or pay which services for their fragment of the entire tenement, may be shown by reference to the extent of cl355:

"...Tenementum quondam Bolles...continet 7 acras cum messuagio de mollond unde Nicholas Wyllet tenet messuagium cum 3½ acris terre, Henry Curtseys, 1 acram terre, John Godard, 3 rodas, Nicholas Marshal, 3 rodas...."

The responsibility for seeing that the sub-tenants performed or paid their apportioned services fell first on the recognized tenant and then on the manor court:

"...Mis 12d. It was found by the inquisition that Thomas Fayr did not acquit Adam Sittard for the services pertaining to ¼ acre and 1 rood of land which Thomas bought (sic) from Adam's father and which are in arrears to the said Adam 6 3/4d from three years past..." (1)

Reference to the extent of cl355 shows that this "Tenementum quondam Sytard" (No. 48) formerly consisted of about 14½ acres of land for which, with services 'Like John Jerald' the tenant paid at the rate of c ¼d per acre. If, as seems likely and entirely conceivable, Adam Sittard was himself renting at ¼d per acre plus services from the lord and sub-letting at 3d per acre per annum plus apportioned services to a sub-tenant, then,

1. C.C.R. 030-17. Sl/2/1.1. The Sytards held Tenement 48 in Fingle Street.
as A. MacFarlane has suggested (1), the villeins of medieval Worlingworth were indeed far removed from the "Classical Peasantry" of the remainder of Western Europe. Any footnote on this matter of security of tenure should concern the security of tenure of the duly apportioned sub-tenants: since their sub-tenancies were recorded in manor-court, this very probably gave to them also more security as a tenurial class than has been envisaged so far. The apportionment of Tenementum Bolles (above) leaving the tenant Nicholas Wylet with 3½ acres, only half the entire tenement, undermines calculations based on tenement size conducted in pursuance of the "Self-Sufficiency" debate (2). The evidence of the court-rolls adds fuel to this debate. The average acreage of land attached to cottage surrenders, leases and other transactions between 1301 and 1315 was almost exactly 1 acre, but excluding one abnormally high example (6 acres, 3 roods) the average was rather less than ½ acre. In the case of packages of land attached to messuages in similar transactions, the average of almost 50 examples was 4.3 acres, although two-thirds of the examples (like Nicholas Wylet above), were under this figure. As will be suggested in Chapter X, agricultural product grown on the tenement may not have been the sole or even the principal source of income to many households.

It was evidently the custom at Worlingworth that villeins made wills. When Thomas Leveriche died "Intestatus" in 1304 (3), it was so arranged

2. How much land was required to support the average (4.7) family or one individual.
3. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.1. C.C.R. 022-11.fol.10."...Samson filius et heres Thome Leveriche dat domino pro hereto 1 vaccam pretii 6s.8d. et pro ingresso habendo in unum messuagium et 3 acras terre de villenagio domini et quia idem Thomas intestatus obiit et habuit 8 bidentes et 3 agnos et 1 bussellum ordei et 1 bussellum pisarum, ideo dicta bona capientur in manu domini et liberantur in manu domini Willelmi Lenyng villani domini et Petri le Brun villani domini salvo custodiendo. Ita quod medietas liberetur Samson filio et heredi dicti Thome et alia medietas disponatur vendi per visum ballivi ordinaturis pro anima ipsius Thome."
that the heir paid the heriot for entry into the property as normal, but
the corn and livestock were seized by the lord: one half of these
commodities were given back to the heir and the other half offered for sale
by the manorial bailiff "For the soul of the deceased". Details of an
actual will, Galfridus Fisks in 1311 (1), emerged because the executrix
failed to deliver the bequests to the intended recipients; cereals,
livestocks and a steer were involved. When Roger Duk, chaplain, died in
1314 (2), the executors of his will were obliged to go to court in order to
recover money owed to the deceased totalling 21s 4d before the bequests
could be made.

Amongst the villeins and, probably, the 14th century free tenants,
primogeniture was the custom (3). Male villein heirs (and all the children of
free tenants) could marry without the lord's licence; all villeins'
daughters were to pay gersuma in order to marry, a distinction between the
sexes which was contested (see Chapter XV). A clear distinction between
villein and free land was that in order for the heir to enter the former, a
heriot was required, whilst to enter the latter a "relief" (Relevium) or
cash payment equivalent to one year's rent was demanded. The systematic
division of properties equally between two or more heirs was unknown,
although both free tenements 12, Robert Thurston, and 13, Adam Thurston,
contained a piece of land measuring 18 acres and 1 rood which suggests
they may have formed a single tenement at an earlier point in time.

"...Compertum est per inquisicionem quod Johanna Fysk executrix testamenti
Galfridi Fysk iniuste detinet Golle Bolle unum quarterium avene pretii 40d.
Et unum lintheamentum pretii 6d. ad dampnum que taxatur 3d.... Johanna Fysk
iniuste detinet Emme Bolle 4s. de una iuvenca ad dampnum...

2. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/1.3. Loose folio.
3. Borough English was apparently introduced into this part of Suffolk in
the later 15th or 16th centuries.
The social class distinctions which co-existed with the differences in tenurial class were not often fully exposed by ordinary manorial records. When the villein Matilda Hert attempted to move from villein to free land in 1307(1) there may well have been good 'social' reasons behind her action as well as the obvious motives of avoiding the labour services owed to a tenement (No. 55 - Matilda Hert) "like John Jerald". The low social status of villeins was sharply illustrated by the scandal at Redlingfield Nunnery well over a century later (2). Charged with being in the company of Thomas Langland her bailiff behind the firmly locked doors of the Small Hall and with everybody else shut out, the beleaguered Prioress answered her critics that, inter alia,

"Thomas Langland was and is free and of a free status and born from the best blood of that township..." (3)

But the common opinion of the neighbourhood was that Thomas was and was reputed to be a

"Native tenant of the said Priory by blood".

3. ibidem
"...Item compertum est per inquisicionem quod...prefata priorissa fuit in societate Thome Langland ballivi sui, solus cum sola in locis suspectis, videlicet in parva aula eiusdem prioratus, ostiis undique firmiter seratis, exclusis quibuscumque et aliis personis...(etc)..."
"...Item dicta priorissa...affirmavit quod Thomas Langland, ballivus suus, cum quo ipsa fuit de incontinentia scandalizata, fuit et est liber et libere conditionis et de optimo sanguine illius ville procreatus, sed quod communis opinio totius viciniti ipsum Thomam habuit et reputavit nativum dicto prioratui de sanguine".
CHAPTER X
THE TENEMENT NICHOLAS STRUTT - THE DOCUMENTARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The rich and diverse nature of Worlingworth's manorial archive offers considerable scope for detailed study of individual inhabitants and individual households. In order to test this documentary evidence, an archaeological training excavation was organised during July 1982 (1). From a short-list of available sites, the villein tenement Strutts (No. 64) was chosen (2), situated on the north side of Stanway Green (please see Map No.H), and both computer (3) and conventional searches instituted for information on the Strutt family and their successors.

The earliest reference to a member of the Strutt family was to Nicholas, a customary tenant of the manor assessed to pay 2s in the recognitions list of 1302 (4). It is of immediate interest that this sum was identical to that paid by Roger de Stanhale (Stanhauge) who lived on the opposite side of the green and, in terms of acreage, was the second largest free tenant on the entire manor. (Tenementum No. 22 - 50 acres). Nicholas died in the spring of 1333 having been involved or mentioned in at least 125 manor court transactions during the last 31 years of his life, an average of four incidents per annum. Because one of Nicholas' daughters, Matilda, appears to have been of full (legal) age in 1303 (5), it is probable that Nicholas himself was born c1270 and was well over 60 years old at his death.

1. Under the direction of Mr Geoffrey Moss, lecturer in Conservation of Artefacts and Manuscripts, Colchester Institute of Higher Education.
2. The enthusiastic co-operation of the land-owner, Mr M. Horvath, Stanway Green Farm, is gratefully acknowledged.
3. To date, only the Manor Court Rolls 1302-1315 have been processed for computer use.
4. B.L. Harleian 230, pp 172-3. Only 5 individuals were taxed more than N. Strutt.
5. She brought a case against Peter Hert, 18 Oct. 1303 (S1/2/1.1). fol. 5.
At his death (1), Nicholas' heir was his son Peter, then aged at least 36 (2), who, less than two years later, paid to leave the manor (3) and in 1327 (4) had been taxed under Hoxne-Cum-Denham. But it was during Peter's brief spell (1333-5) as the recognized tenant of Tenementum Strutts that the new custumal (5) was drawn up which was the model used for the earliest extant rental (6) of the manor. This, circa 1355 essentially described (7) Nicholas Strutt's tenement in the very year of Nicholas' death:

"...The tenement of Peter Strut contains 9 acres 2½ roods of mollond of which:

- Thomas Gunnild holds one messuage with 7½ acres of land
- Richard Cach one (acre)
- (Adam) son of Edmund le Wylde 1 acre ¼ rood

And he pays per annum in rent 22d.

The aforesaid (Adam) son of Edmund le Wylde pays 4d per annum increase for the said one acre and half rood..."

The first important point to emerge is that Nicholas was the tenant of one of that group of small-holdings which, as described in Chapter 7, consisted solely of "mollond", a type of unfree tenement attributed to the 12th or 13th centuries.

1 S.R.O. (IPS)S1/2/1.2. (Loose folio) Obit of N. Strut, Court held 19th June 1333.
2. First mentioned in a court held June 1309. S1/2/1/1/ fol.18.
3. S1/2/1.2.fol. 41. Saturday after St. Augustine 1335
"...Herietum 2s. De Petro Strut quia se divisit de tota tenura que tenuit de domino, de herieto..."
"De Petro Strut...12d..."
5. S1/2/1.2. fol. 39. Court held 21st October 1333
"...Memorandum quod novum rentale traditur Hervicio Crudde et sociis suis ad examinandum et retro dandum ad proximam curiam sub pena 20s..."
6. S.R.O. (IPS), S1/2/6.1 and S1/2/6.6. c1355.
7. The names of the tenants are post 1333.
Because it was exactly this type of hypothesis which the archaeological excavation was intended to test, extensive field-walking (1) was undertaken on the sites of adjacent crofts (2) and a particular search was undertaken at Strutts Tenement itself to ascertain whether or not there was evidence of Thetford Ware. This Saxo-Norman pottery is clearly distinguishable from "Early Medieval Rustic" pottery but is considered not to date from after 1150 A.D. (3). To date, not one sherd of Thetford Ware has been recovered (4). (Note, see Addendum -1175).

Nicholas Strutt's land transactions followed a familiar pattern. In February 1306 (5), Alan Cok, a member of a neighbouring family who held Tenementum Agnete Cok (No. 62) leased from Nicholas half an acre and a quarter rood of land: in November 1310, Alan Cok surrendered to Nicholas 1 messuage and one acre of land. At the same court in 1310, Nicholas leased to Nicholas Duraunt one acre one rood of land for a term of 5 years (6), Duraunt paying a fine of 12d to the abbot. Some time before 1322 (7), Nicholas Strutt had sold to Augustinus Godard (Tenementum No. 40, in Swan Road) an acre of land. Such court entries demonstrate the obvious freedom, common to all classes of tenant in fourteenth-century Worlingworth, of "selling", buying or leasing land, often for a number of years.

1. The author of this thesis acknowledges a particular debt to Miss K. Spandl of Lenny’s Farm, Wilby Green and to Miss S. Ridgard.
2. Especially Tenements Cach (No. 60), Atte Broks (No. 23), and Gernegans (No. 6)
3. Information from, inter alios, Suffolk Archaeological Unit. (Note: recently revised to c.1175).
4. Romano-British pottery (and a 3rd Century A.D. coin) was, however, found in some quantity on Tenement No. 23. No R.B. sherds have been found as yet on Tenement Cach (No. 60) alias Oldsteads.
5. S1/2/1.1. fol. 11v.
6. S1/2/1.1. loose folio. C.C.R. 046-47
"...Finis 12d. Nicholaus Durant dat domino pro termino 5 annorum habendo in 1 acra et 1 roda terre quam habet ex dimissione Nicholai Strut..."
7. Augustino Godard died and was succeeded by his son Sampson in 1322. Court 31 Oct. 1324 (S1/2/1.2): fol. 21.
"...Item presentant quod Nicholas Strut vendidit unam acram terre Augustino Goddard".
to or from individuals not closely related to their own family.

Similar small parcels of land were the object of transactions within the Strutt family itself. In July 1311, Nicholas surrendered 36 perches of land to Matilda his daughter. About two months before his death, Nicholas surrendered an acre "In his own croft" to his next-door neighbour and probable brother-in-law Robert del Brok. At the same court he sold another acre to one Thomas Wolrich as a security against an unpaid debt. After Nicholas' death, his daughters Katerina and Matilda were to share a further 2 3/4 acres, while the Strutt messuage and 4 acres were to go to the heir Peter, with safeguards built in for the widowed Isabella.

One of the questions arising from transactions such as these concerns whether these plots of land were real or merely convenient fictions of law. In answer, it should be pointed out with reference to Map H, that access to Strutts Tenement from Stanway Green was by a track through an undoubtedly later encroachment on to the Green, "Eselyescote". Strutts itself was

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1. S1/2/1.2. fol. 36v.

"...Finis 3d...Nicholaus Struth per licenciam curie vadiavit unam acram terre Thome Ulriche sub hac forma quod si predictus Nicholaus non solvat predicto Thome 6s 8d ad festum Nativitatis Domini proximam futuram quod dicta terra remaneat predicto Thome et heredibus suis. Et si dictus Nicholaus vel heredes sui satisfaciat predicto Thome ad terminum predictum predictos 6s 8d, tunc dictus Nicholaus rehabeat dictam terram..."
subdivided at least once, by a hedge running north to south (7 species) and by filled-in ditches which criss-cross the croft. Whether these ditches were connected with a trade or trades pursued by the Strutts (or by their successors the Gunnelds) or represent sub-division of the croft into smaller individual units, is not yet clear. It is, however, hoped to investigate this point further by commissioning a land survey in the summer of 1983 in addition to archaeological excavation. On present evidence, there is a distinct possibility that Matilda Strutt's 36 perches was indeed a distinct piece of land separated physically from land held by neighbours and from land belonging to other members of her own family.

In Chapter IX, the idea was introduced that recognized tenants were allowed by their lord to profit from sub-letting. With reference to Nicholas Strutt's 5 year lease to Nicholas Duraunt of 1 1/4 acres, it should be pointed out that the 12d paid by Duraunt to the abbot was a considerable sum representing 2d per annum per acre. What Duraunt paid Nicholas Strutt for rent was not recorded. But it was recorded in the extent that Nicholas paid the abbot for his tenement at the rate of 2 1/4d per acre per annum. Because it is not really likely that Strutt sub-let to Durant for 1/4d per acre per annum, it is therefore probable that Nicholas Strutt was in part a "rentier". The Tenement Strutt owed no labour-services whatsoever so it cannot be argued that Duraunt was to perform these for Strutt thus explaining the otherwise low sub-rent.

1. Identification of tree and shrub species was kindly undertaken by Mrs S.M. Gooch B.Sc., of Wilby Green. Two 30-yard samples were taken. The southern sample produced Elder, Hawthorn (C. Monogyna), Field Maple, Blackthorn, Elm, Ash and Prunus (not Blackthorn). The northern sample produced Prunus (not Blackthorn), Elder, Crab Apple, Field Maple, Elm and both hawthorns, (C. Oxyacanthoides and C. Monogyna).
The documentary references to livestock kept by the Strutts and latterly the Gunnylds were well supported by the archaeological finds from the site. In 1308, Nicholas Strutt's hens had invaded Tenementum Brok, next door (1). An Olivia Strutt, probably an elder daughter, had forestalled sheep to Miles dil Brok (2). Nicholas appears to have shared with Robert Fair, who lived on the west side of Stanway Green, a horse taken from both to precipitate the settlement of a debt they owed to Edmund de Brom, chaplain (3). Chicken, mutton and horse bones were all found on the site: the archaeologist Geoffrey Moss is of the opinion that the horse bones had been cooked and broken open to extract the marrow. At his death, Nicholas left no beast for heriot.

Katerina Gunnyld, Nicholas' daughter, and Thomas her husband kept draught animals (4) and pigs (5). In 1340 (6), Katerina was amerced for seizing a sheep: in 1353 (7), she broke into a neighbour's yard and let her geese out. A thigh-bone of a large bird, probably a goose, was uncovered during the excavations. Pig bones formed the largest group of finds of this type. Mussel shells and oyster shells were found in association with good

1. C.C.R. 039-07, S1/2/1.1.fol.17. Merc. after Katrina Virg. Abbot Thomas 7. "...Nicholas Strut fecit damnum Alicie de Brok cum gallinis pretii ld..."  
2. C.C.R. 057-38, S1/2/1.1 loose folio. 
"...Olivia Strut fecit forestallium Miloni de Brok de bident..."  
3. S1/2/1.2.fol.19. Mart ante St. Martin, 1323: 
"...Pre est retinere 1 equum captum super Robertum Fair et Nicholaum Strut et capere plura ad respondendum Edmundo de Brom capellano de placito debiti..."  
4. S1/2/1.23 Court, November 1353; fol. 31. 
"...de Thome Gunnyld pro damno facto in avena domini cum averiis suis"  
5. S1/2/1.23. Jan. 1332; fol.35. 
"...de Thome Gunnyld pro damno facto in bosco domini cum porcis..."  
6. S1/2/1.23.fol. 11. July 1340: 
"...Katerina uxore Thome Gunnyld male cepit 1 bidentem pretii 4d de Willelmo Shepherd..."  
7. S1/2/1.23. fol. 28. June 1353: 
"...de Katerina uxore Thome Gunnyld,fregit parcum Edmondi Cache de aucis..."
quality pottery, including Hollesley (1) ware, though certainly not in profusion; on present evidence, shell-fish cannot be said to be part of the everyday diet of villeins living this far from the sea.

"Contracts" made between various individuals were a common feature of life in early fourteenth-century Worlingworth. It is certain that many of the debt disputes also had arisen from contracts and agreements made previously. In many instances loans to acquire the necessary tools of agriculture were contracted, such as the hire of a cow (2); more frequently, cash loans were organised, the involvement of the clergy in which will be discussed in Chapter XIII. The contracts concerning the Strutt family are of particular interest.

At a court held in October 1319 (3), it was found that Nicholas Strutt owed 2s 2d from several contracts struck between Richard Gernegan, his neighbour on thegast, and himself: Richard was awarded damages of 2d. But Nicholas recognized that he owed money to his western neighbour also, the free tenant Miles del Brok, which Miles had lent to him at various times (4). But Richard Gernegan had also failed in an agreement he had made with

1. From the 13th century Hollesley clamp kilns near Woodbridge, Suffolk. The documentary and archaeological reports on this site are to be published shortly in P.S.I.A. About 100 oyster shells and 150 mussel shells have been recovered so far.
2. S1/2/1.2.fol. 9. Monday Oct. 15, 1319: "...Alanus Cach (3d) et Nicholas Strut (3d) plegius suus cognoverunt se teneri Miloni de Brok in 2s 6d pro locacione cuiusdem vacce..."
3. Ibidem: (fol. 9) "...Mis. 6d Conventum est per inquisicionem in qua Ricardus Gernegan et Nicholas se posuerunt quod Nicholas Strut inuiste detinet dicto Ricardo 2s 2d ex diversiscontractibus prout comptertum est per veredictum dicte inquisicionis. Ideo consideratum et quod dictus Ricardus recuperet dictum debitum et dampnum taxatum ad duos denarios et dictus Nicholas in misericordia..."
4. Ibidem: (fol. 9) "...Mis. 3d. Nicholas Strut cognovit se debere Miloni of the Brok 3s quos ei mutuavit diversis temporibus..."
Then it was found that Nicholas owed Miles 2s 6d for a piece of cloth which Nicholas received from him for "Fulling" (2). The inquisition let it be known that Richard Gernegan should pay half the price of this cloth or half its value:

"Because they were colleagues at work" (3),

and Richard acknowledged in court that he should pay half. From these entries it is clear that the three major tenements on the north side of Stanway Green were working together in the cloth industry with Miles del Brok providing some finance and organisation, Strut and Gernegan the manual work.

At a court held in late January 1321, Nicholas Strutt was found to be in debt to Miles del Brok, again, this time for the sum of 5s 8d (4):

"...Because on Monday 23rd October 1320 in the village of Worlingworth, Nicholas bought from Miles an overcoat with a fur hood price 5s 8d to be paid for by the 20th November next following: but he still hadn't paid, to the loss to the said Miles of 2s..."
Damages were assessed at 4d and Nicholas' pledges included Richard Gernegan.

In May 1322, it was found that Nicholas owed Richard Gernegan 43½d plus damages of 4d (1). The financial arrangements of their working association were plainly in some disarray. Indeed, Nicholas Strutt was not called upon to pledge for anybody at all after 1324. But a new dimension to the whole situation was provided by the findings of a court held in June 1322 (2) that Richard Gernegan was to be distrained of 1 cow until he answered a plea of debt brought against him by one Henry Lombard: Richard's pledges included Nicholas Strutt. Lombard was first noticed in a court held in early July 1320 (3) when Mabel Cach, pledged by Alan Cach and Nicholas Strutt, was found to have raised the hue and cry after him justly. It appears that Henry Lombard's dealings were solely with the inhabitants of Stanway Green and not with the rest of the village. Richard Gernegan was amerced to settle his debt with Henry Lombard in Mid-September 1322 (4).

That, early in the fourteenth century, a person surnamed Lombard should have financial dealings with a villein involved in an association of clothworkers in a supposedly remote part of Suffolk is of the greatest significance for the economic history of the county, for, if all is as it seems, the well documented Tudor cloth merchants, such as Spring of...

2. Sl/2/1.2. fol. 12. Merc. after St. Botolph Anno 10 Abbot Richard: "...Pre est retinere 1 vaccam captam super Ricardum Gernegan et capere plurauque etc. ad respondendum Henrico Lombard de placito debiti...Pleg. Nicholai Strut et prepositi..."
3. Sl/2/1.2: fol. 10.
"...Mis. 6d. Item presentant quod Mabilla Cach levavit hutesium iuste super Henricum Lombard plegis Alani Cach et Nicholai Strut..."
4. Sl/2/1.2.fol.12v. Court Jove after Exalt. Sacre Crucis Richard, Abbot 10. "...Mis. 3d. De Ricardo Gernegan pro licencia concordandi cum Henrico Lombard de placito debiti plegii Nicholai Strut et prepositi..."
Lavenham may eventually be shown to be not the innovators of but the fortuitous successors to a long-established pattern of organisation. How Henry Lombard came to be at Stanway Green is uncertain. R.S. Gottfried has noted that St. Edmunds Abbey was "An important patron of the great Italian banking house of Bardi", and that the Italians probably offered their services to the burgesses of Bury (1). Alternatively, Richard Gernegan was no ordinary villein but, very probably, a son of Peter Gernegan, lord of the nearby Manor of Horham (2) who occasionally intervened in the proceedings of court at Worlingworth (3) and obviously had the required access to the mercantile class. Again, Italian merchants from Lucca were financially involved with the Earl of Norfolk's manor of Framlingham in 1278-9 (4).

It is perhaps possible that archaeological evidence of the cloth industry will emerge from the ditches and hollows not only on Strutts Tenement itself but on Stanway Green also. At the bottom of a ditch on Strutts Tenement excavated in 1982, a collapsed wooden structure was found which may prove to have an industrial application (5). Nor should it be assumed that fulling and other processes connected with the cloth industry were carried out only in this part of the parish. For the Strutt's neighbours, "Del Brok" had another, possibly older, branch at the crossing of the brook.

2. S.R.O. (IPS) HA68:484/79:
   "...Curia Petri Gernegan, Jove ante Dunstan E (III) 7..."
   "...Item presentant quod Robertus Spencer furnivit et vendidit contra assisam...condonatus ad instanciam Petri Gernegan..."
   The Gernegans alias Jerninghams later rose to national prominence in the retinue of the catholic Queen Mary.
4. P.R.O. SC6/997/3 Compostus Roll, Framlingham 1278/9:
   "...Item liberatum mercatoribus de Lucky, £132-15s-5jd..."
5. This was left in situ after the excavations of 1982.
(No. 72) and Nicholas Strutt was amerced in October 1324 to settle a debt he owed to Peter Dousyng (1). Dousyng's occupation in 1314 was given as "Fuller" (2) and after his death at the hands of his neighbour John Broun (No. 57) in 1341 (3), Dousyng was found to have held, in addition to his own tenement (No. 15) in Fingle Street, six other parcels of property including two acres at Stanway Green, ½ acre purchased from Nicholas Duraunt (q.v.) and 3 roods of land from Tenementum (Robert) Fair on the west side of Stanway Green.

An archaeological find for which there has been found no documentary support concerned the discovery all over the site of iron slag. A small nodule of low-grade iron ore possibly from the gravels in the Waveney Valley was found, suggesting that what was involved was not just the melting down of old iron tools in order to make new ones (4), but the smelting of new metal.

An occasional source of income to the Strutt household was the brewing and retailing of ale. Nicholas was amerced for breaking the assize of ale in 1317 (5), and a granddaughter Johanna for retailing ale in 1331 (6). Both the succeeding families, the Gunnelds and, particularly, the Cooks (7)

1. Sl/2/1.2.fol. 20. Court held 31st October 1324.
2. Sl/2/1.2.fol. 3. Wed. before Holy Trinity, Abbot Richard 2. Dowsing could be an occupational surname from the fulling trade.
3. Sl/2/1.23.fol. 17.
5. Sl/2/1.2; fol. 5. "...Mis 3d de Nicholai Strut pro eodem (braciavit et vendidit cervisiam contra assism).
6. Sl/2/1.2; fol. 32. "...Mis 3d De Johanna Strout pro gannok.
7. Thomas Gunneld broke the assize of ale in 1343 and 1344 and as well as William Cook (Adam Fleg deleted) being amerced for this offence in, exemplia gratia, 1373 (Sl/2/1.5), Richard le Cook's occupation is given as 'Pistor' (baker).
pursued this occupation to a greater degree than had the Strutts on the

tenement.

Calculations of the size of Nicholas Strutt's family are complicated by the
existence of a probable brother, Thomas, who died circa 25th June 1306,
possibly not without issue. However, Nicholas' eventual heir (and son)
Peter had a brother Henry, who died in November 1314 \(^{(1)}\), leaving Peter a
small piece of land which he quickly surrendered to his father's use. At
his death, Nicholas settled land on three daughters, Katerina, wife of
Thomas Gunneld, Matilda, apparently unmarried but with a daughter Johanna,
and Agnes, wife of George de Wootton. A Henry Strut; (very probably the
same as above) was the defendant in a plea of ham-soken brought by his
sister Gertrude in 1311 \(^{(2)}\), the year of her marriage. That Nicholas had
at least one other son, John, is made clear by a court held in late August
1312: the Symon Strutt to whom Thomas Strut; had surrendered land in 1306
may have been Nicholas' nephew. There were two other possible daughters
(or nieces), Oliva, mentioned in a plea of debt in 1312 \(^{(3)}\), and Emma,
involved in a plea of debt with Eudo de Stanhawe in January 1317 \(^{(4)}\).
There were therefore 3 or 4 sons and between 4 and 6 daughters, some at
least of whom may well be shown to have left archaeological trace in the
tangle of house-platforms and cobbled areas still to be investigated both
inside and outside Strut's croft where it abuts on Stanway Green ditch.
Nicholas was survived by his wife Isabel.

Nicholas Strut's social position within the village is best indicated by
the pattern of his manorial obligations and financial transactions. The

\(^{(1)}\) Sl/2/1.1. fol. 13. C.C.R. 027-10.
\(^{(2)}\) Sl/2/1.1. fol. 21. C.C.R. 048-22.
\(^{(3)}\) Sl/2/1.1. fol. 21v. C.C.R. 051-38.
\(^{(4)}\) Sl/2/1.3. folios unstitched.
conditions of his tenure did not oblige him to perform the office of reeve or messor and he did not in any case hold enough land, a reason he also gave for removal from the office of wood-Gale (Wood-Ward)\(^1\). Despite there being no specific reference to his ever having been a capital pledge, Nicholas served as a member of the general inquisition, normally a sub-committee of the jury (who were often capital pledges) from 1322 to 1326 and in 1329, four years before his death. He acted as a pledge in manor court for other individuals on 22 occasions between 1302 and 1324: during the last 9 years of his life he was involved with at least 7 other men in pleas of debt, two of them chaplains, and this may explain why he ceased acting as a pledge himself during this period.

An important fact emerges from the examination of those persons for whom Nicholas had acted as a pledge. In 82% of these pledging incidents, those involved had come either from Nicholas' own family (17%), or from well-established villein families living round Stanway Green, for example the family Cach (32%). In ordinary circumstances at least, pledging was arranged between neighbours, on the basis of very local geography.

Unlike pledging, membership of tithings does not appear to have been arranged on a geographical basis. When Peter Strutt was amerced for default in 1309, he was recorded as belonging to the tithing of John Edwyne, a member of a family usually associated with exactly the opposite (western) end of the village to Stanway Green (Tenement No. 73, William Edwyne). It appears certain that when boys attained legal age, they, like newcomers to the manor, joined whichever tithing had a vacancy rather than a

\(^1\) Sl/2/1.1. fol. 9. C.C.R. 019-26.
"...Omnes villani eligerunt Nicholaum Struth venditorem subbosci cum Johanne Edwyne prius electo. Et Ricardus Alred remotus est quia languidus est. Et predictus Nicholaus postea fecit servicium pro remocione sua quia nimis terre tenet per plegium Johannis Prepositi. Et postea Augustinus Dobiot electus est in loco suo et fecit sacramentum..."
tithing to which either male members of their family or immediate
neighbours already belonged. Unfortunately, no suit-rolls (1) for
Worlingworth have survived and only erratically were the names of both the
defaulter and his capital pledge recorded in manor court. However, of the
7 cases of default where both defaulter and capital pledge were named
involving men with surnames from Stanway Green during the sample period
1312 - 1335 (2), not once did both parties come from this same part of the
village (3). Towards the close of the 14th century, however there is a
marked increase in the number of men who belonged to the same tithing and
lived in the same part of the village.

The office of affeerer to the manor court, a function which Nicholas Strutt
performed in October 1321, September 1322 and October 1325, was certainly
filled on several occasions at Worlingworth on a neighbourhood rather than
a tithing basis. Affeerers worked in pairs to assess the appropriate
level of court fines and amercements. It was an office which, in later
14th century Suffolk, was open to abuse (4). Nicholas Strutt's

1. Strips of vellum used in connection with the view of frankpledge on which the
names of the members of each tithing were recorded, deleted and amended as
circumstances dictated. For a serviceable example of this type of document see
2. i.e. the rolls of Abbot Richard de Draughton during whose administration most
of these examples occurred.
3. Mathematically at least, examples of proximity of dwelling should have
occurred in the ratio 1:14 or 1:15, according to the total number of tithings.
Using the same sample as in the main text (above), this ratio was confirmed by the
examination of 20 examples from the rest of the parish. Newcomers were extremely
difficult to place, but John Bukenham, defaulter, and Henricius Crudde, capital
pledge, may both be located in the western half of Fingle Street (Tenements 46,
50, 52). (Court held September 1325. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.2 fol. 21).
4. Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367-1370, P.R.O. p.137: "...The said William (Rous)
behaves himself as a man of law, though he has never learnt law; and being
retained of counsel with divers lords, he holds divers courts and leets in the
county...and although by custom theretofore the amercements ought to be offered
on the day when the leet is held, he took noofferments that day, but the leet
was offered a fortnight later at his own house four leagues away by himself and
the bailiff of the manor, and the amercements levied; and so he does at all
courts and leets which he holds, to the manifest oppression of the people".
(ref. Rous of Dennington, Suffolk).
co-affeerer in September 1322 was Robert Fayr, also from Stanway Green. Ten of the 14 amercements and presentments on the agenda involved people also living round Stanway Green, notably Walter del Brok who then occupied Tenement 23 (Andreas de Brok) which actually separated Tenements Strutt and Fayr. This court has the appearance, almost, of a neighbourhood court within a manor court. At a similar court, two years earlier (1), the co-affeerers had been Henricius Crudde (Tenementum No. 54) and Adam Sitard (Tenementum 48), both, like very many of the people mentioned in the court proceedings (2), from Fingle Street.

At least half the persons with whom Nicholas Strutt was connected during his life in pleas of debt came from families associated with Stanway Green, a significantly prominent secondary group being the 3 clerics from whom Nicholas borrowed. When Nicholas was the defendant in pleas of debt, his pledges were, in the majority of cases, drawn from a wider area within the vill (57%): the reeve frequently pledged for him in routine amercements.

The history of Tenement 64 after Nicholas' death in 1335 is not without interest. The heir Peter left half the family messuage and 2½ acres of land to Katerina, possibly his eldest sister and Nicholas' eldest surviving child after Peter himself, and to Thomas Gunneld her husband: the other half of the house and a further 2½ acres of land he left to his widowed mother Isabella with reversion after Isabella's death to Thomas and his heirs (3). Thomas Gunneld survived the first pestilence and benefited

2. John le Wilde, Peter Bokenham, Henricius Crudde, Adam Sittard, William Leverich, Adam Leuild, Dameta le Barkere, Matilda Hert etc.
3. S1/1/1.2. fol. 41. September 1335.
from some at least of the subsequent economic opportunities: he expanded his holding for example by taking a 5-year lease at Oldsteads (Cach) in January 1356 (1). Of his two sons, John died in the second pestilence of 1361 and the other son Edmund may, on the evidence of fines for default, have left the village. In April 1372, Thomas followed a fairly common practice on the manor and paid, whilst still alive, his own heriot in order to surrender 6 acres of customary land to John, son of Richard le Cook, whilst retaining the messuage until he himself died. It was not John Cook but his father Richard (above) who surrendered the 6 acres with a messuage called "Gonylds" at his death in 1396, to the use of another son and heir, Nicholas Cook. It was Nicholas who, at a court held in July 1411 (2), paid half a mark (6s 8d) as a fine for permission to:

"...Throw down one old house on the tenement Gonylds so that he might be exonerated from repairing the said house. And the said Nicholas and his heirs shall repair another house on this tenement and maintain it: viz., one grange etc..."

There therefore awaits further archaeological excavation a sealed site containing the artefacts of the Strutt, Gunneld and Cook families, c 1200-1411. Several of the other tenements on Stanway Green, notably Cach (60), R. de Stanhaugh (22) and Gernegans (63) would amply reward similar documentary and archaeological examination.

1. S1/2/1.23: fol. 36v.
"...Dominus concessit Thome Gunnyld unum inclausum apud le Holdested tenendum a festo St. Michaelis ultimo preterito usque ad finem 5 annorum proximorum sequentium et plene completorum reddendo domino per annum 3s 4d ad terminos sensuales etc..."
2. S1/2/1.10 (fol. 21v).
Contemporary 'pannage' entries show that both Gunneld and Strutt had survived as surnames to this date.
CHAPTER XI

THE ALLEGED AGRARIAN CRISIS OF 1315 - 1322

Few issues divide current historical opinion on medieval matters more than agrarian events in the second decade of the fourteenth century. The corrected second impression of Miller and Hatcher's "Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348", published in 1980, states (1), on the one hand:

"...A formidable case has been made for regarding the period of severe harvest failures and livestock epidemics between 1315 and 1322 as a dividing line in the history of the medieval countryside".

H.E. Hallam, on the other hand, in his "Rural England 1066-1348", published in 1981, has stated:

"...Again I must stress the importance of regionalism. Evidence of famine is hard to find in Eastern England..." (2).

"...The Black Death may still have been a major factor in English agrarian history, but in East Anglia and Essex the earlier 'famines' were not" (3).

In considering the evidence for Worlingworth, it is unfortunate that no compotus-rolls for this period have survived, depriving posterity of important information on strictly local price-levels and cattle-murrain. Moreover, one of the two extant court-rolls for the year 1315 was re-used as a cover to a 17th century extent (4), which raises the possibility that during this most critical period a bundle of rolls may have been broken up and the proceedings of some courts lost. As if in compensation, the

2. Fontana original, p.16.
3. ibidem, p.45.
court-rolls of the Manors of Horham and Horham Thorpe Hall immediately to the north of Worlingworth appear to run through the "Famine Years" intact.

Whilst H.E. Hallam's statement that evidence of famine in East Anglia is hard to find is substantially correct, nevertheless there is enough extant information to confirm that the years 1315-1316 in particular were indeed extraordinary.

The average price per quarter of wheat during the first decade of the fourteenth century was from 5s to 6s (2). At Eye (6 miles N.W. of Worlingworth), the price reached 12s 8d in 1314-15 and 20s in 1315-1316. Other cereals followed the same pattern with barley rising particularly steeply in price as the 'famine' progressed (3). In 1315-1316, a pillory was made from new at Eye (4), perhaps an indication of social unrest.

In the court-rolls of Southelmham (9 miles N.E.), an incomplete list of "Indictments of Felons" in 1315-1316 has survived (5). In the extant portion, 31 individuals from within the township of Southelmham itself and 2 from the nearby parishes of Metfield and Cratfield were charged with stealing goods worth c £9. By far the largest part in terms of cash value (60%) involved the theft of foodstuffs, bread, cereals and cooked meat. Other items stolen varied from livestock to cash (12d) and silver rings.

The Adair Collection contains no similar court for this township and it is

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1. S.R.O. (IPS) Collection HA68 Section /484.
"...In 1 pillory de novo faciendo, 13d..."
5. S.R.O. (IPS) HA12/C2/2 (Adair Collection)
clear that this court in 1315-1316 was summoned to deal with an extraordinary situation.

It is important to note that both the above prices recorded for wheat, 20s per quarter, were far below the 40s cited by contemporary chroniclers, notably the Annales Londinienses, and this would appear to support H.E. Hallam's claim for regional differences. However, the ordinance of the brewers regulating the price of beer in January 1317 established different prices between town and country (1) implying that the 'famine' may have been more severe in urban areas rather than in the countryside (particularly in corn-growing areas like High Suffolk). That conditions in the Suffolk countryside were bad, nevertheless, is illustrated by an account-roll of Sibton Abbey from Candlemas to Michaelmas 1315 (2).

"...Gifts to poor people: 8s to the paupers of Tunstall and 8s to the paupers of Rendham".

This type of entry is indeed hard to find at any period, suggesting, again, that exceptional circumstances arose in 1315-1316.

At the centre of the controversy about this period is the question of how many people actually died. Mortality is stressed by the contemporary chroniclers. The Annales Paulini recorded of 1316 that many poor people died of want and misery. The Annales Londinienses recorded in autumn 1315: (3)

"....In this year there was a very great hunger and pestilence (sic) all over England, so that the living could not bury the dead: and this lasted

for 3 years without a break, so that the price of wheat reached at sale 20 shillings, 30 shillings and sometimes 40 shillings".

The same chronicle reported of the summer of 1316: (1)

"...Still in this very year, the aforesaid dire famine continued, death and great intemperance of weather" (2).

The number of deaths recorded in the court-rolls of Worlingworth and Horham largely contradict the statements in the various Annales. An important caveat should be introduced here, however, for if the rural poor are to be identified as the sub-tenantry, rather than the recognized tenants, manorial court-rolls are a vastly inferior source to eye-witness accounts in the matter of recording mortality.

In strict statistical terms, and the difficulties in defining precisely abbatical years notwithstanding, 1311 was the worst year in the first quarter of the fourteenth century at Worlingworth, and 1312 and 1316 the worst at Horham (Please see Table no. B). Taking both wills together, the years 1316-1317 witnessed the worst mortality in this period, by a very narrow margin. These figures need to be placed in a wider context. Compared with the average numbers of deaths in the first ten years of extant court-rolls at Worlingworth, the mortality in 1316-1317 barely represents 2 extra deaths per annum. The number of recorded deaths in Worlingworth in 1316-1317 was barely 1/6th of that recorded during the First Pestilence, 1349-50.

Some of the personal details of those 11 tenants who died at Worlingworth in 1316-1317 throw further light, however, on the nature of the hardships encountered.

2. Most of those tenants fined for breaking mill-suit at Worlingworth in 1315-16 lived on the opposite side of the rivulet from the lord's mill, suggesting it may have flooded.
1. **Walter Dousyng**, free tenant, paid 12d in the Recognitions List in 1302. At his death he held a messuage with 31 acres to which his son Galfridus was heir. The Tenement G. Dousyng (Appendix A No. 16) was located on the E. side of the Great Green. Walter Dousyng regularly pledged for other tenants in manor-court and was a very active member of the (manorial) community.

2. **Thomas Duke**, customary tenant, was admitted to a messuage and 12 acres at the death in 1312 of his father William (assessed at 12d in 1302). The tenement Dukes (Appendix A No. 53) was situated on the south side of Fingle Street near the NE corner of the Great Green.

3. **Alexandra Fayr**, customary tenant, paid 6d jointly with Isabella Fayr in 1302. Undoubtedly belonged to Tenementum Fayrs (Appendix A No. 61) on the west side of Stanway Green, but had held land in 1303 from Tenementum Dousyng (above). At her death, her son Robert was admitted to her cottage and 2 acres of land.

4. **Thomas Fayr**, husband of Alexandra, paid 18d as a customary tenant in 1302. Thomas' 12 acres were granted to his son Robert at his death. He lived on the west side of Stanway Green and played a very active part in the life of the manor. Note the connection (above) with Tenementum G. Dousyng.

5. **Agnes Hirdeman** paid 3d as a free tenant in 1302, but 4 acres of customary land were granted to her brother John's use at her death. In 1302, Walter Dousyng (above) acted as attorney in court and in 1317 she had surrendered 3 acres to Galfridus Dousyng (above). The Tenementum G. Dousyng had a cottage upon it, according to the extent of 1466, abutting on to the east side of Worlingworth Great Green. It appears very likely that this was the former dwelling of Agnes Hirdeman.

6. **Matilda Hert**, customary tenant, paid 3d in 1302. At her death, her
toft and 12 acres were seized into the lord's hands. The Tenementum Matilda Hert (No. 55) was situated on the south side of Fingle Street near the N.E. corner of the Great Green. In 1307 she apparently tried to avoid customary obligations by moving to her free land.

7. Roger de Hopetone broke the assize of ale continuously from 1308 until his death. Most of his manorial involvements were with individuals living near the Great Green, particularly the Golds (Tenement No. 46) on the south side of the Great Green near the S.E. corner, but he was also associated with the Tenement Conewold (No. 85) in the main street near the brook crossing.

8. Golla Jerald paid nothing in 1302 because she was a pauper. In 1311 she grazed 3 sheep on the green. At her death she held in villeinage half a cottage to which her heir and nephew William Jerald was admitted. The Tenementum Jerald (No. 39), on which her half-cottage was probably perched, was situated next to Golds on the south side of the Great Green towards the S.E. corner.

9. William Lenyld, customary tenant, paid 18d in 1302 and at his death his son Adam aged 18 years was admitted to 24 acres. In 1320 Adam surrendered half of this to his widowed mother Alice and half to John le Wylde: he paid his heriot to be quit of the lord's demands, but stayed in the village. The Tenementum Le Wyldes (No. 59) was situated on the N. side of Fingle Street at the junction with the Horham Road.

10. Johanna Short came to Worlingworth in 1311, was widowed in 1313 and at her death held 1 1/4 rods of land. She had a son Adam. The Short's cottage stood on land belonging to Alice Bokenham: there is nothing to suggest that Alice ever held land other than on the north side of Fingle Street at the N.E. corner of the Great Green either on Tenementum 46 (Peter Bokenham) or Tenementum 50 (Bokenham et Hewes).
11. Philip Stannard, customary tenant, paid 18d in 1302. He probably came from the Stannard family manumitted in 1286. There is nothing to suggest from his court involvements that he lived elsewhere than in the immediate vicinity of Tenement Stannards (No. 29) on the east side of the Great Green just south of the N.E. corner. Philip held 9 acres of land at his death. His daughter Alice married in 1318.

Possibly the most important feature of these brief 'vitae' is that, except for William Lenryld, all the rest held or had held land at or very near the east side of the Great Green. That so many of the dead (even eliminating Alexandra and Thomas Fayr) should have come from one small, though heavily populated, part of the village, strongly suggests a very local epidemic of a water-borne disease, possibly cholera or typhus. Both the Annales Londinienses and the Vita Edwardi Secundi recorded that after the famine a severe "pestilence" followed. The greatest concentration of deaths was at the N.E. corner of the Great Green and it is interesting to note that this area is still largely depopulated.

That the majority of the deceased were customary tenants may in large part have been an accident of geography, but the high proportion of women tenants (45%) compared with the Recognitions List of 1302 (32%) is of interest. The average amount of land held by the deceased women was 1/4 that held by the deceased men (this statistic is probably representative of the community at large). Four of the deceased women were alive in 1302 and paid on average 2 1/4d to the abbot's Recognition: the four men alive in 1302 paid on average 141/2d, six times as much. It has to be said, therefore, that

women of at least middle-age with very low resources could account by
themselves for the two extra deaths per annum in 1316-1317. Since, with
the possible exception of Alexandra Fayr, all the women lived in the area
affected by the supposed epidemic this need not subtract from the local
pestilence theory, however. The men were, by no means, from the poorer
end of society.

It remains to estimate whether with reference to Worlingworth and events of
1315 - 1317, rural life was substantially altered. In 1322-3, the 12-acre
tenements of Thomas Duke (1) and Matilda Hert were still in the lord's
hands. So were the Tenements Crowenest (Dametti le Barkere) at the N.E.
corner of the Great Green and Tenement Galfridi Fisk (No. 47) next door.
By accident or design, quite a large block of customary land had developed
which was untenanted and was being farmed in with the demesne.
By far the most significant of this group above was Tenement Fisk.
Although Galfridus Fisk died in 1211, he actually surrendered his land at a
court held in April 1304 and gave a specific reason:
"Because it was weak" (2).
"Weak" land, local epidemic disease, expensive foodstuffs and the strong
desire on the part of some villeins at least to be rid of customary
services, all these factors likely to produce social and economic change
were present to a small degree in Worlingworth during the first two decades
of the fourteenth century. They cannot be seen as cataclysmic events
which changed the pattern of this particular village's life for ever,
although there is a case for considering them as part and parcel of a
process of gradual, continuous change.

1. Olive Duke may not have been able to inherit because she was subject
to "Ius mendicans" : it is possible she was resident at the mendicant
friary at Bruisyard. (House of Minresses).
2. "...Quia debilis terra..." Sl/2/1.1. fol. 6v. C.C.R. 016-11.
But one vitally important element in this list of factors for change is missing, the policy of the demesne managers. As H.E. Hallam has noted, (1), sheep did not "Arrive" in Worlingworth until 1333-4. Reference to the map of 1605/6 (2), reveals that, after Adam Sittard's tenement was taken, also, into the lord's hands and not re-let at his death in 1327, the combined tenements of Crowenests (88), Harts (55), Sittars (48) and Fisks (47), totalling 44 acres, in effect formed a broad link, perhaps a drove, between the Great Green and the north-west tip of the consolidated demesne at Mill-Close. Later in the fourteenth century, the demesne was to try and establish a second sheep-fold on the land "Formerly Sittards", conveniently near the Great Green (3). It is possible that the deaths and surrenders of Galfridus Fisk in 1311 and Matilda Hert in 1316 could be interpreted as factors dating from the period of the alleged agrarian crisis which caused a change in demesne policy, towards sheep-farming. However, the date of Galfridus Fisk's original surrender, 1304, and even of Matilda Hert's, apparently unforced, removal from her customary tenement, 1307, are put sharply into context by H.E. Hallam's statement concerning another of the Abbot of St. Edmund's manors, Hinderclay, that: (4)

"...There were few or no sheep until 1303-4, when the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds started sheep-farming on a large scale".

There is ample room for belief, therefore, that the abandoned tenements at the corner of the Great Green and Fingle Street had as much to do with long-term demesne policy than with the alleged famines, epidemics and agrarian crises of 1315-22.

Useful indicators of any change in the size of the population after the alleged 'famines' are the numbers of individuals fined for breaking the assizes of bread and ale. (Please see Table C). In the decade 1302-11, Worlingworth was served each year by an average of 8.6 brewers and gannokers, and 2.3 bakers and regraters. In the decade 1318-27, there were on average 6.4 brewers/gannokers amerced each year, and 2.7 bakers. The fall in the number of brewers may be explained in part by the restrictions placed on the trade by the Ordinance of 1317: that the number of bakers/regraters at least remained stable further supports H.E. Hallam's belief that this was not a period of substantial agrarian change in this part of the country.
With the loss of the first volume of Worlingworth's (Pre-Reformation) churchwarden's accounts, medieval documentation on the village's largest and arguably most important building, the parish church, is almost totally confined to a few minutaie of information contained in fifteenth-century wills. For the fourteenth century, there are the interpretations of the church fabric by modern historians of ecclesiastical architecture and a very few indirect references to building activity in the manor court-rolls and account-rolls.

Mr N. Pevsner's first note on Worlingworth church was the wide chancel, which he dated c 1300, the only feature he ascribed with any certainty to the fourteenth century (1). Mr N. Scarfe has described the church as follows:- (2)

"Worlingworth's chancel was probably begun c 1300 in the Early English style at the moment of its becoming 'Decorated' and you can see the change developing in the south windows. The nave, the tower and the porch are 15th century work on a grand scale, presumably reflecting, like Pakenham, Woolpit and Beccles, the patronage of Bury Abbey. Its porch is a delightful example of flint flushwork. The nave, 100 feet long, is no less than 30 feet wide, which nothing but the double-hammerbeam roof could span. The sublime conception of the roof is

1. Pevsner, N.: "Suffolk", p.471-2. The rest was mainly Perpendicular, "c 1330-1530".
best appreciated looking west from the chancel, where one immediately sees that the soaring font-cover (1), allegedly from Bury itself, was surely designed to go beneath this roof..."

H. Munro Cautley (2) noticed half a 14th century gable-cross and a simple 14th century angle piscina in the chancel. The consensus appears to be that only the chancel belongs to the fourteenth century.

Clearly, the construction of the chancel was mason's work. In late August 1312 (3), William Mazun was admitted for the term of one year to a messuage leased to him by William Duke of Fingle Street. Mazun was last mentioned in a court held on 3rd March 1316, not an obit. Although precariously slender, this evidence is perhaps weighty enough to suggest (4) that, using local labour (5), some substantial building-work was in progress.

There is no such shortage of information concerning the range of buildings at Worlingworth Hall, the manor house. At the centre was the "Aula" or dining-hall, with high table, side tables, trestles and benches (6) and an alms table (7): the hall was thatched with reeds brought from considerable distances, for example, Babwell (8), Stanton and Dunwich. Repairs about the manor house in 1330-1 (9) included propping up the wall between the larder and the Butler's house (Domus), lest it fall down, and mending the "Dressourbords" in the kitchen and larder. It is likely that the kitchen

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1. 20 feet high.
4. "Sahiere" is another building surname occurring at Worlingworth from 1311 onwards.
7. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.6 (1329-30)
   "...Et pro 1 trostel faciendo in aula pro rebie elemosinariA superponend.."
   "...Arundin...200 garbe arundin de Babewell.." (near Bury St. Edmunds).
was a separate building, for the "Alee" or entry, probably from the kitchen to the hall, was re-thatched with straw in 1333-4 (1). At the head of the hall, over the buttery, was a first-floor solar, the principal bed-chamber, complete with latrine and connected by a passage ("tresaunce") to the chapel.

It is possible that this was an upper chapel (2): it was equipped with benches and "Deskes", was thatched, had windows (3) and partitions (3). Occasionally, it had to accommodate the Abbot of St Edmunds in person, and his entourage, for example in 1339-40, when the Abbot travelled to Campsea Nunnery near Woodbridge for a funeral (4).

In 1326/7 (5), a carpenter was employed for 60 days on a new chamber with solar and latrine near the gate ("iuxta portam"). This may be one of the small outbuildings entered on the map of 1605/6 (6) rather than the building still known as the Guild-Hall on the north side of Church Green: the loss of the earliest volume of churchwardens' accounts is unfortunate, again, for in his 19th century monograph on Worlingworth Church, D. Ross appears to have had evidence that the guild was of early fourteenth century origin (7), 1308.

Other chambers in the complex of buildings at the hall, included the servant's chamber, apparently a separate building (8), the bailiff's

7. "Monograph on the Church of Saint Mary Worlingworth" by Ross D., 1887, p. 15.
chamber (1) and a 'small' chamber (2). Another new building, constructed in 1325/6 was the Janitor's House (3). The kitchen ("coquina") with a clean (4) outside pond, brewery ("bracina"), malt-kiln ("torale") and bakery ("pistrinum") were separate buildings outside the hall and were all straw-thatched. In 1338/9 (5), the brewery was re-equipped with 3 "tuns", 2 "Boketts" and 2 "Bolles": the treen jugs were re-banded both for the brewery and bakehouse. The bakery had both a large and a small oven (6) and was lit by 3 windows (7): 3 tubs were bought for it in 1339/40 (8).

The remaining outbuildings may be divided between those used for storage of grain and those housing livestock. Each important species of cereal, wheat (9), oats (10) and barley (11) had its own grange in addition to the granary. The existence of kennels (12) and a hawk-cave (13) underline the use by hunting parties of the hall as a base. There were separate stables for the different grades of horses, the "Stabula palefridorum" (14), the "Stabula armigerorum" (15), the "Stabula quorum carectatorum" (16), and the "Stabula stottorum" (17) whose roof was blown off by a great wind in 1344/5. In the late thirteenth century, the stotts may have shared the

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4. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.8
"...In stagno retro coquinam scrutando de novo...10d".
"...ie kenyle"
"...pro domo caniculorum"
"Long Stable" with the oxen for the casualties in the fire of 1277/8 (1) had been 7 stotts and 5 oxen. In the fourteenth century, the cows (2), oxen (2), pigs (3) and hens (4) had their own 'houses'. Gated walls linked many of the buildings, their main purpose being to keep domestic animals away from the residential area and granges; in 1331/2 (5), rails were placed across the rivulet to stop animals getting into the lord's park, a small enclosed area south of the hall garden (6) and apple-orchard (7).

The house at Strutts Tenement (see Chapter 10) was timber-framed, like the hall, and resting on a shallow flint foundation of perhaps 2-3 courses (8). When excavated, the interior floors appeared as areas of beaten earth containing clay and chalk pebbles. Outside the flint foundations were patches of flint cobbling (9). There was sufficient evidence to confirm that between the wall timbers, the infill was of wattle and daub, as at Worlingworth Hall. No fragments of roof-tile or brick were found, confirming that straw-thatch was the usual covering of tenants' houses. A well-preserved door-key was found in a clean ditch just outside one of the buildings on the tenement.

Occasionally, the dimensions of the tenants' dwellings are mentioned in the court-rolls, although it was never specified whether the measurements were

3. ibidem.
5. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.64
6. "...pro barris faciendis et ponendis in cursu aque pro bestiis opstupandis ex parco domini...12d..."
9. Information kindly supplied by Mr G. Moss, archaeologist.

Further excavation may confirm that the cobbled areas extended far enough out from the base of the walls to catch rainwater shed from the overhanging thatch.
of the whole site rather than the residence itself. In 1329, Augustinus Burghard surrendered a cottage 24' long by 18' wide\(^1\) and in 1335 he surrendered a cottage, possibly the same one, to Richard le Smyth, 38' long by 29' wide\(^2\). The court-rolls of Worlingworth have not yielded the details of the timber expended in building a tenant's house, as have the court-rolls of Flixton near Bungay in 1377\(^3\):

"...Item, the jurors present that Robert Borel destroyed,

2 small oaks worth 2d,
10 great ashes worth 8s,
18 poplars worth 3s 4d,
21 aspens worth 6d
1 helm (sic) worth 1d
1 apple-tree worth 1d
and 73 small ashes worth 5s

...And the jurors have been given until the next court to enquire further whether Robert Borel destroyed,

74 small ashes worth 3s 10\(\underline{d}\)
and a 'Helm' worth 1\(\underline{d}\) in another place".

(Total £1-1s-1\(\underline{d}\)).

Trouble with one's building contractor leaving the site before completing the work he contracted to perform was a phenomenon familiar to the medieval population. A court entry from Worlingworth in 1302 related that\(^4\):

"...It was considered by an inquisition\(^5\) that a contract had existed between Thomas Fayr and John Dousyng viz. that the same John

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1. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.6. fol. 22 (a stray).
2. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.23 (fol.11).
4. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.1.\(\underline{d}\) (3 Computer Reference 009-07.
5. i.e. a sub-committee of the jurors.
should make for Thomas Fayr a certain house from timber old and new, receiving for the work expended on this house 12 shillings and 1 plough-work with his (Thomas') plough, of which the same John had received 9s 2d in part payment of the said contract. And although he had received the said pence, he refused to finish the said house but turned his back on the job altogether to the damage of the said Thomas. Therefore it was considered that the same John should be at mercy. And the said Thomas should recover the said damages”.

Some further notes on this episode may be offered. John Dousyng the builder died in 1324: his tenement (no. 44) was at Paradise Farm. “The wall-braces in the old part of Paradise meet so close to the centre of the moulded tie-beam that they almost form "Gothic" arches" (1). Clearly this is one of the several buildings in Worlingworth worthy of further examination for a truly medieval core. In 1332 (2), Oliva Fair, a descendant of Thomas Fayr, paid a fine of 3d for permission to sell an old house, demonstrating inter alia the very active market in early fourteenth century Worlingworth for second-hand building timbers.

Invaluable information concerning the interior plan of tenant housing is provided by a court entry of 1334 (3). Margery Thurstān had apparently left the soil of the manor but had taken away with her, which was her offence, various chattels attached to the ground, viz:

“One lock, one ladder for a soler and a wooden bed”

1. Mr Paul Edwards, architectural consultant to the Conservation Section, Norfolk County Council.
2. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.2. fol. 34.
3. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.2 fol. 37.
"...Item quod Margeria Thurston asportavit quendam seruram, 1 scalam pro solario unum lectum de meremio ad terram attachiatum. Et alia catalla extra tenuram domini. Ideo etc..."
This particular tenant's house was two-storied and contained sleeping arrangements appreciably better than the straw palletts commonly assigned by historians to this social class. Although the documents did not make this clear, it is likely that Margery came from the villein Thurstans of Fingle Street (No. 49) rather than the free-tenant Thurstons of "Eslyngstrete" (No. 12 or 13) (1).

Only rarely were pieces of household furniture or other chattels belonging to the tenantry specifically mentioned in the court records. A chest was taken in distrain from Alicia Beneyt in 1334 (2), an old cauldron from Stephen Flegg, "Two tunics, 1 smocke, 1 canvas and a hoe" from William, Cook, coupere, in 1371 (3). In 1378, Avicia Ogger had a sheet worth 12d and a coverlet (chaloun) worth 6d (4). Early in the 14th century, Alexandra le Smale had a hat and Nicholas Strutt the fur-trimmed coat which brought him the troubles noted in Chapter X. References to personal weapons such as Peter Dousyng's sword and cudgel were uncommon.

But following the killing of John Fayrman of Suddonstrete in 1390, the goods, chattels and lands of those arrested for the felony, Roger Clarke and John Swan, fell forfeit to the Abbot (not the Crown) and remarkably detailed inventories were drawn up by the homage of the contents of both men's households (5).

1. Free Tenements 12 & 13 owed only one attendance at court each year at a Curia Generalis, a Court Baron with Leet. The court at which Margery Thurstian appeared was a Court General.
2. S1/2/1.2, fol. 42v.
3. S1/2/1.6, fol. 18.
4. ibidem.
5. S1/2/1.24 fol 10v. These inventories were considered of sufficient importance as to be included in the main text of this thesis in translation from the Medieval Latin.
"...of the chattels of Roger Clerke...

One black mare worth 40d
One red colt worth 40d
Three cows 17s 6d
Three mutton sheep 4s
Twenty-Two ewes 22s
Five hogasters 5s
Seventeen lambs 8s 5d
One cockerel and seventeen hens 18d
One goose and three goslings 9d
One pig 6d
Two bushels of beans and peas 12d
Four bushels of oats 12d
Two cartloads of hay and straw 8d
Two cartloads of thatching straw ("stipula") 6d
Two chalons 20d
Three linen sheets 3d
One canvas 1d
One doublet 6d
One hood 11d
One pair of hose 2d
Two pairs of new shoes ("sotulare") 2d
One fur-lined tunic for his wife 6d
One kirtle for the same (woman) 6d
One lined hood ("capucium duplex") 4d
Nine woman's kerchiefs ("Kevyrches") 3d
Two black woollen pelts 1d
One brass jug ("Olla enea") 20d
Two brass bowls 20d
One saddle with a bridle -
One seed-lepe 1d
One "Temse" (A sieve) -
One bowl with iron handles 1d
One "veriousbarel" (Verjuice barrel) 1d
One bushel 1d
One fat (vat), 2 toubbys (tubs) 3d
One wicker bushel measure -
One (s)cythe 3d
One "scauron" 2d
One hook 1d
One shovel 1d
One iron shovel 1d
One "spynnyngwel" 1d
Two unshod shovels 1d
Two boards 1d
Three ladders nil
One bunch of flax ("1 remulus pro ling") -
One alestool 1d
Two stools nil
Three brass jugs 1d
Two tubs nil
Four pounds of wool 2d
Two pounds of yarn 2d
One bushel poke 1½d
One baselard (dagger) nil
One cart of ash -
One cartload of fire-wood -
The total price 29s 5d (sic)

The goods of John Swan on the aforesaid date -

Two cows, one feeding calves, worth 10s
Two calves over a year old, nothing because they're lacking -
One piglet 6d
(Goose, goslings), one cockerel and seven hens 6d
Four bushels of barley in the sheaf 11d
Four bushels of peas 12d
Four bushels of oats 8d
Three bushels of oat malt 12d
A quantity of hay nil
Three bacon hams 12d
Twenty fleeces 20d
One chalon 4d
Three pounds of yarn 3d
One chest 1d
One old door 1d
One brass jug 6d
One cauldron 6d
Two small brass pans 4d
One steel 1d
Two tubbys 2d
One chirne 1d
One flesstrow (salting trough) -
One andyron -
One trivet 1d
One spynnnyngwheel nil
One pair of cards nil
One coverlet 12d
One chalon 2d
One linen sheet 1d
Two blankets 2d
One other coverlet of 'Ray'
(Striped cloth) 2a
One canvas 1d

Two cows let out to farm to
Avelina wife of John Swon for
40d until Michaelmas next by
John Barat and Richard Cook

Two pieces of oak -
Two cartloads of hard-bough
(firewood) -

One bench -

Item in money 18d in the hands
of John Barat.

The total valued by the homage at 21s 7id..."

Although most of the items formerly belonging to Roger Clerke which were
actually sold fetched the price estimated at the valuation, his dagger was
purchased for 1d, previously considered worthless, and 3 earthenware jugs
("Ollee lutee") not on the inventory were sold for 1d. Roger's cloth and
personal clothing were given to his son Richard: his colt went to a buyer
at Rickinghall (1)

There was not, as in the 16th and 17th century probate inventories, a progression by the valuers from one specified room to another of the deceased's house. But both inventories of 1390 began with the livestock. That tenants had barns is confirmed by a court entry concerning Tenement Strutts in 1411 (1). After livestock, both inventories then listed primary foodstuffs, wheat and leguminous crop seeds. In the case of John Swan, he had 15 bushels in store at Michaelmas 1390, approaching half a ton; the existence of a small granary over the livestock quarters is possible. Over half the total wealth of both men was invested in their animals, 80% in the case of Roger Clerke and 51% in the case of John Swan. Adding together the value of his sheep, fleeces, spinning wheel and yarn (etc.), over half (52%) of Roger Clerke's money was tied up in the wool and cloth trades. John Swan had no sheep on his inventory.

The inventories reveal some noteworthy differences between the two households. The personal attire of Roger Clerke and his wife were worth valuing, at 40d. (11% of total valuation), John Swan's clothes were not. But the Swan's house had a fire-place with andiron and trivet. Despite the greater number of items, 57 compared with 37, in the Clerke household, the Swans' soft furnishings, if they are acceptable as a test of domestic comfort, were actually worth more, particularly in terms of percentages. The Swans had 2½ times more grain in store, although the Clerke granary does appear abnormally low. John Swan had 18d cash, a commodity which, according to his inventory, Roger Clerke did not.

2. Sl/2/1.10.fol. 21v. Sat July 11th 1411
"...Finis Dimid. Marce. Nicholaus Cook dat domino de fine pro licencia habenda prosternendi unam veterem domum super tenementum Gonyldis ita quod dec. exoneretur ad reparacionem domus predicte (etc.)...Et quod predictus Nicholaus et heres suus reparationem unam aliun domum super dictum tenementum et manutenebunt sufficienter viz. 1 grangiam...etc..."
Examination of the Swan inventory reveals that the fireplace came about half-way down the list. All the kitchen and dairy utensils (10% of total valuation) precede the andiron and trivet, most of the soft furnishings followed. It appears reasonable to conclude that the Swans' house was sub-divided into two. The same suggestion cannot be made of Roger Clerke's house although, in his case, more than one outhouse may be indicated by carts or cartloads appearing early and late down the inventory. That neither inventory contained a bed is perhaps explained by reference to Margery Thurstan (above), whose bed, by being attached to the ground, was considered to be part of the building and not a (moveable) chattel. The only items of domestic furniture as such on either inventory of 1390 were John Swan's chest and bench, Roger Clerke's stools.

After the church with its associated buildings and the manorial complex, the most important structures were the mills, concerning the number and exact sites of which, as prefaced in Chapter III, there are considerable problems. For example, the sale in 1347-8 (1) of a large oak growing in the demesne pasture known as "Coulesers" to make a mill-post for the rector of Worlingworth, very strongly suggests that he also had a mill: if so, no trace of it has survived in the documents, although it need not have been sited in Worlingworth itself. The Inquisicio Nonarum recorded the existence in 1341 of only 1 mill in Worlingworth, undoubtedly the new demesne wind-mill built in 1336-7. the old demesne windmill appears to have been sited on low ground, for in 1340-1, osiers were sold growing on the mill-mount (2): the only other location from which osiers were sold was "Round the mill-pool", in 1336-7 (3) and 1344-5 (4). Perhaps the most

2. S1/2/9.13
"...Et de 4d de osyers vend. super montem molendini..."
4. S1/2/9.16.
serviceable interpretation of these entries might be that the water-mill for which the mill-dam and pool were constructed, probably at Valley Farm (1), was superseded by a wind-mill before 1277-8 (2), which was rebuilt in 1336-7 on higher ground at Mill-Hill. Alternatively, the water-mill was held by the rector ab antiquo, possibly on behalf of the township (3), and managed to survive unrecorded throughout the High Middle Ages (4).

The detailed costs of building the new demesne windmill in 1336/7 have survived (5). To the sum of 59s 10½d entered in the panel of the account-roll entitled "Custus Molendini" should be added the 3s paid for 4 bushels of wheat expended on labourers in raising the mill-mount and 2s for the demesne carts carrying timber to the mill, but there should be deducted the 5s 2d from the sale of timber chips and croppings from the oak trees felled for the job (6) (59s 8½d).

1. The crossing of the rivulet by Stanway Lane is a strong alternative possibility (TM 231697).
2. The earliest surviving account-roll, S1/2/9.1.
3. "Tunmanmedewe" is only a few yards distant.
4. The earliest glebe terrier is dated 1709 (S.R.O. (IPS) FC94/C2/1-2) and mentions neither a mill nor a mill-site.
5. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.10 "Custus Molendini...in stipendio 1 carpentarii pro rota molendini de carp. emend..3d. In 1300 pedibus de bord sarrand. pro reparacione novi molendini, 8s 1½d., per 100 pedes 7½d. In stipendio 2 carpentariorum per 3 dies pro meremio prostrando et scapulando ad idem cum (rinis) circa molas de carp. emendendis 9d.... In una nova monte molendini de novo faciendo cum nova poste rammand...28s. In expensis factis circa levacionem dicte postis 8d. In 800 clavis emptis ad idem 2s 4d per centum 3½d. In expensis factis circa levacionem novi molendini 4s 1d. In 4 ferris vocatis halfpenes circa postem euisdem de novo faciendo cum ferro empto ad idem 4s. In 8 ligamentis ferri emptis ad rotam euisdem cum poc...16d. In 1 dagscho empto 18d. In 1 canel et 1 ferro vocato le scho empto 12d. In 1 aul(a?) de ligno de novo carpent et faciend. super montem molendini 7s 10d except. 1/4d".
6. This information is contained on a small membrane headed "Profectus Manerii" stitched to the account-roll.

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A few comparisons may be drawn with the details of the new windmill at Saxstead (3 miles S.) on the Earl of Norfolk's manor built in 1286/7 (1) at a cost of £9 13s 10d plus 140 summer-works exacted from the customary tenants. Raising the mill-mount at Worlingworth and planting the mill-post cost 28s and 4 bushels of wheat; at Saxstead the great mount had cost 21s and 140 summer works. 800 nails expended at Worlingworth cost 2s 4d, whereas the unspecified quantity used at Saxstead cost 2s 2d.

Between 1302 and 1313, 27 individuals were amerced at Worlingworth for breaking mill-soken, the practice of grinding flour at home, usually with hand-querns, fragments of which survive on many medieval house-sites and are mentioned, exempli gratia, in the customs accounts at the Port of Ipswich in the late 14th century. Fifteen tenants were amerced at one court alone in 1309 (2), representing either an attempt by the lord to win back trade for his mill, or to tax a submerged economy. The most habitual "offenders", 1302-1313, were Nicholas Strutt (see Chapter X), and the baker/brewer Matilda Thurstan in Fingle Street, at six times each. A machine rather larger than a domestic hand-mill is suggested by the account-roll for 1349/50 (3) when there escheated to the lord,

"Two small ox-mills, formerly Peter Arnald's, sold to John Leveld, worth 6d".

The Tenementum J. Arnald (4) (No. 43), was situated in the commercial

1. P.R.O. SC6/997/5. This mill was on the soil of Framlingham manor, which also had a six-sailed ("sex velamen") windmill (SC6/997/3). A summary of evidence for Saxstead's medieval windmill may be found in the Dept. of the Environment Official Guidebook to Saxstead Green Mill, HMSO 1972, p.15-16.
2. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.1, fol. 17v.
3. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.20
   "...Et de 6d de 2 parvis molis de bovis (sic) Petri Arnald venditis Johanni Leveld".
4. John Arnald was amerced 6d for withdrawing from the Lords mill in 1329 (S1/2/1.2 fol. 27).
centre of the village near the brook crossing, east of the junction of Suddonstrete (Swan Road) with the main street (south side): in the extent of c 1355 (1), John Leveld (above) held 1½ acres of customary land from this tenant, but although John did not bake or brew himself, the 'chief' tenant, John Draper, broke both assizes after Leveld's death during the second pestilence in 1361. The link between breaking the assizes of ale and bread and breaking mill-soken were therefore (and not surprisingly), close. It appears very likely that the lord's millers (during 1302-1307, three separate tenant families were surnamed "Miller") could not cope with the demands placed upon them by the early fourteenth century population, some of whom, quite apart from resenting the professional trickery of the millers, regularly supplemented their income by milling for their neighbours or in connection with the baking and brewing trades as well as for home consumption.

In the first two decades of the fourteenth century, there were occasional references to the demolition of decayed tenant houses. In 1307, for example, Alexandra le Smale was amerced for tearing down,

"A certain house, worth 2s..." (2)

But the dispute in 1302 (above) between Thomas Fayr and John Dousyng clearly illustrated that house construction was also taking place. Decay and regeneration of the housing stock appear, on somewhat slender evidence, to have been in approximate balance. With the fall in population towards the end of the fourteenth century, the price of secondhand building materials appears to have fallen commensurately: a small house on Swone's tenement was valued at only 20d in 1397.

2. S1/2/1.1.fol. 15v. Computer Ref. 032-15
   "...abradicandO quendam domum ad valenciam 2s..."
By the court held in February 1338 (1), however, the situation was different, for the jurors had been given notice to report on damage done to the lord's lands held in villeinage:

"By the throwing down of houses, cutting down of trees etc..."

This important reference suggests that a degree of demographic and, no doubt, social and economic change was overtaking the manor of Worlingworth more than a decade before the advent of the first pestilence, some of it no doubt attributable to the arrival of the sheep in 1333-4.

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1. S1/2/1.9 fol.13. Nov. 1397
"...De vendicione unius parve domus in tenemento Swones ruinose per Johannem Baret pro 20d quos dictus Johannes recepit de Johanne Moor."
2. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.23 fol. 6.
"...per domos prostratos et amputaciones arborum etc..."
CHAPTER XIII

THE MEDIEVAL CLERGY

In 1085, the glebe at Worlingworth was estimated at 10 acres, inferior in size to all seven contiguous vills with the sole exception of Bedfield where the Little Domesday Survey recorded neither church nor glebe. But in 1254 (1), the Taxation of Clerical Income estimated the living at Worlingworth to be worth £16, inferior only to Tannington (with Brundish). It is clear that the benefice had been improved before the middle of the 13th century.

The efforts by reforming bishops like Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253, whose birthplace was said to be at Stradbroke, four miles north of Worlingworth and in the Bishop's (Hoxne) Hundred (3), had clearly faded by the early fourteenth century: both the rectors of Worlingworth inducted during the Abbacy of Richard de Draughton (1312-1335) bore the same surname as the abbot, Simon de Draughton inducted 1321 and Elias le Blound de Draughton inducted 1333. The latter may indeed be that same Elias the


lord's (abbot's) nephew who visited Worlingworth on a shooting trip in 1327/8 (1). Nepotism followed, it may be argued, the increase in the value of the benefice implied above. That the living in fourteenth century Worlingworth was a good one is confirmed by the "Inquisitiones Nonarum in Curia Scaccaria" (2) of 1341, which estimated that from this group of vills only the benefice of Tannington-with-Brundish was, again, worth more than Worlingworth, although the living at that other contiguous vill where the Abbot of St. Edmunds was lord, Monk Soham, was then equal in value to Worlingworth's (3).

In 1341 (4), the church lands at Worlingworth consisted of 60 acres of arable and 3½ acres of pasture. This meant that the rectory as a farm was second only in size to the demesne itself: as an agricultural unit, the rectory was larger than any of the manorial tenants' smallholdings. Nearly two-thirds of this glebe land lay near the rectory, according to the earliest extant Perrier of 1709 (5), and most of the remainder either in Crouchfield (See Map D) or its adjuncts "St. Mary Medowe" or Sowell Meadow.

The living was worth 28 marks (£18-13s-4d) per annum in 1341, an increase of 17% since 1254. Some rectors, notably Simon de Draughton, had additional moneys allowed to them from manorial and other sources, however (6). That the demesne at Worlingworth was paying tithes to an unnamed recipient on young stock during the fourteenth century was

1. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.63
"...In expensis Elie nepotis domini una vice fugantis in bosco pro fesantis capiendis una vice 3s..."
3. The situation at Redlingfield was that Redlingfield Nunnery had been founded in 1120 and the conventual church then served as a parish church also: the nunnery held 40 acres of land as glebe.
6. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.4, exempli gratia. The rectors' agricultural activities were not restricted to the glebe: parson Adam leased an additional 3 acres from the lord in 1358, for example. (S1/2/1.23).
clearly recorded in the account-rolls (1). Two-thirds of the demesne
tithes had been granted to the Hospital of St. Saviour's at Bury St.
Edmunds in 1200 (see Chapter V). It is likely that the rector of
Worlingworth received the remaining third. The position regarding the
obligations of the manorial tenants to pay tithes is not at all clear, however,
until the excellent Tithe Books of the late 17th-century (2). According to the
Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 (3), the rector of Worlingworth received tithes of
grain, church offerings and other small 'profits' worth £19-3s-4d. The 'Valor'
valued the glebe lands at 20s. The Hospitaller at St. Edmunds Abbey was
assigned 10s from the rectory and tithes of Worlingworth also (4).

The earliest reference by name to a rector of Worlingworth is one 'Thomas',
formerly parson at Worlingworth, who had held land in Pakenham, Thurston
and Rougham near Bury St. Edmunds before 1293 (5). The deed of
manumission granted to Alan Stannard in 1289 had included amongst the
witnesses Galfridus de Ecclesia (6), a locative surname, perhaps, rather
than occupational. The early manor court-rolls contain many vivid
references to Henricus de Gisleham (7) alias Gislinham (8), whose induction

1. S1/2/9.63 (1327-8)
"...Auex...Et de 30 aucis de exitibus...De quibus in decima, 3..."  
2. S.R.O. FC94/C1/1, 1674-1736. 
"...In decmis granorum oblationum et aliorum minutorum proficuorum eidem 
pertinentium, £19 - 3s - 4d. 
Valet in terra gleba, 20s..." 
p.466. 
6. C.U.L., Mm IV. 19. 48v-49. 
7. Near Lowestoft. 
to the living at Worlingworth either pre-dates the extant Bishops' Registers starting 1299 (1), or is omitted from them. Henry's successor, Simon de Draughton, was inducted in 1321, the first rector to appear in the Bishops' Registers and on the list of rectors displayed in the parish church.

The terminology used to describe clergymen in the Bishops' Registers was markedly different from that employed in manorial documents. In a sample of the previous positions held by 100 appointees to Norwich Diocese rectories or vicarages from 1312, 27 had been 'Acolytes', a term seldom used by manorial scriveners, 58 had been 'Presbyters', 6 'Clerici', 6 'Deacons', and 3 had been 'Sub-deacons'. Taking the first 25 individual clergymen to be mentioned by their clerical order in the court-rolls of Worlingworth (2) as a sample, 64% were at some point described as 'Chaplain', 20% as 'Clericus', and 16% as 'Parsona'; 'Rector', 'le Prest' and 'Vicarius' followed. Several of the above terms were used fairly loosely, for example 'Parson' and 'Priest'. A decided exception was 'Clerk', which was used predominantly in the scribal administrative sense. Although it is clear that a clerk was usually resident in Worlingworth, the population most often saw members of this particular clerical order when they were visiting Worlingworth on the abbey's business (3). A single reference to John Ermite in a court-roll of 1323 (4) is the only suggestion

1. The microfilms of the Registers of the Bishops of Norwich kept in Suffolk Record Office have been used here.
2. i.e. beginning in 1302. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.1.
3. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.15
4. ...In expensis Ricardi et Willelmi clericorum domini existentium per 6 septimanas in estate pro tenementis de feodo domini in Wilrynghworth cum Southoult examinandi et novam scripturam inde particulariter faciendo et pro mensurando terram de feodo domini ibidem. 13s 8d..."
that Worlingworth might have had an anchorite, although this was much more likely to have been a nickname.

It was not the function of the manor court rolls to record the number of clergy resident in the parish at any one point in time. Nevertheless, the courts held during the (abbatical) year 1313-1314 (1), mentioned the coexistence of Henry de Gisleham the rector, four chaplains (John Eleyne, John le Brun possibly alias Chapel, Thomas Howdin and Galfridus Edwyne: Roger Duk chaplain had recently deceased) and Ricardus Clericus. In December 1361, at the death of John Aylred (2), chaplain, his 7½ acre small-holding was sold to Adam the parson (3), Galfridus le Swene, chaplain, Robertus Swot, chaplain, Thomas Coleman, chaplain, and to Roger Downe and Nicholas Boreman (clerical order, if any, not stated). The evidence points to the existence of a body of 6 resident clergymen as normal.

That one of the four chaplains, by far the most numerous group, was seen as a "Parochial" chaplain is shown by a court held in 1333 when "Willelmus Capellanus Parochialis" burgled John de Eeclis: this entry perhaps supports the existence of a parish guild to which William may have been attached. In 1358(4), Thomas the parson's chaplain helped catch a swarm of bees flying over the lord's woodland: since the word "curate" is rarely used in manorial documents, no firm opinion can be offered as to whether this was Thomas' real job or not. Without doubt, one of the chaplains was attached

1. S1/2/1.2, folis. 1, 1v, 2 and 2v.
2. S1/2/1.23 fol. 45.
3. The predecessor of Richard de Muddyford inducted in 1361. Adam was also mentioned as "Parsona ecclesie de Wirlingworth" in a court held in January 1356 but his induction was not included in the Tanner transcripts of the Bishops' Registers.
"...luratores dicunt cuod Thomas capellanus parsone de Wirlingworth et Johannes le Mey ceperunt unum volat apior. super foces bosci domini er illos abduxerunt ad donum ipsius Johannis.."
to the chapel in the hamlet of Southolt and was usually accorded the surname "De Sutholte". Because several tenants were obliged as part of their tenurial obligations to clean out the manor houses against the lord abbott's arrival, the fourth chaplain should perhaps be sought elsewhere in the village rather than residing in the usually empty manor house. The position of Tenement Chapel (No. 26) at the S.W. corner of the Great Green invites examination as to whether there was ever a small chapel near or on the green to serve this large portion of the population: the parish church is over a mile distant. Indeed, the original function of the building marked on the map of 1605/6 (See Map A) in the middle of the Great Green and which the glebe terriers state was 'Town' land is not clear: by the close of the 17th century it was a windmill. Alternatively, R.S. Gottfried has noted with reference to Bury St. Edmunds the erection of chapels near the base of crosses employing resident chaplains (1). According to the map of 1605/6 (2), the Tenementum John Heyward "atte Cros", formerly part of Tenementum Lucas Randolf (No. 14), was also known as "Chapples".

As the reference above to John Aylred chaplain makes obvious, some of the chaplains were small-holders, although on nothing like the scale of the rector. The rules governing the lives of the lowest secular orders permitted marriage: the surname "Preestesdaughter" and specific references to clerk's wives illustrate this point. Many chaplains, for example Roger Duk and John le Brun were from local villein families: others brought with

1. Gottfried R.S., Bury St Edmunds and the Urban Crisis 1290-1539, p 19. This information is based on Vincent Redstone's article "Bury St Edmunds and the Town Rental for 1295", P.S.I.A., Vol. XIII, 1908, Part 2, p 196-7. The existence of a cross at Stanway Green, Worlingworth (Stanhaughcros) is made the more interesting by Mr Redstone's belief (ibidem) that "Haugh" can mean "Grave-Mound".
them the name of their village of origin, usually not far distant, such as Edmund de Brom and Walter de Wortham.

A remarkable entry from a fragment of court-roll from Monk Soham, dated 25th June 1289 throws interesting light on the first obstacle to be overcome in a villein's attempt to enter the lowest clerical orders: "...It was found that Peter Ampton was promoted to the order of chaplain without (the lord abbot's) permission and he is a villein. And that Benedict is the brother of the said Peter and was promoted to the order of accolyte..." The roll offers no evidence as to whether the brothers' promotion was allowed or whether their villeinage caused their removal from their respective orders.

Few Worlingworth boys made significant progress up the ecclesiastical Cursus Honorum on present evidence. But the family and background of William de Cratfield, Abbot of St. Edmunds 1390-1415, illustrates the possibilities open to country boys. R.S. Gottfried has noted that one of the foremost burgesses of early 15th century Bury St. Edmunds was also a Cratfield (6 miles N.E.) man, Galfridus Baret, and that Abbot William de Cratfield might well have aided his 'compatriot's' rise to wealth. The Barets of Cratfield certainly deserve detailed study. During the Insurrection of 1381, John son of Galfridus Baret de Cratfield had been involved in an incident against Richard Suckling of Fressingfield, the next...

1. S.R.O. (B.S.E.) 3/15.3/3.6. Note that the court-rolls, to which R.M. Thompson (op. cit. p.76) has given the date c1266-86, were used as covers to the principal text, an extent of Chevington 1478/9.
2. A village near Bury St. Edmunds.
3. The intention of the Suffolk Records Society to publish the Cartularies of St. Edmunds may cause this statement to be altered. Edmund Wirlwoguth was Infirmarer at Bury in 1362/3 (C.U.L. Gg.4.4, f340).
4. V.C.H. Suffolk offers very little information on this Abbot.
5. Gottfried R.S., op. cit. p 154-155, text and suggested Baret pedigree from c 1416.
parish. The court-rolls of Cratfield (1) during the later fourteenth century make it abundantly clear that the Barets were a large villen family, amongst whom "William" (2) was a well-established fore-name. It is possible, therefore, that Galfridus Baret and the mysterious Abbot William were rather more than 'compatriots' and that there is rather more to the Sucklyng incident than presently meets the eye: accordingly to the Inquisitiones Nonarum, for example, one half of Pressingfield, apparently Sucklyng's native village, was known as Pressingfield Abbots (alias Chepenhall). It might indeed have happened that the abbacy itself was within the reach of the sons of country families who had served well the abbey's interests.

What part the availability (or geographical distance) of medieval education played in the entry of boys from rural parishes to the lower clerical orders is uncertain. Worlingworth had neither school nor schoolmaster until the late seventeenth century, although late 16th century licences to schoolteachers granted by the Norwich Diocese make it plain that very many parishes in this area had schoolmasters resident within them, some of the masters being equipped to teach Latin (3). The nearest medieval grammar school to Worlingworth was probably at Framlingham, where Richard de Swynburne was 'Master of the Grammar Schools' in 1330-1340 (4), although

1. These rolls were formerly in the custody of Messrs Cross, Ram & Co., Solicitors, of Halesworth. The rolls were sold with the lordship at an auction of lordships held in Colchester in 1981. The author of this thesis was fortunate in obtaining permission from the vendors to make (hasty) photocopies of many of the 14th century MSS.
2. It was, of course, one of the commonest such forenames in current use.
Eye Grammar School's claims to be of medieval origin may yet find substance. At Hoxne Priory (6 miles NW), pensions were regularly paid during the fifteenth century to 2–4 "scholars". This is not evidence for a school of any type at Hoxne. The payments were made to support Norwich Priory monks at Oxford (1). The Grammar School at Bury St. Edmunds itself existed from the late 12th century at the latest.

Rector Henry de Gislîham's involvements in manor-court proceedings at Worlingworth were not numerous but often of great interest: it is unfortunate that no compotus-roll survives from his period of office. As second largest land-holder in the parish, infringements by Henry or his servants during the course of agricultural practise were virtually bound to arise: in May 1313 (2), for example, he was amerced for stopping up a right of way and a watercourse, as were several of the manor's tenants at the same court. But this may have been no more than the final postscript to the events of 1311, when Henry was amerced for 11 similar offences simultaneously, committed against either the demesne or rights of way. Such legal assaults concentrated on a single individual in a manor-court are always worthy of further investigation. It would not be difficult to accept that Henry's eleven amercements were simply the price of tidying up the glebe were it not for the fact that he was obviously at war on another front with some of his parishioners.

At a manor-court held on June 11th 1311 (3), it was found that Henry, Rector of Worlingworth Church, had unjustly provoked Adam Hotte and his wife...Présentatum (est) quod Henricus Rector Ecclesie de Wyrlingworth vexat Adam Hotte et Avelinam Hotte uxorem eius in curia cristiona (sic) iniuste. Ideo idem parsona in misericordia. 

1. The writer is indebted to Miss B. Dodwell for this information.
2. S1/2/1.2, fol. 1v.
"...Presentatum (est) quod Henricus Rector Ecclesie de Wyrlingworth vexat Adam Hotte et Avelinam Hotte uxorem eius in curia cristiona (sic) iniuste. Ideo idem parsona in misericordia".
Avelina in the Christian Court, for which offence the parson was found to be at fault. It emerged, ten months later in a court held in April 1312, that a burial-fee probably for a dead child, had been demanded from Avelina on the rector's behalf when the village obviously considered that no such fee was owing to him. The battle was evidently raging in two separate courts at the same time. Henry seems to have been winning in the "Curia Cristiana" but the Hottes, with the homage behind them, were apparently getting the better of him in the manor-court.

Precisely what the Curia Christiana was, the documents do not specify. It was still functioning in 1372 when, as a result of an action taken in it, the manor-court was again used afterwards by an individual to take retaliatory measures against his former opponent. The most likely interpretation is that it was the Archdeacon's Court held in Ipswich, for there is no evidence that the Abbot of Bury held a Peculiar in Worlingworth or nearby.

Although unmarried himself, as befitted his order, Henry de Gisleham did not live alone at the Rectory, for he apparently installed in it or near it two brothers of his, Thomas and John de Gisleham. No architectural

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1. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/1.1, fol. 23v. C.C.R. 056-16
"...Preest attachiare Ricardum Hervy pro contempta facto domino et eius tenentibus de Wyrylyngworthe falso approbando quoddam mortuarium esse daturum de Avelina Hotte de Wyrylyngworthe...in curia cristiana...de filis et filia (deleted)...ad opus Rectoris euisdem ville cum ex consuetudine hac...non fuit daturum prout compertum est per totam sokam de Wyrylyngworthe."

2. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/1.6 fol. 19. Court held Sat. after St. Gregory
"...Finis ἱπατάριον...De Johanne le Grey quia iniuste vexavit Johannem Page in curia cristiana ad dampnum suum...".

3. The case cannot be supported that, like the 16th courts held in Homersfield Church (P.S.L.A., Vol. XIV, p 327-331) for the tenants of a compact group of Suffolk manors belonging to the Bishop of Norwich, the Abbot of St. Edmunds held a 'Peculiar' Curia Christiana for his tenants in Worlingworth, Monk Soham, Bedingfield, Southolt and Pressingfield Abbots within the Archdeaconry of Suffolk.
details or dimensions of the medieval rectory have survived although its occasional use as overspill accommodation for the abbot's servants when the abbot was visiting suggests the rectory was a substantial property (1). There are several references to the mainpasts and servants of the various rectors. Henry de Gisleham had two sheep stolen from his fold in 1312 (2) and may have employed a shepherd. Elyas, parson in 1340, employed at least 4 mainpasts (3). Adam, parson in 1345, employed his own goose-herd. Neither Henry de Gisleham nor his successor Simon indulged in that favourite pastime of the medieval clergyman, taking game illegally. But proceedings were taken against John de Pressingfield the parson of Bedfield for taking hares and partridges in Worlingworth in 1331 (4) and if, as appears distinctly likely, Elias le Blund de Draughton, rector from 1333, were indeed the abbot's nephew, then his first introduction to Worlingworth may have been on that hunting-trip in 1327-8 (5). Hunting, shooting parsons were occasionally in conflict with other users of oak woodland, notably people grazing pigs. Randolf, vicar of Flixton near Bungay 1350 - c1365, who frequently accompanied the Bishop of Norwich and other lords on local hunting forays was amerced 6s 8d, for example, in the Prioress of Flixton's court after shooting at John Parrok, her swineherd (6).


"...In stipendio 1 homini per 3 dies ad arbores prostrandos videlicet Hardebough pro expensis de famulis domini Abbatis, perhendinantibus ad rectoriam 9d (contra adventum Abbatis)."

Whether the building and tenement known as "Nova Aula" (No 10) originally performed this same function is not clear. It abuts onto the glebe to the east and was the nearest substantial building to the rectory.


3. Sl/2/1.3 (folios unstitched).

"Item quod Willelmus Conewold, Willelmus de Bokenham, Willelmus Godrich junior, Robertus de Winston, manupasti Rectoris ecclesie de Wirlyngworth amputaverunt et asportaverunt iniuste boscum domini in Stanhawe..."

4. Sl/2/1.2, fol. 35.


To the casual observer of manorial documents, the involvement of the clergy of whatever order in cases of debt sometimes comes as a surprise. But contracts by which priests lent money to individuals were a regular feature of medieval economic life at village level: the chaplains were the clerical order most often involved in these transactions. At Worlingworth, this phenomenon was not in fact common, not, at least, until Simon de Draughton's arrival at the rectory: because his name never appeared in the main text of manor-court proceedings, only in marginal notes, it may be argued that his frequent absences threw more work on to the 'chaplains'. On very weak evidence (1) indeed the clergy at Worlingworth may have been involved in as little as 15% of debt cases, during the time of Henry de Gislingham. Although the parish clergy of medieval Suffolk in general were often involved in arranging loans, therefore, some villages, like Worlingworth, could attend to this business quite adequately without their assistance.

The parish records of Dennington (2 miles east) contain important evidence on medieval money-lending. The earliest Town Book of Dennington (2) contains accounts of disbursements out of the Town Coffer in the nature of loans from a lump sum bequeathed for that purpose by Dame Katherine Wolfe, who died in 1418. Prospective borrowers were required to deposit their evidence of title in the coffer as security for the loan: Dame Katherine was in fact the wife of William Wingfield of Dennington Esquire, surnamed "Wolfe" for his great fierceness and cruelty (3). That Worlingworth

1. John Eleyne chaplain had a father John: it is not always obvious which is referred to in court proceedings. The figure of 15% could be much lower.
3. Suffolk Record Office, Dunthorne Collection.
operated a similar scheme of personal loans in the 16th century is suggested by an extract from their lost Town Book:

"Delivered out of the towne boxe to Widow Manhippe for bokyn mony, 2s 8d...." (1554) (1).

It is entirely probable, therefore, that the medieval parish church was the place of safe-keeping for a de facto parish bank, to whose funds persons such as Dame Katherine could add if they wished (2), which could provide secured loans to individuals. Control of the parish funds might normally be in the hands of the townsmen themselves, but where a parochial chaplain existed such as at Worlingworth, he might easily evolve as the manager of the fund, on whose behalf rather than on his own he duly appeared in manor-court in pleas of debt.

Two separate references (3) to the surname "de le Childirhus" in the court-rolls of the early 14th century suggest that the parish may, at an early date, have been responsible for the settlement of and provision for orphans (4). Such a concept finds some support in 16th century Churchwardens' Accounts, exempli gratia, Bungay St. Mary's Parish in 1566:

"...Paid to Peter Mendham of Homersfield for takyn Charles Warde to kepe as his owne childe and ye inhabitants of Bungay no more to be charged for his bringing up..." (5).

Although no-one from Worlingworth was apparently involved in the Lollard heresy of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is important to

1. Davy Collection, British Library. S.R.O. Microfilms have been used here.
2. It is not clear whether she created the Dennington fund or just added to it.
3. Sl/2/1.1, fol. 6v.
note that amongst the charges levelled against the scandalised Prioress of Redlingfield Nunnery in 1427 was one that she had committed the crime of Lollardy (1). She had admitted and abjured this crime before, probably at a visitation in 1415 (2). It appears that the only article of the Lollard beliefs she had adopted and practised was that which permitted nuns to marry.

The nearest convicted Lollard to Worlingworth was Nicholas Canon of Eye (3) who was charged, inter alia, with:

"...Mocking and deriding the other parishioners in solemn procession on Easter Day (1431), by going about the church the contrary way..."

It is possible that by going the wrong way round church, contrary to the course of the sun, Nicholas Canon was 'Going Widdershins', a regular practice in Black Magic. As to whether the alternative religion, the "Diabolic Arts", co-existed with medieval Christianity in Worlingworth, there is no evidence. That the abbey itself was not averse to non-Christian practices is, however, confirmed by the White Bull ceremony at Bury St. Edmunds (4). The holy relics at the abbey also certainly invite

"...Item compertum est quod priorissa commitit crimen Lollardie, informando moniales sibi subditas quod minus malum est eisdem vitium incontinentie committere quam ad sui preceptum ipsam non sequi. Ac etiam ipsa priorissa dedit licenciam generalem monialibus suis ut acciperent viros vel maritos, et sic contra ipsam priorissam non amplius murmurarunt. Istum articulum priorissa fatetur sibi objectum et abjuravit crimen Lollardie inanita."

2. Ibidem p 414. Note that this aspect of her trial was omitted by the compiler of V.C.H. Suffolk, Vol. 2, p83-4.


4. For the possible connection between the White Bull Ceremony at Bury St. Edmunds with fertility rites, see Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol. III, p.133 footnote, and Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History Newsletter, No. 21, Spring 1981.
the suspicion that not all the cries for help were directed towards the Deity (1):

"...The coles that St. Lawrence was tested withal, the paring of St. Edmund's naylls, Sir Thomas of Canterbury's penneknyff and his boots, divers skulls for the hecåche....other reliques for rayne and certain other superstitiouse usages for the avoydyngs of wedes growing in corne, with such other".

1. Dugdale, op. cit. p.130. The description of the relics was written by a critic of monasticism. For a list of medicaments used by sorcerers, see McCall H., *The Medieval Underworld*, Hamish Hamilton, 1979, p 250: these medicaments included "Dead-men's nail-parings".
CHAPTER XIV

1327 – 1334: A PERIOD OF SUBSTANTIAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE BEFORE THE FIRST PESTILENCE

In Chapter XI, the argument that the Agrarian Crisis of "1315-22" was the dividing line in the history of the medieval countryside was discussed: in general, H.E. Hallam's contention that the Black Death, not the earlier 'Famines' formed this dividing line was supported by the evidence from Worlingworth. However, the belief of many historians (1) that the plague was merely the accelerant, not the original cause, of fundamental social and economic change also finds support. H.E. Hallam's statement, for example, that "sheep did not appear (at Worlingworth) until 1333-4" (2), whilst requiring refinement, nevertheless suggests a significant change of demesne policy nearly twenty years before the First pestilence and nearly twenty years after the "Famines". This chapter examines the events of 1327-1334 for evidence that this was in fact the period of marked social and economic change before the arrival of the pestilence.

The Rising of 1327 at Bury St. Edmunds (3), culminating in the trial of well over 400 men and women, and the deaths during the uprising of an unspecified number of others, was in several respects an episode whose significance went far beyond the bounds of the town itself. "Anti-Convent" political action was recorded at St. Albans at the same time. Damage to the property of St. Edmund's Abbey was not confined to Bury alone. The Pinchbeck Register (4) recorded damage inflicted on the abbey's manors of Newton, Horningsheath, Westley, Barton, Risby, Ingham,

3. For an account of this event, see Lobel, M.D., "Detailed Account of the 1327 rising at Bury St. Edmunds and the subsequent trial", P.S.I.A., Vol. 21, 1931/3, pp208 - 214.
Fornham St. Martin, Fornham All Saints, Pakenham, Rougham, Cockfield, Bradfield and Wherstead. But whereas all the above vills were within a few miles of Bury itself, the locatives surnames accorded to many of the insurgents suggest that the revolt was a regional (1) as well as a local event. No-one surnamed "de Worlingworth" was amongst those standing trial, but two of the jurors are of interest in this respect, John de Hoo de Laxfield (4 miles NE) and Robertus de Pisale, almost certainly of Dennington (2 miles E) and, if the alternative surname "de Dennington" of the poet Geoffrey Chaucer's immediate forebears refers to the Dennington in Suffolk, a man worth further research. Although the account-roll for 1327-8 (2) recorded no damage to the manor, the visit to Worlingworth of William de Norwich on the matter of the "Burning of the Abbacy" was noted. This was probably William Bateman (?1298-1355), the future Bishop of Norwich and ambassador who was collated to the Archdeaconry of Norwich in December 1328: in view of Bishop Bateman's later opposition to the abbacy (3), it would have been of value to know more about his business at Worlingworth in 1327/8.

Amongst the incentives offered by the burgesses leading the revolt to the villeins living in the vicinity of Bury St. Edmunds was "Freedom from Customary Work" (4), as a result of which offer "The work of plunder and violence was continued". Another incentive was the absence of the boy-king Edward III and the army during the summer of 1327 in a war with

1. It is interesting to note the presence of Robert de Batisford and Thomas de Batisford (near Needham Market) amongst the insurgents, for example. This village produced one of the insurgent leaders in 1381.
2. S1/2/9.63:
    "...In preb equorum domini Willelmi de Norwico supervenientis per 1 noctem in combustione Abbacie Sancti Edmundi...3 peks..."
Scotland, for which purpose the Subsidy of 1/20th was raised. One year therefore witnessed a violent outbreak of anti-convent feeling across the region, the promise of freedom to customary tenants, the imposition by central government of a tax on the people and the absence of a military force to suppress an uprising in its early stages. In all these respects the Revolt of 1327 may be seen as a forerunner for the "Peasants" Revolt of 1381.

Hallam's statement concerning the "arrival" of sheep in Worlingworth in 1333-4 was based undoubtedly on the evidence of the manorial account-rolls and referred only, therefore, to sheep farmed on the demesne. In fact the small group of account-rolls for 1277-9, separated from the main body of these rolls by almost half a century, do contain a possible reference to a probably minute flock of demesne sheep (1), so minute that they were not a feature of the grange accounts. The manor was, however, deriving income from leasing sheep-pasture to others (2) and maintained a fold (3) near the hall well before the "Arrival". No account-roll has survived from the second decade of the fourteenth-century in which cattle murrains are known to have occurred elsewhere. It is possible, therefore, that disease could have overtaken the demesne flock from which disaster the manor was recovering at the point where the account-rolls happen to become extant: this hypothesis is probably untenable. That the manor of Worlingworth should have appeared to invest in sheep at this particular time when the price of wool was falling (4) is remarkable.

1. S.R.O. (IPS). S1/2/9.1: "Staurum etc. venditum...Et de XId de 11 velleribus lane venditis que continet 21lbs..."
2. Ibidem...(1277-9)
   "...18s de herbagio vendito Bercario de le Fylde..."
3. S1/2/9.6 (1329-30)
   "...In 280 pedibus de bordis sarandis ad le faldecote (etc)..."
4. For the price movements of wool and sheep, see Miller, E., and Hatcher, J., Medieval England, Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348, Longmans, 1978, Figure 1, p.66
The history of sheep-farming at Worlingworth in the High Middle Ages is remarkable in another respect also. If, for whatever reason, the manor did not keep sheep until 1333-4, then the position regarding the tenantry (and the rector) was completely the opposite. Offences involving tenants' sheep littered the manor's courts. In June 1311, for example, 13 tenants, eight of them female, were amerced for offences on the common involving a total of 71 sheep (1). By the time the demesne flock arrived, or was revived, the tenant John Parle had 100 sheep (2) with which he overloaded the common and tenants' flocks of 20-30 sheep were not uncommon. The amount of tax paid in 1327 compared with the Lay Subsidy of 1334 (3) by the population of Worlingworth is highly significant: contributions by Worlingworth and all its contiguous vills in 1334 were higher than in 1327 by an average of 27% of the unnamed taxpayers of Worlingworth-with-Monk Soham paid exactly twice the average increase (54%), followed by Bedingfield-cum-Southolt (51%).

It is possible that the late arrival of the demesne sheep at Worlingworth, at a time when prices were well past their peak, may be explained by the way in which the Benedictine Order organised their flocks, scattered, as Knowles has noted (4), over their manors and lacking the efficient central control of the Cistercians. The absence of sheep at Worlingworth, it might be implied, was caused by the comparatively loose organisation at the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.

To consider the demesne sheep mentioned on the account-rolls as belonging specifically to Worlingworth manor is almost certainly inadvisable.

Several movements of up to a hundred sheep of various ages to and from Worlingworth during the year was a feature of the account-rolls. For example, in 1337-8 (1), Worlingworth received 60 maiden ewes from Monk Soham and despatched 100 lambs to Elmsett near Bury St. Edmunds. The backbone of the stock which 'Arrived' in 1333-4 was a flock of 76 ewes (2) from Rickinghall near Diss, on the eastern edges of the Liberty of St. Edmunds. These movements of sheep were of such frequency and on such a scale as to provoke the speculation that it was with considerable planning and forethought, not haphazardly, that the abbey moved its flocks round its estates as circumstances demanded. Precisely what these circumstances were was never specified though avoidance of over-grazing and the diseases it encouraged was no doubt a significant factor. Consignments of fleeces from Worlingworth to the abbot's pelterer at Bury St. Edmunds (3) or Chevington (4) were often recorded on the account-rolls. A flock of about 150 ewes was maintained at Worlingworth throughout most of the remaining years of the fourteenth century (see Table D) to which should be added sheep from the other age groups. Once it arrived, the flock was permanent.

Surnames associated with clothmaking and associated industries are as much in evidence in the manorial court-rolls of early 14th century Worlingworth as are the tenants' sheep. An important qualification to the assumption that this was caused only by the cloth industry is provided by

1. S.R.O. S1/2/9.11.
the statement in the Inquisiciones Nonarum of 1341 that tithes of hemp and
flax were being collected at Worlingworth: these poorly documented and
often overlooked clothing manufactures may, in terms of generating
employment at least, have been of a similar importance to sheep-farming and
the cloth industry. "Bercarius" (1), "Shephirde" and "Wetherman" were
surnames frequently used at Worlingworth: "Hirdman" may have referred
either to the keeper of sheep or to the "Cowhirde". There were several

1. On this manor, "Barkere" is always equated with "Tannator", not
"Bercarius".
"Fulleres", Matilda, Peter, Robert and Galfridus. That Peter, certainly, and Robert and Galfridus, very probably, bore the alternative surname "Dousyn" suggests that this might be considered as an occupational surname from the fulling process. The first mention in the court-rolls of John le Webistere (also "Webbere") was in 1314 and of Margeria le Webistere in 1320. Roisia "Kemster" appeared in court in 1314. Cecilia le Spinnere was first mentioned in 1329, at the same court that Galfricus and Matilda le Fullere were introduced (1). "Taliur" (1314) and "Sutere" are names firmly established as belonging to the clothing trade. During the year 1333/4 which saw the arrival of the demesne flock, Gilbert and Robertus le Shephirde first came to court: in the previous year John Seman, shepherd, was first noticed and in the year following Hillarius le Shephirde.

Very important changes in the management of the demesne were the subject of memoranda to the manor-court proceedings of 1329 and 1330. The demesne cows were to be leased out at the annual rent of 7s each, arguably to free demesne pastures for other uses, and the mill for the rent of 8 quarters of corn per annum (2). With the consent of the manor, two separate small parcels of free land were leased for specific terms of 6 and 7 years: in the latter example, the tenant who acquired the longer lease, John Gerard, had, earlier in the same court, been amerced for trespassing with his sheep. Whilst such leases of more than a year's duration are not uncommon in Suffolk before the Black Death, they occur much more frequently afterwards, and illustrate again the role of the Black Death as an accelerant not the innovator of change.

1. "Wulwyne" and "Wylteys" are other possible cloth surnames from this period.
2. Sl/2/1.2, fol. 29. Friday after All Saints, 1329.
An intriguing figure in the court-rolls of the early 14th-century was one Robert de Wirlyngworth. In 1314, Robert's main past was in conflict with Roysia Kemster, a lady bearing a surname associated with the cloth industry\(^1\). A court-proceeding of 1324\(^2\) linked him with Galfridus Dousing: in the very next court, Galfridus, described as staying with Robert de Wirlingwyth, surrendered 2 acres of customary land to the use of Peter Dousyng the Fuller. In 1331, Robert de Wirlingworth employed a shepherd, Robert Bercarius. At the death of Henry de Wirlingworth, Robert's son, in 1333, the heriot paid was a ewe, not the usual horse, calf or sum of money equal to one year's rent. It is very likely that he was also the Robert de Wirlingworth whose will was proved at Norwich in 1336-7, to which three persons with thoroughly authentic Worlingworth surnames were party\(^3\). The purpose of the will was to bequeath his messuage and all his houses in Norwich to the widow and to his son James: in 15th century Worlingworth, the family "De Worlingworth" was associated with the free tenement 13 (R. de Wirlingworth quondam Adam Thurston) which consisted of a messuage and 30 acres in the S.E. corner of the parish, a near neighbour to John Gerard (above). In addition to being a wool-producer himself, Robert de Wirlingworth clearly acted as an entrepreneur between the wool and raw cloth producers of Worlingworth and the merchants and markets of Norwich. In Chapter X, the somewhat similar involvement of Henry le Lombard with the tenants of Stanway Green 1319 - 1322 was described. It is important to note that surnames associated with "Dyeing" and the later stages of cloth finishing were not present at Worlingworth at this date.

1. McKinley R., Norfolk and Suffolk Surnames in the Middle Ages, Phillimore, 1975, p.40.
2. SI/2/1.2, fol. 18.
When, in 1333-4, the manor decided to conform with the rest of the village, to catch up with, it might be suggested, the forward-looking and profitable policies being pursued by its own tenants, the harbingers of the new flock were the 76 ewes imported from Rickinghall (14m NW), to which were added by purchase the 19 maiden ewes sold by Walter the Chaplain and another 30 sold by the rector's attorney \(^1\). The next decade produced some interesting entries in the manorial account-rolls. In 1340-1 the manor expended 5s in leasing grazing probably from its own tenants, for the lambs \(^2\). In 1341-2 \(^3\), vacant pasture from villein tenements was fenced off for the use of the demesne lambs and hogasters, pasture was hired at the remarkable price of 4s 2d from the customary tenants Sampson Godard and Galfridus Hervy, both of whose tenements were comparatively near to the hall, to put the cows in because the cow-pasture was being grazed by the lord's sheep.

Some slight indications that the efficiency of the manor court was beginning to decline during this period is suggested by the intermittent practice from 1324 onwards of selecting items from the agenda of the previous court "Marked with a cross" for more determined prosecution later. This implies, perhaps, that the manorial administration was experiencing increasing difficulty in carrying out court verdicts and decisions. At a court held in June 1333 \(^4\), there is evidence that the fundamental articles

1. Sl/2/9.8 (1333-4).
2. Sl/2/9.13 (1340-1) "...In herbagio conducto pro agnis 5s..."
3. Sl/2/9.15
"...In stipendiis 2 hominum per 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) dies pro fossatis sublevandis, sepis claudendis et haiis faciendis circa pightellum de tenementis custumaris existentibus in manibus domini pro pastura agnorum et hoggastrum domini 13\(\frac{3}{4}\)d."
In pastura conducta de Sampson Goddard et Galfrido Hervy pro vaccis domini 4s 2d eo quod bidentes domini depascebantur in le Coulesne hoc anno."
4. Sl/2/1.3, loose folios.
"...Datus est dies capitalibus plegiis usque ad proximam ad certificandum domino de purpresturis et aliis articulis lete tangentibus sub pena 20s".

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of the late were being subjected to the same influences also: the homage was instructed to amend their ways under a penalty of 20s. Another penalty of 20s would be incurred if the tenants did not produce a new rental. It may be argued, strongly, that such proceedings were not unusual and may reflect the incompetence of individual abbots or their stewards rather than a growing restlessness on the part of the tenantry. But, in the general context of events 1327-1334, they appear to have a certain relevance.

The entry for "Villata de Worlingworthe cum Saham" in the Subsidy Return of 1327 listed 84 persons paying between them 74s 10d. The arrival in the village of the itinerant bailiffs Walter le Glanvile and Gilbert Godebryt to distrain the abbot for a £120 debt (1) owed to the Crown appears to be unconnected with this subsidy: if persons from Worlingworth had been amongst the "20,000 of the abbot's country tenants, free and unfree" (2) who had supported the burgesses against the abbey, the £120 might be a portion of the £140,000 fine imposed, but this is, again, against the tenor of the entry in the account. These bailiffs stayed in Worlingworth only 1 night.

Of the 84 tax-payers (3), numbers 37-84 may with confidence be assigned to Worlingworth. No tax-payer in Suffolk paid less than 6d; persons owning less than 5s worth of taxable, that is "Moveable", property were exempt.

1. Sl/2/9.63 (1327-8). The sum of £120 does not appear to relate to any assessment of the abbot's wealth for taxation purposes.

If there was any connection with the disappearance of Abbot Richard de Draughton, the rector of Worlingworth's brother, then this is not obvious from the evidence. See Goodwin A., The Abbey of St. Edmundsbury, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1931, p.54).


Agricultural produce, cattle and crops, rents and ready money, the goods of merchants and tradesmen were taxable (1); church property as such was excluded. The tax-payers of Southolt were listed not with Worlingworth but with Bedingfield (2), a reliable indication, perhaps, that about three-quarters of a century after its existence was first noted, this formerly subordinate chapelry was developing the characteristics of a separate parish (3).

Most heavily taxed in Worlingworth was, not surprisingly, Robert de Worlingworth at 3s, followed at 2s 6d by John Seman, whose occupation was given as shepherd in a court-roll of 1332 (4), John Honipot (5), the free tenant of 24 acres on the Horham Road (Tenementum No. 19) who may also have had property in the market-town of Framlingham, and John Smerch at 2s 4d: this man's occupation was given as "Capellanus" in a court of 1333 where the correct reading appears to be "Smert", the same name as one of the Bury rioters in 1327 (6). Of the remaining 44 taxpayers, 21 paid the minimum 6d and a further 8 paid 12d. The most heavily taxed of the 7 female taxpayers was the tenant of the comparatively large (23 1/4 acres) customary tenement "dil Frith", Johanna (7) dil Frith (Ten. 82).

The comparatively large amount of money circulating in the sheep trade which resulted in the heavy taxation of Robert de Wirlingworth and John Seman is reflected also in a receipt from Southolt dated 1328 in which the

1. Ibidem. p X.
3. Comparisons may be drawn with Dorothy Owen's findings in "Chapelries and Rural Settlement: an Examination of the Kesteven Evidence" in Sawyer P.H. (ed), English Medieval Settlement, Edward Arnold, 1979, p 40.
4. S/2/1.2, fol. 35.
5. Hervey, op. cit. p 129..."De Johanne Honypot...2s...".
6. Ibidem p 231, lines 16-17, where he is described as 'Barker'. "Smert" was certainly not a name familiar to the documents of Worlingworth.
7. Some reliance is placed on Lord Hervey's transcriber, J.J. Muskett.
sum of "50 silver marks and 2 robes" were received from Alice, wife of Simon le Shephirde de Sutholte (1): in 1327, Simon Bercarius of Sutholte had been assessed to pay 2s 8d (2).

The names of about 30 of the taxpayers of 1327 are identifiable with the tenement names of the Extents of c 1355 and 1400/1. It is noticeable that the holders of the larger tenements both free and customary paid more to the subsidy than the smaller tenants, although there were many exceptions in both directions. The free tenant John Gerard (37 acres) paid 13d (3), while his next-door neighbour, the free tenant Margeria Morel (32 acres), paid 6d. The customary tenant Johanna dil Frith (23 1/4 acres) paid 13d, and John de Thurstan (22 acres, customary), 6d (4). The average acreage held by those customary tenants who paid 6d was 13¼ acres, compared with 22 acres for those who paid 12d or more. The type of question to which the documents do not appear likely to produce the answer is why, with only 5 acres of land to his name, the free tenant William Hotte paid 13d, or why the "6-acre tenure" tenant Robert Aylred paid anything at all.

Private enterprise, extra-manorial, in commercial areas such as cloth production clearly played an important part in the tax liability of the population. It is distinctly possible that private enterprise, though a long-established feature of rural society, was increasingly becoming a major factor in the gradual dissolution of the feudal system.

In attempting to assess what percentage of the population was sufficiently wealthy to pay the tax, the settlement at Stanway Green may serve as a useful sample for the village as a whole. According to the extents of

1. N.N.R.O. Out-County Card Index.
2. The Southolt taxpayers in 1327 followed those from Bedingfield, starting at Peter Rolf. Johannes Bercarius of Bedingfield paid 5s.
3. He had sheep.
4. He also brewed and baked.
c 1400, the 3 free tenements of Del Brok (No. 23), John de Stanhawe (No.22) and Basilia de Westwode (No. 21) contained between them 3 messuages and 2 cottages: Myles del Brok and John de Stanhaugh both paid 12d in 1327. According to the extent of c1355, the customary tenants at Stanway Green, Cach (No. 60), Fayrs (No. 61), Coks (No. 62), Struts (No. 64) and Gernegans (No. 63) possessed between them 5 messuages and 2 cottages (1): only Alan Cach and Olyva Cach (6d each) paid any tax. There were, therefore, at least 10 (2) dwellings at Stanway Green and only 4 taxpaying households (40%).

Using, as an alternative sample, the 81 (3) named tenements in Worlingworth of the extent c 1355, it may be calculated that at least 9 free and 23 customary tenants paid towards the tax (40%): forty-nine of the families who had tenements bearing their name in the extent of c1355, did not pay tax. 16 members of the population in 1327 paid tax but were not registered as tenants on the extent: this group included John Seman, the heavily taxed shepherd who sub-let from one or more of the recognized tenants, and Thomas Carett who remains a complete mystery.

The list of exempted persons is of at least equal interest to those who paid. Nicholas Strutt thought he could pay for an overcoat trimmed with fur worth 5s 8d in 1320 (4), but paid no tax in 1327. Whilst one end of the cloth industry was heavily taxed, the Websters and Fullers were not. Breaking the assize of bread or ale was not especially profitable either

1. Archaeological excavation may alter this assessment (Chapter X).
2. Some caution should be exercised over Tenementum Coks which contained both a messuage and 2 cottages. Also, Basilia de Westwode has left little documentary proof of her existence outside the extents: it is likely, however, that a branch of the de Stanhaugh family had the sub-tenancy.
3. Tenementum "De Alleciis" has been removed from the sample.
4. See Chapter X.
for of the several contemporary brewers, bakers and regraters, only John Thurstan paid tax at all. Most of the capital pledges paid, but many of the male inhabitants senior enough to act as affeerers (e.g. Robert Fayr) or as members of general inquisitions (e.g. Nicholas Strutʃ Robert Golde) did not. It is not surprising that many of those acting as pledges in manor court paid the tax.

Examination of the list of taxpayers of Worlingworth for details of any route which the commissioners might have followed either in reality or in camera suggests that their enquiries started at or near the centre of the village: from a point near Tenement John Arnold (43 — by coincidence near the site of the present Swan Inn) the commissioners proceeded to the S.E. corner of the village, Margeria Moriel (1), before returning westwards along Eslynqstrete (the Tannington-Bedfield road) and northwards up Suddonstrete (Swan Road) to the central crossing of the brook, (Walter dil Brok, 72). Proceeding westwards along the highway (now Shop Street), the commissioners went along the south side of the Great Green (John Godard (25), Johanna Godhewe/Godthene (75)) to tax the S.W. corner of the parish (William Hotte (24)). The commissioners then progressed to the western end of the parish (Augustinus Dobiot (77), before going along the north side of the Great Green (William Edwene (73), Avelina Bakere (76)), and proceeding eastwards along Fingle Street taxing both sides as they want (Herveus Crudde, (54) e.g.). At the eastern end of Fingle Street (John Wilde (59)), the valuation panel or subcommittee thereof crossed the beck and via Fayre's Lane taxed Myles dil Brok and the Cachs (60) at Stanway Green before regrouping at the northern end of the Horham Road to tax John Honipot (19). Returning south, they taxed John de Stanhawe and Henry le Mellere en passant before arriving back at the Hall. This conjectural
route, whilst containing some flaws and inconsistencies remains serviceable enough to suggest that it resembled the actual modus operandi employed by the commissioners. It should prove of value, if examples from other vills can be shown to support it.

That both sampling systems used to calculate what percentage of the whole population paid the tax produced the figure of 40% implies that this datum can be used, with caution, in broader calculations concerning the size of the medieval population. Before the family-multiplier of 4.7 is applied, it should be remembered that the figure of 499 produced as the population of Worlingworth from the Extent of 1302 included Southolt and the 1327 Return did not. 14 of the 37 taxpayers listed under Bedingfield-with-Southolt in 1327 were from the latter vili, all male: if the figure of 40% taxpayers and the family-multiplier is applied, the resultant figure for the population of Southolt in 1327 was 165 (211 in 1801). If the 41 male taxpayers from Worlingworth in 1327 represented 40% of all households each containing 4.7 persons, the population then totalled 482. The combined populations of Worlingworth and Southolt in 1327 was therefore c 647 compared with c 499 in 1302, an annual increase of 1%. According to the Extent of c 1355 (1), assarting was still taking place in both Southolt (Tenementum 36, Peter Rolf) and the outer fringes of Worlingworth (Tenementum 73, William Edwyne) making tenable a rate of population growth of at least 1% per annum 1302-1327. Different commissioners working in different hundreds make hazardous too close a comparison between Worlingworth and other vills even quite near at hand. However, if the same criteria are applied elsewhere, the population of the Market Town of Framlingham was 575 & Ipswich 2,726.

1. S1/2/6.1 & 6.6.
CHAPTER XV
MEDIEVAL WOMEN

In one important respect, Worlingworth was not an ideal village on which to base a study of women in medieval society: the manor and rectory belonged to an absentee monastic landlord, the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds. Female visitors to the hall at Worlingworth were so extremely rare as to suggest that suitable accommodation for ladies of rank could not have been provided if required. Nothing in Worlingworth's medieval archive compares, for example, with the list of expenses incurred by the Countess of Norfolk at Framlingham Castle in 1385/6\(^1\): there are only the manor court rolls.

It is very likely that the Curia Christiana, the local Archdeacon's Court, may have been the principal forum for dealing with a range of social regulations particularly affecting women. The court held in Homersfield church in 1525 recorded verdicts, for example, that\(^2\):

"...According to report, John Tower badly treated his wife contrary to a husband's affection...henceforth he is to treat his wife as becomes a husband under penalty of excommunication...",

"Margaret Wenyor is presented as a gossiper in church during time of Divine Service...",

"Margaret Freman asserts that she said to William Chapman of Flixton 'Can ye find in your harte to love me and to marry with me?' and after this manner they contracted marriage between them".

The manor courts of Suffolk dealt of course with matters which involved

1. B.L. Add. Ch. 17208
women specifically, marriages (1), bearing a child outside matrimony and the provision of dowries and pensions (2). There are occasional examples of courts-with-leet in which, by a detailed and perhaps overdue revision of those 'Articuli lete' involving women, the fleeting impression is given that perhaps a special sub-session for women had been conducted. Fragments of a court held in the neighbouring parish of Monk Soham in c1280 are a useful example of this phenomenon (3).

One-third of all the people who were entered on the Recognitions List of 1302 for Worlingworth, were women, a very substantial percentage of all those who were recognized as holding land. But although women thus formed a significant part of the homage, their sex clearly debarred (or spared them) from important positions of influence within the manorial organisation. Even when women were the enrolled tenants of large tenements named after them, for example Oliva Cach (No. 60), or Agneta Cok (62), they were not required as were males to become members of tithings: they did not during middle and later life become capital pledges, jurors, affeerers, essoniators or holders of any manorial office: perhaps it should be said that men loaded with these tasks, even the less onerous functions such as ale-taster and woodward, frequently sought to pay money to the lord of the manor in order not to serve as elected. There are a few examples, however, of women acting as pledges for other women in manor court (4).

1. Unless they were heirs, the men also required the lord's 'licence' to marry at Worlingworth.
2. Worlingworth Court-Rolls do not contain many good references to pensions (food allowances etc.) compared with manors elsewhere (e.g. Flixton Priory Manor). Life-tenancies of part of the family messuage for a widowed mother are recorded with reasonable frequency.

"..Mis. 6d. Willelmus manupastus Emme ate Brok levavit hutesium iuste super Aliciam uxorem Ivoris de Stanhaw. pleg. Oliva Fayr..."
There is a strong impression from the Worlingworth evidence that women who
had land were a class apart from women who did not and, probably, from men
who did not. Female tenants of large tenements, for example Alicia del
Brok, not only employed men for casual labour but were much more 'active'
in manor court. The acquisition of land by women was usually by
a lease from a surviving parent, . . . . It would certainly be
unwise to consider such acquisitions as, in every instance, a marriage
dowry.

At Worlingworth, a women was almost as likely to pay a fine to the lord for
examination of the court rolls concerning the terms and conditions of a
tenancy as was a man (1). Protection of title was obviously of great
importance to all tenants but especially to women. When, in 1335 (2),
Robert Aylred agreed to exchange land with John Arnold, the names of their
wives were later added above the line. The accuracy of the court roll was
as important to the wife of a 14th century villein as was the parish
register to the claimant for parish dole in later centuries.

It is certain that there existed additional pitfalls and financial
penalties which might menace a woman's title to a piece of land compared
with a man's (3). "Gersuma", the payment of a sizeable sum of money on
the occasion of a villein girl's wedding was a substantial imposition on
women (4), although it was the men of Worlingworth homage who

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1. S1/2/1.2, fol. 36. 1333
"...Finis 12d.....De Avelina le Barkere pro rotulis scrutandis.."
2. S1/2/1.2, fol. 41v.
3. S1/2/1.2, fol. 26. 1329
"...Item quod Margeria Burghard liber que tenet customarie videlicet unum
cotagium peperit extra matrimonium. Ideo preest capere dictum cotagium in
manus domini et respondere de exitibus..." No doubt this is a legal
manoeuvre only, to secure payment of the childwyt. Nevertheless, it is not
an amercement incurred by men.
4. The men of Worlingworth were required to pay for licence to marry.
unsuccessfully fought against the lord over this tax on behalf of female heirs in 1325 (1). Inability to pay the fine for the offence of lecherwyt or childwyt, usually 1/5th of a mark, threatened a woman's title to any land she held, as did the very commission of the offence, although in practice the fine was often 'pardoned by the rector' (2). In 1328-9, the rector pardoned Robert Aylild 20d, part of a fine of 32d, for a childwyt: in 1330 (3), Basilia Aylleld married Robert de Halle, suggesting that the eventual bride's father had paid part at least of the original childwyt. Payment (by instalments) of the marriage fine, which varied according to the means (size of tenement) of the families involved is also recorded (4).

Cataloguing the legal and social disadvantages experienced by medieval women should not be allowed to disguise the apparent fact that, provided their title was secure, women who were the recorded tenants of the larger small-holdings were as prominent as were men in breaking manorial bye-laws and were very clearly leading members of village society, socially and commercially. The only person ever referred to in a completed court entry at Worlingworth by christian name only was "Matilda" (Thurstan) of Fingle Street. Between February 1303 and June 1308, Matilda was involved in 49 court incidents of almost 20 different types. Other village women, such as Alicia del Brok, were similarly active members of society.

1. S1/2/1.2, fol. 20 1325 (See also folio 19v). "...Mis 40d. De omnibus hominibus villanis pro falso clamore versus dominum quia clamaverunt false quod mulieres habentes tenementum per successionem hereditarium se potuerunt maritare sine licentia ut patet in curia..."
2. S1/2/9.63 "...In pardone Roberto Aylild in parte 32d de uno childwyte 20d..."
3. S1/2/1.2, fol. 28.
4. S1/2/1.2, fol. 18. 1325 "Finis 5s: De Oliva Duk de fine pro licencia se maritandi...et habet diem ad solvendum 2s 6d ad festum Nativitatis Domini et 2sd 6d ad Pascham proxime sequentem..."
Reference was made in an earlier chapter to Cecilia le Spinnere and Margeria le Webistere, two women who clearly illustrated the involvement of women in the wool and cloth industries. The production and sale of bread and ale were by no means exclusively female occupations, although women figure prominently in any listing of full or part-time participants in these trades (1). There are several references to the casual employment of women in agriculture, for example in gathering straw after harvest on the demesne. For girls, as for boys, working on parents' or neighbours' tenements (2) as maids ("Ancille") or mainpasts ("Manupastus") was a common source of employment.

The "seemingly low" criminality of women compared with men has been noted by Dr B. Hanawalt in her study of Norfolk Gaol Delivery Rolls 1307-1316 (3): only 10% of those accused of felony were women. Manor courts normally dealt with offences worth less than a maximum of 40 shillings, which excluded most murders, manslaughter and rape. Of 71 cases of violent assault ("Traxit sanguinem") tried at Worlingworth between 1302 and 1313 in courts-with-lete, 57 involved 2 males and 7 each involved either 2 women, or a man and a woman. Of the 142 individuals involved, fractionally under 15% were women. This largely corroborates Dr Hanawalt's belief that medieval women were either more law-abiding than men or were more leniently treated by the law at all levels. It should be noted that one of Worlingworth's two murder victims was Emma Thurstan.

1. SI/2/1.23 passim A sample of 26 individuals who broke the assize of ale or bread, or both, showed that only 12 (46%) were women.  
2. These include, of course, tenements held by women, for example Matilda Thurstan.  
allegedly killed by Peter le Brun (1), also of Fingle Street. Two sisters from the le Smale family of Fingle Street died in prison before trial. The fate of the Le Smales suggests that women were perhaps less likely to survive the duress of medieval imprisonment, which presents a small challenge to Dr Hanawalt's figure of 10% for women's criminality.

A vivid insight both into village life and the amercement of a female petty thief are provided by two court entries of June 1398 (2):

"..Item that Joan Farman wife of Walter Farman (3) sold away the hens belonging to her said husband Walter without his knowledge and afterwards said that William Coupere and Joan his wife stole the said hens and she is accustomed to telling lies about her neighbours to the common nuisance, etc. Amerced 6d".

"Item (4) that aforesaid Joan wife of the aforesaid Walter Farman secretly opened a pack belonging to a certain merchant staying in the messuage of the aforesaid Walter and unjustly took pepper, saffron and other foodstuffs from the said pack and kept them, against the peace, etc...Amerced 12d.."

According to the evidence of the Norfok Gaol Delivery Rolls, the percentage of women pleading insanity in capital offences was broadly the same (10% - 15%) as men, making it unlikely that medieval society gave tacit recognition to the special problems of a minority of women. The provision of a corn pension for his "Idiot" wife after the death of John Phelip in 1392 by the insertion of a special condition in the deed of surrender was

1. S1/2/1.2, fol. 25v.
2. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.9, fol. 14.
3. According to the extent of 1400 (S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/7.2), Walter Farman held the messuage formerly Robert Ayllild (No. 40) in Suddonestrete and part of Tenement 03 across the road.
4. Ibidem "...Item quod predicta Johanna uxor predicti Walteri Farman secrete aperuit 1 packe eiusdem mercatoris hospitantis in messuagio predicti Walteri et inuuste cepit pepir et safronam et alia victulia pretii 6d ex dicto packe et penes se retinuit contra pacem etc..."
Provision for the wives of Roger Clerk and John Swan sent to gaol in Norwich Castle for the killing of John Farman in 1390 took the form of allowing them sufficient residual chattels from the forfeit effects of their husbands to sustain life. In fact the lord of the manor collected only 23 shillings of the 51s 0d at which the mens' goods and chattels had been valued by the homage (45%) (3). Some articles of Roger Clerk's wife's clothing had been amongst the chattels listed for forfeiture, her fur-lined tunic worth 6d and her kirtle worth the same. The widow of the murdered man, Elena Farman, was however pursued in court for the debts owed by her unpopular husband (4).

The different formulae employed by scriveners to describe marriage reflects the variety of different circumstances. A man usually paid to the lord of the manor a sum of money, often a 1/4 mark, for licence to "lead" a local girl "into matrimony" (5): if he were an outsider he paid another sum to enter peaceably any property which the girl might hold in dowry. There were many instances where a girl paid for a licence, usually 3s, to marry (6) a man whose name may or may not be given: it is possible that this payment of "gersuma" when the man is not named might mean she was leaving to marry a man outside the village. Occasionally, a woman paid a fine for

1. S1/2/1.9 fol. 2. October 1393; 3 bushels of wheat at All Saints and 3 bushels of barley at Christmas.
2. S1/2/9.47 Account-Roll.
3. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.24, fol. 10v, 1391, See also Chapter XII for full inventories.
4. S1/2/1.9, fol. 3. March 1393
"...Datus est dies inquisicioni generali usque proximam curiam tunc presentandi si Elena Farman administratrix bonorum Johannis Fayrman viri sui fregit conventum eidem Johanni Bradenham (the manorial bailiff) de £4 sibi talliatis ad solvendos famulos pro stipendiis suis et alios debitores appreciat. ad dampnum 20s necne..."
5. "...Ducere in matrimonium..."
6. "...pro licencia se maritandi (+ dative)"
licence to "catch" or "take" a man: the use of the Latin verb 'capere' is more reminiscent, it might be argued, of the hunting-field than the church (concealed humour in manor court rolls is a neglected field of study) \(^{(1)}\). Re-marriage, particularly after the first pestilence, is a recognized, though not common, feature of the court rolls \(^{(2)}\).

Sexual activity before and outside matrimony was taxed, in effect, by the device of levying fines of lecherwyt or childwyt in manor court and by public humiliation in the Curia Christiana according to the Homersfield evidence \(^{(3)}\). At a court held in 1386, however, the homage and the manor

"..Finis 2s...Sayhena le Barkere dat domino pro licencia capiendi virum. pleg. prepositi..."
2. S1/2/1.11, fol. 2. 2 Hen. V.
"...Finis 40d...Et quod Cristina filia Petri Crudde nativa domini peperit 1 fil...extra matrimonium. Ideo dat pro chyldwyty 2s 8d secund. consuetudinem manerii...Finis 40d...De predicta Cristina nativa domini, dat domino pro licencia habenda se maritandi secunda vice pleg. Johannis Hervy..."
3. Redstone V.B., op. cit. p 331: "Margaret Hoode, presented for incontinency ordered during penance to walk with bare feet and legs in her tunic with a sheet over her head then to kneel before the image in the chancel saying five times the salutation of the Angels "Cum cimbale" and afterwards to retire to her customary place". Note: Redstone quotes more men than women in this context. Note that in the medieval court-rolls, words such as "concubina", "meretrix", etc. do not occur. The first Worlingworth Parish Register (S.R.O. (IPS) FC94/D4/1), 1558-1675, contains several entries of a remarkably harsh nature in this respect.
court itself took a much stronger line \(^{(1)}\). John Godard had committed an
offence against Robert Garlek by violating his wife and carrying off his
goods. John admitted the offence and acknowledged that he owed Robert 40s
to be paid in two instalments of 10 shillings and one of 20 shillings, all
within the year. How the court arrived at this sum and for what is not
explained. As security that he would not again transgress against Robert
nor seek the company of his wife for the purpose of fornication, John
Godard and two pledges were required to guarantee £20 to Robert Garlek.

It was quite usual for a girl to be amerced for childwyt on one or more
occasions before the fine for matrimony was paid at a later stage. Leticia Fayr of Stanway Green, for example, was amerced for childwyt in
1310 and 1312 and for matrimony in 1313. Fertility had to be proved,
perhaps, before matrimony was contemplated. In 1309–10, daughters of most
of the customary tenants at Stanway Green were amerced for childwyt,
Matilda Strut\(\dagger\), Leticia & Isabella Fayr and Caterina Gernegan: either this
was the result of the manorial administration 'catching up' on this type of

1. S1/2/1.8 fol. 10..."Johannes Godard calumpniatus est in curia de
transgressione facta Roberto Garlek uxore sua violando et bona sua
asportando qui predictam transgressionem cognovit et pro illa
transgressione cognovit se teneri in 40s predicto Roberto solvend. ad
carniprivium proximum sequent.. 10s et ad Pascham tunc proximum sequentem
10s et ad festum Sancti Michaelis tunc proximum sequentem 20s. Et quod de
cetero eidem Roberto nullam transgressionem faciet nec procurabit vel in
societate uxoris euisdem Roberti causa fornicandi non accedet et ad hec
omnia promissa in(de) et fideliter observanda predictus Johannes invenit
securitatem viz. Rogeri Hervy et Johannis Chetilibere qui se obligaverunt
et predictus Johannes Goddard similiter ei uniusque eorum in solido
predicto Roberto Garlek in £20 eodem solvendo".

It was very unusual for a manor court to amerce fornicators. A possible
reason is that the archdeacon's courts may still in 1386 have been
suffering dislocation after the "Peasant's Revolt": the archdeacon's house
in Ipswich was attached in 1381 by the rioters (Redstone L.J., **Ipswich
Through the Ages**, p 113 - "The archdeacon in 1381 was a foreigner, the
Cardinal of St. Angelo, nominated to his office by the Pope contrary to the
Statute of Provisors, and merely drawing fees from the courts held in
Suffolk").
offence in this NE corner of the parish or it represents a fair example of fruitful merrymaking

"Between the acres of the rye...." (1)

Of the 10 individuals excused payment to the abbot's recognition of 1302 on the grounds of poverty, 80% were women. Of the 47 persons wealthy enough to be taxed in 1327, 15% were women. Perhaps these bare statistics should serve as the final statement on the economic position of women on their own. Robust individuals such as Matilda were the exception.

In Chapter 13, the evidence was considered for educational opportunities for the boys of Worlingworth. Few local boys appear to have secured professional advancement for themselves, although the Infirmarer at St. Edmunds in 1362/3 was Edmund

Whether the Benedictine Nunnery in the neighbouring parish of Redlingfield offered the same opportunity to the girls of Worlingworth and the surrounding villages is not clear. The people of Worlingworth appear to have had very little contact or conflict with the population of Redlingfield in general. Although there is no evidence that women from Worlingworth performed the "Averages" or transport works to places such as Ipswich, Dunwich or Bury St. Edmunds as did the men, this should not be taken to imply that medieval women never travelled beyond the parish boundaries. Commerce may have provided a few women at least with opportunities to move away, although marriage probably afforded the most chances to leave the village. It was noted in Chapter XIV that one of the three witnesses to the will of Robert de Wirlingworth in 1336-7 was Johanna Cach de Wyrlingworth: Robert de Wirlingworth was almost certainly a wool-merchant with commercial property and business in Norwich, Johanna a daughter of a very ordinary villein family at Stanway Green.

2. The court-rolls of this manor for the early 14th century and before have been lost. The later rolls of Redlingfield are in S.R.O. (HA 12).
3. Only one woman fugitive (Enma le Swan) is recorded in the decade after the Black Death.
4. S1/2/1.9 fol. 5. 1394. Katerira Swan, villein of Worlingworth, had married John Nunne, a free man of Moulton, Norfolk.
CHAPTER XVI

OPEN-FIELDS AND DEMESNE c1325 - 1348

The map of 1605/6 (1) makes it abundantly clear that areas of 'open' or strip field still survived at that date. This present chapter attempts both to explain the function of the open-fields and the management of the demesne during the last quarter century before the arrival of the first pestilence in 1349.

Detailed though they are in several respects, none of the medieval extents of Worlingworth set out to describe exactly where the tenants' lands were actually located. However, the extent of 1466 (2) does provide a few valuable abuttals of tenant properties to add to a few pieces of earlier information. An excellent series of manorial account-rolls survives to describe the management of the demesne 1322-1348 (3).

It is clear from the map of 1605/6 that all recognized tenants held blocks of land close to their dwellings - quite separate from the open-fields. Tenementum 74 (Thurketyll) was described in 1466 as consisting of 10 acres

2. S1/2/7.3.
of arable and 2/3 acre of presumed pasture: the 10 acres were described as "Adiacentes cum messuagio". Tenementum 39 (Robert Allyd) was described in 1466 as consisting of 12 acres of arable, 4 acres in Suddonefeld, a large open-field south of the church, and 8 acres abutting onto "Suddonstrete" where the messuage was located. The extent of 1466 recorded of Tenementum 53 (Payn-Dukes = John Payn and Oliva Duk of the last chapter) that 7 acres and the messuage were located in Fingle Street (2), 2 acres of presumed meadow or pasture were at the Melledam and the remaining pieces in Le Crouchefeld, the village's largest open-field area.

From these examples a broad pattern may be detected. The largest portion of a tenant's land lay adjacent to his or her messuage. Occasionally these adjacent portions were referred to as 'crofts' and many tenements, if not all, had 'yerds' or gardens and orchards (3) near the house separate from the principal growing area for crops. If the tenant required more arable land he sought it in the nearest open-field.

Whereas new arable-land could be created for the tenants elsewhere, good meadow land could not and this explains why Tenementum Thurketylls in the N.W. corner of the parish still had 2/3 of an acre at Le Melledam in 1466 although nearly 2 miles away. The extent of 1466 recorded, similarly, that Tenementum 38 (John Jerald) consisted, *inter alia*,

1. i.e. The extent does not specify whether it was arable or pasture but does describe it as lying "Iuxta pratum nuper Thome Godyng", i.e. near Tunmanmedew.
2. "...7 acras cum messuagio adiacente in vico Fenkelstrete..."
Sl/2/1.22, fol. 3. 1348: "...Mis 1d...de Galfriedo le Fullere pro dampno facto asportando pomeria extra Sittardesyerd...".
of 5 acres and a messuage (now Mill Farm) abutting onto the Great Green and
an acre of meadow and pasture lying in Tunmanmedewe, ancient meadowland
near the rivulet, some of which still survives.

For most tenants therefore the open-fields were, arguably, of secondary
importance. The strips in Le Crouchefeld, for example, might be held by
recognized tenants temporarily as a short-term measure, by newcomers (1),
by cadet branches of recognized-tenant families, by the church as glebe or
the lord, if no other tenant came to claim it. There is insufficient
evidence to suggest whether Le Crouchefeld was cropped communally each
year, that is the same crop grown and harvested on all the strips whoever
the occupier, or whether each tenant (or the lord) in the 'feld' could
pursue an independent cropping policy. It is highly unlikely, however,
that the tenants in their crofts were prevented from doing other than what
they chose. In practise, they appear to have grown exactly the same field
crops as on the demesne, with perhaps a greater emphasis on pΔδς,. ..

For the population of Fingle Street, "Le Crouchefeld" was the nearest area
of open-field as it was for the tenants at Stanway Green, although the latter
seldom had recourse to land outside their own crofts (2). Several of the
smaller tenements situated in the centre of the village near the brook-
crossing had strips in "Le Carrfeld" on the southernmost fringe of the
parish. The extent of 1466 stated that Tenementum Harald had held 3½
acres there, rather more than lay adjacent to the messuage itself. The
easternmost strip of this 'feld' still survives as a copse. For the
tenants in Swan Lane (Suddonestrete) such as Robert Allyd (above) there
were strips in 'Le Suddonefeld'.

1. It is not argued here that newcomers could acquire land only in the open-field.
2. Tenementum No. 62 is described in the \textit{extent of 1466}, for example, as "Cockiscroft, tenementum Agnes Cok".
It is clear, however, that these were not the only areas of strip-field in the village nor the only place-names with the suffix "Feld". Illustrative of another type of strip-field was the area known to the 1611 survey as "Leverychfeld". Thomas Leverych had died intestate in 1304. The contemporary index of customary tenants attached to the extent of 1466 associated "Leverychfeld" with the 'Pisk' family of Fingle Street, in fact the large Tenementum 56 (John Pisk) of nearly 28 acres. The description of Tenementum 56 in the extent of 1466 appears to suggest that whereas this tenement had itself possessed, in better days, a few selions in Le Crouchfeld, later, probably because of problems of the Leverich inheritance, part of it, perhaps the croft, had itself broken down into strips: for some tenants in Fingle Street, le Crouchfeld became no longer the nearest area of open-field. Similarly, according to the extent of 1466, both Tenementum John Jerald and Goodyene (75), both of which abutted onto the Great Green to their north, had land in Walhelclose which lay to the south of both tenements. This sub-division of untenanted crofts or of closes of land no longer required by the heirs to form areas of strip-field ad hoc serves to underline the freedom of action and independence of the tenantry of Worlingworth outside the demesne.

None of the medieval extents made mention of the common-rights attached to the various tenements although the grazing-rights along roadsides, including those penetrating the demesne, were occasionally recorded. Despite abutting onto the Great Green, Tenementum John Jerald's grazing-rights were along roads in the E. half of the parish. In 1311, one of  

1. SL/2/7.14 & 7.15.  
2. SL/2/6.1. Extent c 1353:

"...Item (Johannes Jerald) habebit herbagium vie a Gerardis (Tenementum No. 2) usque ecclesiam, herbagium vie a Cowleswe usque Beynenes tam superior quam inferior, herbagium vie a Cowleswe usque molendinum domini..."
the Jerald family, Golla, was indeed amerced for commoning where she had no rights. It is interesting in this respect to note that, on examination of the map of 1605/6, there is no gate marked between Tenementum Jeralds and the Great Green in front of it. Because Tenementum Phelps (81) had access to the green, exempli gratia, it is not possible to state that customary tenants did not have access, whereas free tenants such as Lucas Randolf (14, later "Chapels") did. The gates as marked on the 1605/6 map need not be of medieval origin.

That tenants both free and unfree had opportunities to acquire land by assart throughout the 14th century is confirmed by the evidence of the court-rolls (1) and of the extents of c. 1355 (2) and 1400 (3). The main area of the village where assarting was taking place was Le Frith (Oxford) in the far S.W. corner of the parish. Eight free tenants and nine villeins had pieces of assart there in 1303 (4): amongst the latter was the perhaps aptly named Andreas de Wyldemer. Forty-one acres of assart were detailed in Le Frith alone in 1303, compared with 23 1/4 acres from both Worlingworth and Southolt in the extent of c. 1355 (2). Individual pieces of assart in 1303 ranged from 1/4 acre (William Alred) to 6 acres (Adam Osberin), compared with 1 acre (William Edwyn) to 6 acres in c. 1355 (Adam Beneyt). Seven of the nine assarters in c. 1355 were villeins living in Worlingworth and the locations of some of their tenements, notably William Edwyne (73), suggest strongly that clearance was taking place on other fringes of the parish also (5): Tenement 73 was bounded to the north

1. S1/2/1.1, fol. 4.
2. S1/2/6.1.
3. S1/2/7.1 & 7.2.
4. S1/2/1.1. fol. 4. Computer ref. 010-09.
5. Amongst 13 men who paid to cut underwood in 1325/6, for example, (S1/2/9.3) was John de Stanhaughe.
by the remnants of the Horshaghe. The extent of 1400 (1) mentioned only 10 acres of assart, a further decline, certainly 9, possibly 10, of them in "Le Frith"; but they included pieces belonging to Tenements 44 (John Dousyng) (2) and 45 (Peter Bokenham) (3), which tenements had no recorded assart in c1355 (4): assarting did not cease altogether at the Black Death.

In Chapter XIV, the evidence was assembled to suggest that the period 1327-1334 was, in Worlingworth, a period of substantial social and economic change. Even before the 'Arrival' of the sheep on the demesne in 1333-4, the lord had, by 1329, 'farmed' out the herd of dairy cows although they continued to be fully accounted for in the "Exitus Grangie" of the compotus rolls (5). In the same year, the lord leased out the mill. It is tempting, perhaps, to consider that, when the lord ceased direct control of such important facets of the manorial economy, the lord's control of the manor or the demesne itself might be in decline. It appears that at Worlingworth nothing could have been further from reality. Examination of the panel "Dayeria" in the income section of the account rolls reveals that the demesne cows and hens were being leased, after the pestilence at least, to the manorial 'Daye' (6), who may have acquired the mares' and the ewes' milk also (7). Under this arrangement, the qbbot gained a fixed rent for

1. S1/2/7.1 and 7.2.
2. A Black Death survivor.
3. Radulfus and Robert de Bokenham did have assart in 1303, however.
4. S1/2/6.1.
5. S1/2/1.2, fol. 29. Court, November 1329: "...Memorandum quod vacce de Wyringworth dimittuntur ad firmam hoc anno qualibet vacca pro 7s. Et dominus habebit 6 vitulos et alloc(abitur) pro quolibet vitulo 12d...Et molendinum dimittitur pro 8 quarteris bladi per plegium Willelmi Gerald..."
6. e.g. Account Roll 1365-6, S1/2/9.29
7. "Dayeria...de 27s Id de lactagio 130 ovium matrum..." The cows were being rented out in 1327/8 (S1/2/9.63).
8. "Dayeria...de 27s Id de lactagio 130 ovium matrum..."
S1/2/9.15 (1343-44). S1/2/9.5 (1328-9)..."...Et de 11d de lactagio de una iumenta que fetavit ante tempus...Et de lactagio unius alter. iumente que fetavit ante tempus..."
his cows whose numbers were supplemented from time to time by beasts taken in heriot, and the 'Daye' had every incentive to work for his or individual profit: it is important to note that cheese, unlike fleeces and animal skins, was not accounted for in the compotus-rolls.

Other panels of the account-rolls 1322/2 - 1347/8 show a vigorous exploratory approach to high demesne farming: several new panels, for example for bees, were introduced and dropped by the sergeant as required. Leasing out the windmill might indicate a trend towards a 'Rentier' policy on the part of the lord but eyes were certainly not shut towards creating new sources of income from exploitation of the demesne. A new windmill was built in 1336-1337 (1).

In September 1250 (2), the demesne arable land had consisted of 11 parcels totalling 233 1/4 acres. In the second quarter of the 14th century, there were, according to the excellent compotus-rolls of the period, 13 parcels containing 241 - 244 acres. The two new fields were Shorteworthinge and Frithegwente. There is a distinct possibility that these two pieces were omitted from the "Pecie Terrarum" of 1250 because they were fallow at the time: however, 5 acres of Prestescroft were described as "Lying for/grazing" in 1250, and there is no actual reason why if other fields had been similarly lying uncultivated they should not have been mentioned. The field-names Shorteworthinge and Frithegwente both survived until the 17th-century and are clearly marked on the map of 1605/6, both immediately south of the church and rectory (3). Because all the demesne pieces lying north of the highway which bisects Worlingworth remained more or less the same (the largest change was to Melchetherne, 9 acres in

2. B.L. Harleian 230.
3. i.e. adjoining Prestescroft.
1250, 16 acres in 1325), it is clear that the major alterations to the demesne had taken place in the vicinity of Le Suddonefeld.

It is virtually certain that the piece known as Waleworth, containing 40 acres in 1250, had been split into two by c 1325, when Waleworth was said to contain 21 acres and Frithegwent 20-21 acres. In 1250, Longewithe had contained 25 acres: by c 1325, Longeworthinge had been reduced to 12 acres and the new Shorteworthinge contained 20 acres gathered, no doubt, partly from Longeworthinge and partly from the fringes of Le Suddonefeld. It is unfortunate that the account rolls of 1277-9 did not mention field-names in the section "Exitus Grangie". In the three-quarters of a century which separated the extent of 1250 and the sequence of 14th century compotus rolls, the acreage of the demesne appears to have grown by 4%, but the number of "pieces" by 18%.

In 1250, the demesne was evidently cultivated in a cycle of 3 seasons with a very small area set aside for fallow. In the second quarter of the 14th century, crop rotation was a remarkably complex operation. Details survive of which crop was sown in which of the 13 demesne pieces in most years until the end of high demesne farming in 1390/1 (1). For the purpose of this study, the years 1325/6 to 1341/2 were examined for evidence of crop-rotation policy.

Wheat was certainly at the centre of the rotation. The largest acreage devoted to a single field-crop was usually filled by wheat followed by oats, a preference which became more accentuated as the sample period progressed. Unlike all the other cereals, wheat was never planted in the same piece in two consecutive years. The cycle WHEAT-FALLOW-WHEAT

was not uncommon, particularly towards the end of the sample, for example in Hallecroft 1338/9 to 1341/2. As its name suggests, Hallecroft was situated next to the hall and cattle-sheds. Because one of the reeve's allowances specified (1) that he was to have "One rood of wheat, one rood of barley, and one rood of oats from the better corn off the manured land", it appears reasonable to conclude that those demesne pieces such as Hallecroft nearest the main source of manure were tilled and fertilised more intensively than those pieces furthest away, such as Beyneneswent, which was fallow more often than not and grew wheat only twice in the 14 years covered by the sample. This preference for wheat at Worlingworth was in accord with the rest of the clay-lands of Suffolk in the High Middle Ages.

The differences between Hallecroft and Beyneneswent underline one important, perhaps startling, fact. Each field had its own system of crop rotation(2). Greynescroft was particularly interesting, for, during the period of the sample, it never varied from the cycle WHEAT-OATS-FALLOW. Barley, a crop whose total acreage was remarkably constant although significantly less than wheat or oats, was grown in only 7 of the 13 pieces: in Berecroft, not surprisingly, barley was as dominant a crop as was wheat, and was grown there in two consecutive years 1338/9 and 1339/40, a rare occurrence for any individual crop, even the ubiquitous oats. The rotation in Greynescroft clearly excluded leguminous crops and it may be argued that it was peas, beans and the various mixtures such as "Mongrell"(3)

1. S1/2/6.1"...Item habebit unam rodam frumenti, unam rodam ordei et unam rodam avene de meliori blado ex terra compostata..."
2. See Appendix F.
3. Various mixtures are recorded. In 1329-30 the 32-acre piece known as "Le Redinge" contained only 'Mingrell', in 1333-4 it contained 15½ acres of barley, 4½ acres of 'Dredge', 6 acres of 'Mongrel' and 6 acres of oats. This same account roll describes the "Mongrell" seed as containing peas, beans and mongrell (S1/2/9.8). Middilmong is mentioned in a roll of 1341-2 (S1/2/9.14), "Mixtil" in 1340-1 (S1/2/9.13) and "Bulmong" in 1357-8 (S1/2/9.67).
which included legumes that were the basic cause both of the increase in the number of demesne pieces and of the complexity of the rotations. However, neither peas nor, especially, beans were grown in sufficient quantity to occupy on their own any of the demesne pieces studied in the sample: they were usually grown in patches of up to 5 acres extent inside the various pieces.

An important feature of the uncultivated demesne arable at Worlingworth, apart from the fact that it was not considered to be "Fallow" ("Terra Frisca") (1), was that it was grazed and therefore manured by the demesne animals, not rested altogether. In 1344-5, there were 232 breeding ewes alone at Worlingworth, excluding lambs and wethers. It is noticeable that destructive domestic species such as pigs and geese were kept to the minimum required by the kitchen or were absent altogether. No sows were kept after 1322/3 and the basic demesne stock of poultry was limited annually to 2 ganders with 6 geese and 2 cockerels with 10 hens.

Intensive manuring by suitable livestock species and cereal growing were clearly compatible.

The average acreage sown in the last 8 years before the pestilence, after the arrival of the sheep, was 8½% higher than in the 8 years for which account rolls are extant "Before the sheep". The acreage sown in the last Michaelmas year before the first pestilence struck, 1347-8, was the largest at 195 3/4 acres (See Table D) recorded at Worlingworth so far that century. Seed density remained constant. (2).

1. S1/2/9.63 (1327-8). Compare - "...De herbagio de Prestescroft nil hoc anno quod terra ibidem iacebit frisca. De herbagio de Alvenescroft nil quod depasebatur cum bestis domini..."
2. i.e wheat was sown at the rate 2 bushels per acre, barley and oats at 4 bushels per acre plus or minus small percentages of total seed set aside for the job.
The labour required to work the demesne was derived from two sources, the tenants or their substitutes and the "Famuli", full-time agricultural servants. With reference to the latter, the manor generally employed a carter, four ploughmen and a dairyhand\textsuperscript{(1)}, for most of the year; amongst other less permanent staff were a woodward and four general servants in the harvest and a boy for bird-scaring during the sowing season. A remarkable court entry for June 1381 \textsuperscript{(2)} suggested that "famuli" for the ploughing were nominated and elected by the homage, although the date of the court may be a more significant piece of information on this matter. The 'famuli' were remunerated with cash gifts as incentives and the customary food allowances, the servants' 'Mixtura'.

Although "Averages" or transport works were not priced by the abbot during the fourteenth-century, he could still demand them if he chose. In 1340/1 \textsuperscript{(3)}, for example, 24 averages were used to transport 12 quarters of wheat from Worlingworth to Westleton near the coast. Ploughing-works ("Arrure") were measured by the acre; the manor at Worlingworth could demand 141 acres 3½ roods of plough-works annually from its customary tenants although in practise a high proportion of these works were commuted or sold back to the tenants who owed them. Collectively, the tenants owed 475½ "Summer and Winter" works each year; these might be used for a wide variety of general agricultural tasks ranging from catching pheasants, sowing seed and spreading manure to haymaking and driving the plough, although, as with plough-works, a high percentage were sold. Threshing-works were measured

\textsuperscript{1} e.g. S1/2/9.63 (1327-8): "...In liberacionibus 1 cartere, 4 carucariorum et 1 daye a festo Sancti Michaelis per totum annum integrum..."
\textsuperscript{2} S1/2/1.7: fol. 11.
"...De toto homagio quia recusaverunt eligere et nominare unum famulum pro caruca ad magnum dampnum domini pro tenura sua..."
\textsuperscript{3} S1/2/9.13.
by the quarter of the various cereals or peas in lieu of cereal. The abbot could demand threshing-works at Worlingworth for 80 quarters of wheat, 111 quarters of barley and 120 quarters of oats per annum. During harvest the tenants owed 190 reaping-works and 144 carriage-works. When sold back to the tenants, a ploughwork was considered to be worth 4d and a summer/winter work 1d. Threshing a quarter of wheat was priced at 3d, barley at 1½d and oats at 1d. Carriage-works were priced at 1d each, but reaping-works although occasionally sold and great boon works at harvest were considered, according to custom, to be "not for sale".

The development of commutation of the plough-works, the most highly-priced 'work', is of singular interest. Basing calculations to the nearest acre, 53% of ploughworks were exchanged for cash on average during the first 5 years of resumed accounts 1322-1329. In 1327-8, only 48% were sold. In 1347-8, for the first time, all the plough-works were sold; sales had begun to increase in 1330-1 and had reached 98% in 1343/4. The increased productivity on the demesne at Worlingworth on the eve of the arrival of the first pestilence had thus been achieved largely without the obligatory assistance of the tenantry.

In 1347-8(1), the number of ploughmen - 'Famuli' employed by the manor was increased from 4 to 5. This suggests that before the onset of the first pestilence the broad policy of the demesne farm with reference to ploughing had been to commute the labour services due from the tenants of the manor and to get the work done instead by full-time agricultural servants. With reference to harvest works, it should be noted that in 1347-8 no reaping was done other than by the tenants and the 'Famuli', whereas in

1348-9(2) 16\(\frac{1}{2}\) acres of demesne corn were harvested by hired labourers at 6d.
per acre and in 1349-50(3) 87 acres 3 roods were harvested by hired labour
at 8d. per acre. Before the pestilence, stipends paid to labourers even
for harvest work were a minor expense incurred only occasionally. (4)

4. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.4 (1326-7), for example: '...Stip. In messione et
ligacione diversorum bladorum videlicet de 6 acr. bladi per acram 6d..'
CHAPTER XVII

FROM THE FIRST PESTILENCE TO THE END OF HIGH DEMESNE FARMING. 1349-1391

The account-rolls for the year Michaelmas 1348 to Michaelmas 1349, the period during which the arrival of the Black Death might reasonably be anticipated, have survived in good condition (1). Amongst other valuable data, these rolls confirm the dates of the manor courts held that year. The court-rolls of Worlingworth Manor covering these critical months have also survived (2). At the manor court held on Thursday October 30th 1348, two deaths were recorded. On January 19th 1349, one obit was noted. Eleven new deaths were recorded at the court held on Thursday 30th April and 41 on Wednesday 8th July. At the court held on 7th October 1349, the deaths of five more people were entered: the year 1350, with 7 deaths, was the third highest (3) at Worlingworth in the 14th century (see Table D) and it is significant that no account-roll has survived for the Michaelmas Year 1350-51. It is possible that the pestilence first appeared in the village perhaps as early as the last weeks in January (4).

The first person to be named in the obits recorded in the court held on 30th April 1349 was John Polling. The Pollings were associated in the surveys of c 1400 (5) with the S.E. corner of the parish (6): they were free tenants. That the pestilence was travelling in a S.E. to N.W.

2. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.22 and S1/2/1.23, passim.
3. Jointly with 1316 and 1342: only 1311 and 1349 were higher.
4. i.e. at any point after the court held on January 19th.
5. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/7.1 and 7.2.
6. Tenements no 3, 12 and 16.
direction through this part of Suffolk is strongly suggested by the fact that of the 11 deaths recorded in April 1349 not one was from a family associated with Southolt, the hamlet of Worlingworth lying W/N.W. After John Pollyng, those whose deaths were recorded in April had come from all over Worlingworth including the first of the Cach (1) family of Stanway Green. Another early casualty was Henry le Mellere. Amongst the deaths entered in the court held on 8th July (2) were those of John Bonvalet (3), a surname associated only with Southolt and never with Worlingworth itself, and of Andrew Smyth (4) of Southolt.

The annual mortality rate at Worlingworth in the decade 1339-1348 had been 3.5. More people (5) died in Worlingworth in 1349, 57, than in the previous 15-16 years added together. In attempting to calculate the percentage of the population who perished, the proceedings of the court-with-lete held on Wednesday 13th July 1348 (6) are of great value. At this court, the number and names of the capital pledges were given in detail rather than by the usual abbreviated formula (7). At that time, Worlingworth had 16 capital pledges. Of these, the names of 9 had been deleted and fresh names added in a different hand over them. With two exceptions, Henry son of Adam Hert, and John Arnald (8), the deleted names were those of men now known to have died in the pestilence.

1. Roger Cach (April 1349), John Cach, Walter son of Richard (July 1349), Olivia Cach (October 1349), Agnes Cach (January 1350).
2. On the following day, a court was held at Redlingfield N.W. of Worlingworth with large-scale mortality also. (S.R.O. (IPS), HA12/C10/1).
3. S1/2/6.1. John Bonvalet's heir held c1355 Tenementum Willelmi le King.
4. John son of Andrew Smyth held c1355 both Tenementum Willelmi le Frith and Tenementum Andree Smyth.
5. Essentially people who held land.
7. "...Omnes capitales plegii presentant..." etc.
8. John Arnold was deleted and replaced by John le Mey. Nicholas Arnold died by July 1349.
and the added names were those of known survivors. A mortality rate of 43% amongst the capital pledges is certain.

There is evidence that the population at Worlingworth had been increasing in the last decade before the first arrival of the Black Death. As mentioned above, the manorial administration was not in the habit of numbering or naming the capital pledges. In 1304 (1) there had been 15, the same number as in 1340 (2). But in 1342 (2) and in 1348 (2) the number of capital pledges and therefore of tithings had risen to 16. There is no evidence that the frankpledge system was in real decline at Worlingworth before the pestilence and the statement that the population was stable during most of the first half of the fourteenth century but was growing, not declining, as 1349 approached, appears tenable.

The careers of some of the surviving capital pledges of 1348 are of distinct interest. By the extent of c1355 (3), John Dousyng had acquired the tenancy of all or part of 10 tenements (4) formerly held by deceased neighbours. To his original holding of 9½ acres with a messuage he added 46½ acres, an increase of almost five-fold. He also acquired, along with this land, 3½ messuages and 2 cottages. Of this housing-stock, two messuages (Tenementum 75, Godthynes, and either 46 or 50, Bokenhams or Bokenham et Hewes) had disappeared before the map of 1605/6 was drawn. That decaying houses were a prominent feature of the later fourteenth century landscape is confirmed, for example, by a court of 11th June 1360 when Edmund de Bedingfeld had allowed to fall into ruins the messuage

1. S1/2/1.1, fol. 7.
2. S1/2/1.23, fols. 18 and 26.
3. S1/2/6.1.
4. Tenement No.s 40, 46, 50, 52, 61, 65, 68, 74, 75, 76.
belonging to Tenementum Thurkettyls (1) on the N.W. edge of the Great Green: although the extent of c1355 recorded that the tenant was John Parle, he died in October 1349.

It had been the custom at Worlingworth well before the Black Death, for example Peter Strutt in 1335 (see Chapter X), that tenants who wished to leave the manor paid a heriot as if they were dead and left. This practice continued after the pestilences, for example Thomas Gunnyld the inheritor of Tenement Nicholas Strutt in 1372 (2), but attempts were made, as was in many places the case in Suffolk immediately after the first attack of the plague, to trace fugitive villeins. In 1350, Henry le Swon (3) belonging to Worlingworth was at Aspal near Debenham and John Sittard was in the adjacent parish of Tannington. In October 1352, Emma le Swon was in another parish adjacent to Worlingworth, Brundish, and Peter Leveld was staying with Sir Richard de Brews, an influential knight whose lands lay in Stradbroke and Wingfield (4), a few miles to the north. All these fugitives happen to have come from families associated with Fingle Street.

The number of people who paid their heriot to leave greatly exceeds the numbers of fugitives recorded in the remaining decades of the fourteenth century.

Two interesting newcomers to Worlingworth in July 1349 were Margareta Bretoun, a timely reminder that this area of Suffolk lay within the area influenced by coastal trade and immigration, and John le Mason of Ufford.

1. S1/2/1.23, fol. 42. 
"...Iuratores presentant quod Edmundus de Bedingfeld fecit vastum in tenemento Thurketeles de una domo ruinosa..." (Ten. No. 74).
2. S1/2/1.6. fol. 20. 
"...De Thome Gunnyld de herieto quia divisit se de toto tenemento...fecit finem 18d..."
3. S1/2/1.23. fol. 27. 
"...Henricus le Swan nativus domini manet cum Ricardo de Wirlingworth in Aspal et trahit se (de domino)...etc.
To recognize and catalogue any architectural features which Ufford (near Woodbridge) and Worlingworth churches share in common lies beyond the scope of this study. This court-entry does suggest that the Black Death had interrupted mason's work in progress at Worlingworth, however. It is, perhaps, purely coincidental that both churches are famous for their font covers. But Norman Scarfe has written that Ufford's magnificent font-cover ("Its equal in wood is not known") \(^1\) dates c 1450 and the Nicholas Moor for whose soul Worlingworth's cover was inscribed may not be local \(^2\).

An immediate reaction to the effects of the pestilence by the demesne at Worlingworth under the new immigrant serjeant Radulfus de Swantone was to cut the sales of manual works back to the tenants. In 1347-48 100% of plough-works had been commuted, but only 30% were 'exchanged' in 1349/50 and it is possible that more works would have been demanded had more tenants survived. For seven \(^3\) years following the pestilence the demesne acreage sown was depressed to an acreage of c 154 acres compared with c 181 acres for an equal period before the plague, a fall of 15%. References to tenants refusing to work \(^4\) for the lord were recorded and in 1353 John de Multone, one of the ploughmen "famuli", was not resident on the manor \(^5\). By that time, however, the demesne had resorted to technology and acquired a new machine, "Le Carteploughe".

2. The name does not occur at Worlingworth. There were, however, families "De La Moor" etc. at Soham from early in the fourteenth century.
3. Three account-rolls from this period have been lost, however. The year 1349-50 is excluded since it is probable that spring sowing had been completed before the plague struck.
4. S1/2/1.23, October 1353. fol. 30:
   "...preest seisire...i ij acras terre quas Johannes Rook tenet de domino eo quod recusavit servire dominum..."
5. S1/2/1.23.fol.32. November 1353:
   "...de Johanne de Multone carucario qui non manet in manerio sicut facere debet..."
The first reference to this implement was in an account roll for 1351-2 \(^1\) when it was already in use. Its date of manufacture or purchase may well have been during the previous year, for which no account-roll has survived. It continued in use until 1383-4 \(^2\) and, along with the accelerating refusals of the tenants to work on the demesne, no doubt caused the increase in draft animals kept by the demesne (see Table D) after the plague. Repairs to 'Le Carteploughe' were recorded regularly in the account rolls but insufficient detail was given in order to determine its size and structure. It did not render existing ploughs obsolete \(^3\). It is possible that this was simply the first wheeled plough to reach medieval Worlingworth \(^4\).

However, the increased number of draft animals, both horses and oxen, kept by the demesne in the later fourteenth century perhaps suggests that in addition to being wheeled it could have turned more than one furrow at a time and had a special application at sowing time.

It might have been anticipated that, rather than demand works from unwilling tenants, the demesne would look to some less labour-intensive agricultural activity, such as sheep-farming, in order to preserve the manor's profitability. At Worlingworth, an increased interest in sheep-farming was not the answer. The golden age of the sheep at Worlingworth was in the decade before the Black Death, with the largest number of ewes recorded as remaining on the manor in 1344 at 232 (see Table D). The number of ewes fell by 20\% comparing the decades before and after the plague.

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2. S1/2/9.42.
3. S1/2/9.42 1383-4:
"...In 16 garbis de Osmond emplo pro eodem (2 caruce) et pro le carteploughe..."
4. I am indebted to the industrial archaeologist, R.W. Malster of Ipswich, for this comment.
In fact two setbacks appear to have overtaken the sheepfolds at Worlingworth. An attempt had been made by 1347-8 (1) to establish a demesne fold for ewes and lambs on the vacant Sittards Tenement near the N.E. corner of the Great Green, but the shepherd had been negligent (2) to the damage of the whole project. During the spring of 1363, 88 ewes died at Worlingworth, leaving 82 (3), the lowest number for 24 years. (See Table D) Sheep remained an important element in the demesne economy but the main emphasis appears to have been on arable farming. With the aid of the 'Corpeplough', the arable demesne increased dramatically in the 1370s. The golden decade of arable farming in terms of acreage sown was not before the Black Death at all in Worlingworth, but between 1372/3 and 1381/2: during this period the average acreage sown annually was 191 1/4, 4.7% more than in the decade 1340-9 and 13.3% more than 1322-1331. This manor's reaction to the dislocation caused by the pestilence was most positive with reference to agricultural policy.

It is evident, however, that in the manor court and in the maintenance of the frankpledge system, the abbot was under pressure. In 1353 (4), the abbot was accused in his own court of not repairing a cattle-gate. It would plainly be unwise to attach too much importance to such presentments but they do represent some change in the relationship between the lord and

1. S1/2/9.18:
"...pro rackis faciendis pro ovibus cubandis apud Sytardes 4d...In lacte empta pro sustentacione agnorum apud Syttards 6d.
2. Ibidem:
"...Item bercario apud Sittards nichil quia se male habuit in custode agnorum".
3. S1/2/9.69:
"...Oves matres..46 mortue ante fetum et tonsuram, 34 post fetum et ante tonsuram, 8 post fetum et tonsuram.." Murrains were frequently recorded in the account rolls and court rolls of Suffolk during the two decades after the first pestilence.
4. S1/2/1.23 fol. 32.
"...Item quod Abbas Sancti Edmundi et Johannes de Wirlingworth quod non emendaverunt unum hacche apud le Longestrete..."
the homage and are only very rarely found before the Black Death. In 1356 (1), John Dousyng was amerced for permitting to fall into ruin the "Lete-Cote", the house in which the lete courts met, situated south of the Great Green. The "Lete-cote" stood on Tenementum 67 (Johannes Colt), one of the 10 tenements in which Dousyng had acquired an interest following the deaths of their tenants in 1349. Where the lete courts met after this is not clear, but the extent of 1611 (2) described a cottage standing on or near the site of the present Old Village Hall as "Abbutts", on Tenementum 66 (Adam Beneyt). Perhaps the best evidence for the declining influence of the abbot derives from the hamlet of Southolt, where, after decades of acquisitions of land by other lords (3), a lay landowner established his own manor court in 1370-1.

The second pestilence arrived at Worlingworth between the court held on Monday 4th April 1361, when no deaths were entered, and Tuesday 28th December 1361 when 5 of the 6 deaths associated with (4) the epidemic were recorded. On this occasion the infection entered the village from the N.N.E. Although the first named casualty, John Leveld, held Tenementum 41 (Sampson Godard) in Swan Lane (5), the Leveld family were associated with properties on the north side of Fingle Street. Alice Honipot had held Tenementum 19 (Johannes Honipot), now Honeypots Farm (6), and John Gunnyld belonged to the Gunnyld family of Tenementum 64 (Peter Strutt) on the north side of Stanway Green. John Aylred, chaplain, had been associated with

1. S1/2/1.23. fol. 34:
"...Mis. 6d...Johannes Dowysng habet unam domum super tenementum quondam Colts in qua senescallus domini debet tenere letas de Wirlingworth et Soham quidem domus est ruinosa..."
2. S1/2/7.15.
3. e.g. Colchester Abbey. Southolt Manorial Records were very recently deposited in S.R.O. (IPS).
4. i.e. the winter of 1361/2. S1/2/1.23. fol. 45.
5. S1/2/6.1.
6. The northernmost messuage in Worlingworth.
Tenement 9 (Ordemers)\textsuperscript{(1)}, as had Alice Honipot, on the south side of Fingle Street at its N.E. end. A notable feature of this pestilence was that two of the deceased were in clerical orders. Perhaps the most notable casualty was John Dousyng, the tenant who appears to have benefited most in terms of land acquired from the first pestilence.

Compared with 1349, the mortality rate in 1361 was not significant, fractionally over 10\% of capital pledges. But it should be pointed out that only in 5\textsuperscript{(2)} years throughout the 14th century was the mortality rate higher than in 1361, and that this occurred against the background of a shrinking population. By 1365, the number of capital pledges had fallen from 16 in 1348 to 13\textsuperscript{3}, a decline of 18 3/4\%. After 1349, however, there is no certainty that the frankpledge system and the tithings were being viewed or scrutinised to pre-plague standards.

The argument that it was the Ordinance of Labourers 1349, not the pestilence itself, which brought radical social and economic change during the later fourteenth century gains some support from the evidence at Worlingworth. Any idea that the fall in population caused by the first plague might be measured by the fall in the number of individuals amerced for breaking the assize of bread at Worlingworth founders on the simple fact that no-one was amerced for this offence at all between 1350 and 1359\textsuperscript{(3)} and only sporadically afterwards (see Table \textit{E}). One explanation of this phenomenon might be that with the death of Henry le Mellere early in the pestilence flour supplies were dislocated and baking became a 'self-sufficiency' activity rather than a commercial enterprise. It is more likely that government price controls rendered commercial bakery

\begin{itemize}
\item 1. S1/2/7.1.
\item 2. 1311, 1316, 1342, 1349, 1350.
\item 3. The annual average of individual bakers amerced 1340-9 had been 2.1.
\end{itemize}
unprofitable and the bakers became part of what would now be termed the 'Black Economy'.

The position regarding the brewers and gannokers of Worlingworth is most interesting. On average, 6.5 individuals had been amerced annually at Worlingworth for breaking the assize of ale in the decade 1340-9. During the decade 1350-9, this number fell to 1.9, a decline of 70%. Most of this decline may be attributed to the virtual disappearance of gannokers, retailers of ale: the brewing trade may have shed its fringe of part-timers and have become a more fixed full-time occupation. But a court entry of 1365 (1) revealed that the two brewers then active, Johannes Draper and Peter Hervy were refusing to sell ale from their houses although they had enough to sell within for a higher price. The same charge was levelled against the three brewers active in 1367 (2). Interference by central government affecting the flow and price of ale was, it might be surmised, the stuff of which insurrections are made. Scarcely less interesting is the fact that all the village brewers of the day were acting in combination. This raises the question as to which came first, "Conventicula" of labourers or of tradesmen (3).

The loss of most of that section of the Extent of c1355 which described the free tenements is particularly regretted in plotting the locations of the brewers and bakers of medieval Worlingworth. Whilst it may be concluded that outlying groups of houses were served by gannokers of ale and

1. SL/2/1.6. fol.9: "...Johannes Draper et Petrus Hervy recusaverunt vendere ex domum dum satis habuerunt ad vendere infra pro maiori lucro..."
2. SL/2/1.6. fol.11.
3. Redstone, L.J., Ipswich Through the Ages, East Anglian Magazine Ltd., 1948, p 101..."1362...presentments made within the Liberty of St. Etheldreda...Wilford Hundred (Wickham Market and area)...Robert le Goos had encouraged other labourers to stand out for a wage of 3d a day with food, because he himself would take no less..."
regreters of bread on a casual basis, for example Agneta Cach of Stanway Green in 1348, the exact locations of all the larger enterprises are difficult to ascertain. Nicholas Wylot, whose name appeared automatically amongst those amerced for brewing for well over a decade before the pestilence, was said by the extent of c1355 to have his residence on Tenementum 70 (Bolles) a few yards N.W. and over the road from the present-day White Swan Inn (described in the extent of 1611 as "De Nova Edificata). Margery widow of John le Mareschal, one of 5 widows who remarried in January 1350, married Nicholas le Smyth alias Marescal whose brewing as well as smithing career on Tenementum 71 (Marshalls - even nearer the White Swan) were a prominent feature of the 1350s. John Draper, a prominent brewer in the 1360s had his messuage, according to the extent of c1355, on Tenement 43 (John Arnold) just across Swan Lane from the White Swan. For at least six centuries, licenced premises have existed never more than a few yards distant from the present public house. Johanna Hervy, regularly amerced for brewing before the Black Death, was probably associated with Tenement 83 (Richard Hervy) near the church. It is not clear whether Fingle Street (1) had a regular brewer: it is unlikely that, with one of the ale-tasters usually deriving from that part of the village (e.g. John Wylde, Tenement 59) the residents lacked refreshment.

That John Dousyng was not alone among the surviving tenants who made rapid economic progress after the plague (in 1349 and 1350, he was amerced for brewing also) is clear. Edmund Cach, a survivor from the decimated Cach family of Stanway Green had 60 sheep in 1360 (2). The Cach family's old tenement at Stanway, "Oldestedes" was taken on by a progressive new tenant

1. Robert de Wynstone, a major brewer who survived the first pestilence, possibly alias Le Spenser, has not been placed.
2. S1/2/1.23. fol.42.
in 1360 (1) Richard Cook, who began to gather unwanted villein land in that part of the parish in the same way that John Dowsing had done near the Great Green. When, in 1369, Cook renewed his lease on "Oldestedes" it was for a cash rent only and no labour services: (2) before the pestilence, Tenementum Cach had owed the same works as the Tenementum John Jerald (3). Although not all tenants were successful in avoiding obligatory labour-works (4), the position of the lord was gradually being eroded. In 1358 (5), Tenementum "Pollyng", possibly an amalgamation of Tenements 1 & 2, was said to have no fewer than 24 (sub) tenants. The extraction of labour from the tenantry was becoming a legal as well as a practical difficulty: when old tenements were apportioned and sub-divided, problems arose as to which fragment actually owed, exempli gratia, the one boon-work demanded of the whole (6).

Compared with other more overtly militant areas of Suffolk such as the manors in Wilford Hundred belonging to Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk (7), the court-rolls of Worlingworth contain but little evidence of growing unrest in the years preceeding the Insurrection of 1381. In 1370 (8), there had been 22 refusals to perform transport-works and Edmund the

1. S1/2/1.23. fol 43.
2. S1/2/1.6. fol 14: "..Dominus concessit Ricardo le Cook tenementum vocatum Old steds 12 acre ware tenendum ad terminum 6 annorum, pro redditu per annum 14s..."
3. S1/2/6.1.
4. S1/2/1.23.fol.42. (1360):
"...Prest seisire in manus domini omnia terra et tenentia que Johannes del Freth (Tenementum 81 - the works were in any case trivial) tenet in villenagio pro eo quod se retraxit ex servicio domini sine licencia. Et preest permurine dictum Johannis quod sit ad proximam cunam ad recipiendum dictum tenementum...sub pena amittendi dictum tenementum in perpetuum. Postea fecit finem..."
5. S1/2/1.23. fol 38.
6. Tenementum 2 owed "1 hominem ad magnam precariam".
7. The court rolls are kept at Elveden Hall, Norfolk, c/o Lord Iveagh.
8. S1/2/1.6. fols.16 & 17.
bailiff of Worlingworth was amerced for not carrying out the decisions of the court. But it was in 1377 (1), the year of the Poll-Tax which may well have changed the course of English history, that Elias de Wirlingworth first withdrew from performing obligatory boon-works. A good indication that the tenantry were developing agriculturally independently from the demesne was the list of 24 persons taxed for pannage in 1361 (2) and many subsequent years: pigs were never an animal favoured by the demesne of Worlingworth and these court-entries illustrate, perhaps significantly, the differences between the tenant and demesne economies.

During the Insurrection of 1381, there were incidents at three places near to Worlingworth, at Gislingham (11 miles W.), Fressingfield (7 miles N.E.) involving the Barat family (See Chapter 13) and at Dennington (2 miles E.) William Ash described as a "Soutere" of Hoxne was later charged that he acted as the "Capitalis Congregator", "Sustentator" and "Manutentor" of the rebels in the Hundreds of Hoxne, Blithing and Waynford (3). The actual involvement of the population of Worlingworth in these incidents is not certain although it is important to note that the court at which the homage refused to elect a ploughman-famulus for the demesne was held on 5th June 1381 (4), only 10 days before Jacobus de Bedingfeld began the revolt in this part of Suffolk by confronting William Rous, chief constable of Hoxne Hundred at Rous' place (5) and securing for the rebels, under the threat of Rous' decapitation, the services of 10 archers maintained there (6).

1. S1/2/1.9, fol. 13v.Feb. 1397. "...De Elya de Wilryngworth quia compertum per evidenciam domini quod iniuste dicit precariam caruce et 1 precariam in autumpno et per 20 annos detinuit..."
2. S1/2/1.6. fol.2.
4. S1/2/1.7. fol. 11.
5. i.e. Dennington Place.
6. Powell, E. op. cit. p 130-1. This is one of the best references to a medieval peace-keeping force anywhere in Suffolk's archives.
According to an entry in the Coram Rege Rolls (1) not transcribed by E. Powell, Jacobus de Bedingfield was also charged with being a "Capitallis ductor cuiusdam comitive commune", underlining the depth of the insurgents' organisation. Jacobus de Bedingfield was also the joint-leader with William Alred of Monk Soham (2) of the attack on 16th June on the house of Edmund de Lakynghithe at Gislingham. This De Lakynghithe (3) was a justice who later took part in the trials of the insurgents: he may well have been related to John de Lakenheath, whose many posts included the "Custos Baroniae" for the Abbot of St. Edmunds, killed during the insurrection. In the Pressingfield incident the leader of the insurrection was John, son of Geoffrey Barat of Cratfield; the Barats of Cratfield were a family which prospered greatly at Bury and in the countryside after the insurrection (4) during the abbacy of William de Cratfield (1390-1415) (See Chapter 13).

Both Jacobus de Bedingfeld and William Rous were well known to the villagers of Worlingworth. The De Bedingfelds were themselves tenants of the abbot both in Worlingworth itself (5) and in the village from which they took their name, where they were associated with the property known as Fleming's Hall (6). Members of the de Bedingfeld family were accustomed to organising forays into the Stanhaugh at Worlingworth in search of sparrowhawks (7). William Wheymond of Worlingworth had been in dispute.

1. P.R.O. KB9/166/1.
2. Another of the abbot's villages.
3. Powell, E. op. cit. p 21. In 1395, Edmund Lakynheath was the abbot's Steward at Worlingworth (S1/2/1.9).
5. S1/2/1.23. fol. 42 (June 1360): "Juratores presentant quod Edmundus de Bedingfeld fecit vaustum in tenemento Thirtketeles" (74).
7. S1/2/1.23. fol. 28 (1352): "Dicunt quod Peter de Donwyco et alii famili domini Petri de Bedingfeld intrant boscum domini et in eodem fuerunt tempore quo sparveres domini asportati fuerunt ex dicto bosco."
with Jacobus de Bedingfeld in 1380 (1). The fourteenth-century Rouses of Dennington, probably a cadet branch of a much more ancient family who held land in the Stradbroke area from the early 12th century, were a particularly vigorous family of rising lawyers. One interpretation of the Dennington incident in 1381 is that it was nothing more than the settlement of a long-standing family feud: amongst the victims of William Rous' "Double-Dealings" and many other doubtful practices in a Miscellaneous Inquisition of 1361 (2) had been Peter de Bedingfeld and Richard Alred, no less. Whether or not the people of Worlingworth lent their support to any of these protagonists, four free tenants from the village were amongst those chosen for the subsequent trial of the insurgents to act as jurymen at the Hundred Court of Hoxne (3). In the event, only Elias de Wirlingworth and William Chyld associated with Tenement 23 (ANDREAS DE BROOK) in 1400 were sworn: Richard Cook and John Page, two important tenants in terms of lands held (4), were not apparently sworn in. After the insurrection itself was put down, two attempts were made in East Suffolk to revive it, later in 1381 and in 1383 (5). It is therefore of interest to note that at the court held in Worlingworth on St Edmunds Day (Nov. 20th) in 1383 (6), the messor, or reap-reeve, was amerced for keeping back the bags containing the court rolls so that the court steward could not hold the court properly:

many series of manor court rolls in Suffolk actually suffered deliberate losses of those documents dating before 1381/2. There was much more to this incident than is immediately obvious, however: the reap-reeve was

1. S1/2/1.7 fol.10. Wheymond held c1400 part of Tenement 13 (S1/2/7.1): "De Willielmo Wheymond pro transgressione facta Jacobo de Bedingfeld taxata per inquisitionem ad 40d..."
4. S1/2/7.1. passim.
5. Powell E. op. cit. p 21 and footnote.
6. S1/2/1.8 fol. 4: "4d de Johanne Farman messore quia retinuit penes se baggas cum rotulis curie per quam senescalbus minus potuit tenere curiam.."
John Farman, eventually killed by two neighbours on St. Michael's Day 1390
(1). Farman had been messor for several years before his death and had been collecting court amercements, *inter alia*, in an irregular, probably corrupt, fashion (2). His motives in keeping back the court rolls may have had nothing to do with the insurrection. The date of the killing on one of the major rent-collection days of the year may be highly significant. One of Farman's killers, John Swan, was excused a payment because of his inability ("Impotencia").

That the abbot attempted throughout the remainder of the fourteenth century to reimpose his authority on the tenantry is clear from the language of the court rolls (3):

"John Dousing who was challenged with being a native tenant of the lord has until the next court to prove his status and if he doesn't do so he will give himself back to the lord as his villein (two pledges) viz. William Culman and John Lewan, who undertook this under a penalty of £20..."

The abbot could claim some successes in this direction: (4)

"...John Geldegelt came into court and acknowledged that he was a native tenant which he had often previously denied and he now willingly admitted he was of servile status..."

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1. Sl/2/1.24, fol. 10v.
2. Sl/2/1.24, fol. 10:
   "...Item quod predictus Johannes Forman recepit allocacionem de 12d de amerciamento Johannis...allegando quod non potuit levare et compertum est quod bene potuit levasse..."
3. Sl/2/1.24, fol. 2v, Michaelmas 1387:
   "...Johannes Dousyng qui calumpnatus est ut nativus domini habet diem usque proximam curiam huc monstrando statum condicionis sue quod si non fecerit reddet se Domino ut villanos suos, viz. Willm. Culman et Johanne Lewan qui hoc manuceptunt sub pena £20..."
4. Sl/2/1.24, fol. 11:
   "...cognovit se esse nativus domini qui saepius ante hec tempora disclamavit et modo gratis reddidit se esse servilis condicionis et invenit plegios quod de cetero non disclamabit scilicet Johannem Cotteler et Nicholaum Alward qui hoc manuceptunt sub pena 100s et fecit fidelitatem servilem (sic)..."
Fugitive villeins were sought with at least equal determination as immediately after the Black Death. John Crudde, Tyllere, had gone to Colchester and Walter Crudde was in "Essex or London" (1). Others had gone to Tivetshall in Norfolk where the demesne often sent cattle to graze in the park (2).

But, despite the verbiage and repeated threats, Ricardus Fryth, challenged at the same time as John Dousyng (above) to prove his status, had not been vanquished in court by 1400, and Walter Swan's son John for whom pledges worth 40s had had to be found so that he could attend school at Bury (3) actually paid 6d per annum chevage (4) for his education to proceed.

The connection between the Insurrection of 1381 and the end of high demesne farming in Suffolk by c1400 is almost a common-place of the county's social and economic history. Exactly in keeping with most of the rest of the shire, the manor of Worlingworth was 'farmed' out in 1390-1 (5). The recipient of the lease was none other than one John Barat and the year none

1. Sl/2/1.24, fol. 4v.
2. Sl/2/1.24, fol. 10. Katerina Swan.
3. Sl/2/1.24, fol. 2 1387..."Walturus Swan nativus domini invenit securitatem quod Johannes filius euis non vacabit scolis nec artem exercebit et quod morabit infra dominium et serviet domino viz. Johannem Farman et Johannem Curteys qui hoc manuceperunt sub pena 40s..."
4. Sl/2/1.24, fol. 5, 1390.
5. Sl/2/9.47.
other than the first of William de Cratfield as Abbot of St Edmunds. Any idea that, with the end of direct high-demesne farming by the abbey itself at Worlingworth, the demesne or its tenants were entering a period of retrenchment and decline (See Table D) should be qualified at once. With the building, at no small expense, of what was probably Worlingworth's first manorial dovecote (1), the era began of the abbot as a "Rentier" lord. The "Farm of the Manor", which included all assized and other rents brought in £26 per annum (2). An unspecified fall in the demesne acreage is reflected in the smaller numbers of draught animals kept, although the numbers of livestock generally were so regular as to cast doubt on the authenticity of the accounting system. (See Table D). It is significant that there was no substantial decline in the number of demesne ewes kept.

Coals were stolen from Robert Whyte the baker in 1395 (3), the first clear documentary indication that this fuel was available for commercial purposes to the tenantry this far inland. In 1389, John Mallyng and John Phelip, native tenants, were amerced for prosecuting Hilary Stannard in the Hundred Court, from which native tenants had always been excluded by their servile condition (4). The two men were threatened by the court, using the time-honoured formula, with forfeiture of all lands and chattels, but these incidents encapsulate both, perhaps, the spirit and the rapidly changing social and economic conditions of the age.

1. S1/2/9.47. Building costs of the dovecote totalled 43s 6d.
2. S1/2/9.50, 1394-5.
3. S1/2/1.9, fol. 10: "...De Rogero Elyot quia compertum est per inquisicionem quod iniuste detinet Roberto Whyte 1 bussellum de colys ad damnum taxatum per inquisicionem". Archaeological excavation of tenements on "Le Smythel" might produce a much earlier date for imported coal.
4. S1/2/1.24, fol. 7, July 1389: "...Mis. 6d...Johannes Malyng et Johannes Felip, nativi tenentes domini extra curiam domini vexaverunt Illairitun Gerard in Hundredo prosequendo super eam. Ideo..prest seisire omnes terras nativas et omnia bona et catalla...(etc)..."
Substantial number of amercements for permitting houses to become ruinous litter the courts of the closing decades of the fourteenth century. Although the number of capital pledges was maintained at the 12 required for jury purposes, a substantial decline in the population is manifest. Obits (i.e., per annum) in the decade 1390-1399 were 43% of those in 1339-1348, before the first pestilence. The suggestion that the population at the end of the fourteenth century was rather less than half the size of that in 1348 is not contradicted by the fall in the numbers of brewers and bakers (1).

3. See Table E.
CHAPTER XVIII

THE STATE OF THE VILL IN 1400

Half the pieces of demesne arable named in the extent of 1250 (See Appendix D) are discernible on the map of 1605-69 (See Map A). This fact draws attention to an unusual feature of Worlingworth's development after the Insurrection of 1381. For although, as noted in Chapter 17, the demesne at Worlingworth was 'Farmed out' (to John Baret, a member of a family closely connected with the abbot), a very common occurrence in central and eastern Suffolk at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the lease was granted to a single individual and the demesne remained virtually intact until the Dissolution and well beyond.

A train of developments often traceable in the manorial account rolls of Suffolk manors of this period, for example the rolls of Bungay Priory (1), was that sooner or later substantial portions of demesne land ceased to be tilled by the demesne farm directly, but were leased to a number of tenants initially for terms of 10-20 years (2). When and where this practice occurred, a new panel began to appear in the income section of the account rolls, 'Firme terre nuper dominice'. This panel does not occur on the 15th century account rolls of Worlingworth. Leasing land formerly demesne to a number of tenants rather than to one individual also produced the effect of breaking up or at least substantially altering the conformation of the demesne farm. At Worlingworth, the extent of c.1400 recorded the breakaway of only 1¼ acres of demesne land. (3)

1. Elveden Hall (Iveagh Collection), Phillipps nos. 26475-6.
2. ibidem, no. 26475, item 5 (1403-4).
3. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/7.2 '...Nov. Redditus..Robertus Poley tenet 1 acram dimid de dominico domini iacentem in campo vocato le Suddonefeld....'

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One effect of this policy at Worlingworth was that the account rolls of the early 15th century were very brief indeed. For example, the account for 1414-15 (1) had in its receipts section only 6 panels compared with, for example, 17 in 1326-7 (2), when the policy of direct intensive exploitation of the demesne was still at its height. The flow of information about many aspects of manorial administration and village life at Worlingworth was therefore abruptly curtailed, whereas the 15th century rolls of manors such as Bungay Priory (above) were often among the most extensive in the manor's history. The documents from Worlingworth made it clear that the labour services owed by the tenants were, not surprisingly, now in the hands of the farmer of the manor (3) and detailed information on matters such as commutation were no longer recorded on the manorial account rolls.

As noted in Chapter 17, however, a fall in the flow of information is not necessarily indicative of decline in the economic vigour of the demesne farm itself: we have no idea of how much profit the farmer made for himself after the payment of rents to the abbot.

The 15th century account rolls also contain evidence of certain changes in the nature of the manor court. Whereas in the early 14th century the manor court baron may well have met on six or more occasions during the year, the manor court at Worlingworth in the 15th century usually met only

3. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.59..'Firma Manerii: Et de £30 de firma manerii cum redditibus assisis firmis terre herbagii et pasture ac operibus consuetudinibus similiter dismissis Willelmo Nicole hoc anno..'. This arrangement no doubt hastened the disappearance of some ancient manorial officers such as the reeve. Because of the loss of Worlingworth's first Town Book, no estimate can be made of the point when essentially parochial officers such as the constable first became important. The reap-reeve was the leading manorial officer in c.1400, to which position the homage elected a woman (Agneta Alfred) in 1411 (S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.10 fo. 18) for the first time apparently on the grounds that it was the turn of her tenement to perform the task.
two or three times annually and with an agenda much restricted in the types
of amercements and fines it could pursue. As a unit of social control,
the manor court was much less powerful than in the early 14th century,
although it was still an important influence particularly in its role as a
register of land transactions between tenants and the lord.

The decline in the power of the manor court may be attributed tentatively
to three main causes. Firstly, it is clear that when leasing the demesne,
a large section of business formerly conducted between the lord and his
tenants, including, for example, disputes over labour services, was removed
from the agenda. Secondly, as noted in the last chapter, there is
evidence that the conduct of court business was sometimes obstructed by the
tenants after the Insurrection of 1381.\(^1\) Thirdly, it is clear that the
fall in population after the pestilences was bringing radical change to the
social and economic fabric of the manor of which the leasing out of the
demesne (above) was only one manifestation.

Calculating the decline in population is not a simple matter. The number
of capital pledges remained generally stable at the twelve needed to form
the jury in the manor court. A better indication might be provided by
examining the number of tenant obits per annum (see Table E) recorded in
manor court. This type of evidence suggests that the population which
generated 1.6 deaths per annum in the decade 1390-99 was about 40% smaller
than the population in the period 1302-9 (2.7 deaths per annum) and about
70% smaller than the sample taken from the years 1339-48 before the first
pestilence (3.7 obits per annum). In view of the possible decline of the

\(^{1}\) S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.8 fol. 4...'4d. de Johanne Farman messore quia
retinuit penes se baggas cum rotulis curie per quam senescallus minus
potuit tenere curiam...' (1383).
manor court outlined above, statistics from this source are to be treated with caution. However it remains to be seen whether some other source can be shown to be more reliable.

A comparison between the three medieval extents of Worlingworth in c.1355 (1), c. 1400 (2) and 1466 (3) produces some interesting evidence. The total acreage of land belonging to the unfree groups of tenements Jerald, Allyd and Hervy which was in the lord's hands rose by 32% from 173 to 228 acres between c.1355 and 1400 and may have begun to fall by 1466 (4). However, in Chapter XI it was noted that as a possible result of demesne policy, certain tenements had been in the lord's hands from the early years of the fourteenth century, perhaps an average of 30 acres each year (5). Nevertheless, that over half the land belonging to the principal groups of customary tenements should have been in the lord's hands in 1400 (6) is a statistic worthy of note.

This statistic is put into its proper context by examining what percentage of the land belonging to free and to unfree 'Mollond' tenements was in the lord's hands at this same time. According to the extent of 1400 (7), there was no tenant for a total of only 1 acre and 3 roods of free land and for only 3 roods and 20 perches of land attached to the unfree "Mollond" tenements. It would clearly be unwise

1. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/6.1 and 6.6
2. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/7.2. Sl/2/7.1 is a copy.
3. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/7.3.
4. Ibidem: this extent is roughly compiled and poorly preserved. The minute Tenement 51, Petyesaker, had a tenant in 1466 but not in 1400, for example.
5. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/9.4, exempli gratia: this account roll recorded winter and summer works on 23½ acres lost because the tenements were in the lord's hands. (1326-7).
6. B.L. Harl. 230, fol. 150: the extent of 1302 recorded that the customary tenants held 381 acres in villeinage.
7. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/7.2.
to place too much reliance for population decline on this type of evidence, the percentage of land lacking or apparently lacking a tenant, when quite obviously the tenants' first priority was to eschew land to which weekly labour services were attached. Migration was preferred and it is interesting to note in this respect that one of the vills adjoining Worlingworth to the east, Brundish, was not even mentioned in the Domesday survey, consisted solely of free land (1) and was taxed at £5 3s. 0d. in the Subsidy of 1524 compared with Worlingworth's assessment of £5 6s. 6d., (2) a difference of only 3%. This suggests that Brundish had grown at a comparatively rapid rate during the high and later Middle Ages.

Whilst the extents recorded untenanted land, they offered no direct comment on the dereliction or otherwise of the vill's housing stock. The court rolls contain some evidence of dereliction and licenced demolition before and after the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, for example the devastation of Gernegan's Tenement (no. 63) (3) in 1363 and the demolition at Strutt's Tenement in 1411. (4) It is interesting to note in this respect which sites occupied before the pestilences still had houses on them at the time of the compilation of the map of 1605-6 (5) and which did not.

Exactly half the tenements in the Jerald, Allyd and Hervy groups had dwellings on or immediately adjacent to them on the map of 1605-6, broadly compatible with the percentage of their land untenanted according to the extents. But only 16 of the 28 free tenements which can be shown to have been built upon in the 14th century had houses in 1605-6 (57%) and 14 of

1. A point laboured by later topographers, for example, White, W., History, Gazetteer and Directory of Suffolk, 1844, David and Charles (reprint), 1970, p. 453.
3. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/1.6 fol. 5.
4. S.R.O. (IPS) Sl/2/1.10 fol. 21v.
5. See Map A.
the 22 'Mollond' unfree tenements (63%). In all, 45 of the 80 (56%) known medieval houses disappeared, although by 1605-6 new building mostly on freely held land had commenced. (1)

A strong geographical element may be detected in the pattern of dereliction of the housing stock. Of the 9 messuages (excluding cottages) at Stanway Green, free and unfree, only 2 survived to 1605-6, although a new house, Ivy House, was built on free land belonging to Tenement 21 formerly Basilia de Westwode. On the western fringes of the village also several houses were abandoned, most notably in the Oxfrith, where 4 out of 5 tenements were lost, and the northern edge of the green where 3 out of 4 buildings disappeared. Although there was no shortage of tenants for land favourably unburdened with labour services, it is plain that the population had contracted by between a third and a half since the middle of the 14th century and that this contraction was least evident amongst the tenements in the centre of the village near the Smithel and the brook crossing where derelictions of all classes of tenements were somewhat fewer. Of the 8 tenements clustered nearest to the brook crossing in the medieval period, 6 still contained houses in 1605-6 (2).

Discussions of dereliction in this period perhaps tend to divert attention from the emergence of new families and new tenant estates. The immediate forebears of the most successful 16th century families and builders of the finest Tudor houses in the parish, such as the Rous family, who became lords of the manor after the Dissolution and probably built the Red House, (3) were established in Worlingworth before the end of the 14th century.

1. See Map A: note, for example, the large houses on the road from Worlingworth Great Green to Athelington (Water Lane), 16th century assarts from the Horsehagh.
2. This sample was taken from houses within 1" radius of the brook crossing on the scale of Map F.
3. Map A clearly marked "Thomas Rowse tenet libere.."(etc), N. side of Shop Street, north of Le Smithel.
century. Similarly, the 16th century merchant with possible Great Yarmouth connections, (1) Thomas Manshep, profited greatly from the acquisitions of his ancestor John Manshep alias Markaunt, whom the extent of 1466 reveals as having been collecting together untenanted land free and unfree at Stanway Green (2) and whose country residence, Stanway Green farmhouse, still contains architectural evidence of late medieval and Tudor affluence in both its quality and its size.

It is unfortunate that the medieval documents contain comparatively little information about the agricultural practice of the tenantry at the close of the 14th century. Frequent references to pannage in the court rolls (3) and the evidence of the inventories of 1390 (see Chapter XII), demonstrating the importance of sheep to one tenant's household, suggests that mixed husbandry was still the normal use to which the tenants put their land with perhaps a greater emphasis on livestock farming than was the case in the early 14th century.

1. Manshep was a distinctly unusual surname. Henry Manship the Younger of Great Yarmouth b.1555 was the son of a merchant, was himself a merchant tailor and wrote the first history of the town in 1612. Thomas Manshep of Worlingworth, merchant, died in 1597 (N.N.R.O., Probate Inventory, ref. INV/15/69).
2. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/7.3. This extent lists c.57 acres gathered from Tenements 21, 22, 61 and 62, plus smaller pieces elsewhere belonging to Tenements 18 and 19.
3. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/1.9 fol. 7 (1395).
CHAPTER XIX
ADDENDUM

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT STRUTT'S TENEMENT, STANWAY GREEN,
WORLINGWORTH, 1983.

Two parallel slots for timbers (?) 4 metres (13 feet apart at inner lip) apart and at least 13 metres (45 feet plus) long have been plotted which may represent the ground plan of the earliest building. The pottery associated with this level is overwhelmingly of the grey/brown squared-rimmed 'local' ware assumed to be of 13th - 14th century date. A few scattered sherds of Romano-British, "Early Medieval" and "Thetford" ware of the type manufactured at Ipswich were found: the terminal date for the last two categories is currently c1175.

It is thought that at some point in the mid or late 13th century this building was replaced on the site by a clay-floored, flint-foundationed and timber-framed building. The pottery is of the same type. From within the clay floor, a triangular-sectioned, socketed, iron spearhead 12½ inches long was found, possibly buried deliberately. A barbed iron arrow:ead of the same 13th century date was found on top of a cobbled area outside this "second" building.

A smelting hearth was found overlying these 13th century occupation layers and clay-floor in the N.W. corner of the second building. Considerable quantities of slag, including, possibly, 'Tap' slag were found but no "hammer-scale" associated with smithing. Slag was also found at the east end of the site as were fragments of green-glazed "15th-century" pottery. Since 'local' ware was found with the slag in the N.W. corner also,
questions will inevitably be raised as to the real terminal date of 'local' ware ("Bungay Castle ware").

A few more sherds were found of a glazed jug with white-line decoration, possibly "Hollesley" ware. Several examples were found of 'local' ware pieces, usually from milk-pans, with a distinctive slanting finger-nail impression on the inside of the rim. If this is a peculiarity of a local potter, then John le Pottere taxed at 2s in the Subsidy Return under Earl Soham (4 miles south) is the most likely source, there being no documentary reference to pottery manufacture at Worlingworth itself.

The writer is greatly indebted to Mr G.I. Moss of Colchester Institute for the above information. It is hoped to publish a report in the Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology in due course.
MAP E

Distribution of Domesday Bee-hives.

- below average
- above average

where present
MAP G
WORLINGWORTH DEMESNE ARABLE
C. 1250

1. "BONA TERRA", 1250.

2. "ANNO PRESENTE", 1250.

3. OTHER DEMESNE ARABLE, 1250.

Scale 1: 10,000 approx.
Tenements at Stanway Green.
TABLE A

WORLINGWORTH AND NEIGHBOURING VILLS, 1085

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<th>Wood for Hogs (6)</th>
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<th>All Arable Acres (8)</th>
<th>Ditto % 1844 Acres</th>
<th>Glebe Vileins</th>
<th>Bordars</th>
<th>Serfs</th>
<th>Sokemen</th>
<th>Freemen</th>
<th>Hogs (9)</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Goats</th>
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(1) With Southolt.
(2) In Hartismere Hundred.
(3) With Athelington.
(4) Including D.B. returns for "Winburgh".
(5) With Brundish.
(6) Rackham O: Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape pub. Dent, 1976, p.60: "It is therefore unrealistic to expect an objective equation, however optimistic, between pigs and acres".
(7) The demesne carucates are added to freely-held acres at 120 acres per carucate. Glebe not included.
(8) Domesday acres expressed as a percentage of parish size, source: White's Suffolk 1844. This column is intended as a very rough guide as to which vills, woodland and meadow notwithstanding, had been most developed agriculturally by 1085 and which, by implication, had most waste-land remaining. The figures are remarkably consistent, showing that, on average, fractionally less than 1/3rd of the modern parish area was under cultivation in 1085.
(9) Named freemen, who may hold land in other vills, not included. A possible exception should be made at Tannington, where the two free-men are perhaps inferred to be local.

In compilation of the above data, V.C.H. Suffolk Vol. I was employed.
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### TABLE F

**MORTALITY (1) AMONGST DEMESNE LIVESTOCK (2) AT WORLINGWORTH 1277-1390**

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1. Excluding (where possible) deaths by accident or deliberate slaughter for the larder.
2. Insufficient numbers of pigs were kept by the demesne to justify inclusion in this Table. Deaths amongst poultry were usually attributed to foxes or to the demesne cats (S/2/9.4 (1326-7): "..Item in morina 111 caponom per fervorem murilegum...").
3. All age-groups of each species were counted.
4. Not included is a horse sent "usque Sanctum Edmund ad hospicium domini."

Note: It is singularly unfortunate that the account-roll for 1350-1 is not extant, if animal mortality is to be compared with human deaths and, for example, anthrax is to be considered an element in the first pestilence. Symptoms are seldom given. "Putredo" (sheep-rot) is mentioned occasionally, particularly in the decade before the Black Death.
APPENDIX A

A definitive list of the medieval tenements of Worlingworth based on the earliest complete survey of the manor (c. 1400)\(^1\) supplemented by information from the earliest extant Custumal (c. 1355)\(^2\).

**FREE TENANTS**

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<td>GERARD</td>
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<td>BOLE</td>
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<td>09</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>de NOVA AULA</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>ROGER</td>
<td>atte BROOKE</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>THURSTON</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>R.</td>
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<td>THURSTON</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>LUCAS</td>
<td>RANDOLF</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td>DOUSYNG</td>
</tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>G.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>(NYTHYNGALES PICTELL)</td>
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1. S.R.O. IPS. S1/2/7.2.
2. S.R.O. IPS. S1/2/6.1 (cover). S1/2/6.6 (cover).
BRYNENES

de WESTWODE

STANHAUGH

BROOK

HOTTE

GODARD

CHAPEL

le PARKER

STANNARD

HERDEMAN

(TENEMENT PRO ALLECIIS)

SOUTHOLT cum BEDYNFELD

de SOUTHOLT

GERARD

le FRYTH

le KING

de BEDYNFELD

ROLF

SMYTH

SLOO

CUSTOMARY TENANTS of 12 ACRES

JERALD

ALLYD

GODARD

BURGHARD

ARNOLD
JOHN  DOUSYNG
45        GOLD
46        PETER de BOKENHAM
47        GALFRIDUS FYSK
48        SYTARD
49 (PAYN quondam THURSTAN)
50 (BOKENHAM et HEWES)
51 (PETYTESAKER)
52        SMALE
53 (PAYN quondam DUKES)
54        JOHN CURDDE
55        MATILDA HART
56        JOHN FYSK
57        BRENNES
58        PETER SWON
59        JOHN WYLDE
60        OLYVA CACH
61        FAYR
62        AGNETA COK
63        GERNEGAN
64        PETER STURT
65        J. GODYNG
66        ADAM BENEYT
67        JOHN COLT
68        JOHN GODARD (atte Grene)
69        AUNGER
70        BCLLE
71  THOMAS    MARSHAL
72  WALTER    de BROOK
73  WILLIAM   EDWYNE
74  JOHN      THURKETTELL
75  JOHN      GOODYENE
76  HENRY     BARKERE
77  ROBERT    DOBIOT
78  WILLIAM   EMELET
79  JOHN      BURGHARD
80  JOHN      PHELIP
81  JOHN      de FRYTH

CUSTOMARY TENANTS - 6 ACRES

83  RICHARD   HERVY
84  HARALD
85  CONEWOLD
86  WILLIAM   HERT
87  ROBERT    AYLRED
88  CROWENEST
89  ROGER     DOUK
90  WILLIAM   SHEPHIRDE
APPENDIX B

Cartographical and Documentary Evidence in support of Maps C, D, F & H and the text of the thesis passim. Listing of tenements follows the order in Appendix A. For quick reference, use simultaneously with Maps F, D & A.

Principal sources used:

Original Map of Worlingworth c1605/6 (S.R.O. HD417/33).

A reduced copy of this map is provided as Map A (Frontispiece) to this thesis: direct references to specific tenements are marked with a small red dot.

Extent, c. 1355, incomplete (S.R.O. Sl/2/6.1 & 6.6, covers only).

Extent, c.1400, (S.R.O. Sl/2/7.2). Earliest complete extent.

Extent, 1410, (S.R.O. Sl/2/7.1).

Extent(s), 1466, much fragmented (S.R.O. Sl/2/7.3).

Extent, 1543/4, (S.R.O. Sl/2/74). First to abandon the format using medieval tenements. Compiled largely under 16th-century landholders.


Please note that, in most instances, only such evidence was used in the compilation of this Appendix as was necessary to confirm the locations of the tenements: this represents only a moderate percentage of all evidence available.
01: Tenementum quondam Roberti Muryel (FREE)
Location: S.E. corner of parish, on Eslyngstrete, south side.

1. Extent, 1611, folio 26:
"...Johannes Kinge tenet...1 messuagium liberum quondam Pooleys antea Murrellis cum diversis clausis adiacentibus...et iacet inter terram et messuagium Henrici King (W) et Hac Waye (E), et obuttat super regiam viam (N) et super metam puraleam devidentem Worlingworthe et Tannetone (S)."

2. Map A: marked "Johannes King".

02: Tenementum quondam Johannis Gerard (Free)
Location: S.E. corner of parish, on Eslyngstrete, south side.

1. Extent, 1410:
"Item idem Robertus Poley tenet 37 acras terre cum messuagio quondam Johannis Gerard (MARGINAL NOTE - "HENRY KING")."

2. Extent, 1611, folio 26:
"Henricus Kinge tenet magis (W) et iuxta (Tenementum 01 above) cum scitu domi inter terram predict! Johannis King (E) et terram Willelmi Watlynge (W)...et obuttat super regiam viam" (N).

3. Map A: marked "Henricus King tenet libere unum messuagium...(etc)...".

03: Tenementum quondam Petri Heyward (Free)
Possible location: Suddonestrete, west side.

1. Extent, 1410:
Note that this large and fragmented tenement had no messuage, but 6 cottages. On the bold assumption that the cottage with most land adjacent is the most likely to be the former messuage, the W. side of Suddonestrete seems most probable:
"...Walterus Forman 6 acras terre cum cotagio simul iacente uno capite abuttante super Suddonestrete versus (E)..."
But most land belonging to this Tenement lay on the opposite side of Suddonestrete.

2. Extent, 1466:
With reference to the same 6 acre piece there is the marginal note: "Reginald Reade".

3. Map A: marked "...Reginaldus Reade 6 acres...etc." Note, that the present owners of "Cushing", marked "Tenementum Wheymonds" on Map A (Mr & Mrs J. Weinstein) have walked the 6-acre piece and found appreciable quantities of medieval pottery.

04: Tenementum W. Cutbert (Free)
Location: S.E. corner of parish, S. side, "Eslyngstrete".

1. Extent, 1466:
"...1 acram, Johannes Mallyng tenet dictam acram nuper in manu Johannis Gerard iacentem iuxta terram Thome Watlinge (W) et altam viam (E)."
2. Extent, 1543/4, folio 26:
"...(Marginal note - MALLYNGS & POLLYNGS)...Willelmus Watlinge tenet magis (W)...regiam viam ex parte (N)..."

3. Map A: Note the dwelling in a small close between Henry King's messuage (02 - above) and William Watlyng's closes.

05: Tenementum quondam Goodryche (Free)
Location: Suddonestrete, (W) side.

06: Tenementum quondam Johannis Bole (Free)
Location: Eslyngstrete, (N) side, (W) end
1. Extent, 1466:
Johannes Hunte tenet de eodem tenemento 3 acras cum messuagio adiacente inter regiam viam (S)...uno capite quotante super tenementum Willemi Fedyon, Rectoris de Wirlingwyrth (E)."
2. Extent, 1410:
"...et Thomas Culman 3 acras. Et tenetur de domino per fidelitatem et servicium 4s 5d redditus per annum " (sic).
3. Map A: marked "3 acras cum messuagio, 4s 5d" with correct reference to Extent, 1466.

07: Tenementum Southyld (Free)
Possible location: Suddonestrete, (E) side.
1. No messuage in any of the medieval extents but, extent, 1466:
"...Johannes Hervy tenet de eodem tenemento 3 acras et iacent in Suddonstrete...et super Suddonstrete (W)"
2. Extent, 1543/4:
"...Idem Ricardus (Hervy) tenet 3 acras terre libere...parcell. tenementi Jaks... abutt. super communem viam vocatam Soudonstrete versus (W)..."

There is a possibility that the reference to "Tenementum Jaks" recalls a messuage abandoned by c. 1400. The name "Southyld" may also be topographical rather than personal, "South-hyld" for "Sud-don".

08: Tenementum Sax (Free)
Location: Fingle Street, (N) side.
1. Map A: marked "...John Smallidge tenet unum tenementum voc. Sax alias Vaux".

09: Tenementum Orderner (Free)
Location: Fingle Street, (S) side.
1. Map A: marked."Johannes Page tenet 5a. et 1r. quondam Reginaldi Reed voc. Ordemers Ed.4.6.fol.3..."
10: Tenementum quondam R. de Nova Aula (Free)
Location: on E-W highway, N. side, opposite Rectory.

1. Map A: clearly marked: "Turnor quondam Roberti Hancocke 4a. voc Neuhalle
H8 35 fol. 12..."

11: Tenementum quondam Atte Brooke (Free)
Location: corner of 'Shop' Street and Suddonestrete W. side.

1. Map A: clearly marked ".Mr Jermy tenet 12 acras voc Brook H8 35 fo.4.."
2. Survey 1543/4, folio 9 (sic)
"Liberum Tenementum Broks in tenura Ricardi Hervy. 12 acras terre libere inter...communem viam ducentem a Worlingworth church usque Worlingworthgrena ex parte (N)...et alius caput : qbutt. super regiam viam voc Soudonstrete usque (E).."

12: Tenementum quondam Roberti Thurston (Free) and
13: Tenementum quondam R. Wylyng(worth) et quondam Adam Thurston (Free)
Location S.E. corner of parish, on Eslyngstrete, (N) side).

1. Extent, 1410: Note that Elyas de Wylyngworth held 18 acres and 1 rood from both tenements suggesting that they were a subdivision of the same holding. One of the sub-tenants of Tenementum Roberti Thurston was Johannes Mallyng, and a sub-tenant of Tenementum Adam Thurston was John Beclys.
2. Map A: both clearly marked..."Willelmus Watlynge pro 17 acris quondam Johannis Mallyng..." (Now Chandos Farm) and "...Strutts voc. Beckells cont. insimul. 20a. H8 35 fol. 39..."

14. Tenementum quondam Lucas Randolf (Free, but all mollond).
Location: Great Green (S) side, but open to dispute. A parcel of Tenement Ellyots on Suddonestretre (W) side was called "Randolls" (See Map A).

Extant, 1466:
1."Tenementum quondam Lucas Randolf modo Johannis Heyward...continet 8½ aeras terre mol. Unde Robertus Heyward tenet 5a 1r adiacent...super... Johannis...in manu Roberti Goodyng inter terram Ricardi Clerk (E)...etc.."
2. Map A: marked "Johannes Heyward tenet 5a 1r Ed.4.6. fol.4. quondam Johannis Chapple modo voc. Chapples terre mollond...H8 35 fol. 8...
3. Survey 1543/4 (H8 35 fol. 8)...Tenementum Chapells modo Heywars (marginal note JOHN HEYWARD) ; Johannes Haywarde ad crucem tenet unum messuagium cum 5½ acris terre mollond : qbutt...: super communam de Wyrylyngwyrth (N)..

15. Tenementum quondam Petri Dousyng (Free, but all mollond).
Location: Fingle Street, (S) side.

1. Extent, 1466 "Tenementum quondam Petri Dousyng...quod quidem tenementum Johannes Coupere modo tenet unde 1½ acre cum messuagio
2. Map A: marked "...1 acr. et di. quondam Johi. Coupere Ed.4.6. fo.4..."

16. Tenementum quondam Galfridi Dousyng (Free)
Location: Great Green, (E) side.

1. Extent, 1466: Note that this extent entitles this tenementum, like No. 15, "Petri Dousyng".
"2s lid" Johannes Heyward tenet 18 acras de eodem tenemento adiac. et abuttant super Wylyngwyrhgrene (W) iacentes iuxta terram Johannis Dousyng (S) et terram Willelmi Broun (N)...

2. Map A: Marked.."Thomas Dunston quondam Johannis Dousyng Ed.4.6. libere fol.7...pro 18 acris terre libere, 2s lid."

17. Nythyngales Pictell (Free, but mollond).
Location: Great Green, (W) side.

1. Map A: marked..."q.R. Leny voc. Nightingales Pightle † a. 30 pert. terre mollond Ed.4.6. fol.4..."

18. Tenementum quondam Orfords (Free)
Location: Fingle Street, (N) side.

1. Map A, marked "...Mr William Godbold quondam Christian Doget tenementum Orforths. Mr Willm Godbold...

19. Tenementum quondam Johannis Honipott (Free)
Location: (N) tip of parish, on Horham Road, (W) side.

1. Extent, 1466,..."continet 1 messuagium 24 acras terre unde Cristian Doket tenet unum messuagium cum 20 acris terre..."

2. Extent, 1611,..."Idem (Willelmus Godbolt) tenet ad finem (N), terram liberam vocatam Doggetts et iacet inter viam predictam (Horham Rd) (E) et abuttat super metam purreleam devidentem Worlingworth et Horham (N) et continet per estimacionem 20 acras..."

3. Map A: boldly marked "...Mr William Godbolt." Note that the present Honeypots Farm and the fine Tudor building which preceded it, of which a good drawing survives from 1686 (S.R.O. IPS. HA12/D4/17) are not situated on the soil of this tenement.

20. Tenementum quondam Beynenes (Free)
Location: Horham Road, (E) side. Lodge Farm.

1. Extent, 1611:"Johannes Page tenet ibidem 3 acras et iacent ex (N) unius acre Roberti Beamond predicti voc. Beymans ut patet Edi.4.6. fol.4., Marie 1; quondam Boreths Eliz. 31. postea Henricus Page pro redditu 2s ld..."

2. Map A: note that these pieces are marked on what appears to be an area of common but is in fact a series of selions through which the Horham
Road passed. This piece of landscape is still recognizable.

3. Extent, 1611, fo. 10, important note in later hand: "...H.4.6., 6 acre cum messuagio voc Beyneys quondam Johannis Page..." The entries concerning this tenement illustrate vividly that although Worlingworth's archive is very rich, several extents have been lost. On rumours that the largely unmodernised Lodge Farm was about to be sold, the farmhouse and fields were extensively photographed in June 1983 by the Parish Local History Recorder.

21. Tenementum quondam Basilie de Westwode (Free)
Location: Stanway Green, (S) side.

1. Map A: marked " q. Basilia Westwode Barkers quondam Thomas Manshep antea 10½ acr. et 30 pert. Ed.4.6. fol.5. Et redd...."

22. Tenementum quondam R. de Stanhaugh (Free)
Location: Stanway Green, (S) side.

1. Extent, 1466:..."Tenementum quondam R. de Stanhaugh continet 50 acras terre cum messuagio unde Johannes Hervy (marginal note - "GRYNDLYNG") tenet unum messuagium cum 42½ acras terre..."

2. Map A: clearly marked "Grenlinge. 42acre Ed.4.6. fol.5".

23. Tenementum quondam Andre Brook (Free)
Location: Stanway Green, (N) side.


24. Tenementum quondam W. Hotte (Free)
Location: Paddock Lane, (W) side.

1. Extent, 1466, "..Reginaldus Rous tenet unum messuagium 5 acras terre nuper Henrici Tombelond pro fidelitate et serviciis 6d redd. per annum".

2. Map A: marked .."Ed.4.6.fol.5...5 acr. modo Henr. Tumbelond redd. 6d. Ed.4.6. fo.5. MR. ROWS HOTTS CHAPPELS & PARKERS".

25. Tenementum quondam Johannis Godard (Free)
Location: Wood Way (W. of Paddock Lane), (E) side.

1. Extent, 1466:..."cont. 5 acras terre in le Frythfeld in uno clauso et abuttant super Woodway (W).." (Marginal notes - "Modo Beymond. Modo voc. Prestes Close...")

2. Map A: clearly marked."Robertus Beaumond 5 acr. voc. Prestes Close...(etc)..

26. Tenementum quondam Semani Chapel (Free)
Location: Paddock Lane, (W) side.

1. Map A: clearly marked .."MR ROWS HOTTS CHAPPELS ET PARKERS".
2. Extent 1466: "..terram Reginaldi Rous vocat. Hotts versus (S)..

27: Tenementum quondam Stephani Parker (Free)
Location: Paddock Lane, (W) side.

1. Map A: clearly marked..."Mr Rous Hotts Chappells et Parkers" and "Reginaldus Rowlse Ed.4.6. fol.5&. reddf15d".

2. Extent 1466:"Tenementum Stephani le Parker (Marginal note - "MODO ROWS", continet 5½ acras terre libere quod quidem tenementum Reginaldus Rous tenet quondam Henricus Tømbelond. Et redd. p.a. 15½d"

28: Tenementum quondam R. Stannard (Free)
Location: Great Green (E) side.


2. Extent, 1466:"Tenementum quondam R. Stannard..continet 13½ acras terre et prati cum messuagio...et abuttant super Wyrlingwythgrene W. Et redd. p.a. 3s"

29: Tenementum quondam W. Herdeman (Free)
Location: Great Green, (N) side.

1. Map A: clearly marked "...Johannes Mayhew 10½ acres quondam tenementum Willelmi Herdman antea Elyas de Wyrlingworth..."

30: Tenementum pro Alleciis (Free)
Location: Brook Lane, (S) side.

1. Extent 1466,"Tenementum pro Alleciis (marginal note - "Rows") continet 12½ acras unde tenet 5 acras terre nuper Rogeri Elyot." (See Map A).

2. Map A: Clearly marked in a close S. of Brook Lane "...2 acr. voc Herringlond H8 35 fol.6 libere modo Mr Peter Tylor..."

Note that this tenement was probably created only in the late 13th century and may never have had a messuage.

Tenements 31 - 38 were in Southolt and Bedingfield and were not covered by the later Extents.

39: Tenementum quondam Johannis Jerald (Customary) (12 Acr. Tenure)
Location: Great Green, (S) side.

1. Map A: clearly marked "...Mr Aldrich quondam Corbold voc. tenementum Jeraldes, 5 acr. mollond. Edi. iv 6 fol. 1..."

40: Tenementum quondam Roberti Allyd (Customary) (Half John Jerald's obligations)
Location: Suddonestrete, (E) side

1. Extent, 1466: "...Roger Fayrman (marginal note -"READE") tenet de eodem tenemento 6 acras terre custumarie cum messuagio iacentes in Suddonestrete... (W)...etc.."
2. Map A: clearly marked "...Roger Firman modo Regin. Redd. 6a terre cust. cum messuagio Ed. 4. 6 fol. 1...(etc)..."

41: Tenementum quondam Sampson Goddard (Customary) ("Jerald" group).
Location: Swan Road, E. side.

1. Map A: clearly marked "...vii acr. cum messuag. quondam Sampson Goddard. Edi. 4. 6. fol.5."

42: Tenementum quondam Burghard(Customary) ("Allyd" group).
Location: Swan Road, E. side.

1. Extent, 1466: "...(Marginal note - "Jermy"), continet 6a 3r terre custumarie in manu domini. Et debit reddere p.a. 2 3/4d. Et facit in omnibus serviciis sicut predictus Robertus Allyd..."

Note: that the previous tenement, 41, Sampson Goddard, was also in the occupation of "JERMY" in the 16th - 17th centuries.

2. Note: Mr Jermy's pieces, inc. the messuage quondam Samson Goddards E. of Suddonstrete. According to the marginal notes of the Extent, 1466, "Mr Jermy" held parts of Tenementum Roberti Allyd (No.40) which also abutted onto Suddonstrete, E. side.

3. Extent, 1611 fol. 25v: "...Idem Willelmus (Jarmyn generosus) tenet 1 tenementum vocatum Clavers prout iacet in duabus pecis unde 1 pecia continet 1¼ a. native et abuttat super Suddonstrete W. et super terras liberas parcell. Tenem, Clavers versus E. H8 35 fol.2. 7 pecia".

Note: that Sampson Godard and his father held free as well as customary land. In this part of the Extent, the surveyor was progressing southwards down Suddonstrete, E. side.

"Idem tenet magis australis et iuxta 2a terre libre et ab. super Suddon Strete - W. H.8.35 fo.2: 3rd pecia.."

"Idem tenet 1 messuagio cum scita parcell. tenementi Clavers et abuttat super Suddon Strete predict. W., H8 35 fo. 2..

4. Map A: Note the empty field S. of Sampson Goddards and then the small piece with building S. of that.

43: Tenementum quondam Johannis Arnold (Customary) ("Jerald" group) AND, n.b., † 'Jerald' group).
Location: Junction of E.-W. highway, S. side, and Swan Road, E. side.

1. Extent, 1410:...'in quodam pictello vocato Cavelispittel.'
(Marginal note - 'Modo Turnor'....)

2. Map A: clearly marked 'Turnor quondam Hancock cont. 6 acras voc. Gavels...'.
Note: that this tenement of 32 1/4 acres extended eastwards to
include the closes marked on Map A
'...Dominus 14a voc Clarks in nativa tenura (sic) quondam Franciscus Jermy..' The continuity of the S. field boundary supports this. It is argued that this tenement consisted of a 12-acre tenement like John Jerald which annexed a 6-acre holding (numbered 43b on maps C and F).

This was the second largest unfree tenement and was probably the single tenement of "18-acre tenure" mentioned in certain account rolls, for example S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.19 (1347-8).

44: Tenementum quondam Johannis Dousyng (Customary) ('Allyd' group).
Location: Great Green, E. side. (Paradise Farm).
1. Map A: clearly marked 'Ed. 4 6 folio (sic) tenementum quondam Johannis Dousyng quondam Rogeri Talbot H6 36 postea Roberti Broun!'
Note: that at the E. end of this elongated tenement it abuts on the glebe.

2. Extent: 1466:...'unde Robertus Broun tenet 9½ acras cum messuagio...iacentes...uno capite super terram Rectoris Ecclesie (E) et alio capite abut. super Wyrlyngworthgrene versus (W)'.

45: Tenementum Goldes (Customary) ('Allyd" Group)
Location: Great Green, S. side.
1. Map A: clearly marked '...Tenementum Golds, quondam Johannis Heywarde...

46: Tenementum quondam P. Bokenham (Customary) ('Jerald" Group)
Location: Fingle Street, N. side.
1. Map A: "Johannes Page tenet native tenementum Bokenhams..3½a. quondam Polegh..."
Note: that the above piece was connected to the edge of Fingle Street by a drift, probably the "Bokenham's Lane" of Extent 1466.

47: Tenementum quondam G. Fysk (Customary) ('Jerald" group).
Location: Fingle Street, S. side.
1. Map A: clearly marked "..Crownes, Harts, Sittars et Fysks.."
Note: all above four tenements had long amalgamated (John Mayhew) strips running S.E. behind their frontages onto Fingle Street. Also, clearly marked."Ten. Crowenest. Tent. Fisks 13½ acres Ed. 4.6. fol.2..."


48: Tenementum q Sytard (Customary) ('Jerald" group)
Location: Fingle Street, S. side.
1. Map A: "..Crownes, Harts, Sittars et Fysks.."
Note that the extent of 1611 recorded of these 4 tenements:
"..Et alius caput abuttaf. super communam vocatam Worlyngworthgrene versus W."
1. Map A: faintly marked "...Ten...12 acr. tenure Payn Thurston Ed. 4.6. fol...etc...

50: Tenementum Bokenham et Hewes (Customary) ("Jerald" group)
Location: Junction of Fingle Street, N. side, and Great Green.
1. Map A: marked "...Bokenham et Hewes H4 12".

51: Petytesaker (Customary)
Location: between Great Green, S. side, and Bedfield road.
1. Map A: "...Pettits acre Ed.4.6. fol. 5..."

52: Tenementum Smales (Customary)
Location: Fingle Street, N. side.
1. Map A: clearly marked..."unum tenementum voc. Smalles..."

53: Tenementum Payn quondam Dukes ("Jerald" group)
Location: Fingle Street, S. side.
1. Extent, 1611 (fol. 14v): "...Johannis Garner tenet magis (S) et iuxta tenementum voc. Paines et iacet...et tenementum voc Crudde ext. (N)...et assutat super Fenkelstree versus (W)..."
   Also, from previous entry in extent "...Ducks alias Paines..."
3. Tithe Map: "Paines Plough..."

54: Tenementum quondam Johannis Crudde (Customary) ("Jerald" group)
Location: Fingle Street, S. side.
1. Map A: clearly marked "...John Page t. tenementum Crudde..(etc)..

55: Tenementum quondam Matilda Hart (Customary) ("Jerald" group)
Location: Fingle Street, S. side.
1. Map A: "...Crownes, Harts, Sittarrs et Fisks..."
2. Court-rolls, Sl/2/1.1., C.C.R. 033-13,: "...Matilda Hert quia non inhabitivat tenenta.qud tenet de villenagio domini sed permittit ea devastari..."
3. Account-rolls, e.g. Sl/2/9.4 (1326-1327): "...Cariagium (works account)...Item in decasu super 5½ acres terre Fysk (sic) que sunt parcell. 12 acre tenure in manu domini 3½ cariagia et 2 partes de quarta parte unius cariagii. Item super 12 acres terre Matilde Hert pro eodem 8 cariagia..."
   Note: the various connections between this tenementum and 47, G. Fysk.

56: Tenementum quondam Johannis Fysk (Customary) ("Jerald" group)
Location: Fingle Street, S. side.
1. Extent, 1466, contemporary index:

"Wm. Chettlebergh fol.3...5a. Fisks" "...John Chetilbergh fol.2..13a 2R. 30p. Fysks.."

2. Extent, 1466: "Willelmus Chetylbere tenet 5a. 1r. terre de eodem tenemento nuper Ade Clerk iac. in Fenkelstrete inter terram Gylgate (N) et terram Ricardi Clerk (S) abutt. super Fenkelstrete versus (W)." Note: this is the largest piece of the tenement with access to a public road.

3. Map A: marked "...Johannes Page tenet 1 messuagium, 5 acras terre 3...H.35 fol.22..tent Coldhams..."

57. Tenementum Brennes (Customary) ("Jerald" group)
Location: Fingle Street, N. side.
1. Map A: marked "...Robert Beymond 6 acras parcel. tenementi Brenns.."

58. Tenementum Petri Swon (Customary) (Mollond)
Location: Fingle Street, S. side.
1. Extent, 1466: "...Tenementum Petri Swon..unde 1½ acras cum messuagio (marginal note - "Johannes Coupere modo tenet...") ab. super Fenkelstrete (N)..." Important marginal note "Wm. Godbold"
2. Map A: marked "Mr Godbold ..voc. Coupere's"

59: Tenementum quondam Johannis Wylde (Customary) ("Jerald" group)
Location: junction of Fingle Street, N. side, and Horham Road.
1. Extent, 1543/4: "...Tenementum Wyldes quondam Dychers alias Hayward modo Anthonius Rous dominus huius manerii. Item idem Anthonius tenet unum tenementum quod nuper perquisivit de Johanne Hayward alias Decher cum 23 acris terre native prout iacent insimul inter terram liberam Thome Dokett (W)...Et regalem viam ducentem a Worlyngworthe usque Horham (E) uno capite abutante super terram dicte Thome Dokett (N) Et aliud caput abutat super regalem viam voc. Fenkelstreet versus (S).

This was the largest unfree tenement and was probably the single tenement of "24-acre" tenure mentioned in certain account-rolls (e.g. S.R.O. (IPS) S1/2/9.19, 1347-8). The extent of c.1355 clearly recorded that it consisted of 12 ware acres, however, and owed a full set of services 'Like John Jerald', but that its other 12 acres were not of the same class for they owed no summer nor winter works, no averages nor certain plough or transport works.

60: Tenementum quondam Olive Cach (Customary) ("Jerald" group)
Location: Stanway Green, W. side.
1. Map A: marked "...Tenementum Olsteds devastatum" and "Grinling 24 a. quondam tenementi Cach voc. Oldsteads Ed.4.6. fol.4..."

61: Tenementum Fayr (Customary) ("Jerald" group)
Location: Stanway Green, W. side.
1. Map A: "...Tenementum Faires...Ed.4.6. fol.4..."

62: Tenementum quondam Agnete Cok (Customary Mollond)
Location: Stanway Green, N.W. exit.
1. Extent 1466: "...Tenementum quondam Flawmers continet 7a 2½ r., cum messuagio de mollond unde Johannes Manshep tenet 6½ acras nuper
Johannis Flawemere iac. in crofto voc. Cockyscroft..."

2. Map A: "...Tenementum Flawmers 6} acras voc Cockescrofte Ed.4.6. fol.4...

63: Tenementum Gernegan (Customary Mollond)
Location: Stanway Green, N. side.
1. Map A: "...Edmundus Page...voc. Gerninghams Ed.4.6. fol.5...

64: Tenementum quondam Petri Sturt (Customary Mollond)
Location: Stanway Green, N. side.
1. Map A: "...Idem Edmundus 7} acras quondam Nicholai Cooke nat. Ed.4.6. fol.5 voc. Struttes..."

65: Tenementum quondam Godyng (Customary Mollond)
Location: Great Green, S. side.
1. Map A: "...Tenementum Godding...Nichole Heyward..."

66: Tenementum quond Ade Beneyt (Customary Mollond)
Location: Shop Street, S. side.
1. Extent, 1466: "...(Marginal note - "LENNY")...Walterus Ky...tenet 1a 30p. terre de mollond nuper Willelmi Chetylbere inter terram Henrici Rous nuper Rogeri Elyot S. et altam viam ex N. uno capite super tenementum Roberti Heyward W. et super altam viam E..."
2. Map A: "...Ed.4.6. fol.5. 1 acr. et 30 pert. Robertus Leny 1 gallin."

67: Tenementum quondam Colts (cum le Letecote) (Customary Mollond)
Location: Between Great Green, S. side, and Bedfield Road.
1. Extent, 1466: "...(Marginal note - "ALDRICH")...Tenementum quondam Colt continet 4a 1r. terre et pastore unde Ricardus Corbald tenet 3A 3R. de mollond iac. in clauso vocato Letecoteclose..."
2. Map A: "...Mr Aldredge tenet 3a 3r voc Litlecot Close Ed.4.6. fol.5 q. Ric. Corbald et 5 acr. terre tent. Colts..

68: Tenementum quondam J. Godard atte Grene (Customary mollond)
Location: Great Green, S. side.
1. Extent, 1466: "...(Marginal note - "WYDOW ELLYS") continet 6 acras..et 1 messuagium de mollond. Ricardus Clerk tenet inde unum messuagium et 6 acras iacentes apud crucem apud Wyrlingwythgrene adiacentes inter terram Roberti Heyward W. dabit. super Wyrlingwythgrene N..."
2. Map A: "...Vidua Ellys tenet 6 acras terr. tent. Goddard Edi.4. fol.5..." and "...vid. Ellys 2a H8 35 fol.32..."

69: Tenementum (Augers) (Customary Mollond)
Location: Great Green, E. side.
1. Map A: "...Wi. March tenet tenementum Augers quondam Johannis Heyward...Ed.4.6.fol.6...

70: Tenementum quondam Bolls (Customary Mollond)
Location: Shop Street, E. side.

1. Extent, 1466: "(Marginal note..."Henry Page") cont. 7 acras cum messuagio unde...tenet 3½ acr. terre nuper Johannis Peverell ("modo Henry Page") quondam Nicholai Whylot et iac...Guido Haylle tenet 3r. cum messuagio..."

2. Map A: "...Henr. Page voc Peverells H...35 fol. 9...

71: Tenementum quondam T. Marshal (Customary Mollond)
Location: Shop Street, E. side.

1. Extent, 1466: "...Hayll tenet dictum tenementum...3R. terr.et pasture mollond adiac. in uno clauso voc. Marchalystenment...voct. le Parrock (S) uno capite ab. super viam communem ducentem a Worlyngwyrth Cherche...Worlaagreine (N). Et reddit. p.a. 5½d...1 gallin: 12 ova...4 averagia. Item facit...unum securum, unum tripodem et 1 beche et habebit de domino..."

2. Extent, 1410: "(Marginal note - "modo Hayll") continet 1 messuagium 19a. 3r. terre et pasture mollond quod quidem tenementum Willelmus Kydel modo tenet. Et reddit per annum 5½d...1 gall...12 ova...(etc)"

3. Map A: "...Vidua Hayll tenet 19a..3r. et redd. p.a...."

72: Tenementum quondam W. Brook (Customary Mollond)
Location: Shop Street, S. side.

1. Extent, 1466: "...(Marginal note - "MODO ROWS")...Tenementum quondam Willelmi Brook continet 7 acras cum messuagio de mollond quod quidem tenementum Rous modo tenet nuper Rogeri Elyot et iac (No abuttals given)...Et redd. p.a. 14d. 1 gallin. 12 ova...(etc)...

2. Map A: "...Mr Thom. Rows voc. Ellyots cont. 4 acr. Ed.4.6. fol.6. et fol. 9..."
Note: that Brook Lane qutters this property.

3. Extent, 1543/4, fol.4:...."Liberum Tenementum Broks...Memorandum. The Lorde hathe one pece of copyholde lietthe amonge these tent. of Broks the wiche I cannot ffynde by no Evydens..supposeth that pece to contyn 2 or 3 acras..."

73: Tenementum quondam W. Edwyne (Customary Mollond)
Location: Great Green, N. side.

1. Extent, 1410: "...(Marginal note - "MAYHEWE") continet 6½ acras terre mol. cum messuagio quod quidem Willelmus Ground modo tenet..(etc)...

2. Map A: "...Johannes Mayheu, parcell. tenementi Groundes..." and (N.W.)..." Johannes Mayhew 10½ acras voc Edwynfeld..."
74: Tenementum Thurkettell (Customary Mollond)
Location: Great Green, N. side.
1. Court-Roll S1/2/1.23 (1360): "...Iuratores presentant quod Edmundus de Bedingfeld fecit vastum in tenemento Thurketeles de 1 domo ruinosa..."
2. Extent, 1410: "..Tenementum Thurkettell continet 10 acras terre mol. cum messuagio unde Willelmus Ground tenet 9 acras terre cum messuagio...et redd. p.a. 21d., 1 gall, 8 ova..."
Note: Willelmus Ground also held no. 73, Ten. W. Edwyne.
3. Extent, 1466, original index: "..Thurkettls 10 acras quondam Willelmi Grounds, Elizeus Mayhew..."
5. Map A: "Johannes Mayhew parcell. tenementi Grounds cont. et redd cum aliis terris 3s 5d 2 gallin. et 11 ova...(etc)..."
Note: without the phrase "cum aliis terris" this evidence fails, for this rent is not the same formula as in, exempli gratia, 1410. It may be argued that the early dereliction of this property caused a re-organisation of rents.

75: Tenementum quondam Goodthene (Customary mollond)
Location: Great Green, S. side.
1. Map A: "...Mr Aldriche...6 acr. iac. in clauso voc. Goodyenes Ed.4.6. fol.7"

76: Tenementum quondam H. Barkere (Customary Mollond)
Location: Junction of Great Green, N. side, and lane to Athelington, W. side.
1. Map A: "...Villata tenet 8 acras 1 rodam terre mollond quondam Henrici Barkere"

77: Tenementum Dobiot (Customary Mollond)
Location: Great Green, W. exit.
1. Map A: "Tenementum Dobyats cont. 10 acr. Ed.4.6. fol.7..."

78: Tenementum Roberti Porcher (Customary Mollond)
Location: Fingle Street, N. side.
1. Map A: "Dionisea Garner tenet 6 acras cum messuagio tenementi Procheryes..."

79: Tenementum quondam W. Emelet (Customary Mollond)
Location: Great Green, S. side.
1. Extent, 1466: "...(Marginal Note - "ALDRICH")...Ricardus Corbald tenet tenementum quondam Willm. Emelet et continet 2...et iacent...
Note: the other tenements held wholly or in part by Richard Corbald in 1466 and later by "Mr Aldrich" were:
- (A) 39, John Gerald
- (B) 45, Golds
- (C) 51, Petyesaker
- (D) 67, Colts
All lying between the S. edge of the Great Green and the Bedfield Road.

2. Extent, 1355: "...continet 2a. de mollond cum messuagio...et red.p.a. 41d. 1 gallin., 1 auxiliam ad pratum...(etc)...

3. Extent, 1543/4 fol.29: "..Idem (Ewen Goffe - but Note: - "ALDRICH Gent") tenet unam peciam cont. 2 acr. et di. (sic) et iac.inter terram dicti Johannis Heyward (E), et terram Rogeri Kent de Horham (W) (Eye Town Lands) Et unum caput abuttat super communam de Worlyngworth (N). Et aliud caput abuttat super terram vocatam Gogers (S)..."
(Marginal note - "Wether theis too acr. be holden fre or by copy of Court Roll I cannot fynde by ye Evidences").

Note: Fieldwalking appears to confirm that Tenement Goodyenes may have had a separate croft in its N.W. corner certainly not marked on the Map of 1605/6. It is also possible that the Eye Town Lands did not occupy all the frontage onto the Green allotted to them by the same Map.

80: Tenementum quondam Johannis Burghard (Customary Mollond)
Location: Shop Street, S. side.

1. Extent, 1466, fol.8. "... Tenementum quondam Johannis Burghard (Marginal note - Johannes Sewale") cont. 9 a. jr. unde dictum messuagium cum 6 acris terre iacent inter terram domini abbatis (E) et tenementum vocatum Hertys tenement (W), uno capite abutt. super terram Ricardi H....(N)...

2. Map A: "Joseph Sewell"..."Burrhards quondam Belfars...Ed.4.6. fol.8..

81: Tenementum quondam J. Phillipp (Customary)
Location: Great Green, E. side.

1. Map A: "..Nicholas Browne 6½ acras quondam tenementi Phillippes cum messuagio Ed.4.6. fol.8..."

82: Tenementum quondam J. Fryth (Customary Mollond)
Location: Paddock Lane, W. side.

1. Extent, 1611: "...Vidua Ellys tenet unum messuagium voc. Fryths et continet 9½ acras...et abuttat super Woodwey (W) et super Parrok Lane (E)

2. Map A: "...vidua Ellys quondam Ricardi Clarke 9½ acras Edi.4.6. fol.8" and "...clausum voc. Oxfrith".

83: Tenementum quondam Ricardi Hervy (Customary) (6-acre tenure)
Location: E-W Highway, S. side, E. exit of parish (Oak Farm).

1. Extent, 1410: "...Tenementum quondam Ricardi Hervy continet 8a. 3w. terre pasture cum messuagio quod quidem tenementum Robertus Hervy modo tenet..."

2. Extent, 1543/4: "Tenementum nativum quondam Roberti Hervy...Idem Ricardus Hervy tenet tenementum nativum cum 8 acris terre native prout iacet inter terram Rogeri Alred (S), et super viridem viam vocatum Churchgrene (W), et unum caput abuttat super regiam viam ducentem a Tannetone Grene (E) et aliud caput abuttat super viam ducentem ad ecclesiam de Tannetone (W)".

84: Tenementum Harald (Customary) ("Hervy" group)
Probable Location: Shop Street, E. side.

1. Note: that the pieces belonging to this tenement in "Le Kerfeld" are well documented and marked on Map A but must be distinguished from the piece containing the messuage.

2. Extent, c1355 (N.B. No marginal notes): "...Walterus Burghard tenet 5a 3 R. terre custum. cum messuagio." Walter Burghard also held 3 roods from Tenement Conewold (85) and 1a from Tenement Bolls (70).

3. Extent, 1410 (N.B. No marginal notes): "...unde Thomas Culman tenet 3a. 3w. terre custum cum messuagio nuper in manu Walteri Burghard." Thomas Culman also held 3 roods and ½ a messuage from tenement Conewold, formerly Walter Burghard. John Peverel and Roger Elyot held 6½ acres with a messuage of tenement Conewold. Thomas Culman held 1a recently Walteri Burghard from Tenement Bolls (no. 70).

Note: It would appear that Tenements Harald, Conewold and Bolls were sited close together. But whereas (Extent 1410) John Peverel held land from Boll's & Conewolds, he had no land from Tenementum Harald.

4. Map A: "...Tent. voc. Glovers redd. 9d..." This appears not to have belonged to the reconstructed Tenement Peverells. All the land to the N. of "Glovers" (later the Town House) was the 16th century Tenement Burtons held by Thomas Rowse.

5. Extent 1466: Marginal notes include "ROUS", Reginald Rous.

35: Tenementum Conewold (Customary) ("Hervy" group)
Location: Shop Street, E. side.

1. Extent, 1466: "...Reginaldus Rous tenet 6½ acras cum messuagio de eodem tenemento. In manu domini l½r. de eodem tenemento quondam Henry Page..."

2. Extent, 1410: "...Johannes Peverel et Rogerus Elyot 6½a. cum messuagio nuper in manu Henrici Curteys..."


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See also, notes to Tenements 70 & 84.

4. Court-Roll, 1304, S1/2/1.1. C.C.R. 019-12 "...Augustinus Burghard, Ricardus Burghard, Petrus Hert, villani domini in misericordia quia fecerunt viam suam iniustam versus Ecclesiam de Wyrlingworth portando corpus Willelmi Conewold mortui, contra defensionem ballivorum domini..." The likely route would have been along the north bank of the brook to Church Green rather than by the public highway. Walter Burghard was a sub-tenant of Tenement Conewold in the extent of cl355 and Peter Hert (No. 86) lived across the road from Conewolds.

86: Tenementum W. Hert (Customary) ("Hervy" group)
Location: Shop Street, S. wide.
1. Map A: "...3 acr. et di. parcell tenementi Harts H.83. fol.7..."..."Joseph Sewell".

87: Tenementum quondam Roberti Aylred (Customary) ("Hervy" group)
Location: Stanway Green, N. side.
1. Extent, 1410: "...continet 7a 1r 10 pert. cum messuagio unde Johannes Hervy tenet 7a 1r cum messuagio. (Important marginal note..."MANSHIP").
2. Extent, 1466, original Index: "...Alrede Tenement fo. 20. 7a. 1."
3. Extent, 1466, a note, fol. 20: "...Manshepp 7s 2d..."
4. Extent, 1611, fol.2: "...Jacobus Barker tenet magis (W) et iuxta unam clausam vocatam Fleggs cont. per estimationem 8a..3R..cum messuagio ut patet Edi. 4.6. (No folio number given) quondam William Alreds postea Henrici Marcont.

Note: The discrepancy in acreages weakens this evidence severely. Henry Marcount alias Manship was Jacobus Baker's predecessor in this part of the parish.

88: Tenementum Crowenest (Customary) ("Hervy" group)
Location: Fingle Street, S. side
1. Map A: "...Tenement Crowenest"..."Crownes, Harts, Sittarrs, Fisks..

89: Tenementum quondam Rogeri Duke (Customary) ("Hervy" group)
Location: Fingle Street, N. side.
1. Extent, 1410: "...continet 7 acras cum messuagio..(Marginal note - "Garner").
2. Extent, 1466, fol.9: Marginal note "TENEMENTI DUKK GARDINER".

90: Tenementum Willelmi Shepherde (Customary) ("Hervy" group)
Location: Fingle Street, N. side.
1. Extents c. 1355 and 1466: Details of Tenements 88-90 are missing or never existed.

2. Extent, 1410: This extent was not used by the Cartographer of Map A. There are no marginal notes against Tenementum 90: 
"...Continet 3 acras et 3 rodas, quod quidem tenementum est in manu domini..."

Note: that of the other tenements entirely in the lord's land in this Extent, 4 were in Fingle Street (47, 55, 88, 89).

3. Court Roll, 1306 (81/2/1.1, C.C.R. 025-12)
Willelmus Bercarius v Robertus Sax. This is the only court reference which involved Willelmus Shepherde with any other named individual. Tenementum Sax (08) was located in Fingle Street, N. side.

Note: In view of this and (2) above, the most likely area of the parish to search for this tenement is clearly Fingle Street, preferably near the Great Green if the tenant's surname was occupational.

4. Extent, 1466: Re-examination of Tenementum 50 (Bokenham et Hewes). One of the portions in this extent measured 3 acres and 3 rods. It was the only portion of this tenement then in the occupation of Eliseus Mayhew. Neither in the extent of c1355 nor of 1410 did Tenementum 50 contain a portion of this size. It is probably a late addition.

5. Extent, 1611, fol. 35: "...et predicti 3 acras terre native predicti Johannis (Mayhew) versus W quondam Herdmans..."
This refers to 3 acres of "Tenement Grounds, previously "Bokenham et Hewes", abutting onto Worlingworth Green, S.
APPENDIX C
TRANSCRIPT OF B.L. HARLEIAN 230 fol. 170

Pecie terrarum de Wirlingworthe scripte die Sabbat. prox. post Exaltacionem Sancte Crucis A.D. 1250. (Saturday 17th September 1250).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Area (acres)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apud Alwinescroft</td>
<td>32a</td>
<td>bona terra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Redingg</td>
<td>32a</td>
<td>bona terra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Walcworthes</td>
<td>40a</td>
<td>inde 35 marland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Anno 3 III anno)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Longgewithe</td>
<td>25a</td>
<td>marlat. unde 4 per E. Abbatem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Preestescroft</td>
<td>15a</td>
<td>bona terra unde quinque acre super</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iacent ad herbagium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Grenescroft</td>
<td>14a</td>
<td>bona terra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Benecroft</td>
<td>12a</td>
<td>bona terra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Hallecroft</td>
<td>18a</td>
<td>marlande anno present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anno pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Beyneneswent</td>
<td>14a 1r</td>
<td>marlande anno pres. anno ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Tyewente</td>
<td>15a</td>
<td>marland anno pres. anno ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apud Melchetherne</td>
<td>16a</td>
<td>marland anno pres. anno ps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summa acrarum 233 et 1r. unde 5 acre iacent ad herbagium...sunt marlandarum anno pres 63a et 1r.

In prato 15a, unde 3a quolibet anno ad pasturam. De redditu assisa £8.18s.8 1/4d.

Solvend ad festum Omnium Sanctorum 45s. 3d.
ad Purificacionem           44s. 8 1/4d.
ad Rogaciones              44s. 3d.
ad festum Sancti Jacobi    44s. 6d.

summ. £8. 18s. 8 1/4d.

De gallinis ad Natalem 124 et 2 capones
De ovis                     330 ova
APPENDIX D

EVIDENCE FOR THE LOCATION OF DEMESNE PIECES
LISTED IN THE EXTENT OF 1250 A.D. (1)

1. "Alwinescroft": marked as "Allnestrote" on map of 1605/6 (Frontispiece) and known as "Alnestrotclose" in the survey of 1543/4 (2).
2. "Redingg": clearly identifiable on map of 1605/6 (3).
3. "Walcworthes": a fragment of this field "Wallworthwent" is clearly marked on the map of 1605/6 (Map A).
4. "Longgewithe": aliter "Longworthing" described in the survey of 1543/4 (4).
5. "Preestescroft": alias Church Close in 1605/6 but "Priest's Close" on the Tithe Map of 1837 (5).
6. "Grenescroft": failing better evidence, this has been equated with "Grayscroft" on Map A. In the survey of 1543/4, it was known as "Greyscroft(close)".
7. "Berecroft": this field-name did not survive until the 16th century, nor did...
8. "Hallecroft": In certain 14th century account-rolls this was written as "Allecroft" despite the East Anglian dialect's celebrated resistance to dropping its aspirates (see Orton H., Sanderson S. and Widdowson J., The Linguistic Atlas of England, Croom Helm, 1978, Introduction, 12th page, ref. "Hand" and "Hearse"). Together, Hallecroft and Berecroft contained 30 acres in 1250 and may with reasonable confidence be equated with the field near the Hall marked as "Allondes" (? Hall-lands) on Map A.
10. "Tyewente": did not survive as a field-name until the survey of 1543/4. "Tye" is a dialect word, usually confined to South Suffolk and North Essex meaning "Common Pasture" (6). Both the survey of 1543/4 ("Tythway") and the Extent of 1611 ("Tythewaye") referred to a way, which still exists in 1983, near Beymondis Close (see 9 above). "Went" is another dialect word

1. See Appendix C.
2. S.R.O. IPS. S1/2/7.4.
3. As "Readings" it survived until the 19th century Tithe Map, 1837.
4. ...unum clausum de dominico domini vocatum longworthing continens per estimacionem 16 acras terre prout iacet inter terram Rectoris de Worlingworth et terram Roberti Wolward de Tannetone ex parte australi et terram de dominico domini vocatum Shortworthing ex parte boreali, unum caput quibust super terram liberam Henrici Polye versus occident. et alium caput quibust super le Medewe versus orient..."
"Shortworthing", not mentioned in 1250, was undoubtedly created in the 14th century by taking land from both "Longewithe" and "Walcworttes". Shortworthing is marked on Map A, E.S.E. of the church.
5. S.R.O. Ips. FC 94/C1/5.

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for a "Way" (1). It therefore appears probable that the demesne close marked on the Map of 1605/6 as "Mill Close" near both Tythway and Beymondis close was originally "Tyewante". The field may have taken its name, therefore, from the road (Went) which led from the Horham Road to the Great Green (Tye), against which it abutted on its north side.

11. "Melchetherne": is clearly marked on Map A, on the west side of the rivulet.

### APPENDIX E

#### LABOUR SERVICES DUE FROM THE UNFREE HOLDINGS AT WORLINGWORTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SERVICE</th>
<th>16 x 12-acre tenements</th>
<th>5 x 6-acre tenements</th>
<th>8 x 6-acre tenements</th>
<th>Grand Total per annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>JOHN JERALD per ten. Tot.</td>
<td>ROBERT ALLYD per ten. Tot.</td>
<td>RICHARD HERVY per ten. Tot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter plough-works</td>
<td>3 acr. 48a.</td>
<td>1½ acr. 7½a.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring plough-works</td>
<td>4 acr. 64a.</td>
<td>2 acr. 10a.</td>
<td>1 rood 2a.</td>
<td>76a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other spring plough/harrow works</td>
<td>1 work 16wks.</td>
<td>1 wrk. 2½wrk.</td>
<td>1 rood 2a.</td>
<td>c.8a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Gavelherthe&quot; (plough-works)</td>
<td>½ acre. 8a.</td>
<td>3/4acr. 11/4acr.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat threshing</td>
<td>1 qtr. 16 qtrs.</td>
<td>½ qtr. 2½ q.</td>
<td>8 qtrs.</td>
<td>64q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley threshing</td>
<td>6 qtrs. 96q.</td>
<td>3 qtrs. 15q.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oat threshing</td>
<td>6 qtrs. 96q.</td>
<td>3 qtrs. 15q.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter works</td>
<td>12 wks. 192wk.</td>
<td>6 wks. 30 wks.</td>
<td>6 wks. 40wks.</td>
<td>270wks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer works</td>
<td>16 wks. 256wk.</td>
<td>8 wks. 40 wks.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Averages</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay harvest</td>
<td>as required</td>
<td>as required</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn harvest</td>
<td>8a. 128a.</td>
<td>4a/ 20a.</td>
<td>3½a.*</td>
<td>28a.* 176a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* reaping only.

---

1. S.R.O. (IPS), Sl/2/6.1 and 5.6.
2. i.e. total labour services owed from all tenements of this class.
3. Not including Tenement 43b.
In addition to the above services, these groups of tenants owed harvest boon works, reeve or reap-reeve duty in rotation, the task of gathering firewood and cleaning out buildings in anticipation of a visit from their lord the abbot, heriot, gersuma, poultry rents and cash rents. Most of the 22 unfree tenants of 'Mollond' tenements owed boon works, poultry and other incidental small services: in effect they paid their rent in cash and were free from works exacted weekly.

Local customs and differing valuation criteria (for example the length of the working day) tend to undermine too close a comparison between tenurial obligations on one manor as against the next. Where direct comparisons can be made between Worlingworth and the Earl of Norfolk's manor of Earl Soham (1) (4m. S.), commutation prices and incidental rents appear broadly similar. But far greater progress towards commutation had been made on the Earl's manor by c.1330: the 12-acre villeins at Worlingworth could exchange up to 5s. worth of works per annum compared with c. 7s at Earl Soham.

The inflexibility of the abbot of Bury on the commutation of works at hay and corn harvest is signally important. On the other hand, the cash rents at Worlingworth (2) were about half those at Earl Soham (3) and, unlike the latter manor, the tenements of 12-acre classification at Worlingworth frequently contained almost double the nominal acreage.

2. S.R.O. (IPS), S1/2/6.1 and 6.6.
APPENDIX F
CROPS GROWN ON SELECTED DEMESNE PIECES, WORLINGWORTH
1325-C to 1331

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PREEDESTCROFT</th>
<th>GRENECROFT</th>
<th>ALWINESCROFT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1325-6 (1)</td>
<td>BARLEY</td>
<td>OATS</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1326-7 (2)</td>
<td>OATS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>BARLEY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(and mingrell)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1327-8 (3)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>WHEAT</td>
<td>MINGRELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(and oats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1328-9 (4)</td>
<td>WHEAT</td>
<td>OATS</td>
<td>WHEAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1329-30 (5)</td>
<td>BARLEY</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>OATS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1330-1 (6)</td>
<td>&quot;MINGRELL</td>
<td>WHEAT</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1331-2 (7)</td>
<td>WHEAT</td>
<td>OATS</td>
<td>WHEAT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main crop in the field is shown in capital letters, smaller acreages in small print.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A/C Roll</td>
<td>Account or comptus Roll.</td>
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<td>B.L.</td>
<td>British Library, London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.C.R.</td>
<td>Computerized Court Roll (Reference). This refers to courts coded up for use with the computer held by Suffolk College of Higher Education, Ipswich.</td>
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<td>C.U.L.</td>
<td>Cambridge University Library.</td>
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<td>E.A.N.Q.</td>
<td>East Anglian Notes and Queries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.H.R.</td>
<td>English History Review.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.N.R.O.</td>
<td>Norfolk and Norwich Record Office.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.R.O.</td>
<td>Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.</td>
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<td>P.S.I.A.</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rerum Britt.</td>
<td>Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.R.O. (B.S.E.)</td>
<td>Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds branch.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.R.O. (IPS)</td>
<td>Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich.</td>
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<tr>
<td>V.C.H.</td>
<td>Victoria County History for Suffolk.</td>
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</table>
From c1035, when Worlingworth was given to the Abbey of St. Edmund, the documentary evidence is both abundant and varied in nature. A map of 1605-6 makes possible, *inter alia*, a reconstruction of the village plan c1355 or earlier. The court-rolls 1301-13 were 'coded' for use with a computer.

Before the Conquest, Worlingworth owed food-rents to the Abbey. The ending of these payments by c1200 brought fundamental economic and topographical changes to the village, notably an expansion in the number of "Free" and "Mollond" tenancies. Both the population and the commercial life of the area generally were growing rapidly from the early 13th century onwards.

That the Famines of 1315-17 brought significant change to the village is not convincing. But the Revolt at Bury St. Edmunds of 1327 and the belated introduction at Worlingworth of demesne sheep-farming from 1333-4 both appear to have altered the direction of the village's development.

To examine the relationship between the archaeological and the documentary evidence, an excavation of a medieval tenement was organised and a documentary profile prepared of its tenants.

Studies on subjects outside the broad narrative of the village's history were undertaken, including "Fauna and Flora", "Medieval Buildings and their Contents", "The Medieval Clergy" and "Medieval Women". Such chapters introduce the local evidence for such topics as money-lending, patterns of crime, household furnishings and educational opportunities.

Worlingworth suffered badly during the First Pestilence in 1349 with mortality as high as 40%. The population c1400 was half that in 1348. On present evidence, the involvement of the villagers in the Insurrection of 1381 was minimal. In common with many other Suffolk manors, the end of high demesne farming came remarkably quickly, in 1390.