

Kent, Essex and Suffolk, including the manors of Downhall in Rayleigh, Essex, Ramsden and Stanway in the same county, and Castelyns manor in Groton, Suffolk.<sup>85</sup> Robert continued to hold these properties by courtesy after her death until he died in 1420. He was buried at Ramsden.<sup>86</sup> He left a second wife, Eleanor, three sons and a daughter. Thomas, the eldest son by his first wife, inherited the bulk of the lands of his mother and had his main seat at Stanway. The second son, John, inherited Groton and lands in Essex, including the manor of Shenfield, but these reverted to his brother on his death without heirs in 1450.<sup>87</sup>

Thomas Knyvett of Stanway, esquire, sold some of his Essex lands in 1430 but remained a substantial land-owner.<sup>88</sup> He married twice but both his wives pre-deceased him and in his will made on 4 October 1458 and proved on 21 July 1459, he asked to be buried between them.<sup>89</sup> He settled the Groton estate and Downhall in Rayleigh upon his second son, Nicholas; the third son, Robert, was a priest. Nicholas must have died without heirs for the whole estate was in the hands of his elder brother, John, at the latter's death in 1479.<sup>90</sup>

John Knyvett of Stanway, esquire, apparently married first Margaret, daughter of Richard Banyard, but his will, made on 10 February 1477 but not proved until 1486, mentions his wife, Joan, and four sons.<sup>91</sup> He left life estates and rent-charges to his younger sons and his wife but all his lands, either in immediate possession or reversion, to his eldest son, Thomas. Thomas, however, died three months after his father, so the eventual heir was Edward, Thomas's son by his wife, Elena, daughter of William Lunsford by Thomasine, daughter of Thomas Barrington of Rayleigh, Essex.<sup>92</sup> By this time Lunsford was dead and Thomasine had re-married to John Hopton of Blythburgh.<sup>93</sup>

Edward Knyvett, the heir, was born at Yoxford, one of the Hopton manors in 1466, John Hopton and his son, William, being among his godparents.<sup>94</sup> Though his wardship was granted to Sir Thomas Montgomery he seems to have been mainly brought up in the household of his grandmother, Thomasine Hopton, and to have been much favoured by her: he was a legatee and chief executor of her will when she died in 1497/8.<sup>95</sup> He had livery of his estates in December 1487 and was probably already married to Anne Calthorpe.<sup>96</sup> She bore him two daughters but died early and Edward re-married Katherine, daughter of Sir Henry Marney in 1499; Edward himself died in 1501.<sup>97</sup> By his will he left all his household goods and most of his other chattels to his wife but 'a great tapestry coverlet with the story of Saint John the Baptist' was bequeathed to his surviving daughter, Elizabeth, when she arrived at the age of sixteen years. It was left as an heirloom and if she died without heirs it was to revert to the right heirs of Sir John Knyvett, knight, (presumably the judge) 'according to the tenor, form and effect of the testament and last will of the said Sir John Knyvett'.<sup>98</sup> Elizabeth, only eleven years old at her father's death, was already contracted to John Raynsford, but she died childless in 1508 when her heirs were her father's sisters.<sup>99</sup> The Knyvett lands thus passed from the family but Edward's will mentions 'Robert and Richard Knyvett', probably his uncles, so the branch may have lasted into the sixteenth century, though nothing has been discovered of them or any possible descendants.

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1. See A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court* (Oxford, 1974), p.52 etc. Short biographies of several members of the family appear in the relevant volumes of *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509-1558* ed. S.T. Bindoff, 3 vols. (1984); *The House of Commons, 1558-1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler, 3 vols. (1982).
2. *Ibid.*; *The Knyvett Letters, 1603-1627* ed. B. Schofield (Norfolk Record Society vol.xx, 1949); *The Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston 1603-1627*, ed. R. Hughey (Norfolk Record Society, vol.xiv, 1941). A collection of sixteenth-century Knyvett letters is in Norfolk Record Office, Knyvett-Wilson Papers, KNY 590-811.

3. For a full discussion of this painting see Andrew Martindale, 'The Ashwellthorpe Triptych' in *Early Tudor England*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1989), pp.107-23.
4. An outstanding example of a biographical study of a fifteenth-century gentleman is C. Richmond, *John Hopton*, (Cambridge, 1981). Dr Richmond will shortly be publishing a book on the fifteenth-century Pastons.
5. See below. Collections of documents to illustrate their hereditary claims are now in the Norfolk Record Office: Knyvett-Wilson Papers, 812-30 etc.; Ms.20536.
6. N.R.O., Rye Ms.22 — printed and discussed in F.V. Duleep Singh, 'The Knyvett Family', *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, ed. W. Rye, 2nd. ser.iii (1908), pp.80-87.
7. *Ibid.*: N.R.O., KNY 874.
8. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry III*, no.10.
9. *Feudal Aids*, iv.23; *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem Edward II*, vol.v, no.249.
10. *Return of the Name of Every Member of . . . Parliament*, Parliamentary Papers, lxii (1878), i, 115, 121.
11. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Northampton*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, vol.vi (1984), pp.137-9.
12. E. Foss, *The Judges of England*, (9 vols. London, 1848-64), iii, 451-3.
13. By 1350 Knyvett was receiving retaining fees from Ramsey Abbey, where Thorpe was the Abbot's chief legal adviser — J.R. Maddicott, *Law and Lordship: Royal Justices as Retainers in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century England*, (Past and Present Society, 1978), pp.56-7.
14. *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem 1-7 Richard II*, nos.364-72.
15. N.R.O., KNY 862.
16. *Historical Monuments . . . Northampton*, vi, 137-40.
17. *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem 1-7 Richard II*, nos.364-72.
18. *Complete Peerage*, ii, 11-13; *Calendar Inquisitions Post Mortem 7-15 Richard II*, nos.707-11.
19. See Appendix.
20. He was said to be 23 years and more at his father's inquisition and 30 and more at his mother's. For his marriage see F. Blomefield and C. Parkin, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, (2nd ed. 11 vols., 1805-10), vi, 170; *Cal. Close Rolls 1374-7*, pp.509-11; *Victoria County History of Huntingdonshire*, iii, 67.
21. *Complete Peerage*, ii, 11-13; *Cal. Fine Rolls 1405-13*, p.142; G. Wrottesley, *Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls* (1905), p.192. Knyvett was certainly lord of Weldon by 1402 — Northants Record Office, Fermor Hesketh Baker Mss.18, no.4.
22. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1381-5*, p.498; *Cal. Fine Rolls 1383-91*, p.255.
23. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1391-6*, pp.434, 436; *1396-9*, p.370; *1399-1401*, p.212; *1401-5*, p.287; *List of Sheriffs of England and Wales*, (P.R.O. List and Index ix, 1898), pp.13, 87; *List of Escheators of England and Wales*, (List and Index Society, 72, 1971), p.86; *Return of Members of Parliament*, pp.255, 272; H.A. Napier, *Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme* (Oxford, 1858), pp.64-5.
24. British Library, Additional Charter 712; N.R.O. KNY 848. Robert and Margaret Ty and Katherine had no children and in 1457 Edmund Radcliffe, Elizabeth's son, surrendered the reversion of Deenthorpe after the death of Margaret to a group of feoffees, possibly to the use of Thomas Echingham, Margaret's second husband — B.L. Addit. Ch.713.
25. P.R.O. PROB 11/2, f.43.
26. *The Chorography of Suffolk*, ed. D. MacCulloch, Suffolk Record Society, vol.19 (1979), pp.74, 120; W.A. Copping, *The Manors of Suffolk* (1909), iii, 279.
27. Aged '26 and more' at his father's inquisition — P.R.O., C.138/33/32.
28. *William Worcestre, Itineraries*, ed. J.H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), p.360.
29. N.R.O., KNY 848; B.L., Harley Ch.52F/50, Addit. Ch.792.
30. *Return of Members of Parliament*, p.300.
31. *William Worcestre*, p.358.
32. N.R.O., KNY 848. It shows him or his feoffees holding manors at Southwick, Great Weldon and Winwick in Northants and Boxworth, Cambs., and lands at Papworth, Hunts. Among his feoffees were his 'friend', John Wodehouse, and his brother-in-law, Sir John Clifton.
33. P.R.O., C.139/122/24.
34. Blomefield, vi, 170-5; *Cal. Close Rolls 1429-36*, pp.360-2; Kent Archives Office, U 1475/M 226-7.
35. *The Brut*, ed. F.W.D. Brie, part II. (Early English Text Society. o.s.136, 1908), p.579.
36. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1436-41*, p.177.
37. Blomefield, v.161; N.R.O., KNY 848.
38. P.R.O., C.139/122/24.
39. *Ibid.*; *Cal. Close Rolls 1429-36*, pp.360-2.
40. P.R.O., PROB 11/12, f.52. There are Lynne pedigrees in *The Visitation of Cambridgeshire*, ed. J.W. Clay (Harleian

- Soc. 41, 1897), p.102 and in *The Visitation of Northamptonshire* ed. W. Metcalfe (1887), p.35. One of Alice's sisters was Beatrice, who married as her second husband Alvured Cornburgh, a royal servant who was later to be closely associated with the Knyvetts.
41. *Historical Monuments . . . Northamptonshire*, vi, 137-40.
  42. Napier, *Swyncombe and Ewelme*, p.296 et seq. Sir John proved his age in 1420 but had to wait until his mother's death for a substantial part of the estate — N.R.O., NRS 14195.
  43. *Complete Peerage*, i, 238; Blomefield, i, 369-76. N.R.O., KNY 827 and Ms. 20536 are collections of transcripts illustrating the Albin and Tatteshall descents.
  44. For the claim to the butlership see J.H. Round, *The King's Serjeants* (1911), pp.140-63.
  45. He was at the siege of Rouen, was captain of Vire from 1421-3 and seems to have gone abroad again in May 1425 and July 1435 — *William Worcester*, p.360; *Reports of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records*, xlvi, 237, 304.
  46. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1422-9*, p.556, 1429-36, p.621.
  47. *Ibid.* 1429-36, pp.351, 521; 1441-6, pp.168, 250, 574 etc.; Bodley Ms Gough Norfolk 33, p.37.
  48. Clifton calls Suffolk 'my good lord' in his will and makes Suffolk's followers, Sir Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon, respectively overseer and executor. Heydon was chief steward of Clifton's estates from 1434 — N.R.O., Norwich Consistory Court 103 Wylbey; NRS 14195
  49. Thorpe's will, made in 1417, mentions his daughter, Lady Joan de Clifton — *The Register of Henry Chichele 1414-43*, ed. E.F. Jacob (4 vols. Canterbury and York Society, 1937-47), ii. 143-9.
  50. *Ibid.* The actual division of the Thorpe estates between the two daughters is uncertain but they were re-united after Joan Clifton's death without heirs.
  51. N.R.O., Ms.7197. This was an income fit for a baron, but there is no evidence that Clifton sought a summons to the Lords on the basis of his grandfather's and father's summons to parliaments — *Complete Peerage*, iii, 307-8.
  52. Ogard seems to have been in France, first with Bedford, then with the Duke of York, until about 1445, though he certainly paid visits to England during that time and was on the Herts peace commission from 1443. Worcester describes Ogard's great mansion at Rye, Herts., and also, on information supplied by Nicholas Bocking, Clifton's receiver, the large sum paid for the marriage with Margaret Clifton — *William Worcester*, pp.46-8; J.C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies* (1936), p.644.
  53. N.R.O., Norwich Consistory Court 103 Wylbey. Clifton's wealth is apparent from the bequests he makes. The will was proved at Buckenham Castle on 8 September — such rapid probate of a complex testament at the testator's own house is certainly suspicious. Another copy of the will was registered in Archbishop Stafford's register — Lambeth Palace Mss. Reg. Stafford, f.158.
  54. *Cal. Fine Rolls 1445-52*, p.174; P.R.O., C.139/131/17.
  55. Knyvett would only receive, after twelve years, the manors of Hilborough, Cranwich and West Bradenham, and possibly the manor of Shelley, Suffolk.
  56. A detailed study of the consequent litigation is to be published elsewhere. It is summarised here.
  57. *Cal. Fine Rolls 1445-52*, p.76; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1446-52*, p.421.
  58. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1446-52*, p.112.
  59. P.R.O., C.1/28/372. In 1448 Clifton's executors were suing the Prior of Norwich for unjustly detaining £2,000 of Clifton's money. This had, no doubt, been deposited in the cathedral for safe-keeping and the Prior was reluctant to hand it over when the will was disputed — P.R.O., E.202/129. At his impeachment in 1450 the Duke of Suffolk was accused of taking bribes to support Clifton's executors against Knyvett — Bodley Ms. eng. hist. b.119.
  60. *Cal. Fine Rolls 1445-52*, p.177.
  61. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1446-52*, p.421; *Cal. Close Rolls 1454-61*, pp.90-1. During 1451 John Knyvett was also suing as heir to the Cliftons for a manor in Essex: the evidence went back 150 years, which shows that the family was already doing research into their pedigree — *Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls*, p.383.
  62. See the numerous references in *The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner (6 vols. 1904), ii, pp.160-240; also P.R.O., K.B.9/267, mm. 1-42, 272, mm. 1-5 etc.
  63. P.R.O., PROB 11/4, f.11.
  64. *Cal. Close Rolls 1454-61*, pp.90-1; *Cal. Close Rolls 1445-52*, p.183-4.
  65. *Paston Letters*, ii, p.251.
  66. A.R. Myers, 'The Household of Queen Margaret of Anjou', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 40 (1957-8), pp.403-4.
  67. The inquisition upon Alice refers to her earlier marriage and to her son; Ogard's will mentions his son and daughter; and the will of Lord Lovel his grand-daughter, Anne Ogard — P.R.O., C.139/178/49; P.R.O. PROB 11/4, f.2; *Lincoln Diocesan Documents 1450-1544*, ed. A. Clark, (Early English Text Society cxlix, 1914), p.74.
  68. P.R.O., C.139/157/25; PROB 11/4, f.2. The registered copy is left unfinished and without probate, though a

- commission to prove the will was granted on 13 November 1454 — *Registrum Thome Bourghier*, ed. F.R. Duboulay, (Canterbury and York Society, Oxford, 1957), p.166.
69. *Cal. Fine Rolls 1452-61*, pp.111-12.
  70. *Cal. Close Rolls 1454-61*, pp.90-1.
  71. *Ibid*; *Cal. Fine Rolls 1452-61*, p.141. The Ogards later claimed to possess a deed which granted the reversion of the property to Andrew Ogard's heirs — P.R.O., STAC 2/32/12.
  72. *Hist. Manuscripts Commission: Marquess of Lothian Mss.* (1905), pp. 65-6.
  73. *Cal. Fine Rolls 1452-61*, p.246; P.R.O., C.139/178/49.
  74. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1452-61*, p.583.
  75. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1461-67*, p.67.
  76. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1452-61*, p.656.
  77. *Ibid.* 1461-7, pp.135, 67.
  78. P.R.O., C.1/28/372. Knyvett appears to have argued that the proved will was forged by a conspiracy between Ogard and Clifton's widow — certainly his grandson argued this point — P.R.O., C.1/433/39.
  79. P.R.O., C.81/1488/27; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1461-7*, p.83.
  80. *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain (4 vols. Edinburgh, 1881-8), iv, 1320.
  81. Ogard held both Emneth and Rye estates at his death — P.R.O., PROB 11/16, f.38.
  82. P.R.O., C.67/48, m.31; 49, m.32; K.B.27/849, rot. 28d., quoted in M. Hicks, 'Restraint, mediation and private justice: George, duke of Clarence, as "good lord"', *Journal of Legal History*, 4 (1983), pp.56-71 at p.60.
  83. For revivals of the Ogard claim to Buckenham in the 1520s and 1540s see P.R.O., C.1/433/39-52 and STAC 2/32/12.
  84. Sir John Knyvett was granted Joan's wardship in 1375 and she and Robert were married by February 1382 — B.L., Harley Ms. 381, ff.95-7, Harley Ch. 52F/28; *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vii (1841), p.273.
  85. The manors were still held by his great-grandson, Edward, in 1501 — *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII*, iii, 417-9.
  86. *Coll. Topog. et Geneal.*, iv (1837), p.156; B.L. Harley Ch. 52F/34; *Cal. Close Rolls 1422-9*, p.82. His second wife died in 1436 — B.L. Harley Ch. 52F/35.
  87. W.A. Copping, *The Manors of Suffolk* (1909), i, 113-4; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1441-6*, p.237; P.R.O., C.139/141/8.
  88. *Cat. Ancient Deeds*, vi, 7293.
  89. P.R.O., PROB 11/4, f.17. One of his wives was Eleanor, daughter of John Dorward, and his daughter, Elizabeth, married Robert Tey in 1457 — *Coll. Topog. et Geneal.*, vii, pp.273-6; *Cal. Papal Registers*, xi, 55; *Visitation of Essex*, i (Harleian Soc. xiii, 1878), p.15.
  90. P.R.O., PROB 11/7, f.24; C.140/78/90.
  91. *Ibid.*; *Coll. Topog. et Geneal.*, vii, (1841), p.274.
  92. P.R.O., C.140/78/90.
  93. B.L., Harley Ch. 52F/36-43; C. Richmond, *John Hopton* (Cambridge, 1981), pp.124-6 etc. Dr Richmond understandably confuses some of the contemporary John Knyvetts.
  94. P.R.O., C.140/78/90.
  95. *Cal. Patent Rolls 1477-85*, p.238; Richmond, pp. 124-6.
  96. *Cal. Close Rolls 1485-1500*, no.239.
  97. *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII*, ii, 417-19; iii, 457. Two daughters, Philippa and Elizabeth, are mentioned in the will of Thomasine Clopton, but Philippa must have predeceased her father.
  98. B.L., Harley Ch. 0 30; P.R.O., PROB 11/16, f.31. The will of Sir John Knyvett does not survive. Edward's will was not proved until 1510, after his daughter's death.
  99. *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII*, ii, 417-9, iii, 457, 537. Her heirs were Thomasine, wife of Sir William Clopton, aged 40 years and more; Elizabeth, wife of John Clopton, aged 18 and more, and Katherine Roydon, aged 15 years. It is clear from other evidence that Thomasine was Edward's elder sister and that Elizabeth and Katherine were the daughters of his younger sister, Margaret. Some of the lands remained in the hands of Edward's second wife, who married twice more — *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, (i), 438 (3), m.9; x.979; *Coll. Topog. et Geneal.* vii, 274.

*Part II of this paper is to follow.*

## COLKIRK: A NORTH NORFOLK SETTLEMENT PATTERN

by Paul Rutledge

### SUMMARY

*Colkirk is a late pre-Conquest settlement on boulder clay. The choice of site was perhaps influenced by the presence of a minor Roman road and the earliest-known occupation site is beside the church, itself of pre-Conquest foundation. Probably in the 12th century, settlement extended round a green near the church and by the end of the 13th century to assarts at the edges of the parish, associated mainly with the clearance of woodland and waste in the eastern part of the vill. The manor house itself and much of its demesne were products of this clearance. These parish-edge colonies declined in the late-medieval period, but the late 15th and early 16th centuries saw new extensions of settlement onto the central green, along the road to the eastern common, and round a green formed at the edge of the common itself; and by the 1440s the colonisation of a terrace below the village nucleus had begun. Between the late 15th and late 18th centuries reclamation and enclosure, at first mainly for pasture sporadically cultivated as olland, the consolidation of holdings within the arable fields, and the ending of multiple rights over those fields, gradually organised most of the parish into four large predominantly arable farms. The remaining woods were felled and the commons enclosed in the 1850s-70s. Except for the appearance of one small roadside colony, the shape of the settlement changed little after the mid-16th century though infilling and decay occurred within it.*

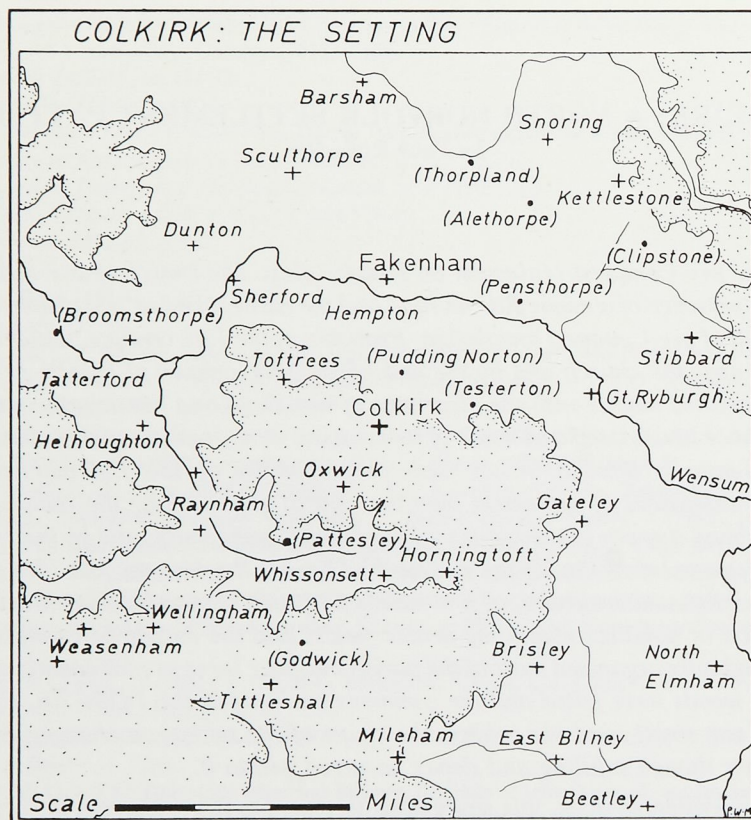
Using mainly written sources, this study aims to examine the settlement history of a parish where 20th-century development and hedge-clearance have made the disciplines of field-walking and hedge-dating inapplicable in key areas. It is hoped to provide parallels for more archaeologically-based studies, especially for neighbouring parishes in Launditch Hundred investigated by Peter Wade-Martins.<sup>1</sup>

The manor rental of 1540,<sup>2</sup> the field book of 1577,<sup>3</sup> parish maps of 1592/1617,<sup>4</sup> 1741,<sup>5</sup> and 1817,<sup>6</sup> and the Tithe Apportionment of 1839<sup>7</sup> and the Inclosure Award of 1870<sup>8</sup> with their accompanying maps, are referred to in the text by their dates only. The 1592/1617 and 1817 maps are redrawn as maps 2 and 3.

### The Site

Colkirk is a parish of 1496 acres<sup>9</sup> which lies along a boulder clay ridge that rises sharply from the upper Wensum valley to the north and slopes gently towards a tributary of the same river to the south. The village centre is above the 250 ft. contour while the river at Fakenham two miles to the north has a spot height of 107 feet. Three small streams, not all now visible as surface features, flow in well-defined valleys north to the Wensum and three others flow south and west to join the tributary stream. The site was a comparatively inhospitable one especially before 19th-century tree-planting near the Rectory and Colkirk House north of the village centre. A writer of 1781 comments 'The church stands on some of the highest ground in the county, much exposed'.<sup>10</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that the settlement is a relatively late one. The place-name is Scandinavian and Christian (Domesday Book *Colechirca*, *Colekirka*, 'Koli's church').<sup>11</sup> The village lay at the northern edge of the clay woodlands of central Norfolk<sup>12</sup> and of a group of



Map 1. Brackets indicate lost villages.

villages whose names indicate woodland clearing: Gateley, Stanfield, Beetley and Brisley, the latter apparently a post-Conquest settlement within the Bishop's great manor of Elmham.<sup>13</sup> Domesday Book records that a substantial area of woodland at Colkirk had previously formed an exclave of the royal manor of Fakenham. Between 1070 and c.1085 'At Colkirk (Bishop) Arfast invaded the wood of Fakenham and it is sixty acres in length'.<sup>14</sup> A linear acre was twenty-two yards so the wood was about a quarter of a mile long.<sup>15</sup> By annexing this wood to his episcopal estate centred at Elmham the bishop was perhaps ending an arrangement dating from before the settlement of the vill of Colkirk by which Fakenham on the river gravel supplied itself with timber from the boulder clay.

No pre-Conquest archaeological finds are reported from Colkirk. Two possible burial mounds are known, however, one marked by a ring-ditch revealed by aerial photography (Co. no.11347)<sup>16</sup> lying three-quarters of a mile north-east of the village centre, and the other marked by the furlong name Drake North (Co. no.14316)<sup>16</sup> recorded in 1592/1617 half a mile west of the village. No visible trace of the latter remains,<sup>16</sup> but Drake North means 'dragon hoard', 'a use no doubt originating in Germanic folk-tales of treasures, especially burial treasure, being guarded by dragons, probably to deter grave robbers'.<sup>17</sup>

The 1577 field book and the 1592/1617 map show at least three elements in the road pattern of the parish. The earliest is represented by more-or-less straight east-west roads that survive only in part and are not deflected towards the village centre. These are discussed later, but one in particular may bear examination as a possible Roman feature that influenced the siting of

the settlement. This formed the northern edge of the village green and it continues west past the church as an unmade road running towards but a little to the north of the Roman crossroads township at Beacon Hill in Toftrees.<sup>18</sup> East of the green it took a slightly more northerly course towards the river crossing at Ryburgh;<sup>19</sup> this section survives only in part.

The church lies on this Toftrees-Ryburgh way at the nucleus of the settlement. The village name indicates its pre-Conquest origin and Domesday Book records a church with forty acres,<sup>14</sup> but there is nothing in its structure from before the 12th century. It lies on the ridge of the hill but north-west of the geographical centre of the parish. In 1577 and 1592/1617, however, it was at the centre of a roughly oval area of open fields and meadows which extended west, north and south to the parish boundary but which was bounded on the east by woodland, waste and assarts and in the south-west by a pocket of recently-enclosed waste. Lacking detailed archaeological evidence, it is assumed that the church marks the earliest area of settlement, and the discovery of late-Saxon Thetford ware on the site immediately south-west of it (Co. no.10863)<sup>16</sup> reinforces this assumption.

### The Central Green

South of the church the shape of a long-enclosed green is preserved in the road pattern. On the analogy of other parishes in Launditch Hundred,<sup>20</sup> settlement is likely to have spread round the green from the earliest nucleus near the church in the 12th century. By 1577 the church and the rectory (no.1 on map 2; it was on roughly the same site in 1346)<sup>27</sup> were isolated at the north-west corner of the green and only its eastern and southern sides were built up. This seems to have been the case from at least the late 15th century. On these sides nine house sites are known from before 1630.<sup>4, 21, 22</sup> Five of these, nos. 2, 16, 23, 28 and 29 (marked on map 2), were occupied from the late 15th-early 16th century when detailed records of landownership begin at Colkirk. No.18 had decayed by 1487 and its site remained vacant. No.17 is documented only from 1540 and it was probably new as it is described as *in forera*, on a headland, in 1577. No.30 was a pair of almshouses built from a bequest of 1630.<sup>23</sup> The colonisation of two new sites on the developed sides of the green contrasts with the emptiness of the north and west sides, as does the appearance of inset houses, one at no.23 documented in 1494<sup>21</sup> but decayed between 1577 and 1592/1617, and no.27, possibly inset at no.28 by direction of a will of 1500,<sup>24</sup> and abandoned between 1540 and 1577. Also the green itself, though again not its northern and western sides, was being colonised by the late 15th century.

The green was a rough oblong of about twelve acres. The name *Smethysgren*, *Smethygrene*, is recorded in 1484<sup>21</sup> and 1501.<sup>22</sup> The smithy was on the green, site no.34 owned by blacksmiths in 1562<sup>22</sup> and 1686.<sup>25</sup> Associated with the green is the watering place, a large pond now called Church Pit lying by its north-west corner. It is referred to in 1494 as *le ponde*,<sup>21</sup> in 1614 as *the wateryng pyt*,<sup>26</sup> and in 1839 as *Watering Place*. An appropriation of the benefice in 1346 describes it as the pool (*stagnum*) opposite the rectory where the rights of the rector and vicar of fishing and watering cattle are mentioned.<sup>27</sup> It was in dispute between the rector and the lord of the manor in the mid-19th century; unquestioned control of what had once been in common ownership was not yet established.<sup>28</sup>

By 1592/1617 the green had lost its original function and had been divided into seven small enclosures. Four of these (sites 31-34) were occupied by buildings; no.31 carried a dwellinghouse by 1556,<sup>29</sup> no.32 by 1490,<sup>21</sup> and no.33 by 1494.<sup>21</sup> The smithy site, no.34, was granted in copyhold tenure in 1518/19 though as mentioned it gave its name to the green and must have been there before its enclosure. The piece known in 1592/1617 as the *Campingland*, lying south

of the church, had before 1520<sup>30</sup> been claimed by the rector as glebe. This part of the green kept a communal function longest as the game of camping was a traditional one, popular until the 18th century in Norfolk.<sup>31</sup> By 1677, however, the Campingland had moved onto what had been an arable strip of glebe land east of the churchyard. Truncated by a road apparently between 1677<sup>32</sup> and 1699,<sup>33</sup> this survives as a public open space despite the Rector, J.B. Sweet, who wrote 'I enclosed it in 1864 to put an end to trespass of cattle & to games on Sundays thereupon'.<sup>32</sup>

The green was probably linked towards the south-west along the line of the road Salter's Gate to common or waste which can be traced on the 1592/1617 map when it was mostly sheep pasture, part of which was reported as recently enclosed in 1517 (below). Its curving northern and southern sides can be seen in 1592/1617 and the northern boundary still survives as a field hedge. It merged southwards into Southmeadow and Oxwick Common and ran westwards to the parish boundary in the direction of heathland at Toftrees.<sup>34</sup> The road which marks the western edge of the green towards this common may have been established only in the 16th century. The Campingland crossed it in 1592/1617 and its name, Gorman's Lane, is from John Goram an early owner (1562) of house no.31, built on this end of the green.<sup>22, 29</sup> The green and the western common may have been interdependent, perhaps as day and night commons, and their enclosure went hand in hand.

### Fields and Meadows

From the early 16th century the bulk of the arable lands of the parish were reckoned to lie in four large fields centred on the church and green and named simply Westfield, Churchfield, Eastfield and Southfield.<sup>21, 22</sup> Thornkyns Field, of less extent, probably owed its existence to early-medieval assarting (below). Mid-16th century descriptions of the foldcourses,<sup>22</sup> of which there were three for a total of 500 sheep, indicate that the largely topographical fields and the functional foldcourses were not coterminous. The 1577 field book and the 1591/1617 map, which do not name the fields at all, show that the significant subdivisions were the furlongs. None of these is documented before 1331 but it is assumed that the earliest and innermost are coeval with the green and the roads which led from it, whose boundaries they respect. Of the furlongs located in 1577 and 1591/1617 (see map 2) the earliest documented are — *Blakelond* 1331,<sup>35</sup> *Hyllewong* 1472<sup>35</sup> and *Northylwong* 1483,<sup>21</sup> *Blacwadyscrofte* 1472,<sup>35</sup> *Westdele* 1484,<sup>21</sup> *Brod lond* 1486,<sup>21</sup> *Harewynstake* 1489,<sup>35</sup> *Doffehouscroft* 1497,<sup>21</sup> *Bromefurlong* 1501,<sup>22</sup> and *le Wroe* 1520.<sup>30</sup> Of these Dr. K.I. Sandred<sup>36</sup> suggests that *le Wroe* is from Old Scandinavian *vra* 'nook or corner', an apt description of land in the south-western angle of the parish, and that the element *wong* in *Hyllewong* (and the nearby *Churchewonge* and *South Hill wonge* in 1577) is from Old Scandinavian *vangr*, infield or garden. The occurrence of arable names well away from the village centre indicates how far out the plough had already gone. This is also true of *Westdele* (*Le Dele* 1577) at the north-western edge of the parish if indeed it derives from *dal* or *dole* 'a share in the common field' rather than *dell* or *dalr*, a valley.<sup>37</sup> The same may be said of the element *croft*, commonest among the field names of 1577 and 1592/1617, as this can be an early form denoting enclosed or at least infield land.<sup>37</sup> It occurs near the parish boundary (*Lambecroft*) and at the edge of the eastern commons (*Southcroft*) as well as near the centre of the settlement (*Doffehouscroft*, *North Church Croft*, *South Church Croft*).

Three meadows are shown on the 1592/1617 map. They lay between the arable furlongs of the village in damp places near small streams. No evidence survives as to how they functioned, but they are likely to have been open to common grazing after the hay crop was cut. Westbeck Meadow lay in the north-west part of the parish (*Westbek* 1484,<sup>21</sup> *Westmedowclos* 1486<sup>21</sup>),





Map 2. Redrawn from 1592/1617 map. Place-names between brackets and house-plot numbers are added.

Southmeadow in the south-west corner (*Suthmedwe* 1315, 1331<sup>35</sup>) and Nethergate Meadow in the north-east part of the parish. It was named from an adjoining way and is first documented in 1507.<sup>21</sup> An ill-drained area near it is indicated by Norton Bottom on the 1741 and 1817 maps (*Bottoum* 1472) and its immediate neighbourhood was wet enough to support an alder-carr in 1577. Westbeck Meadow — described as 'Very coarse land' in 1752<sup>38</sup> — lies on a small out-crop of sand and gravel in the surrounding boulder clay,<sup>39</sup> marked by a 19th-century gravel pit.

### Wood and Pasture

In the eastern part of the parish the pattern of the landscape changed. The parish boundary encloses an area of irregular shape called Common End projecting between the parishes of Testerton, Great Ryburgh, Gateley and Horningtoft and it was here that the principal commons and woodlands lay. This jagged boundary may indicate the subdivision of a tract of heathland that was originally common to several vills. The parish boundary skirting the smaller western common was similarly stepped, in contrast to the smoothness of its outline in the arable parts of the parish and contrary to received wisdom which links stepped boundaries with the sharp angles of arable lands. There is evidence of intercommoning between the villages bordering a tract of heath running south-east from Colkirk and Oxwick to North Elmham. The intercommon between the Whissonsett and Horningtoft was defined in an agreement dated by Blomefield about 1270<sup>40</sup> and that between Whissonsett and Oxwick was similarly defined in 1338 and divided in 1582.<sup>41</sup> Intercommoning between Colkirk and Horningtoft had ceased before 1490, however.<sup>21</sup> In 1564 the inhabitants of Oxwick were presented at Colkirk manor court for digging and keeping beasts on Colkirk common 'more than they ought'<sup>22</sup> and in 1646 four of the Colkirk copyholders were ordered to meet four from Oxwick to 'sett meetes & boundes how & where the comons are to be devided soe as eyther of the said townes may inclose each against other yf they se cause'.<sup>42</sup>

In 1577 this end of Colkirk was an area predominately of common, woodland and large, fairly recent, pasture closes; only the western part of it appears on the 1592/1617 map but that of 1817 shows it much as it is recorded in 1577 (it also shows the adjoining part of Gateley parish). The width of the roadside verges emphasises that this was a distinct, pastoral, part of the parish. It included heavy, ill-drained land indicated by Southwell Moor, a wet common by a well or spring, by *Mersh Close* of 1592/1617 and by the graphic *Merssholes* of the 1480s.<sup>43</sup> *Hedymersh* (1497;<sup>21</sup> hither or nearer marsh) and *Overmarshe* (1540; farther marsh) are also recorded in this area. The principal wood, Colkirk Wood, is so named in 1489<sup>21</sup> and is shown in 1592/1617 with its small and no doubt later extension *Mersh Woode*, described as *New Mersshe* in 1540, probably the Hedymersh mentioned above. That Colkirk Wood took the name of the vill implies that its core was ancient woodland, though a major early 14th-century enlargement was projected (below).

There survives a measured description dated 1374<sup>45</sup> of one quarter of Colkirk Wood, not named but identified as being *preter fossatum*, beyond the moat. Marked off by a trench from the other quarters, this one measured 8a. 3r. 17½p.; a further 30¾ perches on the northern and eastern edges are described as 'brokelond' and 10¾ perches had been withdrawn for borders one eighth of a pole wide. Evidently managed oak wood, it produced this year oak branches, wands and brushwood. In a timber valuation of 1740<sup>46</sup> Colkirk Wood is reckoned at 93 oaks in that year's 'fell' of five acres and there were seven projected fells of the same acreage. To the east lay further woodland marked on the 1741 and later maps as Testerton and Great Gogney's Woods. It is recorded as *Pillwood* in 1540 and *Pyle Wood* in 1577; the Old English *pil* 'refers with wood-names to places where shafts or stakes could be obtained'.<sup>47</sup> In 1577 it was bushy

in character but in 1740 Gogney's Wood was reckoned at 764 oaks.

Around and to the south of these woods the 1741 and 1817 maps show two commons named Moor Common (called Southwell Moor at an earlier date) and Heath Common, and large mainly pasture closes that must have been reclaimed from woodland or waste. In 1296 the manorial demesne included 240 acres of arable land and 20 acres of separate (that is, enclosed) pasture,<sup>48</sup> and in 1591 there belonged to the manor 246 acres of arable and 273 acres of enclosed pasture.<sup>49</sup> The demesne fluctuated on the one hand because of assarting and on the other because of permanent grants made from it to tenants, but nevertheless the dramatic increase of enclosed pasture must have been at the expense of the waste rather than the arable land. Reclamation in this wood and pasture part of the parish had begun by the early 13th century and was completed when the woods — still measuring 120 acres in 1839 — were felled in the middle of the 19th century and the commons enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1870.

### Assarts and Enclosures

The long process of southward and eastern expansion within the parish dispersed settlement away from the church and central green. The siting of the manor house must represent an early attack on the waste. Colkirk had a resident lord from the early 12th century when the bishop enfeoffed a tenant whose family took the name de Colkirk.<sup>50</sup> In 1296<sup>48</sup> the manor house (no.41 on map 2) with its chapel, great barn and other buildings is described as lying within and without a moat. The surviving, round moat (Co. no.7122) was surrounded in 1592/1617 as in 1817 on three sides by Colkirk Wood and fronted by the *Hallyarde*, also named in 1540. The site was empty in 1577 and the field book records that it had in fact been granted away to a copyhold tenant in 1525/6. The house is last mentioned in 1393.<sup>51</sup> Before it was ploughed in the 1960s the writer recalls earthworks in the Hallyard marking the ditches of sub-enclosures and there was also a hollow way which continues as a crop mark (Co. no.11373)<sup>16</sup> westwards towards the village. The 1577 field book notes this as the boundary of a furlong 'formerly used as a path'.

It has been shown that in 1374 the moat adjoined the wood so the close association of wood and manor house was not the result of later woodland encroachment. Earlier, in 1307, an extension of the wood had been sanctioned but on its farther sides when Roger de Fraxino obtained leave to close two public ways, one east and one south of his wood and together 300 perches in length and eight feet wide, to enlarge the wood, substituting others.<sup>48</sup> (These closed roads and those substituted cannot be certainly identified. It is possible that the cropmark just mentioned represents the western section of the closed southern way). By the late 15th century the wood was again in retreat; the 1592/1617 map shows permanent enclosures at its edges. Stub Close, referring to the grubbing-up of trees, lay on its northern side. It was already at least partly cleared in 1486 when it was called *Fyrrecroft*<sup>21</sup> (*Ferclosse* 1540), a name which refers to furze rather than conifers (cp *Shortefyrrez* 1489).<sup>21</sup> South of the wood in 1592/1617 were three closes. One of them in its formative stage was described as land lying under (*subter*) the wood when it was farmed out to John Goldyng and Richard Holland for ten years in 1484; a previous tenant is named.<sup>21</sup> About the same time a close called *Merssholes* was let out for five years, the tenants John Mathewe, John Iryng and John Godfrey undertaking to clear brambles and thorns and level the ground.<sup>43</sup> *Marysshe Close* and the neighbouring *Benecroft* are described in 1560<sup>52</sup> as land and pasture, perhaps sporadically-cultivated olland.

The arable land west and north-west of Colkirk Wood on the 1592/1617 map bore signs of reclamation at a more recent date than the lighter and better-drained soils nearer the village centre. Of particular significance is *Bromeland* (*Bromefurlong* 1501)<sup>22</sup> as broom is a characteristic plant of recently-cleared woodland.<sup>53</sup> One or two small groves and a -grove name,

*Malgrave Acre* remained in 1592/1617. This part of the parish then included much manorial demesne in large units as compared with the other arable strips; the average size is 4.73 acres as compared with 1.08 acres north and west of the church and green. The strong manorial presence must explain indications of quite ambitious drainage works. A long boundary beginning west of the Hallyard and running nearly to the north-east corner of the parish is identified in the 1577 field book, where its name is borrowed by an adjoining furlong, as the New ditch (*Newdyk* 1484),<sup>21</sup> and the parallel boundary east is similarly identified as Short ditch (*Shortdyke* 1540). These ditches must have been dug to open this land to the plough by draining it towards the stream, in its valley in 1577 called *Scambles dale*, that forms the north-eastern boundary of the parish. The road that crosses this sector of the parish seems also to be the result of major landscape changes. Obviously later than the field pattern, it ran over rather than between the arable lands, slightly changing direction at furlong boundaries.

By the middle of the 16th century the surviving commons were clearly residual. Stints were operated, on grazing by 1499 and on cutting whin by 1484.<sup>21</sup> Heath Common was ringed by large pasture closes — in 1540 measuring 140 acres in five enclosures — some of them described in 1577 as bushy, still merging into scrub. This part of the parish was not mapped in 1592/1617 but the general layout and some of the names are preserved on the 1741 and 1817 maps. In 1577 these closes were under lease to substantial tenants, probably as sheep pasture (the name Washpit indicates a sheep dip). *Heath Closs* of 1577 seems to be referred to in the 1480s as 'the gret pasture called Colkirke heth'<sup>43</sup> and the 1540 rental names *Colne haugh* (of which more below), *Beckham Close*, pasture called *Washpit* — not the close further north so called in 1817 — and pasture called *Pillwood and Overmarsh*. About 1593 the latter pasture was referred to as 'Gognes pastures now enclosed' but lying open within memory.<sup>49</sup> Edmund Gogney was tenant in 1540, and in 1741 Great Gogneys and Little Gogneys are shown south-east and south-west of Gogneys Wood. The area north of this wood — described as 40 acres of meadow, pasture and wood ground — was sold by the lord of the manor, Nicholas Timperley, to Thomas Townshend in 1640 and so it passed into the Testerton estate.<sup>54</sup> To the south, further enclosures were cut out of Heath Common after 1577; Mannings Close, Monuments, and Monuments Meadow, named from 17th-century individuals, and Brick Kiln Close which first appears on the 1741 map. The commons suffered no further diminution after 1741 until their inclosure in 1870 and they measured 78 acres both in 1741 and 1839.

The appearance of assarts at the edges of the parish (their approximate sites are starred on map 3) demonstrates the drive during the early Middle Ages to push the frontiers of cultivation to the limit. These, like the siting of the manor house itself, mostly occurred in the wood and pasture area though one is found at Southmeadow. In the waste beyond the wood an assart is documented at the very eastern edge of the parish. About 1244 the lord of the manor, Richard de Saint Denis confirmed a grant by Thomas son of Herlewyn de Gateley to Norwich Cathedral Priory of 'all the land and pasture . . . in Colkirk called Colneshag which lies between the wood of the said prior in Gateley and my cultivation (*cultura*) towards the west'.<sup>55</sup> Later maps<sup>56</sup> place this land, in 1577 known both as *Collney Haugh* and *Little Harlewyns*, in the farthest part of the parish beyond Heath Common. The first name includes the Old English element *haga*, a hedge or enclosure, or the Old Norse *hagi*, a grazing enclosure or pasture,<sup>57</sup> and the second name is from the father of the grantor. The reference to cultivation occurs in an area that was pasture and woodland in the 16th century.

Somewhere on the Colkirk boundary in this area, probably where the parishes of Colkirk, Gateley, Great Ryburgh and Testerton meet,<sup>58</sup> was a further assart. Lying within Washpit pasture in 1540 were three acres of pasture called *Blacklond hirne* partly enclosed in Little

Batemans Close. A piece of two acres lay over the parish boundary in Gateley, in Great Batemans alias Priors Close. This is described as 'once a messuage built' and a lease of 1560 adds that it had 'a grovett in the south ende thereof where sumtyme housez were buylded'.<sup>58</sup> *Blacklond* may infer a humus-rich site that like the assart at Colneshag had reverted to pasture by the mid-16th century.

Near the north-eastern edge of the parish the 1592/1617 map shows a group of arable strips called *Thornkyns* and *Thornkyns Long Croft*, skirted by an irregular shaped enclosure, *Thornkyns Yards*. *Thornkyns* is documented in 1489,<sup>35</sup> *Thorkenneslongcrofte* in 1519,<sup>35</sup> and *Thornkynfeld* in 1562.<sup>22</sup> It seems to have included a small settlement, probably at Thornkyns Yards (no.39 on map 2). In an undated but apparently mid 13th-century grant to Walsingham Priory, Ralph de Thornekin mentions his house and courtyard and a neighbouring house; and refers to three acres in his cultivation (*cultura mea*) lying near the road from Fakenham to Elmham, that is to say in this eastern part of the parish.<sup>59</sup> The family is last heard of in 1501<sup>60</sup> and the 'messuage called Thornekyns' apparently decayed between 1540 and 1577.

A small isolated settlement had developed by the late 13th century at the farther edge of Southmeadow in the south-west corner of the parish. Henry de Sittmede (?an error for Sutmede), listed among the free tenants of the manor in 1296,<sup>48</sup> must owe his name to this settlement; Laurence de Suthmedwe had meadowland here in 1315. In 1315 the lord of the manor granted to Richard Dalymund a messuage with meadow in croft lying between two other messuages, north of Oxwick common and west of Southmeadow.<sup>35</sup> The site of this settlement (no.40 on map 2) is marked in 1592/1617 by small enclosures called Byllynfords, Hookes and Hookes pytell. In 1540 it is described as a vacant messuage called Hookes and in a late 14th-century fealty list the tenants of lands formerly Thomas Hoke's are named.<sup>35</sup>

### Extensions of Settlement

Presumably as a result of renewed population pressure, larger-scale attacks on the waste are recorded by the late 15th century. The enclosure of the central green and the western common and the appearance of large, mainly pasture, closes on the edges of Colkirk Wood and Heath Common have been noted. At this time also diminution of the commons in the south-east part of the parish resulted in the establishment of three detached farms round Moor Common, a narrow tongue of waste that was thus isolated from the rest of the common to the east and became a small green settlement. The 1592/1617 map calls it Southwell Moore (*le More* 1564,<sup>22</sup> *Sowell Moore* and *Little More* 1577) and shows that it ran into Oxwick Common at its wider southern end and that to the north it merged into the way later called Longs or Longlands Lane, a road then as now of great width, in 1592/1617 and 1741 gated at the ends.

The farms (nos.35, 36, and 38) developed as follows, though it should be noted that the 1577 field book also records an already vacant messuage (no.37) called Harvyes, its freehold tenure distinguishing it from the surrounding copyhold land; it may be an early medieval parish-edge settlement like those noted above. No.38, on the eastern side of Moor Common, now known as Hazelwood Farm, seems near its beginning in 1484 when Richard Holland leased for ten years from the lord of the manor land and pasture south of the highway from Colkirk to Gateley and abutting east and west on the common, with leave to erect hurdles.<sup>21</sup> In 1513/14 the same land was granted in copyhold — more permanent — tenure to Richard's son Thomas.<sup>22</sup> This Thomas was stated by the 1517 inquisition to have put into sheep pasture 30 acres lately in the field.<sup>61</sup> In 1540 the copyhold measured 56 acres in four pieces and in 1565 40 acres of it are described as sheep pasture.<sup>22</sup> In 1591 it was said to be 'partly in olland' and 'pasture & some errable new broken up', that is to say sporadically cultivated outfield.<sup>49</sup> In 1592/1617 and 1817

it comprised a number of rather irregular-shaped pieces including a rough octagon near ponds called the *Starre pyttes* in 1577. The messuage and a further 10½ acres in Colkirk and Oxwick are documented from 1493.<sup>21</sup> In 1619/20 the farm became predominately arable by the conversion of the 56 acres of sheep pasture to tillage; barley and oats were sown. A dispute then arose as the pasture had lain open to the road and had been used 'for avoydinge the fowlness of the . . . highe waie'.<sup>62</sup> In 1817 the farm still extended into Oxwick and it is probable that a similar process of assarting and consolidation had been carried out on the other side of the parish boundary by the Hollands and their successors the Utbers (1681-1833), both of whom aspired to gentility despite the modest size of their holding (it measured 182 acres in Colkirk and Oxwick in 1840<sup>63</sup>); the Hollands were disclaimed arms in 1664<sup>64</sup> and the last of the Utbers displays his on his gravestone in Colkirk churchyard. In 1592/1617 the house had three out-buildings round a courtyard and Matthew Holland's probate inventory of 1679<sup>65</sup> refers to kitchen, parlour, kitchen and parlour chambers, servants' chamber, corn chamber, dairy and chamber, buttery and barn. In 1840 it had recently been rebuilt.<sup>63</sup>

West of the Moor in 1592/1617 there were two compact holdings. These seem to have been formed both by encroachment towards the common to the east and by consolidation of the arable field to the west. The northernmost and smallest (no.36 on map 2) was in existence by 1497<sup>21</sup> when it belonged to the Sefery family and was described as a cottage and 16 acres, eight of which called Crossores were formerly manorial demesne, a term which could be used to cover waste claimed by the lord. In 1577 it included land, meadow and pasture. It was sold in 1675<sup>25</sup> to Samuel Smyth, owner of the next farm, and in 1741 the two had recently been merged.

The neighbouring farm, no.35 on map 2, is first documented in 1486 as a messuage built and 14 acres of land and meadow.<sup>21</sup> In 1492 a further 26 acres of arable land, again described as demesne, were added.<sup>21</sup> In 1553 it passed to one of the Hollands and in 1564/5 — after presentment at the manor court in 1562 of the messuage as 'almost wholly laid waste'<sup>22</sup> — it was acquired by the Colkirk branch of the Barsham family, from whom Samuel Smyth gained it by marriage and purchase in 1637.<sup>42</sup> It is described in 1564/5 much as it appears in 1592/1617, part of it being said to lie in the Southfield. Known as Moor Farm in 1737,<sup>46</sup> further consolidation must have occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries especially perhaps after its purchase in 1728 by the lord of the manor.<sup>66</sup> The house was described as in very bad repair in 1737<sup>46</sup> and it was rebuilt after the two farms were thrown together when Lord Townshend acquired the manor in 1740;<sup>66</sup> this house survives. The farm was later known as Manor Farm. In 1741 it measured 341 acres.

The northern end of the Moor was closed by the building of squatters' cottages on the road-side verge, single dwellings later subdivided (nos.42-44) being permitted in 1706, 1733 and 1815.<sup>25, 67</sup> The last W.E. Heitland described as 'a small hovel standing in an enclosed patch of garden. Older people remembered that the occupant had arrived many years before, camped on this neglected spot, and eventually became a 40/- freeholder by right of undisturbed occupancy'.<sup>68</sup> The individual cottages were rebuilt during the 19th century but the wayside settlement is still marked by the sudden loss of the road verges at this point, the opposite verge having been taken as gardens to the cottages at some time between 1839 and 1870. The 1889 O.S. map shows it at its greatest extent, ten cottages in four blocks.

The scatter of known settlement outside the village nucleus has been described mainly in terms of early and late medieval reclamation of waste land. The mill was functionally sited, also outside the village. The manorial windmill is referred to c.1259 and in 1330.<sup>69</sup> In the 16th century two mill sites were remembered. A furlong called *Millne hill*, also recorded in 1484,<sup>21</sup>

lay near the parish boundary south of the village centre in 1577 and about 1570<sup>35</sup> *Wyndmyllond* lay near *Esshesprynge Furlonge* (Asprynge Furlonge is shown west of the village in 1592/1617). The two pounds are mentioned below. The manorial dovehouse, documented in 1296,<sup>48</sup> may have been at *Dovehouse hyrn* of 1592/1617.

Settlement at the centre of the village was not static during the late medieval period. By 1443<sup>35</sup> a secondary settlement was forming at Nethergate on a terrace below the steep northern slope of the ridge on which the village lies. In the 16th century it had its own green, *Nethergate Greene* (1577), a very small triangle of three roods at the Nethergate Street — Norton Lane junction; by 1591 this had been shared between the two adjoining house owners.<sup>49</sup> It also had in 1540 and 1577 its *common wateringe* or watering place, documented again in 1681.<sup>25</sup> This is marked in 1592/1617 as a pond (in 1741 called *Spring Pitt*) a little above the Hollane-Nethergate junction. Here also was one of the two pounds of the parish (*lez pound* 1540, cp Pound Lane 1841<sup>70</sup>); the nearby 'pound tree' survived until the great gale of the 1890s.<sup>71</sup> (The other pound was near Colkirk Wood where it was referred to in 1540;<sup>42</sup> see *Pynfold Close* on map 2).

The Nethergate settlement, just above the marsh level of Nethergate Meadow, fluctuated markedly. Of the four house sites at Nethergate Green, nos. 12 and 13 are recorded from 1443,<sup>35</sup> no. 14 is described as a vacant messuage as early as 1489,<sup>35</sup> and no. 11 is documented in 1577 as a toft called Leighton formerly built but is not otherwise recorded. Its earlier name, *Blacwadyscroft* (1472),<sup>35</sup> perhaps infers a humus-rich occupation-site. At the Hollane-Nethergate junction in 1592/1617 was a further cluster of fairly substantial houses (nos. 4-6), including two surviving early 17th century yeomen's houses. These were linked to the Nethergate Green cluster by a line of small cottages on cramped sites backing onto the meadow. The houses (nos. 3-10) west of the Nethergate Green group are recorded in the 1470s-90s<sup>29, 35</sup> save no. 3 which was built shortly before 1538<sup>72</sup> on part of the toft of no. 2, no. 6 which is documented from 1513/14<sup>29</sup> and nos. 7 and 8 which the 1592/1617 map makes clear were inset on the toft of no. 9, no. 7 indeed being described as 'now built' in 1577. No. 15, on the opposite side of the way, is documented in 1577 only and is vacant in 1592/1617. No. 6 is of interest as it lay in 1533<sup>73</sup> as in 1592/1617 on two sides of the way, the only messuage at Colkirk to cross a road and an indication of the confined nature of the site. By 1592/1617 there were three vacant sites in the whole Nethergate complex and in 1741 there were further noted north of Nethergate 'three small cottage Yards now laid to the Home pasture'.<sup>74</sup> Their house platforms can still be traced (Co. no. 11742).<sup>16</sup> A further casualty between 1741 and 1817 was no. 6 so that in 1817 only one cottage remained north of Nethergate. South of it, however, no. 15, vacant in 1592/1617, was recolonised by 1665<sup>25</sup> and a secondary house appeared up the lane behind no. 5 before 1741. Also, about 1740, no. 12 lost its identity beneath the outbuildings of Hall Farm, no. 13 (below).

The origin of a further extension of settlement from the village nucleus is well recorded. The road beginning at the south-east corner of the central green was known by 1563 as Town Lane,<sup>22</sup> possibly an indication of its already built-up appearance; it is described in 1741 as 'the broad Way from the Town to the Heath'.<sup>74</sup> The five most easterly of the houses bordering it in 1592/1617, medium sized, evenly spaced, and on roomy sites, are all first mentioned between 1514 and 1559,<sup>29</sup> four of them (nos. 20, 21, 22 and 26) being granted in copyhold tenure by the lord of the manor in 1521/2, 1514/15, 1523/4 and 1554/5 respectively. No. 25, not documented until 1559, was short-lived and the site was vacant by 1592/1617, whereas a secondary house is recorded at no. 26 in 1603.<sup>22</sup> Next to no. 22 was Johns Acre which on the 1592/1617 map has the appearance of a further house-site, then vacant and otherwise unrecorded. This rather generously-spaced extension later became by subdivision and infilling the most densely-settled part of the village.





### Compact Farms

The picture so far has mainly been of extension of settlement and dispersal associated with assarting and the creation of compact holdings at the edges of the parish. Two major farms that had emerged by the middle of the 18th century were centred on houses within the village and at Nethergate and were formed to a greater extent by the consolidation of holdings in the open arable fields of the parish. This was carried out in both cases by a different branch of the minor-gentry family of Barsham of Colkirk and Oxwick (before 1472<sup>75</sup> — c.1650), already mentioned in connection with the development of Manor Farm, and their successors the Smyths and the Bendishes (1637-1728). Nicholas Barsham is one of the three men found by the 1517 inquisition<sup>61</sup> to have converted field land to sheep pasture, in his case 43 acres; when he made his will in 1545 his flock at Colkirk and elsewhere numbered 600.<sup>76</sup> As well as by enclosure, the Barsham lands were consolidated by small-scale purchases as neighbours died or sold out. In 1591 Thomas Barsham of Oxwick and William Barsham of Colkirk, his kinsman and stepson (both were descended from the Nicholas mentioned above), between them held of the manor of Colkirk lands that had belonged to fourteen previous tenants.<sup>49</sup> The wealthy Smyths' estate was even more heterogeneous and hints of their consolidating activities are forthcoming; in 1642 Samuel Smyth's tenants were accused of defacing ancient metes and bounds,<sup>42</sup> and in the 1660s and 1670s Samuel Smyth the younger and Urith his mother were presented at the manor court on several occasions for digging ditches and stopping the perambulation way (the path that marked the parish boundary) at the Horseclosse between Colkirk and Oxwick, at the Whinland in the north-east of the parish, and elsewhere.<sup>25</sup>

Hall Farm, whose buildings lie at Nethergate (site no. 13) is the survivor of the four messuages that once surrounded Nethergate Green. Its history as an inhabited site can be traced back to 1443. Acquired by John Barsham in 1489,<sup>35</sup> it was the principal house in the parish in 1577 when it alone is described as a capital messuage. In 1592/1617 it belonged to William Barsham and the map of those dates shows the courtyard plan which survived until alterations between 1817 and 1839 removed the probably single-storey front range. A late 16th century house re-using worked, no doubt monastic, stone, it has a projecting two-storey porch and, on an end gable, a garderobe tower. A contemporary barn survives. Home Farm, its neighbour to the east (no. 12) is also recorded in 1443.<sup>35</sup> It appears on the 1592/1617 map with three outbuildings (one with a chimney, perhaps a brewhouse) dispersed in its curtilage and a grove or orchard beside it. In 1592/1617 it belonged to Thomas Barsham. At this time, besides scattered lands, these two men between them owned or rented of the manor a block of arable land totalling about 145 acres in 25 pieces, lying north and north-east of their two houses. After 1617 the descent of both properties is confused. Hall Farm is traditionally the home of the Catholic Timperley family, Nicholas Timperley inheriting the manor in 1624 and thereafter living on his property.<sup>77</sup> However, the more important of the two houses, Hall Farm, seems actually to have passed in 1637 with other Barsham property to Samuel Smyth. In 1666 Smyth's widow Urith was assessed for eleven hearths, the largest number in the parish,<sup>78</sup> and in 1737 Hall Farm was listed among the lands lately of Mrs Bendish, his grand-daughter, while Home Farm was formerly Timperley's.<sup>46</sup> The latter can hardly be 'Mr Tymperleys new house' in 1666 assessed at one hearth as in 1664 Timperley's main house had two stables, a barn, a hayhouse, a brewhouse and a bakehouse.<sup>77</sup> The close neighbourhood of the impoverished Catholic Squire Nicholas Timperley and the puritan lawyer and moneylender Samuel Smyth would have been uncomfortable but for the friendship between the two families evidenced in Timperley's will.<sup>79</sup> The Smyth property at Colkirk was sold in 1728 by Katherine Bendish to Henry Kelsale who had bought the manor of Colkirk from the last of the Timperleys in 1719.<sup>77</sup> In 1737 the two farms were

let to the same tenant but still separately identified.<sup>46</sup> They were purchased by Lord Townshend with the manor in 1740<sup>66</sup> and by 1741 had been merged in one farm of 350 acres. Home Farm now lies under the buildings of Hall Farm, which include a fine brick barn dated 1742. That Home Farm had been a house of some status is indicated by the 1741 map which shows an avenue leading to it from the east. A lease of the augmented farm granted by Lord Townshend to James Elgar in 1755 stipulates the making during the 21-year term of six-score rods (992 yards) of fences with ditches three feet deep and four feet wide at the top with whitethorn spring layer for hedges.<sup>80</sup> The process of enclosure cannot be followed in much detail but at this rate it must have been fairly rapid; later Townshend leases of Colkirk farms, of 1776 and 1786, refer to the maintenance not the making of fences.<sup>44</sup>

Manor Farm, whose house (no.28) lies near the south-west corner of the central green, was the main holding in Colkirk of the Oxwick Barshams. The house site is documented probably from 1500, certainly from 1530/1,<sup>24, 29</sup> and in 1540 it and the adjoining, probably secondary, house (no.27) belonged to Robert Dorant who is stated by the inquisition of 1517 to have put into sheep pasture 26 acres lately in the field and seven years previously to have enclosed 16 acres that were in the field.<sup>61</sup> By 1577 the farm had passed to Thomas Barsham. The field book of that year and the 1592/1617 map show that he then held, stretching west and south from the house to the parish boundary, a block mainly of enclosed meadow and sheep pasture of some 83 acres, including a series of long, rather narrow closes called Great Close, Open Close, Sheipes Close, and Sheep Pasture Close, and also including the decayed parish-edge settlement at Hookes Lane. In 1540 Great Close was described as now (i.e. relatively recently) enclosed with the common way crossing it and much of this block had clearly been a pocket of waste and meadow that survived along the line of Salters Gate until the late 15th or early 16th century (above). The name White Ollands on the 1817 map indicates that the area was remembered as intermittently-cultivated olland or outfield. In 1650 the farm belonged to Thomas Barsham and is described as a messuage and 94 acres<sup>42</sup> and in 1741 it measured 149 acres. The house is shown in 1592/1617 as forming an open courtyard with two outbuildings. John Barsham's probate inventory of 1626 refers to porch, parlour, kitchen, buttery, four chambers, brewhouse, dairy, barn and stable.<sup>81</sup> The house is partly early 17th century in date (Co. no.11749).<sup>16</sup>

There can be little doubt that the creation of compact farms was made easier by the granting in copyhold tenure of the manorial foldcourse (reserved to the lord as early as 1256/7)<sup>49</sup> to members of the Barsham and Holland families; foldcourses, which required arable land to be open to the manorial flock in the time of shack or stubble, were often a bar to enclosure and separate management. In 1540 a foldcourse for 200 sheep in Eastfield and Churchfield was granted to Nicholas Barsham, a foldcourse for 140 in Southfield and Westfield to William Barsham, and a foldcourse for 160 in Southfield and an unnamed field south of the highway from Colkirk to Brisley (that is to say the area surrounding his own farm) to Thomas Holland.<sup>22</sup>

By 1782 the bulk of the farm land in the parish was in the hands of four landowners.<sup>82</sup> Part, lying in the north-east corner of the parish, had belonged since 1640 to the neighbouring Testerton estate.<sup>54</sup> The rest lay in the four large farms now called Hazelwood Farm, Manor Farm, Manor House Farm, and Hall Farm, whose development has been described. The last vestiges of waste and woodland were brought under the plough after the two commons were enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1870 and at about the same time the woods in the eastern part of the parish were felled (part of Testerton Wood was proposed to be grubbed in 1856)<sup>83</sup> and their sites cut into arable closes. A new farm, Heath Farm, had been created in this area by the time of the large-scale Ordnance Survey sheets of 1889. No field land was enclosed at Colkirk by Act of Parliament and the slow process of exchange, purchase and consolidation which trans-

formed the arable landscape is largely unrecorded. West of the central green *Marlepyt furlong* of 1491<sup>21</sup> had become *Wateringe Closse alias Marlepitte Closse* by 1577; and a note added to the 1577 field book states that eight of the 22 lands in Black land furlong, all owned by Thomas Barsham, were enclosed in 1609. Of other enclosures appearing within the area of the open fields, *Horseclose*, first documented in 1663,<sup>25</sup> is located by the 1741 map as north of Oxwick boundary and west of Moor Common; Market Close occurs in 1677<sup>32</sup> (called Shepherd's Close in 1817); and in 1677<sup>32</sup> also occurs Beacon Close (Great and Little Beacon Hill 1817). No unenclosed arable strips remained in 1741, though strips fossilised by enclosure survived and still survive, no doubt because of mixed ownership, north of the village centre (North and South Church Crofts 1592/1617). The 1741 map records much, fairly recent landscape change. On the enclosed fields of the map are noted the number of pieces that each had incorporated since the making of a now lost map or field book more recent in date (because differently numbered) than the 1592/1617 map. In 1677, of glebe land lying in the west, east and south parts of the parish only that in the west was still unenclosed though in three cases where enclosure had taken place since 1592/1617 the land lay intermixed in closes of other men. The strips of glebe that were in 1677 still scattered in the north-west part of the parish were exchanged between 1735 and 1740 for one piece of six acres.<sup>32</sup> Enclosure was gradual and undisruptive enough for some closes to perpetuate furlong and field names; *Westhill at the oakes* 1577, Oak Lands 1817; *Reyners Whynnes* 1577, Whin Lands 1817; *Thornkyns* 1592/1617, Thornkin's Field 1817; *Longland* 1592/1617, Longlands 1817; *Lambecroft* 1592/1617, Lamb's Close 1817. The name South Field survived attached to a close in 1817. The field pattern altered little between 1741 and 1817 though Manor House Farm in the south-west quarter of the parish was laid out afresh with three small groves, still called the Plantings, along the road.

### Roads

Three main elements can be distinguished in the road pattern at Colkirk: straight east-west ways that survive incompletely and appear to have been established before the central green; undulating ways that ran, whether hedged or not, between the divisions of the open fields or followed the parish boundary and took account of the green; and north-south ways that crossed furlongs and are therefore later than the open field layout. Of the east-west roads, the Ryburgh-Toftrees way, possibly Roman in origin, has been referred to. By 1577 most of its eastern section had fallen out of use though it was marked then as now by field boundaries. It survives at the very eastern edge of the parish where it brings the B1146 road (Deerham Lane in 1592/1617) sharply into its own alignment. The unmetalled western section west of the central green, known as Church Lane or Tofts (Toftrees) Road (*Toftwey* 1502)<sup>21</sup> was probably no longer a through-road of much significance when a gate was thrown across it by the rector of the parish in 1599.<sup>84</sup> South of the central section of this road but parallel with the western part of it are two linear crop marks (Co. nos. 11372 and 11373)<sup>16</sup> which must represent ways. It has been suggested that 11373, which was a memory in 1577, was closed in 1307. The line of 11372 can be extended by croft and field boundaries on the 1592/1617 map so that it runs from Saltergate in the west nearly to Moor Common in the east. It crosses Whissonsett Lane giving it a sharp turn and it bypasses and ignores the green. Of the undulating ways a number have -gate terminals and are thus probably not later in date than the early medieval period. These include Nethergate documented from 1443<sup>35</sup> (*Nethergatestrete* 1507)<sup>21</sup> and its western continuation *Rayners gate* or *Rayners lane* (1577; now inexplicably called New Lane), *Saltergate* 1331,<sup>35</sup> *Saltersgate* 1577, a salt-distribution road,<sup>86</sup> and *Heselgate* 1392,<sup>34</sup> *Hasyllgate* 1577, from Old English *haesel*, hazel.<sup>86</sup> By 1592/1617 this was a fragmentary way following the southern boundary of the parish. An equally fragmented eastern continuation was *Croftgate* (1497,<sup>21</sup> 1614<sup>26</sup>).

The northern boundary of the parish is marked by Boundary Lane which has no early name but which a note on the 1592/1617 map describes as connecting Ryburgh, the river crossing, with King's Lynn — a long-distance through-road. One further road of the second type, Hollane of 1592/1617, sunk into the steep northern edge of the hill, varied its name with the relocation of the hall from the manor moat to the present Hall farmhouse. It is recorded as Hollow Lane in 1759<sup>25</sup> and Hall Lane in 1577 and 1767.<sup>25</sup> Of the third and presumably later type of way which ignored field boundaries, that which runs across the north-eastern corner of the parish has been mentioned as possibly linked with pre-1484 drainage works. The other starts from the north-west corner of the green and runs north to the edge of the parish. However its -gate terminal, preserved by a furlong it crossed called *Marketgate* 1489,<sup>35</sup> *Markettgate* 1577, evidences its comparative antiquity. Leading to the market town of Fakenham, it was called Market Lane in 1841<sup>70</sup> and is now called Market Hill. The road pattern altered little between 1577/1617 and 1817, though by 1741 enclosure had confined between hedge banks roads that, away from gardens and tofts at the village centre, had once made their way between or across unenclosed furlongs. Such definition has been seen happening at the farther end of Town Lane in 1619/20.

The 1577 field book indicates back lanes and field paths that the 1592/1617 map does not show. Linguistically the most interesting of these is the Beresty, Beersty or Bereway, also described as a church way. A corpse path may be inferred.<sup>85</sup> Field paths often disappeared during enclosure, though one parallel with the Toftwey and north of the church survived in part until recently. It was known as Love Lane in 1770.<sup>32</sup>

### Pits and Ponds

Pits and ponds were a notable feature of the landscape, so much so that perhaps because of clay digging part of the eastern common was known as *Pytmor* in 1484 and 1486.<sup>21</sup> The 1577 field book and the 1592/1617 map mark or name twenty-five and the O.S. sheets of 1889 show no fewer than 78 in the area covered by the 1592/1617 map and sixteen more in the area not covered. The 1741 map marks twenty only and the 1817 map which follows it closely a similar number. However, a map of 1810-11 that covers about three-quarters of the parish marks 44.<sup>56</sup> The growth in numbers is probably related mainly to marl digging for agricultural improvement. Townshend leases of 1776 and 1786 reserve the taking of marl, sand, gravel, clay or stone from pits made or to be made on Hall and Manor Farms.<sup>44</sup> The 1577 field book records three furlongs, all at the northern edge of the parish, that took their names from ancient pits and ponds — *Gaspittshawe* (?goose pit), *Cley pitt lond*, and *Harlings stake or Fysshepole*. The two watering places, one of which was also a fish pond in 1346, have been referred to. Other pits and ponds are recorded as follows — *Marlepytffurlong* 1492<sup>21</sup> (the great marlpit beyond Watering Close west of the church is indicated on the 1592/1617 map); *Wasshepytt* 1540; *Hem-pytt* 1540, *Hempe pytt acre* 1592/1617; sandpit at Thornkyns c.1570;<sup>35</sup> *Horse Pit Close* 1740. Functions as diverse as mineral extraction, fishing, sheep dipping, stock watering and hemp soaking are indicated. That hemp was grown is also shown by a family arrangement of 1497 whereby John Seferey senior was allowed for life half the hemp sown on the premises (the house was no.36) and pasture for one cow.<sup>21</sup>

### Housing

In 1592/1617 the typical house at Colkirk was a small farmhouse or strictly speaking yeoman's or husbandman's house, aligned along the street and separated from its neighbours by its own yards. The more important, those with outbuildings or inset houses, were often found at corners or road junctions where there was a longer frontage or better access. By 1850, though three

or four small farmhouses or former farmhouses remained undivided, the typical building was a terrace of two or more cottages, many of them turning their gable ends towards the street. The earliest double dweller recorded is the pair of almshouses built about 1630<sup>22</sup> and terraces are documented in 1718<sup>25</sup> and 1755<sup>80</sup> (house nos. 16 and 20). The northern side of Town Lane in particular, before recent redevelopment, presented a crowded pattern of 18th- and early 19th-century buildings. Four dwellinghouses are shown here in 1592/1617. Subdivisions are recorded in the mid-17th century and 1729.<sup>25</sup> By 1839 there were eighteen cottages, including three terraces, a Methodist chapel licensed in 1834,<sup>87</sup> the smithy, a brewhouse and a bakehouse. It included the only example in the parish of off-street cottage development. The concentration of settlement here and the colonisation of the road verge further east may have offset the 17-18th century decay of Nethergate, but it must also reflect population pressure. However these figures are interpreted, a growing population may be inferred from the returns of 1603<sup>88</sup> and 1676<sup>89</sup> which give 60 communicants and no papists and 106 conformists and eight papists respectively. Intensive subdivision and rebuilding took place in the first half of the 19th century, especially in the decade 1831-1841 when the number of houses in the village recorded in censuses rose from 48 to 94. An extreme example of subdivision at this time is house site no. 2. This carried two houses in 1592/1617 of which the lesser had declined to a stable or hayhouse by 1767.<sup>25</sup> The other was reconstructed early in the 18th century and in 1786 as a small farmhouse (Co. no. 23880).<sup>16, 67</sup> In 1821-7 seven cottages were added,<sup>67</sup> a detached pair dated 1825 and the rest in a terrace ('Long Row') end-on to the road. Behind these in 1837 Colkirk House was built for William Rowland Sandiford with miniature park, icewell and large stabling block, the house facing north away from the cottages and towards the long view over the Wensum valley. A sale particular of 1840 assigns it to 'an architect of eminence'.<sup>67, 93</sup>

The population was rising sharply in the first half of the century, to fall again after 1861. Published census figures give<sup>90</sup> — 1801 304, 1821 358, 1831 416, 1841 462, 1861 473, 1881 431, 1901 420. Emigrations to Yorkshire in 1873 and Canada in 1886 are recorded.<sup>92</sup> W.E. Heitland,<sup>68</sup> writing of the 1850s, says of Colkirk 'The houses of the village were nearly all cottages of various quality. The better sort [were] built of brick and tiled with the heavy curved tile of East Anglia . . . Some of a more ancient type were smaller and rougher, the walls low and thick, built of flints bedded in rough mortar. The worst sort were those whose frame was really rough timber and wattle-work daubed with clay; roof high-pitched and covered with thatch, in which was the bedroom lighted only by a very small window in the gable end. These hovels easily fell into decay and ruin, and are now gone unlamented'.

As Heitland said, no examples of timber framing now remain at Colkirk. Of the second one-and-a-half storey type examples remain which probably range in date from the late 16th or early 17th century to the mid-18th. All but five houses (nos. 4, 5, 13, 23, and 28) because of their alignment must postdate the 1592/1617 map, however. Heitland's first type is of the early to mid 19th century. Of these dated examples of 1825 and 1835 occur and others are documented as of c. 1810 to c. 1864,<sup>67, 93</sup> including the Crown Inn (no. 33) which was rebuilt by the parish charity that owned it in 1827.<sup>94</sup> Though the parish was mostly in the hands of large landowners by the late 18th century, the cottage property continued to be owned by small men at whose instance most of the subdivisions and rebuildings of the early 19th century took place.<sup>67</sup> No model cottages were built until the 1870s and 1880s when the Rector W.M. Hoare built terraces of cottages and a shop at the centre of the village and a sexton's cottage and a parish room near the church.<sup>95</sup>

Further points raised by this study are these. Diversity of soil allowed a sheep-corn and a wood-pasture economy to coexist, the one producing a nucleated settlement with common fields and the other dispersed settlement in woodland and waste that gradually yielded to grazing enclosures and arable demesne. This economic diversity may have ensured the survival of the village in an area notoriously of decayed (see map 1) and shrunken settlements; at Colkirk it was dispersed settlement that disappeared in the late medieval period while the nuclear village grew. A central green perhaps of 12th-century origin linked to a secondary common has left clear traces in the landscape and their more-or-less simultaneous late 15th-century disappearance is well-documented. The social or farming changes that produced the green and then made it redundant are not well understood, nor is the reason why only the sides of the green farthest from the church were permanently colonised. Fluidity of settlement within the parish before about 1560 is in contrast with its stability after that date. This may be partly related to a change from timber framing capable of relocation to flint and brick construction and partly to the fact that the creation of new holdings in the earlier period meant extensions of settlement while population growth in the later period was accommodated largely by the subdivision of existing house-plots. Increases of population must explain the parish-edge assarts first documented c. 1240-c. 1295 and the four extensions of settlement first recorded in the period 1440-1560. Intercommoning with neighbouring vills affected the final shape of the parish, negotiation over the division of shared commons producing stepped and interlocking boundaries. The markedly east-west tendency of ways within the parish raises questions about its external communications in the early medieval period. Finally, by the end of the 18th century most of the parish had been shared without formal enclosure agreement between four farms each based on a nucleus established before 1500, the stimulus to growth in each case apparently being empasturing for sheep recorded in 1517 and the acquisition in 1540 of foldcourse rights.

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1. Peter Wade-Martins, *Village Sites in Launditch Hundred*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 10 (1980) and 'The Origins of Rural Settlement in East Anglia' in P.J. Fowler ed., *Recent Work in Rural Archaeology* (1975), pp.137-157.
2. See next.
3. Raynham Hall, drawer 66. This is a 17th-century copy and includes also tenurial evidence back to the late 15th century, the rental of 1540, a glebe terrier of 1520, and some 17th-century rate assessments.
4. Norfolk Record Office (hereafter N.R.O.), Bradfer-Lawrence map 46/1. Surveyed by Thomas Wright in 1592 (as a note added to the 1577 field book shows) and drawn up perhaps with some updating by Thomas Waterman in 1617. It does not cover the extreme eastern part of the parish.
5. N.R.O., Hayes & Storr deposit 9/6/87, no.29. By John Aram, with terrier copied onto map. Emended to c. 1820.
6. N.R.O., PD 65/1. Partly based on the last.
7. N.R.O., Norwich Diocesan Tithe Apportionment no.728.
8. N.R.O., County Inclosure Award, C/Sca/2/74 and Hayes & Storr deposit 9/6/87, no.30.
9. So the Tithe Apportionment; this figure excludes roads. Kelly's Norfolk Directory of 1901 has 1564 acres.
10. Anonymous *History of Norfolk* (1781), 8, p.22.
11. E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1960), pp.116-117, and pers. comm. from the late O.K. Schram.

12. See maps in H.C. Darby, *Domesday Geography of Eastern England* (1952), p.127, *Norwich and its Region* (British Association 1961), p.147, and Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (1986), p.3.
13. P. Wade-Martins, *Village Sites*, pp.21-22.
14. Philippa Brown ed., *Domesday Book, Norfolk I* (1984), 10.6, 10.54.
15. Rackham p.173.
16. I am grateful to Edwin Rose for this information from the files of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit.
17. A.H. Smith, *English Place-name Elements*, English Place-Name Society vols.25-26 (1956), I, p.134.
18. P. Wade-Martins, *A Roman Road between Billingford and Toftrees*, *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 5 (1977), pp.1-3.
19. Ryburgh has its own Romano-British site; Co. no.11360.
20. P. Wade-Martins, *Village Sites*, pp.82-90.
21. N.R.O., MSS 21082-21084, 34 E 6, manor of Colkirk court rolls 1483-99, 1507-8, 1603.
22. N.R.O., Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society Collection, Frere MSS Launditch, Colkirk bundle, manor of Colkirk draft court rolls 1501-2, 1562-7.
23. Public Record Office, PCC wills 40 Pile (1636).
24. N.R.O., NCC wills 300 Popy (1502).
25. N.R.O., MS 19633, Z I C, manor of Colkirk court book 1664-1775.
26. N.R.O. ANW 15/2/30, Colkirk glebe terrier 1614.
27. Francis Blomefield, *History of Norfolk* 9 (1808), pp.475-6.
28. Notes on 1817 map and on parish copy of Tithe Apportionment in Colkirk parish chest.
29. Evidence cited in 1577 field book.
30. Glebe terrier copied into 1577 field book.
31. R.W. Ketton-Cremer, 'Camping', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXIV (1932), pp.88-92, 315-317.
32. Glebe terriers in Colkirk parish chest.
33. N.R.O., Norwich diocesan glebe terriers, Colkirk bundle.
34. H.L. Bradfer-Lawrence, 'Some Notes on Toftrees', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXIV (1932), p.56.
35. Raynham Hall drawer 23, Colkirk and Oxwick deeds and extents.
36. pers. comm.
37. A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements I*, pp.126-128.
38. St. John's College, Cambridge, drawer 108, no.132, Colkirk tithe accounts 1741-1820. Chris Barringer kindly told me of this.
39. O.S. Geological Survey of England and Wales, draft edition, sheet 12, 1901.
40. Francis Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, 10 (1809), p.82.
41. N.R.O., Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society Collection, Frere MSS Launditch, Whissonsett bundle; Raynham Hall, drawers 23 and 42.
42. Raynham Hall, drawer 64 and unnumbered in attic (Smyth and Barsham papers).
43. N.R.O., Phillipps Collection, Phi/470/2, 577 × 9.
44. Raynham Hall, unnumbered in attic.
45. N.R.O., Phillipps Collection, Phi/469, 577 × 9.
46. Raynham Hall, drawer 92 and unnumbered in attic (valuations of Henry Kelsale's estate 1737-40).
47. A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements II*, p.64.
48. G.A. Carthew, *Hundred of Launditch* (1877-9), I, pp.97-100.
49. N.R.O., Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society Collection, Frere MSS Launditch, Colkirk bundle, extents and suit papers and antiquaries' notes.
50. Barbara Dodwell, 'The Honour of the Bishop of Thetford/Norwich in the late 11th and early 12th centuries', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXXIII (1963), p.193 and n.72.
51. Blomefield 5 (1806), p.184.
52. N.R.O., Phillipps Collection, Phi/548, 578 × 2.
53. Silvia Addington, 'Landscape and Settlements in South Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeol.* XXXVIII (1982), p.120.
54. Raynham Hall, drawer 113.
55. Barbara Dodwell ed., *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory II*, Pipe Roll Society n.s. 46 (1985), nos.125-6.
56. Especially a Raynham estate map of 1810-11 which marks it as 'Norwich Church Land', N.R.O., Bradfer-Lawrence map 60.
57. A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements I*, p.221.
58. The general position is confirmed by the Gateley field book of 1577 (N.R.O., Bradfer-Lawrence viiic(i) and PD9/35) and by British Library Add. MS 39220.
59. British Library, Walsingham Priory Cartulary, Cotton Nero E vii, fo.119v.
60. N.R.O., Norwich Archdeaconry wills 1469-1503, 119.

61. I.S. Leadam, 'The Inquisition of 1517', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, n.s.7 (1893), pp.178-9.
62. Raynham Hall, drawer 64.
63. N.R.O., Spelman Collection, SPE 105, 315 × 5.
64. Walter Rye, *Norfolk Families* (1913), p.357.
65. N.R.O., INV 61/83.
66. N.R.O., accn. Society of Genealogists P169B; Raynham Hall, Colkirk deeds in drawers 73, 76, 82, 92, 115-117, and 153 and unnumbered in attic.
67. N.R.O., MSS 15396-8, 44A, manor of Colkirk court books 1778-1915.
68. W.E. Heitland, *After Many Years* (1923), pp.7-12.
69. Blomefield 9, p.473; Carthew I. p.100; N.R.O., Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society Collection, Frere MSS Launditch, Colkirk bundle.
70. N.R.O., County road orders misc. 1/1.
71. oral tradition.
72. N.R.O., Norwich Archdeaonry wills 31 Athowe (1536-45).
73. N.R.O. NCC wills 73-4 Platfoote (1533).
74. Notes on 1741 map.
75. An 18th-century note (Raynham Hall drawer 23) states 'Colkirk first Deed to Barsham Henry 4t.' which takes them back to the early 15th century.
76. P.R.O., PCC wills 14 Pynnyng (1545).
77. Sir Gerald Ryan and Lilian J. Redstone, *Timperley of Hintlesham* (1931), pp.66-67.
78. P. Seaman ed., *Norfolk and Norwich Hearth Tax Assessment Lady Day 1666*, Norfolk Genealogy 20 (1988), p.30.
79. N.R.O., Norwich Archdeaonry wills 1664-5, 121.
80. Raynham Hall, drawer 83.
81. N.R.O., INV 33/150.
82. N.R.O., County land tax assessments, Launditch 1782.
83. N.R.O., Duleep Singh Collection, maps 319-20 and nos.445-6, 351 × 2.
84. Colkirk first parish register (in parish chest), pp.3, 36.
85. Discussed in *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin* 22 (Sept. 1979), p.16, and 23 (March 1980), p.8.
86. A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* I, p.218, and II, p.97.
87. N.R.O., Norwich diocesan archives DIS 4, fo.125.
88. Augustus Jessopp, 'The Condition of the Archdeaonry of Norwich in 1603', *Norfolk Archaeology* X (1888) p.40.
89. Staffordshire Record Office MS 33, Compton Census (xerox copy in N.R.O.)
90. The published figure for 1831 (316) is incorrect. It is corrected by the overseer's draft in Colkirk church chest.
91. N.R.O., MS 18622/227, 477 × 2.
92. Teacher's log at Colkirk School and service register in Colkirk parish chest.
93. N.R.O., MS 18622/52, 476 × 9.
94. *Report of the Commissioners . . . to inquire concerning Charities . . . Norfolk and Norwich*, 8 (1815-39), pp.754-5.
95. pers. comm. and comparison of the inclosure map of 1870 and the O.S. sheets of 1889.