

**The lordship, structure, and evolution of the manor of Laxfield in  
Suffolk, 1066 to 1410**

by

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## **Abstract**

Part 1 of this thesis surveys the scholarly literature, recent and historical, relating to the structure and evolution of manors in medieval England from the national to the local level, and then focuses on one manor in particular, the manor of Laxfield in the county of Suffolk, between 1066 and 1410. Laxfield was a smaller lay manor that underwent fission during the thirteenth century, but which has left an unusually good archive, yet it represents exactly the type of manor that has left little documentary record and has been therefore routinely overlooked in the scholarly literature. The history, inheritance practice, division and devolution of its separate portions in the first part of this period, then its eventual reconstitution in the latter part, are explored.

Part 2 contains translations of three original manorial accounts relating to the manor, demonstrating their changing format and the information they contain relating to the fission then fusion of the manor: the first from 1376-7, the second from 1408-9, and the third from 1458. Finally, the appendix to this thesis provides a list of all the surviving accounts in the same collection relating to Laxfield. The thesis demonstrates how fluid and arcane manorial structures can be reconstructed from a variety of sources; reconstructs the unusual and interesting history of this particular manor; and provides edited translations from the original Latin of three accounts.

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# **The lordship, structure, and evolution of the manor of Laxfield in Suffolk, 1066 to 1410**

## **Part One**

### **Chapter One: Manors in medieval East Anglia**

The study of the manor as an institution is central to understanding the economic and social history of medieval England. As a major unit of landholding it influenced the lives of local people at various levels, most obviously because villagers held varying amounts of land as tenants and subtenants of the manor, paying rents in labour, produce or cash:<sup>1</sup> but also because the manor regulated the relationship between lord and peasant, and some of the latter served as manorial officials.<sup>2</sup> Manors were the basic administrative building block of the *Domesday Book* of 1086, compiled in order for William the Conqueror to know what property and resources he had acquired in his new kingdom; who held it before and after the Conquest; what types of land, and how much of each type; what other resources they comprised; and what they were worth.<sup>3</sup> As a major unit of administration and jurisdiction, the manor has generated thousands of records – court rolls, surveys and accounts, etc. – scattered in various archives, which are central to historical study of the Middle Ages. These studies might focus on a well-documented single manor, or utilise the power of computer-technology ability to analyse information relating to hundreds of manors at a single point in time, as demonstrated by the work of Junichi Kanzaka.<sup>4</sup> While manorial documents are the backbone of local research, other contemporary documents – mainly legal or royal sources – can be utilised to complement them and to provide a more complete picture, especially as many manorial sources have not survived.

Medieval manors came in various shapes and sizes, but the traditional view is that the typical manor was large, effectively being coterminous with the vill or parish, and dominated by a

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<sup>1</sup> P. D. A. Harvey, *Manorial records*, (Gloucester, 1984), p. 1, and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> M. Bailey, (ed.), *The English manor, c.1200 - c.1500*, (Manchester, 2002), p. 1, and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> A. Rumble, (ed.), *Domesday Book, Suffolk*, part I and part II (Chichester, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> The classic study of a single manor is P. D. A. Harvey, *A medieval Oxfordshire village: Cuxham, 1240-1400*, (London, 1965); J. Kanzaka, 'Manorialisation and demographic pressure in medieval England: an analysis of the hundred rolls of 1279-80', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 60 (2018), pp. 11-23.

sizeable demesne and a high proportion of unfree land and tenants (also known as customary, bond, villein, servile). Regions where such manors proliferated possessed ‘strong’ manorial structures, meaning where an individual lord controlled the lives of a large proportion of the residents of a vill/parish, and where the seigniorial controls over the unfree peasantry were highly restrictive. This stereotype of a medieval manor still persists in school textbooks, even though long ago Kosminsky’s analysis of the hundred rolls of 1279-80 revealed that in Midland England only 13% of recorded manors were large (i.e. over 1,000 acres), 65% were small (i.e. under 500 acres), and the average size of manor was a modest 507 acres. This demonstrated that the ‘classical’ manor was the exception not the norm, and the proliferation of small manors meant that most vills and parishes contained more than one manor.<sup>5</sup> The classical large manor was usually associated with high status landlords. Kosminsky also showed that the structure of manors varied greatly. Some had large demesnes, others had small or no demesnes; some had a high proportion of free tenants, others of unfree. He showed that broad regional variations in manorial types were also identifiable, although the hundred rolls only survived in fragments outside the area of the south Midlands.<sup>6</sup> Kanzaka subsequently subjected this material to computerised statistical analysis and a sophisticated system of categorisation using ‘quantitative measurements’ in an attempt to describe and explain these regional differences more accurately.<sup>7</sup> Campbell and Bartley used inquisitions post mortem, which provide headline summaries of manorial composition and values on the death of a tenant-in-chief, and they found similar results. Nearly half of all lay manors in England surveyed in the inquisitions post mortem were small, valued at less than £4.8 per annum and nearly three quarters were valued at less than £14.<sup>8</sup>

The hundred rolls of 1279-80 have not survived in any quantity for East Anglia, so it is not possible to use this source to analyse the region’s manorial structure. However, Bruce Campbell has utilised a range of sources to demonstrate the exceptional fluidity and fragmentation of Norfolk’s manorial structure around 1300. He made use of a surviving membrane of what was probably a draft of the original hundred rolls return for one place,

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<sup>5</sup> E. Kosminsky, ‘The hundred rolls of 1279-80, as a source for English agrarian history’, *The Economic History Review*, 3 (January 1931), pp. 16-44; E. A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the agrarian history of England in the thirteenth century*, (Oxford, 1956), pp. 97-8.

<sup>6</sup> Kosminsky, *Studies in the agrarian history*, pp. 98-151.

<sup>7</sup> Kanzaka, ‘Manorialization and demographic pressure’, pp. 11-23.

<sup>8</sup> B. M. S. Campbell and K. Bartley, *England on the eve of the Black Death: an atlas of lay lordship, land and wealth, 1300-49*, (Manchester, 2006), table 6.5, map 6.2b.



Hevingham in Norfolk, in 1279-80 to compile a schematic to demonstrate the extraordinary complexity of the tenurial structure of the manors in that vill, revealing how some manors were broken down by inheritance practices, population pressure and sales of land, while others might be reconfigured, and other small manors might even be constructed through the same processes. With the aid of other sources, namely the *'Nomina villarum'* of 1316, account rolls, and inquisitions post mortem, he was also able to show that the 'mean number of lordships per township' was below 2.25 in the western, northern and south-eastern parts of the county, while the mean rose above 3.75 in the highly fertile areas of east-central and eastern Norfolk. The manor and the vill were not coterminous in Norfolk in c.1300, and in eastern Norfolk a vill was likely to contain at least four manors. So these were mainly small manors, and Campbell also demonstrated that the majority of manorial demesnes were under seventy-five acres.<sup>9</sup> The population of Norfolk was also largely free, with a small proportion of villeins, and one of the highest population densities in medieval England.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Campbell established a correlation between, on the one hand, high population pressure, a high proportion of free tenures and freemen, fertile soils, partible inheritance practices and an active land market; and, on the other hand, small manors with small demesnes and a low proportion of unfree peasants/land, a greater number of lordships, and more fission and subinfeudation of the manors.

Mark Bailey has built upon Campbell's earlier work on Norfolk to argue that the manorial structure of neighbouring Suffolk was also highly complex, and conforms to a pattern of small manors existing within almost every parish and vill. The processes of subinfeudation and fission during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, coupled with a fluid and free social structure, resulted in the fragmentation and multiplication of manors. Fragmentation was less pronounced in west and north-west Suffolk – where poor soils, lower population densities, and the dominance of the abbey of St Edmunds, limited the processes of fission – and greatest in north-east Suffolk. As a result, by c.1300 the typical manor in East Anglia was small, and often held by a gentry lay lord of modest means. Furthermore, the lands of a given manor might be geographically dispersed across more than one vill. The low status of the

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<sup>9</sup> B. M. S. Campbell, 'The complexity of manorial structure in medieval Norfolk: a case study', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 39 (1986), pp. 225-262.

<sup>10</sup> Campbell and Bartley, *England on the eve of the Black Death*, table 18.3 and map 18.8.

lords, and fluidity of manorial forms, means that some of these are very difficult to trace in the surviving documents.<sup>11</sup>

My study attempts to build upon our knowledge of English manors in general, and East Anglia in particular, by conducting a detailed investigation and reconstruction of the background, structure and evolution of the medieval manors within the parish of Laxfield in Suffolk, with the main focus on the principal manor of Laxfield, usually called ‘Laxfield manor’ or ‘the manor of Laxfield’, and occasionally called ‘Laxfield Hall’. Laxfield lies in the north-central part of Suffolk, in the administrative hundred of Hoxne, where small, fluid and highly fragmented manors predominated. The manorial structure of this part of East Anglia is among the most complex and least understood of any in medieval England. Laxfield provides an excellent case study of the manorial structure in this region, illustrating the fluidity of manorial forms before c.1300, the difficulties in reconstructing them, the subsequent engrossment of manors, and the influence of the manor in shaping the landscape. This study also evidences the small and obscure manors that have received very little attention from medieval historians because of their very obscurity. A range of manorial sources have survived from the main manor of medieval Laxfield, but the task of reconstructing the rest of the vill’s manorial structure relies largely upon a variety of non-manorial sources and can only be briefly discussed at present. The process of piecing together the puzzle of Laxfield’s medieval manorial structure began for me over a decade ago with an undergraduate dissertation.<sup>12</sup> That dissertation represented a starting point, making good use of early modern estate and map material, although it did not delve deeply into the medieval sources, nor did it utilise the work of Joseph P. Huffman whose research into members of the German family of ‘de Zudendorp’ equated two of them with the family of ‘de Swynesthorpe’ in England who held the manor of Laxfield in the thirteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

The first part of this study utilises a range of legal and other records to piece together the lords of Laxfield manor, and the partitioning of the manor in the thirteenth century, followed

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<sup>11</sup> M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: an economic and social history, 1200-1500*, (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 27-35.

<sup>12</sup> J. G. Fisk, *How typical was the manor of Laxfield in Suffolk during the medieval period?*, unpublished B. A. dissertation, (University Campus Suffolk, now University of Suffolk, Ipswich, 2010).

<sup>13</sup> J. P. Huffman, *Family, commerce, and religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German emigrants, c.1000-c.1300*, (Cambridge, 1998).

by its fusion in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. This investigation demonstrates that Laxfield manor was subject to partible inheritance between heiresses upon the death of the last male heir, and partitioned equally between the surviving heiresses, illustrating the complexity of manorial forms in this part of England and one of the main forces behind it. Furthermore, these legal documents also identify the existence of several higher status free tenements in Laxfield during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that may then have been manorial centres, and comprised later manors. Litigation in the royal courts provides chance references to light the shadows of manorial units within Laxfield, although of course other similar manors would have been transferred without any legal complications or challenges, and therefore remain invisible in the dark shadows.

The second part of the study consists of a translation of three surviving accounts of the manor of Laxfield. Accounts surviving from small gentry manors are rare, but a good series is extant for Laxfield from the late fourteenth century. The main manorial sources from Laxfield relate principally to Laxfield Hall manor and date from the later Middle Ages. The most important group of documents comprises a total of 101 surviving manorial accounts spanning two hundred and twenty-three years from 1376 to 1599.<sup>14</sup> This includes one 'View of the Account', which only covers part of the year 17-18 Ric II (1393-4) and was later superseded by the full account for that year. These accounts fall into two distinct groups: twenty-seven (including the 'View of the account') run from 1376-7 to 1408-9, with seven years missing; after a period of no accounts for forty-nine years, the second group runs from 1458 to 1599, with sixty-seven years missing. There is an anomaly in the second group, where one account covered the two consecutive years 1536 and 1537.<sup>15</sup> Accounts in the first group are considerably more detailed than the second, thus being of greater value to the historian. Besides the accounts, a rental from 1480 for Laxfield manor has survived, although it drew information from an earlier extent or rentals which have apparently not survived.<sup>16</sup> This is followed by an undated, but probably the original, extent from 1 Henry VIII (1509), although this version is damaged and much of it is missing; a copy was made in 1594, although this has many blank sections, presumably because it had been copied from the earlier damaged

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<sup>14</sup> Cambridge University Library (CUL), Vanneck Papers, box 8, Laxfield manor accounts, 1376-7 to 1599.

<sup>15</sup> A full list of the surviving Laxfield manor accounts is given in the appendix to this thesis.

<sup>16</sup> Holkham Hall Archives, Holkham, Norfolk, DA/S/8/2 & 3 [originally one document, now in two parts], Laxfield manor rental, 1480, entitled 'Laxfeld(e), extracts of rentals, there renewed in the month of May in the year twenty of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the Conquest [1480]'.

version.<sup>17</sup> These sources provide information that can be used to reconstruct the topography and structure of elements of the earlier manorial system. The best examples of this are two account rolls from 1376-7 and 1408-9. The 1376-7 account is the first surviving account for Laxfield, written shortly after the Wingfield family acquired the manor. The second account is from 1408-9, and contains information to show that the Wingfields had pieced the manor back together. They are therefore important pieces of evidence in the evolution of Laxfield manor. They are also interesting for what they reveal about the resources of the manor, its internal management, and the spread of contractual tenures to replace the old customary tenures.

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<sup>17</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, Laxfield manor extent of 1 Henry VIII (probably the original), catalogued as 'survey, ?16C (fo. 1 missing, ?Laxfield)'; a copy (finished 1594) of the Laxfield manor extent of 1 Henry VIII, catalogued as 'survey, 1 Henry VIII'.

## **Chapter Two: Laxfield, a manorial case study**

The patchy survival of sources from small gentry manors means that it is very difficult for historians to reconstruct the evolution of manorial forms in places like East Anglia. Most of the surviving manorial records are from higher status and large manors held by great monasteries and noble aristocrats, which were not prone to fragment.<sup>18</sup> So there have been no in-depth studies of how small lay manors fragmented under conditions of land scarcity and population pressure in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, nor to what extent and how they were then engrossed in the very different conditions of the later Middle Ages. The survival of manorial documents from the later fourteenth century for Laxfield manor, and the existence of scattered and patchy legal and other sources from the earlier period, present an exceptional opportunity to explore these obscure processes.

The exercise of piecing together the fluidity of manorial structure in Laxfield is still a difficult task, even though it is relatively well documented for a manor of this type. This is partly because of the fluidity of the names given to individual manors and the proliferation of aliases, which undermines attempts at secure identification. These challenges are evident in the early twentieth century work of W. A. Copinger on *'The manors of Suffolk'* in seven volumes, an enormous and, arguably, overambitious undertaking that made confident assertions about the existence of manors while being insufficiently aware of the difficulties and pitfalls of identification. Consequently, and perhaps inevitably, it contained numerous errors. The shortcomings in Copinger's work are exemplified by his treatment of Laxfield. In volume IV he confidently identified five manors in Laxfield: the principal manor of Laxfield [i.e. Laxfield Hall]; the manor of Studha[u]gh or Stodha[u]gh; the manor of Laxfield Rectory; the manor of Wathersdale [i.e. Waltersdole]; and the manor of Burt's or Bourt's Hall. For each of these he provided some form of devolution, albeit they are somewhat dubious in their earlier histories and his references are incomplete, and he included a completely incorrect section relating to Lackford in West Suffolk.<sup>19</sup> While his efforts provide a good starting point, they also leave us trying to unravel some of his mistakes. For example, he claimed that the manor of Laxfield was given to the abbey of Leiston by Robert Malet, who had received much of the property of Edric of Laxfield, the former lord of the honour of Eye, where it

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<sup>18</sup> Bailey, *The English manor*, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> W. A. Copinger, *The manors of Suffolk, notes on their history and devolution: the hundreds of Hoxne, Lackford and Loes, with some illustrations of the old manor houses, volume IV*, (Manchester, 1909), pp. 58-63.

remained until the dissolution of the monasteries.<sup>20</sup> Copinger cited no evidence to support the grant of the manor of Laxfield to the abbey of Leiston, although the suggestion had some provenance in local myth. There are two folios from a document of 1545 relating to ‘the property in Laxfield formerly held by Leiston abbey’, annotated by the receiver John Eyer, each stating that upon examination he found that the abbey of Leiston had no such manor of/in Laxfield.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the abbey of Leiston did not actually exist in the time of Robert Malet, as it was founded in the later twelfth century by Ranulph de Glanville. Copinger failed to realise that the Wingfield family were lords of the principal manor of Laxfield from as early as 1361, as is supported by documentary evidence discussed later. Indeed, he claimed that they did not receive this until after 1538, and he believed that their holding prior to this was confined to Bourt’s Hall, despite the fact that a final agreement which he cited from 1361 specifically states that it was for ‘the manor of Laxfield’.<sup>22</sup>

Of the five manors that Copinger claimed to identify, only Laxfield, Studhaugh, and Laxfield Rectory appear in the online Manorial Documents Register held by The National Archives at Kew. The Register also indicates that pre-seventeenth-century manorial documents survive only from the principal manor of Laxfield.<sup>23</sup> This sparse information might indicate that any attempt to reconstruct a more reliable manorial structure is unlikely to succeed. However, such pessimism would be misplaced, as we shall see. Close analysis of a range of documents provides sufficient clues to enable a reconstruction. Indeed, there are still documents in private hands which may reveal yet more about that structure, as, for example, when a small batch of court rolls for the manor of ‘Wathersdale’ in Laxfield (the earliest dating from 1380-1) were sold at auction in March 2020 and acquired by Suffolk Archives (formerly Suffolk Record Office).<sup>24</sup> The precise location of this manor is uncertain, although the phrase ‘to the manor of Watersdole’ is marked on an estate map of 1768 in a manner that indicates that it, or at least a way towards it, was somewhere west of ‘Tyrupp Street’, now called ‘Stirrup

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<sup>20</sup> Copinger, *The manors of Suffolk, volume IV*, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> The National Archives, Kew (TNA), LR 2/257 (ff. 44 & 45), ‘survey of parcels of the lands and possessions lately by the abbey of Leiston in the county of Suffolk resigned’, 1545.

<sup>22</sup> W. Rye, (ed.), *A calendar of the feet of fines for Suffolk*, (Ipswich, 1900), p. 226, number 11; CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 28, number 37, original chirograph of final agreement, 29 September-28 October 1361 (‘from the day of St. Michael in one month’, 35 Edward III).

<sup>23</sup> ‘Manorial Documents Register’ (entries for Laxfield), available on the website of The National Archives, Kew: [https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/c?\\_sf=textstman&\\_tn=Laxfield&\\_naet=M&\\_st=mdrc](https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/c?_sf=textstman&_tn=Laxfield&_naet=M&_st=mdrc) <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>

<sup>24</sup> M. O’Sullivan, ‘Purchases of local archives 2019-2020: an overview’, *Local History News*, 137 (Autumn 2020), p. 26.

Street', in the north-west corner of Laxfield parish.<sup>25</sup> This 'manor of Watersdole' was actually 'Waltersdole' (variously spelled), which Copinger incorrectly called 'Wathersdale', as is verified by information within the newly discovered court rolls which I have now digitally copied and translated, although the originals are not yet available for public view at Suffolk Archives and have only a temporary reference number as they have not been catalogued.<sup>26</sup> This example reveals the existence of aliases that make smaller manorial units so hard to identify. Indeed, the Ordnance Survey map of the nineteenth century identifies 'Sancroft manor farm', also on Stirrup Street in the north-west corner of the parish.<sup>27</sup> Are Sancroft manor farm and Waltersdole actually the same manor, or two small manors in close proximity on the periphery of Laxfield parish? This Ordnance Survey map indicates that the main dwelling and agricultural buildings of Sancroft manor farm lay on the eastern site of Stirrup Street, although a Laxfield field survey of 1809 (which relates to a map of Laxfield of c.1810), and the tithe map of 1840 and its apportionment of 1841, reveal that some lands belonging to Sancroft manor farm lay on the western side of Stirrup Street abutting both sides of the way (not shown) which was marked 'To the manor of Watersdole' on the estate map of 1768.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, it may be that they were two separate manors by the eighteenth century, but may have been one and the same at an earlier date. Whatever the case, if we accept that free tenements sometimes became later manors, then the existence of small manors around the margins of parishes in east Suffolk is consistent with the argument that during the population and agrarian expansion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries colonising freemen carved out new tenements on the peripheries and underpopulated areas of villis.<sup>29</sup> This illustrates both the challenges and the potential for utilising a range of documents from across the centuries to acquire pieces of the manorial jigsaw to enable a determined researcher to reconstruct a complex medieval manorial structure.

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<sup>25</sup> Suffolk Archives, Ipswich (SAI), HD1620/8, plan of a farm in Laxfield & Stradbroke, and another farm in Brundish & Dennington, made for Thomas Green by Robert Coates, 1768.

<sup>26</sup> Suffolk Archives, Bury St. Edmunds (SAB), HD3453:17217 (temporary reference), nineteen court rolls for the manor of Waltersdole (incorrectly recorded as 'Wathersdale') in Laxfield, dated between 1380/81 and 1628.

<sup>27</sup> SAI, Ordnance Survey first edition six inch map, Suffolk, sheet XXXVII N.E., (surveyed 1884, published 1885; out of copyright).

<sup>28</sup> (Privately owned) Laxfield field survey, 1809; SAI, HB26/10975, Laxfield parish map (rolled), c.1810; SAI, P461/163, Laxfield tithe map, 1840; SAI, FDA163/A1/1a, Laxfield tithe apportionment, 1841; SAI, HD1620/8, plan of a farm in Laxfield & Stradbroke, and another farm in Brundish & Dennington, made for Thomas Green by Robert Coates, 1768.

<sup>29</sup> Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 44.

Copinger's other enormous and relevant work in five volumes was the '*County of Suffolk: its history as disclosed by existing records and other documents*'. While this work provides a treasure chest of information, once again it requires caution and it can be frustratingly vague about the origin or location of sources. Laxfield is primarily contained in volume IV, with cross-references under other parishes. Several of his citations in this work have proved difficult to trace in the published calendars, especially his reliance upon the 'patent rolls' in the early years of Edward I.<sup>30</sup> For example, he cited three lawsuits in the year 1 Edward I which do not appear in the published *Calendar of patent rolls* for that year. Upon further investigation the original documents he cited are actually contained within the appendix to a different work, *The forty-second annual report of the deputy keeper of the public records*.<sup>31</sup> Some of the *deputy keeper's reports* contain abstracts of original documents, or highly selective sections of the originals, and so it is difficult to authenticate or locate the existence of some of Copinger's material for Laxfield. Regardless of errors, both of Copinger's voluminous works are a testament to his labour and are still of enormous value as finding aids, without which this present researcher would be groping in the dark and may never even have begun his manorial research.

Another important published source for identifying medieval manors is *A calendar of the feet of fines for Suffolk*, which contains brief summaries of the official copies of 'fines', otherwise called 'final agreements' or 'final concords'.<sup>32</sup> These were the written outcomes of law suits concerning freehold land, and were a way of officially recording the settlement between the parties, so potentially they provide important information about the ownership and conveyancing of manors. The published *Calendar of the feet of fines for Suffolk* is useful as a finding aid, although much of the detail is absent or inconsistently recorded and recourse to the originals is necessary. In their original form, these final agreements usually consisted of three copies written out on the same piece of parchment or paper, one for each of the parties and the last remained as the 'foot' of the fine, hence the collective name 'feet of fines'. The originals for Suffolk have been collated into multiple volumes arranged in order of regnal years, and are held by The National Archives at Kew. Many of them have been photographed

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<sup>30</sup> W. A. Copinger, *County of Suffolk: its history as disclosed by existing records and other documents, volume IV*, (London, c.1904), [also called 'Suffolk records & mss.' on binding], pp. 31-36.

<sup>31</sup> W. Hardy, (ed.), *The forty-second annual report of the deputy keeper of the public records*, (London, 1881), appendix III, p. 596.

<sup>32</sup> Rye, *Feet of fines for Suffolk*.



or scanned, and the digital images are now available on the website of the '*Anglo-American Legal Tradition* [AALT]' where they may be viewed for free, although locating them requires learning to cross-reference the published calendar to the website documents.<sup>33</sup> This website also contains many digital images of the rolls of the royal courts, which include some lawsuits concerning manorial and other free tenements, enrolled from the courts of common pleas, king's bench, the itinerant justices, and others, all of which have been most revealing. It is from such lawsuits that the original 'feet of fines' were derived, because they were the 'final agreements' between parties, as opposed to one party winning and another losing the case which often only resulted in a brief note in the rolls.

There are hundreds of complete plea rolls available on the '*Anglo-American Legal Tradition* [AALT]' website, although it is an arduous task to find the relevant information; some of the latest rolls I examined each contained over four hundred double-sided membranes, and the last one I read was five hundred and ninety-seven double-sided membranes, consisting of two digital images to each side of a membrane. One obstacle to using this material on the AALT website is that it is presented as it was digitally filmed, so that each roll runs in order of 'fronts' consecutively from membrane 1 to the end, then 'dorses' consecutively from membrane 1 to the end. It would be more convenient if it were presented as it was written and intended to be read, i.e. from the front of membrane 1 to the dorse of membrane 1, and so consecutively to the end of the roll, being arranged by the membrane numbers rather than image numbers. Having said this, there are some indexes of these rolls available through the associated website of '*Wiki for the Anglo-American Legal Tradition* [WAALT]' which have not only indexed the places and parties but also provided links directly to the digital images in some cases, although so far I have not found much in these indexes concerning the manors or free tenements from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>34</sup> However, as these indexes continue to be created it is hoped that they will provide an unprecedented resource for other

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<sup>33</sup> Website of the '*Anglo-American Legal Tradition* [AALT]':  
<http://aalt.law.uh.edu/>

<sup>34</sup> Website of '*Wiki for the Anglo-American Legal Tradition* [WAALT]':  
[https://waalt.uh.edu/index.php/Main\\_Page](https://waalt.uh.edu/index.php/Main_Page)

researchers, and that eventually the manorial and other free tenements can be easily located and analysed.<sup>35</sup>

As a last word here on these lawsuits and final agreements, it is worth mentioning that the full pleadings and the precise legal points at dispute are usually not recorded. The reason for the dispute may have been vague or weak, or simply a tactic by one party against another, because often a party would not prosecute their suit or would withdraw from it before completion, which resulted in a small amercement for the non-prosecution and a default recovery of seizin for the other party; or they would pay for licence to agree with the other party which led to the final agreement, often recorded on the rolls as ‘chirograph’. Some of these lawsuits are highly reminiscent of the later legal process of ‘common recovery’, used as a means of breaking the entail on land so that it could be sold, where one party would not return to the court when called and the other party would ‘recover’ their possession (called ‘seizin’ or ‘seisin’). Several of these ‘recoveries’ can be found written out in full in the eighteenth and nineteenth century manorial documents for Laxfield and Studhaugh manors; for example, in 1758 when the heiresses of Nicholas Jacob, Esquire, sold their estates to Joshua Vanneck, who was then lord of Laxfield manor (although admittedly these concerned copyhold lands, but the form of the ‘recovery’ was much the same for free land).<sup>36</sup> Similarly, lawsuits were recorded as being employed in the reign of Elizabeth I ‘to establish title by purchase’.<sup>37</sup>

### What was a manor?

The fluidity and obscurity of many manorial units raises the question what exactly defined a manor? Indeed, the small size of most manors in East Anglia in c.1300 meant their size and value were little different from the largest freeholdings. There is no definitive or tight legal

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<sup>35</sup> By way of methodology, I have located relevant final agreements for Laxfield manor and other free tenements in Laxfield contained in Rye, *Feet of fines for Suffolk*, then sought the copies of the originals on the AALT website. Thereafter, I have focussed my research around the years where the final agreements were dated. Then I have skim-read through thousands of images from the rolls of the royal courts on the AALT website in order to locate the entries for the relevant cases, with varying degrees of success. Nevertheless, I have barely scratched the surface of what is available on that website, and while I may have missed some relevant entries this may be resolved later, by myself or others, once the online indexes are further developed.

<sup>36</sup> SAI, HA248/1/1, Laxfield manor court book, 1745-1782, p. 81; SAI, HB26/8039/27, Studhaugh manor court book, 1661-1826, folio 37v.

<sup>37</sup> H. Ffiske, *Fiske family papers*, (Norwich, 1902), p. 386.

definition of a manor, so some uncertainty or subjectivity in definition will always remain. According to Harvey a manor had three definitions at various times. Primarily, in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest a manor ‘could be the residence of someone who had a claim to belong to at least the middle range of the landholding classes’.<sup>38</sup> Secondly, ‘but much more often in medieval England “manor” meant a single administrative unit of a landed estate, whether or not it contained a residence of the holder’.<sup>39</sup> Harvey’s third definition was a later development, ‘probably not until the fifteenth century ... [a manor was] a piece of landed property with tenants over whom the landlord exercised rights of jurisdiction in a private court’, although Harvey acknowledged that these courts had been in use much earlier but that the emphasis had shifted.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, a manor was originally and essentially a ‘free tenement’, that is to say, the title to the property could be defended in the courts of common law; yet later the defining quality of a manor, as opposed to any other free tenement, was the presence of a dependent tenantry and a manorial court. That is to say, specifically, that the holder of a free tenement with a dependent tenantry, i.e. who received homage and/or fealty from their tenants, was a *de facto* lord/lady of other people; therefore, that tenement effectively constituted a manor, even if it was not originally or always described as such in the sources. The existence of a dependent peasantry implied the right to hold a manorial court, and this meant that the lord had jurisdiction, in a manorial and legal sense, over a certain territory *and* his dependant tenantry. A manor might also be identified by the status of the holder or the nature of the service owed by the holder to his or her superior lord: all lands were held from somebody else in the medieval period, ultimately from the king. A manor was usually held by some form of superior service, often military (otherwise called ‘knight service’), and Bailey explains that under the feudal system superior lords had held their estates in return for the provision of knights ‘for military service when required’, from which derived the terminology of knights’ fees. Theoretically a knight’s fee was a landholding sufficient to provide and equip one knight, although this terminology outlived feudalism only as a ‘legal construct’ that bore little relation to the size of the holding.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, a lesser manor and a large free tenement were very similar, in so much that they might both have certain amounts of land, meadow, pasture, woods, mills, etc. And so the terms

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<sup>38</sup> Harvey, *Manorial records*, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Bailey, *The English manor*, p. 14.

‘manor’ and ‘tenement’ might sometimes be used interchangeably in historical records, as found in the evidences for the manor of Dennington in Suffolk where the manor was referred to as a ‘free tenement’.<sup>42</sup> This may also reflect uncertainty of (or indeed indifference to) the differences between them at that particular time. Campbell notes that ‘not infrequently, large holdings of complicated structure occurred among the free holdings of a manor, with a demesne and dependant holdings of their own, which fully merit the title of manor’.<sup>43</sup> Incidentally, for the purposes of this thesis, the Latin word ‘*ville*’ or ‘*villata*’ used in the original sources is taken to mean a ‘vill’, i.e. the smallest unit of medieval territorial administration closely corresponding to the parish, rather than ‘town’ as some of the later writers have translated it and confused the issue. For example, Copinger and Brown use the word ‘town’, which might imply that the lord of that ‘*ville*’ held only the village centre, as opposed to an area which may have been considerably larger. Nor was Laxfield a ‘town’ in the economic and self-governing sense of ‘towns’ during the medieval period, although the presence of a market from 1225, and its rebuilding in 1473, may indicate a desire by the lord and certain members of the community to see it develop into a larger market town, but this never really came to pass and Laxfield remained at most a township or village, as it does today.

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<sup>42</sup> SAI, HB9:51/11/1-4, in a roll entitled ‘Evidences concerning the manor of Dennington Hall and the advowson of the church of the same vill of Dennington’, (membrane 2 *recto*), is an extract from an assize held at Newmarket Saturday next after the feast of St. John the Baptist, 16 Edward III [1342], ‘The Assize comes to acknowledge if William Carbonell(e) and Margaret his wife, Henry le Webbestere, William de Redenhale, Chaplain, and Ralph Williams, unjustly, etc., dissiezed Richard de Wyngefeld(e) of his free tenement in Denyngton(e) after the first, etc., and whereof it is complained that they dissiezed him of the Manor of Denyngton(e), with the appurtenances’.

<sup>43</sup> Campbell, ‘The complexity of manorial structure in medieval Norfolk’, p. 232.

## Chapter Three: The structure and lordship of Laxfield manor before c.1300

This chapter reconstructs the structure, devolution and lordship of the principal manor of Laxfield before 1300, which will be followed in chapter four by the structure and lordship of the same manor from 1300.

### Structure and devolution 1066 to 1250

Domesday Book (compiled 1086) offers the earliest and only comprehensive summary of the structure of the medieval manor of Laxfield: no other summary extents or surveys have survived which give a brief snapshot of the contents of the manor in the medieval period. The importance of the manor in 1066 is suggested by the high status of its lord on the eve of the Norman Conquest, one Edric of Laxfield, who was overlord in 206 vills or manors in Suffolk and Norfolk before 1086;<sup>44</sup> and by its transfer after the Conquest to Robert Malet, one of William I's most trusted followers. Based on its population in 1086 Laxfield has been ranked in the largest 20% of settlements recorded in Domesday'.<sup>45</sup> The full Domesday Book reference reads:

Edric held Laxfield; 6 carucates of land [*car' t(er)rae*] and 80 acres.<sup>46</sup>

Then 14 villagers [*uill(an)i*], later 8, now 6; then and later 14 smallholders [*bor(darii)*], now 37.

Then 4 ploughs in lordship [*car' in d(omi)nio*], later 3, now 2; then and later 14 men's ploughs [*car' hom'*], now 11.

Woodland, 260 pigs; meadow, 27 acres. 5 cattle; then 40 pigs, now 30; 6 sheep; 24 goats.

A church, 43 acres. ½ plough [*dim' car'*].

Value then, £15; now [£]8.

It has 1½ leagues in length and 1 league in width; 6½d in tax.

Of this manor, Walter holds 3 villagers [i.e. villeins, *vill(ani)*]; 50 acres. Value 20s in the same assessment.

Loernic (holds) 40 acres. Value 10s in the same assessment.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Website of 'Open Domesday', under 'Edric of Laxfield':

<https://opendomesday.org/name/edric-of-laxfield/>

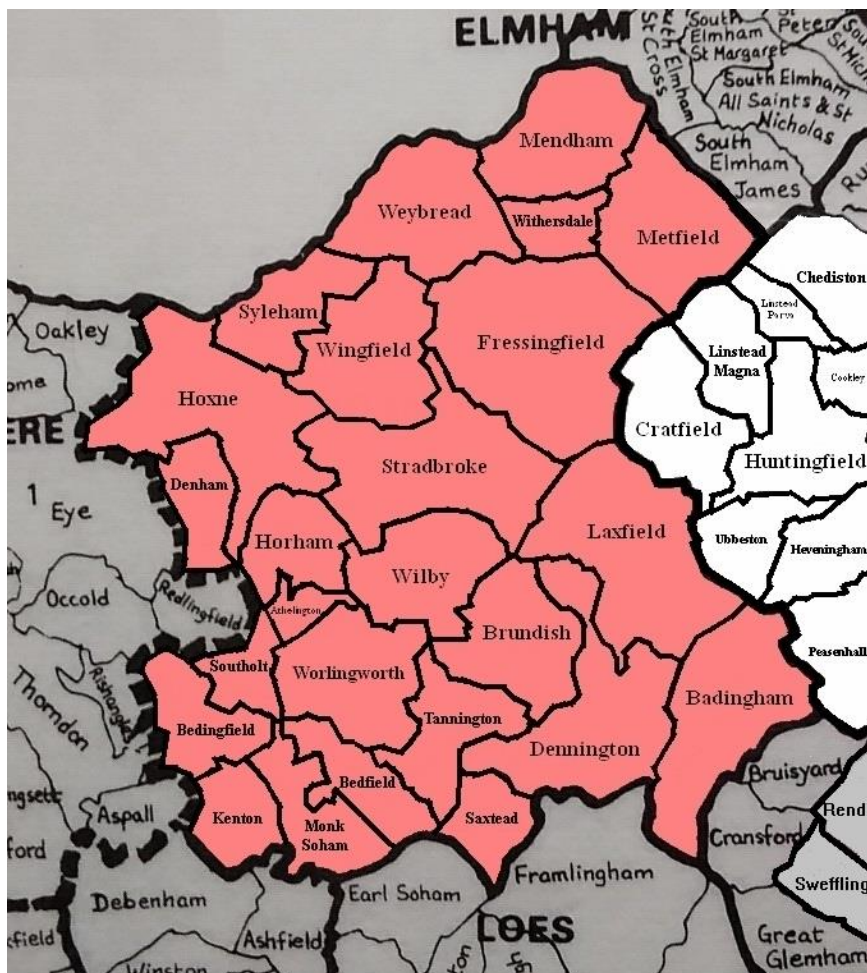
<sup>45</sup> Website of 'Open Domesday', under 'Laxfield':

<https://opendomesday.org/place/TM2972/laxfield/>

<sup>46</sup> A carucate was notionally 120 acres, so this equates to 800 acres, presumably the demesne of Laxfield.

<sup>47</sup> Rumble, *Domesday Book, Suffolk*, part I, section 6; 305.

What does this entry reveal about the structure and standing of Laxfield manor? The manor had a dependent tenantry of 28 *villani* and bordars. The amount of woodland and meadow is relatively high, which is consistent with the landscape and land use of this area of Suffolk at the end of the eleventh century. Domesday also indicates decline in the value of the manor between 1066 and 1086 – as evidenced by the fall in the number of *villani*, the fall in the number of ploughs, both in demesne and of the men, and the fall in the value of the manor – without giving any explanation. The value of Laxfield manor in 1066 can be usefully compared to that of its immediate neighbours in order to gain a sense of its relative importance within the locality. Map 1 below shows Laxfield in its immediate context within Hoxne hundred and the location of its neighbours.



Map 1: part of the county of Suffolk, highlighting the hundred of Hoxne and part of the hundred of Blything, demonstrating the neighbouring villis to Laxfield (in 1836).<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Map produced by Suffolk Archives, entitled ‘Deaneries within the archdeaconries of Sudbury and Suffolk in 1836’. Reproduced courtesy of Suffolk Archives.

Table 1 below includes the values of Laxfield and seven other local manors in 1066, and also presents the size of the glebes of the parish churches and the amount of woodland in each vill.

<b>Manor</b>	<b>Value in 1066</b>	<b>Churches</b>	<b>Woodland, reckoned in pigs it could support</b>
Badingham	£15 5s.	1 church, 60 acres. 1 plough.	100
Laxfield	£15	1 church, 43 acres. ½ plough.	260
Stradbroke	£14 10s.	2 churches, 40 acres. ½ plough.	448
Tannington (presumably including Brundish)	£14	1 church, 30 acres. ½ plough.	200
Dennington	£14	1 church, 40 acres of free land. ½ plough.	164
Fressingfield (combining Chippenhall, Fressingfield & Whittingham)	£10 1s.	1 church, 40 acres. 1 plough. (This church was divided in half, each half belonging to one of the two manors in Chippenhall).	260
Ubbeston	£5 6s. 8d.	1 church, 3 acres. Value, 3d.	176
Cratfield	£4 19s. 8d.	1 church with 6 acres. Value, 6d.	262

Table 1: values of Laxfield and seven other local manors in 1066.

The information contained within table 1 reveals that only Badingham manor had a higher rating on value, although 5s. of its valuation actually related to demesne lands of Badingham manor lying in Cransford.<sup>49</sup> Evidently Badingham church was the most valuable in this group. Overall, Laxfield is clearly one of the most valuable and largest manors in the immediate locality. The church was attached to the manor in 1066, and its glebe of 43 acres is sizeable. In or before 1105/6 Robert Malet granted the church and all its lands, and the tithes of Laxfield manor, to the foundation of Eye priory.<sup>50</sup> The advowson (i.e. the right to present a

<sup>49</sup> Rumble, *Domesday Book, Suffolk*, part I, section 6; 55 and 306.

<sup>50</sup> V. Brown, (ed.), *Eye priory cartulary and charters, part I*, (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 12-16, foundation charter of Eye priory, undated but granted between 1086-1105/6.

clerk to the benefice, which was legally considered a hereditament usually belonging to a manor) was not part of the grant to Eye priory and it belonged to Laxfield manor until 1288.<sup>51</sup> In other words, the profits of the church went to Eye priory, but the lord of the manor retained the right to appoint the priest to the church. The other distinctive aspect of the Domesday entry for Laxfield is the reference to a fifty acre holding in the hands of one Walter, and another of 40 acres held by Loernic. While their exact status is not explained, Walter held three villeins as dependent tenantry and therefore we can regard it as a discrete manor held from the main manor of Laxfield. The wording indicates that its value of 20s. is also included within the £15 valuation of Laxfield. Likewise, Loernic's holding, valued at 10s., looks like another manor held from the main manor, albeit there is no mention of dependant tenants.<sup>52</sup> So the Domesday evidence indicates that there were already three manors in the vill, two held directly from the main manor of Laxfield. Thus, at a net value of £13/10s. Laxfield manor was much larger than the other two, Walter's at £1 and Loernic's at half a pound.

In c.1100 Laxfield manor was a sizeable demesne manor held by a lay lord of high status. Such manors could either be exploited directly by the lord; leased out to a farmer for a stipulated period of time and annual rent; or granted permanently to a third party 'in fee' as part of a process of subinfeudation. In 1194 the honour of Eye was held as a 'farm' and rendered an account for half a year.<sup>53</sup> In this account Laxfield was listed first (and most detailed), followed by Dennington, Tannington, Stradbroke, Thorndon [*Top...*], and finally Eye. Of these, Laxfield, Thorndon, and Eye all recorded their rents of assize, etc., while Dennington, Tannington and Stradbroke only recorded a single sum each 'from farm [*de firma*]'. Thus, these last three manors or vills were clearly leased out, while Laxfield, Thorndon, and Eye were directly exploited. This indicates Laxfield had indeed been held as a demesne manor as part of the estate of a tenant-in-chief, i.e. a lord who held land directly from the king, and that estate, the honour of Eye, was temporarily in the king's hand but leased to a farmer while awaiting a re-grant to a new tenant-in-chief.

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<sup>51</sup> 1288 final agreement, identified in Rye, *Feet of fines for Suffolk*, p. 91. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/215/40, 12 (numbered '148'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_215\\_32-40/CP25no1no215no40/IMG\\_0781.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_215_32-40/CP25no1no215no40/IMG_0781.htm)

<sup>52</sup> Campbell, 'The complexity of manorial structure in medieval Norfolk', p. 232.

<sup>53</sup> D. M. Stenton, (ed.), *The great roll of the pipe for the sixth year of the reign of king Richard the first, Michaelmas 1194 (pipe roll 40)*, volume XLIII, new series volume V, (London, 1928), pp 66-7.



In 1198 king Richard I granted the honour of Eye to duke Henry of Brabant, a duchy in the Low Countries.<sup>54</sup> He was also known as the duke of Lothringia and of Leuven or Lorraine. Laxfield became one of duke Henry's possessions as part of the honour of Eye, along with Dennington. A royal confirmation dated 17 March 9 John (1208) was issued which confirmed an earlier grant made by duke Henry to Godfrey de Wafer' of the manor of Dennington, including 'the old park [*vet(er)i p(ar)co*]', to be held 'in fee and by inheritance'.<sup>55</sup> The specific naming of 'the old park' appears to suggest that there was by that time a new park, or that 'the old park' had been extended, and Godfrey was only receiving the original part of that park. Another royal confirmation dated 1 May 9 John (1208) reveals that, by two earlier grants, duke Henry had given to 'the men of Laxfeld' 203 acres of land in 'the park of Digneveton(e) [i.e. Dennington]'.<sup>56</sup> The *Abbreviations of pleas* from Easter and Trinity terms 10 John (1208) record that 'the men of Lexeffeld offer [*offerunt*] 20 marks [i.e. £13 6s. 8d.] for having a confirmation from the king for certain lands which they have from assart [*de essarto*]'.<sup>57</sup> The pipe roll for Michaelmas 10 John (1208) shows that they actually rendered account for 30 marks (£20), of which the Exchequer had received 100s. (£5), and they owed £15, although the amount of land is there recorded as 204 acres.<sup>58</sup> While these royal confirmations were both dated in 1208 the original grants from the duke have apparently not survived, although a sixteenth or seventeenth century copy of an original, undated but earlier, grant to Godfrey de Waver' is extant, stating that the grant of the manor of Dennington was 'at fee farm [*ad feodi firma(m)*]'.<sup>59</sup> The significance of these grants is twofold: first, that Dennington manor had been subinfeudated by an aristocratic lord to a lay lord, and, second, that 163 acres of the old park of Dennington had been granted to certain men of Laxfield as an assart, i.e. to be converted from woodland/parkland to arable. According to the royal confirmation of 1208 the land in Laxfield was to be held from the duke and his heirs 'well

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<sup>54</sup> V. Brown, *Eye priory cartulary and charters, part II*, (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 67-8; Huffman, *Family, commerce and religion*, p. 132.

<sup>55</sup> T. D. Hardy, (ed.), *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati, volume I, 1199-1216*, (London, 1837), p. 176(b).

<sup>56</sup> Hardy, *Rotuli chartarum, volume I*, p. 177(a).

<sup>57</sup> W. Illingworth, (ed.), *Placitorum in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum abbreviatio, temporibus regum Ric. I. Johann. Henr. III. Edw. I., Edw. II.*, (London, 1811), and referred to by Copinger as '*abbr. of pl.*' [abbreviations of pleas], p. 60, pleas from the terms of Easter and Holy Trinity in the year 9 and beginning of 10 John, roll 14, 'Suff. Homines de Lexeffeld offerunt xx. marc(as) p(ro) habenda confirmac(i)o(n)e Reg(is) de quib(us)dam t(er)ris quas ipsi habent de essarto ex dono Hen(rico) ducis Lotho' p(er) cartam suam quam habent'.

<sup>58</sup> D. M. Stenton, (ed.), *The great roll of the pipe for the tenth year of the reign of king John, Michaelmas 1208 (pipe roll 54), volume LXI, new series volume XXIII*, (London, 1947), p. 13.

<sup>59</sup> SAI, HB9:51/11/1-4, a roll entitled 'Evidences concerning the manor of Dennington Hall and the advowson of the church of the same vill of Dennington'. This is a 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century copy of a 15<sup>th</sup> century document (based on a pedigree written between 1415 and 1448 while William de la Pole was earl of Suffolk).

and in peace, freely and quietly and wholly, in all places and things, with all the liberties and free customs to those lands pertaining ...'.<sup>60</sup> This phrase, and the fact that the land had been granted by charters, makes it clear that it was free land. It also appears that it was to be held directly from the duke, i.e. from the lord of the honour of Eye, rather than from the lord of Laxfield manor. Most of the documentary evidence cited in relation to these assarts demonstrates that the principal person among the grantees was one Robert Garenoise (i.e. Garneys). His status at this time is unclear, although the Garneys family had a lengthy connection to Laxfield: the bailiff of Laxfield manor between 1399 and 1409 was one William Garneys.<sup>61</sup>

The grant of assarts to a group of Laxfield freemen is consistent with the widespread colonisation of pasture and woodland for arable in this part of Suffolk at this time.<sup>62</sup> The royal confirmation of 1208 to 'the men of Laxfeld' names a total of fifty-three recipients of those 203 acres, which demonstrates the existence of a large number of free tenants and free tenements in Laxfield. In 1235 king Henry III granted and confirmed (amongst other things) 'to Richard de Swinestorp(e), son and heir of Henry de Swynestorp(e)', then lord of Laxfield manor, 'the assarts of the old park which are in the soke [i.e. the jurisdiction] of Laxfeld(e)', thus transferring the tenure of the land from the honour of Eye to the lord of Laxfield manor.<sup>63</sup> Where were these substantial assarts? In nearby Worlingworth free tenements were clustered around greens and in hamlets on the edges of the parish, reflecting the expansion of cultivation to its margins during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>64</sup> Rosemary Hoppitt, in researching Dennington Park, notes several localities containing the word 'park' in the manorial records for Laxfield, and the place name 'Parkfield Farm' survives near the parish boundary dividing Laxfield and Dennington (see map 2 below).<sup>65</sup> Likewise, the name Wood Farm (now called 'Laxfield House'), is also suggestive of an assart from woodland, so we can reasonably speculate that the Laxfield–Dennington parish

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<sup>60</sup> TNA, C 53/8 (membrane 2), charter rolls, original enrolled royal charter to the men of Laxfield, 1208. Printed copy in Hardy, *Rotuli chartarum, volume I*, p. 177(a).

<sup>61</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, Laxfield manor accounts 1399-1409.

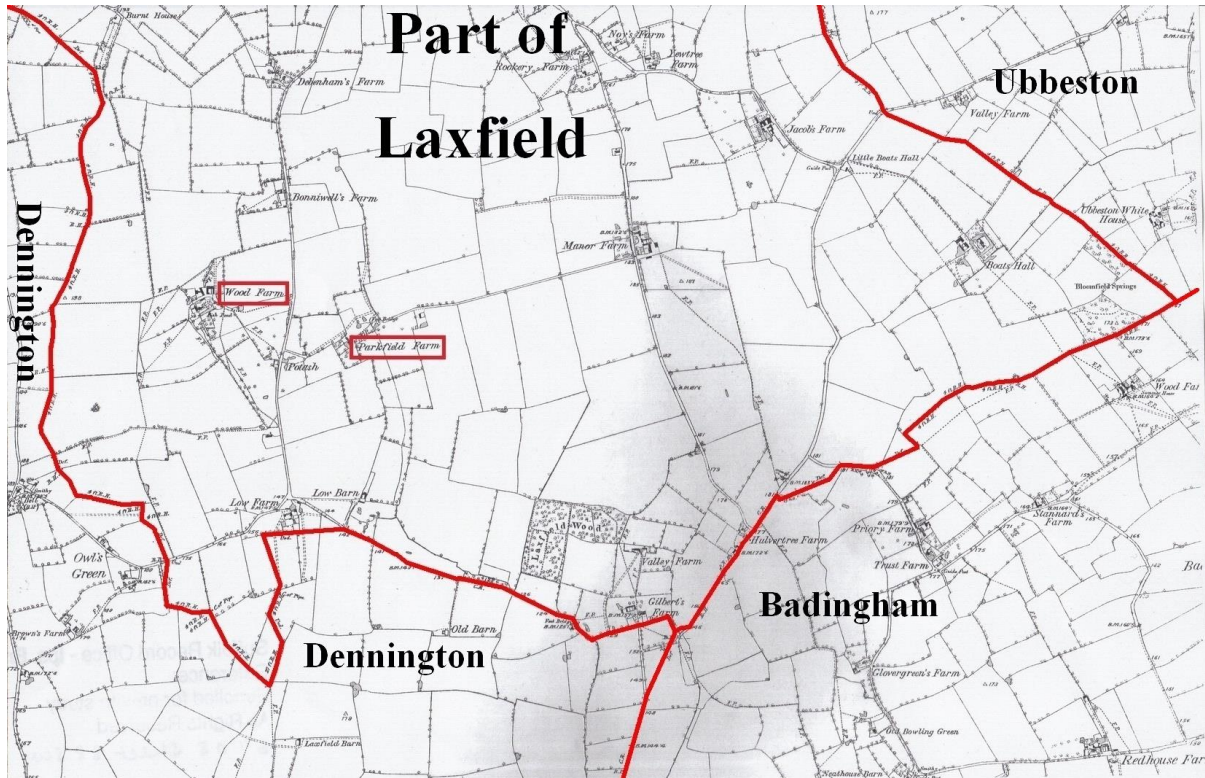
<sup>62</sup> Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 44.

<sup>63</sup> H. C. Maxwell Lyte, (ed.), *Calendar of the charter rolls preserved in the public record office, volume I, Henry III, AD 1226-1257*, (London, 1903), p. 215; TNA, C 53/29 (membrane 9), charter rolls, original enrolled royal charter to Richard de Swinestorp(e), son and heir of Henry de Swynestorp(e).

<sup>64</sup> J. Ridgard, 'The structure of a medieval manor', in D. Dymond and E. Martin, (eds), *An historical atlas of Suffolk*, third edition, (Ipswich, 1989), pp. 86-7.

<sup>65</sup> R. Hoppitt, *Deer parks of Suffolk, 1086-1602*, (Needham Market, 2020), pp. 78-81.

boundary was an area of extensive colonisation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by groups of lesser freemen.



Map 2: Parts of Laxfield and adjoining parishes in 1882-4, showing ‘Wood Farm’ (now ‘Laxfield House’) and ‘Parkfield Farm’, in the south-western corner of Laxfield parish.<sup>66</sup>

What of the descent of the manor of Laxfield? Around 1200 it was held for a short while by one Roger son of Osbert who was sued in the king’s courts in c.1208-9 because he had ‘intruded himself in the sergeanty of the lord king which Eustace the parker [*parcar(ius)*] held from the lord king in Laxefeld ...’.<sup>67</sup> It appears that Roger son of Osbert ceased to hold the vill of Laxfield around the time of the lawsuit, possibly as a result of that case, and Brown states that ‘in c.1210 the town [i.e. vill, *villata*] was given in fee to Henry de Swynesthorpe

<sup>66</sup> SAI, Ordnance Survey first edition six inch map, Suffolk, sheet XXXVIII S.W., (surveyed 1882-3, published 1884; out of copyright). Parish names (in black), and boundaries and boxes around the names of ‘Wood Farm’ and ‘Parkfield Farm’ (in red), are my additions.

<sup>67</sup> Illingworth, *Placitorum*, p. 59, pleas from the terms of Easter and Holy Trinity in the year 9 and beginning of 10 John, roll 6.

by duke Henry of Brabant'.<sup>68</sup> The published pipe roll for that year (12 John) shows that Laxfield was given to 'Henry de Suthentorp'.<sup>69</sup> In 1225 the Crown granted a market in Laxfield to Richard de Swynesthorpe.<sup>70</sup> Huffman argues that Henry de Swynesthorpe was actually one *Henricus* de Zudendorp the elder, patriarch of a local German ministerial family from the vicinity of Cologne, 'who was known in the English royal court' and was granted 'a land fief' in Laxfield by Henry duke of Lothringia/Brabant/Louvain.<sup>71</sup> The spelling of the surname '*de Suthentorp*' in the pipe roll makes this plausible.<sup>72</sup> Huffman also presents evidence which demonstrates that '*Henricus*' was the father of '*Ricardus*'.<sup>73</sup> Huffman portrays this Henry de Zudendorp/Swynesthorpe [I] as a diplomat between Germany and England and an ambassador of the archbishop of Cologne.<sup>74</sup> No record has emerged of Henry de Zudendorp/Swynesthorpe [I] actually residing at Laxfield and, as Huffman demonstrates, most of Henry's children and business affairs were located in Germany and mainland Europe. There are some hints that the de Swynesthorpes spent some time in England. In 1212 Henry received money from the English treasury to be paid to him 'by the hands of Richard his son'.<sup>75</sup> In 1224 Richard 'de Sudinctorp' was described as one of two messengers [*nuncii*] of the archbishop of Cologne, when the king ordered the ship in which they were moored at Lynn [i.e. King's Lynn, Norfolk] to be released.<sup>76</sup> This, together with the active acquisition of a market charter for Laxfield the following year, implies that Richard was in England, and he may have lived at Laxfield. No record of an extension of the market licence has been found, and the hundred rolls of 1274-5 note that one John de Swynethorp(e), probably Richard's grandson, had a market there, although the jurors knew not by what warrant.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Brown, *Eye priory cartulary, part II*, p. 73.

<sup>69</sup> C. F. Slade, (ed.), *The great roll of the pipe for the twelfth year of the reign of king John, Michaelmas 1210 (pipe roll 56), volume LXIV, new series volume XXVI*, (London, 1951), p. 30; also cited in Huffman, *Family, commerce and religion*, pp. 131-2 (footnote 19).

<sup>70</sup> T. D. Hardy, (ed.), *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati, volume II, 1224-1227*, (London, 1844), p. 100, [Latin, my translation]: 'The lord king has granted to Richard de Swinethorp(e) that he shall have, as far as to the age of the lord king, one market at his manor of Laxfeld every week through Saturday'.

<sup>71</sup> Huffman, *Family, commerce and religion*, pp. 121, 128, 130-144.

<sup>72</sup> Slade, *The great roll of the pipe, 12 John*, p. 30.

<sup>73</sup> Huffman, *Family, commerce and religion*, p. 133 (footnote 25); T. D. Hardy, (ed.), *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati, volume I, 1204-1224*, (London, 1833), p. 125.

<sup>74</sup> Huffman, *Family, commerce and religion*, pp. 130-138.

<sup>75</sup> Hardy, *Rotulil litterarum clausarum, volume I*, p. 125.

<sup>76</sup> Huffman, *Family, commerce and religion*, pp. 139 (and footnote 49); Hardy, *Rotuli litterarum clausarum, volume I*, pp. 610 and 634.

<sup>77</sup> W. Illingworth, (ed.), *Rotuli hundredorum temp. Hen. III & Edw. I. in turr' Lond' et in curia receptae scaccarij Westm. asservati, volume II*, (London, 1818), p. 186.

According to Huffman, Henry de Zudendorp/Swynesthorpe the elder disappeared from the German sources around 1235-7, when he presumably died.<sup>78</sup> He was succeeded in his English estate by his son Richard de Zudendorp who ‘resettled in the family’s manor of Laxfield (Suffolk), which accounts for his absence in the Cologne sources’.<sup>79</sup> It appears that Henry probably died in 1235 because in that year king Henry III granted and confirmed:

... to Richard de Swinesthorp(e), son and heir of Henry de Swynestorp(e), the gift and grant which Henry, the late duke of Lotharing(ia), made to the same Henry de Swenesthorp(e) of the whole vill of Laxfeld(e), with all the appurtenances and all the liberties to the same vill pertaining, [as] in ways and footpaths, in woods and alder groves, and in the assarts of the old park, which are in the soke of Laxfeld(e), and of the rent of Stodhaye; saving the foreign services which the vill of Laxfeld(e) owes to the castle of Eye.<sup>80</sup>

This entry is the only evidence found which conclusively proves that Richard de Swynesthorpe who held Laxfield was the son of Henry de Swynesthorpe, because the printed entry in the *Calendar of the charter rolls* omits the words ‘son and heir of Henry de Swynestorp(e)’, and states that duke Henry made the grant to Richard, although the original document proves it was made to Richard’s father Henry. The fact that Richard is named as the son and heir of Henry implies that Henry was dead at that time. This entry also verifies Huffman’s evidence in relation to the English records concerning these two individuals, despite the various spellings of their surnames, and supports his argument that they were the same individuals as the de Zudendorps.

In 1228 one Henry de la Hose had brought an action before the royal justices against Richard de Swynesthorpe, ‘whereupon the same Richard, who is the tenant, has put himself, etc., and he has asked, etc., which of them has the greater right in that vill ...’.<sup>81</sup> Unfortunately there is no detailed information about what this Henry de la Hose held, or claimed to hold, as the pleadings and grounds for his claim are not specified because Richard paid forty marks for

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<sup>78</sup> Huffman, *Family, commerce and religion*, pp. 141-144.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>80</sup> TNA, C 53/29 (membrane 9), charter rolls, original enrolled royal charter to Richard de Swinesthorp(e), son and heir of Henry de Swynestorp(e); Maxwell Lyte, *Calendar of the charter rolls, volume I*, p. 215.

<sup>81</sup> 1228 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/819 (3 verso). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no819/bJUST1no819dorses/IMG\\_4725.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no819/bJUST1no819dorses/IMG_4725.htm)

licence to agree with Henry.<sup>82</sup> This led to a final agreement in the same year by which Henry de la Hose released his right in the vill of Laxfield but retained to himself and to his heirs ‘the lands, rents, services, homages, and the tenements, with the appurtenances, which the aforesaid Henry [de la Hose] previously held in the vill of Laxfeld(e)’.<sup>83</sup> Whether this was really a dispute, or actually reflects the creation of another manor within the vill is uncertain. However, Henry de la Hose clearly had a dependent tenantry, which is the primary criterion for an independent manorial holding. There is also the possibility that ‘Henry de la Hose’ was an alias of Henry de Zudendorp/Swynesthorpe (who could have been Richard’s father, or alternatively his brother, as Huffman shows that Richard had a brother named Henry [*Henricus*] de Zudendorp the younger).<sup>84</sup> While this theory requires further research, it is worth noting that one Henry de la Hose had been actively witnessing charters relating to Eye in 1203-17, the 1220s and 1230s, and he was dead by 1240.<sup>85</sup>

#### Structure and devolution 1250 to c.1300

The ‘Eye fees roll’ (c.1250) states: ‘Richard de Swynestorpe holds [in the county of Suffolk], ..., [at Lax]feld(e), 1 fee; and he owes of [castle] ward at the aforesaid terms 5s.; in the bailiwick of William Garneys’.<sup>86</sup> The dots signify a hole in the centre of this entry, thus some information is lost. This is the first of several sources to state that Laxfield manor was assessed at one knight’s fee, and the commutation of guard duty at Eye castle to a cash payment of five shillings every two years is reflected in repeated entries in the Laxfield manorial accounts from 1376/7 onwards. Likewise, there is an entry in the ‘Eye fees roll’ that the honour of Eye received 2s. from the vill of Laxfield at the feast of St. John the Baptist.<sup>87</sup> This is explained in an entry in the manorial account of 1400/1401 as ‘for mowing of the meadows of the castle of Eye’.<sup>88</sup> Another version of the ‘Eye fees roll’, which was written

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<sup>82</sup> 1228 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/819 (3 verso). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no819/bJUST1no819dorses/IMG\\_4725.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no819/bJUST1no819dorses/IMG_4725.htm)

<sup>83</sup> 1228 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/213/7, 22 (numbered ‘22’). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_213\\_7-18/IMG\\_0027.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_213_7-18/IMG_0027.htm)

<sup>84</sup> Huffman, *Family, commerce and religion*, pp. 121, 141-2, 144, 150, 152.

<sup>85</sup> Brown, *Eye priory cartulary, part I*, pp. 85-86, 148, 151-153, 158, 186; Brown, *Eye priory cartulary, part II*, pp. 123-125, 137.

<sup>86</sup> SAI, HD1538/216/1, undated roll (c.1250) entitled ‘the barons and knights, [and] tenants of the lord earl [Richard, earl of Cornwall], in the honour of Eye’; otherwise called the ‘Eye fees roll’ and dated by Brown, *Eye priory cartulary, part I*, p. xiv, and *passim*, and *part II, passim*.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, Laxfield manor account for 1400-1401 (1-2 Henry IV).



after 1256, reveals that Richard de Swynesthorpe was still holder of the manor at that time and that the missing text above should say ‘in demesne’.<sup>89</sup> Before 1270 Richard was succeeded in Laxfield manor by Henry de Swynesthorpe [II], presumably his son. In that year ‘Henry de Swenesthorp(e)’, together with Gregory Bagge and Fulk [*ffulco*] de Lexefeud, allegedly threw down the house of Stephen Daniel, a free tenant in Laxfield, and carried off his goods and chattels.<sup>90</sup> Henry’s behaviour does not appear to have been an isolated incident or out of character because sometime between 1270 and 1272 he bribed the sheriff not to execute the king’s writ or make him appear in the king’s court for robberies he had done on his tenants.<sup>91</sup> He was probably also the ‘Henry de Laxfeld(e)’ who brought a case in 1271 against Henry Anncel and others for attacking him with force and arms in his home at night, breaking his cattle shed and taking his animals.<sup>92</sup> Henry de Swynesthorpe [II] appears to have died in about 1272, and was succeeded by John as his male heir.<sup>93</sup>

As we have noted, the hundred rolls of 1279-80 have mostly not survived for East Anglia, although some transcripts for lands of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk survived in ‘the Pinchbeck register’.<sup>94</sup> However, nothing from this national survey recorded in the hundred rolls of 1279-80 has survived for Laxfield. There are a few scraps of information concerning Laxfield from the earlier hundred rolls of 1274-5, although they reveal little about the manorial structure of Laxfield itself, except that its lord John de Swynesthorpe had a market (although the jury knew not by what warrant); and that apparently he had appropriated liberties of chase and warren and had exceeded his boundaries. However, there are no descriptions or indications of the amounts or where these features lay. Nothing is mentioned about the sizes or values of the demesne, villein or free lands, nor how many villein or free

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<sup>89</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D461/4/D/6/1, this roll contains a later version of the list of ‘barons, knights [and] tenants, of the lord king of Almain [*Allemann*’, i.e. Germany]’, thus it must have been written after Richard earl of Cornwall was elected king of Germany in 1256. It is more complete and in better condition than the ‘Eye fees roll’ (c.1250) [SAI, HD1538/216/1]. It states: ‘Richard de Su(u)enynesthorp(e) holds in the county of Suffolk, in demesne, at Laxfeld(e) 1 fee. And he owes of ward at the aforesaid terms 5s. In the bailiwick of William Garnays’.

<sup>90</sup> 1271 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, KB 26/204 (7 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT1/H3/KB26no204/aKB26no204fronts/IMG\\_2329.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT1/H3/KB26no204/aKB26no204fronts/IMG_2329.htm)

<sup>91</sup> Illingworth, *Rotuli hundredorum, volume II*, p. 187, [Latin, my translation]: ‘William Giffard, while he was sheriff, took from Henry de Swynesthorp(e) 10 marks not to make execution of the king’s mandate which he had, nor to make the same Henry come before the same king to answer to his tenants of Laxfeld concerning the robberies [*rob(er)riis*] to them by him done’. William Giffard was sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk 1270-1272.

<sup>92</sup> 1271 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, KB 26/204 (6 *verso*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT1/H3/KB26no204/bKB26no204dorses/IMG\\_2390.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT1/H3/KB26no204/bKB26no204dorses/IMG_2390.htm)

<sup>93</sup> Illingworth, *Rotuli hundredorum, volume II*, p. 186.

<sup>94</sup> F. Hervey, *The Pinchbeck register relating to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, &c.*, part I and part II, (Brighton, 1925).

tenants belonged to the lord of Laxfield manor; nor of the numbers, types or values of the services owed by the tenants to the lord. The hundred rolls of 1274-5 do reveal that Laxfield manor held the view of frankpledge and rights of free warren.<sup>95</sup> Laxfield court rolls from the reign of Edward IV show that the manor usually held a court leet once a year on Tuesday next after the close of Easter.<sup>96</sup> There is evidence of a rabbit warren in 1408-9 when the ‘conynger(e)’ was demised to William Jurdon for eight years, and it contained half an acre and half a rood.<sup>97</sup> In 1421-2 the lord granted it to William Jurdon by the court rolls, and thereafter it remained as copyhold land.<sup>98</sup> Copinger cited the hundred rolls to argue that the de Swynesthorpe family held the manor of Studhaugh and, confusing this with Laxfield manor, he asserted that John de Swynesthorpe sold it.<sup>99</sup> There is no mention in the published hundred rolls of the de Swynesthorpes holding Studhaugh manor,<sup>100</sup> although I have demonstrated above that they did have the rent of Stodhaye from at least 1235, and this ‘Stodhaye’ is presumed to be Studhaugh manor. I find no evidence which demonstrates that the manor of Laxfield was sold between 1274-5 and the end of the thirteenth century. Actually, the evidence suggests that the surname ‘de Swynesthorpe’ fell into abeyance in favour of ‘de Laxfeld’, i.e. ‘of Laxfield’, probably adopting the name of the manor they held. A legal case around 1276-7 refers to William de Monte Caniso, who was custodian of ‘John son and heir of Henry de Laxfeud’: surely this was John son of Henry de Swynesthorpe.<sup>101</sup> Diagram 1 below sets out the speculative pedigree of the de Swynesthorpe/de Laxfeld family members in order to clarify the evidences which follow it.

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<sup>95</sup> Illingworth, *Rotuli hundredorum*, volume II, pp. 186-187.

<sup>96</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 7, Laxfield manor court rolls 1461-1483 (1-23 Edward IV).

<sup>97</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, Laxfield manor account of 1408-9 (9-10 Henry IV).

<sup>98</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, ‘(Vanneck) book of extracts from Laxfield court rolls, 8 Richard II–19 Henry VIII [1384-1528]’, pp. 30, 33, 40, 100.

<sup>99</sup> Copinger, *The manors of Suffolk*, volume IV, p. 59.

<sup>100</sup> Illingworth, *Rotuli hundredorum*, volume II, pp. 186-187.

<sup>101</sup> 1276 lawsuit (essoins). Original document at TNA, Just 1/1228 (66 verso). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1228/bJUST1no1228dorses/IMG\\_3849.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1228/bJUST1no1228dorses/IMG_3849.htm)



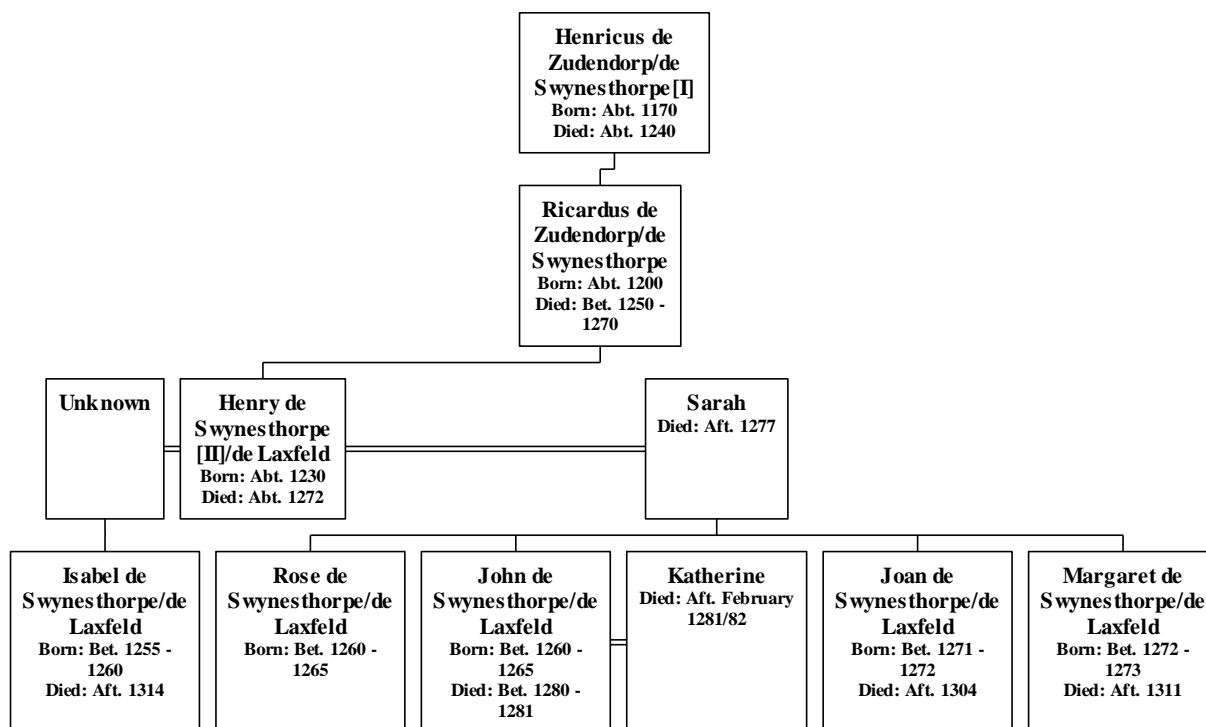


Diagram 1: speculative pedigree of the de Swynesthorpe/de Laxfeld family.

On 11 April 1277 the rolls of the Justices Itinerant record that Gregory Bagge and Sarah his wife claimed that William de Monte Caniso, Alan le Seriannt and Robert Knyt, had unjustly disseized them of ‘their free tenement’ in Laxfeld, amounting to a third part of Laxfeld manor. William conceded it as a ‘free tenement’ to Sarah and Gregory for the term of her life, acknowledging it to pertain to Sarah as her dower.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, Sarah was probably the widow of Henry de Swynesthorpe [II]/de Laxfeld, although what this ‘tenement’ actually comprised on the ground is unknown and it would have reverted to the manor after Sarah’s death. On the same membrane as the case above was enrolled, an entry at the bottom of the roll recorded that: ‘William de Monte Kanis(o), custodian of the land and heir[s?] [*her*]’ of Henry de Laxfeld(e), put Ralph de Alneto in his place [as his attorney] against the prior of Eye [not named] concerning a plea of the last presentation, whereof he has complained ...’.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, the entry on the rolls of the royal courts is unfinished, but the ‘plea of the last presentation’ indicates that this suit concerned an advowson, and the close rolls, repeating the

<sup>102</sup> 1277 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/1233 (2 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1233/aJUST1no1233fronts/IMG\\_4564.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1233/aJUST1no1233fronts/IMG_4564.htm)

<sup>103</sup> 1277 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/1233 (2 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1233/aJUST1no1233fronts/IMG\\_4565.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1233/aJUST1no1233fronts/IMG_4565.htm)

entry above, reveal that this concerned the church of Laxfield.<sup>104</sup> The dispute with Eye priory presumably relates to the unusual situation in which the priory had the profits of the church but not the right to appoint the incumbent. By an undated letter, presumably written between 1272 and 1277, from Richard de Boyland (one of the royal justices) to John Kirkby (master of the rolls of Chancery from 1269), Richard de Boyland sought a postponement of the case which was before the Justices of the Bench against John de Laxfeld, concerning the advowson of Laxfield church, until John came of age.<sup>105</sup> Also in the year 5 Edward I (1276-7), one Richard de Eye (presumably the prior of Eye mentioned above) had arraigned the assize of *mort d'ancestor* against John le Estraunge and Isabel his wife concerning 'a mes[s]uage, land, a mill, and rent' in Laxfield and Badingham.<sup>106</sup> This Isabel was probably the daughter of Henry [II] de Swynesthorpe/de Laxfeld by a first marriage, and thus she would have been an older sister or half-sister of John de Laxfeld. Isabel le Estraunge had also been previously married to one William Burt (i.e. Bourt), deceased by 1277, and she had at least two daughters by him, Clemence and Damiot [*Dametta*], who were apparently alive in the same year.<sup>107</sup> Henry [II] de Swynesthorpe/de Laxfeld also had three other daughters, Rose, Joan and Margaret, presumably all children of his second or subsequent marriage to Sarah. From another lawsuit in 1282, all of these three daughters are described as sisters, although Isabel, who is also named therein, is not described by any relationship to them.<sup>108</sup>

Reconstructing these arcane family details through chance references in legal cases is essential to understanding the history of Laxfield manor. It seems that John de Laxfeld died before 1280-81, and that the manor was split between his sisters. The result was a complex situation that has been exceedingly difficult to reconstruct from fragmentary sources. Isabel's

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<sup>104</sup> H. C. Maxwell Lyte, (ed.), *Calendar of the close rolls preserved in the public record office, Edward I, [volume I], 1272-1279*, (London, 1900), p. 416.

<sup>105</sup> HMSO (unknown editor), *The seventh report of the deputy keeper of the public records*, (London, 1846), appendix II, p. 255, 'Calendar of royal and other letters and writs, and some few patents, in the Wakefield tower', number 1949: 'R. de Boyland to J[ohn] de Kirkeby. – John de Laxfield, being impleaded before the Justices of the Bench, with respect to the advowson of the church of Laxfield, and being under age, the writer begs that the suit may be postponed until the minor be of age'. 'R. de Boyland' was probably Richard de Boyland, one of the medieval justices, while John de Kirkeby, or Kirkby, was one of Henry III's chancery clerks, keeper of the rolls of chancery in 1269, who rose to be treasurer in 1284 until his death in 1290, and was also bishop of Ely from 1286-90. Therefore, the extract above would have been written some time after the 1260s but no later than 1290.

<sup>106</sup> Translated and published as 'Calendar of patent rolls: 5 Edward I', membrane 5d. (50), in HMSO (unknown editor), *The forty-sixth report of the deputy keeper of the public records*, (London, 1886), appendix II, p. 210.

<sup>107</sup> 1277 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/1237 (5 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1237/aJUST1no1237fronts/IMG\\_4957.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1237/aJUST1no1237fronts/IMG_4957.htm)

<sup>108</sup> 1282 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/47 (85 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no47/CP40no47afr/IMG\\_6330.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no47/CP40no47afr/IMG_6330.htm)

second husband John le Estraunge had died and she had remarried to Andrew de Ponte, who then pursued a lawsuit on her behalf against William de Monte Caniso concerning a ‘tenement’ in Laxfield.<sup>109</sup> What was this ‘tenement’? In 1282 Andrew was one of the suitors to the court of Edmund, earl of Cornwall, then lord of the honour of Eye, where he was distrained with other suitors of the court of Eye to make a record of a certain lawsuit in that court.<sup>110</sup> It seems, from the names and residence of his mainpernors, all from Laxfield, that Andrew’s suit to the earl’s court was in respect of Laxfield, and this was probably for the manor, which suggests that his case against William de Monte Caniso had probably concerned the manor of Laxfield, or at least his wife’s fourth part of it, and that he was successful in recovering it from William. Andrew de Ponte is the only suitor mentioned in connection with Laxfield in the case of 1282, so it seems he was probably the sole lord of the manor at that time (in the right of his wife). William de Monte Caniso died in 1286 and no mention of Laxfield manor appears in his inquisition post mortem, indicating that he had no connection with it at the time of his death.<sup>111</sup>

How had the manor come to be fragmented sometime in the late thirteenth century? John de Laxfeld had married and died before 1281-2, because in that year Katherine the widow of John de Laxfeld claimed against the eldest two heiresses of Henry de Laxfeld (i.e. John’s sisters) and their husbands a third part of a moiety of Laxfield manor, and a third part of a moiety of the advowson of the church of the same manor.<sup>112</sup> It was described as a ‘moiety’, meaning a half part, because the two youngest heiresses were under age and had not entered their inheritances, but Isabel and Rose each held a fourth part of the manor of Laxfield, thus making a half part or moiety of the whole manor. A different lawsuit of 1282, in respect of Joan and Margaret, states ‘it is sent by the sheriff [*mandavit vic*] that they are within age and in the custody of the earl of Cornwall [as lord of the honour of Eye]; and it is attested, etc.,

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<sup>109</sup> HMSO (unknown editor), *The fiftieth annual report of the deputy keeper of the public records*, (London, 1889), appendix, p. 136, ‘Calendar of patent rolls: 9 Edward I, membrane 16d., (no. 14)’.

<sup>110</sup> 1282 order to sheriff to distrain the suitors to the court of Eye from Edmund, earl of Cornwall. Original document at TNA, CP 40/44 (44 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no44/CP40no44afr/IMG\\_5575.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no44/CP40no44afr/IMG_5575.htm)

<sup>111</sup> J. E. E. S. Sharp, (ed.), *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem, and other analogous documents, preserved in the public record office, prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, volume II, Edward I*, (London, 1906), pp. 370-373, number 610, inquisition post mortem of ‘William de Monte Caniso of Edwardston[e], alias de Monte Canisio, de Monchenesey’, writ dated 20 March 14 Edward I [1285/6].

<sup>112</sup> 1281-2 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/44 (membrane ?61-63? *verso*, number not visible). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no44/CP40no44dorses/IMG\\_5783.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no44/CP40no44dorses/IMG_5783.htm)

that they are of full age'.<sup>113</sup> However, if it is accepted that they actually were within age then this explains why a third part of the other moiety of Laxfield was not being claimed by Katherine in 1281-2. As in the case of their brother John, any suit against them was probably postponed until they reached their full ages. When the prior of Eye made another attempt to obtain the advowson of Laxfield in 1286 Margaret was actually seen in court to be within age, which led to that suit being postponed until she was of full age, although she was married at that time.<sup>114</sup> In the medieval period 'the knight came of age at 21, females of that class at 14 if married, at 16 if single'.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, Margaret must have been under fourteen years of age in 1286. However, she had attained her full age by 1288 when all four heiresses and their husbands made a final agreement with Richard, the prior of Eye, by which he finally obtained the advowson of Laxfield church.<sup>116</sup> Notably Katherine the widow of John de Laxfeld was not party to this agreement, possibly having died. Margaret, the youngest heiress, was thus probably born about 1272-3. Evidence mentioned above indicates that Isabel, the eldest heiress, was possibly born as early as the mid-1250s as she was already widowed by 1277. John, Rose, and Joan were probably all born between these dates and I have suggested some dates in the pedigree above. All the evidence indicates that in the early 1280s the lord of Laxfield manor had died without a male heir and the manor was split into four parts between female heiresses. No document detailing the partition has been found, so again there is no evidence to indicate how the split was made. Was it notional, in the sense that Laxfield manor continued as a functioning and coherent single unit but the annual profits were simply split four ways? Or were the resources of the manor physically divided between the four, and four separate manors created? Chapter four traces the devolutions of the separate lordships of the manor, and in part two we will see that the account for 1376-7 only covered half of the manor. Thus, each part was administered separately. The resources were physically divided, as evidenced by the plethora of new rents in the account of 1408-9 when those resources were finally reunited. However, the individual lordships were never specifically named in the sources as separate manors but always as part of Laxfield manor.

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<sup>113</sup> 1282 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/47 (85 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no47/CP40no47afr/IMG\\_6330.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no47/CP40no47afr/IMG_6330.htm)

<sup>114</sup> 1286 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/826 (7 *verso*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no826/bJUST1no826dorses/IMG\\_5131.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no826/bJUST1no826dorses/IMG_5131.htm)

<sup>115</sup> S. S. Walker, 'Proof of age of feudal heirs in medieval England', *Medieval Studies*, 35 (1973), pp. 306-322, p. 307.

<sup>116</sup> 1288 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/215/40, 12 (numbered '148'). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_215\\_32-40/CP25no1no215no40/IMG\\_0781.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_215_32-40/CP25no1no215no40/IMG_0781.htm)

## **Chapter Four: Structure and lordship of Laxfield manor 1300 to 1410**

We saw in chapter three that sometime between 1280 and 1288 Laxfield manor had been divided into four separate parts, held by four married heiresses. The fission of the manor is reflected in a reference from 1348, when it was described as held by John de Hoo of Laxfield, Emma Atte Bridge ‘and her other parceners [*et alii parcenarii sui*]’.<sup>117</sup> In this chapter we trace these four parts of the manor and reveal how, over the course of the fourteenth century and into the first decade of the fifteenth century, the parts were gradually acquired into the hands of a single lord and effectively fused back into one entity. The evidence is drawn mainly from conveyances and disputes over land in the royal courts, and clues in the surviving manorial accounts from the late fourteenth century.

### Rose de Swynesthorpe/Laxfeld’s fourth part of Laxfield manor.

Rose was married to Adam del Hoo (or Howe) by 1282.<sup>118</sup> He was probably the ‘Adam son of William de Ho of *Ocle* [i.e. Oakley, Suffolk]’ mentioned in 1280-81.<sup>119</sup> It is likely that Adam was dead by 1303 when one Lena, the widow of Richard de Holok(e), sought four and a half acres of land, with appurtenances, in Laxfield, against Rose de Hoo, because Adam was not named in that suit.<sup>120</sup> I have found no later mentions of Adam in the rolls of the royal courts. This fourth part was then probably inherited directly by their son, John de Hoo of Laxfield [I], who is recorded as early as 1307.<sup>121</sup> In 1312 he and Joan his wife acquired a sizeable tenement at Oakley in Suffolk from one ‘John son of John de Hoo of *Ocle* [i.e. Oakley]’, which appears to support Adam’s connection with William de Hoo of Oakley.<sup>122</sup> In 1314 John de Hoo appears as an attorney on behalf of the king in a suit concerning the

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<sup>117</sup> A. S. Maskelyne and J. V. Lyle, (eds), *Inquisitions and assessments relating to feudal aids, with other analogous documents preserved in the public record office, a.d. 1284-1431, prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, volume V*, (London, 1908), p. 62, inquisition held at Eye on Saturday next before Palm Sunday, 22 Edward III.

<sup>118</sup> 1282 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/47 (85 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no47/CP40no47afr/IMG\\_6330.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no47/CP40no47afr/IMG_6330.htm)

<sup>119</sup> 1280-81 lawsuit (list of attorneys). Original document at TNA, CP 40/43 (134 *verso*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no43/CP40no43dorses/IMG\\_5483.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no43/CP40no43dorses/IMG_5483.htm)

<sup>120</sup> 1303 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/149 (35 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no149/aCP40no149fronts/IMG\\_0077.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no149/aCP40no149fronts/IMG_0077.htm)

<sup>121</sup> 1307 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/845 (10 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no845/aJUST1no845fronts/IMG\\_7641.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no845/aJUST1no845fronts/IMG_7641.htm)

<sup>122</sup> 1312 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/217/53, 13 (numbered ‘13’; previously numbered ‘75’ but deleted). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_217\\_51-59/IMG\\_0131.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_217_51-59/IMG_0131.htm)

advowson of the church of Badingham, and there are numerous other mentions of him in the royal courts to suggest he was a lawyer.<sup>123</sup> He also appears to have been sheriff of Essex and Hertford in 1314.<sup>124</sup> The *Feudal Aids* identify only two lords at Laxfield in 1316: John de Ponte [i.e. Atte Bridge] and John de Hoo.<sup>125</sup> In 1329 John de Hoo of Laxfield [I] acquired another fourth part of Laxfield manor (see below) together with a tenement called Wetheringsete's.<sup>126</sup> This John was probably the Suffolk coroner described in 1344 as 'so sick and broken by age that he cannot exercise the duties of the office'.<sup>127</sup> This John [I] had four sons, Robert, Peter;<sup>128</sup> Edmund;<sup>129</sup> and John [II], who inherited the greater share of the manor, whose wife was named as Katherine in 1347.<sup>130</sup> It is likely that his brother, Peter, was the parson of Oakley in 1340-41.<sup>131</sup> This Peter, at some point, held a fourth part of Laxfield manor.

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<sup>123</sup> 1314 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/207 (263 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E2/CP40no207/aCP40no207fronts/IMG\\_0530.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E2/CP40no207/aCP40no207fronts/IMG_0530.htm)

<sup>124</sup> 1314 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, KB 27/215 (51 or 52 *verso*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E2/KB27no215/bKB27no215dorses/IMG\\_0100.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E2/KB27no215/bKB27no215dorses/IMG_0100.htm)

<sup>125</sup> Maskelyne and Lyle, *Feudal Aids*, p. 37.

<sup>126</sup> 1329 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/219/69, 30 (numbered '67'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_219\\_69-76/IMG\\_0035.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_219_69-76/IMG_0035.htm)

<sup>127</sup> H. C. Maxwell Lyte, (ed.), *Calendar of close rolls preserved in the public record office, prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, Edward III, volume VII, a.d. 1343-46*, (London, 1904), p. 329: 'To the sheriff of Suffolk. Order to cause a coroner for that county to be elected in place of John de Hoo of Laxfeld, who is so sick and broken by age that he cannot exercise the duties of the office'.

<sup>128</sup> 1339 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, KB 27/318 (75 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT1/E3/KB27no318/aKB27no318fronts/IMG\\_0152.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT1/E3/KB27no318/aKB27no318fronts/IMG_0152.htm)

<sup>129</sup> 1341 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/858 (originally numbered '14' *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no858/aJUST1no858fronts/IMG\\_8365.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no858/aJUST1no858fronts/IMG_8365.htm)

<sup>130</sup> 1347 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/220/84, 3 (numbered '3'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25\\_1/Suff/CP25\\_1\\_220/IMG\\_0268.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25_1/Suff/CP25_1_220/IMG_0268.htm)

<sup>131</sup> 1341 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/858 (?3 *verso*). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no858/bJUST1no858dorses/IMG\\_8414.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no858/bJUST1no858dorses/IMG_8414.htm)

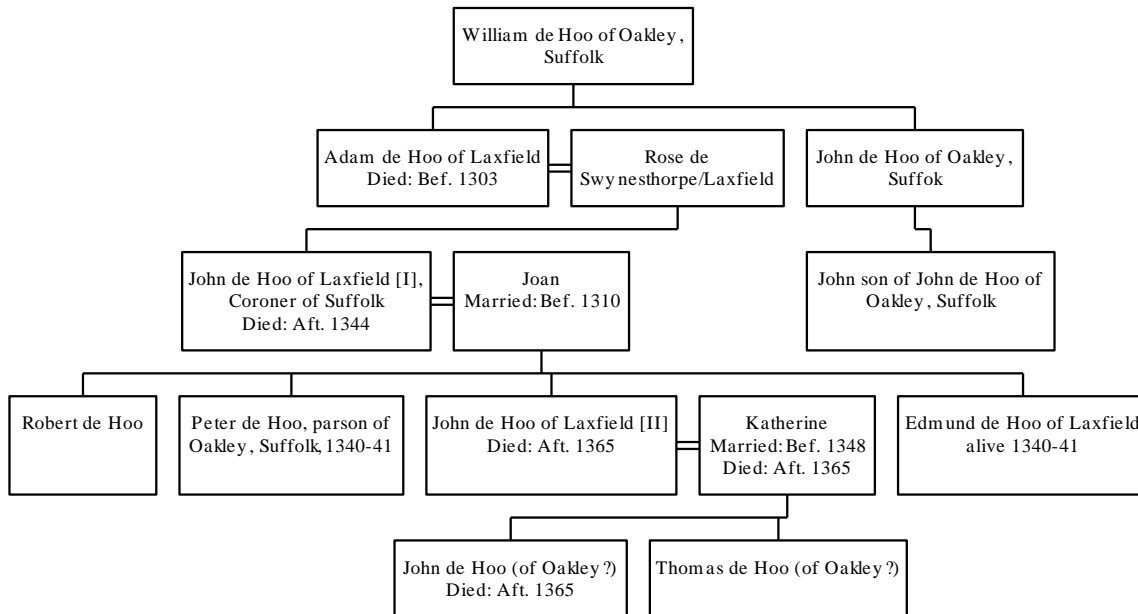


Diagram 2: speculative pedigree of the de Hoo family at Laxfield.

Joan de Swynesthorpe/Laxfeld's fourth part of Laxfield manor.

Joan was married to John de Bosco [otherwise written as 'Boys'] of Worlingworth by 1286.<sup>132</sup> In 1301, John de Bosco of Worlingworth and Joan his wife passed to William Brun of Wetheringsete (i.e. Wetheringsett, Suffolk) twenty-three messuages, forty-eight acres of land, and 55 shillings rent, with appurtenances, in Laxfield, probably as a marriage settlement between William and their daughter, Joan.<sup>133</sup> This package of land may well have comprised a significant part of Joan's share of the manor, although the title to the portion of the manor was still held by her parents: her father, John de Bosco, was dead by 1304.<sup>134</sup> The widowed Joan remarried to one William Jayot/Jayat, because in 1308 they brought a writ against William Brun of Wetheringsete and Joan his wife concerning twenty[?]-four messuages and one hundred acres of land in Laxfield.<sup>135</sup> The dispute was quickly resolved, however, and in

<sup>132</sup> 1286 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/826 (7 verso). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no826/bJUST1no826dorses/IMG\\_5131.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no826/bJUST1no826dorses/IMG_5131.htm)

<sup>133</sup> 1301 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/216/44, 26 (numbered '72'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_216\\_41-48/CP25no1no216no44/IMG\\_1003.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_216_41-48/CP25no1no216no44/IMG_1003.htm)

<sup>134</sup> 1304 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/152 (30 recto). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no152/aCP40no152fronts/IMG\\_0061.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no152/aCP40no152fronts/IMG_0061.htm)

<sup>135</sup> 1308 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/178 (2 recto). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E2/CP40no178/aCP40no178fronts/IMG\\_0006.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E2/CP40no178/aCP40no178fronts/IMG_0006.htm)



1310, William and Joan Jayot conveyed to ‘William [Brun] de Wetheringsete’ and Joan his wife a fourth part of the manor of Laxfield.<sup>136</sup>

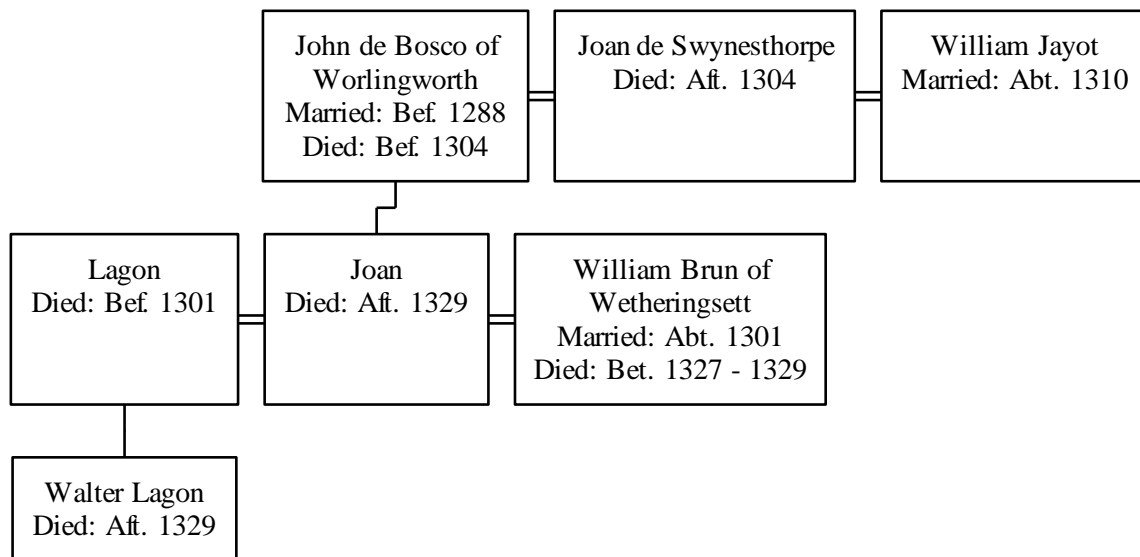


Diagram 3: speculative descendant chart for Joan de Swynesthorpe/Laxfeld.

In 1329, by another final agreement, one Walter Lagon of Wetheringsete passed to John de Hoo of Laxfield [I] one messuage, fifty acres of land, ten acres of pasture, five acres of meadow, four acres of wood, and ten shillings rent, with appurtenances, in Laxfield, Badingham and Dennington, *and* a fourth part of the manor of Laxfield; although twenty-six acres of that land, *and* the fourth part of the manor of Laxfield, were to be had in remainder after the death of Joan, who had been the wife of William [Brun] de Wetheringsete, which she ‘held at term of life from the inheritance of the aforesaid Walter [Lagon] in the aforesaid villis on the day on which this agreement was made’.<sup>137</sup> How this Walter had obtained the land is uncertain, but the important point is that in 1329 this portion of the manor was now in the hands of John de Hoo: the process of fusing back together the fragments of the manor of Laxfield had begun.

<sup>136</sup> 1310 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/216/51, 35 (numbered ‘104’). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_217\\_51-59/IMG\\_0044.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_217_51-59/IMG_0044.htm)

<sup>137</sup> 1329 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/219/69, 30 (numbered ‘67’). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_219\\_69-76/IMG\\_0035.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_219_69-76/IMG_0035.htm)



Margaret de Swynesthorpe/Laxfeld's fourth part of Laxfield manor.

Margaret, the youngest of the heiresses of Henry de Swynesthorpe/Laxfeld, was married to Benedict de Shelton by 1286.<sup>138</sup> Margaret was widowed by 1310, and Benedict had at least one son named John alive at that time, although whether this John was also the son of Margaret is unknown.<sup>139</sup> As early as 1303 Benedict and Margaret de Shelton had passed at least a free tenement to William Cloutyng [I].<sup>140</sup> I have found no evidence regarding the later transfer of Margaret's fourth part of Laxfield manor, but she must have sold it at some point in the fourteenth century to either John de Hoo [I] or his son Peter, because a note in the 1480 Laxfield rental describes Benedict and Margaret de Shelton as 'late lords of the lordship lately of Peter de Hoo'.<sup>141</sup>

Hence by 1329 John de Hoo [I] had inherited Rose's portion and acquired Joan's, then sometime later either he or his son Peter acquired Margaret's share. By the 1350s these three shares belonged to Margaret, the wife of John de 'Brysyngham' [i.e. Bressingham, Norfolk], who was probably the heir of John de Hoo [II]. Then, in 1361, Thomas de Wingfield, Margaret his wife and John his son (who was within age<sup>142</sup>), acquired them.<sup>143</sup> The extant manorial accounts from the final quarter of the fourteenth century document the de Wingfields' management of these three parts. For example, the manorial account for 1396-7 adds the phrase 'formerly of John de Hoo' to the usual headings for rental income,<sup>144</sup> and also apports the 5s. due every two years for castle ward to the honour of Eye as 30d. from the manor and 15d. for Peter de Hoo's tenement: the 1376-7 account has numerous references to 'the tenement of Peter de Hoo', although it is clearly excluded from that account.<sup>145</sup> Notably,

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<sup>138</sup> 1286 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/826 (7 verso). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no826/bJUST1no826dorses/IMG\\_5131.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no826/bJUST1no826dorses/IMG_5131.htm)

<sup>139</sup> 1310 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/848 (7 recto). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no848/aJUST1no848fronts/IMG\\_7753.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/JUST1/JUST1no848/aJUST1no848fronts/IMG_7753.htm)

<sup>140</sup> SAI, (Iveagh Manuscripts), HD1538/288/2, Laxfield charter, grant from William Clouting to John le Longe, 1303.

<sup>141</sup> Holkham, DA/S/8/2-3, Laxfield manor rental, 1480, folio 20 recto.

<sup>142</sup> 1361 lawsuit (attornies), 'Thomas de Wyngfeld(e) and Margaret his wife put in their place Walter de Warnham; and it is granted by the Justices that the same Walter is following for John the son of the same Thomas, who is within age, against John de Brysyngham and Margaret his wife concerning a plea of covenant'. Original document at TNA, CP 40/407 (lists of attornies, membrane 5 recto). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/E3/CP40no407/aCP40no407fronts/IMG\\_0562.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/E3/CP40no407/aCP40no407fronts/IMG_0562.htm)

<sup>143</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 28 (loose deeds), number 37, 1361 final agreement; the foot of the fine (original document) is at TNA, CP 25/(1)/221/93, 11 (numbered '272'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25\\_1/Suff/CP25\\_1\\_221/IMG\\_0272.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25_1/Suff/CP25_1_221/IMG_0272.htm)

<sup>144</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, Laxfield manor account, 1396-7 (20-21 Richard II).

<sup>145</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, Laxfield manor accounts, 50 Edward III-1 Richard II to 9-10 Henry IV [1376-7 to 1408-9].

the outstanding payment for castle ward due from the fourth and final share of the manor is not recorded in these accounts until 1408-9, confirming that fourth part had been in separate hands.<sup>146</sup> It is to that final part that we now turn.

Isabel de Swynesthorpe/Laxfeld’s fourth part of Laxfield manor

The ownership and transfer of this final portion is the most complex and difficult to reconstruct. Isabel was married to Andrew de Ponte of Mickfield in Suffolk by 1280-81, when he brought an action against William de Monte Caniso ‘touching a tenement’ in Laxfeld.<sup>147</sup> Whether this tenement was Isabel’s fourth part of the manor or another free tenement is not clear from the reference. However, William de Monte Caniso was the custodian of the heir[s?] of Henry de Laxfeld, which suggests that Andrew was probably acting on behalf of his wife, possibly to obtain her share of the manor. In 1299 Andrew de Ponte had at least five sons, John, Adam, Henry, Peter and Thomas, and one daughter Rose. This daughter was the only child specifically stated in the document to have been the child of Andrew and Isabel, while the males were specifically described as ‘the sons of the same Andrew’.<sup>148</sup> Nevertheless, these male children may also have been the sons of Isabel.

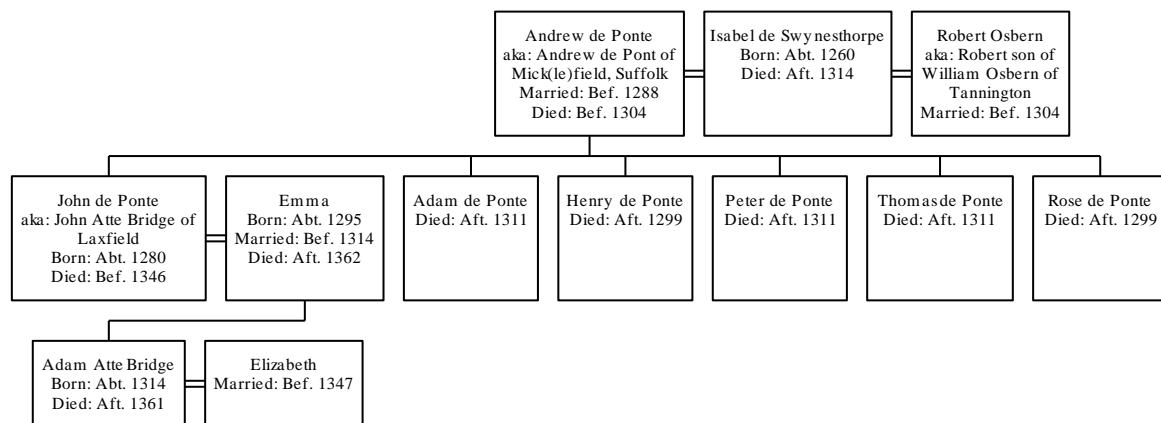


Diagram 4: established descendants of Andrew de Ponte.

<sup>146</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D461/4/D/6/1, list of ‘barons, knights [and] tenants, of the lord king of Almain’, [post 1256].

<sup>147</sup> HMSO, *The fiftieth annual report of the deputy keeper*, appendix, p. 136, ‘calendar of patent rolls, 9 Edward I.’, ‘Laxfield (Suff.), appointment of Roger Loveday and Robert de Ludham to take the assise of novel disseisin arraigned by Andrew du Pont against William de Mont Chesney, touching a tenement in’.

<sup>148</sup> 1299 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, Just 1/1311 (88 verso). Digital copy on AALT website: [http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1311/bJUST1no1311dorses/IMG\\_6845.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/Just1/Just1no1311/bJUST1no1311dorses/IMG_6845.htm)

Andrew de Ponte died before 1304, when Isabel is mentioned (with her fourth husband Robert Osbern of 'Tatington', i.e. Tannington, Suffolk) as executrix of Andrew's will.<sup>149</sup> It appears that Andrew's son Adam de Ponte had a lease of the tithes of Laxfield manor in 1308, which may imply that Isabel held the site of the manor and thus the principal share at that time.<sup>150</sup> By a final agreement in 1314 Robert Osbern and Isabel his wife passed her fourth part of Laxfield manor to John 'Of the Bregge' of Laxfield (presumably the son of Andrew de Ponte) and to Emma [I] his wife in return for an annual payment of twelve pounds to be paid at four terms to Robert and Isabel during her life.<sup>151</sup> John 'Of the Bregge' was dead by 1347, but his widow Emma [I], who had a joint interest in this fourth part of Laxfield manor by the fine of 1314, survived him. As previously mentioned, in 1348 'John de Hoo, Emma de Bregge, and other of her parceners', were together the holders of one knight's fee in Laxfield (i.e. Laxfield manor) 'which Robert Osbern and other tenants lately held in the same place from the honour of Eye ...'.<sup>152</sup> Although Robert Osbern is here stated to have held the manor, or rather a part of it, this would presumably have been in the right of his wife Isabel during her coverture, or by the 'Curtesy of England' after her death (the date of which is unknown). It is not stated who the other parceners were or what they held, although another document probably identifies them.

In 1347 a fine was levied between Robert Swan, parson of the church of Saxmundham, Hubert the parson of the church of Spykesworth(e), John the vicar of the church of Laxfeld(e), and Thomas de Colne, querents, and 'Emma, who was the wife of John Atte Brigge', and Adam the son of the same John, deforciant. This fine reveals that Emma and Adam had passed their fourth part of Laxfield manor to the other parties named therein, who then granted it back to the same Emma newly entailed to her for the whole of her life; and after her death it was to 'wholly remain to Adam the son of the same Emma, and to Elizabeth his wife, and to the heirs of the bodies of the same Adam and Elizabeth issuing ...'; with a proviso that if Adam and Elizabeth died without heirs of their bodies then 'after the decease

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<sup>149</sup> 1304 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40, 152 (226 *recto*). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no152/aCP40no152fronts/IMG\\_0476.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/E1/CP40no152/aCP40no152fronts/IMG_0476.htm)

<sup>150</sup> Brown, *Eye priory cartulary, part II*, p. 121, 'The portion of Laxfield (Laxfelde) from the demesne of the hall is leased to Adam de Ponte for 25s.'

<sup>151</sup> 1314 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/217/56, 34 (numbered '159'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25\(1\)/CP25\\_1\\_217\\_51-59/IMG\\_0308.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT7/CP25(1)/CP25_1_217_51-59/IMG_0308.htm)

<sup>152</sup> Maskelyne and Lyle, *Feudal Aids*, pp. 61-2: 'Johannes de Hoo de Laxfeld, Emma de Bregge, et alii parcernarii sui tenent in LAXFELD j. f. m. de Roberto, comite Suffolkie, et ille de rege, quod Robertus Osbern et alii tenentes nuper tenuerunt in eadem de honore de Eye'.

of the same Adam and Elizabeth' that fourth part of Laxfield manor should remain to Adam's 'right heirs' forever.<sup>153</sup> Adam was alive until at least 02 August 1361 when he witnessed a Laxfield charter.<sup>154</sup> He must have died shortly after doing so, probably as a result of the second wave of the Black Death. It is uncertain whether he and Elizabeth left any surviving issue, as discussed below. This fourth part was then split into three smaller shares, implying three female heirs, because in 1362 Thomas de Wingfield acquired the remainders of two of these 'third part[s] of a fourth part' after the death of Emma Atte Bridge [I].<sup>155</sup> One of these remainders was from John son of John de Mendham;<sup>156</sup> the other was from Roger Braham and Rose his wife,<sup>157</sup> although the relationship between them and the atte Bridges is unclear: Rose may have been one of the three heiresses.<sup>158</sup>

In 1386 Thomas's son, John de Wingfield of Letheringham [I], made a feoffment of 'all his manors, lands, rents and services, and the reversion of lands of his heritage [i.e. inheritance] in Laxfeld co. Suffolk held by William Cloutyngge and Elizabeth his wife for the said Elizabeth's life'.<sup>159</sup> The use of the word 'reversion' rather than 'remainder' is significant as it implies that either Thomas or John de Wingfield had previously granted this property to Elizabeth for life, which shows that the property had already been held by the Wingfields. Therefore, this must be the two remainders which Thomas had acquired in 1362. This feoffment acknowledges that Elizabeth had a life interest in lands of John de Wingfield's inheritance in Laxfield, and, if she was Adam's widow, this would have been compliant with

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<sup>153</sup> 1347 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/220/84, 29 (numbered '29'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25\\_1/Suff/CP25\\_1\\_220/IMG\\_0299.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25_1/Suff/CP25_1_220/IMG_0299.htm)

<sup>154</sup> SAI, HD1538/288/25 (Iveagh Manuscripts), Laxfield charter, grant from Robert Smyt[h] to Nicholas Talyour, William Gleme, John Arger, Roger Garneys, William Crysp, and John son of Catherine Spanyel, 1361.

<sup>155</sup> For further information about Thomas and about the Wingfield family in the fourteenth century see Fisk, *How typical was the manor of Laxfield?*; P. Bloore and E. Martin, (eds), *Wingfield college and its patrons: piety and patronage in medieval Suffolk*, (Woodbridge, 2015).

<sup>156</sup> 1362 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/221/93, 33 (numbered '194'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25\\_1/Suff/CP25\\_1\\_221/IMG\\_0296.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25_1/Suff/CP25_1_221/IMG_0296.htm)

<sup>157</sup> 1362 final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/221/93, 34 (numbered '195'). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25\\_1/Suff/CP25\\_1\\_221/IMG\\_0297.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25_1/Suff/CP25_1_221/IMG_0297.htm)

<sup>158</sup> This Roger Braham may have been the same Roger de Braham of Braham Hall in Cattawade/Brantham mentioned in W. A. Copinger, *The manors of Suffolk, notes on their history and devolution: the hundreds of Samford, Stow and Thedwestry, volume VI*, (Manchester, 1910), p. 23.

<sup>159</sup> H. C. Maxwell Lyte, (ed.), *Calendar of the close rolls preserved in the public record office, prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, Richard II, volume III, a.d. 1385-1389*, (London, 1921), p. 308.

the life interest she had in the Atte Bridge's fourth part of Laxfield manor after the death of Emma Atte Bridge [I] by the fine of 1347.

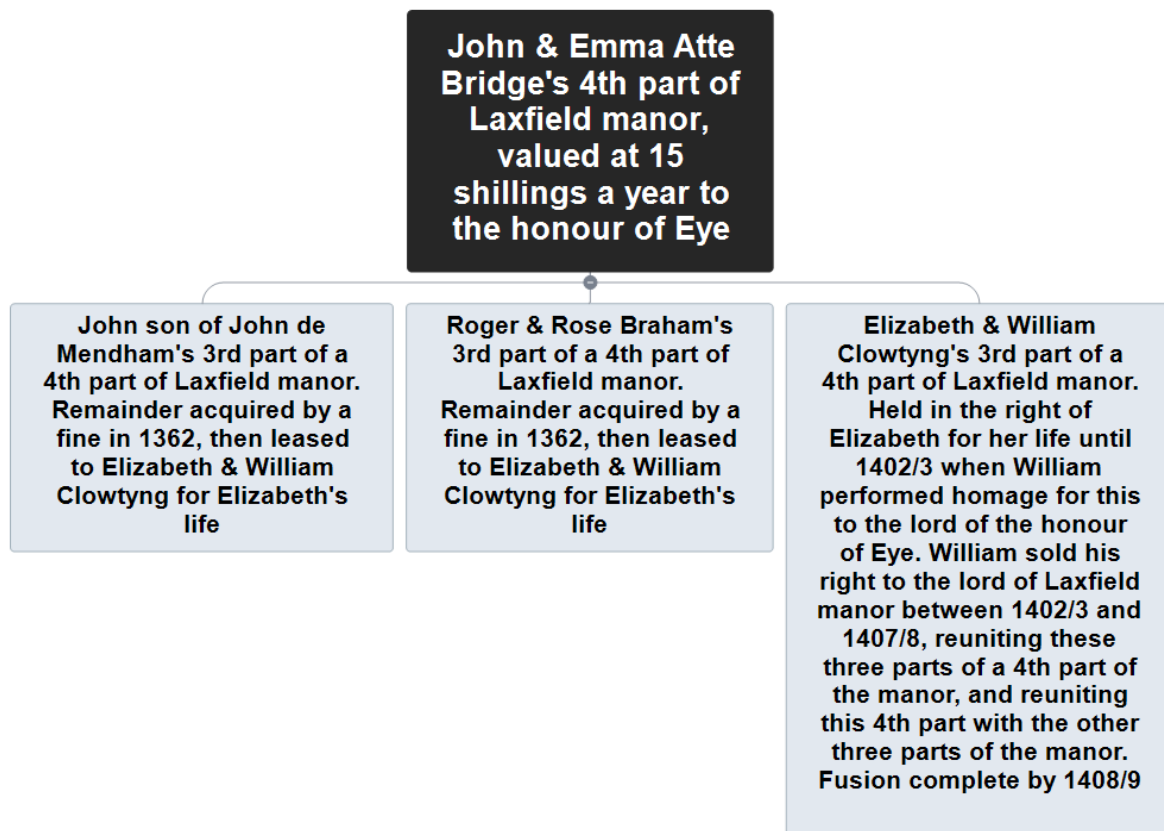


Diagram 5: the division of Isabel de Swynesthorpe/Laxfeld's fourth part of Laxfield manor among the heirs of Adam Atte Bridge, and the fusion of the separate parts in 1408/9.

William Clowtyng [II] did homage to the lord of the honour of Eye on 1 January 1402/3 (4 Henry IV) for the 'third part of a fourth part' of Laxfield manor, which implies that his wife Elizabeth had recently died and she probably held this part in her own right, which may indicate that she was actually Adam's daughter.<sup>160</sup> The extant accounts between 1378-9 to 1408-9 record that William Clowtyng [II] received annually a fourth share of the perquisites of the market, and a share of the perquisites of the courts baron and leet (probably also a fourth share); and in 1408-9 the profits of the manor were divided as £38 to the lord (Robert Wingfield) and £13 13s. 4d. to William Clowtyng, i.e. approximately one quarter of the total

<sup>160</sup> SAI, HB18:51/10/19.3, book entitled 'Honor of Eye and manor of Eye sokemere, remembrances concerning the honor of Eye, Suffolk, [compiled] 1697, No. 8', p. 55: 'William Clowtinge did his homage to the lord at Wingfeild [*sic*] the first day of January in the year abovesaid, namely the fourth year of Henry 4 [1402/3], for the third part of a fourth part of the manor which lately was of Richard de Swinsthorpe in Laxfeilde [*sic*], formerly which whole manor is held of the said honour by one knight's fee'.

of £51 13s. 4d. Thus, William Clowtyng [III] had held a fourth part of Laxfield manor: one third of it in the right of his wife and then of himself, and the other two thirds by lease from John de Wingfield. However, sometime between 1402/3 and 1408-9 he sold his third part of this fourth share to Robert Wingfield of Letheringham [I], because the account of 1408-9 clearly relates to a fully reconstructed manor.<sup>161</sup> That account contains a plethora of new grants and demises of lands resulting from William Clowtyng's sale of his share of the manor, and it appears that he was granted a pension equating to approximately a quarter of the net value of the whole manor.<sup>162</sup> He apparently retained certain property as a tenant of the manor, because in 1409-10 (11 Henry IV) 'William son of Richard Clowting died seized of 1 toft containing 12 perches of land'.<sup>163</sup>

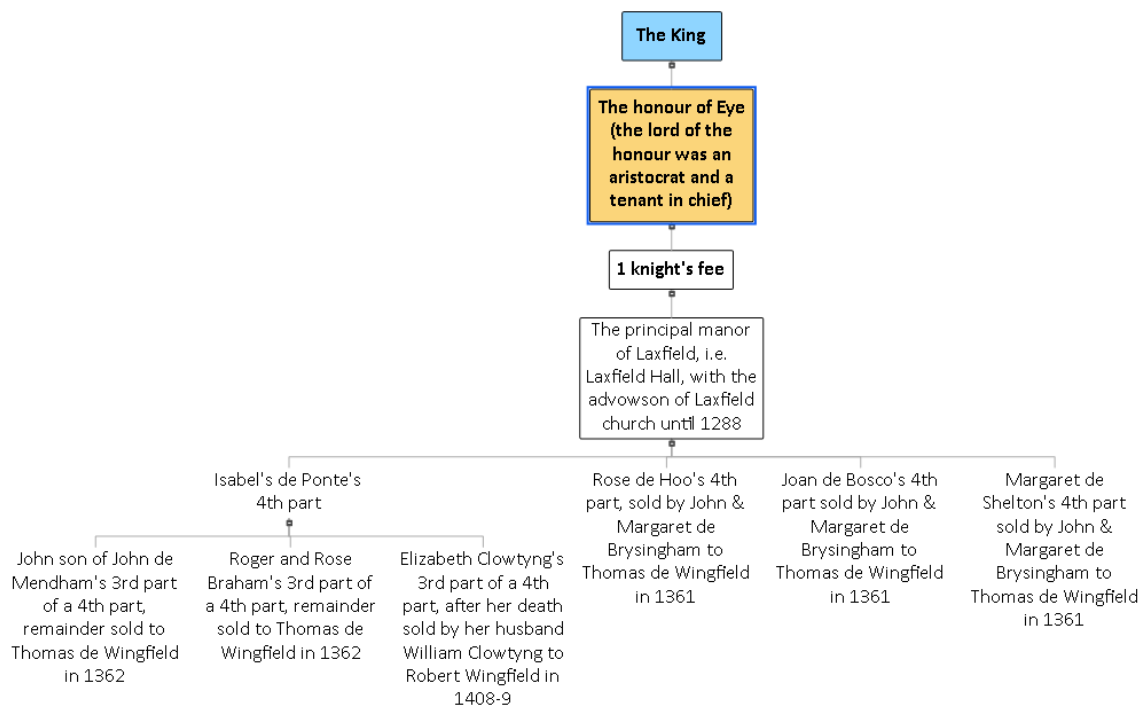


Diagram 6: tenurial structure of Laxfield manor c.1250 – c.1409.

Thus, by 1410 the manor of Laxfield had become fused into a whole unit once again, still amounting to one knight's fee in Laxfield, which was positively identified as 'Laxfeld Halle' in a list of homages done to the lord of the honour of Eye in c.1425-30 when it was held by

<sup>161</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, Laxfield manor account, 1408-9 (9-10 Henry IV).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, '(Vanneck) book of extracts from Laxfield court rolls', p. 24.



‘Robert Wyngfeld(e), knight [II]’.<sup>164</sup> The driving force behind this reconstruction was the Wingfield family. Thomas de Wingfield ‘was a soldier and attorney’, and well connected as the brother of Sir John de Wingfield, one of Edward III’s and the Black Prince’s most trusted soldiers and advisors.<sup>165</sup> Thomas was the co-executor of his late brother John’s will in 1361 and he appears in numerous cases in the rolls of the royal courts, especially c.1361-2, when he was probably suing for debts owed to his brother’s estate.<sup>166</sup> He also held the office of ‘Bailiff Strange [*Straungge*]’ of the honour of Eye in 1369.<sup>167</sup> Thomas married Margaret, the widow of William Carbonell(e), by whom she had two sons named in the final agreement for Laxfield manor in 1361, Thomas and Robert Carbonell(e).<sup>168</sup> This Robert Carbonel later held the neighbouring manors of Badingham and Studhaugh, along with many others.<sup>169</sup> His mother Margaret was the daughter of John de Boville who, like his brother William, predeceased his father William de Boville of Letheringham.<sup>170</sup> This marriage brought the estate at Letheringham to Thomas de Wingfield and his heirs, so it is unlikely that he and Margaret actually resided at Laxfield manor. Diagram 7 below details their male heirs up to and including 1409. From this time Laxfield manor remained in the possession of the Wingfield family of Letheringham until 1602 when it was sold. As an aside, it is worth mentioning that around the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth

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<sup>164</sup> TNA, SC 11/613, (membrane 2 [including outer cover]), a roll containing lists of attendances, homages, and fealties done to the lord of the honour of Eye, 1425-30. This document is wrongly dated on the cover as ‘Ric II’, but can be positively dated between 1425-30 because it names Richard Carbonell who succeeded his father John Carbonell in 1425 and died in 1430. It also mentions the date 7 Henry VI (1428-9) on the last membrane.

<sup>165</sup> M. Bailey, ‘Sir John de Wingfield and the foundation of Wingfield college’, in Bloore and Martin, *Wingfield college and its patrons*; Wingfield Family Society website:

<https://www.wingfieldfamilysociety.org/notables/sir-thomas-de-wingfield/>

<sup>166</sup> For example, 1361 lawsuit. Original document at TNA, CP 40/407 (77 verso). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/E3/CP40no407/bCP40no407dorses/IMG\\_0721.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT4/E3/CP40no407/bCP40no407dorses/IMG_0721.htm)

<sup>167</sup> M. C. B. Dawes and J. B. W. Chapman, (eds), *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem, and other analogous documents preserved in the public record office, prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, volume XII, Edward III*, (London, 1938), p. 410, inquisition post mortem of Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, (number 424, pp. 408-411), 1369.

<sup>168</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 28 (loose deeds), number 37, 1361 Laxfield final agreement. Original document at TNA, CP 25/(1)/221/93, 11 (numbered ‘272’). Digital copy on AALT website:

[http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25\\_1/Suff/CP25\\_1\\_221/IMG\\_0272.htm](http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT6/CP25_1/Suff/CP25_1_221/IMG_0272.htm)

<sup>169</sup> M. C. B. Dawes, H. C. Johnson, M. M. Condon, C. A. Cook, and H. E. Jones, (eds), *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem, volume XVII, Richard II*, (London, 1988), pp. 362-376, numbers 1005-1008 (1006, Suffolk), inquisition post mortem of Robert Carbonell, knight, 1397. Also on British History Online website:

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol17/pp362-376>

<sup>170</sup> J. E. E. S. Sharp and A. E. Stamp, (eds), *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem, and other analogous documents, preserved in the public record office, prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, volume VI, Edward II*, (London, 1910), pp. 129-139, number 229, inquisition post mortem of William son of William de Boyvill, *alias* de Bovill, de Beyvill, de Bovyle, 1320; and pp. 341-347, number 519, inquisition post mortem of William de Bovill(e), knight, 1324. Also on British History Online website:

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol6/pp129-139>

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol6/pp341-347>

century the prepositions ‘de’ and ‘atte’ ceased to be used both in the surnames of Wingfield (as reflected in the pedigree below) and Bridge, and also in other local families.

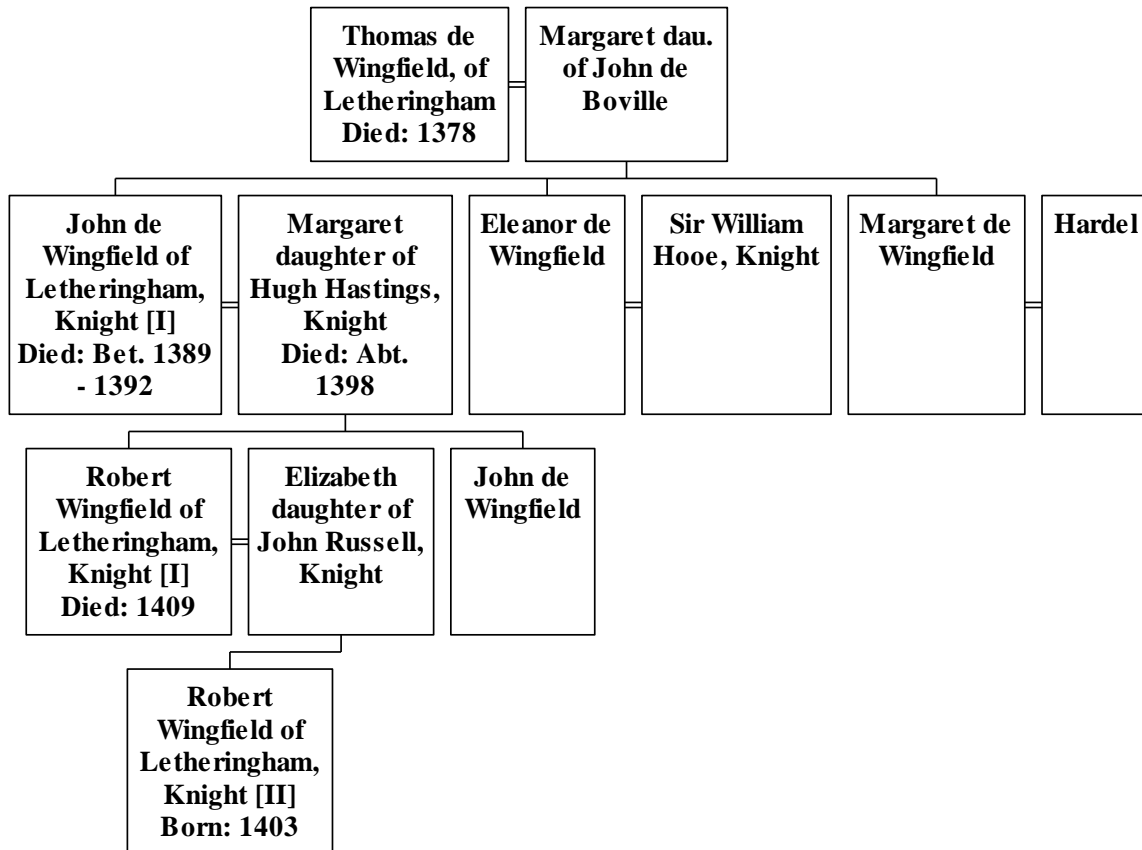


Diagram 7: descendants of Thomas and Margaret de Wingfield of Letheringham to 1409.



## **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

The manorial structure of medieval East Anglia was dominated by small manors held by gentry lords. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these manorial holdings were especially vulnerable to fission, due to a combination of rising population, partible inheritance between heiresses in the event of a lack of male heirs, and land sales. The result was a manorial system of considerable complexity. This complexity has served as a barrier to reconstructing the manorial structures of many places, a challenge made even more difficult by the paucity of surviving sources. Consequently, there have been hardly any detailed studies or reconstructions of how these processes worked on the ground over time.

Such an exercise is possible for the manor of Laxfield. Its accounts from the late fourteenth century provide clues to the earlier subdivision of the manor and the subsequent process of engrossment. Other fragments of evidence – such as Domesday Book and the hundred rolls – provide further clues, but the main material for piecing together the structure, lordship and evolution of the manor is the succession of legal cases accessible through the AALT's online digital archive. The task of putting all the clues together is like completing a jigsaw without either a picture or all the pieces, but we have shown that it is possible, with industry and plausible guesswork, to construct a comprehensible if not comprehensive picture.

The medieval vill of Laxfield did not only comprise the manor of Laxfield itself, but undoubtedly contained other small manorial units. It also contained a high proportion of free tenures and freemen, many of whom held smallholdings but a few of whom built larger holdings with subtenants, and therefore comparable to the smaller manors. These holdings and manors are even more difficult to trace, but will be the subject of a separate study.

Laxfield manor itself provides an excellent example of the potential fluidity of manorial forms in medieval East Anglia, and the degree of fragmentation that could result from the lack of surviving male heirs. By the early fourteenth century the processes of fission had resulted in the splintering of the manor into four parts, and later the subdivision of one of those four parts into three further parts. These separate elements appear to have been administered as independent units by their separate lords and ladies, which added to the

dilution of seigniorial power in the locality. Yet the example of Laxfield also reveals that the collapse of the English population through plague after 1348-9 created opportunities for engrossment, because of an increased incidence of the failure of heirs among seigniorial families and falling land values. A determined lord – such as John de Hoo of Laxfield [I] or Thomas de Wingfield of Letheringham, both of whom were lawyers – with the income, knowledge, connections and determination to either purchase the outstanding parts of a manor, or to obtain them through the royal courts, could reverse the processes of fission that were common in the pre-plague era. Laxfield manor was put back together again relatively quickly after the Black Death, with the process completed by 1410.

Reconstructing these processes from the surviving sources is a complex, confusing and demanding task. This task utterly defeated the great antiquarian, historian and lawyer, W. A. Copinger, whose attempt to trace Laxfield's manorial history is riddled with errors. But this reflects the difficulty of the task, not solely his shortcomings. Completion of the task has required access to a wide range of sources, not just the surviving manorial sources from late fourteenth-century Laxfield. Painstaking research through the rolls of the royal courts and the feet of fines has yielded many fragments of information that have been pieced together to create a plausible timeline and to identify the pedigrees of the families involved. This can be refined with further discoveries in the future. The secure title to free land after c.1200, and the importance of written precedents of title and transfer, mean that medieval royal officials had ready access to information which recorded the manors of England, and that they were keeping a track of how they were transferred: in effect a land registry. Navigating these sources is not easy, but it repays the investment of time and expertise.

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## Part Two

### **Three edited and translated accounts of Laxfield Manor**

Two accounts from the first series of surviving *compoti* for Laxfield manor have been selected for inclusion in this dissertation, and one account from the second series. The first is for the year 1376-7. This was selected for three principal reasons. It is the earliest surviving manorial document for Laxfield manor; it is the nearest in date to the catastrophe of the Black Death, and therefore provides some sense of the impact of successive pandemics in 1349, 1361 and 1369 on the local economy and manorial administration; and, finally, it is the first surviving account following the acquisition of three of the four parts of this manor by Thomas de Wingfield. This account is highly unusual in that it covers only half of the manor, because one quarter, being the ‘tenement of Peter de Hoo’, was granted to John de Wingfield and not included in the account; and the final quarter had not yet been fully acquired. It therefore provides a snapshot of the processes of fusion following the fragmentation of the manor in the pre-plague period.

The account for 1408-9 is included for similar reasons. It is the last account from this first series of survivals from Laxfield manor; it reveals how the last fourth part of the manor had then been restored with the other three parts, and covers the last year of the lordship of Robert de Wingfield of Letheringham [I], who died in 1409 leaving his six year old son as his heir. Finally, it reveals some important administrative changes in tenurial structure on the manor, through the issue of numerous new rents on contractual terms.

Both of these accounts are of the relatively lengthy and detailed ‘phase 2’ accounts and follow the same basic format, although the latter has the ‘new rents’ section which was not present in the former. Both selected accounts contain on the dorse the list of customs and works due from the tenants to the lord, albeit most were relatively redundant and often recorded on the front of the account as ‘sold upon the account’, but their liability continued to be recorded throughout this first series of accounts. As we have seen, they also relate to a relatively small gentry manor, and extant manorial sources from such lower status lay manors are unusual, so they provide insights into how a gentry manor was administered in the late

fourteenth century. Laxfield manor was neither the smallest nor yet the largest of manors in Suffolk at this time, and the Wingfields can be considered to represent an aspiring Suffolk gentry family. These ‘phase 2’ accounts are generally dated between c.1270-c.1380, which makes Laxfield unusual because this type of account was still being used in 1408-9, almost thirty years later than expected.<sup>171</sup> Their dating format is lengthy, and those from the reign of Henry IV are more complicated than previous ones.

The third account is from the year 1458, in the second series of surviving Laxfield accounts, which is included because it is a ‘phase 3’ account and demonstrates significant differences between the two types, especially in its brevity. The dating format is simplified by comparison with ‘phase 2’ Laxfield accounts, and is employed in all surviving ‘phase 3’ Laxfield accounts between 1458 and 1599. The various sections of the account are extremely summarised, offering the historian limited information on the lands and tenements belonging to the manor. The customs and works accounts are omitted from the dorsos, and likewise the section for customs and works sold are omitted from the fronts, of all these ‘phase 3’ accounts. Nevertheless, the liability for customs and works was still recorded in the 1480 Laxfield rental.<sup>172</sup> The word ‘value [*valor*]’ replaces ‘profit [*profectus*]’ of the manor. Furthermore, these later accounts are all written on paper, rather than parchment as used in the earlier series.

### Methodology of translation

The accounts are mostly in good condition, although they are closely written and difficult to read in places, often with even smaller text interlined. I have translated all the accounts individually, and written them as Microsoft Word documents. There are twenty-seven accounts in the first series, including one ‘View of the Account’ which only covers three quarters of the accounting year 1393-4 (17-18 Richard II); and seventy-four in the second series. A full list can be found in the appendix to this thesis. One of the main challenges has been the fluidity in spelling of names of persons and places, although the dubious names can often be identified by reference to the other accounts where they are spelt differently. In each account I have retained the original spellings of names and places as used by the scribe.

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<sup>171</sup> Bailey, *The English manor*, pp. 105-111, for a description of the various phases of accounts.

<sup>172</sup> Holkham, DA/S/8/2-3, Laxfield manor rental, 1480, *passim*.

The vast majority of the original Latin entries are formulaic, so their meaning is uncontroversial and they have been translated directly into English without comment. Where a word or phrase appears in italics within square brackets in the edited version below, this indicates the Latin used in the original. Due to a lack of appropriate contraction marks in Microsoft Word, it has been necessary to use a single apostrophe (') to indicate certain abbreviations, usually at the end of the Latin word, which sometimes indicates the terminal letter *n* or *e*, but at other times it indicates more general abbreviations which might not always be obvious, although where I am confident of the missing letter I have supplied it in brackets, e.g. Laxfeld(e). Because of this repeated use of the apostrophe I have used quotation marks (“ ”) when citing in the footnotes to avoid confusion. The sections or ‘panels’ of the account are indicated in the left margin in the manuscripts and are not underlined, although in translating I have shown these as headings which I have underlined. Any underlining of text other than these headings is copied from the manuscripts, which usually appears under sums of money; for example, when the scribe was listing the price of a work he might state ‘price of a work, 1d.’, indicating that this was for reference and not to be added in the account. In some cases the scribe or the auditor has struck a line through certain parts of the text, and I have reproduced it, thus ‘~~example~~’. Where this was done by the auditor it would usually be followed by an explanation, often written above the original text (i.e. <sup>‘superscript’</sup>). Where text has obviously been added to the original, either on the line or above the text, I have indicated it thus, ‘\example/’ or thus ‘\example/’. In cases where this was the explanation for a deletion I have written the word ‘deleted’ in square brackets before the explanation, thus ‘\ [Deleted] because ... /’.

The original text is closely written in each section with one sentence following directly after another in that block of text, making it difficult to read (especially the interlined additions). In translating I have generally started each sentence on a new line to facilitate skim-reading and searching. I have converted Roman numerals to Arabic throughout, except where citing the original text in square brackets in italics. For clarity I have used the ‘£’ symbol rather than ‘Li’. Where dates are given in the manuscripts I have relied on Cheney’s *Handbook of dates* as the authority, and any errors in dating are mine.<sup>173</sup> Having said this, the dating of the 1408-9 account is somewhat dubious for two reasons. The first is that the accounts of William Garneys, who was bailiff-accountant between 1399 and at least 1409, are less accurate than

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<sup>173</sup> C. R. Cheney, *Handbook of dates for students of English history*, (London, 1978).

most of the earlier accounts in various respects, containing many errors and omissions; the second reason is that the regnal years of king Henry IV began on 30 September, and they ended on 29 September the following year, which coincided with the feast of St. Michael the Archangel and the beginning/end of the accounting year.

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## 1376-7 (50 Edward III to 1 Richard II) Laxfield manor bailiff's account

[Cambridge University Library, Vanneck Papers, box 8]

[*Recto*].

Laxfeld(e).

Account of Roger Coldham, bailiff there, and William Seman and John Noyse, collectors there, from the eve of St. Michael the Archangel in the year of the reign of King Edward the Third the 50<sup>th</sup> as far as to the eve of the same feast in the year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest the first begun [*Incip*].<sup>174</sup>

### Arrears [*Arr*']:

From<sup>175</sup> the arrears of the last account, £13 11s. 10½d.

Amount: £13 11s. 10½d.

### Rents of assize [*Redd' ass*']:<sup>176</sup>

And of 24s. 6d. received from rent [*de redd*'] [at] the term of St. Michael;

And of 6s. 2d. received from the farm [*de firma*]<sup>177</sup> at the same term;

And of 24s. 1d. from rent [at] the term of St. Andrew;

And of 6s. 2d. from the farm at the same term;

And of 24s. 5d. from rent [at] the term of Easter;

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<sup>174</sup> i.e. 1376-1377. In subsequent accounts the lord of the manor is usually named in the heading, although not in this case. However, the lord was presumably Thomas de Wingfield in this year.

<sup>175</sup> The word "From" here replaces the term "The same person answers", which is usually abbreviated in these accounts to "*Id(e)m r*" or "*Id(e)m respond*", and is fully written out in the account of 3-4 Henry IV (1402-3) as "*Id(e)m responder*".

<sup>176</sup> "Rents of assize" were the fixed rents of the manor from peasant-held land.

<sup>177</sup> "*de firma*": preposition *de* with ablative singular case of *firma*, thus "from the farm". This signifies land granted on a contractual tenure, here payable in four equal terms. It is not clear what type (i.e. status) of land is being leased, although it might be part of the manorial demesne, which was apparently leased out as there are no stock or grain accounts herein. The clerk has abbreviated "*de redd*", so it is unclear whether it is singular or plural. It most likely refers to the rents paid for free and villein lands and tenements.

And of 6s. 2d. from the farm at the same term;

And of 24s. 1d. from rent [at] the term of St. John the Baptist;

And of 6s. 2d. from the farm at the same term;

And of 10s. received from the office of reeve;

And of ¼d. from the increased rent of Simon Jurdon for 1 rood of land which he purchased from John Noyse, villein of the lord [*nat' dni'*];

And of 1d. from the increased rent of John Wlvard for 1 acre and a half of land which he purchased from Richard Rowe.

Amount: £6 11s. 10¼d.

Rents of assize at [the house of] Peter de Hoo [*Redd' ass' apud Petr' de Hoo*]:<sup>178</sup>

From the rents of assize of Peter de Hoo, nothing here because the tenement of the said Peter de Hoo is granted to John de Wynggefled(e).<sup>179</sup>

Fee farm [*ffeod' firm<sup>a</sup>*]:

And of the 10s. received from John Smyth(e), chaplain [*capell(a)no*], nothing, because it pertains to the tenement of Peter de Hoo;

And of 1d. received from new rent from John Gerard(e) for one stall [*Schold'*] in the market [*in foro*] demised to him and his heirs;

And of 12s. received from John Barwere for the tenement Margeretes demised to him and his heirs;

~~From the tenement~~ <sup>And of 6s. from the tenement/</sup> ffoulgappis, ~~nothing here because it pertains to the tenement of Peter de Hoo;~~

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<sup>178</sup> According to J. Morwood, (ed.), *The pocket Oxford Latin dictionary*, (Oxford, 1994), "*apud*" can also be translated as "at the house of", which makes this sentence more correct. Otherwise, "*apud*" means "*at*".

<sup>179</sup> It is made clear throughout that "the tenement of Peter de Hoo" is excluded from this particular account.



And of 8s. <sup>\4d./</sup> received from Henry Ede from: one messuage and 2 acres and a half of land called Baldriestement<sup>180</sup>; and one piece of meadow and pasture, and it contains 1 acre of land; demised to him and his heirs; and he shall do [*faciet*] one suit of court at the feast of St. Michael.

Amount: 26s. 5d.

Farm of the land [*ffirm<sup>a</sup> t(er)re*]:

And of ~~£15 2s. 3d.~~ <sup>\£10 19s. 10d.,</sup> and not more because £4 6s. 6d. pertains to the tenement formerly of Peter de Hoo, as it appears by a bill exhibited upon the account [*ex' s(upe)r' comp'v*] received from the farm of diverse lands demised, as appears by the parcels [*p(er) p(ar)cell'*] in the possession [*penes*] of the Bailiff;<sup>181</sup>

From half a rood of meadow which is demised to William Scrisp(e), nothing here because it pertains to the tenement of Peter de Hoo;

From the tenement Taillours Pictyl which is demised to John Greyne<sup>182</sup>, nothing here because it pertains to the tenement of Peter de Hoo;

From 3 acres of land formerly of Peter de Hoo, which was demised from of old [or formerly]<sup>183</sup> to Walter Stori, nothing here by the cause aforesaid;

From the close formerly of Peter de Hoo which used to be [*solebat*] demised to Stephen Sule<sup>184</sup>, nothing here [by] the cause as above;

~~And of 9s. for the whole tenement lately of William Wlward, demised to John Jeffray, carpenter, nothing here in this year but in the subsequent year.~~

Amount: £10 19s. 10d.

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<sup>180</sup> i.e. Baldries tenement. In later documents this is often called “Drystones” or “Briarstones” (variously spelled) followed by “*alias* Baldrys”. It appears that this name “Drystones” came about by omission of the first and last parts of the word **Bal**-drys-tene-**ment**.

<sup>181</sup> Error? The calculations do not match. £10 19s. 10d. plus £4 6s. 6d. equals £15 6s. 4d., not £15 2s. 3d.

<sup>182</sup> Or “Greyve”?

<sup>183</sup> “*abant*”, meaning either *ab ante* (formerly) or *ab antiquo* (from of old).

<sup>184</sup> Or “Oule”?

Perquisites of Court:

And of 30s. 1d. received from the perquisites of 5 Courts; From one Leet held by the year,  
\11s. 3½d./.<sup>185</sup>

Amount: 41s. 4½d.

Farm of the mill:

And of 53s. 4d. from the farm of the mill, demised to Ralph Millere by the year.<sup>186</sup>

Amount: 53s. 4d.

Perquisites of the market [*m(er)cat(i)*]:

And of 12d. received from the perquisites of the market [*m(er)cati*] this year; and not more because 6d. pertains to John de Wynggefeld(e).

Amount: 12d.

Works and customs sold [*op(er)a et cons' vendit'*]:<sup>187</sup>

And of 8d. received from 4 hens sold, price of a hen 2d.;

And of ¼d. received for 4 eggs and 3 parts of 1 egg;

And of 5s. 4½d. received for 64 and a half winter works [*operibus yemalis*] sold, price of a work 1d.;

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<sup>185</sup> The sum "30s. 1d." appears to have been amended, and the "11s. 3½d." has been added over the words "*tent' per annu(m)*", suggesting that originally this sentence said "And of 41s. 4½d. from 5 courts and one leet held by the year", but this was later altered to make two separate sentences. The "3" in "3½d." appears to be struck out thus "~~3~~", although in fact the horizontal line is a contraction mark representing the missing letter *m* from the word "*annu(m)*" over which the numerals "*ij*" were written.

<sup>186</sup> I take this "Millere" to be a surname because it is written in English.

<sup>187</sup> The term "sold" indicates that these customary renders were paid for in cash by the tenants who owed the customary services (i.e. commutation) for a customary sum of money per unit of work. Commutations of works were increasing in the fourteenth century, presumably because they were popular with tenants and because demesnes were increasingly leased out.

And of 3d. received from 3 carrying works [*averag'*],<sup>188</sup> price of a work 1d.;

And of 7½d. received for 1 acre and 3 quarters [of a rood, i.e. 30 perches] and a half [a quarter of a rood, i.e. 5 perches] called Gavelerthes<sup>189</sup> sold, price of a plough work [*arrur'*] 4d.;

And of ½d. received for 1 harrow work [*(h(er)ciatur(a)*] sold;

And of 4s. 9d. received for 9 acres and a half of harvest works [*mess'*] sold, price of an acre 6d.;

And of 3s. 6½d. [and] ¼d. received from 28½ Autumn boon works [*precar' Autumpno'*] sold, price of a work 1½d.;

And of 4s. 3d. received for 17 Autumn carriage works [*cariag' Autumpn'*] sold, price of a work 3d.

Amount: 19s. 6½d.

Total amount received, with the arrears: £38 5s. 3½d. [and] ¼d.<sup>190</sup>

#### Expenses.

##### Rent resolute, with rents in decay:

In money paid to the church for Romeskot', ~~3d.~~ ½d., and not more because 1d. pertains to Peter de Hoo/;

In decay of rent of the tenement Hertes, 2s. 8d.;

In decay of rent of the tenement Nobles, 2s. 5¼d.;

In decay of the tenement Selotes, 6½d.;

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<sup>188</sup> There are two types of carrying services, this and the autumn (i.e. harvest) carriage works: the former were presumably due at other times of the year.

<sup>189</sup> Otherwise known as "Gavelerthe": arable land ploughed in lieu of rent. For some unknown reason the accountant here calculates Gavelerthes in quarters of roods instead of in perches, thus quarter of a rood = 10 perches, and half a quarter of a rood = 5 perches. See below also. In some later accounts of Roger de Coldham this is expressed in perches.

<sup>190</sup> i.e. £38 5s. 3¾d.

In decay of the tenement of Geoffrey Smyth(e), 2s. 3d.;

In decay of the tenement of Henry ffouldon', 9d.;

In decay of the tenement of Alan Noyse, 14½d. [*x<sup>vi</sup>/iijd. ob*'];

From the the tenement Cokers, nothing, because in the hands of John de Wynggefeld(e);

Also, he paid to the Bailiff of Eye for Castle Ward, 10d., this year once [*semel*];<sup>191</sup>

In decay of the tenement Shortfrendes, 8s.;

Upon the tenement Robynes which John Ede lately held at farm, 6s. 8d.;

Also, upon 1 acre of land which Robert Atte Hawe held at farm, 20d.;

Also, upon the tenement Robynes which William Seman lately held at farm, 8s.;

From the tenement ffoulgappis, ~~nothing, because in the hands of John de Wynggefeld(e)~~<sup>15d./</sup>;

Also, upon the tenement Hawes, 20d.;

Also, paid to Emma [*Emme*] del Bregge for the tenement Gryndeloves, 7d.;

Also, paid at [*apud*] Eye for *Ockledyngge*<sup>192</sup> for tenements in the hands of the lord, 3d.;

In rent resolute to Emma [*Emme*] del Bregge for the tenement of Alan Noyse, 3d.;

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<sup>191</sup> The manor of Laxfield was liable for payment to the honour of Eye for castle ward of 5s. or 60d. every two years, one year being twice as much as the other. This "10d." here was the usual payment in a "once [*semel*]" year, and 20d. in "twice [*bis*]" year, for this part of the manor. The tenement of Peter de Hoo paid 5d. in a "once" year and 10d. in a "twice" year, as is evident from the subsequent accounts, which implies that it comprised a fourth part of the whole manor, although the tenement of Peter de Hoo is excluded from this particular account. Therefore, this account is only for half of the manor. The remaining payment of 5d. in a "once" year and 10d. in a "twice" year must have belonged to the fourth part of the manor which had been held by Emma Atte Bridge, which is excluded from this and the subsequent surviving accounts until the account of 9-10 Henry IV (1408-9) where it named as "Clouttyng's part" although the amount of "5d." there is incorrect for the "twice" year.

<sup>192</sup> The word "ockleddyngge" appears to mean oak-lading, i.e. the loading and transport of oaks on carts. In the accounts of the manor of Eye, the manorial seat of the honour of Eye, between 1313-1317 (TNA, SC 6/996/14), the bailiff answered for 12s. yearly at the feast of the Lord's nativity (i.e. Christmas) "from the carriage of oaks [*de cariagio quercuu(m)*]", apparently a lump sum from various participants. In the accounts for the manor of Eye between 1409-1411 (TNA, SC 6/996/20), the bailiff Chamberlain answered for 3s. from the vill of Laxfield for relaxation of the same service, and another 3s. from the vill of Stradbroke, both at the feast of the Lord's nativity. These services appear to relate to an inquisition held in May 1314 (7 Edward II) concerning the repairs due to the palisade of the park of Eye, and the causeway of the same vill, for which the vills of Brundish, Tannington, Badingham, Dennington, Laxfield, Stradbroke, and "Keleton", had been liable "by reason of their tenements which they hold in the said vills at fee farm from the honour aforesaid from the demise of one Duke of Leuven, the lord of the honour aforesaid, who first ordained the park aforesaid to be enclosed ..."; see SAI, HB18:51/10/19.3, book entitled 'Honor of Eye and manor of Eye sokemere, remembrances concerning the honor of Eye, Suffolk, [compiled] 1697, No. 8', p. 2.

Also, paid to Emma [*Emme*] del Bregge for the tenement Hages, 18d.;<sup>193</sup>

From the the payment to the chapel of Denyngton',<sup>194</sup> nothing here, because it pertains to John de Wynggefeld(e) for the tenement of Peter de Hoo;

From the the payment at [*apud*] Eye for *Hockledyngge*,<sup>195</sup> nothing here, because it pertains to John de Wynggefeld(e) for the tenement formerly of Peter de Hoo;

Also, paid to the prior of Eye for the tenement Gryndelf's, 5d.;

In payment to William Cloutyng', nothing here because it pertains to John de Wynggefeld(e) for the tenement formerly of Peter de Hoo;

~~In decay of rent of Walter Story, 2s. this year, once,~~ <sup>\[deleted] because of the tenement of Peter de Hoo/</sup>;

In decay of rent of the tenement fferthyngges, 6d.;

Also, in decay of rent of the tenement of John Heyward(e), nothing here, because in the hands of John de Wynggefeld(e);

Also, paid at [*apud*] Eye for respite of suit of Court, 2s. 6d.;

In decay of rent of the tenement formerly Damattis, nothing here, because in the hands of John de Wynggefeld(e);

Also, paid to the church of Laxfeld(e) for sustaining one chandelier [*lampad*] in the chapel of Saint [*b(eat)e*] Margaret [*sic*], 2s.

Amount: 45s. 3¼d.

Costs of the mill [*Cust' molend'*]:

In costs of the mill this year, nothing.

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<sup>193</sup> This is one of two tenements both variously called “Haughes”, “Hawes”, or “le Haughe” in subsequent accounts.

<sup>194</sup> i.e. Dennington, Suffolk.

<sup>195</sup> See footnote 192 under “*ockleddyngge*”.

Allowance [*Alloc*']:

He prays allowance for 12d. paid at [*apud*] Eye, for meadow mowing [*falcat' p(r)<sup>a</sup>ti*], by the hands of John Noyse.<sup>196</sup>

Amount: 12d.

Small costs [*Minut*']:

In parchment bought for the rolls of the court and the extracts [*ext(r)<sup>a</sup>ct'*], 3d.;

Also, paid at [*apud*] Norwich for <sup>v</sup> [?]helmet[s] to be made, collectively [*p(ro) <sup>v</sup> gallea fac' ingros*],<sup>197</sup> 4s. 8d.;

Also, in the expenses of the same person by 4 occasions [*eiusd(e)m p(er) iij vic'*], 6d.;

In a sheepfold [? or sheephouse, *bercar'*] to be cleaned [*mundand*] at [the house of, *apud*]<sup>198</sup> Peter de Hoo, 4d.

Amount: 5s. 9d.

Wages of the Bailiff [*Vad' Balli*']:

In wages of the Bailiff for half a year, 26s.; not more here because the residue is in the account of Colston';<sup>199</sup> In the shoe-money [*ca<sup>l</sup>siatur(a)*] of the same [person], 3s. 4d.

Amount: 29s. 4d.

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<sup>196</sup> See "Eye fees roll" (c.1250), at SAI, HD1538/216/1; from the mid-thirteenth century the vill of Laxfield was liable to the payment of 2s. to the honour of Eye for mowing meadows [*"de villata de Laxfeld p(ro) p(r)<sup>a</sup>tis falcand"*] at the feast of St. John the Baptist. As only half of that sum was paid through this account it is likely that somebody else paid the other 12d. although it does not appear in any of the accounts from 1376 to 1409.

<sup>197</sup> Possibly "*gallea*" instead of *galea*, meaning a helmet. This may have meant "helmet-making [*galea fac'*]", although the superscript numeral "v" has been added without altering the case ending because ablative plural should be *galeis*.

<sup>198</sup> See footnote 178 for "*apud*".

<sup>199</sup> Probably the manor of Colston Hall in Badingham, or part thereof. Thomas de Wingfield probably acquired Colston Hall, through his marriage to Margaret Carbonelle (nee de Boville). For later evidence of the Wingfields' holdings see TNA, SC 11/613, which records Robert Wyngfeld(e), knight, (great-grandson of Thomas de Wingfield) as having done homage and given a relief "for one knight's fee in Laxfeld called Laxfeld Halle"; and also, "for half a knight's fee in Badi(n)gh<sup>a</sup>m called Colston' Hall(e)"; and for "the 6<sup>th</sup> part of one fee in Iken and Chesilforde [i.e. Chillesford], formerly of William Comyn". Also, Richard Carbonell(e), knight, the grandson of Robert Carbonel named below in this account, was recorded as having done his homage and given a relief "for half a knight's fee in Badi(n)gh<sup>a</sup>m called Bady(n)gh<sup>a</sup>m Halle", amongst his other lands.

Expenses of the Steward [*Exp(e)n' Sen'*]:

In the expenses of the Steward for 5 Courts held by the year, 19d.

Amount: 19d.

Monies delivered by the hands of Roger Coldham:

In money delivered to<sup>200</sup> the lord's coffer [*cofros dni*], 30s. <sup>\20s./</sup> by 1 tally; <sup>\[Deleted]</sup> because not found in the lord's papers [*papira*]/<sup>201</sup>

In money delivered to the lord's coffer [*cofros domini*], 60s. by 1 tally;

Also, delivered to the same by the hands of Roger Coldham, 53s. 4d. by 1 tally;

~~Also, delivered to the same by the hands of the same, \13s. 4d/ 13s. 4d. <sup>\[uncertain]/</sup>~~, by 1 tally;

Also, delivered to the same by the hands of the same, 20s. by 1 tally;

Also, delivered to the same by the hands of the same ~~and[?]~~ ~~by the hands of~~ John Tastard,<sup>202</sup> 30s. by 1 tally;

Also, delivered to the same by the hands of John Tastard from the charge of William Seman, collector, 15s. by 1 tally;

Also, delivered to the same from the charge of the said William, 20s. by 1 tally;

Also, delivered to the same by the hands of William Seman, 10s. by 1 tally;

Also, delivered to the same by the hands of John Noyse, 20s. by 1 tally;

Also, delivered to the same by the hands of Roger Coldham, 40s. by a tally;

Also, delivered to the same for the arrears of William Wlvard, by the hands of Roger Coldham, 6 ewes [*oves matric'*] with 6 lambs [*agn'*], priced 9s.;

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<sup>200</sup> ?Error: the scribe has written "a" [i.e. from] instead of "ad" [i.e. to], but this section of the account consists of money paid out of the bailiff's hands into the lord's coffer and elsewhere.

<sup>201</sup> The "30s." was deleted, but the "<sup>\20s./</sup>" remained and is included in the "amount" at the bottom of this section.

<sup>202</sup> It is unclear whether the name "John Tastard" was meant to be deleted here or whether these words were written over a line which was previously drawn.

Also, delivered to the same by the hands of the same Roger for the arrears of the said William Wlvard, 1 cow, priced 6s. 8d.

Amount: £15 17s. 4d.

Total of all expenses and releases: £20 3¼d.

And there is owing to the lord: £18 5s. ½d.

From which:

Allowed to William Seman, collector, for the year instant, for the office of the reeve, by the lord's grace, 3s. 4d.;

Also, allowed to the same, 8s., which he delivered to the lord by the hands of John Pope, for his arrears from the year 49,<sup>203</sup> just as appears in the lord's papers [*paper<sup>a</sup>*];

Also, allowed to the same <sup>\William/</sup>, 5s., which he paid upon the account for his arrears of the year instant;

Also, allowed to Edmund [*Edm(und)o*] Seman, 10s., for his arrears from the year 50,<sup>204</sup> which he paid to the lord by the hands of John Pope, as appears in the lord's papers [*paper<sup>a</sup>*];

Also, allowed to Baldwyn [*Baldewyno*] Northerne, late collector, 20s., which the lord admitted to have received [*fatebat<sup>(ur)</sup> recepisse*];

Also, allowed to John Prati, late collector, 20s., which the lord received, as appears in the lord's papers [*paper<sup>a</sup>*];

Also, allowed to John Pope, 3s. 6d., which he paid to the Bailiff of Eye for Margaretestenment, being in the hands of the lord by 3 years and a half; and this allowed by the lord's grace;

Also, allowed to John Pope, 10s. for his arrears, which he paid to the lord at the account;

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<sup>203</sup> i.e. 49 Edward III (1375-6).

<sup>204</sup> i.e. 50 Edward III (1376-7).



Also, allowed to the same, 11s. 1d. for threshing [*trituras*] and winnowing [*vann*] <sup>the</sup> tenement Stretis/, disallowed to him in the account of Colston', whereof 7s. 4d. for the tenement Stretis, which Robert Carbonel perceived [*p(er)cipit*];

Also, allowed to John Noyse, collector, 11s. 5¼d., which he paid at the account in full payment of his arrears;

Also, allowed to Roger Coldham, Bailiff, 40s. 4¼d. and half a ¼[d.], in full payment of his arrears of this account;

Amount of allowances: £7 2s. 8½d. [and] half a ¼[d.].

And thus is owing to the lord, clear: £11 2s. 3½d. [and] ¼[d.] [and] half [a ¼d.].

Whereof, upon [*unde super*]:

John Greyne,<sup>205</sup> 30s.;

William Wlvard, 15s. 4d.;

John Heyward, Miller, 20s. 7½d.;

William Seman, 27s. 10¼d. [and] half [a ¼d.];

William Prati, 26s. 2d.;

Edmund Seman, 11s. 11½d.;

John Prati, 56s. 10½d.;

John Pope, 33s. 6d.

Profit [*profect(us)*]of the manor this year: £33 2s. 4d.

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<sup>205</sup> Or "Greyve".

[Verso].

From the issues of the grange [*grang'*] there, nothing, because the lands there are demised at farm in the year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest the first.<sup>206</sup>

Mill mulcture:

From mill mulcture, nothing, because it is demised at farm for money, as within.

Hens [*Gallin'*]:

From customary renders at the Nativity of the Lord,<sup>207</sup> 18, and not more because <sup>12/</sup> pertain to the tenement of Peter de Hoo.

Amount: 18.

From which, in allowance upon diverse tenements being in the hands of the lord because of the plague [*pestilencie*], 14.<sup>208</sup>

In sales, as within, 4.

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

Eggs [*Oval*]:

From customary renders at Easter, 27 and a fourth part [*quart' p(ar)s*].

Amount: 27 and a fourth part.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Year 1 Richard II was 1377-8.

<sup>207</sup> i.e. Christmas.

<sup>208</sup> Although not stated here, from 1397-8 (21-22 Richard II) the accounts specifically mention this to have been “the first great plague [*magn' p(r)'im' pestil'*]”. The allowance of 14 from 18 hens in the hands of the lord equates to approximately 78% of renders lost due to the plague.

<sup>209</sup> i.e. 27 and a quarter.

From which, in allowance upon diverse tenements being in the hands of the lord because of the plague [*pestil(enc)ie*], 22 and a half.<sup>210</sup>

In sales, as within, 4 and three parts [*tr(e)s p(ar)tes*].<sup>211</sup>

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

Winter works [*op(er)a yem*']:

From issues by custom from the customary tenants, 342; price of a work, 1d.

Amount: 342.

From which, in allowance upon diverse tenements being in the hands of the lord by the cause as above, <sup>\277 and a half/</sup> 212.

In sales, as within, 64 and a half.

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

Carrying works [*Av(er)ag*']:<sup>213</sup>

From issues by custom from the customary tenants, 37; price of a carrying work, 1d.

Amount: 37.

From which, in allowance upon diverse tenements being in the hands of the lord by the cause as above, 34.<sup>214</sup>

In sales, as within, 3.

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<sup>210</sup> The allowance of 22½ from 27¼ equates to approximately 82.6% lost due to the plague.

<sup>211</sup> i.e. 4 and three quarters.

<sup>212</sup> The allowance of 277½ from 342 equates to approximately 81% lost due to the plague.

<sup>213</sup> As the word "*Av(er)ag*" is not followed by the word "*ped*", this is taken to mean cartage rather than carrying on foot.

<sup>214</sup> The allowance of 34 from 37 equates to approximately 92% lost due to the plague.

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

Govelherth(e) [i.e. ploughing]:

From issues by custom from the customary tenants in the time of sowing [*se(min)is*] wheat [*fr(ument)i*] and oats [*aven'*], 6 acres, 1 rood and a half;<sup>215</sup>

whereof in the time of sowing wheat, 2 acres and half a rood; price of a work, 4d.

Amount: 6 acres, 1 rood and a half.

From which, in allowance upon diverse tenements being in the hands of the lord by the cause as above, 5 acres, half a rood and half a quarter;<sup>216</sup>

In sales as within, 1 acre, three quarters and half.<sup>217</sup>

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

Ploughing according to what are joined [*Ar(atu)r(a) s(e)c(un)d(u)m q(uo)d Iungunt(u)r*].<sup>218</sup>

From issues by custom from the customary tenants according to what they are joined this year, nothing.

Harrow works [*H(er)ciatur'*]:

From issues by custom from the customary tenants in the season [*seysona*] of oats, 3 acres, 1 rood; price of a work, 1/2d.

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<sup>215</sup> i.e. 6 acres, 1 rood, 20 perches.

<sup>216</sup> Quarter of a rood = 10 perches, and half a quarter of a rood = 5 perches. Thus, 5 acres, 0 roods, 25 perches. This allowance equates to approximately 80% lost due to the plague.

<sup>217</sup> Three quarters of a rood = 30 perches, half a quarter of a rood = 5 perches. Thus, 1 acre, 0 roods, 35 perches.

<sup>218</sup> The exact meaning of this phrase is uncertain. It may refer to the animals joined to the plough, or it may refer to field rotation and whether the tenants' lands adjoined the lord's land in that year's rotation. Alternatively, it may be that the word "*junguntur*" should have been "*iniunguntur*" meaning "enjoined", i.e. "ploughing according to what they are commanded", thus ploughing as required.

Amount: 3 acres, 1 rood.

From which, in allowance upon diverse tenements being in the hands of the lord by the cause as above, 2 acres, 1 rood.<sup>219</sup>

In sales, as within, 1 [acre].

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

Harvest works by the acre [*mess' p(er) acr'*]:

From issues by custom from the customary tenants, 42 acres, 1 rood; price of an acre, 6d.

Amount: 42 acres, 1 rood.

From which, in allowance upon diverse tenements being in the hands of the lord by the cause as above, 32 [acres], 3 roods.<sup>220</sup>

In sales as within, 9 acres and a half.

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

Autumn boon works [*precar' autump'*]:

From issues by custom from the customary tenants and of the freemen tenants, 64 [works]; price of a work, 1½d.; whereof 11 [are] free men, namely "*molemen*", who pay nothing by carriage works [*qui n(ih)l solvent p(ro)/p(er) cariagijs*].<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> The allowance of 2¼ from 3¼ acres equates to approximately 69% lost due to the plague.

<sup>220</sup> The allowance of 32¾ from 42¼ equates to approximately 77.5% lost due to the plague.

<sup>221</sup> The word '*p(ro)*' appears to have been amended to '*p(er)*'. See R. E. Latham, *Revised medieval Latin word-list from British and Irish sources*, (London and Oxford, 1980), p. 286: "*mal/a (2)*", *malemannus* or *molmannus*, *molemennus*, was a rent paying tenant. Similarly, *mollondum* [usually described as land of *mollond*] was land for which rent was paid [as opposed to customary renders or services]. For a more definitive explanation see Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, pp. 48-9.

~~From issues of Alice Damit [i.e. Damet], 2 \[Deleted] because it pertains to the tenement of Peter de Hoo/.~~

~~From works at [the house of, *apud*] Peter de Hoo, 6, and a half. [Deleted] *quia in* \[Deleted] because in the hands of John de Wynggefild(e)/.~~

Amount: 64.

From which, in allowance upon diverse tenements being in the hands of the lord by the cause as above, 35 and a half.<sup>222</sup>

From sales as within, 28 and a half.

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

Autumn carriage works [*cariag' aut(u)mp'*].

From issues by custom from the customary tenants, 28; whereof 11 by custom from the customary tenants above mentioned [i.e. molemen] who pay nothing by carriage work.

~~From issues by custom from the customary tenants mentioned, by boon works [*precar'*], 17.~~

Amount: 28.

From which, in sales, 17.<sup>223</sup>

Amount which is above.

And it is equal.

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<sup>222</sup> The allowance of 35½ from 64 works equates to approximately 55.5% of autumn carriage works lost due to the plague. However, discounting the 11 works pertaining to the molemen (as the accountant or auditor has done in the next section) this leaves 53 works, from which the allowance of 35½ equates to approximately 67% lost due to the plague, which is more in line with the other losses.

<sup>223</sup> It appears that nothing was lost here due to the plague. By adding all the percentages of loss together (560.1) and dividing by the amount of categories listed here (10) we arrive at an average of 56.1% across all the customary dues that were lost to this half part of the manor due to the Black Death.

Laxfelde.

Account there in the year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest the  
first.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> i.e. the account ended in 1377.

## 1408-9 (9-10 Henry IV) Laxfield manor bailiff's account

[Cambridge University Library, Vanneck Papers, box 8]

[Membrane 1r].

Laxfeld(e).

Account of William Garneys, bailiff there, from the day after [*ab inc(r)astino*] St. Michael the Archangel in the year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth after the Conquest the 9<sup>th</sup>, as far as to the same feast next following in the year of the reign of King Henry abovesaid the 10<sup>th</sup>, through one whole year.<sup>225</sup>

### Arrears:

And<sup>226</sup> of 78s. 8d. from the arrears of the last account of the year preceding; whereof, upon John Cresp(e), late bailiff, 36s. 4d.; and upon William Garneys, the accountant, 42s. 4d.

Amount: 78s. 8d.

### Rents of assize:<sup>227</sup>

And of £4 3s. 5¼d. of rent by the year at the 4 usual terms: namely at the feast of St. Andrew, Easter, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael.

And of 10s. from the office of the reeve, as it appears by the new rental;

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<sup>225</sup> This date is confusing because the day after St. Michael the Archangel was the 30<sup>th</sup> of September, which was the first day of Henry IV's regnal years. According to Cheney, *Handbook of dates*, the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 9 Henry IV was in 1407. There is no doubt about the second date, 29 September 10 Henry IV, being 1409, and the account was "through one whole year". Therefore, in the first date here the writer of this account apparently meant that the feast of St. Michael was in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Henry IV, although the day after was actually in the 10<sup>th</sup> year, thus 1408.

<sup>226</sup> The word "And" here replaces the usual words "The same person answers" [or "is answerable", *Id(e)m respond*], as in the previous account of 1407-8 (8-9 Henry IV).

<sup>227</sup> Account 21-22 Richard II (1397-8), by previous bailiff John Crisp, this said "Rents of assize formerly of John de Hoo".



From half an acre of land lately demised [*dis*']<sup>228</sup> to John Greyne the younger and his heirs, as it appears by the rolls of the court in the year 12 of King Richard the Second,<sup>229</sup> nothing, because the aforesaid John relinquished it; and now it is demised at farm to John Crespp(e) as below.<sup>230</sup>

And of 3½d. \R. Smyth(e) holds/ from John Smyth(e) for: \a piece of land and 1 piece of pasture, with/ 1 messuage, formerly of Alice Cotemay, \containing 3 roods/, lately acquired by John Michil \Nicholl(e)/ to him and to his heirs of his body begotten, as it appears by a charter dated the day of Saint Clement the Pope in the year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Edward the 20<sup>th</sup>,<sup>231</sup> which charter is shown upon the account in the year of the reign of King Richard the Second the 20<sup>th</sup>; and a copy of the same is shown upon the account and annexed upon the rolls of the court in the year abovesaid of King Richard.<sup>232</sup> [Marginal note:] It is written [*Scribatur*] “½d. for the messuage and not more, because the said 3 roods charged at 3d. in the rental of Weth<sup>233</sup> upon G. Dousyng”,<sup>234</sup> and thus wrongly [*male*] here; and afterwards, as well [*t<sup>am</sup>*], that “those 3 roods in the tenure of G.D.<sup>235</sup> [are] called Millereslond(e)”, and thus they are ~~the right~~ [*s(i)<sup>c</sup> su(n)t iur*] of W[illiam] Cloutyng \for the lords [*p(ro) dnis*']/. ~~16d. from the office of the reeve.~~

And of £4 10s. 11¼d. from rents of assize by the year, at the 4 terms abovesaid, purchased by the lord from William Cloutyng(e), besides the works and customs as issues, as it appears by the rental of the aforesaid William.<sup>236</sup>

And of 16d. from the office of the reeve for the tenement of William Nicole.

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<sup>228</sup> “*Dis*” is the standard abbreviation for the Latin word *dimissio* throughout this account, generally meaning “demised” or “handed over”. It signifies a grant of land by the lord on different terms to the standard ones, and there are numerous entries in the account where land is “demised” to a person and his/her heirs “by the rolls of the court”, although many of these were for fixed terms at first, see CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, (Vanneck) book of extracts from Laxfield court rolls, *passim*. A demise by any specified term of years or for a life indicates a lease, which in other manorial records is also denoted by the use of the phrase “farm” or “at farm”.

<sup>229</sup> 12 Richard II (1388-9).

<sup>230</sup> See below in the section “Farm of the land formerly of John de Hoo”, where it is leased at 12d. a year.

<sup>231</sup> 23 November 1326.

<sup>232</sup> 20 Richard II (1396-7).

<sup>233</sup> i.e. the tenement Wetheringsetes.

<sup>234</sup> Geoffrey Dousyng.

<sup>235</sup> Geoffrey Dousyng.

<sup>236</sup> These were presumably the rents of assize, works and customs, due to the fourth part of Laxfield manor which had been held by Emma Atte Bridge, and afterwards by Elizabeth and William Cloutyng during Elizabeth’s life, she probably being the widow of Adam Atte Bridge. See pp. 41-44 above.

And of 12d. from the office of the reeve<sup>237</sup> of John [*Joh(ann)is*] Alpot.

And of 7½d. from Simon Jurdon' [and] Matilda, the wife formerly of Richard Seman.

And of 3d. from the tenement Chapman.

And of 2d. from the office of the reeve for the tenement of John Edward(e).

£9 8s. ¼d./.<sup>238</sup>

Amount: £9 8s. ¼d.

b. Increased rent of John dil Hoo:<sup>239</sup>

And of ¼d. from the increased rent of Simon Jurdon' for land he purchased from John Noyse, villein [*nat'*];<sup>240</sup>

And of 1d. <sup>\allowed, in decay [*dec'*]/</sup> from increase of John Wluard(e) the elder for 1 piece of land, containing 1 acre and a half of land he purchased from Robert Rowe.<sup>241</sup>

And of ½d. <sup>\allowed, in decay [*dec'*]/</sup> from increase of the aforesaid John Wluard(e) for 1 piece of land he purchased from William P(r)<sup>a</sup>ty by charter in the year 14 of King Richard, as it appears by the rolls of the court.<sup>242</sup>

And of 1d. <sup>\allowed, in decay [*dec'*]/</sup> from increase of the aforesaid John for 1 piece of land, containing 2 acres, which he purchased by charter.

And of 1d. from the increased rent of Roger Damet for 1 messuage and 2 acres of land, lately purchased from John Damet in the year 10 of King Richard, as it appears by the rolls of the court.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> The accountant may have omitted the words “for the tenement” after the word “reeve”, as in the preceding line.

<sup>238</sup> Marginal note (faint). Presumably the bailiff/accountant or the auditor was making his own calculations in the margin before entering the final “amount” at the bottom of the section.

<sup>239</sup> Account 21-22 Richard II (1397-8), by previous bailiff John Crisp, this said “Increased rent formerly of John Hoo”.

<sup>240</sup> Account 50 Edward III-1 Richard II (1376-7) states “1 rood of land, which he purchased from John Noyse, villein of the lord [*nat' dni'*]”.

<sup>241</sup> Account 50 Edward III - 1 Richard II (1376-7) states “Richard Rowe” rather than “Robert Rowe”.

<sup>242</sup> 14 Richard II (1390-91).

<sup>243</sup> 10 Richard II (1386-7).

And of 4d. from the increased rent of Edith [*Edithe*'] Damet,<sup>244</sup> villein of the lord [*nat' dni*'], for 4 acres of land lately purchased from William Clouttyng' and John Smyth(e), and others.

And of 1d. <sup>\allowed/</sup> from the increased rent of William Seman, villein of the lord [*nat' dni*'], for three acres of land which he has from inheritance after the death of his father.

And of 1d. from the increased rent of Edmund [*Edmi*'] Atte Hawe,<sup>245</sup> for 1 messuage and 2 acres of land in Badyng<sup>a</sup>m, which he purchased from Stephen Cart(er)e by charter.

And of <sup>\allowed/</sup> ½d. from the increased rent of John Wluard(e),<sup>246</sup> for 2 pieces of free land purchased from William Crespp(e), as it appears by the rolls of the court in the year 2 of King Richard.<sup>247</sup>

Amount: 10¼d.

a. Rents of assize formerly of Peter dil Hooe.<sup>248</sup>

And of 38s. 10d. from the rents of Peter dil Hoo, as it appears by the new rental.

And of 6s. 8d. from new rent to be perceived [*p(er)cipi*'] by the year from William Seman for 1 toft of the tenement called Selot(es), containing 5 acres, demised to Edmund [*Edmo*'] Seman, to him and his heirs, as it appears by the rolls of the court in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of King Henry the Fourth.<sup>249</sup>

And of 2d. of new rent by the year from Margaret [*Margar*'], the wife of John Bregge, <sup>\for a</sup> parcel of land demised to John <sup>Topin/</sup> ~~Thrower(e)~~ for 5 pieces of land and pasture, enclosed, containing 2 acres, with

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<sup>244</sup> Account 8-9 Henry IV (1407-8) also said "Edith [*Edithe*'] Damet", but all others in this first series said "Edmund", abbreviated to either "*Ed'i*" or "*Edm'i*". Therefore, I presume that "*Edithe*" is an error.

<sup>245</sup> Account 21-22 Richard II said "from Edmund [*Edmi*'] Hagh', villein of the lord [*nati' dni*]".

<sup>246</sup> Account 21-22 Richard II said "John <sup>\Wlvard(e)/</sup> ~~Thrower(e)~~, villein of the lord [*nati' dni*]".

<sup>247</sup> 2 Richard II (1378-9).

<sup>248</sup> Account 21-22 Richard II (1397-8), by previous bailiff John Crisp, this said "Rents of assize of Peter de Hoo".

<sup>249</sup> 9 Henry IV (1407-8).

a ditch [*foss*] upon the same, and common suit; granted to her at term of her life, formerly [*olim*] charged in the gross sum <sup>\Topyn paid these 2d.; and the residue is within the 16s. below [*infer*], Brygge/ 250</sup>

And of 16s. from 1 meadow called Badewell(e), lately in the farm of John Topyn, and other land lately in the farm of John Dousyng' otherwise [*alias*] Smyth(e) containing 5 acres, demised to William Bregge, to him and his heirs, by a charter of the lord, in the said grant granted [*in ?dict ?conc' concess'*].<sup>251</sup>

\61s. 8d./.<sup>252</sup>

Amount: 61s. 8d.

Fee farm of Peter dil Hooe:<sup>253</sup>

And <sup>\of 1d./</sup> [from] 1 stall [or shop, *seld'*] in the market [*in foro*], for a moiety [*pro med'*], besides [*ult(r)<sup>a</sup>*] the other moiety [*mediet'*] pertaining to William Clouttyng', ~~nothing, because charged in the title "New Rent" because the lord purchased the right [*jus*] of the aforesaid William Clouttyng'~~<sup>254</sup>

And of 8d. for half an acre of villein land of the tenement Wederyngset, demised to John Topy and his heirs.<sup>255</sup>

Amount: 9d.

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<sup>250</sup> Account 8-9 Henry IV (1407-8) said "And of 3s. of new rent by the year from Margery [*Marg(er)*'], [lately] the wife of John Bregge, for 5 pieces of land and pasture, in part enclosed, containing 2 acres, with one ditch upon the same, and common suit, demised to her at term of her life; formerly charged in the gross sum". As the entry in this present account is only for the 2d. charged for a parcel of that land which John Topyn then held, the accountant should have struck through the original description for clarity. The rest of that land was demised to William Bregge and his heirs at the increased farm of 16s. in the following entry. This implies that William's mother Margery (or Margaret) may have recently died.

<sup>251</sup> This appears to say "in the said grant granted", although it probably should have said "in the said charter granted".

<sup>252</sup> Marginal note (very faint). Presumably the bailiff's/accountant's or the auditor's calculations.

<sup>253</sup> There appears to have been a marginal note immediately below "Fee farm of Peter dil Hooe", although it has either been rubbed off or faded and is illegible from the photograph.

<sup>254</sup> The auditor probably made these amendments at the time of the account. This moiety of the shop or stall mentioned here was not Cloutyng's moiety but a moiety which pertained to the main part of the manor. Cloutyng's moiety was probably included in the "other lands" mentioned in the first entry in "New Rent" below.

<sup>255</sup> This tenement is usually spelled "Wetheringsete". The surname "Topy" should say "Topyn" as in the last entry of the previous section above.

[Membrane 2r].<sup>256</sup>

New rent [*Nov' reddit'*]:

And of 22s. 8d. from the tenement Seman', with other lands of the tenure [*de tenur<sup>at</sup>*] of William Cloutyng', demised to John Balston' by indenture of the lord sealed, for all services and customs, granted to the same John to him and his heirs by charter; whereof, in the farm of William Clouttyng' 5s. 6d.

And of 9d. from 1 acre and 1 rood of land lying in the croft Pycottes, demised to John Wlward(e) and his heirs by indenture of the lord sealed, lately held from the lord by increased rent [*de incru' redd'*], as it appears in the title "Increase" as above.

And of 3s. 8d. from the land and tenement which Simon Seyle <sup>held/</sup> in villeinage [*tenuit in villenag'*] from William Cloutyng', demised to Robert Wolward(e) and his heirs by charter indented, for all services and customs.

And of 8s. from the land and tenement which lately were of Robert Nicole in Laxfeld(e), demised to John Nicole and his heirs by indenture of the lord to him and his heirs, for all services and customs.

And of 4s. 5d. from 1 messuage and 6 acres, 3 roods, which Robert Wattelyng' lately held, demised to William Hardeg(r)<sup>a</sup>ve and his heirs by a charter of the lord sealed, for all services and customs.

And of 6d. from 1 piece of land of the tenement P(r)<sup>a</sup>ty, and 3 pieces of land in diverse parcels, demised to William Garneys and his heirs by indenture of the lord sealed, which pieces Robert Wlward(e) refused to hold by service [*renuit tenere p(er) s(er)vic'*].<sup>257</sup>

\All of these tenants received charters in the year of the reign of King Henry the 9<sup>th</sup>/.<sup>258</sup>

And of 4s. from 1 pightle called Coston'yerd(e), and 2 acres of land called Teynslond(e), demised to Robert Arteys and his heirs by the rolls of the court in the year 9.

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<sup>256</sup> This appears to be a new membrane inserted here between the sections "Fee farm of Peter de Hooe" and "Fee farm formerly of John de Hoo" to accommodate these new rents which were probably not in the account when it was first written out.

<sup>257</sup> Robert had evidently refused to hold this unfree land on the traditional villein tenure. Therefore, the lord had granted it on a contractual rent (i.e. a lease) to another tenant instead.

<sup>258</sup> Marginal note. 9 Henry IV (1407-8).

And of 2s. 8d. from 1 house [*dom*'] called Cloutyng(es) Hows(e), with 1 small garden annexed to the same, demised to Robert Tynker(e) and his heirs by the the rolls of the court in the year abovesaid.

And of 13d. from half an acre of land in Stodhaugh(e), next to the land of John Carbonell(e), demised to John Conyn and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 13s. from 8 acres of land in le Mellefeld(e) demised to William Jurdon', to him and his heirs, by the the rolls of the court.

And of 5s. from 3 acres of land of the tenement Hobbes, demised to Peter P(r)<sup>a</sup>ti and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 4d. from 1 rood of land of the tenement P(ar)ker(es), demised to Robert Smyth(e) and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 12d. from 3 roods of land of the tenement of Richard Damet, with 1 house [*dom*'], demised to Nicholas Atte Hawe and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 4s. from a parcel of the tenement Honnes, containing 1 acre and a half, demised to Nicholas qwyte and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.<sup>259</sup>

And of 8d. from the rent of Robert Smyth(e) for 1 piece of land lying in his close, abutting upon the tenement Bennes towards the east, demised to the same Robert and his heirs by a charter indented of the lord.

And of 2s. from 1 tenement in the market [*in fur*'], demised to John Heyward and his heirs by a charter of the lord sealed.<sup>260</sup>

And of 9s. from 5 acres of land of the tenement Brounes and Lentenes, demised to William Bernard(e) and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

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<sup>259</sup> i.e. Nicholas Whyte/White.

<sup>260</sup> This "*fur*" should have been "*for(o)*", see Holkham, DA/S/8/2 & 3, Laxfield manor rental, 1480, folio 9r: "From the 2s. lately received of Stephen Dowsyng for one cottage, lately of Alice Heyward and after of John Heyward, bocher, nothing here, because in the hands of the lord for the market [*mark*'] there to be held and occupied".

And of 26s. from 1 tenement called H(er)tes, containing 14 acres of land; and 6 acres of pasture called Marleko; with 1 way called qwytiswey;<sup>261</sup> demised to Robert Smyth(e) and to Agnes his mother,<sup>262</sup> and to their heirs, by the the rolls of the court.

And of 6s. 2½d. from 1 tenement called Glemes, and of a 4<sup>th</sup> part [*iiii<sup>ti</sup> p(ar)ti*'] of the tenement formerly of John Seman, containing in the whole 9 acres of land, demised to Edmund [*Edmo*'] Seman and to the heirs of the aforesaid Edmund [*Edm*'] by the the rolls of the court.

\+ Remember, in “Decay [*dec*’]”.<sup>263</sup>

And of <sup>\allowed/</sup> 3s. 11d. from the farm of the tenement Orpud, demised to Geoffrey Dousyng’ and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of <sup>\allowed/</sup> 3s. 4d. from the farm of the tenement Yerneys, demised to William Garneys by a grant [*ex concess*'] of Geoffrey Dousyng’, to be held to the same William and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 12s. from the tenement Leverich(e), with 7 acres of land of the demesne [*t(er)r’ de dmcs*’ or *t(er)r’ de dnics*’], demised to William Balston’ and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 3s. 4d. from 2 acres of land, with 1 pigtle, demised to Walter Barwer(e) and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 3s. from 2 acres of villein land [*t(er)r’ nat*’], demised to Edmund [*Edmo*'] Noyse and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 2d. from 1 curtilage [or yard, *curtilag*'] lying next to Berdisyerd(e), demised to Robert Wlvard(e) and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

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<sup>261</sup> i.e. White’s Way.

<sup>262</sup> This appears to have been changed from “wife [*ux*’]” to “mother [*mat*’]”.

<sup>263</sup> Marginal note. The inserted “+” probably refers to the next two entries where the superscript word “<sup>\allowed/</sup>” has been added (perhaps by the auditor), and these tenements are found in the section “Decay of rent” below.

From the farm of 1 close called Laxfeld(e) Halle Clos(e), nothing this year; and in the year following it is demised [*di<sup>ur</sup>*] to John Heyward(e) and his heirs by the the rolls of the court for 56s. 8d.<sup>264</sup>

\+/.<sup>265</sup> \+/  
And of 5s. 6d. from 1 tenement, formerly of John Noyse, demised to Stephen Jurdon' and his heirs by the the rolls of the court in the 8<sup>th</sup> year of King Henry.<sup>266</sup>

And of 13s. from 7 acres of villein [*nat*']<sup>267</sup> of the tenement Holdho(us), demised to Edmund [*Edmo*'] Hurlrich(e) and [his] heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 6s. from 3 acres and a half of land lying at Margaretiscroft(e), demised to Henry Seyly and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

\+/.<sup>268</sup> \+/  
And of 13d. from half an acre of land of the demesne [*de dmis*'] called Lentenes Lond(e), demised to William Russel and his heirs.

And of 16s. from the tenement Noyses, containing 8 acres of land and pasture, demised to Robert Cone and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 6s. 8d. \remember next year [*annu(m) p(ro)x*] for the 12d. charged below [*inferi' on(er)at*']<sup>269</sup> from the tenement Lentenes, with 2 pieces of land, demised to William Garneys and his heirs by indenture of the lord.

And of 6s. from 1 piece, containing 5 acres of land called Malt' Robeyn, demised to John Alpot' and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 6s. from 1 tenement called fferthyng', demised to Peter P(r)<sup>a</sup>ti and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

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<sup>264</sup> The bailiff/accountant has confused "Laxfeld(e) Halle Clos(e)" with another close called "Laxfeld(e) Clos(e)" here. CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, '(Vanneck) book of extracts from Laxfield court rolls, p. 23, records that in 9 Henry IV (1407-8): "the lord granted to William Dowsyng a certain close called Laxfeld Halclos at a term of 10 years" for 53s. 4d. a year; and in the same year: "the lord granted to John Hayward, bocher, \and to his heirs/, a certain enclosure called Laxfeld Clos, rendering by the year 56s. 8d.". For both closes see below in the section "Farm of the land formerly of John de Hoo". "Laxfeld(e) Clos(e)" apparently became known later as "Hopton Close", presumably to avoid this confusion.

<sup>265</sup> Marginal addition "+", obviously to draw the reader's attention to the "+" inserted in the body of the text, although the meaning is unclear.

<sup>266</sup> 8 Henry IV (1406-7). CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, '(Vanneck) book of extracts from Laxfield court rolls, p. 19, records this grant as made in 7 Henry IV (1405-6), comprising: "one tenement lately of John Noyse the younger, demised to S. Jurdon for 5s. and increase of service 6d.".

<sup>267</sup> The word "land" has probably been omitted here.

<sup>268</sup> Marginal addition "+", obviously to draw the reader's attention to the "+" inserted in the body of the text, although the meaning is unclear.

<sup>269</sup> See the final entry in this section relating to William Garneys.



And of 4s. 10d. from the farm of 1 piece of land, containing 5 roods, in Westfeld(e), and 1 rood in Nortfeld(e), 2 acres lately in the farm of Hugh Pers(e), demised to John Pers(e) and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 4s. 4d. from 1 piece, containing 2 acres of the greater measure [*maior' mens'*], formerly of John Barker(e), demised to Robert Barker(e) and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

And of 8s. 4d., with 20d. from the increase of Nicholas qwyte,<sup>270</sup> for 1 toft formerly Colman[s], containing 3 acres [and] a half, and 1 piece, demised to Nicholas qwyte and his heirs by the the rolls of the court.

\+/.<sup>271</sup> \+/. And of 20s. from 1 messuage and 7 acres of land, with 1 piece of pasture, in le Hawe, demised to Hugh Fisk(e) and his heirs.

\Query whether within the 7s. 8d. of the farm [of] Garneys/.<sup>272</sup> And \Qu./ of 12d. from 1 rood of land and 1 rood of meadow \of the tenement Yerneys/, demised to William Garneys and his heirs by charter.

[Erasure].<sup>273</sup>

\£11 19s. 7d./.<sup>274</sup>

Amount: £11 19s. 7d.

[Membrane 3r].

Fee farm formerly of John Dil Hoo [*ffeod' firma q(u)ond(am) Joh(ann)is Dil Hoo*]:

\Remember, for 4d./<sup>275</sup>

And of 1d. from the new rent of John Gerard(e) for 1 shop [*sild'*] in the market [*in for'*] demised to the same person and to his heirs.

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<sup>270</sup> i.e. Nicholas Whyte or White.

<sup>271</sup> Marginal addition “+”, obviously to draw the reader’s attention to the “+” inserted in the body of the text, although the meaning is unclear.

<sup>272</sup> Marginal note referring to the following entry, as indicated by the superscript addition “\Qu./”.

<sup>273</sup> There were a further three lines and more of text here which have apparently been deliberately erased.

<sup>274</sup> Marginal note, presumably the bailiff’s/accountant’s or the auditor’s calculations.

<sup>275</sup> This comment is placed at the top of the section above the first entry, but it is uncertain what it relates to as the rent of 1d. from John Gerard for the “*sild*” is the same as in every previous surviving account.

And of 12s. from the tenement of John Barwer(e), for the tenement Margaret(es), demised to him and his heirs.

And of 6s. from the tenement ffulgapp', demised to Richard Sely and his heirs.

And of 8s. 4d. from Henry Ede for: 1 messuage, and 2 acres <sup>\and a half/</sup> of land, called Dreyers tenement; with 1 piece of meadow and pasture, containing 1 acre; demised to him and to his heirs, besides 1 suit<sup>276</sup> at the feast of St. Michael.

And of 10s. from 1 messuage and 4 acres of the tenement Greyndelovis, demised to William Dousyng' and his heirs, besides 1 suit at the feast of St. Michael.

And of 14s. from 9 acres of land, formerly Nobelot(es), demised to Roger Em and his heirs, besides 1 suit at the feast of St. Michael.

\Remember [*m<sup>d</sup>*] to enquire/.<sup>277</sup> And <sup>\remember [*md*']/</sup> of 8s. from 1 toft, 5 acres of land, formerly Knytgemans, of the tenure [*tenur<sup>d</sup>*] of Peter dil Hoo, formerly [*dudu(m)*] charged in the gross sum among the "Farm of Peter dil Hoo", demised to Roger Barker(e) and his heirs, besides 1 suit at the feast of St. Michael.

From the farm of 1 rood of land called Gebelot(es) yerd(e), nothing, because charged within the farm of John Balston' in the title "New rent" in the sum [of] 22s. 8d.; and it used to be demised for 3d.

Amount: 58s. 5d.

#### Farm of the land formerly of John Hoo:<sup>278</sup>

And <sup>\md'/</sup> of 40s. from William Garneys, with 7s. of increase, for 1 piece of land, containing 5 acres, called Breytm(er) lond(e); 5 acres of land called Vadecroft(e); and 1 piece of land and

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<sup>276</sup> i.e. suit of court, which was additional to the cash rent.

<sup>277</sup> Marginal note referring to the adjacent entry, as indicated by the superscript insertion <sup>\md'/</sup> after the word "And".

<sup>278</sup> Below this title there are a number of crosses down the left margin, clearly intended to draw the reader's eye to certain points in the text. However, it is unclear what every cross relates to so they are not shown here as they might confuse the reader. Nevertheless, I have indicated all the superscript additions within the text. There are also seven black dots in the margin, each corresponding with similar dots found in notes in the text, indicating increased rents for the following year. It is unclear whether these symbols "•" and "+" were added at the time of writing the account or later.

meadow called qwytiscroft(e); demised to the same person at a term of 10 years, this the 3<sup>rd</sup> year.

•<sup>279</sup> And of 24s. <sup>\in the year following demised for \*25s./</sup> for 1 toft and 1 close formerly of John Hoo, containing 4 acres and a half of land, and 1 piece of land called Grayliscroft(e) containing 8 acres, (except the fishing there), demised to John Market this year; <sup>\whereof [un(de)] 1 parcel is demised to Robert Arteys in the year following by the rolls of the court/</sup> 280

And <sup>\+/</sup> of 18s. from 6 acres <sup>\and a half/</sup> of land and pasture in le Mellefeld(e); 3 pieces of pasture in le Donmedwe; 4 acres called Emotisdoune; 1 acre and a half in le Mellefeld(e); half an acre, half a rood, called le Conynger(e);<sup>281</sup> 1 acre called Ladisacr(e); half a rood called Emotisgoryng'; demised to William Jurdon' at a term of 8 years, the term beginning at Michaelmas next coming.

And of 6s. 8d. for 3 acres, 3 roods of land, and 1 piece of pasture, demised to John Hurlrich(e) at a term of 10 years, this the 3<sup>rd</sup> year.

•<sup>282</sup> And of 4s. for 2 acres of land in 4 pieces, lately demised to William ffuller(e), demised to Geoffrey ffuller(e) this year <sup>\in the year following demised for \*4d. [?]increase/</sup> 283

And of 10d. from 1 rood and a half of land, demised to Geoffrey Coup(er)e this year.

<sup>\Increase, 4d./.</sup><sup>284</sup> And <sup>\md'/</sup> of 12d. from 1 piece of land with a pigtle, demised to John Cresp(e) at a term of 10 years, this the 3<sup>rd</sup> year.

And <sup>\md'/</sup> of 4s. 4d. for 4 pieces of land of the tenement Grendolf', demised to John Rop(er)e at a term of 10 years, this the 9<sup>th</sup> year.

~~And of 2s. 4d. for 1 piece of land, containing 5 roods, in West ffeld(e), demised to John Rowe this year~~ <sup>\[deleted] because among [int(er)] the fee farm of John Pers/</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Marginal symbol.

<sup>280</sup> See below near the bottom of this section where the first close is named as Wyngfeld Clos(e) and demised to Robert Arteys for 16s. 6d., and Grayliscroft(e) is demised to John Market for 8s. 6d., amounting to the said 25s.

<sup>281</sup> i.e. the Coninger, meaning a rabbit warren.

<sup>282</sup> Marginal symbol.

<sup>283</sup> The word "increase" at the end of this superscript addition is difficult to read due to its size. It might actually be a superscript "+" followed by some other character, and thus it might relate to the next entry below because it is situated after the word "And" in that sentence.

<sup>284</sup> Marginal note. It is unclear whether this note refers to the adjacent entry or whether it applies to all the entries marked with an "+" or "md'" and implies rent increases.

And of 6d. from 1 piece of land of the tenement Grendolf<sup>r</sup>, demised to John Nicole at a term of 10 years, this the 8<sup>th</sup> year.

And of 3s. 4d. from the farm of 2 acres of land, demised to John Damet this year; <sup>\in the year</sup> following, to Nicholas Haw at a term of 10 years/.

And of 20s. from the farm of the windmill [*molend' vent(r)<sup>i</sup>c'*], demised to John Meller(e).<sup>285</sup>

And of 2s. ~~6d.~~ <sup>\8d./</sup> from 3 roods, lately demised to Henry Medday, demised to John Market.

And of 14d. from 1 acre of land, demised to John Market this year.

And of 2s. 2d. from 2 acres of land, demised to Robert Arteys this year.

And <sup>\md'/</sup> of 22d. from 1 acre of land, demised to John Nicole this year.

And of 6d. from half an acre of land, demised to Robert Smyth(e) this year <sup>\[?]</sup>so much according to Garneys, that none such [are], but they are respited within 6s. [*?tam p(er) Garneys q(uo)d null ?t(a)l(is) s(ed) sunt resp' inf(r)a vjs.*].<sup>286</sup>

And of 20s. from a certain meadow, containing by estimation 2 acres [and] a half, lying next to the church, demised to John Greyne at a term of 20 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.<sup>287</sup>

And of 7s. 8d. from 2 houses [*ij dom'*], demised to John Stokeman at a term of 10 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.<sup>288</sup>

And of 4s. from 4 acres of land, in 2 parcels, demised to Hugh ffisk(e) at a term of 10 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.

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<sup>285</sup> There is a new tenant of the windmill here and the previous tenant(s) appear not to have completed the ten year lease. The rent has increased from 12s. to 20s. but no mention is made of the tenant maintaining the mill at his own costs. As shown below in “Allowances”, the lord is paying the costs of the repairs and renovations again.

<sup>286</sup> This insertion is difficult to interpret. It is possible that this was part of the respited sum recorded at the bottom of this account on the *recto* side, which amounted to 6s. 1d. yearly, and that may be the “6s.” mentioned in this present insertion. This respited sum of 6s. 1d. yearly was for lands which the tenants claimed to hold from the honour of Eye. Therefore, it seems that according to Garneys (the bailiff/accountant), this 6d. ought not to be charged here.

<sup>287</sup> The surname “Greyne” might alternatively be “Greyve”.

<sup>288</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, ‘(Vanneck) book of extracts from Laxfield court rolls’, p. 21, records in year 9 Henry IV (1407-1408): “2 houses, etc., as within; The lord granted to John Stokeman \alias Dorendale/ 2 houses [or buildings, *domos*], namely a hall [*aulam*] and a bakehouse [*pistrina(m)*], with a small garden and a curtilage lying on the ~~south~~ north part of the said bakehouse [*pistrine*], at a term of 10 years} 7s. 8d”. Later entries show that this was Laxfield Hall and the bakehouse of Laxfield Hall. In this present account there is a “+ +” in the margin adjacent to this entry. Therefore, it may be that the “+” symbols relate to the site of the manor or demesne land, although it is difficult to be certain.

And of 21s. <sup>\4d./</sup> from the tenement Talio<sup>u(r)</sup>, demised to Edmund [*Edmo*] Hurlrich(e) at a term of 10 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.<sup>289</sup>

And of 6s. 8d. from 4 acres of land, demised to Geoffrey Coup(er)e at a term of 10 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.

And <sup>\md'/</sup> of 20d. from 2 acres of land, demised to Robert Arteys <sup>\Thomas Palm(er)e/</sup> at a term of 10 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.

And of 3s. from 3 roods, with 1 pightle, demised to Edmund [*Edmo*] Tynker(e) at a term of 10 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.

<sup>\Bregge/.</sup> <sup>\Increase, 2d./.</sup><sup>290</sup> And <sup>\remember, for B [md' p(ro) B]/</sup> of 3s. from 1 meadow called Babewell(e)medwe, demised to John Chapman this year.

And <sup>\remember, for B [md' p(ro) B]/</sup> of 21s. from the tenement Denyell', demised to Richard Crespp(e) at a term of 5 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.

And <sup>\remember, for B [md' p(ro) B]/</sup> of 9s. from 8 acres of land [and] a half of the demesne, ~~his~~ called Denyell', demised to Hugh Hawe at a term of 5 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.

And of 3s. from 3 acres of land of the tenement Templer(es), demised to Nicholas Hawe at a term of 5 years, this the 1<sup>st</sup> year.

•<sup>291</sup> And of 46s. 8d. from a certain close called Laxfeld(e) Hall(e) Clos(e), demised to William Dowsyng'; and in the year following demised to the same William at a term of 10 years/ for •4[?d.] increase.<sup>292</sup> <sup>\And henceforth [deceet(er)o] demised to John Heyward and his heirs for 56s. 8d. by the year/</sup><sup>293</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, '(Vanneck) book of extracts from Laxfield court rolls', p. 21, records in year 9 Henry IV (1407-1408): "The lord granted to Edmund Hurlych(e) the tenement Taylyo<sup>u(r)</sup>s, which lately he held from William Clowtting', at a term of 10 years} 21s. 3d."

<sup>290</sup> The name "Bregge" appears in the margin, followed by a bracket "{", together with corresponding superscript insertions "remember for B [md' p(ro) B]" in the next three entries and another below. This may indicate that these parcels were at some time previously held by John Bregge (died 1390-91), or later by his son William. It seems likely that this note was added somewhat later than the writing of the account because the (Vanneck) book of extracts of Laxfield court rolls, p. 21, in year 9 Henry IV, confirms that John Chapman had "Babwelmedow" for 1 year, while Richard Crisp and Hugh Haugh had their lands for five years.

<sup>291</sup> Marginal symbol.

<sup>292</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, '(Vanneck) book of extracts from Laxfield court rolls', p. 23, records in year 9 Henry IV (1407-8): "The lord granted to William Dowsyng a certain close called Laxfeld Halclos at term of 10 years". The rent there was recorded as "53s. 4d. [liijs. iiijd.]", although that may have been a copying error because on p. 31, in year 9 Henry V (1421-2), "the lord granted to William ffyske 1 enclosure called Laxfeld Hall Clos(e), with 1 house [or building, dom'] called le Hall(e), to be held at a term of 10 years, rent} 46s. 8d."

<sup>293</sup> This insertion was probably deleted because whoever wrote it had confused "Laxfeld(e) Close" with "Laxfeld(e) Hall(e) Clos(e)", which were two different enclosures.

•.<sup>294</sup> From a certain close called Wyngfeld Clos(e), nothing, because in the farm of John Market <sup>\as above/</sup>; and in the year following it is demised to Robert Arteys at a term of 10 years, for •16s. 6d.

•.<sup>295</sup> From the farm of 1 close called Grayliscroft(e), nothing, because in the farm of John Market as above; and in the year following demised to John Heyward(e) for •8s. 6d.

Enquire whether E[dmund] Seman should hold [*teneat*] at farm within 7s. or not [*necne*] •.<sup>296</sup> And of 2s. 8d. from 1 acre [and] a half of villein land [*t(er)re nat'*], lately demised to Geoffrey Bernard(e); and in the year following it is demised [*di<sup>u(r)</sup>*] to Edmund [*Edmo'*] Seman at a term of 10 years for •3s. 4d.<sup>297</sup>

•.<sup>298</sup> And of 46s. 8d. from 1 close called Laxfeld Clos(e), demised to William Jurdon'; [and] in the year following it is demised to John Heyward(e) and his heirs for •56s. 8d.<sup>299</sup>

And of 2s. from a parcel of meadow, demised to Simon Jurdon' this year.

And of 7s. from 2 acres of land, with 1 close, demised to John Crespp(e) this year.

B.<sup>300</sup> And <sup>\remember, for B [*md' p(ro) B*]/</sup> of 10d. from one way, demised to Hugh ffisk(e) this year.

And <sup>\+/-</sup> of 12d. from from [*de de*] diverse men, demised this year [*sic*].<sup>301</sup>

Remember [*md'*], in the year following, of 3d. from 1 little close demised Geoffrey Dowsyng', not charged in this title; and it is charged in the foot [of the account].<sup>302</sup>

[?Erasure].<sup>303</sup>

Amount: £16 18s. 2d.

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<sup>294</sup> Marginal symbol.

<sup>295</sup> Marginal symbol.

<sup>296</sup> Marginal query and symbol relating to the adjacent entry.

<sup>297</sup> This piece was originally recorded below in the "Farm of the land of Peter dil Hoo", but was struck through.

<sup>298</sup> Marginal symbol.

<sup>299</sup> Not to be confused with Laxfield Hall Close. Laxfield Close later became known as Hopton Close, probably to avoid this confusion.

<sup>300</sup> Marginal letter "B", presumably for "Bregge" (as above), corresponding to the superscript note <sup>\remember, for B [*md' p(ro) B*]/</sup> in the adjacent entry.

<sup>301</sup> ?Omission. It appears likely the scribe should have written "*de ter' de*", i.e. "from the land of".

<sup>302</sup> i.e. the "foot" (bottom) of the account.

<sup>303</sup> There was something written in the margin, probably the bailiff's/accountant's or the auditor's calculation of the rents, although it has been mostly rubbed off, either deliberately or not.

[Membrane 4r].

Farm <sup>\of the land/</sup> of Peter dil Hoo:<sup>304</sup>

And <sup>\+/</sup> of 50s. from the farm of 1 close called Syr(e)per(e)sclos(e), demised to William Garneys at a term of 10 years, this the 3<sup>rd</sup> year;<sup>305</sup>

\Now [*? M(odo)*] of the farm of E[dmund] Seman. Remember [*Md'*]/<sup>306</sup> ~~And of 2s. 8d. from 1 piece of land, with a pightle, containing 1 acre, 1 rood, called Haldho(us), demised to Geoffrey Bernard(e) this~~ <sup>\[Deleted] because below [*inferi(us)*] among the farms of land by the year/</sup> <sup>307</sup>

\Remember, because new rent/<sup>308</sup> And <sup>\md'/</sup> of 4s. 6d., <sup>\with 2s. 2d./</sup> from increase, of Edmund [*Edmi'*] Seman', for 1 pightle and 9 pieces of land, of the tenure of Alice Holdho(us),<sup>309</sup> containing in the whole 4 acres of land, called Messewy', demised to him at a term of 10 years, this the last year.

And of 54s. 1d. from diverse farms and lands of Peter dil Hoo demised to diverse men; with 22s. 6d. from the farm of William Russell' <sup>\10s. 6d./</sup> and William Garneys <sup>\9s. 8d./</sup> \William Gleme, 2s. 4d./ for 5 acres of land called Bienhaug' demised to them at a term of 10 years, this the 4<sup>th</sup> year; besides [*p(re)t(er)[ea]*], 3s. of new rent <sup>\in the charter of Garneys within 7s. 8d./</sup> above charged in the title [of] Alice Robyn' in the "Rents of Peter del Hoo"; 8s. in the rent of Roger Barwer(e) and his heirs among the "Fee farm of John dil Hoo"; and 4s., <sup>\in the charter of Garneys within 7s. 8d./</sup> above charged of William Gleme for Heywardislond(e).

\+/<sup>310</sup> And <sup>\remember [*md'*]/</sup> of 16d. from increase of the farm of the tenement Sac(r)<sup>a</sup>ment(e)s, in the hands of Geoffrey Dousyng', besides the ancient farm [*p(re)t(er)[ea] antiq(u)<sup>a</sup>m firm<sup>a</sup>(m)*].

And of 8d. for the farm of 1 pightle next to Syr(e)persclos(e), demised to Robert Russh' at a term of 12 years, this the 9<sup>th</sup> year.

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<sup>304</sup> The surviving accounts from 1379-80 (3-4 Richard II) until 1387-8 (11-12 Richard II) all entitled this section as "Farm of the land of the tenement of Peter de Hoo".

<sup>305</sup> Uncertain what this "++" relates to.

<sup>306</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>307</sup> This piece is actually recorded above in the section "Farm of the land formerly of John Hoo".

<sup>308</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>309</sup> Account 6-7 Henry IV states "formerly [*olim*] in the tenure of Alice Holdhows".

<sup>310</sup> Faint marginal symbol.

From 5 acres of land lately in the farm of John Dousyng', nothing, because charged as above in the farm of John Atte Bregge.<sup>311</sup>

Amount: 110s. 7d. [i.e. £5 10s. 7d.].<sup>312</sup>

Perquisites of court:

And of £9 3s. 4d. from the profits of five courts and 1 Leet there held through [p(er)] the year, as it appears by the the rolls of the court.

Amount: £9 3s. 4d.

Works sold:

And of 3d. from 1 capon sold as issues [vend' ut ex<sup>it</sup>'];

And of 14½d. from 7 hens, 3 parts<sup>313</sup> of 1 hen, sold, price the head [p(re)c' cap'], 2d.;

And of ¼d. [q<sup>u</sup>] from 4 eggs sold;

And of 2s. 5d. from 29 winter works [op(er)ib(us) yem(a)<sup>l</sup>] sold as issues, price of a work, 1d.;

And of 1½d. from 1 rood <sup>[and] a half/</sup> of land called Govilherth(e)<sup>314</sup> sold as issues, for the acre 4d.;

And of 1½d. from 1 carrying work [av(er)ag'] and a half, sold as issues;

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<sup>311</sup> See above in "Rents of assize of Peter dil Hoo" upon William Bregge within his farm of 16s.

<sup>312</sup> Note the methodology of the account here: it does not include the underlined sums of money or underlined superscript insertions.

<sup>313</sup> i.e. three quarters.

<sup>314</sup> i.e. Gavelherthe; arable land ploughed by a tenant in lieu of rent. See T. Cunningham, *A new and complete law-dictionary, or, general abridgment of the law: on a more extensive plan than any law-dictionary hitherto published, volume II*, (London, 1765), [no page numbers]: "Gavelherthe, Gavelherth, The duty or work of ploughing so much earth, or ground, done by the customary tenant for his lord. - *Item respondet de 35 acris de consuetudine arandi, gavel-herte. - Item sunt ibi quinque jugera, quodlibet arabit unam dimidiam acram ad semen frumenti, & & seminabit, & herciabit - & vocatur istud opus gavelerth.* Somner of gavelkind, p. 17".



And of 6d. [from] 1 boon-ploughing [*p(re)car' caruc'*] sold as issues;<sup>315</sup>

And of 8d. from 1 boon-ploughing without food [*p(re)car' caruc' s(i)n(e) cib'*] sold as issues;<sup>316</sup>

[And] of ½d. from 1 harrow work [*h(er)ciatur'*] sold as issues;

In 2 acres of harvest land [*t(er)r(e) mess'*] sold as issues, 12d.;<sup>317</sup>

And of 7s. from 28 Autumn boon works [*p(re)car' Aut<sup>l</sup>'*] sold as issues, price of a work, 3d.;

And of 8d. from 2 Autumn works [*op(er)ib(us) Aut<sup>l</sup>'*] sold as issues.

And of 1d. from 2 weeding works [*op(er)ib(us) ~~aut~~' sacul'*] sold as issues;

[Omission].<sup>318</sup>

Sale of Wood.<sup>319</sup> And of 4d. from 1 Abel [*Abell'*] sold.<sup>320</sup>

Amount: 13s. 3¼d.

Perquisites of the market [*P(er)quis' m(er)cat'*]:

And of 8d. from the tolls [*tolnet'*] of 1 market [*m(er)cat'*] by the year.

And of 4d. from the tolls [*tolnet'*] of 1 market [*m(er)cat'*] for the part of William Cloutyng'.

Amount: 12d.

Amount of all receipts with the arrears: £63 15s. 5¼d.

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<sup>315</sup> In the account of 6-7 Henry IV (1405-6) these boon-ploughings were further described as “with food provided by the lord [*ad cibum D(omi)ni*], price of a work, 6d.”.

<sup>316</sup> Account 6-7 Henry IV (1405-6) said “price of a work 8d.”.

<sup>317</sup> From 1391-2 (15-16 Richard II) each of the surviving accounts show that all the “harvest land” or “harvest acres” were sold each year, which amounted to 8½ acres, and 23 perches (later reduced to 22 perches), implying that the lord did not require this service. However, in this present account only two acres were sold, implying that the remaining harvest work was being utilised. As will be seen on the dorse (below) these remaining harvest works pertained to tenements in the hands of the lord and rented for money (i.e. commuted), which were described as “in allowance”. The price of these harvest works was fixed at 6d. in all accounts of this period.

<sup>318</sup> The dorse of this account records “2 bushels, a peck, and 1 quarter of 1 peck, of threshed grain [*t(r)tur' blad'*] sold as issues”, which have been omitted here. The previous account, 8-9 Henry IV (1407-8), gives the value for this as 1d. and half a ¼d.

<sup>319</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>320</sup> Latham, *Revised medieval Latin word-list*, p. 1: *abellana*, *avellana*, *avalana* = filbert. *Abellus* = abele, white poplar.

[Membrane 5r].

Rent resolute [*Reddit(us) resolut*']:<sup>321</sup>

The same accountant paid to the church of Laxfeld(e) for Romeschot, <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.; whereof, 1d. for William Cl(o)uttyng'.

Also, he paid to the bailiff of Eye for Ward, <sup>1</sup>/<sub>20</sub>d., this year twice [*bis*], and in the year following once [*semel*];<sup>322</sup>

Also, he paid to the same bailiff for Clouttyng's part acquired by the lord [*p(ro) p(ar)te Clouttyng(e)s aq(u)is' p(er) dnm*'], <sup>1</sup>/<sub>5</sub>d. [<sup>1</sup>/<sub>vd.</sub>], this year twice, and in the year following once;<sup>323</sup>

Also, ~~he paid~~ <sup>in allowance of the tenement/</sup> of Emma [*Emme*] Atte Bregge for the tenement Grendolf(es), in the hands of the lord, <sup>allowed/</sup> <sup>1</sup>/<sub>7</sub>d. <sup>C/</sup>, because the lord acquired the land aforesaid;<sup>324</sup>

Also, he paid for *Okeledyng*<sup>325</sup> for the tenement <sup>formerly of Alan Noyse/</sup>, in the hands of the lord, and it is demised above [*sup(er)ius*] among the "Farms", <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub>d.;<sup>326</sup>

And, ~~he paid~~ <sup>in allowance of the tenement/</sup> of Emma [*Emme*] Atte Bregge, for the tenement of Alan Noyse, for *Okeledyng*', acquired by the lord from William Clouttyng', <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub>d.;

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<sup>321</sup> There are four "+" symbols in the margin, and several single or double dots inserted over certain sums of money, although it is unclear what either mean or if they relate to each other. Also, there are several insertions of the capital letter "C" in the text which appear to indicate lands held, or formerly held, by William Cloutyng.

<sup>322</sup> See the "Eye fees roll" (c.1250), at SAI, HD1538/216/1. Each knight's fee owed 5s. (60d.) to the "Ward" (i.e. guard) of the castle of Eye, paid by three installments in two (accounting) years: in the first year one third of the total at the Annunciation of St. Mary (25 March); and in the second year one third of the total at St. Andrew the Apostle (30 November), and the other third of the whole at St. James the Apostle (25 July). Laxfield manor comprised 1 knight's fee in total. When divided, each part paid its respective share of that 5s.

<sup>323</sup> This payment "for Clouttyng's part" should have been 5d. in a "once" year and 10d. in a "twice" year (as in the "Rents resolute of Peter dil Hoo" below) if it was for a fourth part of the manor. Thus, the "5d." recorded here is probably an error, unless part of the manor was still unaccounted for. However, the "profit of the manor" this year was £51 13s. 4d. (see below), which is directly comparable with the "value of the manor" in the account of 1458 at £51 16s. 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d., suggesting the manor was complete in 1408-9.

<sup>324</sup> A superscript letter "C" has been inserted above the sum of "7d.", which I suspect represents property that had been either acquired from or leased to William Cloutyng', or both, but which was not actually described as such in the entry. The facts that the payment to Emma Atte Bregge was amended to an "allowance" and that "the lord acquired the land aforesaid" both support the theory that the fusion of the manor was complete this year.

<sup>325</sup> See footnote 192 under "*ockleddyngge*".

<sup>326</sup> In previous accounts this payment was made at/to [*apud/usque*] Eye, but the words "at/to Eye" were omitted from the last account and this omission has been repeated here.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Hawe, acquired by the lord,  $\frac{1}{18}$ d. <sup>100</sup>;<sup>327</sup>

Also, he paid to the prior of Eye for Grendolf(es),  $\frac{1}{5}$ d.;

Also, he paid to the bailiff of Eye for respite [*r(espect)*"] of suit,  $\frac{1}{5}$ s., whereof, for the part of William Cloutyng' 15d.; <sup>328</sup>

Also, he paid to the church of Laxfeld(e) for the keeping [*custod*'] of 1 chandelier [*lampad*'] in the church of St. Margaret [*sic*],  $\frac{2}{2}$ s.;<sup>329</sup>

Also, in allowance of the tenement of Daniell' Hullok', being in the hands of William Cloutyng' by an agreement [*p(er) con<sup>e</sup>*'] between the lord and the aforesaid William, 3s. by the year;

Also, in allowance of the tenement of Robert Seman, in the hands of the lord, rented for money [*arent' in denar*'], of John [*Joh(ann)is*] Balston', 2s. 2d.

Also, in allowance of a tenement and meadow at Plimbisbusk', in the hands of the lord, 4s.;

Also, in allowance of the tenement of Margery [*Marger*'] Stori, in the hands of William Cloutyng', by the lord allowed, 3s.

In allowance of the land of William Seman, 1d., from increase.

Amount: 20s. 11d.

Rent resolute of Peter dil Hoo [*Reddit' resolut' Pet(r)i dil Hoo*]; <sup>330</sup>

Also, he paid to the bailiff of Eye for Castle Ward,  $\frac{1}{10}$ d., this year twice, and in the year following once.

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<sup>327</sup> This 18d. was previously paid to Emma Atte Bregge/Atte Bridge.

<sup>328</sup> This was for suit to the honorial court of Eye. Cloutyng's portion of 15d. was a quarter of 5s. (or 60d.), thus it was being paid for his fourth part of the manor. Notably, the whole sum was paid for in this account, further evidence that the fusion of the manor was complete and that this was an account of the whole manor of Laxfield.

<sup>329</sup> From 1394-5 (18-19 Richard II) the accounts usually state erroneously "the church of St. Margaret". Before this date they stated "the chapel of St. Margaret". Laxfield church is dedicated to All Saints, and I am not aware of an earlier dedication to St Margaret or a chapel of St. Margaret in the parish.

<sup>330</sup> Very faded, so I have copied this wording from the previous extant account of 1407-8 (8-9 Henry IV). In the accounts from 1378-9 (2-3 Richard II) until 1381-2 (5-6 Richard II) this heading said "Rent resolute of the tenement of Peter de Hoo", and thereafter the words "of the tenement" were omitted.

Also, in allowance of the tenement formerly of Peter dil Hoo, acquired by the lord, in the hands of the lord,  $\frac{1}{2}$ s. 5d.<sup>331</sup>

Also, he paid to the bailiff of Eye for *Okeleyng*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ 20d.

Also, he paid to the chapel of St. Mary of Dennington [*capell' bte' Marie de Denyngton*],  $\frac{1}{2}$ s. 4d.

Also, he paid for Margaretestenement, 12d.<sup>332</sup>

Also, in allowance of the tenement formerly of Simon Noyse, acquired by the lord, 13d. [Illegible].<sup>333</sup>

Amount: 9s. 1d.<sup>334</sup>

Decay of rent [*Decas' reddit'*]:

In decay of rent upon the tenement of William P(r)<sup>a</sup>ti, namely of 1 messuage and 2 acres, in the rent and services by the rental in “rents apportioned” [*in redd' apportand'*], 2s.; of which the profits [are] answered among the “farms” [*res' int' fir(m)<sup>a</sup>s*];

Also, in allowance [of] 1 messuage, containing 2 acres of land, of the tenement Damet, 8d., for all services [*p(ro) om(n)ib(us) s(er)vic'*];

Also, in allowance of the tenement of John Noyse, in the hands of the lord anew [*de novo*], 6d.;

Also, in allowance of the tenements aforesaid [*ten' p(re)d(i)c(t)o(rum)*] in the office of the reeve, as it appears by the extent, 6d.;

Also, in allowance of the tenement of William P(r)<sup>a</sup>ti, called Lentenes, in the hands of the lord, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.;

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<sup>331</sup> All the surviving previous accounts show this 2s. 5d. was previously paid from the tenement of Peter de Hoo to William Cloutyng, although the account of 1376-7 (50 Edward III – 1 Richard II) did not specify the amount because in that year the tenement of Peter de Hoo was excluded from the account, being in the hands of John de Wingfield and presumably leased to Cloutyng.

<sup>332</sup> In account of 1407-8 (8-9 Henry IV) this payment was made “to the bailiff of Eye”.

<sup>333</sup> There may have been something written after the “13d.” which has either been erased or has faded, unless it is bleed-through from the dorse.

<sup>334</sup> This amount is incorrect. It should be 9s. 4d.

Also, in allowance of the aforesaid tenement, for the office of the reeve, 3d.;

Also, in allowance of the tenement Seman', in the hands of the lord anew, 12d., for a part [p(ro) p(ar)te];

Also, in allowance of the tenement of John, son of Edmund [Edmi'] Seman, William Seman, and John Schelton', in the hands of the lord anew, and it is rented for money [Arrentat<sup>ur</sup> in denar'] among the farm of Edmund [Edm'] Seman and John Balston', 4s. 10¼d.;

Also, in allowance of the aforesaid tenement for the office of the reeve, [by] the cause [ca'] aforesaid, 3s.;

Also, in allowance of the tenement of Roger Seman, in the hands of the lord, [by] the cause aforesaid, and rented for money [arent' in denar'], as above, among the "farms" [fir(m)<sup>a</sup>s] of Edmund [Edm'] Seman, 8¼d.;

Also, in allowance of the tenement aforesaid for the office of the reeve, 3d.;

Also, in allowance of the tenement Orpode, in the hands [of the lord] by the cause aforesaid, and it is rented for money [arentat<sup>ur</sup> in denar'] among the farm of Geoffrey Dousyng', 20d.;

Also, in allowance of the land and tenement in the hands of the lord, lately it is held [nup(er) tenet<sup>ur</sup>] of the lord \by/[?] \\*/3d. from increase [de incr'm];

Also [Item]<sup>335</sup>, in allowance of the tenement Yerneys, in the hands of the lord, ½d.

Amount: 15s. 11½d. [and a] ¼d.

#### Allowances:<sup>336</sup>

Also, he paid to the bailiff of Eye, 12d., for mowing of the meadows of the castle [falc' p(r)<sup>a</sup>to(rum) cast(r)i)];<sup>337</sup>

In parchment bought [emp'] for the rolls of the courts and of the account, 8d.

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<sup>335</sup> The word "Item" is barely visible in the photograph and I am unsure whether it is actually there or if this sentence is part of the previous sentence which does not give a clear description or name of the property.

<sup>336</sup> This section has several stains on it which obscure some of the text, and the photography is of poor quality.

<sup>337</sup> SAI, HD1538/216/1, the "Eye fees roll" (c.1250) states: "from the vill [de villata] of Laxfeld, for meadow mowing [p(r)atis falcand'] at the feast of St. John the Baptist, 2s.". It is unclear why only half of that sum was paid in this account (just as in all the previous surviving accounts) if the fusion of the manor was complete this year, unless the other half was payable from an extraneous source.

Also, in 1 [?] *Daggesho*<sup>338</sup> bought for the mill, 10d.

In the stipend of John Heyward(e) carting timber from the mill [*car' merem' a molend'*], 10d.

In the stipend of Robert Cone[?] making of 1 mill spike [*fac' de j furc' molend'*], by 1 day and a half, 6d.<sup>339</sup>

Also, paid to a certain [*cuid(am)*] flemy(n)g for “le wevyng”, 8d., by order of the lord [*p(re)cept' dni'*].<sup>340</sup>

Amount: 4s. 6d.

#### Wages of the bailiff [*Vadd' balli'*]:

In the wages [*vad'*] of William Garneys, bailiff there, by the whole year, by agreement [*ex conc'*], 33s. 4d.<sup>341</sup>

Amount: 33s. 4d.

#### Expenses of the lord, with the expenses of the steward [*sen'*]:

In the expenses of the lord and other visitors [*sup(er)ven'*] from the country [*de pat(r)'a*], with the expenses of John Carbonell(e), Robert Bolton', Edmund [*Edmi'*] Rotish<sup>a</sup>m, William Clouttyng', and the steward of the court [*sen' cur'*], for 2 courts there to be held, as it appears by 2 bills sealed, 32s. 2d.

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<sup>338</sup> This word is obscured by a stain and I am uncertain what it means or if I have spelled it correctly. It may be “dragshoe”, a form of brake to slow down a moving wheel.

<sup>339</sup> This is difficult to read due to staining, but may say “*fac j furc'*”, i.e. *fircus* = a spike, or a spindle. It may refer to the rotor or framework of the windmill (especially with mention below of the Flemish weaver who may have made the sails), or perhaps the pole on which the mill rotated.

<sup>340</sup> Whether this “flemy(n)g” is a surname or simply a description is unclear, although Flemish weavers were well known in East Anglia by this date. There is a stain over the end of this sentence after “8d.”.

<sup>341</sup> CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, the accounts of 23 Richard II–1 Henry IV (1399-1400) until 5-6 Henry IV (1404-5) show that William Garneys received 20s. as wages of the bailiff for the whole year, plus his livery. The account of 8-9 Henry IV (1407-8) shows he received 26s. 8d. and his livery. Although livery is not mentioned in this present account, this higher sum of 33s. 4d. may have been because he had new livery, although it is more likely to have been due to the increased administrative workload caused by the fusion of the manor.

Also, in the expenses of the steward [*seneschall*'], being there for 3 courts there to be held, as it appears by [1?] bill sealed, 6s. 10d.

Amount: 39s.

Monies released [*Denar' lib'*]:

The same accountant paid to William Clouttyng' for his pension [*p(ro) sua pensione*], as it appears by an acquittance sealed, for the terms of St. Andrew, Easter, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and Michael, £14 13s. 4d.

Also, he paid to the lord, according to the lord's papers, for the 3 terms past, £30.

Also, he paid to the lord, for 6 quarters of oats, 12s.<sup>342</sup>

Also, he paid to the lord, for 30 quarters of malt [*bras'*], 110s.<sup>343</sup>

Amount: £50 15s. 4d.

Amount of all expenses and releases: £56 18s. 1½d. [and a] ¼d.

And there is owed [*debentur*] to the lord: £6 17s. 3d.

And afterwards there is charged 8s. 10¼d.

And thus he owes still: £7 6s. 1½d. [and a] ¼d.

From which is allowed to him, from diverse amercements of Margar(et) and Parnell [*Pet(r)onill'*], the daughters[?] of John Seman, paid by the lord, [?]40s.

Also, there is allowed to him, of the amercements of John Seman, Peter Wolvard, and of John Noyse and of Edmund Damat, 15d., because [*eo q(uo)d*] not able to distrain within the lordship.

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<sup>342</sup> Thus, 2s. (or 24d.) for a quarter of oats.

<sup>343</sup> Thus, 3s. 8d. (or 44d.) for a quarter of malt.

Also, there is allowed to him 3s. 4d., from the collector his office to bear [*de collector' s(u)<sup>i</sup> offic' gerend'*].<sup>344</sup>

Also, there is allowed to him 5s. 6d. from the farm of John Baston [i.e. Balston], for his rent charged as above among the “farms”.<sup>345</sup>

And he owes [*debit*]: £4 16s. ½d. [and] ¼d.

And afterwards there is charged 3d. for 1 close demised to Geoffrey Do[usyng].<sup>346</sup>

[And] afterwards he paid upon the account, 18s.

And there is respited: 78s., because [certain] tenants claim to hold from the honour of Eye, namely 6s. 1d. by the year, upon [*s(uper)*] ... Cresp(e), 36s. 4d.<sup>347</sup>

[Membrane 1v].

#### Capons:

And of 1 capon taken [*p(er)cip'*] from Peter P(r)<sup>a</sup>ti for 3 acres [of land of the tenement] Hobbes, demised to him and his heirs.

And it is sold, as within.

#### Hens [*Gallin'*]:

And of 18 hens by custom [from the] customary [tenants] of the lord, at the feast of the Nativity.

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<sup>344</sup> i.e. “from bearing the collector’s office”.

<sup>345</sup> Actually, this is charged in “New rents” above.

<sup>346</sup> This bottom right corner of the roll is faded and torn, and part of this entry is missing. For this parcel see above, the last entry in the section “Farm of the land formerly of John de Hoo”.

<sup>347</sup> Part of the text is lost due to the corner being torn off, and it begins again at the bottom left corner of the roll. CUL, Vanneck Papers, box 8, William Garneys’ own account of 4-5 Henry IV (1403-4) shows this “respite” in that year to have been 66s. 9d., whereof 30s. 5d. was upon himself, and the remaining 36s. 4d. upon John Crisp(e), the late bailiff. Notably, Crisp(e)’s debt did not increase after he ceased to be bailiff, while Garneys’s continued to accumulate. Therefore, I believe that this was for allowance of their rent while being bailiff, and that they held their tenements rent-free from Laxfield manor, but indirectly from the honour of Eye, during their tenure as bailiff. What the names of the tenements were is unclear at present. However, it seems they may have been one or both of the sergeanty tenures in Laxfield mentioned in the “Eye fees roll” (c.1250) at SAI, HD1538/216/1.



And of 2 received from the tenement formerly of Peter dil Hoo.

And of 4 hens, and a 4<sup>th</sup> part of 1 hen, received from the part of Clouttyng.

Amount: 24, and a 4<sup>th</sup> part of 1 hen.

From which, in allowance of diverse tenements being in hand<sup>348</sup> because of the great plague [*mangni pestil'*], 14.<sup>349</sup>

Also, in allowance of the tenement Seman, in the hands of the lord anew, 1.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Glemes, in the hands of the lord anew, because [*eo q(uo)d*] it is rented for money [*arent<sup>u(r)</sup> in denar'*] as within, half a hen.

Also, in allowance of the tenement of John Noyse, in the hands of the lord, 1 hen.

In sales, as within, 7, and 3 parts of 1 hen.<sup>350</sup>

And it is equal.

#### Eggs [*Ova*]:

From custom of the Customary [tenants] of the lord for 26 and 1 quarter from renders at Easter from diverse tenants, by the year.

And of [blank] from the part [of] Clouttyng.

Amount: 26 and 1 quarter.

From which, in allowance of diverse tenements being in hand, by the cause above, 22½.

In sales, as within, 4 and [*sic*].

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<sup>348</sup> i.e. in the hands of the Lord.

<sup>349</sup> Although in most of the previous surviving Laxfield accounts the cause is usually given as “the plague [*pestilencie*]”, this present account reveals it was “the great plague [*mangni pestil'*]”, “*mangnus*” being an alternative of “*magnus*”, see Latham, *Revised medieval Latin word-list*, pp. 285 and 288, and the account of 21-22 Richard II (1397-8) specifically states “the great first plague [*magn' p(r)'m' pestil'*]”. Thus, it was the outbreak of the Black Death in 1349 which caused so many customary tenements held on the old terms to come back into the hands of the lord. The numerous leases and demises “by the rolls of the court” shown above, and the allowances made in this works account, indicate that some of these customary tenements were subsequently broken down and demised on different terms, as also evidenced by the joint-tenants of several customary tenements below, and were not restored to their original service-based tenancy.

<sup>350</sup> “In sales, as within” refers to the above section “Works sold”.

And it is equal.

Winter works [Op(er)a yema<sup>l</sup>']:

From custom of the Customary [tenants] of the lord, as it appears by the new rental, 77; price of a work, 1d.

And of 28 of the part of Clouttyng.

Amount: 105.

From which, in allowance of the tenement Noyse, in the hands of the lord anew, 8.

Also, in allowance of the tenement formerly of John Seman, in the hands of the lord, because [eo q(uo)d] it is rented for money [arentant<sup>u(r)</sup> in denar'] as within, 34.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Lente, in the hands of the lord, 10, by the cause aforesaid, and it is demised to Walter Barwer(e) at fee farm for money.

Also, in allowance of the tenement of John the miller [molendinar'], 8d. [sic].

Also, in allowance of the tenement of Robert Seman, pertaining [to] Clouttyng', 16, because it is rented for money [arrent<sup>u(r)</sup> in denar'], in the farm of John Balston' as within.

In sales, as within, 29.

And it is equal.

Govilherth(e):<sup>351</sup>

From custom of the customary [tenants] of the lord by the year, 1 acre, 3 roods; price of the acre, 4d.; in the time of grain and oats [temp(or)ib(us) fr(ument)i et aven(e)].

Amount: 1 acre, 3 roods.

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<sup>351</sup> i.e. Gavelherthe. Arable land ploughed by a tenant in lieu of rent. See footnotes 189 under "gavelerthe" and 314 under "gavelherthe".

From which, in allowance of the tenement of John Seman, in the hands of the lord, 3 roods, because [*eo q(uo)d*] it is rented for money [*arentant<sup>u(r)</sup> in denar*'] as within, and it is demised to John Balston' and Edmund [*Edmo*'] Seman.

In allowance of the tenement Noyse, in the hands of the lord, by the cause aforesaid, <sup>half a rood/</sup> a 4<sup>th</sup> part of 1 rood.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Lentenes, by the cause aforesaid, [*space*<sup>352</sup>], 1 rood, and it is demised to Walter Barwer(e) for money as within.

In allowance of diverse tenements, being in the hands of the lord, 1 rood.

In sales, as within, half a rood. In sales, as within, 1 rood [*sic*].<sup>353</sup>

And it is equal.

Carrying works [*Av(er)ag(ia)*]:

From custom of the customary [tenants] of the lord, 8, and 1 quarter of 1 carrying work; price of a carrying work [*av(er)ag*'], 1d.

Amount: 8 and 1 quarter.

From which, in allowance of the tenement of John Seman, in the hands of the lord, 2, by the cause aforesaid.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Noyse, in the hands of the lord, 1, by the cause aforesaid.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Lentenes, in the hands of the lord, 1 and 3 parts of 1 carrying work [*av(er)ag*'].<sup>354</sup>

Also, in allowance of the tenement formerly of John the miller [*molendinar*'], 1, by the cause aforesaid.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Orpod', 1.

In sales, as within, 1 and a half.

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<sup>352</sup> There was something written here, possibly a repeat of "*ca' p(re)d(i)c(t)u(m)*", which has been rubbed off.

<sup>353</sup> This format is unusual, but it corresponds with the 1½ roods in the "Works [and customs] sold" above.

<sup>354</sup> These "3 parts" are presumably 3 quarters.

And it is equal.

Boon-ploughing with food provided by the lord [P(re)car' caruc' ad cibi(m) d(omi)ni]:<sup>355</sup>

From John the son of Edmund [Edm'] Seman, from William Seman, John Schelton', for the tenement Seman, 1 boon [p(re)car'], price, 6d.;

From Alice Wolvard(e), and [from] John the son of William Crespp(e), for the tenement Wolvard(e), 1 boon [p(re)car'], price aforesaid;

Amount: 2.

From which, in allowance of the tenement of John Seman, in the hands of the lord, and it is rented for money [arentant<sup>u(r)</sup>] below [inferi(us)] in the farm of John Balston' and Edmund [Edm'] Seman, 1.<sup>356</sup>

In sales, as within, 1.

And it is equal.

Boon-ploughing without food [P(re)car' caruc' s(i)n(e) cib(um)]:<sup>357</sup>

And from John the son of Edmund [Edm'] Seman, William Seman', John Schelton', for the tenement Seman, 1;

From Alice Wlvard(e), John the son of William Crespp(e), for the tenement Wlvard(e), 1 boon [p(re)car'], price of a work, 8d.;

Amount: 2.

From which, in allowance of the tenement Seman', [in] the hands of the lord, by the cause aforesaid, 1.

In sales, as within, 1.

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<sup>355</sup> “*ad cibum domini*”, literally meaning “at the sustenance of the lord”.

<sup>356</sup> The scribe has written “*inferi(us)*”, meaning “below”, although he probably meant “*infra*”, i.e. “within”.

<sup>357</sup> “*Sine cibum*”, meaning “without sustenance [of the lord]”.

Ploughing according to what are joined [Arrur<sup>a</sup> s(e)c(un)d(u)m q(uo)d Iunngu(n)t'].

From John the son of Edmund [Edm'] Seman, William Seman, who join a whole plough [qui junngu(n)t caruc' integr'], nothing here, [by the cause] aforesaid [[eo] q(uo)d p(re)d(i)c(t)u(m)].<sup>358</sup>

From John Bernard(e), nothing, because he joins not upon the lord's bondage [q(ua) no(n) iunngit s(upe)r bondag' d(omi)ni].<sup>359</sup>

Harrow work [H(er)ciatur(a)]:

And of 1 acre by custom [from the] customary [tenants] of the lord by the year, in the time of sowing oats [temp(or)e seis' aven']; price of a work, ½d.<sup>360</sup>

And [it is] allowed, for the tenement [ten'] [is] in the hands of the lord.<sup>361</sup>

[Membrane 2v].

Harvest acres [mess' acr']:

From custom [from the] customary [tenants] of the lord by the year, as it appears by the rental, 8 acres [and] a half [and] 22 perches; price of the acre, 6d.

And of 1 acre to be perceived [p(er)cip'] from Edmund [Edmo'] Tynker(e) of the part of Clouttyng'.<sup>362</sup>

Amount: 8 acres [and] a half [and] 22 perches.

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<sup>358</sup> This "plough" could refer to a ploughland or carucate. The question this raises throughout these early accounts is whether the term "jungunt" means "they join" i.e. to a ploughland, or "they are enjoined" i.e. "ordered/commanded" to perform a ploughing. If the latter, it should be written "iniungunt" or "injungunt", but never is. For this reason it appears to mean the former, which would also suggest rotation of lands or fields. As there are normally only 5 or 6 tenants named in this section, this implies that they are the only customary tenants remaining and that all others are free of customary services. The "cause aforesaid" here is not the plague but the fact that it is "rented for money", thus not required to render the service.

<sup>359</sup> The fact that this entry has not been omitted implies that this tenement was not commuted and that some form of field rotation continued at Laxfield, and thus commutation was not total. Note, "Amount" is omitted.

<sup>360</sup> Note, "Amount" is omitted.

<sup>361</sup> Despite this, the scribe has still shown ½d. in the "Works sold" section of this account above.

<sup>362</sup> Although this is a new entry, which does not appear to be a later addition, it has not been calculated in the "Amount" below.

From which, in allowance of the tenement formerly of John Seman, it is rented for money [*arentut<sup>u(r)</sup> in denar*'] as above, 4 acres, 1 rood.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Noyse, in the hands of the lord, 1 acre, by the cause aforesaid.<sup>363</sup>

Also, in allowance of the tenement Lentenes, in the hands of the lord, 1 acre, 22 perches.

Also, in allowance of the tenement of John the miller [*molend*'], 1 rood.

In sales, as within, 2 [acres].

Autumn boon works [*P(re)car' Aut'*]:

From custom [from the] customary [tenants] of the lord, by the year, clear of the free tenants [*de claro lib' tenens*'], 35; price of a work, 1½d.

And of 5 boon works issuing [*p(ro)ven*'] from the part of Clouttyng'.

Amount: 35 <sup>40/</sup>. Price of a work, as above.<sup>364</sup>

From which, in allowance of the tenement formerly of John Seman, in the hands of the lord, and it is rented for money [*arentant<sup>u(r)</sup> in denar*'], in the farm of John Balston, 1 boon work [*p(re)car*'].

Also, in allowance of the tenement Noyse, in the hands of the lord, 1.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Orpode, 1.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Lentenes, in the hands of the lord, 1.

Also, in allowance of the tenement of John the miller [*molend*'], 1.

In sales, as within, 28.

Also, in allowance for the tenement Yernes, 2 boon works [*p(re)car*'].

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<sup>363</sup> "The cause aforesaid" is that "it is rented for money".

<sup>364</sup> "Price of a work, as above" should be written after "Clouttyng".

Autumn works without food [Op(er)a Aut<sup>l</sup>' s(i)n(e) cib<sup>r</sup>]:<sup>365</sup>

From custom [from the] customary [tenants] of the lord by the year, 7; price of a work, 4d.

And from 5 works issuing [op(er)ib(us) p(ro)ven<sup>r</sup>] from custom [of the] customary [tenants] of Clouttyng.

Amount: 7<sup>12/</sup> [Autumn works].

From which, in allowance of the tenement of John Seman, in the hands of the lord, by the cause aforesaid, 1.

Also, in allowance of the tenement of Roger Seman, by the cause aforesaid, 1.

Also, for the tenement Noyse, by the cause aforesaid, 1.

Also, for the tenement Lentenes, 1, by the cause aforesaid.

Also, for the tenement of John the miller [molend<sup>r</sup>], 1, by the cause aforesaid.

In sales, as within, 2.<sup>366</sup>

Weeding by half days [sarcul<sup>r</sup> p(er) di(midi)os dies]:

From custom [from the] customary [tenants] of the lord, by half days [p(er) di(midi)os dies], as it appears by the rental, 5; price of a work, 1/2d.

Amount: 5.

From which, in allowance of the tenement of John Seman, in the hands of the lord, by the cause appearing above, 1.

Also, for the tenement Noyse, by the cause aforesaid, 1.

Also, in allowance of the tenement Lentenes, by the cause aforesaid, 1.

In sales, as within, 2.

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<sup>365</sup> This is the first time that food, or the absence thereof, is mentioned in this heading. If it is not a mistake then it implies that the “Autumn boon works” above must have had food supplied by the lord, which would explain why there were always these two categories for the Autumn works.

<sup>366</sup> The scribe only accounts for 7 rather than 12. As stated, there are only 2 Autumn works in the “Works sold” section above. Therefore, the 5 works from Clouttyng’s part of the manor were probably utilised.

Threshing of grain [T(r)<sup>i</sup>tur(acio) blad']:

From custom [from the] customary [tenants] of the lord, 2 bushels [b<sup>z</sup>], a peck, and 1 quarter of 1 peck.

And sold, as within.

Wine [vin(um)]:

And of half a gallon of red wine [di(midi)a(m) lagena vini rubuj<sup>367</sup>] from rent at the Leet, to be had [p(er)cip(i)] from Geoffrey Dousyng' for the tenements Orput and Yernes.

[Membranes 3v and 4v blank].

[Membrane 5v].

Laxfeld(e).

Account of William Garneys, bailiff there, from the day after [ab inc(ra)stino] St. Michael in the year of the reign of King Henry<sup>368</sup> the 9<sup>th</sup> ...

Profit [p(ro)fect(us)] of the manor this year, clear, over and above [ult(r)<sup>a</sup>] payments [miss'] and expenses: £51 13s. 4d.;<sup>369</sup> whereof, pertains to William Cloutyng' £[1]13 13s. 4d., and upon the manor aforesaid £38.<sup>370</sup>

Laxfeld(e). Accounts from the years of the reign of King [blank space] Henry the Fourth.

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<sup>367</sup> "Rubuj" should say *rubri*, i.e. genitive of *ruber*, i.e. red.

<sup>368</sup> Omitted: "the Fourth". The corner of the membrane is missing.

<sup>369</sup> William Cloutyng had approximately one quarter of the net profit of the manor this year as a pension, which supports the theory that he had previously held a fourth part of the manor.

<sup>370</sup> There is a stain covering the first numeral "x" of the "£13", although this must be correct as the remainder is £38. This amount of £13 13s. 4d. is £1 short of the amount of William Cloutyng's pension of £14 13s. 4d. listed as paid in the section "Money released" above. Possibly the amount in "Money released" was for the previous year, otherwise the reason for this discrepancy is unclear.



## 1458 (37 Henry VI) Laxfield manor bailiff's account

[Cambridge University Library, Vanneck Papers, box 8]

[Recto].

Laxfeld(e).

Account of Simon Jordon', bailiff there, at the feast of Michaelmas in the year 37 H[enry] 6<sup>th</sup>  
[1458].

Arrears:

None.

Rents of assize:

But he is answerable for £47 17s. 11¼d., as in the preceding [account].

Amount: £47 17s. 11¼d.

Farms of lands:

And for 43s., as in the preceding [account].

Amount: 43s.

Farm of the mill:

And for 3d., as in the preceding [account].

Amount: 3d.

Perquisites of court. \“lo” for the court rolls [lo p(ro) rotul' cur']\.<sup>371</sup>

And for 101s. 1d. from the perquisites of one court there held within the time of the account [space], just as it appears by the extracts [ext(r)<sup>a</sup>ct'] of the court.

Amount: 101s. 1d. [i.e. £5 1s. 1d.]

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<sup>371</sup> Unknown meaning for “lo”.

Issues of the manor:

And None.

Amount: None.

Amount of all receipts with the arrears: ~~£54 2s. 3¼d.~~ £55 2s. 3¼d./.

Rents resolute with decays:

From which, he paid to the bailiff of Eye, this year once, 20d.<sup>372</sup>

And in other rents resolute and decays, as in the preceding [account], 25s. 4½d.

Amount: 27s. ½d.

Small costs. "lo" for the court rolls [*lo p(ro) rotul' cur'*]/:<sup>373</sup>

And in the expenses of the lord and his steward, 3s. 8d. [space] \by the petition of the accountant [*p(er) petic(i)o(n)em computant(is)*]/.

Amount: 3s. 8d.

Stipend of the bailiff:

And in the stipend of the bailiff, the accountant, this year, 33s. 4d.

Amount: 33s. 4d.

Release of money:

And released to the lord from the issues above, by 4 turns, whereof:

the first turn, the 26<sup>th</sup> day of January, £10;

the 2nd turn, the 13<sup>th</sup> day of May, £10;

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<sup>372</sup> Note that the manor paid 20d. in this "once" year, and thus 40d. in a "twice" year, making 60d. every two years. This is the full amount of castle ward payable to the bailiff of Eye for Laxfield manor, which indicates that the manor was reunited as whole unit by the time of this account.

<sup>373</sup> Unknown meaning of "lo".

the 3rd turn, the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of August, £10; ~~the 4<sup>th</sup> turn~~ from within the time of the account;  
and the 4<sup>th</sup> turn, the 17<sup>th</sup> day of October after the title of the account, £13, by the hands of the  
aforesaid accountant, just as it appears by the lord's book of receipts} £43.

Amount: £43.

Amount of allowances: £46 4s. ½d.

And thus are owed to the lord: £8 18s. 2½d. [and] ¼d.

From which, allowed to the same person, ~~3s.~~ 2s. 8d. in respect of an amercement of John Crispe relaxed by the lord upon the account.

And released for the lord, as in money paid to Margery Barnerd ~~in p.~~ by the precept of the lord, in full payment of £9 6s. 8d. due to the same Margery by Robert Wyngfeld(e), knight, the lord's father, 26s. 8d.<sup>374</sup>

And allowed to the same person, 8d., paid to William Smyth(e) for the moiety of one cart to carry [*carecte cariant*'], with the other moiety ~~Wit~~ of the cart [*carecte*] of William Thrower(e), one oak from Stanhawgh as far as Letheringham.<sup>375</sup>

~~And to the same person, 4d.~~

And thus are owed to the lord: £7 8s. 2½d. [and] ¼d. From which, released to the lord by the hands of the aforesaid Simon Jordon' upon rendering the account: £6 17s. 5½d. [and] ¼d.

And thus are owed to the lord: 10s. 9d., which are charged in the account of the same place in the year next following. Therefore, this [being] quit, he withdrew.

Quit.

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<sup>374</sup> This was Robert Wingfield of Letheringham, knight, [II], who was aged 6 years when his father Robert died in 1409. Robert [II] was dead by 1454 when his will was proved (TNA, PROB 11/4/15), and his principal heir was his son John, presumed to be the lord of Laxfield manor at the time of this account.

<sup>375</sup> "Stanhawgh" may be an erroneous spelling of Stodhaugh.

[Verso].

Whereof, upon [unde super]:

Robert Kyrkeham, the farmer of Robert Cheke of Debenham, as it is said, with 3d. for an amercement and 4s. paid by the lord in the name of the said Robert to one John Baldry of Cratfeld(e)} 4s. 3d.

John Burto<sup>(ur)</sup> of Laxfeld(e), for his rent [being] behind this year, 6s.

Nicholas Leper, for an amercement, as in the rolls of the leet this year, 6d.

Value of the manor [*valor man(er)ij*] there this year, net: £51 15s. 6½d. [and] ¼d.

[Bottom of membrane, inverted:]

Laxfeld(e).

The account there ended at Michaelmas in the the 37<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of King Henry the  
Sixth [1458].

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**Appendix: List of extant Laxfield manorial accounts between  
1376 and 1599<sup>376</sup>**

'Phase 2' accounts (1376-7 to 1408-9)

Accounting Year	Regnal Years
1376-1377	50 Edward III to 1 Richard II
1378-1379	2-3 Richard II
1379-1380	3-4 Richard II
1380-1381	4-5 Richard II
1381-1382	5-6 Richard II
1382-1383	6-7 Richard II
1383-1384	7-8 Richard II
1384-1385	8-9 Richard II
1385-1386	9-10 Richard II
1386-1387	10-11 Richard II
1387-1388	11-12 Richard II
1391-1392	15-16 Richard II
1392-1393	16-17 Richard II
1393-1394	17-18 Richard II. 'View of the account' for 3 quarters of the year.
1393-1394	17-18 Richard II
1394-1395	18-19 Richard II
1395-1396	19-20 Richard II
1396-1397	20-21 Richard II
1397-1398	21-22 Richard II
1399-1400	23 Richard II-1 Henry IV
1400-1401	1-2 Henry IV
1401-1402	2-3 Henry IV
1402-1403	3-4 Henry IV
1403-1404	4-5 Henry IV
1405-1406	6-7 Henry IV
1407-1408	8-9 Henry IV
1408-1409	9-10 Henry IV

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<sup>376</sup> All at CUL, in Vanneck Papers, box 8.

No accounts for Laxfield [Hall] manor appear to survive between 1410 and 1457.

'Phase 3' accounts (1458-1599)

Accounting Year	Regnal Years
1458	37 Henry VI
1459	38 Henry VI
1460	39 Henry VI
1461	1 Edward IV
1462	2 Edward IV
1463	3 Edward IV
1464	4 Edward IV
1465	5 Edward IV
1468	8 Edward IV
1469	9 Edward IV
1470	10 Edward IV
1471	11 Edward IV
1472	12 Edward IV
1473	13 Edward IV
1481	21 Edward IV
1482	22 Edward IV
1483	1 Richard III
1489	5 Henry VII
1490	6 Henry VII
1491	7 Henry VII
1492	8 Henry VII
1493	9 Henry VII
1494	10 Henry VII
1495	11 Henry VII
1496	12 Henry VII
1497	13 Henry VII
1498	14 Henry VII
1499	15 Henry VII
1500	16 Henry VII

1501	17 Henry VII
1502	18 Henry VII
1503	19 Henry VII
1504	20 Henry VII
1505	21 Henry VII
1506	22 Henry VII
1507	23 Henry VII
1508	24 Henry VII
1509	1 Henry VIII
1511	3 Henry VIII
1512	4 Henry VIII
1513	5 Henry VIII
1514	6 Henry VIII
1515	7 Henry VIII
1516	8 Henry VIII
1517	9 Henry VIII
1518	10 Henry VIII
1519	11 Henry VIII
1520	12 Henry VIII
1521	13 Henry VIII
1522	14 Henry VIII
1523	15 Henry VIII
1524	16 Henry VIII
1525	17 Henry VIII
1526	18 Henry VIII
1527	19 Henry VIII
1528	20 Henry VIII
1529	21 Henry VIII
1530	22 Henry VIII
1531	23 Henry VIII
1532	24 Henry VIII
1533	25 Henry VIII
1534	26 Henry VIII

1535	27 Henry VIII
1536	28 Henry VIII. Part of the 1537 account
1536-1537	29 Henry VIII. Includes the 1536 account
1538	30 Henry VIII
1544	36 Henry VIII
1545	37 Henry VIII
1546	38 Henry VIII
1549	3 Edward VI
1550	4 Edward VI
1569	11 Elizabeth I
1570	12 Elizabeth I
1573	15 Elizabeth I
1599	41 Elizabeth I

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Box 8, Laxfield manor extent of 1 Henry VIII (probably the original), catalogued as ‘survey, ?16C (fo. 1 missing, ?Laxfield)’. Only part of this survives, but see next item below.

Box 8, copy (finished 1594) of the Laxfield manor extent of 1 Henry VIII above, entitled ‘Laxfylde, the extent there renewed the month of June in the first year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, as well by the <sup>\overlooking [superspectionem]/</sup> of the old evidences as by the information of diverse tenants, etc.’, catalogued as ‘survey, 1 Henry VIII’.

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