

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE IN 1086

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MORE than five hundred estates are mentioned in Domesday Book as existing in this county in 1086 and others can be dimly discerned. If we could find out where each of these estates was and what it consisted of, and if we could make up our minds what can be learned about them from Domesday Book itself in conjunction with later records, we could form a fair picture of this county as it then was. I believe that with industry and local knowledge nearly all these estates could be identified, and I believe also that Bucks is a favourable county for such enquiries. The study of Domesday Book as a whole is too mighty a task for a layman to attempt and I propose only to reconsider here what it tells us about the manors and 'lands' of this county and the villages within whose bounds they lay. Before the text can be made use of for this purpose, its original arrangement must be restored, and our first concern is to allot the anonymous manors and those which bear lost names to the vills they belonged to. This task, however, may conveniently be relegated to an Appendix.

The unscrambling of Domesday Book and its rearrangement vill by vill is now but clerical labour and when it has been performed we are across the threshold of our subject. A first glance shows about half the vills held by one lord and the rest by a number of lords ranging from two to eleven. The study of these multiple vills will be our best way to form a general picture of the county and when we ask what each manor or 'land' consisted of we can expect one of four possible answers.

1. The common fields with all their appurtenances of meadow, waste and wood may have been so divided that some of the tenements with all their strips in the common fields were held of one lord, others of a second or even a third lord. In Maids Morton, for instance, there were two manors, and abundant later records and estate maps which have been published¹ make it clear that the tenants of each of these manors held their ploughland in the same common fields and shared the same meadow and waste. I am inclined to think that when Domesday Book describes a manor as being held 'pro uno manerio' we can conclude that it was of this nature and look for its fellow.

"In Morton Turstin [son of Rolf] holds of Walter [Giffard] 2 hides. . . ."

"In the same vill the same Turstin holds of Walter 4 hides 'pro uno manerio. . . .'"

"In Morton, Lewin holds 5 hides 'pro uno manerio'."

The first of these manors, as will presently be shown, did not lie in the common fields; they were shared only by Turstin's 4 hide manor and by Lewin's.

"In [Little] Loughton two Knights hold of Manno 5 hides 'pro uno manerio' . . ."

"In [Little] Loughton Walter holds of the Count $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. . . ." Walter's holding was not a manor, but it shared the common fields with the holding of the two Knights.²

It seems as if in this part of the country the picture evoked by the word manor was still that of a village with its common fields under one lordship, and that some sort of apology was needed if a word appropriate to describe the whole was used to describe the part.

2. A set of fields may have been tilled in common by the men of two manors or villis, one of the fields lying in the first manor, and the other field, or the other two, in the second manor. Each tenant had his holding in all the fields and common of pasture in the fallow field. For his holding in the forinsec fields, his own lord was mesne between him and the lord of the other manor. In Beaconsfield later charters³ show that there were three fields, two of them in Herts, in the anonymous manor of the Bishop of Lincoln, and one in Bucks, either in the manor of Burnham or more probably in its demesne manor. It is indeed possible that in 1086 there were only two fields, but the topographical evidence is in favour of three fields having existed from the very beginning. Another instance in Amersham will be more fully considered later. 'Lands' and manors of this sort are found only in common fields of late development, assarted out of heath or forest previously used by two or more villis in common until they agreed to hold in severalty but to co-operate in ploughing them up and tilling them. It was probably on these newer lands that the practice of having three fields first came in, a practice which spread to older lands painfully and after a long time.

3. There may have been two or more sets of common fields, each a separate agricultural unit and the exclusive territory of a manor. Usually, but not quite always, when there are two adjacent villages bearing the same name, such as the two Chalfonts, Great and Little Ickford, Great and Little Loughton, Over and Nether Winchendon, each of them had its own set of common fields and the lord of one had nothing in the other. Bishopstone is somewhat of an exception, for it shared its common fields with the hamlet of Marsh in Great Kimble and the strips belonging to each lay intermingled with those of the other, in the manner described above.⁴

4. A 'land' may have been a hamlet only, without a share in the common fields of the village or even, perhaps, in its meadow, waste and woodland.⁵ It would indeed have had common fields of its own, but simpler and perhaps different in kind from the older common fields of the village. Precisely what the distinction was between a village and a hamlet except in point of size it is hard to tell, but that there was a line of demarcation is likely.

It is tempting but erroneous to suppose that a terra differed from a manerium in being a hamlet and not having a share in the common fields of the vill. We have already noticed that the common fields of Little Loughton were shared by the manor held in 1086 of Manno Brito and the 'land' held by Walter of the Count of Mortain. Similar instances are not hard to find. I am convinced that the real difference consisted in this, that whatever court the lord of a terra may have held for his tenants, both he and they owed suit of court elsewhere; the terra was a member of a manor that might perhaps lie far away.

In many villis there were manors and 'lands' of more than one of these types.

In Lavendon much lies concealed; there were three entire villages each with its common fields tenurially divided and several hamlets of various sorts.

It is not to be supposed that vills which had but one manorial lord differed in other respects from the multiple vills. The terseness of the Survey obscures the complexity that existed. No estate needed to be separately noticed unless it paid its geld at its own hall, and in 1086 a member of a manor lying in the same vill paid at the hall of the manor. The description of what had existed in 1066 sometimes betrays the real state of affairs. Estates which previously had separate identities have now become members of a manor; two of them have been brought into Iver, Sutton perhaps and Thorney, and they now make one blot with that great manor. Five Saxon holdings go to make up the manor of Weston Turville and we have here several sets of common fields. (Even now the physical formation of the village, not nucleated or 'thoroughfare', but consisting of well-defined groups or 'endships', round Church, Manor, Green or Mill, give evidence of the ancient arrangement.)

It has often occurred to me to wonder whether the mysterious letter M, which in this among other counties appears in the margin of the text, has correctly been supposed to stand for Manerium, for many estates which were undeniably manors are not so designated. It is more likely that it stands for Membrum or Membra and served to warn the sheriff that this manor is responsible for the geld of members outside its own boundaries, within or without that vill. An instance adverse to this view is the Land of Gozelin Brito in Amersham, but it is equally adverse to the accepted interpretation. The truth probably is that the entry has slipped during the revision of the text, for in the original survey Hugh Bolebec's manor of Chesham must have followed it and that manor certainly had members. Another adverse instance is the manor of Datchet which on either view should have had a letter M; I have no explanation to offer.

THE VILLS

'The Bishop [of Coutances] himself holds Sherington'. 'Richard [Talbot] holds of Walter [Giffard] Moulsoe'. These statements both imply that the manor and the vill are coterminous. 'In Saunderton Roger holds of the Bishop of Bayeux 5 hides'. 'In Quainton Miles [Crispin] holds 7½ hides'. The word 'in' must have been added when the Survey was rearranged, and an entry in this form warns us that this was not the only estate in the vill.

One of the apparent exceptions is worth pausing over. In Hanechedene Taedald held of the Bishop of Bayeux 3 hides. Round, at a loss to identify the place, wildly suggested Whinch Bottom, but Dr. Fowler showed the manor to have been that of Radnage.⁶ His ingenious attempt to explain how a clerk hearing the name of Radnage came to write Hanechedene was unnecessary; in point of fact the clerk dealt very creditably with a difficult name, for this is the Eaningadene mentioned half a century before in an Anglo-Saxon charter.⁷ The reason for the 'in' which precedes the name may well be that there were indeed two manors in this vill, one at Radnage and the other at Bradenham.

Round was fond of insisting on the five-hide multiple in terms of which a vill was normally assessed. If however this county was many times reassessed

and always for the benefit of the King, each hundred would have had to distribute the increment which fell upon it over those villis best able to bear the burden, those in which most land had come newly under the plough in the meanwhile. It cannot therefore be expected that the five-hide multiple will everywhere be found, but it is always worth while to look out for it. My suggestion that Radnage and Bradenham together make up Hanechedene is supported by their together making up 5 hides. Half a hide lacking in Woughton peeps out at us from William son of Ansculf's manor in Caldecote. The four manors which gelded in Horsenden defended themselves in all for $9\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Horsenden, and consequently Risborough hundred, are each short of 3 virgates. In the King's vill of Risborough, however, we find a sokeman holding 3 virgates and paying geld instead of, or as well as, contributing to the ferm of the vill, and surely those are the virgates missing from Horsenden which the holder has taken with him into Risborough. I have no doubt after consulting a map that they lay in the hamlet of Longwick. Horsenden had indeed by this time been virtually dismembered. Its southern tip had gone into Bradenham and the adjacent land into Saunderton; the northern tip, consisting apparently of the rest of Longwick, has been taken into Ilmer.

The descents of manors sometimes reveal the identity of their territory. The integrity of every manor and 'land' always tended to be preserved, whatever the changes in its lordship, and it should never be assumed that one has been absorbed into another without satisfactory positive evidence. We learn for instance, that in 1236 $\frac{1}{2}$ Hide in Chorley held by Gilbert de Mineres had escheated by reason of his being a Norman, and that the Earl of Leicester, the tenant in chief, had obtained it by virtue of letters patent granting to him such terræ Normannorum as might escheat in his barony.⁸ We know that the fees in Bucks of the Earl of Leicester were the lands held of him by the Turvilles, the successors of Roger son of Anketil. By a simple process of eliminating the known fees we can be sure that we have here the $\frac{1}{2}$ Hide in West Wycombe which had in 1066 been in the manor of the Bishop of Winchester, but in 1086 had been held by Roger of the Bishop of Bayeux. From a later entry we infer that this fee formed part of the common fields of Chorley.⁹

HIDES AND CARUCATES

A hide had once been a measure of arable land; it had been as much land as a family needed to sustain it, and as could be ploughed with its team of 8 oxen. It had never been a definite area of land, for it had varied according to the lawful perch of the vill,¹⁰ which determined the breadth of its strips in the common fields, and according to the length of each strip in furlongs of irregular size and shape. But by 1086 the word 'hide' was only used in this county to denote the fiscal unit on which geld was levied, and I have never come across any instance thereafter in any public or private document of land being measured in terms of hides; on the contrary when men spoke of land in terms of hides they never had in mind its area or how many ploughs were needed to till it, but only its liability to geld or to hidage or its identity in relation to that liability. When they measured land in Bucks they measured it then and thereafter in terms of carucates.¹¹

Towards the end of the reign of Henry II, Gerard de Greinville gave to the Templars $\frac{1}{2}$ hide of his land in Wotton, held of him by Adulf and Baldewyn, undertaking that if there was not a perfect carucate in that $\frac{1}{2}$ hide he would add as much land as would give them a full and perfect carucate, and he afterwards demised to them another 12 acres in fulfilment of his gift.¹² But despite the wording of the charter, the carucate was a variable unit, varying in its precise area from vill to vill and from holding to holding just as the hide had varied. We hear later on of carucates of 137 acres,¹³ of 160 acres,¹⁴ of 200 acres.¹⁵

There was a complementary sense in which the word carucate was used in this county; it was used to denote arable land not subject to geld. Now King Edward had in 1051 renounced his right to levy the geld, so land which came for the first time under the plough during the fifteen years preceding the conquest cannot have been hidated on the day on which he was alive and dead. The old Saxon procedure had been that the King assessed the shire, the shire assessed the hundred and the hundred the vill. Such evidence as we have tends to show that the vill itself then assessed the manors and 'lands' within it, allowing assarting and enclosure of common land only on condition that the incomers took upon the new land some of the burden which had formerly been borne by the vill as a whole. The indications are that after the coming of King William the ancient procedure was not again set in motion. The King directly interfered, when he saw fit, with the hundredal assessments and even with those of individual manors, but he left the shire alone. There is no ground for supposing that he altered any hundredal assessments in Bucks, nor was there need for alteration; a few cases of reassessment of manors will be noticed later, but they are the only ones we have strong cause to suspect. The assessments of some manors in 1086 differ from those of 1066, but probably owing to omissions or to small errors in addition. The conclusion must be that land geldable in 1086 had gelded in 1066 and therefore before 1051, and that land coming under the plough after 1050 never in history gelded or contributed to hidage.

In Little Missenden Wigot held of the Count of Mortain 1 hide and he had held it T.R.E. There was 1 Plough and there could have been $\frac{1}{2}$ Plough more. It was a very valuable hide, for it was worth £5, as much as the whole manor of Great Missenden was worth to its lord. This we may attribute to the fact that Wigot farmed it himself, for no villanus held of him, and the only holdings mentioned are those of 4 bordars. And not only was it valuable, but it had much increased in value since 1066. We can trace the subsequent owners of this estate,¹⁶ the d'Urilles, the Bucklands, and the Camvilles, through whom it came to the Earls of Salisbury, and we can identify the estate itself as that part of Little Missenden which lay on the right bank of the river and contained Holmer. It may well be that the rise in its value was due to the assarting of Holmer having been begun in that very period of 1066-86. This assarting certainly continued thereafter, for by 1208 there were 4 carucates in Holmer.¹⁷ 'Holmer is not hidated', the jurors found at the Eyre of 1254.¹⁸ The hide, the geldable land, lay in Little Missenden above the village; the carucates, the land not geldable, lay in Holmer.

We are not surprised that in after times we find outlying farms and hamlets conveyed in terms of carucates—Loudhams for instance in Chalfont St. Giles,¹⁹

Reddings in Chesham,²⁰ Poynants in Hambleden,²¹ Lillyfee in Wooburn²²—for we can readily believe they were not in existence when King Edward levied his last geld.

Conversely, the description in later documents of land in terms of hides shows that there existed there before the Conquest a settlement with a developed agricultural economy based on arable farming. At Boarstall such a hamlet existed²³ and at Beaconsfield,²⁴ Cadmer End,²⁵ Cliveden,²⁶ Culverdon,²⁷ Fulbrook,²⁸ Ford,²⁹ Hulcott,³⁰ Owlswick,³¹ Penn,³² Southcote in Linslade³³ and Wexham.³⁴

The hidated "lands" which lay in the old common fields are also evidence of expansion. New shots must sometimes have been added by the villagers without any new tenements arising, but if the occasion of the common fields being extended was the arrival of a new settler, the new tenement he created would naturally be required to undertake a liability to geld. If he were a man of rank and substance he evidently had tenants, and a hall of his own where he paid his geld, and he was free to go with his land where he would. The tenement upon which I myself live in Chalfont St. Giles is of this sort;³⁵ the indications are that it came into being after the rest of the village, that its holding lay in the common fields but that its curtilage and close were carved out of the waste of the vill. Similar holdings are easy to recognise all over the county and where their halls lay could with patience be discovered. Those that were still within the manor in 1066 are no longer mentioned in 1086; they paid their geld at the hall of the manor and their position in it was no different from that of other free tenements.

THE DEMESNE

Domesday Book itself mentions carucates four times and always in connection with the demesne. "William son of Ansculf himself holds Tickford. It defends itself for 5 hides. In the demesne are 2 carucates of land besides the 5 hides and on it are 2 ploughs." The normal way of expressing the same thing is, in Bucks, simply to record that in the manor there are 5 hides and on the demesne there are 2 ploughs. If it could be taken for granted that, unless the contrary was expressly stated, the demesne was not included in the 5 hides it was superfluous both to record that there were 2 carucates in the demesne and that there were 2 ploughs on it.

It was the duty of the lord's men to defend his inland against geld. To the modern mind this is consistent with the inland being assessed to geld and the duty of the men being to find amongst themselves the ready money to discharge it. But to the mind of the eleventh-century, geld was inseparable from particular land, and the only way the men could defend the inland against geld was to free it from assessment and share out that assessment over their own tenements. There were therefore no hides of inland in Bucks; there were only carucates, and in respect of these Domesday Book only needed to state how many ploughs there were or could have been on them.

As the word itself implies, the inland was the demesne which lay in the common fields of the manor, whether after the antique practice in strips side by side with those of the men, or whether, as in some manors, the lord had

contrived by means of exchanges to gather it together into a few of the furlongs.

"In Lathbury William holds of the Bishop of Coutances 5 hides as one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs; on the demesne are 2 and 6 villani with 6 bordars have 2 ploughs."

Towards the close of the reign of Henry II the Bidun lands became the inheritance of five sisters, and Ermingarde the wife of Aldulf de Gatesden had some of her purparty in Lathbury. In 1241 she granted to her son Richard a carucate of land in Lathbury less half a virgate which she retained. No tenant was upon it and it was clearly part of her demesne. The half virgate she retained lay in parcels varying from 1 rood to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres scattered in eleven places in the common fields.³⁶

In 1222 Oliver de Aincurt granted to the Bishop of Lincoln a third part of his whole demesne in Wooburn "as it lies everywhere in the fields".³⁷ In 1224 Robert de Chetwode gave his son's widow half his demesne in Chetwode "as it lies everywhere in fields and meadows".³⁸ Charters show us demesnes lying in the common fields of Little Loughton,³⁹ Beachampton,⁴⁰ Addington,⁴¹ Great Kimble,⁴² Stone and Hartwell,⁴³ Barton Hartshorn.⁴⁴ In none of the manors concerned does Domesday Book mention the demesne as assessed to geld but only the number of ploughs there were or might be on it.

"Robert son of Walter", we are told, "holds Oakley of Robert d'Oilly. It defends itself for 5 hides and 3 virgates. There is land for 7 ploughs. On the demesne are 3; and 9 villani with 7 bordars have 4 ploughs. . . . These 5 hides and 3 virgates are 8 hides." The King is losing the geld he ought to have on $2\frac{1}{4}$ hides because Robert has added geldable land to his demesne and wrongfully represented it to be inland. He is making out that $2\frac{1}{4}$ hides are $2\frac{1}{4}$ carucates, and evidently the hundred is saying that the lord cannot free land from geld by adding it to the 3 carucates of inland he already legitimately possesses. In Clifton, the lords of the Toden manor are accused by the hundred of holding 3 virgates "concealed". We are to understand, not that they are concealing the land itself or the circumstance of its being arable land, but simply its liability to geld; they are pretending it to be inland instead of tenants' land as in fact it is.

It is manifest from these examples that a lord could not free geldable land from assessment by acquiring it and adding it to his inland, whether or not it lay in the common fields. The liability ran with the land regardless of ownership. Prescription must have run in favour of the tenants against their having to acquit more inland than existed or was deemed to have existed at some time in the past. In later documents we sometimes read of the ancient demesne of a manor, which was presumably the non-geldable inland, distinguishable by the villagers from after acquired land which had come to the lord by escheat or purchase and remained liable to geld or hidage.⁴⁵

In 92 manors in this county there is mention of hidated demesne, of demesne assessed to geld. It is natural to conclude that these demesnes are not inland which it is the duty of the men to defend against geld, but outland which the lord must himself acquit. Detailed examination of the hidated demesnes in Bucks confirms this conclusion, and tends to show that they never lay in the common fields of the manors but constituted separate farming units wholly outside them, to which a hamlet or a village was attached.⁴⁶ Occasionally they

appear to have constituted part of a field system which had arisen from the ploughing up of land common to several villis.

The hidated demesne of Wyrardisbury I take to have lain in Langley, that of Datchet in Fulmer, that of Eton in Wexham, that of Burnham in Beaconsfield, that of Crendon in the Park there, that of Whaddon in Nash, those of Calverton and Wolverton in Stony Stratford; that of Amersham we shall visit by and by.

In the year 1227 the King assigned to Christiana widow of William de Mandeville Earl of Essex dower in the manors of Quarrendon and Amersham and a precept to the sheriff of Bucks bids him report the number of acres sown in their 'demesne manors'.⁴⁷ Now both these manors had hidated demesnes in 1086. The demesne manor of Maids Morton appears to be listed separately from the manor which Turstin son of Rolf held of Walter Giffard, for no other identity can be found for the 2 Hides which Turstin is first mentioned as holding there than that of the 2 hides which in the early thirteenth century were the demesnes of Reginald son of Azur and Walter Burgan.⁴⁸

The existence of a demesne manor did not preclude the lord from having inland as well. In Hanslope, Winemar the Fleming had in the demesne 5 hides and besides these 5 carucates of land. References however to demesne carucates in manors to which a demesne manor was attached are rare in later documents.

It is observable that, with only two exceptions, all the Bucks manors which had demesne manors attached to them (in Bedfordshire there is no exception) were retained in hand by the tenant in chief, and that he generally subinfeudated those in which the demesne was inland. It seems probable that these demesne manors sustained the knights who had not been enfeoffed of land but were borne 'super dominium'. The manors themselves could be let at farm. Later on, enfeoffments were made on demesne manors while the manors they were members of were still retained in hand. It was in respect of these demesne manors that special privileges were sometimes obtained to exempt them from geld;⁴⁹ the demesne inland was always exempt.

The emergence of the villages of Chenies and Latimer is interesting, and the story has not I think been told before. The manor of Isenhamstead, though not mentioned by name in Domesday Book, is extended in Chesham. It had been given by Queen Edith to Alsì on his marriage to the daughter of a Saxon magnate, Wulfward the White. It was assessed at 4 hides; there was land for 9 ploughs. In the demesne were 1½ hides and on it were 2 ploughs, and 10 villani with 5 bordars had 7 ploughs. There were 6 serfs, meadow for 2 teams, woodland for 800 swine and a mill worth 6s. 8d. It was worth £4 and T.R.E. £5. She had also given to Alsì the manor of Doddershall, assessed at 6 hides and gelding partly in Sortelai and partly in Shipton Lee.

But the lands of Queen Edith were not hers to bestow; on her death they reverted to the King, and the land of Alsì comes among those of the King's Thegns, held for life or at pleasure; neither of these manors descended in his family.

Doddershall was held in later times of the Cliffords.⁵⁰ In the Pipe Roll of 31 Hen. I Osbert fitz Pons was pardoned Danegeld in the sum of 12s. which was appropriate to 6 hides, and as he was a younger brother of Richard fitz Pons

the ancestor of the Cliffords,⁵¹ and as the Cliffords never held in chief any other land in Bucks, we may conclude that Doddershall had reverted to the King before 1130 and had been regranted to Richard fitz Pons who had enfeoffed his brother Osbert of it.

In 1161 Alexander de Cheyne appears among the Knights of the Honour of Wolverton as answering for the scutage of 1 fee.⁵² In 1166 he was returned as holding 1 fee de vetere, that is to say that his antecessor had held it in Henry I's time.⁵³ In that year also he witnessed a Charter as Alexander de Isenhampstead.⁵⁴ The subsequent descent of the manor of Isenhampstead Chenies in his family is clear, and it is equally clear that they held it as of the manor of Chalfont St. Giles.⁵⁵

In 1154, if Farrer was right in ascribing to that year the Carta of the Honour of Wallingford, Walter Foliot held 2 fees.⁵⁶ Walter Foliot his grandson also held 2 fees of which one was in Isenhampstead,⁵⁷ so the grandfather had no doubt also held that same fee. When the daughter and heiress of Walter Foliot the younger married Ralf de Cheinduit it became known as Isenhampstead Cheinduit; its present name of Latimer came to it in the fourteenth century.

If Doddershall had reverted to the King and been granted away again by 1130, so too no doubt had Isenhampstead. Now in the four years 1126–29 Meinfelin the son of Manno Brito, lord of Wolverton, who held in demesne the manor of Chalfont St. Giles was sheriff of Bucks, and if Alsi died at that time he would have taken his lands into the King's hand, extended them, farmed them for the exchequer and put in seisin those to whom the King regranted them. It seems to me most likely that the death of Alsi and the regrant of his lands occurred during those four years and that Meinfelin either obtained from the King the grant of a part of Isenhampstead or covertly added it to his Chalfont manor when Isenhampstead was given to Brian fitz Count, whose marriage had brought him the Honour of Wallingford.

The connection of this long story with the matters under discussion is this: that what made it practicable to split Isenhampstead so readily into two parts was that there were two parts already—a manor on one side of the Chess and a demesne manor on the other. The manor went to Brian fitz Count, the demesne manor to Meinfelin. It was Chenies that contained the church; Latimer had only a chapel appurtenant to the church of St. Mary of Chesham.

THE ASSESSMENTS

There had been a time when a hide could be expected to have a plough on it, and when land on which there was a plough might be expected to be a hide. Even in 1086 there were numerous manors all over the county in which the equation still held good, here a little more, there a little less. But some manors are conspicuous by appearing most harshly assessed in relation to the number of ploughs there was land for. A small group lay in Rowley hundred, where Barton with 5 ploughs gelded for 10 hides, Chetwode with 5 ploughs gelded for 10 hides, Preston with 8 ploughs gelded for 15 hides. A larger group lay along the Icknield Way: Kimble with land for 21½ ploughs gelded for 30 hides; Ellesborough, Marsworth, Cheddington and Pitstone all exhibit the same tendency. Lastly and clearest of all are a number of demesne manors scattered

all over the county. Again on the Icknield Way the demesne manor of Princes Risborough with 4 ploughs gelded for 20 hides, that of Monks Risborough with 2 ploughs gelded for 16 hides, that of Bledlow with 4 ploughs gelded for 16 hides. In the Abbot of Westminster's demesne manor at Cippenham, member of his manor of East Burnham, there was but one plough, though it gelded for 4 hides; in the demesne manor of Walter Giffard at Crendon there were 5 ploughs, but it gelded for 10 hides; at Hanslope there could have been but 6 ploughs on Winemar's demesne of 5 hides and 5 carucates; Archbishop Lanfranc's demesne manor at Haddenham had 6 ploughs on 18 hides. The demesne manors at Aston Clinton, Cublington, Edlesborough, Farnham, Hardwick, Marlow, Medmenham, Wolverton and Wyrardisbury all follow a similar pattern. The smaller demesne manors, on the contrary, generally have about as many ploughs on them as there are hides, sometimes indeed more.

It is noticeable that every one of the demesne manors I have mentioned is the caput of a barony or a honorial barony or its caput in Bucks, except Princes Risborough and the ecclesiastical lands, and their owners probably had excellent reasons for putting all these demesne manors to other uses than mixed farming. We learn from Domesday Book itself that at Crendon there was a park for beasts of the chase. We know that in the early fourteenth century the King kept at Risborough a stud for his horses, and that in the thirteenth century there were parks at Cippenham, Langley and Hanslope. It therefore seems likely that all these demesne manors were used partly, or sometimes chiefly, as stud farms for horses or as deer parks. It must have been a necessity for any great man, as it was for the King, to have manors scattered over the country at which he and his retinue could stay on their constant travels, and a necessity also not only to find victuals there but fresh horses, and grass on which their worn beasts could be left behind to recover their strength.

The wet lands which lay under the Icknield Way were well suited for stud farming or for cattle breeding, and those pursuits were probably followed to a certain extent by the villis whose high assessments have been noticed. Whether this explanation fits the groups of villis mentioned in Rowley Hundred I cannot say, but something other than ruthless extortion or efficient demesne farming must have enabled Ernulf de Hesding to raise the value of his manor of Barton from £3 T.R.E. and £2 when received to £14 in 1086, for the tenants only had one plough (though they might have had two more) and there were only two ploughs on the inland. Ernulf's other manor in Lenborough had not risen in value nor even recovered its value of twenty years before, so it is possible that at Barton he was stock farming with success.⁵⁸

In contrast to the foregoing, there are many villis which show a heavy preponderance of ploughs over hides. Wing with 40 ploughs gelded only for 5 hides. In the valleys of the Chess, the Wye and the Misbourne the hidation was very favourable in relation to the number of ploughs. The Chalfonts for example with 30 ploughs gelded for 9½ hides. It is imprudent to found any argument on the assessment of Wing, for the association of this manor with the Saxon royal family may well have given it beneficial hidation over a long period. But in the Chilterns we know that within half a century of Domesday there were large assart estates in being. In Chalfont St. Giles for example the Vache and Loud-

hams, both of them on the left bank of the river remote from the common fields of the village, had become Knights' fees as members of the manor before the death of Henry I, and we can safely infer that they existed in 1086.

As we have seen, the hidage of our record is the hidage of the middle years of King Edward; the carucage is contemporary. It may therefore be deduced that the intermediate years saw intensive development in these Chiltern valleys and the continued freedom from liability to geld must have enabled the new lands to expand still further.

One obviously beneficial hidation of a manor in this County occurs in Shenley at the caput of the barony of Chester in Bucks. It seems certain that for the benefit of the Earl the assessment had been reduced from 10 hides to 2, while the difference of 8 hides was added to his manor of Mentmore. The light incidence of geld upon their lands may have enabled the tenants to undertake unusual services for the Earl but I have found no trace of them in documents relating to Shenley.

In Grendon, held in chief and in demesne by Henry de Ferrers, there were only two hides, one in the manor with five ploughs on it, the other in a demesne manor with three ploughs. This looks to be another instance, and it is pertinent to notice that at Lechlade in Gloucestershire Henry had obtained the exemption from geld of six of its fifteen hides.

THE VALET

There has been some doubt as to what the valet of a manor gives the value of, but I am confident that it gives the value of the manor, that is to say the income its lord derived from it, and that that income was arrived at by the same methods that later medieval juries used. They assessed the value of the demesne, they reckoned the rent of the free tenants, the rent, works and tallage of the villeins, the rent and works of the cottars and finally the sundry receipts. Domesday Book nearly always gives round figures, but whether the clerks rounded them off after the jurors had given actual ones we cannot tell.

To suppose these figures to be the value of all the land in the manor, or the sum of the incomes of all its tenants, or of all its inhabitants would be an anachronism. A medieval jury was accustomed to assess the value of land to a person but not in the abstract, and the summation of the incomes of persons who held of one another would have been foreign to their minds and caused them difficulties with which most of us could fully sympathise.

From the extents of manors given in the *Rotuli de Dominabus* in 1185 we can see that the value of the demesne constituted a considerable proportion of the value of a manor, and that the value of the demesne could fall to about a quarter when there was no stock on it. When a Saxon was deprived of a manor, there is no evidence that he was dispossessed of his chattels, and unless he stayed on as farmer he would denude the demesne of stock on his going. This alone might lower the total value of the manor by nearly half, and unless therefore the value of a manor when received had fallen by more than that, we should not be too ready to infer that it had suffered devastation. It is observable that those manors and 'lands' on which the Saxon tenant remained undisturbed, often kept their value constant⁶⁰ and the reason may well be, not that marching

armies left them alone, but that with continuity of ownership the stock remained there.

The hidage of a manor was not, in my judgement, directly related to its valet or to its valuit. These latter depended not only on how much land there was, but on the conditions on which the tenants held it. Rack rents were by no means the rule in the middle ages. A holding might be granted to a member of the lord's family on light terms. A tenant frequently paid a capital sum in order to render less service. Customs varied from manor to manor. I do not think, however, that the hundred court when it imposed geld on its vills, was interested in domestic matters such as these. I think its criterion of the ability of the vill to pay geld was the amount of ploughland it contained. In most manors the tenants paid the geld; the lord went free. The valet therefore was of no moment; indeed it might have been argued that on a manor where the valet was low by reason of favourable customs or easy tenures the tenants would be able to pay more geld than elsewhere. Evidence of how the geld was apportioned inside the vill will be considered presently.

THE PEOPLE

Many of the tenants in chief and the mesne tenants were discussed by Round in the introduction he wrote to the translation of *Bucks Domesday*, and no further comments are needful here. The manors retained in hand by the greater tenants in chief and their barons were probably farmed, but only on the manors of William son of Ansculf are farmers named or their presence noticed.⁶¹

Historians have been cautious in admitting that there were freemen among the villani, although Maitland's suggestion that the word "villanus" is itself but a translation of the Saxon word "tunesmen" has won acceptance. I am myself persuaded that very many of the villani were Saxon freemen, some of them men of substance. While the Saxons had certainly lost the manors, even if they remained on them as farmers, those who held members often retained them. "The same man held it T.R.E." is a frequent entry, and where the tenant in 1086 has a Saxon name different from that of the earlier tenant the two may well have been father and son. If the Ulviets and the Wigots and the Eddulfs and the Series retained the members which are separately mentioned, we may suppose they as often retained members which are not separately mentioned.

It is probable that many of the tenements within the manor itself were also held freely. Later extents of manors often state the number of virgates held in villeinage, and I append a table in which some of these figures are compared with the hidage of the same manors in 1086.

Whilst it must be admitted that occasional grants of freedom here and there must have caused a certain seepage from the villeins into the freemen, there is no reason to think that it was anywhere more than casual, or that the number of virgates in a manor which were held in villeinage would have differed radically in the thirteenth century from what it had been in 1086. The lord was always careful to preserve the identity of all his villeinage, though some of the tenants upon it might not be villeins 'de corpore suo'. I conclude therefore that in many manors more land had in 1086 been held freely than unfreely. I do not seek to say that there were therefore more free men than unfree, for holdings

varied in size and those who held the larger ones would tend to be of better status; they themselves might have unfree tenants holding of them. I am only concerned to establish beyond doubt the existence in this county of a numerous body of freemen.

<i>Manor</i>	<i>Virgates in 1086¹ (Hides × 4)</i>	<i>Virgates in Villeinage in Thirteenth Century</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem</i>
Chalfont St. Giles ..	15	11½	1249	C 132/7(3)
Wolverton	44	9	"	"
Beachampton (Fitznigel)	16	0	1251	C 132/13(2)
Salden (Fitznigel) ..	11½	9	"	"
Mursley (Fitznigel) ..	16	8	"	"
Moulsoe	40	6½	"	C 132/12(5)
Medmenham	24	13½	1263	C 132/31(1)
Chesham	28	13	"	"
Tyringham	29¼	19	1274	C 133/7(6)
Leckhampstead	72	15½	1278	C 133/21(12)
Thornton	32	15	"	"
Hitcham	24	4¾	1286	I.P.M. III 67
Little Marlow (Hon. of Wallingford)	11½	3½	"	"
Amersham	22	8	1299	C 133/92(7)

¹ The hidage of the demesne manor has in no case been included.

Despite Sir Frank Stenton's warning that Domesday Book is not the record of a census,⁶² it is still generally assumed by commentators that there must be some necessary relation between the number of persons there mentioned and the total population. Successive historians have only concerned themselves with the selection of the most judicious factor by which to multiply the recorded number of villani and bordars in order to arrive at the best total, and they have drawn variously upon the lore of the vital statistician to arrive at widely differing results.

Where scholars have produced so many rival answers, a layman must be permitted to wonder whether the question itself may not be misconceived—whether Domesday Book is concerned at all with counting heads. It may well be that it is rather concerned with counting tenements, the tenements held in chief, as it were, of the manor, inside which a number of people of various sorts and conditions lie hidden.

We know from the Survey itself that the 'lands' which are separately mentioned were mostly held by tenants who had tenants holding of them. There is no reason to think that the 'lands' which are not separately mentioned—those that were members of the manor in whose vill they lay—were not also generally held in the same way.

The numbers of people that were needed for farming, and could live from its produce, must have depended on the amount of land under the plough, and villis with the same amount of ploughland must have tended to have the same number of people farming them. If Domesday Book were counting heads, some of the divergences would be too wide to be explained. Let us compare two villis.

In Chalfont on its two manors there were altogether 30 ploughs, of which 26 were tenants' ploughs. There were in all 27 villani, 12 bordars and 6 serfs. If the serfs worked on the demesnes and the bordars were mainly concerned with other pursuits than farming, then each villanus and his immediate family must on the accepted view have farmed on the average about one ploughland. In Saunderton, on the other hand, about the same number of people, 26 villani, 8 bordars and 4 serfs lived in two manors where the tenants had in all but 6 ploughlands and the lords 4 of inland. Each ploughland here has to be supposed to have needed four times as many people to till it and to have supported four times as many as a ploughland in Chalfont, and it is difficult to see why.

If Domesday Book is not counting heads but tenements, the facts fall readily into place. We know that the whole of the land on the left bank of the Misenbourne had been assarted, and contained several hamlets which were members of one manor or the other. Now if, as I think, only those who held these hamlets, and probably other free holdings, in chief of the manors are reckoned, and those who held of them are not reckoned, there was a very much larger population here and in most other places than the highest figure which could on the accepted view be arrived at. And when we bear in mind that these people not only farmed nearly if not quite as much of these parishes as has ever been farmed, that they built their own houses, made their own implements, their own cloth and clothing, did riding and carrying services and suit of court at home and away from home, it is hard to believe all this could have been done unless the population was far greater than historians have allowed.

DOMESDAY ON THE MAP

It sometimes happens that the topography of a Domesday vill still stands out on the map to-day and Amersham is an interesting example. The whole vill defended itself for ten hides, which were thus distributed:

<i>Tenant in Chief</i>				<i>Mesne Tenant</i>	<i>Hides</i>	<i>Ploughs</i>
Geoffrey de Mandeville				Tenants	5½	13
				Demesne	2	3
Bishop of Bayeux				Roger	½	1
Count of Mortain				Almar	½	2
Hugh Bolebec				Ulviot	½	1
Turstin Mantel				—	½	2
Gozelin Brito				—	½	1
					10	23

The common fields of the manor lay to the South of the village and on either side of the Beaconsfield road. To the West of them lay woodland and waste.

The land lying on the left bank of the Misbourne is divided into six parts by recognisable boundaries stretching from the Northern border of the parish to the river. The first lies between the borders of Little Missenden and the road running through Pipers Wood. On the Missenden side is the hamlet of Bray's Green. As we know that in the thirteenth century the family of de Bray held $\frac{1}{2}$ fee of the Earls of Oxford, the successors of the Bolebecs,⁶³ we need not hesitate to identify the land on either side of the Missenden boundary with the two half hides which Ulviet held of Hugh Bolebec. The foundation charter of Missenden Abbey shows that the fee of Walter Bolebec in Missenden lay thereabouts.⁶⁴ The mill which in 1086 lay in Amersham now lies just within Little Missenden.

The second part is bounded on the East by a continuous line of hedge stretching from the Chesham border to the London road. In it, high above the valley, is Wedon Hill farm, and this can be no other than the $\frac{1}{2}$ hide held by Almar de Wedon, aptly described by the Earl of Essex in 1218 as being in Amersham but not in the manor of Amersham.⁶⁵

The third part is bounded on the East by a footpath, once a lane, running down to Coldmoreham. In it lies Mantles Green and here is Turstin Mantel's half hide.

The fourth is bounded on the East by Rectory Lane, and in it the Tithe Map shows a large field called Gallions. In 1223 Ralf de Puttenham subinfeudated $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in Amersham to Roger Galien⁶⁶ whose descendants long continued to hold it, and as the family of de Puttenham were tenants of the Turvilles, the successors of Roger son of Anketil, we may safely identify this as the half hide which Roger held of the Bishop of Bayeux.

The road which runs down Stanley Hill bounds the fifth, which still contains the largest mill in the Misbourne valley. It is remarkable that the manor of Amersham contained no mill, and the only one other than that we noticed before lay in Gozelin Brito's half hide. In the thirteenth century it was known as Cattestrop Mill⁶⁷ and Cattestrop was the name of the hamlet which the descendants of Gozelin Brito held in Amersham.⁶⁸

On the East side of Stanley Hill, between Amersham Common and the London road, a larger tract of land than any of the other five stretches to the Chalfont boundary. On it we notice the names of Reeves Farm, Little Reeves and Beel House. Beel I take to be a corruption of Bedel, and men of that name lived in the parish in the thirteenth century⁶⁹ and for two hundred years thereafter.⁷⁰ If land and dwelling had to be found for the lord's reeves and for his beadle, the most likely place would be on the lord's demesne, and this land was probably part of his demesne manor—but only part of it, for to the North of Amersham Common lies Raans where $\frac{1}{4}$ fee was created between 1135 and 1166 on land which may well have been till then parcel of the same estate.⁷¹

It may be dangerous, but it is very tempting to speculate on the previous history of this village. The earliest settlement, to judge from the position of the church and the density of the houses around it, lay to the South of the ford by which a small Roman road coming from the North-East crossed the river on its way towards Wycombe. The earliest common fields probably extended no further than the Coleshill boundary, and were divided into an East field on

one side of the Beaconsfield road and a West field between that road and Whielden Street. Coleshill, formerly la Stock, together with Seer Green and perhaps Beaconsfield and Hedgerley, would have been woodland and heath commonable by several villis or hundreds. At a later date this common land was divided, and held by various villis in severalty. Most of Coleshill went eventually to Tring and there we find it in Domesday Book.⁷² There is a tradition in Amersham that this hamlet was colonised by Danes (the name Cattestrop has a Scandinavian termination) and it may indeed be well founded. Whoever it was that assarted and ploughed it proceeded not by making new common fields but by adding their land to the common fields of Amersham. The result, I think, was the establishment of two separate sets of common fields, one formed by adding to the East Field the land of Brentford,⁷³ the other by adding to the West Field the land of la Stock.⁷⁴ I doubt if the Eastern set was ever divided into more than two fields with Puddephants Lane between them. The Western set was then or later divided into three fields of similar area which can be clearly traced on the map.

When this work was done, the assessment of the vill was no doubt 10 hides, and those parts of the fields which lay in Hertfordshire defended themselves in that county. The land on the left bank of the river would have been woodland and waste, in which all the tenants in the vill had common. They evidently gave their consent to its enclosure only on condition that the assarts were made to bear some of the liability to geld that they themselves had hitherto borne. Similar terms were imposed on the lord in respect of the large territory he appropriated to himself, but whether he retained any inland I cannot tell. All these events, for reasons already set forth, I take to have occurred before 1050. In the final result, the tenants of the manor instead of having to defend themselves for 10 hides, were responsible only for 5½, the rest being undertaken by the lord and the foreign sokemen. It is an impressive example of village government, and in its light Maitland's poor opinion of the jurisdiction and capability of the village court seems unduly severe.⁷⁵

CONCLUSION

And finally, when the portrait has been reframed and cleaned and scrutinised, what are the lineaments that confront us? Certainly they are not those of a countryside dotted with villages each with a pair of common fields, and separated one from another by great tracts of scrub and wood. Over the greater part of the county the original common fields had ceased to be the dominant feature of the countryside. Subsidiary common fields, hamlets and outlying farms had come into being almost everywhere. There were few villages of which we could confidently say that there was much more woodland in 1086 than there is now. That the assarting of heath and forest still went forward for another two centuries is certain, but thereafter the woods spread back again.

In the South of the county the men of Wyrardisbury had joined with the men of Iver and of Horton to found Colnbrook, and the lord was developing Langley. Other villis in the Thames valley had founded settlements all the way up the hills behind them. From Datchet, Fulmer had been ploughed and

settled; from Upton, Bulstrode; from Eton, Wexham and Hedgerley; from Burnham, Beaconsfield; from Taplow, Penn.

In the valleys of the Chess, the Misbourne and the Wye, hamlets had come into being in every vill, and on that side of each river remote from the old common fields they extended up the hillsides.

The strip-shaped villages which lay along the Icknield Way had cleared most of the scrub and forest on the dip side, and hamlets had for long existed there. Their lands below the Icknield Way were often used for stock farming, but arable farming was carried on in places where the land needed least draining.

The Vale of Aylesbury was better suited than the Chilterns for the creation of further open fields, and such hamlets as existed there generally shared in a common field system with another hamlet or village. In the great forests of Bernwood and Whittlewood, clearings had already expanded into villages and hamlets.

The valleys of the Ouse and of its tributaries repeat the pattern of the Thames valley and that of the Chess, Misbourne and Wye. The higher lands up to the borders of Northamptonshire and of Bedfordshire were studded with hamlets, most of which are separately extended in Domesday Book.

The troublous times of the Conqueror's reign, the taxation he had imposed with other grievous burdens had checked development for twenty years and prevented the re-accumulation of the capital necessary to exploit the land to the full. But already in 1066 far more than the outlines were in being, and the expansion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must be seen as an extension of what had previously existed rather than the creation of much that was new.⁷⁶

APPENDIX

A. ANONYMOUS ESTATES

Stone Hundred. $\frac{1}{2}$ Hide held of William son of Ansculf by two Englishmen. Added to the 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ Hides recorded as gelding in Ellesborough it completes 30 Hides. From the evidence of a suit in 4 Edw. I⁷⁷ I conclude that it lay in the parish of Hampden but in the fields of Waldridge. Although Waldridge itself lay in Ixhill hundred, Nether Upton, which also shared its fields, lay in Stone Hundred.⁷⁸

Burnham Hundred. $\frac{1}{2}$ Hide held of the Bishop of Lincoln by Walter d'Aincurt. This interesting 'land' lay in Herts but gelded in Bucks; it lay in the vill of Burnham but was a member of the manor of Lude in Wooburn. It comprised all that part of Beaconsfield which till recently lay in Herts. The same man held it TRE that held Lude (though he probably held it then as a member of Wigginton in Herts.⁷⁹) and he was the antecessor and possibly the ancestor of the family of de la Lude which was still connected with it in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁸⁰

Ixhill Hundred. 1 Hide 3 Virgates held of Gilo brother of Ansculf by Alvered of Thame. The descent of 7 Virgates in Towersey can be traced in the family of Wanci⁸¹ who held of the Pinkeni honour.

Waddesdon Hundred. 1 Hide 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Virgates held of Edward of Salisbury by Rannulf. Together with the 8 Hides 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Virgates in Hoggeston held of William son of Ansculf by Payn, this 'land' makes up 10 Hides and it may therefore be supposed to have gelded in Hoggeston but to have lain in Creslow where the same Rannulf also held of the same Edward. It seems to have gone back later into Hoggeston.

Cottesloe Hundred. 1 Virgate held of Walter Giffard by two Englishmen. I believe this to have been part of Little Broc in Grove parish, first mentioned by name in 1274, when Hugh del Broc inherited it on the death of Laurence his father,⁸² the royal justice. It extended into Ascott where Robert II del Broc granted a Virgate about 1208⁸³ and his family continued to hold land.⁸⁴

Yardley Hundred. 1½ Hides held of Gozelin Brito by Ralf. This is known to have lain in Seabrook.⁸⁵ It gelded perhaps in Cheddington.

Lamua Hundred. 3 Hides 3 Virgates held by the Bishop of Bayeux. This manor with that next to be mentioned and Manno Brito's manor of Thornborough make up 20 Hides. It gelded and lay in Thornborough. The tenancy in chief passed to the descendants of Robert d'Oilly of whom it was held by the family of de Amori.⁸⁶

Lamua Hundred. 2 Hides held of William son of Ansculf by Balduin at farm. This evidently gelded and lay in Thornborough but as it passed into monastic ownership it does not appear in the feodaries. There is evidence that the family of de Bernak held land in this parish,⁸⁷ and it was probably part of the lands out of which they did to the Honour of Newport the service of 3 Knights.

Lamua Hundred. 3½ Hides held of Geoffrey de Mandeville by William de Cahaigues. This is clearly the ½ fee held in Addington by the family of Carbonel⁸⁸ of the Mandeville barony, and it probably lay in the common fields there.⁸⁹

Moulsoe Hundred. 4 Hides held of William son of Ansculf by Wibert. This manor lay in Astwood where the family of de Rokele afterwards held a fee of the Honour of Dudley.⁹⁰ Fulk Paynel granted the church there to Tickford Priory.⁹¹

Moulsoe Hundred. 4 Hides held of Walter son of Other by Ralf. This manor lay in Hardmead.⁹²

Moulsoe Hundred. 1 Hide held of Miles Crispin by Almar de Odon. This as Dr. Farrer showed lay in Wavendon.⁹³

Moulsoe Hundred. 1 Hide 1 Virgate held of Walter the Fleming by Fulcuin. Dr. Fowler gave adequate reasons for identifying this with Snelson in Lavendon.⁹⁴

B. LOST AND DOUBTFUL NAMES

Aston. ½ Hide held of Miles Crispin by two men. I take this to refer to Aston Rowant and suppose it to have lain at 'Pilsedis' in Stokenchurch where the family of de Hedsor afterwards held of the Honour of Wallingford.⁹⁵

Boveney. 1 Hide held by Rainbald in chief. This is to be identified with the land obtained of the King by Adam de Burnham in 1205, lying in Cookham Berks between Lillybrook and the Thames.⁹⁶

Broc. The story in the Hundred Rolls of how Roger de Wymberville, by diverting a stream, deprived the men of Mentmore of their headlands⁹⁷ places this land in Grove, and its descent in the family of del Broc—Wymberville is clear until its purchase by Laurence del Broc one of its cadets.⁹⁸ The sites of Broc and Little Broc are marked on the map but they are not named.⁹⁹

Dileherst. Mr. Jenkins has established that this manor lay in Cippenham.¹⁰⁰ Apparently the vill of Cippenham was divided between East Burnham, Dileherst and Boveney.¹⁰¹

Esses. The numerous charters in the Sandford Cartulary show this manor to have lain inside the boundaries of Oxfordshire but its capital messuage and some of its land can confidently be placed at Nashway in Oakley parish.¹⁰²

Haseleia. The V.C.H. places this manor in Thornton, but the only valid reason given is that it lay in Rowley Hundred. It is linked feudally with Radclive and probably it will eventually be found as an outlier of that parish somewhere in the neigh-

bourhood of Gawcott, a situation consistent with its being in Rowley Hundred and with its order in various medieval returns.

Wendover Wandene. I think Mr. Hughes was right in reading Handene.¹⁰³ Little Hampden was probably a composite vill. Its main constituent was the fee of William the Chamberlain in Hartwell. I cannot recover the descent of Wandene, but it may possibly have been granted to the de Hamden family and be the land in Little Hampden of their fee which was given to Missenden Abbey by Herbert de Bolebec.¹⁰⁴

Wendover. 1 Hide held by 3 men. It is evident from the charters in the Missenden Cartulary that this is Kingshill lying partly in Missenden and partly in Hughenden.

NOTES

DOMESDAY BOOK. In all citations I have given the name of the tenant in chief and I feel it unnecessary to make any reference to folios.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>B.F.</i>	<i>Book of Fees.</i>
<i>B.R.S.</i>	Buckinghamshire Record Society.
<i>C.R.R.</i>	<i>Curia Regis Rolls.</i>
<i>Cl.R.</i>	<i>Close Rolls.</i>
<i>E.B.C.</i>	<i>Early Bucks Charters</i> , B.R.S.
<i>E.R.</i>	<i>Bucks Eyre Roll 1227</i> , ed. M. W. Hughes, B.R.S.
<i>F.F.</i>	<i>Feet of Fines Bucks.</i> , ed. M. W. Hughes, B.R.S.
<i>Godstow</i>	<i>Godstow Cartulary</i> , Early English Text Society.
<i>H.R.</i>	<i>Hundred Rolls.</i>
<i>I.P.M.</i>	<i>Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem.</i>
<i>L.R.</i>	<i>Red Book of the Exchequer.</i>
<i>M.C.</i>	<i>Missenden Cartulary</i> , ed. J. G. Jenkins, vols. i and ii (iii in preparation), B.R.S.
<i>N.L.C.</i>	<i>Newington Longueville Charters</i> , ed. Salter. Oxfordshire Record Society.
<i>Oseney</i>	<i>Oseney Cartulary</i> , ed. Salter. Oxford Historical Society.
<i>P.R.</i>	<i>Pipe Rolls</i> , Pipe Roll Society.
<i>Snelshall</i>	<i>Snelshall Cartulary</i> , ed. J. G. Jenkins, B.R.S.

¹ Beresford, *History on the Ground*.

² *Snelshall*, 75 and 77.

³ Bodleian Library Thoresby Deeds, Ms. Ch. Bucks.

⁴ The resultant state of affairs in the fifteenth century appears from *Oseney*, 648H.

⁵ What customary rights of common a member of a manor had was a question of fact in each case, *P.R.*, 10, Jo 132.

⁶ *Beds and Bucks Pipe Rolls*, Bucks Arch. Soc., Nii/D.15.

⁷ Robertson, *A-S Charters*, LXXX.

⁸ *Cl.R.*, 1234-7, 292.

⁹ *H.R.* I 46

¹⁰ e.g.	12 feet	Missenden	<i>M.C.</i> , I, 32.
	18 feet	Hughenden	<i>Godstow</i> , 73
	"	Shenley	<i>Snelshall</i> , 41.
	18½ feet	Chesham	<i>Bucks Arch. Soc.</i> 39/60
	20 feet	Fulmer	<i>F.F.</i> , 13/53.
		Beaconsfield	<i>M.C.</i> , II, 431.

¹¹ Unfortunately for us the word virgate was indifferently used to denote the fourth part of a hide or of a carucate.

¹² *Sandford Cartulary*, Oxfordshire Record Society, 477 and 478.

¹³ *I.P.M.*, III, 54. Missenden.

¹⁴ *I.P.M.*, III, 67. Little Marlow.

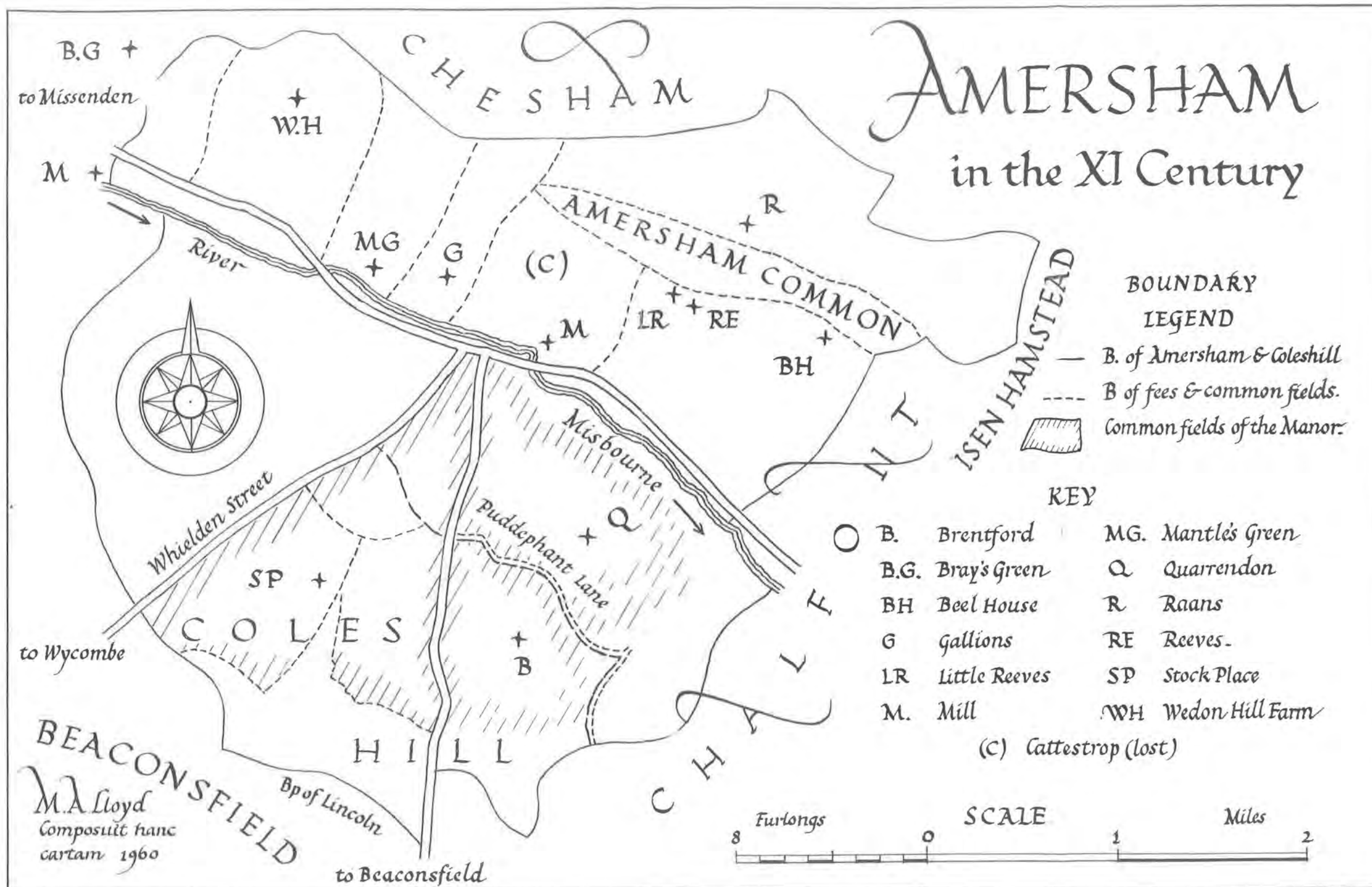
¹⁵ *I.P.M.*, III, 283. Hardwick.

¹⁶ *M.C.*, I, 62.

¹⁷ *C.R.R.*, V, 224.

¹⁸ *H.R.* I 20

¹⁹ *F.F.*, 22/10, 4 carucates in 1202. In the seventeenth century, the farmers in Chalfont St. Giles, though they no longer talked of hides and carucates were still wrangling about which land contributed to the "certainty" and which did not. Exchequer Depositions 12 Chas. I, Easter 35, E134.



²⁰ *F.F.*, 9/13. The grantee is William de Buckingham who married Matilda daughter of Robert I del Broc.

²¹ *F.F.*, 59/46. 1 carucate in 1228.

²² *F.F.*, 48/8. 1 carucate in 1223.

²³ *F.F.*, 51/2.

²⁴ *M.C.*, II, 410.

²⁵ *F.F.*, 68/25.

²⁶ *F.F.*, 66/6.

²⁷ *F.F.*, 19/6.

²⁸ *F.F.*, 24/23.

²⁹ *F.F.*, 44/48.

³⁰ *C.R.R.*, III, 306.

³¹ *M.C.*, II, 536.

³² *Rot. Cur. Regis*, I, 357.

³³ *F.F.*, 46/16.

³⁴ *F.F.*, 95/3.

³⁵ Hoc manerium tenuit Tovi teignus Regis Edwardi et ibi Alward homo eius dimidiam hidam habuit et vendere potuit.

³⁶ *F.F.*, 77/18.

³⁷ *F.F.*, 47/17.

³⁸ *F.F.*, 50/19.

³⁹ *Snelshall*, 67 and 68.

⁴⁰ *Snelshall*, 108.

⁴¹ *Oseney*, 730.

⁴² *M.C.*, II, 440.

⁴³ *E.B.C.*, 30, 32.

⁴⁴ *Oseney*, 905.

⁴⁵ An interesting case in Court Christian relating to Iver turned on which lands were ancient demesne of the manor. *Oseney*, 809. Also Akeley, *N.L.C.*, 17; Chilton, Dorton, Easington, Policote, *N.L.C.*, 62; High Wycombe, *Godstow*, 94.

⁴⁶ The twelfth century charters in the *Oseney Cartulary* relating to Steeple Claydon show that a vill called Weston pertained to its demesne manor; that land in it was conveyed in terms of hides and referred to as Outland (v. esp. 690, 690A, 696, 725).

⁴⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus*, II, 179.

⁴⁸ *N.L.C.*, 39.

⁴⁹ *Dialogus de Scaccario* xj. Round. Dangelde and the Finance of Domesday in *Domesday Studies*, vol. 2.

⁵⁰ *B.F.*, 467.

⁵¹ Round, *Ancient Charters*, No. 12.

⁵² *P.R.*, 7 Hen II, p. 12.

⁵³ *L.R.*, 314.

⁵⁴ *M.C.*, I, 65.

⁵⁵ *I.P.M.*, I, 97; *B.F.*, 883 (for Alexander filius Hamonis read A filius Johannis).

⁵⁶ *L.R.*, 309.

⁵⁷ *B.F.*, 119; *C.R.R.*, VII, 78.

⁵⁸ For an account of this interesting man, Reginald Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135*, p. 210.

⁵⁹ *L.R.*, 314. Hamo Brito Niger $\frac{1}{2}$ Warner de la Vache 1.

⁶⁰ E.g. Marsh Gibbon (William son of Ansculf) where the unhappy Ailric stayed on, Also Wigod of Wallingford's manors of Shabbington and Quainton.

⁶¹ Reginald Lennard, *op. cit.*, Chapters V, VI and VII for the farmers.

⁶² *Anglo Saxon England*, 645.

⁶³ E.g. *B.F.*, 882, F.A. Joan la Botilere was probably the widow of Henry de Bray.

⁶⁴ *M.C.*, I, 30.

⁶⁵ *Bractons Note Book*, 7.

⁶⁶ *F.F.*, 54/2.

⁶⁷ *M.C.*, II, 317.

⁶⁸ *P.R.*, 6; *Ric.* I, 26; *I.P.M.*, C, Hen. III, File 38 (10).

⁶⁹ *Anct.* D, A53, A75.

⁷⁰ *B.M. Addl. Ch.*, 17385 (1470).

⁷¹ *L.R.*, 347, "Jordanus de Rana iij partes (rectius iij am partem) militis".

⁷² "Count Eustace holds Tring. It defended itself for 39 hides T.R.E., now for 5 hides 1 virgate. . . . In this vill is a berewick where 8 villani have 2 ploughs and there could be a third. . . . This manor Engelic held T.R.E. and there were 2 sokemen, men of Osulf son of Frane who held 2 hides and

could sell; these sokemen were attached to this manor after King William came." For Osulf son of Frane cf. n. 79 *infra*.

That La Stock was held by the Mandevilles of the Honour of Boulogne is shown *inter alia* by the following:

"Stocke in Hernfordscire (*sic*) tenet Comes de Mandeville per quartam partem. Galfridus de Querendone de eo". Liber Niger, p. 191.

For the de Querendon fee in Amersham and la Stock (cf. Quarrendon Farm): *I.P.M.* of John de la Stock C. Hen., III, 132, File 38 (7) and (10).

⁷⁸ Its name of Brentford came to it when Gervase de Brentford obtained it by marrying the heiress to whom it descended.

⁷⁴ The name of la Stock first occurs in *P.R.*, 22, Hen. II where it is mentioned as held of the Honour of Boulogne.

⁷⁶ *D.B. and Beyond*, p. 349.

⁷⁸ The returns of the Honour of Wallingford for the carucage of 1220 may be cautiously used to compare the number of ploughs then and in 1086. The barons of this Honour had been with the King through the war and their lands seem not to have been ravaged. Stanton for instance was evidently left alone when Falkes sacked Hanslope and Wolverton. The number of ploughlands in 1086 on the estates which were held in Bucks. in 1220 of the Honour was 225. In 1220 there were 310 ploughs at work on them. More than half the increase is accounted for in the two villis of Waddesdon and Wycombe.

⁷⁷ *Plac. Abbr.*, 189.

⁷⁸ *Cl.R.*, 1264-8, 364. Nether Upton is the $\frac{1}{2}$ hide held by Walter de Vernon in Hartwell.

⁷⁹ Hunfrey holds of the Count of Mortain Wiggington . . . T.R.E. Leuric Osulf's man had $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and could sell it."

⁸⁰ Bodleian. Thoresby Deeds. Ms. Ch. Bucks., *passim*.

⁸¹ *H.R.* I 25.

⁸² *B.M. Harleian*, Ch. 46, f. 45.

⁸³ *Rot. Chart.*, 180-1, 8 Jo.

⁸⁴ *Anct D.*, E/40, A7496 and A5878, *E.R.*, 409.

⁸⁵ *V.C.H.*, Bucks., III, 382.

⁸⁶ E.g. *B.F.*, 871.

⁸⁷ *C.R.R.*, V, 249.

⁸⁸ *B.F.*, 895.

⁸⁹ *Oseney*, 730.

⁹⁰ *B.F.*, 884.

⁹¹ *Cal. Docts., France* 1251.

⁹² *B.F.*, 872.

⁹³ *I.P.M.*, III, 604.

⁹⁴ *Cartulary of Harrold Priory*, ed. Fowler, Beds. Historical Society, XVII, 189, n. 23.

⁹⁶ *C.R.R.*, IV, 121, 142, 221 and VI, 220. For Pilsedis in Stokenchurch, *M.C.* III, 737.

⁹⁸ *Rot de Obl.*, I, 266; *Rot Chart*, 147.

⁹⁷ *H.R.* I 43.

⁹⁸ *F.F.*, 96/13 and 14.

⁹⁹ I owe their identification to Mr. A. Vere Woodman.

¹⁰⁰ J. G. Jenkins, *History of the Parish of Penn*, 5-6.

¹⁰¹ *I.P.M.*, III, 604. *H.R.* I 46.

¹⁰² *Dugdale Mon. Angl.*, IV, 251.

¹⁰³ *Antiquity*, vol. v, 320, n. 30.

¹⁰⁴ *M.C.*, II, 468.