

Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (Completed by Charles Parkin) Five Volume Edition, London (1775)

1. The new evidence is recorded in the return to a writ of *certiorari* from Chancery in which the earl of Oxford acting as a J.P. on 29th January, 1449, gave evidence, in Latin, of an entry by force ordered by Lord Moleyns into Gresham Castle, on the 28th of January. The English translation of this document (Public Record Office, K.B.9/262, no.40) is published here in the Appendix for the first time.
2. Blomefield IV, 119 ff. Gairdner, *Supplement*, xlvi and n.1.
3. Davis I. liii.
4. *ibid.* liv.
5. *ibid.* II no. 873.
6. *ibid.* I no. 39, 57.
7. *ibid.* I no. 36, 51 ff.
8. *ibid.* I no. 53.
9. *ibid.* II, no. 443, 28.
10. Appendix p. 306, 307.
11. Davis I, no. 132, 232.
12. *ibid.* no. 36, 52.
13. *ibid.* no. 131, 228 f.
14. *ibid.* nos. 131 and 132.
15. *ibid.* no. 132, 231.
16. *ibid.* no. 130, incorrectly dated, see text p.
17. See Appendix p. 306, 307.
18. Gairdner I, no. 82.
19. Davis II, no. 446.
20. *ibid.* no. 456.
21. *ibid.* no. 466.
22. Gairdner, *Supplement*, no. XIX, dated 1450. 11 November. Also Davis II, no. 618, dated 'Perhaps 1460, 11 November'. Gairdner's date can be proved correct.
23. Davis I, no. 39, 56 f.
24. *ibid.* no. 39, 58.
25. *ibid.* II, no. 458.
26. Gairdner, I, no. 158.
27. Davis II, no. 478.
28. Gairdner III, pp. 16, 17 and note i, showing sketch. See also Davis I, no. 264 and note 6.
29. Davis I, no. 150.
30. *ibid.* II, no. 444.
31. *ibid.* I, no. 130.
32. *ibid.* 134, 235.

ENGROSSING IN SHEEP-CORN-CHALK AREAS: EVIDENCE IN NORFOLK, 1530/1-1633¹

by K. B. Stride

Introduction

This paper is a partial response to a plea from Brian Outhwaite, who writing in February 1986 on 'Progress and Backwardness in English Agriculture, 1500-1650' posed several questions in reference to engrossing which need further attention. How, for example, do we overcome the problem of not being faced with a plethora of good historical examples, when comparing the process of engrossing within pastoral and arable areas? Should Dr. Spufford's work on three Cambridgeshire villages be cited so frequently in support of the Tawney tradition of engrossing? Why did engrossing vary from agricultural region to region? Can we not argue, that wherever

the population of a rural community grew appreciably there would be a strong probability that the number of small farms was growing rather than declining? Finally, does the growth of 'great whales' (large farms) encourage the development of 'little fishes' (small farms)?²

Through a study of a complete parish in Norfolk I hope to make a comparison with the findings of Dr. Spufford for the chalkland village of Chippenham, in an attempt to answer some, if not all, of these questions. After a brief general discussion of engrossing, my period will focus from 1530/1 to 1633.

Definitions of engrossing vary from 'amalgamating two or more farms to form bigger units' to 'the accumulation in the hands of one man and his family of agricultural holdings adequate to the maintenance of more than one family'.³ Whatever the definition, it seems plausible to suggest that engrossing permitted improvements in both profitability (for the owner of the newly enlarged farm) and efficiency. Contemporaries, of course, accused engrossing of depopulating the countryside since the process constituted the loss of a holding which could have supported a 'deserving' family.

Western Europe as a whole during the sixteenth century saw a widespread and rapid increase in population, in Great Britain especially after 1550, whilst at the same time, during the period 1530 to 1640 prices rose by a factor of five. It cannot be demonstrated that population rose faster than farm surpluses, but since there was a high demand for a limited resource, prices of agricultural goods rose more steeply than those for industrial goods.

Substantial profits could be made from farming, and an active land market favoured the 'capitalist' farmers, and the concentration of lands in fewer hands. In other words, whatever the cause, the occurrence of a century and a half of inflation, coupled with an attendant decline in the purchasing power of wages, provided an opportunity for certain sectors of the population to increase their landholding and their profitability.⁴

Thus the important variable for engrossing is the state of the land market, which itself is determined by such economic factors as population growth, prices, and the amount of uncultivated land available. Local studies, which have arrived at some remarkable results have increasingly borne this out, often refuting previous generalisations.⁵

By taking Dr. Spufford's findings in three Cambridgeshire villages it soon becomes apparent that other factors such as soil are important determinants on the pace and extent of engrossing.⁶

... In Chippenham, a chalkland village, a survey of 1544 revealed that only two of the forty-five landholding tenants held above 90 acres of free or copyhold land, but by 1636 six of them did so. In Orwell, a clayland village, there were three tenants with copyholds of more than 44 acres in 1607, but four of them by 1627. Even in the fen village of Willingham the numbers holding the largest units tended to grow: five held above 26 acres in 1575, nine in 1603.⁷

Thus we have three villages from three different agricultural regions, in which the number of large tenants increased during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The implications of this trend with regard to engrossing are significant.

... In Chippenham, those holding one half-yardland (approximately 15 acres) or less did indeed fall — from ten in 1544 to three in 1636. But in Orwell they rose from 26 to 39 between 1607 and 1627, whilst in Willingham 57 out of 62 tenants held a half-yardland or less in 1575, with 49 out of 58 still doing so in 1603, and 97 out of 105 were holding this amount by the 1720s. It is almost as if the growth of great whales encouraged the development of little fishes.⁸

More importantly, in Chippenham, the

... middle range of sixteenth-century holdings, from a half yardland, or approximately fifteen

acres, to one and a half yardlands, or forty-five odd acres, had, with one single exception disappeared completely.⁹

These findings are extremely interesting since Chippenham illustrates the decline of the small farmer on the chalk as a result of engrossing at a much earlier period than previously thought, whilst Orwell and Willingham witnessed the growth of the small farmer rather than his demise in this early period.

Seeking an explanation for the early demise of the small farmer in Chippenham, Dr. Spufford concluded that the reasons for change were economic rather than legal. Looking for a correlation between sales of land and poor harvest years, it was not possible for her to do a blanket analysis since the court rolls were incomplete, and to have done so would have given a crude correlation since the effects of poor harvests are likely to be delayed due to borrowing and credit facilities. Nonetheless, the peak sales were in the mid-1560s which might well reflect the long run effects of the dearth of 1555 and 1556, combined with the poor harvests of 1558 and 1563.¹⁰ Furthermore, looking at the group of five holdings between a half-yardland and one-and-a-half yardlands, at least parts of three were sold in 1598, the very year following four bad harvests. Therefore, Dr. Spufford's argument is that grain prices exposed the middling men on the chalk to just those pressures outlined by Abel.¹¹ Since Orwell and Willingham saw no engrossing on the same scale within this early period, clearly regional variations are of great significance.

West Raynham, Norfolk

The entire substratum of the county of Norfolk is chalk, with the exception of a small portion on the borders of Marshland. In the west, this is overlain by thin, sandy and flinty loam soils. In the central areas there is much chalky boulder clay, whilst in the east lighter loams, drift sands and gravels predominate.¹² The parish of West Raynham is in north-west Norfolk, where the thinness of these topsoils is clearly indicated by the present day chalk pit.

Agriculturally,

... If the Broads and Fens are excluded, an Open Field, sheep-corn husbandry can be discerned over about two-thirds of the county, in the later Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. The other third ... may appropriately be called the Wood-Pasture Region with its heavier and inherently more fertile soils.¹³

According to M. R. Postgate, exchanges of land did occur as a preliminary to piecemeal enclosure, but this was a slow and cumbersome process. J. Spratt in his thesis 'Agrarian Conditions in Norfolk and Suffolk 1600-1650' noticed that the distribution of large and small holdings varied a good deal, although he concluded that in north-west Norfolk between about 1600 and 1650,

... The greater part by far of the productive soil of the district was in the use of the large cultivators, and it appeared that the tendency was for the large-scale producer to swallow up the small occupiers.¹⁴

But in order to make a valid comparison with Dr. Spufford's findings for Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, to assess the effects of the 1590s agricultural crises, a comparison must be made using surveys predating and postdating the turn of the century.

The statistics of the parish registers for West Raynham, 1538-1826, show the population of the parish increasing until at least 1660; with the rising birthrate not being matched by the marriage and death rates. Thus if engrossing was occurring, people were possibly becoming wage-labourers or leaving the parish out of necessity and moving into the towns, as indeed was the general trend in both Norfolk and Suffolk during this period.¹⁵

The following analysis of West Raynham portrays changes in occupation rather than complete areas being farmed by individuals since no evidence is available for subtenancies.¹⁶ It is based on a terrier of 1570, a map of 1633, and two surveys of 1530/1 and the late sixteenth century. No specific date can be attached to the latter survey, but comparison of tenants' names and the parish register shows it is dateable to between 1584 and 1593.¹⁷

Both the 1570 terrier and the map of 1633 cover approximately 1090 acres, whereas the two surveys of 1530/1 and 1584/93 only cover approximately 640 acres. Since it has proved possible to identify a large proportion of *quarentinae* (furlongs) over the whole period an analysis has been possible between all four dates. This is mainly within two limited areas (see Fig. 1) and thus often individuals' complete holdings within the parish are not portrayed. However, given that the results for these areas confirm the general trend illustrated by the following comparison between 1570 and 1633 for the entire parish, any distortion appears to be minimal.¹⁸

1570-1633

The most obvious change was the loss of fifteen tenants with their complete holdings within the sixty-three years examined. Over half of these appear to have farmed five acres or less since four of the virtually landless (defined as holding less than one acre) disappeared and five farming between one and five acres sold out.¹⁹ A study of the tenants' names confirms that none amassed holdings of more than six acres.

Little occurred within the parish for those holding between six and thirty acres; whilst the thirty-one to fifty acre bracket witnessed a dramatic drop in both numbers and total acreage, as did the fifty-one to a hundred acre category. Changes in holdings of over one hundred acres consisted of the loss of one tenant and the dramatic increase in the lord's demesne from 24.8 per cent to 65.3 per cent of the total acreage. This occurred in the main at the expense of the medium to large tenants/owners which economically made sense since it would have been easier to amass land from several large holdings than many small ones.

Generally Townshend (lord of the manor, and owner of Raynham house and park) increased his holding considerably within each *quarentina*, often entering after 1570, and sometimes even consolidating the complete *quarentina* under his ownership. Often the new land within his estate previously belonged to various other manors thus implying that the Townshend family were either buying up manors so that the demesne lands of these manors entered their own estate, or they were simply buying up manors and then evicting the copyhold tenants, thereby increasing the percentage of demesne land. The latter of course would have caused great distress within the parish. However, 195 acres of the increase, from 270 acres 3¼ roods to 713 acres ¾ rood, did come from various individuals.

The 1570 terrier lacks any christian names which makes it rather difficult to identify individuals gaining or losing acreage over the period. However, it is possible tentatively to suggest that at least three families increased their holdings over the period whilst a further three lost acreage but did not completely sell out. Apart from the four rectors who roughly maintained their holdings one further family maintained theirs at 23 acres 1 rood. Additionally, of course, there was the complete loss of fifteen tenants.

In the following analyses of two limited areas within the parish these changes are outlined in more detail. Holdings are therefore not necessarily complete holdings.

1530/1-1570

By using a 45 per cent coverage of the 1570 terrier a 74.6 per cent coverage is achieved for the 1530/1 survey; an area defined as Limited Area One within this paper.

Between 1530/1 and 1570 within this area some quite dramatic changes occurred; most notably the reduction in number of tenants despite the slight increase in acreage surveyed. Table One highlights these changes.²⁰

Surprisingly, Townshend appears to have reduced his holding from 37.5 per cent (176a 1½r) to 28.6 per cent (140a 1½r) of the total acreage surveyed.²¹

Over the period there was the loss of three tenants despite an increase of twenty acres in the area surveyed. Little change occurred amongst the virtually landless, whilst there was the loss of three tenants in the one to five acre bracket, although a reduction of only eight acres one rood, implying an average increase in the size of the remaining holdings. There was the loss of one tenant within the eleven to twenty acre bracket, but more significantly, within the twenty-one to thirty acre bracket there was the loss of three tenants and sixty-four acres two roods. However, this would appear to be due to upward mobility since two new farms were created within the thirty-one to fifty acre group with seventy-seven acres between them, and one tenant holding fifty-seven acres two and a half roods (Thomas Trumpe) in the fifty-one to a hundred acre group.

**Table One — Tenantry of West Raynham, 1530/1-1570
Limited Area One (a)**

<i>Landed Tenantry</i>	<i>1530/1</i>				<i>1570</i>			
	NT	%	A	%	NT	%	A	%
B 1-5 acres	21	48	(46a 2r)	10	*18	44	(38a 1r)	9
C 6-10a.	2	5	(15a 1½r)	3	2	5	(16a 3½r)	3
D 11-20a.	4	9	(54a 3r)	12	3	7	(47a ½r)	9
E 21-30a.	7	16	(172a 2½r)	37	*4	10	*(108a ½r)	22
F 31-50a.	0	/	(/)	/	*2	5	*(77a)	16
G 51-100a.	0	/	(/)	/	*1	2	*(57a 2½r)	12
H 101a. +	1	2	(176a 1½r)	37	1	2	(140a 1½r)	28
Sub-Total	35	80	(465a 2½r)	99	31	75	(485a 1½r)	99
<i>V. Landless</i>								
A Under 1a.	9	20	(4a ½r)	1	10	25	(4a 3½r)	1
Total	44	100	(469a 3r)	100	41	100	(490a 1r) ^b	100

Key

NT Number of Tenants

A Acreage

* Significant Change

(a) Explanation:- Column One shows the number of tenants holding land within the relevant acreages. Column Two shows the number entered in column one expressed as a percentage of the total number of tenants included in the survey. Column Three shows the acreage held by tenants in column one when combined, whilst Column Four shows this expressed as a percentage of the total acreage under examination. The table has been constructed on a similar basis to tables 14 and 21 from pages 408 and 416/17 respectively, when combined, of Dr. Kerridge's thesis. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Kerridge for allowing me to cite his thesis.

I have extracted the virtually landless (V. Landless) since they make no difference to land distribution as such, although of course, they are vital for any analysis of social structures.

(b) Within the complete parish these forty-one tenants held 878 acres ¾ roods.

Indeed, Thomas Trumpe seemed to be the main engrosser in Limited Area One within this period increasing his holding from twenty acres two and a half roods to fifty-seven acres and two and a half roods.²² Interestingly, if Thomas's acreage of 1530/1 is added to all the other land held within the Trumpe family at that date, a cumulative total of fifty-seven acres is arrived at. Therefore it is extremely likely that he increased his holding (at first) by consolidating all the land held within the Trumpe family.

However, Thomas was not the only Trumpe holding land in 1570, since there was another engrosser by the name of Robert Trumpe who held thirty-three acres three and a half roods within this limited area.²³ Clearly this particular holding was formed through the consolidation of at least two former holdings since no similar acreage for one tenant can be found in 1530/1.

Purely by studying this area of approximately 480 acres within the parish of West Raynham it would appear that engrossing was in process during the period 1530/1-1570, well before the agricultural crises of the 1590s. Interestingly, the average price of arable grains jumped from 187 to 348 in the decades 1540-9 and 1550-9 respectively (1450-99 equalling 100), implying a crisis within this period of comparison. In Chippenham, as a result of borrowing and credit facilities this led to peak sales of land in the mid-1560s. This would appear to have occurred in West Raynham, and significantly follows a jump in the number of burials within the parish during the 1540s and 1550s.

1570-1584/93

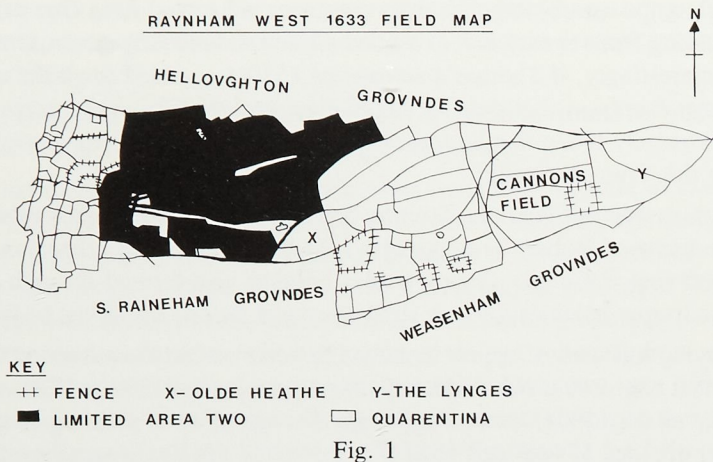
Within the same area some significant changes occurred in this later period, resulting in the loss of eight tenants. The fifty-one to a hundred acre group was relatively stable, whilst in the hundred acre plus group the lord's demesne increased from 28.6 per cent to 48.4 per cent of the total acreage. Indeed, Townshend engulfed within his demesne land previously listed as being held by the manors of Ingleshorpe, and Scales, and the College of Pontefract.

The arch engrosser, Thomas Trumpe, had died in 1584 but sixty-two acres of land was still listed in the survey for this particular area as formerly belonging to him. According to the Court Rolls for 1575-90 all his houses and lands in West and South Raynham should have gone to Nicholas Baldwyn and Agnes his daughter, and yet in the complete survey for 1584/93 Nicholas Baldwyn was entered as only holding twelve acres one and a half roods, whilst no mention is made of him or Peter, and John Trumpe, Thomas's sons, in the later 1633 map. By then it is at least possible to confirm that the Trumpe family holdings in West Raynham had gone to the lord of the manor.²⁴

The one to five acre group witnessed the loss of four tenants although the reduction in total acreage was only five acres, one and a half roods. However, I. Far, for instance, doubled his holding from two acres one and a half roods to four acres two and a half roods; whilst Beckham's holding, for example, of three acres half a rood in 1570 appears to have completely gone by 1584/93.

There was no change in holdings of between six and twenty acres, whilst those holding between twenty-one and fifty acres seem to have fared badly. Both the twenty-one to thirty acre group and the thirty-one to fifty acre group halved in number; whilst the former also lost half of its total acreage.

No dramatic increase in the virtually landless occurred within this area between 1530/1 and 1584/93. Since the population of the parish was increasing at the time, this tends to suggest not only an increase in distress but also the possibilities of increased wage labour, and emigration (forced?) away from the parish to John Patten's towns.²⁵



1584/93-1633

Since it has not been possible positively to identify the same *quarantinae* as used for the above comparisons on the 1633 map, it has proved necessary to identify another limited area, Limited Area Two, in which a comparison can be made for the period 1584/93 to 1633 (see Fig. 1). Despite representing only 43 per cent of the total arable acreage on the map, this area does include 69.3 per cent of the late sixteenth century survey, although, of course, since this again is only a limited area within the parish the acreages analysed are not always complete holdings.²⁶

The land formerly held by Thomas Trumpe appears to have gone to Townshend (hence the loss of the single tenant in the fifty-one to a hundred acre group) who once again increased his holding from 47.7 per cent to 64.1 per cent of the total acreage surveyed (hence the increase from 218 acres 2 roods to 302 acres within the hundred and one plus acre group).

Amongst the landed tenantry six tenants were lost within this period, half of which seem to have previously held between six and ten acres, and a further two of between one and five acres. Changes within the latter group prove interesting since there was an actual increase in the total acreage held by the remaining thirteen tenants implying an increase in the average holding within this category.

Changes between eleven and thirty acres prove to be of little significance; whilst the holding of forty-nine acres one and a half roods by the late Robert Staple in 1633 increases the total acreage for the thirty-one to fifty acre category by twelve acres and two and a half roods. Interestingly, Henry Staple held thirty-six acres three roods in 1584/93, the land previously held by Robert Trumpe, but it has not proved possible to establish whether this land then went to the late Robert Staple or Townshend directly.²⁷

Surprisingly the virtually landless were stable in number, despite the 1590s agricultural crises, although they did experience a reduction in their total acreage.

Engrossing therefore was clearly still in progress between 1584/93 and 1633 within this area. Although it has not been possible to link Henry Staple and the late Robert Staple it seems very likely that the latter accumulated land from others since there was no comparable holding in 1584/93. Likewise, William Stanford's holding of one acre two roods in 1584/93 was passed to his son, another William, and had increased to fifteen acres and half a rood by 1633 within this area.²⁸ This appears to have been the same pattern for Peter Stringer, whose holding grew from six acres two roods to ten acres. These may appear to be but minor changes, but when

compared with the plight of various other individuals such as Thomas Moniment and William Hygrene who both lost land, or the many tenants who either lost or completely died out, they are significant within themselves, especially given the recent agricultural crises and the lord's reconstruction of his demesne.

1530/1-1633

It is possible to identify the underlying trends within these limited areas over the whole period 1530/1 to 1633 by using Limited Area Two. Again, we are not examining complete holdings.

Since only fifteen tenants were lost within the complete parish 1570 to 1633, and yet seventeen within Limited Area Two, 1530/1-1633, it would appear that proportionately the greatest loss of tenants in West Raynham occurred between 1530/1 and 1570, and thus not as a result of the agricultural crises of the 1590s but of the 1550s.²⁹

Within this limited area the lord's demesne has increased from 37.6 per cent in 1530/1 to 64.1 per cent in 1633 of the total acreage surveyed. He has of course by 1633 engulfed all the lands previously listed as belonging to the manors of Scales, Kipton, and Inglethorpe, and the College of Pontefraet, and numerous other individuals, including it would appear the land previously held by the Trumpe family. Indeed, the Townshend family emerges as the leading agent of change within the parish, the building of their demesne being the outstanding sixteenth century development.

Other changes in size of holdings within this area and period confirm the general trend outlined within this paper; as do further comparisons within these areas for all four dates; and the complete surveys for 1530/1 and 1584/93.

Conclusion

Despite the 1530/1 and late sixteenth century surveys only covering approximately 57.5 per cent of the area surveyed in both 1570 and 1633, changes along the following lines clearly occurred within the parish of West Raynham.

Most importantly, there was a dramatic reduction in the number of tenants occupying arable land within the parish. Since the population of the parish was rising this can only mean that an increasing majority of the inhabitants within this period migrated, or became tenants of the Townshends' enlarged demesne, or became wage-labourers. Undoubtedly from the 1630s onwards employment opportunities within the house and park at Raynham itself were increasing since both were being recreated on a large scale given the rising status of the Townshend family.

Throughout the period post 1570 the virtually landless decreased in number which again tends to stress the importance of emigration and wage labour in West Raynham. Generally those holding less than five acres decreased in number, whilst holdings between six and thirty acres decreased or remained static.

Changes between thirty-one to fifty acres often differed from area to area suggesting that trends were not always uniform throughout the complete parish. The fifty-one to a hundred acre holdings at first increased in both number and acreage (although at no time did any of the engrossers, such as Thomas Trumpe, have holdings as large as the arch engrosser in Chippenham, Thomas Dillamore³⁰) and were then consolidated within the lord's demesne.

By 1633 the Townshend family had recreated their demesne to cover an area larger than that surveyed in total in the 1530/1 survey. This in the main appeared to be at the expense of other manors and in this respect West Raynham clearly reflected the general trend of tenurial practice in Norfolk.³¹

Despite Townshend reducing his holding within the limited area comparison for 1530/1 to 1570, small tenants of between one and five acres still lost out and upward mobility occurred outward of the twenty-one to thirty acre group. Furthermore, comparison between changes in holdings for the entire parish 1570 to 1633 with changes in Limited Area Two, 1530/1-1633 has shown that proportionately the greatest loss of tenants in West Raynham occurred between 1530/1 and 1570.³²

Since part of the growth of holdings would likely have occurred on land formerly uncultivated rather than from existing farmland, it is not always possible to establish a direct link between population pressure and the rate of engrossing. However, in both West Raynham and Chippenham there was no increase in the number of small farms or 'little fishes' when defined as one to twenty acres in size, although the latter had a relatively stable population.³³ Therefore, it is extremely difficult to support Dr. Outhwaite's suggestion that generally a rising population was likely to have caused a proliferation of small farmers, at least in chalk-sheep-corn areas. Likewise, the growth of 'great whales' in both West Raynham and Chippenham did not encourage the development of 'little fishes.'

Generally changes in West Raynham are similar to those in Chippenham. Since both holdings of less than five acres, and those between six and thirty acres in West Raynham either decreased or remained static change was similar to changes in Chippenham given the reduction of holdings of less than forty-five acres. Likewise, clearly Chippenham lost its middle holdings, whilst in West Raynham if the changes in holdings of between thirty-one and fifty acres are combined with the fifty-one to a hundred acre group which witnessed between 1530/1 and 1570 a rise in medium-sized holdings and their complete loss post 1570, a picture of decline is arrived at for medium-sized holdings.

Despite these similarities Dr. Spufford's Chippenham findings should not, for the following reasons, be taken as a generalisation of changes in land-holding on chalk-sheep-corn landscape within this early period. Firstly, Chippenham experienced the arrival of several individuals with holdings of over ninety acres, whilst in the main the parish of West Raynham only witnessed the dramatic reconstruction of the lord's demesne. This however did not occur until the end of the seventeenth century in Chippenham. Secondly, changes in West Raynham have proved to have been more radical in an earlier period than that experienced in Chippenham. Finally, how 'typical' are these changes, not only in Chippenham, but also in West Raynham? Clearly, 'there is (still) much to be done by future generations of research students to answer basic questions about the changing efficiency with which our forbears cropped their fields'.³⁴

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1. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Margaret Spufford for the great encouragement she has offered me in the research for, and writing of, my dissertation, and this article.
2. R. B. Outhwaite, 'Progress and Backwardness in English Agriculture, 1500-1650', *Economic History Review*, (EHR), 2, xxxix, i, (1986), 1-18. Tawney concluded that the sixteenth century witnessed the growth of large farms at the expense of small ones. R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, (1912).
3. G. E. Fussell and M. Compton, 'Agricultural Adjustments after the Napoleonic Wars', *Economic History*, (EH), iii, iv, (1939), 184-204. I. H. Adams, *Agrarian Landscape Terms: a glossary for Historical Geography*, Institute of British Geographers Special Publications, 9, (1976), 194.
4. E. H. Phelps-Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables compared with Builders' Wage Rates', in E. M. Carus-Wilson (ed.), *Essays in Economic History, II*, (1962), 189. W. Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe. From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, (1980).
5. For earlier generalisations see, for example, Tawney; A. H. Johnson, *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner*, (1909); H. J. Habakkuk, 'English Landownership 1680-1740', *EHR*, x, (1940). For a more detailed analysis of

- changes in landholding within chalk areas see E. Kerridge, 'The Agrarian Development of Wiltshire, 1540-1640', Unpublished PhD thesis, London Univ., (1951), Chpt. vi.
6. M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities. English Villages in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*, CUP, (1974), 58-167.
 7. Outhwaite, 11.
 8. Outhwaite, 11.
 9. Spufford, 69.
 10. Spufford, 78-85.
 11. Abel argued that if the crop failed the larger farms benefited the most financially whilst if there was a good harvest the largest cash revenue relating to a normal harvest would occur with the smaller farms. Abel, 10-12.
 12. H. B. Woodward, *The Geology of Soils and Substrata, with special reference to Agriculture, Estates, and Sanitation*, (1912), 238-9.
 13. K. J. Allison, 'The Sheep-Corn Husbandry of Norfolk in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Agricultural History Review*, (AHR), v, (1957), 12. See also M. R. Postgate, 'Field Systems of East Anglia' in A. R. H. Baker and R. A. Butlin (eds), *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles*, CUP, (1973), 281-324.
 14. Postgate, 308, J. Saltmarsh and H. C. Darby, 'The Infield-Outfield System on a Norfolk Manor', *EH*, iii, (1934/7). M. R. Postgate, 'The Field Systems of Breckland', *AHR*, x, ii, (1962), 89. J. Spratt, 'Agrarian Conditions in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1600-1650', Unpublished MA thesis, London Univ., (1935), 197.
 15. Norfolk Record Office (NRO), PD 371/17. J. Patten, studying the three East Anglian towns of Norwich, Great Yarmouth, and Ipswich, concluded that 'migration appeared generally to have been densest from the immediate surroundings of these towns; from other, smaller towns in the region; and from areas with which they had a special link, such as similar manufacturing interests. It could also be marked from areas of high population and low agricultural or manufacturing opportunities.' J. Patten, 'Patterns of Migration and Movement of Labour to three pre-industrial East Anglian Towns', in J. Patten (ed), *Pre-Industrial England. Geographical Essays*, Chatham, (1979), 143, 161.
 16. Nesta Evans has argued that sub-tenancies may well have been less common in open-field districts and in sheep-corn husbandry areas than in enclosed pasture farming regions. N. Evans, 'Field Books and Surveys', Appendix III to the ESRC end-of-grant report on *The Study of a North Norfolk Coastal Community: Stiffkey 1560-1630*, East Anglia, (1979/81), 44-46. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Hassell Smith for allowing me the use of this report.
 17. N.R.O. BL.33. This map has been dated '1617' by an eighteenth century hand. However, Dr. Hassell Smith having worked on changes in the river boundary of the East Raynham park has suggested it may have been surveyed in 1633. A similar map for Helhoughton, dated 1633 is available. It does therefore seem quite likely that the '1617' was added by the eighteenth century annotation because the writer knew Sir Roger Townshend succeeded in that year.
 18. In 1845 the parish was assessed at 1370 acres. W. White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk*, 2nd edn., Wiltshire, (1969), 657. An East Anglian field division (some idea of the size a 'quarentina' might attain is given by a report that men ploughed straight for 12 furlongs at Northwold during the Middle Ages, mentioned by Sir Philip Shippam in 1671, *Norfolk Archaeology*, (NA), xxii, (1929), 176). See also Postgate, 290-92. Both surveys of 1530/1 and 1584/93 are contained within the same manuscript, N.R.O. MS 1489.
 19. 1570 terrier:- N.R.O. MS 1491. It seems appropriate to use the same categories of landholding as Spratt in his thesis.
 20. Due to the constraints of space it has not been possible to include any further tables. See K. B. Stride, 'Engrossing in Sheep-Corn-Chalk Areas: Wiltshire and Norfolk, 1530-1641', Unpublished Dip. Hist. Studies thesis, Cambridge Univ., (1987), 68, 75, 80, 87, 93.
 21. Possibly this can be accounted for by the increase in the amount of land held by the Manor of Scales, which in itself is rather surprising since by the late sixteenth century no land was held in West Raynham by this manor. In 1537/8 Scales Manor was granted to Roger Townshend. Anon., *History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk*, Norwich, v, (1781), 109-10. In 1543 Ingelthorpe's Manor was sold to Sir Roger Townshend. *History*, (1781), 93. Roger Townshend, son of Sir Roger Townshend, was 'possessed' of the Manor of Kipton in 1564/5. F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, V, Norwich, (1769), 1024. See also Blomefield, 808-831.
 22. The holdings of 1530/1 and 1570 are held by the same Thomas Trumpe who died fourteen years later in 1584 on the 17th March (N.R.O. PD 371/1-4 on MF/PR/44B+C).
 23. Robert Trumpe died on 2nd December, 1589 (N.R.O. PD 371/1-4 on MF/PR/44B+C) leaving all his lands and houses to Henry Staple (N.R.O. PD 371/9), an individual appearing in the 1584/93 survey.
 24. N.R.O. MS 1437.
 25. See above, p.310 and n.15.
 26. Within Limited Area Two, in 1633 twenty-six tenants held 471 acres 1½ roods, whilst within the complete parish they held 941 acres 1¾ roods.

27. See above, p.313.
28. The first William Stanford was born 20th March 1555, whilst his son was born 22nd October 1594 (N.R.O. MF/PR/44B+C).
29. Limited Area One for this earlier period only recorded the loss of three tenants (see above, p.9.). However, this may be attributed to the relative proportions of the parish actually being examined.
30. Spufford, 69.
31. Postgate, 306.
32. See above, pp.7, 10, 13.
33. Spufford, 62.
34. Outhwaite, 18.

QUEEN ELIZABETH I AND NORWICH CATHEDRAL

by Marion Colthorpe

Visitors to Norwich Cathedral who enter the cloister can see a number of large coloured coats of arms on one of the walls. The following explanatory inscription is nearby:

The coats of arms on the north wall are those of descendants in blood or in office of those who dined in the north walk in August 1578. The arms of the ancestors were painted on the wall and were washed out in the Civil War.

This dinner in August 1578 is explained in guide-books to the Cathedral as an event which took place during Queen Elizabeth I's celebrated visit to Norwich in that month. For example, a description of the Cathedral by a former Dean of Norwich says that the north walk:

was the scene of a famous banquet in 1578, when Queen Elizabeth I visited Norwich. It still displays the arms of those who entertained her ...¹

The description of the cloister in the *Historical Guide* to the Cathedral published by the Dean and Chapter gives the following detailed explanation, which identifies the coats of arms:

Queen Elizabeth I visited Norwich in 1578 and dined here. The most important guests had their arms painted on the wall to commemorate the event. By the 1930s these had vanished, but it was suggested that the descendants of the original guests or the holders of the same office might repeat the gesture. The present series, from east to west is: Earl of Leicester, Bacon, Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hastings, Queen Mary (wife of George V), Queen Elizabeth I, Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, Salisbury, Duke of Norfolk, Hobart.²

The Dean of Norwich at the time of the restoration work on the cloister (1935-38) wrote a description of each bay of the four walks, beginning with the north walk, 'which is specially interesting, as being the scene in 1578 of a banquet to Queen Elizabeth'. The Dean gave the names of those persons or organizations at whose expense each bay was restored, explaining why the present coats of arms in the north walk came to be decided upon.³

It is intriguing to think that a 'famous banquet' once took place in the north walk, for the north walk of a cathedral cloister, (or indeed any part of a cathedral), would seem to be an unusual place in which to hold any dinner or banquet, let alone one attended by a reigning monarch. Apart from the wider issue of the propriety of such a location for a secular feast, one is bound to query the practicality of the location (the logistics of the exercise, as it were). Moreover, a cloister is open to the rain and wind which are only too common in many English summers, and the week of Queen Elizabeth I's own visit was marred by bad weather which caused several outdoor entertainments planned for her to be cancelled or curtailed.⁴ Yet in spite of its manifest disadvantages the Cathedral cloister was apparently the place chosen for a dinner attended by the Queen and by a bevy of distinguished guests. It seems such a strange place to