

THE BLACK DEATH IN WALSHAM-LE-WILLOWS

by RAY LOCK

IN THE BLACK DEATH year of 1349 there were seven sittings of the courts of two manors in Walsham-le-Willows. The court of Walsham manor sat four times – on 6 March, 15 June, 1 August and 18 November. The court for the other manor sat on 25 May, 23 July and 30 November.¹ No deaths were recorded at the three courts in March and November, but the Walsham court roll of 15 June listed 103 deaths, and that of 1 August a further five. The court of 25 May listed eleven deaths and that of 23 July, four. Of the eleven deaths listed in the former, four were of tenants who were also listed in the Walsham court of 15 June. One hundred and nineteen tenants, details of whom are given in the Appendix, had died in that early summer, a high figure for a single vill but by no means exceptionally so. The roll for the July 1349 court of Redgrave, a neighbouring vill of similar size, recorded the deaths of 169 tenants.²

These figures speak eloquently of the enormity of the Black Death in these small communities, even in an era when death in large numbers from famine and epidemic disease was not an uncommon occurrence, but they do not tell the full story. Using the information in the surviving 14th-century court rolls,³ which are numerous, and other manorial documents, which are very few, this study attempts to estimate how many others, in addition to those listed, were victims of the Black Death and how many survived, and also to assess the effect of the catastrophe on the life of Walsham.

In the introduction to his edition of the Field Book of Walsham-le-Willows, K.M. Dodd (1974, 13) wrote of confusion and uncertainty about the number of manors in Walsham, and suggested that there were, in addition to the principal manor and the lands of the Prior of Ixworth, four other manors. From a reading of all the 14th-century rolls, distinguishing between those for Walsham manor and the remainder, it is clear from the continuity of business conducted that the remaining rolls comprise a series for a single manor, known by a variety of names. In 1379 it was acquired by William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, lord of Walsham manor, and thereafter became part of the main manor. The roll for its last court, held on 27 April 1379,⁴ describes it as 'Walsham Overhall', and the account of 1390–91 for the combined manor shows its revenue separately as 'of Heigh Hall'.⁵ Hereafter the two manors will be referred to as 'Walsham' and 'High Hall'.

For Walsham manor 166 14th-century rolls survive – thirteen courts from 1316 to 1319, followed by a break until 1327, then a series of sixty-seven courts to 1351, single courts in 1353 and 1354, a break until 1359, and then a series of eighty-four to 1399. Excluding the years before 1327 and the break in mid-century, the average number of courts per year is about 2.5. For High Hall there is a single court held in 1303,⁶ and a continuous series of sixty-seven courts from 1316 to 1351, after which there are rolls for only ten courts. Although this suggests that many rolls from the period 1351–79, when there were several changes of lordship, were destroyed, there are many indications in the contents of those that survive that the court sat much less frequently than before, and the number missing is not as great as the average of three courts per year before 1349 would suggest. There are no records for the lands of the Prior of Ixworth, which in later centuries emerged as the manor of Walsham Church House. However, as this manor comprised only 123½ acres, the absence of such records is not considered to be significant. If any of the Prior's land had been occupied by tenants, it is likely that most, if not all, of them would have been tenants of one of the two manors. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the extant documentation covers most of the tenants of 14th-century Walsham.

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The rolls for both manors contain references to 1,549 persons, some with only one or two entries, others with dozens. To bring the mass of information about these persons into usable form, a record was prepared for each, showing abbreviated details of every entry in the rolls in which he, or she, was mentioned. To eliminate as far as possible the confusion of two or more persons of the same name with one another, these records were not prepared until the translation of all the rolls was complete and the transcripts were assembled in correct chronological order.

A good example of these records, but not exceptional, is that of Matthew Gilbert, a villein of Walsham manor, which starts in 1331, when his father died and he, aged eleven years, and his three brothers, were heirs to a messuage and four acres of land. The lord held his share until 1335, when Matthew was granted entry. During the next thirty-four years he appeared before the court sixty-five times, and he was a juror on twenty-two occasions between 1349 and 1370. He was reeve in 1362–63, and served as ale-taster and woodward several times. He was involved in eighteen land transactions, and died in 1370, seised of two messuages, twenty-four acres of land, four acres of meadow and one rood of wood. His daughter and sole heir was granted entry in return for the heriot of a cow priced at 12s. The final entry was made not to register his death, but to regularise the transfer of his land to his heir, or heirs – inheritance in Walsham being partible – and to record the heriot due to the lord, without payment of which the heir would not have been granted entry. Nothing was recorded of the deaths of those who held no land.

POPULATION AND MORTALITY: 1349

This study concentrates on the period from 1327 to 31 December 1370, when there is a reasonably complete series of rolls for both manors, and on the records of 1,027 persons. Those eliminated from the study were:

- a. persons on whose records no entries appear after 1326, and who were assumed not to have survived until 1349 (199 in number);
- b. those with no entries before 1370, who were assumed not to have been born before 1349, and those with entries between 1349 and 1370 for whom there was evidence that they were born after 1349 (233 in number); and
- c. all persons living outside Walsham and those not identified by name, e.g. the cowherd of the manor, the servant of the Prior (90).

Table I shows a breakdown of the 1,027 persons whose names appear in the rolls and are known, or have been assumed, to have lived in Walsham between 1327 and 1370, and to have been born before 1349.

TABLE I: WALSHAM INHABITANTS 1327–70, BORN BEFORE 1349

<i>Category by date of entry</i>	<i>Tenants</i>		<i>Non-Tenants</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	
1. Persons who died between 1327 and 1348	89	52	–	–	141
2. Others with entries 1327–Mar. 1349	82	43	139	71	335
3. Persons who died in 1349	93	26	–	–	119
4. Persons with entries before and after 1349	143	44	20	9	216
5. Persons with entries Nov. 1349–Dec. 1370	74	28	83	31	216
6. Total	481	193	242	111	1027

The numbers of tenants whose records contain entries before and after 1349 (Table I, line 4) have been further broken down as follows:

TABLE II: TENANTS WITH ENTRIES BEFORE AND AFTER 1349

<i>Category</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Persons holding land before 1349	66	15	81
2. Heirs of those who died, who held no land previously	52	17	69
3. Others who held no land before 1349	25	12	37
4. Total	143	44	187

The sum of the numbers who died (Table I, line 3) and those who held land before 1349 and survived (Table II, line 1) gives a tenant population immediately before the Black Death of 200 (159 men and 41 women). These tenants included a number of people who should be excluded before the total can be considered as a basis for estimating the total population, namely, the wives of Black Death victims holding land jointly with their husbands, and heirs of victims, hitherto landless, who also died. Elimination of these reduces the number of tenants who died to 105 (87 men and 18 women), and of those who survived to 71 (66 men and 5 women), giving a revised tenant population of 176. Applying to this total the multiplier of 4.75 generally accepted for measuring the national population would give Walsham a population of 836 immediately before the Black Death, but there must be considerable doubt about the validity of using this, or any other, multiplier to estimate the population of a single rural community.

The proportion of tenants who died is equally suspect as a measure of the overall mortality rate. The tenant population was predominantly male, and included nobody under the age of sixteen years, a group which might have constituted as much as half the population, and whose vulnerability to epidemic disease is likely to have been above average. If a sample on which to base more accurate population and mortality estimates is to be found, the ages of its constituents must be a primary consideration.

Information about the ages of those who appear in the rolls occurs very infrequently; in fact only when an heir was named and was stated to be under age. Sometimes the heir's age was quoted, as in the case of Matthew Gilbert; sometimes it can be inferred from the date on which he, or she, entered the tenement, which was usually on reaching the age of sixteen years. Taking the date on which each person first appeared before the court and, except when there was other evidence, assuming that he or she was at least sixteen years old at the time, estimates were made of the minimum age in 1349 of all whose deaths are recorded and of all known to have survived. This proved impossible in the case of the 114 non-tenants with entries between November 1349 and December 1370 (Table I, line 5), and in the summaries of age classification which follow (Tables III and IV), they have been apportioned in the same ratio as the 102 tenants in that category.

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TABLE III: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL RECORDED MEMBERS OF POPULATION IN FEBRUARY 1349

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Black Death Victims</i>			<i>Survivors</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Under 16	–	–	–	80	14	94	80	14	94
2. Over 16	2	1	3	60	26	86	62	27	89
3. Over 20	16	6	22	100	56	156	116	62	178
4. Over 30	14	7	21	56	13	69	70	20	90
5. Over 40	22	7	29	20	2	22	42	9	51
6. Over 50	39	5	44	4	1	5	43	6	49
7. Total	93	26	119	320	112	432	413	138	551

TABLE IVa: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEBRUARY 1349 TENANTS

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Tenants who died</i>			<i>Tenants who survived</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Over 16	2	1	3	–	–	–	2	1	3
2. Over 20	13	5	18	25	3	28	38	8	46
3. Over 30	12	6	18	26	2	28	38	8	46
4. Over 40	21	2	23	13	–	13	34	2	36
5. Over 50	39	4	43	2	–	2	41	4	45
6. Total	87	18	105	66	5	71	153	23	176

TABLE IVb: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEBRUARY 1349 NON-TENANTS

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Non-tenants who died</i>			<i>Non-tenants who survived</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Under 16	–	–	–	80	14	94	80	14	94
2. Over 16	–	–	–	60	26	86	60	26	86
3. Over 20	4	1	5	74	53	127	78	54	132
4. Over 30	2	1	3	30	11	41	32	12	44
5. Over 40	–	5	5	8	2	10	8	7	15
6. Over 50	–	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	4
7. Total	6	8	14	254	107	361	260	115	375

The disproportionate number of those over forty among the Black Death victims (73 out of 119; Table III), which is repeated in a lesser degree among all the tenants (81 out of 176; Table IVa), and the under-representation of women throughout the tables, confirm the unsuitability of the tenant population as a sample of the whole population. It is apparent that the soundest basis for estimates of the total population and mortality is the surviving male population, totalling 320 (Table III, line 7), of whom 217 were at some time tenants, and the remaining 103 not recorded as in possession of land at any time (Table I, lines 4

and 5). It is unlikely that tenants escaped being recorded because even one tenancy involved frequent mentions in the court rolls – for the grant of seisin, for making suit of court or fealty to the lord or for default of either, and finally for disposing of the tenement by surrender or at death. On the other hand, non-tenants were before the court infrequently and, in some cases, never.

One can but guess at the number of non-tenants who were never in court, but if it is assumed to have been no higher than 30 per cent, the figure of 320 male survivors needs to be increased to about 350. With this number surviving, and on the assumptions that the numbers of males and females in the population were approximately equal, that both sexes were equally at risk from the plague, and that mortality in Walsham was within the range of 40 to 55 per cent, the male population in February 1349 would have been between 583 and 778, and the total population between, say, 1,150 and 1,550.

The remarkably high level of mortality among those over fifty (Table III) is likely also to have been a feature among the very young, and there may be some confirmation of this in the proportion of those under sixteen among the male survivors (25 per cent). Most historians are agreed that the under fourteens comprised around 40 to 50 per cent of the total population in the 1370s (Miller and Hatcher 1978, 29), but the peculiar conditions of impoverishment created by the levels of population quoted above might have reduced this proportion, perhaps to around 35 per cent.

In making estimates of population and mortality which divide the population between those under sixteen years of age and those aged sixteen and over, it has been assumed that the former represented 40 per cent of the population. These estimates, summarised in Table V, are based on the 'adjusted' total of male survivors (350), the thirty non-tenants additional to the 320 recorded being apportioned between the two age groups on a 40:60 ratio. Thus the total of eighty listed survivors aged under sixteen was increased to ninety-two, and the 240 over sixteen to 258.

TABLE V: ESTIMATES OF THE MALE POPULATION AND MORTALITY BASED ON 350 MALE SURVIVORS

<i>Mortality</i>	<i>Male Population</i>	<i>Male Population under 16</i>				<i>Male Population over 16</i>			
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Survived</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Mortality</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Survived</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Mortality</i>
40%	583	233	92	141	60%	350	258	92	26%
45%	636	254	92	162	64%	382	258	124	32%
50%	700	280	92	188	67%	420	258	162	38%
55%	778	311	92	219	70%	467	258	209	45%

The number of those over sixteen who died which derives from the lowest level of mortality assumed (40 per cent) is almost exactly equal to the number of deaths recorded in the rolls (93), which were all of tenants. It is inconceivable that there were no deaths among non-tenants aged over sixteen; the lowest feasible level of mortality therefore has to be 45 per cent, and that among those under sixteen, 64 per cent.

The high level of mortality at both ends of the age scale may provide a pointer to the nature of the plague. The layman tends to be confused by the controversy about whether the plague was bubonic or pneumonic or a combination of both, and whether any section of the population was peculiarly at risk to one or the other. What seems clear to this layman is that bubonic was unlikely to occur outside the summer months, and that it was less virulent than pneumonic. Bubonic may have been a greater threat to young adults than to

the remainder of the population, but pneumonic was no respecter of age, sex or status. Whether one variety could exist without the other seems to remain in dispute.

Of the 119 deaths recorded in Walsham, 110 occurred after 6 March and before 15 June, and some, if not all, of the nine recorded in August probably occurred in the same period. The volume of detailed information about the victims, their heirs and their holdings is such that it could not have been assembled while the plague was still raging, or within less than several weeks of its abating. The duration of the Black Death in Walsham was, in all probability, no more than two months – from mid-March to mid-May – and this would appear to rule out the possibility of the dominant form of the plague having been bubonic. If pneumonic plague only was present, with the very high percentage of fatality associated with the disease, mortality might be expected to be at the same level across the age spectrum, but the evidence is that the age groups below sixteen and over fifty were far more at risk.

Any conclusion about the nature of the plague must be tentative, but one can be confident in asserting that the population of Walsham at the beginning of 1349 was at least 1,250 and could have been as high as 1,500; and that mortality as a result of the Black Death was between 45 and 55 per cent. Population figures of this order are not matched until the mid-1850s, and, at the upper end, exceed the maximum number ever recorded – 1,297 in 1851. There is confirmatory evidence of a very high level of population in this part of the Blackbourn Hundred as early as 1283, when the Lay Subsidy return showed Walsham with ninety tax-payers and the two adjoining larger villis of Bardwell and Stanton with 128 and ninety-nine respectively. The average number of tax-payers in the remaining thirty villis in the hundred was only thirty-six (Powell 1910, xxx). Elsewhere in East Anglia, H.E. Hallam (1961, 74) calculated the average population at the end of the 13th century of five Lincolnshire fenland manors to be about 1,500, and Bruce Campbell (1984, 96) found evidence of a similarly high level of population in the manor of Hakeford Hall in Coltishall, Norfolk, where mortality among the 198 tenants in 1349 exceeded 50 per cent.

POPULATION: 1350–1400

To measure the long-term effects of the reduction of the population by as much as a half in only a few months in 1349, it is necessary first to identify the population trend over the succeeding decades. This has been attempted, using as a basis the available information about the number of tenants. The surviving sources are listed in Table VI.

TABLE VI: TENANT NUMBERS, 1350–1400

<i>High Hall manor</i>		<i>Walsham manor</i>	
<i>Source</i>	<i>Tenants</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Tenants</i>
1325 Fealty List	37 ⁷		
1327 Rental	39 ⁸		
1351 Fealty List	17 ⁹		
1355 Rental	16 ¹⁰		
		1361 Fealty List	68 ¹¹
		1369 Fealty List	56 ¹²
		1375 Fealty List	73 ¹³
1379 Fealty List	20 ¹⁴		
1391 Fealty List for the combined manor		103 tenants ¹⁵	

The decrease of 15 per cent in the number of tenants in High Hall between 1327 and early 1349 appears to sustain the argument that population declined on many English manors in the early 14th century (Poos 1985, 529), and it is unfortunate that there is no base for a similar comparison for Walsham manor. The difference between the early 1349 figures for High Hall and those for 1351 and 1361, minus 48 per cent and minus 54 per cent respectively, are very much in line with the foregoing mortality estimates.

Better comparisons for the later years can be derived from combination of the figures for the two manors. The dates of the listings for each manor do not coincide, but some are close enough to each other to be reasonably paired. The 1355 and 1379 totals for High Hall have been added to those for Walsham manor for 1361 and 1375 respectively, and the results summarised in Table VII.

TABLE VII: TENANT NUMBERS OF BOTH MANORS, COMBINED

1349 tenant population (Table III)	176 tenants
1355 rental and 1361 fealty list	80 tenants
1375 and 1379 fealty lists	91 tenants
1391 fealty list	103 tenants

The numbers of tenants listed in 1355 and 1361 are smaller than one would expect from the evidence of pre-1349 tenants who survived and the number of heirs who were admitted in 1349. This raises the suspicion that the real total is under-stated due to non-attendance, a suspicion which is supported by the small number of tenants distrained to swear fealty in 1361 compared with 1375 and 1391. Examination of the records of the surviving tenants and of the heirs, and comparison of the listings, shows that the 1361 list omitted nineteen tenants who had held land since before that date, and had not sworn fealty or been distrained to do so, and the 1375 list omitted six. There is evidence of more than usual thoroughness in 1391 in the pursuit of defaulters in the rolls of three successive courts, and the listing for that year appears to be exhaustive.

If the tenants who are known not to have sworn fealty in 1355 and 1361 are taken into account, then the tenant population remains virtually constant over the period from 1355 to 1391. This is mildly surprising, for during the same period the national population is known to have been in decline, accelerated in the 1360s by further outbreaks of plague. The evidence of recorded deaths occurring in the 1360s indicates that Walsham was not greatly affected by the later outbreaks, if at all. Only sixteen deaths were recorded in the decade, compared with an average of six per year over the period from 1327 to 1348. There were five deaths in 1361 and in 1366, three in 1369, and one in 1365, 1367 and 1368, and at least half of those who died might have been expected to die from 'natural causes'. Three were over sixty, five over fifty and only two, both named Alice Margery, under forty. One of them was under thirty, and was survived by her husband and two infant sons; she probably died in childbirth. The other was the daughter of Hilary Margery née de Cranemere, whose first husband, grandfather, father and two brothers were all victims of the Black Death. Hilary married John Margery in 1350, and was one of those who died in 1366. Her husband and daughter Joanna survived both her and Alice, who could not have been more than eighteen when she died in 1369.

Although the tenant listings and the low mortality in the 1360s may point to the possibility of static population from 1355 to 1391, it should not be overlooked that inheritance in Walsham was partible. In these circumstances, the constant level of the

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number of tenants is more likely to be indicative of a decline in population overall, and there is supporting evidence for this in the details of land transactions during the period, which are summarised in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII: ANALYSIS OF LAND TRANSACTIONS BY DECADE, 1340-1400

Decade	Mean Annual Transactions	Index	Arable land		Mean Entry Fine per Acre		Index
				Index	Dwelling and land		
1340-48	20	100	3s.2d.	100	5s.		100
1350s	6	30	2s.4d.	74	2s.		40
1360s	12	60	1s.8d.	53	1s.8d.		33
1370s	8	40	1s.3d.	39	1s.4d.		32
1380s	9	45	1s.1d.	34	1s.6d.		36
1390s	8	40	1s.	32	1s.		30

The figures for the 1350s may not be truly representative because the rolls for only sixteen courts survive for that period. However, the enormous total of fifty-five transactions appears in two courts in 1359, which suggests that the authorities had made a determined effort to catch up with many unrecorded transactions from earlier in the decade. If the figures for the 1350s are discounted, the land market in the forty years after the Black Death was less than half as active as it had been in the 1340s, and the level of entry fines on arable land fell throughout the period to reach only a third of its former level.

Entry fines on dwellings with land attached were less numerous and less consistent, and averages could be misleading. Two fines were omitted from the calculation of the mean figures because of their distorting effect: in the 1340s a fine of 20 marks was levied for entry to a messuage and sixteen acres of land, and in 1351, one of a mark for entry to a cot-land (*colagium*) and a plot of land 12 yards × 9 yards. In the 1380s there were only five recorded transactions in dwellings where the area of land was stated, and the mean entry fine per acre of 1s.6d. is open to question. In the 1390s, when there were twenty such transactions recorded, the mean fine was 1s. per acre, indicating that the pattern of a continuous fall in the level of entry fines on transactions in arable land after 1349 was closely followed by that for land with dwellings. The depressed state of the land market is one of the clearest indirect indicators of the reduced demographic pressure in this period. Other indicators, such as changes in the numbers and average levels of fines for brewing offences, reveal no discernible pattern.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE BLACK DEATH

At the beginning of the summer of 1349 Walsham found itself suddenly deprived of about half of its population; some 700 people had died, over half of them under sixteen years of age and those over fifty almost wiped out. Fortunately the death toll among those in between these two groups, who formed the mass of the working population, was probably about 30 per cent, and there remained about 500 adults available to start the work of recovery. The remarkable speed with which the start was made is revealed in the business recorded in the courts of both manors which sat in the immediate aftermath of the plague.

The four courts sitting between 25 May and 1 August 1349¹⁶ not only regularized the transfer of the land of all but nine victims of the plague, but those of 15 June and 1 August

also dealt with such routine matters as two defaults of suit of court, an application for leave to marry, three births out of wedlock, two breaches of the Assize of Ale and one of the Assize of Bread. The volume and character of the business of the courts which sat in each manor in November 1349¹⁷ are no different from those of courts before 1349, except in the high number of marriages without the lord's leave; eight widows and two heiresses of Black Death victims were guilty of this offence and each was amerced a sum varying between 2s. and 5s.

John Spileman, the reeve of Walsham manor in 1348–49, was amerced 40s. because he did not perform his duties in a proper manner, as a result of which a great part of the lord's corn had died in the autumn, and a further 3s. 4d. because the common fold was not raised in that year.¹⁸ Geoffrey Rath, who succeeded him as reeve, was also amerced a total of 13s. 4d. because the common fold was not raised in 1350 and for various other unspecified failures.¹⁹ Not only had the tenants been quick to enter their newly acquired tenements and to find partners to bring up existing families, or to start new ones, but the lady of the manor, Lady Roesia de Saxham, whose husband had died in 1349, was acting to ensure that her interests were not neglected during the process of recovery. The severity of the punishment of the two reeves can be judged against the fact that their stipend was 1s. per week.

The difficulties experienced by the reeve in enforcing the performance of tenants' services at this time are exemplified in two items in the Walsham manor roll of 9 October 1353,²⁰ the first court of Sir Thomas de Pakenham, son of Lady Roesia de Saxham. Seven women and four men were summoned to reap for the lord 'for money', but they refused to come and 'worked for others' – presumably for more money. Their amercements amounted in total to 32d., but payment was deferred until the following autumn 'on this condition, that if then they shall come and work amicably and without dissent, the aforesaid amercements shall be waived for all of them'. It was also presented that nine women were summoned to winnow and did not come, and that thirty-five tenants had been summoned to perform winter works and had not come. They too had their amercements deferred on a similar condition.

There are numerous instances, both earlier and later, of tenants failing to appear when summoned to work for the lord, and of unsatisfactory work by individuals who did appear when summoned; but except for the case of four tenants of Walsham manor who damaged the lord's corn in 1318 by treading on it while hoeing, there is no evidence of concerted action such as that which occurred in 1353. This unprecedented refusal to perform services was no doubt partly attributable to the pressures on the husbandry of their own land. Yet it also marks their recognition of the value to the lord of those services, and, above all, reflects their own dislike of all labour services. The response of the lord to their militancy, so remarkably at variance with the severity of his mother's punishment of the reeves' failings only two years before, signals a recognition on his part of the strength of the tenants' collective bargaining power.

These items, with many others in the rolls, indicate that the demesne of Walsham manor continued to be farmed with the traditional labour services after the Black Death, and was still being so farmed into the next century, as is shown in the manorial accounts, the first of which to survive is that for 1390–91.²¹ By 1379, when High Hall was absorbed into Walsham manor, demesne farming there had ceased, but it is questionable if this change was a direct result of the Black Death. In the period from 1319 to 1348, the lordship had been held by two members of the de Walsham family, the court had sat regularly and seigniorial control had been firmly exercised. Between 1348 and 1379 there were at least six changes of lordship, the court sat infrequently and control was lax. In this period the lord probably no longer lived on the manor and neither this, nor the disrupted ownership,

would have been conducive to direct demesne farming. A measure of the manor's decline is the fall in the number of tenants over the period – from thirty-seven in 1327 (twenty free and seventeen villeins) to seventeen in 1355 (twelve free and five villeins), and twenty in 1379, of whom only three were villeins.

With this reduction in the tenant population, decline in demesne farming was to be expected, but when did it start? Dodd (1974, 13) says that the manorial account for 1373–74²² 'shows the impact of the Black Death in its statement of allowances and of the reduced income in money and labour services from the tenants of the manor', but there is only one earlier account, that for 1327–28,²³ and hence no directly comparable evidence that the change took place after 1349. The rolls for the 1340s contain instances of services withheld, both autumn and winter, almost every year, but after 1349 there are only four such entries – three in 1350 and one in 1354. This may be an indication that services had been commuted into cash payments, but it is also possible that it is one of relaxed control or of the loss of relevant court rolls – only nine High Hall rolls survive for the period from December 1351 to September 1374.

The reduction of twenty in tenant numbers between 1327 and 1351 was only partially due to the Black Death – only three of the eleven High Hall tenants who died were without heirs, and three of the heirs were fugitives. The decline in numbers began before 1349, as perhaps did the decline in demesne farming, but there is evidence which might suggest the contrary in a rental of 1355.²⁴ The services owed by the 1355 tenants vary little from those shown in the rental for 1327²⁵ – the autumn works remain almost unchanged, but hoeing services listed in 1327 have disappeared in 1355; ploughing services are listed in 1355 but not in 1327. The listing of services due may not, of course, indicate that they were actually performed. The evidence of the timing of change in demesne farming in High Hall manor is inconsistent, and it would be safer to attribute the change to the gradual decline in the significance of the manor than to the Black Death.

David Dymond (1974, 200) comments on shrinkage of the built-up area of Walsham beginning in the 14th century, and concludes that mortality from the Black Death probably had little impact on the process. This view is supported by this study. During the twenty years before 1349, when the continuity of the rolls was unbroken, sixteen tenants were amerced because they had allowed dwellings to fall into disrepair; in almost every instance they were given time to make good the damage under a stated penalty for default. One of the two exceptions was William Hawys, who was given permission not to rebuild 'because nobody will live there because of thieves'. That repairs were not always carried out is shown by repetition of the ameracements and extension of time limits in later courts, sometimes on several occasions. Three members of the Wodebite family were ordered to rebuild houses on separate tenements in the 1330s, and the orders were repeated at intervals, the last occasion in two of the cases in November 1349, and in the third case in 1352. In 1342, the widow of Bartholomew Patyl cut down the timbers and demolished the walls of a house on her late husband's tenement, and was amerced 6s.8d. She remarried, and in 1350 her husband was ordered to rebuild the same house.

The break in continuity in the rolls from 1351 to 1359, and the absence of information on whether houses were rebuilt or allowed to fall into further disrepair, invalidate any comparison between the number quoted above and the twenty-two cases of wasted tenements recorded in the two decades following 1349. The four cases of the Wodebites and Gundreda Patyl feature in both figures, and it is likely that there are others not identified. There is evidence in the courts held between 1361 and 1366 of efforts in both manors to identify all wasted tenements and have them made good; fifteen cases are recorded in that period. In 1372 it was presented to the High Hall court that two old houses on the tenement Goche were beyond repair, and it was ordered that the materials be sold

for 42d. These houses may well have been in a state of disrepair since the mid-1330s when John and Peter Goche were ordered on several occasions to rebuild.

The failure to make good waste in Walsham tenements throughout the period is quite well documented, but there is little evidence to show whether it was more or less prevalent after 1349. If the failure to rebuild can be taken as evidence of abandonment of out-lying buildings and movement within Walsham, then this process was going on from early in the century and it was not greatly accelerated by the Black Death.

A similar conclusion might be reached on movement out of Walsham, if based solely on the number of villeins recorded as absent from the manors, but the lack of information through most of the 1350s again makes statistical comparison unreliable. In the twenty years before 1349 only seventeen villeins were ordered to be distrained because they had absented themselves from the manors, and permission was given to five others to be absent on payment of 1d. per year chevage. Laxity on the part of the Walsham reeves, already referred to, would almost certainly have led to the absence of fugitives going unrecorded, and in five courts for that manor between November 1349 and September 1354 only two fugitives were named. In seven High Hall courts in the same period five fugitives were named. As with the tenants of wasted tenements, an effort was made in Walsham manor in 1361 to check on absent villeins, and seven were named in one court.²⁶ Five of these and one of those from High Hall had returned and become tenants by 1365. Of the remaining four from High Hall, three were the sons of John and Peter Goche, Black Death victims, whose tenements had been in disrepair in the 1330s. Peter, too, had been an absentee, paying chevage from 1332 to 1335. In 1365 John's sons were living in Beccles, and Peter's son was living in the Abbey of St Edmund. Another Walsham absentee was living in Colchester, thus underlining the continuing attraction of towns to rural migrants.

Although it may be thought that there was little incentive for a villein to leave the manors of Walsham in the aftermath of the Black Death (and the rolls show that over half of those known to have left returned at a later date), it is probable that more left than the thirteen recorded. The rapid entry of the heirs of Black Death victims to their inheritance, and the grant of the small residue of unclaimed land to others, left many peasants, particularly among those under forty, still landless and with limited prospects of acquiring land. The incentive for them to leave the manor was not greatly diminished by the Black Death, and the opportunity to do so was there; it would be very surprising if the number of those taking advantage of that opportunity did not increase.

THE IMPACT OF THE BLACK DEATH ON WALSHAM FAMILIES

Of the 119 tenants who died in 1349, thirty-four were the sole bearers of their surname, and there were nine examples of two with the same name, and eleven examples of three. At the other end of the scale there were ten named Patyl and eight named Rampolye. There were two family groups with the name Patyl – one group who were villeins of Walsham manor, and the other made up of freemen with tenements in Walsham but much larger holdings elsewhere, particularly in Finningham, where four persons named Patyl were taxed in 1327. They included Bartholomew, whose widow demolished a house in Walsham in 1342. It has been assumed that the latter group was not resident in Walsham, and the four freemen listed have been excluded from the analysis of victims and survivors with the same surname, summarised in Table IX.

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TABLE IX: BLACK DEATH VICTIMS AND SURVIVORS WITH THE SAME SURNAME

<i>Examples of victims with same name</i>	<i>Examples of survivors with same name as victims</i>												
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Individuals	34	9	6	5	2	2	4	2	3	-	-	-	1
2 of same name	9	1	2	2	-	1	1	1	1				
3 of same name	11	-	2	1	2	2	-	2	2				
4 of same name	1	-	-	2									
6 of same name	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	2					
8 of same name	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		

It should be said that there is an inherent weakness in the figures for both victims and survivors in that landless members of the families of tenants do not appear in them, unless they were before the court for reasons unconnected with land tenure, but they do reveal a very wide range in the size of groups of the same family name. Among those where only one victim is named there is a wide variation in the numbers of survivors of each name. In view of the conclusion that mortality was in the region of 50 per cent, it might be expected that nine out of seventeen Rampolyes would survive, but not that one Clevehog would die and eleven survive.

The Rampolyes and the Clevehogs illustrate the difficulty in discerning a pattern in mortality within families. The former were villeins and the latter free, but they are typical of most Walsham families in being a close-knit group of family units. The roll of 13 February 1348²⁷ shows that Alice, wife of William Clevehog senior, died and her heirs were her four sons, all under age. When her husband died in 1349 only one heir was named, their son Peter. The other three must have died, possibly in the Black Death, their deaths not recorded because they had not entered their inheritance from their mother. In February 1348 the four sons of William and Alice were also named as heirs of Katerina Clevehog, jointly with Agnes, daughter of Katerina and wife of William Clevehog junior. Agnes and Willaim survived the plague, as did their four children. John Clevehog, who may have been the brother of William junior, also survived with his three sons; his wife is not mentioned. Thus the Clevehog family group in 1349 comprised three households: of the first, numbering two, or possibly five, only one survived; of the second all five survived; and of the third, numbering four or five, at least four survived.

There were four Rampolye brothers – Walter, William, Simon and Robert. Simon died in 1344, Walter and William in 1349 and Robert in 1362. There is no record of Walter having married, and his heirs were Robert and the children of his other two brothers. William was a widower with four sons, of whom William died and was survived by his son John, who was under age. There was no heriot and a fine was paid for custody of the land and heir; the roll does not say by whom. It may have been his mother who is not mentioned. Simon's three sons all died; his daughter survived. Robert's wife and son John died; his son Simon and John's widow survived. The Rampolye family comprised four households. Of the first one died and three survived; of the second one died and one, possibly two, survived; of the third three died and one survived and of the fourth two died and two survived.

A similar degree of variation in mortality in family units is revealed in the villein Patyls, the Tailloours and the Deneys. In each of these families there were six victims, and the most significant aspect of all these five cases is the extent to which continuity of tenure within

the family was maintained. An example of a family where no males survived is the de Cranemeres, who had been substantial tenants in both manors. Three generations of the males of the family died, and the only survivors were the unmarried daughter of William senior and his two married granddaughters.

Analysis by surname of the thirty-five surviving tenants with no recorded victims of the same name also produced no discernible pattern of mortality within families. There were twenty-four surnames recorded and fourteen of them were each held by only one tenant; no surviving non-tenants of the same name were recorded for any of them except one – John Robhood, whose wife and six sons also survived. Only twelve examples have been traced of families in which both husband and wife survived.

The conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of mortality within families, with all its limitations, is that very few, if any, escaped completely, and that the incidence of mortality within households was erratic. There is no evidence to support a view that the elimination of whole families was a common feature. There is also no indication that any part of Walsham was immune to the plague, and the erratic nature of its virulence may be judged from the difference in its effect between the Robhood and de Cranemere families, whose tenements were close to one another. The 1577 survey records in the holdings of John Robwood [*sic*] senior ‘a tenement and yardes held by copy wherein sometyme a messuage was buylded’ (Dodd 1974, 64). This messuage was, almost certainly, the home of John Robhood and his family in 1349, standing on the south side of the road to Finningham no more than 200 metres to the east of Cranmer Farm, standing on the north side of the same road.

CONCLUSION

The principal conclusion of this study – that mortality in Walsham in 1349 was in the range of 45 per cent to 55 per cent – was perhaps predictable, particularly the lower half of this range, but the corollary – that this level of mortality presupposed a population at the beginning of 1349 of between 1250 and 1500 – was much more difficult to accept. However, given the figure of 320 males known to have survived, the population had to be well in excess of any figure derived from tenant numbers, and of any figure reached in the succeeding 450 years.

The effect on Walsham’s economy of the enormous loss of life within a few months was mitigated by lower than average mortality in the age group which formed the bulk of the workforce, and also by the continuity in family land tenure that the pattern of mortality helped to ensure. Following the Black Death, population may have remained more or less static over the second half of the century, but it is more likely that it decreased, and there was a substantial reduction in land transactions over that period, compared with the twenty years before 1349. There is very little evidence of tenements being unoccupied or not worked.

Change was taking place, particularly in High Hall manor, in the period from 1327 to 1379, accelerated perhaps by the Black Death, but by no means entirely due to its impact. The fall of nearly half in the number of tenants, and the decay of buildings in the tenure of the Wodebite family and others who died out, suggest a gradual move away from the eastern end of Walsham to its present centre. This general decline in the significance of High Hall manor also marked the end of demesne farming there.

The mass refusal to perform autumn works in Walsham manor in 1353 is an example of an increase in peasant assertiveness and willingness to act collectively, unprecedented except for the relatively minor mute protest of the recalcitrant hoers in 1318. It might have

marked the beginning of the growth of the sort of unrest which culminated in the Rising of 1381, but in the event, the reasonable reaction of the lord of the manor in waiving the amercements conditionally ensured that there was no repetition the following year or thereafter. The impression that one has after reading the rolls is of a community which rapidly came to terms with a crisis of incredible magnitude. Perhaps Walsham was fortunate in the fact that the plague struck in the spring and went so quickly: restoration of normality would have been infinitely more difficult had it struck in the summer and lasted through the autumn. It can only be said that the response of the people of Walsham to this unprecedented disaster is a magnificent example of the resilience and resource of medieval men and women.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to David Dymond whose guidance and encouragement led to the transcription of the Walsham court rolls being undertaken, and to Mark Bailey for his helpful comments on two early drafts of this paper.

APPENDIX

PARTICULARS OF WALSHAM INHABITANTS WHO DIED IN 1349, THEIR HEIRS AND THE DISPOSAL OF THEIR TENEMENTS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Estimated Age</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Heriot or fine</i>	<i>Heirs and disposal of land</i>
1	Albery, Agnes widow	Villein Walsham	35	1 messuage, 12a. land	3s.	William Alwyne, kinsman – unclaimed – granted to Stephen Swylpot.
2	Angerhale, Adam dc	Villein High H.	50+	1 mess., 10a. land	cow	William, kinsman, (surname not given) – granted to Walter Cristmesse.
3	Banlone, Richard	Free High H.	40+	1½r. land	waived	Robert Banlone – entered.
4	Bonde, Avice, wife of John	Villein Walsham	30+	1 mess., 5a. land	filly	Thomas, Matthew and John Bonde, sons, under age – father to hold for life.
5	Broke, John de	Free Walsham	16	½ mess., 7a. land	none	John de Broke, cousin – unclaimed.
6	Chapman, John	Villein High H.	50+	1 mess., 2a. land	sheep	Agnes Chapman, daughter, aged 3 – mother to hold until full age.
7	Clevchog, William	Free Walsham	40+	1½r. land	cow	Peter Clevchog, son – entered.

No.	Name	Status	Estimated Age	Holding	Heriot or fine	Heirs and disposal of land
8	Crane, Cristina spinster, sister of 9 and 10	Villein Walsham	20+	} $\frac{1}{2}$ mess., 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. land	none	Elyanora Wyndilgard and Nicholas Fuller, kinsmen – Nicholas surrendered his share to Elyanora – entered.
9	Crane, Katerina spinster	Villein Walsham	20+			
10	Crane, Joanna, wife of Thomas Giles	Villein Walsham	20+			
11	Cranemere, William, sen.	Free W & H	50+	1 mess., 1 tenement in Walsham; 2a. free land in High Hall	stot 2d. relief	William Cranemere, junior (12), son – died.
12	Cranemere, William, son of 11	Free Walsham	40+	1 mess., 1 tenement	stot	Robert (13) and William (14), sons – died.
13	Cranemere, Robert, son of 12	Free Walsham	20+	Certain tenements	cow	William Cranemere (14), brother – died.
14	Cranemere, William, son of 12	Free Walsham	20+	Certain tenements	cow	Olivia Hawys and Hilary Hawys, sisters – entered.
15	Craske, Walter, miller	Free Walsham	40+	1 mess., 1a.3r. land of villénage	cow	John Craske, son – entered.
16	Cupper, Stephen	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Robert Lene, nephew – entered.
17	Deeth, John	Free Walsham	30+	1 cot-land	3d.	Katerina Deeth, daughter – entered.
18	Deneys, Avice, widow	Free Walsham	50+	5a. land	cow	Nicholas Deneys, son – entered
19	Deneys, Juliana spinster	Free Walsham	50+	1 cot-land, 1a.1r. land	none	Nicholas Deneys, kinsman – declined to hold – granted to Roger Hamund.
20	Deneys, Matilda, wife of 23	Villein Walsham	40+	$\frac{1}{2}$ a. land & a bakehouse	none	John, brother, (surname not given) – unclaimed.
21	Deneys, Walter	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 1a.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ r. land	cow	Robert (22) and John Deneys, sons – Robert died, John entered.
22	Deneys, Robert, son of 21	Villein Walsham	20+	Half of holding of 21	ewe	John Deneys, brother – entered.
23	Deneys, William	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. land in W'm, 1a. customary land in High Hall	stot 4d. relief	Nicholas Deneys, brother – entered.

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Estimated Age</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Heriot or fine</i>	<i>Heirs and disposal of land</i>
24	Dormour, Edith, wife of 25	Villein Walsham	30+	1 mess., 12a. land	cow	William Swyft, kinsman – entered.
25	Dormour, Thomas	Villein Walsham	40+	1a.1r. land	cow	Heir unknown – seized by the lord.
26	Echewan, Ralph	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Adam Echewan, son – entered.
27	Fraunceys, Emma, widow	Villein Walsham	50+	1 cot-land, 1r. land	6d.	John Fraunceys, brother – entered.
28	Fraunceys, Nicholas	Villein Walsham	48	1 mess., 3a.1½r. land	cow	Alice Hamund, niece – entered.
29	Fuller, Alice, wife of 30	Villein Walsham	40+	1 tenement	cow	Nicholas Fuller, son – entered.
30	Fuller, Thomas	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 1 tenement	cow	Nicholas Fuller, son – entered.
31	Fuller, Walter	Villein Walsham	30+	1 mess., 1 tenement	stot	Alice Elys, kinswoman – entered.
32	Gilbert, Alice, wife of Matthew	Free Walsham	20+	1 cot-land, 5 acres customary land	cow	Robert Hereward, chaplain – husband to hold for life.
33	Gilbert, Peter, brother of Matthew	Villein Walsham	30+	½ mess., 2a. land	filly	Matthew Gilbert, brother – entered.
34	Goche, John, brother of 36	Villein High H	30+	½ mess. 6a. land	calf	Walter, aged 10, and John, aged 2, sons, did not claim – in 1365, absentees, living in Beccles.
35	Goche, Nicholas	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 14a. land	filly	William Alwynne, kinsman – unclaimed.
36	Goche, Peter	Villein High H	30+	½ mess., 6a. land	gimmer pr. 2d.	John Goche, aged 4, son – Robert and Katerina le Man to hold until full age – in 1365, John living in Abbey of St Edmund.
37	Hardonn, Adam	Free Walsham	40+	1 cot-land	mare	William Hardonn, brother – unclaimed – granted to William Smyth.
38	Hawys, John, son of 40	Villein Walsham	30+	1 tenement	cow	William and Robert Hawys, sons – entered.
39	Hawys, Walter, brother of 40	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	John Hawys, son – entered.
40	Hawys, William	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 40a. land	stot	Robert and John (38) Hawys, sons – John died, Robert entered.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Estimated Age</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Heriot or fine</i>	<i>Heirs and disposal of land</i>
41	Helewys, Willaim	Free Walsham	20+	1½a. land	stot	Robert and Thomas Helewys, brothers – entered.
42	Helpe, John, brother of 43	Villein High H	40+	Part of a mess., 3a. land	cow	No heir came – granted to Alice Helpe, widow – John Helpe, son of John and Alice, born after John's death, entered in 1365.
43	Helpe, Robert	Villein High H	40+	1 mess., 2a. land	horse pr. 16d.	John (42), Henry and Gilbert Helpe, brothers – John died, Gilbert entered, Henry absent from manor – his share granted to John Packard.
44	Hereward, Matthew	Free Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Robert Hereward, chaplain, son – entered.
45	Hereward, Robt. brother of 44	Free Walsham	50+	½r. land	cow	John Hereward, son – entered.
46	Hereward, Walter	Free Walsham	50+	1 mess., 2a.1½r. land	12d.	Thomas Hereward, son – entered.
47	Isabel, William	Villein High H	40+	1 mess., 10a. land	none	Sara Flintard, kinswoman – unclaimed.
48	Jay, Peter	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 19a. land	cow	William and Robert Jay, sons – entered.
49	Jerico, Bartholomew	Free Walsham	40+	1 mess., 6a. land	stot	Adam Pidelak, nephew – entered.
50	Kebbil, Richard	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 1 tenement	colt	John Kebbil, chaplain, son – entered.
51	Kembald, Alice, widow	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Robert and Thomas Kembald, sons – entered.
52	Ku, Robert le	Villein Walsham	40+	½ mess., 17a. land	cow	Olivia le Ku, daughter – entered.
53	Lenne, Robert	Free Walsham	40+	4 perches land	none	Heir unknown – granted to John Terwald.
54	Man, John le	Villein Walsham	50+	Certain tenements	mare	Robert le Man, son – entered.
55	Man, Robert le	Free Walsham	40+	1 mess., 1a. land	cow	Robert le Man, son – entered.
56	Man, Richard le	Free Walsham	50+	1a., 1r. land	none	Thomas le Man, son – unclaimed – granted to William Typtot.
57	Margery, Peter	Free Walsham	50+	1 free tenement	16½d. relief	John and Robert Margery, sons – entered.

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Estimated Age</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Heriot or fine</i>	<i>Heirs and disposal of land</i>
58	Meller, Isabel, spinster	Free Walsham	20	1 mess., 2½a. land	6d.	Robert Hereward, chaplain – entered.
59	Neve, Peter le	Free Walsham	50+	1 mess., 2½a. land	none	William Smyth, jun. – surrendered to the lord – granted to John Spileman.
60	Noreys, Walter	Free Walsham	40+	1 mess., 3a.2½r. land	cow	Walter Noreys (61), son – died.
61	Noreys, Walter, son of 60	Free Walsham	16+	1 mess., 3a.2½r. land	none	Heir unknown – granted to Roger Hamund.
62	Osbern, John	Free Walsham	33	1 cot-land, 2½a. land	2s.	Elyanora Osbern, kinswoman – entered.
63	Osbern, Walter	Free W & H	50+	1 pightle, 1a. customary land in High Hall 1 mess., 28a, land in Walsham	none stot	No heir came – High Hall land seized by the lord. Walsham land granted to Adam Pidelak for life. William and Thomas Kembald, grandsons, claimed and entered 1359.
64	Patyl, Agnes, wife of 73	Free Walsham	40+	Part of a tenement	filly	Robert and William Typtot, nephews – entered.
65	Patyl, Edmund, son of 66	Villein Walsham	20+	½ mess., 1a.1r. land	8d.	Walter Patyl (70), brother – died & Alice Patyl, sister – entered.
66	Patyl, John	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 1 tenement	cow	Alice Patyl, daughter – entered.
67	Patyl, Richard, son of Edmund	Villein Walsham	20+	½ mess., 1a. land	6d.	John Patyl, brother – entered.
68	Patyl, Richard, son of Bartholomew	Free Walsham	30+	½ mess., 1a.3r. land	stot	Richard Patyl, son – entered.
69	Patyl, Richard, son of Andrew	Free Walsham	50+	30a. land	stot	Matthew, bastard son, outlawed for felony – land escheat to the lord for life of Matthew – reversion to Richard, son of 68.
70	Patyl, Walter, son of 66	Villein Walsham	20+	1 tenement	ewe	Alice Patyl, sister – entered.
71	Patyl, William, brother of 68	Free Walsham	30+	½ mess., 1a.3r. land	wether	Richard, son of Richard Patyl (68) entered.
72	Patyl, William, son of Walter	Free Walsham	30+	1 mess., 2a.1½r.10p. land	cow	Cristina Patyl, sister – land seized because William in debt to the lord.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Estimated Age</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Heriot or fine</i>	<i>Heirs and disposal of land</i>
73	Patyl, William	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 1a. land	cow	Nicholas Patyl, son – entered.
74	Payn, Walter	Villein Walsham	40+	3 mess., 30a. land	mare	Robert Payn, son – entered.
75	Payn, Walter, son of Gcoffrey	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 5a. land	2s.	John and William Payn, sons – entered.
76	Payn, William, brother of 75	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 24a. land	mare	William and John Lene, grandsons – entered.
77	Peyntour, Simon	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Richard and John Peyntour, sons – Richard entered, John absent – his share granted to John Terwald.
78	Peyntour, Simon son of Peter	Villein Walsham	20+	$\frac{1}{2}$ tenement	} 3s.4d.	Alice Peyntour, sister – entered.
79	Peyntour, Simon, brother of 78	Villein Walsham	20+	$\frac{1}{2}$ tenement		
80	Pertre, Robert del	Free High H	50+	1a. land	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. relief	Richard del Pertre, son – entered.
81	Pynfoul, John	Villein Walsham	29	1 mess., 13a. land in Walsham 2a. customary land in High Hall	stot none	Hilary Pynfoul, aged 5, daughter – Walsham land granted to Adam le Syre until full age – High Hall land claimed and entered 1381.
82	Qualm, Katerina, sister of 64	Free Walsham	20+	Part of a tenement	cow	Robert and William Typtot, nephews – entered.
83	Qualm, Richard, uncle of 84	Villein Walsham	50+	Certain tenements	cow	Richard, son of Walter Qualm, kinsman – entered.
84	Qualm, Walter	Villein	35	2 mess., 4a. land	2s.	Richard, son of Walter Qualm, kinsman – entered.
85	Rampolye, Agnes wife of Robert	Villein Walsham	40+	1 mess., 14a. land	colt	Simon Rampolye, son – father to hold for life – heir entered 1362.
86	Rampolye, John, son of Simon	Villein Walsham	20+	One 6th mess., 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ a. land	cwe	Alice Rampolye, sister – entered.
87	Rampolye, John, son of Robert	Villein Walsham	20+	Certain tenements	cow	Simon Rampolye, brother – entered.
88	Rampolye, Roger brother of 86	Villein Walsham	20+	$\frac{1}{6}$ mess., 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ a. land	cwe	Alice Rampolye, sister – entered.

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Estimated Age</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Heriot or fine</i>	<i>Heirs and disposal of land</i>
89	Rampolye, Walter	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 4a. land	mare	Robert Rampolye, brother, 4 sons of William, brother (90) & Alice, daughter of Simon, brother – all entered except William (92).
90	Rampolye, William, brother of 89	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 1 tenement	cow	William (92), Robert, Walter and John, sons – all entered except William.
91	Rampolye, William, brother of 86 and 88	Villein Walsham	20+	$\frac{1}{2}$ mess., 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ a. land	cwe	Alice Rampolye, sister – entered.
92	Rampoyle, William, son of 90	Villein Walsham	30+	$\frac{1}{4}$ mess., $\frac{3}{4}$ a. land	6d.	John Rampolye, son – entered.
93	Sare, Idonca, wife of 94	Free Walsham	40+	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. land	waived	Robert Sare, son – entered.
94	Sare, Robert	Free High H	50+	Certain tenements	19d. relief	Robert Sare, son – entered.
95	Syre, John le	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 12a. land	cow	Adam le Syre, son – entered.
96	Syre, Walter le, brother of 95	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Adam le Syre, nephew – entered.
97	Syre, William le, brother of 95 and 96	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Adam le Syre, nephew – entered.
98	Smyth, William	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 1 tenement	mare	William Smyth, son – entered.
99	Spileman, Richard	Villein Walsham	40+	1 mess., 5a. land	cow	Amice Spileman, daughter – entered.
100	Springald, Robert	Villein Walsham	30+	1 mess., 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a. land	18d.	Isabel and Hilary de Stonham and Agnes Petyt, nieces, all under age – father to hold until full age of Isabel and Hilary – Agnes' share retained by the lord.
101	Springald, Walter, brother of 100	Villein Walsham	30+	$\frac{1}{2}$ mess., 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ a. land	wether	Robert Springald, son – entered.
102	Stonham, Agnes de, sister of 100 and 101	Villein Walsham	30+	2a. land	cow	Isabel and Hilary de Stonham, daughters, under age – father to hold for life.
103	Stronde, Roesia, sister of 93	Free Walsham	30+	$\frac{1}{4}$ mess., 5a. land	none	Robert Sare, nephew – entered.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Estimated Age</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Heriot or fine</i>	<i>Heirs and disposal of land</i>
104	Swan, Agnes, wife of William	Free Walsham	20+	Part of a mess., 1½r. land	none	John Swan, son – father to hold for life.
105	Taillour, John, son of 108	Villein Walsham	40+	2 cot-lands, 2a. meadow (jointly with 110)	cow	Land escheat to the lord because John and William, his son (110) were bastards.
106	Taillour, John, son of Robert	Villein Walsham	40+	1 tenement	none	Tenement of late wife, held by John for life, escheat to the lord because she was a bastard – granted to Alex Horn.
107	Taillour, Katerina, wife of 109	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Peter Taillour, son, Sarra Taillour, daughter of John (106) and John Taillour, grandson – entered.
108	Taillour, Peter	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	Alice Taillour, daughter and Alex Horn, grandson – entered.
109	Taillour, Robert	Villein Walsham	50+	1 tenement	cow	As for Katerina, his wife (107).
110	Taillour, William son of 105	Villein Walsham	20+	(see 105)	cow	Land escheat, as for 105.
111	Thelneham, Alice de	Free Walsham	30+	1r. land	none	Heir unknown – granted to John Terwald.
112	Typtot, Alice, sister of 64 and 82	Villein Walsham	40+	Part of a mess.	cow	Robert and William Typtot, nephews – entered.
113	Typtot, Cecilia wife of 114	Villein Walsham	40+	3a. land	cow	} Robert Typtot, son, aged 9 – entered 1360.
114	Typtot, John	Free Walsham	40+	1 mess., 5a. land	cow	
115	Warde, John, brother of 116	Villein Walsham	20+	½ mess., 8a. land	} 3s.4d.	Robert and William, sons of Peter Warde, kinsmen – entered.
116	Warde, John	Villein Walsham	20+	½ mess., 8a. land		
117	Wauncy, William	Villein Walsham	50+	1 mess., 1a., 1½r. land	none	John, Robert, Thomas, Walter and William Wauncy, nephews – John, Thomas and Walter entered.
118	Wyther, William	Villein Walsham	40+	1 mess., 5½a. land	mare	Heir unknown – granted to John Noble.
119	Wodebite, Margery	Villein High H	30+	½ mess., 4a. land	none	Agnes Rampolye, sister – entered.

NOTES

(All the MSS cited below are held in the Bury St Edmunds branch of the Suffolk Record Office, except where otherwise stated.)

- 1 HA 504/1/5, ff. 11,13,14,15; HA 504/1/2, f. 7; HA 504/1/5, f. 12.
- 2 Chicago University Library, Bacon Collection, 21.
- 3 HA 504/1/1 – 9.
- 4 HA 504/1/8, f. 5.
- 5 HA 504/3/3.
- 6 HA 504/1/3, f. 4. This court was at some time incorrectly assigned to 1 Edw. III instead of 31 Edw. I, and the membrane sewn into the roll accordingly.
- 7 HA 504/1/1, f. 17.
- 8 HA 504/5/1.
- 9 HA 504/1/5, f. 19.
- 10 HA 504/1/5, f. 23.
- 11 HA 504/1/6, f. 6.
- 12 HA 504/1/7, f. 13.
- 13 HA 504/1/7, f. 22.
- 14 HA 504/1/8, f. 5.
- 15 HA 504/1/9, f. 5. The 1361 fealty list for Walsham manor includes five tenants distrained to make fealty and four named in the 1355 High Hall rental; the 1375 list includes ten distrained and two named in the 1379 list; the 1391 list includes fourteen distrained. There are also two Subsidy returns, both covering the whole of Walsham, but these are lists of tax-payers and take no account of exemption, evasion etc., and do not therefore provide a sound basis for comparison with fealty lists and rentals. This is apparent in the 1327 Subsidy return, which lists only thirty payers, less so in that for 1283 with ninety.
- 16 HA 504/1/2, f. 7; HA 504/1/5, ff. 12,13,14.
- 17 HA 504/1/5, ff. 12,15.
- 18 HA 504/1/5, f. 17.
- 19 HA 504/1/5, f. 18.
- 20 HA 504/1/5, f. 21.
- 21 HA 504/3/3.
- 22 HA 504/3/1c. The account for 1385–86 (HA 504/3/2), also quoted by Dodd, is headed 'Wylasham' and its contents demonstrate that it relates not to Walsham but probably to Willisham.
- 23 HA 504/3/1b.
- 24 HA 504/1/5, f. 23.
- 25 HA 504/5/1.
- 26 HA 504/1/6, f. 8.
- 27 HA 504/1/5, f. 8.

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