THE MAKING OF MIDDLESEX: ITS VILLAGES, FIELDS AND ROADS.

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THE object of this sketch is to trace briefly the making of the geographical County of Middlesex, that is the area which lies between the rivers Lea, Thames and Colne, and the range of hills from Harefield to Barnet, and thence to the Lea by the bounds of Enfield Chace. With the exception of the County and City of London, this area has constituted the County of Middlesex since the eleventh century. Those who desire to pursue further this interesting subject should refer to my book "Middlesex in British, Roman and Saxon Times" wherein will be found fuller information as well as the maps and tables to which reference is made in this paper.

By Act of Parliament passed in 1888, fourteen Middlesex parishes nearest to the City of London, have, for administrative purposes, been placed under the London County Council, and the remainder under the Middlesex Council. Sussex, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire are each under more than one County Council, and like Middlesex, their geographical, or ancient areas, remain as before the passing of that Act.

The Early Period.

The earliest record of territory of which Middlesex formed a portion is in connection with the powerful tribal confederation of the Catuvellauni in B.C. 54, referred to by Julius Cæsar when stating that the Thames bounded the territory of Cassivellaunus their chieftain, and this may generally be described as consisting of Essex, and the northern water-shed

of the Thames. The Middlesex portion of this was traversed by three trackways leading from the fortified fordhead of the lower Thames, now known as Old England (Brentford), Cæsar states that there was *only* one place of crossing, and that with difficulty, as it was protected with formidable palisades in both the *bed* and *bank* of the river.

The remains of upwards of 370 stumps of oak have been removed in recent years by dredging the shallow bed of the river at the ancient ford at Old England, and many more remain there. In further confirmation of Cæsar's statement, ancient palisade work with sharpened ends pointing outwards was recently laid bare deep in the adjoining bank.

From the fordhead a trackway skirting the marshy fringe of the Thames, apparently led through Old Ford on the Lea to Camulodunum (Colchester) an important tribal enclosure. Another seems to have run northwards through Stanmore where it is supposed a British village once existed, and thence to Verulamium (by St. Albans) a capital entrenchment of Cassivellaunus. A third trackway appears to have branched from the northern trackway, and led through the ford of the Ux (Colne) to the Chiltern hills. A cross trackway from Verulamium, passing along the Ridgeway and Bush-hill camp (Enfield), led down to the Cinges-ford (Chingford) on the Lea, and thence into Essex.

The trade route into Britain from the Continent passed from Dover by the now called Pilgrim's way to Snodland, and thence through the Medway by Shooter's hill, and Camberwell to the ford to Old England,[1] constituting the 80 Roman miles to the territory of Cassivellaunus as stated by Cæsar.

In upwards of 24 places in Middlesex, the remains of early habitation have so far been recorded. They consist of 4 camps, numerous finds of stone and bronze implements of war, as well as brooches, coins, cinerary urns, etc.

The Roman Period.

In A.D. 43, after the capture of Camulodunum by Clau-

[1] The way from Richmond Green to the river passed through what is now Kew Gardens. It was closed by Act of Parliament, being of little use after the building of the first Kew Bridge.

dius Cæsar, his Proprætor and General, Aulus Plautius, being left with an army of some 25,000 troops and a train of elephants to conduct a long and arduous campaign in Britain, would soon be obliged to leave any temporary quarters above the ford of the lower Thames and find a permanent base camp.

On the northern marshes of the Thames, 10 miles below Old England, lay the Walbrook creek in a bluff of land between the Lea and the Fleet, which afforded a convenient riverside wharfage for landing seaborne supplies for the troops. A pontage with a causeway laid across the Southwark swamps, enabled a connection to be made for land-borne goods by the British trackway from Dover, until the Roman Watling Street was constructed, whereby a distance of 20 miles was saved over the old route by Old England higher up the river.

The place was well chosen for in less than 20 years Londinium arose around the Walbrook, being "much frequented by many merchants and ships that enter its port" (Tacitus). From the town three early Roman roads would branch off; one through Old Ford to Camulodunum, where about A.D. 50 an important military colony was established, with a *territorium* or district assigned for its support. The second led to Verulamium, which by A.D. 62 had risen to sufficient importance to be constituted a Roman *Municipium* with a *territorium* attached, probably represented in part by the subsequent Saxon Hundred of Cashio in Hertfordshire. The third way would pass through Brentford and Staines to Calleva and on to the south-west of Britain.

The portion of the Catuvellaunian territory in the Thames valley, with its fertile soil and rich corn lands to the west of the Brent—land, which according to Norden in his day stretched from Heston to Harrow—likewise required a mother town or *arx*, and so had to owe obedience to the rising town of Londinium. It appears that this commercial city was not constituted either a *colonia* or a *municipium*,

but continued under the direct control of the Imperial Procurator, the financial agent of the Emperor. Judging from the known Roman survey marks, the *territorium* apparently extended from S.W. Essex across Middlesex to the Chiltern Hills in Bucks., and in Hertfordshire to the upper waters of the Colne and Lea. The outlying fringe of the *territorium* was known as "*ager arcifinus,*" and defined by Frontinus as "*ager est arcifinus qui nulla mensura continetur, finitur secundam antiquam observationem, fluminibus, fossis, montibus . . .*"[1] It afterwards formed part of the chace of the citizens of London which, according to Mathew Paris, abounded with wolves, boars, wild cattle and deer, all destructive to the crops and herds of the inhabitants. Their numbers had to be kept down by periodical drives, not an unusual practice amongst primitive people. The Londinium territory was well adapted for this purpose, as a bank with hedge and ditch, now known as "Grimm's Dyke" had been constructed across its uplands ending in a wild beasts' park at Ruislip by the Colne, with another at Enfield on the Lea, both of which are mentioned in Domesday.

In long line the people with their "Agasseus" hounds beating through the forest started the beasts from their lairs, and drove them to the bank which turned and guided them to the wide entrances of the parks, where they were easily captured and slain. Under a charter of Henry I, the citizens of London "had their chace to hunt, as well and fully as their ancestors had, that is in Chiltron, in Middlesex and in Surrey."[2]

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[1] *Gromatici Veteres*, Lachman, p. 5.

[2] Fitz-Stephen, writing, *temp.* Henry II, mentions that this right extended over Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all Chiltron, and down to the waters of the Cray. In including Hertfordshire he probably referred to the forest of Middlesex within the upper waters of the Lea and Colne, because in Roman times to the north of these rivers lay the Verulamium *territorium.* The extension into Surrey may have been brought about after Watling Street had been continued across the marshes south of the Thames by two causeways, one from Lambeth, the other from Southwark (Old Kent Road) and thence to the river Cray.

The absence in the charter of any mention of the ancient right of the citizens to hunt in South-east Essex may perhaps be accounted for by its loss after the invading East Saxon had captured Essex, and their early Kings had made large portions of it *silva regis*. Several commissions were issued by Henry III to determine the royal rights of the chace in Essex, and allay popular discontent.[1]

When the extent of the *territorium* which was to be attached to Londinium had been defined, the State *Agrimensor* would proceed to survey it and mark places suitable for cultivation and rural settlement. But, chiefly owing to continued disturbances in Britain, and to the capture of *Londinum* during the insurrection of Boadicea in A.D. 62, little progress had probably been made with the survey prior to the arrival of Julius Frontinus, Proprætor, A.D. 75. He was a great authority on land surveying and possessed an "instinct for public improvements . . . . As a pioneer in the practical work of the Roman surveyor, ... his writings were the standard authority for many years." (Frontinus. Loeb., 1925 Intro. His treatise on the subject should be studied by those wishing to understand the Roman agrimensorial system,[2] Frontinus was followed in A.D. 78 by Agricola who was successful in pacifying the British tribes, and in persuading them to adopt the ways of Rome.

It is quite possible that the attention of Frontinus, when stationed at *Londinium*, was drawn to the fertile soil along the northern valley of the Thames, capable of producing an abundant supply of corn for the town of *Londinium*, and easily conveyed there, either down the Thames or by the highway to be made from Staines (*Pontes*). Some such considerations may account for the systematic way in which

[1] The Mayor and Corporation of London claimed of old the liberty to hunt in Epping forest, and this user they exercised once a year on Easter Monday up to 1882, when "this carnival of Cockney sportsmanship" was extinguished. In 1877 the Corporation were unable to prove before the Epping Forest Commissioners their claim of ancient right to this liberty.

[2] *Grom. Vet.*; see also his treatises on the art of war and Roman aqueducts.

the Surveying Corps divided the *territorium* by metes and boundary marks. They selected sites for the Romano-British villages, determined the lines for local roads and byeways, the bounds of the common fields in the village farms together with the extent of the pasturage and woodlands. They afterwards registered the holdings, and the men for the *census* or tax, and settled disputes as to boundaries.

At the present time only a few of these ancient survey mounds, stones and marks remain, or can be located, but with the aid of the rules laid down by the *Gromatici Veteres*, much of the Roman survey in Middlesex and in other Romanized districts can be traced. The present County area was then contained in three and a half *pagi*, and each of the *pagi* was divided by a stretch of border land $4\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in width. As the names of these ancient *pagi* are now unknown; they may be called: (1) The Home or south-east *pagus*, between the rivers Lea and Brent.* (2) The south-west *pagus* from the Thames to the river Colne. (3) The north-west *pagus* from the Colne to the Brent. (4) One half of the northern *pagus* lay in Middlesex and was bounded on the east by the Lea. These *pagi*, with the adjoining surveyed parts in what is now Essex, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, constituted the *territorium*. The *Agrimensor* can be pictured commencing his survey by standing upon the rise above the Walbrook creek, and after his staff had cut down the trees and undergrowth which obstructed his view laying out his principal line (*decumanus*) from the river Lea to Westminster, marking it with a stone now known as London stone. This line running E.N.E. and W.S.W. was a governing one, since the *decumani* in the N.W. *pagus* ran parallel with it. At Westminster he erected a *botontinus*, or mound of earth, to which reference is twice made in a charter of King Ethelred to the Abbey. It was known as "Tothill" and afterwards as "Hermit's Hill." It stood upon the site of St. James's Park railway station, at the end of Tothill Street, and was levelled *tempo.* Henry VIII.

From here with his *groma* (surveyor's instrument),[1] the *Agrimensor* projected at right angles to his *decumanus*, a line (*cardo*) running northwards to a similar mound still to be seen, though fenced in, on Hampstead Heath, in "which about the centre a hole full of charcoal was found at a depth of some eight feet from the crown of the mound" (*Middlesex and Herts. Notes and Queries*, 1), a true identification mark of a *botontinus*. From here at right angles a line was laid to a markstone, which until recently could be seen standing by the main road at Tottenham, and from thence a line was run southwards to the main *decumanus*, thus outlining a square block of land.

In order to divide it into square sections (*possessae*) the Agrimensor erected a *botontinus*, later known as "coldharbour" ('col,' A.S. = charcoal: 'har' = ancient: 'beorh' = mound), on the east side of Walbrook Creek, within the later parish of All Hallows, and from it at right angles to his *decumanus* drew the main *cardo* which passed by the site of Islington Church.

This *cardo* with others to the north-west in adjoining *pagi* appears to have laid the route of the "old way" to St. Albans which, according to Stow and Norden, led to Islington, and thence leaving Highgate on the west went by Muswell and Barnet to St. Albans. A portion of this old way, now stopped up and diverted, ran past the *botontinus* in Dryham Park, Hertfordshire.

The block of land was now divided by this *cardo*, and to the west of it, at a distance of 612 R. poles (9 furlongs), the *Agrimensor* placed a mark stone, the site of the subsequent "Stone Cross" in the Strand, and from it laid a *cardo* parallel to his main one. In the same way to the east of London Stone, from a spot now the site of Stepney Church,

[1] "No doubt visitors to Pompeii, or to the National Museum at Naples, will remember the fine scientific instruments that have been found there, many as accurate and precise as those of to-day." *The Observer*, 22nd February, 1925.

he drew a *cardo* which, it is presumed, was indicated by the former " Coldharbour " in Dalston.

At similar intervals three *decumani* were projected parallel to the main one. The first ran near the course of Oxford Street, the next by the site of the old church of St. Pancras, and the third where Gospel Oak once stood. This block of land, subsequently increased, was thus divided into 16 *possessae*, and where required for cultivation a *possessa* was partitioned by 4 minor cross parallel lines into 25 *centuriae*, (the later virgate), each equal to 31.15 statute acres. The major lines were designated ' quintarial ' to distinguish them from the four intervening and minor ones.

Roads, lanes and footways often followed the course of these lines, or ran in conformity with them, and a study of Middlesex maps of a century past[1] will show to what a remarkable degree these original highways ran in alignment with the survey lines of their respective *pagi*. Ermine, Watling, and Tamesis streets, the great military roads, which passed through Middlesex were for strategetic purposes, and were not connected with those of the survey, any more than to-day the railways are with the roads of the country.

Beside the quintarial road passing through a Romano-British *vicus* (village), at the cross way was placed the rural *compitum* or pagan chapel. These, in later days, by direction of Pope Gregory, were used for Christian worship, and their sites have continued to be those of parish churches in many places down to the present day. In Middlesex, 47 parishes have their mother-church so situated, and this fact was found to be of great assistance in recovering the lines of the Roman survey in this, and in other Counties.

The second division of the Home *pagus* though in alignment with the first half was separated from it by a strip of border land 306 R.P. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs) in width, which apparently is defined by Frontinus as " *Est et ager similis subsicivorum*

[1] See " Middlesex in British, Roman and Saxon Times," pp.68, 70.

condicioni extra clusus et non adsignatus" and this borderland is to be found between all the divisions of the *pagi* in Middlesex.

The outside or eastern *cardo* of the second division of this *pagus*, passed by a stone, known in Saxon times as Oswulf's stone (Osulvestane), which up to the middle of the last century stood near to the site of the Marble Arch, and led northwards by the mound on the south west slope of Primrose Hill. Oswulf's ton, or homestead (Ossolston), would appear from the Duke of Westminster's estate map of 1614 to have stood just above Dorchester House in Park Lane. This division extended on the west to the river Brent and a dozen Roman survey marks remain within it.

The first half of the second or S.W. *pagus* commenced on the other side of the Brent, having its cardinal lines running from N.N.E. to S.S.W. The outside *cardo* (*finitima linea*) began at the *botontinus* in Syon Park, and ended in another standing until 1808 opposite to the gates of Bushey Park. It was known, says Lysons, as Tothill, hence Totynton, the early name for Teddington. The final *cardo* is shown by the *botontinus* still existing just above Cranford bridge. Within this half of the *pagus* ten land marks are to be found, and it was divided by the *ager extra clausus* of 306 R.P. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs) from the other half which reached to the Colne, the outer *cardo* of the latter passing from a *botontinus* known as Chittern Hill, over flat land to another in Hayes called Coldharbour. Herein are eleven indications of the labour of the ancient surveyor.

In alignment with the first *pagus* were two divisions of the third or N.W. *pagus*, separated from each other by *ager extra clausus*. Their opposite cardinal lines were marked respectively by Headstone, and by Wealdstone and Sudbury Stone. These two *pagi* contain twenty-three landmarks, lines spread over the N.W. portion of the County.

On the N.E. side of Middlesex lay one half of the fourth *pagus* with its lines running north and south, doubtless

caused by the course of the river Lea. It was separated from the other half lying in Hertfordshire by the usual width of *ager extra clausus.*

Of the remaining portions of the *territorium,* so far as can be traced, three lay in Hertfordshire, one in Essex, and two in Buckinghamshire, which last were in alignment with those adjoining them in Middlesex. There were also a few small surveyed areas lying detached, which probably belonged to the adjoining *pagus,* so that each *pagus* should contain a general average of 50 *possessae.*

One or more *possessae* according to the nature of the soil and number of settlers appear to have been allotted to form a village district. There on the wayside where a lane or footpath crossed a quintarial road would be placed a rural *Compitum* in honour of the two *Lares Compitales,* the spirits who watched over the fields and flocks of the little community. In May and August were held "the Compitalia, a festival originally of the rural folk owning allotments of land under the old Roman system of rectangular divisions, separated by *semitae* (footpaths) which crossed each other at *compitum*" (*W. Fowler, Roman Essays*).

Two or more *centuriae* considered most suitable for tillage (*qua falx et arater ierit*) cleared of wood and undergrowth were marked out into strips containing several plots each of one *jugerum* ready for distribution by lot amongst the settlers. The *centuriae* thus divided into holdings constituted the village farm for tillage by the inhabitants, who in the *Londinium Territorium* we know consisted of *Tributarii, Coloni,* and *Contributi* (natives). There are indications that a holding consisted of five acres and its multiples. Ten *jugera* made five Saxon or Domesday acres, the equivalent of 6.32 statute acres, a common holding, of which 75 are noted in the Middlesex survey. The remaining *centuriae* in a village district, and which were by far the larger number, consisted of primeval woods and waste, where the villagers

obtained timber and fuel for their cottages, and rough grazing for their cattle (*compascua*).

When a village was prepared for occupation, the settlers, having been arranged in groups of ten (*decuria*) by the *magister pagi*, or other official, balloted for the plots of land in the several centurial fields. By this means a man's plots would generally lie scattered amongst those of his fellows, and in more than one field of the common farm, and so some equality was obtained in each holding (*heredium*) and grumbling and discontent avoided. (*Grom. Vet.* 113). The common farm survived in almost every Middlesex parish until it came to be enclosed under Act of Parliament.

The number of settlers allotted for the necessary cultivation of the *territorium* is not known. In Roman colonies, this varied from two to six thousand, but here some information from a later age is forthcoming, and may assist in arriving at an estimate.

The *Londinium territorium* has been shown to have contained approximately 270 *possessae*, of which 176 apparently lay in the Middlesex area. Allowing to this latter number a *decuria* of men for each *possessa* (ten being a common unit in Roman calculation) a total of 1760 husbandmen is obtained. This allowed 250 settlers for each of the seven half *pagi* within the County. This figure would approximate to 500 when the natives were counted, who according to Cæsar were numerous in ancient Britain, and it was the policy of the Romans when forming a settlement to induce the natives (*contributi*) to exchange their scattered patches under cultivation, for measured plots in the village farm. Thus a complete *pagus* of 50 *possessae* with a full complement of 1000 husbandmen, grouped in *decuriae*, under a *Centenarius* or *Magister pagorum*, became, it appears, the later Saxon Hundred under a Hundred's ealdor with 100 tithings of men. The general allowance in modern times is five men to 100 acres; in the Roman period it was five to twice that acreage, but then over 60 per cent. of the land lay in wood and waste.

Taking the unit of the Roman *census* for taxation to have been 5, as it was in parts of the Empire, the total for the 176 *possessae* is 880, which was also the geldage figure given in Domesday after an interval of seven centuries. This unit with its multiples appears in that fiscal survey in no less than 36 vills out of 52: viz: twelve vills with 5 for their geldage: eight with 10: five with 15: three with 20: three with 30: two with 35: and one each with a geldage of 40: 70: and 100. In addition, there were seven vills which practically retained both their Roman area and census: viz., Hampstead, Hanworth, and Lilestone, each with a geldage of 5, and 810 acres (*possessa*) though Lilestone had 70 less acreage, owing possibly to encroachment by the two great highways, Watling and Tamesis streets (Edgware Road, and Oxford Street). The other vills which approximate to both standards are:—

Kingsbury	geldage	10	with	1636	acres or	16 more.
Drayton	,,	10	,,	1544	,,	76 less.
Stanmore parva	,,	9½	,,	1544	,,	76 less.
Greenford	,,	15½	,,	2430	,,	—

These and other particulars show a remarkable continuity existing in matters relating to the land from the Roman and through the Saxon periods to Domesday.

Thus the making of the Middlesex area commenced when it formed the principal part of the *Londinium territorium*, and its development progressed during the three and a half centuries of Roman administration. But after this had ceased, the old ways and customs of agriculture did not change, the fields and their culture, on which the life of the people depended, the woodlands and common pasture, all continued as before, though the ownership of the land had passed '*ex manu Cæsaris*' into those of divers lay and ecclesiastical personages, in later times known as Lords of the Manor.

THE SAXON PERIOD.

The Emperor Honorius on withdrawing his government from Britain in A.D. 410 bade the several City States of the country to defend themselves, and presumably these various administrations continued to function after the Roman manner till the middle of the 5th century, since in A.D. 447 the final appeal of the Romano-British people for aid was sent to Rome.

Ten years later, in Kent, the Jutes under Hengist defeated the Britons, who in great terror fled to Londinium, which probably means into the territory pertaining to it, in which some of the refugees were possibly the original settlers in Kenton and Kentish Town. By the close of the 5th century, all London territory east of the river Lea had probably fallen into the hands of the East Saxons, but the chief portion of it, now mainly represented by the area of Middlesex, seems for a time to have remained in Romano-British hands. It was protected by the marshes of the Lea, Thames, and Colne, while a dense forest stretched along its northern side, forming a strong and outer line of defence to the city of London, then enclosed by a wall, and was the citadel or *arx*, upon which the villagers could fall back in time of need.

Half a century later Saxons from Wessex, working down the Thames and by Tamesis street, the Roman road from Silchester to London, defeated Ethelbert, the young King of Kent, at Wibbasdun (Wimbledon), and after the battle of Bedcarford in A.D. 571 the West Saxons were in possession of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. It may therefore be assumed that about this time, pushing further eastwards, they obtained a settlement in south-west Middlesex, but not without fierce fighting. This is evidenced by the remains of West Saxon warriors discovered at Dumpsey Deep and at Hanwell, together with local names which indicate the scenes of ancient strife.

This settlement is most marked over the area south of a line drawn from Brentford to Cowley, wherein the Saxon

suffixes of ' Ham,' ' Ton ' and ' Worth ' appear in 21 names of places, betokening a personal acquisition and residence, in former Romano-British village districts, as against seven place names originating from local features. Between this line and the Edgware road, the three characteristic endings are in a minority of 7 to 21, while east of that road they only number 3 to 18.

If for no other reason further penetration by West Saxons into Middlesex would naturally be stayed when their power was shaken by the battle of Feathanleah in A.D. 584, and their defeat at Wanborough in A.D. 591. Trouble now shifted to London which was invested by the combined forces of Ethelbert King of Kent, with those of his nephew Sebert, king of the East Saxons, and it appears from the Chronicles that this stronghold fell about the year A.D. 586, when Theonus, the archbishop of London, fled from it with his clergy into Wales. By A.D. 604, so Bede tells us, London had become the metropolis of the East Saxons, and the remainder of the territory of London now became annexed to Essex and formed a part of the East Saxon kingdom.

Early dioceses often corresponded with the extent of a Province, and the kingdom of Essex was the diocese of London (Dr. Stubbs), which remained unaltered until the middle of the 19th century. It then included Essex, Middlesex, and the eastern parts of Hertfordshire to the river Rib at Ware, Broxbourne, Northaw, and the Hundred of Cashio, and so it may fairly be asssumed, that this area generally represented the East Saxon kingdom.

The Romano-British settlements, originally the personal domain of the Roman emperor, now came into the possession of the Saxon Thanes, and ecclesiastical corporations. They had an absolute right over the demesne land in their estates, (later known as Manors) but those over the common farm and pastures were subject to the rights of the landworkers, defined and fixed by ancient custom and usage[1] during the

[1] It is most probable that in the continuity of events the origin of the demesne rights of the Saxon landlords may be traced back to those ' *in manu Caesaris.*'

three and a half centuries under the rule of the Romans, who were great agriculturists.

It was no advantage to the incoming Saxon, who took over a century in subjugating Britain, to abolish the long established agricultural system on which the sustenance of both conqueror and conquered depended. It had become familiar to numerous families of Saxon origin settled in S.E. Britain, who had escaped the vigilance of the coastguard garrisons stationed in the eleven forts from Portsmouth to the Wash, or had crept in since the departure of the Roman fleet (Classis Britanicus) under the Admiral of the Saxon shore.

In the 8th century, Coenred, king of Mercia, had become the overlord of Suebred, king of the East Saxons. This is shown by a charter dated A.D. 704 relating to land at Twickenham in the province of the Middle Saxons signed by both kings. The line of the kings of Essex appears to have ended in A.D. 823 with Sigered, when this little kingdom became annexed to the great middle kingdom of Mercia.

The Danish raids in A.D. 843, 847, 871-2 and 874, brought strife and misery into the Province of Middlesex, but in A.D. 878 Alfred, king of Wessex, made terms with Guthrum, king of the Danes, under which Watling street (Edgware road) became the boundary between their respective kingdoms. On trouble breaking out afresh in A.D. 886, Alfred captured London, and by a fresh treaty, the river Lea became the western boundary of the Danelagh, and so the greater portion of the old *territorium* of Roman London came into the hands of King Alfred. This territory, with that pertaining to Oxford, was placed by Alfred under the governance of his son-in-law Ethelred, the ealdorman of Mercia, who had married Ethelflaed, to be afterwards known as the Lady of the Mercians.

Whether it had become necessary for the better raising of the Fyrd or Militia by divisions for repelling the Danish raids, or for administrative or fiscal purposes, to Ethelred may

probably be assigned the division of English Mercia of which he was ealdorman into shires or divisions (*schir*: shorn from) which already had been carried out in his father-in-law's kingdom of Wessex.

So Ethelred came to the Folkmoot of the Province of the Middle-saxons held on Parliament Hill (Hampstead), and there were assembled the shire-reeve, the bishop, the landed thanes, the public officers, together with the reeve and four principal men of each of the 77 vills within the Province, and let us imagine that he spoke to them after this manner.

"Ye know that Alfred the king has given unto me the governance of the lands which pertain to London and Oxford, which adjoin the former kingdom of Mercia, over which I, the vassal of the king, am ealderman.

"Ye have also heard that the kingdom of Wessex has been divided into 6 shires[1] for the raising of the fyrd in two divisions to better withstand the raids of the accursed Danish host, and for other administrative purposes.

"Now I, Ethelred, with the consent of the King, and on the advice of my wise men, am about to divide English Mercia into eight shires.[2] From this Province of the Middle Saxons[3] I will cut off 16 vills from its northern side, and also those seven vills which lie between the Colne and the Chiltern hills, and include them in my new shires of Hertford, and of Buckingham.

"And know also that I will not increase your geldage, which will be apportioned between the old hundreds (*pagi*) and those which will in consequence be adjusted within the Province." When he had ended, all the men of the Gemot rose up and said, that the words he had spoken were wise and good.

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[1] Berkshire, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire.

[2] Cheshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, with Prov. of Middx. Danish Mercia was subsequently divided into Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire.

[3] 'Mediterranei' in Dunstan's Charter A.D. 959.

The changes apparently consequent upon this reduction of the Middle Saxon province may be briefly described as follows.

The old home *pagus* became with some minor alterations the Osulvestane Hundred, so named from its folk's moot being held at Oswulf's stone, a central situation in the Hundred where two main roads crossed.

Within the second *pagus* was laid out the Hundred of Honeslau, so named from the meeting of its folk at the former *botontinus* on Smallbury green, called Hones-lavv, or the Hounds' mound, hence Hounslow.

The remainder of this *pagus* together with some of the third was formed into two Hundreds: viz. (*a*) the Hundred of Spelethorne, speech by the thorn tree around which the folk met, possibly at Chittern hill, a former *botontinus*, and (*b*) The Hundred of Helethorne, from a spreading thorn tree where the people gathered, thus giving the name to this Hundred.

The remaining half of the third *pagus* enlarged on its western side became the Hundred of Gara, or the spear. The place of assembly was by Watling Street, at Redhill, ' Rede-hill ' the hill of counsel.

Lastly the Southern division of the fourth *pagus* constituted the Adelmetone Hundred, so called from a personal name, probably of a large landholder there.

After Ethelred's death in A.D. 910 it is unlikely that further changes were made in the Hundredal areas of Middlesex prior to the Domesday survey in A.D. 1086. Since then they have continued unaltered to the end of the 19th century, when for County purposes these divisions became obsolete.

On several occasions between A.D. 994 and 1016, Middlesex suffered from Danish raids, and especially in A.D. 1011, when it was in a terrible state after being overrun and plundered. This to some extent may account for the tithings and Hundreds being much below their standard strength in landworkers disclosed in the Domesday Survey at about 55 per cent. This number would have been lessened if the clergy, traders, craftsmen, etc., had been included.

This brief sketch shows, it is hoped, the way in which the *Comitatus* or County of "Midelsexe" was made or created, and as it had always been a separate entity, like that of Kent, or Sussex, and had not been shorn from a larger area, it retained its old Saxon name without the suffix of "shire." That its governing body was complete is shown by this Middlesex charter: "Edward the King greets William the Bishop, Leofwin the Eorll, Aelfget the Sirefa friendly . . . ." (Cod. Dip. 858); but this lasted for only a few years, when Henry I sold for the yearly sum of £300 the farm of the sheriff of Middlesex to the citizens of London, with whom it remained until 1889.

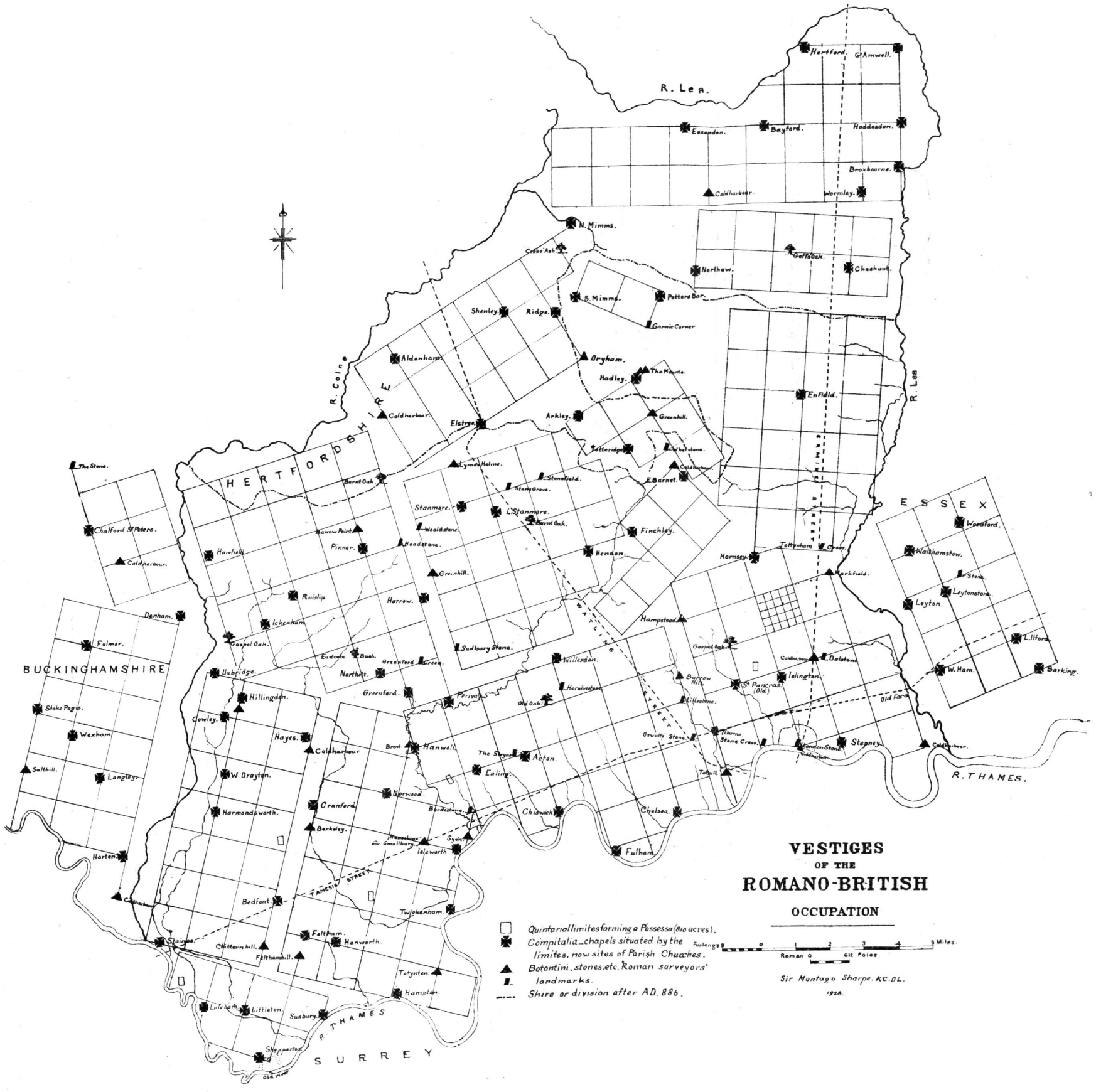
It may be of interest to conclude this paper with a few particulars extracted from Domesday.

A.D. 1086. William the King had 24 tenants in chief in the County, of whom probably only a few lived within it. Of these the principal landowners were: The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Abbots of St. Peter's and St. Alban's abbeys, Earl Rogers, Earl of Moretaine, and de Manneville.

The geldage of the Hundreds was:

Ossulton	220
Spelethorn Hounslow	217
Helethorne	222
Gara Adelmetone	221
	880

Of the County area, about 43 per cent. was under tillage and in rough meadow.
53 per cent. was in woods and common pasture.
4 per cent. was in road surface,
100


R. Lea.
Hertford.
Gt Amwell.
Essenden.
Bayford.
Hoddesdon.
Broxbourne.
Coldharbour.
Warmley.
N. Mimms.
Cobbs Ash.
Northaw.
Goffsoak.
Cheshunt.
S. Mimms.
Potters Bar.
Gannic Corner
Shenley.
Ridge.
Aldenham.
Bryham.
Hadley.
The Mounts.
R. Colne.
HERTFORDSHIRE
Coldharbour.
Elstree.
Arkley.
Greenhill.
Totteridge.
Lytchetstone.
Coldharbour.
E. Barnet.
Enfield.
R. Lea.
The Stone.
Lyme de Holme.
Stonefield.
Stone Grove.
Burnt Oak.
Stanmore.
L. Stanmore.
Burnt Oak.
Finchley.
Chalfont St Peters.
Coldharbour.
Harefield.
Narrow Point.
Pinner.
Weald stone.
Headstone.
Hendon.
Hornsey.
Tottenham Cross.
Markfield.
Greenhill.
Ruislip.
Harrow.
Ickenham.
Hampstead.
ESSEX
Woodford.
Walthamstow.
Stone.
Leytonstone.
Leyton.
Ilford.
Denham.
Fulmer.
Gospel Oak.
Eadcote.
Bush.
Greenford Green.
Sudbury Stone.
Willesden.
Gospel Oak.
Coldharbour.
Delatone.
Islington.
W. Ham.
Barking.
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
Uxbridge.
Northolt.
Greenford.
Perivale.
Herdwestone.
Old Oak.
Barrow Hill.
Lillestone.
St Pancras (Old)
Old Ford.
Hillingdon.
Cowley.
Stoke Pogis.
Wexham.
Hayes.
Coldharbour
Hanwell.
Brent.
The Stayne.
Acton.
Ostwulfs Stone.
Tilburne Stone Cross.
London Stone.
Stepney.
Coldharbour.
Saltehill.
Langley.
W. Drayton.
Ealing.
Tetsill.
R. THAMES.
Norwood.
Cranford.
Harmondsworth.
Bordestone.
Chiswick.
Chelsea.
Berkeley.
Wansunt or Smallbury.
Syon.
Isleworth.
Fulham.
Harton.
Colnbrook.
AMESIS STREET
Bedfont.
Twickenham.
Staines.
Chattern hill.
Feltham.
Hanworth.
Feltham hill.
Tetynton.
Hampton.
Laleham.
Littleton.
Sunbury.
R. THAMES
Shepperton.
SURREY
VESTIGES
OF THE
ROMANO-BRITISH
OCCUPATION
Quintarial limites forming a Possessa (810 acres).
Compitalia_chapels situated by the limites, now sites of Parish Churches.
Botontini, stones etc. Roman surveyors' landmarks.
Shire or division after AD. 886.
Furlongs 0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles.
Roman 0 612 Poles.
Sir Montagu Sharpe. KC.DL.
1928.

Husbandmen holding land numbered ..	1778
Workers on the ,, ,, ...	388
	2166
With five to a family	10,830
Craftsmen and traders, etc., say	1,170
Approximate population in A.D. 1086 ..	12,000

The number of Oxen was 2150; Swine 20225; Watermills 33; Fishweirs 18; Vineyards 7; Wild beasts' Parks 2.