

THE REDUCED POPULATION AND WEALTH OF EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SUFFOLK

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IN THE SESSION of Parliament which met between 27 January and 25 March 1428, the Council governing England during Henry VI's minority asked for subsidies to pay for the continuing war in France and for the safe-keeping of the sea. In response the Commons made three grants.¹ The first was of tunnage and poundage for a year; the second a grant of 6s. 8d. per knight's fee, a traditional and by now obsolescent feudal aid; the third was a novel, if not quite unprecedented, tax levied on parishes and not, like the normal fifteenth and tenth, on townships.²

The last of these grants is the most interesting. Payment had to be made by each rural parish which had ten households or more. If the living of the church was assessed for clerical taxes at less than ten marks, householders were to pay half a mark (6s. 8d.); if it was assessed at ten marks or more, they were to pay at the rate of one mark (13s. 4d.) for each ten marks' valuation. In boroughs the householders of each parish were to pay at the rate of 2s. for every £1 in the valuation of the living. Those parishes which contained fewer than ten households were exempt from payment.

It is not the purpose of this paper to examine the reasons for this peculiar hybrid tax, which was not repeated.³ For the local historian the most interesting information in the returns is the listing of exempt parishes with small populations. For many counties these lists were printed in *Feudal Aids*, (1901-20) and have been used during the last thirty years by scholars studying the decline and desertion of villages in the later Middle Ages.⁴ The list for Suffolk was not, however, printed in *Feudal Aids*, although it appears on the enrolled account of collectors of the tax now at the Public Record Office.⁵ Because of the comparative lack of printed information on the declining and deserted villages of medieval Suffolk, compared with that available for some other counties, it seems worthwhile to print it here and to comment on its significance.⁶

The collectors for each county were appointed by letters patent of 6 April 1428.⁷ In Suffolk nine men were listed and made responsible for collecting both the parish subsidy and the feudal aid.⁸ Both grants should have been paid in the summer of 1428, but the collectors did not make their final account until late in 1429 when, out of the £727 7s. 1¼d. which was due from the feudal aid and parish subsidy, they still owed more than £111.⁹

Their enrolled return gives the total sums assessed on each category of parish, but not, unfortunately, on each individual parish. A total of £19 6s. 8d. was to be collected from 58 parishes with livings taxed at less than ten marks a year; more than £605 from other rural parishes; £3 6s. 8d. from eleven parishes in Ipswich and £7 3s. 4d. from the valuable parishes of St Mary and St James in Bury St Edmunds.¹⁰ From the parishes of St Nicholas, St Leonard and St Martin in Dunwich, £1 10s. 8d. should have been collected, but nothing was received because they and their churches were 'submerged by the tides and totally devastated by the sea'. Finally the collectors named those parishes from which they did not collect a subsidy because each had fewer than ten resident householders (that is, total populations of no more than 50). It is these which are tabulated below on pp. 83-87 (Appendix I).

The return gives no indication of the procedure by which the number of households was assessed in each parish, but by their commission the collectors were required to go personally to every parish and take evidence from the reeve¹¹ and two 'of the most discreet and upright men of the parishes', who were then to be charged with collecting the money and handing it over to the commissioners. It is, perhaps, doubtful if they carried out these instructions literally but, although absolute accuracy — or honesty — is unlikely, we have no reason to think that the

parishes listed at the end of their account did not in fact have genuinely low populations. In the original return they are listed by deanery, so it is highly probable that the commissioners used an earlier ecclesiastical valuation (such as the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1291) as the basis for their work, though they doubtless made other enquiries as well.¹²

SUFFOLK PARISHES WITH FEWER THAN TEN HOUSEHOLDS

All seventy-four parishes given in the returns of 1428 are listed in Appendix I (pp. 83-87). As in the original account they are arranged alphabetically by deanery. Extra columns give (1) the acreage of each parish, (2) its population at three subsequent, well-spaced dates, and (3) the number of acres per household in 1524. Finally, we have appended extra comments, where possible, about each village's later history, for example the abandonment of churches, consolidation of parishes and emparking of settlements. Several important trends are discernible in this table and seem worthy of fuller discussion.

First, these seventy-four parishes had an uneven and perhaps surprising distribution (see Fig. 12, p. 75). They were not numerous on the Breckland or Sandlings, areas of light marginal land where the population undoubtedly declined. Most of them, in fact, were on heavy soils and tended to cluster around Bury St Edmunds, around Ipswich and in the deanery of Wangford near Beccles. This uneven distribution is explained, partly at least, by the fact that parishes with the smallest populations in 1428 also tended to have *small acreages*. At least thirty-six of the seventy-four (nearly half) contained fewer than 1,000 acres, while only Wordwell had over 2,000 acres. In Fig. 12 which shows parish boundaries, the point can be appreciated visually. Presumably, the larger average size of parishes on the Breckland and Sandlings enabled most of them, though undoubtedly depopulated, to escape the arbitrary limit of ten households.

The demographic figures for 1524, 1674 and 1811 have been expressed as households, in order to make easier the comparison with 1428. In most cases they show that these small communities tended to grow again over the next 400 years. By 1524 only about twenty of the seventy-four parishes still had fewer than ten households, and three had reached twenty or more. For the next 150 years we see in most places an appreciable growth, which is in line with known trends nationally.¹³ By 1674 only ten of our parishes are known still to have had fewer than ten households, and eighteen others contained twenty or more households. After that, and particularly in the later 18th century, the recovery was faster. By 1811, out of seventy-four parishes forty-six (62%) had twenty or more households, thirty had thirty or more households, and ten had forty or more.

So, over nearly four centuries from 1428, most of these tiny communities had doubled, trebled or quadrupled their populations. Nevertheless, when compared to their neighbours, most of them remained on the small side. They tend to have small, often unaisled, churches, and in eighteen cases the church has become ruinous. In only a few cases could the recovery be described as spectacular, as with those parishes close to Ipswich, such as Hemingstone and Westerfield, which presumably profited from that town's pull and 'suburban' growth. The exceptional expansion of Onehouse was largely due to the building in 1781 of a large workhouse for the incorporated hundred of Stow: in 1811, this parish had a population swollen by 184 resident paupers. On the other hand, at least four parishes in 1811 remained with under ten households — as they had been in 1428. They were Wordwell, Little Bradley, Ashby and Flixton (in Lothingland).

The eighth column of Appendix I gives the average number of acres to each household in 1524. This calculation is open to two objections. First, it covers a very wide range of social class from major landlords to the humblest tenants. Secondly, the holdings of lords and tenants frequently over-ran parish boundaries. Nevertheless, this exercise usefully concentrates



FIG. 12 — Parishes having fewer than ten households in 1428. The numbers relate to the transcribed list in Appendix I (pp. 83-87). The spots cannot be relied upon as providing the exact position of individual settlements.

attention on the broad relationship, in late medieval and early Tudor times, between low populations and local land-holding or farming. In fact, in these places with small populations, the average size of individual holdings turned out to be surprisingly high. At least twenty-one parishes produced a figure of more than 100 acres per household, and six parishes more than 200 acres. The overall average was 115 acres per household. Whitton and Thurleston, on the edge of Ipswich, produced the lowest figure of 41 acres, while the highest of 361 acres came from the light-land parish of Chillesford near Orford. If these figures are a fair approximation, they vividly underline how more and more land fell into the hands of fewer people — thus giving them, or some of them, an unparalleled economic opportunity.¹⁴

TAX REDUCTIONS A GENERATION LATER

The significance of the 1428 list can be better appreciated when comparison is made with another document from the Exchequer, an indenture recording reductions of taxation in 1449.¹⁵ The Parliament of February-July 1449 had granted yet another subsidy of a fifteenth and tenth, stipulating that it was to be levied in two halves — one in 1449 and the other in 1450. This indenture, dated 20 October 1449, records that parliament and the King later agreed to reduce Suffolk's assessment to the whole subsidy by £226 4s. 3d. or about 16 per cent.¹⁶ About 400 townships and boroughs within the county were then listed as beneficiaries because they were deemed 'devastated, wasted, destroyed, impoverished or otherwise burdened'. For each place, the document specifies the reduction which was to be allowed from each *half* of the subsidy. (The contents of the indenture are summarized in Appendix II on pp. 88-97).

The places given relief are listed by hundred¹⁷ and constitute the great majority of Suffolk's townships (Appendix II pp. 88-97). At one end of the scale, they include the four hamlets of Eye, and small parishes which have since been consolidated with their neighbours.¹⁸ At the other end, they include about a dozen market-towns and boroughs, mostly in the eastern part of Suffolk, such as Mendlesham, Bungay, Orford and even Ipswich. To be included in the indenture, all these places — large or small parishes, large or small populations, rural or urban — must have been poorer, and probably smaller, than they had formerly been. In several hundreds such as Hartismere, Hoxne and Colneis, nearly all the constituent parishes received relief.

The indenture of 1449 puts some townships into groups of two, three or more, just as they had been in Lay Subsidies since at least the early 14th century.¹⁹ Most of these traditional groupings or 'letes' were probably formed before the Norman Conquest to give more equal fiscal units for the payment of Danegeld, and occasionally they resulted from economic and tenurial bonds. For example, Wissett, Rumburgh, Spexhall and Holton were parts of a large early estate owned in the 11th century by Alan Count of Brittany, and later called the Richmond Fee. The members of any group, however, may not be equally impoverished in 1449, and some may not have been in receipt of relief at all. This is proved by the extra information sometimes given for grouped villis. For instance, Walberswick and Blythburgh were normally paired, but the 10s. given in relief in 1449 applied entirely to Blythburgh, and not to Walberswick at all. In the case of the two Fornhams, St Genevieve received relief of 2s. and St Martin 3s. Where, as in most cases, the division of relief within a group remains unknown, all members are shown in Fig. 13: this may mean that the geographical extent of impoverishment is, to a small extent, over-emphasized.

The actual degree of impoverishment can only be judged from the amount of relief given, or rather its proportion to total assessment. In Appendix II therefore, relief is expressed as a percentage of tax paid in the fundamental Lay Subsidy of 1334.²⁰ The deductions varied greatly from place to place, from 2.85% at East Bergholt to 57.69% at Culford, and appear to have

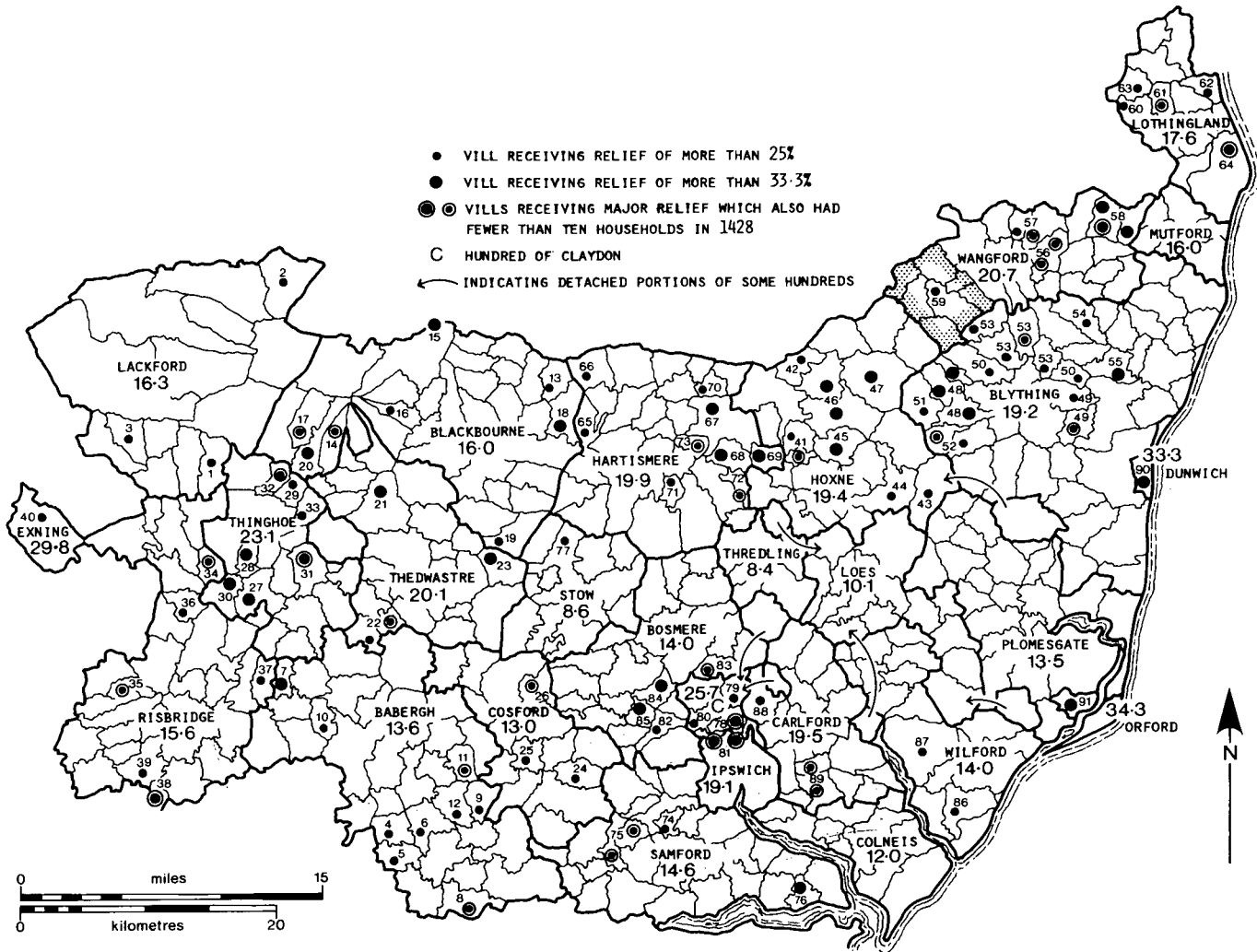


Fig. 13 — Tax reductions granted in 1449, showing (1) the average relief in each hundred, and (2) those individual townships and boroughs which were granted major relief (over 25% and over 33.3%). The numbers relate to the transcribed list in Appendix II (pp. 88-97). The individual parishes of South Elmham were not separately distinguished in the list of 1449.

been based on a careful survey of local conditions.

As we might expect, many parishes with small populations received tax-deductions. Out of the seventy-four exempt parishes of 1428, fifty-nine (or nearly 80%) reappeared as eligible for relief in 1449 and thirty (40.5%) received 25% or more. They had an average allowance of 24% and ranged from 13.2% at Great Belstead to 44.4% at Akenham. But what of the fifteen exceptions, which were granted no deduction in spite of their low populations? ²¹ Two explanations seem likely. Some of them may have virtually disappeared by the middle of the 15th century (for example, Chilton-by-Sudbury, Buxlow and Dunningworth in Tunstall), while others may have been relatively small for a long time, and were therefore not deemed worthy of special treatment in 1449.

In Tables 1 and 2, the parishes of two Suffolk hundreds are listed according to the amount of relief they received in 1449. It is immediately apparent that places with small populations in 1428 tended to appear among those granted most relief. Nevertheless, they are surrounded by places with *larger* populations, which received *as much* relief, or *even more*.²²

Fig. 13 (p. 77) shows broad variations in the distribution of relief throughout the county. The hundreds which received the highest average allowances, 19% and over, were mainly in the north-east of Suffolk (from Hartismere across to Wangford and Blything), around Ipswich (Carlford and Claydon) and around Bury St Edmunds (Thingoe and Thedwastre). The highest figure of all was for the half-hundred of Exning in the extreme west. The lowest figures for relief, 8.4% to 16.3%, were for the sandy coastal hundreds of the south-east (from Colneis to Plomesgate), in the south against Essex (from Samford across to Risbridge) and in the north-west and Breckland (Lackford and Blackbourne). The lowest relief of all is for two small central hundreds (Stow and Thredling).

TABLE 1: RELIEF GRANTED IN 1449, HUNDRED OF THINGOE

Parishes <i>(those in italics had fewer than ten households in 1428)</i>	Percentage of Relief in 1449
Whepstead	7.98
Barrow	8.33
Risby	10.00
Brockley and <i>Rede</i>	13.07
Westley	18.18
<i>Newton</i>	18.66
Lackford	19.82
Lt Saxham	19.93
Hawstead	20.36
Gt Horringer	21.25
<i>Ickworth</i>	21.43 (now emparked)
<i>Flempton</i>	25.11
Fornham All Saints	25.46
Hengrave	27.25
<i>Lt Horringer</i>	34.93 (now deserted)
Chevington	39.81
Hargrave	41.29
Gt Saxham	43.12

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TABLE 2: RELIEF GRANTED IN 1449, HUNDRED OF WANGFORD

Parishes <i>(those in italics had fewer than ten households in 1428)</i>	Percentage of Relief in 1449
Beccles	00.00
Bungay	10.54
Sotterley, <i>Shadingfield</i> and <i>Willingham</i>	17.24
Ilketshall (4 parishes)	17.36 (includes <i>Ilketshall St John</i>)
Mettingham	19.10
<i>Weston</i> , Ellough and <i>Gt Redisham</i>	21.58
<i>Barsham</i> and Shipmeadow	27.03
South Elmham (9 parishes)	27.28 (includes Homersfield and Flixton)
<i>Ringsfield</i> and <i>Lt Redisham</i>	31.31 (<i>Lt Redisham</i> now deserted and emparked)
Worlingham and North Cove	35.40 (includes Gt Worlingham and <i>Lt Worlingham</i>)

TABLE 3: RELIEF GRANTED TO SUFFOLK IN 1449, BY HUNDREDS

Hundred	Average Relief (per cent)
Thredling	8.4
Stow	8.6
Loes	10.1
Colneis	12.0
Cosford	13.0
Plomesgate	13.5
Babergh	13.6
Bosmere	14.0
Wilford	14.0
Samford	14.6
Risbridge	15.6
Blackbourne	16.0
Mutford	16.0
Lackford	16.3
Lothingland	17.6
Blything	19.2
Hoxne	19.4
Carlford	19.5
Hartismere	19.9
Thedwastre	20.1
Wangford	20.7
Thingoe	23.1
Claydon	25.7
Exning	29.8

Ninety-two individual townships were given relief of 25% or more. They showed three main concentrations, similar to those revealed by the hundredal figures. The largest number were in the north-east, roughly from Botesdale to Beccles; they mainly occupied a great plateau of sticky boulder-clay which, by Tudor times, was firmly associated with dairy farming.²³ Another concentration was around Ipswich, particularly in the small parishes to its north. The third cluster was in western Suffolk, particularly north and west of Bury St Edmunds, on both light and heavy land.

A small group of parishes in the centre of the county may have a special significance. Woolpit, Elmswell and Haughley were large villages which lay on, or close to, the main road from Ipswich to Bury (now the A45). The high relief which they received in 1449 may have to do with declining traffic and trade on a major route. A similar situation at Newmarket may help to explain the exceptionally high relief given to the half-hundred of Exning.

Relief of more than 45% was given to only four parishes in Suffolk. They were Henham, Culford, Great Barton and Nettlestead. At some time since the mid-15th century, all four have been associated with major landed families and had substantial houses built in them. The Rous family, later Earls of Stradbroke, made Henham their seat in 1544 and are still there; Culford was bought in Elizabethan times by Sir Nicholas Bacon for his second son, and later passed by marriage to the Cornwallis family who made it their principal seat; Great Barton was rebuilt by Thomas Folkes and descended to the Bunburys who made it a major estate; at Nettlestead the Wentworth family had their seat from about 1450 and achieved political prominence in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Only a small fragment of the Wentworths' house has survived, and Nettlestead is now a small agricultural parish with a scattered population.²⁴ In the other three parishes, however, landowning families in later generations laid out major parks and estate-villages: It can be no accident that these four parishes have had a broadly similar history since the early 15th century. Being then impoverished and depopulated to an exceptional degree, they were ideal places for rising and affluent families to acquire — sooner or later — because land could be bought and reorganised, and the risks of opposition were not high.

Thus, taken together, the documents of 1428 and 1449 illustrate that depopulation and reduced levels of wealth were widespread throughout Suffolk. Parishes with fewer than ten households were only part of a great continuum of decline, and many other parishes must have just escaped the arbitrary limit of ten households set for exemption in 1428. Indeed, the subsidy returns of 1524 indicate that, while thirty townships then had fewer than ten households, at least 165 others still had from ten to nineteen inclusive. And this was after population had generally tended to recover.

It should not be forgotten that about seventy-five places in Suffolk were not mentioned in either 1428 or 1449 (see Fig. 14 on p. 82 and Appendix III on p. 98). They are scattered around the county but also concentrate noticeably in the south, particularly in the hundreds of Babergh and Cosford. It is surely no coincidence that this is the area where the cloth industry was fast developing. Aulnagers' accounts suggest that, by 1470, Suffolk was producing more cloth than any other part of England.²⁵ These industrial developments, and the fact that agricultural holdings were growing, gave the first half of the 15th century a paradoxical character: it was a period of contraction *and* growth, declining wealth *and* new opportunity.

What, finally, do all these demographic and fiscal calculations mean in terms of human settlement? Some of the small exempt communities of 1428 were later abandoned, and by the 18th century were represented by one or two farms, usually including a Hall. The churches of such places had often become ruinous or were entirely demolished. Examples of such 'deserted villages' can be found at Gedgrave, Little Redisham, Buxlow, Dunningworth, Stratton (Hall), Little Horringer and Little Fakenham. Because the collectors of 1428 were concerned with

living communities, however small, they probably ignored other places which they regarded as already deserted. For example, this seems the most likely reason for the omission of Hazlewood, Loudham, Glevering, Benningham (in Occold), Little Oakley and Coclesworth (in Eriswell).

However, to talk about Deserted Medieval Villages in a county like Suffolk is to force the evidence into a highly unsuitable mould. Deserted villages of the classical Midland kind are comparatively rare, and where they exist are usually found on the lighter soils of the Breckland and Sandlings. Nationally too, the study of settlement has been distorted by an undue emphasis on desertion: for every community which died in the later Middle Ages, at least four others merely shrank. Furthermore, villages have often shrunk and expanded several times in the course of their history. Thus, living communities which contain the seeds of survival and success are of far greater human importance, and should claim a much higher proportion of our attention than the pathology of those which died.

To return to Suffolk, most of the exempt parishes of 1428 survive today as recognizable communities, and have more inhabitants than in 1428. They may show signs of former shrinkage — as at Little Bricett with its gappy straggle of houses, or Great Redisham which has earthworks of abandoned houses to indicate its once larger size. The majority, however, such as Willisham, Wissington and Weston, survive as loose scatters of hamlets and farmsteads, following the pattern which has dominated the greater part of central East Anglia since at least early medieval times (and perhaps for a lot longer). When populations shrank in the 14th and 15th centuries, the effects included, not only the diminishing or destroying of major nucleations, but the abandonment of many small hamlets and of innumerable isolated farmsteads. Archaeological fieldwork has recently demonstrated how these looser and more dispersed townships were weeded out in the 14th and 15th centuries. For example, the parish of Mendlesham, which only received 6.66% relief in 1449, lost about eighty isolated farmsteads. A manorial custom specifically allowed copyholders to pull down their houses and buildings, and to use the materials as they thought fit, but Mendlesham today still consists of a major village-centre with former market-place, two hamlets at Mendlesham Green and Tan Office, and over a score of isolated farmsteads.²⁶

For Suffolk in the later Middle Ages, much more work remains to be done in reconciling and coordinating physical and documentary evidence. For example, archaeological interpretation suggests that many tenements were abandoned early in the 14th century, while most documents underline that houses and agricultural buildings were becoming ruinous in the 15th. Whereas archaeological fieldwork and excavation undoubtedly produce valuable detailed examples of desertion, shrinkage and growth, documentary sources like these tax records of 1428 and 1449 provide a broader comparative background which is recoverable in no other way.

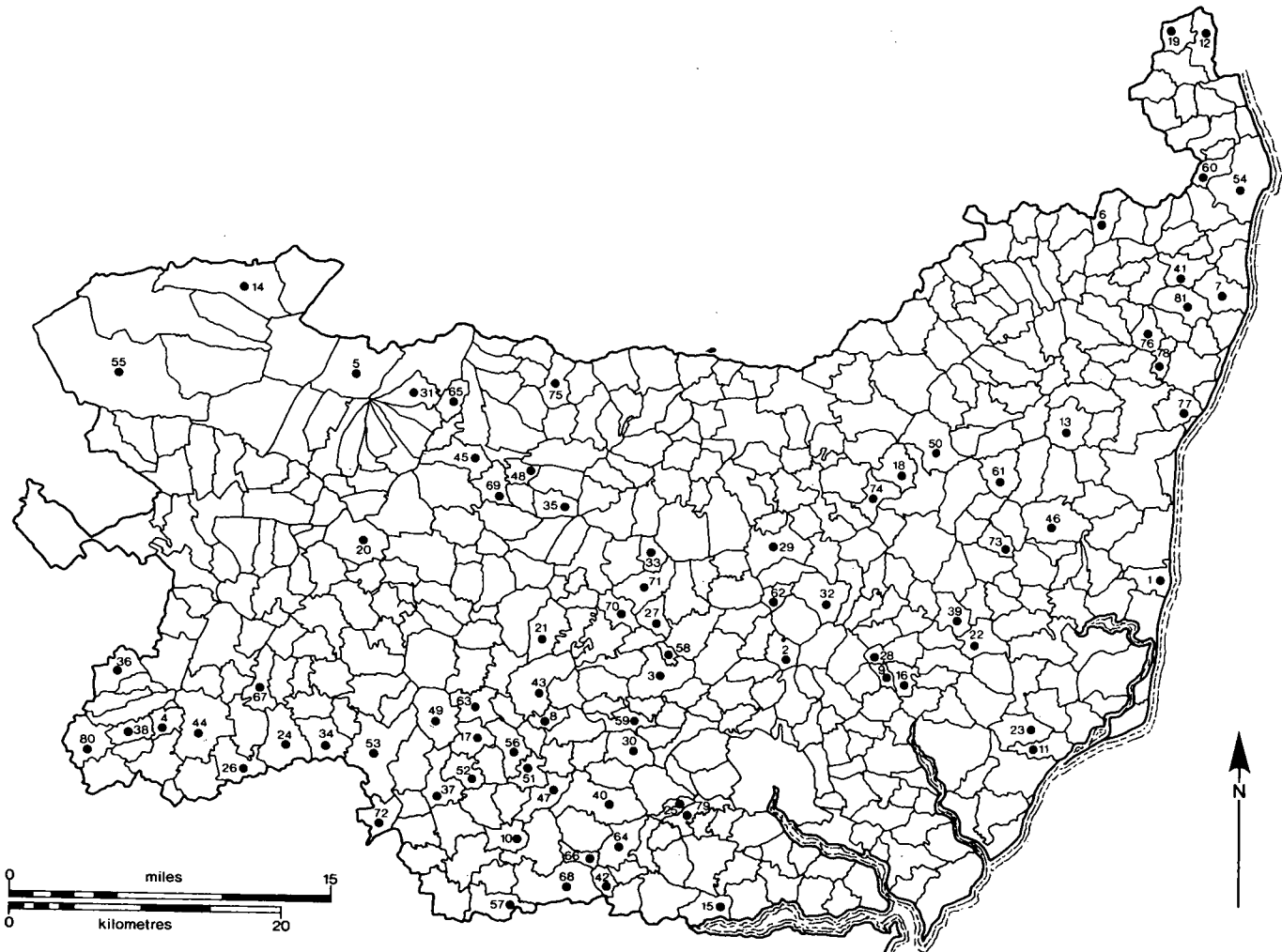


FIG. 14 — Parishes not mentioned as small or impoverished in 1428 and 1449. The numbers relate to the alphabetical list in Appendix III (p. 98).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: SUFFOLK PARISHES WITH FEWER THAN TEN HOUSEHOLDS IN 1428
(in the order as given in the original document; P.R.O., E359/27)

Deanery	No. (see Fig 12)	Parish	Modern Name	Acreage ¹	Approx. number of households in			No. of acres per house- hold in 1524 ⁵	Comment ⁶
					1524 ²	1674 ³	1811 ⁴		
Bosmere	1	Creyng St Olave	Creeting St Olave	388	—	?13	—	—	Church in ruins, 1736; consolidated with All Saints, 1711.
	2	Hemyngeston	Hemingstone	1444	16	?25	54	90	Church disused by late 15th cent., 'long down' by 1764; consolidated with Offton, 1503.
	3	Breset Parva	Bricett, Lt	—	—	—	—	—	
	4	Floketon	Flowton	495	12	?19	24	41	
	5	Blakonham	Blakenham, Gt super aquam	869	10	?16	26	87	Named after its situation beside the R. Gipping; Lt Blakenham on higher ground was called 'super montem'.
Claydon	6	Wylesham	Willisham	927	13	?15	32	71	Church rebuilt, 1878.
	7	Akenham	Akenham	c.1000	17	?13	24	c.59	Church declared redundant, 1976.
	8	Quindendone	Whitton	1445	—	?19	41	—	Church rebuilt in 19th cent. Thurleston church probably fell into disuse c.1528; in ruins, 1737; used as barn, 1764; largely demolished, 1867, but vestiges were 'turned into cottages' by 1915.
	9	Tharleston	Thurleston	—	—	—	—	—	
Hoxne	10	Westerfed	Westerfield	1070	—	9	51	—	Now in Mendham parish.
	11	Swynelaunde	Swiland	951	12	14	48	79	
	12	Witheresdale	Withersdale	880	?14	13	35	?63	
Lothinglaunde	13	Adlyngton	Athelington	487	8	7	17	61	
	14	Gunton	Gunton	1072	7	—	18	153	

Deanery	No. (see Fig 12)	Parish	Modern Name	Acreage ¹	Approx. number of households in			No. of acres per house- hold in 1524 ⁵	Comment ⁶
					1524 ²	1674 ³	1811 ⁴		
(Lothingland)	15	Floxtan	Flixton	602	—	9	8	—	Church in ruins by c. 1630 (Beresford 1954, p.386).
	16	Askeby	Ashby	1109	5	5	8	222	
	17	Gernemu[n]ta cum Vicar'	Yarmouth, Lt (or Southtown)	?694	11	—	—	?63	
Lose (Loes)	18	Categrave	Gedgrave	c.1500	—	—	14	—	Church in ruins, 1737. (in 1801)
	19	Hoo	Hoo	1185	10	16	30	119	
Carilford (Carlford)	20	Bromeswell	Bromeswell	1803	21	20	29	86	(Should be <i>Wilford</i> Deanery).
	21	Kessegrave	Kesgrave	1610	11	9	13	146	
	22	Foxhole	Foxhall	1872	6	11	32	312	
									A hamlet of Brightwell parish, 1735; church 'much decayed' 1530; used as barn and cattle-shed, 1764.
Sampford	23	Wenham Combusta	Wenham, Gt	1123	12	21	32	94	Now in Washbrook parish; site of church discovered in early 18th century and re- discovered recently. Church declared redundant, 1976.
	24	Felchurche	Belstead, Gt	—	11	25	—	—	
	25	Wenham parva	Wenham, Lt	931	10	8	14	93	In 1855, this parish contained five scattered farms and three cottages.
Wynford (Wangford)	26	Ilketeleshall St John	Ilkeshall St John	742	—	5	13	—	
	27	Weston	Weston	1551	10	13	31	155	Now in Ringsfield parish; church in ruins by 1613; living annexed to Ringsfield c. 1450.
	28	Shadyngfeld	Shadingfield	1370	14	?17	31	98	
	29	Reddesham parva	Redisham, Lt	—	—	—	—	—	
	30	Wirlyngham parva	Worlingham St Peter	114	—	—	—	—	Church abandoned soon after 1478; demolished by 1636; site re-discovered in 1980, now in North Cove parish (<i>PSIA XXXV</i> (1981), 78).

Deanery	No. (see Fig 12)	Parish	Modern Name	Acreage ¹	Approx. number of households in			No. of acres per house- hold in 1524 ⁵	Comment ⁶
					1524 ²	1674 ³	1811 ⁴		
Donewyc' (Dunwich)	31	Upredesham	Redisham, Gt or St Peter	734	11	12	30	67	
	32	Ryngesfeld	Ringsfield	1666*	10	21	59*	—	(*includes Little Redisham) The two townships had 15 tax-payers in 1327.
	33	Wyllyngham	Willingham	1023	3	25	31	341	Church demolished second quarter of 16th cent.; 'wholly in ruins', 1735.
	34	Barsham	Barsham	1871	13	18	35	144	Church emparked.
	35	Buxlowe	Buxlow	1843	15	26	63	123	A hamlet of Knodishall parish, 1735; church 'decayed and ruined tyme out of minde', 1650.
	36	Knotteshale	Knodishall	1212	19	23	39	64	Church declared redundant, 1971.
	37	Ulleston	Ubbeston	1085	14	21	33	78	
	38	Soterton	Sotherton	1484	11	16	27	135	
	39	Spetteshale	Spexhall	797	10	15	24	80	
	40	Stovene	Stoven	1800	9	20	29	200	
Oreford (Orford)	41	Thoryngton	Thorington	—	—	—	—	—	
	42	Donyngworth	Dunningworth	—	—	—	—	—	A hamlet of Tunstall par- ish, 1735; church dismantled before 1600; in ruins, 1736.
Colneyse (Colneis)	43	Chesilford	Chillesford	1806	5	4	28	361	
	44	Framham	Farnham	1177	9	18	38	131	
	45	Stratton	Stratton (Hall)	1434	—	—	10 (in 1841)	—	Church ruinous and overgrown, 1764.
	46	Halghtre alias dict'	Alnesbourn (Hallowtree)	777	—	—	54 (in 1861)	—	'The very name of this ancient parish of Hallowtree has vanished' (N. Scarfe, Shell Guide, 1976, p.40); it was listed as a parish in 1254.
The wardestre	47	Bradford parva	Bradfield Combust	818	12	19	28	68	

Deanery	No. (see Fig 12)	Parish	Modern Name	Acreage ¹	Approx. number of households in			No. of acres per house- hold in 1524 ⁵	Comment ⁶
					1524 ²	1674 ³	1811 ⁴		
(Thedwastre)	48	Fornham St Genefefe	Fornham St Genevieve	790	17	23	23	46	Village finally destroyed by emparking in late-18th century; only tower of church remains.
Thynghowe (Thingoe)	49	Ameton	Ampton	736	7	10	14	105	
	50	Flempton	Flempton	789	12	18	26	66	
	51	Reede	Rede	1224	15	25	41	82	
	52	Ikeworth	Ickworth	1259	13	15	14	97	Emparked in early 18th century; church declared redundant, 1981-5.
	53	Newton	Nowton	1158	17	24	34	68	
	54	Hornynge- herth parva	Horringer, Lt	—	4	—	—	—	The two Horringers were consolidated, 1548; church 'quite demolished', 1764.
Blakeburn (Blackbourne)	55	Ingham	Ingham	1809	7	16	32	258	
	56	Fakenham parva	Fakenham, Lt	—	—	—	—	—	This parish was absorbed into Euston Park, c.1660; consolidated with Euston, 1739.
	57	Wrydewell	Wordwell	2299	—	6	9	—	Church declared redundant, 1981-5.
Clare	58	Huntereston	Hunston	957	—	21	34	—	
	59	Denham	Denham	1267	20	19	30	63	
	60	Wydekesho	Wixoe	c.600	8	11 +	26	c.75	
	61	Chypley	Chipley	—	5	—	—	—	Listed as a parish in 1254, and as a chapelry in 1291; associated with an Augustinian priory.
Sudbury	62	Bradley parva	Bradley, Lt	958	9	?12	9	106	
	63	Wiston	Wissington	1485	11	?28	44	135	
	64	Watefield	Whatfield	1571	—	25	55	—	
	65	Wathesham	Wattisham	1299	25	27	34	52	Church declared redundant, 1977.
	66	Mildyng	Milden	1339	10	22	29	134	
	67	Chilton	Chilton (by Sudbury)	979	—	6	—	—	Church declared redundant, 1981.

Deanery	No. (see Fig 12)	Parish	Modern Name	Acreage ¹	Approx. number of households in			No. of acres per house- hold in 1524 ⁵	Comment ⁶
					1524 ²	1674 ³	1811 ⁴		
Stowe (Stow)	68	Onhous	Onehouse	898	8	18	73	112	
	69	Harleston	Harleston	615	6	?15	20	103	
	70	Fynbeghe parva	Finborough, Lt	367	—	—	14	—	
Hertismere (Hartismere)	71	Briseworth	Braiseworth	790	6	15	26	132	Only the chancel of the medieval church remains; it and a new 19th-cent. church were both declared redundant, 1976.
	72	Aspale	Aspall	834	15	?12	19	56	
	73	Risangles	Rishangles	719	9	15	36	80	Church declared redundant, 1971.
	74	Thornham parva	Thornham Parva	676	7	15	25	97	

- (1) Acreages are taken from William White, *Directory of Suffolk* (1855).
- (2) The number of households is assumed to be equal to the number of taxpayers in 1524; from *Suffolk in 1524*, Suffolk Green Books, No x.
- (3) Households are taken from the hearth-tax returns, published in *Suffolk in 1674*, Suffolk Green Books, No xi, Vol. 13.
- (4) The average size of families in Suffolk (4.9 persons) has been used to calculate the approximate number of families; from the published *Abstract* of the 1811 Census.
- (5) To the nearest whole number.
- (6) The main sources for this column are: John Kirby's map of Suffolk, half-inch to a mile (1737); Kirby 1735 and 1764; *V.C.H., Suffolk*, II; Suckling 1846, I; Beresford 1954 (reprinted 1983); records of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit.

APPENDIX II: TAX-REDUCTIONS GRANTED IN 1449
(in the order as given in the original document: P.R.O., E179/180/100)

<i>No. if shown on Fig. 13</i>	<i>Parishes (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)</i>	<i>Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy £ s d</i>	<i>Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidiy of 1334)</i>	
LACKFORD HUNDRED				
	Lakenheath	11 6	16.50	
	Herringswell	8 2	22.07	
	Eriswell	16 8	23.68	
	Elveden	8 7	21.46	
1	Cavenham	8 8	27.51	
2	Santon Downham	7 7	29.06	
3	Worlington	15 2	27.58	'Wridlington'
	Tuddenham	9 8	23.26	
	Lt Barton (Barton Mills)	6 8	18.96	
	Icklingham	2 0	3.27	
	Higham	1 0	4.84	
	Wangford	3 4	11.82	
	Freckenham	7 0	14.83	
	Average for hundred		16.32	
BABERGH HUNDRED				
4	Gt Cornard	7 2	29.55	
5	Lt Cornard	6 6	31.58	
6	Newton	8 6	25.31	
	Lawshall	5 10	15.02	
	Bures	5 4	16.67	
	Hartest	3 0	15.52	
7	Somerton	5 6	33.33	
	Assington	3 7	11.86	
	Shimpling	5 6½	17.49	
	Boxted	3 8	20.37	
	Polstead	5 10	17.50	
8	<i>Wissington</i>	6 9	31.15	'Wyston'
	Acton	7 2	19.31	
9	Groton	6 6	31.17	
10	Stanstead	7 0	32.05	
11	<i>Milden</i>	6 8	25.46	
12	Edwardstone	10 2	27.85	
	Alpheton	1 4	11.23	'Alveston'
	Cockfield	10 8	22.22	
	Average for hundred		13.58	
BLACKBOURNE HUNDRED				
13	Hinderclay	5 2	30.39	
	<i>Lt Fakenham</i>	4 7	23.50	
	Lt Livermere	6 6	24.88	
14	<i>Ingham</i>	6 10	30.37	
	Bardwell	15 0	21.40	
15	Rushford (mainly Norfolk)	3 4	41.67	
	Knettishall	6 8	24.81	
	Troston	7 9	22.68	

REDUCED POPULATION AND WEALTH

No. if shown on Fig. 13	Parishes (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)	Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy			Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidy of 1334)	
		£	s	d		
	BLACKBOURNE HUNDRED (cont.)					
16	Honington	7	5		27.73	'Honeweton'
	West Stow	8	3		13.75	
17	<i>Wordwell</i>	6	0½		28.43	
	Wattisfield	3	4		12.23	
	Stanton	2	6		5.17	
	Euston	2	8		10.06	
	Hepworth	4	8		11.20	
18	Rickinghall, Inferior	9	3		38.47	
19	Elmswell	7	7		28.35	
	Lt Ashfield (Badwell Ash)	2	4		8.75	
	Coney Weston	8	6½		21.70	'Coneston'
20	Culford	10	0		57.69	
	Hopton	3	4		7.98	
	Barningham	4	0		10.97	
	Norton	3	6		10.71	
	Walsham-le-Willows	4	8		16.77	
	Ixworth Thorpe	3	6		19.27	
	Weston Market	2	6		9.26	
	Average for hundred				15.95	
	THEDWASTRE HUNDRED					
21	Gt Barton	2	3	4	50.56	
	Felsham and Gedding	8	5		20.21	
	Gt Livermere	8	0		20.14	
	Rougham	4	8		11.35	
	<i>Fornham St Genevieve</i> and <i>Fornham St Martin</i>	5	0		21.51	(For Fornham St Gen. 2/-; For Fornham St Mar. 3/-.)
	Gt and Lt Whelnetham	4	4		16.54	
	Timworth and <i>Ampton</i>	4	2		9.12	
22	Stanningfield & <i>Lt Bradfield</i> (<i>Combust</i>)	10	0		25.00	
	Pakenham	6	8		11.75	
	Bradfield St George	3	7		15.93	
	Rushbrooke	3	6		24.71	
	Hessett and Beyton	6	8		15.94	
	Tostock	3	4		16.67	
	Thurston	6	0		20.81	
	Bradfield St Clare	1	4		12.12	
	Drinkstone	8	8½		22.50	
	Rattlesden	2	7		10.40	
23	Woolpit	7	10		36.15	
	Average for hundred				20.08	
	COSFORD HUNDRED					
24	Aldham	6	1½		25.50	
25	Semer	3	4		31.75	
	<i>Whatfield</i> and Naughton	7	5		19.96*	

* The 1334 assessment for Whatfield probably included Naughton, as in 1327.

No. if shown on Fig. 13	<i>Parishes</i> (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)	Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy			Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidy of 1334)
		£	s	d	
	Nedging	4	3		24.40
	Kettlebaston	4	3		24.88
26	<i>Wattisham</i>	4	10		25.89
	Brettenham	4	6		18.00
	Thorpe Morieux	4	3		15.18
	Layham	3	9½		16.59
	Chelsworth		8¾		5.60
	Average for hundred				12.98
	THINGOE HUNDRED				
27	Chevington	17	11		39.81
	<i>Ickworth</i>	5	3		21.43
28	Gt Saxham	7	10		43.12
	Brockley and <i>Rede</i>	3	10		13.07
	Lackford	7	6		19.82
	Barrow	3	4		8.33
29	Hengrave	3	11		27.25
	Gt Horringer	5	8		21.25
					‘Hornungysherth magna’
30	Hargrave	10	8		41.29
	<i>Nowton</i>	2	10		18.66
	Lt Saxham	5	0		19.93
	Hawstead	5	8		20.36
	Westley	4	0		18.18
31	<i>Lt Horringer</i>	3	4		34.93
32	<i>Flempton</i>	4	8		25.11
	Risby	3	8		10.11
33	Fornham All Saints	4	7		25.46
	Whepstead	2	4¾		7.98
					(In 1449, Whepstead was wrongly placed under Risbridge Hundred.)
	Average for hundred				23.11
	RISBRIDGE HUNDRED				
34	<i>Denham</i>	6	8		29.36
	Depden and Chedburgh	8	11		24.32
35	<i>Lt Bradley</i>	4	6		30.00
36	Ousden	4	8		28.87
37	Hawkedon and Thurston End	6	6		30.71
38	<i>Wixoe</i>	5	10		39.22
	Poslingford and <i>Chipley</i>	4	8		17.89
	Lt Wrattling	7	2		22.45
	Lidgate	8	0		15.80
	Cowlinge	9	9		20.74
	Stoke by Clare, Chilton Street and Boyton End	10	6		20.43
39	Kedington	9	0		26.21

REDUCED POPULATION AND WEALTH

<i>No. if shown on Fig. 13</i>	<i>Parishes (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)</i>	<i>Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy</i>			<i>Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidy of 1334)</i>
		£	s	d	
	Wickhambrook	13	6		16.53
	Stradishall and Denston	5	0		13.51
	Haverhill	4	0		5.89
	Kentford	3	7		12.00
	Gazeley	2	8	}	
	Dalham	2	10		9.88
	Gt and Lt Thurlow	6	0		10.55
	Moulton	3	0	¼	6.97
	Average for hundred				15.58
	EXNING HALF-HUNDRED				
40	Exning	2	2	4¾	29.84
					(Probably includes Newmarket St Mary.)
	HOXNE HUNDRED				
41	Horham and <i>Athelington</i>	13	4		27.68
42	Syleham and Earsham St	11	0		30.14
43	Badingham	13	4		26.27
44	Dennington	10	0		25.00
45	Wilby	10	3		35.14
	Bedingfield and Southolt	6	8		15.84
46	Stradbroke and Wingfield	1	10	0	33.43
	Bedfield and Saxstead	5	0		8.75
47	Fressingfield, Whittingham and Chippenhall	1	10	0	35.23
					('Wetyingham' and 'Chebynhale' are listed as hamlets of Fressingfield.)
	Weybread and <i>Withersdale</i>	8	4		17.86
	Worlingworth and Monk Soham	5	0		10.00
	Hoxne and Denham	16	11		15.33
	Mendham and Metfield	13	4		19.04
	Average for hundred				19.36
	BLYTHING HUNDRED				
	Walpole, Sibton and Cookley	8	11	½	20.89
48	Huntingfield and Gt and Lt Linstead	12	2		37.82
	Middleton and Fordley	4	0		18.43
49	<i>Thorington</i> and Wenhaston	6	11		28.04
	<i>Sotherton</i>	2	2	½	20.08
	South Cove	3	0		20.34
	Westhall	5	3		19.44
50	Chediston and Blyford	13	4		26.67
	Halesworth	6	8		16.63
	Westleton	4	0		7.44
	Leiston and Theberton	12	0		14.88
					(Probably includes Sizewell also.)
	Covehithe	10	0		11.11
51	Cratfield	7	0		27.10
	Darsham and Yoxford	10	0		19.79
					('Northal')

No. if shown on Fig. 13	Parishes (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)	Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy			Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidy of 1334)
		£	s	d	
52	<i>Ubbeston</i> and Heveningham	7	0		29.27 'Upston'
53	Wissett, Rumburgh, <i>Spexhall</i> and Holton	17	9½		29.65
	Benacre, 'Brigge'* and Bulcamp	10	0		18.75 (The relief was entirely for Bulcamp and 'Brigge'.)
54	Brampton and <i>Stoven</i>	10	0		25.00 (The relief was entirely for Brampton.)
55	Henham	6	8		47.62
	Southwold	6	11		19.17
	Uggeshall and Frostenden	5	0		14.08 'Owghal'. (The relief was entirely for Frostenden.)
	Blythburgh and Walberswick	10	0		14.83 (The relief was entirely for Blythburgh.)
	Easton Bavents	4	3		23.18
	Reydon	3	3		6.98
	Average for hundred				19.16
	WANGFORD HUNDRED				
56	<i>Ringsfield</i> and <i>Lt Redisham</i>	6	8		31.31
	Sotterley, <i>Shadingfield</i> and <i>Willingham</i>	10	0		17.24
57	<i>Barsham</i> and Shipmeadow	10	0		27.03
	<i>Weston</i> , Ellough and <i>Gt Redisham</i>	10	3		21.58 'Upredisham'
	Ilketshall (4 parishes)	13	4		17.36 (Includes <i>Ilketshall</i> <i>St John</i>)
58	Gt Worlingham, <i>Lt Worlingham</i> and North Cove	15	0		35.40
	Bungay	6	8		10.54
	Mettingham	4	9		19.10
59	South Elmham (8 parishes)	2	0	0	27.28
	Average for hundred				20.68
	MUTFORD HUNDRED				
	Gisleham and Rushmere (part)	6	8		20.73
	Mutford, Barnby and Rushmere (part)	6	8		21.51 Barnby 'in parte de Rysshmere'
	Carlton Colville	5	0		19.23
	Kessingland	10	0		18.42
	Average for hundred				15.98

* 'Brigge' was the north-eastern end of the large parish of Westleton. In this area, the Dingle had a chapel by 1254.

REDUCED POPULATION AND WEALTH

<i>No. if shown on Fig. 13</i>	<i>Parishes (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)</i>	<i>Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy</i>			<i>Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidy of 1334)</i>
		£	s	d	
LOTHINGLAND HUNDRED					
	Blundeston	6	0		21.46
60	Herringfleet	4	3		28.33
61	<i>Ashby</i>	3	3		29.55 'Askeby'
62	Hopton	4	3		25.25 (Now Norfolk)
63	Fritton	5	3		26.25 (Now Norfolk)
64	<i>Gunton</i>	5	0		34.48
	Somerleyton	5	3		19.56
	Reston* and Gorleston	15	3		24.53 'Jernemutha cum North vill'
	<i>Southtown (Little Yarmouth) and Northtown</i>				
		6	3		16.30
	Belton	6	3		16.83 (Now Norfolk)
	Corton	6	8		21.74
	Lound	3	7		17.60
	Average for hundred				17.62
HARTISMERE HUNDRED					
65	Rickinghall Superior	5	0		25.86
	Burgate	5	0		17.91
	Gislingham	6	0		16.26
	Palgrave	4	8		22.90
	Wortham	6	11		13.51
66	Redgrave	15	0		26.71
	Gt Thornham and <i>Lt Thornham</i>	4	0		10.50
	Cotton	4	0		11.43
	Eye Borough	13	4		18.82 'Burgi de Eye'
67	Eye (hamlets of)	1	0	0	34.63 (The four hamlets were Cranley, Cookley, Langton & 'Suddon'.)
	Mellis	2	9		12.09
	Stuston	3	9		20.27
68	Occold	10	0		37.56 (Includes Benningham).
69	Redlingfield	5	4		38.61
	Thorndon	6	8		15.81
	Stoke Ash	5	0		21.43
	Finningham	6	11		22.46
	Westhorpe	5	3		17.50
	Gt and Lt Oakley	5	0		16.44 'Ocle magna & parva'
	Wetheringsett and Brockford	6	0		13.21
70	Broome	5	3		25.51
	Bacton	4	3		13.56
	Yaxley	4	0		15.31
71	Thwaite	4	0		26.67
	Wickham Skeith	3	0		11.11

* The identification of Reston is uncertain.

No. if shown on Fig. 13	Parishes (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)	Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy			Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidy of 1334)
		£	s	d	
72	<i>Rishangles</i>	5	0		28.30
	<i>Aspall</i>	3	4		16.26
	Mendlesham	4	0		6.66
	Wyverstone	3	5		16.17
73	<i>Braiseworth</i>	4	3		27.46
	Thrandeston	6	3		16.82
	Average for hundred				19.93
	SAMFORD HUNDRED				
	Freston	2	0		18.75
	Harkstead	3	4		20.41
	Capel St Mary	4	0		12.31
	Wherstead	2	8		17.18
74	Copdock	6	8		32.13
75	<i>Gt Wenham and Lt Wenham</i>	7	6		29.70
	Holton St Mary	2	9		14.67
	Bentley	1	8		8.33
	Holbrook	5	0		23.90
	Burstall	1	8		13.02
	Lt Belstead	1	8		9.17
	Stutton	5	0		24.69
76	Erwarton	10	0		44.78
	Gt Belstead	3	4		13.20
	Stratford St Mary	4	5½		18.75
	Chelmondiston, Overton* and Woolverstone (part)	1	8		5.56
	Shotley	1	8		5.04
	Tattingstone	1	8		10.99
	Sproughton	2	6		6.76
	East Bergholt	1	8		2.85
	Hintlesham	5	0		18.80
	Average for hundred				14.62
	STOW HUNDRED				
77	Haughley	1	0	0	27.03
	Old Newton	4	0		19.39
	<i>Onehouse, Shelland and Harleston</i>	5	1		19.18
	Gt Finborough	2	5½		9.22
	Combs	5	0		7.66
	Wetherden	6	9¼		20.24
	Average for hundred				8.56
	CLAYDON HUNDRED				
78	<i>Akenham</i>	7	8		44.44
79	Henley	6	0		26.37
	Helmingham	5	0		14.35
80	Claydon	6	8		30.42

* The identification of Overton is uncertain.

REDUCED POPULATION AND WEALTH

No. if shown on Fig. 13	Parishes (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)	Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy			Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidy of 1334)	
		£	s	d		
81	<i>Westerfield and Swilland</i>	5	0		21.05	'Shillond'
	<i>Whitton and Thurleston</i>	9	0		33.64	
	Barham	1	8		9.66	(In 1449, 'Bergham' was placed wrongly under Bosmere Hundred.)
	Average for hundred				25.70	
	BOSMERE HUNDRED					
82	Lt Blakenham	6	0		31.17	
83	<i>Hemingstone</i>	6	10		29.39	
84	Baylham	10	0		37.15	'Byleham'
	Lt Stonham (Gernyngham)	5	6		23.91	'Stonham Gernyngham'
	Stonham Aspal (Antegan) and Mickfield	3	4		7.10	'Stonham cum Mikelfeld'
	Coddenham and Crowfield	6	0		10.56	
85	Somersham and <i>Flowton</i>	3	4		11.11	
	Nettlestead	7	8		53.80	
	Ringshall	3	4		7.89	
	Bramford	6	8		9.72	(Probably includes Burstall.)
	Battisford and Badley	6	8		16.33	
	Gosbeck	3	0		19.67	
	Earl Stonham	6	8		22.35	'Erlystonham'
	Average for hundred				14.01	
	THREDLING HUNDRED					
	Ashfield and Thorpe	3	4		14.39	
	Debenham and Winston	6	0		10.89	(The relief was entirely for 'Weneston'.)
	Average for hundred				8.43	
	LOES HUNDRED					
	Cretingham, Brandeston and Monewden	6	8		11.94	(4/- of the relief was for Brandeston, and 2/8 for the other two townships).
	Letheringham and Charsfield	4	0		12.40	'Shaffeld'
	Rendlesham	1	8		5.00	
	Earl Soham and Kenton	6	8		19.90	
	<i>Hoo</i> , Dallinghoo and Woodbridge	6	1¼		12.74	
	Marlesford and Butley	4	0		17.02	
	Framlingham	4	0		10.91	

No. if shown on Fig. 13	Parishes (those in italics had fewer than 10 households in 1428)	Amount of tax reduction in half-subsidy			Percentage of tax-reduction (based on lay subsidy of 1334)
		£	s	d	
	Eyke	3	4		14.29
	Easton and Kettleburgh	1	8		6.34
	Average for hundred				10.05
	PLOMESGATE HUNDRED				
	Benhall, Saxmundham and <i>Farnham</i>	10	3		21.71 'Fornham'
	Wantisden and Tunstall (part)	5	0		18.96 (Probably includes Lenacre.)
	Rendham and Bruisyard	6	8		15.72
	Sternfield	3	4		18.43
	Cransford	2	6		7.00 (May include Sweffling.)
	Gt Glemham	2	0		9.13
	Sudbourne	5	3		19.44
	Stratford St Andrew	3	7		—*
	Iken	3	0		12.77
	Snape and Friston	2	0		7.41
	Aldeburgh and Hazlewood	3	0		10.59
	Blaxhall and Tunstall (part)	2	0		7.29
	Parham	1	8		7.58
	Lt Glemham	1	8		—*
	Average for hundred				13.50
	WILFORD HUNDRED				
86	Bawdsey	13	4		18.91
	Alderton	7	4		26.83
	Wickham Market, Loudham and Pettistree	3	0		8.42
	Shottisham	4	0		—†
87	Sutton	8	10¼		26.69
	Melton and Ufford	4	2		12.95
	Ramsholt and Bromeswell	4	0		20.00
	Hollesley	1	8		—†
	Average for hundred				14.00
	CARLFORD HUNDRED				
88	Witnesham	10	0		29.70 'Wytlysham'
	Rushmere St Andrew and <i>Alnesbourne</i>	4	5¼		19.82
	Playford and Brightwell	6	0		21.05
	Grundisburgh and Burgh	5	3		13.63
	Gt and Lt Bealings	6	8		15.50
	Hasketon	6	0		21.43
	Clopton	4	0		9.41
	Martlesham, Waldringfield and				

* Together, Statford St Andrew and Lt Glemham had 19.44% relief.

† Together, Shottisham and Hollesley had 26.15% relief.

REDUCED POPULATION AND WEALTH

	Newbourn	6	0	20.69	(This figure assumes that Waldringfield and Newbourn were, in 1334, taxed with Martlesham.)
89	Otley	6	8	16.49	
	<i>Foxhall and Kesgrave</i>	5	0	31.75	
	Tuddenham and Culpho	4	5¼	14.79	
	Average for hundred				19.48
	COLNEIS HUNDRED				
	Trimley, Trimley and Alston	6	8	9.08	'Altenston'
	Nacton, Levington and <i>Stratton</i>	3	4	9.13	
	Kirton and Falkenham	4	5¼	13.73%	
	Bucklesham	3	0		
	Hemley	2	6¾		
	Walton and Felixstowe	10	0	16.04	'Felchestowe'
	Average for hundred				12.00
	BOROUGHES				
	Borough of Ipswich	6	0	0	19.12
	Stoke (by Ipswich) assessed with Borough of Ipswich	3	4		
90	Borough of Dunwich	2	0	0	33.33
91	Borough of Orford	1	13	4	34.33
	TOTAL DEDUCTED FROM HALF OF THE XVTH AND XTH (FOR THE WHOLE COUNTY)				
		113	2	1½	15.71

(Dated 20 October 1449)

APPENDIX III: PARISHES NOT MENTIONED AS SMALL OR IMPOVERISHED IN 1428 OR 1449
(P.R.O., E359/27, E179/180/100)

(In alphabetical order; see also Fig. 14)

1 Aldringham-cum-Thorpe	30 Elmsett	58 Needham Market
2 Ashbocking (Ashfield, <i>see</i> Gt Ashfield)	31 Fakenham Magna	59 Offton
3 Barking	32 Framsdon	60 Oulton
4 Barnardiston	33 Gipping	61 Peasenhall
5 Barnham	34 Glemsford	62 Pettaugh
6 Beccles	35 Gt Ashfield	63 Preston
7 Benacre	36 Gt Bradley (Gt Fakenham, <i>see</i> Fakenham Magna)	64 Raydon
8 Bildeston	37 Gt Waldingfield	65 Sapiston
9 Boulge	38 Gt Wratting	66 Shelley
10 Boxford	39 Hacheston	67 Stansfield
11 Boyton (Bradley, <i>see</i> Gt Bradley)	40 Hadleigh	68 Stoke-by-Nayland
12 Bradwell (now Norfolk)	41 Henstead	69 Stowlangtoft
13 Bramfield	42 Higham	70 Stowmarket
14 Brandon	43 Hitcham	71 Stowupland
15 Brantham	44 Hundon	72 Sudbury
16 Bredfield	45 Ixworth	73 Sweffling
17 Brent Eligh	46 Kelsale	74 Tannington
18 Brundish	47 Kersey	75 Thelnetham (Thorpe, <i>see</i> Aldringham-cum- Thorpe)
19 Burgh Castle (now Norfolk)	48 Langham	76 Uggeshall
20 Bury St Edmunds	49 Lavenham	77 Walberswick (Waldingfield, <i>see</i> Gt and Lt Waldingfield)
21 Buxhall	50 Laxfield	78 Wangford (near Southwold)
22 Campsey Ash	51 Lindsey	79 Washbrook
23 Capel St Andrew	52 Lt Waldingfield	80 Withersfield
24 Cavendish	53 Long Melford	81 Wrentham
25 Chattisham	54 Lowestoft (Melford, <i>see</i> Long Melford)	
26 Clare	55 Mildenhall	
27 Creeting St Peter	56 Monks Eligh	
28 Debach	57 Nayland	
29 Debenham		

NOTES

- 1 *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iv, 318.
- 2 The township, which was the unit normally used for taxation, is derived from the early 'vill', and in Suffolk usually equates to the ecclesiastical parish.
- 3 An earlier tax on parishes, granted in 1371, was of a different and much less precise nature (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii, 303-4). For a general discussion of the nature of taxation in the fifteenth century, see Beresford 1963.
- 4 *Feudal Aids, Inquisitions and Assessments relating to . . .*, 6 vols (1901-20). For their use in this context, see Beresford 1954, 289-90; Allison 1957, 116-62.
- 5 Public Record Office (P.R.O.), Exchequer Enrolled Accounts, E 359/27.
- 6 Roger Virgoe feels it right to point out that, although this article was written jointly and both authors are responsible for its conclusions, David Dymond has produced most of the tabulations, maps and demographic analysis.
- 7 *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1422-29*, 214-21: the Suffolk commission is on p.220.
- 8 The collectors for Suffolk were Thomas Heth, esquire, Thomas Geddyng, esquire, Robert Rous, esquire, John Copynger, esquire, Robert Duke, esquire, Thomas Milde, Thomas Assheman, franklin, Roger Borehede, franklin and Henry Edward. Franklins were a class of landowners of free, but not noble, birth and ranking next below the gentry (*O.E.D.*).

- 9 Suffolk owed £90 19s. 6¼d. for the feudal aid and £636 7s. 8½d. for the parish subsidy. The total of £727 7s. 1¼d. was the fourth largest assessment in England behind Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Yorkshire.
- 10 For comparison, the parishes of Norwich paid a total of £9 17s. 0d.
- 11 In Suffolk, the parish only rarely equates to the manor. So was the reeve in question a manorial official or the 'church-reeve', that is, church-warden?
- 12 Originally the document did contain one genuine omission. The parishes of Fordham Deanery, which straddled the county boundary between Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, were accidentally omitted from the totals but added later near the end of the account. As it happened, this deanery had no parish with fewer than ten households.
- 13 See Wrigley and Schofield 1981, 207 and Pullout 1.
- 14 The existence of such opportunities and the increase of yeomen farmers as a class have been frequently commented upon by recent authors. See Harvey 1984.
- 15 P.R.O., E 179/180/100.
- 16 Since 1334 the assessment for Suffolk had been £1306 14s. 6¾d. from the fifteenth and £132 10s. 6d. from the tenth (of boroughs and ancient demesne), making a total of £1439 5s. 0¾d. The proportion rebated in 1449 — about 16% — is about average for the country as a whole.
- 17 The hundreds are ancient units of administration and justice between the township and shire. They vary in size (see Fig. 14) and relate closely, though not identically, to ecclesiastical deaneries.
- 18 For example, Little Fakenham absorbed by Euston in the seventeenth century, Wissington now part of Nayland and Buxlow now part of Knodishall.
- 19 Sometimes groups consisted of a principal township with one or two hamlets. For example, Stoke by Clare was linked to Chilton St and Boyton End, and Fressingfield to its hamlets of Whittingham and Chippenhall. More often, the groupings involved two or more *full* townships and parishes. For example, Stanningfield and Bradfield Combust were traditionally paired, while Benhall, Saxmundham and Farnham always formed a unit. As with those examples, most of the places grouped were contiguous. Sometimes, however, they were geographically separate, as with Westerfield and Swilland or Marlesford and Butley. The most extreme example was the trio of Benacre, Bulcamp and Bridge St which were miles apart in Blything Hundred. For the origin of these groupings within hundreds, known as *letes*, *ville integre* or *ferderings*, see Davis 1954, xxx.
- 20 For this subsidy of a fifteenth and tenth, which remained the basis of later taxation, see Glasscock 1975. The tax in 1449 was a *half*-subsidy, so is calculated in this article as a percentage of half the 1334 assessment. A similar technique was used by Allison (1957). The average quoted in Appendix II for each hundred includes those places which were given no relief.
- 21 They were Knodishall, Buxlow, Chillesford, Gedgrave, Dunningworth, Flixton near Lowestoft, Lt Yarmouth or South Town, Hemingstone, Creeting St Olave, Lt Finborough, Gt Bricett, Willisham, Gt Blakenham, Chilton-by-Sudbury and Hunston.
- 22 A curious relationship is visible in Blything Hundred. The townships of Stoven and Brampton were normally paired for purposes of taxation. Stoven in 1428 was listed as having fewer than ten households, yet received no relief in 1449. Meanwhile, Brampton which must have had more than ten households in 1428 was given relief of 25% in 1449. This disparity illustrates clearly that decline and depopulation were commonly experienced, regardless of whether townships were above or below the limit of ten households in 1428.
- 23 See Evans 1984. The unknown author of the 'Chorography of Suffolk' (c.1600) wrote, 'that part of it [Suffolk] which is called the Woodlande and High Suffolk is exceeding fruitfull comparable to any part of Englande for pasture of oxen and kine, not so good for sheepe. In this part of the countreye are made butter and cheese in exceeding great quantitie of wonderful goodnes comparable to any in the Realme' (MacCulloch 1976, 19).
- 24 Interestingly, Philip Wentworth of Nettlestead was one of Suffolk's knights of the shire in the Parliament of 1449 (*P.P.*, 1878, LXII, Pt 1). In the 19th century, Nettlestead was quoted as a 'close' parish with only fourteen inhabited houses, though no longer under the control of a single landowner (*P.P.* 1850, XXVII).
- 25 See Thornton 1928, 144-54; Dymond and Betterton 1982.
- 26 Unfortunately, detailed fieldwork of the Colchester family at Mendlesham has not yet been published, but a summary map can be consulted at the Suffolk Archaeological Unit, Shire Hall, Bury St Edmunds. (For the manorial customs of Mendlesham, see S.R.O.I., FB 159/A4/3). Similar results have emerged from fieldwork at Walsham-le-Willows and Metfield. Interestingly, landscape historians and field archaeologists are now, at last, showing an increased interest in the problems of dispersed settlement. See, for example, *31st Annual Report of the Medieval Village Research Group* (1983), 39-45.

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ADDENDUM

Since this article was written, we have become aware of another surviving record of tax deductions from the 15th century. This relates to a full 15th and 10th, and is dated 30 September 1468. It can be found in a manuscript of Robert Reyce's 'Breviary of Suffolk' (Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich: HD 474:4237, pp. 110-30). This document lists deductions which are, in the main, quite different from those set in 1449. When analysed, it should show how individual communities were faring, nearly twenty years later.